

Flags for the Fallen: Use of the American Flag in Funerals of Police Officers and Military Personnel

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Americans watching the news on December 27, 2014, and January 4, 2015, were confronted by an unfamiliar flag in a familiar context. Two officers of the New York Police Department (NYPD) had been killed in the line of duty, and their funerals became national news due to recent tensions between the NYPD and many citizens of New York City.¹ The coffins of Wenjian Liu and Rafael Ramos were covered with a green-and-white striped flag, where one would expect to see a United States flag. This flag turns out to be the flag of the NYPD (figure 1).²



Figure 1. The New York Police Department flag covering a coffin. Source: <http://observer.com/2014/12/dignitaries-and-thousands-of-cops-mourn-nypd-officer-rafael-ramos-at-funeral>

To this observer, the use of the NYPD flag to cover the coffin of a fallen officer was monumentally significant. In most locales, slain public servants are typically covered with a flag of the civic authority governing the people they serve. For example, the Chicago Police Department has its own flag, but Chicago police coffins are covered with the city flag; the Michigan State Police have their own flag, but use the state flag for funerals; the Los Angeles Police Department also has a flag, but their police coffins are covered with the U.S. flag (figure 2).

For the NYPD to use its own flag, then, could be seen as highly significant. In a city where protesters claimed the police were detached and indifferent to the populace, the symbolism of a police force using an institutional flag instead of a civic flag to honor its fallen officers could easily be seen as showing that the police emphasized their own prerogatives over their civic duty. Such observations were only buttressed when a newspaper columnist addressed the topic by retorting to readers who questioned the practice that those readers should “mind [their] own business.”³ In short, it was a semiotic slam-dunk.



Figure 2. Chicago Police Department flag; Chicago police officer's casket covered with city flag; Michigan State Police flag; Michigan State Police officer's coffin covered with state flag; Los Angeles police officer's casket covered with United States flag; emblem on the Los Angeles Police Department flag. Source: https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/a/aa/Flag_of_the_Los_Angeles_Police_Department.png; <http://gallery.tribapp.com/static/out/chi-chicago-police-officer-funeral-140324-pictures>; <http://www.wilx.com/content/news/Michigan-State-Police-to-participate-in-Angel-Program-to-help-fight-drug-addiction-426603361.html>; <https://www.freep.com/story/news/local/michigan/2015/09/01/funeral--michigan-state-police-trooper/71535980>; <http://abc7.com/news/photos-funeral-for-fallen-lapd-officer/59380/#gallery-2>; <https://www.ebay.com/itm/NEW-Flag-of-LA-Los-Angeles-Police-Department-LAPD-City-Police-Ensign-3ftX5ft-/381598689543>

However, the question of which flag to use to drape a coffin is more complicated than it seems at first. For example, police forces in locales that are not, to this author's knowledge, notorious for tension between civilians and officers also use service flags in their funerals, as seen in examples from Wales and Kenya (figure 3). And the use of the NYPD flag in officers' funerals is not a recent development in response to criticism. Examples of its use date back to 1974.⁴

The choice of a flag seems to be a matter of local tradition. One guess is that the NYPD began to use its service flag to honor those officers who were ineligible to use the United States flag. The use of the national flag had originated in the funerals of

Figure 3. Police funerals in Wales and Kenya, using police department flags to cover coffins.

Source: <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/wires/pa/article-4396890/Full-police-funeral-Westminster-attack-victim-Pc-Keith-Palmer.html>; <http://www.haaretz.com/misc/haaretzcomsmartphoneapp/kenya-demands-un-remove-world-s-biggest-refugee-camp-1.5350021>



veterans, including those who entered the police force after discharge from the military. While New York City has retained the distinction between officers with prior military service and those without, other jurisdictions have taken to using the United States flag to cover the coffins of all their officers killed in the line of duty.



Although the practice precedes what Radley Balko calls the “rise of the warrior cop”—meaning the wholesale adoption of military technology and tactics by police forces in the 21st century⁵—police are typically organized in military-style ranks, and are often valorized similarly to soldiers when they are killed in the line of duty. Therefore, it is not uncommon to see police officers’ coffins covered with the U.S. flag, and the rhetorical and anthropological signification of a flag-covered coffin can be analyzed similarly whether it is used for a soldier, sailor, airman, marine, or police officer.

Although the many activities of flag reverence that Americans engage in—such as reciting the Pledge of Allegiance, singing the National Anthem, and participating in elaborate “flag retirement” ceremonies—constitute part of what Scot Guenter calls “civil religion,” military and police funerals are the only traditional Christian services that incorporate flags.⁶ Shortly after the First World War, an Episcopal priest created “An Office and Ceremony for the Worship of Old Glory,” as a “God-bodying, and Oversoul incarnating” totem of the divine,⁷ but it never became widely used, perhaps because, as Guenter noted, it smacked of “polytheism, idolatry, or paganism.”⁸ So, we are left with funerals. Although the use of flags in funerals may be seen in services of other religions, it originates and is most common in Christian funerals, so this paper will limit itself to analysis of those ceremonies.

First, it will look at the origins and contemporary practices of covering coffins with flags. Then it will consider how the integration of a national symbol into a religious service transforms the meaning of each.

Before discussing the use of flags in funerals, one must understand the order of service into which the flag has been incorporated. Funerals are distinguished from memorial services by

the presence of the corpse in the room where worshippers are gathered, which is most commonly either a church or a funeral home. In most Christian traditions, including Roman Catholic, Methodist, Episcopalian, Baptist, and Eastern Orthodox, the coffin is covered with a cloth called a pall (figure 4). The United Methodist church describes the symbolism of the pall: “The same pall is used in a congregation for all funerals and is a witness that everyone is equal before the table of the Lord.”⁹ Another explanation for the significance of the pall is found in the Presbyterian service, when these words from the Letter to the Galatians are pronounced as the pall is placed over the casket: “For as many of you as were baptized into Christ, have clothed yourselves with Christ. In his baptism [the deceased] was clothed with Christ; in the day of Christ’s coming, he shall be clothed with glory.”¹⁰ More practically, the late Episcopal bishop James A. Pike said that the pall serves to “minimize the showpiece aspects [of a funeral]. We feel that earthly remains are not to be made that much of.”¹¹ That is to say, even the most expensive coffin and elaborate embalming remain unseen under a pall.

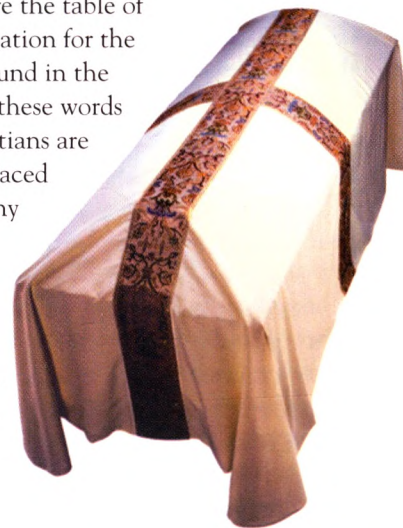


Figure 4. A funeral pall. Source: <http://abbotthall.com/product/speedship-ivory-cathedral-tapestry-funeral-pall>

There are some recorded instances of flags being used as palls during the Renaissance—for example, when Charles VIII of France was buried in 1498, the “Banner of France” served as the pall for his coffin.¹² But this seems to be more like the practice then common throughout Europe in which aristocratic funeral palls were armorial banners or tapestries bearing an effigy of the deceased.¹³

Marc Leepson traces the use of national flags for funeral palls to the Napoleonic Wars, although it did not become widespread in the United States until the Civil War. Both Union and secessionist armies adopted the practice. In the north, the custom may have originated from a shortage of caskets, and the substitution of flags to cover the bodies before burial.¹⁴ The first use of the “Stainless Banner” of the south was, famously, to cover the casket of General Stonewall Jackson, who had been mortally wounded at the Battle of Chancellorsville.¹⁵

In the early days of the practice, the custom varied in its details. For example, when General Winfield Scott was buried in 1866, and when former president Andrew Johnson had his funeral in 1875, flags were used to wrap their bodies rather than cover their caskets.¹⁶ This recalls the ancient practice of covering corpses with shrouds.

The substitution of the Stars and Stripes for a traditional funeral pall was not uniformly accepted. Throughout the turn of the nineteenth-to-twentieth centuries, disputes arose

regarding the propriety of covering a coffin with the flag. While groups such as the Masons and the Junior Order of United American Mechanics called for the placement of the flag as a pall, members of Episcopal and Lutheran churches, including clergymen, refused to allow the flag on the coffin as it contravened established practices of using somber purple or black palls adorned by crosses. Fisticuffs occasionally ensued.¹⁷ (To this day, the Episcopal Church requires the use of the same pall for all funerals.) Despite this, the custom prevailed, so that by the time that William McKinley was buried in 1901, his coffin was uncontroversially covered with a U.S. flag.¹⁸ In 1918, the Army adopted the official protocol of “placing a flag over the coffin and, following the funeral service, presenting the flag to the next of kin.”¹⁹

There exists today a formal body of regulations for the placement of the flag as a funeral pall, and an order for the presentation of what are called “military honors,” which usually occurs at the end of the worship service but before the interment of the body. John Hartvigen notes that the flag is placed so that the obverse of the flag is always face up.²⁰ In most cases, this has the effect that the blue canton, or union, covers the heart of the deceased.

For the presentation of military honors, representatives of the armed forces are dispatched at the government’s expense. The bugle tune “Taps” is played—often by a recording these days, due to the scarcity of buglers—following which the flag is removed from the coffin, and carefully folded thirteen times in a prescribed manner to create a triangular shape displaying only the blue canton with white stars (figure 5). It is presented to the next of kin according to the following formula:



Figure 5. A U.S. flag, folded into a triangular shape. Source: <http://agoodgoodbye.com/funeral-traditions/the-meanings-behind-rituals-for-military-and-veteran-funerals>

“Stand facing the flag recipient and hold the folded flag waist high with the straight edge facing the recipient. Lean toward the flag recipient and solemnly present the flag to the recipient.” Each branch of the armed forces uses a unique wording for presenting the flag. Perhaps the most moving is that of the Marine Corps: “On behalf of the President of the United States, the Commandant of the Marine Corps, and a grateful nation, please accept this flag as a symbol of our appreciation for your loved one’s service to Country and Corps.”²¹

A body of folklore has arisen surrounding the “meaning” of each of the 13 folds. Although the Department of Defense disclaims any such meanings, organizations such as the veterans’ group The American Legion do publish a script that is often recited at funerals of veterans. It includes text such as, “The first fold of our flag is the fold of life.... The third fold is made in honor and remembrance of the veteran departing our ranks, and who gave a portion of his or her life for the defense of our country to attain peace throughout the world.... The eighth fold is a tribute to the one who entered into the valley of the shadow of death, that we might see the light of day, and to honor our mother, for whom it flies on Mother’s Day.... The 12th fold, in the eyes of a Christian citizen, represents an emblem of eternity and glorifies, in their eyes, God the Father, the Son and Holy Ghost.... After the flag is completely folded and tucked in, it has the appearance of a cocked hat, ever reminding us of the soldiers who served under Gen. George Washington and the sailors and Marines who served under Capt. John Paul Jones and were followed by their comrades and shipmates in the U.S. Armed Forces, preserving for us the rights, privileges and freedoms we enjoy today.”²²

Clearly, military and police funerals are heavily freighted with symbolic actions and totemic objects bearing both official sanction and unofficial reverence. Our next avenue of inquiry, then, is to investigate how those rituals and totems play into the larger symbolism of funerals—and how their use at a funeral affects the understanding of the flag by participants.

Humans have been burying their dead since at least 100,000 years ago, and perhaps as long as 400,000 years.²³ This behavior precedes the earliest known religious artifacts, which date from 11,000 years ago.²⁴ While the act of burying or otherwise honoring the dead has been a constant in human societies, the forms and rituals have varied greatly. Sociologists investigating modern American funerals have observed several social and emotional functions served by the funeral rite.

A Christian funeral is, before all else, a church service; and like all church services, funerals have the function of gathering the faithful together for worship, collective prayer, and instruction. The funeral has a particular theological emphasis, when the Christian understanding of death and resurrection is emphasized. The funeral is a ritual in which death and its consequences—disruption of social relationships in particular—are acknowledged and addressed. For the bereaved in attendance, the liturgy offers two forms of solace. There is hope of resurrection of the deceased individual. And there is hope that the bereaved and the deceased will be reunited in another life. Both hopes lie in the belief of Christians that “God is more powerful than death.”²⁵

Outside of the theological, however, funerals also serve social purposes. Leroy Bowman notes that the gathering of mourners provides a sense of social solidarity, and builds rapport between the family and the larger community. And most importantly for our inquiry, the celebration of the deceased’s achievements reinforces the social values the group shares by demonstrating that a life lived according to those values is worthy of remembrance.

Peter Manning writes, “The ironic consequence of collective rituals marking the passing of a member is the reassertion of the significance of life within that moral unit, and in the police case, of the respect and dependence of the society upon the police.”²⁷

However, sociology only touches the surface of a funeral’s import. There is a deep human need to reflect on the role of the dead in the lives of those still living, as demonstrated by the hundreds of millennia that have witnessed funeral rites. Bruce Gordon and Peter Marshall note that “the dead must, in a variety of senses, be put in their place.”²⁸ Not disparagingly, of course, but rather to discover how the memory of the departed affects their survivors. For example, “What obligations [do] the living owe to them, and how in fulfilling those obligations [do] the living allow the dead to shape patterns of social organization, and religious and cultural outlooks? ... In what ways [can] the living exploit the dead for their own social and political purposes?”²⁹

The fallen soldier or police officer exerts a more powerful influence on the living than many others do. For example, their deaths are often presented as a sacrifice for the sake of the nation, the recollection of which should serve to inspire patriotism among those now alive. Abraham Lincoln spoke of “the mystic chords of memory, stretching from every battlefield and patriot grave to every living heart and hearthstone.”³⁰

The memory of dead soldiers also influences public attitudes toward war. It is common for opinion polls to reveal that a majority of respondents favor continuing wars, even when victory seems elusive, because to end the war would constitute a “waste” of the lives lost earlier in the war.³¹

It is not coincidental that the use of flags in funeral services should have arisen during the Civil War. That great struggle forged in the American mind a mystical link between flag, nation, and memory. In response to the dire threat to the Constitution that was perceived by residents of the northern states, civilians embraced the flag with a fervor previously unknown. It made its way into church sanctuaries for the first time, and rhetorically became indivisible from the nation, and was accorded a reverence like that accorded to George Washington and the Constitution before the war. Guenter calls this movement “the cult of the flag.”³² In the half-century following the war, groups such as the Daughters of the American Revolution and the Grand Army of the Republic sought to encourage the notion that “the perpetuity of our Government, the safety of our institutions, depend upon the sentiment with which they are regarded by the majority of our citizens and the fidelity with which the principles are cherished upon which our liberties are based.”³³ The means of cultivating that sentiment was introduction of flags in schools and the spread of flag-reverencing ceremonies including the Pledge of Allegiance, flag-raising and -lowering rituals, and doffing one’s hat in the presence of the flag (figure 6).

The American flag retains its hold on the hearts of most Americans as the symbol of those rights most cherished. Few politicians wear Bill of Rights lapel pins, and the Fourteenth Amendment never flies over a baseball stadium. There may be



Figure 6. Students of the Albuquerque Indian School with U.S. flags, around 1915.
Source: <http://time.com/4341115/history-michelle-obama-graduation-santa-fe>

something deeper than just a holdover from nineteenth-century practices, however. Carolyn Marvin and David Ingle theorize the American flag as a totem standing in for blood sacrifice—the offering of the lives of soldiers and police officers to the nation.³⁴

Anthropologists recognize that in most societies, violence serves a constructive role in establishing group coherence. There is approved violence against outsiders—such as war or execution of those who transgress norms—that marks those within the group because they are exempt from the violence. And the deployment of violence against outsiders requires some to be sacrificed for the sake of the group, as no war is without casualties on both sides.

A totem is an object that carries a secret meaning, and is significant to those in a coherent group. Some Australian peoples, for example, choose an animal as their totem—it represents all who have been part of the group, living and dead, and the animal receives special protection from hunting. The animal is revered not for its own qualities but because it embodies the group. It is significant that the totem is a living thing—that can be nurtured and cared for, just as the group needs nurture, care, and protection.

Similarly, Marvin and Ingle propose that the American flag is a totem of the unspoken fact that the dead of our armed forces were blood sacrifices. Just as animals were slaughtered in the ancient religions to propitiate the gods and improve the fortune of the clan, so also in modern America, our soldiers are killed at the behest of the group. To be sure, no one is slain atop an altar. But it is the policies of our national government, enacted by our democratically elected representatives, that put soldiers and police in harm’s way with the intention of benefitting the nation. Their deaths are not random violence, but rather sacrifices.

The flag is the totem of blood sacrifice in the American system, partly because unifying totems available in other countries—monarch or state church—are not present, and partly because the cult of the American flag has imbued it with reverence. The flag, to those who accept its totemic power, represents group coherence and reminds the viewer that our collective good has called for blood sacrifice. The flag is often treated as a living thing—the U.S. flag code says so in as many words.³⁵ Like other totems, it is protected from disfigurement, and honored with quasi-funereal rites when disposed of (figure 7). There are numerous tales of soldiers risking all to keep their battle flag aloft in the face of the enemy, even as one after another flag bearer has

fallen. I daresay that many of us feel what Robert Shanafelt calls “the same numinous awe” in the presence of our flag that Australians feel in the presence of their totems.³⁶

That Americans widely accept this totemic use of the flag can be seen even in the way our children talk about the flag. Consider this school essay: “red stands for the blood that was shed for the unselfish sake of our country, white stands for the clouds that each brave Soldier’s soul passed while fighting and dying for our country, blue stands for the oceans where many hard battles were fought, and where many men died trying to protect the pride and freedom of our country.”³⁷ We may also recall the words of flag-folding ceremony, that the deceased “gave a portion of his or her life for the defense of our country ... preserving for us the rights, privileges and freedoms we enjoy today.” While this rhetoric ignores that facts that our freedoms are largely founded upon a culture that respects the rule of law and the lawyers who have pushed to expand that rule, and that most of our wars have been fought against distant enemies who posed little threat of invasion or occupation, it nonetheless speaks to the connection most Americans feel between the flag and the self-proclaimed principles that are the aspirations for the nation.

What’s more, Shanafelt reminds us, is that spatial orientation provides important metaphors for our understanding of social position.³⁸ We have “upper” and “lower” classes, there are actions that are “beneath” a person’s rank, and so on. When we consider the sacrificed soldier or officer “under” the flag, we see a visible reminder of the collective to which that person subordinated himself or herself, even unto death.

The presence of an American flag at a funeral, then, neatly merges the theological, sociological, and anthropological uses of a burial rite. Recall that a funeral brings together the community and valorizes the group’s ideals under which the deceased lived; and the liturgy reminds the congregants that after death, the individual will be reunited with the larger communion of saints; and the rite itself is the occasion for the living to give meaning to the life of the deceased. The placement of the flag on the coffin mystically makes the funeral a time for the nation to be embraced by and to embrace the small community of mourners. As a totem for the sacrifice made or even just offered by the deceased, the flag recalls to the mourners the wider group—the nation—to which they belong. And the use of the flag at a funeral gives the flag a special meaning. While it collectively serves as a totem for all the fallen, to those who personally knew the dead, the flag henceforth will recall the individual they loved. The ritual solemnizing the totem of blood sacrifice thereby unites the corpse with the totem. The individual is covered with the flag so that his personal bravery, which is confirmed as worthy in the eulogy, is woven into the symbolic fabric of



Figure 7. A “flag retirement” ceremony.
Source: <https://www.freedomfestival.com/events/flag-retirement-ceremony/11>

millions of men and women—all of whom are totemized by the flag—whose lives were sacrificed for the sake of the nation.

The funerals of Ramos and Liu, then, were less object lessons in symbolizing distance between the police and their communities, and more rituals to give their deaths meaning, not only to their families, but to the larger nation. The flags draped over their coffins remain mementoes in their families’ homes, each flag carrying a reminder of their loved ones’ blood sacrifice along with those of all who were killed in the service of the nation.

¹ For coverage of the funerals, see “Updates From the Funeral of Police Officer Wenjian Liu,” *New York Times*, January 4, 2015; for protests, see “Protests Continue in New York City on Friday,” *New York Times* December 6, 2014.

² Robert N. Lucente, former president of the New York State Chapter of the Fraternal Order of Police described the flag: “Five alternate bars of green and white (brilliant green being the traditional and sentimental Police color) symbolizing the five boroughs of Greater New York. On a canton of blue (the color of the uniform) a circular constellation of 24 white stars representing the original groups of villages, towns and cities of Greater New York.” Tom Carrier, “Vexi-Bits,” *NAVA News* 22, no. 2 (March–April 1989), 5.

³ Clay Thompson, “Puzzled by Stars and Stripes that are Green and White,” *Arizona Republic*, December 30, 2014.

⁴ Diane Henry, “Police Honor Slain Civilian with Inspector’s Funeral,” *New York Times*, February 4, 1975.

⁵ Radley Balko, *Rise of the Warrior Cop: The Militarization of America’s Police Forces* (Philadelphia: Public Affairs, 2013).

⁶ Scot Guenter, *The American Flag, 1777–1924: Cultural Shifts from Creation to Codification* (Rutherford, N.J.: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1990), 20–21.

⁷ William Norman Guthrie, *The Religion of Old Glory* (New York: George H. Doran Co., 1919), 398.

⁸ Scot M. Guenter, “Historical Anecdote... The Religion of Old Glory,” *NAVA News*, September/October 1988: 3, 7.

⁹ United Methodist Church, *Book of Worship*, <http://www.umcdiscipleship.org/resources/a-service-of-death-and-resurrection>, retrieved September 27, 2015.

¹⁰ Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.) and the Cumberland Presbyterian Church, *Book of Common Worship* (Louisville: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1993), 912; see Galatians 3:27.

¹¹ James A. Pike, quoted in Jessica Mitford, *The American Way of Death* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1963), 245.

¹² Ralph E. Giesey, *The Royal Funeral Ceremony in Renaissance France* (Geneva: Librairie E. Droz, 1960), 138.

¹³ For examples, see Sharon T. Strocchia, *Death and Ritual in Renaissance Florence* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992), and Clare Gittings, *Death, Burial and the Individual in Early Modern England* (London: Croom Helm, 1984).

¹⁴ Marc Leepson, *Flag: An American Biography* (New York: Thomas Dunne Books, 2005), 263–64.

¹⁵ Charles T. Haigh, diary, May 14, 1863; retrieved from <http://digitalcollections.vmi.edu/cdm/compoundobject/collection/p15821coll11/id/563/show/485> on September 27, 2015.

¹⁶ “Burial of Scott,” *Harper’s Weekly*, June 16, 1866; Glenna R. Schroeder-Lein and Richard Zuczek, *Andrew Johnson: A Biographical Companion* (Santa Barbara, Calif.: ABC-CLIO, 2001), 117.

¹⁷ “Refused to Attend a Funeral; Newark Daughters of Liberty Objected to Mrs. Schofield’s Church Ritual,” *New York Times*, May 15, 1897; “Row Over Funeral Rites; Women and Clergymen Fight Over Flag Placed on Coffin,” *New York Times*, April 1, 1900; “Bars Flag at Funeral; Body, Wrapped in Stars and Stripes, Denied Admission to Church,” *New York Times*, January 25, 1908.

¹⁸ “The Funeral of President McKinley,” *Harper’s Weekly*, September 28, 1901.

¹⁹ U.S. Department of Defense, “Report to Congress on Military Funeral Honors for Veterans” (Washington, D.C.: The Department, 1999), [9].

²⁰ John M. Hartvigsen, “The Flag’s Own Right: Right, Wrong, or Sinister Conspiracy?” *Flag Research Quarterly* 5 (2014): 8.

²¹ U.S. Department of Defense, “Military Funeral Honors: Honoring Those Who Served” (Washington, D.C.: The Department, 2000.) The other branches

recite the following phrases. Army: "This flag is presented on behalf of a grateful nation and the United States Army as a token of appreciation for your love one's honorable and faithful service." Navy: "On behalf of the President of the United States and the Chief of Naval Operations, please accept this flag as a symbol of our appreciation for your loved one's service to this Country and a grateful Navy." Air Force: "On behalf of the President of the United States, the Department of the Air Force, and a grateful nation, we offer this flag for the faithful and dedicated service of (Service member's rank and name.)" Coast Guard: "On behalf of the President of the United States, the Commandant of the Coast Guard, and a grateful nation, please accept this flag as a symbol of our appreciation for your loved one's service to Country and the Coast Guard."

²² The American Legion, "Flag-Folding Procedures," retrieved on September 27, 2015 from <http://www.legion.org/flag/folding>

²³ Robert H. Gargett, "Middle Palaeolithic Burial is Not a Dead Issue: The View from Qafzeh, Saint-Césaire, Kebara, Amud, and Dederiyeh," *Journal of Human Evolution* 37(1999): 27–90; Eudald Carbonell and Marina Mosquera, "The Emergence of a Symbolic Behaviour: The Sepulchral Pit of Sima de los Huesos, Sierra de Atapuerca, Burgos, Spain," *Comptes Rendus Palevol* 5, no. 1–2 (2005): 155–60.

²⁴ Charles C. Mann, "The Birth of Religion," *National Geographic* 219, no. 6 (June 2011): 34–59

²⁵ Thomas Quartier and Chris A. M. Hermans, "Roman Catholic Funeral Liturgy and Human Finitude: Empirical Explorations of Life, Death and Afterlife in Connection with Liturgical Memory," in *Discourse in Ritual Studies*, ed. Hans Schilderman (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 210.

²⁶ Leroy Bowman, *The American Funeral: A Study in Guilt, Extravagance, and Sublimity* (Washington, D.C.: Public Affairs, 1959).

²⁷ Peter K. Manning, *Police Work: The Social Organization of Policing* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1977), 24.

²⁸ Bruce Gordon and Peter Marshall, "Introduction: Placing the Dead in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe," in *The Place of the Dead: Death and Remembrance in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. Bruce Gordon and Peter Marshall (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 1.

²⁹ Gordon and Marshall, "Placing the Dead," 2–3.

³⁰ Abraham Lincoln, First Inaugural Address, in *A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents* (New York: Bureau of National Literature, 1897), 3213.

³¹ John Paul Schott, Laura D. Scherer, and Alan J. Lambert, "Casualties of War and Sunk Costs: Implications for Attitude Change and Persuasion," *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology* 47 (2011): 1134–45.

³² Guenter, *The American Flag*, 88.

³³ Mrs. James B. Clark, quoted in Guenter, *The American Flag*, 109.

³⁴ Carolyn Marvin and David W. Ingle, *Blood Sacrifice and the Nation: Totem Rituals and the American Flag* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

³⁵ U.S. Flag Code, section 176.

³⁶ Robert Shanafelt, "The Nature of Flag Power: How Flags Entail Dominance, Subordination, and Social Solidarity," *Politics and the Life Sciences* 27, no. 2 (2009): 13.

³⁷ Anonymous student, quoted in Marvin and Ingle, 95.

³⁸ Shanafelt, "The Nature of Flag Power," 23–24.