

A Monument in the Public Sphere

THE CONTROVERSY ABOUT LAURA FACEY'S
REDEMPTION SONG

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Kingston's newest park, the Emancipation Park in New Kingston, opened to the public on 31 July 2002, on the eve of Jamaica's Emancipation Day national holiday, as part of the fortieth anniversary of Jamaican independence celebrations. The park was constructed as a special public service project of the National Housing Trust, which is headquartered nearby. Exactly one year later, on 31 July 2003, a monument to Emancipation was unveiled at the ceremonial entrance



Laura Facey, Redemption Song (2003), bronze and iron, Emancipation Park, New Kingston, with completed base, photographed November 2004.

of the park, which is located on the corner of Oxford Road and Knutsford Boulevard, one of the busiest intersections in the city of Kingston.¹ It was created by the Jamaican artist Laura Facey, the winner of the monument competition for the park which had also been organised in Spring 2002 by the National Housing Trust, with assistance from the National Gallery of Jamaica and the National Heritage Trust. Sixteen anonymous entries had been received and evaluated by a panel of judges appointed by the National Housing Trust and consisting of the vice-chancellor of the University of the West Indies Rex Nettleford, the National Gallery of Jamaica's chief curator David Boxer, and the architects Marvin Goodman and Guila Bernal.² Of these entries, three were shortlisted for prizes and the first prize winner, Laura Facey's design, was subsequently commissioned, to be completed by the next Emancipation Day in 2003.³

Laura Facey's Emancipation monument is titled *Redemption Song*, after Bob Marley's famous song. The artist's statement, which was published in the programme brochure of the opening ceremony and in the local press, explains the concept: "My piece is not about ropes, chains or torture; I have gone beyond that. I wanted to create a sculpture that communicates transcendence, reverence, strength and unity through our procreators – man and woman – all of which comes when the mind is free." The monument consists of two bronze nude figures – male and female, both obviously black and robustly built, and a monumental eleven and ten feet tall, respectively. The figures stand facing each other at a slight angle in a round pool of water, their arms by their sides and gazing up to the sky.

The statues were cast locally – the first time such monumental bronze statuary was cast in Jamaica; and its successful completion, in the very limited time available, is indeed a tribute to Jamaican workmanship, as one of Laura Facey's press releases argued.⁴ The part metal, part gravel base was temporary, since there was not enough time to complete the artist's plans for a dome-shaped iron base over which water would continuously run. The permanent base

was completed nearly a year later, in July 2004. The significance of the waterworks was emphasised in the artist's statement: "The water is an important part of the monument. It is refreshing, purifying and symbolically washes away the pain and suffering of the past." The temporary base initially had the inscription "none but ourselves can free our mind", words that were made famous in Marley's *Redemption Song*. This inscription was removed, after a copyright challenge from the Bob Marley Foundation (and also because the artist was dissatisfied with the appearance of the engraved letters on the base); in fact, the words were first used by Marcus Garvey, as the inscription acknowledged, and have such local and global resonance that they arguably belong to the public domain.⁵

There had already been some amount of controversy when the results of the monument competition had first been unveiled, but critics then seemed more concerned with the nudity of the bronze couple by the late Alvin Marriott that had been installed as a placeholder until the actual monument was ready than with Laura Facey's winning model. Trouble started in earnest at the unveiling of *Redemption Song* which was part of the opening ceremony of the 2003 Emancipation and Independence festivities, and quickly escalated into a full-fledged public controversy about the appropriateness and relevance of the statues as a monument to Emancipation. The roots reggae singer Tony Rebel publicly criticised the statues' nudity and demanded that Prime Minister Patterson should have them replaced by a statue of Miss Lou (Louise Bennett-Coverley), the celebrated poet of Jamaican Creole who was the guest of honour at the festivities. In the months that followed, the debate played out mainly in the printed and electronic media – in a flood of newspaper columns, letters to the editor, cartoons, postings on Internet bulletin boards, and in the many call-in and discussion programmes on Jamaican radio and TV – but during the first weeks it continued in the park itself, where small crowds gathered daily around the statues, not only to see what the fuss was all about but also to debate the monument's merits and failings. The controversy, especially

the sensationalist question of the male figure's generous penis size, also reached the international media, including most of the Caribbean press, the *Miami Herald*, the *Guardian* (South Africa), *Time* magazine, BBC World and Australian national television. More recently, leaving no doubt about what mainly attracted the foreign press to the controversy, the monument even featured in *Playboy*.

This article is, however, concerned with the reception of the monument in Jamaica, particularly as it has been articulated in the local press.⁶ For analytical purposes, the criticisms can be grouped in six overlapping categories, which are summarised and reviewed below, illustrated with excerpts from some of the most poignant letters and commentaries on the subject.⁷ The second part of the paper will elaborate an analysis of key issues arising from this debate.

ELEMENTS OF A DEBATE

The first and by far most common concern was that the nudity of the generally well-endowed male and female figures at the centre of the monument constituted an affront to public decency and a national embarrassment. Most critics voicing this concern equated the nudity with sexuality and failed or refused to consider any other symbolic significance. One early letter writer stated plainly:

I must say I am appalled that a sculpture of that type has been installed at Emancipation Park. It would be interesting to know what the artist had in mind but I think it is in poor taste to have a sculpture with male and female genitals exposed, so exaggerated and erected in a public place. Many people find it offensive and we need to consider the numerous children who visit the park daily.⁸

Alfred Sangster, the retired president of the University of Technology and a self-avowed Fundamentalist Christian, took this concern with respectability one step further and his lengthy list of objections to the monument included the following: "Do we wish to give the foreigners who visit the park the image that we are promoting our nakedness? Remember the



perception that some people have of black people's supposed sexual prowess."⁹ Several other letters and commentaries reflected a similar preoccupation with the monument's effect on Jamaica's international image, which was probably fuelled by the international publicity the monument received and its proximity to Kingston's main hotels. Sangster's statement also illustrated how the controversy was rooted in anxieties about race and sexuality, which are particularly pronounced in the tourism arena where black sexuality has been caricatured and commodified, among others in the notorious 'big bamboo' carvings that are displayed and sold in Fern Gully.

As the controversy unfolded, some claimed that the statues also posed an active threat to an already declining public morality, an accusation which came mainly from Fundamentalist Christian spokespersons. The Reverend Earl Lewis wrote:

Like many others, the Association of Independent Baptist Churches regrets the erection of a pair of statues exhibiting nudity as representative of our emancipation. For the overwhelming majority of people in our culture, nakedness is private. And while we live in a democratic society, we must maintain proper sensitivity to the moral cultural norms to which generations have been socialised. . . . We must remind ourselves that Jamaica has been exposed to and influenced by Judeo-Christian teachings and philosophy. This means that the Bible provides the rule for faith and life for most people confessing faith in God, in our country. . . . Already, the negative results of the Emancipation statues are being seen: sensuous women are playing with the male genitals, while men can be seen fondling the breasts of the woman. . . . Unbridled passion and the expression of the baser nature of many in our society fed through the eye gate may lead to many in the park being raped, abducted or becoming the victims of other abuse.¹⁰

Such concerns were also fuelled by the fact that the unveiling of the monument coincided with a highly publicised spate of rape and murder cases and mounting public concerns about the sexual exploitation of minors. There was also an incident, seized upon by commentators and cartoonists alike, whereby a female caller to a talk show who identified herself – perhaps spuriously – as a twelve-year-old schoolgirl claimed that the statues made her think of sex rather than Emancipation.

THIS PAGE: Laura Facey and team at work on Redemption Song. Photos courtesy of the artist.

The debate about the statues' nudity shed revealing light on the diversity and contradictoriness of Jamaican sexual mores, a subject which deserves more attention than this article can provide. That the public outrage was focused on the male figure's penis size rather than on the ample breasts on the female figure, perfectly illustrates the sexual double standards and homophobia that prevail in Jamaica. Proponents of the monument eagerly pointed out these contradictions and countered with calls for greater tolerance and open-mindedness about matters of sexuality and nudity and for more attention to the symbolic and artistic merits of the work. One wrote: "I think the people need to focus on the art and not on the nudity. The sculpture, I think, is saying that we are all the same; nudity expresses freedom, freedom for all."¹¹ Another asked:

Are we so unexposed to art? Are we so uncomfortable with our own bodies, our own nakedness that we cannot see it mirrored in a form of a statue? The more fire we bring to this issue of taking it down, the more of a taboo stigma we will give to nakedness, sexuality and the beauty of the naked body interpreted in art form. As an artist myself, [I have] travelled and visited all major art cities, New York, Florence, Paris and London, especially Florence, with its famous David. This huge statue which is of a naked man, is almost revered.¹²

Such references to the (assumed) prevalence of nude statuary in metropolitan cities and the comparisons some made between Laura Facey and Michelangelo or Rodin, in turn, drew further accusations of neo-colonial mimicry and Eurocentrism from the statues' opponents.¹³ Commentator Narda Graham stated: "We do not need 'our own Michelangelo'. Why do we always need to validate our own creations by pointing out their resemblance to something European?"¹⁴

It is not that there is no other nude public statuary in Jamaica. One is located very nearby in New Kingston but has not caused any documented controversy: Basil Watson's *Emerging*





LEFT: Laura Facey and one of the scale models for *Redemption Song* in 2002. BELOW: The maquette and the sketch submitted by Facey as part of her entry in the monument competition.

Part of the problem with the Emancipation statues is that they were not made by someone in the same position as those they were intended to represent. Laura Facey is a very fine sculptor, but in the complex race-colour-class network that governs Jamaica, she is neither the right race, nor the right colour, nor the right class. Her ancestors, at least 99 per cent of them, were not subjected to slavery and thus not subject to Emancipation. Do you think that the Indian community would allow a person from a different ethno-racial group to construct an Emancipation from Indenture monument? . . . At least part of the implication here is that after all these years Black people in Jamaica are incapable of representing themselves.¹⁷

Nation (2000), to be found in the small park along the corner of Holborn and Trafalgar Roads, which also represents ideals of nationhood in the form of a nude couple.¹⁵ Unlike the visually commanding *Redemption Song*, this academically realist bronze sculpture is just under life-size and sited more discreetly within the enclosure of that park, and it may simply not have caught the eye of the public. That it has not received more public attention may, however, also illustrate that it was not just the nudity of *Redemption Song* that caused offence but its specific association with the public memorialisation of Emancipation and slavery. One letter stated:

When one considers the understanding of Emancipation, one thinks of coming out of a serious situation/condition. How then can two naked people represent the situation of Emancipation? I don't know. My opinion may not coincide with yours or many others, but it is my earnest view that this statue should be removed and given to Hedonism II.¹⁶

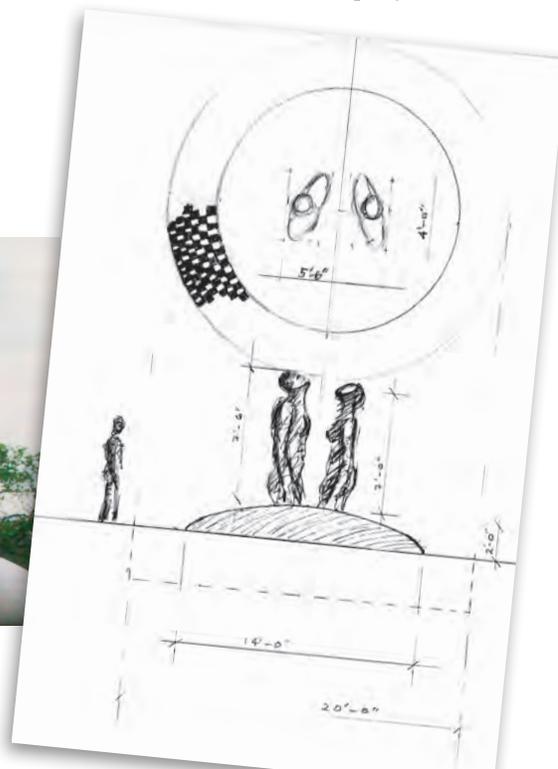
This letter also suggested that the statues represent a debased, frivolous sexuality

that appeals to tourists who come to Jamaica to participate in nude weddings but is alien to the 'real' Jamaican culture.

A second concern was that the identity of the artist, a member of a wealthy and influential light-skinned family with roots in the plantocracy, is irreconcilable with the subject and purpose of the monument. This was implied by many of the monument's critics but explicitly addressed by only a few, although it was a persistent subtext throughout the debate. One commentator – whose name, while possibly a pseudonym, suggested an East Indian background – made it the subject of her letter:



COURTESY OF THE ARTIST



This letter implies that Jamaica consists of clear-cut ethno-racial and social groups, of which only one rightfully 'owns' the subject of Emancipation, a view of Jamaican society that contrasts sharply with the ideal of a transcendent, unified Jamaican nationhood to which Laura Facey's monument design appealed. University of the West Indies professor and media personality Carolyn Cooper, one of the few commentators who openly

brought race into the debate, suggested that promoting the latter was part of a deliberate hegemonic strategy:

Instead of rebellion, we've been given 'redemption' as the most fitting monument to Emancipation. What a piece of wickedness! It's really the same old story of how and why Emancipation Day was taken off the national calendar at Independence. The white and brown elite and their black collaborators wanted to erase the memory of slavery – because it implicated them.¹⁸

The arguments about race and class thus foregrounded what is arguably the fundamental conflict in how nationhood is understood and represented in postcolonial Jamaica and, predictably, received more stinging rebukes than those about nudity. The journalist and talk-show host Barbara Gloudon wrote, in a column based on a conversation with the head of the National Housing Trust, Kingsley Thomas:

One feature of the 'statue argument' which he and others find particularly distasteful is the introduction of race into the argument. It has been propounded by some that the fact that the artist (Laura Facey) is 'white' is why she 'dissed' black people by presenting them without clothes. 'If it were not so painful it would be laughable. Since when does a person's race determine artistic sensibility? Lawks man, we ah sink low,' said someone in a 'statue argument' the other evening.¹⁹

Such arguments also suggest that art functions on a higher plane that transcends 'mundane' preoccupations such as race and class.

A third category of criticisms was that the iconography of the monument does not adequately represent the meaning of Emancipation to the Afro-Jamaican majority. Laura Facey opted for a symbolic, conciliatory approach, in which she aimed to represent Emancipation as an open-ended spiritual concept that transcends the actual historical event. There has, however, been a persistent tendency to read the monument literally – some have argued, for instance, that

the slaves wore clothes in 1838 – or to demand that it should more recognisably represent slavery and Emancipation. Veteran journalist Desmond Allen suggested:

At the very least, and even with no other changes to the statue, Ms Facey should be sent back to add the broken chains which literally symbolise our freedom from slavery. With that, we will not have to have to try to explain to our visitors that it is not nudity we are celebrating but our freedom from chattel slavery and oppression.²⁰

In driving home the point that the statues do not recognisably represent Emancipation, Desmond Allen thus also seemed more concerned with how the monument represents Jamaica to foreign visitors than with its effect on local audiences. In contrast, Narda Graham wrote: "The bottom line is, *Redemption Song* does not speak a language we understand readily. It does not employ our symbolic vocabulary. Race is not the issue. . . . The issue is the expression of the Jamaican experience using symbols that Jamaicans will find understandable, approachable, ours."²¹ Unlike Desmond Allen, however, she did not specify what those collectively understood symbols might be.

Carolyn Cooper again went further and argued that the monument actually misrepresented Emancipation:

This prize-winning sculpture says absolutely nothing about the epic grandeur of the battle of our ancestors and us, their children, from the brutality of European slavery. In fact, the naked, blind, truncated figures remind me of newly arrived Africans on the auction block. A far cry from what they're supposed to represent.²²

Defenders of the monument countered that the onus was on the viewer to read the monument correctly. The Reverend Garnett Roper offered the following interpretation:



Clovis cartoon, *Observer*, 10 August 2003, p. 17

The intention of the author is most significant, because it sets some boundaries for everything else in the task of interpretation. This sculpture sought to present two images of the emancipated slaves emerging in the process of mental liberation. The images on the work are distinctly African, uninhibited, unembellished and uncovered. They are larger than life, pervasive by their visual impact, and impossible to miss. They are not distracted by each other's nakedness, and preoccupied with what is above them and beyond them.²³

Fourthly, some argued that the work was 'art', suitable for art galleries and their specialised audiences but not as a public monument and, furthermore, too hermetic and personal as its meaning was not accessible enough to a broader audience. Desmond Allen's earlier cited column was titled "The Nude Statue: Private Art versus National Symbol", and economist Earl Bartley wrote: "Art is predominantly about self-expression. But art for public spaces has to be far less self-indulgent and be more cognisant of public sensibilities."²⁴ The inference here is that personal meaning should not enter a public memorial and that there are crucial differences between 'art' and 'public art'. The references to the Jamaican art world in some of these commentaries were sometimes decidedly contemptuous, which suggest that there is a perception in Jamaica that artists and art-lovers are a 'different', inherently self-indulgent and decadent kind. Very few of those critics, however, questioned the aesthetic merits of the monument.²⁵

It is indeed for its merits as 'art' that the monument has received most praise from its supporters and even its detractors. The entertainment journalist Barbara Blake Hannah wrote: "I can definitely say that Laura's statues of a healthy African man and woman deserve their place in a national cultural gallery. However, I am numbered among the majority of people of Afrocentric minds who are not satisfied that the statues are an appropriate monument to Emancipation."²⁶ This sentiment that the statues had merit but belonged in another, more specialised and restricted environment was voiced repeatedly. Newspaper columnist Balford Henry wrote:

Personally, I wouldn't have a problem if the statues were at the entrance to the Edna Manley College of the Visual and Performing Arts, where they would benefit from the type of expert analysis they seem to deserve.

But, when they are



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unloaded at the entrance to a park dedicated to the issue of emancipation from slavery, they become subjected to clumsy appraisers like myself, who wouldn't know the difference between abstract art and graffiti."²⁷

While several critics of the monument admitted, be it often sarcastically, that they were no 'art experts', some of its supporters took great pains to distance themselves from those 'philistines' who did not recognise the monument's artistic value, as the earlier cited letter that compared the monument with Michelangelo's David well illustrated. Another wrote, after lavishly praising the artistic merits of the monument: "I appeal to the art lovers, commentators and opinion makers to interpret [the monument] for [the] people and educate them in the appreciation of art."²⁸

Fifthly, there were criticisms that there was insufficient transparency and public consultation in the selection of the artist and the design, which was based on a short-notice competition and adjudged by a group of local 'art establishment' members that included Rex Nettleford and David Boxer. This argument was dominated by Carolyn Cooper who wrote: "I blame the distinguished panel of judges entirely for failing to select an image that truly honours the spirit of Emancipation and acknowledges the accomplishments of our ancestors. If none of the entries met the bill, the competition should have been reopened."²⁹

It did not seem to matter to Dr Cooper that these judges had not appointed themselves or set the terms of the competition. That the blame was automatically placed on their shoulders should, however, be related to a broader polemic within the cultural community about who legitimately speaks and decides on behalf of whom in cultural matters and about how national culture is defined. While this is, as such, a legitimate and timely debate, it has been too personally targeted at those who are most visibly powerful in this arena, while others with

Alvin Marriott, male and female figures from the Independence monument (1960s), Harbour View roundabout, Kingston.

comparable power have escaped such scrutiny, often by being the first ones to point fingers. There were nonetheless columnists and letter-writers who expressed their appreciation for the work and expertise of the judges.³⁰

Sixthly and finally, there were a few concerns that the monument's cost of J\$4.5 million (about US\$75,000) was not justifiable at a time of deepening social and economic crisis. It did not help that the National Housing Trust, which not only financed the construction of the park and the monument but also undertook to maintain the facilities in perpetuity, is supported by statutory deductions from salaries at a time when many in Jamaica believe they are excessively taxed and do not get enough government services and infrastructure in return. Some of the monument's critics argued that this amounted to the inappropriate use of public revenue. One female observer, who in spite of the raging controversy insisted that the Jamaican public was not interested in public monuments, wrote:

I also agree that most people don't care whether the Emancipation Park statue is naked or not, for there are far more important things for us to worry about at this time. Therefore, I am unable to understand why the government has spent \$4.5 million on another useless statue while progressively reducing the budget for many essential social services.³¹

Similar concerns had been voiced earlier on about the cost of the park itself, which had a price tag of J\$100 million with an anticipated annual maintenance bill of J\$8 million, but these had dissipated by the time of the monument's unveiling. Obviously there is some consensus that Kingston desperately needs safe, pleasant and well maintained public leisure spaces, and the park immediately became popular with Kingstonians and visitors alike.³² The disproportionate focus on the cost of the statuary (which is in fact a reasonable figure for a bronze monument that size) suggests that these complaints were motivated by other concerns about the monument or were, at least, amplified by the monument's symbolic significance and the publicity it received.

At the popular level, the controversy was couched in a carnivalesque atmosphere that unsparingly mocked the 'high culture' status of the monument. People came specifically to have their pictures taken in front of the monument, as a curiosity, and the statues were reportedly regularly fondled. Nearly two months after the unveiling, a woman stripped to her underwear and joined the two figures in the pool – she was promptly taken to the local psychiatric hospital, many felt unfairly. And, demonstrating that the spirit of free enterprise is alive and well in Jamaica, street vendors almost immediately started hawking unauthorised postcards of the monument which prompted the management of the park to publish advertisements to assert its copyright.

The entire controversy had a strong element of satire, which is of course one of the most potent forms of criticism. Talk show host Wilmot 'Muttie' Perkins started calling the park "Penis Park" and, not to be outdone, the dancehall-calypso singer Lovindeer launched a new song titled "Happiness in the Park", which is pronounced in the song as "(h)a penis in the park". Not all the jokes were about the perceived display of sexuality, however: some suggested that the figures are really waiting for a UFO to land, and one letter-writer even suggested that the naked figures are looking up in despair because Jamaicans have sold the clothes off of their backs to pay their taxes.³³ Even the critics of the monument were fair game. Some started calling the statues "Carolyn and Muttie" after the two most strident voices in the debate, Carolyn Cooper and Muttie Perkins, and the *Observer* columnist Mark Wignall suggested that Perkins and other (male) critics of the monument suffered from penis envy.

There were numerous formal and informal calls (and threats) to have the monument removed or altered, primarily from church groups and members of the local intelligentsia, but the Jamaican government expressed its continued support for the monument and its intention to keep it in place.³⁴ Significantly, in a country where far less controversial public monuments have

been regularly vandalised, there have been no incidents of vandalism so far (although this could perhaps be attributed to the presence of surveillance cameras and round-the-clock security guards throughout the park). Nearly two months after the unveiling, islandwide opinion polls were published that suggested that the majority of Jamaicans wanted to keep the monument. The 2003 *Observer*/Stone Polls, for instance, disclosed that 56.8 per cent of those interviewed wanted the monument to stay, while 27.9 per cent wanted to have it removed and 15.3 per cent had no view on the matter.³⁵ Unfortunately, the poll results did not tell us what motivated these responses, which deprived us of a unique opportunity to obtain the views of those who had not participated in the public debate. While these poll results brought some closure to the public controversy, the debate continued unabated in some arenas, as was illustrated by the 'no holds barred' public forum on the

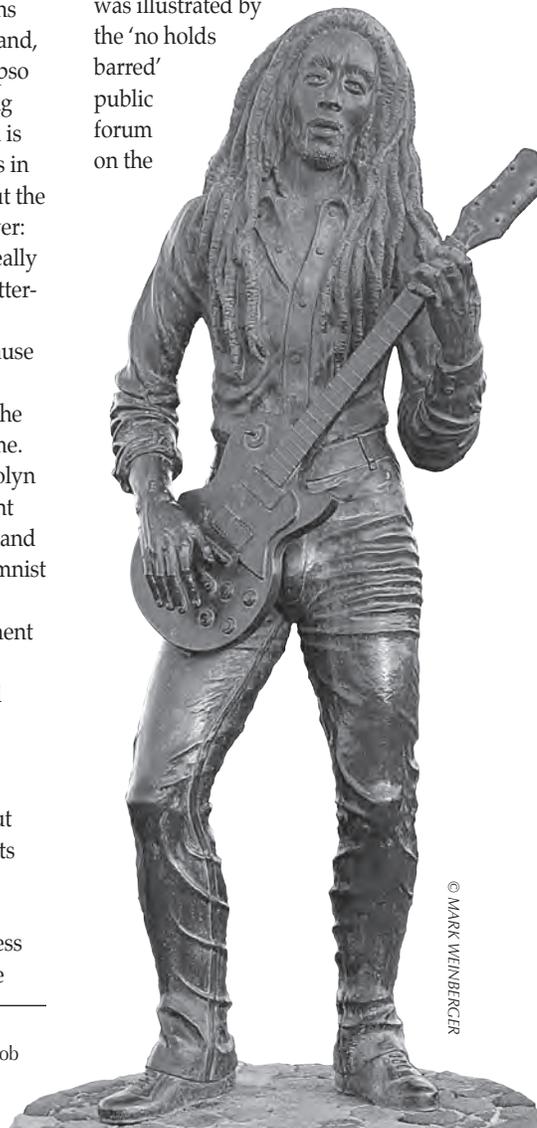
monument hosted by Carolyn Cooper and the Reggae Studies Unit at the University of the West Indies Mona campus on 24 October 2003. More recently, the *Observer* headlined that two pastors had, in their Easter sermons, once again, cited the monument as "symbolic of a decadent society".³⁶

The *Redemption Song* debate has been represented schematically, for the sake of clarity, but there were in effect two opposing camps – detractors and supporters – who each sought to defend their positions with any argument available to them, ranging from the sublime to the ridiculous. This left little room for a middle ground where a more nuanced and productive dialogue would have been possible. Nonetheless, the controversy cannot be dismissed as just another 'nine-day wonder'. As Annie Paul rightly argued in a letter to the *Observer*, the reasons for the discontent over the monument should be carefully studied.³⁷ Unless this is done, it represents a missed opportunity to understand how various Jamaican audiences really respond to what has been consecrated as the national 'high culture'.

SOME KEY ISSUES

The memorialisation of traumatic or controversial historical subjects in contemporary public art has been at the centre of the recent 'culture wars' throughout the globe. The recent prolonged debates about how to memorialise apartheid in South Africa and the destruction of the World Trade Center in New York City, which have both involved public consultations and panels of experts, are but two well publicised examples of how difficult it has become to bring such projects to a satisfactory conclusion.

In postcolonial Jamaica, almost all public monuments have been controversial³⁸ – most notoriously in 1983 when Christopher Gonzales' Bob Marley monument, which symbolically represented Marley as a 'roots man', had to be hastily removed because of the hostile public response before it was even unveiled. It was in 1985 replaced by a safe but forgettable academic portrayal of Marley by Alvin Marriott, Jamaica's most popular monumental sculptor, which now stands more or less forgotten



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THIS PAGE: Alvin Marriott, Bob Marley, Kingston (1995). OPPOSITE PAGE: Christopher Gonzales, Bob Marley (1983), Island Village, Ocho Rios

in the increasingly cluttered environs of the National Stadium and is visited only by the occasional tourist group. The Gonzales statue was moved to the National Gallery of Jamaica, where it was on view for nearly twenty years as one of the most popular art works in the collection.

Nonetheless, displaying it at the National Gallery did not allow that statue to fulfil its proper function as a public monument. It was recently temporarily installed at Island Village, an upscale shopping and entertainment complex near the Ocho Rios cruise ship pier that also features a multimedia reggae museum, where the statue mainly serves as an attraction and photo opportunity for tourists. That this is seen as a satisfactory solution by many, including the artist, again illustrates how Jamaican cultural production is increasingly equated with the production of attractions and commodities for the tourist sector and international market, often at the expense of its local audiences. The end result is that there is still no satisfactory public memorial for Bob Marley in Jamaica.

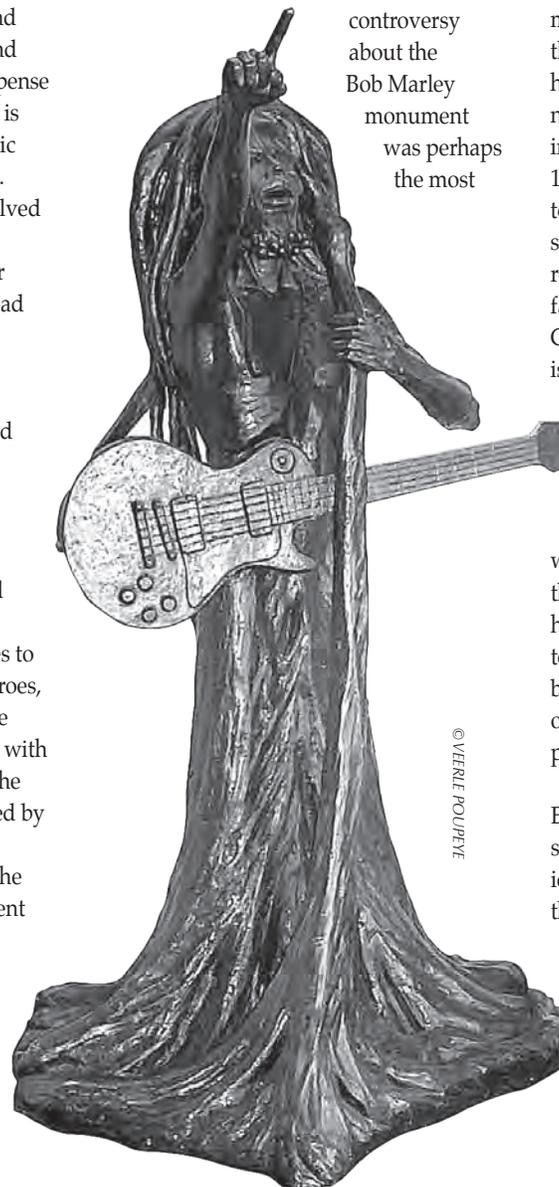
Another major controversy involved the Independence monument that was planned in 1963 for the Harbour View roundabout, along the main road to Kingston's international airport, at the initiative of the art patron A.D. Scott. It was designed by Alvin Marriott – who thus also encountered controversy during his lifetime – as the embodiment of Jamaica's new national motto, "Out of many, one people." This more than sixty-foot-tall Independence monument would have consisted of a circular concrete base with the coat of arms and niches to house busts of Jamaica's national heroes, while the sculpture itself would have been a steep conical mound covered with interlocking nudes, emerging from the passive to the active, and surmounted by a nude couple.

The controversy erupted when the plans for the Independence monument were publicised, and also revolved mainly about the nudity of the figures.³⁹ The monument was consequently never completed although the base was constructed and most parts of

the sculpture were cast in aluminium. Recently, there have been several attempts to revive this project. It is the nude couple that was supposed to surmount this monument that served as the place-holder at Emancipation Park, and this couple has now been temporarily installed, with some financial help from the National Housing Trust, on the Independence monument's original, too-large base at the Harbour View roundabout. There the delicate, elegantly posed pair looks rather forlorn in its increasingly desolate environment.⁴⁰

What, then, makes the Emancipation monument controversy different from these previous ones? Firstly, all three controversies involved questions of symbolic representation – and, in doing so, pitched the 'artistic community' against 'the public' – although rather different issues were at stake in each. The

controversy about the Bob Marley monument was perhaps the most



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surprising, since Gonzales used imagery that is common in Rastafarian visual culture, as is well illustrated by Neville Garrick's cover for Bob Marley and the Wailers' *Uprising* album. This familiarity of the symbolism probably explains why this statue later became more popular with local audiences; but at the time of the unveiling Bob Marley was a local and global celebrity – and probably the most frequently photographed Jamaican ever – who had died recently, in the prime of his life and public career. The public that rejected the Gonzales statue did not want a 'symbolic Bob', they wanted Bob's likeness, *exactly* as they remembered him.

The Independence and Emancipation monuments, in contrast, do not represent any individual but historical events that have broader ideological significance, and therefore call for a more symbolic approach. The public demands for more literalism in the iconography of the Emancipation monument were, however, significant. While there were no precedents for representation of independent Jamaican nationhood in the 1960s, which left some room for artists to represent it in a novel symbolic form, slavery and Emancipation have a long representational history in Jamaica. In fact, popular, usually Rastafarian or Garveyite, imagery on those subjects is quite common in Jamaican street art and broken chains are a frequent presence in such images. This does not necessarily mean that an official memorial has to appropriate this popular imagery, which is indeed often trite, but it suggests that Emancipation is too heavily charged, historically, morally and ideologically, to be successfully represented as a 'new beginning', without acknowledgement of its actual historical circumstances and politics.

The judges' report of the Emancipation monument commission stated about Laura Facey's design: "Its iconography too was seen as admirable in the manner that it deliberately resonated with the nationalist iconography of works like Edna Manley's *Negro Aroused* which is its clear sculptural ancestor. Most of all the judges admired its highly spiritual character." There

is an even more striking iconographical continuity between Laura Facey's design and those of Alvin Marriott's Independence monument, Basil Watson's earlier mentioned *Emerging Nation* and other Edna Manley works such as the relief sculpture *He Cometh Forth* (1962), which was done on the occasion of Independence. Each of these sculptures features a couple as the 'Adam and Eve' of the 'New Jamaica', nude in all but the latter example. One must ask whether this lofty, hopeful iconography is indeed a central part of the collective Jamaican imaginary or whether the repeated controversies indicate that it is an iconographically naïve way of representing the heavily contested subjects of Jamaican national identity and aspirations.

The Emancipation monument controversy thus raises urgent questions about the growing dissonance between the views of the cultural establishment and public opinion in Jamaica. The Jamaican cultural sphere has always been contentious and torn between populism and elitist notions of cultural distinction, but recently this contentiousness has been fuelled by the awareness of similar 'culture wars' elsewhere. In this context, the unreflexive way in which certain members of the intelligentsia claim to represent public opinion in these matters is as problematic as the real and perceived hegemonic power of the conveniently vilified and homogenised 'art establishment'. However, a serious and evenhanded critical evaluation of the nature and public reception of nationalist art is now long overdue and the cultural sector can no longer put its head in the sand, and blame it on the deficient educational system or, worse, accuse 'the people' of cultural insensitivity.

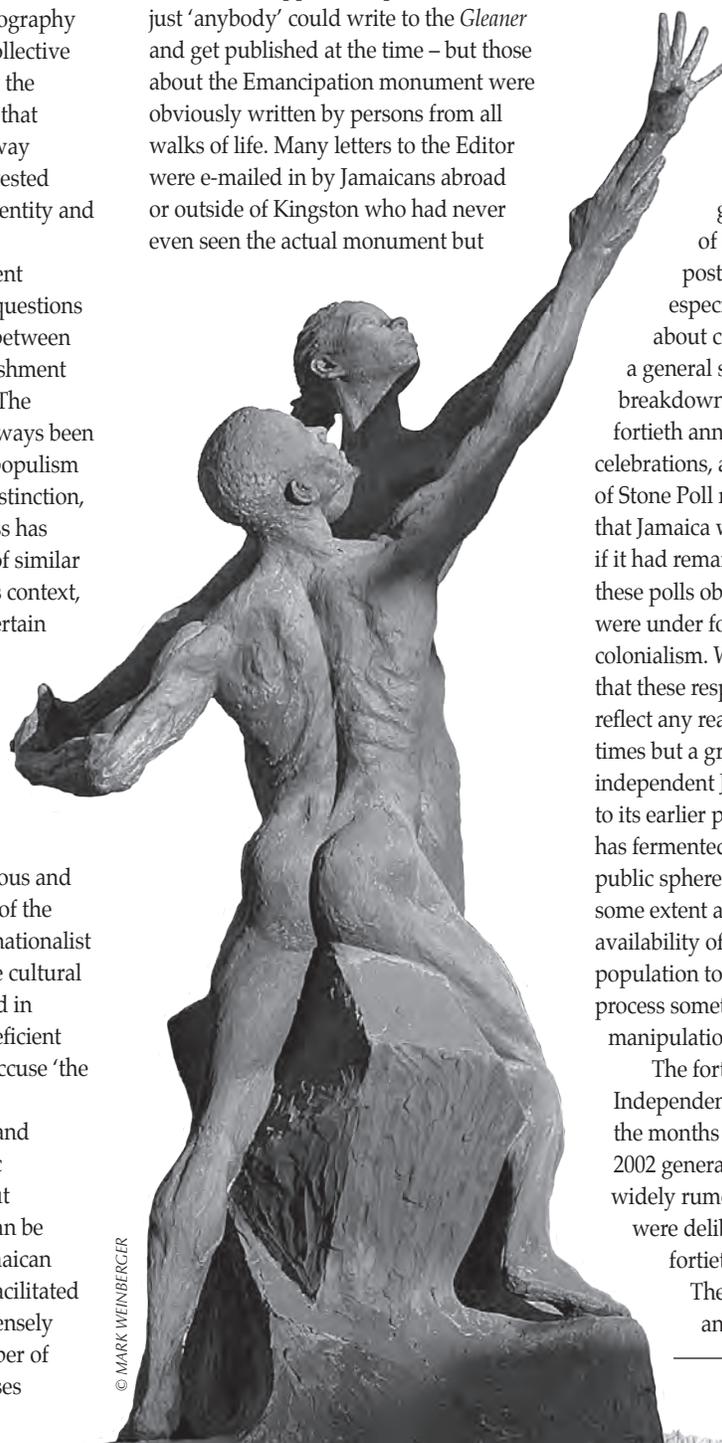
Furthermore, the duration and unprecedented degree of public participation in the debate about the Emancipation monument can be attributed to changes in the Jamaican media landscape, which have facilitated the development of a lively, intensely critical public sphere. The number of print and electronic media houses has increased significantly

in recent years and Internet services and improved telephone services have made these media more democratically accessible than ever before. Jamaican audiences are therefore not only more aware of what goes on locally and internationally, but also empowered to participate as active stakeholders in public debates. The letters to the Editor about the Independence monument in the 1960s were written by well educated middle- and upper-class persons – not just 'anybody' could write to the *Gleaner* and get published at the time – but those about the Emancipation monument were obviously written by persons from all walks of life. Many letters to the Editor were e-mailed in by Jamaicans abroad or outside of Kingston who had never even seen the actual monument but

were following the controversy on the Internet or the other media. The media actively encourage and thrive on such interactivity, as is illustrated by the proliferation of call-in programmes which has furthermore made participation in this new public sphere less dependent on literacy.

The psychologist and talk show host Leachim Semaj argued at the earlier mentioned Reggae Studies forum that many extraneous issues were projected onto the Emancipation monument. Among other social factors, the controversy certainly needs to be related to the growing disenchantment of the population with postcolonial governance, especially the mounting concerns about crime and violence and a general social and economic breakdown. In 2002, during the fortieth anniversary of Independence celebrations, a shocking 53.6 per cent of Stone Poll respondents had claimed that Jamaica would have been better off if it had remained a colony.⁴¹ Critics of these polls objected that all respondents were under forty and had never known colonialism. What they overlooked is that these responses did not necessarily reflect any real nostalgia for colonial times but a growing perception that independent Jamaica has not lived up to its earlier promise. This discontent has fermented in the new, media-driven public sphere discussed above and is to some extent also its product, since the availability of this forum encourages the population to be more critical yet in the process sometimes facilitates political manipulation.

The fortieth anniversary of Independence celebrations took place in the months that preceded the October 2002 general elections. In fact, it was widely rumoured that the elections were deliberately timed to follow the fortieth anniversary celebrations. These celebrations and the park and monument commission



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Basil Watson, *Emerging Nation* (2000), bronze, Trafalgar Road Park, New Kingston

should thus also be understood as election projects. The park was conceived and constructed in just a few months to meet these deadlines and the monument competition and subsequent construction were equally rushed. Ironically, this contributed greatly to the ensuing controversy, especially the sense that there was a lack of transparency in the commissioning process and suspicions that the park and monument were part of a 'feel-good' campaign on the part of government, designed to divert attention from the country's escalating economic and social problems.

National symbols and observances, as the main tools of state nationalism, have always been entangled in party politics, in Jamaica and elsewhere in the world. The question of whether and how to commemorate Emancipation, furthermore, has particular political potency in any former plantation colony. During the colonial period, Jamaica had celebrated Emancipation Day as a holiday. This changed after the island became independent on 6 August 1962, when the then Jamaica Labour Party government decided to subsume the Emancipation holiday into the Independence Day holiday, to be held on the first Monday of August. This decision certainly reflected a lingering discomfort about whether and how slavery and Emancipation should be remembered. In the mid-1990s, the People's National Party leader, Prime Minister P.J. Patterson, appointed a committee chaired by Rex Nettleford to evaluate Jamaica's national symbols and observances. That committee recommended, among other things, that the Emancipation holiday be re-instituted on 1 August and that the Independence holiday be moved to the fixed date of 6 August, which was implemented in 1997. The Emancipation park and monument are part of this campaign to move Emancipation back to the centre of the official national identity politics, as the enabling historical moment of independent Jamaica.

The passion that informed the Emancipation monument controversy underscores that there is a widely shared, if conflicted public desire in Jamaica to memorialise slavery and Emancipation. Two major sets of questions arise from

this, which require more thoughtful answers than the rushed Emancipation monument commission allowed. (It speaks for itself that in addressing such questions the needs of Jamaican audiences should be given priority attention over the creation of a tourist attraction – if a public memorial is successful it will automatically attract tourists.)

One set of questions pertains to what material and symbolic form such representation of Emancipation should take. Should the monument represent the historical process or moment of Emancipation, for instance, or should it represent the broader political and spiritual process that may as yet be unfinished, as Bob Marley so eloquently argued? Should it be literal or symbolic, or a combination of both? Should the monument represent struggle and conflict or instead evoke national unity and reconciliation? Should it represent Emancipation as 'a freedom given', as an act of colonial or divine benevolence, or as 'a freedom won' in active struggle against slavery and social oppression? Furthermore, should such a memorial follow the stylised 'high art' conventions of mainstream nationalist Jamaican art or instead be based on popular representations of slavery and Emancipation? Or should it challenge the public with something new and provocative? Should it follow the conventional Western format of the formal, bronze statue on a pedestal, as in the current monument, or could another, more culturally appropriate format be devised?

On this last note, it is much easier to point accusing fingers about Eurocentricity than to come up with any viable alternatives: to date, there are only very few credible attempts in the Caribbean to use indigenous imagery and forms in a public memorial to slavery and Emancipation. Carolyn Cooper and other commentators cited Albert Mangones's *Neg' Mawon* in Port-au-Prince, Haiti, as an exemplary Caribbean monument to the struggle against slavery. While the dynamic design of this monument indeed contrasts with the passivity of *Redemption Song*, it is still an academically rendered bronze figure sculpture on a pedestal and its iconography is as indebted to

the Greco-Roman mythological figure of the Triton as it is to the historical image of the conch-blowing Haitian Maroon. One possible exception is the *Cuffe* monument to the 1793 slave rebellion in Georgetown, Guyana, which combined the idiosyncratic Afro-Guyanese imagery and style of the self-taught artist Philip Moore with the cultural vision and technical know-how of socialist Guyana's 'cultural commissar' Denis Williams. Another is Jamaica's kinetic monument to Nanny in National Heroes Park, which was designed by the Compass Workshop, a local architectural firm.

The second set of questions pertains to *who* should decide on the form and content of such a monument. Should it be decided on by a committee of prominent 'cultural specialists', as was done in our case; should there be a process of popular consultation; or should there be some combination of the two? If popular consultation is the way to go, what are the mechanisms that could be used to ensure that all views are considered, and not just those of the most vocal interest groups, and who would then be accountable in case of dissent about the final product? Conversely, if it should be done by a specialist panel, how should those specialists be selected and exactly what kind of expertise should they bring to the table?

Undeniably, the Jamaican public should at least have known what had been submitted and had a say in what was selected, perhaps through a media poll. However, if the current controversy is anything to go by it may simply not be possible to reach any popular consensus about how to officially represent Emancipation in Jamaica. Even if successful, furthermore, such processes have often led to the most predictable, pedestrian results. For instance, if the Vietnam Veterans association had been asked to design the Vietnam Memorial in Washington, D.C., it would probably have looked like the forgettable supplementary statue – a group of three US soldiers depicted in the requisite academic realist style – that was later added to the complex to appease the critics of the main monument. Fortunately, the main monument was designed by an inventive young artist, Maya Lin, who defied

conventions about public memorials and used ritual space, minimalist geometric form, text and interactivity to create what has, once the initial controversy subsided, become one of most moving and effective public memorials around.⁴² The Bob Marley monument saga is a local example of the same dilemmas. There are successful, although usually temporary memorials that have emerged from collective popular action, as could be seen near Ground Zero in Manhattan, but artists with the right sensibilities for the politics of public art and a willingness to go against the grain when the subject calls for it can productively collaborate with 'cultural specialists' who have specific expertise in such projects to create effective permanent memorials. In other words, there is no need to accept the populist notion that successful commemorative art should not also be ambitious and sophisticated art.

Maya Lin's identity as a young woman of Asian descent was a major issue in the Vietnam Veterans memorial, since this monument commemorated a war against an Asian government. As such, Maya Lin's membership of a relatively marginal minority in the United States bears no meaningful comparison to Laura Facey's privileged minority status in Jamaica, but her example raises the question of whether the social identity of the artist should have been considered in commissioning the Emancipation monument. The controversy suggested that race mattered, but who are the legitimate stakeholders in the public representation of Emancipation in Jamaica, and exactly how and by whom should the desired racial identity of the artist have been determined and measured, especially in what was supposed to have been a blind competition? Unfortunately, there are no satisfactory answers to these questions. Laura Facey invoked her partial African ancestry in her statements about the monument but there is no doubt that she is seen as 'socially white' by a majority of Jamaicans and functions as such in Jamaican society.

It is noteworthy that almost all established Jamaican monumental sculptors are light-skinned, with the exception of Basil and Raymond Watson,

and that all belong to the upper and middle classes. Monumental sculpture is not a lucrative field of practice in places like Jamaica and requires significant commitments of time, expense and technical support, facilities that are not readily available to poor artists. The resources available to Laura Facey certainly helped her to create a beautiful maquette and professional presentation in the mere three months available for the competition.⁴³ They also helped her to execute the technically challenging bronze sculptures in just one year and to publicly respond to the criticisms with well written and widely distributed press releases. Laura and her family are certainly entitled to use any resources available to them and, furthermore, mainly did so as a public service. The organisers of socially sensitive public art projects such as the Emancipation monument should, however, look for ways to level the playing field in such competitions, for instance by offering small preparation grants or technical assistance with the production of presentations to suitably qualified candidates who do not have access to such resources and, most of all, by allocating adequate time for the commission and execution of such projects.

The National Housing Trust put the winning entries on display for a while and the winning proposal was widely publicised before the monument was constructed, in press releases and as the park's logo, but there was only limited public response until the monument was actually in place. As was discussed earlier on, some had already expressed concern about the nudity of the Alvin Marriott placeholder and Carolyn Cooper, the most vocal critic from the start, was particularly consistent in her criticisms of the passivity of the imagery. The lack of a more substantial early response reflects an unfortunate tendency in Jamaican public life to criticise after the fact, but it remains that the organisers did not create any mechanisms to invite and act upon any public responses, during the competition or after.

The monument itself was a well-meant but flawed effort as a work of art. The monument is consistent with recent developments in Laura Facey's

work but it is not as resolved as her work usually is and suffered between design and execution. The maquette was very beautiful, as even Carolyn Cooper has conceded, but the actual monument looks disproportionate and out of place in its current location. The figures became much larger and bulkier, while the base became steeper and rounder than was suggested by the initial design, which was in any case meant for the central fountain. Among others, these changes placed the male figure's penis close to the viewers and at eye level, turning it into an unnecessary provocation, as the *Gleaner* columnist Dawn Ritch pointed out.⁴⁴

When the winner of the competition was unveiled in August 2002, Carolyn Cooper had objected to the 'Greco-Roman' aesthetic of the temporary Marriott statues and notoriously expressed the hope that the permanent monument would not have such a 'winji' penis but represent 'real' Jamaican bodies instead. As she has acknowledged, Laura Facey attempted to address Carolyn Cooper's criticisms. The result may be an unresolved hybrid between the romantic nationalist tradition of Edna Manley, Marriott and Gonzales and the sexually provocative 'healthy body' aesthetic of local dancehall and fitness culture, which certainly contributed to the controversy about the nudity. *Gleaner* art critic Sana Rose, in one of her most thoughtful pieces to date, rightly lamented the fact that Laura Facey had strayed from her original artistic vision,⁴⁵ a telling illustration that it is not easy to successfully accommodate public criticisms in the design of public art.

CONCLUSION

One year after the unveiling, it is clear that the *Redemption Song* monument is here to stay, and the massive sculptures are too assertively present on their street corner to ever be forgotten, as has happened to most other public monuments in Jamaica. Most Jamaicans, at home and abroad, know what the monument looks like, if only from pictures, and even know the name of the artist – never before has a local public art work so thoroughly entered public consciousness in Jamaica. Its critics can now only hope that alternative

Emancipation memorials will eventually be created, in the park or elsewhere.

This is the crux of the matter: that no conventional monument, no single public work of art *can or should* satisfactorily represent the meaning of Emancipation to all Jamaicans. In Jamaica and elsewhere, memorials that attempt to make *the* definitive statement on their subject have become obsolete: the success of Maya Lin's monument lies in the fact that it does not provide any final interpretation of the Vietnam War and its casualties but invites visitors to project their own. The original plan was that the Emancipation Park itself would be the memorial and that the commissioned statuary would provide a variety of perspectives. In fact, the artist herself never intended for her sculpture to become *the* national monument to Emancipation. Hopefully this idea will be revived and Jamaica will eventually have a multi-vocal memorial to Emancipation that can appeal to a broader range of stakeholders and in which the current statues can play a more meaningful role.

Meanwhile, the current sculptures can play a productive role in Jamaican society as a public art work on the subject of Emancipation, which by default serves as *the* Emancipation monument. The American cultural scholar W.J.T. Mitchell wrote in an essay about contemporary memorials to violent histories: "What seems called for now, and what many of

our contemporary artists wish to provide, is a *critical* public art that is frank about the contradictions and violence encoded in its own situation, one that dares to awaken a public sphere of resistance, struggle, and dialogue."⁴⁶ In spite of its flaws and unintentionally, Laura Facey's *Redemption Song* has already fulfilled such a function. The most positive effect of the controversy has been that it generated an unprecedented amount of debate, at all levels of society, about the significance of Emancipation to modern Jamaicans. More generally, it has also generated debate about how Jamaican history should be publicly represented and offered valuable lessons about how Jamaican audiences respond to public art, which will hopefully inform future initiatives. Laura Facey, looking back at the controversy in a recent interview with this writer, offered a similar view and stated that the monument "is stirring hidden thoughts and feelings about men and women, about the body, sexuality and spirituality. It is educating Jamaicans about art. The monument has been good for Jamaica."⁴⁷ Perhaps it is in the emergence of this vibrant public sphere that true emancipation may eventually be found. However, it may be useful to conclude with Mitchell who cautions that "exactly how to negotiate the border between struggle and dialogue, between

the argument of force and the force of argument, is an open question".⁴⁸ ♦

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The first version of this paper was presented on 11 November 2003 at the annual congress of the International Association of Art Critics (AICA), which was hosted by the AICA-Southern Caribbean chapter and held in Barbados and Martinique. The present, substantially revised version was also presented at the Society for Caribbean Studies conference at Lancaster University, England, 2 July 2004.

NOTES

1. The plans for the park and statuary were changed repeatedly. The monument competition had initially called for designs for two locations in the park: the central fountain and the ceremonial entrance. Laura Facey's design was initially conceived as the central fountain but subsequently adapted for the ceremonial entrance. Instead, a central fountain without statuary was constructed but with elaborate musical waterworks.
2. Hope Brooks, dean of Visual Arts at the Edna Manley College, had also been invited but was not present for the judging.
3. The other short-listed designs were by Fitz Harrack and by Repole Architects and Planners, who received the second and third prize, although the judges recommended modifications to both, if they were to be executed (David Boxer, conversation with author). It is not clear whether either of these will ever be

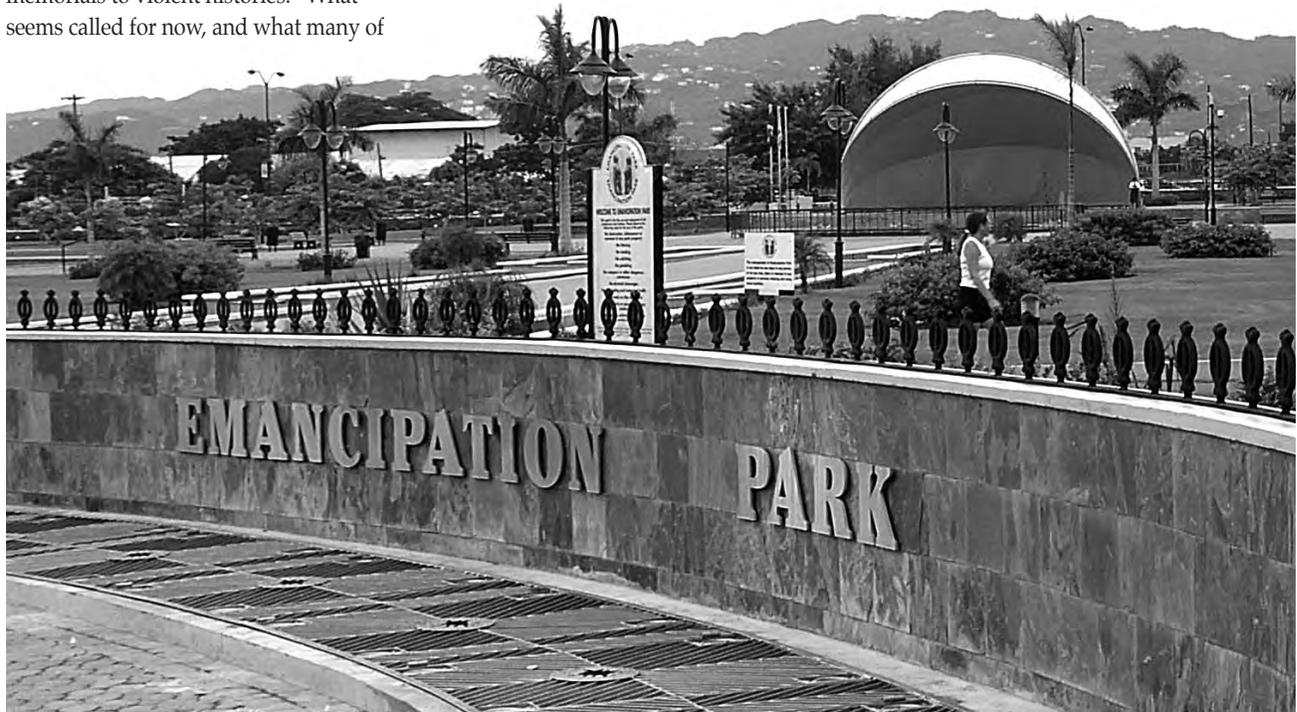


PHOTO © MARC RAMMELACRE

commissioned. The design of the park itself was based on an earlier competition, won by the architect Kamau Kambui. His design was, however, substantially altered and simplified when the park was constructed.

4. Laura Facey, "An Act of Faith: Redemption Song – A Story of Jamaican Workmanship" (press release, The Mill Press, 13 October 2003).
5. In October 1937, Garvey made a speech in Nova Scotia, Canada, where he said, "We are going to emancipate ourselves from mental slavery because whilst others might free the body, none but ourselves can free the mind" (Robert Hill, ed., *The Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers*, 10 vols. [Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983–], 8: 791). This speech was reprinted in Garvey's London magazine, *The Black Man*, in July 1938, which was probably Marley's source, as copies of *The Black Man* continued to circulate in Jamaica long after Garvey's death (Rupert Lewis, e-mail to author, 26 May 2004). The title of the Marley song *Redemption Songs* is, furthermore, also the title of a popular hymn book which has circulated widely in Jamaica since the nineteenth century, in numerous editions (David Boxer, personal communication). It was Laura Facey's decision to have the inscription removed, although the exact Garvey words "none but ourselves can free the mind", instead of "our mind", may eventually be added again, this time on the pavement around the fountain base (Laura Facey, personal interview, 8 June 2004, Jamaica).
6. I have followed and documented all that was published on the monument in the *Gleaner*, the *Star*, the *Observer* and the *Sunday Herald* during the unveiling of the competition results on 31 July 2002 to 11 June 2004, the day this essay was completed.
7. Newspaper commentators and other public figures who contributed to the debate are cited by name but to protect the identity of other letter-writers I have used their initials only.
8. C.J., letter to the editor, *Observer*, 6 August 2003.
9. Alfred Sangster, "Responding to Roper on the Statues", *Sunday Herald*, 28 September – 4 October 2003, 7A.
10. Earl Lewis, letter to the editor, *Observer*, 28 August 2003.
11. T.S., letter to the editor, *Gleaner*, 6 August 2003.
12. K.G., letter to the editor, *Gleaner*, 15 August 2003.
13. I added 'assumed' because the use of full nudity in national memorials and imagery is in fact quite rare in the metropolitan West. Nudity is more commonly found in public statues that do not carry such significance but function solely as 'art'.

It should also be considered that the position on this question of the Western establishment and public has varied considerably over time, space and circumstance. When I was a child, my family worshipped at the Cathedral of Our Lady in Bruges, Belgium, which houses Michelangelo's famous *Bruges Madonna*. I remember vividly that the public area of the naked child Jesus was discretely obscured from public view by a beautifully embroidered little white flag mounted on a gild standard, which of course only stimulated more interest in what it was meant to hide. This statue is now in full public view.

14. Narda Graham, "Monumental Mistake", *Gleaner*, 24 August 2003, F12.
15. This park was established and maintained by the Petroleum Corporation of Jamaica, who also commissioned the statuary.
16. S.M., letter to the editor, *Observer*, 15 October 2003.
17. K.K., letter to the editor, *Sunday Herald*, 10–16 August 2003.
18. Carolyn Cooper, "One Hell of a Monument", *Gleaner*, 24 August 2004, F10.
19. Barbara Gloudon, "Can We Cool the Statue-Mania?" *Observer*, 15 August 2003, www.jamaicaobserver.com.
20. Desmond Allen, "The Nude Statue: Private Art versus National Symbol", *Pure Class* magazine, *Sunday Herald*, 10–16 August 2003, 4.
21. Graham, "Monumental Mistake".
22. Cooper, "One Hell of a Monument".
23. Garnett Roper, "Parable of Self-Contradiction", *Sunday Herald*, 17–23 August 2003, 6A.
24. Earl Bartley, "Lacking Public Responsibility", *Gleaner*, 10 August 2003, G4–G5.
25. There were a few exceptions: Narda Graham damned it with faint praise by giving it a C+ for aesthetic value (Graham, "Monumental Mistake") and one letter-writer insisted that it was "technically weak" (H.S., letter to the editor, *Gleaner*, 20 August 2003).
26. Barbara Blake-Hannah, "In the spotlight", *Pure Class* magazine, *Sunday Herald*, 17–23 August 2003, 13.
27. Balford Henry, "Jamaicans Aroused", *Gleaner*, 27 August 2003, www.jamaica-gleaner.com.
28. R.A.Y., letter to the editor, *Observer*, 14 August 2003.
29. Cooper, "One Hell of a Monument".
30. Two even called for statues of Rex Nettleford and David Boxer, although these may not have been serious suggestions (K.B., letter to the editor, *Gleaner*, 13 August 2003; A.S., letter to the editor, *Gleaner*, 15 August 2003).
31. J.E., letter to the editor, *Gleaner*, 18 September 2003.
32. Meanwhile, to this writer's knowledge, nobody mentioned that the cost of the

central fountain significantly exceeded that of the monument.

33. F.C., letter to the editor, *Gleaner*, 19 September 2003.
34. The National Housing Trust announced on 18 August that it had no intention of removing the monument, unless it was so instructed by the prime minister (*Observer*, 18 August 2003) and he made no such request.
35. Stone Poll, *Observer*, 26 September 2003.
36. *Observer*, 11 April 2004.
37. Annie Paul, letter to the editor, *Observer*, 22 August 2003.
38. The National Gallery of Jamaica's exhibition *Monumental History*, which opened shortly after the unveiling of the Emancipation monument, explored this subject further and was curated by Petrina Dacres, who is writing a doctoral dissertation on the subject at Emory University.
39. The controversy is fully documented in the scrapbook A.D. Scott compiled of the controversy. It is part of a private collection but advanced researchers who wish to consult it can contact the National Gallery of Jamaica for a special arrangement to use this valuable document.
40. Some of the Fundamentalist Christian critics of the Emancipation monument, such as the earlier cited Alfred Sangster, have also called for the current incarnation of the monument's removal, because of the nudity.
41. Stone Polls, *Observer*, July–August 2002.
42. The monument, which is located on the National Mall, consists of a large V-shaped, sunken retaining wall from black polished granite which simply lists the names of all US war casualties. Visitors descend and ascend along the path that follows the retaining wall and see themselves reflected in the wall as they read the names.
43. The competition was first announced on 10 March 2002 and closed on 14 June 2002.
44. Dawn Ritch, "Resolving the Nude Statue Debate", *Gleaner*, 17 August 2003, A9.
45. Sana Rose, "The Song Continues", *Gleaner*, 17 August 2003, F6.
46. W.J. Thomas Mitchell, "The Violence of Public Art: Do the Right Thing", in *Art and the Public Sphere*, ed. W.J. Thomas Mitchell (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 47.
47. Facey, personal interview.
48. Mitchell, "The Violence of Public Art", 47.