

Architectural Footnotes

The Chicago Tribune Tower

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Abstract

One hundred and fifty material 'quotations' from significant buildings and places around the world (and indeed beyond it) are set into the Chicago Tribune Tower. The building, designed by Hood and Howells in 1922, was conceived as a materialisation of the power of the news corporation. The exterior is neo-gothic, while the interiors are commercially driven; and the base displays culturally significant material artefacts collected internationally. These material fragments are decontextualised from canonical sites and monuments and resituated within the tower's architecture. Pieces-of-rock from places such as the Pyramids at Giza, the Sydney Opera House, Edinburgh Castle, the Forbidden City, the Berlin Wall, Antarctica, and even 'The Moon' form a haphazardly curated collection, exhibited as so-called architectural wonders, except in this case the cabinet of curiosities furnishing them is the façade of the Chicago Tribune Tower. This paper examines an instance of material quotation. In so doing, it draws upon the theoretical framework of Critical Heritage Studies which argues for an assessment of significance based on the decreased value of the material in favour of the social, cultural and performative aspects of heritage making. At the Tribune Tower, the collection of fragments is the result of Tribune editor and business mogul Robert McCormick's fetishisation of spolia. The exhibition of these artefacts can be understood as an account of significant architectural chronology, yet their suture to the building's façade leaves these quotations dangling without explanation and renders them an afterthought. Consequently, their material affect becomes less useful than a souvenir and their agency as a proxy of a monumental building elsewhere is disrupted. Perception of the artefacts' value is situated within their material authenticity – a kind of material synecdoche of the original – however these quotations challenge our assumptions about the innate value of the material and reveal the complexities of heritage acquisition and consumption in a contemporary world.

Introduction

One hundred and fifty pieces-of-rock have been embedded into the base of the Chicago Tribune Tower's NeoGothic façade (Figure 1) and form a collection of heritage artefacts from significant architectural and historic sites around the world. The collection began with the building's inception in 1922 and was initially established from a dozen stones pilfered from places such as Westminster Abbey and the Taj Mahal. Over time, the collection has grown to incorporate fragments of contemporary iconic places such as a piece of moon rock (on loan from, and now returned to, NASA) and a remnant of the World Trade Centre in New York. This paper understands this collection of heritage rocks as material quotations; pieces of canonical heritage sites that have been extracted from their original context and resituated into a new one. As a result, and as we will argue, the artefacts' meaning is transformed. Their original significance as authentic pieces of 'heritage' is made liminal by their inclusion within the broader collection and its irreverent and haphazard mode of display along a series of inner city façades.

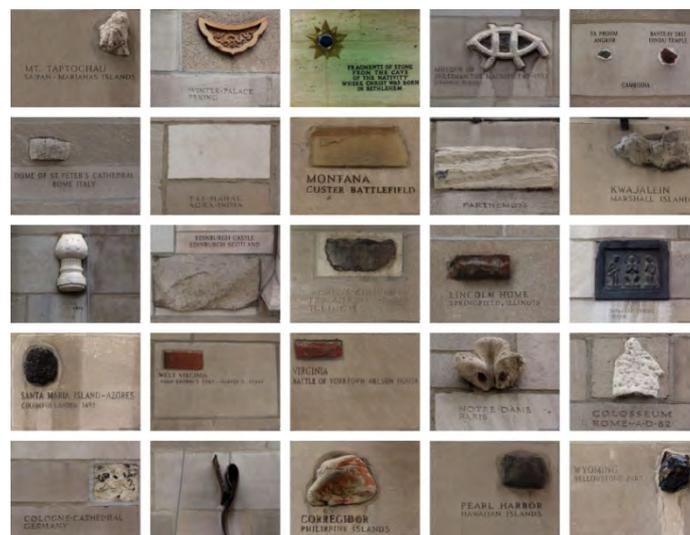


Figure 1. Some of the stones at the base of the Tribune Tower
(Source: 'Editor'. "Pictures of All 149 Rocks Stuck on the Tribune Tower [Updated]." In *The Chicago Architecture Blog*. Chicago, 2013.)

Presently, the collection comprises sixty stones from the USA, ten from Germany with slightly fewer originating in France and England. Seven from Italy (mostly Rome), six from China and the remaining fifty represent thirty-eight other nation states. The scope and breadth of the origins of these artefacts suggests that they were intended to operate as material quotations from around the world, physical proof in a pre-internet world, of the reach and import of the Chicago Tribune news corporation made manifest within the corporation's architecture. When the collection began, the artefacts were intended to establish a metonymic relationship between the original site and the Tribune tower expressed through their exhibition on the Tower's façade. The geographical and temporal shifts undertaken by the fragments in their transition from their original site to the Tribune Tower heightened the exotic potency of the artefacts as material tokens, components of a greater monument elsewhere. Today, much of that sense is lost. Instead the artefacts are understood, not in terms of their individual original status, but rather as a collection superimposed within a new context. The stones are read almost entirely through their exhibition and representation. Denuded of their original context, the individual material sense of the artefacts has become diminished. Rather than appearing as venerated heritage artefacts, they emerge at first glance to be arbitrary 'rocks' whose haphazard placement and irreverent treatment upon the body of another building undermines any claim to their material significance. This paper seeks to explore these quotations, their significance (material and otherwise) and their role within a framework of critical thought about the production and reflection of heritage.

Accumulating Heritage

The recently emerged field of Critical Heritage Studies argues for a revised understanding of the concepts of heritage value and significance by repositioning the importance of the material artefact in favour of the social and cultural performative dimensions also expressed within and around heritage.¹ Importantly, Critical Heritage Studies argues that heritage is a process of meaning making, rather than an inherent value. This renders the significance of material heritage objects, sites and places dependent on dynamic and fluid socio-cultural factors.² The stones within the Tribune Tower present an opportunity to examine the role of the material, so central to architectural thinking, within the enduring evocative power of heritage artefacts. Through their unambiguous origins as representatives of canonical sites and subsequent physical displacement, the collection presents a revised and unique account of 'heritage', drawing together stones from variety of sites, time periods and cultures.

When a visitor or observer is faced with the remnants sutured on the façade of the Tribune Tower they are largely indistinguishable from one another and cannot be understood according to their original context, other than via their engraved parentage (Figure 2). Consequently, they assume a revised identity within the wall of the tower as part of a collection. Their position on the building offers no means to understand them. They are clearly un-curated, but not purposely so. Most specimens are embedded into the long northern façade alongside East Illinois Street and the main entry area on the eastern façade of the building on Michigan Avenue. The remainder have been located on the southern façade, which faces onto Pioneer Court and is removed from the vehicular thoroughfare in that part of the city. Their new context largely determines how and what meaning can be ascribed to the artefacts. It becomes the framework through which their value, significance and identity as representatives of global heritage become apparent.



Figure 2. Photograph of the Taj Mahal, Berlin Wall and other stones at the Tribune Tower (Sources: Chang, Mark. "Dsc08374.Jpg." Flickr, <https://www.flickr.com/photos/kramchang/453006758/>)

A significant scholar within Critical Heritage Studies, Rodney Harrison, highlights the limitations of a traditional approach to conceptualising heritage.³ His interest in how aspects of heritage are framed in the present is particularly useful in the context of the collection on the base of the Tribune Tower. Harrison's critique of a culture of heritage practice that "non-problematically privileges accumulation" is evidenced clearly in the fragments of heritage in the collection.⁴ The exhibition of these artefacts reflects a notion of heritage value that is construed through the act of collection and the state of ownership, one which accords with traditional notions of inscription, listing and a universal canon, but which results in a series of unusual adjacencies.

Harrison suggests that critical approaches to heritage enable a rethinking of what constitutes heritage, how it is determined and its impact upon the material and cultural worlds. He calls for critical assessment of what we value and why suggesting that the excessive memory culture will ultimately render much heritage work meaningless. Harrison’s point is usefully exemplified by the collection within the Chicago Tribune Tower. Originally, these heritage artefacts were predominantly valued for what they represented and their association with significant heritage sites elsewhere. Although intended as a global account of heritage, together they form a club of ‘important places’ according to the specific ideology and political proclivities of a particular corporation, which both includes and excludes numerous cultural sites. Over time, and as we shall demonstrate, the artefacts have become remnants of popular culture rather than carefully preserved aspects of historic buildings. As such they reinforce the argument, posited by much of the memory theorists of the late twentieth century, that popular culture has assumed a seminal role in the creation and shaping of collective memory and representations of the past as they are articulated by heritage artefacts.⁵

The Collection

In trying to understand the collection, it becomes clear that the (mostly) stone fragments defy any kind of unifying taxonomy, curatorial narrative or consistent interpretation. There are pieces from historic monuments such as the Colosseum as well as from natural landscapes, such as Yellowstone Park in Wyoming, or the Kwajalein Atoll in the Marshall Islands. They are not all stones; the collection includes twisted steel from the Twin Towers and petrified wood from California’s redwood forest. The Parthenon is brought together with the moon, and with fragments from the cave in Bethlehem where Christ is said to have been born.

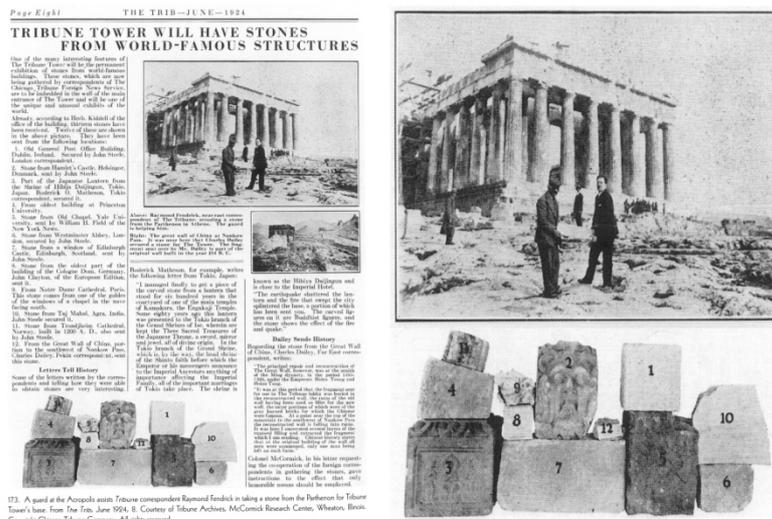


Figure 3. Article from The Trib, a monthly employee newsletter of the The Chicago Tribune Corporation. The article was published in the June 1924 edition, a year before the Tribune Tower was opened to the public. It described the first stones acquired for the collection (lower right detail) and the stories of their acquisition – Raymond Fendrick is pictured securing a stone from the Parthenon with assistance from the guard (upper right detail). (Source: Solomonson, Katherine. *The Chicago Tribune Tower Competition: Skyscraper Design and Cultural Change in the 1920s*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001. 280.)

The story behind this collection originates with Colonel Robert McCormick. As joint editor of the Chicago Tribune from 1911 until to his death in 1955, McCormick was instrumental in the newspaper’s growth into a leading international media enterprise.⁶ The construction of the Tribune

Tower, like other innovative changes by McCormick, was part of his empire building strategy to establish Chicago as a great city at a national and international level.⁷ In his first years as editor for the *Chicago Daily Tribune*, McCormick was a military correspondent during World War 1; the collection began with the 'souvenirs' McCormick gathered on these trips. During the construction of the Tribune Tower, McCormick instructed his correspondents to gather further specimens during their travels, ensuring that these were collected by 'honourable means'.⁸ The stones were publicised before the building was complete (Figure 3), as "an interesting feature of The Tribune Tower...and one of the unique and unusual exhibits of the world."⁹ These stones were intended to transfer to the corporation an international significance, historical lineage and a global profile, highlighted through the authenticity of the material specimens and the implied bravery or adventurousness of the journalists who gathered them. In this sense, the artefacts not only embody their building of origin in a material form, but also represent the narrative of acquisition, a personal journey that resides in the imagination.

Significantly, this culture of collecting is not relegated to the past. A present-day examination of the fragments reveals the piece of crumpled steel rescued from the physical demise of the Twin Towers was added in 2002 and tiles from the Sydney Opera House in 2006.¹⁰ This highlights the continuation of traditional heritage practices that privilege the material, or even a fragment of it, as a 'complete' de facto part of a greater original. It is based around an assumption that qualities such as value and significance reside so completely within the physical artefact that merely identifying the object's provenance is sufficient to render its potency to the visitor/observer. According to Harrison's argument, the artefacts represent a "privileged class of 'thing' which we call heritage," precisely because of their treatment at the Tribune Tower.¹¹ Certainly, the collection highlights the value of the material 'thing' as authentic artefact. As such the collection becomes a useful mechanism for examining architectural material fragments in the absence of their original context, site, use, performance, ritual and affect, all the aspects now recognised by Critical Heritage theory as essential to the significance of heritage sites. This paper seeks to explore how the perception and interpretation of material artefacts might be altered by the removal of context and how contemporary notions of heritage and historically significant sites might be altered by popular culture, informal engagement and revised contexts.

Exhibiting Heritage

As a permanent exhibition, the collection highlights a lack of curation, with no overarching or relational order discernible. The artefacts' adjacencies do little to reveal a chronology of origin or acquisition, a lineal narrative or other thematic curatorial strategy. A piece of stone from the Roman ruins located at Leptis Magna, Libya sits above a scene carved from stone depicting three figures in religious prayer collected from a Japanese Shrine in Tokyo, which sits above an original fragment from Abraham Lincoln's tomb that lies in Springfield, Illinois (Figure 4). Physically, the fragments are not positioned on the façade so as to align, either with the architecture of the building or with each other. Some pieces have even been positioned such that they are partially obscured by lighting elements or landscaping. Some stones are partially embedded, some are inset or flush with the façade, others are positioned atop plinths, while others appear crudely attached with gobs of mortar. While their value is ostensibly tied to being a 'real-piece' of these venerated places, their untidy cataloguing undermines this significance.

The location of these fragments in the lower three to four meters of the façade at the height of the surrounding street level and with increasing density at the formal entrances of the Tribune Tower and on the most public façades suggests that they are intended for popular consumption. This, along with the hand-held scale of the artefacts draws the visitor to engage with the façade, discovering the objects as jewels or treasures embedded within a crown and hints at their potency. Their analogy as spolia, a theme to which we will return, can be evidenced in their decorative role along the building's façade. Their identity as objects of value is intended to be understood by visitors to the site. Yet we

propose that this collection evidences how severing material fragments of heritage from their origin transforms them from *pieces of great sites* into odd piecemeal *representations of these places*. This duality is at the centre of the intrigue of this collection, where authentic artefacts are diminished into representatives of greatness. Their potency is situated in this liminal teetering between being-of the original and a representation-of that same place simultaneously.



Figure 4. Photograph of a fragment from a Japanese Shrine, in Tokyo (middle of image) located beneath pieces of Roman Ruins collected from Leptis Magna in Libya (top left of image). Note the erratic placement of the stones and the edge of the black streetlight in the upper middle right of the image. (Source: Blackey, Hayden. "Location stone on Chicago Tribune Building" Flickr, <https://www.flickr.com/photos/haydn/20639428092/>)

Despite the idiosyncratic mode and positioning of the pieces, all are clearly annotated; their origins inscribed into the wall. The nature of these inscriptions varies. Some are quite specific: "Dome of St Peter's Cathedral Rome Italy" while others are vague and general "Ancient Gate, Suwon, Korea". Yet these inscriptions are clearly to delineate the fragments from the body of the Tower itself, forming quotation marks between the fragments and the host and highlighting the artefacts' geographical provenance. The consistency of this labelling suggests an interpretation, which reveals the value placed on the identity of the artefacts, even if that identity is obscured by the indistinguishable material quality of the fragment itself. Plainly then, the collection was not accrued for its aesthetic value but rather for its associative significance as representative of a broader cultural and historical narrative. In stitching these artefacts into the walls of the Tribune Tower, the corporation was alluding to its own central role in a constellation of heritage artefacts. This act ostensibly lays claim to a lineage of heritage significance. It implies that the significance of the one great monument may be conferred onto another, simply through a material quotation. However, the reinstatement of the artefacts within the Tribune tower brings with it an additional narrative, that of its acquisition. Thus, the artefacts embody their site of origin but also hint at a personal story that enriches the imagined potency of the collection. The stones may appear arbitrary, but in fact are testament to the places visited by Robert McCormick and his journalists. Read together they inscribe an account of newsworthy sites and hint at the bravery, Indiana Jones-esque of the journalists in acquiring the mementos. A piece of the Pyramid at Giza for example or the Forbidden City, adds a degree of the exotic to the collection, highlighting both the value of the material, acquired by hand, and the potential personal account that accompanies it. The potency of the collection sits at the intersection of all these dimensions. The material and personal affect coexists to produce a renewed site of heritage

significance, that enables the artefacts to be both *remnants of* and *representations of* their sites of origin.

The Stones: Spolia and/or Heritage?

Existing research on the Tribune Tower is based around the competition for the building's design and impact on American architecture, largely overlooking the fragment collection at its base.¹² However recently, architectural historian and theorist Annabel J. Wharton has considered how these stones operate as spolia, focussing on dimensions of violence implicit in the transference of artefacts from one site to another.¹³ Wharton argues that the fragments on the facades of the Tribune Tower operate as multiple forms of despoliation: on the architectural integrity of the neo-gothic *design* of the Tribune Tower; and then on the violent pilfering of the architectural bodies and places that are the origin of these pieces. Like us, Wharton tries to account for the potency of the collection, despite its material banality. She attempts to theorise the collection according to a variety of typologies, each of which she rejects. She examines the stones through the notion of relics, of souvenirs, as pieces of monuments and even, collectively, as an ideology, concluding that they only operate through aberration, as curiosities that "function as a supplement to the exaggerated meaning claimed for the building itself".¹⁴ Wharton's position is useful because it establishes this collection as worthy of academic attention. In framing the artefacts as spolia she acknowledges their material significance while suggesting such significance is diminished. But in contrast to our focus on the resituated stones, Wharton's argument is founded on the 'violent' acquisition of the stones leaving a damaged (despoiled) architectural body behind. We would argue that this assumes, like much of the traditional heritage discourse, that buildings and structures are static, bounded entities, which are diminished by material loss. This denies the natural life of a building, its process of decay and regeneration that is a critical part of heritage preservation and conservation. This is not to suggest that the material does not matter, but instead to argue that the potency of architecture, as a preceding state of built heritage, resides in more than merely its material self. This brings us to the compelling questions raised by drawing the conceptual framework of Critical Heritage Studies into the realm of architecture, a discipline that is dependent on its very material embodiment in the production of buildings. The collection of stones at the base of the Tribune Tower is a significant intersection of these two perspectives, bringing to the fore the need to understand how material artefacts and architectures of the past operate in the present-day.

The shifting perceptions of heritage that underpin Critical Heritage Studies in an increasingly immaterial world can be traced through evolutions of the concept of spolia.¹⁵ Art Historian and theorist Richard Brilliant proposed two terms for understanding the concept of Spolia which are useful to our argument here: '*Spolia in se*' which referred to the material artefacts such as components of assemblage and collage, and '*Spolia in re*' which he considered to be virtual objects, verbal and visual formulas, images and motifs.¹⁶ Dale Kinney suggests that Brilliant's notion of *spolia in re*, "invites application to other forms of non-physical taking over, such as *quotation* [authors' italics] and reproduction."¹⁷ This distinction is interesting here because it seeks to differentiate between the notion of spolia as material artefacts and spolia as a reproduction of non-material dimensions of that artefact. Kinney understands Brilliant's concept of *spolia in re* as a form of virtual quotation, which operates as separate from a physical or material one.

One important dimension of this definition of spolia is that it positions the quotation as a metaphorical citation, which leaves the primary context intact.¹⁸ In the case of the spolia sutured to the Tribune Tower this is significant. If we assume that these pieces are indeed authentic, then we must also consider how, and if, they have diminished the places they represent. The Pyramids at Giza, are no less significant because there is a rock from the site on the Tribune Tower (however they may be physically depleted), one cannot point to the shells of Sydney Opera House and point to a missing tile. Plainly we are not advocating for theft from significant sites but rather to point to the complexity of authentic materiality, original artefacts and material representation. Moreover, the notion of the

metaphorical quotation is evocative for it acknowledges the non-material dimensions of heritage (and by extension architecture) that accompany an original artefact. While in this instance the original non-material dimensions of the artefacts such as site, context, ritual, temporality are stripped from the object itself, we suggest that each artefact accrues new, imaginary narratives that occur through its role as *representative of* a significant site. As discussed, the size of the artefacts and their incongruent placements bring convey little of their original material potency. Consequently, visitors to the Tribune Tower draw upon pre-determined expectations, imaginary narratives of acquisition and the unusual placement and adjacencies within the new façade to imbue the artefact with renewed meaning in a contemporary context.

The notion of virtual quotation as *spolia in re* as a form of appropriation is explored in more detail by Finbar Barry Flood, who posits that the reproduced image or *spolia in re* can acquire positive or negative charge according to circumstances.¹⁹ He argues that this is a common political strategy for asserting fictive communities, which may be lateral, within or between cultures, or vertical, between the present and cultures and values of the past. Dale Kinney explains, "The strategy of vertical appropriation assumes that the appropriated object transfers the desired history or value to the appropriator."²⁰ The collection of stones and their continued accumulation into the present can be understood as a desire to connect past, present and future communities, real, imagined or fictive through material appropriation.²¹



Figure 5. Personal affective connections with buildings. One Flickr member states that "Curious practice for an Atheist, but I like to touch expatriated rocks and stones. I like to pretend it's a kind of psychic Stargate, in this case allowing me to touch Egypt from Spain. One of the best opportunities to do this is perhaps Tribune Tower in Chicago (from where I touched Edinburgh) which is practically an International Directory Inquiries of stones." (Sources: Wringham. "Touching the Temple of Debod." Flickr, <https://www.flickr.com/photos/81248884@N00/16745325932/in/photolist-8DaBw-e2FdDn-derZ9h-57gqx1-ougH2g-9sHord-5Qw2wR-NVQkFJ-Pjbfqw-r8LSkN-dL7Jgt-9sCH9W-M5Dxv-rvJb15-fjQoD-9YjxRU-5M8qDd-5Qw2F4-3pCwq-5QAiAW-9mhmHW-5Qw2yr-5QAiSy-5Qw2DF-5Qw2J8-uAKeVr-FsKjMY-8S2573-5Qw2C2/>)

The collection of artefacts within the Chicago Tribune Tower are inarguably *spolia in se*, material spoils situated within this building's façade. However, we suggest here that their role as material quotations enables them to also operate as *spolia in re*, garnering value and meaning by virtue of

their metaphorical significance and capacity to operate as forms of appropriation. Their intended resonance occurs precisely because they are both actual pieces of other structures as well as physical representations of these, whose pre-eminence is intended to enhance the gravitas of the host building. It is in drawing these stones together that the Tribune's collection attempts to assert itself within a fictive community. In so doing it situates itself at the centre of a network operating both laterally, between cultures and vertically, between the past and the present. This theoretically enables a link to be drawn between the Great Wall of China, the now non-existent Twin Towers and the moon, with the Chicago Tribune building situated at the centre.

Harrison argues that we need to think more actively about heritage and its role in contemporary society, as well as the ways in which it is being produced and reproduced in the present. Emma Waterton and Steve Watson extend Harrison's position to propose a 'critical imagination' that can account for the embodied and the personal in the experience of heritage.²² This method of reproduction is devoid of meaning, so that the material quotations or *spolia in se* effectively operate as *spolia in re*, merely physical allusions to the original objects from which they are taken. In this sense the material artefacts, which have been severed from their physical context no longer speak of the greatness of their parentage, presenting physically as pale imitations of their original selves. Instead, these stones operate as performative objects of popular engagement (Figure 5). They provoke the imagination, their small scale prompting images of their translocation across the seas. The stones become personal, their location mostly within reach; to touch a stone is to become closer to the original site it represents. The stones are no longer about drawing the greatness of the sites to the Tribune Tower, but rather they are emotional touchstones that enable affective engagements.

We suggest that the slippage between *spolia in se* and *spolia in re* provides a locus for making sense of this collection of artefacts. While the collection reflects a material reality, it is unable to connote a greater significance of the broader architectural state it represents. In this sense the fragment alludes to its heritage origin rather than reflecting it in any meaningful material way. It is in fact their dual identity; as *spolia in se* as real material fragments and *spolia in re* through their curation (or lack thereof) that enables the visitor to uncover these strange and fascinating stone-lump-places. In this sense, we see that the stones are indeed spolia as Wharton argues, but also they are more than this. Understood through the embodied and imaginary of the personal, they are transformed into precious stones that mediate our connections with the past (Figure 6).

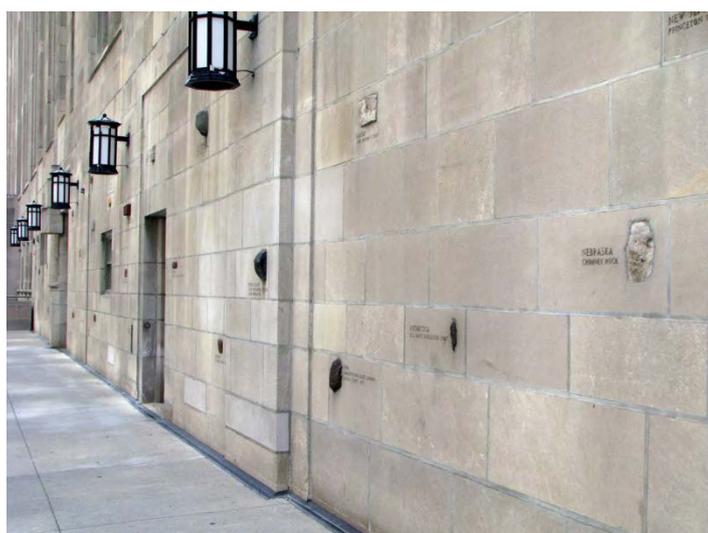


Figure 6. Precious stones awaiting encounters (Source: Mary-Ann M. "Chicago in July." Flickr, <https://www.flickr.com/photos/mmoysiuk/15527474721/>)

Conclusion

The construction of the Tribune Tower took three years and was opened to the public in July 1925; a modest crowd of 2000 visitors was expected, but estimates suggest that some 20,000 people in fact came.²³ The collection of 'forty famous stones' was part of the spectacle offered to the public. John Herrick reported in the Chicago Daily Tribune that as people:

came up to the Tower they stopped a moment to gaze up at the smoothly curving arch of the entrance and to murmur over the pierced tracery of the screen above the doors. They loitered to read the bit of carving beside some of the famous stones that are set into the walls of the Tower. One from Westminster abbey, one from the Taj-Mahal, another from a Chinese temple, and one from Yale and one from Princeton.²⁴

The collection of stones exhibited at the Tribune Tower have always been a lure for public spectacle. Even though their significance as spolia is complicated by their value as quotations they are worthy of academic examination precisely because this transformation disrupts belief that *being-of* is sufficient to claim potency. As spolia, the stones each call out to their parental architectural body, their dislocation implying a loss at their site of origin. Their materiality as spolia suggests that by accumulating enough material culture, their significance can somehow be contained, preserved and passed on. Yet, their non-descript forms, their carryability and inability to be a 'missing piece' of the origin leaves them mute, insignificant and in the end, read as rubble, detritus, that only with the framing of their inscriptions becomes meaningful in situ. So rather than operating as being-of, as spolia, these material quotations act as representations, metonyms for these places, drawing charge from their collectivity and lack of coherence rather than their archival rigour. As a spectacle, today, like at the opening for the Tribune Tower in 1925, these curious lumps-of-rock on the smooth stone façade of the Tribune Tower are physical quotations that seek to lay claim on the national and international significance of the places they come from. The stones, with their split personas make a case for understanding heritage and architecture as more than material culture, subject to systems, management and interpretation. The stones force us to consider heritage from our social and cultural context. For them, heritage is positioned as a cultural phenomenon, rather than as an innate value that exists within some fragments, but not within others. Their life, in their new context alludes to the importance of memory and affect, to performativity, both touristic and exhibitionary, for the value of heritage and call us to examine our engagements through embodied, material and theoretical means.

Endnotes

¹ Many of these newly emerging ideas were explored in a special issue of the *Journal of Heritage Studies* published in 2013 following the first Critical Heritage Studies conference held in Gothenburg the previous year. This alongside the writing of Rodney Harrison and Laurajane Smith form the basis discursive turn in Heritage Studies. See Laurajane Smith, *Uses of Heritage* (London: Routledge, 2006); Rodney Harrison, *Heritage: Critical Approaches* (Oxon: Routledge, 2012).

² Smith, *Uses of Heritage*.

³ Rodney Harrison, "Forgetting to Remember, Remembering to Forget: Late Modern Heritage Practices, Sustainability and the 'Crisis' of Accumulation of the Past," *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 19, no. 6 (2013).

⁴ *Heritage: Critical Approaches*, 168.

⁵ Mark Augé, *Non-Places: Introduction to an Anthropology of Supermodernity* (London: Verso, 2008); Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, *Destination Culture: Tourism, Museums, and Heritage* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1998); Andreas Huyssen, *Present Pasts Urban Palimpsests and the Politics of Memory* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press., 2003); Marita Sturken, *Tourists of History: Memory, Kitsch, and Consumerism from Oklahoma City to Ground Zero* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007).

⁶ His cousin Joseph Patterson also held the position of Editor. Harrison, "Forgetting to Remember, Remembering to Forget: Late Modern Heritage Practices, Sustainability and the 'Crisis' of Accumulation of the Past," 582.

⁷ "Colonel Robert R. McCormick," First Division Museum at Cantigny, <http://www.firstdivisionmuseum.org/research/mccormick.aspx>.

⁸ Katherine Solomonson, *The Chicago Tribune Tower Competition: Skyscraper Design and Cultural Change in the 1920s* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

⁹ *The Chicago Tribune Tower Competition: Skyscraper Design and Cultural Change in the 1920s*, 278.

¹⁰ Harrison, *Heritage: Critical Approaches*, 168.

¹¹ Annabel Jane Wharton, "Spolia as Despoliation," in *Reuse Value: Spolia and Appropriation in Art and Architecture from Constantine to Sherrie Levine*, ed. Richard Brilliant and Dale Kinney (Surrey: UK: Ashgate, 2011), 184.

¹² Katherine Solomonson's authoritative book (cited above) on the social, cultural and political context surrounding the design and realization of the Chicago Tribune Tower gives a detailed and rigorous account of the history of this building. The competition entries were exhibited, published and have been discussed as works within the architectural oeuvres of important architects. For example Adolf Loos' entry is examined in Solomonson, *The Chicago Tribune Tower Competition: Skyscraper Design and Cultural Change in the 1920s*, 278. However, our aim here is not to become entangled within these details, but rather to focus on the collection fragments of other buildings.

¹³ "Tribune Tower Will Have Stones from World-Famous Structures," *The Trib*, June 1924

¹⁴ Joseph Masheck, "His Native Doric and Other Columns: Adolf Loos and the Chicago Tribune," *Things Magazine* 15, no. Winter (2001).

¹⁵ Dale Kinney relates that the theoretical field around spolia was renewed following a conceptual shift in theory to re-use value as argued by Arnold Esch. Dale Kinney, "Introduction," in *Reuse Value: Spolia and Appropriation in Art and Architecture from Constantine to Sherrie Levine*, ed. Richard Brilliant and Dale Kinney (Surrey: UK: Ashgate, 2011).

¹⁶ Paolo Liverani, "Reading Spolia in Late Antiquity and Contemporary Perception," in *Reuse Value: Spolia and Appropriation in Art and Architecture from Constantine to Sherrie Levine*, ed. Richard Brilliant and Dale Kinney (Surrey: UK: Ashgate, 2011).

¹⁷ Wharton, "Spolia as Despoliation," 193.

¹⁸ Richard Brilliant, "I Piedistalli Del Giardino Di Boboli; Spolia in Se, Spolia in Re," *Prospettiva* 31, no. Ottobre (1982).

¹⁹ Kinney, "Introduction," 2.

²⁰ Liverani, "Reading Spolia in Late Antiquity and Contemporary Perception."

²¹ This also aligns with the work of Benedict Anderson on imagined communities and Laurajane Smith's work on the 'Authorised Heritage Discourse'. See Finbarr Barry Flood, "Appropriation as Inscription: Making History in the First Friday Mosque of Dehli," in *Reuse Value: Spolia and Appropriation in Art and Architecture from Constantine to Sherrie Levine*, ed. Richard Brilliant and Dale Kinney (Surrey: UK: Ashgate, 2011).

²² Kinney, "Introduction," 8.

²³ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1991); Smith, *Uses of Heritage*.

²⁴ Emma Waterton and Steve Watson, "Framing Theory: Towards a Critical Imagination in Heritage Studies," *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 19, no. 6 (2013).