AMERICAN HERITAGE ABROAD

The connection between military cemeteries and soft power

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Abstract

Military cemeteries play an important role in present day heritage and history commemoration events. More than simple repositories for war dead, military cemeteries are built with certain symbolic and interpretive meanings for visitors. This symbolism and meaning helps them to become the setting for political speeches and commemoration events in the present day. As such, military cemeteries function as part of memorial, heritage, and cultural diplomatic strategies around the world. This thesis focuses on the military cemeteries overseen by the American Battle Monuments Commission (ABMC). Being located outside of the United States (US), and primarily visited by visitors from the host country, the ABMC cemeteries provide a case study of the uses that military cemeteries have in the contemporary world. Using legislative historiography, heritagescape, and access map methodologies under a semiotic interpretive framework, this thesis examines the ABMC and its cemeteries from their inception to the present day. Most of the cemeteries overseen by the ABMC hold the war dead from the First and Second World Wars. The symbolism and meaning of these cemeteries tell visitors a specific story and version of history centered on the US and their status within the emerging inter- and post-war global power structures. Visitors experience these stories in different ways depending on what aspects of and what way they maneuver through the cemeteries. This thesis shows how soft power is constructed at US military cemeteries located in foreign countries to support international diplomatic efforts and ideas of American exceptionalism.

For my parents

 Cheryl, Billy, Brenda, and Ron

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Chapter 1 – Introduction

For over a decade, scholars have argued that there is a relationship between heritage and soft power (Cull 2009; Ziino 2009; Biran et al. 2010; Langenbacher 2010; Olick et al. 2011; Frew 2012; Luke & Kersel 2012; Winter 2014; 2015; 2016; Beaumont 2016; Young and Light 2016; Callahan 2017; Clarke, Bull, & Deganutti 2017; Lemay 2018a; 2018b; Pudaruth 2017; Tal 2017; Niezen 2018; Cento Bull et al. 2019; Clarke and Woycicka 2019; Huang and Lee 2019; Rius-Ulldemolins et al. 2019; Harris-brandts & Sichinava 2021; Lähdesmäki and Čeginskas 2022; Parrish 2022; Todorović 2022; Shehade 2023). These arguments pertain not only to heritage objects and practices, but also heritage sites including academic centers, museums, gardens, heritage trails, jail houses, memorials, and military cemeteries (Luke & Kersel 2012; Young and Light 2016; Callahan 2017; Clarke, Bull, & Deganutti 2017; Lemay 2018a; 2018b; Cento Bull et al. 2019). However, despite this recognition, there has been no research to date relating to how this soft power is enacted. The research presented in this thesis was aimed at remedying this, through an investigation of overseas military cemeteries because soft power silently engages audiences to unconsciously support certain narratives and international policies in modern foreign diplomacy efforts, and hence it is important to understand how heritage sites and objects enact soft power as part of these wider processes.

The overseas cemeteries selected for this research are those managed by the American Battle Monuments Commission (hereafter ABMC or the Commission). In total, there are 26 ABMC cemeteries globally, for which 22 have strong online data relating to

them enabling remote analysis. To obtain a comprehensive understanding of these sites, the spaces within them, and their relationship with soft power, a complete sample of all these remaining cemeteries was investigated using a combination of methods from heritage studies, specifically heritagescape, access map, and legislative historiographic analyses to form a multimodal semiotic, or a sign, symbols, and meaning, interpretation of the sites, which is further explained in Chapter 3. From this sample, the detailed results from 9 are presented in the body of the thesis, with the results from the remaining 13 presented in Appendix 3. The discussion presented in Chapter 8 includes details from all 22 sites.

To date, only one study has given a complete historical perspective of the Commission (Conner 2018), while others have examined a small sample of the cemeteries to explain their role in American political relations with France (Hulver 2015; Lemay 2018a; 2018b). The research presented in this thesis is the first of its kind for the ABMC sites and helps to further broaden ideas regarding the ways heritage interacts with and participates in diplomacy from authors such as Cull (2009), Graves (2014), and Winter (2014; 2015; 2016).

The year 2018 saw the centenary anniversary of the end of World War I (hereafter WWI). This occasion saw a multitude of commemoration events take place around the world. It also gave rise to a resurgence in interest in WWI heritage sites including battlefields, museums, and cemeteries. Hundreds of Americans left the country to attend these commemoration events at the military cemeteries operated by the ABMC

in nations outside of the United States. Also in attendance at these commemoration events were hundreds of civilians and politicians from the host countries the ABMC cemeteries are located within.

As an American, colloquial knowledge of the Normandy Cemetery in France is included in the World War II (hereafter WWII) sections of history modules during secondary school. The primary cause for beginning this research was an interest in the way military cemeteries acted as sites of memory, or *lieux de memoire* (Nora 1989), when not situated among their population/community of origin. Moreover, as the author/researcher is an American national, it seemed the most 'common sense' sample to examine would be American military cemeteries, which narrowed the subject matter of the research to the ABMC, whose sites are all locates outside of American borders. Memory studies underscore every facet of the various functions of these cemeteries, but to understand their wider social and political purposes, other fields of study needed to be engaged with to draw more complete conclusions. To fully understand how heritage sites enact soft power required the reading, understanding, and application of works from the fields of heritage, archaeology, anthropology, diplomacy, international relations, memory, history, architectural history, art history, landscape studies, linguistic studies, and environmental philosophy. Some of the above fields had a more substantial influence on the research and interpretation than others, but all helped to make sense of the application of the ABMC cemeteries to modern diplomatic purposes.

This chapter begins with a brief discussion of the context behind the establishment of American military cemeteries and their being regarded as heritage in the United States. The chapter then details the research question and significance of the research before finishing the chapter by describing the structure of the thesis.

The Evolution of American Military Cemeteries

America has participated in war and conflict for its entire existence. Beginning in 1775 until the present day, soldiers have fought for American military establishments that each have their own history (i.e., The United States Army traces itself to the Continental Army of 1775) under the American flag, or as Americans in various volunteer institutions (such as the French Foreign Legion). These conflicts have produced innumerable American casualties. In the beginning of the lifespan of the United States, these casualties were dealt with by the military force the individual fought with, usually in the form of an unmarked mass grave. If a family had the resources, a soldier's, or more usually an officer's, remains could be returned and buried in a family plot while in other instances, the individual states would see to their war dead (Sledge 2005, 32). In the mid-1800s, a new sentiment and trend of national cemeteries would begin that continues to this day.

Mexican American War and the National Cemetery System 1846-1867

The Mexican American War began on 25 April 1846 and ended after nearly two years on 2 February 1848. During this conflict, American forces made it as far south as Mexico City. The casualties from the skirmishes and battles around Mexico City were

gathered and deposited in mass graves in a marked cemetery that was dedicated in 1851. This cemetery is the first established by the War Department of the United States with approval from the Federal Government. More information, context, and analysis for this cemetery can be found in Chapter 5 of this thesis.

Nearly 20 years later, the United States Civil War began on 12 April 1861. Before the war's end on 9 April 1865, a total of fifteen national cemeteries would be constructed by the Federal Government for Union soldiers. The funding and provision for these cemeteries was imbued by Congress to the President of the United States in 1862, one year into the war (National Cemetery Administration Timeline 2021). Even though the power to purchase the land and provisions for the cemetery was given to the president, in practice the War Department still saw to the new trend of national burial for soldiers on behalf of the president.

In 1863, the most famous American Civil War cemetery was dedicated, Gettysburg National Cemetery. This dedication ceremony was the setting for President Abraham Lincoln's now famous 'Gettysburg Address'. This address now adorns many national cemeteries in the form of monumental statuary. Numerous studies have focused on Gettysburg for tourism, heritage, commemoration, pilgrimage, and historical perspectives (e.g. Diller and Scofidio 1994; Economics Research Associates 1994; Eicher 1996; Gatewood and Cameron 2004). Although Gettysburg is not the primary cemetery of attention for this thesis, the architectural features of Gettysburg can be

seen to have set a precedence for future national and international cemeteries, a point further explored in Chapter 4 of this thesis.

In 1864, one year after Gettysburg was dedicated, the Quartermaster General of the United States War Department claimed a farm manor house and the land associated with it from the family of Confederate General Robert E. Lee. The Quartermaster General decided to turn the land into a cemetery in an effort to devalue the property (National Cemetery Administration Timeline 2021). This single act of pettiness against General Lee would evolve into the most famous American cemetery to exist (Davenport 2014). Arlington National Cemetery is the largest American military cemetery within the country and is still active today. The earliest parts of the cemetery are similar to Gettysburg in layout and style. Throughout the years, it has existed through multiple architectural periods and shifts in cemetery construction style. More information regarding Arlington, including notable burials, headstone forms, or memorial construction is presented in later chapters of this thesis.

In 1867, two years after the American Civil War ended, Congress updated its national cemetery legislation. The update was minor in character, investing the funding and provision of national cemeteries in the War Department instead of the President (NPS 2021). In effect, this legislation simplified the process of cemetery establishment to no longer need the President's signature and allow the War Department to continue a practice it was already undertaking. The War Department would use this updated legislation during America's westward expansion. When General Custer made his last

stand in what would eventually become the state of Montana, the War Department saw to the burials of his regiment in a marked cemetery (NPS 2021). Research conducted on this cemetery would help start the field of conflict archaeology (Carman 2014, 7).

American Battle Monuments Commission Established

With the exception of the Mexico City cemetery, all the United States national cemeteries through the early 1900s were located within American territory. While their geographic location meant it would be potentially easier for families of the deceased to visit, national cemeteries typically serve to bolster national identity, enhance support for the Federal Government's policies and treatment of its citizens, and operate under the burial rituals of the majority religion of the State. For the US, the dominant religion was Christianity, and the symbols, architecture, and rhetoric of the religion would go on to become part of the national image. WWI put the idea of national cemeteries in question. Repatriation would be an expensive endeavor that would exceed the War Department's budget. Based on the response of the French public to the French solution after WWI to not allow repatriation, the US conducted a survey of the population. Thirty percent of respondents said they were satisfied with members of their families being left overseas so long as proper cemeteries were erected for them (Conner 2018, 19-20). The War Department began collating the bodies that were to remain overseas while repatriating the others with the Federal Government paying the expenses. After the completion of the overseas cemeteries, the War Department decided it would be unable to maintain them and an independent agency was created by Congress in 1923 for the purposes of doing so, the ABMC.

In 1950, technological advances allowed for cheaper, quicker, and more hygienic transportation of war dead back to the United States, and so repatriation in all possible cases became the War Department's regulation (Sledge 2005, 40). After repatriation, the war dead would be buried in family plots, state- or federally run national cemeteries, or Arlington National Cemetery. The history of the ABMC and American military burial regulations is detailed in Chapter 4. This regulation on repatriation would be the status quo until 2003, when congress passed legislation initiating the construction of five new national cemeteries covering whole regions with major military installations across the continental US (GovTrack.us 2021). A few of these cemeteries are still under construction or being expanded today.

Cemeteries Become Recognized as Heritage

In 1914, the National Park Service (NPS) was established by the United States as part of the Department of the Interior. In 1933, an executive order by the president transferred ownership and maintenance of 11 national cemeteries from the War Department to the NPS (National Parks and National Cemeteries 2018). The only two cemeteries that were not transferred were Mexico City, because it was not located within the NPS' jurisdiction, and Arlington, because it was still in use.

In 1966, the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP) was created under the NPS. This is the heritage list for the United States. All of the national cemeteries maintained by the NPS would become heritage sites via inclusion on this list (NPS 2018). There

was, however, one issue. The NRHP wanted its list to be associated with the styles and life unique to America, not those to do with death (NPS 1995). To get around this, the national cemeteries were added as part of 'historic districts' or 'historic parks'. Whole sections of towns, some as small as one city block and others as large as a state park, were added to NRHP for being prominent examples of period architecture or being the home of a famous American during their lifetime, and the national cemeteries would be included within these districts. If questions arose as to a cemetery's inclusion within the district, the cemetery would be used to verify the age of the district, or to be the setting for an important event such as Lincoln's Gettysburg Address within the cemetery of the same name. The reason could not be to commemorate one side of the Civil War or to have the death place of a famous person be purposefully inscribed. The only national cemeteries not placed on the NRHP were Mexico City and Arlington National Cemetery.

In 1992, the National Park Service put out a statement that all national military cemeteries met the criteria for heritage listing (Potter and Boland 1992, 17), implying that such sites would be accepted to the NRHP if someone nominated them. When the most famous American military cemetery in the country, Arlington National Cemetery, made national headlines in 2007 for having urns for sale at auction, it became apparent that Arlington was not inscribed on the NRHP (Davenport 2014). It has been the resting place for numerous famous persons, including Supreme Court Justices, seen multiple architectural style shifts, and is the stage for many speeches and commemoration events in the present. As the cemetery is under the jurisdiction of the United States Army, the United States Army Corps of Engineers began drafting the

heritage application for Arlington in 2013. Continuing the trend of the other cemeteries above, however, the cemetery would be inscribed as part of the 'Arlington National Cemetery District'. The only other portion of the city to be included in the district is Arlington Bridge, which connects the cemetery to the National Mall. The National Mall has been registered as a historic district since 1995, and the addition of the Arlington district could be seen as a way to expand this famous official district. Arlington's addition to the NRHP was lauded by many because "[t]he appointment to the National Park Service's official list of historic sites last month comes as the cemetery is celebrating its 150th anniversary, and it follows a lengthy application process that historians and conservationists said should have happened years ago" (Davenport 2014). The most prominent and well-known American military cemetery was finally added to the official federal heritage listing in April 2014. While still part of a historic district, the cemetery itself was the most prominent aspect of the heritage listing. This highlights how the thoughts about cemeteries and other military heritage in America had shifted, and cemeteries were now allowed to be the primary heritage asset being listed for preservation.

There are, however, the twenty-three US military cemeteries that are not eligible for heritage listing; those overseen by the ABMC. The ABMC cemeteries cannot be inscribed on the heritage list as they are not within the borders of the United States. According to the NPS bulletin regarding American military cemeteries being eligible for heritage listing as being monuments and memorials to America's military endeavors (Potter and Boland 1992, 17), the ABMC cemeteries are considered to be part of

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American heritage, they are just not capable of being listed. Accepting no new burials and being separated in time from the present by decades, if not more than a century, these cemeteries primarily operate as heritage sites today with the addition of museums, artifacts, and interpretive tours (see Chapters 5, 6, 7, and Appendix 3).

Military cemeteries serve as the location for heritage activity by bringing people together through the shared mourning of those lost. At a broad glance, heritage in the United States is within the jurisdiction of state or federal authorities under the Department of the Interior, such as the National Park Service (NPS), and cemeteries are overseen by the local or state communities within which they reside, if not part of the National Cemetery System overseen by the Department of Veterans Affairs. Listed or not, military cemeteries share the same highway/interstate sign iconography as other heritage places. At a more constructed level, paralleling that of museums, military cemeteries are purposefully built locations evoking ideas of uniformity of the military unit. This evocative idea is achieved through the uniformity of the headstones, not only in physical form but in location and distance between headstones (Lemay 2018b, 78). The resulting vision is perfect lines of soldiers whether viewed in rows, columns, or diagonally. Burying the dead who sacrificed their lives for the nation is one way of reinforcing identity and place (Moen 2020, 2), the notion that 'this land is ours, as our ancestors/countrymen fought for it'.

Having introduced a number of the cemeteries on US territory and their status as heritage, the next section will introduce the research question focusing on American military cemeteries outside of the nation's boundaries.

Perceptions regarding American military cemeteries, both domestic and abroad, have changed through the 20th century. This thesis focuses on American military cemeteries outside of America's borders to situate them within international relations and understand how, as heritage sites, they enact soft power. These cemeteries are no longer open to new burials, but they have and still serve as the setting and destination for speeches by politicians, often filled with political rhetoric. They are maintained as park-like green spaces attracting heritage visitors from America, the host countries, and the broader international community. The two ABMC cemeteries located in the United Kingdom have been listed by Historic England as either a Grade I Registered Park and Garden or a Grade II Listed Building. Otherwise, these sites function much like 'orphan heritage' (Price 2005, 181) or 'extra-territorial heritage' (Beaumont 2016, 355) where the people with the highest emotional investment in the heritage are not the ones who are taking care of or living around the sites physically. No longer taking new burials and not being officially classified as American heritage leaves the ABMC cemeteries in a categorically nebulous position. Specifically, this sense of location affects the views held toward and uses of these heritage sites, especially against the American colloquial notion that 'we always bring our boys home' to which they are physical embodiments of such a notion being false or contradictory.

Research Question

Since 2010, scholars have noted how heritage sites, including military cemeteries such as those managed by the ABMC, contribute to a nation's soft power in order to aid its foreign diplomatic efforts (Cull 2009; Ziino 2009; Biran et al. 2010; Langenbacher 2010; Olick et al. 2011; Frew 2012; Luke & Kersel 2012; Winter 2014; 2015; 2016; Beaumont 2016; Young and Light 2016; Callahan 2017; Clarke, Bull, & Deganutti 2017; Lemay 2018a; 2018b; Pudaruth 2017; Tal 2017; Niezen 2018; Cento Bull et al. 2019; Clarke and Woycicka 2019; Huang and Lee 2019; Rius-Ulldemolins et al. 2019; Harris-brandts & Sichinava 2021; Lähdesmäki and Čeginskas 2022; Parrish 2022; Todorović 2022; Shehade 2023). However, no research to date has demonstrated how such aims are achieved. To address this, the specific research question that the research presented in this thesis sought to address is:

- How have the American military cemeteries located outside of the United States enacted soft power since 1851?

As outlined earlier in this chapter, American military cemeteries located outside of the United States are managed by the ABMC. The significance of the date of 1851 relates to when the earliest of these cemeteries was dedicated, prior to the establishment of the ABMC. It should be noted, however, that the ABMC cemeteries do not operate in a vacuum. The conflicts that spawned these cemeteries are leaving living memory and becoming purely historical narrative. Therefore, any soft power the cemeteries enact today will likely differ to the soft power enacted in the past. Since their construction, the historic and heritage interpretations of the cemeteries and the conflicts they originated

from have changed. These changes are further complicated by the shifting political agendas of the United States and its various Presidential Administrations. In addition, since soft power is enacted upon foreign populaces, and the fact that the cemeteries are located in foreign countries, the international or foreign diplomacy component of their history needs to be considered. Hence, to fully answer the research question, three sub-questions that help identify and contextualize soft power need to be answered:

- ○ What is the historical context of the cemeteries?

- ○ How do the cemeteries function in practice today?

- ○ How has the interpretation of the cemeteries changed through time?

Significance of Research

The significance of this research lies in its scope and analysis, which significantly expands upon previous studies on the ABMC and illustrates how these sites as separate entities and as a group enact soft power. In contrast to studies that have been focused on historical or artistic elements (e.g. Hulver 2015; Lemay 2018a; 2018b), the focus here has been on how the constructed space of the ABMC cemeteries enacts soft power. Thesis presents the first analysis of the ABMC from a broader perspective using multi-disciplinary approaches, to identify how the ABMC functions within broader political processes at a crucial point in the Commission's history, as the events commemorated by the sites pass from living memory to history, a process famously highlight by Pierre Nora (1989). As a consequence of passing from living memory to

history, the narratives surrounding the sites will be changed to match the needs of America for the present and moving ahead into the future.

Themes

Despite existing for nearly a century, only a handful of academic works have been produced that focus on the ABMC. This section outlines how these previous studies have explored the ABMC and details how the research presented in this thesis differs. This is followed by a summary of some of the themes inherent to this research due to a combination of methodology and subject matter.

To date, research on the ABMC has been undertaken from architectural, political, and historical perspectives. Ahead of the 40th and 50th anniversaries of WWII, Grossman (1984) and Robin (1995) examined the architectural history of a sampling of the ABMC cemeteries. Grossman (1984) examined the architectural styles and meaning behind five of the WWI cemetery chapels. Robin (1995) took a broader approach, examining the architectural styles of both WWI and WWII cemetery chapels, making comparisons between them. Recent work on the ABMC includes that undertaken by Hulver (2015), Wanger (2015), Conner (2018), and Lemay (2018a; 2018b). Hulver (2015) and Lemay (2018a; 2018b) focused specifically on how the existence of the ABMC effects or facilitates America's political relationship with France via the memories or architecture associated with the sites, Hulver from a policy historical perspective of the ABMC, and Lemay from an art historical perspective of five of the ABMC WWII cemeteries. Wanger (2015) detailed the history of the ABMC as part of the broader National Cemetery

System (hereafter NCS) in the United States, even though the ABMC cemeteries are not in actuality a part of the NCS, a short discussion of which is provided in Chapter 4. Their analysis alongside the NCS allowed for Wanger to understand the social, economic, and cultural factors that contributed to the American style of cemetery construction. Conner (2018) wrote the first complete history of the ABMC as a federal agency, detailing the actions of its commissioners, board members, and the agency. Conner's work helped inform the context of the ABMC presented in Chapter 4 of this thesis, which provides conclusions relating to the first sub-question, focusing on the historical context of the cemeteries, presented earlier in this chapter. All the above studies regarding the ABMC have been published near the 50- or 100-year anniversaries of the World Wars. The above works have shown specific examples of how the ABMC have functioned within international diplomatic efforts but have taken for granted the role the ABMC and their cemeteries have as a mechanism of American soft power.

Authors including Hulver (2015) and Lemay (2018a; 2018b) use memory as their secondary theoretical framework (after history and art history respectively), but there are other theoretical concepts and ideas present in the ABMC cemeteries. The meaning and symbolism of the cemeteries are grounded in memory and thus, memory studies do facilitate all other theoretical perspectives available. All of the studies mentioned above begin to discuss the soft power of the ABMC as one of the cemeteries' uses in relation to their host countries, but do not show how that soft power in enacted. Soft power is a term first used by Joseph Nye (2004a; 2004b; 2008; 2009; 2013), a former US

Secretary of State, when discussing US diplomacy abroad. The term was then connected to heritage through the work of academics such as Luke and Kersel (2012), Winter (2014; 2015; 2016), Harris-brandts and Sichinava (2021), and Shehade (2023). Soft power is here defined as "getting other countries to do what you want… by shaping their preferences so that they align with yours" (Nye 2004, 1-8) through "attraction or endearment" by appealing to the emotions of the country's populace (Luke and Kersel 2012). A more detailed explanation of soft power, how it differs from other types of power, its connection to heritage, and the various types of diplomacy in which it manifests is presented in Chapter 2. The research presented in this thesis analyzes the individual constituent components of the ABMC cemeteries separately, as has been done before, but it is only in looking at the sites in their totality afterward, as a class of monuments that contain these various components, that their role in contemporary diplomacy can begin to be understood as agents of American soft power. This is the first analysis of the ABMC that identifies how the Commission enacts its soft power as part of international relations and broader diplomatic actions.

Emotion, in the context of soft power as used above, is not referring explicitly to human emotions (happiness, sadness, anger, joy, trauma, etc.) but rather to the instinctive or intuitive feelings people possess as distinguished and separate from their reasoning or knowledge (OED Online 2022). These sites are, regardless of national origin, sites and places of trauma. Military cemeteries, specifically, bring to the forefront of the mind the trauma of death and loss that comes from war and conflict (Lemay 2018b, 69). This

trauma stems from the multiple realities of war that include both the physical and mental

damage experienced by both soldiers and civilians, which are not mutually exclusive.

Various scholars have examined the way trauma interacts with specific heritage sites or

the way heritage sites and nations generally deal with their memory of trauma.

Nytagodien and Neal (2004) examined how state-crafted institutions created traumatic

memories for their victims and what the political functions of apologies and restitution

are by reviewing government archive documents. Broderick (2010) assessed the

Hiroshima Peace Park sites as 'traumascapes' by visiting the sites as an informed

person, supported by third-person participant observation. Lemay (2018b) sought to

understand how local populations in France negotiated their own trauma from WWII

through the American military cemeteries, with a small number of long form interviews

with American GIs to understand what meaning they received from the art and

architecture of the cemeteries. Gross (2020) examined the cultural trauma of the

Holocaust through poems written by Israeli school-children during and after trips to

Holocaust sites in Poland. Chalcraft (2021) explained how different types of heritage

diplomacy can either begin to heal trauma in local communities or otherwise ignore it.

Through interviews and visitor observation, Su and Park (2022) show how dark heritage

sites can help change massacre trauma into commemorative practice. These studies

have engaged with specific or otherwise small sample sizes in their trauma studies. To

include trauma is beyond the scope of this work that examines 22 of the ABMC

cemeteries from across multiple countries. The communities affected by trauma that

would need to be engaged with in an ethical way would include American veterans from

the Mexican-American War, the Panama Canal conflict, WWI, WWII, the

Iraq/Afghanistan War, the American families of those veterans, as well as national and

local populaces in Mexico, Panama, the United Kingdom, France, Belgium, the

Netherlands, Luxembourg, Italy, Tunisia, and communities that have been victimized

during the course of the conflicts (e.g., the Jewish, Roma, or disabled communities in

regards to WWII).

One common aspect between all of these studies is that, after first identifying a heritage

site or sites that are associated with trauma, they interact with visitors and other

stakeholders to understand the meanings being received by these parties from the

heritage sties. In other terms, these studies are all concerned with the how these sites

are received and interpreted by visitors as individuals. In semiotic terms (see chapter 3),

the interpretation of sites is based upon the three elements of the sign (signifying

element of a building, for example), the referent (the meaning the sign refers to), and

the interpretant (the person receiving the meaning). These three elements form the

'sign-referent-interpretant' triad of semiotics (after Pierce, Eco, and Deely cited in

Daylight 2012, 39). The above studies have typically focused on the relationship

between the referent and the interpretant (i.e. the meaning being received by the

visitor), and hence how interpretation is received and understood by these visitors. The

multimodal semiotic framework of this research does not seek to understand the ABMC

cemeteries from this same interpretive framework. Rather it aimed to understand the

intentionality behind the constructed space of the cemeteries and the meaning they put

forth, a 'sign-referent' perspective. To address the overarching question of *how* these

cemeteries enact soft power, it is critical to focus on the intentions of presentation (i.e. sign-referent) rather than the impact on individual visitors (i.e. referent-interpretant). Because the cemeteries were all constructed by the US, the majority of them by the ABMC specifically, the 'sign-referent' intentionality will be similar across all the sites while the 'referent-interpretant' will differ between individuals based on their own lived experiences. This similar intentionality will highlight the form that American soft power takes at these sites. As such, the personal and collective experience of trauma, the 'referent-interpretant' aspect cannot currently be accessed at these sites.

The emphasis on the 'sign-referent' aspect of the cemeteries rather than the 'referent-interpretant' is important for multiple reasons. First, as noted by Lemay (2018b), the artistic/architectural design and construction of the ABMC cemeteries glosses over, hides, and otherwise obfuscates the trauma associated with the realities of the wars from which the Commission's cemeteries originate, essentially distancing these sites from such feelings (Lemay 2018b, 7-8; see Chapter 8). Such traumas could also be inter-generational for every community impacted. For example, Lemay (2018b, 42) examined the way that American temporary cemeteries and eventually one of the permanent ABMC cemeteries located in France were used by Norman French to negotiate and remember their own local trauma from WWII. Second, this research has not focused on visitor or outsider perspectives to the ABMC cemeteries but has instead focused purely on how the constructed space of the ABMC cemeteries are places of American soft power, and how that soft power is enacted. In this way, the lack of 'referent-interpretant' perspective is also a strength of the research, as most studies do

not give much notice or attention to the 'sign-referent' perspective of heritage sites associated with trauma. Thus, the trauma people may associate with these cemeteries will not be thoroughly engaged with for this research, as this thesis focuses on the enactment of soft power through the constructed space of the cemeteries. If the ABMC changes their stance toward visitor-oriented research in the future, multiple avenues of research would become available.

Also, relevant here are questions surrounding the ethical or religious perspectives of exhumation and reburial. Without contact with authority figures or representatives of religious or civic communities, any comment on the ethical implications would also be purely speculative. Moreover, following WWI, the majority of the next-of-kin chose to repatriate the remains of their loved ones (Lemay 2018b, 8). Regardless of the decision by the next-of-kin, every set of remains buried in the American temporary cemeteries was exhumed at least once in order to repatriate the remains or otherwise consolidate and formalize the permanent cemeteries. This process was then repeated following WWII. The only American remains from the World Wars that were left where they lie were those that were never recovered from the battlefields. These circumstances complicate any query into the ethics of exhumation that has or could take place at the ABMC cemeteries, and as such, any discussion to this topic will be absent from this thesis.

Structure of the Thesis

This thesis is presented through 9 chapters. This chapter has provided an outline of the history of American military cemeteries and has detailed the research question. It has also outlined the themes inherent to research into cemetery heritage sites. Chapter 2 provides a review of the literature placing the research topic in its broader context by exploring the three principal themes relating to military cemeteries: general war memorialization, memory, and cemetery use, to show how other researchers have established the social and political functions of cemeteries and heritage sites. As the ABMC cemeteries are not located within the US, the chapter also establishes the role of heritage within diplomacy and defines cultural and memorial diplomacy.

Chapter 2 then introduces and examines the diplomatic strategy known as soft power and how this strategy connects to heritage. This chapter also reviews the methods used to research cemeteries and other heritage sites with memorial and/or funerary aspects. The primary argument presented in the chapter echoes that of Luke and Kersel (2012) in that heritage contributes to wider diplomatic strategies and missions. Researchers need to be aware of this and the ethical implications of their work.

Chapter 3 establishes the multidisciplinary methodology utilized in this thesis. A primary aspect of soft power identified in Chapter 2 is the location and design of constructed spaces. The ABMC cemeteries all have common architectural and landscape elements, but the expression of the overall design of the sites varies. To that extent, there arises the need for an encompassing yet directed methodology to fully explore the ABMC

cemeteries. The chosen methodology, borrowing from multiple fields but primarily heritage, is a combination of the heritagescape, created by Garden (2004), supplemented with access map models by West (1999). The heritagescape method was initially created for open-air folk museums as a universal method for analyzing heritage sites. The method asks the researcher to investigate the history and origin of the company behind the site, and then to describe all the various physical aspects of the site including entrances, exits, shops, amenities, literary or educational material, landscape, sight lines, and architectural design. The access maps are used in this thesis to further expand upon the layout sections of the heritagescape by illustrating how the sites manipulate and lead people through the space. This helped to understand the numerous ways visitors can maneuver through the ABMC cemeteries while at the same time showing which aspect of the cemeteries are considered by the Commission to be the most important as these aspects would need to be visited deliberately rather than encountered in passing. Each of these heritagescape categories are listed and reviewed for each cemetery analyzed in Chapters 5-7 and Appendix 3.

The biggest change made to the heritagescape method to adapt it to this research is the history section. Since all the sites analyzed in this thesis originate from the ABMC, an independent agency of the United States Federal Government created by congressional legislation, the history of the ABMC is separated into its own chapter and serves as the context for this thesis. The two methods utilized for this adaptation are legislative historiography and elements of discourse analysis to provide the historical context of the ABMC.

Chapter 3 then outlines the interpretive framework of multi-modal semiotics that was used to combine all the methods used for analysis. Semiotics is the study of signs and meaning, both projected and received. It is particularly concerned with the form, or denotation, of an image, object, or text, and the meaning the form conveys, otherwise known as its connotation (Cobley and Litza 1997; Van Leeuwen 2001). There are five broad semiotic systems for how meaning is created: (i) written/linguistic, (ii) audio, (iii) visual, (iv) gestural, and (v) spatial. Multi-modal analysis looks at any combination of two or more of the semiotic systems listed above (The New London Group 1996). This thesis analyzes how the written/linguistic, visual, and spatial semiotic systems operate at the ABMC cemeteries.

When approached, the ABMC did not approve of the research in this thesis being undertaken via physical visits to their cemeteries. To allow for such a geographically vast sample size, the techniques covered in Chapter 3 were undertaken from a digitized format. The difference between *digitized* and *digital* heritage is primarily one of analytical techniques and processes, with *digitized* heritage being the application of traditional heritage methods to sites, objects, etc. that have been recorded in online repositories while *digital* heritage is defined as the use of "analytic techniques enabled by computational technology" (Drucker 2013, 7).

Chapter 4 serves as the context chapter and the first results analysis chapter. As noted above, the main topic for the chapter is the history of the ABMC starting with the

legislative historiographic and discourse analysis of the initial 1923 US congressional

legislation followed by an overview and analysis of the major eras of the history of the

ABMC. These are broken up into broad periods with the initial legislation being pre-

establishment, followed by post-World War I, post-World War II, and the 'interpretation

era' (from 1979 onwards). Before concluding, the chapter focuses on some of the key

political battles that the ABMC has undergone since it was established. The primary

sources for this chapter are the annual reports to the President of the United States

from the ABMC archive as well as the only complete history of the agency published to

date by Conner (2018). The main argument of this chapter is that the ABMC is a highly

political entity, even if it only perceives itself as the overseers of America's war dead.

The analysis in this chapter serves as the context and history of the ABMC's cemeteries

at a macro level before moving on the next three chapters where the micro histories of

each cemetery are given as part of their individual heritagescape analyses.

Following the analysis of the historical context of the AMBC, Chapters 5 through 7 of

this thesis present the primary results and heritagescape case studies. Chapter 5

begins with a review of the methods used to examine the case studies. Each case study

applies the heritagescape method, produces and analyzes an access map for the site,

gives a short soft power interpretation summary, and each chapter ends with a short

analysis of the threshold design of the cemeteries listed in the chapter. Chapter 5

consists of the two cemeteries controlled by the ABMC that were constructed before the

Commission existed, located in the Americas. Chapter 6 describes three WWI

cemeteries located in the UK, France, and Belgium respectively. Chapter 7 describes

four WWII cemeteries located in the UK, France, Luxembourg, and Italy. The primary purpose of these chapters is to establish and engage with the heritagescapes and layouts of the cemeteries as they are today and how they have changed throughout the last century. The cemeteries chosen as the representative case studies were given primacy for the following factors: (1) the cemetery hosted a speech which has been analyzed for this thesis, (2) the cemetery is particularly representative of a specific aspect of cemetery construction/design that is drawn upon for the discussion made in Chapter 8, and/or (3) the cemetery is not represented in other literature or has been overshadowed by other cemeteries in the literature.

Following the results and analysis chapters, Chapter 8 presents a discussion of this evidence in relation to the research question. The first part of the chapter provides an analysis of the overall themes present at all 22 cemeteries analyzed for this thesis, including those in the appendix, with the second part providing a broader thematic discussion in relation to the wider themes of heritage and soft power. By drawing upon Olick's (2007) 'process-relationalism approach' to collective memory studies, three major 'fields' emerge from the cemetery heritagscape analyses: physical, sociocultural, and political. What follows in this chapter is a detailed breakdown and discussion of the overlap between the above fields, their meaning, and how the cemeteries are constructed to relay these ideas. The three fields help support and shield the ABMC from any possible critique while simultaneously imposing the ABMC's views onto visitors in an act of soft power. The primary argument of this chapter is that the ABMC cemeteries and the agency itself were constructed as political entities and

manifestations of American imperialism and exceptionalism to reflect a changing world order. These cemeteries today continue to function as and facilitate soft power through cultural, heritage, memory, and memorial diplomacy activities.

Chapter 9 presents the conclusion of the research. It discusses the primary conclusions in relation to the research question and the significance of the research in relation to how cemeteries and heritage sites are multi-faceted places, the individual components of which do not operate in a vacuum. The totality of how such sites operate as diplomatic staging areas needs to be analyzed to fully understand their purpose in the world. This is even more important for any sites constructed outside the boundaries of the nation of origin for such sites.

The recent Covid pandemic has seen the ABMC cemeteries closed to any visits, research or otherwise. Future research possibilities from this thesis are analyses of how such cemeteries and sites function when originating from another country, such as the United Kingdom, France, or Germany. Such research could also be put forth for the memorials overseen by the ABMC for comparison research. The memorials maintained by the Commission are more numerous than the 26 cemeteries, and offer a wider array of architectural styles, intent, and meaning both inherent and created. Interdisciplinary studies are available for diplomacy or sociological disciplines. While the place of heritage within political and diplomatic frameworks is a well-established fact for veterans of the discipline, a more inclusive look into the way the power frameworks are organized and upheld would be of interest to explore. This would also continue the work of Luke

and Kersel (2012) and be more inclusive of wider heritage sites and power structures

rather than being solely focused on archaeological places and objects.

Chapter 2 – Literature Review

To answer the research question established in Chapter 1: 'How have the American military cemeteries located outside of the United States enacted soft power since 1851?', it is necessary to first place this research within the context of existing academic studies. This chapter consists of a literature review of six major academic themes that this research is building upon: conflict archaeology, memorialization, cemeteries, memory, diplomacy, and soft power. Much work has been conducted on the social functions and purposes of cemeteries, which will be covered in the relevant section. The way in which military cemeteries, or heritage sites more generally, enact soft power has been identified as the knowledge gap this thesis will address. This chapter creates of logical line of thinking that establishes what a war memorial is, how military cemeteries are war memorials, and the ways these types of heritage function in the international political process by drawing on the recent works covering soft power and heritage by Luke and Kersel (2012), memorial diplomacy by Graves (2014), as well as cultural and heritage diplomacy by Winter (2015; 2016).

Archaeology and heritage are topics deeply embroiled in the political realm. To most individuals, this is usually seen in the way archaeology and heritage play major roles in the construction of identity (Smith 2006) and nationalism (Billig 1995; Smith 1999; Graham, Ashworth, and Tunbridge 2000; Anderson 2016). Issues surrounding heritage funding sources, whether they are charitable, local, regional, national, or international in origin (Luke and Kersel 2012; Winter 2015), the effect of legislation on the creation, designation, and valuation of heritage (Carman 1996; Harrison 2013), or the creation of

international bodies like UNESCO that oversee heritage, and the politics surrounding its usage at such levels (Winter 2014; 2016; Akagawa 2016) are all ever evolving areas of intrigue and research. These areas of research are not wholly separate from one another, and all contribute to a process of cultural diplomacy and soft power, the effects of which are part of the subject of this thesis. Both cultural diplomacy and soft power are part of the wider field of diplomacy. The work in this chapter serves to outline the social and political purposes of cemeteries in general as outlined by prior research before moving on to the remainder of the thesis which focuses on the ABMC cemeteries specifically.

Conflict Archaeology and Memorialization

As with all academic disciplines, research into Conflict Archaeology has been broad and continues to expand, while leaving much to say within its research parameters. In recent decades, anniversaries of past wars and new conflicts around the world have been two catalysts for the increase in academic attention given to the field, with an arguably infamous article published in 1996 by Keeley claiming the past has been pacified in academia also further spurring academics. The following section provides a brief overview of the discourse regarding war remembrance, memorials, and theories behind the heritagization of memorials (Harrison 2013). Powerful, physical forms of heritage manifestation in the form of new museums, documentaries and fictional films, the hunt for and eventual trials of Nazi war criminals, and the return of stolen property have also served to increase the general public's awareness during recent decades (Ashplant et al. 2000; Olick 2007; Berger 2010; Langenbacher 2010; Olick et al. 2011).

Heritage studies of conflict remembrance and memorialization covers three main time periods: the prehistoric, the historic, and the modern (Carman 2014, 2). Much of the work regarding prehistoric conflict has been undertaken by anthropologists looking into the ritual, economic, and ceremonial aspects of warfare. As such, it has been suggested that the past has been "pacified" by not genuinely appreciating that violence was perpetrated in the past (Keely 1996). The three main ways people have determined the existence of warfare in the past has been the presence of weapons, types of burials, imagery associated with war, and skeletal trauma (Gilchrist 2003, 5). The presence of weapons is typically associated with men, who are then classified as 'warriors' - where there are warriors, there must be war. The historic period heritage of conflict remembrance stems from military tactics and history more so than archaeology (Carman 2014, 44). Many sites are examined from the perspective of military historians in terms of how the landscape affected the layout of troops, the use of the terrain in the fighting, and how decisive the battle was (Carman 2014, 44). What these ideas neglect is how the landscape changes over time. What is now a field may have been marshland during the historic period when the battle took place, which would explain why all contemporary accounts of the day have forces from both sides avoiding the area (Carman and Carman 2013, 20). The study of modern conflicts is much more divisive than their prehistoric or historic counterparts. Until recently, the modern conflicts of WWI and WWII were part of the living memory of soldiers and civilians who fought and survived them. Later conflicts such as the Korean War, the Vietnam War, Operation Desert Storm, or the Iraq invasion after 11 September 2001 are still well within living

memory. This aspect of modern conflict adds a level of care and emotion to the heritage surrounding these sites and events. As such, when centennials for these events arise and thoughts are focused on their heritage remnants, consideration must be taken into account of the stories told (Login 2016, 360). These commemoration events seem more poignant to visitors when "[s]tanding on the spot where it all happened thereby seems to evoke a specific place-bound experience, which can contain feelings of wonder and amazement, but also of awe and fear, of historical connection or distance, and more" (Driessen et al. 2022, 215). WWI heritage sites seem to focus on the horrors of the first ever conflict to be fought on such a scale, involving both active military and their families, in such a way as to solidify national sentiment within the allied nations and shame at the history of their country's past actions for the axis powers (Winter 1995, 5). WWII has developed into a more 'victim' centered heritage, with many research specialties focusing on internment, the home front, and the far theater of the conflict not focused on in the mainstream narrative (Carman 2014, 10-13). Cold War heritage is very much steeped in espionage, even up to the current day, so much of its heritage has focused on people (Schofield 2006, 76).

Much of the heritage referred to above has been remembered and commemorated through the construction of memorials, but no memorial is built within a closed system. All pieces of memorial heritage being proposed for construction or added to protection lists, are juxtaposed against one another. Regarding tragic events, there is a danger of creating 'victory monuments' to the perpetrators (Young 2016, 28). It is still important to memorialize these events, because to some "the past poses a formidable threat to

meaning, and for the other, the very essence of meaning stems from the same traumatic past" (Hirschberger 2018, 10). Focusing on war memorials, Login examined the ways memorials to common soldiers evolved over time in relation to existing memorials with tensions developing within planning committees over exactly whose history memorials should present, or, in other words, who had a right to be represented, and who would be forgotten (Login 2016, 7-8, 10). If every moment of human existence, modern or prehistoric, was to be memorialized, there would be no room for anyone to live. In addition, the process of choosing which moments and who to memorialize is a highly competitive process that can take years. Of course, memorials may also only be deemed appropriate during commemoration or anniversary years. The memorials built by individuals with an autobiographical experience of the conflict will be constructed in a manner different than those memorials constructed years later through the filter of time and commemoration. In addition, the effects memorials have post-construction has not received as much academic attention as the pre-construction phase (Login 2016, 15-16), although this is beginning to change. This post-construction phase is when memorials contribute to a soft power diplomatic strategy by governments and nations. It is not enough to just critically appraise how monuments and memorials are constructed, what event they commemorate, or how they commemorate them. How these monuments are reinterpreted and used in the present is just as worthy of critical attention.

Two ideas reinforce how monuments and memorials are used. The first is the invisibility of monuments in day-to-day life (Musil 2006, 64-68) and the second is the mnemonic

potential of monuments to build consensual understandings of the past to legitimate claims of authority by elites (Johnston and Ripmeester 2007). No matter how soft, manipulative, benevolent, or malevolent it may seem, authority is power, and reinforcing that power is one of the purposes of monuments. Living in one of 23 cities by the name of Jacksonville or using a twenty-dollar bill are invisible everyday reminders of President Andrew Jackson, one of the most notoriously racially prejudiced presidents in American history. Throughout the American South, attending or coming across a school by the name of Robert E. Lee is not an uncommon occurrence. To African Americans living in these conditions every day, it is a constant reminder of what the place this demographic calls home attempted to do on purely racial grounds while celebrating a white nationalist narrative of history. While not the stereotypical statue (which also exist), these are still memorials to these now historical figures. More typical monuments and memorials accomplish much the same ideas (see Censer 2019), especially in the constraints of urban space, "representation has to be made efficient. Thus memorialisation communicates through designed objects, carved and constructed human symbols" (Heath-Kelly 2018, 65) that convey their meaning with as few words as possible. Constant every day invisible reminders of the history of the nation may be intended to rally the populace around the built national identity (Billig 1995, 8). However, there is no one reading of any 'text', or message 'medium', whether that be a book, an academic article, or a monument. The stories that surround an object are always up for debate and reinterpretation, especially as the duration between the event depicted and the present grows, or is challenged as "mythology" (Liu 2022, 4). The most powerful of these stories are arguably those surrounding the monuments to the dead, a physical

reminder of a life now passed. And no monument to the dead is as powerful or emotionally visceral than a cemetery.

Cemeteries

As with memorials above, cemeteries have multiple layers of meaning and perspectives affecting their use. Prior studies of cemeteries have focused on status and ownership (Gansum 1995, 1997; Skre 1997, 1998; Iversen 1999; Gansum 2004; Skre 2007b; Brink 2008) or showing that cemeteries were a way for the elite to communicate their power (Gansum 2004; Skre 2007; Jennbert 2006; Thate 2009; Griffiths and Harrison 2011). More recent work has added nuance to cemeteries as heritage sites. Among the heritage uses for cemeteries are that they serve "as arenas for ritual enactment, for death rites and religious acts, as manifestation of power and wealth, but largely as locations that facilitated the more mundane functions of reiteration and reproduction of social memory" (Moen 2020, 2). In this recent work, Moen does not put a focus on the usage, drama, power, or religion of cemeteries to show the multifaceted extent of these sites, but that burials and cemeteries testify to repeated actions and cultural reiterations maintained through repetitive, daily interaction, with their case study being Viking burials in Norway. This idea is based on "[t]he proximity of burials to places of daily activity, including arable land, settlements, rivers and roads..."(Moen 2020, 3). The research in this thesis connects with Moen's focus on the physical proximity of cemeteries through the historical context of the ABMC. As cemeteries continue to develop among active landscapes, the cemetery's settlement of origin normalizes their dead, their connection to (and ownership of) the land, and their connection to the past (Moen 2020, 9; Bernat

2019, 101). Such actions may also imply strength, as only those with the strength to protect the land would be capable of staying on it long enough to establish such a cemetery. The above actions help to establish 'in-groups' and 'out-groups' and hint at the political purpose(s) cemeteries have for the living.

Cemeteries as an area of study or type of place are squarely rooted in and associated with the past. By focusing on the past, the dead become the participants under study with the most agency. Such a focus at best diminishes, at worst neglects, the agency of those who are living, and possibly related to the deceased, who had to go through the process of burying their relative or community member. This is not to say that studies conducted on just the dead and surrounding practices are not without merit. Lewis Binford's (1970) and Arthur Saxe's (1970) academic studies of these ideas brought more attention to the field of cemetery and death studies. The primary point made by Saxe in his paper, which would go on to become his PhD, was that cemeteries appeared in societies in which social groups used death practices to legitimize control of critical resources such as land. The case studies in his thesis provided models for cluster and principal component analysis to allow for the interpretation of social ranking and status of the communities that spawned the cemeteries studied. Binford's, Saxe's, and other similar ideas were published in James Brown's edited volume *Approaches to the Social Dimensions of Mortuary Practices* (1970). A decade later, Parker-Pearson published a critique in response to these death-centered ideas. This critique would serve to consider contemporary living people and other societal complexities to the rituals and practices surrounding death. Parker-Pearson questioned the assumption that

burials and death rituals are static processes, with similar if not the same rituals and processes being applied to everyone buried under certain circumstances (e.g., is the dead a woman, warrior, killed in battle). As constructs, burials are ritualistically performed to answer certain questions, but remain open to ideological manipulation (Parker-Pearson 1982, 99). By connecting burials and cemeteries with the idea of ideological construction and manipulation, Parker-Pearson brought in the ideas of power and status to death studies, as "[i]t is worth underlining, however, that death rituals and cemetery display do not necessarily reflect the actual power relations at play in a given society..." (Parker-Pearson 1982, 100). Parker-Pearson went on to speculate that new social practices or power relations may lead to more overt death ritual advertisement practices (Parker-Pearson 1982, 112). This critique was later summarized by Robert Chapman as giving "the living an active role in the design and practise of ritual activities such as mortuary practices, and placed the decision-making process within wider economic and political contexts" (Chapman 2003, 309). This thesis uses Parker-Pearson's ideas as a foundation and seeks to further expand upon them by understanding the more varied uses of cemeteries and mortuary practices for the living in modern society. Every practice surrounding the death and burial of a person, while talked about from the perspective of being performed for the dead, is performed *for* and focused *on* the living.

It was not until the late 20th century that scholars sought to define the term 'cemetery', in an effort to refine cemeteries as a research topic. Kolbuszewski (1995, 17) gave the definition of a cemetery as "a certain sector of space delimited by certain *a priori*

formulated resolutions, according to which it is there that funeral practices consistent with religious, ethnic, cultural (that is customary) and other easily definable needs of a given community, will be carried out". A later definition for the word from the *Oxford Dictionary of Architecture* states cemeteries as "[b]urial ground[s], especially a large landscaped park or ground laid out expressly for the deposition or interment of the dead, not being a churchyard attached to a place of worship" (Curl 1999).

The most recent attempt to define a cemetery by Rugg (2000) also set out to construct a typology of the form split into six different forms: the secular cemetery, churchyard, burial ground, mass grave, war cemetery, and pantheon. The differences between the six types came down to differences in physical characteristics, ownership and purpose, sacredness, and the ability of the site to celebrate the individuality of the deceased. The secular cemetery is the modern graveyard serving its community and is constructed in different forms depending on the religion and culture of the community it serves. The churchyard is much like the secular cemetery but is owned by a specific parish or religious organization, tending to its parishioners in a parcel of land attached to the building of worship. The burial ground or folk cemetery can be a secular cemetery belonging to a small community, but Rugg denotes it specifically as the cemetery of marginalized minorities. These cemeteries often end up forgotten until modern construction or archaeological research rediscovers them, such as a slave cemetery unearthed in lower Manhattan in New York (see Phillips 2015). Mass graves are those that follow tragedy or conflict, where the individuality of those interred is lost. War cemeteries are those cemeteries formally set up during or after a specific conflict,

usually along the lines of nationality, and containing military or military-adjacent

personnel. And pantheons are those cemeteries where heroic figures to the nation or

community are set apart as a show of status and respect for their deeds (Rugg 2000,

265-271).

This typology is not without its flaws. While Rugg notes that location and size of

cemeteries varies based on contributing communities, there is little mention of how

architecture is used to differentiate the types. For example, a churchyard is likely to

feature more religious iconography, or a more affluent community may prefer to section

off their dead in family mausolea. And by splitting them into such a typology, Rugg

leaves very little room to examine the overlap between types - a churchyard can grow

into a secular cemetery, and a war cemetery may have a pantheon, mass grave, both,

or neither within its boundary. The 'sacredness' of a cemetery that Rugg mentions is

more in line with the *a priori* knowledge mentioned by Kolbuszewki (1995), where

people seem to understand when they are within a cemetery as long as they have some

a priori knowledge as to its forms and functions. The boundaries of a cemetery are of

particular note here. They serve to not only protect the cemetery from encroachment by

nearby developments or vandals, or to protect the privacy of the bereaved, but to signify

the break between the sacred and the profane. The threshold of the entry gate and the

surrounding boundary of the cemetery separate it from its surroundings as a place with

purpose (Rugg 2000, 262). All cultures have what by modern standards would be

understood as a cemetery. It is, however, easier and more useful to local communities,

to study particular cemetery forms under the specific cultural headings of the region

rather than as a cemetery in itself. What has changed over time is how different academic paradigms have viewed cemeteries and the techniques used to conduct research within them.

For this thesis, Rugg's typology helps to define the type of cemetery under examination, specifically the military cemetery. The cemeteries run by the ABMC are perfect examples of military cemeteries as defined by the interred being military or military adjacent from a single nation. No mass graves are present at the ABMC cemeteries since the 1970s when the mass graves of the Mexico City Cemetery were disinterred and formed into an ossuary following site renovations (see Chapter 5). Furthermore, the ABMC hold that every person buried in their cemeteries is a 'hero'. This leads to some crossover with Rugg's pantheon cemetery type, but if every interred person is a hero, then the military cemetery is the pantheon. The evolution of military cemeteries from park cemeteries was examined at the end of the 20th century (Mosse 1990). Famously, cemeteries, cenotaphs, and especially 'Tombs of the Unknown Soldier' connected military landscapes and memorials to nationalism (Mosse 1990; Anderson 2016). When combined with the idea of everyday interaction with cemeteries (see Moen 2020), the construction of nationalism at military cemeteries takes on a more subtle, banal form, first identified as the linking of language and print journalism to the creation of nationalism (see Billig 1995).

All aspects of military cemeteries have been studied for their symbolism; for the landscape and plants see Gough (1996), Halajova et al. (2017), and Heath-Kelly (2018),

for iconography see Grossman (1984), Robin (1995), Ebel (2012), and Strecker (2020), for a history of military cemeteries in America see Grant (2005), Gatewood and Cameron (2004), and Wanger (2015). Wanger's (2015) thesis shows that military cemeteries are not exempt from the effects of politics and progress, among other factors. The reasons attached to the establishment of cemeteries changes though time and can include concerns over public health (see Finer 1952) and a space to offer protection and privacy to both the corpse and to the bereaved (see McManners 1981). Cemeteries can also be a way of demonstrating a degree of civic pride (see Bender 1975).

The tricky and somewhat complicated aspect of studying cemeteries come about from space and time, as "burial space is essentially mutable: its meaning does not remain static over time; and its significance is not uniform over all cultures... Even at the basic level, the significance of such space alters as time accrues between the living and the dead" (Rugg 2000, 259). It is these very facets of space and time that make cemeteries interesting, not just to archaeologists or heritage specialists, but to everyone. Most, if not all, cemeteries contain select design elements that are typical of the form. How these design elements are placed, and the meanings ascribed to them, differ through time, which Hulver shows in the way the American military cemeteries in France have been viewed differently at various times (Hulver 2015) and Login has shown for war memorials in Washington D.C. (Login 2016).

The longer the community connected to the cemetery exists, the more value, or possibly reverence, a cemetery gains over time. Being buried in the community cemetery shows an acceptance of the dead and their living relatives within the community. The opposite is also true, hearkening back to Rugg (2000) earlier, as 'folk' cemeteries in the USA could be in danger of destruction, projecting a message of minorities not being accepted in the community. Grave goods and architecture give the living relatives or friends comfort that the dead are being looked after properly or have the appropriate tools in the afterlife. If determined a martyr or hero, the dead may even spur nationalist support among the living. All these aspects of burial influence the remaining living to the community, in a positive way by embracing the people who are accepted, and negatively by turning away from burial in the cemetery those who are not accepted by the community, which is likely to be reciprocated at a later date, unconsciously or explicitly. It is in this fashion that cemeteries help to create and maintain identities and nationalisms and can function as part of local level diplomacy. All these elements are amplified when the site is a military cemetery. While both are owned and maintained by secular authorities, military cemeteries are distinct in their demographics (soldiers and possibly immediate family), chronological pattern of establishment, and their use in creating or bolstering national identities (Rugg 2000, 261). Military cemeteries offer an opportunity for governments to simultaneously cater the goodwill of its public, see to the disposal of the dead, build a national identity, and eventually become heritage sites. The choice of which cemeteries to accept or where they are placed also allows governments to disenfranchise minority groups, possibly in an effort to drive them out of

the state. These facets of cemetery use in the present are the basis for the examination of the soft power of the American military cemeteries of the ABMC in this thesis.

Previous Cemetery Research Methods

Research involving cemeteries covers all periods but can be broadly split into ancient, historic, and modern. Each of these time periods require methods drawn from different disciplines to satisfy the focus of the research while remaining respectful to the community from which the interred originate. Ethnographic and quantitative analysis of biological and cultural data following archaeological excavation was performed on mortuary practices of ancient cemeteries to move anthropology and archaeology beyond chronological reconstruction to the inference of social dimensions (Binford 1970; Saxe 1970). Without a descendant community to claim ownership of the cemeteries, the archaeologists and anthropologists had a lower ethical barrier to pass. Research on a historical New York plantation estate cemetery by Hayes (2011) explored how the memory and history of minority groups have been shaped in the area via excavation of slave quarters supplemented by non-invasive analysis of two cemeteries and two memorials associated with the estate. Recently, early historic cemeteries have been linked to social memory and power structures via landscape and grave good analysis in Norway (Moen 2020). In the UK spatial analysis methods in historic cemeteries have been used to research demography, social structure, and shifting cultural attitudes toward death using non-invasive methods such as reading and recording the headstones and have often been aimed at amateur archaeologists being archived with minimal technical training required (Mytum 2000, 41-63). These efforts

have led to the design of digital systems to support more local, community led research of cemetery and burial space heritage sites (Pilatt et al. 2021, 2). The studies conducted by Moen and Hayes respectively highlight that what is considered an acceptable methodology for cemetery research changes not only with the research question, but also with the period in question. The closer a cemetery is to the modern day; the more likely non-invasive techniques will be asked of researchers in their field work.

Research methods conducted on modern cemeteries need to be non-invasive to avoid social and religious issues. For example, to avoid any social, political, ethical, and religious issues, archaeological research undertaken at Holocaust sites used a non-invasive multi-method approach of archival research, cartographic analysis, photographic analysis, walkover survey, topographic survey and geophysical survey including resistivity analysis and ground-penetrating radar (Sturdy-Colls 2012; 2015). Research by historians, art historians, architectural historians, and geographers has been conducted at ABMC sites using non-invasive techniques. Archival research of official policy documents and a visitor logbook from the ABMC was undertaken to establish a broader historical narrative of war remembrance between 1910 and 1930 in America (Budreau 2008; 2010). Visitor observation and interviews were undertaken at WWI ABMC cemeteries in 2014 to understand how the Commission and young teachers were interpreting the sites in efforts to prepare American school curriculum (Ray and Mink 2014). Landscape, architecture, art historical, and iconographic analysis has been undertaken at select ABMC cemeteries to interpret the complicated politics surrounding the Commission (Grossman 1984; Robin 1995; Lemay 2018a; 2018b).

Memory

No state achieves legitimacy as a political entity without some form of historical

narrative (Irwin-Zarecka 1994, 61). The title given to this historical narrative is the 'past'.

By associating it with time, the 'past' or historical narrative is given the veneer of

objective truth. However, the 'past' is a product of the cultural process of construction

and representation (Assmann 2011, 71). These cultural processes manifest in

remembrance and commemoration practices. While these practices take place at both

local and universal levels, they have clearly defined political aims (Irwin-Zarecka 1994,

51). The manifestation of these practices at the smallest level is individual memory,

while at the macro level of a community, society, or nation, they are called collective

memory. Collective memory has been defined as a reconstructed image of the past

which is in accordance with the predominant thoughts of the present (Halbwachs 1992,

40). Collective memory is not located in the minds of individuals, but in the resources

shared by the community (Hirst and Coman 2018, 3). These resources are framing

devices for collective memory and include sites, places, and objects.

Most framing devices for collective memory establish a particular claim to historical truth

and, thus, our attention in the present (Irwin-Zarecka 1994, 4-5). Such claims may be

affiliation with participants of the past, living and deceased. Remembering the dead,

particularly, is a paradigmatic way of 'establishing the community' (Assmann 2011, 47),

even if that community is an 'imagined' one (Anderson 2016). If not for the help of the

community around them, however, an individual is likely to forget many details and facts

of the collective memory (Halbwachs 1992, 182). If an individual relocates, this process allows for assimilation, as details particular to the old community are forgotten and details particular to the new community can take their place. Such differing perspectives change the way facts or people are viewed (Halbwachs 1992, 45). Consequently, the past matters to different people at various times in different ways: some people will kill over it, others might demand political change, and others may instead turn to the future because of it (Irwin-Zarecka 1994, 8-9). These ideas make cemeteries a poignant topic of research for memory studies. They are spaces where the community can converge, reconstruct, and/or reconfirm their collective memory for the present, and forget the aspects of memory that do not suit them.

The actual machinations behind the social production of the past are far greater than what the phrase *collective memory* implies (Olick 2007, 92). This section will provide a broad overview of collective memory and some of the philosophical underpinnings of any collective memory research. What follows is a brief explanation regarding some of the dualisms inherent to collective memory studies, namely the temporal aspect, taboo versus duty, mythic versus instrumental, and *collected* versus *collective* aspects of collective memory studies.

According to Olick (2007, 20) there are four base forms of memory: (1) autobiographical, (2) historical, (3) history, and (4) collective. Autobiographical memory concerns events as individuals have experienced them. Historical memory has not been experienced autobiographically but has been accessed through historic records,

possibly the autobiographical accounts of deceased individuals. History and collective

forms of memory have a dualism present within them. History is the 'inorganic' memory

of the past to which we have no relation while collective is the 'organic' active past that

actively forms our identities today. All memories begin as autobiographical or historical

accounts through contemporary records. After those who lived and/or recorded the

memory die, it becomes history or collective memory depending on how useful or

intrinsic the memory is to a person or nation's current identity. If the historical memory is

still living, then those individuals who hold it may point out inconsistencies in the State's

ideologies (Liu et al. 2022, 173). The autobiographical and collective are in essence

internal or personal while the historical and history are external and societal/group

oriented. Even Olick notes that such ideas seem to give collective memory a life and

sentience of its own (Olick et al. 2011, 20), but what is really being said is that

memories can only happen in individuals, but it is important to understand that those

individuals are parts of greater groups and societies, which will have their own ideas of

which memories are important for specific purposes. Previously, Olick, mirroring

Halbwachs (1992, 52), has explained the idea as follows:

> "There is no individual memory without social experience, nor is there any
> collective remembering without individuals participating in communal life… It
> means remembering both that memory occurs in public and in private, at the tops
> of societies and at the bottoms, as reminiscence and as commemoration, as
> personal testimonial and as national narrative, and that each of these forms is
> important; it also means remembering are not always equally important for each
> other (e.g., the personal experience of leaders, under some conditions, is more
> important than those of 'ordinary' people, but not always), though it also means
> that they are always relevant to some degree; there is, as we have seen, no
> personal memory outside of group experience and that does not take some stand
> on 'official' and 'unofficial' collective versions" (Olick 2007, 34-35).

Time is typically what people look at when they undertake research on collective

memory. In this sense time is the delineation between past, present, and future. This

has not always been the understanding of time, only the most recent view of it as

affected by the field of physics and the advent of general relativity. Certain societies and

cultures view time as cyclical, but for the more general purposes of this thesis, time is

viewed in the sense of the developed Western world as the linear flow of events one to

another that flows with the entropy of the universe. For Olick, this allows for the

exploration of temporality, which he views as the next step in collective memory studies.

If time is merely the delineation between past, present, and future, then temporality is

the concept that connects them. By studying temporality, it is possible to understand the

"political, cultural, and social theories that command normative attention" in societies

(Olick et al. 2011, 37).

The above concept of time and temporality offers an opportunity to discuss time and

constraint. As collective memory is connected to both justifying the current situation and

identities, there is a moral or philosophical element to it as a concept. This leads to

constraints on what can be done or said during the course of commemorations or

research to not offend emotional sensibilities. Thus, it is necessary to discuss the

concept of taboos and duty. In short, taboos 'proscribe' what is absolutely unacceptable

while duties 'prescribe' others to join in certain actions (Olick 2007, 40-42). The ire

shown toward former President Trump's actions in 2018, namely refusing to attend the

100-year anniversary of the end of WWI due to rain, make much more sense from this

taboo perspective. For this example, the taboo Trump transgressed was not performing

his duty of paying proper respects and rhetorically reinforcing international treaties or declarations of peace.

There are two other ways to classify constraint regarding collective memory: mythical and instrumental constraint (Olick 2007, 38). The mythical and instrumental constraints have more to do with time and the event itself than to emotions, because "[t]he relationship between remembered pasts and constructed presents is one of perpetual but differentiated constraint and renegotiation over time, rather than pure strategic invention in the present or fidelity to, or inability to escape from, a monolithic legacy" (Olick 2007, 54). The 'renegotiation' that Olick mentions is the difference between mythic and instrumental constraints or usage of collective memory because "from the very moment being remembered, present images follow one after another, being constantly reproduced, revised, and replaced" (Olick 2007, 104). Many scholars have taken up the instrumental viewpoint of collective memory, especially after Hobsbawm and Ranger wrote about 'invented traditions', "emphasizing not what memory does, but what we do with memory. Collective memory, it turns out, is an extremely useful tool of politics and is also continually subject to it" (Olick et al. 2011, 249). Purely instrumental studies are not entirely true though, as some memories "resist such efforts because of more obdurate features of their social structure" (Olick et al. 2011, 250). This links back in with Olick's concept of temporality, as by combining analysis of 'meanings of relevance' with 'the needs of the present', researchers can understand the changes to collective memory through time as well as what makes some memories more obdurate than others (Olick 2007, 56). In general, it seems the closer a collective memory is to

the originating event, the more mythic the constraint. As time passes, more instrumental uses of collective memory take hold. With fewer to no people left alive to contradict the instrumental uses of collective memory, the more prominent those uses become.

Two more delineations are worth mentioning for collective memory studies. Specifically, the differences between *Collected* versus *Collective* memory. For the fields of psychology and certain sections of history and anthropology, "… the fundamental presumption [of collec**ted** memory] here is that individuals are central: Only individuals remember, though they may do so alone or together, and any publicly available commemorative symbols are interpretable only to the degree to which they elicit a reaction in some group of individuals" (Olick 2007, 23). Collec**tive** memory, on the other hand, refers "to public discourses about the past as wholes or to narratives and images of the past that speak in the name of collectives" (Olick 2007, 33).

There is a general perception that once objects become heritage, that they cease to transform into something else. This perception solidifies the memory attached to the heritage, which is politically useful as it halts the active process of cultivating and pruning that is the lifecycle of memory, remembering, and forgetting (Harrison 2013, 167-168). This time-capsule like effect renders heritage and other memory objects 'texts', ready to be read and interpreted. The authority given to authors of history and memory depend upon the genre of 'text' in question, scholarly reputation, political perspective, sponsorship, and personal connection to the events being described (Irwin-Zarecka 1994, 6). This same authority difference applies across all fields, academia or

otherwise. The above processes, combined with the tumultuous regime changes throughout the second half of the twentieth century have created an accumulation of memorial and mnemonic structures in the present, many of which are at odds with each other (Harrison 2013, 167). The reason for these conflicts between heritage 'texts' are due to the way heritage, memorial, and mnemonic structures project a narrative or story that contradicts with the narratives of other sites and objects. In addition, no matter how solid the narrative surrounding a heritage object or place, individuals are perfectly capable of injecting their own stories and belief systems onto the heritage in question and following those narratives instead (Irwin-Zarecka 1994, 4).

While 'realities of the past' are socially constructed, they are not a discursive free for all that allows for certain revisionist histories (Irwin-Zarecka 1994, 17). Especially in terms of commemoration, "Producers… cannot control the ways in which images of the past are perceived" (Savage 1994, cited in Olick 2007, 55). However, in the case of the ABMC, they have a much greater degree of control over the exploration, recording, and/or analysis of those perceptions. During the second memory boom in the late twentieth century, it has been noted by Olick that "memories deemed by elites to be central to national self-understanding are not as pervasive among the public as previously assumed" (Olick et al. 2011, 249). This is because "New technologies and new social forms have undermined the absolutism of the nation just as others did the old absolutism of the Church, but now we have a multiplicity of contenders for partial allegiance and we are drawn to various and often conflicting temporal frames of reference" (Olick 2007, 189). Thus, within the present day there are such typologies as

official memory, vernacular memory, institutional memory, counter-memory, anti-memory, forgetting, and flash-bulb memories.

Within the above typology of memories is 'forgetting'. While useful for definitional purposes, forgetting is not the opposite of memory, but instead a critical aspect of it. It is impossible to fully understand heritage as a politically and publicly engaged practice without an exploration of the concept of forgetting (Hayes 2011, 198-199). This section will not be undertaking a complete review of forgetting as a concept (for that see Connerton 2006; 2009), instead it will seek to connect collective memory and forgetting with heritage and soft power. Hayes states that explorations of memory and forgetting are natural in the contemporary atmosphere of heritage as a politically and publicly engaged practice (Hayes 2011, 198). The process of "forgetting has implications for the production of history, identity, and heritage past and present, including the shape of archaeology as a discipline" (Hayes 2011, 199). Hayes set out to explore how memory and forgetting occur when constructing social memory and heritage using the case study of the Sylvestor Manor in New York. Two main points from Hayes are worth addressing. The first is that the memorial to Nathaniel Sylvestor in a Quaker cemetery is open to the public, while the 'Colored People of Sylvestor Manor from 1651' cemetery is only readily visible from a private roadway to the house, used only by the family or those invited (Hayes 2011, 207-208). Such differences in access effect the narrative regarding Nathaniel Sylvestor as an important member of the community while suppressing his status as a slave owner, an otherwise unsurprising fact given the context of the period in which he lived. The second point from the article is that the state of decay and

location, with no association to roads or footpaths, of the memorial to Native Americans in the area reinforce the forgetting of their presence during the same time period (Hayes 2011, 209). This separates the Native American and slave populations in American history, as the former are associated with prehistorical and the latter with historical periods. Another example of forgetting is that by destruction. In his article in which he attempts to define cemeteries, Rugg mentions how 'folk' or minority cemeteries may end up destroyed by the wider community (Rugg 2000). If seen as politically risky, the 'Colored People of Sylvestor Manor from 1651' cemetery may be destroyed to help power relations of the Sylvestor descendants in the present.

Also of interest are flash-bulb memories which form "[w]hen people evaluate particular events as more or less consequential, they are more or less likely to recall them as decisive moments; when they have created these so-called 'flashbulb' memories, they tend to remember more of the details surrounding the experience… Social factors like race and class influence the likelihood that any individual will code and store in the associated ways an experience as a flashbulb memory" (Olick 2007, 26-27). Society is what dictates flash-bulb memories after the fact of the event. Some specific American examples of flash-bulb memories include 9/11, the assassination of Presidents Lincoln and JFK, and the signing of the Declaration of Independence.

Memory as the way humans understand the past and how the present has come to be is omnipresent in our species, but it is also situated in social frameworks such as the family or nation, supported and enabled through technology such as the Internet and

video recording, upheld by cultural institutions such as memorials and museums, and is shaped by political circumstance such as wars and catastrophes (Olick et al. 2011, 37). When mentioning the technologies of memory, it is also important to remember and understand that the human brain is one such technology that has been proven to be historically malleable (Olick et al. 2011, 6). With so many caveats to the form and function of memory, the idea of remembering the truth becomes a bit difficult. According to Olick, "memory is not a vessel of truth, but a crucible of meaning" (Olick 2007, 97). This does not dismiss truth from any research being conducted but gives a researcher space to analyze *what* is being done and *how* it is being done with equal analytic standing to *what* is being portrayed. In the most nihilistic sense, truth is unknowable and therefore irrelevant, but focusing on how the 'truth' as we can understand it is being manipulated or distorted offers greater insight into the present needs of the people remembering and the temporality of the event in question.

This malleability of truth and the major interest in memory has coincided with the rise of nation-states and their use of history (which could also be read as memory) to justify their own existences. Whether to justify the superiority of the nation or place the nation within the greater schemata of human history, nation-states have shown a massive interest in their pasts since the late nineteenth century (Olick et al. 2011, 13). This is because history models itself on 'naturalizing analogies' that brook no dissent and make current arrangements seem inevitable (Douglas 1986 cited in Olick et al. 2011, 11). This is not entirely new or unique. Biblical texts enjoined adherents to remember their common origin when religion was the dominant social institution, and nation-states

enjoin their citizens to do the same (Olick et al. 2011, 8). Such ideas led to the boom in memory studies in the beginning of the twentieth century, with the ascendancy of nationalism, and a further boom at the end of the twentieth century spurred by its decline. Truly, "the nineteenth century was still the age of monuments, while ours, given the atrocious history of the last hundred years, is one of memorials (Mosse 1991)" (Olick et al. 2011, 14). The cemeteries of the ABMC were created from the mindset of the early twentieth century and only ceased construction in the midpoint of the century. How they have been used since is a perfect window into the transition from the 'age of monuments to age of memorials'.

This chapter has touched upon the connection between collective memory and nationalism and the rise of nation-states earlier, but this section will, in short, cover the connection to politics more generally. With the rise of nation-states in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries came the need for common identities, and later political legitimation. In terms of identity "…collective memory is a constitutive feature of collective identities and, as such, underwrites contemporary political projects and cultural practices" (Olick et al. 2011, 249). More importantly for heritage studies, is that our current concern with memory and politics is a direct result of technologies of memory outside of the brain (Olick 2007, 30). All the research interests of heritage such as memorials, cemeteries, heritagization, etc. can all be explored via collective memory. In the present day, political legitimation depends on collective memory and 'learning the lessons' of the past (Olick 2007, 122) in a time when victors and victims continue the wars of the past as "discursive battles over their legacies" (Olick 2007, 139).

The soft power of memory lies in *what* is remembered and *how*. This is the true

measure of heritage's use as a soft power strategy. Every object considered heritage

was at one point just another ordinary object, building, or space with a specific purpose.

Over time, usually after falling into some state of ruin, experts rediscover these items. If

deemed important or significant enough, the item or place becomes heritage (Carman

2003, 138). Once the designation of heritage is ascribed to the object or place, time

essentially stops within its demarcated boundaries. This is a simplification of the

frameworks used in all societies, but primarily western societies, to establish heritage,

which is then used to construct a collective memory. All the possible heritage that lay

underneath the ascribed object or that could be built on top of the ascribed place is

forgotten and neglected. That singular place or object in the world in set apart in time

and space as important. Forgetting as part of a soft power strategy need not be done by

willful destruction or erasure from official histories. Forgetting happens the moment we

choose to hold certain artifacts or sites above others or build monuments and hold

commemoration days to certain events while leaving others aside. This function of

forgetting as the outcome of memory and remembrance is what helps set the narrative

of history. To make use of the Rugg example from earlier in this chapter, if a minority

cemetery in the United States is destroyed for any reason, then the narrative can shift

so that minorities were never in the area since no tangible evidence of their presence is

available. The Hayes example shows how the state of decay and access to memorials

can separate diverse groups of people in time and space, with access to a more

objective truth beholden only to the 'in group'. It is the case that these hidden truths can

be found or clung onto, not truly forgotten, and become used for resistant, dissident, or

revisionist histories, or even anti-memorials as covered earlier in the chapter. The use

of heritage to set the narrative of the past in order to bolster the agenda of the present is

why debates centered around control over the ownership of artifacts and sites will never

cease. To control the object and place of the past is to control the narrative around it,

and thus set the agenda for the future.

Power and Heritage

In broad terms, diplomacy is the use of mechanisms short of war deployed by an

international actor to manage the international environment (Cull 2009, 12). Many

different entities can be an international actor, for example a state, international

corporation, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), or paramilitary body. There are

two primary types of diplomacy, traditional and public. Referring to the definition of

diplomacy above, traditional diplomacy occurs between two or more international

actors. Public diplomacy occurs between an international actor and a foreign public.

Memory, cultural, heritage, and memorial diplomacies are all types of public diplomacy

(Cull 2009). It is impossible for an international actor to directly interact with every

member of a foreign public on an individual level. By the time the last individual of the

public has been consulted, the first individual consulted will have changed their mind.

As such, international actors work to project their power, real or imagined, to publics all

over the world. International politics and diplomacy are based on the transfer and

enforcement of power. The seemingly simple concept of power has led to complex

bureaucratic administrations, alliance networks, and more (Luke and Kersel 2012, 136).

This concept of power can be broken down into three types: hard power, soft power, and smart power, with each form of power having its own advantages, disadvantages, and strategic uses. Hard power is the physical exertion of force militarily, economically, and legally to obtain a desired outcome. Soft power is defined as "getting other countries to do what you want… by shaping their preferences so that they align with yours" (Nye 2004, 1-8) through "attraction or endearment" by appealing to the emotions of the country's populace (Luke and Kersel 2012). Perceived legitimacy is the key to the realization of soft power (Luke and Kersel 2012, 4). By this definition, and in contrast to hard power, soft power focuses more on the thoughts and emotions of the intended parties. Smart power combines hard and soft power in various intertwining manners to achieve objectives (Nye 2004a; 2004b; 2008; 2009; 2013) and is arguably at the core of the day-to-day minutia of modern politics. It is impossible to employ any one of these power types without influencing the others. Hard power as military action of any kind always ends up consigning the perpetrators of the armed forces to hatred from someone, including their own people. If soft power is used effectively, hard power options are much less viable to achieve a goal. Even actions of smart power lean more toward soft power than hard power, with the latter being supportive or a contingency. Moreover, failed power operations are remembered, both physically and emotionally. How these failures or transgressions are remembered crosses over into heritage and memory studies via war memorials, statues, and the historical narratives they perpetuate, as covered above.

Heritage, especially its tangible forms such as archaeological sites and objects, can fall under hard power (Luke and Kersel 2012, 4). Intangible heritage, acting more within the hearts and minds of others, is more suitably used for soft power goals, but is not entirely separate from hard power (e.g., Lähdesmäki and Čeginskas 2022). Hard power is the most tangible of the types of power to define and observe and offers a basis of opposition from which the other two types of power can be understood. Every international monetary exchange, armed conflict, or administrative council are examples of physical actions taken with physical action left as consequence are expressions of hard power. For specifically American examples, look no further than foreign arms deals, United Nations sanctions, or the armed invasion of Iraq and Afghanistan in 2003. Archaeology plays its role in hard power by offering an object or place as tangible target for negotiations, whether that be militarily, monetarily, or legally (Luke and Kersel 2012, 4). Tangible archaeological sites are also commonly the places where intangible heritage actions or rituals are performed. Thus, soft power strategies focused on intangible heritage may take effect at otherwise tangible, hard power derived locations.

It is because of this modern focus on smart power by governments that researchers are taking a step back and looking at where their work sits within such agendas (Luke and Kersel 2012; Beaumont 2016). This is in response to governments around the world making 'smart power' their official foreign policy agendas. In the modern world of mass communication, any social or political influence that comes about as consequence of the portrayal of the past is the responsibility of the researcher (Gathercole 1990, 245). These ideas put researchers in a difficult position, as much of their funding comes from

government sources. This will only continue as heritage becomes more controlled by states, governments, and their legislation (Harrison 2013, 95). Governments and new nations use archaeologists and other professionals and academics to support new myths about the nation because they are generally seen as apolitical agents. Being apolitical, while helpful to the everyday work of the discipline, is precisely the strategic variable that makes the discipline part of sustained cultural diplomacy. And it is this role as apolitical agent of the state that makes them such a useful asset to the diplomatic toolkit as part of a cultural diplomatic soft power strategy, as discussed above. When a country chooses to spend its resources on heritage, archaeology and archaeologists help further diplomatic goals and agendas (Luke and Kersel 2012, 2-3).

While it can indeed be a target for hard power, heritage has multiple complex roles within the realms of soft power. These concepts of power and diplomacy are extremely complicated and require a concrete understanding of how politics and government operate. Every government around the world will choose to implement these power structures in diverse ways specific to their national context and interest. To fully understand their usage, researchers need to be able to read through any political double-speak or legislative wording and definitions that change any insights that can be made (Luke and Kersel 2012; Graves 2014; Winter 2014; Winter 2015; Beaumont 2016; Winter 2016). The remainder of this section will introduce a few examples of how broader themes within 'politics and heritage' affect and are affected by soft power, beginning with funding.

Funding is perhaps the most concrete connection between heritage and cultural diplomacy, because "culture queues up for assistance, just as do public works" (Gathercole 1990, 2). Funding agencies in most countries are part of government frameworks, which by being the financial sponsor, decide what projects are worthy and relevant to study (see Kohl 1998). Those projects deemed relevant for study by the government-controlled funding sources will likely be seen to contribute to the 'national interest', which is also likely not to have much overlap with the interests of the local community wherein the heritage resides (Ucko 1990, xiv). These projects are also ripe for being used in the creation of national identities. This funding priority is not only at work within the country the governmental body has control over. To legitimize themselves, new nation-states often look to heritage, and with no funds of their own to use, they turn to overseas aid (Gathercole 1990, 187). Such funding actions are themselves a form of cultural diplomacy with none of the later curatorial hassle of artifact storage or maintenance (Winter 2016, 28). Agencies and organizations that fund heritage are one part of a 'network of networks' that spend billions of dollars a year on conservation and other cultural diplomacy actions (Winter 2015, 998). These networks rely upon archaeologists and heritage specialists acting as agents for multiple organizations.

In the present day, archaeologists are rarely official government agents (Luke and Kersel 2012, 136). However, as professionals carrying out research that funding agencies (i.e., government or government-controlled agencies) have deemed relevant, archaeologists often carry out policy actions, usually unwittingly (Luke and Kersel 2012,

12). In this way, archaeologists and heritage specialists are unofficial government agents, harnessed by their governments as goodwill ambassadors and advocates for the governments interest and support for 'the common past' or the 'world's cultural heritage' (Luke and Kersel 2012, 14).

Up to this point, this thesis has touched on how heritage is political, and the effect politics has on heritage and its practitioners in the creation and usage of cultural diplomacy. Each one of the subjects could fill scores of journals on their own, but such topics are merely the basis for discussion included in this thesis. The subject not touched upon is *how* heritage is political. Not just how it connects to or could be used by political organizations, but the unintended politics of doing and being in heritage specifically. This was referenced decades ago when Madrid wrote that "given the overtly political nature of so much archaeological practice, it is remarkable that examination of the relationships between archaeology and politics has generally been avoided" (Madrid 1986 quoted in Ucko 1990, xiv-xv). Archaeologists can no longer simply carry out research projects for the intrinsic value of knowledge (on top of individual reasons for pursuing the profession). The field of archaeology and its practitioners "can no longer hide from the political spheres of heritage…" (Luke and Kersel 2012, 62). Even those researchers who do not focus on political aspects of archaeology and heritage need to pay heed in the present. The fields of archaeology and heritage have lost their apolitical status, even to those not within the professions. Indeed, the apolitical veneer of archaeology and heritage only lasted as long as it has because the politics that have historically enabled it are so taken-for-granted that they are invisible (see Daniels 2012).

The political uses of archaeology and heritage lie in their connection to 'the past'. In society today, an understanding of past changes helps to give meaning to the present (Trigger 1986, 13). As such, "archaeology is a highly political practice… an active agent in everybody's present" (Ucko 1990, xiii-xiv). People have realized that the "use of the past [is] an overt, political conjuring act which often results in the complexities of the archaeological evidence being transformed into simple messages about national cultural identity" (Ucko 1990, xiv; see also Lowenthal 2015). These simple messages of national identity are used both within and outside the country of origin. Sites and museums "have powerful and crucial roles in the development of nationalism, particularly when they become vehicles for education and instruction" (Ucko 1990, xvi-xvii). Regardless of professed intent, heritage sites and centers in foreign countries are opportunities for public diplomacy by acting as conduits between the local and international communities. Archaeologists, heritage specialists, their research, and the places that facilitate that research have provided and continue to provide entry into local, national, and international communities (Luke and Kersel 2012, 30, 45).

The above sections may be read as taking the agency away from archaeology and heritage professionals and giving it to more ephemeral bodies and actions. However, rather than taking away their agency, this thesis seeks to highlight how other entities express their agency upon the collective work and actions of those within heritage by using heritage as part of cultural diplomacy. These actions need to be further explored around the world, and this thesis seeks to understand the way the ABMC cemeteries are molded by and used for these soft power diplomatic measures.

Diplomacy and Soft Power

Soft power is best evidenced and discussed in how it is manifested in or by certain

diplomatic efforts. This section presents and discusses several types of these diplomatic

actions that result from or make extensive use of soft power, either as a goal to be

achieved or a tool to be wielded. For the purposes of this thesis, the most relevant for

study are memory diplomacy, cultural diplomacy, heritage diplomacy, and memorial

diplomacy.

Conventional diplomacy is the "means by which states articulate, co-ordinate, and

secure particular or wider interests" (Jazbec 2013, 97). Leading from there, cultural

diplomacy is the attempt "to manage the international environment through making its

(that nation's) cultural resources and achievements known overseas and/or facilitating

cultural transmissions abroad" (Cull 2009, 19). By this definition, France has been one

of the countries with the oldest record of cultural diplomacy, with Louis XIV identifying

the political value of utilizing culture to "export French universalism" (Gienow-Hecht and

Donfried 2010, 17) via art and intellectual knowledge (Winter 2015, 1000). Winter

(2015) points out that such actions at this point in history are the foundations for

heritage's internationalization in the modern day.

Having a neat origin point and definition belie the ongoing debate around cultural

diplomacy and the extent to which the cultural can be separated from the socio-political

(see Snow and Taylor 2009). Indeed, Winter (2015) feels it necessary to split heritage

diplomacy from cultural diplomacy as two empirically and conceptually distinct ideas. Cultural diplomacy, according to Winter, "pivots around the projection or export of a particular cultural form as a mechanism of soft power… with the United States, France, Italy and India associated with cultivating successful programmes in these spaces" (Winter 2015, 1007). Examples of this projection include movies, sport, and fashion. Heritage diplomacy, by contrast, is more expansive because it not only incorporates the export of cultural forms but offer bi- or multi-directional flows and exchanges (Winter 2015, 1007). Winter points to the action of using heritage diplomatically as examples of shared culture to draw his distinction.

Looking to Winter's other work on the subject, a contradiction in his separation of cultural and heritage diplomacy emerges. In a 2014 paper on conservation values and strategies between the 'East' and 'West', Winter states that "the desire for global prestige and visibility is not, however, limited to nations. The fashion world has its capitals, whereby Milan, Paris, London and New York are seen as the key sites of innovation, trend setting and the places where paradigm-defining ideas emerge" (Winter 2014, 133). If these are sites of pilgrimage in the fashion world, the amount of reciprocal, bi-, and multi-directional cultural exchange taking place in these cities every day is remarkably high. Hollywood and celebrities are viewed as an export of the United States. However, actors from all over the world move to Hollywood and participate in reciprocal cultural exchange. Sports may be seen to act as a proxy for war, with the winning team proving which country is better, but below the surface, teams are made up of individuals from all over the world (for a broader understanding of soft power in sports

see Parrish 2022). The football (soccer in America) world is constantly exchanging team members of all nationalities based on individual performance in any one match. It is impossible to have such a movement of cultures and nationalities and there not be some form of cultural exchange. Winter (2016) admits that heritage diplomacy has deep cultural roots and is often used by states as part of a soft or hard power strategy. There is a slight difference between the two types of diplomacy in that"… heritage diplomacy relies on gaining soft power by demonstrating the political values of the country in question, while cultural diplomacy relies on promoting the country's heritage abroad in order to promote its whole culture" (Todorović 2022, 853), but that does not mean there is no overlap between the two.

Furthering the argument against Winter's split between cultural diplomacy and heritage diplomacy is the existence of a concept called memorial diplomacy. Memorial diplomacy consists of "carefully choreographed public ceremonies on the anniversaries of historic occasions at selected sites of memory, long established or of recent invention, typically on the margins of international summits or intergovernmental forums" (Graves 2014, 170). For example, every war memorial, battlefield, cemetery, or combination of the above is a site of memory. The memory at these sites is used to inform diplomatic missions and ideas in a kind of 'memory diplomacy' (see Hulver 2015). That is not to say that there is a specific type of diplomacy for memory, but that memory underpins most, if not all, diplomatic endeavors. For less than a dozen days a year, sites of war memory act as memorial diplomacy when political figures hold speeches and attend commemoration ceremonies. One example is how the use of the Kokoda trail extra-

territorial heritage site in Papua New Guinea has been used as memorial diplomacy for both the Australians and Papua New Guineans (Beaumont 2016). Every other day of the year, these sites of war memory act as part of broader heritage diplomacy along with the more typical museums, recreation historic villages, etc. All these aspects of heritage diplomacy work in concert with other activities and events that make up the broader still concept of cultural diplomacy. Winter feels that heritage diplomacy "needs complicating… to disentangle the complex structures and networks of agencies, funding structures, institutional collaborations, public and private partnerships and competing notions of sovereignty, which, together, have given form to heritage and associated ideas of conservation in the modern era" (2015, 998). One caveat from Winter, that lies at the heart of his delineation of the two diplomacies, is that for heritage "the state appears to be an enduringly powerful actor" (Winter 2015, 1006). Even recent examples of cultural diplomacy are framed through government narratives (Harris-brandts & Sichinava 2021; Shehade 2023).

This government and state influence into heritage is the reason the field is no longer seen as apolitical. The apolitical veneer of archaeology and heritage fading in recent years coupled with the place of heritage within cultural diplomacy has given the field more negative connotations. These negative connotations are ones already associated with government and politics being manipulation, coercion, and subordination (Luke and Kersel 2012, 3). No professional or academic wants their field to be associated with such negative concepts. Especially when the coercion, manipulation, or otherwise is not intended or could lead to retribution for acts of genuine research interest. It is argued

here that while these concepts are not comfortable to address within academia, the lack of critical thought in academia regarding the possible coercive aspects of the field gives tacit approval to the idea that professionals and academics are complicit with the practices. Therefore, researchers and professionals within archaeology and heritage need to be aware of how their sites and research interests interact with local and national politics. The four types of diplomacy examined here are all useful ways for governments and nations to enact soft power.

Conclusion

This chapter has reviewed literature relating to the major academic themes present when addressing military cemeteries. These themes are conflict archaeology, memorialization, cemeteries, memory, diplomacy, and soft power. By being constructed with only military burials from specific nations and/or conflicts, it has been established that this type of cemetery is a category of war memorial within conflict archaeology studies. As all memorials do, military cemeteries create and sustain a specific collective memory relating to the nation and conflict from which they originate. These cemeteries have multiple functions beyond simply burying the dead (Clarke et al. 2017, 660). Cemeteries in general provide a social function by acting as a place where a community may come together to mourn the dead, strengthening the bonds between the living, and sustaining the modern creation of an 'imagined community' (Anderson 2016). Cemeteries also serve to reinforce the identity of the community that maintains them, claim land while acting as a physical example of how long the community has been established, and reinforce societal power or class divisions between the social elite who

can maintain more ornate grave architecture and commoners who are buried in less ornate fashion. As heritage sites, cemeteries sustain a collective memory about their community. Foreign audiences who visit a cemetery may either accept or deny such memories. If the memory is accepted, then the heritage site becomes a point of compromise and starting ground for diplomatic actions. Memorials specifically may function as sites of 'memorial diplomacy' where specific rituals are performed to maintain the relationship between countries (Graves 2014). Heritage sites also function as heritage and cultural diplomacy sites by projecting a specific image and/or narrative regarding the heritage that its overseeing body determines appropriate. Such narratives may act as tools to implement a soft power diplomatic strategy by the owning body or government. Research thus far into soft power and heritage focused on research centers, academic agents, and extra-territorial sites, but not military cemeteries. This lack of focus on military cemeteries, and particularly how they enact soft power, has been identified as a knowledge gap for this research. The next chapter will cover the methods used to address the research question and sub-question, as well as the interpretive framework used during the analysis and discussion.

Chapter 3 - Methodology

Chapter 1 introduced the ABMC and soft power, with various authors showing the link between soft power and heritage. Chapter 2 expanded upon this link by highlighting the various forms of diplomacy that have soft power as one of their goals. The chapter also showed how cemeteries and war memorials are heritage, and the ways heritage connects to political actions and diplomacy. This chapter outlines the methodology used for this thesis designed to address the research question outlined in Chapter 1. The chapter begins by detailing every ABMC cemetery and summarizes which are and are not included in the research in a table at the end of the introduction (see Table 1 on pages 72-75). Following the table of sites is the description of the methods used in this research. The methods are the heritagescape, access models, and documentary analysis of archive material, legislation, and educational/literary materials associated with the cemeteries and the Commission using text-immanent critique and contextualization techniques from Critical Discourse Analysis. The heritagescape and access model analysis both had to be adapted for use within this research, with the reasons why detailed in their respective sections. These methods were chosen as they allow a greater view of the ABMC and their cemeteries in order to answer the first and second sub-questions regarding the historical context of the cemeteries and how they function in practice. The chapter ends with a discussion and overview of the interpretive framework used for the analysis of the results from this research, multi-modal semiotics. This framework provided the necessary background to combine and triangulate the results from the applied methods.

The spaces, messages, and structures in and around war memorials and cemeteries are reflections of the ideology of the people who built them. In this regard, the ABMC cemeteries are no different. Understanding the ABMC sites, therefore, required a methodology that examines the constructed environment of the cemeteries, including their individual elements and how these combine to form the sites, and how they have changed through time. To date, research undertaken at ABMC sites has not been performed with such a methodology.

Within the broader context of understanding the Commission's cemeteries from a heritage perspective, the research presented in this thesis was initially focused on conducting field visits to a smaller selection of the ABMC cemeteries for five days each to perform architecture/spatial observation, alongside collecting formal surveys or short interviews from willing visitors. In terms of the multimodal semiotic methodology described below, the intention was to capture a plurality of viewpoints in the 'sign-referent-interpretant' triad of semiotics to understand the themes received by visitors at the ABMC cemeteries. However, the ABMC denied the research on the grounds of not wanting to infringe upon the privacy of mourning visitors, discounting this approach. Even without visitor surveys or interviews, the research into the physical aspects of the cemeteries could still be undertaken from the perspective of an informed visitor. The reduction of the research to no longer include formal visitor contact changed the research focus from that of the semiotic themes received *by* visitors *at* the cemeteries, to the semiotic themes projected *to* the visitors *by* the cemeteries. During the second day of the first site visit, to Brookwood Cemetery in the UK, the thesis author/researcher

was identified by the ABMC staff and was subsequently banned from all the ABMC sites

the next morning. Being barred from making physical visits to the sites resulted in the

research incorporating a larger sample size of the ABMC cemeteries, which allowed for

a broader critical analysis of the sites' constructed space to be undertaken. This was

achieved by re-working the methodology to a completely remote, digitized heritage

approach was adopted.

The difference between *digitized* and *digital* heritage is primarily one of analytical

techniques and processes, with *digitized* heritage being the application of traditional

heritage methods to sites, objects, etc. that have been recorded in online repositories

and *digital* heritage being the use of "analytic techniques enabled by computational

technology" (Drucker 2013, 7). Münster (2019, 1-2) argues that "the application of digital

technologies to support research" constitutes digital humanities studies, with digital

heritage being the study of digitally born heritage objects. As this thesis does not use

either 'analytic techniques enabled by computational technology' nor is focused on

'purely digitally born' material, the author considers this thesis a work of *digitized*

heritage. The choice of this terminology is to underscore the fact that while the

techniques used in this thesis were performed in a digitized manner, they are capable of

being done in a more traditional field-work oriented manner. By applying the methods

detailed in the remainder of this chapter digitally, the settled heritage aspects of the

sites can be analyzed while the taboo and/or sensitive aspects of the sites (Carr and

Sturdy Colls 2016, 702) can be avoided as per the wishes of the ABMC staff. Not

engaging with visitors of the taboo aspects of the cemeteries precluded this research

from investigating how these cemeteries are sites of trauma. The taboo and sensitive nature of the ABMC sites is further explored in Chapter 8.

The overcome the above limitations, the method was reworked to be a digitized analysis of the written/linguistic, visual, and spatial systems of the cemeteries to understand the various possible meanings constructed within and how these meanings work within wider political and social contexts. Due to the ABMC's regulation toward research that might be considered disruptive of visitor experience, Tripadvisor.com reviews have been consulted and analyzed to obtain an indication of visitor interpretations and impressions for the sites as part of the entirely remote non-invasive research methods chosen for this research. Table 1 lists all 26 cemeteries overseen and maintained by the ABMC, their host country, and supporting documentation obtained for each. Google Earth was the only resource identified for three of the cemeteries. One of the cemeteries, Manila, did not have supporting documentation available to provide necessary context. Consequently, of the 26 cemeteries of the ABMC, only these 4 were omitted from this study: Clark Veterans, Henri-Chapelle, Lafayette Escadrille, and Manila.

Table 1. List of ABMC Cemeteries and Associated Source Documents		
Cemetery Name, Host Country	Conflict	Supporting Documents
1. Aisne-Marne American Cemetery and Memorial, France	World War I	- Site History Booklet - Site Brochure - Site Map - Google Earth - Virtual Tour
2. Ardennes American Cemetery	World War II	Site History Booklet

and Memorial, Belgium		• Site Brochure • Site Map • Google Earth
3. Brittany American Cemetery and Memorial, France	World War II	• Site History Booklet • Site Brochure • Site Map • Google Earth
4. Brookwood American Cemetery and Memorial, United Kingdom	World War I	• Site History Booklet • Site Brochure • Site Map • Google Earth
5. Cambridge American Cemetery and Memorial, United Kingdom	World War II	• Site History Booklet • Site Brochure • Site Map • Google Earth
6. Clark Veterans Cemetery, Philippines	Philippine-American War World War I World War II Korean War Vietnam War Iraq War	• Google Earth
7. Corozal American Cemetery and Memorial, Panama	Mexican-American War American Civil War World War I World War II US Diplomats	• Site History Booklet • Site Brochure • Site Map • Google Earth
8. Epinal American Cemetery and Memorial, France	World War II	• Site History Booklet • Site Brochure • Site Map • Google Earth
9. Flanders Field American Cemetery and Memorial, Belgium	World War I	• Site History Booklet • Site Brochure • Site Map • Google Earth • Political Speech • Virtual Tour
10. Florence American Cemetery and Memorial, Italy	World War II	• Site History Booklet

		• Site Brochure • Site Map • Google Earth
11. Henri-Chapelle American Cemetery and Memorial, Belgium	World War II	• Google Earth
12. Lafayette Escadrille Cemetery and Memorial, France	World War I	• Google Earth
13. Lorraine American Cemetery and Memorial, France	World War II	• Site History Booklet • Site Brochure • Site Map • Google Earth
14. Luxembourg American Cemetery and Memorial, Luxembourg	World War II	• Site History Booklet • Site Brochure • Site Map • Google Earth • Political Speech
15. Manila American Cemetery and Memorial, Philippines	World War II	• Site Brochure • Site Map • Google Earth
16. Meuse-Argonne American Cemetery and Memorial, France	World War I	• Site History Booklet • Site Brochure • Site Map • Google Earth • Virtual Tour
17. Mexico City National Cemetery, Mexico	Mexican-American War	• Site History Booklet • Site Brochure • Site Map • Google Earth
18. Netherlands American Cemetery and Memorial, Netherlands	World War II	• Site History Booklet • Site Brochure • Site Map • Google Earth • Political Speech
19. Normandy American Cemetery and Memorial, France	World War II	• Site History Booklet • Site Brochure • Site Map

		• Google Earth
20. North Africa American Cemetery and Memorial, Tunisia	World War II	• Site History Booklet • Site Brochure • Site Map • Google Earth
21. Oise-Aisne American Cemetery and Memorial, France	World War I	• Site History Booklet • Site Brochure • Site Map • Google Earth
22. Rhone American Cemetery and Memorial, France	World War II	• Site History Booklet • Site Brochure • Site Map • Google Earth
23. Sicily-Rome American Cemetery and Memorial, Italy	World War II	• Site History Booklet • Site Brochure • Site Map • Google Earth • Political Speech
24. Somme American Cemetery and Memorial, France	World War I	• Site History Booklet • Site Brochure • Site Map • Google Earth
25. St. Mihiel American Cemetery and Memorial, France	World War I	• Site History Booklet • Site Brochure • Site Map • Google Earth
26. Suresnes American Cemetery and Memorial, France	World War I World War II	• Site History Booklet • Site Brochure • Site Map • Google Earth

Table 1 List of ABMC cemeteries, highlights in red were omitted from research

Heritagescape

The heritagescape, created by Mary-Catherine E. Garden, informs the visual mode of the semiotic analysis for this thesis. Garden initially created the heritagescape for her PhD thesis which she finished in 2004, with subsequent publications based on her thesis in 2006 and 2009 (Garden 2004; 2006; 2009). As her 2004 thesis provides the most detail and background into the method, it has been used as the basis for this portion of the methodology used in the research presented here. The ideas that inform Garden's heritagescape begin definitionally, as "the term 'heritage site' is widely and intuitively recognised, our sense of what these places 'do' and what it is that characterises heritage sites remains under-explored and poorly comprehended" (Garden 2006, 395). Heritage sites are unique social spaces that incorporate aspects of both museums and landscapes (Garden 2006, 396). Garden's idea for the heritagescape is intimately connected to previous work on landscapes, specifically phenomenological approaches, and the meaning derived from the "interaction between the site and the individuals and groups who come to the site and move through the physical landscape" (Garden 2004, 38). Essential to the application of the heritagescape as a method is "Understanding how the experience and/or the illusion of the site is conveyed and, in turn, how the experience is 'meaningful'" (Garden 2004, 38). If the meaning conveyed *by* and experienced *at* a site is not understood, according to Garden, then there can be no claim as to how or what a heritage site does.

The heritagescape was created to build a methodology to evaluate sites individually but to also compare heritage sites. The method is general enough to allow for the largest

range of possible site characteristics to be evaluated. The heritagescape is a method of

measuring the extent that a heritage site immerses visitors in the past through the

analysis of space. Since heritage sites vary in their use of space, the heritagescape

method forgoes a rigid question list for a broader set of questions within four criteria:

creation/establishment of site, mandate, site limits, and future of site (see Table 2

below). The criteria questions are designed to survey all elements of the landscape of a

site, physical and legal, to create a set of data (Garden 2004, 60; *ibid.*, 200).

Table 2. Heritagescape Criteria Questions (after Garden 2004, 60-64)	
Creation	(1) Under what circumstances was the site established? (2) What was the original purpose of the site? (3) Is change a factor at this site? (e.g., New construction, regular seasonal visual variety) (4) Is the site static or fluid?
Mandate	(1) What is the narrative? (2) What time span is being portrayed? (3) Between preservation and presentation, which governs change?
Site Limit	(1) What are the site limits, physical and legal? (2) Where/what are the entrances to the site? (3) Is the view drawn outward or inwards?
Site Future	(1) Will the site ever be 'full'? (i.e., development capacity) (2) Will the site expand?

Table 2 Heritagescape
criteria questions

After the site characteristics have been identified and the broader criteria questions answered, the next step is to analyze the spatial characteristics of the site. This is done using analytical units that Garden refers to as the three guiding principles: (i) boundary, (ii) coherency, and (iii) visibility. The guiding principles show how the individual elements work together to create the site as a physical and experiential place (Garden 2004, 200). Finally, the criteria and guiding principles are brought together to indicate the strength of the heritagescape at a particular time and place. The heritagescape shows the degree to which the site provides either an immersive or surface-level encounter of the past at a particular place or a particular time (Garden 2004, 200).

In terms of analysis, the heritagescape seeks to treat all heritage sites as landscapes (Garden 2004, 202). By referring to the method as heritagescape, Garden adds to similar terms, such as townscape and streetscape, which refer to a specific type or theme of landscape (Bourassa 1991, 9). However, as noted above, Garden's primary focus is on the physical components of the heritage site, which consist of both the natural and the constructed environment. Garden's analysis, however, only focuses on the constructed environment. For example, Garden argues that modern safety features such as fire extinguishers or properly lighted exit signs, while necessary for modern safety regulations, break a site's cohesion, especially where it represents a particular time period, and diminishes its efforts to fully immerse visitors in the past (Garden 2004, 148). This may be a result of Garden's case studies being open air museums, which put more emphasis on the constructed environment.

Access Models

With the heritagescape providing the framework for understanding the construction of the cemeteries, the remote nature of this research presented the challenge of how to experience the cemeteries. The visual focus of the heritagescape is accomplished with a consideration for visitor movement among and between the physical components of the site. Garden seeks to understand how visitors move through the heritage site and what is within their view at various points of their visit. This thesis pairs the heritagescape method with the use of access map analysis to produce a plan of how people are instructed or expected by the ABMC to move through the cemeteries. However, with some of the sites having multiple entrances and no set path through the

sites being strictly enforced, visitors are likely to make deviations from these expectations.

The access analysis method was originally devised by Hillier and Hanson (1984) to understand differences in settlement patterns between different societies. The method was adapted by West (1999) to examine social organization within English country houses by illustrating how different social classes were able to move through the spaces. Mapping possible pathways of movement provides a clear visual guide that reduces site complexity and allows for pattern recognition within and between sites (West 1999, 108). By complementing access analysis with other approaches to the built form, conceptual relations of space become apparent (Brown 1990 quoted in West 1990, 108-109). Thus, by utilizing access maps to supplement the visual and spatial semiotic analyses of the heritagescape method described above, patterns of accessibility within the cemeteries can be identified.

Access maps have been created for all 22 cemeteries analyzed for this research. The maps allow for the spatial relationships to be interpreted with reference to the possible meanings of the visual components from the heritagescape analysis. West (1999, 108) identified control and space as two characteristics of space. This thesis will focus on the control of space and how people can move through it. The control of space is concerned with the accessibility and 'openness' of the site. The more areas of a site that act as 'through passages' connecting different spaces, the more accessible the site is overall. Access maps that are more open for people to easily move through spaces are

classified as 'ringy' due to the way connections ring around the top of the map to connect other rooms. Maps that are not open are classified as 'tree-like' due to the way access branches off different rooms to dead ends, where people must backtrack to access other areas of the site (West 1999, 108). Rather than using the terms 'ringy' and 'tree-like', this thesis forgoes such terms to describe how connected an area of a cemetery is to another, to understand if the site can only be experienced in a controlled linear way, or if movement is unrestricted.

Documentary Analysis

For this research, documentary analysis serves two purposes. The first is to provide historical context for the heritagescape method and the second is to inform the interpretation of written/linguistic semiotic systems of the ABMC as part of the multi-modal analysis. Table 3 lists all the document types obtained for this thesis, the methods used in their analysis, the aim of the analysis, and the semiotic system the documents are categorized under. Since multiple documents came from the United States National Archives and Record Administration (hereafter NARA), what follows is a summary of the archive's condition before moving on to the legislative history analysis.

Table 3. Documentary Analysis Breakdown				
Document Type	Obtained From	Method(s) Applied	Aim	Semiotic System(s)
Congressional Act	• Online archive of Public Law 546, *U.S. Code* 36 (1923), §2103	• Legislative Historiography	Understand the original Congressional intent of the ABMC	Written/ Linguistic
Archival Documents from the ABMC	• NARA 2 facility in College Park, Maryland	• CDA techniques	Understand how the ABMC understood their purpose and constructed meaning of the cemeteries internally	Written/ Linguistic
Site History Booklets and Brochure	• ABMC website • NPS history website archive • Interment.net website archive	• CDA techniques	Understand the constructed meaning of the cemeteries	Written/ Linguistic
Site Map, Plan, or Layout	• NARA 2 facility • Site History Booklets • Site Brochures	• Access Map	Facilitate the creation of access maps method	Spatial
Site Photos	• ABMC website • Google Earth • Google Street View	• Heritagescape	Facilitate the heritagescape method	Visual
Political Speech Transcripts	• White House online archive • US Embassy online press releases	• CDA techniques	Understand the political uses and meanings held by the cemeteries	Written/ Linguistic
Virtual Tours	• US National Park Service website	• Heritagescape • Access Maps	Facilitate the heritagescape and access map methods	Visual/ Spatial

Table 3 List of documentary sources, their use, and purpose.

Archive Condition

The records of the ABMC are held at various locations ordered by the year they were produced. Federal agencies are expected to transfer their records to a NARA facility for processing and storage on a regular basis (DOJ 1981). The ABMC stores its records for the most recent 20 years in the archives of its cemeteries and offices around the world, after which it transfers them to the NARA 2 facility in College Park, Maryland. A physical visit to the NARA facility proved necessary when an online search of record group 117(ABMC) only showed twenty-three charts and fifty photographs of several types were accessible, and none of the estimated 580,010 pages within the textual record. While visiting the archive, the military archivist revealed that the death and headstone records were the primary target of digitization to reduce physical visits and phone calls received from researchers, amateur or professional, undertaking genealogical projects. They also revealed that since the completion of that digitization project, in person visits to the archive to view record group 117 has been nearly non-existent.

Within the reference room for the textual records of the Archives, nine bookcases comprise the military records section. Each of these shelves holds roughly three dozen binders covering all aspects of the American military. The ABMC reference material of record group 117 are encased in two half-inch binders. Most of these textual records relate to the production of the agency's book about WWI, *American Armies and Battlefields in Europe: A History, Guide and Reference Book* (ABMC 1938). The only operational reports about the ABMC in the Archives are the annual reports that the Commission sent to the President of the United States on a yearly basis. The reports

available according to the Archive reference binders are the final report of the Battle Monuments Commission 1923 and all annual reports of the ABMC between 1923 and 1992, the latter being split between two boxes.

During my visit to the Archives in December 2019, the final report of the Battle Monuments Commission 1923 was not available as it was on loan from the Archives to another government agency. Of the ABMC annual reports, the years 1924-26, 1965, 1969, and 1970-79 were in the textual record box marked 1923-52. The record box marked 1952-92 only contained unbound duplicates of the 1924-26 reports. When the matter was brought to the military archivist, they estimated that the records were not deemed pertinent enough to keep permanently but was also confused as to the disparity of years kept and as to why the boxes were labeled incorrectly. This random sampling of annual reports only covers the initial creation of the Commission and the eight WWI cemeteries and a ten-year example of how the Commission functioned during the 1970's. The allocation of funds, debates, discussions, or even construction of the fifteen WWII cemeteries is missing from the record, as well as the negotiation and transfer of jurisdiction of three other cemeteries located in Mexico, Panama, and the Philippines to the Commission's control. The closest records are those written records by diplomats and ambassadors trying to secure legal agreements for the use of land in the eventual cemeteries host countries. This box, however, was not found by archive staff during my research visit.

The disarray of record group 117 continued in the cartographic records. The record

group shared a single half-inch binder with another group and merely held a list of all

the cemeteries for which the Archives had material. When consulting the cartographic

archivist for help regarding the detail of the records, the archivist's computer-based

reference system listed 120 drawers of maps charts, plans, and schematics with no

further breakdown of categories. This lack of detail was explained as a lack of interest in

record group 117 in general, so no specific details were added after the last system

update, for which no date was given. With the help of the archivist and some of the

staff, it was determined the best course of action was to format record requests as

"cemetery name site plans" for the best chance of finding initial site layouts. Even with

the gracious help of the archivists, only grave layouts could be found for Lorraine, North

Africa, and Florence cemeteries. No site or grave layouts could be located for Aisne-

Marne, Brittany, Epinal, Clark Veterans cemeteries, or Lafayette Escadrille Memorial

Cemeteries. Despite the condition of the Archives, the amount of material gained from

the research visit provided vital historical context for this thesis.

Legislative History

The first set of criteria questions for the heritagescape method pertain to the creation of

the heritage site (see Table 2 earlier in the chapter). For more commercially oriented

heritage sites, Garden's questions of original purpose and circumstances are adequate

for establishing historical context. However, for other heritage sites such as the

cemeteries of the ABMC, different methodologies are more robust. The ABMC is an

independent federal agency of the executive branch of the United States government.

This means that the ABMC, along with all other US federal agencies, was created by an act of Congress. The complicated process by which any piece of legislation is enacted through the United States Congress is outlined in Figure 1 below.

Legislation may begin in either Congressional chamber.
Similar proposals are often introduced in both chambers.

Measure introduced in the House	Measure introduced in the Senate
↓	↓
Measure referred to Committee, which can generate Reports and Hearings Measure reintroduced to the House	Measure referred to Committee, which can generate Reports and Hearings Measure reintroduced to the Senate
↓	↓
House debates and can amend Measure	Senate debates and can amend Measure
↓	↓
House passes Measure	Senate passes Measure

Measures must pass both the House and the Senate
in *identical* form before being presented to the President.

One chamber agrees to the other chamber's version   OR   Each chamber appoints Members to a Conference Committee, which reconciles differences and agrees to a Conference Report   OR   House and Senate exchange amendments to Measure and reach agreement

↓   ↓

House approves Conference Report   Senate approves Conference Report

Legislation presented to the President.

President signs Measure Measure becomes law   OR   If President does not sign Measure into law within ten days when Congress is in session, then Measure becomes law   OR   President vetoes Measure Measure does not become law, unless both chambers override veto by $\frac{2}{3}$ majority

Figure 1. The legislative process in the United States. Reprinted from Heritage Studies: Methods and Approaches (p. 58) by H. Soderland, 2009, New York: Routledge.

To better understand the broader circumstance and history behind the legislation that created the ABMC, it was decided to utilize the legislative history method to complement the heritagescape criteria questions. Legislative histories are useful for constructing the true intent of legislators regarding a law enacted by the legislative branch of a government (Caulley 1982, 45). Soderland (2009) has used the technique to start a historiography of heritage legislation for the US. By utilizing the legislative history method, this research outlines the intent of US legislators in the establishment of the ABMC in the early 20th century, which is detailed in the next chapter. With the US Congress producing copious amounts of data, the legislative history method provided a guide of what materials to search for and what archives to look through for records regarding the ABMC. The primary materials of relevance were the Congressional Record Index, the Congressional Record, Congressional Committee action reports, Congressional Committee action (un)published hearings, and unpublished Congressional Committee material. The historical context gained from this method was then juxtaposed with the written/linguistic semiotic analysis of the ABMC reports and literary material, to highlight inconsistencies and contradictions within the construction and operation of the cemeteries and the Commission. The legislative history provides for a more grounded historical context when addressing the research aims.

Interpretation of Data

To ascertain the political and social functions of ABMC cemeteries, a multi-modal semiotic analytic framework was applied to the built form of the cemeteries, select ABMC documents held within NARA, as well as formal and informal museum displays

located within the cemeteries. Each of these meaning-making 'mediums' of built form, language as speech, language as text, and object form could be studied individually, but combining them helps to understand how they work together to inform the heritage aspect of the sites. The remainder of this section will give a broad history of semiotics, the advancement of multi-modal semiotics, and finally how semiotics has been applied to heritage.

While the fields of semiotics, linguistics, and discourse analysis are separate, the disciplines have similar terminologies and multiple scholars work across them. Semiotics is concerned with the denotation, or the form, of an image, object, or text, and connotation, or the meaning behind them (Cobley and Litza 1997; Van Leeuwen 2001). Two individuals separately developed theories of the sign, Ferdinand de Saussure in France, and Charles Peirce in America. Regarded as the father of modern linguistics, Saussure was interested in "the study of natural language and, by extension, of cultural systems… which he called semiology" (Lagopoulos and Boklund-Lagopoulos 2020, 8). Unaffiliated with Saussure, Charles Peirce "worked in the philosophy of knowledge and his 'sign' is of a very general nature, appertaining to a theory of logic" that is referred to as semiotics (*ibid.*). Semiology refers to *intentional* acts of communication, while semiotics admits unintentional and *natural* acts of communication as well (Daylight 2012, 40). Thus, semiology, with its more specific focus can be seen as part of the broader study of semiotics (Daylight 2012, 37; Lindstrom et al. 2013, 97). Saussurean semiology, with its focus on language and social systems, would go on to influence Claude Levi-Strauss, the field of structural anthropology, and Mikhail Bakhtin

(Lagopoulos and Boklund-Lagopoulos 2020, 9), whose work would go on to influence

Olick's (et al. 2011) modern synthesis of collective memory studies (see summary in

Chapter 2 for more detail). Purely Peircian semiotics is more useful to fields such as

philosophy or neurology (Lagopoulos and Boklund-Lagopoulos 2020, 22), while this

thesis is more interested in the Sassurean social constructions of meaning.

In the 1970s, Michael Halliday and Roland Barthes started to differentiate semiotics

from linguistics. Halliday's (1978) functional systemic linguistics approach saw language

as a social semiotic system, and Barthes (1973, 1977) expanded semiotics to

incorporate visual analysis on images, which led to the expansion of semiotics to cover

multiple 'mediums'. Building on the work of Halliday and inspired by Critical Theory

(Adorno and Horkheimer 1993), the Critical Linguistics Group at the University of East

Anglia focused purely on the analysis of text to relate it to the socio-psychological

condition (Fowler et al., 1979; Hodge et al., 1979). Building upon the work of Barthes,

Kress and Van Leeuwen (1990; 1996, 1998; 2006) further expanded semiotics from just

two-dimensional to three-dimensional mediums throughout the 1990s and early 2000s,

which is the tradition that this research follows, as the ABMC cemeteries make use of

primarily three-dimensional mediums. In semiotic terms, the interpretation of sites is

based upon the three elements of the sign (the denotation), the referent (the

connotation), and the interpretant (the person receiving the meaning). These three

elements form the 'sign-referent-interpretant' triad of semiotics (after Pierce, Eco, and

Deely cited in Daylight 2012, 39).

There are five broad semiotic systems for how meaning is created: (i) written/linguistic, (ii) audio, (iii) visual, (iv) gestural, and (v) spatial. Written/linguistic meaning is created through vocabulary, generic structure, and grammar within written and spoken language. Audio meaning is accessed through music, noise, silence, sound effect, and ambient noise via pitch, rhythm, and volume. Visual meaning concerns still and moving images via color, saliency, page layout, visual symbols, and viewpoint. Gestural meaning is the movement of body, hands, and eyes seen in facial expressions, demeanors, and body language. Spatial meaning concerns environmental and architectural spaces and the use of proximity, direction, layout, and position/organization of objects in space (New London Group 1996; 2000, 96; O'Brien 2013). Multi-modal systems arise when two or more of the semiotic systems above unite as part of meaning-making (The New London Group 1996), thus a multi-modal analysis looks at any combination of two or more of the semiotic systems.

As detailed earlier in this chapter, the ABMC hold multiple textual records that would help to understand the history of the organization and maintenance of the cemeteries, which would help to answer the primary research question of this thesis. Thus, the method employed to analyze the written/linguistic semiotics of the ABMC are various principles taken from Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) to guide a more specifically semiologic reading of the written/linguistic multi-modal analysis. CDA is suitable for understanding how ideologies are constructed and related to adherents by examining written and spoken language (Van Dijk 1998). There are two concepts used within CDA that are of relevance to this research, ideology and power. For this thesis, the definition

of these concepts is taken from the Discourse-Historical Approach (DHA). The DHA defines ideology as "an (often) one-sided perspective or world view composed of related mental representations, convictions, opinions, attitudes and evaluations, which is shared by members of a specific social group" (Reisigl and Wodak 2009, 88). Power is defined "as the possibility of having one's own will within a social relationship against the will or interests of others" (Weber 1980, 28 cited in Reisigl and Wodak 2009, 88). Power is made manifest in different ways such as political or social power and ideology functions to maintain or transform power relations through discourse (Reisigl and Wodak 2009, 90). The ABMC utilizes multiple discourses, with historical narrative being the common denominator identified across them. Narratives serve to legitimize or de-legitimize power in the service of ideology (Reisigl and Wodak 2009, 88-89). Examining the narrative(s) of the ABMC reveals of portion of the relationship between social power, political power, and language, and how discourse can serve to (re)produce social domination within their cemeteries.

Two techniques from CDA were applied to the original 1923 legislation, the NARA archive material, site history booklets, and political speeches that have taken place at the ABMC. The techniques are text or discourse-immanent critique, and the analysis of the contextual, intertextual, and interdiscursive relationships between texts and discourses. Text-immanent critique looks for inconsistencies, contradictions, paradoxes, and dilemmas within the internal arrangement of discourses and texts (Reisigl and Wodak 2009, 88). Contextualization refers to the ways different elements of discourse are used to create new meanings within new or different contexts (Reisigl and Wodak

2009, 90). As shown in Chapter 1, America has successfully recontextualized its military

cemeteries to be heritage sites, and different moments and events in history have also

been recontextualized by the ABMC at their cemeteries. Intertextuality, a shared term in

CDA and semiotics, is the acknowledgement that texts are linked to each other in

several ways. This can be texts from the same institution or texts that have the same

main topic. For this research, intertextuality helped establish one cohesive discourse for

the ABMC as their language is shaped by the built form of its cemeteries and

memorials, and the built form is shaped by its language. While language and

communication are important to the (re)production of ideology and power, other

semiotic messages are equally important in how they are conveyed and understood

(Van Dijk 1998, 178). Interdiscursivity acknowledges that discourses often refer to other

discourses or sub-topics within other discourses. When critiqued, the ABMC refers to

other discourses and sub-topics to defend itself, as shown in the analysis and

discussion chapters of this thesis.

Semiotics and multi-modal semiotics have been extended to the built environment by

other scholars for art displays (O'Toole 1994), roads and hotels (Safeyaton 2004), a

glossary of terms regarding three-dimensional space (Stenglin 2004), and university

buildings (Ravelli 2011). Other studies have used semiotics to understand heritage

sites, namely museums (White 1994; Pang 2004; MacLeod 2005; Ravelli 2006; Neather

2012; Szitanyi 2015; Lorenz 2016; Noy 2016). For this research, the various methods

listed above from within heritage and related disciplines were selected to inform the

multi-modal analysis, comprising heritagescape (after Garden 2004) and Access

Models (after West 1999), alongside documentary/archival research. When placed within the multi-modal semiotic structure, each method has a primary semiotic system of focus, but each help supplement the interpretation of the others. The heritagescape method serves to primarily inform the visual semiotic system that treats each component of the built form and architectural object as an image for interpretation. The access map method is concerned with the spatial semiotic system and how people can move through, and thus experience, the sites. Documentary analysis is employed for the written/linguistic semiotic system. Multiple methods have been drawn upon depending on the documents under review. Legislative history and historiography were performed on the initial legislation creating the ABMC. Elements of CDA, specifically those shared with semiology, were chosen to examine the NARA material, site history booklets and brochures, online content from the ABMC website, and political speech transcriptions where available. Thus, even though this thesis seeks to understand the social significance of the ABMC cemeteries, which is within the perspective of semiology studies, the work is better classified as being carried out from a broader semiotic epistemological standpoint due to the inclusion of multiple semiotic reference points other than just the written and linguistic.

Although semiotics is not explicitly mentioned in relation to the heritagescape, visual aspects of sites are clearly the core focus of the method. For this research, semiotic analysis of the physical components of cemeteries is important because built form and symbolism are fundamental to such sites (see Mytum 2000). However, as evident in the criteria questions and guiding principles, the data set created by the heritagescape is

not just useful in the visual semiotic system, but also the written/linguistic, and spatial systems as well. Because the heritagescape method is heavily descriptive in nature, it can be adapted to the multi-modal analysis of this research, all the analysis of the cemeteries are structured according to the heritagescape. The specific cemeteries highlighted in Chapters 5 through 7 have been chosen as a representative sample split into the different chapters based on time period. The time periods are in reference to the ABMC's history and match the broad sections in the next chapter, specifically Pre-ABMC cemeteries in Chapter 5, WWI cemeteries in Chapter 6, and WWII cemeteries in Chapter 7. Chapter 5, the Pre-ABMC cemeteries, covers both Mexico-City and Panama. Chapter 6 covers a WWI cemetery from the UK, the Benelux countries, and France. Chapter 7 covers a WWII cemetery from the UK, the Benelux countries, France, and the Mediterranean. The cemeteries chosen as the representative case studies were given primacy for the following factors: (1) the cemetery hosted a speech which has been analyzed for this thesis, (2) the cemetery is particularly representative of a specific aspect of cemetery construction/design that is drawn upon for the overarching argument made in Chapter 8, and/or (3) the cemetery is not represented in other literature or has been overshadowed by other cemeteries in the literature. Even though these cemeteries have been chosen as the representative sample, all the cemeteries present in this thesis have been described and analyzed in the same fashion as those highlighted in Chapters 5 through 7. This allowed for the multi-modal semiotic systems of each cemetery to be established individually to understand how they function as heritage sites, before examining patterns shared between all 22 cemeteries in Chapter 8.

Conclusion

This chapter has detailed the multiple methods used for this research to answer the research question and sub-questions. To fully answer the questions required multiple methods from various fields but each has guided the research and analysis for the visual, spatial, and written/linguistic multimodal semiotics present at the ABMC cemeteries and associated writings. The next chapter examines the context of the ABMC and begins the analysis of this research by acting as the first results chapter.

Chapter 4 – History of the ABMC

This chapter directly answers the first sub-question of the thesis: What is the historical context of the cemeteries? As will be made clear throughout the chapter, the historical context for the Commission *is* the historical context for the cemeteries. It was the ABMC that made the final decision regarding every aspect of the cemeteries except for who was interred within them. Each cemetery has received its own micro history in their respective case studies in Chapters 5 through 7 or Appendix 3. The macro history presented in this chapter has revealed the intentions of the ABMC and how they have changed through time, which is reflected in each individual cemetery. Following the introduction, the chapter begins with the context and an analysis of the initial legislation that created the ABMC. The analysis of the legislation uses the text-immanent critique and contextualization CDA methods described in the last chapter to understand the original intent Congress had for the ABMC as part of the linguistic semiotic analysis. After the sections regarding the legislation, the chapter gives a brief history of the ABMC, split into three major eras. These eras are post-World War I, post-World War II, and the interpretation era. The reason for labelling the eras as such is that each period coincides with a major shift in ABMC leadership, shift in architectural style, or shift in the Commission's future goals. After this brief history is a summarizing timeline followed by specific analysis of various events in the Commission's history that contradict either the ABMC's rules and regulations for burial or their stated apolitical impartiality.

The primary sources providing the historical context for the ABMC are the annual reports obtained from the NARA 2 facility in College Park, Maryland, as outlined in the

last chapter. To overcome gaps in the archival record, Thomas Conner's 2018 book

War and Remembrance: the Story of the American Battle Monuments Commission

serves as a secondary source. During his research, Conner was granted access to the

archives at various offices and cemeteries run by the ABMC and was authorized to view

their documents. Conner's "reverential history" of the ABMC "pursues no thesis or

analysis" and will "likely serve as the definitive treatment" of the Commission's history

(Trout 2020, 1). The 'reverential' way in which Conner tells the story of the ABMC may

have led to a non-intentional bias in the Commission's favor. Any biases inherent in

Conner's work have been accounted for and are commented on in the analysis

sections.

Context of Legislation

The initial legislation that established the ABMC set the parameters for how the

Commission would function and the scope of its actions. Understanding these

parameters gives context to every action and political dispute the ABMC would be

involved in over the course of the following 100 years. A full transcription of the

legislation is contained in Appendix 1. This section provides the historical context for the

legislation and a semiotic analysis of select portions of the legislation, actions taken by

Commission members before the ABMC officially existed, and common language used

throughout material produced by the ABMC.

After WWI ended in 1918, the United States faced a problem: how to properly

commemorate the people who fought and especially those who lost their lives in this

conflict? Two bills were put forward in Congress to address this issue, H.R. 9634 and

H.R. 10801. Both bills originated from the House of Representatives but the major

differences between the two were cost and focus. H.R. 10801 would go on to establish

the ABMC, but it is worth focusing on its rival bill H.R. 9634 because it is integral to

understanding the political situation that led to the establishment of the ABMC. H.R.

9634, known as the Husted Bill after Representative James Husted of New York who

put forth the bill, also sought to form a Commission. This Commission would not be

focused on the creation of monuments as intensely as the ABMC would be. Instead,

what was proposed was a Monument Highway Commission. If enacted, its members

would meet with French and Belgian officials to negotiate the designation of highways,

roadways, and other travel paths that the American Armed Forces used throughout

WWI as monument highways, with a small number of monuments erected at locations

along their lengths. This would save costs as the roads already existed and the

routeway names could be changed on new maps. The monuments would be paid for by

the French and Belgian governments and were not intended to be very ornate in nature

or sizable in scale. More importantly to Representative Husted, it would strengthen the

friendship between the United States, France, and Belgium by allowing the other

nations to be more involved in the process of commemoration of the Allied victory of the

war (Battle Monuments Board 1923 Appendix III).

The Husted bill and H.R. 10801 were both referred to the House of Representatives

Committee on Foreign Affairs (Conner 2018, 41). The chairman of this committee was

Representative Stephen G. Porter, a Republican of Pennsylvania. Chairman Porter is

also the Congressional Representative who introduced H.R. 10801, the bill that would become the ABMC. During Committee, the Husted bill garnered sizeable support with many testimonials, while the Porter bill had comparably little in the way of testimonials or support from committee members. The only support for the Porter bill was from members of the Battle Monuments Board (BMB) of the War Department. By this point in the legislative process, the year was 1921 and the War Department was facing backlash from the public over the perceived slowness at which the bodies of the fallen from the war were being dealt with, either buried overseas or repatriated to the States. Ignoring the public sentiment and wanting his legislation to succeed, Chairman Porter tabled both pieces of legislation in Committee so that support and testimonials could be sought for H.R. 10801. This tabling would last for eight months, until November 1921, during the succeeding Congress (Conner 2018, 44). During the time this legislative struggle was taking place in Congressional Committee, the Battle Monuments Board (BMB) asked for the Chairman of the Commission of Fine Arts (CFA) to make a tour of France, Belgium, and England to review the temporary cemeteries that the War Department had set up during and immediately after the war. This was to see how the cemeteries could be improved by the government in the future (Conner 2018, 54; also see Appendix 2.2.10, 2.2.11).

After this trip and making plans for how the cemeteries might be improved, the Chairman of the Commission of Fine Arts held meetings with the Secretary of War and then President Harding. Both parties were swayed by his presentations and wrote letters of support for the ABMC legislation (the Porter bill) that were sent to the House

Committee on Foreign Affairs (Conner 2018, 43). The main testimonial for the ABMC came from the chairman of the BMB, John McAuley Palmer. The BMB spent their last five meetings drawing up plans for how the ABMC would function, operate, and improve the cemeteries overseas, as well as the erection of monuments. Because of this planning, the Chairman of the BMB would eventually go on to become a member of the ABMC. With his testimonial to the Foreign Affairs Committee came newfound support, and H.R. 10801 made it out of Committee and to the Congressional floor. The Monuments Highway Commission legislation would terminate in Committee (Conner 2018, 45). The only major change between the initial legislation and the Final Act was the make-up of the Commission. Originally, the Commission was to be filled by specific members of the government including the Secretary of the War Department, a high-ranking army general, a member of the House of Representatives, and a member of the Senate. In the final rewritten Act, H.R. 14087, this was changed to all members of the Commission being filled by Presidential appointment, to serve at the pleasure of the President, and for any vacancies to be filled by the President when and as they arise (Conner 2018, 45).

The history of the legislative background to the ABMC shows how quickly politics takes hold of any situation in Congress. Despite the ABMC and authors like Conner directing the narrative of the Commission to be one of remembrance, it was influenced by national and international politics since before its inception. President Coolidge saw it as a way to earn political goodwill with the public by going against his frugal reputation as he left office (Budreau 2008, 393). Representative Porter saw it as a political win by

having his legislation pass over others. The War Department saw it as a logistical win

by not having to shoulder the immediate cost and labor of transporting the entirety of the

war dead from WWI back to the United States. Members and individuals from all

agencies and departments of the government saw it as a way to cement friendships,

treaties, and alliances with England, Belgium, and primarily France. Before the ABMC

was established and the cemeteries were still only temporary, President Woodrow

Wilson made his only visit to one of these sites, Suresnes Cemetery, and gave a

speech during the first Memorial Day in May of 1919. General of the Armies John

Pershing also gave a speech on that day, but at Meuse-Argonne Cemetery on the

opposite side of France (Conner 2018, 30). Their speeches laid the foundation for all

Memorial Day speeches to follow, with the rhetoric of strengthening alliances with

France or other host countries to be a major theme.

Analysis of Legislation

While the final bill does not mention taking over the cemeteries abroad, the spirit of the

law is understood that control of cemeteries was to be one of the outcomes of

establishing the ABMC (BMB 1923 Appendix III cited in Conner 2018, 46). Unlike

constitutional amendments or other legislation for the mass populace, the final act that

passed on 4 March 1923 was intended only for an audience of readers made up of the

Congressman and Senators who passed the legislation, the President who would

approve it and had some duties detailed within it, and the future members of the ABMC

itself. This piece of legislation would go on to have a profound effect on the lives of

thousands of Americans, yet none of them were consulted for this legislation. The

government produced an option, and they had the choice to take it or leave it. What follows in this section is the written/linguistic semiotic analysis of the Congressional legislation (see Appendix 1) and the common verbiage of the ABMC by use of the CDA techniques outlined in the last chapter.

Section one of the final act of Congress serves to establish the ABMC, outline the number of commissioners it was to have, their relation to the Federal Government, and how much the commissioners would be paid. Two parts within the first section are important for understanding the unique circumstances of the ABMC's operation. First, is that the Commission reports directly to the President of the United States. As an agency working very closely with foreign governments, nationals, and American war dead, the ABMC could have been situated within the State Department, the War Department, or under the National Committee of Fine Arts, who were to have final approval over all the Commission's work regardless. Second, at "the request of the commission..." (Public Law 546, U.S. Code 36 §2103 1923; see Appendix 1 sec 1), the act gives the President authorization to designate any military personnel or department to help carry out the ABMC's duties. This means that rather than Congress writing out this act and the Commission members and organization starting in the days after it was signed by the President, the Commission already existed in an unofficial capacity through the BMB. More than already being established, the Commission had input as to the wording and scope of their duties.

Section two of the act details the ABMC's mission. The first paragraph states "that the commission shall prepare plans and estimates for the erection of suitable memorials... and erect memorials therein at such places as the commission shall determine, including works of architecture and art in the American cemeteries in Europe" (Public Law 546, U.S. Code 36 §2103 1923; also see Appendix 1, sec. 2). Members of the Commission and authors such as Connor (2018), have taken this to mean that the Commission has overseen the American cemeteries in Europe since its inception, the spirit of the law. What the act states, the letter of the law, is that the Commission oversees memorials, specifically their financial estimation and construction process. It does not mention landscaping, grave maintenance, or public relations within the host countries. The second paragraph of section two further states that "The commission shall [have] control as to materials and design, provide regulations for and supervise the erection of all memorial monuments and buildings in the American cemeteries in Europe" (see Appendix 1, sec. 1). No mention is made of oversight or maintenance of cemeteries or the land around a memorial. This is perhaps the reason why most of the American cemeteries in Europe are officially titled with "...American Cemetery and Memorial" or "...American Memorial Cemetery". By labeling these places as such, it would allow for more robust and total operational control over these sites by the ABMC. The final paragraph of section two of the act sets out the ABMC's final mission. It obliges the Commission to the duty that they " will complete the historical photographic record of the operations of such units [(American armed forces)] …" (see Appendix 1, sec. 2). The Commission fulfilled this duty and released it as a book, now titled

American Armies and Battlefields in Europe: A History, Guide and Reference Book (ABMC 1938).

The specific language used in relation to the book is worthy of analysis to understand narrative control. On its website, the ABMC now offers a download of the book, yet the supporting text can be read as if it were an extra activity the Commission undertook of its own volition (ABMC 2014). No mention of the photographic record or book being a specific original objective of the Commission is noted in any of the blog posts or web pages devoted to it. The photographs and book are merely "included in the work" of overseeing the cemeteries. On their mission page, no mention of the photographic record having been a mission or being a completed mission exists (ABMC n.d.-a). The information of the photographic record being an original mission is included in the history subsection of their 'About Us' drop-down menu (ABMC n.d.-l). Neither is a mention made of the Commission's termination after its duties had been fulfilled (see Appendix 1, sec. 12). By leaving out this ending, the ABMC conveys to all visitors that their work is maintaining the American cemeteries around the world into perpetuity. This allows the ABMC to act as a government agency maintaining national heritage, without coming under the remit of the National Park Services heritage conservation regulations. This may shield it from criticism or funding cuts, a point further explored in Chapter 8. It is also of note that this is a reading of the ABMC as it functions today in relation to its original mission set out by Congress 97 years ago. The only mention of this objective in the annual reports is in the same fashion noted above, where the erection of permanent monuments and memorials is seen as their primary duties.

This last section will analyze language used by the ABMC that is commonly associated with heritage (see Beaumont 2016, 356 for another example of this language being used at an 'extra-territorial' heritage site). Such language expands the notion of memorials beyond that of a permanent built structure. Even the Commission's first chairman, John Pershing, alludes to the same type of memorial structure in the Commission's first annual report to the President, "The first of these objectives [erection of memorials] was considered the most important as our country has always favored the erection of permanent *memorials* to perpetuate the deeds of its sons and to serve as some slight expression of its gratitude" (Appendix 2.1.2, author emphasis). In the context of early 20th century America, the notion of permanent monuments would mean such things as statues and museums. Regarding specifically military memorial landscapes, the populace was expecting another Gettysburg or Arlington, the two most recent examples of military memorial landscapes at the time. The ABMC used this expectation of Gettysburg, by drawing upon ideas from Lincoln's Gettysburg Address. Gettysburg was a memorial landscape that "we can not consecrate – we can not hallow" (Lincoln 1863), as the blood of the soldiers who fought, died, and rested in the grounds of the cemetery had already done so. The land was already 'sacred', and the American public had turned it into a memorial. The primary difference between Gettysburg and the ABMC cemeteries is that Gettysburg's layout and landscaping were much less controlled than what the Commission intended to do with their cemeteries.

However, it is impossible to control landscapes as they are ever changing constructs.

By labeling the ground 'sacred' via the consecrating blood of the soldiers buried there

and thus a memorial in the same vein as Gettysburg, the ABMC has claim to its overall

design, structure, and construction. In addition, since landscapes are ever changing,

they are never finished being constructed. The ABMC would need to stay to ensure its

duties are met. However, while nature is ever changing, that does not mean that the

ABMC did not attempt to halt that change and make the landscape permanent. The way

the ABMC has fought back decay at their cemeteries is an example of the religious

environmental philosophy of stewardship, the environmental ethic derived from the Bible

in which humans are the stewards of the Earth and may subject it to their will, which has

been discussed by philosophers like White (1967), Naess (1973), and Cobb (Cobb and

Griffin 1976). By keeping the graves level, the grass well cut, and flowers from the grave

sites, only the trees would visibly change through time. And eventually, the trees would

reach maturity and take part in acting as ever vigilant sentinels for these sites, joining

the Commission as stewards of the land. A true attempt to halt decay and freeze these

designed landscapes in time, as though the soldiers were buried there only yesterday.

This notion of timelessness serves the use of heritage language in 'memory preserving'.

If time does not flow in these sites, then the memory of those interred can never wane,

their stories to be told forever more. The additions of the chapels at each of the sites

helps to reinforce the heritage language of 'sacred' and 'hallowed' along with the bodies

of the dead and the religious perspective and parallels the combination brings. In

Europe, churchyards with cemeteries are not an uncommon sight, and many of them

date back centuries. By constructing the chapels, the ABMC are likely to have been borrowing from this tradition, possibly in an effort to blend in with the host countries so they would not ask for their land to be returned. Now that the legislation behind the ABMC has been described, a more in-depth history of the ABMC's actions is necessary.

Post-World War I

This section provides the historical context for how the ABMC's operations began and operated during the interwar period of 1918-1935. While the agency did not take full control over America's military cemeteries in the UK, France, and Belgium until 1934, the agency was a leading voice on the topic before and after their inception.

The period following WWI was a turbulent one from a commemorative standpoint. The job of whom and how to commemorate America's involvement in WWI passed to and was fought over by several parties before residing with the ABMC. It started with the War Department, specifically the Graves Registration Service (GRS) who oversaw construction of the temporary, and later permanent military cemeteries for the American war dead (Conner 2018, 1). The French government wanted the American war dead to remain in France because the French government had already denied every request to repatriate French war dead remains in other provinces to their families, and if the Americans decided to repatriate, they would require help, which would make it seem the French government was giving preference to the Americans (Budreau 2010, 39-51). Major Lemly, a ranking member of the War Department, wanted the Department to take inspiration from the French and deny all repatriations, going against a phrase that was

in its infancy at the time but would go on to become American military regulation in the 21st century, 'leave no man behind' (Lemly memorandum for Quartermaster General 1919). Before construction of the permanent cemeteries was finished, the cemeteries had already taken on their political and diplomatic roles, as the French Marshal Petain is quoted as saying, "Of those permanently remaining, they are the basis of an eternal friendship" (Petain speech 1921).

While the GRS was busy with the practical affairs of consolidating the bodies and looking after the graves, the War Department created the BMB in 1921 to determine how ornate, monumental, and memorial the cemeteries should be. The BMB was also tasked with determining how to deal with the creation of monuments all over France and Belgium by veterans and other unofficial third parties. These questions would eventually make their way to Congress, where after the deliberation and legislative process outlined in the prior sections above, the ABMC was created as the definitive answer to these questions in 1923. While touring the sites around Europe that had just come under their supervision, the ABMC also made stops at many of those monuments already erected by veterans or other various individuals (see Appendix 2.1.3, 2.1.4, 2.1.5, 2.1.6).

Upon returning to the United States, the ABMC asked the State Department and US ambassadors in France and Belgium to officially halt the approval of all American monuments in Europe without the consent of the ABMC (Appendix 2.1.6). While the other governments agreed, none of the monuments already erected were taken down,

even the ones with incorrect information on them were left up, as the ABMC did not feel

it right to take down a memorial already constructed (Conner 2018, 55). While being

lambasted by the public for their slow progress, the ABMC was taking on multiple tasks

and duties throughout the 1920's. These duties included purchasing more land for the

cemeteries, working with foreign governments to allocate land for memorials and

monuments, lobbying for and receiving appropriations from Congress, meeting with

foreign agencies in charge of their own military cemeteries, holding Memorial Day

commemorations, hosting visits from various American organizations, approving or

denying new monuments and memorials from interested parties or individuals, and

creating the historic photographic record of the war from an American perspective.

Throughout the 1920s additional monuments requested by veterans, state

governments, and community groups were denied for various reasons, among them a

mandate from the ABMC itself, that since America only fought in the later stages of the

war, a more modest approach to monumentalizing America's participation would be the

better option to take, unless said monument/memorial was of use to the local

community (ABMC Seventeenth meeting minutes 1926; see Appendix 2.1.3).

The most noteworthy of the ABMC's overseas visits was to England and the chairman

of the British Imperial War Graves Commission. Through these visits, many 'guiding

principles' were learned about the construction and layout of the cemeteries (Imperial

War Graves Commission Conference Records 1924). The ABMC learned that the

headstones should be the most attention-grabbing part of the cemeteries. And after the

visits to England, Pershing noted that in comparison, the American cemeteries looked

as though the minimal amount of funding had been spent, whereas the English

cemeteries looked as though the highest amount had been spent with the greatest

attention to detail paid (Appendix 2.2.17). The two largest pilgrimages to the cemeteries

happened on the 10-year anniversary mark for America's entrance into the war (Conner

2018, 79). By 1927, the ABMC had published its American Battlefields of Europe

guidebook for the American Legion's pilgrimage to Europe for the anniversary, which

consisted of over two thousand veterans, including General Pershing. However, the

book was afterward seen to be erroneous in certain ways and had to be redone, leading

to the reprinted edition in 1938 (Conner 2018, 79). The second pilgrimage to the

cemeteries was between 1929 and 1932, when the United States government funded

the Gold Star Mothers trips to the sites (Budreau 2008; Conner 2018). Between 1938-

1940, the ABMC abandoned its European offices and cemeteries, minus Brookwood in

England, in preparation for what would become WWII (Conner 2018).

While it may have been to furnish ideas about how to improve the cemeteries,

Pershing's comments regarding maintaining differences between cemeteries of different

nations seem to turn the construction of the sites into a competition (see Appendix

2.1.4, 2.1.5, 2.2.12, 2.2.13, 2.2.15, 2.2.16, 2.2.17). This competition seemed to spring

up around the cemeteries between America and the other Allied participants of WWI,

and seems to parallel the heritage competition between England and France during the

initiation and proliferation of national museums and national identity during the 19th and

20th centuries (Apor 2015; Bennet 2015; Berger 2015). Much like the museums, the

military cemetery with the most theming, ornateness, and that which could convey the

most status through its heritage could be determined the winner. Also mirroring the formation of national identities through national museums of the past, which grew via the practice of arguably stealing the heritage of colonized countries, for these cemetery systems to grow would mean the lives of soldiers needed to be stolen. More bodies meant more space needed to bury them, which meant more space to decorate. Fortunately, the ABMC would choose not to recommend that all soldiers be left overseas to facilitate the beautification of the cemeteries. As America was only invested in the very last stages of the war, to have so many monuments and memorials would seem to overstate the American contribution to the war effort. Even so, the total number of memorials by 1935 was ninety-one, the majority having already been erected by veterans before returning home after the war. They would, however, make such decisions after WWII.

As this section has shown, when the ABMC began, the depth of their work kept the Commission in a primarily construction centered role with the political needs and readings of their actions only being considered when it overlapped with the construction. Further sections in this chapter will show how the ABMC dealt with changing political and financial situations in the decades following WWII, up to the present day.

Post-World War II

The only ABMC cemetery that stayed open for the duration of WWII was Brookwood in the United Kingdom. In all other cemeteries in France and Belgium the American staff were evacuated by June 1940 with the local staff remaining until they also left (Conner

2018, 143). This section will review the history of the ABMC beginning from the time when the Commission continued operations after WWII and cover the construction of all the different WWII cemeteries in France, Belgium, Luxembourg, Tunisia, Italy, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom, and the Philippines.

During the war, no Americans were stationed in the Paris office of the ABMC, or any of the European cemeteries. The only exception to this was Brookwood in England. As the only European location to not be occupied by Germany, the ABMC felt it vital to keep Brookwood open (Conner 2018, 175). The staff from the Paris office and cemeteries in France and Belgium continued operation during the occupation with a skeleton crew of the local nationals (Conner 2018, 177). These skeleton crews operated with little to no pay until the war front moved back across France and American staff could return to the European locations safely. For the job of surveying the European locations for any damage sustained, General Pershing sent a high-ranking army officer, General T. Bentley Mott, who had previously worked with the ABMC (Conner 2018, 177-178). Due to his advanced age, the United States government would not allow the officer to be on any official personnel rosters of the ABMC past 1944, when Pershing first asked him to make the trip. Due to the war, the ABMC did not have the funds to pay the Mott or the skeleton crew staff he found in Europe properly for their services (Conner 2018, 177). What little funds the Commission did have was to be spent refurbishing and rebuilding any damage at the WWI cemeteries and monuments (Conner 2018, 177). The resulting survey and comments from Mott at Pershing's request are a precursor for how

aggressive and assertive the ABMC would become in the years after the war, covered further below in this chapter.

Regarding the damage sustained by the ABMC's properties in Europe, purposeful damage was minimal; a single memorial located in France was reportedly destroyed (Conner 2018, 177-180). While this may have distressed members of the community, no record of the memorial's location, form, function, or resonance with any populace pre- or post-destruction could be located for this thesis or previous studies. At the cemeteries, a few of the headstones were knocked over, with some Stars of David being vandalized (Conner 2018, 187). All other damage at the cemeteries reportedly came from incidental shelling and bombings done in the area, without the cemeteries being targeted specifically. At the advice of General Marshall, who would go on to be chairman of the ABMC, some of the incidental damage at the cemeteries was left unrepaired to affect the psyche of all who visit as to the events the cemetery went through and add architectural appeal as well, so long as the damage would not lead to more consequential architecture losses (ABMC Fiftieth meeting minutes 1947). The unrepaired work remains as such to the present day, at places like Aisne-Marne (ABMC n.d.-b).

Mott noted that during the reconquest of France, many American troops made visits to the cemeteries and were joyous of their visits (Mott letter to Pershing 1944). And fearing that the past would repeat itself, Mott advised that the ABMC start a campaign of lobbying for families to choose to leave their loved ones overseas for burial. This was as

much to head off the undertakers' lobby as it was to save the government money at the

expense of repatriation (Mott letter to Shaw 1945). The reason Mott gave for this

preemptive action of such urgency is that even in 1935, just twenty years after its

establishment, no average American knew who or what the ABMC were. As a

congressman would state in the 1920's, they are just another part of the Congressional

alphabet dictionary (Conner 2018, 4). While he would live to see the end of the war,

General Pershing would die of old age in 1948. This would usher in a new chairman for

the ABMC, a change just in time for the new generation of cemeteries to be built and

new conflicts for the Commission.

A few more noteworthy aspects of this era of the ABMC's history come from the

archives of Mott and Marshall. Most notably, the way in which the sites were (from an

engineering perspective) relatively undamaged and how it was decided the damage

would be handled, regardless of how communities and families of the deceased may

have felt. Throughout most of history, propaganda during war tends to portray the

enemy as godless heathens devoid of any human trait and deserving of death.

However, the Germans in WWII, outside of some smaller examples, clearly paid no

mind to the American military cemeteries, only the Allied forces. During the 1940's,

these sites would be considered nothing more than military cemeteries, nearly

completely ignored by the Germans (Conner 2018, 173-174). However, this attitude

toward them seems to mirror the attitude with which combatants are expected to show

toward heritage sites in the modern era; that is, a deference or outright avoidance of

them, with any damage done being seen as a possible war crime, or at least incident worthy of international outrage (UN 2015).

A second point of analysis for the period of 1944-1946, the end of WWII, deals with how the damage at some of the cemeteries was left unrepaired, and the Mott's remarks as to the affect such disrepair would have on visitors going forward. These cemeteries, monuments, and memorials are tangible heritage sites. Their site history is as much a part of the story told as the events and people they were constructed to commemorate. It is one thing to note in the story of the site that it was damaged in the war. It is another to leave that damage through time as a physical reminder of the war. The effects such actions can have on visitors to sites such as these military cemeteries depends entirely on the nationality of those who are visiting. An American may look upon such damage as evidence that cemeteries of their nation survived the largest conflict in human history as a point of pride. German nationals, on the other hand, may look upon such damage with shame for the actions perpetrated by their country within the last century. The explicit decision to leave damage done during the war to the cemeteries unrepaired changes the damage to a tangible scar to the memory and history that the cemetery has experienced for future generations. This tangible scar that can be physically experienced by human senses has made it so that this one aspect of German aggression in WWII has not been forgotten or glossed over by history.

Military Regulation Change

For those who take the time to investigate American war dead, and even those who do not, one phrase dominates the conversation: "No soldier left behind" or its variant "We bring our boys home" (Department of Defense News Briefing 2002). While this may be the case now, it has not always been so. The existence of the ABMC cemeteries outside of the United States attest to this fact. Thinking from a logistical standpoint, not bringing the war dead home to the US serves economical and efficiency purposes. Returning the war dead from overseas would be an unpleasant affair that drains vital resources, morale, and time during war. Until the mid-19th century, soldiers were often left to lie where they died. Other times, mass graves would be used to clear away the dead. Only officers or people of importance were ever given an individual grave (Sledge 2005, 32).

In his article 'Leave no man behind: Recovering America's fallen warriors', Leonard Wong (2005) focuses on the pragmatic reasons behind the phrase and the possible ramifications it may have. These ramifications come about as the phrase goes from an unwritten norm in the military to being codified in the warrior ethos of all professional military education (Wong 2005, 613). It may be this ethos and military resolution that has led to much of modern America not knowing about the existence of the ABMC and its cemeteries, outside of the notable exception of Normandy, around which the United States' entire WWII victory narrative begins. This is an example of myth, also known as an extended metaphor in semiotic studies (see Chandler 2020), specifically how seemingly the entire country of the United States can at once hold onto the phrase

'leave no man behind' as ultimate truth, even though an entire government agency

exists to take care of the cemeteries for those Americans who lie overseas. And for this

same public to scorn President Trump when he canceled a visit to one of these

cemeteries during the 2018 centennial commemoration year of the end of WWI

(Jackson 2019). The public are at least vaguely aware of the American war dead

overseas. They understand the phrase 'leave no man behind' to apply to all modern

examples. Whenever possible, a historical soldier who was designated MIA is

discovered and this modern notion is applied to their remains. Returning the fallen of

war is a logistical decision made for the remaining troops. This makes more sense from

a war weariness perspective because:

> "[A] government desires to keep peace and favor with its citizens, and the days
> when bodies would remain overseas for years because it was militarily
> inconvenient to return them are gone. Our efforts to recover and return soldiers
> who have died indicate that the nation's leaders expend political capital on
> matters of significance to its people." (Sledge 2005, 26)

It is not only soldiers and other members of the armed forces who experience war

weariness; it also affects their families back home. It is also experienced by the entire

country if rationing policies are put in place. Keeping up morale on the home front is just

as important as it is on the war front. Retrieving the military dead stops the people on

the home front from seeing themselves as tools. Tools to be picked up by the

government, used, broken (killed), and tossed aside for a new one. If that is the feeling

that people back home have, they will not bother to send their husbands, wives, sons,

or daughters into combat. Or worse, the public will stop supporting the troops and

soldiers, who are merely following orders wishing to go home, end up being vilified and ridiculed, as what happened with the Vietnam War in the United States.

These political and social calls from the United States' citizens began after WWII, the last war the US can argue to have conclusively 'won'. Due to the ever changing, back and forth, battle lines of the Korean Conflict:

> "[T]he United States adopted a policy that exists to this day: Concurrent Return. After Christmas 1950... American dead were recovered from where they had been killed and taken directly to Japan. There, the bodies were embalmed and held pending disposition requests from next of kin." (Sledge 2005, 41)

The technology of the day finally caught up with the demands of such actions, with refrigerated railroad cars keeping the bodies in the best possible condition during transport to the airfields where they would then be transported out of the country (Sledge 2005, 41). This resolution by the armed forces marks a major turn for the ABMC. From 1950 onward, no further Americans would be buried in new military cemeteries overseas.

While such changes were negative for the ABMC, they were positive for the country. The update in technology allowed a fallen soldier's family to go through the more tangible aspects of the grieving process. Being able to see and touch the body of their loved one and attending the funeral surrounded by friends and family would allow much more closure than the promise or even a picture of a grave thousands of miles away

could ever do. As the Wyoming Funeral Directors Association states, "The funeral helps the living by confirming the reality of death, providing an occasion for mourning, giving the community an opportunity to express its respect for the dead, creating a mechanism for the many to share the sorrows of a few, and encouraging the affirmation of faith" (Quoted in Sledge 2005, 23). Some military dead would continue to be buried in the World War cemeteries as they were discovered historically, but unlike the aftermath of the World Wars, no new cemeteries would be constructed, nor would interments happen on masse. The ABMC was from that point on limited to only monuments and memorials.

During the Cold War, the ABMC's primary cultural battleground was in France. This was not because the majority of the Commission's cemeteries are located in the country, but because France was also the country with the greatest chance of electing a communist government in Western Europe. During the liberation of France in WWII, Charles de Gaulle managed to bring together French nationalists and communists toward the goal of liberation (Hulver 2015, 230). Following the war, France began nurturing a memory of resistance rather than passivity for its occupation years (Hulver 2015, 233). The French Communist Party quickly lay claim to much of this memory of resistance as their own, even though de Gaulle tried to exclude them from memorial events (Hulver 2015, 238). With the popular support this memory carried, there was a chance that French citizens might vote in a communist president following the war.

The Cold War is the era of dualities: East versus West, Capitalism versus Communism, [Judeo-]Christianity versus Atheism. The Christian iconography of the ABMC cemeteries became synonymous with the Capitalist West and acted as the juxtaposition to the atheistic Communist East (Lemay 2018a, 241-242; 2018b, 65). The Cold War is the era when the US State Department officially began trying to enact soft power in other countries, although the term was not invented at the time. Specifically, the State Department wanted to influence the culture of other countries by funding artists and cultural projects while remaining behind the scenes (Hulver 2015, 244-245). The Department could not be seen to be forcing 'Democratic' art upon other countries (Hulver 2015, 245). The ABMC cemeteries, however, seem to contradict this idea of shadowy cultural influence. The cemeteries were clearly funded by the Federal Government and built with only 'Democratic' art on display. The French people, however, accepted these artistic displays. Hulver (2015, 246-247) believes it is the presence of the war dead at the cemeteries that acted as a buffer between the cultural influence of the cemeteries, which was working as intended, and the sensibilities of the French people. Another possibility is that the French people understood what the cemeteries were being erected for and did not mind these small, bordered off areas of American culture showcasing just that. The art and architecture were not the only way the ABMC helped contain communism in France during the Cold War, the war dead within the cemeteries were used as "cold warriors" to contain communism in France during Memorial Day speeches by US ambassadors to France (Hulver 2015, 219).

The 'democratic' art of the ABMC cemeteries may have projected Western ideals as the State Department wished, but the art and architecture alone were not sufficient to enact their soft power agenda. The French people came to associate the American sacrifice present and on display within the ABMC cemeteries as representing their own sacrifice under the Vichy regime, when multitudes of people were executed (Hulver 2015, 229, 235). The soft power of the cemeteries during the Cold War was only achieved by this mutual use of the cemeteries as sites of memory. The cemeteries were places that the French people could visit to understand the memory of their own experience during the war. The ABMC was achieving the State Department's goal in a different manner. Rather than funding artists and actively influencing the culture of France from "behind the scenes" (Hulver 2015, 245), the ABMC created unapologetic American memorial spaces and waited for the French people to come to them. Although for more sentimental reasons of commemorating fallen liberators or as a proxy to understand their experiences during the occupation, the French visitors to the cemeteries were surrounded by 'democratic' art present in the cemeteries of their own volition. This allowed the ABMC to implant American culture more subversively, ironically through the overt display of such art.

This outward projection of Christian Capitalism through art was not done without question. The Cold War saw the US go through a wave of anti-communist sentiment known as McCarthyism, with politicians and citizens alike fearing a communist takeover of the country. Politically left leaning occupations and individuals, such as academics or artists, were ironically accused of doing to the US with communism what the State

Department was attempting to do with Capitalism in Europe. The ABMC, needing to hire multiple artists, sculptors, etc. was not spared from this paranoia. For example, Leon Kroll, the artist hired to design and execute a mosaic ceiling for the memorial chapel at Normandy cemetery was accused of being a communist and investigated for "Un-American activities" by members of the House of Representatives Committee on Un-American Activities in Congress (Lemay 2018a, 241-242, 246). The fact that he was the artist in charge of a chapel ceiling honoring American sacrifice overseas in WWII made the fear of hidden communist messages greater for the Congressional Representatives. Afraid of damage to their reputation, the ABMC even asked a government intelligence officer to conduct an investigation into Kroll (Lemay 2018a, 251). The fear of hidden meaning within the art of the cemeteries is not entirely without merit. The artists are on record as stating that because they did not have the space for words, they had to speak in symbols (Lemay 2018b, 117). After multiple House investigations, interviews, and public slandering in the media, no evidence of Kroll being a communist was found. In the end, he was allowed to design and execute the chapel ceiling and included many of the 'democratic' art symbols the State Department and 'patriotic' members of government would have no qualms with symbolizing America.

Interpretation Era

The fact that no new cemeteries would be erected overseas caused anxiety in the ABMC about being disbanded. As a result, the ABMC would put more pressure on the President and Congress to renovate the cemeteries and erect new memorials overseas for more recent conflicts (Appendix 2.4-2.15). A speech by Reagan at the Normandy

Cemetery in 1984 was the beginning of a new era for the ABMC, the interpretation era. Reagan's speech at Normandy in 1984 was orchestrated to be in front of Army Ranger veterans at Pointe du Hoc, then a more general audience at Normandy Cemetery proper. During the latter speech, when introducing the daughter of a soldier buried there, Reagan's voice reportedly cracked, showing the gravity of the setting and commemoration of these sites was still poignant forty years on, at least for the WWII sites (Cannon 1991, 483-485). After these commemoration dates, the ABMC decided to put more focus on interpreting their sites for visitors. In the words of a commissioner, they went from taking care of the cemeteries to interpreting the past events at these cemeteries. To this end, since the 1980's, new museums, visitor centers, and information buildings have been built wherever possible. The site to gain the most attention has been Normandy, which saw a major surge in visitation after the publication of books like *Band of Brothers* (Ambrose 1992) and movies like *Saving Private Ryan* (Spielberg 1998).

11 September 2001 is a major turning point in the American psyche. It saw the largest 'rally around the flag' effect and resulting surge in patriotism in America since WWII. In Addition, it was the American public's first experience of urban warfare and guerrilla tactics to terroristic ends on their own soil. The War in Iraq and Afghanistan would become America's longest ever conflict, with America formally recalling its troops and the Taliban resuming control of the country in 2021.

To combat the war weariness felt by soldiers stationed overseas during such prolonged periods of conflict, the ABMC acts as a buffer. By organizing a visit to one or multiple cemeteries and memorials, the ABMC seeks to add to a soldier's military education by reinforcing the American values they fight to protect: courage, bravery, honor, and valor. To learn such a lesson in the presence of all those soldiers who died fighting to protect those same virtues while at the same time learning about the heritage of their organization, the American Armed Forces, must leave quite an impression on soldiers who could be as young as 18 themselves. These were the sentiments of the Cambridge Cemetery superintendent while he gave a tour of the site during Memorial Day 2018.

As time goes on and the memory of the World Wars turns into history, the ABMC has poised itself to be the heritage institution for these conflicts from an American perspective. Such control over the narrative allows them to focus on the good of American victories in these conflicts while leaving aside the American atrocities such as the execution of surrendering Germans in WWI, the bombing of Dresden in the European Theater of WWII, or the rape of Japanese women on Okinawa in the Pacific Theater of WWII. The ABMC may be one of the best examples for the phrase 'history is written by the victors'.

After 11 September 2001, the interpretation of the ABMC cemeteries did not need to change to accommodate the 2003 invasion of Iraq and Afghanistan. Instead, President George W. Bush and the Federal Government would reuse rhetoric already associated with and present artistically/architecturally at the cemeteries to justify military

intervention and to bolster rising anti-Islamofascism sentiment. The terrorists behind the

9/11 attack being adherents of Islam led to President W. Bush leaning into the Christian

faith of America and its military as one of the reasons behind the attack and the need for

military intervention (Hulver 2015, 345-346). Moreover, military intervention would not

be done just for revenge, but to bring democracy to the Middle East. The ABMC did not

need to change the interpretation of the cemeteries because they already stood for

Christianity and democracy in equal measure, which is further explored in the coming

chapters.

Timeline

The above sections have provided the historical context of the ABMC for the period

between 1919-2020. The timeline in Figure 2 gives a visual representation of this

historical context. As shown in the Figure, even though the Commission was

established in 1923, the construction of one of its cemeteries, Mexico City, and key

debates surrounding architectural and landscape forms take place prior to the

Commission's creation.
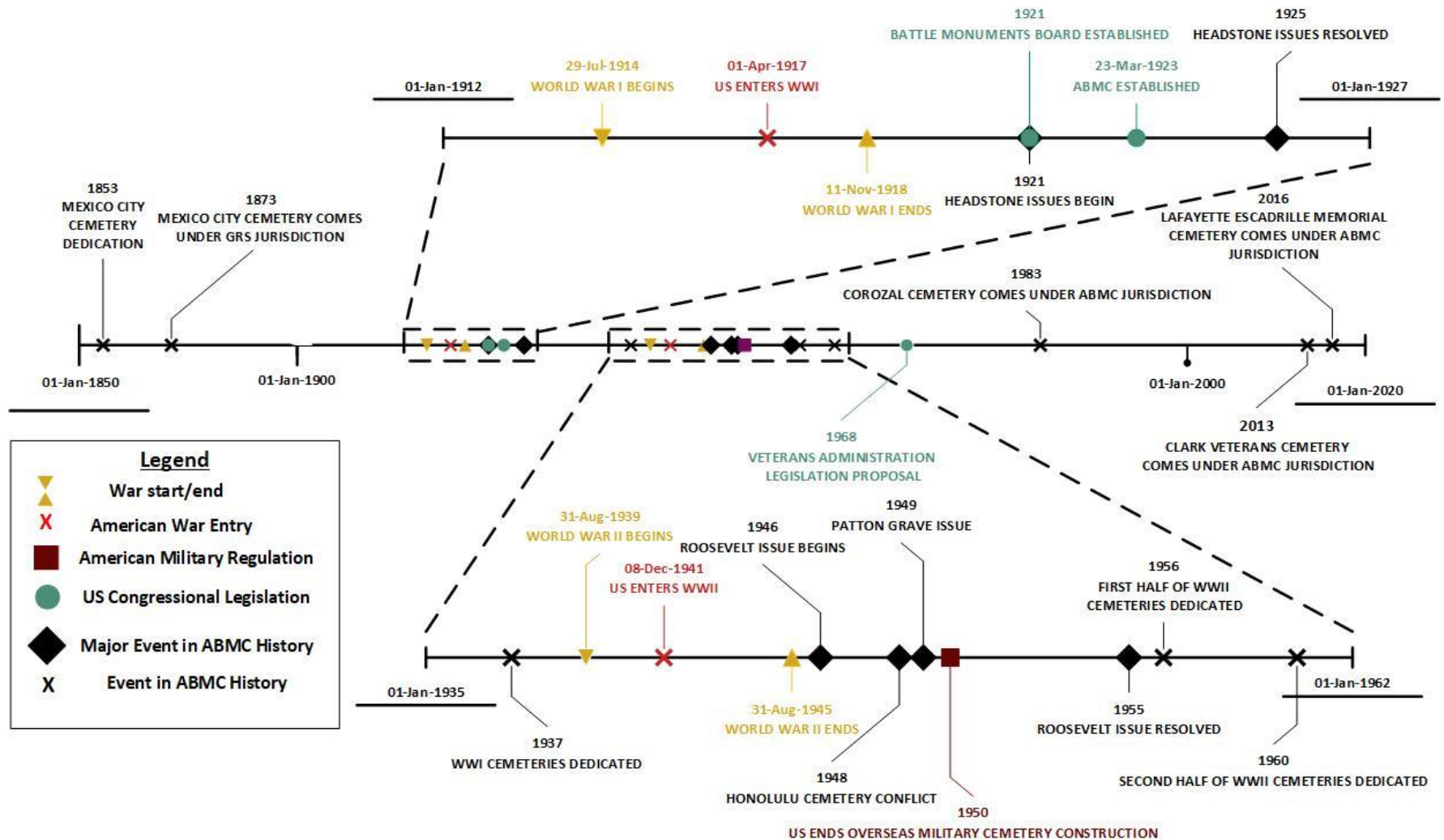
Figure 2 Timeline of the ABMC

As illustrated in Figure 2, issues tend to occur with the most frequency within the first

five years after the end of a war. Within the five years following WWI, the key issues

faced involved *what* to do with the American war dead, when the GRS would create

permanent cemeteries, when the ABMC would obtain oversight of their maintenance,

and the issue of *how* and *what* form the cemeteries would take that became the major

objective for the Commission's agenda to solve. In the five years following WWII, the

ABMC would have to answer questions regarding issues brought about by their own

policies, once again opening debate regarding headstone form and placement, but also

involving politics, status, expense, and favoritism. Near the end of each five-year period,

major construction would begin. Figure 2 shows that on average the cemeteries take a

decade to finish and dedicate.

The creation of the ABMC and the construction of military cemeteries overseas would

seem to set a precedent in and for America as to how its war dead would be treated in

the aftermath of ever-increasing armed conflict around the globe. The question of this

precedent came up after WWII and was answered by President Truman when he

extended the ABMC's mandate to include all foreign burials of American war dead

(Conner 2018, 180). Going forward, it would seem like every war on foreign soil that

America participated in, the ABMC would then construct a cemetery for the American

war dead on the closest friendly soil to the conflict. Technological advancements would

see this precedent rendered moot, however, in 1950, when refrigeration and

transportation techniques made it possible to repatriate the body of every recovered

fallen soldier (Sledge 2005, 41). Once these innovations were reached, America's War

Department quickly made changes to their regulation regarding war dead for repatriation. Such repatriation would keep the dead and cemeteries outside the view of fellow soldiers and offer closure to families back in America. This would increase morale on both the home front and the front lines. This change is a major shift for the timeline of the ABMC in Figure 2 as no further cemeteries are shown to be constructed by the ABMC, leading to the Commission beginning to stall politically within the United States government, which will be examined in more detail later in this chapter.

The rest of the chapter presents an analysis of specific events in the ABMC's history. The events are broken up into two categories. The first is the mandate of the ABMC, which covers three instances where the regulations and the mission of the ABMC were questioned and their outcomes. The second is intra-governmental politics, which covers four instances when the ABMC clashed with other governmental bodies to see their agenda through to completion. All of these events are listed in Figure 2 for reference to where they fit into the broader historical context.

Mandate of the ABMC

This section of the chapter will focus on the analysis of two mandates of the ABMC. The first is the ABMC's original mandate set out in the Congressional act that established the Commission (Appendix 1). The second is an internal mandate of the ABMC, that once a decision is made regarding place of burial, no family may change their mind to repatriate or otherwise alter the layout decisions of the Commission. Mandates are challenged and change through time, and these events highlight times when the ABMC

underwent such situations. The sections each begin by providing a summary of the situation and then analyzing them individually.

World War II Cemetery Construction

After WWII ended, the ABMC was worried that its mandate legislation in 1923 only covered the cemeteries, monuments, and memorials of WWI. This led to the fear that a new organization or agency would be established to do the work they had done for WWI to the newly finished WWII (Mott letter to Shaw 1945). Worse yet, said agency may usurp the ABMC's control over these sites and lead to their abolishment. To assuage the fear of the ABMC, the Secretaries of War and Navy wrote a letter to President Truman advising that the Commission be allowed to continue their mandate of commemoration with the newly finished war as it had done for WWI (Stimson and Forrestal letter to Truman 1945). In response to this, President Truman issued an executive order to just that effect. After WWI, the ABMC grew a network of contacts within the American continent, government, and those of Europe as well. It was the more politically efficient option to expand the Commission's mandate to cover WWII than to have Congress potentially hindered by trying to work out the details of a new agency to perform the exact same task. With that question dealt with, the ABMC set to work with the War Department designing, selecting locations for, and constructing the WWII cemeteries across the world.

The WWII cemeteries follow the general design of the WWI cemeteries using white religious iconographic headstones, having chapels, flagpoles, administration and visitor

buildings, with meticulously maintained landscaping. One proposed site for a cemetery was Puerto Rico, which would be rejected by ABMC secretary Thomas North as such a site would be disappointing to all the families of those buried there as it would not be *overseas,* situated instead in American territory and thus American soil (Conner 2018, 189). While the army cooperated with a request by the ABMC to prohibit the construction of monuments and memorials during and immediately after WWII by veterans waiting to be repatriated, some such construction did still occur (Erection of Battle Monuments Memorandum 1945). However, this construction was nowhere near the level it was in 1918. The ABMC decided to strictly limit any other monuments or memorials in Europe besides its own, to reduce maintenance costs (ABMC Fiftieth meeting minutes 1947).

While construction of the WWII cemeteries began smoothly with the help of the War Department, circumstances changed for the ABMC in 1950. With the start of the Korean War, the American government's priorities shifted away from commemorating WWII to its participation in the new conflict (Conner 2018, 201). This meant budget cuts across the board for all agencies of the US government. Along with the budget cuts were personnel restrictions. These hit the ABMC particularly hard as most of their staff overseeing the new construction would need to be let go to fulfill other military commitments in Southeast Asia. This meant either the slowing down or cessation of construction at various cemeteries and memorials around the world. To combat this, chairman General George Marshall, who replaced General Pershing at the first ABMC meeting after Pershing's death, wrote to various budget directors and personnel

directors in the government, even going so far as to have a face-to-face meeting with President Truman (North Memorandum to Commission 1951; Marshall Memorandum to Budget Director 1951). As secretary of State, Marshall knew how to word his letters to get what he wanted. He reminded those involved that it would not be in their best political interest to let these cemeteries for the WWII deceased slow down or stall in construction. The ABMC was promptly awarded funds and personnel to complete their work, which would not be fully complete until 1960 (see Figure 2 above).

This marked the beginning of the ABMC not only understanding the power and meaning of language presentation but utilizing it for their own agenda. The Commission even changed the order of options given to the WWII deceased next-of-kin. When the Congressman and War Department official who were in charge of the information for the next-of-kin regarding final resting places was shown to the ABMC, one of the forms accompanying it drew the Commission's attention. This form would be the final decision the family would make. The first option had their family permanently buried in a National cemetery within the United States. The second option had their family permanently buried in a national cemetery overseas. One of the commissioners requested that the overseas option be put first, to the dismay of the presenting Congressman who wanted the government to be as neutral in the next-of-kin's decision as possible (ABMC Forty-eighth meeting minutes 1946). With the War Department's cooperation, the ABMC's change was made to the form (Conner 2018, 197).

This highlights the soft power of language and option choices within psychological primacy. Arguments along these very same lines are still held today by organizations such as UNESCO or the United Nations regarding the size of labeling on care boxes, equipment sent to people who need help, or branding in general to the point that 'visual identity guidelines' exist (United Nations 2019). The same such soft power and language are at play in heritage sites across the entire world. What parts of the heritage site do people see first? In what way are these places written about? It is the same soft power at work politically for America to have these heritage sites in the form of military cemeteries set up all around the world. As Thomas North feared and George Marshall pointed out to President Truman, if these sites are slowed or halted in construction, the reputation of the ABMC and the United States abroad would be negatively impacted every time a foreigner visited any site. And that would hurt the United States politically. The optics of the situation mirrored those of the sites. Once a family had chosen to bury their next-of-kin overseas, the deceased body was the property of the United States government. Any and all petitions for exhumation and repatriation to the States at a later date were denied as it would mar the beauty of the cemeteries set up and invite complaints from other families who chose to leave their next-of-kin overseas. This section of the thesis covered an instance where the ABMC managed to expand their original mandate from Congress to include casualties from WWII. The next sections cover two instances where the ABMC's internal mandate on grave position would be questioned.

Grave of General Patton

The history behind General Patton's grave in Luxembourg cemetery is significant, for his grave is the only one out of all 26 ABMC cemeteries to not be included in the grave sections. After his death, Patton's family readily agreed to have his body buried overseas. This quick decision by the family of such a prominent officer of the US armed forces could be used to support the notion of leaving loved ones overseas. And the choice of cemetery for Patton, Luxembourg, was also relatively simple, as his men had liberated that ground from German forces, and he would prefer to rest with his troops (Conner 2018, 209). In accordance with the regulations set by the ABMC after WWI, Patton was laid to rest among the rest of soldiers in Luxembourg with no distinction on his grave or its placement in the cemetery. The Secretary of Defense, when visiting Patton's grave, remarked that it was exactly what Patton would have wanted and commended the ABMC (Patterson speech in ABMC chairman letter to Secretary of Defense 1949).

Patton's widow, however, disagreed and asked incoming Secretary of Defense Louis Johnson to order Patton's reburial (Conner 2018, 209). She wanted his grave separated and moved out from the grave sections at Luxembourg. The ABMC unanimously rejected her desire. Unfortunately for the Commission, the GRS still held control of the cemetery as bodies were still being placed in their permanent graves. At the request of the widowed Patton, the GRS moved the General to his current location against the wishes of the ABMC (Conner 2018, 210). After control of Luxembourg cemetery was given over to the ABMC, plans were brought forward to move the General back to his

original position. In response to this, General Thomas Handy, a supporter of Patton's

widow, warned of the politics such a move would have. Patton was "a national hero,

growing in stature as he drops farther into the past. [N]o other American commander is

held in anything like the same veneration. To move Patton's grave from its privileged

spot would be nothing less than putting US relations with Western Europe at risk" (North

Letter to Marshall 1950). This argument of relational and reputational risk is the same

argument the ABMC used to secure funding and personnel to finish the WWII

cemeteries, as mentioned earlier in this chapter. The argument was now being used

against the Commission, and Patton's grave stands isolated to this day.

This story is an example of how 'heroes' or 'mythical figures' are pervasive throughout

conflict archaeology and heritage. To its credit, the ABMC attempted to frame every

individual in the overseas cemeteries as a hero. This idea is interesting as it puts the

attention of visitors to the whole of the site and the event being commemorated rather

than on one singular person, or a small contingent of people. Yet within five years of his

death, the want of status by Patton's widow and the political uses Patton's body held for

the living were greater than that of the notion of collective heritage and commemoration.

That use and power of heritage was so great that the ABMC backed down from their

own regulation, and now Patton stands out as *the* mythical American figure for WWII. It

is hard to ascribe causality in situations like these. Patton died in a car crash in

occupied Germany, so his death was more accidentally tragic rather than sacrificially

tragic when the topic turned to memorialization. His deeds in command while living were

enough to be a high ranking general in the war, but how much of that plays into his

legacy is unknown. It is possible that his isolated grave acting as memorial helped inspire his numerous biographies and documentaries leading to his elevated status today, or that those items focused on him due to his status being already 'mythical' prior to his death. The causality is impossible to know but highlights one of the many ways heritage contributes to soft power and how soft power contributes to memorialization and heritage.

Grave of Quentin Roosevelt

Another story relating to the ABMC's grave mandate involves Quentin Roosevelt, the son of Theodore Roosevelt, who served as the 26th President of the United States between 1901 and 1909. After being shot down in WWI and buried by the Germans, former President Theodore Roosevelt and his family decided to leave the grave in the Champagne region of France rather than have the ABMC rebury him in one of their cemeteries. To this effect, the former president took it upon himself and his family to care for the grave with no help whatsoever from the United States government (Roosevelt letter to Pierce 1918).

Nearly three decades after the war and the former president's death, the local woman the family had contracted to maintain the grave in France was no longer able to do so. Not wanting their kin's grave to be abandoned, the Roosevelts petitioned the government to move it to one of the WWI cemeteries. However, due to the former president's agreement, the United States Government refused to take up this request (Patterson letter to Roosevelt 1946). Five years later, the widow of Theodore Roosevelt

Jr, who died in WWII, Eleanor Roosevelt, decided to have her husband buried in Normandy Cemetery. She would also go on to become one of the commissioners of the ABMC. With her position on the board, the family petitioned the ABMC to again look after Quentin Roosevelt from WWI, but this time in Normandy Cemetery next to his brother (Roosevelt letter to North 1954). Under the condition that no federal funds be used for the exhumation and transport of the remains, the ABMC agreed to bury the Roosevelts together (ABMC Sixty-eighth meeting minutes 1955). During this process there was no publicity of the event with the official reason being to protect the privacy of the Roosevelts (North confidential letter to Mage 1955). The brothers in Normandy are today one of the biggest 'points of interest' for visitors to Normandy Cemetery (ABMC 2018-I, 10).

This story highlights a tension in heritage. From one perspective, it brought together some scattered elements of American conflict heritage to allow for more visibility and engagement with visitors and researchers. From another, it is an example of the lengths that more affluent families can and will go to using heritage as a tool to gain status and cut expenditures. When the family no longer wanted to contract a local to care for the grave of Quentin Roosevelt, they petitioned the government to take care of it for them. After being denied, the family bided their time. Eventually, a family member received appointment to the Commission, and then used the death and burial of Quentin's brother in WWII as a means to reopen discussion. For a one-time considerable sum of money to exhume and move the body, the ABMC, and by extension the Federal Government, would then take financial responsibility for the graves from then on. The

family being allowed to change their initial decision regarding burial site had to be a primary reason for the lack of publicity of the deal from the ABMC. The ABMC did not want other families to petition for change, especially if that meant repatriation, and being able to use one of the most prominent and affluent American familial dynasties as precedent would mean the Commission would need to fulfill every subsequent request. It is an example of the political dynamics constantly at play in heritage. The presence of two family members, who had fallen to one of the World Wars each, within the ABMC cemeteries also gives the Roosevelts claim to status and prestige from their patriotic heroic sacrifice. Based on the evidence presented in this thesis, the Roosevelts did not manipulate heritage as an end unto itself, but rather that the Roosevelts coincidentally manipulated national heritage for the purposes of saving money whilst simultaneously not neglecting the body of a deceased family member. These two grave examples have shown that the ABMC's mandates could be questioned and broken via sufficient political means.

Intra-governmental Politics

No agency in the United States government exists for an extended period of time without being embroiled in at least one, if not numerous, political battles on Capitol Hill. The ABMC is no different in this respect. This section will go into the intra-governmental politics that the ABMC have been engaged in throughout their nearly 100-year existence. Such politics have already been seen in the actions of the ABMC after WWII. The topics covered will be, (i) the issue of headstone form with the War Department and Commission of Fine Arts during the initial beautification of the WWI cemeteries in the

1920's, (ii) the Commission's worry over proper funding allocation just after their inception, (iii) the issue of the Honolulu cemetery construction in Hawaii which took place in 1948, and (iv) the issue of what agency would assert control over the nation's national cemeteries in the early 1970's.

Headstone Form

In 1921, before the ABMC was even formed by Congress, the Chairman of the Commission of Fine Arts, Charles Moore, went on a tour of the American cemeteries established in Europe after WWI at the request of the Secretary of War (Conner 2018, 54). Upon returning to the United States, CFA chairman Moore, along with Secretary of War John Weeks were finalizing details of Moore's plans for his presentation to President Harding. During this finalization, the pair looked to Arlington National Cemetery for their inspiration. The headstone design was part of a collaboration with architect Charles A. Platt taken directly from Arlington, being square in overall appearance and rising sixteen inches from the ground (Grossman 1984, 120). Once formed, the ABMC commissioners all agreed upon Latin crosses and Stars of David for the cemeteries, to be assigned based on the religion of the deceased (Conner 2018, 56). This may have been deference to General Pershing, first chairman of the ABMC, whose personal preferences were influenced by visits with next of kin to the deceased writing, 'The white cross has become to my mind such an important feature in marking the graves of our Dead that I think it should be retained if at all possible' (Pershing to Price letter 1924). Apparently, one of the reasons for leaving their family's body resting overseas was due to the effect that the rows of temporary crosses had the surviving

family members. It was because of this notion that Pershing fought for religious iconography for the headstone form within the Commission (see Appendix 2.2.13).

Chairman Moore of the CFA did not believe that headstones in the form of crosses would be a wise decision as he was certain the crosses were too fragile and would not last very long (Moore 1923, 6). The arms of the cross would prove too fragile to withstand the weathering of time. Sticking to the idea of Latin crosses and Stars of David, the ABMC took the fight to Congress. The two Congressional members of the ABMC managed to get the specific wording of "the headstones furnished hereunder shall be of such design and material as may be agreed upon by the Secretary of War and the American Battle Monuments Commission" (Fifth meeting minutes 1924) into the appropriations bill for the headstones. This wording in a more recent Congressional appropriations bill thus overruled the wording of the initial Act establishing the ABMC that stated all works must be approved by the CFA (ABMC Tenth meeting minutes 1924; ABMC Fourteenth meeting minutes 1925).

 Of interesting note is the split between headstone form factions. On the side of the religious iconography is the ABMC, veterans' associations that formed after the war, such as the American Legion and Gold Star Fathers, and families of the deceased. On the Arlington headstone faction was the War Department, the CFA, and prominent members of the GRS. The Gold Star Fathers official statement is of significance, noting that "This is a Christian nation, and the meaning of these fields of crosses, when properly understood, should be broad and high enough for everyone and offensive to

none" (Gold Star Fathers Association 1923). In the end, the religious iconography headstone form won, and Latin crosses and Stars of David can be seen at all ABMC cemeteries today. The debate over headstone form was the first major political debate of the ABMC, beginning before the Commission existed, and helped cement their independence as an agency in the Federal Government. But that was only the first debate to be had over the headstones. The next one would be over the material of the headstones.

The material with which to make the headstones was the ABMC's first encounter with aggressive lobbying action. This lobbying came from the American granite industry. Evoking a sense of nationalism or patriotism, the material was floated as being American simply because that was where the material was sourced and where the quarries were located. When that pitch was ignored by the ABMC commissioners, the argument changed to one of durability. Granite is one of the most durable, longest lasting stones. The ABMC commissioners, however, had agreed that the headstones, and indeed the majority of the architectural stone in the cemeteries, should be white, so as to contrast against the green background of the cemeteries' rural settings. No matter how many petitions were heard from the Granite lobbyists, the ABMC never wavered. Eventually it was decided upon that the stone material be Italian Carrara white marble (Conner 2018, 67). Such a choice was inexpensive per headstone and being sourced from Italy would be of cheaper cost to procure and ship to the cemeteries located in Europe.

In terms of art and architecture, ideology is built into every piece created, and is an often-overlooked fact of heritage. The visual aspects of heritage sites are usually their most prominent sensory experience to be had by visitors. At the ABMC cemeteries, the headstone form dominates this sensory experience, outnumbering all other visual aspects of the cemeteries by orders of magnitude. Heritage is the interplay of politics, art, the collective, and the individual. When the inherent political aspects of a heritage site are criticized, the care takers of the heritage site can invoke the language of art, 'beauty', and 'aesthetic' to turn the criticism back on the one who brought attention to the more political elements of the heritage site. The language used on the ABMC website today regarding headstone forms will see the use of phrases about honoring the religion of the fallen (ABMC.gov). This may well have been the intent. However, it is not the only consequence of this decision, and every action shows which community holds more power in the nation. The Latin crosses and Stars of David headstone form are an overtly religious symbolism in sites of heritage to an otherwise entirely secular organization, the American military. But the reasoning goes back to the statement of the Gold Star Fathers Association, that America 'is a Christian nation'. For a secular nation with a divide between church and state, this phrase is still evoked today during debates when religious iconography or scripture is kept out of courtrooms, state houses, city halls, or legislation (see Davis 2002; or Getto and Harjai 2015). It is an attempt by the Christian community to maintain or increase their political power to show that even if the country has no official religion, through the use of Christian symbols in prominent commemoration sites, the country *does* in actuality have a religion. And such physical architectural works such as these heritage sites allow for the Christian community to

claim prominence even if they lose their status of being the majority demographic.

Conner's (2018) book even highlights such disparities in its language. When discussing

the headstone forms, "Jews" in general were protesting for or demanding for Stars of

David, while "members of the Christian community" requested the Latin cross after

being asked to join an ABMC subcommittee on the issue (Conner 2018, 56). Even if the

two communities are arguing for religious iconography, the optics of political power

changes the use of language surrounding the two communities involved. The Jewish

community, lacking power and status in the US is described in a dismissive and

aggressive fashion, and the Christian community, enjoying high status in the country,

are asked to sit on a subcommittee regarding the issue so their opinion could be made

official. While this use of language is most likely entirely unintentional on Conner's part,

its use does highlight the bid for power between different religious communities in the

US that the ABMC was established as part of and participates in. And once a religious

symbol is part of the heritage site in such a prominent form as the headstones, the leap

to constructing chapels a few years later would be a much easier argument for the

Commission to make. This section has highlighted the history behind the form of the

headstones at the ABMC cemeteries and highlights the understanding the various

parties had regarding the consequences of such form. The visual symbolism and

semiotics projected by the headstones and how the form functions in tandem with the

other artistic and architectural features of the cemeteries will be further explored in

Chapter 8.

Initial Funding

In the 1926 annual report, the ABMC noted that many people believed the agency was under the jurisdiction of the War Department (Appendix 2.3.1). At first glance, this distinction in autonomy may seem pedantic, but it also put the agency at risk. If representatives in the Senate or House of Congress believed the ABMC to be part of the War Department, then any funds that would be allocated to the agency would be put in the budget for the War Department. In such a case, the War Department is under no obligation to fix the clerical error and transfer funds. This misunderstanding may have come about from the context surrounding the ABMC's founding. Its predecessor, the BMB, was under the jurisdiction of the War Department. As mentioned in the establishing legislation (Appendix 1, sec. 12), after the ABMC was terminated, the War Department was to house all their files and archives. If the start and end of the agency are tied to the War Department, it is an easy assumption to make that the entirety of the agency was within its jurisdiction.

Honolulu Cemetery

While the ABMC had an excellent working relationship with the GRS and quartermasters' sections of the War Department during the construction of the overseas WWII cemeteries, there is one instance where the two entities could not come to an agreement. After the Japanese surrender in September 1945, the GRS began consolidating the graves of American war dead for permanent burial or repatriation (Sledge 2005, page 75). The two Pacific theater cemeteries for WWII, it was decided, would be in Manila in the Philippines and Hawaii in the United States. Outside of the

US, the war department had no issue deferring to the opinions of the ABMC as to the cemeteries. However, regarding the Honolulu cemetery, the GRS held the final say over its design, much to the dismay of the ABMC. These differences are most notable in the headstone form and lack of chapel in Honolulu. The GRS went back to its WWI decision to have the Arlington cemetery style headstone form, and to not have a chapel as no national cemetery on American soil had need nor precedence for such a building (ABMC fifty-seventh meeting minutes 1949). This was done to keep all the national cemeteries within the United States within the same form as each other. After construction of the cemetery and a memorial were completed, the ABMC did not take over control of the cemetery as it is located outside of their mandate. The Commission was doubly dismayed when a memorial to the sunken battleship USS Arizona was sponsored, taken up by Congress, and seen to completion against the Commission's recommendations and pleas to the contrary (Conner 2018, 217).

This is another example of the intragovernmental struggle that the ABMC has experienced throughout its tenure as a federal agency. It is also a bit of a gray area for them legally. The dead that are interred at the cemetery did come from overseas and specifically from WWII. The executive order by Truman did give them authority over WWII memorial construction. However, this may also have been an attempt by the ABMC to expand its purview to within American borders for memorial control. As it stands now, there are two distinct types of American national cemetery in the world: those with religious iconographic headstone forms and chapels, which are run and maintained by the ABMC, and those of the Arlington headstone form without chapels,

which are run and maintained by the National Cemetery Division of Veterans Affairs. These two forms have clearly defined geographical boundaries as well. What this shows is that contrary to most news articles, Memorial Day posts, or histories, where the ABMC is shown to have been founded in 1923 for the purpose of cemetery and memorial maintenance and has stuck to that goal, the agency has gone through tough periods, some foisted upon it by outside actors, and some brought upon itself by bids for political power and expansion.

Veterans Administration

In 1968, legislation was put forth to establish the national cemetery system, which would be overseen by the Veterans Administration (later to become the Department of Veterans Affairs in 1989). Due to the overlap in subject, that being the construction and maintenance of national cemeteries for the deceased of the American armed forces, it was proposed that the ABMC be absorbed into the Veterans Administration. In response to this possibility, the agency put an addendum near the beginning of its annual report 1969 that reads:

> "The Commission opposes strongly transfer of its cemeteries and memorials to the Veterans Administration on the principal grounds that (a) they are closed to future burials and therefore can provide no material benefit to veterans, (b)the Commission has performed its functions efficiently and effectively, (c) no economies would be achieved, but in fact the transfer would be expensive, and (d) in a large organization the present high standards of maintenance of its cemeteries and memorials would inevitably deteriorate to that of Government cemeteries in the United States." (Appendix 2.5.8)

This sentiment, while paraphrased, would remain the same in every subsequent report until 1973, when the national cemetery system was established and the ABMC was not absorbed into the Veterans Administration (see Appendix 2.9; 2.10). Before adding it to the annual report, ABMC chairman Dever even saw fit to write a letter to former President Eisenhower, who had done much for the ABMC and was Dever's commanding officer in WWII, asking for his help in convincing the executive branch of the government to drop its support of the Veterans Administration taking over control of the ABMC cemeteries (Dever's letter to Eisenhower 1968).

While no direct link is stated, it is noteworthy that this restructuring of the United States' National Cemeteries comes after the ABMC and the War Department clashed over the Honolulu Cemetery in Hawaii. Until the Veterans Administration, the National Cemetery system within the United States was handled by the War Department and the GRS. By having Marshall pulling strings from the State Department to increase their budget and personnel during the Korean War to finish the WWII cemeteries, the ABMC may have gained some enemies within the Congress, budget, and personnel directors' offices. Clashing with the War Department over the Hawaii cemetery may have been seen as the excuse needed to do away with the agency through a small restructuring. It is only the agency's predilection to precedence of having high ranking generals as chairman that gave them the ability to keep their offices open. By this time, the War Department had made a regulation change that ensured the ABMC would never build another cemetery again.

Conclusion

This chapter addressed the first sub-question of this research, specifically 'What is the historical context of the cemeteries?'. Through the analysis of primary documents produced by the ABMC which have been retained in the NARA 2 facility in College Park, Maryland and the biography of the Commission written by Conner (2018), the answer to the sub-question has been made apparent. The cemeteries were originally constructed for the pragmatic reason of body disposal after WWI. Beyond the pragmatic reason, however, were political reasons. Just as the cemeteries were beginning to take on their final shape, issues of funding, representation, oversight, and who was allowed to make the final decision would all become political issues the Commission would participate in. Such political fighting is unavoidable because the ABMC is a governmental agency and was required to collaborate with other government agencies to carry out its mission. One issue highlighted by Sledge (2005) and evident on the ABMC website regarding repatriation in the present day is the political issue of ownership. When the families of the fallen soldier chose to have their kin buried overseas, they ceded ownership of the body to the Federal Government. The Commission has also been regularly active politically throughout its lifetime to ensure a 'proper' version of America was on display at each and every cemetery they maintained. Thus, the primary findings of this chapter are that contrary to what the Commission states, the ABMC is a highly political organization that operates for various political functions within the United States. These findings are based on a reading of the language used within the creation of the ABMC, how the ABMC purported itself to operate through time, and how other authors have written about their understanding of

how the ABMC functions via the text-immanent critique and contextualization CDA

methods that inform the linguistic semiotic interpretation. Now that the historical context

of the ABMC has been examined from a macro scale, the next three chapters focus on

a sampling of the cemeteries and their contexts individually.

Chapter 5 – Cemeteries Established Before the ABMC

This chapter seeks to begin answering the second sub-question of the research, namely 'How do the cemeteries function in practice today?'. This question is important to answer because it establishes the baseline social and political functions of the ABMC cemeteries in the present day, which can then be juxtaposed against the social and political functions of the cemeteries established in the last chapter to eventually answer the primary research question. Due to the nature of the heritagescape as a method, the case studies present in this and the next two chapters are heavily descriptive to draw out the evidence that will enable analysis of the cemeteries as a collective set, rather than as individual examples, of heritage sites in Chapter 8.

This chapter is composed of heritagescape case studies for two cemeteries that were constructed before the ABMC was established, control of which has since been given to the ABMC. These cemeteries are Mexico City and Corozal. Of the 26 cemeteries, only one other cemetery run by the ABMC, Clark Veterans Cemetery in the Philippines, dates to this period. This cemetery could not be examined for this research due to lack of available data (see Chapter 3). The heritagescape case studies comprise a description of the micro historical context, the arrangement of its graves, built architectural features, borders, lines of sight, any museum element present, and an access model before summarizing the cemetery using the heritagescape guiding principles. The two cemeteries present in this chapter were chosen because they provide a description of the ABMC cemeteries from before the Commission existed, acting as a reference and juxtaposition point for Chapters 6 and 7. Regarding the

heritagescape guiding principal summaries within these chapters, it is important to note beforehand that the majority of the cemeteries of the ABMC maintain a high degree of internal cohesion. Each cemetery consists of marble building materials and highly maintained designed landscapes. The differences all lie in the execution. As such, the cohesion principle of the heritagescape analysis will mostly focus on the areas and cities surrounding the cemeteries. The visibility principle is of note regarding the social visibility of the cemeteries as a genre of heritage. The cemeteries were designed to be striking against their natural backdrops (see Chapter 4). However, there is little to no intervisibility between the cemeteries and their surroundings due to the practical and symbolic use of the walls to keep the modern world out of the cemeteries.

Another note regarding the heritagescape guiding principles present in this and the following two chapters should be made before beginning. Since the cemeteries were all constructed by and are overseen by the ABMC, a few notes should be made before considering the cemeteries independently. All the cemeteries have distinct borders and boundaries. This is done for legal and symbolic purposes. By having a clear wall on the legal boundary, the ABMC is showing the host country that they are not trying to expand beyond their original borders. To show this, Pershing ordered that some of the land allocated for the cemeteries be returned to the host countries, which would also lead to any new walls constructed being more aesthetically pleasing (see Appendix 2.2.19). The symbolic function is to keep the rest of the world out of the cemeteries, especially as it modernizes. From a heritage perspective, these cemeteries are invisible, except on commemoration days.

Heritagescape Case Study 1 - Mexico City National Cemetery

The Mexico City cemetery is unique among the ABMC cemeteries. The only cemetery with the remains of soldiers from the Mexican-American War, this cemetery is located in the capital of Mexico, Mexico City. Below in Figure 3 is a map of the cemetery from an ABMC brochure (ABMC n.d.-p).

Figure 3 Map of Mexico City Cemetery taken from an ABMC brochure.

History

The Mexican-American War began due to America's westward expansion. After Texas became a state in union in December of 1845, diplomatic ties between America and Mexico ended as Mexico believed America had annexed its territory (ABMC n.d.-p). America initially stationed forces in the new state of Texas, but within six months

General Zachary Taylor had been ordered to invade Mexico. After two years of conflict,

the Mexican authorities surrendered, and American forces occupied Mexico City. Three

years later, Mexico City National Cemetery was established and dedicated in 1851. The

GRS originally maintained the cemetery, but in 1946 oversight was transferred to the

ABMC (see timeline in Chapter 4). In 1973, the Mexican government requested the land

back from America in order to establish a new trucking route through Mexico City. The

ABMC did not want to set the precedent of returning a whole cemetery and negotiations

between the two countries began (see Appendix 2.9.1). Eventually it was decided that

half of the cemetery would be returned to Mexico. The ABMC used this event to secure

funds to redesign the cemetery, which were completed in 1977 (see Appendix 2.13.1).

While this is the only instance of a host country requesting back the land an ABMC

cemetery is located on, it offers a possible insight into the lifecycle of the Commission's

cemeteries. The time between dedication and return request for Mexico City Cemetery

is approximately 130 years. It will be interesting to see if other host countries follow this

timeline for the WWI and WWII cemeteries and how these cemeteries fit into the

lifecycle of cemeteries.

Grave Arrangement

The grave arrangement at Mexico City Cemetery is unique among the ABMC

cemeteries. After the redesign of the site, the remains of the 813 soldiers and their

headstones were reburied in burial vaults that line the east wall (ABMC n.d.-p). This

leads to Mexico City Cemetery being much more akin to memorial gardens (see

Williams 2011). A singular mass grave is present underneath the monument in the cemetery.

Built Architecture

The monument for the mass grave at Mexico City cemetery is located at the opposite side of the site from the entrance gate. The flagpole is situated next to the monument. The administration building is located next to the entrance and contains the visitor room (ABMC n.d.-p).

Borders

Mexico City Cemetery is surrounded by a wall that completely blocks access except through the entrance gate. Inside the cemetery small hedges and flower beds border some of the pathways. Otherwise, Mexico City is entirely open. The cemetery is completely surrounded by urban construction due to its placement in the capital city of Mexico, as shown in Figure 4 below.

Figure 4 Aerial photograph of Mexico City Cemetery, screenshot taken from Google

Earth.

Lines of Sight

Due to the border wall, the only visibility between the Mexico City cemetery and the

surrounding city is through the small gate section that the entrance is composed of.

Within the cemetery, trees line the borders of some of the pathways, but visibility is not

blocked anywhere within.

Museum Element

There is no known museum element at Mexico City Cemetery.

Access Model

The access model for Mexico City is the smallest out of all of the cemeteries maintained by the ABMC, shown in Figure 5 below. It is also the only model and cemetery not to have grave plots. The political history from the earlier section had all the graves moved to wall mounted sepulchers approached near pathway 2. This cemetery is more akin to walking through a garden or small park than a cemetery.
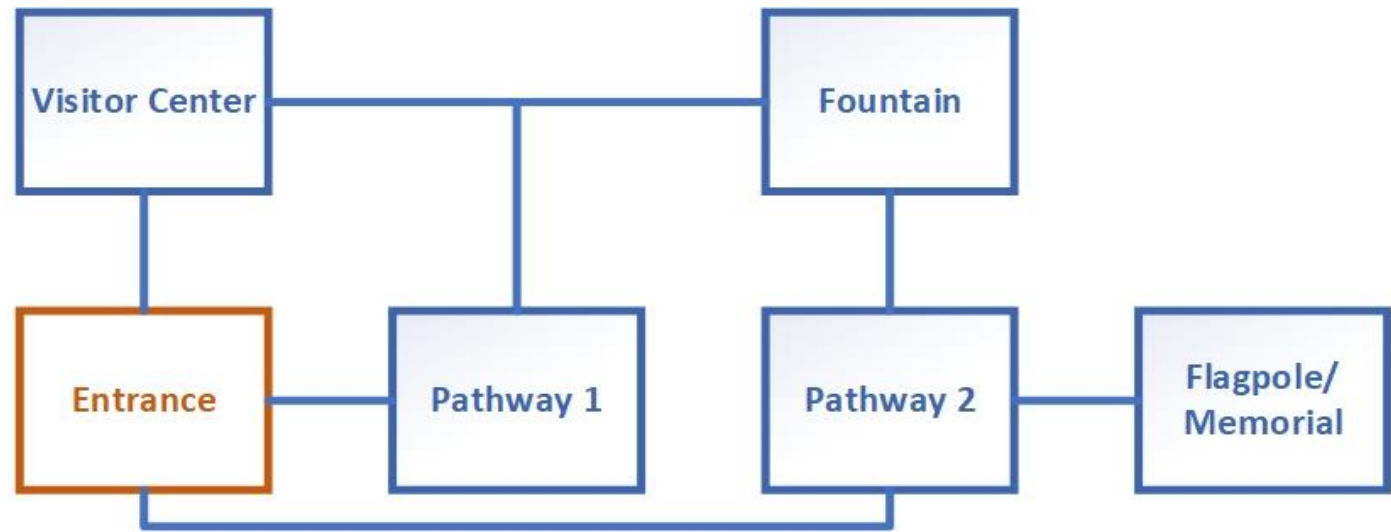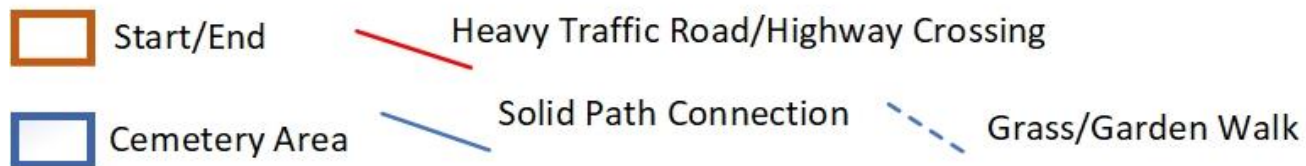
Figure 5 Access model of Mexico City Cemetery.

Heritagescape Guiding Principles Summary

Having been constructed without input from the ABMC, because the Commission did not exist, the attention to detail that is usually present at the ABMC cemeteries is missing. Even after being redesigned, Mexico City Cemetery is a true outlier amongst the American military cemeteries.

Boundaries

After the redesign, the ABMC tried to make Mexico City Cemetery as natural as they could design it to be. However, the cemetery's small size isolates it from the outside world. Rather than visitors having an intimate moment within the cemetery, they are likely to miss the site entirely.

Cohesion

Mexico City Cemetery is unlike any other cemetery overseen by the ABMC. Its lack of headstones makes it much more akin to memorial gardens (see Williams 2011) instead of a cemetery. In addition, even with its small size, Mexico City Cemetery is a green space in an otherwise urban area.

Visibility

From a heritage perspective, Mexico City Cemetery is invisible. While the cemetery still holds the annual Memorial and Veterans Day events, they are overshadowed by the WWI and WWII cemeteries of the Commission.

Soft Power Interpretation

The Mexico City Cemetery does not enact any soft power for the US for two reasons.

The first is that the cemetery is clearly aged beyond its lifecycle (Strecker 2020). As

outlined in the history section above, the Mexican government requested the return of

the land the cemetery occupies to put in a land shipping route. The modern

requirements of the late 20th century have rendered the cemetery an obstacle for the

host country rather than a space to be used for diplomatic efforts. The second reason

for the cemetery's lack of soft power is the events from which the cemetery originates.

The Mexican-American War saw the two countries clashing over ownership of Texas,

which was a territory both parties claimed at the time. Both parties then proceeded to

invade the other, resulting in many casualties. If the cemetery tried to enact soft power

today, it would only be a reminder of how the US invaded its southern neighbor in an act

of expansionist imperialism.

Heritagescape Case Study 2 - Corozal American Cemetery and Memorial

Corozal cemetery is the second oldest American cemetery overseen by the ABMC. This

cemetery was established on a farm of the Isthmian Canal Commission during the

conflict surrounding the construction of the Panama Canal. It is located near Panama

City in the Republic of Panama. Below in Figure 6 is a map of the cemetery from an

ABMC brochure (ABMC 2018f).

Figure 6 Map of Corozal Cemetery taken from an ABMC brochure.

History

Corozal Cemetery is one of two cemeteries established before the ABMC and later

transferred to their care, the other being Mexico City Cemetery. Corozal was erected on

5 February 1914, nine years before the ABMC was created by Congress, and its first

interment took place on 13 February 1914 (ABMC 2018f). In 1821, prior to the

cemetery's construction, the country of Panama declared independence from Spain and

became part of the country of Colombia (ABMC 2018f). With encouragement from the

United States, Panama seceded from Colombia in 1903 and soon after allowed the US

to begin construction of the Panama Canal. Construction of the canal was not entirely

peaceful and small units of American forces were dispatched to Panama to act as

security. These soldiers would be the primary interments in Corozal Cemetery.

However, through time, the cemetery also came to be the final resting place for a few American diplomats to Panama and their immediate families. Corozal Cemetery was assigned to the ABMC on 19 January 1979 via an Executive Order signed by President Jimmy Carter (ABMC 2018f).

Grave Arrangement

There are 5,490 people interred at Corozal Cemetery situated in 11 grave plots among the rolling terrain (ABMC 2018f).

Built Architecture

There are three major differences in the built architecture between Corozal Cemetery and a typical ABMC cemetery. The first difference is that there is no chapel or 'non-sectarian building' constructed for visitors to meditate over the cemetery or its history. The second difference is that the visitor building is not located right at the entrance to the cemetery but instead sits right in the center among all the graves. Other ABMC cemeteries such as Aisne-Marne, Meuse-Argonne, or Suresnes cemeteries have pathways between the entrance gate and the visitor center, but the visitor center is always encountered before entering the grave plots. The final difference between Corozal and the other ABMC cemeteries is that the headstone form at Corozal is the squat, rectangular form used in Arlington National Cemetery during the same period. This is the only ABMC cemetery to not have the Latin cross and Stars of David headstone form and offers a glimpse at what could have been if the Commission did not fight against the Commission of Fine Arts as outlined in Chapter 4.

Borders

Corozal Cemetery is located on the outskirts of Panama City near the Panama Canal, shown in Figure 7 below. The areas immediately surrounding the cemetery consist of tropical woods. There are no borders within the cemetery.

Figure 7 Aerial photograph of Corozal Cemetery, screenshot taken from Google Earth.

Lines of Sight

The rolling terrain of Corozal Cemetery make it difficult to view it in its entirety from any one area. The surrounding woods have completely isolated the cemetery visually from the surrounding areas.

Museum Element

The museum at Corozal Cemetery is located within the visitor building, which is typical for the ABMC cemeteries. However, no documents or images as to its contents could be located during this research other than that it consists of "historical displays" (ABMC 2018f).

Access Model

Corozal cemetery's access model shares the same commonalities as the Mexico City cemetery. Both cemeteries were constructed before the ABMC was created. Responsibility to oversee and maintain Corozal cemetery transferred to the ABMC in 1979. As seen in the access model below in Figures 8, there is no visitor center, no chapel, and no memorial. The cemetery remains one road in a figure eight that visitors can stop and walk amongst the graves from at any point. At the center of the figure eight is a short walkway to the American flag flying in the central point of the cemetery. The cemetery is not designed for prolonged visits and leads visitors straight back to the entrance after following the path fully.
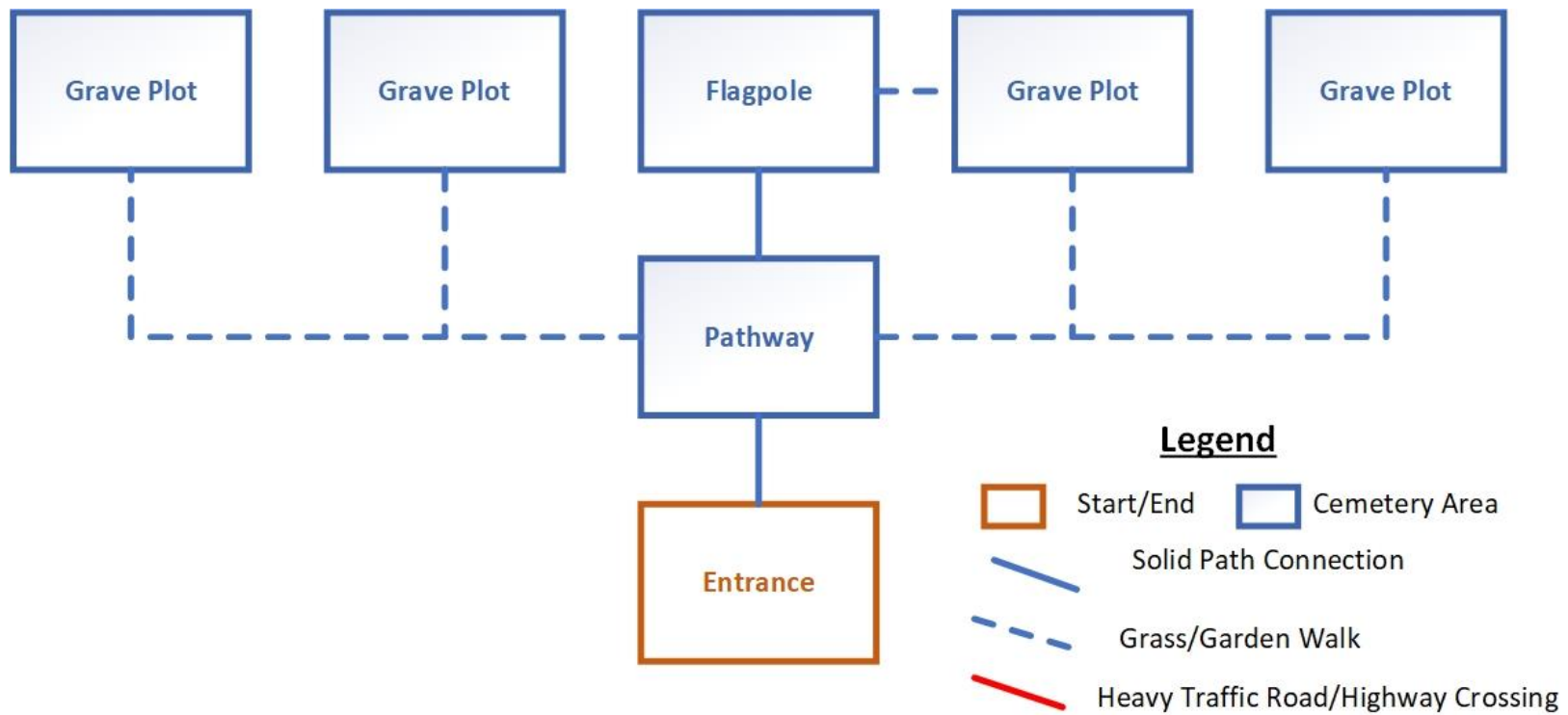
Figure 8 Access model of Corozal Cemetery.

Heritagescape Guiding Principles Summary

Corozal is unique among the ABMC cemeteries for being the only military cemetery where the interred did not originate from a formal war. Instead, the soldiers lost their lives securing America's economic and defensive future by ensuring the Panama Canal could be completed, allowing America's navy and shipping vessels access between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans without going all the way south around South America.

Boundaries

Even though Corozal Cemetery is one of the oldest cemeteries maintained by the ABMC, it has not been enveloped by urban sprawl. This is most likely due to the proximity of the cemetery to the Panama Canal which connects two lakes. If Panama City continued to develop into the area, any residential or commercial areas may be liable to flooding.

Cohesion

The headstone style of Corozal Cemetery is more cohesive with Arlington National Cemetery than it is with the other ABMC cemeteries. The terrain of Panama is also more erratic and rolling than the gentler hilled slopes favored by the ABMC for the WWI and WWII cemeteries.

Visibility

Originating from American intervention in a foreign country, Corozal is primarily unknown amongst the ABMC cemeteries. Of those who know of the ABMC and their

cemeteries, few are aware of Corozal. Its Memorial and Veterans Day events are

primarily for memorial diplomacy rather than heritage pilgrimage or tourism.

Soft Power Interpretation

There is no soft power enacted at Corozal cemetery. While small scale commemoration

events may take place at this cemetery, they do not have any visible impact on US

foreign relations. Any commemoration event to the Panama Canal Conflict would bring

attention to the US's participation in the events, a contradiction to the current anti-

intervention narrative that dominates the memory of the relationship between the US

and other countries in the region in popular media.

Threshold Design Analysis

The borders of these cemeteries and those listed in Chapters 6 and 7 are a prominent

part of the heritagescape analysis used to describe them. The borders described in

these chapters are the physical boundaries separating the cemeteries from their host

countries and the legal land boundaries the cemeteries are allowed to occupy. While

likely intended to be part of the heritagescape, Garden does not make explicit reference

to the connection between the heritage space and the outside world, in other words the

threshold. Lemay (2018b, 67) notes that "the definition of *threshold* is a marking of the

moment of entry or the passage from one specific environment into another" (emphasis

in original), and that for the thresholds of the ABMC cemeteries the "definition is also

phenomenological". Crossing the threshold of the ABMC cemeteries is a longer process

than simply walking through the gate. In architecture:

> "A prolonged threshold is in itself a journey, allowing one to mentally resign from the past context and prepare for the future… The physical manifestations of the threshold are for the living, providing a means by which they may disengage from their everyday lives and focus on the spiritual nature of the cemetery."
> (Ambroziak 2008 unpublished cited in Lemay 2018b, 68)

To reiterate a point made in Chapter 2, cemeteries are spaces where the living can remember and engage in memory practices as much as they are spaces to bury the dead. The "introductory space of art and architecture, the *threshold design*, acts strategically to condition the mind, the goal being to prepare the viewer" (Lemay 2018b, 68, emphasis in original). Threshold design plays a significant role in the operation of heritage sites, especially those that are dark, sensitive, or otherwise flush with memory. The threshold design, without signage or words, symbolically primes the visitor to what actions are acceptable and which actions are taboo during their visit. By this logic, analyzing the threshold design of the cemeteries for signification is of great import to understanding their symbolic meaning from a semiotic perspective (Lagopoulos and Boklund-Lagopoulos 2020, 3). The threshold design of the ABMC cemeteries mentally prepares "the viewer to emotionally accept the loss of life" (Lemay 2018b, 68). More remote heritage spaces, such as military cemeteries, invite this kind of spiritual contemplation (Driessen et al. 2022, 226). The message conveyed through the threshold design of the ABMC cemeteries is a reflection of how America viewed its place in the world during the eras the cemeteries were constructed in (Grossman 1984; Robin 1995).

For the two cemeteries in this chapter, Mexico City and Corozal, the threshold design is non-existent. There exists no prolonged threshold to journey through before arriving at the graves. Visitors walk (or drive) through the boundary gates and are immediately amongst the headstones in Corozal. Mexico-City, having been redesigned in the 1970s, tries to use the threshold design of the WWII cemeteries from the 1950s, but falls short of its goal due to the lack of space. Once through the gates of Mexico-City, a small visitor center is located just to the right of the visitor. In this redesign, however, there are no graves to eventually arrive at, for none of the bodies from the Mexican-American War could be identified over a century later. As a result, the bodies are contained within ossuaries located along the far boundary wall of the cemetery. A distracted visitor may miss them entirely. The approach taken at Corozal mimics more common civilian secular or churchyard cemeteries, where visitors are immediately amongst the headstones of the dead. The architectural design of the cemeteries presented in this chapter are unique amongst the ABMC cemeteries for three reasons, (1) the cemeteries were constructed by the GRS of the War Department before the ABMC existed, (2) the lack of space limited the number of architectural possibilities, and (3) the international political image America had for itself in the mid-19th through to the early 20th century was one of isolationism. As a result, these cemeteries are small, oft-forgotten areas of American remembrance abroad, especially when contrasted to the political image projected by the threshold design enacted by the ABMC for the WWI and WWII cemeteries, which will be examined in the next two chapters.

Conclusion

The two cemeteries presented in this chapter, Mexico City and Corozal, show what the WWI and WWII cemeteries of America could have been if the GRS and CFA were successful in their discussions and negotiations regarding cemetery design outlined in Chapter 4. These cemeteries also highlight the lifecycle of cemeteries (Bernat 2019), with Mexico-City Cemetery going through a complete redevelopment design to accommodate the city's expansion. Corozal, meanwhile, being situated amongst hilly swamps near the Panama Canal has never needed to undergo such designs because urban sprawl has not yet reached its borders. These two cemeteries are a majority sampling of the 3 ABMC cemeteries constructed before the Commission existed. The other cemetery, Clark Veterans, did not have enough available data for analysis to be included in this research (see Chapter 3).

This chapter has started to address the second sub-question of the research: 'How do the cemeteries function in practice today?'. The answer to this question goes beyond the initial pragmatism of body disposal. This chapter has identified some of the unique aspects of the ABMC's pre-establishment cemeteries that are useful for juxtaposition against the WWI and WWII cemeteries in Chapter 8.

Chapter 6 – ABMC Cemeteries of World War I

This chapter continues to answer the second sub-question of the research. This chapter is composed of heritagescape case studies for three cemeteries that were constructed after WWI. These cemeteries are Brookwood, Aisne-Marne, and Flanders Field. Of the 26 ABMC cemeteries globally, 11 cemeteries date to this time period (see Table 1 in Chapter 3). One of these cemeteries could not be analyzed due to lack of data, and the heritagescape analysis of the other 7 WWI cemeteries are located in Appendix 3.

The three cemeteries present in this chapter were chosen because they provide a sample of the 10 ABMC cemeteries analyzed from WWI, highlighting specific design choices and intentions for reference and juxtaposition against Chapters 5 and 7.

Heritagescape Case Study 3 - Brookwood American Cemetery and Memorial

The Brookwood American Cemetery and Memorial is among the smallest of the American military cemeteries of the ABMC, covering four and a half acres of land and containing 468 interments (ABMC 2018c). It is tucked away in a military cemetery portion of a much larger civilian cemetery complex at Brookwood in Woking, UK. The map in Figure 9 shows the layout of the cemetery and the grave plots marked A-D.
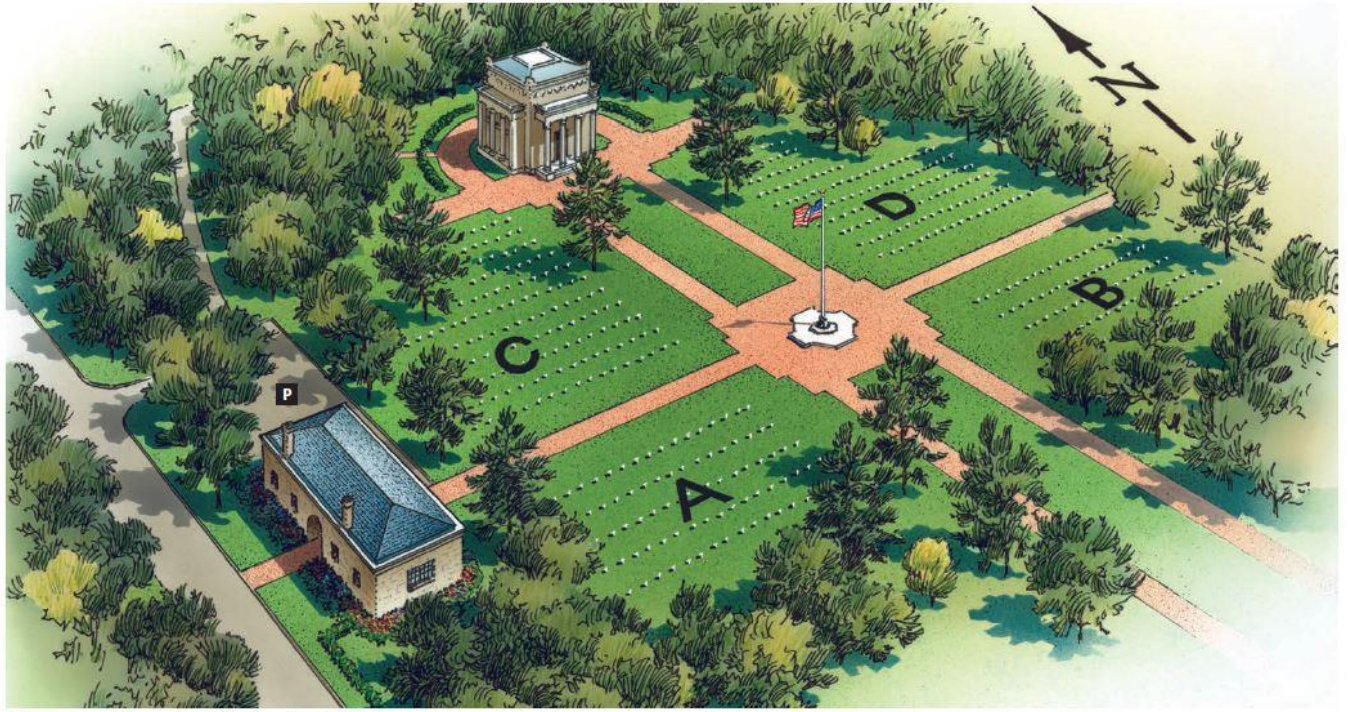
Figure 9 - Map of Brookwood American Military Cemetery and Memorial taken from the site brochure (ABMC 2018c).

History

The primary plans, documents, and designs for Brookwood Cemetery were set out by the War Department in the first few years after the Great War. The deceased who are interred at Brookwood come from the wounded soldiers who were sent from the front lines in Belgium to the United Kingdom for hospital and recovery but succumbed to their wounds (ABMC 2018d, 8). The grounds started out as a temporary cemetery for the United States, and after the war it was decided that it would become a permanent cemetery by the War Department. When the ABMC took control of the cemetery following their establishment in 1923, the aspects of the modern cemetery, namely the permanent headstones, the chapel, and the beautification of the site's landscaping had

not yet been built. After the completion of the chapel, Brookwood was dedicated along with the other WWI cemeteries in 1937 (ABMC 2018d, 13). Since then, the only major upgrades to the cemetery have been the equipment that the maintenance teams use and the inside of the visitors' room.

Grave Arrangement

At Brookwood, the graves and headstones are laid out in four sections, split by the walking paths, and framing the flagpole in front of the chapel. All the graves are facing the pathway that cuts the cemetery in two, from the Commonwealth War Graves Commission (CWGC) cemetery through to the administration building of the ABMC. Within the sections the graves are all equidistant from each other, giving a very regimented feel to the layout. The two sections near the southern end of the cemetery each have five rows of graves, while the two northern sections toward the chapel have eleven. The headstones are laid out in four sections, all at the northern end of the cemetery just in front of the chapel. As at all the ABMC cemeteries, the headstones are in the form of either a Christian Latin cross or a Jewish Star of David. There is only one Star of David headstone present at Brookwood for an 'American soldier known but to God'.

Built Architecture

The flagpole at Brookwood is situated in the center of the northern portion of the cemetery. The United States flag has a strictly regulated code for what is and is not permitted regarding its display, including the regulation of the poles it flies on (usa.gov

2021). Since the ABMC is chaired by a highly decorated army officer, the Commission

adheres to this strict code. As a result, there is little that can be said about the display of

the flags other than they adhere to the US code regarding flags other than the

Commission's governmental and militaristic roots make them much more likely to follow

proper flag procedure closely than other more civilian run or oriented organizations.

How the meaning of flags has changed in the process of identity creation within America

and Europe has been examined elsewhere (see Eriksen and Jenkins 2007), but such

discussion is not applicable to the way the flag is portrayed by the America government.

The chapel at Brookwood is the location where the names of the missing from the war

are engraved. A small tablet sits on the altar with the Star of David engraved on it. The

construction of the chapel reflects the overall symmetry of Brookwood's layout (see

Figure 10 below). There are two pews to sit on, one on each side of the door, positioned

so as not to cover the seal of the United States on the floor. There are an equal number

of cross themed stained-glass windows and columns on each side, both inside and

outside, and the altar is perfectly in line with the door. The chapel at Brookwood only

has one access point. The building itself is made of white stone, with the interior being

of tan hued stone (ABMC 2018d, 14). Stain glass windows and a few warm lights do not

offer much in way of lighting within the chapel.

Figure 10 Interior of the chapel at Brookwood Cemetery. Photo credit: Warrick Page/ABMC

There are two sets of buildings at Brookwood, the administration building and the maintenance sheds area. The administration building is the only one available to visitors, as the maintenance sheds are behind a locked gate. The southern end of the administration building holds the visitor rest room and museum. The northern end holds the administration offices. A few of the headstones are visible through the administration archway that frames the bottom of the flagpole, and a small portion of the CWGC Cemetery to the east can be seen. The visitor center at Brookwood Cemetery is one room of rather small proportions. In the center of the room is a table with a photo album of the cemetery's history. In the center of the SE wall is a fireplace flanked by two WWI

uniforms, one Navy and one Expeditionary Force. Along the walls around the room are display boards telling some of the stories of WWI from individual American perspectives, a framed Purple Heart medal, chairs for visitors to rest in, and a desk. On the desk is a sign-in book for visitors, activity sheets for children about the cemetery and the Commission, and pamphlets/booklets of the ABMC. An interactive display located just under the Purple Heart on the SE wall shows captioned videos and photos of the cemetery with no audio. The American perspective stories are of three of the people buried in the complex. This may be to add a human element to the history on display, but as the events of WWI are over one hundred years old and the stories so specific, it is possible that some of the elements may have been embellished or slightly changed to be more acceptable to modern sensibilities.

At Brookwood there are at least thirteen separate places to sit, spread across three major areas: the main entrance, the visitor center, and the chapel. The location of three benches on a small piece of land opposite the main entrance was likely chosen for artistic purposes to be able to view the threshold design of the site. All three of the benches and the entrance itself are placed opposite the beginning of a mall leading to the flagpole, with the chapel behind, surrounded by the graves in four quadrants (see Figures 11 and 12 below). From these benches the graves are not the primary focus of the view, which is dominated by the flagpole at the center and the chapel behind it. The administration building is not visible from the vantage point of the benches. The middle seat of the three is on the line of symmetry for the site, offering a symmetrical view that is equal on both sides. The surrounding two benches are there for artistic symmetry.

Symmetry was a major theme for the design of the site, with the main entrance being

the intended spot for this symmetry to be on full display. Symmetry is "commonly used

to create a sense of rational order and calm logic" (Muscato 2017) that would help make

sense of the cemetery and the events that created it to visitors. The scale of death

created by WWI and industrialized warfare in general, such design motifs and

frameworks would help manipulate or satiate people in otherwise emotionally trying

circumstances.

Figure 11 Screenshot of the main entrance of Brookwood Cemetery taken via Google

Earth.

Figure 12 Condensed screenshot of the benches at the Brookwood Cemetery SE
entrance showing symmetrical design principles taken via Google Earth.

The seating areas in the visitors center all lead one's attention to the objects and
furniture pieces inside the room. They are set up in front of some of the displays that
people are more likely to spend time at, while two or three larger cushioned chairs lie
just under the window to enjoy the ambiance of the room. If those chairs are occupied, it
also serves to obscure the view through the windows to the cemetery proper, ensuring
other people's attention remains focused on the visitor center. The fireplace, a couple of
uniforms, and some other framed items and displays draw the attention of those who sit
here.

The chapel has two pews inside and two stone benches just outside of it. These stone benches are as close to 'the fallen' as a visitor can get without standing for any extended duration and are likely to have been included to accommodate disabled or mobility impaired visitors. Inside the chapel, visitors may sit on two pews situated on either side of the seal of the United States, to reflect while surrounded by engravings of names of the missing from the war. Outside, to maintain the symmetry, the benches are also located on either side of the chapel at an equal length, offering visitors the chance to sit between the bodies of those recovered and the chapel. This is also the only place in the cemetery that a visitor can sit directly in the sun, as the others are obscured by overhead trees, buildings, or blinds within the visitor center.

Being one of the smallest ABMC cemeteries, Brookwood does not have much room for very ostentatious extras such as the overlooks or statuary present at other ABMC cemeteries. The way the graves are segmented around the flagpole leaves the mall that stretches from the flagpole to the main entrance on the south side of the cemetery as the primary 'extra designed element' for the site. This mall is framed by walking paths for much of its length that would keep people from walking on the line of symmetry for the site, obstructing other visitors from appreciating that overarching design.

Borders

From aerial views the regimented design of Brookwood Cemetery stands out aesthetically, as it was intended to. The aerial photograph in Figure 13 below shows this

stark contrast between Brookwood and its immediate surroundings. The tree line boundary that separates Brookwood from the surrounding CWGC cemeteries and monuments mirrors the tree line which hides the fence that separates the military and civilian sections of the wider Brookwood Cemetery complex. This isolating boundary is present at all the ABMC cemeteries, where the Commission is trying to keep out the modern world. Brookwood, however, is not trying to keep out the modern world, but the war dead from the English, Polish, and other nationalities present in the military section. From a literal standpoint, these isolating boundaries are to delineate the legal borders of the 'American territory' from that of other nations, but at Brookwood it also metaphorically keeps out the war dead of other nationalities.
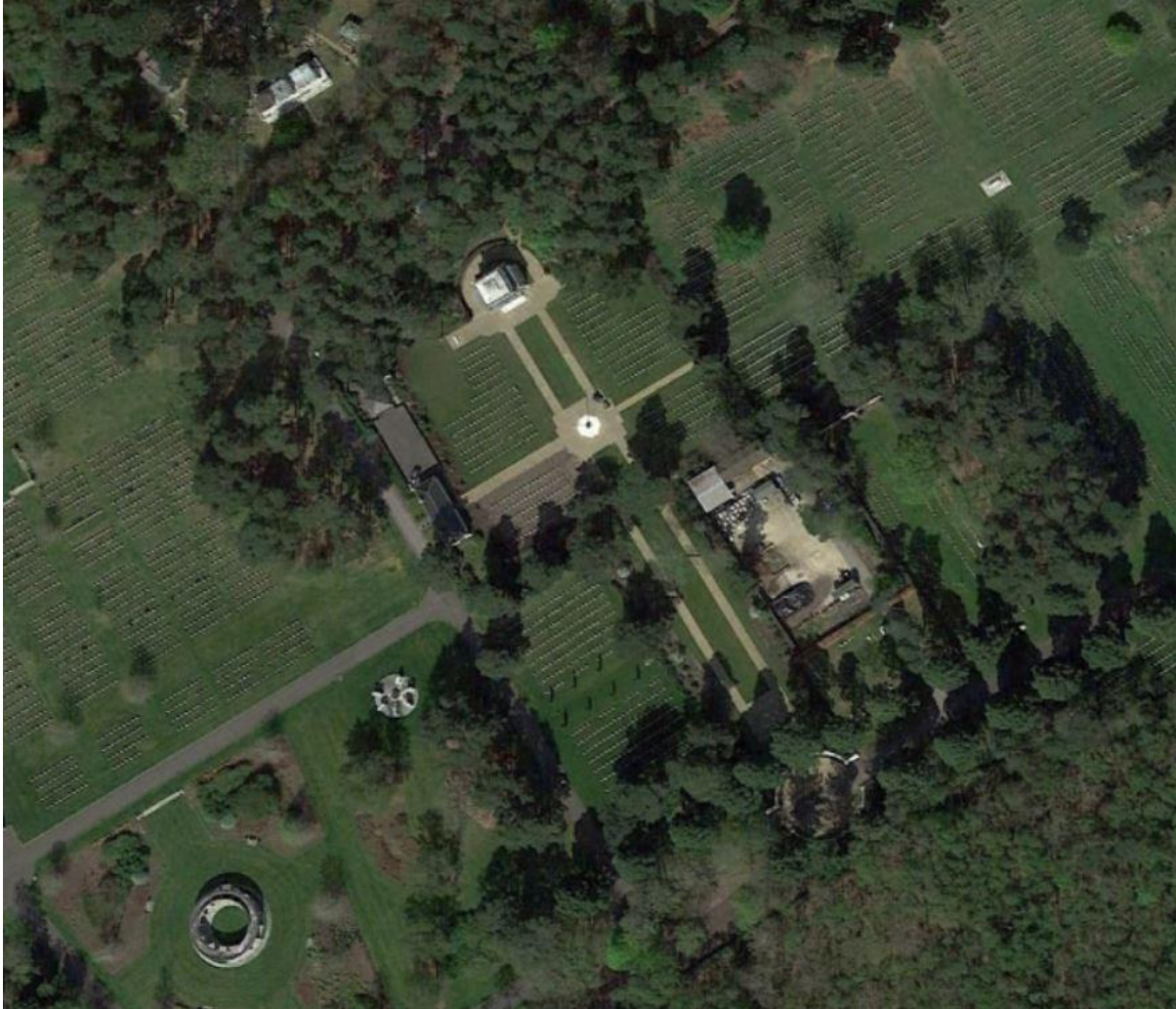
Figure 13 Aerial Photo of Brookwood American Cemetery (center) within the military

section of the greater Brookwood Cemetery from Google Earth.

The most prominent difference between the ABMC and the CWGC cemeteries at

Brookwood are the buildings and pathways. The long-standing service access roads still

cut through and effect the shape of the overall military section, but no pathways to any

individual memorials or headstones amongst the grave sections exist at Brookwood.

The administration and visitor building are slim in design so as to be part of the

boundary line and not take focus away from the overall landscape design. The

maintenance sheds, while fairly hidden from view on the ground, are certainly apparent

from the air as an area of made ground in an otherwise green space. Finally, the grass

is of a much darker shade of green, shared by only a few places in the CWGC

cemeteries. This highlights the water usage of the ABMC, and their dedication to the

cemeteries as designed landscapes (see Appendix 2.2.16 for the Commission's

decision for denying flowers on the graves).

There is a small parking area directly adjacent to the administration and visitor building

at Brookwood. At least a third of it is occupied by the cemetery staff, comprising the

superintendent, security guard, and gardeners. It is flanked on the left by toilet facilities

and the right by the superintendent's office. This could be rather disappointing for

visitors accessing the site via the carpark as the closest entrance is not the intended

one. The intended entrance is the SE entrance, which offers an unobstructed view and

highlights the symmetry of the site. The SW entrance nearer the carpark offers much

more focused view of the base of the flagpole and the CWGC cemetery beyond.

The two access roads to the cemetery lie adjacent to Brookwood on the SW and SE

sides. As can be seen in the land agreement diagram in Figure 15 in the access map

section below, these roads existed prior to any construction by the ABMC. Using

Google Earth, a train station can be located just outside of the cemetery complex, near

to the military section. The train station located so close to Brookwood could lead to

noise pollution at regular intervals when visiting the cemetery and leads to a lot of

through foot traffic as people attempt to catch the train.

The perimeter around the Brookwood Cemetery is mostly made up of trees and hedges, with one building on the SW side and a stone entrance on the SE side. Toward the NE entrance, the view shows the CWGC RAF cemetery. When the trees along this border were young, having only just been planted, the view would have been much wider, encompassing all the CWGC cemetery section beyond Brookwood's borders. At present, all the trees are well maintained and act as a solid border that obscures the visibility of external elements.

Lines of Sight

Brookwood is surrounded on two sides by paved roads, directly adjacent to the SW entrance, parking lot, and going through the main entrance on the SE side, both of which were pre-existing before the cemetery was constructed. Adjacent to the NE side of Brookwood is a large section of the CWGC cemetery. A footpath connects the NW side of the site to a broader access road that circles the entire Brookwood Cemetery complex. There is an entrance into the cemetery in each of the cardinal directions. The view from three of these entrances is blocked in some way, except for the main entrance on the SE side that is open from the ground to the sky and directly overlooks the flagpole and a good portion of the graves. The two side entrances on the SW and NE sides are blocked from above by portions of the administration building archway or the trees. A more complete sight of the graves is available from these perspectives, which may give the visitors a more positive feeling regarding the cemetery's attention to the dead than the more architecturally dominated primary view of the main entrance. The entrance on the NW side lies in the hedges behind the chapel, which obscure half

of the cemetery to the NE, and the chapel obscures most of the SW side, leaving only

the flag, a handful of graves, and the mall leading to the entrance visible. When

standing beside the flagpole and looking toward the entrances, all directions except the

NE obstruct the view of anything outside of the cemetery. The NE entrance shows a

small portion of the CWGC cemetery through the trees flanking the entrance, with some

of the rows of RAF graves aligned with the ABMC graves. Without the permeability

provided by the entrances, the tree lines, shrubs, and buildings of Brookwood Cemetery

may begin to feel overbearing and claustrophobic to visitors. Brookwood was

constructed to be as different and isolated as possible from the cemetery complex it is

within. It is difficult, however, to differentiate a cemetery from others without

fundamentally changing the definition of a cemetery. Only to those interested in

Brookwood, the ABMC, or military cemeteries specifically, will any differences have

meaning, otherwise Brookwood is nearly indistinguishable to any who may be walking

through to get to the train or enjoy the sun with their dogs. It is simply another portion of

the larger cemetery.

Museum Element

Brookwood does not have a separate building specifically designated as a museum, but

the visitor reception room has museum aspects included within it. There are four

specific elements shared among all 'museums' at the ABMC cemeteries: a guestbook,

brochures for the cemetery and other ABMC cemeteries, video kiosk(s) about the

cemetery, and a small number of tangible artifacts, usually no more than five, pertaining

to the American perspective of the war. The sign-in book is not a gateway to entry to the

cemetery but acts as a way for visitors to leave a tangible piece of evidence of their visit. A comment section is also present to perhaps build a sense of community among those who choose to sign the book and show appreciation for the ABMC and its mission. It would also help the ABMC keep track of its visitors before the widespread use of security camera technology.

The brochures are the only piece of the cemetery meant to be taken away with visitors aside from personal photos. They offer general and statistical information from the ABMC including its mission and the number of graves at the cemetery (ABMC 2018c). Beside the brochure for Brookwood, brochures for other ABMC cemeteries and ABMC endorsed or sponsored events are also present. The online video about Brookwood, available from the Brookwood page on the ABMC website, is not about the war or any overall historical context for the cemetery. The video is specifically about the cemetery itself. It covers many of the same aspects that are in the brochure (location, grave numbers, etc.). It is also a reminder of commemoration events, as it could act as an introduction to the cemetery for Memorial and/or Veterans/Armistice Day events.

The artifacts at Brookwood are a purple heart medal (see Figure 14), a WWI navy uniform, and a WWI expedition officer's uniform. The uniforms flank the fireplace in the middle of the Southwest wall while the purple heart is framed and hung on the South wall just above the cemetery video kiosk. As in a normal museum, these artifacts are there for people to inspect while in the room and as talking points for any guided tours the ABMC performs. Other than identification plaques, no specific history or event is tied to these artifacts.

Figure 14 Purple Heart Medal in Brookwood Visitor Room. Photo by Antony McCallum, 2015.

Access Model

With four different entrances, Brookwood is unique among the ABMC cemeteries. Having one entrance on each of the cardinal directions of the property does not allow for much of a self-guided visit as there is no evident start or end point for such an endeavor. In fact, it does the opposite by making the cemetery seem like more of a park to walk through rather than a place to stop and visit. While logic would dictate that the graves of the deceased would be the main reason to visit, Figures 15 and 16 show that the alignment of the entrances and pathways, and the overall attention to symmetry at the site, it is actually the flagpole that serves as the central primary focal point of the

cemetery. The visitor center entrance is tucked away in the archway of the administration building, which is itself off to one side of the cemetery. The chapel only has one door, making it a place that must be intentionally entered rather than one to be passed through, and there is no direct connection for visitors to take from the car park to the cemetery proper. This means that visitors must leave the cemetery grounds and re-enter them through another entrance, the closest being the administration building archway. This may lead to higher traffic into the visitor center, but it takes away from the effect and feel that visitors would gain by coming through or viewing the main entrance as intended. This is one way that the age of Brookwood and the ABMC is shown through the layout of the cemetery. Automobiles were invented in late 19th century, but assembly line production would not begin to lower their cost for wider consumption until the 1920s. As a result, the parking area at Brookwood was not considered for the original design. The main entrance to Brookwood is now effectively through the administration building instead of the main gate, from entrance 1 to entrance 2 in Figure 16. To visit all the various site components in one visit would require multiple instances of backtracking through and around the site.
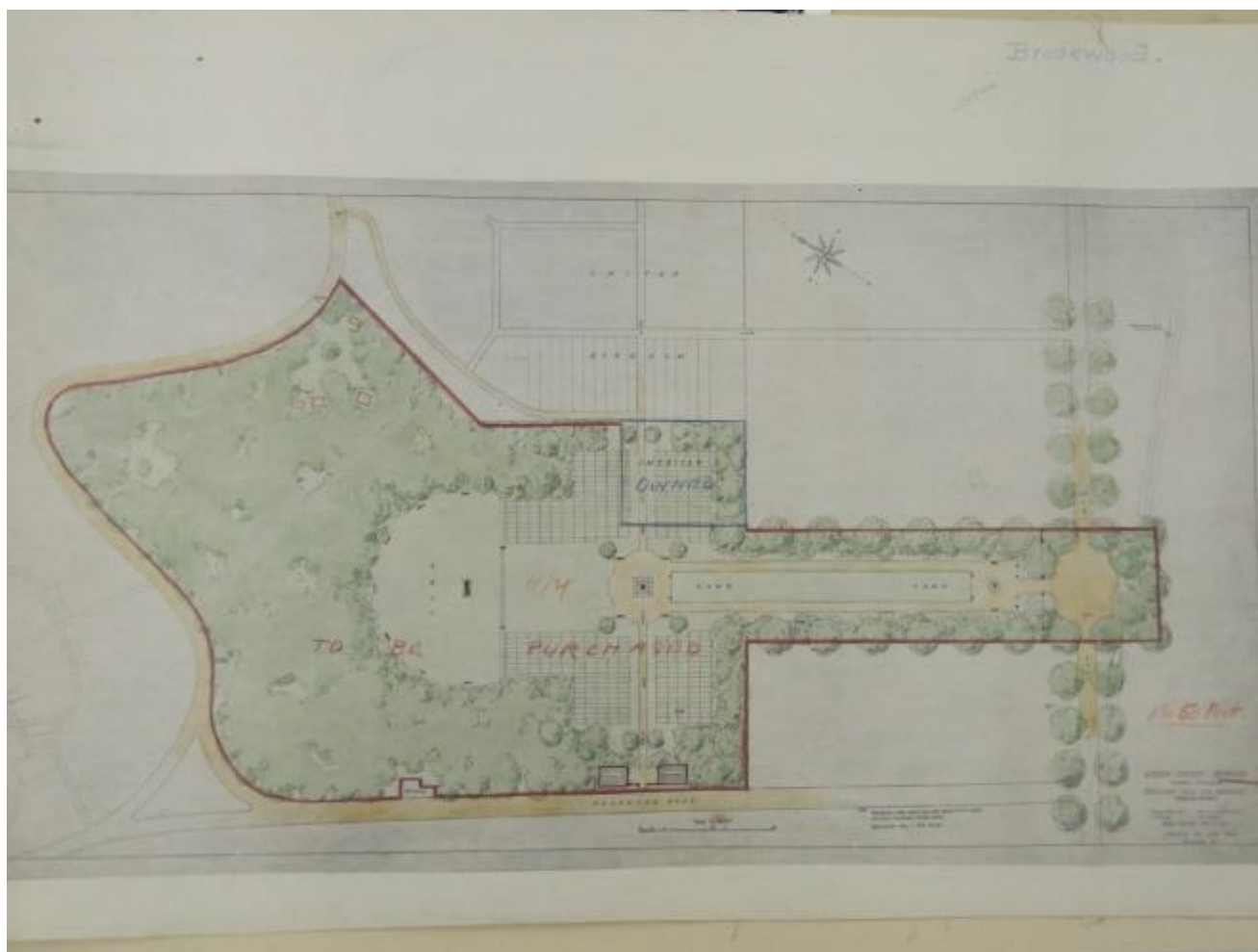
Figure 15 - Design layout of Brookwood Cemetery from NARA (Colored Brookwood

Cemetery site layout [Cartographic Record])
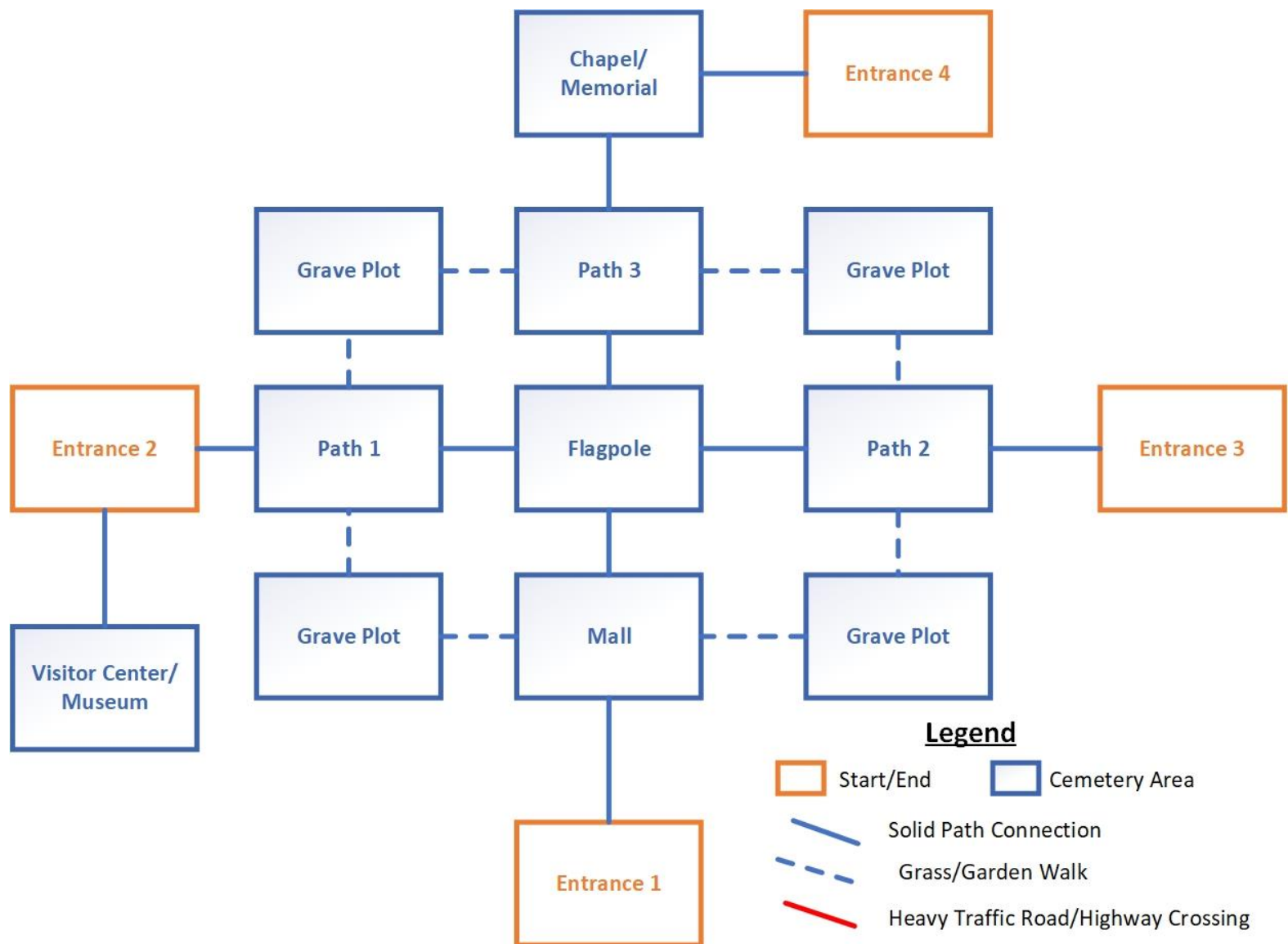
Figure 16 - Access map model of Brookwood Cemetery.

Heritagescape Guiding Principles Summary

The heritagescape guiding principles for Brookwood Cemetery are heavily altered by the cemetery's four entrances. The entrances serve to highlight the boundaries of the site, which is the site's principal strength. The entrances, however, decrease the cohesion and visibility of the site, as visitors may not experience the threshold design as intended.

Boundaries

In terms of the guiding principles of the heritagescape, Brookwood adheres to the boundary principle the most. The hedge/tree line, roads, and wall denote specific borders such that any visitor knows when they are in the Brookwood Cemetery or the adjacent CWGC cemeteries (see Figure 7 above; also see Appendix 2.2.19). Even though Brookwood is situated in a larger cemetery complex, the site is clearly demarcated from the bordering CWGC cemeteries and memorials. The largest difference between the boundaries of Brookwood and the other ABMC cemeteries is that Brookwood does not have and was not designed to have a wall surrounding it (see Appendix 2.2.19), which allows for more cohesion with the CWGC cemeteries in the surrounding cemetery.

Cohesion

There is little cohesion to the surrounding landscape, features, and examples of architecture at Brookwood. The reason for this is as Pershing noted in the first two annual reports from the ABMC: that locals will expect these cemeteries to be of

American artistic design and technique, therefore the ABMC built them with that intent in mind (see Appendix 2.1.4). Being intimately situated among the UK's CWGC cemetery highlights the differences between the American and English commemoration of war dead. The dissonance in the overall cemetery styles is a direct result of the ABMC's intent to systemically differentiate the American military cemeteries from other cemeteries of the same genre through their construction and maintenance.

Visibility

Brookwood's visibility is nearly nonexistent. The only signposting the site has is on the ABMC website listing directions. The only signboard in Woking, UK that indicates the cemetery's location is situated just inside of the gates that separate the military section from the larger Brookwood Cemetery complex. From the perspective of 'heritage visibility', Brookwood is overshadowed by the Cambridge American Cemetery and Memorial, which is analyzed in the next chapter.

Soft Power Interpretation

The soft power enacted by Brookwood cemetery is possibly the most complex of all the ABMC cemeteries. While the WWI cemeteries offer narratives of friendship between nations into perpetuity, the majority of the soft power is inherently US focused. This is not the case at Brookwood, where the cemetery is among multiple cemeteries and monuments dedicated to countries across Europe. The presence of these others monuments ensures that the ABMC cannot change the hearts and minds of foreign audiences for the benefit of the US alone.

Heritagescape Case Study 4 - Aisne-Marne American Cemetery and Memorial

Aisne-Marne cemetery is located 6.5 miles northwest of the town of Chateau-Thierry, France, 50 miles from Paris. This WWI cemetery is located near official ABMC monuments to WWI and shares pathways between them. This project will only be focusing on the cemetery aspect of the overall complex. In Figure 17 below is a map of the cemetery from an ABMC brochure (ABMC 2018a).
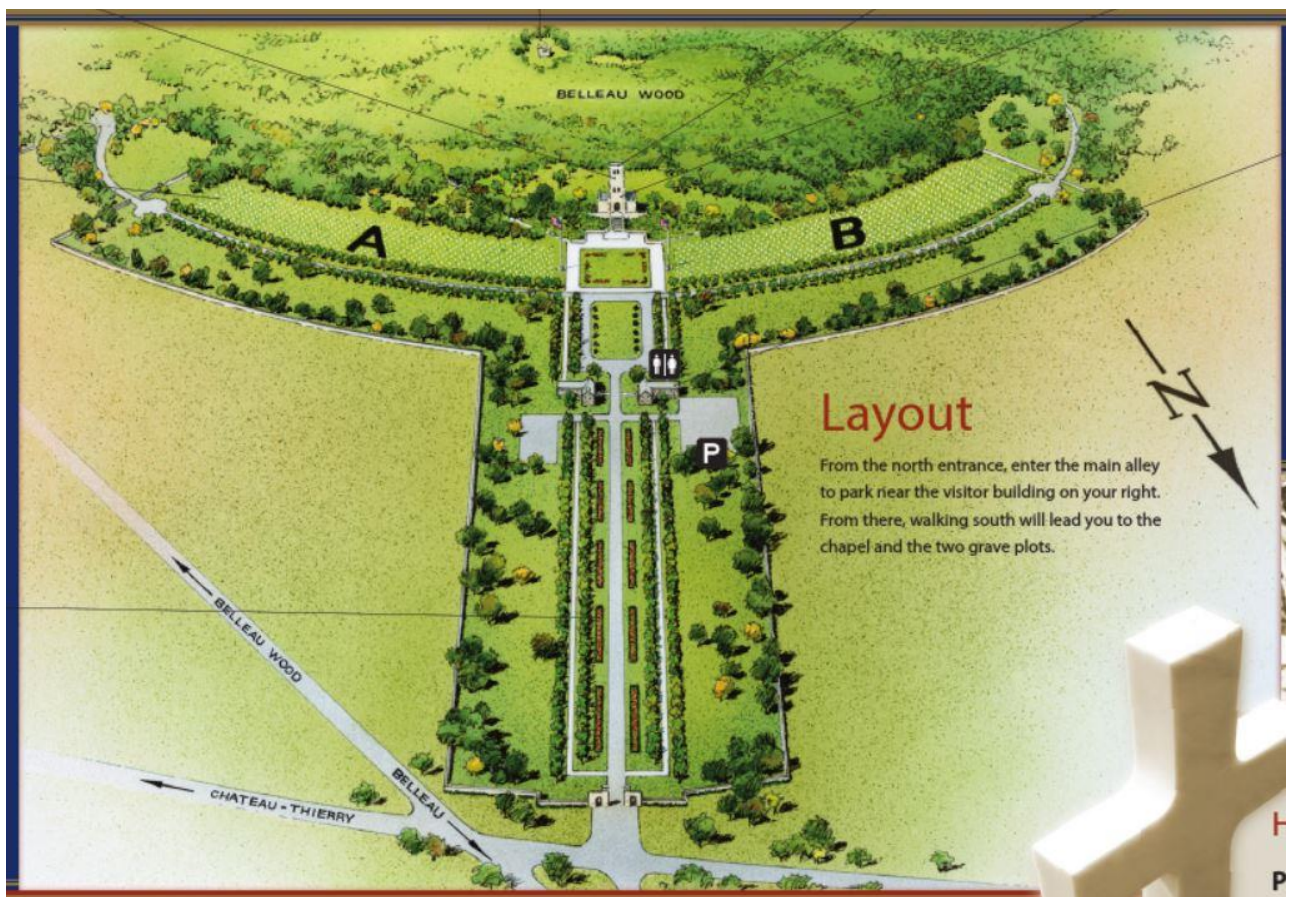
Figure 17 Aisne-Marne map (ABMC 2018a).

History

Aisne-Marne cemetery is located in an area of intense offensive and counter-offensive actions during WWI (ABMC n.d.-b, 5). Many Americans lost their lives during the Allied counter-offensive at the foot of the hill that is covered by Belleau Wood where the cemetery is now located (ABMC n.d.-b, 6). During WWI, it was one of the temporary cemeteries for American casualties (ABMC n.d.-b, 6). The cemetery is named for the WWI campaign area that it is located within (ABMC n.d.-b, 7). The cemetery was dedicated on 30 May 1937 (ABMC n.d.-b, 7; ABMC 2018a).

Grave Arrangement

There are two grave plots at Aisne-Marne cemetery, containing 2,289 burials (ABMC n.d.-b, 7; ABMC 2018a). These grave plots flank the chapel at the far end of the cemetery opposite the entrance gate (ABMC n.d.-b, 7).

Built Architecture

The chapel is the dominant architectural element of the cemetery. In front of the chapel entrance are two flagpoles flying the American flag on either side of the mall leading to the chapel from the entrance, separating the grave plots. Carved over the chapel entrance is a crusader in armor flanked by the shields of the United States and France intertwined with oak branches. All around the outside of the chapel are carved reliefs of (i) soldiers preparing for a bayonet charge, (ii) automatic riflemen and riflemen, (iii) artillery observers, (iv) a machine gun crew and soldiers launching grenades, (v) the insignia of multiple United States corps and divisions, (vi) bayonets representing infantry, (vii) cannon representing artillery, (viii) tanks representing tank corps, (ix)

crossed heavy machine guns representing machine gun units, (x) propellers for aviation units, (xi) artillery rounds representing both artillery and ordnance, (xii) a plane-table representing engineers, (xiii) the Greek cross and caduceus representing medical units, (xiv) airplane engines representing aviation repair units, (xv) a mules head representing the French boxcar used in troop and supply transportation, (xvi) oak leaves representing the Judge Advocate General corps, (xvii) orientation arrows pointing to areas of historic interest, and (xviii) sculpted heads representing a French soldier, French nurse, American aviator, Scottish soldier, Russian soldier, Portuguese soldier, Canadian aviator, and British Women's Army corps driver. These elements are carved on the east and west chapel faces, on shields above the chapel entrance, on the windowsills, and belfry columns. Next to the chapel entrance is a bullet hole in the stonework made by a German anti-tank gun in 1940 that has gone un-repaired for 70 years (ABMC n.d.-b, 10).

The interior of the chapel contains eight pews located in recesses on either side of the entrance where visitors can sit and read some of names of the missing that are carved upon the chapel's walls. Stained-glass windows allowing in natural light are adorned with the (i) country shields and US division insignia that are also carved on the outside of the chapel, (ii) St. Louis who is one of the great crusaders, (iii) St. Michael triumphing over evil, and (iv) St. Dennis the patron saint of France. The altar at the back of the chapel is composed of Italian marble, the color of peach blossoms. Carved on the front of the altar are (i) sprigs of olive and oak symbolizing peace and life, (ii) a bird feeding her young symbolizing Christ feeding his flock, and (iii) the phrase 'Peaceful they rest in

glory everlasting'. Above the altar on the back wall is carved (i) an owl representing wisdom, (ii) a crusader whose shield bares a lion, (iii) scales representing justice, (iv) the six virtues of wisdom, fortitude, justice, faith, hope, and charity, (v) a Gallic rock representing France, (vi) a pomme cross on an apple blossom with a serpent representing the Garden of Eden, (vii) a fouled anchor and lily representing lasting peace, (viii) a poppy representing valor, and (ix) a passion flower symbolizing the Crucifixion and Resurrection (ABMC n.d.-b, 12-14).

Borders

The cemetery is surrounded by a wall that is lined with plane trees and polyantha roses (ABMC n.d.-b, 15). Separating the cemetery from Belleau Wood monument just north of the graves and chapel are multicolored shrubs of forsythia, laurel, boxwood, Japanese plum, deutzia, mock orange, and Oregon grape (ABMC n.d.-b, 15). Beds of polyantha roses line the mall and chapel (ABMC n.d.-b, 15). The area directly adjacent to the cemetery consists of rural fields and a small French village, as shown in the aerial photograph in the next section, in Figure 18.

Lines of Sight

From the entrance of the cemetery, visitors have a clear view of the chapel at the other end of the mall, but the graves are obscured by the trees and shrubs. From within the cemetery, the trees and shrubs that line the wall are sparse enough to allow sight into the surrounding fields. When standing amongst the graves, the chapel is primarily hidden among the wood to which it stands adjacent.

Figure 18 Aerial photograph of Aisne-Marne. Screenshot taken from Google Earth.

Museum Element

Located next to the parking area of the cemetery is the visitor building. This building

contains the ABMC administrative offices and small room for visitors to rest in. Looking

around the room via the virtual tour of the cemetery provided by the NPS shows a map

of the area, historic photographs of the cemetery, and a purple heart medal as the

museum elements present for the cemetery.

Access Model

The layout of Aisne-Marne matches the other ABMC WWI cemeteries with the inclusion

of long malls, stretches of land that visitors must walk with no intrusion from outside

forces, just the visitor and man-cultivated nature, shown in Figures 19 and 20 below.

The architects chose to add the malls to the WWI cemeteries to evoke the national mall

in Washington D.C. and more abstract aesthetic purposes. The access model of Aisne-

Marne shows another purpose to the malls. As shown in the model, Aisne-Marne has

only a single entrance. Between that entrance and the graves lies two malls split by the

visitor center. Whether arriving by vehicle or on foot, the first mall of the cemetery acts

as a barrier to the outside world, a long threshold to leave any of the worries of

modernity behind. If they so choose, visitors can then interact with the visitor center and

learn the history behind and American contributions to WWI. The second mall then acts

as space to reflect upon this knowledge in preparation for the scene to come. Visitors

may be forgiven if they are not prepared for the scale of death in the graves at the site.

The chapel and memorial of the cemetery are center stage in the layout design. The

monumentality of America is the true destination for the journey through the cemetery.

Without detouring to the visitor center, the chapel is a straight line from the entrance.

Only the American flag posted in front of the chapel stands in the way, acting as a

metaphorical decontamination shower for those who would enter the chapel. The chapel

is a stand-in for both America as a whole and the ABMC specifically. The GRS are the

ones who created the cemetery. The ABMC took over memorial construction afterward.

The biggest change made to the cemetery was the chapel and memorial. The building

stands for the monumentality of America and the ABMC, flanked by the dead who are

guarding a structure they have no idea exists.

Location of Cemetery Features
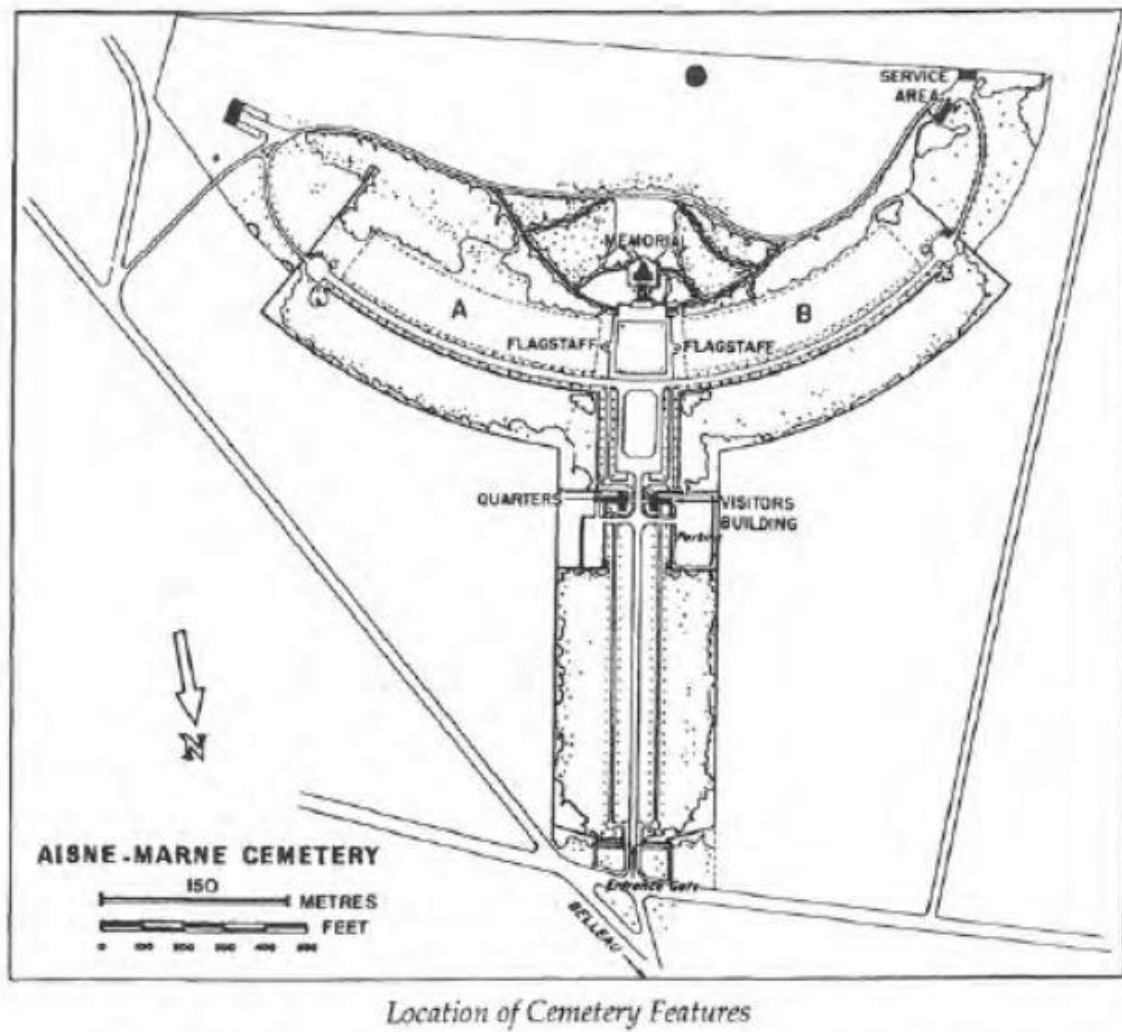
Figure 19 Aisne-Marne layout from site booklet.
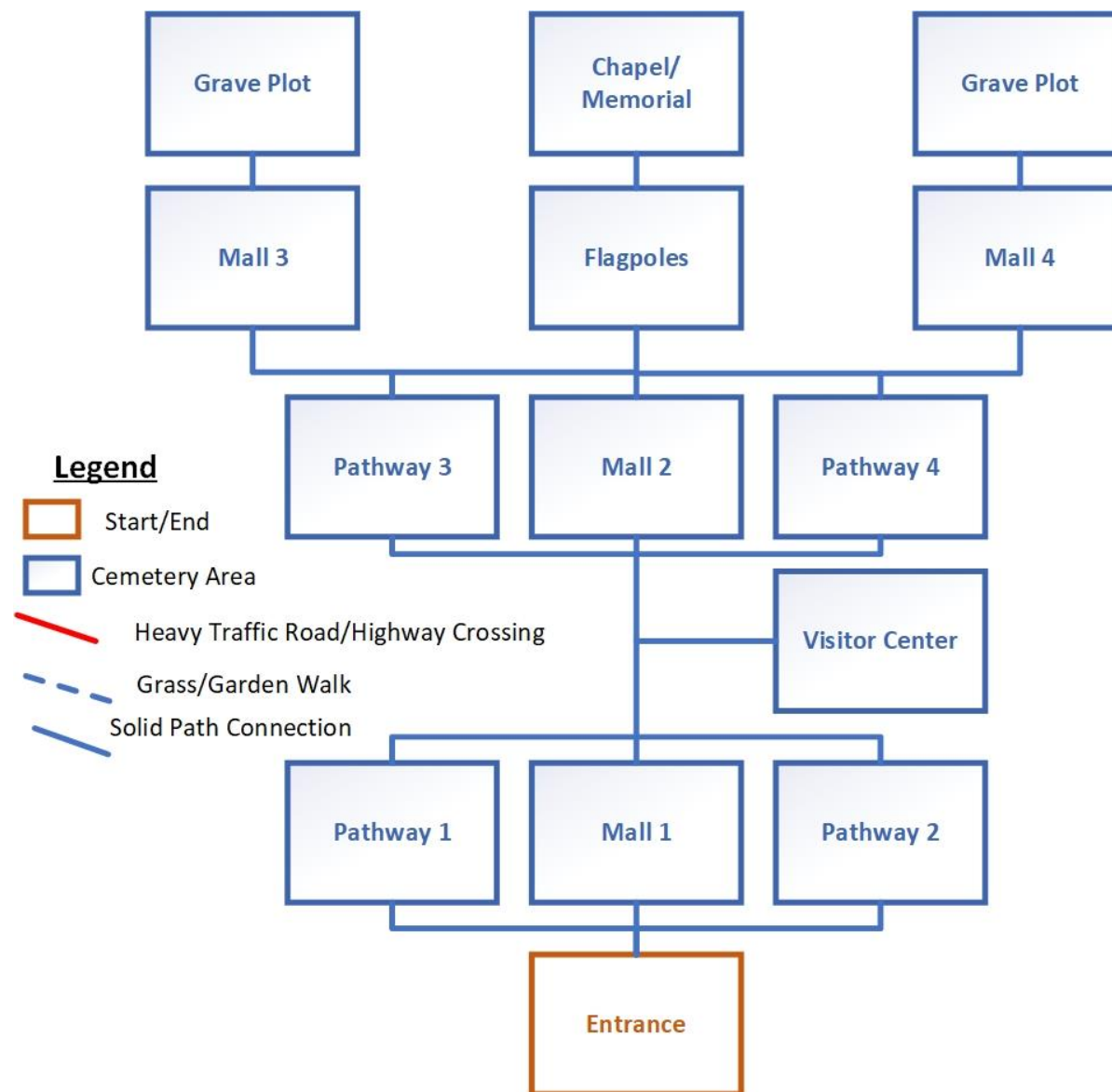
Figure 20 Access Model of Aisne-Marne Cemetery.

Heritagescape Guiding Principles Summary

Aisne-Marne cemetery is the ideal design the ABMC wished to achieve with the WWI cemeteries. All other WWI cemeteries in this chapter and Appendix 3 have more angles and turns in their designs. Aisne-Marne is a straight line from entrance to destination, a design principle that will reappear in some of the WWII cemeteries in the next chapter.

Boundaries

Time has not seen urban sprawl surround Aisne-Marne the way it has other ABMC cemeteries. As a result of this still rural setting, the boundary between the cemetery and the surrounding farmland is semi-permeable, consisting of a tree line bolstered by shrubs. The only boundary within the cemetery are the bollards that block vehicle access to the grave plots unless taken down.

Cohesion

Aisne-Marne is a perfectly preserved example of the WWI cemeteries as the ABMC wished them to be: Stark white headstones and chapel against the rural green background of France. Viewed from the front, the cemetery has no cohesion with the surrounding environment, however, when viewed from behind or the sides, the woods obscure the chapel from view.

Visibility

Being located in a rural setting without urban sprawl may be good for the cemetery's cohesion but diminishes its visibility as a heritage site. The progress of urban sprawl

provides the heritage site with expected amenities to the surrounding area in the form of shops, restaurants, etc. As a result, visitors to Aisne-Marne are doing so with the express purpose of visiting, rather than being spontaneous tourists.

Soft Power Interpretation

Being located next to Chateau-Thierry Monument, Aisne-Marne Cemetery gets more visitors than most of the ABMC's WWI cemeteries. As such, the cemetery has a greater chance of enacting soft power for the US. The cemetery's landscaping and layout are among the most straightforward in terms of ideas of Christian stewardship. The soft power enacted at Aisne-Marne is best suited to subtly convincing visitors of the Judeo-Christian origins of the US and their connection to Capitalism during the Cold War. This latency between soft power intent and usage shows how forward thinking the ABMC were immediately after their inception.

Heritagescape Case Study 5 - Flanders Field American Cemetery and Memorial

Located just outside Waregem, Belgium, containing 368 graves, and covering six acres, Flanders Field is the smallest ABMC cemetery and the only exclusively American WWI cemetery in Belgium (ABMC n.d.-g, 6). The map in Figure 21 below shows the layout of the cemetery and the grave plots marked A-D from the site brochure available on the ABMC website (ABMC 2018h).
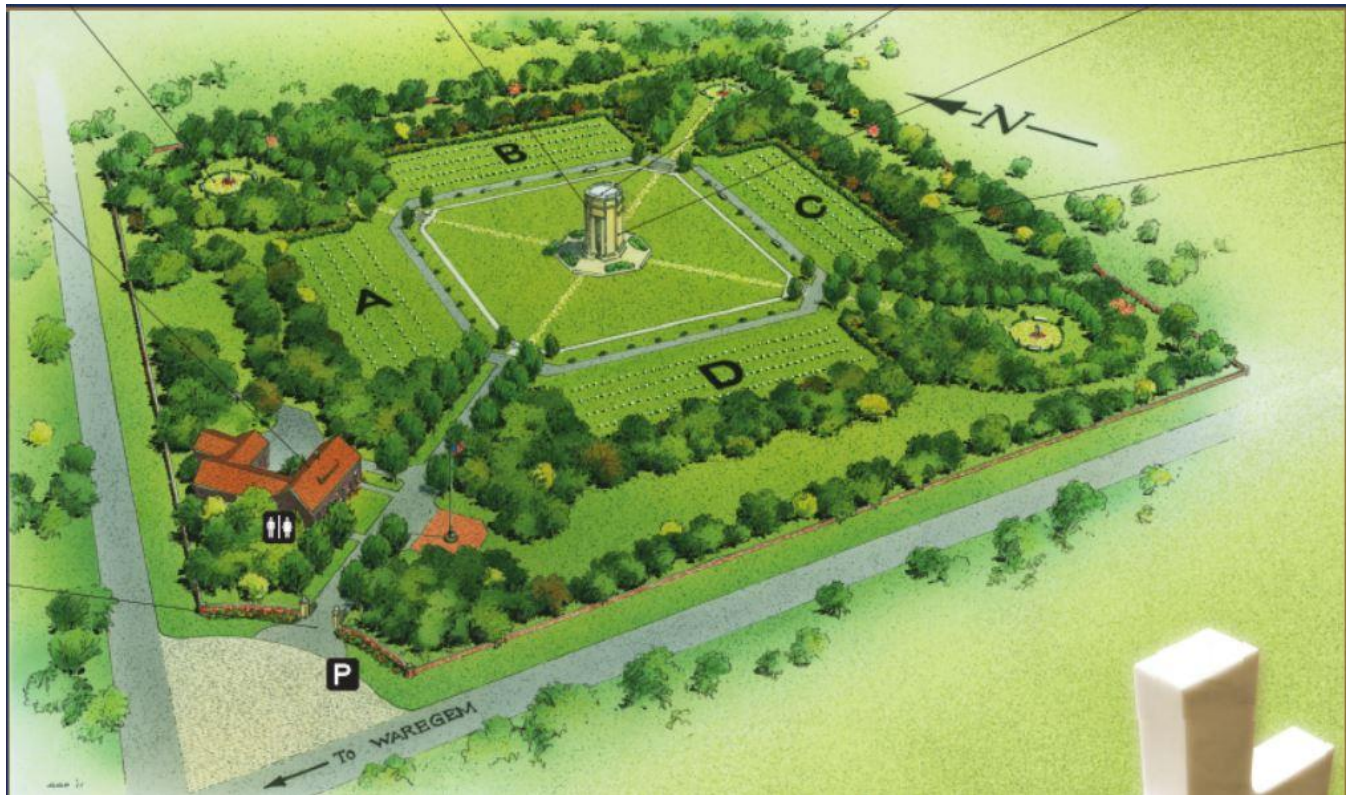
Figure 21 - Map of Flanders Field American Cemetery and Memorial from site brochure

(ABMC 2018h).

History

The cemetery sits on ground that was secured by two American divisions under the

command of King Albert I of Belgium, seeing combat during the final eleven days of

WWI (ABMC n.d.-g, 4-5). Following the end of the War, control of the site was given to

the ABMC, with architect Paul Cret and landscape architect J. Greber seeing to its

design, beautification, and creation of the memorial chapel, which was dedicated in

1937 with the other WWI cemeteries (ABMC n.d.-g, 7). Other notable events in the

cemetery's history are speeches made by the King of Belgium, the Belgian Prime

Minister, and President Obama in 2014 (Jackson 2014).

Grave Arrangement

The graves at Flanders Field are arranged in four plots that flank the sides of the square depression the chapel sits within (see Figure 21 above). Each field contains ninety-two graves in the regimented style ubiquitous of the ABMC cemeteries.

Built Architecture

The flagpole base at Flanders Field Cemetery is an exact copy of the flagpole base at Brookwood Cemetery in the United Kingdom because they shared the same architect. There are thirteen benches throughout the cemetery that can be broken down into three distinct zones: the chapel border, the garden groves, and the garden walk (see Figures 22-25 below). Along the northeastern and southeastern edges of the chapel border four benches are spaced symmetrical with two on each border equally spaced from one another. Each garden grove alcove located at the north, south, and east corners of the cemetery have two benches flanking a statue. The 'garden walk' that surrounds the graves in the cemetery has a bench placed in the mid-point of the border of the northeastern, southeastern, and southwestern walls. An extra bench has been situated along the southwestern wall directly facing the flagpole area.

Figure 22 Benches behind the chapel, facing the graves at Flanders Field Cemetery.

Screenshot from Google Earth.

Figure 23 Example of garden groves at Flanders Field Cemetery with benches.

Screenshot from NPS virtual tour (NPS 2016).

Figure 24 Example of bench in garden walk at Flanders Field Cemetery. Screenshot
from NPS virtual tour (NPS 2016).

Figure 25 View of American flag and administration building from bench at Flanders
Field Cemetery. Screenshot from NPS virtual tour (NPS 2016).

The benches at Flanders Field are clearly placed with vistas and landscape aesthetics
in mind. The absence of benches in front of the chapel means that the chapel is the first
piece of built architecture seen when entering the grave area of the cemetery. Coming
from the cemetery entrance the chapel is in the foreground with the benches and graves
in the background, which pulls the focus to the chapel. Any other visitors who may be
resting on the benches would be out of sight, which would contribute to a sense of
solitude.

The chapel itself is in the very center of the cemetery (see Figure 26 below) with one door to both enter and leave from. The inside of the chapel is dominated by the Pyrenees marble altar inscribed with a quote from the Old Testament of the King James bible: "*I will ransom them from the power of the grave, I will redeem them from death*" (ABMC n.d.-g, 8; also see Figure 27 below). Atop the alter is a small tablet of the Star of David over the ten commandments. The ceiling of the chapel is decorated with motifs of clouds and doves, and the wall behind depicts a crusader's sword. The two flanking walls list the names of the missing from the area (ABMC n.d.-g, 11). The only light in the chapel comes from the stain glass windows above and inserted into the door and the hexagonal room has no places to sit or contemplate the war.

Figure 26 The chapel at Flanders Field Cemetery. Screenshot taken from virtual tour
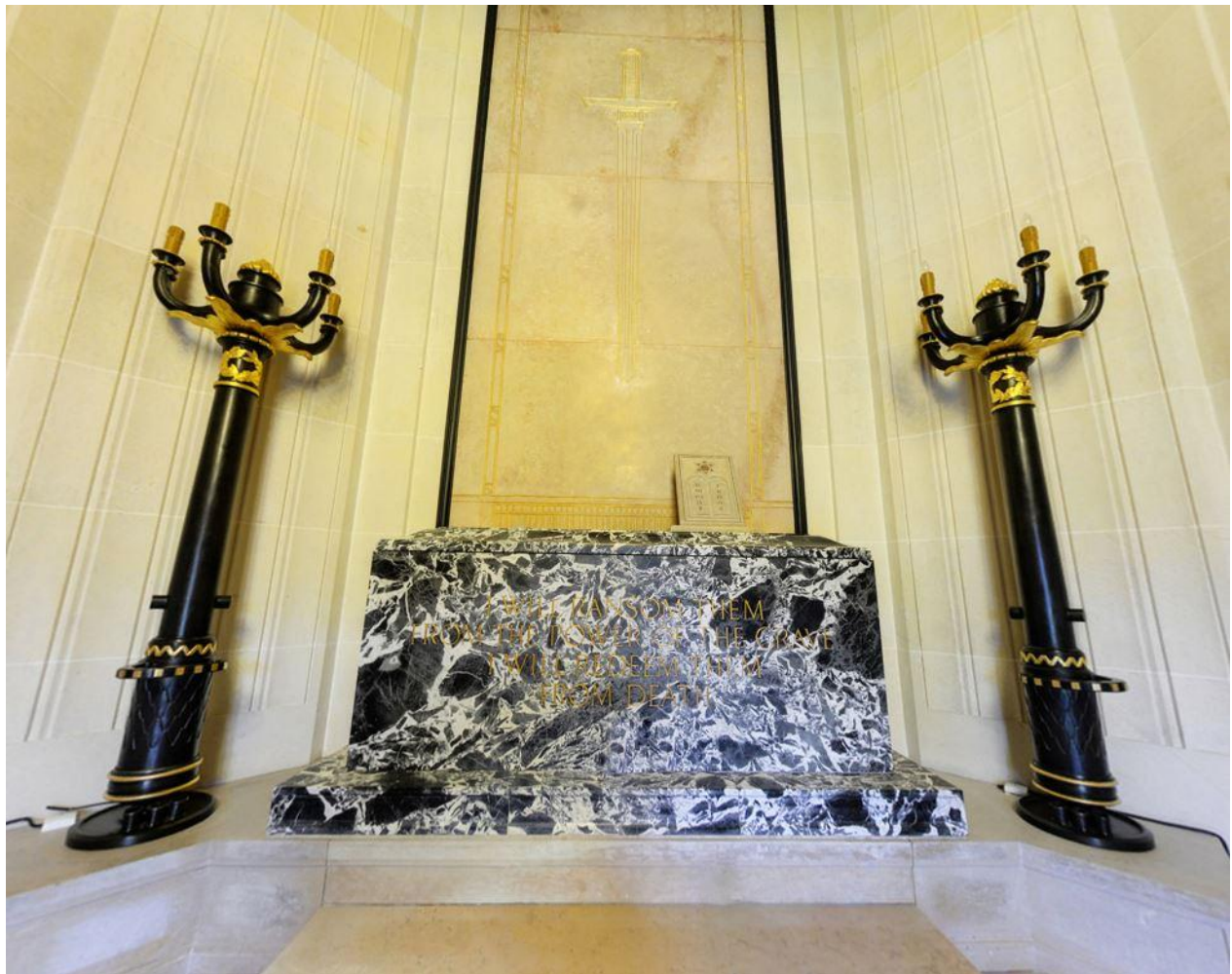
(NPS 2016).

Figure 27 The Flanders Field Cemetery chapel interior. Screenshot taken from virtual tour (NPS 2016).

The administration offices and visitor/museum rooms are all part of one building just inside the gate to Flanders Field next to the main pathway, with the flagpole just across from it. The building is made of red brick and is only one story tall, making it invisible behind the trees and shrubs from a majority of the cemetery. The maintenance garage and shed are behind the administration building, hidden from visitors within the cemetery by the tree lines and hedge rows.

There are three types of pathways in Flanders Field, shown in Figures 28-30 below. The

first one is the solid paved pathway that runs from the entrance to the square around

the chapel. The second type is a more ethereal flagstone pathway with grass growing

between the stones that runs from the corners of the chapel, intersecting the paved

square surrounding the depression that contains the chapel and out towards the garden

groves. The paths lead straight into the third type of pathway. This last type of path is

only located in the outside garden section of the cemetery with the visitor encouraged to

walk on the grass.

Figure 28 Example of fully paved path at Flanders Field Cemetery. Screenshot taken

from NPS virtual tour (NPS 2016).

Figure 29 The fully paved path intersecting with the cobbled path at Flanders Field

Cemetery. Screenshot taken from NPS virtual tour (NPS 2016).

Figure 30 Cobbled path ending onto garden walk at Flanders Field Cemetery.

Screenshot taken from NPS virtual tour (NPS 2016).

Speeches

On the morning of 26 March 2014, President Obama, King Philippe of Belgium, and Belgian Prime Minister di Rupo all made short speeches at Flanders Field. The first to speak that morning was King Philippe of Belgium, followed by the Prime Minister of Belgium, and ending with President Obama (see Appendix 4 for transcription). The main theme of the three dignitaries' speeches is that of friendship. For President Obama, the

friendship is one that started in WWI and endured through WWII, the Cold War, and

recent conflicts in North Africa and West Asia, with Belgium as a strong and capable

ally. King Philippe's address also ended with the theme of friendship. He stressed that

the United States and Belgium would continue to stand side-by-side in the further

endeavor of peace (see Appendix 4.2). The Prime Minister's address used emotive

language of the 'adopted son' that appears commonly in ABMC literature and other

literature about these cemeteries (see Appendix 4.2). To the Prime Minister, the sons of

America who lay in Flanders Field Cemetery are also Belgium's sons. There can be no

greater vow of friendship between countries than the honorary adoption of their fallen

citizens.

Speeches at cemeteries like those run by the ABMC tend to focus on themes of peace

and friendship in international relations but speeches at these sites may also serve

other agendas. President Obama decided to use the occasion of his speech at Flanders

Field to make connections and parallels between the history of WWI and contemporary

events. Obama specifically called upon the use of chemical weapons in WWI and the

horrors they inflicted as a reminder to the world against the use of such weapons in the

present and future. Without even attempting to hide his intentions, Obama noted that

"Our nations are part of the international effort to destroy Syria's chemical weapons --

the same kinds of weapons that were used to such devastating effect on these very

fields" (see Appendix 4.2). The year before this speech, chemical weapons were

deployed during the Syrian Civil War (see Masterson and Quinn 2021). This shows how

heritage sites are used in the present. Historical allusions are often used as lessons for

the present but may invite criticism for diluting the memory of the history invoked or for

embellishing the current situation. Making such allusions at a heritage site acts a shield

from any criticism received by the speech by utilizing the memory of the heritage site or,

in the case of the ABMC cemeteries, the war dead themselves as a shield. This is a

pertinent political use of heritage sites and the instrumental evoking of their memory in

the modern day. These sites offer the speakers the chance to assume the moral high

ground while not allowing the target of the speech a chance to refute the argument

made.

Borders

The parking area at Flanders Field is a small, cobbled area just in front of the gate with

few parking spaces. One aspect of the car park that sets it apart from other ABMC

cemeteries is the existence of a bike rack for those visitors who wish to cycle to the

cemetery, possibly reflecting cultural attitudes of the area regarding transportation

choices. North from the entrance is further parking for roughly three more cars or one

bus if organizations wish to take a trip there. In addition, along the road running east is a

bus stop. Much like other sites run by the ABMC, the number of visitors anticipated at

any one time who own their own vehicle is rather low, with public or carpool transport

preferred. The cemetery's immediate surroundings are a residential neighborhood, with

a few businesses scattered around. Further east of the cemetery is more open farm and

woodland, which is much more in keeping with the cemetery's rural surroundings when

it was first constructed.

There are three roads in the vicinity of Flanders Field. The cemetery sits directly on two of them, while the third sits further east of the cemetery as a road with only residential houses. Three borders separate Flanders Field into its various sections (see Figures 31 and 35 below). The first is the hard border of the low wall surrounding the cemetery. This wall follows the order from Pershing early in the ABMC's lifetime to add such walls to properly section off these small slices of America from their host countries (see Appendix 2.2.14 and 2.2.19). The second border is a tree line that sits right adjacent to this outer wall. This tree line serves a dual purpose of cutting line of sight inside or outside the cemetery and acts as a noise buffer for all those visitors within the site. The last border is within the cemetery itself with a tree line separating the chapel and graves from the gardens.

Figure 31 Aerial photograph of Flanders Field Cemetery from Google Earth.

Lines of Sight

Sight is the most controlled aspect of Flanders Field Cemetery. The differing vistas and

possible lines of site were clearly considered during the cemetery's planning and

construction. When the site was first constructed and the tree lines that make up the

hard borders of the site were the first planted, anyone walking by the cemetery could

see straight across both areas to the graves within, with the flagpole being aligned with

the entrance (see Figure 32).

Figure 32 Flanders Field Cemetery entrance with saplings recently planted (top) (ABMC 1925, 12) and modern shot of the cemetery entrance (bottom). Screenshot taken from Google Earth.

There are four main vistas in the cemetery, each corresponding to one of the four

pathways that lead to and from the chapel at the center of the cemetery. The secondary

vistas are the garden walk around the inner sanctum that holds the graves. The center

point for these vistas are the benches placed along the walk. These benches offer no

view of the graves, and only the very top of the chapel in the center. Otherwise, the only

things to be seen from them are the trees, flowers, and shrubs that adorn the garden

section of the cemetery.

The three vistas from the three garden grove areas at the corners of the cemetery are

highly constrained. Over time the views across the site have been closed off. Over time

the views across the site have been closed off and the vista itself leads only to the

chapel, with no graves visible on either side of it (see Figure 33 below). No parts of the

cemetery are viewable from the outside, and only the tops of houses are visible from

certain places from within the cemetery.

Figure 33 Example view of chapel from garden groves. Screenshot taken from virtual tour (NPS 2016).

Museum Element

The museum aspect of Flanders Field Cemetery is located in the visitor center just inside the site's entrance gates. It was completed in 2017 after the ABMC renovated the old superintendent's quarters. The displays in the museum have descriptions in both English and Dutch. As with the other museums in the ABMC cemeteries, it tells a basic

history of the war the cemetery is dedicated to, in this case WWI, with some local

history, and select stories of specific people buried in the cemetery. The main difference

between the museum at Flanders Field Cemetery and others is a focus on how the war

and the deceased are remembered. This aspect of the museum is so prominent that the

physical artifacts on display are a Gold Star Mother Medal, Gold Star Mother nameplate

pin, and a replica of a cemetery dedication program (see Figure 34 below).

Figure 34 Goldstar Mothers nameplate pin, medal, and cemetery dedication pamphlet in

Flanders Field Cemetery museum after renovation 2017. Photo credit: ABMC

After one hundred years from WWI, and nearly one hundred years for the cemetery

itself, there has been a change in the heritage focus of this site. In an example of Olick's

(2007) temporality, it shows people the history of the war that should be taught in a

museum, but also how those events have been remembered and commemorated in the

past up to the present day. The Commission's other cemetery museums are dedicated to the purely historical facts of the War they represent, and the ABMC is relying on the assumed symmetry within its cemetery museums for this change to go unnoticed. While the other ABMC cemeteries have physical artifacts from the wars displayed, Flanders Field has artifacts showing how the war has been commemorated. The museum in this cemetery has changed from a museum *for* commemoration to a museum *of* commemoration.

Access Model

Flanders Field has only one entrance. The entrance and primary pathways are connected in such a way that a visitor can make a full circle through them with no back tracking. The remainder of the site consists of 'points of interest' that are comprised of pathways terminating at the chapel, graves, or visitor center, as shown in Figures 35 and 36. Based on the number of through passages to get to it, the chapel is the primary spot that requires the most intention and dedication to view. The grave sections are self-contained, each plot only accessible individually from each side of path 5 (see Figure 36). This design may have been an attempt to section them off from each other, so that visitors do not deal with the entire collective death of the cemetery.
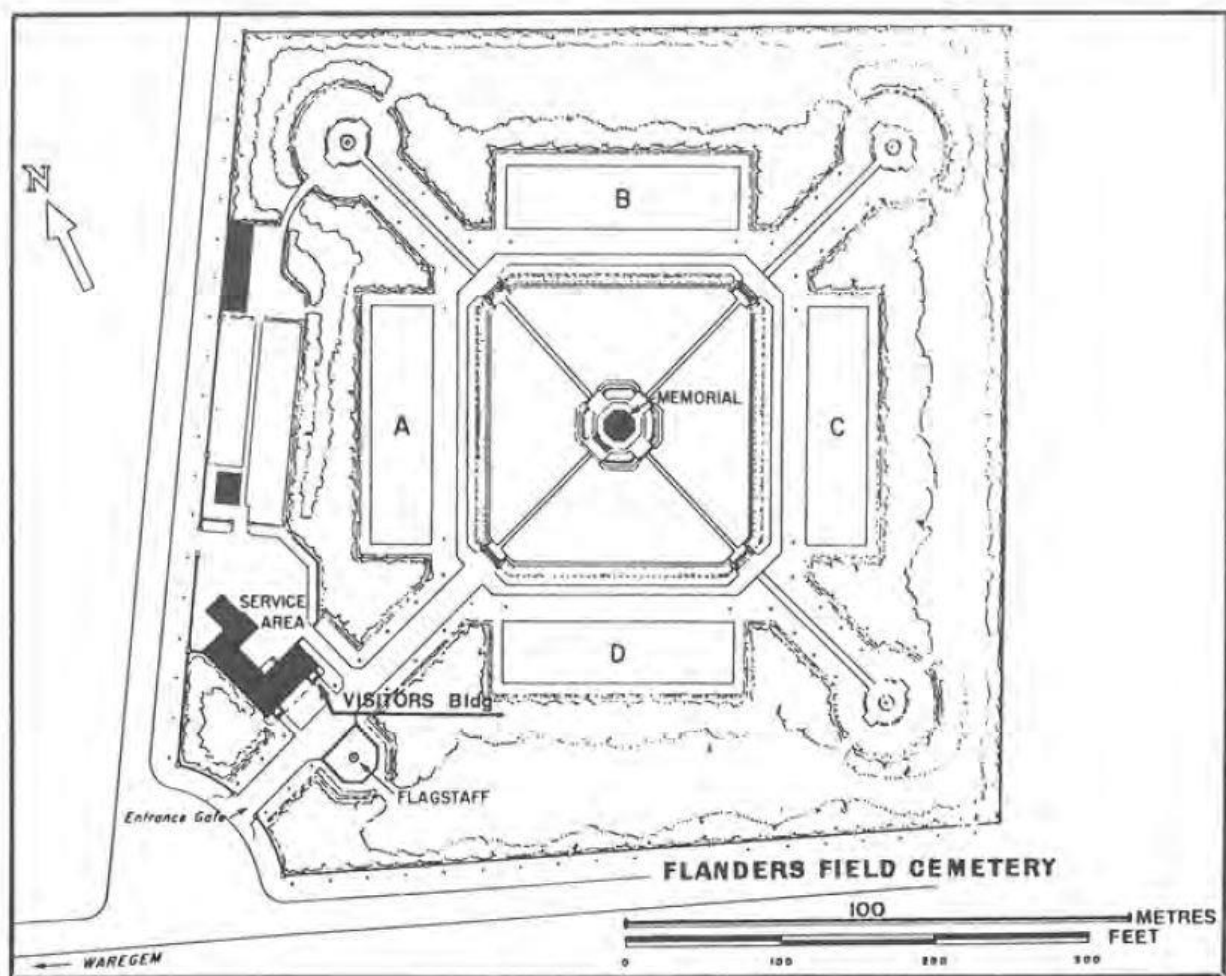
Figure 35 - Design layout of Flanders Field Cemetery from site booklet (ABMC n.d.-g)
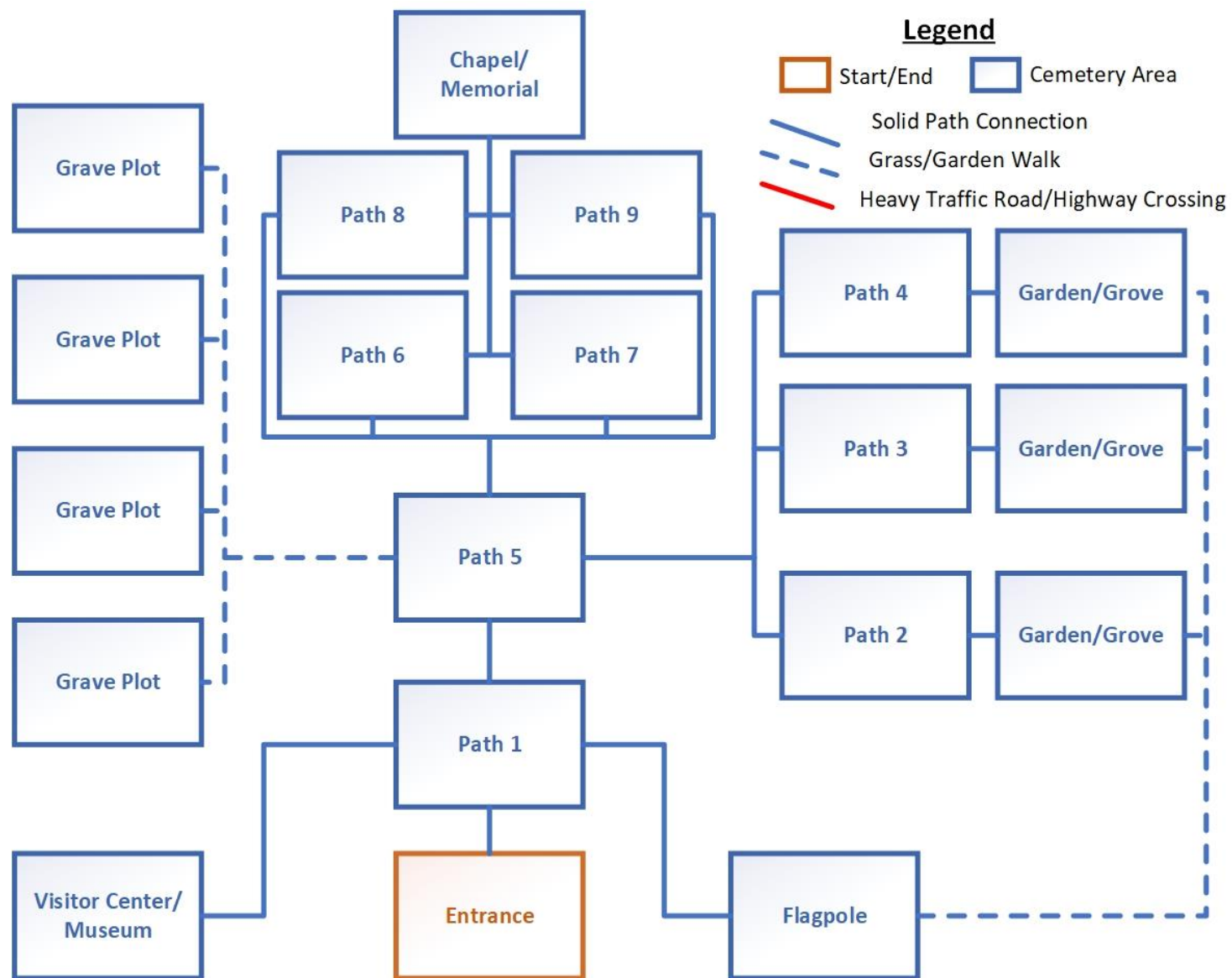
Figure 36 - Access map model for Flanders Field Cemetery.

Heritagescape Guiding Principles Summary

In terms of the heritagescape guiding principles, the construction of Flanders Field Cemetery paid the most attention to its boundaries and cohesion in an effort to control the lines of sight within the cemetery. In addition to being the smallest ABMC constructed cemetery, Flanders Field is the singular WWI cemetery in a country that also has two WWII cemeteries. During commemoration events, these two other cemeteries take precedence over Flanders Field, giving it an extremely low heritage visibility.

Boundaries

There are three strict physical boundaries at Flanders Field. The first two surround the entire site with a brick wall and tree line. The third boundary uses another tree line, bushes, and flowers to separate the garden walk from the grave field. These boundaries force a specific field of view on visitors. These views also cut off visitors from other groups of people who could be in any of the garden groves, chapel, or the visitor center.

Cohesion

The cohesion of Flanders Field is well within the usual parameters of the ABMC's internal landscaping material usage. One of the two outliers of the cemetery is the density and bunching of trees. While other cemeteries like Cambridge use tree density to obscure the maintenance areas from the grave fields, Flanders Field uses the trees to isolate visitors, creating more intimate 'garden-like' areas. The second difference is in the material of the garden grove areas. Flanders Field Cemetery uses the trees and

other foliage to construct the ornateness of the corner garden grove areas where the other ABMC sites choose to use more hard landscaping out of stone material.

Visibility

Flanders Field is unlike the other ABMC sites in that its heritage visibility is incredibly low throughout the year. Visiting the area of the site through Google Earth, the site is not as well advertised, or sign posted as sites such as Normandy. The site is only used as part of heritage and memorial diplomacy actions during WWI specific commemoration events. The two WWII cemeteries in Belgium, Henri-Chappelle Cemetery and Ardennes Cemetery, have much larger and more broadcasted events during annual Memorial and Veterans Day events.

Soft Power Interpretation

Being the only US WWI cemetery in Belgium, Flanders Field is capable of enacting soft power without too much competition from other WWI cemeteries. The history of American troops helping the King of Belgium reclaim the country from Germany in WWI allows the cemetery to standout even with two WWII cemeteries in the country. In 2014, the soft power of the cemetery was on full display when President Obama utilized it to condemn the use of chemical weapons in Syria (see Chapter 8 for further discussion).

Threshold Design Analysis

While the threshold design of the WWII cemeteries is created through art and architecture, as shown in the next chapter, the ABMC focused on nature and artistic

landscaping to create the threshold designs for the WWI cemeteries. The scale of combat and death seen in WWI had never been experienced on that scale before in history. As a result, the threshold design of the cemeteries would need to prepare visitors for the scale of death they were going to experience. To do this, the ABMC drew upon park cemetery landscaping style from the 19th century (Mosse 1990). Only the next-of-kin would know where the grave was located in a park cemetery, usually hidden behind a tree or shrub. The ABMC achieved the same end point by utilizing the proverb of 'hidden in plain sight'. Since all the headstones were of essentially the same design (specifically the Latin Cross and Star of David, see Ebel 2012 for a theological perspective on the forms), no distinguishing features would help people find the specific grave they are looking for without assistance from the ABMC staff. In other words, visitors would have to rely upon the State or its actors to guide them (Robin 1995, 61). However, before even attempting to locate a grave, visitors must approach the graves by walking along several malls. The reasons behind this are psychological in that nature soothes our minds and emotions without our awareness and will be further explored in Chapter 8.

This section will review the threshold design of the three cemeteries described in this chapter. Aisne-Marne is the most successful of this 'mall focused' threshold design. The cemetery is designed with two malls, separated by the visitor center, leading to the chapel, which frames the entire journey from start to finish. The first mall allows visitors to separate themselves from the present world outside the cemetery. Even if the visitor chooses not to enter the visitor center, as is the case with most American GIs (see

Lemay 2018b, 147), the second mall still enacts the psychological calming effect that prepares the visitor for the two grave plots extending from the chapel like arms or wings. Flanders Field cemetery threshold design leans into nature and landscaping more so than any other ABMC cemetery from any war. As shown in the heritagescape description earlier in this chapter, the entire cemetery consists of three boundary layers which are separated into a nature garden walk under the trees, small, tiled, landscape garden seats, or a highly manicured landscaped lawn surrounding the chapel tower in the center of the cemetery. Each of the four malls begins or ends at the chapel. When journey along the malls, visitors are walking toward or under the watchful eye of God. Flanders field being the smallest cemetery in terms of number of graves, separates this small number into four different plots, leaning into the park cemetery motif by making the entire cemetery a metaphorical tree that visitors must know where to look to find a grave, usually with the help of an ABMC staff member.

Brookwood cemetery's threshold design has changed the most out of all the ABMC cemeteries. In this case change does not refer to physical construction, but rather usage. When the cemetery was first constructed in the 1920s, the main entrance would have been approached on foot, where visitors would walk along the mall to the flagpole framed by the chapel. With the increase in personal and rental vehicles through the 20th century, the administration building has become the primary entrance, as covered in the Brookwood heritagescape section earlier in this chapter. This relegates the mall to be a walk of reflection after seeing the dead rather than one of preparation for seeing the dead. The third entrance opens directly next to the graves, but any visitor entering

through this side has already been walking amongst CWGC RAF graves and does not need mental preparation. In the two days the author/researcher physically spent analyzing Brookwood before being identified and subsequently banned, the fourth entrance located behind the chapel received the most use. This is due to the local train station being located just outside the greater cemetery complex just beyond this entrance. Office workers taking phone calls, teenagers listening to music or eating snacks, and even dog walkers were all spotted using the cemetery as a shortcut to the train station with no attention paid to the graves, the ABMC, or any heritage, memory, or memorial aspect of the site. It is almost as though the original threshold design of Brookwood no longer applies, having been reversed by having people leave through the mall rather than enter. Or possibly, that the cemetery is getting close to the end of its lifespan as covered in reference to Mexico City cemetery in the previous chapter. Due to its location in the military section of the greater Brookwood cemetery complex, however, it is highly unlikely that the UK will ever request for the land to be returned.

Conclusion

The cemeteries described in this chapter offer a glimpse into a transitory time for America both stylistically and ideologically. The WWI cemeteries of America are found at the end of long malls through nature, a slight change from the park cemeteries of the late 1800s (see Mosse 1990). These transitory spaces allow visitors to set aside the issues in their lives and mentally relax them for the reality of war they are about to face. After visiting the cemetery, the transitory spaces offer time to reflect upon the war and the values that the ABMC purports it to stand for, such as valor and sacrifice. These

transits through nature also helped the ABMC to essentially hide the cemeteries in rural areas of the host countries. Having joined so late into WWI, America and the ABMC did not want to overstate their contribution to the war effort. Thus, all the WWI cemeteries have friendship as one of their most prominent values symbolized in their construction, artwork, and literature. The WWI cemeteries offer a glimpse at an America that was emerging from isolationism as a fledgling superpower around the world that was unsure of its place. Similar forms of these artistic, architectural, and horticultural elements are present in the 7 other WWI cemeteries of the ABMC analyzed as part of this research (see Appendix 3). This change in ideology would be finished by the end of WWII, which will be shown in the next two chapters.

This chapter has continued to address the second sub-question of the research which is 'How do the cemeteries function in practice today?' from the perspective of the WWI cemeteries. This chapter has identified some of the unique aspects of the WWI cemeteries threshold design, specifically the usage of nature and building placement, that are useful for juxtaposition purposes in Chapter 8.

Chapter 7 – ABMC Cemeteries of World War II

This chapter finishes answering the second sub-question of the research. This chapter is composed of heritagescape case studies for four cemeteries that were constructed after WWII. These cemeteries are Cambridge in the UK, Brittany in France, Luxembourg in Luxembourg, and Sicily-Rome in Italy, representing the wider geographical expanse of this period. Of the 26 ABMC cemeteries, 14 are from WWII specifically. Of these 14, 2 could not be analyzed due to lack of available data (see Table 1 in Chapter 3), and the other 8 cemeteries analyzed are located in Appendix 3.

The four cemeteries present in this chapter were chosen because they provide a sample of the ABMC cemeteries from WWII, highlighting specific design choices and intentions for reference and juxtaposition against the cemeteries in Chapters 5, 6, and Appendix 3.

Heritagescape Case Study 6 - Cambridge American Cemetery and Memorial

Cambridge American Cemetery and memorial is the only exclusively American WWII cemetery in the United Kingdom (ABMC 2018e; 2019). It is located in Cambridge, England on just over thirty acres of land and has 3,812 interments (ABMC 2019). Figure 37 below is a map of the cemetery taken from the site brochure available on the ABMC website (ABMC 2019) with the grave fields marked A-G.

Figure 37 - Map of Cambridge American Cemetery and Memorial from site booklet
(ABMC 2019).

History

Cambridge Cemetery began as an overflow cemetery during WWII. Originally, the

American war dead from WWII who died in England were buried in Brookwood.

However, Brookwood quickly ran out of space for new interments. In response,

Cambridge was designated as a temporary cemetery site to accommodate the overflow.

After WWII, the temporary cemetery was designated as a permanent cemetery. What

followed was more war dead being coalesced into Cambridge so that Brookwood and

Cambridge could keep their conflict specific identities as WWI and WWII cemeteries

respectively. The war dead in Cambridge come primarily from the 'Battle of the Atlantic'

and are thus mostly naval personnel, but other operations throughout Europe are also

represented by the dead. After completion, Cambridge was among the first round of

WWII dedications in 1956. In 2014, new funds allowed the ABMC to construct the visitor

museum at Cambridge and develop an app of the cemetery for visitors to download

(ABMC 2018e, 15).

Grave Arrangement

There are 3,813 graves at Cambridge laid out in six semi-circular sections A-G with the

flagpole at the epicenter (ABMC 2018e, 9; see Figure 27 above). The number of graves

increases per section as visitors move away from the flagpole and visitor buildings. This

leads to an inequality between the sections with the appearance of a symbolic hierarchy

within the perception of the cemetery. Those who were buried in Section A, close to the

flagpole may be perceived as having a higher status than those buried in section G,

nearest the back wall of the cemetery. The symbolic hierarchy is subconsciously applied

to the lettering as 'A' is the first letter of the alphabet, and colloquially, more prominence

is given to those people who get closest to the focal point of attention at events such as

commemoration ceremonies. The dual subconscious hierarchies may act together in

Cambridge to give those buried in Section A more prominence than at the other ABMC

cemeteries. Section G is not entirely full, with only a few rows of headstones, giving an

unfinished impression to the cemetery. When standing at the flagpole or next to a grave,

visitors can track the graves in a straight line. Cambridge does not have the standard

regimented grave layout of the other cemeteries with columns and rows all equidistant.

Instead, the graves are arranged in arcs to match the semi-circular design in line with

the flagpole. This gives the impression that even in death, the soldiers are lining up and

saluting the flag.

The major difference between Cambridge and other cemeteries is this circular form of the grave sections. The perspective from any one grave is thus not one of straight lines in every direction, but when viewed from the flagpole platform (shown in Figure 38), the effect is impressive, with every column of graves being in line with the focal point of the flagpole. This helps with the overall staging effect of the cemetery by sacrificing the regimented effect among the graves to have a grander effect from outside the grave sections. This may lead to a mental feeling for visitors to not invade the space of the graves. Rather, visitors may tend to hang around the flagpole or stick to the pathway around the graves, choosing not to walk the pathways at each section.

Figure 38 View of the graves from the flag at Cambridge Cemetery. Screenshot from Google Earth.

Built Architecture

Upon entrance to Cambridge Cemetery the visitor is flanked by two buildings. One of

these buildings is the Administration building, housing the superintendent's office,

reception, bathroom facilities, and the cemetery archive. The other building is a small

visitor rest area. A third building further in the cemetery is the chapel. This building lies

past and behind the administration building, at the end of a mall. The mall is flanked on

all sides by other cemetery elements: the flagpole, the grave sections, the wall of the

missing, and the chapel. The chapel at Cambridge has many museum elements within

it, with the main element being a bronze relief map of the Atlantic and Pacific theaters

sea battles, routes, and fronts (see Figure 39 below). The other major aspect of the

chapel is a mosaic relief of the Archangel made of more than three thousand pieces

(ABMC 2018e, 17; see also Figures 40 and 41).

Figure 39 Bronze map of the WWI theaters in Cambridge Cemetery chapel. Screenshot

from Google.

Figure 40 Cambridge Cemetery chapel altar and mosaic. Screenshot taken from
Google.

Figure 41 Continuation of mosaic across chapel ceiling. Screenshot taken from Google.

The chapel at Cambridge has only a single access point to the mall next to the wall of

the missing. The chapel has large windows opposite the bronze relief maps (see Figure

42 below for outside view), allowing sunlight to be the primary light source within the

chapel, although other light sources are used when the weather is inclement,

specifically to light up the mosaic of the Archangel. The main feature of the inside is the

bronze relief map of the Atlantic and Pacific theaters of WWII (ABMC 2018e, 11). As

most of the deceased in Cambridge come from the Navy and the 'Battle of the Atlantic',

ground maneuvers are mostly absent from the map, museum, and cemetery story in the

literature provided (ABMC 2018e). The other major aspect of the chapel inside is the

mosaic that starts behind the alter and takes up the entire backwall from the floor

continuing across the entire ceiling. This portion of the chapel is blocked off from visitors

by a fence and ropes. This mosaic depicts the Archangel surrounded by fighter and

bomber planes with other angels interspersed throughout. Around the chapel are

inscribed quotations about the deeds of the deceased interred in the cemetery and how

their memory will not be forgotten (ABMC 2018e). On one side of the chapel is a small

garden with two sections of flora surrounded by pathways and two benches. While in

the garden, visitors may meditate on the map of the world that is inscribed on the wall of

the chapel (ABMC 2018e; see Figure 43 below). This garden is an isolated element and

placed at a point within the cemetery that is easily overlooked. To access it, visitors

must take the stairs next to the main door to the chapel or walk around the chapel from

the pathway next to section G of the graves. The latter path is the only way for the

disabled to view the garden from within.

Figure 42 Side view of the chapel at Cambridge Cemetery (ABMC 2018e, 10).

Figure 43 UK map visible from the garden at Cambridge Cemetery (ABMC 2018e, 10).

The visitor room at Cambridge is of a plain design being just a small room with chairs for visitors. There is no logbook or other elements to this rest area seen in the other cemeteries. All the brochures, logbook, and artifacts typically housed in these buildings for the ABMC are located within the visitor museum.

The flagpole at Cambridge is situated right at the entrance. Like the other ABMC cemeteries, it has its own platform base situated in the path. This setting is of different stone or tile to the rest of the pathways in the cemetery. It is the primary pivot point for the site, being level with the entrance. From the flagpole, visitors can descend to the path around the graves or to the reflecting pool mall that leads to the chapel. This sectioning helps with the staging of keeping visitors in the rest area, moving toward the

museum, or they can take the only other path to the rest of the cemetery that walks along the Wall of the Missing toward the chapel. Arguably, the flagpole is the true entrance to the site with the main gate merely acting as a boundary.

The benches at Cambridge are split among three areas: the entrance, the chapel, and the graves. At the entrance of the cemetery there are two benches either side. Once within the boundary walls of the cemetery, the visitor rest area is just to the east. Inside are four benches along the back walls. The entrance benches look out at the main road connecting the cemetery to the city. The visitor area benches allow for a view of the graves and the fields beyond the cemetery. There are benches located both within and outside the chapel. The outside benches look over the mall and flagpole in front, the Wall of the missing on one side and the graves on the other. The inside benches are situated under the windows of the chapel and offer a view of the bronze relief maps on the opposite wall. The grave benches are located among the headstones, on the paths between them. The smaller paths of section A has two benches, while section G has six benches, with the other sections ranging in between. They offer visitors a chance to sit amongst the graves and reflect upon the deceased without being on the grass. There is no tree coverage for any of these benches, meaning lines of sight are good, but on sweltering summer days, the heat may be unrelenting and discourage much use of these benches.

The 'Wall of the Missing' at Cambridge lies between the administration offices and the chapel, next to the mall on the north side of the cemetery. The Wall is made of the same

white marble stone as the headstones of the graves opposite to it. More than five thousand names adorn the wall (ABMC 2018e, 17). The path next to the wall is disabled friendly access connecting to the administration building path, however the mall next to the Wall is lower and only accessible by stairs. This keeps the best viewing angles and impressions out of reach for those who are disabled. The names on the wall are etched among four statues that are supposed to represent four different soldiers. Each soldier comes from a different branch of the US armed forces: soldier, sailor, airman, coast guardsman (ABMC 2018e, 17; see also Figures 44 through 47 below). The Wall of the Missing is the location in the cemetery where visitors are likely to leave personal paraphernalia or votives to the deceased or of themselves to prove that they have visited (see Winter 2019). Every WWII cemetery has a Wall of the Missing, in contrast to the WWI cemeteries where the names of the missing are inscribed inside the chapel. Doing so for WWII would mean the chapels would have to be much larger and more elaborate to fit all the names. As result, the WWII chapels can be more ornate than their WWI counterparts.

Figure 44 Soldier statue guarding the wall of the missing at Cambridge Cemetery.

Screenshot from Google.
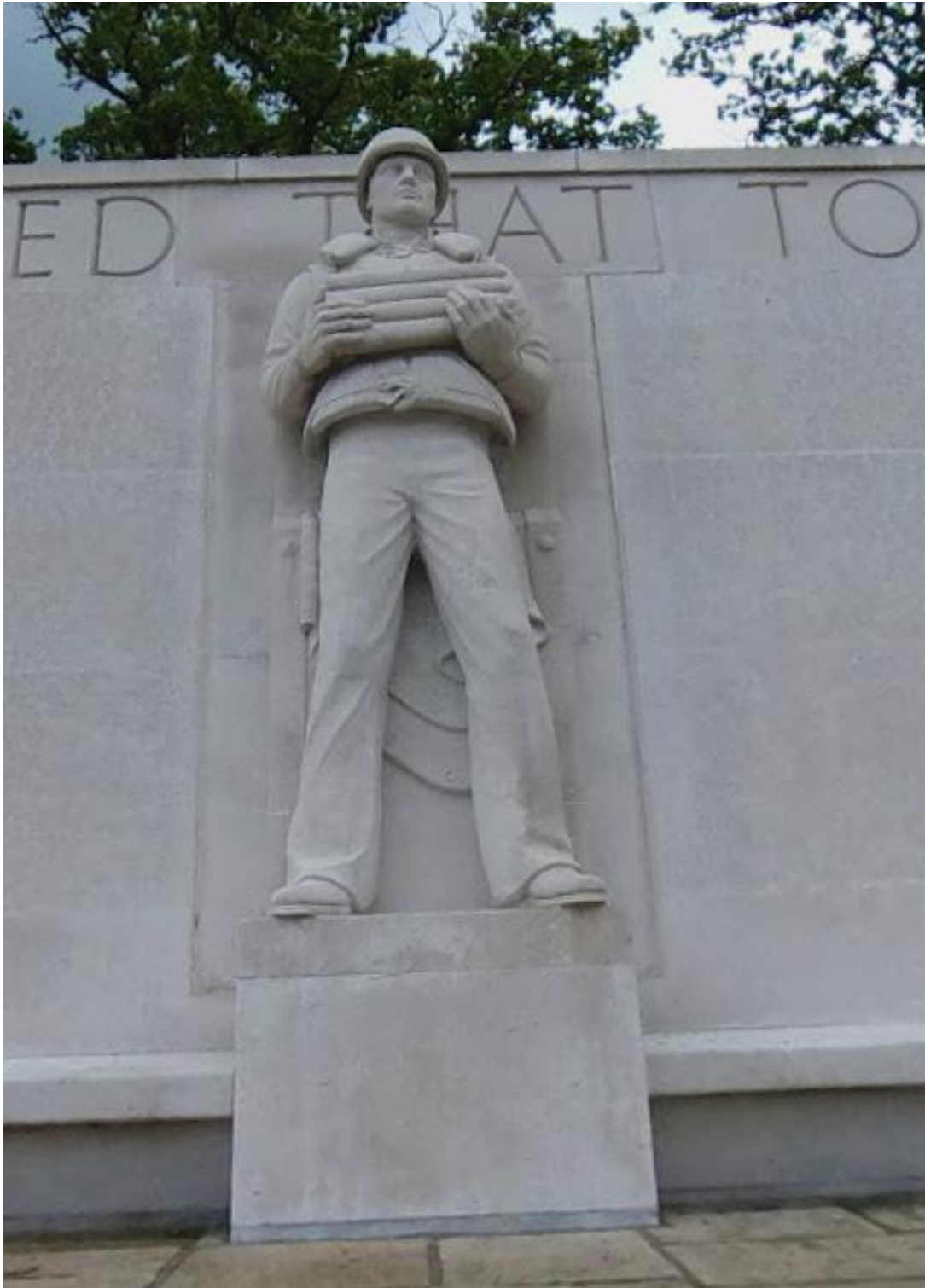
Figure 45 Sailor statue guarding the wall of the missing at Cambridge Cemetery.

Screenshot from Google.

Figure 46 Airman statue guarding the wall of the missing. Screenshot from Google.

Figure 47 Coast guardsman guarding the wall of the missing. Screenshot from Google.

The major layout design element at Cambridge is the mall (see Figure 48 below). The

mall is made up of two small reflecting pools surrounded by pathways. It is situated next

to the north wall of the cemetery surrounded by the chapel to the west, graves to the

south, flagpole to the east, and Wall of the Missing to the North. It is sunken, requiring

the use of short stairs to enter and exit any of the four sections around it. The mall is

reminiscent of the portion of the national mall in Washington DC between the Lincoln

and Washington monuments. That section in DC holds the famous reflecting pool

featured in almost every photo of the national mall. As this section of the National Mall

was constructed in the 1920s or 1930s, it is possible that the ABMC used this iconic

piece of American architecture for inspiration for this pathway section connecting the

flagpole to the chapel in the late 1940's and early 1950s.

Figure 48 Mall with reflecting pools seen from the chapel toward the flag at Cambridge Cemetery. Screenshot from Google.

Another extra element to the cemetery is right at the entrance. Upon entering, if the visitor walks toward the flagpole, they will first encounter a small, raised statue. This statue is a map of the cemetery, minus the recent museum addition. It is essentially an aerial photograph, like Figure 49 below, cast in metal. There is no practical reason to have this map here. Standing at the flagpole, a visitor can see the entirety of the site minus the museum. And the different elements of the site are all quite unique and apparent in purpose. This map statue is an ornate decoration with no function, merely a show of status for the cemetery.

Borders

The tree plantings at Cambridge are rather sparse compared to some of the other ABMC cemeteries. The wall on the north side is blocking the urban cityscape from view, and the half wall on the southern end is open toward the rural view beyond. Most of the trees lie on the east side of the site, focusing the visitor's line of site to the view beyond to the hills and countryside. A few trees are spaced evenly along the southern wall. These trees end up in the foreground of the picture that is the view beyond the site. By placing them here and forming this foreground idea, the entire view is brought into the cemetery as a part of it, rather than it being a view of the outside of the cemetery. These trees are also chosen and specifically maintained to not grow so tall as to obscure the view, but just tall enough to become a part of it. Small flowers and shrubs are planted between the flagpole and the graves as a small boundary, as a decoration, and to ensure people use the walking path. More shrubs and flowers adorn the parts of the ledge between the graves and the reflecting pool mall on either side of the two small staircases that connect those elements of the site.

There are two roads bordering Cambridge Cemetery, as shown in Figure 49 below. One of them is a main road connecting the cemetery to the town center with the entrance and visitor parking to the cemetery are located. The other road is adjacent to the rear of the cemetery and is visible from the cemetery looking toward the southern view. If traffic is light or non-existent, visitors may be able to tune it out as they do so many other aspects of our busy world. If traffic is heavy, the road may become an impediment to the

visitor attempting to enjoy the view or peace and quiet of the cemetery. This road

connects to the cemetery via small maintenance roads and includes parking for the

landscaping team. Situating these roads just under the main view helps to conceal the

roads leading to them being less likely to be overlooked by visitors. The main road into

town can be busy depending on the time of day and year. It even includes a bus stop for

the cemetery on the city's 'hop on hop off' bus tours. This may help the cemetery with

promotion and spontaneous visitors and increases the 'tourist' aspect of the cemetery.

Figure 49 Aerial photograph of Cambridge Cemetery from Google Earth.

There is a small parking area attached to the cemetery just outside of the main entrance. It also houses the bus stop for the 'hop on hop off' tours of the city. Being relatively small shows that not many visitors are expected at one time. This would have been the case when the cemetery was located out in the mostly rural areas of Cambridge. But now that urban sprawl has caught up the site, many visitors can travel via cab, public transport, or on foot to enjoy the cemetery.

The land upon which Cambridge Cemetery sits was donated to the ABMC by the University of Cambridge. Walking back into the city from the cemetery takes a person right past the University and into the city center next to the train station. Originally the cemetery plot was located outside of the city by itself in a rural setting next to a farm. The other side of the cemetery is woodland. The farmhouse has painted their buildings white. Whether this is an effort to blend in with the cemetery is unknown. Otherwise, the area of the city that Cambridge Cemetery resides in is modern suburban sprawl. A two-lane highway attaches the cemetery to the rest of the city and leaves little to the imagination of any visitor walking to the site. The cemetery's stone wall and 'American' titling make it stand out somewhat from its surroundings, but it is otherwise lost amongst the trees and residential houses across the lane. Behind the cemetery are rolling fields with a single road cutting through them. Walking into the cemetery from such a busy road to a view of rural fields and hills is like stepping through a portal. An impression I am sure the ABMC wanted to create and have done their best to maintain as the city continues to grow around it through time.

Lines of Sight

Cambridge Cemetery gives off the feeling of being on a stage, thanks in large part to its boundary shape and permeability. Due to the one-sided nature of the visibility past the walls, this stage feeling focuses on the area right near the entrance. The way the cemetery is staged is almost like that of a stage play or a cinema theater. From the cinema perspective, the view of the fields out beyond the cemetery is like the screen at the cinema. The visitor, in order to fully appreciate the artwork of the view, must stand at or near the flagpole. From the stage play perspective, the area near the flagpole is the stage in front of the auditorium. The visitors are the actors, who mentally feel confined to the stage in a performance for the other actors, the administrators, and the dead themselves. The staging of a cemetery is an interesting one in those certain actions taken to revere the dead, but these actions are done for the other living who will judge the visitor's performance. The chapel, the Wall of the Missing, the administration building, and the north wall completely obscure the urban sprawl of Cambridge city proper. The south wall is only a half wall to allow the fields and hills beyond the cemetery to come into the site, while still maintaining the strict boundary around the site. The only building in sight is Ely Cathedral off in the distance, which helps to further the religious tones of the cemetery. Overall, the staged effect of the cemetery gives a very horizontal nature to the site. The only sense of verticality to the site comes from the mosaic of the Archangel in the chapel, the height of the flagpole, and any fly overs during commemoration days.

The museum building behind the visitor rest area is completely obscured by the existing tree line at Cambridge. The building architecture of the museum is in a distinctive style to the rest of the cemetery. Having been constructed between 2011 and 2013, the style is much more in line with modern construction builds, showing steel and favoring windows over stone. Leaving the tree line intact helps to obscure this by having the visitor enter a different world, where the museum is the only building among a forest of trees to provide respite. Leveling the tree line would also open the rest of the cemetery away from the view beyond, to a much more complete view of the site. But such a view is the opposite of the approach the site has clearly been staged with. The maintenance areas are down at the southern end of the site, just west of the grave sections and the view beyond. They are well hidden from the site by the tree line and the overwhelming stature of the view beyond.

Museum Element

Cambridge has more buildings than the other cemeteries because of the inclusion of a dedicated visitor museum. While most of the cemeteries have visitor rest areas and buildings with museum elements, Cambridge, along with Normandy Cemetery, has separate buildings for each of these aspects. The museum is located beyond and behind the visitor rest area. It is easy to miss the building entirely as it was constructed after the turn of the twenty-first century and lies behind the primary tree line on the east side of the cemetery (see Figure 50). Small signs are posted on the visitor rest area to lead the reader's attention to the museum. Inside the museum, the layout is rather chaotic. Small theater spaces with audio/visual documentary details of the 'Battle of the

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Atlantic' are dotted around. Physical artifacts such as plane propellers also have small

areas to themselves. Walkways are lined with images and facts about the war, weaving

their way to the various theaters. It is easy to miss areas of the museum with so many

different forks in the path to go down.

Figure 50 Museum building at Cambridge Cemetery (ABMC 2018e, 14).

Access Model

The access map of Cambridge in Figures 51 and 52 show there are two entrances to

the cemetery, but the second entrance is primarily for landscape equipment and goes

unused by visitors. The flagpole is the primary pivot point for the site. It is from the

flagpole that much of the site is accessed, including the mall, the wall of the missing, the

chapel, and the graves. From the flagpole, the two most trodden sections of the access

model are the pathway malls due to their multiple connections to the other areas of the

site. This shows that visitors will spend most of their time walking through the site in one

of these two high traffic areas. The museum construction being completed in 2014 also

shows on the model, as it is tacked on to the side of the cemetery, out of sight from

most of it, and was clearly not in the original planning for the cemetery.
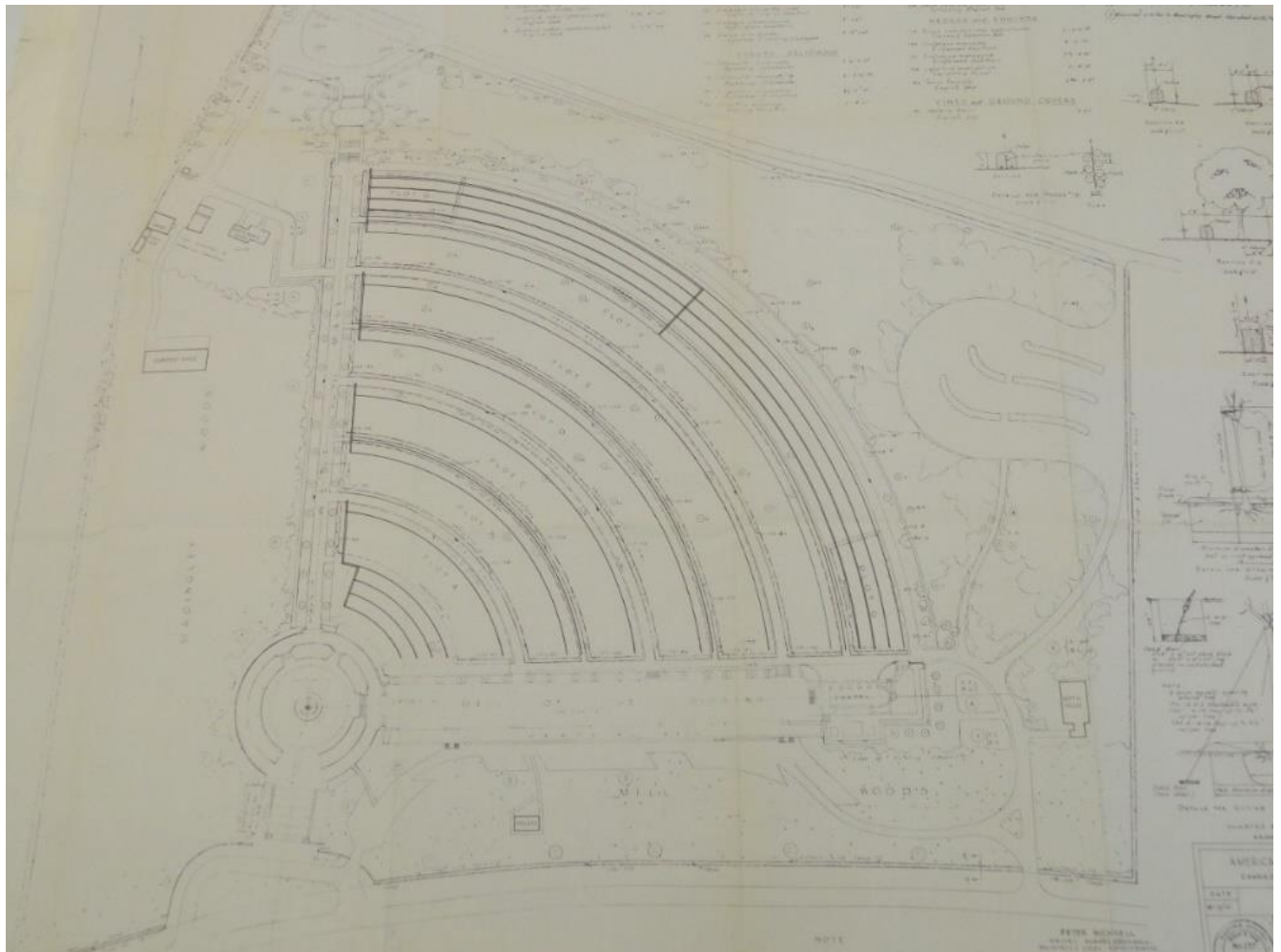
Figure 51 - Design layout of Cambridge Cemetery from NARA (Cambridge Cemetery

plantings layout [Cartographic Record])
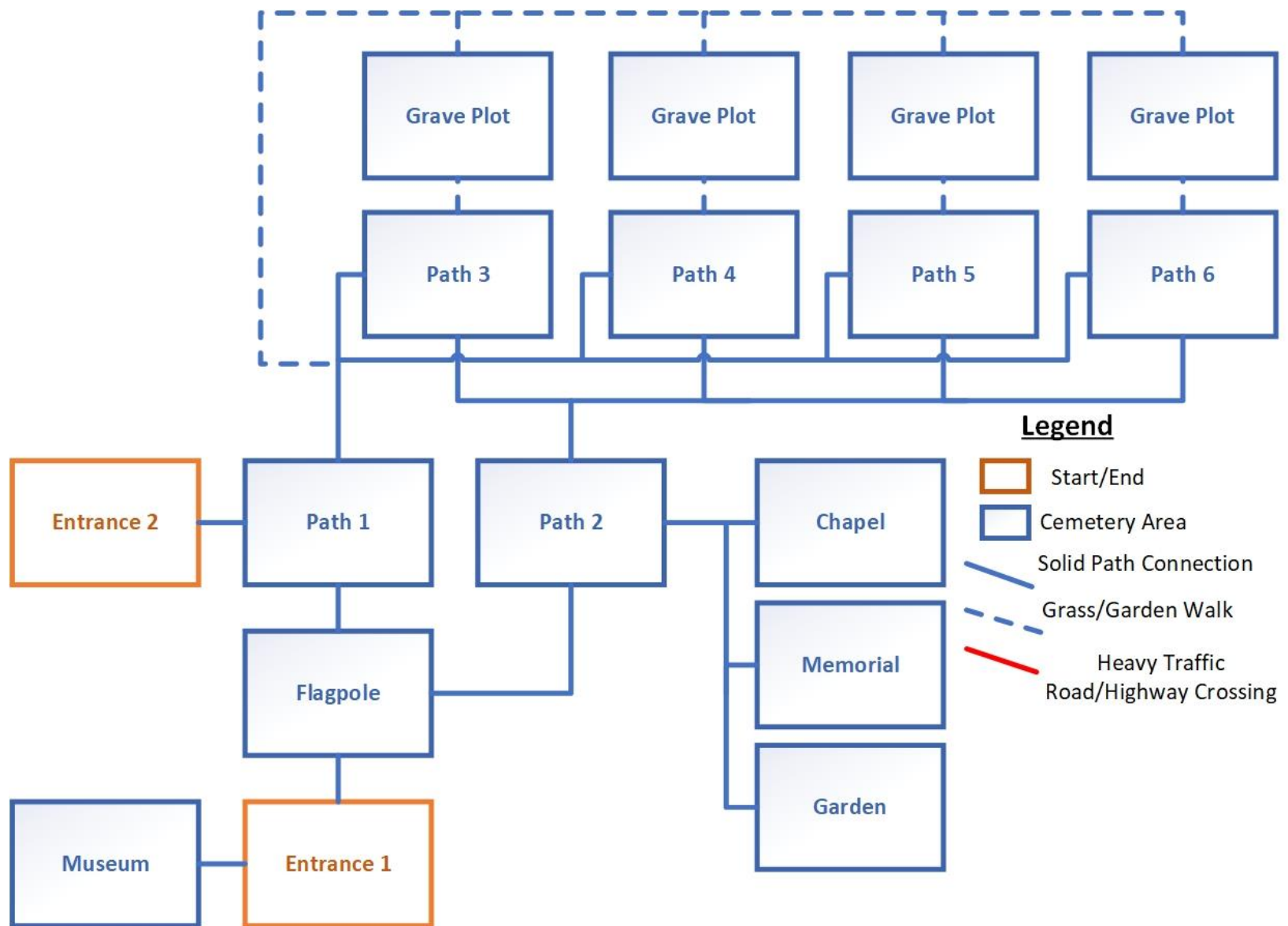
Figure 52 - Access map model for Cambridge Cemetery

Heritagescape Guiding Principles Summary

Of the two cemeteries located in the United Kingdom, Cambridge is more 'visible' than Brookwood from a heritage perspective. The United States had a more prominent role in WWII than it did in WWI, which is reflected colloquially in the cultural memory of the US. From a physical visibility perspective, it is clearly defined, with built architectural boundaries that separate it from the outside world, but the back wall being shorter than the entrance wall allows for more visitor visibility into the fields beyond. These aspects help to incorporate Cambridge into the surrounding UK landscape and Cambridge city specifically.

Boundaries

The boundaries at Cambridge are one sided. While the entire cemetery is surrounded by a wall, its height greatly differs in certain areas. Around the entrance, the wall reaches up to eight feet in height, while at the back of the cemetery it reaches about six feet. This discrepancy opens the cemetery beyond its borders to the more rural countryside beyond. The internal boundaries made up of pathways, level differences, and hedges bring the visitor to the flagpole, and the taller wall around the entrance turns visitors toward the extended southern view.

Cohesion

Before 2014, the primary point of interest and cohesion for Cambridge Cemetery was heavily weighted to the reflection pool mall. This was due to the amount of interest spots

along it, i.e., the flagpole, the wall of the missing, the chapel, access to the garden

behind the chapel, and the graves themselves. After 2014, the museum helped to even

out the interest points and therefore visitor traffic across the site. The building materials

of the museum are not the same as those of the rest of the cemetery, a fact not even

the tree line can hide. Within the surrounding area, Cambridge Cemetery sits right next

to a mill farm and residential houses across the main highway access road but does not

seem out of place. If the urban sprawl of the city of Cambridge continues, this cohesion

may end as residential or commercial buildings may overlook the back wall into the

cemetery with no tree line to act as shielding.

Visibility

The visibility of Cambridge Cemetery is focused outside of the cemetery. By being on

the fringe of the city as it stands today, the cemetery has greater access to the city via

bus routes and road infrastructure while maintaining the more rural vista that it has held

since its construction and dedication. Being a WWII cemetery, Cambridge has higher

heritage visibility for educational and commemoration purposes. As WWII is the most

recent war that Americans can claim to have 'won', WWII tends to be more prominent in

American collective memory than other conflicts. Its location on the fringe edge of the

city also allows it a level of invisibility in the day-to-day function of the city.

Soft Power Interpretation

The soft power enacted by the ABMC cemeteries located in the UK has always been

more subtle than the cemeteries located in mainland Europe. This is due to the fact that

the war dead located in the UK sustained their wounds or died outside of the country. This sense of distance to the deceased lessens the impact that their stories can have on visitors. To try and address this issue, the ABMC constructed the new visitor center in Cambridge Cemetery in 2014. The new center brought with it new video and literary materials, as well as artifacts. These objects would help bring visitors out to the Atlantic, immersing them in the stories of the war. Cambridge's biggest contribution to US soft power has come since the start of the Cold War, in the form of reminding visitors from the UK that Capitalism helped them maintain their freedom and would help them keep it in the future.

Heritagescape Case Study 7 - Brittany American Cemetery and Memorial

Brittany cemetery is located 1 mile southeast of the town of St. James, France, 220 miles from Paris. This WWII cemetery was established for the casualties of the initial D-Day assault as part of Operation Overlord. Figure 53 below is a map of the cemetery from an ABMC brochure.
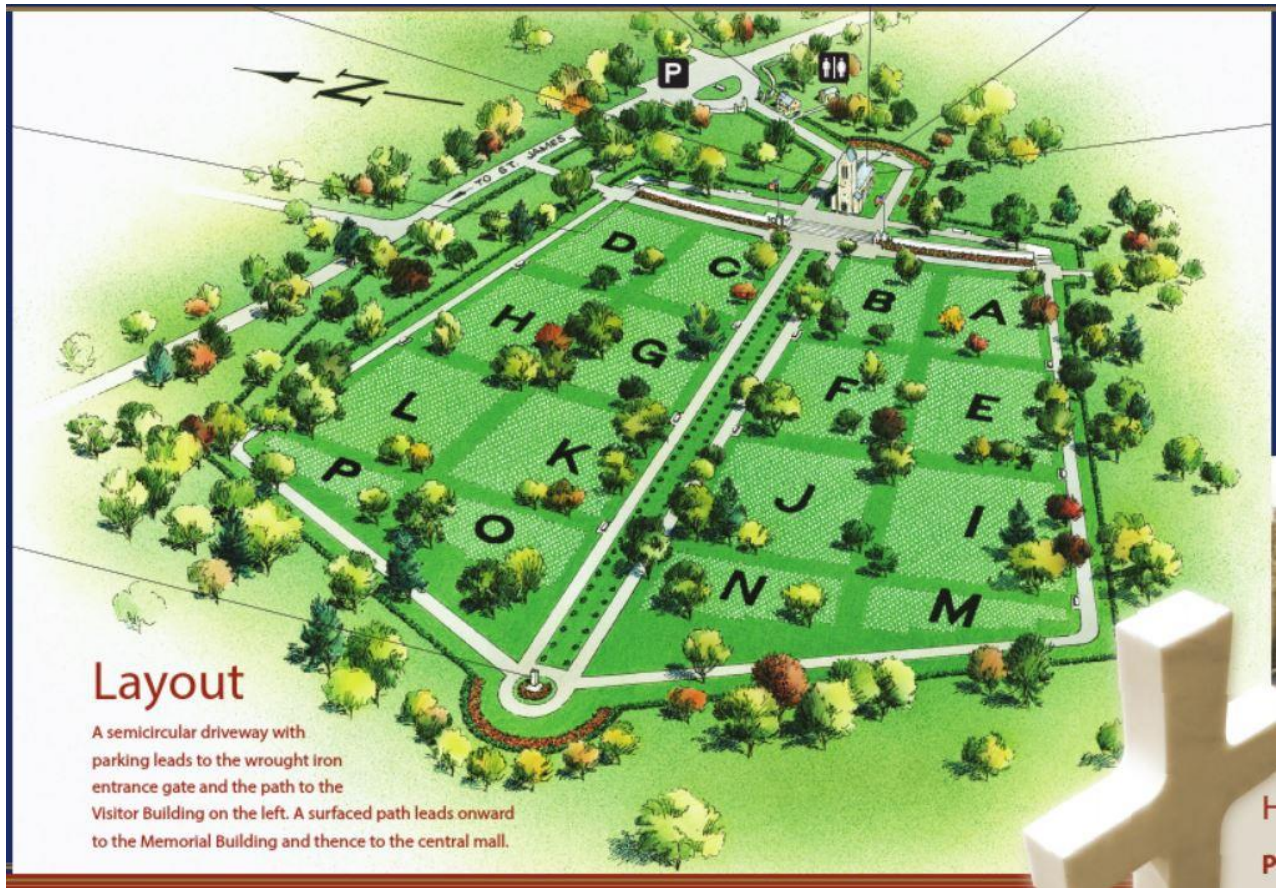
Figure 53 Site map of Brittany Cemetery from ABMC brochure.

History

On 5 August 1944, a temporary cemetery was established on the borders of the Brittany
and Normandy regions of France, three days after the land was liberated from German
occupation. After the war, the temporary cemetery would become one of the chosen 14
permanent cemeteries under the name of Brittany Cemetery. The cemetery was
dedicated on 20 July 1956, in the first round of WWII cemetery dedications (ABMC n.d.-
e, 7; ABMC 2018b).

Grave Arrangement

There are 4,408 headstones at Brittany Cemetery arranged in 16 plots on the west side of the cemetery. The plots are arranged with eight on either side of the central mall of the site (ABMC n.d.-e, 18).

Built Architecture

The memorial chapel at Brittany is the only chapel at an ABMC cemetery to be styled after other churches in the area of its construction (ABMC n.d.-e, 10). The altar in the Brittany chapel is made of French Harteville Perle limestone. Above the altar is a stained-glass window of the seal of the United States surrounded by six circles, each containing three stars (ABMC n.d.-e, 17). The 'Tablets of the Missing' are on the western face of the half wall that separates the chapel from the grave plots at Brittany Cemetery (ABMC n.d.-e, 17). At the far west end of the cemetery is a cenotaph constructed of La Pyrie granite upon which is carved a torch, laurel wreath, and the words 'Pro Patria 1941-1945' (ABMC n.d.-e, 18).

Borders

The immediate area surrounding Brittany Cemetery consists of rural farmland with small groups of buildings. There is no wall surrounding or separating the memorial chapel from the grave plots. Hawthorne hedges encircle the entire cemetery and Boxwood hedges enclose the grave plots (ABMC n.d.-e, 18). Other plantings that occur throughout the various areas of the cemetery are Giant Sequoia trees, White Fir trees, Norway Spruce trees, Scotch Pine trees, Holly Oak trees, Tulip Trees, Purple Beech

trees, European Chestnut trees, European Hornbeam trees, European Oak trees, European Elm trees, Crabapple trees, Double Hawthorn trees, Pagoda trees, Golden Rain trees, Yellow Wood trees, rhododendron bushes, and rose bushes (ABMC n.d.-e, 18).

Lines of Sight

From the entrance of Brittany Cemetery, the chapel dominates the line of sight blocking vision to the graves beyond. When amongst the graves, Brittany Cemetery is completely open visually to the rural surroundings of the cemetery shown in Figure 54 below. Trees are dotted around the grave plots in the cemetery but are sparse enough to not be obstructing. The small hedge and wall surrounding the cemetery would only obstruct vision outside of the cemetery for children or shorter individuals.

Figure 54 Aerial photograph of Brittany Cemetery. Screenshot taken from Google Earth.

Museum Element

The museum at Brittany Cemetery is located within the memorial chapel located just inside the cemetery entrance (ABMC n.d.-e, 10). Above the entrance to the museum room are the American, British, and French flags with the engraved inscription 'Duty Honor Courage' (ABMC n.d.-e, 11). Hanging from the north and south walls are WWII flags for the (i) Air Corps, (ii) Armor, (iii) Cavalry, (iv) Chemical Warfare Service, (v) Coast Artillery, (vi) Corps of Engineers, (vii) Field Artillery, (viii) Chaplains, Christian, (ix) Chaplains, Jewish, (x) Infantry, (xi) Medical Department, (xii) Navy Artillery Battalion, (xiii) Navy Infantry Battalion, (xiv) Ordnance Department, (xv) Quartermaster Corps, and

(xvi) Signal Corps forces of the US armed forces (ABMC n.d.-e, 11). Eight stained-glass windows portray the coats of arms and a characteristic feature of eight towns liberated during the operations including (i) Carentan, (ii) Cherbourg, (iii) St. Lo, (iv) Mont St. Michel, (v) Mortain, (vi) Paris, (vii) Chartres, and (viii) Brest (ABMC n.d.-e, 14). The museum also contains three maps, two are the standard battle maps of the ABMC cemeteries of the general European and Pacific theaters of the WWII, with the third pertaining specifically to the amphibious assault that took place on D-Day, 6 June 1944 (ABMC n.d.-e, 14-16).

Access Model

The Brittany access model is the closest to a common churchyard cemetery the ABMC has without compromising its overall design choices for WWII cemeteries. Shown in Figures 55 and 56 below, visitors must approach the church steeple inspired chapel before venturing beyond it to the graves. The mall between the graves, the garden at the end of the mall, and the benches located at the intersections of the grave plots allow visitors to be close to the graves for contemplation, but not so close as to make out more than a few names among the many. The visitor center, the chapel, and the stories they tell of America during the war are overshadowed by the sheer number of grave plots. Pathway 4 is the focal point of the cemetery, allowing quick access to the walls of the missing that line paths 2 and 3, the graves, or the chapel.

BRITTANY AMERICAN CEMETERY
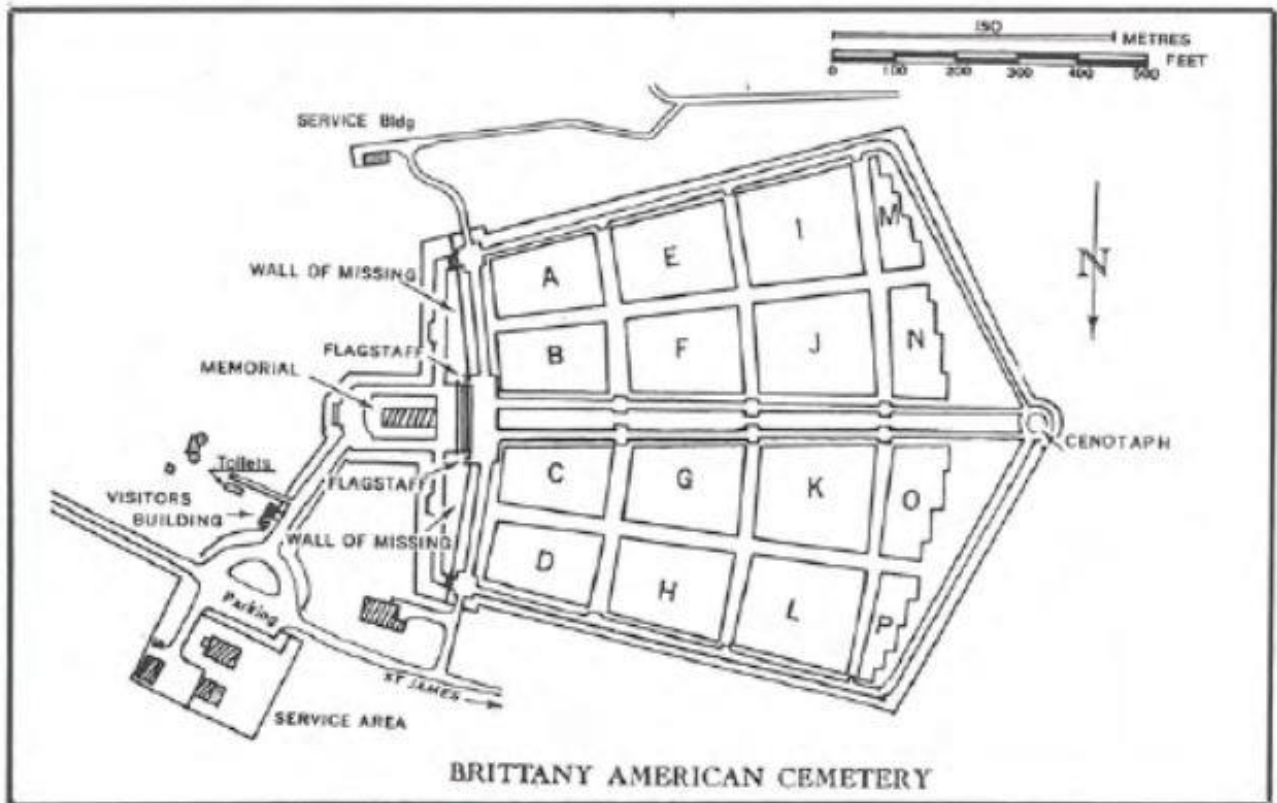
Location of Cemetery Features

Figure 55 Brittany Cemetery layout from site booklet.
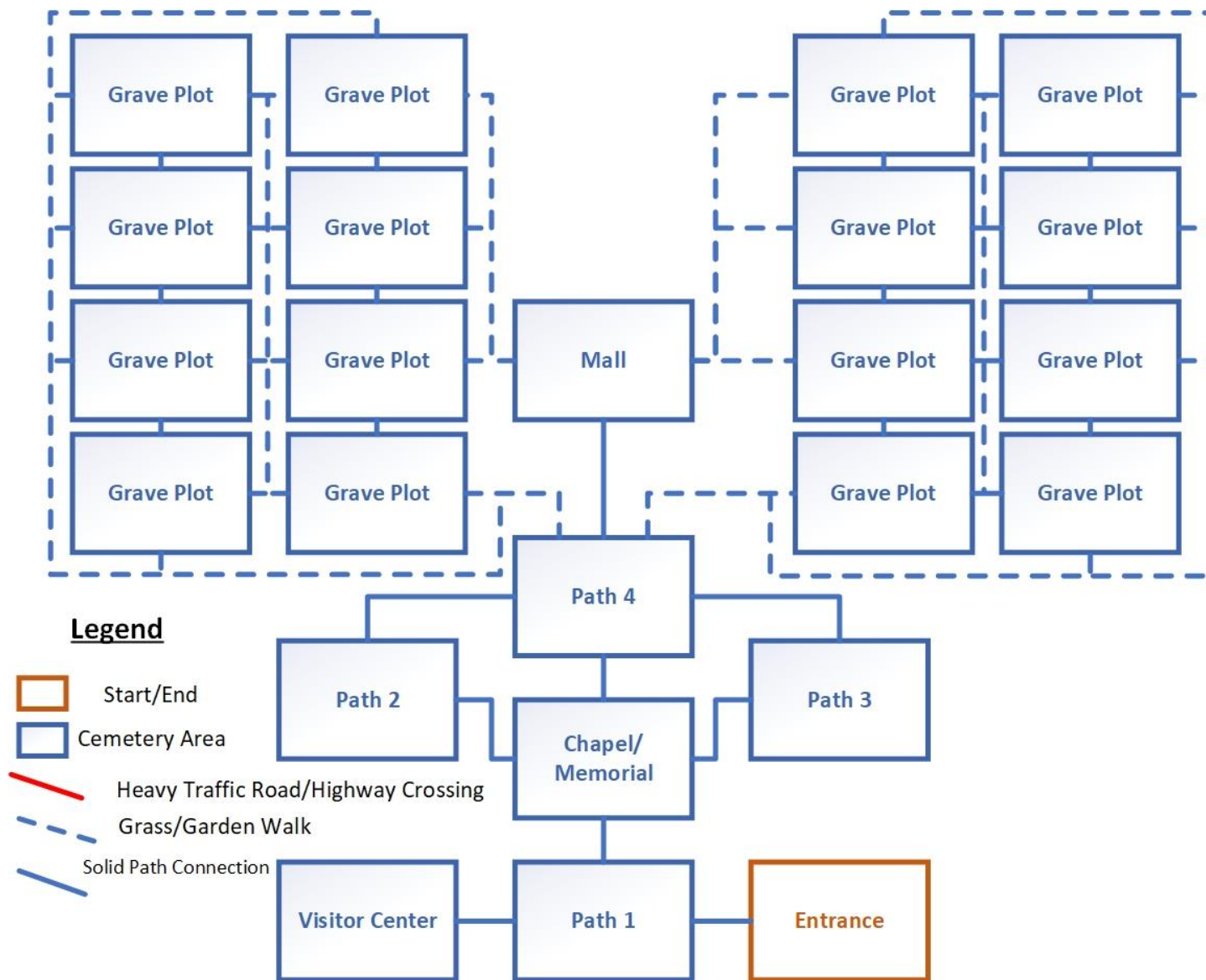
Figure 56 Access Map of Brittany Cemetery.

Heritagescape Guiding Principles Summary

Brittany cemetery's strongest guiding principle is its cohesion with the surrounding rural French landscape. Due to the American collective memory narrative centering on Normandy cemetery, Brittany is invisible from a heritage perspective.

Boundaries

Much like Aisne-Marne cemetery in the last chapter, Brittany cemetery is still among the rural surrounds it was originally constructed within. Since urban sprawl has not caught up to the cemetery, the boundaries of the site can be much more permeable than the other cemeteries, which helps it to blend into the surrounding environment.

Cohesion

With its Christian iconographic chapel and rural setting, Brittany is the most cohesive of the WWII cemeteries with its French surroundings. Brittany is also one of the cemeteries clearly showing the design evolution the ABMC underwent between the WWI and WWII cemeteries through its use of the crusade motif, not typically seen at the other WWII cemeteries.

Visibility

In terms of heritage visibility, Brittany cemetery is overshadowed by Normandy. Even though both cemeteries originated from Operation Overlord, Normandy has become the mythical collective memory site for the American narrative of WWII.

Soft Power Interpretation

The origins of Brittany Cemetery are connected to Operation Overlord from WWII. This Operation would lead to D-Day when the Allies executed the largest naval invasion in history. Being connected to Operation Overlord and the events of D-Day, Brittany Cemetery is often overshadowed by Normandy Cemetery in Calais, France. This connection is present in the visitor center materials and all educational literature. As a result, its soft power is primarily confined to the local region. Due to this more local focus, Brittany has a more supportive soft power focus for the US than other cemeteries located closer to Germany and Russia, which have a more aggressive soft power focus against communism following WWII.

Heritagescape Case Study 8 - Luxembourg American Cemetery and Memorial

The Luxembourg American Cemetery and Memorial is located within Luxembourg-city, the capital of Luxembourg, in an area called Hamm, 3 miles from the city center. This WWII cemetery is one of the closest to the front-line of the conflict when it was established. It houses the remains of famous American General George Patton. The map in Figure 57 below is from an ABMC site brochure available online (ABMC n.d.-n).
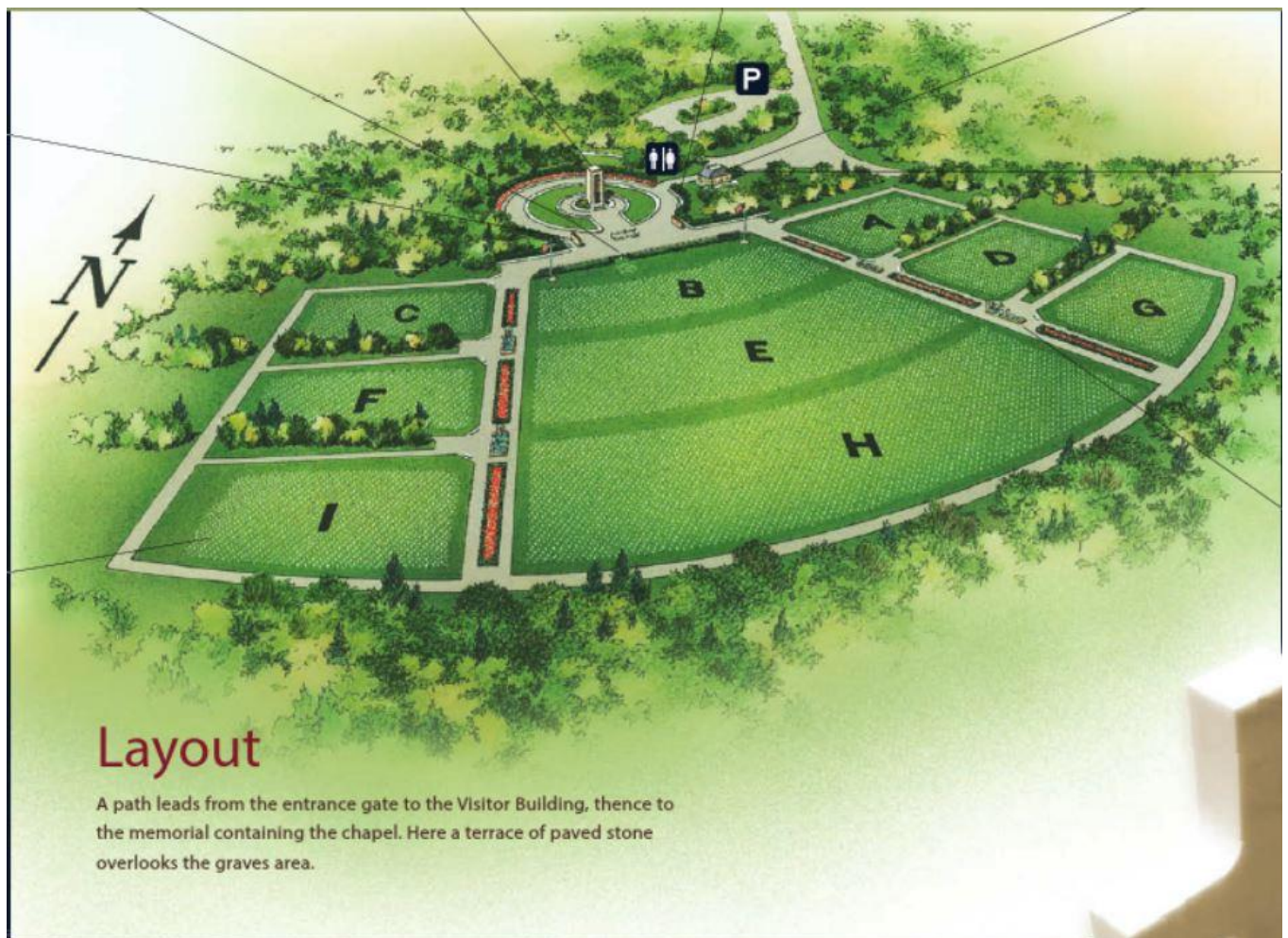
Figure 57 - Map of Luxembourg American Cemetery and Memorial from site brochure

(ABMC n.d.-n)

History

Luxembourg Cemetery was one of the last American cemeteries established during

WWII receiving interments from 29 December 1944 as a temporary cemetery. After the

war, the temporary cemetery was determined to be a suitable site for the permanent

cemetery in the region. The majority of those interred in this cemetery come from the

Battle of the Ardennes German counter-offensive, which includes the famous Battle of

the Bulge, and other campaigns through to the end of the war in Europe (ABMC 2008a, 5-7).

Grave Arrangement

The cemetery has 5,076 graves arranged in nine grave plots in an arcing fan layout with the plots labeled A-J. Two mall pathways with memorials split the grave plots into three sections containing three plots each. General Patton's grave is formally part of plot B but is separated from the rest as shown in Figure 58 below, positioned just under the memorial viewing platform facing toward the rest of the graves (ABMC 2008a, 17).

Figure 58 Grave of General Patton in Luxembourg Cemetery. Screenshot taken from

Google Earth.

Built Architecture

The chapel at Luxembourg Cemetery, shown in Figure 59 below, is fifty feet in height

and is made primarily of white Valore stone from the Jura Mountain region of France

(ABMC 2008a, 9). On the outside of the chapel are four architectural elements. Carved

on the east and west face of the chapel are the of the seal of the United States and the

coat of arms of the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg, visible in Figures 60 and 61 (ABMC

2008a, 9).

The first architectural element visitors see of the cemetery past the gates is the seal of the United States with the dedicatory inscription to the fallen soldiers. Atop the chapel is a carillon (Figure 59) that was presented to the cemetery by the U.S. Veterans Friends Luxembourg as a memorial to the soldiers who lost their lives for Luxembourg's freedom (ABMC 2008a, 9). The south face of the chapel is a 23-foot sculpture of the Angel of Peace holding a laurel in his left hand while his right hand is outstretched in blessing (Figure 59), made of Swedish Orchid Red granite (ABMC 2008a, 9). The bronze doors of the chapel are a memorial as well, with the eight panels symbolizing a different virtue of a good soldier: Physical fitness, fidelity, proficiency, sacrifice, valor, family ties, fortitude, and faith (ABMC 2008a, 9; see also Figure 62). The entire cemetery is a testament to the virtue of sacrifice.

Even if living soldiers know that no new military cemeteries will be built overseas, visiting Luxembourg may unconsciously instill the grandeur of how their sacrifice could be remembered. Of note regarding the Luxembourg Cemetery chapel is the international support for its construction. Architects and materials from America, England, France, Belgium, Luxembourg, Sweden, and Italy are represented by the structure (ABMC 2008a, 9-10). Being an ABMC WWII cemetery located in Luxembourg, the American, Luxembourg, and Italian representation is unsurprising. All ABMC cemeteries for WWII relied heavily on material from Italy, and an American military cemetery in Luxembourg would not be possible without the participation of the two countries. However, the French, English, Belgian, and Swedish contributions may have

been done to honor America at the cemetery of one of its prominent military leaders,

General Patton, in a political endeavor, or to provide a unified front to Germany even in

death. The construction could simply be because of Luxembourg Cemetery being a nice

geographical convergence point for all the nations involved.

Figure 59 Luxembourg Cemetery chapel. Screenshot from Google.

Figure 60 Seal of the United States on the chapel at Luxembourg Cemetery.

Screenshot from Google.

Figure 61 Coat of Arms of the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg on the chapel at Luxembourg Cemetery. Screenshot from Google.

Figure 62 The door to the chapel at Luxembourg Cemetery (ABMC 2008a, 9).

The memorial at the cemetery consists of a terrace with an engraving and two pylons

with the battle maps and tablets of the missing on them, shown in Figure 63 below. The

memorial acts as the pathway between the chapel and the grave plots. The terrace acts

as a viewing area from which most of the graves can be viewed as a collective. In the

center of the terrace, inscribed in granite is a quote from General Eisenhower: *All who*

shall hereafter live in freedom will be here reminded that to these men and their

comrades we owe a debt to be paid with grateful remembrance of their sacrifice and

with the high resolve that the cause for which they died shall live eternally (ABMC

2008a, 8-9; see Figure 64 below). This is the center point of the site, where a visitor is

fully immersed and surrounded by the cemetery. The memorial pylons are rectangular

and have two primary faces. The faces pointing toward the terrace display the battle

maps of Europe and the Battle of the Bulge specifically. The faces pointing away from

the terrace toward the encompassing woodland have the tablets to the missing, listing

371 names of the missing. Atop the pylons are forty-eight stars representing each state

of the United States (ABMC 2008a, 8). The Eisenhower quote serves the ABMC by

helping to preserve the memory of the cemetery, the memory of the war, and thus the

Commission in a time-capsule like effect that keeps these memories at the forefront of

the commemoration of the war as though it transpired yesterday. This idea is further

discussed in Chapter 8.

Figure 63 Luxembourg Cemetery memorial. Screenshot from Google.

Figure 64 Luxembourg Cemetery memorial Eisenhower quote. Screenshot from

Google.

Each mall going through the grave plots of the cemetery contain two fountains (see

Figure 65 below). Each fountain is composed of a pylon overlooking three pools on

descending levels. Bronze dolphins and turtles can be found in each fountain, with the

dolphins symbolizing resurrection and the turtles symbolizing ever-lasting life. On each

of the pylons is a carved symbol. Each symbol is representative of the four evangelists-

Saints Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John. Matthew's symbol is an angel, Mark's symbol is

a lion, Luke's symbol is a bull, and John's symbol is an eagle (ABMC 2008a, 17; also

see Figure 66 for example of Luke's bull symbol). In a secular cemetery from a secular

country, such symbols seem out of place. All the ABMC cemeteries share common

architecture and wording, such as the spiritual building being called a chapel, most

headstones being styled as the Latin cross, and multiple angel motifs or statues. Such

religious iconography can be argued to play a role in the imagery of the military in the

commemoration of war (see Mosse 1990). However, to add symbols of the New

Testament evangelists, serves to reinforce the Christianity of America. It is an example

of the soft power of architecture at work in this specific cemetery, reinforcing values and

associations the architects or the ABMC wanted to portray to visitors and the world

about America.

Figure 65 Fountain at Luxembourg Cemetery. Screenshot from Google.

Figure 66 Symbol of Luke on the back of one of the mall fountain pylons in Luxembourg Cemetery (ABMC 2008a, 17).

The entry gates to the cemetery are composed of two wrought iron segments attached to two stone pylons, shown in Figure 67 below with each of the segments weighing more than one ton. Atop the stone pillars are gilded bronze eagles. The wrought iron segments both have gilded laurel wreaths on them, the ancient award for valor. Each stone pylon has thirteen stars inscribed upon them representing the original thirteen colonies of the US. The visitor center at Luxembourg Cemetery is located just south of the entrance gates. It contains the reception area, superintendent's office, and visitor rest area for the cemetery. Its construction was specifically meant to resemble a small

cottage. The architects for the cemetery and memorial are Keally and Patterson of New York (ABMC n.d.-n; 2008a, 17-18). As stated above, the tablets of the missing on the memorial pylons have forty-eight stars above them, representing the forty-eight states of the United States at the time. There is a dichotomy, if not a full contradiction, in placing forty-eight stars above the missing, yet only thirteen at the entrance. The gates to the cemetery read 'Luxembourg American Cemetery and Memorial'. Having only thirteen Stars of David representing the original thirteen colonies is belittling, if not outright insulting, the contribution of the other thirty-five states of the union at the time, when soldiers from those states lie in the graveyard of the cemetery.

Figure 67 Luxembourg Cemetery gates. Screenshot from Google.

Speeches

Mr. Randy Evans, twenty-third ambassador of the United States to the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg, delivered a speech at the cemetery on the seventy-fifth anniversary of the Battle of the Bulge on 22 September 2019. After his introduction of the important audience members in attendance and a joke at his own expense, Evans remarked that they were there to "celebrate a memory, to celebrate a challenge, to celebrate a commitment" (Evans 2019). The memory to be celebrated was victory, and Evans went on to connect the experience of America and Luxembourg since both had over five thousand casualties in WWII. Then, in an effort to connect himself with the history of the cemetery, he tells a story about his lunch with the granddaughter of General Patton, who was also in attendance, where he shared an anecdote his grandmother shared with him as a child. The anecdote was that any mistake you make, your children will not make because you made sure to keep the memory alive, but your grandchildren and their children may end up repeating the same mistake as they do not have firsthand experience of making it. Evans goes on to state that "we have seen what tyranny and oppression can do. It is up to us to pass on those memories as a vivid reflection of the reality of the moment…", clarifying a little later those moments are "to be relived, and repeated, and shared, so that others may not go through the pain…" (Evans 2019). Evans follows up this statement by delivering what he believes is a harsh truth, that there were those who sought to occupy and those who sought to liberate in WWII, and that those who sought to occupy really wanted to kill and eliminate the identity of Luxembourg. To end his speech, Evans reminds the audience that General Patton was a heroic liberator, that throughout history America has liberated Luxembourg three

separate times, and that America renews its commitment to remain an ally and defender of Luxembourg for economic and ideological reasons (Evans 2019).

A second speech delivered by Mr. Evans occurred on Victory in Europe Day (VE Day) in 2020. The allusions made in this speech are not as eloquent as the 2019 speech for two reasons. The first is that VE Day did not mark the end of WWII for America. Rather, it marked the day when the United States could put most of its resources and effort toward the Pacific and Japanese fronts. The second reason is the Covid pandemic that ravaged the world in the spring of 2020. The latter would go on to be the focus of this shorter speech. After his introduction, Evans evokes the name of General Patton as he did eight months earlier. Only this time, the evocation was to Patton's spirit as though it were standing there with Evans and everyone else. This evocation segues into how Patton's headquarters in Europe was in Luxembourg. Evans continues by talking about how the price of victory is evidenced all around him at the cemetery by the over five thousand American lives. That even when war is over, there are still other "political, societal, social, and economic costs" that would take generations to overcome (Evans 2020). Evans states how important it is to take stock of what has been lost, and that those who lost their lives before VE day have no idea of the outcome of the war. His wife's uncle had fought in WWII, and two of this man's friends were buried in Luxembourg. The uncle lost his sight in the war but went on to live a happy life. With his context established, Evans moved on to deliver his thesis, connecting his speech to present, by quoting Winston Churchill that it is okay to take time to rejoice and celebrate small victories, especially those on the "healthcare frontline" (Evans 2020). The end of

this speech addresses both the end of WWII and the COVID pandemic of 2020 by asking the audience to take measure of where we have been (Nazi defeat & lives lost in the pandemic), where we are (second time in WWII a major Axis power surrender in Europe after Italy and beginning to flatten the curve of the Coronavirus), and where we are going (post-war and post-COVID vaccine reconstruction) (Evans 2020). The full transcript of his speeches are available in Appendix 4.

It is during speeches that the use of these American military cemeteries as memorial heritage is highlighted the most. In the 2019 speech, Evans evokes on multiple occasions General Patton, arguably the most well-known 'legendary soldier' or 'folk hero' from America for WWII. General Patton was a complicated man, with more than one controversy surrounding his history. The setting of the speech at the Luxembourg Cemetery where the man is buried, with his granddaughter present does not allow for any dissent in the evocation of the legendary figure for fear of offending both the dead and the living that are present. Evans contradicts himself in this first speech by using his grandmother's anecdote about remembering past mistakes, or in this case wars, that we can stop ourselves from repeating them. However, he says that moments and memories of glory, victory, and sacrifice are to be relived, and with the time-capsule like effect that the cemeteries and ABMC attempt to create, rather than pain being avoided, highly emotional thoughts and times are being asked to be lived in continuously. The 2020 speech is interesting in that it shows how these cemeteries can be utilized even during issues that do not stem from conflict. By comparing hospitals and healthcare workers to the 'frontline' military personnel, COVID becomes a battlefield and a war.

This leaves the dead from the pandemic equal to those interred in the cemetery, as worthy sacrifices and heroes to be remembered.

Borders

Luxembourg Cemetery lies in a wooded glade, shown in Figure 68. The surrounding woods are of spruce, beech, oak, and other forest trees (ABMC 2008a, 18). The only noticeable sign of the surrounding wall is the small portion connected to the entrance gates. Within the cemetery, the only borders that hinder movement are the lines of trees between the outer grave plots, and the singular entrance/exit into the chapel.

Figure 68 Aerial photograph of Luxembourg Cemetery from Google Earth.

Lines of Sight

Overall, Luxembourg Cemetery is an incredibly open site visually. The only area that differs is the entrance. From outside, all that can be seen through the front gates is the chapel and visitor center. However, the standout construction of the chapel and gates takes the attention away from the visitor center. Once past the visitor center and into the site proper, the chapel stands in front of the visitor, with the memorial off to the left and the grave plots behind and below. The end of the memorial acts as a viewing platform for the graveyard, with most graves collectively laid out in front of the visitor. The trees that lined the middle of four walkways that use to cut through the cemetery are still there, blocking sight to very few graves on the outer sections. Once at the back of the cemetery, the visitor can turn around and view the entire cemetery minus the visitor center, shown in Figure 69.

Figure 69 View of the chapel at Luxembourg Cemetery from the back of the grave plots.

Screenshot taken from Google.

Museum Element

There is no known museum element at Luxembourg Cemetery.

Access Model

The layout of the grave plots at Luxembourg has changed over the course of its history.

While there is no mention of it in the annual reports, site booklets, and Conner's (2018)

history, pictures show that two paths once ran perpendicular across the grave plots (see Figures 70 and 71). The layout in Figure 72 used to create the access model shows these old pathways. The access model in Figure 73 does not show these pathways as they are not currently part of the site.
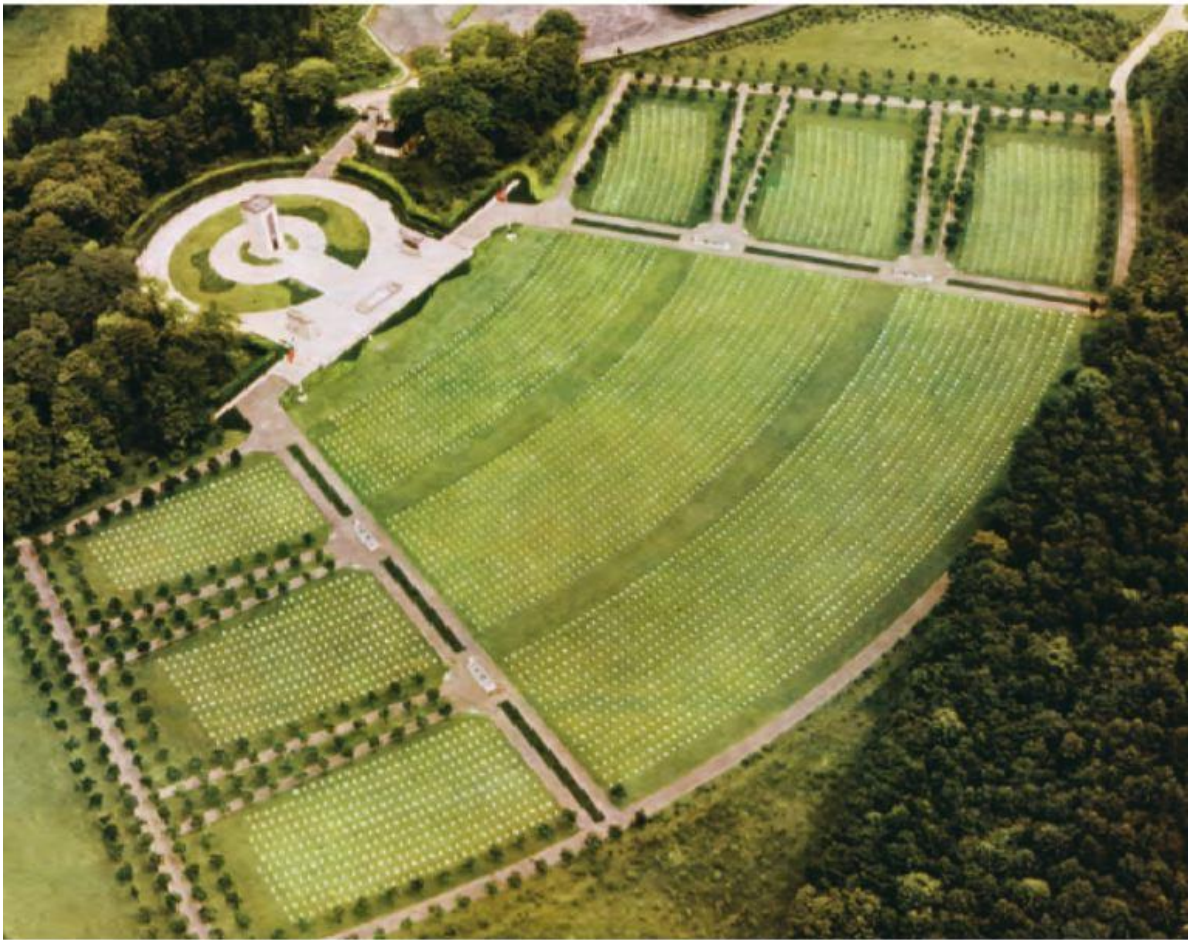
Figure 70 Old aerial photo of Luxembourg Cemetery showing paths (ABMC 2008a, 4).
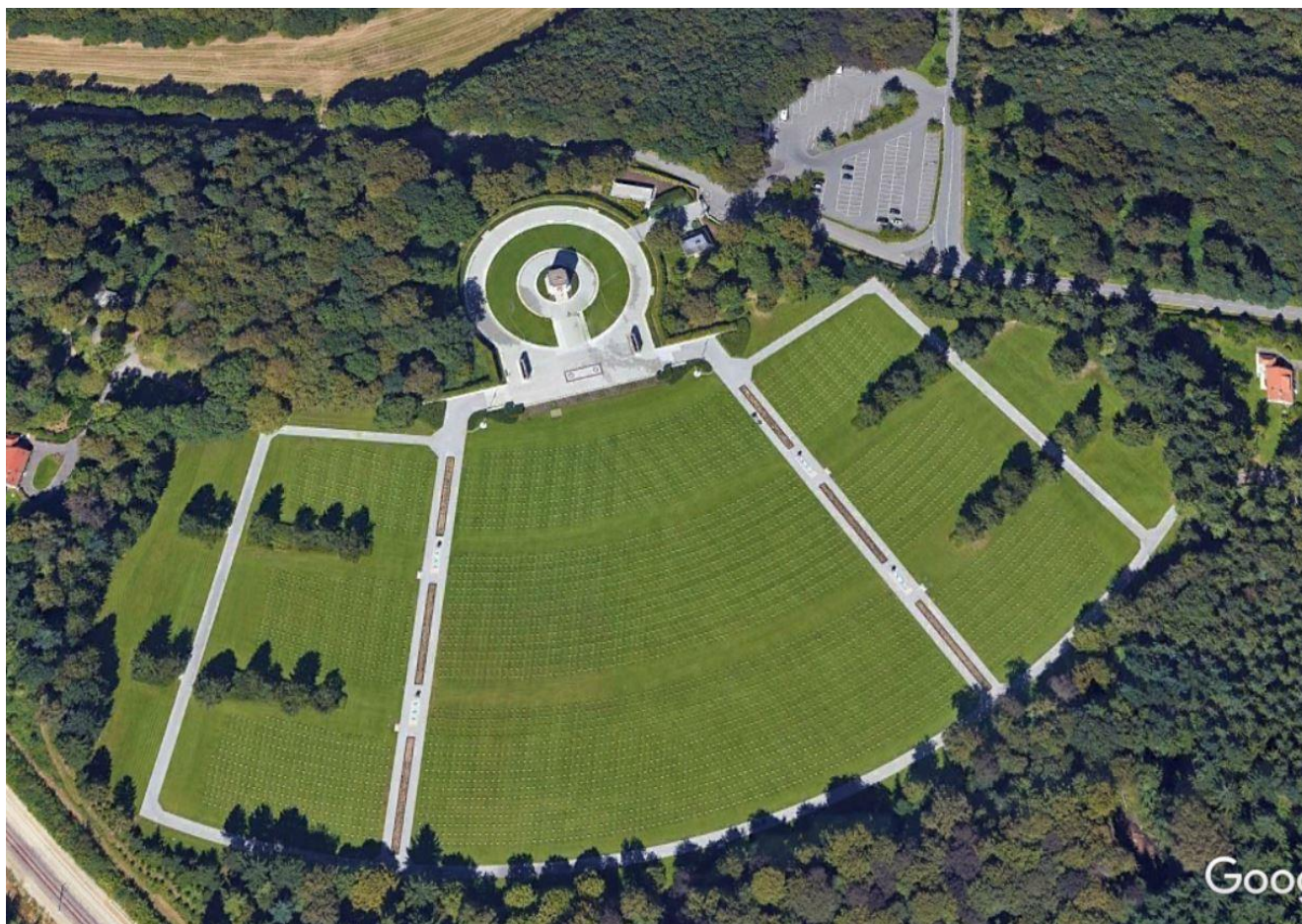
Figure 71 Reproduced Figure 63 for side-by-side comparison.

The access map of Luxembourg shows that the site is split into two distinct parts. The graves areas are an incredibly open access space that allows visitors to move throughout with ease. The other section is the entrance and memorial area, with two dead-ends for access in the form of the chapel and visitor center. This disjunction follows from the fact that the memorial acts as a viewing platform to the grave areas. Overall, the flow of the site seems to push visitors towards this view of the graves instead of the chapel or visitor center. The absence of any sort of museum, formal or informal, further supports this theory. If a visitor follows this flow they will end up behind the graves and turning around allows them to view the entire site of grave plots with the chapel behind. The viewing area portion of the memorial is the pivot point of the site. However, it is possible that since the memorial acts as a viewing platform, that visitors will loiter or stop their visit at the memorial, taking in the view of the graves as sufficient, thereby missing any engagement with individual graves.
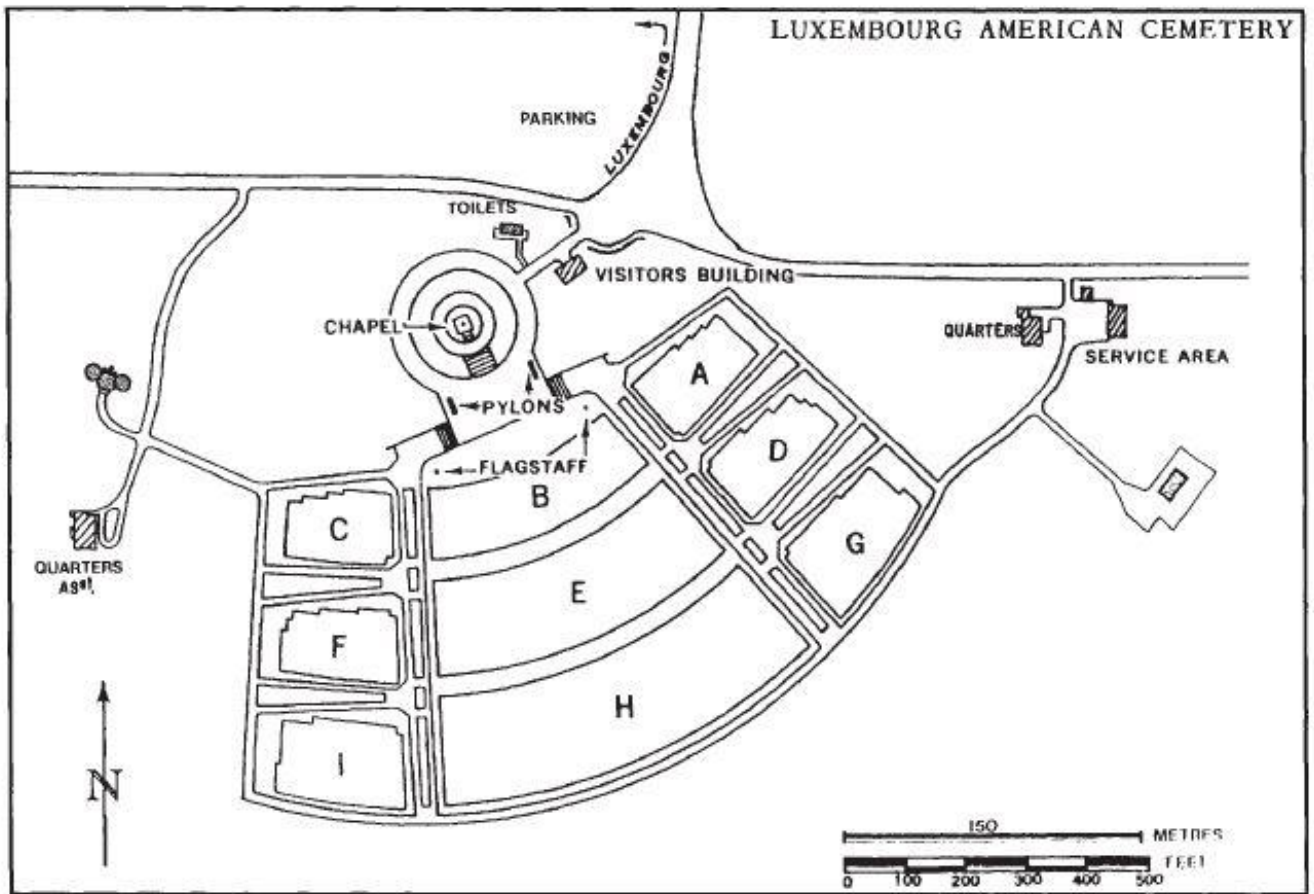
Figure 72 - Design layout of Luxembourg Cemetery from site booklet (ABMC 2008a)

Figure 73 - Access map model of Luxembourg Cemetery

Heritagescape Guiding Principles Summary

The Luxembourg Cemetery heritagescape summary is interesting, as the site highlights some contradictions in the ABMC's intent and mandate for the cemeteries while still conforming to their broader preferences. The site still shows much of the original intent of the ABMC and their architects to project an image of American identity and contribution to the war effort while also showing changes the cemetery has gone through in its 70-year history. The political decisions regarding General Patton's grave described in Chapter 4 have been described by the ABMC as giving the General proper honors (ABMC n.d.-n).

Boundaries

Luxembourg Cemetery is one of the few ABMC cemeteries that has not yet been encased in urban sprawl following its dedication nearly 70 years ago. As such, there are no outside elements to be seen from within the cemetery, and the surrounding tree line is dense enough that any buildings there would not be visible. The visitor building and especially the chapel are not easily accessed by disabled people, who would need to climb one or more steps to access the buildings. The grave area, however, is accessed via ramps on either side of the memorial viewing platform. The memorial platform has a safety railing that also acts as a barrier that discourages direct entry to the graves, almost cordoning them off from the chapel and cemetery entrance. This essentially bisects the cemetery into two separate places.

Cohesion

The diverse range and sets of materials used in the construction of the chapel interior and exterior are stark contrasts to the white stone and marble used for the rest of the chapel, memorial, and headstones, fighting for a visitor's attention. General Patton's grave is not among the rest of the soldiers facing toward the memorial platform. Rather, Patton's grave is situated just under the platform facing the soldiers. This gives the visitor the feeling of inspecting the troops while Patton drills them but belittles the internal cohesion of the grave area. To visit Patton's grave, a visitor must turn their back on all the other soldiers to focus exclusively on the General. Among the other cemeteries, Luxembourg stands out with the likes of Normandy. The reason for this higher reputation is likely the presence of General Patton.

Visibility

As stated in the cohesion section, General Patton's presence in the cemetery gives it a much higher social and political visibility. From a heritage standpoint, this makes the cemetery a more likely candidate for tourist pilgrimage rather than just somber remembrance visit. Being the only ABMC cemetery in Luxembourg also helps the cemetery's visibility. However, given that the cemetery is in a rather rural area of the country, being a drive away from the nearest city, lends the cemetery an air of invisibility to the local populace.

Soft Power Interpretation

Luxembourg Cemetery is the only ABMC cemetery with the soft power potential equal to or greater than Normandy. This is due to two reasons, the first being the fact that General Patton is buried in this cemetery. This mythic US figure of WWII stills brings in visitors on pilgrimage today. The second reason is geographic. When the Cold War started immediately following WWII, Luxembourg was the closest cemetery geographically to the Berlin Wall and East Germany. Thus, it was the first line of defense in the ideological battle between East and West, Capitalism versus Communism. Luxembourg perfectly encapsulates the various elements the ABMC wanted to push abroad: Judeo-Christianity, Strength, Valor, Sacrifice, and American exceptionalism.

Heritagescape Case Study 9 - Sicily-Rome American Cemetery and Memorial

The Sicily-Rome American Cemetery and Memorial is a WWII cemetery from the Mediterranean campaign. The cemetery lies on the northern edge of the city of Nettuno, 38 miles from Rome, covering 77 acres and containing 7,861 graves. Figure 74 shows a map of the cemetery from the site booklet available on the ABMC website, with the grave plots labeled A-J (ABMC 2018m; 2018n).

Figure 74 - Map of Sicily-Rome American Cemetery and Memorial from site booklet

(ABMC 2018m; 2018n)

History

In 1943, following success in the North African campaigns, the allies set out to invade Italy. This was done to force Italy out of the war, relieve pressure on the Russian front of German troops, and divert German attention away from the western front (ABMC 2018m, 2; 2018n, 2). To do so, a series of four campaigns were launched. The first campaign was an Allied naval invasion of Sicily, followed by a further three combination naval-land campaigns to move north and ultimately capture Rome (ABMC 2018m, 4-5; 2018n, 4-5). During the Anzio-Nettuno Campaign, a temporary cemetery was established to handle the casualties. After the war, this site was designated one of three

that America would use to coalesce and bury its war dead from the Mediterranean campaigns. The cemetery finished initial construction and was dedicated in 1956 (ABMC n.d.-w). President George H. W. Bush commemorated Memorial Day at the cemetery in 1989 (Leonard 1989), and in 2014 a new visitor center/museum was dedicated (ABMC 2018m, 14; 2018n, 14).

Grave Arrangement

The cemetery holds 7,860 graves. This makes up nearly 35% of those who died during the Italian campaigns (ABMC 2018m; 2018n). The graves are arranged in ten square lots labeled A-J. The ten plots are separated by a mall with five on each side.

Built Architecture

The memorial building at Sicily-Rome Cemetery (see Figure 75 below) is composed of three sections, the chapel, the memorial statue, and the map room. The chapel makes up the southern section and contains the 'Wall of the Missing' with the names of 3,095 missing soldiers inscribed on its interior walls (ABMC 2018m, 16). On the eastern facade of the chapel is a relief of 'Remembrance' in which an angel lays a wreath on Latin cross headstones. On the altar in the chapel are carved Archangel Michael, the Angel of Peace, and the tablets of Moses. The relief of Archangel Michael is sheathing his sword while four more Archangels behind him proclaim victory. The chapel ceiling holds a 22-foot dome with paintings of the constellations within a night sky on it. The planets Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn all occupy the same positions they did during the first night of the Sicily invasion (ABMC 2018m, 16-17).

Figure 75 The memorial building at Sicily-Rome Cemetery (ABMC 2018m, 15).

The "Brothers in Arms" statue was designed by Paul Manship of New York. The statue

is placed in the central section of the memorial between the chapel and map room (see

Figure 76). The statue depicts two men, one an American sailor the other an American

soldier, walking arm in arm. The differences in military branch are only visible through

their identification tags, belts, and pants pocket design (ABMC 2018m, 15). While

guides and brochures point out the differences to visitors, the fact that the only

differentiating markings being so subtle due to the men being shirtless means those in

the American military or military aficionados who innately know of such differences have

an advantage is deciphering the statue. The orientation of the whole cemetery is such

that the statues 'walk' into the morning sun facing each new day together if viewed from the proper perspective. On both sides of the entire memorial are 80-foot-tall flagpoles.
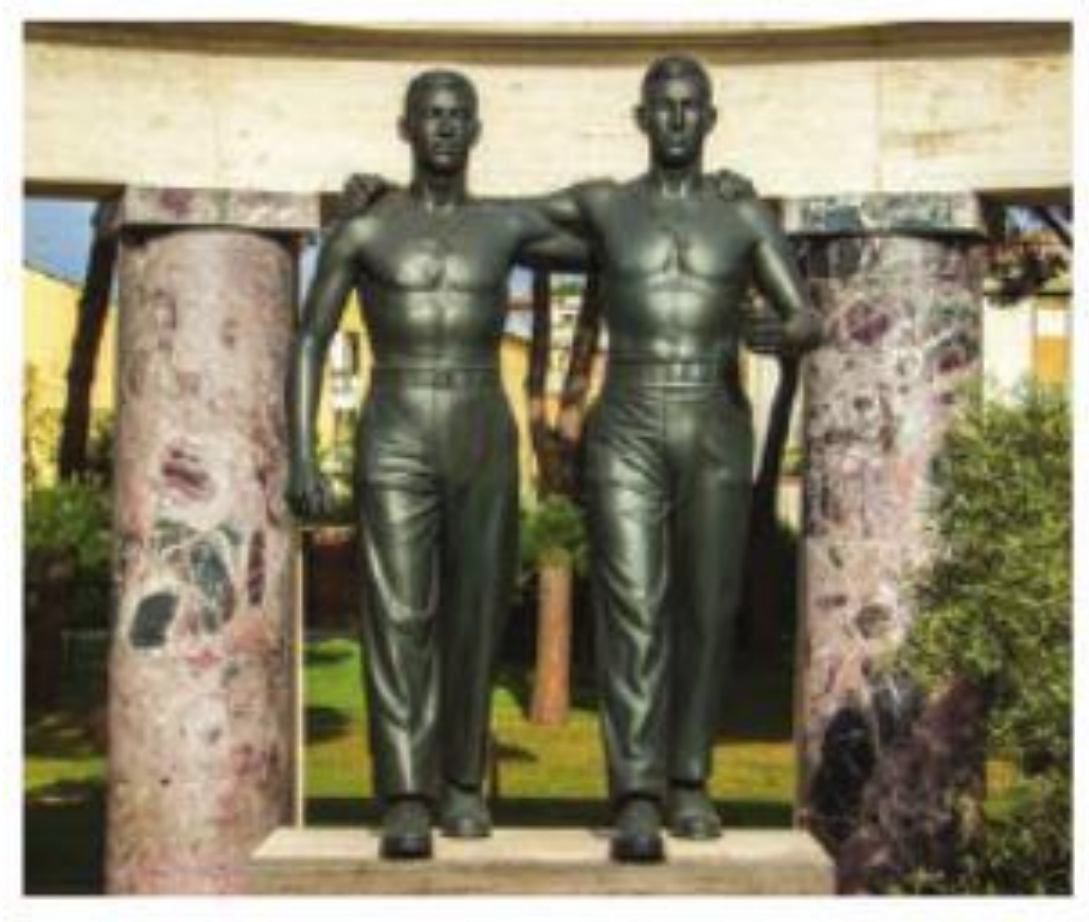
Figure 76 'Brothers in Arms' memorial statue at Sicily-Rome Cemetery (ABMC 2018m, 15).

Occupying the northern section of the memorial is the map room. Like all other map areas at WWII cemeteries, it has two key maps about the basic military operations of the 'War in Europe' and the 'War in the Pacific'. The other maps along the walls and on tables in the room are dedicated to the Italian Campaigns. One of the maps is done in the Italian fresco style. The east facade of the memorial holds a relief of 'resurrection' in which a dead soldier is brought to his reward by a guardian angel (ABMC 2018m, 18).

On the north and south sides of the memorial are memorial gardens. Each garden holds

various flowers in planters depending on the time of year. In the South Garden is a

statue of Orpheus (Figure 77). In the north garden has a fountain in place of another

statue (Figure 78). Just at the entrance of the cemetery is a circular reflecting pool with

a stone cenotaph to the fallen on the island in the middle (Figure 79).

Figure 77 Statue of Orpheus in the south garden of Sicily-Rome Cemetery (ABMC

2018m, 19).

Figure 78 North garden at Sicily-Rome Cemetery (ABMC 2018m, 19).

Figure 79 Sicily-Rome Cemetery reflecting pool (ABMC 2018m, 9).

Speech

On 28 May 1989, President George H. W. Bush gave a speech at the Sicily-Rome Cemetery (see Appendix 4 for transcription). The President's remarks can be split into three distinct themes: Memorial Day associations in America, peace, and a legendary folk hero in the form of a soldier buried at the cemetery. These themes were used in this speech as heritage connections between past and future. At the time of the speech, President H. W. Bush was on a tip through Europe that would culminate with a NATO meeting where H. W. Bush was hoping to secure certain policy objectives, specifically more funding from other NATO members (Leonard 1989). In the speech he connected the cemetery to NATO by ruminating on how the ending of WWII was the start of the

organization. He remarks that a generation of people knew nothing but peace and prosperity due to the "military deterrent" of America and, by implication, NATO (Bush 1989 "Bush remarks at Sicily-Rome"). This is a contradiction of course, as America had been involved in the Korean War, Vietnam War, and would soon be participating in Desert Storm, and his mentioning earlier in his speech that the light of Memorial Day would dawn on the Vietnam memorial clearly shows this contradiction. This highlights one of the key themes about these cemeteries as 'memorial diplomacy' (see Graves 2014), with the thousands of graves setting the scene for political speeches and tales of peace at the expense of sacrifice. Surrounding the diplomat with the past to talk about the present and hopes for the future. Moreover, in this instance, Bush's hopes came to fruition. His later speech and diplomatic endeavors at NATO achieved his policy goals later that week. It is impossible to know if the speech at Sicily-Rome Cemetery in Italy was the deciding factor, but it certainly did not hurt the President.

Borders

The entire cemetery is enclosed by an eight-foot-tall wall separating it from the surrounding city shown in Figure 80. When viewing the cemetery surroundings on Google Earth, the western side of the cemetery some of the surrounding wall has graffiti drawn on the outside of it, as it sits next to a less affluent residential area. For the most part, the interior of the cemetery has no hard borders. Hedges and trees mark the grave plots but do not obstruct movement to the remainder of the site as they have breaks in between them so that visitors can access the grave plots on either side of the mall. There are ample pathways across the site. There is a ring road around the outer interior

of the entire cemetery that includes overflow parking behind the memorial and

connected to the north garden via a pathway. Encountering the site in such a manner

reverses the intended vista and journey of the memorial building at the far end of the

site framed by the reflecting pool being the focus of the journey. Instead, the town

outside of the cemetery, partially visible through the gates by the visitor center/museum

off to one side is the journeys end, which may contribute to the site feeling disjointed.
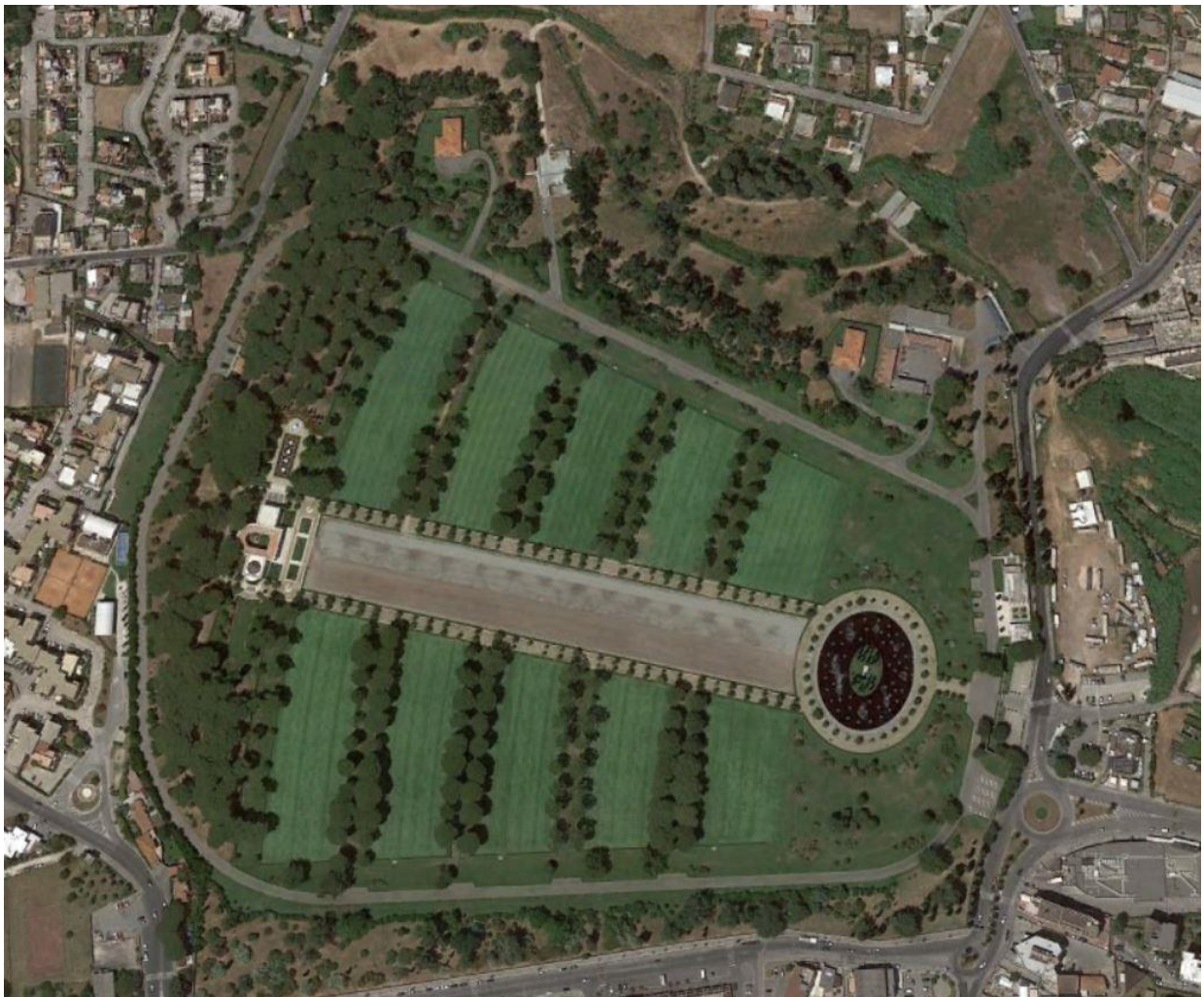
Figure 80 Aerial photograph of Sicily-Rome Cemetery from Google Earth.

Lines of Sight

The hedges and trees within the cemetery are short or thin enough that nearly the entire site is visible from any one point. Both the memorial and the visitor center museum can be seen from each side, even if the reflecting pool is right in front of the visitor. The only places hidden from view are the north and south gardens around the memorial and the outside of the cemetery, possibly to create more intimate spaces. The site covers 77 acres, and the grass mall in the middle makes the site feel more like an open field. Even if a visitor walked up to the edge of the cemetery from the path that surrounds every grave plot, the surrounding wall is solid brick and tall enough to prevent views to the outside world. The only sign of the outside world that visible is the street though the entrance gate and the surrounding buildings that rise above the wall and poke through the tree canopy cover.

Museum Element

After being dedicated on 26 May 2014, the visitor center museum building is just north of the cemetery entrance. As with other cemeteries, the building also houses the ABMC on site administration, allowing for visitors to ask questions, and sign the guest book. The museum interior holds panels, interactive kiosks for movies and photos, and maps pertaining to the Italian campaigns (ABMC 2018m, 13). Along with the tactical information of the European theater standard to the ABMC, the panels give information on amphibious warfare. The artifacts on display include equipment replicas of the American military during the Italian campaigns such as helmet, belt, and canteen, visible in Figure 81. Of special note is the Sacrifice Gallery shown in Figure 82. All the

ABMC cemeteries maintain the 'legendary soldier' stories specific to their cemetery. Sicily-Rome makes use of the story of Sgt. Antalok and Sgt. Audie Murphy, the former receiving a posthumous Congressional Medal of Honor and the latter being the main figure behind the movie *To Hell and Back* (Hibbs 1955), as well as a metal song of the same name (Sabaton 2014) which tell the story of this man from Texas fighting in WWII.

Figure 81 Artifacts and information panels in the Sicily-Rome Cemetery visitor museum

(ABMC.gov photo gallery).

Figure 82 Sacrifice gallery of the visitor museum at Sicily-Rome Cemetery (ABMC.gov photo gallery).

Access Model

The layout of the Sicily-Rome Cemetery is clearly designed to be experienced in one fashion. Visitors come in through the entrance, possibly stopping at the visitor center. The memorial building at the other end of the 77-acre site is the intended final destination with visitors experiencing the graves on their approach to the memorial, and on their return to the exit. The grass mall in the middle acts as the pivot point for the site where visitors cross from one side or axis of the site to another, but the chapel and map room are clearly the end points to be sought out, as indicated on the access plan below (see Figure 83 and 84). The ring road that begins at the entrance and circles around the cemetery interior shifts the movement focus of the site to the mall as pivot point. Any vehicle that stops can make the graves the first point of contact, with the mall acting as median boundary to cross over to the other graves or turn to the memorial building or reflecting pool. This ring road gives the site a more accessible feel, with only a few areas being encountered through one specific direction.
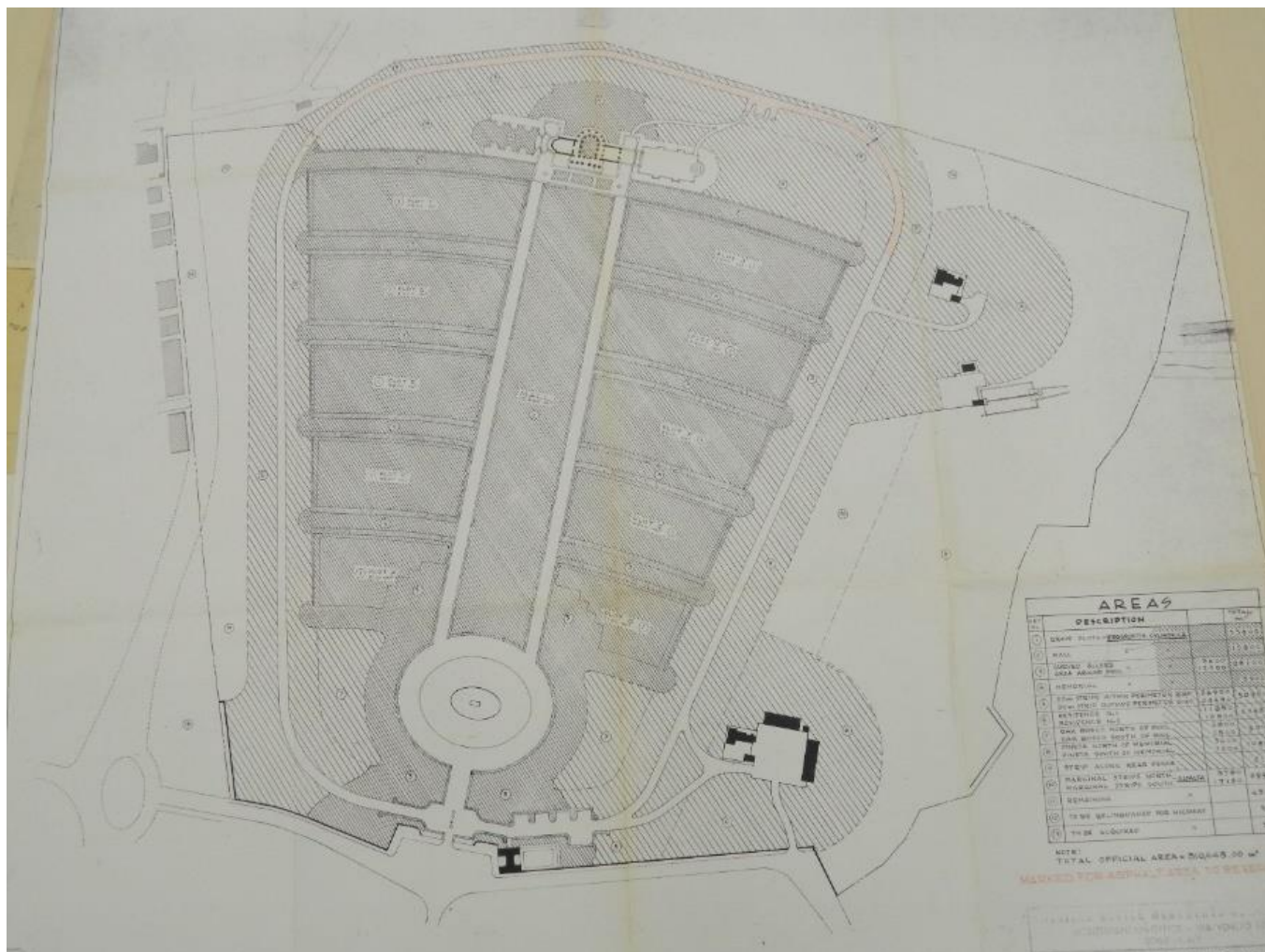
Figure 83 - Design layout of Sicily-Rome Cemetery from NARA (Sicily-Rome Cemetery

site layout [Cartographic Record])
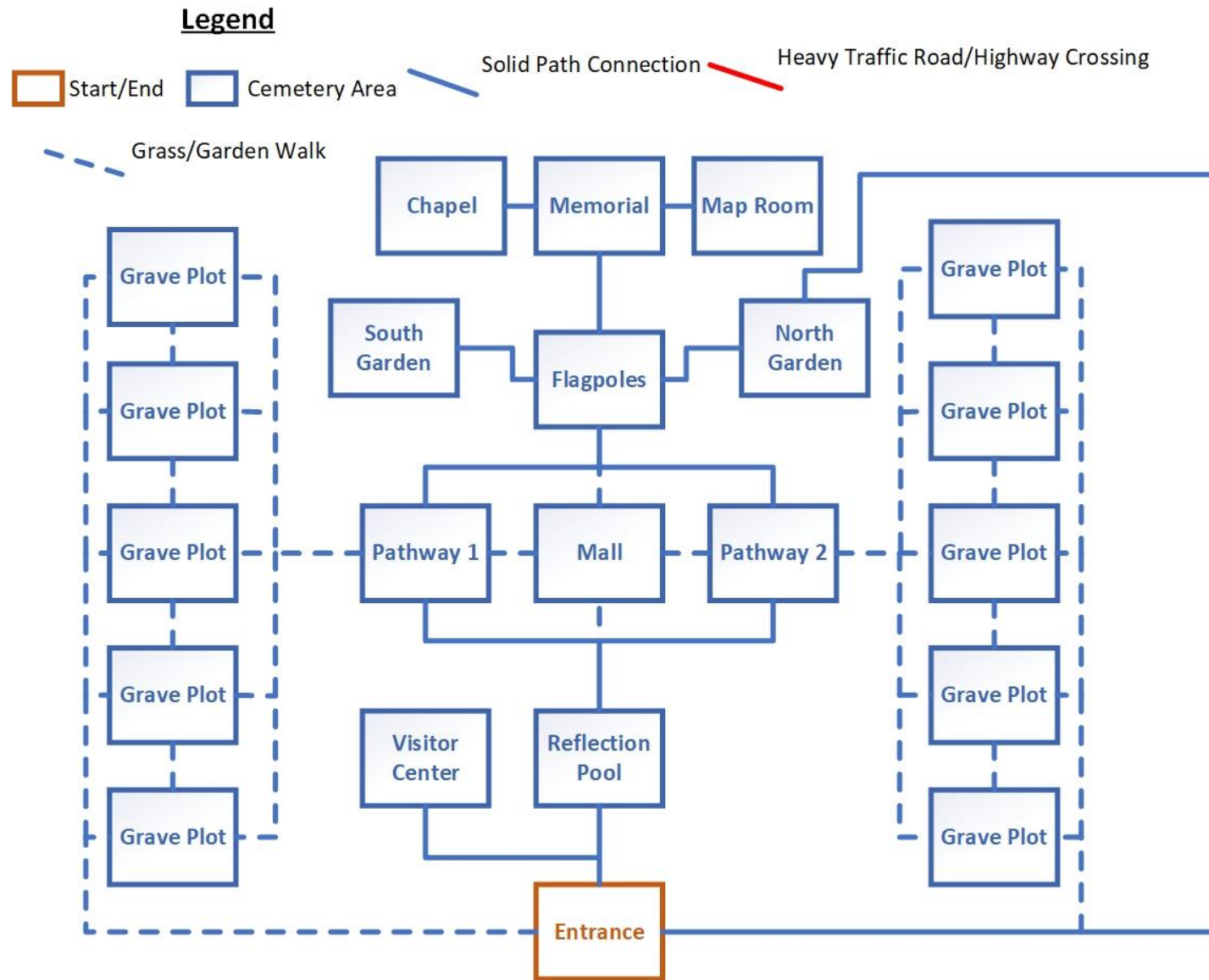
Figure 84 - Access map model of Sicily-Rome Cemetery

Heritagescape Guiding Principles Summary

The Sicily-Rome Cemetery is one of only three of the ABMC cemeteries to tell the American story of the Mediterranean campaigns of WWII. As time has passed since the events of WWII, the urban sprawl has caught up to a 77-acre park cemetery that was intended to be out of the way in a more rural location. The generous size of the cemetery to hold nearly eight thousand graves, large reflecting pool, and grass mall is at odds with the surrounding city, which may have better use for the space allocated.

Boundaries

Aside from the encompassing wall, the only real boundaries on this site are the reflecting pool and building walls. The reflecting pool offers no way to the island with the cenotaph on it without entering the water. The trees are thin and sparse enough to only cover the surrounding city skyline. The hedges are low enough with breaks to not obscure views across the entire site.

Cohesion

The 77-acre site has no cohesion with the surrounding town. Urban sprawl has caught up the border wall of the site. The site borders a residential zone with lower income residential areas with the western side of the cemetery showing signs of vandalism with graffiti on the walls. Inside the site, the cemetery maintains the ABMC's high internal cohesion. It invokes ideas of America through its use of a grass mall overlooked by columned building and ending at a reflecting pool much like the National Mall in Washington DC.

Visibility

At 77 acres, the site is highly visible physically from the aerial photographs as a prominent green or park space. On the ground, the site is almost invisible as the encompassing wall building materials match that of the surrounding residential area. Contrary to most stories and visits to the ABMC cemeteries that focus on the Western front in France and the Benelux countries, the Sicily-Rome Cemetery highlights the North African and Italian campaigns, which would be of use for different diplomatic or political endeavors (Graves 2014; Winter 2015).

Soft Power Interpretation

Sicily-Rome Cemetery shows that the soft power of the ABMC is not just focused on the US. The soft power at Sicily-Rome is primarily geared toward showing the Italian forces in WWII as unwilling, occupied adversaries rather than willing participants of the Axis forces. Such a soft power narrative is ultimately toward US interests, as it gave Italy the chance to claim that memory of unwilling participant in exchange for allying with the Capitalist West during the Cold War. To that end, President H. W. Bush even chose to make a stop at the cemetery during a NATO funding tour. Even though it is impossible to tell if the speech was a deciding factor in securing this funding, the fact that the president chose to make the stop during his campaign shows its soft power utility was taken seriously. The WWII cemeteries located closer to the Berlin Wall and the USSR were constructed as quickly as possible after the war to provide this specific type of

ideological warfare the US needed them too, and Sicily-Rome is an interesting example of how this ideological warfare could be made manifest.

Threshold Design Analysis

During her analysis of five WWII cemeteries in France, Lemay notes that visitors must go through "the threshold… in the form of battle maps, loggias, a chapel, and heroic statuary. These are the components that form a gateway through which the viewer must move before visiting the graves" (Lemay 2018b, 67). This is true of the majority of the ABMC WWII cemeteries, such as with Luxembourg and Brittany cemeteries shown in this chapter, or the Normandy, Lorraine, and Epinal cemeteries, which Lemay (2018b) examined and can also be viewed in Appendix 3 of this thesis and corroborated by other authors such as Grossman (1984), Robin (1995), Wanger (2015), and Conner (2018). It is not completely true, however, of *all* the WWII cemeteries. Two of the cemeteries in this chapter, Cambridge in the UK and Sicily-Rome in Italy, place the chapel, battle maps, statuary, and loggias further into the sites than what Lemay (2018b) reports. Some of the cultural memories inscribed in the WWI cemeteries remained after a generation, stemming the effort experienced to construct the first set of cemeteries (Hirst and Coman 2018, 4; see also Liu et al. 2022, 169-170). The threshold design of Sicily-Rome mirrors that of the WWI cemeteries, in that there is a large mall to walk before experiencing the graves of the fallen, with the chapel, battle maps, and statuary situated behind. A reflecting pool, an uncommon feature among the ABMC cemeteries, lies just inside the entrance to the cemetery, the trees on its island framing the chapel while simultaneously blocking the graves from sight.

Cambridge does not mirror the WWI cemeteries. The chapel, battle maps, statuary, and loggias are adjacent to the graves rather than in front or behind them. During a physical visit to the site as both a visitor for the Memorial Day commemoration events and a pseudo-pilot study for this thesis, the author had a firsthand view of how the architecture of Cambridge still guides visitors through the chapel in the prolonged threshold design described by Lemay (2018b). Upon entering the gates at Cambridge, the visitor is surrounded by the "strong architectural lines" (Lemay 2018b, 76; also visible in Figure 48 earlier in this chapter) of the ABMC administration building and dwarfed by the American flag flying right in front. The flag draws in visitors as the center point of the site. It is from here that the entirety of the site can be viewed when rotating 360 degrees. From the flag, two small staircases descend, one toward the second entrance to the site (see the Cambridge access map in Figures 51 and 52 earlier in this chapter) and the other toward the chapel. The path towards the chapel descends below the level of the graves, and while there are side staircases that allow access, the feeling imparted on visitors is to walk all the way to the chapel. This was witnessed and felt firsthand during the Memorial Day visit in 2018. Only after the chapel, battle maps, loggias, and statuary have been experienced in the chapel did any visitor begin to stray from the reflecting pool to the either the graves or wall of the missing. Whichever decision was made, visitors must ascend a small set of stairs to be amongst the graves or the missing, further helping "the viewer emotionally to accept the loss of life as a martyr's sacrifice. Before walking between the rows of headstones, the visitor has been

familiarized with ideas of heroic sacrifice and attainment of a biblical paradise" (Lemay 2018b, 68).

Brittany cemetery is unique amongst the WWII cemeteries for being the only one to make excess use of the crusader motif typically present in the WWI cemeteries like Flanders Field and Aisne-Marne as covered in the last chapter. The chapel at Brittany, which is the first piece of architecture encountered by visitors, is the only chapel of all the ABMC cemeteries to be designed in the form of a Catholic church, complete with steeple. Next to the chapel is a statue of a knight slaying a dragon. The statue "accords heroism to the youth" and in combination with the murals inside the chapel "work to establish the fallen a crusader-like status" (Lemay 2018b, 105; see also Robin 1995, 60-61). Together with Sicily-Rome, Brittany shows that some of the threshold design choices made for the WWI cemeteries continued through the 1950s.

Conclusion

Chapter 6 provided a geographic sampling of the ABMC's WWI cemeteries. This chapter has mirrored the same geographic representation with the inclusion of a cemetery from Italy, representing the wider geographically expanse of WWII. By the end of the 1950s, when the ABMC had finished dedicating their WWII cemeteries, America's place in the world order had been firmly established. As with WWI, the US did not formally enter the war for roughly three years after the conflict began. Unlike WWI, however, WWII lasted far longer. The duration of US involvement meant that the ABMC did not need to hide any notions of patriotism from their cemeteries. Moreover, the

combination of the US mainland having never been invaded or damaged during the course of the war meant that US industry and economy emerged in the post-war period significantly stronger than the other world powers. The ABMC wasted no time putting this economy to work, ensuring their WWII cemeteries were just as, if not more, ornate than their WWI counterparts. The US was looking toward the future, working to ensure that its cultural and ideological power would continue, as covered in Chapter 4. This is evident in the cemetery design; no longer were the headstones or chapel hidden behind nature. Instead, the story of the American perspective of the war was front and center in the chapels, with more elaborate landscaping and control of nature shifted to the back of the cemeteries. More of this ideologically inspired architecture and construction is evident in the other 10 WWII cemeteries of the ABMC analyzed for this research (see Appendix 3).

This and the last two chapters have addressed the second sub-question of the research: 'How do the cemeteries function in practice today?'. Taken as a whole, the cemeteries serve to commemorate and keep alive the American involvement in world conflicts. The specific message projected by the cemeteries depends on the era of their construction. The WWI cemeteries project the notions of friendship and common values. The WWII cemeteries project economic and ideological dominance thinly guised as 'liberation'. The pre-ABMC cemeteries are a glimpse of what will be should the World Wars ever be superseded in the collective memory of the world. While each element within the cemeteries can be read and analyzed for their denotation and connotation individually, the cemeteries are more than the sum of their constituent parts. The next

chapter will analyze the semiotic themes present at all 22 of the cemeteries used for this thesis.

Chapter 8 – Discussion

In the introduction chapter of this thesis soft power was defined as "getting other countries to do what you want… by shaping their preferences so that they align with yours" (Nye 2004, 1-8) through "attraction or endearment" by appealing to the emotions of the country's populace (Luke and Kersel 2012). Chapter 2 went further by connecting soft power to diplomacy and discussing the various types of diplomacy where soft power is manifested, namely: cultural diplomacy, heritage diplomacy, memorial diplomacy, and memory diplomacy. With this theoretical background from Chapter 2 and the context of the ABMC covered in Chapters 4 – 7 and the Appendices, this chapter clarifies how the ABMC constructs and enacts soft power at their cemeteries.

A multi-modal semiotic reading of any object increases in difficulty the more complex and complicated the object is. The ABMC cemeteries are extraordinarily complex heritage sites with complicated memory, commemoration, artistic, architectural, and political aspects. The first half of this chapter consists of the semiotic analysis of the primary fields identified via the 'process-relationalism approach' to collective memory studies after review of all 22 of the cemeteries present within this thesis. The fields are (i) physical, (ii) sociocultural, and (iii) political. Each field has various elements that form the visual, spatial, and written/linguistic multimodal semiotic analysis. The three fields are first presented in total before each field and their constituent elements are analyzed individually. This method of analysis allowed for the function of each cemetery to be viewed individually and then combined to show how the ABMC cemeteries function socially and politically as a genre of site.

When considering the constituent elements individually, each are analyzed with examples of how they are present in the cemeteries being given, what the meaning behind the elements could be, and reasons why the ABMC would choose to construct or maintain the cemeteries with such ideas in mind in order to answer the second sub-question of this research. This chapter seeks to answer the final sub-question of the research: 'How have the interpretation of the cemeteries changed through time?'. Answering this sub-question allows for a direct comparison between the way that soft power has functioned at the cemeteries today with the way the cemeteries' soft power functioned in the past, which ultimately answers the primary research question of this thesis. This chapter is structured around the interactions between the physical, sociocultural, and political fields, how the fields overlap, and the forms their interactions with each other take. These interactions broadly connect to other aspects of cemeteries identified by prior researchers and are (1)pilgrimage, (2)education, and (3)image projection.

What follows is a discussion of the ways the ABMC understands itself to take part in such endeavors and how these ideas are conveyed at the cemeteries. Afterward is a discussion of how the three fields and their respective intersection points contribute to the soft power of the ABMC cemeteries and what such results and analysis mean going forward. The chapter then connects the cemeteries back to wider scholarship regarding diplomacy and soft power before concluding. The primary argument presented here is that the ABMC cemeteries are destinations for visitors to face the history of the World

Wars while projecting a positive idea of America's participation and contribution to the conflicts in an act of soft power in an ever-changing world order as the answer to the final sub-question mentioned earlier in the introduction of this thesis.

Semiotic Analysis

Following the history of the ABMC detailed in Chapter 4 and the cemetery analysis presented in Chapters 5 through 7, twelve components for discussion can be observed in the way the ABMC cemeteries are represented. Even though the cemeteries in the last three chapters have been chosen as the representative sample, all the cemeteries present in this thesis have been described and analyzed in the same fashion. As such, every ABMC cemetery has been considered in the following discussion. The identified components have been grouped into three overarching fields shown in Figure 85. These concepts can be observed at every cemetery regardless of any individual design differences the cemeteries may have. The physical field consists of religious iconography, civic iconography, layout, and landscaping as multiple sources of symbolism. The sociocultural field consists of visitor demographics, cultural myths, and bereavement. The political field consists of commemoration days (as part of memorial diplomacy), international relations, US military community, and the communication of values, with the goal of supporting the US's agenda abroad. Due to the methodology for this research being based on digitized remote sources of information there is limited data regarding the sociocultural field for this thesis.

Primary Cemetery components for Semiotic Analysis

Physical

Religious Iconography

Symbolism

Civic Iconography

Horticulture

Layout

Sociocultural

Visitor Demographics

Bereavement and Trauma

Cultural Myths

Political

International Relations

Commemoration Days

Communication of Values

US Military Community

Figure 85 The twelve cemetery components for semiotic analysis grouped into three fields.

The diagram above was constructed after the application of the 'process-relationalism approach' to collective memory studies designed by Olick (2007, 98). The process-relationalism approach has four key aspects used to create the diagrams that form one of the outcomes of this thesis: (1) profile, (2) media, (3) genre, and (4) field. Profiles "contextualizes commemorative significance within a total moment, which includes noncommemorative and nondiscursive conditions as well" (Olick 2007, 115). Media in the process-relationalism approach is the same as medium in semiotics, being the form that the collective memory takes. Various mediums were identified in Chapters 5 through 7 for use in the analysis, including statuary, building typology, and various types of educational media. The combined analysis of the process-relationalism aspects of profiles and mediums of the cemeteries inform the semiotic significance in this chapter. The split between profiles and mediums have led to the split of the religious aspects in this chapter, which would need to be analyzed as a collective memory field by itself.

Due to the subject of this thesis being the ABMC cemeteries, the genre for collective

memory studies is that of commemoration sites. The fields identified through the

process-relationalism approach were listed in the beginning of the chapter: (1) physical

characteristics, (2) sociocultural, and (3) political. The stronger one field is, the weaker

the others may be, or at least the different their boundaries will be. As will become

evident throughout the chapter, the three fields identified are all equal within the ABMC

cemeteries.

The ABMC maintains that thousands, if not millions, of people visit their sites annually

(see Appendix 2). The heritagescape and access maps methods showed *how* people

could navigate, experience, and transition through them as part of a spatial semiotic

analysis. Understanding possible movement through the sites required an

understanding of all the physical components that each site is composed of. The history

provided in the results chapters have shown the overt political nature of the ABMC and

the cemeteries via written/linguistic semiotic analyses using techniques from CDA.

Physical Field

The official ABMC cemeteries and memorials to the wars had to be more visually

impressive, appealing, and factually accurate than those the common soldiers were

erecting and clearly differentiated from the cemeteries and memorials of other countries

(see Appendix 2.1.4). To achieve the latter, the entire ABMC board would meet with

representatives from England and France shortly after the Commission was established

to learn their construction techniques and preferences to know what to avoid or improve

upon (see Appendix 2.1.5, 2.2.23, and 2.2.24). The outcome of these decisions of differentiation are seen at every ABMC cemetery: flagpole flying the modern US flag, American religious, predominantly Christian, and civic architecture designed chapel building, replacing the English grand cross with other memorial types, minimalist headstones in a Latin cross or Star of David shape, and immaculate landscaping. These primary factors are shown in Figure 86 below.

Physical Field

Physical

Symbolism

Religious
Iconography

Civic
Iconography

Horticulture

Layout
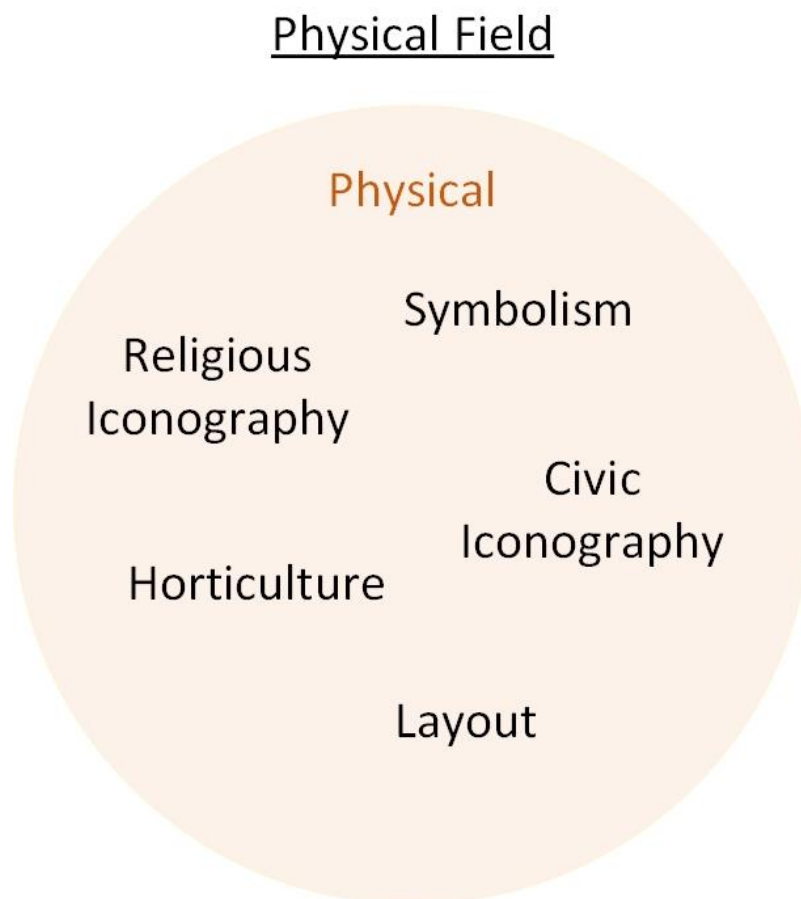
Figure 86 The five factors in the physical field.

The art and architecture of the cemeteries has been designed to signify the power of the United States first and memorialize the fallen second, as discussed in Chapter 7 (see also Robin 1995, 59; Lemay 2018b, 76). All the physical semiotic factors of the ABMC

cemeteries coalesce into various forms of symbolism that reinforce a specific

representation of the United States.

Religious Iconography

The ABMC cemeteries have multiple examples of Judeo-Christian religion built into their

architecture. The designs signified to visitors in the cemeteries show the role

Christianity played in the myth of the war experience symbolized by crosses, chapels,

and pious inscriptions (Mosse 1990, 49). As shown in the previous chapters, the

headstones in the ABMC cemeteries take the shape of the Latin cross or the Star of

David, carved in white marble. The choice of white marble was to retain as close a look

to the temporary white wooden crosses but in a more permanent material (see

Appendix 2.2.13). While not stated, the use of an expensive stone like white marble

would have also been a demonstration of wealth, an unconscious suggestion of status

and care for the deceased, while keeping with an aesthetic that Pershing wished to

portray. Chapter 4 detailed the history and politics surrounding the headstones, a

decision pushed primarily by General Pershing with the backing of civilian and veterans'

groups, but not the government. In pushing as adamantly as he did, General Pershing

ensured a specific image of the American soldier would be on display to visitors. By

making every headstone a cross or a Star of David, Pershing brought an overtly

religious symbolism to every cemetery, the Commission, and the United States.

Pershing sought out this change despite the GRS and CFA wanting the overseas

cemeteries' headstone form to be taken directly from Arlington National Cemetery

(Robin 1995; Conner 2018). If the GRS and CFA were successful, the cemeteries would

resemble the design of Corozal in Panama. After WWII, the idea of Buddhist and Islamic headstone forms was explored by the Commission and ultimately decided against (Lemay 2018b, 2), cementing an overarching Judeo-Christian symbolism as the religious demographics for the deceased.

The use of religious symbolism is not just present in the headstone form, and Pershing would continue this crusade of religious signification in the ABMC's 'beautification' of the cemeteries after the Commission took over control of the cemeteries from the Graves Registration Service. This beautification would consist of the construction of 'chapels' at the cemeteries, complete with pious inscriptions on the chapels themselves and other memorials the ABMC would add such as the 'brothers in arms' statue at the Sicily-Rome Cemetery. Pershing's religious changes and direction for the WWI cemeteries would set the precedent that would be followed for the WWII cemeteries to maintain an overall coherence within the Commission. While officially described as a sectarian non-denominational building, the moniker of chapel carries obvious connotations. Referring to the building as a chapel instead of a synagogue, mosque, or even a more neutral sanctuary, denotes a Christian bias. Paired with the Latin cross headstone form, the chapel moniker and Christian religious statuary and inscriptions, reinforces the Christian notion of the American armed forces and nation. At each cemetery, the Stars of David are dwarfed in number compared to the Latin cross, which reinforces the notion of a Christian America by bringing attention to the religion of the interred. After encountering a Star of David as the grave of a Jewish soldier, it is impossible to look at the Latin crosses surrounding the visitor and not see Christianity representing the remainder of

the cemetery. The two architecture forms and styles together give the cemeteries a more 'sacred' feeling to visitors and tourists. This sacred feeling, as mentioned in Chapter 4, is due to the consecration of the grounds via the blood and bodies of the soldiers resting therein, an idea that began with Gettysburg cemetery (Gatewood and Cameron 2004, 193).

Certain chapels from the WWI cemeteries are built in the medieval architectural style. The choice to use medieval style architecture was made without sensing any contradiction between itself and the classical architectural style, described in the next section, and compared WWI to the Crusades of time past (Robin 1995, 60). Mirroring the logic of Crusades, WWI saw self-described civilized nations put aside their differences for a holy cause (Robin 1995, 60; Lemay 2018b, 70). This elevated the common soldier to a romanticized past notion of the gallant knight performing his duty. This is evident in the relief architecture and sculpture of the WWI cemeteries. These crusade motifs also enhanced the religious nature of the WWI cemeteries, as "[t]he concept of personal sacrifice in the landscaping was retained through the design of the gateways, the layout of the tombs, and the placement of the official monuments. In seven of the eight Great War shrines, the 'pilgrim' entered the site through a sea of individual graves; the initial confrontation of the visitor was with the element of personal sacrifice" (Robin 1995, 63-64). The chapels are "placed as if to provide an architectural climax to a formal plan" (Grossman 1984, 136). This crusade iconography can be seen inside the chapel at Flanders Field, with a crusader short sword inscribed above the altar inside the narrow tower structure, and above the chapel entrance at Aisne-Marne.

In contrast to the crusading knights and swords, however, the majority of WWI

cemeteries mostly depicted the cannon as the instrument of war, hearkening back to

monuments of the American Civil War (Robin 1995, 61). One exception is the Somme

cemetery chapel, which is adorned with a tanks and rifles. They are shown without

function, the lonely tank and rigid lines of rifles depicted with no relationship to their

operators or a state of action, but instead as a simple enhancement to the classic motifs

of death in battle (Robin 1995, 61) and place for meditation (Grossman 1984, 142).

When viewed in such an immaculately landscaped setting, this religious symbolism

helps to connect warfare, nature, and God in a powerful silent message to any who view

these places. The events that created the cemeteries are natural and connected to the

sacred, thus the cemeteries are sacred as well. These ideas are further explored in the

'Horticulture' section of this chapter.

Civic Iconography

Along with the religious iconography, the architecture of the ABMC cemeteries also

contain examples of civic iconography. The architectural features in question for this

section are the flag, the Grecian or Washington DC inspired chapel, and the

regimentation of the grave plots. The American flag is the most prominent civic symbol

of the United States of America. Some of the cemeteries, such as Cambridge in the UK

and Lorraine in France, utilize the flag to affect the directionality of visitors to the site,

making this more than just an identifying feature of the cemeteries. The choice of having

the flag at the ABMC cemeteries was done by Pershing to announce the cemeteries as

being American to visitors and because he felt it appropriate that deceased rest under the flag for which they fought (see Appendix 2.2.15). The latter of these two has numerous meanings, from Pershing projecting an all-encompassing patriotism to the dead, or even as a coping mechanism for survivor's guilt, helping alleviate some of the grief Pershing or the family members of the deceased held regarding leaving their husband, wife, son, or daughter on foreign soil. The efficacy of such a coping mechanism was not the focus of this research and is inaccessible in relation to the methodology, but how such feelings affect the physical construction of the cemeteries will be returned to in the 'Bereavement and Trauma' section later in this chapter.

In the religious iconography section above, the written/linguistic semiotic meaning behind calling the worship building of the cemeteries a chapel was the point of discussion. In this section, the visual semiotic meaning of the architecture of the buildings themselves is the focus of analysis. Many chapels of the WWI cemeteries are highly inspired by two traditions, the medieval and classical styles. The Capitol Building and the White House in Washington DC are examples of classical style architecture with Grecian roots. The classical style was "intricately related to the political messages that the United States hoped to convey through the cemeteries" (Robin 1995, 60). Among these messages are the ideas of valor and sacrifice (Lemay 2018b, 125). The Grecian elements of the classical style are synonymous for Americans with the Capitol Building in D.C and democratic ideologies. The latter association is built on the equivocation of democracy with Greece's philosophical/civic past and the US capital because "[t]he employment of classic architecture in auspicious foreign surroundings

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was a symbolic affirmation of America's European roots... The mimesis of Greek temples invoked... the humanist culture and democratic traditions that Americans had always associated with classical form" (Robin 1995, 60). This Washington D.C. inspired architecture inspires a cultural myth about the cemeteries, which is discussed later in this chapter. Having these associations built into the architecture of the cemeteries elevates the wars to fights for ideological reasons and abstract truths rather than just honoring a treaty or defending of an ally. These architectural structures are evident in the domes and columns of the ABMC cemeteries such as Brookwood, Cambridge, Suresnes, Sicily-Rome, Florence, Normandy, and Luxembourg.

The geometry of the headstone layout in the cemeteries did not evoke the principles of democracy like the chapel architecture, but instead evoked the military regimentation of the war dead interred beneath them. Together, the two styles "'represent the United States' and not necessarily to commemorate the fallen" which "erase[s] any sense of individual expression and idiosyncrasy from its projects, thereby elevating the event of death in national service to the purely abstract level" (Robin 1995, 59). The graves do not list dates of birth, furthering losing sense of the individuality of the deceased and adding a sense of timelessness to the cemeteries (Lemay 2018b, 8). The headstones are arranged in such a uniform pattern with specific aesthetic impression in a powerful gesture eradicating individualism in such a way that only a highly industrialized state could appreciate it or reproduce it (Robin 1995, 64-65; Lemay 2018b, 8). The uniformity of the graves in the ABMC cemeteries allowed "the United States [to] cover up its divisions, and presented a deceivingly united front that was quite devoid of the racial

schisms that plagued America back home" (Robin 1995, 60). Today, the ABMC can point to the uniformity of the graves as symbolizing equality in death and a rejection of social classes by having the wealthy, the officers, the elite, and the poor all buried side by side. That modern day idealism hides the historical context that "[t]he repatriated bodies of Great War casualties at Arlington National Cemetery were segregated according to race..." (Robin 1995, 60). At the end of the 19th, and beginning of the 20th century, white and African American southerners were constructing new identities for themselves in the modern period (Cardon 2018). The perceived threats to the white race also contributed to the choice for the Christian Latin cross being used to represent the dead (Lemay 2018b, 78). The United States is still dealing with issues regarding race to this day. While segregation would be officially abolished on a federal level in the late 1950s and early 1960s, military segregation was still in effect in the Jim Crow South and beyond through the period of the construction of *all* the ABMC cemeteries (see Paul Moore 2006; Cox 2013; Taylor 2013; Anonymous 2017). By obliterating the distinctions of rank, creed, or color, the ABMC wished to highlight voluntarism; a citizens' army drawn from an egalitarian society laying beneath the crosses. Unlike the British tradition of crowding the tombstones, the American graves were laid out spaciously, thereby enhancing the individuality of each plot (Robin 1995, 63-64). Instead of the squat headstone of British military cemeteries, the grave markers of American cemeteries were Latin crosses or Star of David perched on thin supports, which created an optical illusion of even greater spaciousness and increased the 'private territory' of each individual plot" (Robin 1995, 63-64) that seems to move when the visitor does, separating and realigning (Lemay 2018b, 78).

Horticulture

Death in warfare has its own arboreal iconography (Gough 1996, 74). Among this iconography are "the yew, weeping willow, cypress and rosemary..." trees (Gough 1996, 73) and "the two flowers most readily associated with martial death and prolonged national mourning are (for England, at least) the rose and the poppy" (Gough 1996, 74). Such is not the case for the ABMC. Rather, the ABMC decided early on to devote their attention to the maintenance of the landscape. This meant that the trees would be local, with no attempted transplantations from America, and that no attempt to grow flowers on the graves would be taken (see Appendix 2.2.16). Flowers, shrubbery, and other decorative botanical endeavors would have their own special sections in some of the WWII cemeteries such as Sicily-Rome, Rhone, or Cambridge with dedicated 'garden' areas. This decision was made to give uniformity to the graves throughout the year (see Appendix 2.2.16) as part of the Commission's effort to halt decay and freeze time (see further down in this chapter). Such decisions also help meld the cemeteries into the host country landscape, almost like a camouflage. Indeed, rather than have the symbolic meaning of certain plants regarding martial death become predominant, the ABMC chose to employ more subtle messages within the landscape that complement the architectural symbolism analyzed above to truly impart American ideology onto all who viewed and understood the message.

The ABMC cemeteries are the 20th century evolution of military cemeteries. In the 19th century, fallen soldiers were buried in 'park cemeteries' or 'heroes' groves', military

cemeteries that made use *of* the landscapes rather than just being placed *in* the landscape. Landscape in this sense is defined broadly as "the mighty system of nature with its cycle of creation and destruction" (Mosse 1990, 41). This cycle is akin to rebirth or transcendence and evidenced by notions of the changing seasons, with winter stealing life and spring bringing life renewed. This cycle serves to symbolize hope while inducing tranquility by calming the anxieties and fear surrounding death; in this way nature has been used effectively in war cemeteries (Mosse 1990, 129). These cemeteries to the fallen within nature communicated the innocence and eternal life of secular cemeteries as well as historical continuity, equating the national past as an eternal and unalterable part of nature (Mosse 1990, 110). In addition, by equating nature to the historical context of the nation, these cemeteries combine the moral power of nature with patriotic feelings that would be evident in most 20th century military cemeteries (Mosse 1990, 42). It is important to note that "[a]lways, this appropriation of nature was directed away from modernity and toward a definition of the 'genuine'…" (Mosse 1990, 114) and largely associated with the "eternity and immutability… of bygone days" (Mosse 1990, 124). In this way, the cemeteries and the nation become their own cycle of death and rebirth, past and future.

Just after 1900, a new wave of environmentalism took root in the United States. In 1901, transcendentalist philosopher John Muir published *Our National Parks* regarding the spiritual value of nature, and the inspiration people can obtain from wilderness (O'Neill 2003, 135). Muir's ideas would go on to inspire the establishment of the United States National Parks System in 1906, the eventual guardians of American heritage.

This spiritualism inherent to nature helped further cement a more religious connection between people and nature. The 'sacred', 'consecrated' ground of military cemeteries like Gettysburg were now further spiritual and religious because of the nature that surrounded them. As covered in Chapter 4, the ABMC cemeteries were constructed in two distinct stages, stemming from the geopolitical situation of the World Wars. The Commission's WWI landscaping relies heavily upon this connection between the cemeteries and nature. For WWI, where fewer Americans died, the cemeteries are smaller, with the graves nearly hidden amongst the landscape of trees and greenery. This is evident among cemeteries such as Brookwood, Flanders Field, or Aisne-Marne, as the graves are out of sight when a visitor is standing at the long malls that lie at the main entrance to the cemeteries. Other cemeteries like Meuse-Argonne have visitor walk through malls situated among nature, to settle visitors with the tranquil qualities covered above before dealing with the reality of war and death represented by the graves.

Despite these new spiritual connections to nature, the ABMC took them a step further. The vague spiritualism described by Muir could be mistaken for paganism where "every tree, every spring, every stream, every hill had its own *genius loci*, its guardian spirit." (White 1967, 1205). The ABMC wanted the spiritual connections to be explicitly Christian. To that end, they employed the Christian environmental principle of stewardship. Christian stewardship over nature is derived from two Genesis stories from the Bible. The first story states that "God blessed them, saying to them, 'be fruitful and multiply, fill the earth and conquer it. Be masters of the fish of the sea, the birds of

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heaven and all living animals on the earth'" (Hutchinson 1994, 18). The second is the

story of creation, that

> "[b]y gradual stages a loving and all-powerful God had created… the earth and
> all its plants, animals, birds, and fishes. Finally, God had created Adam… Man
> named all the animals, thus establishing his dominance over them. God planned
> all of this explicitly for man's benefit and rule: no item in the physical creation had
> any purpose save to serve man's purposes." (White 1967, 1205).

According to White, the Christian environmental idea of stewardship was embodied by

humanity's complete control over nature. The ABMC would employ this idea of

stewardship in all their cemeteries. Every horticultural element of the cemeteries as

designed landscapes has been controlled by the Commission since 1934 when they

took over maintenance of the cemeteries from the GRS. The WWI cemeteries that

make use of more 'wild' elements of nature were done by design. The WWII cemeteries

would design their landscape much like a stately home garden, with every blade

manicured, maintained, and with watering regimes for green grass. By doing this, the

landscape and architecture of the cemeteries reinforced the religious ideology of

America. These Christian connections further reinforce the park cemetery natural cycle

of death and rebirth from Mosse (1990), and add the transcendental ideas of sacrifice,

atonement, and resurrection. Mosse (1990, 89-90) summarized it by stating that

"[w]hether the emphasis was placed upon Christianity, as in England, or upon nature,

the message was identical: the dead will rise again to inspire the living and the nation

for which they sacrificed their lives is strong and immutable". The ABMC gave equal

focus in the cemeteries to both nature and Christianity to show visitors the picture of

America. For the WWII cemeteries, the cemeteries leaned further into the Christian

notion of America. Instead of walking through nature to approach the graves, the WWII

cemeteries usually have visitors confront the chapel and Christian iconography before

seeing the graves of the cemetery in their entirety. At sites such as Luxembourg, this is

achieved vertically, with the visitors looking down upon the graves, possibly as angels.

What this section has shown is that the sacred and the profane combine in these

cemeteries as a message to visitors: war and the deadly consequences thereof are not

only part of the natural order but mandated by God if not divine in their own right. If

death in national service had become an abstract idea by taking away the individuality

of the dead, and sacred through the design and use of landscaping and religious

iconography, no living citizen could criticize war or America's participation in it.

Access and movement through the cemeteries

The architecture and landscaping analyzed in the 'Religious Iconography', 'Civic

Iconography', and 'Horticulture' sections above work to direct visitor movement. The

access maps show the possible movement patterns between the various architecture

and landscape designs created for each cemetery in Chapters 5 through 7 and

Appendix 3. It is assumed in the access maps that visitors are not straying from the built

paths due to the high degree of control over the landscaping of the ABMC. Evidence for

this is supported by reviews on Tripadvisor.com which state the ABMC employees

would reprimand visitors for stepping on the grass, sometimes stopping them from

seeing a specific grave by cordoning off the grave sections (TripAdvisor.com 2019).

With one exception, the WWI cemeteries run by the Commission have only a single entrance that also functions as the exit. Between that entrance and the graves lies one or two landscaped malls. Whether arriving by vehicle or on foot, the first mall of the cemetery acts as a barrier to the outside world, a long threshold to leave any of the worries of the present behind while feeling the tranquility of nature. If accessible, visitors can then interact with the visitor center and learn about American contributions to and the history behind WWI. The second mall then acts as space to reflect upon this knowledge in preparation for the scene to come. Visitors may be forgiven if they are not prepared for the scale of death in the graves at the site, especially the larger cemeteries such as Meuse-Argonne. As shown on the access maps, while the grave sections at the cemeteries are dead ends that must be purposely visited, none of them are the farthest location from the cemetery entrances. The chapel and memorial of the cemetery are often built along the central axis in the layout design, framed by the graves. The monumentality of America is the true destination for the journey through the cemetery. Without detouring to the visitor center, the chapel is usually a straight line from the entrance. Only the American flag posted in front of the chapel stands in the way, acting as a reminder for those who would enter the chapel. If the visitor is American, they are likely to unconsciously understand the majority of the connotations built into the design of the chapel interior, and if the visitor is not American, the visitor may not have the necessary subconscious national connotations to understand the messages of the United States as effectively as a 'patriot' would. The chapel is a stand-in for both America as a whole and the ABMC specifically. The GRS are the ones who created the cemetery and buried the dead. The Commission took over memorial construction

afterward. The biggest change made to the cemeteries were the chapels and memorials. The buildings stand for the monumentality of America and the ABMC, flanked by the dead, guarding a structure they have no idea exists.

The pattern for most of the WWII cemeteries in that the visitor first approaches the chapel, then walks through or around behind it to access the graves, after taking in the (American) story of the war. More focus and effort were given to the chapels, maps, visitor museums, and landscape of the cemeteries, drawing the attention away from the graves. Some cemeteries like Luxembourg, Cambridge, Brittany, Netherlands, and Ardennes even have clear landscape separation between the built structures and the graves. This split is physically present in the landscape by having ramps or stairs to be traversed to make the transition between areas.

As a result, the graves are mostly encountered from either the front or the back, not the sides. Luxembourg has even changed its paths to not allow visitors to pass through the grave plot sections laterally without walking on the grass. Even if just being used as a cut-through on the way to work or as a walking park, the architecture of the ABMC cemeteries is an everyday reminder to the locals that 'this is America', 'here is what America stands for', and 'remember what we (America) did for you'.

Sociocultural Field

Any semiotic analysis and meaning derived from a medium are under the assumption that there is a viewer to receive and make the denotation and connotations that are

signified by the medium, even is the viewer is a singular person such as the researcher. However, the ABMC asserts that thousands, if not millions, of people from around the world are the viewers of their cemeteries, the medium for this research. This section will rely on figures from the ABMC to explore the demographics of the people the Commission claim have visited their cemeteries, and the cultural myths that the ABMC believes visitors hold and tries to dis-spell whenever possible.

Sociocultural Field
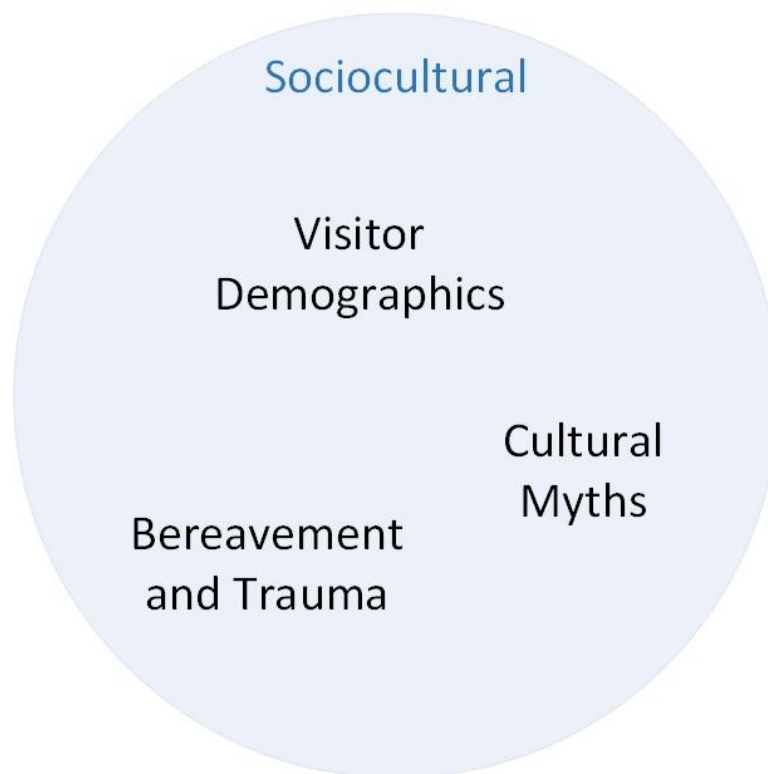
Figure 87 The three factors in the sociocultural field.

The three factors of the sociocultural diagram in Figure 87 which, when combined, inform the visitation of the cemeteries. Other factors not included in the diagram may include the diverse types of tourists, their motivations, and thoughts after leaving the cemeteries. Due to the remote nature of the methodology used in this research,

however, these factors could not be measured or observed. The ABMC claims that bereavement is still the primary motivator for visits to the cemeteries, thus it has been included in the diagram. Next-of-kin visits to the cemeteries, however, dropped substantially in the 1960s (Hulver 2015, 312). As time pressed on from WWII, fewer relatives lived to make the trip and those that were still living remembered the dead by writing letters to the ABMC superintendents, often requesting photos of the grave or that a wreath be placed on the grave during a commemoration day (Hulver 2015, 313). The next section on visitor demographics will show how such claims are part of the ABMC's narrative control.

Visitation Demographics

The only option available for ascertaining visitor numbers to the ABMC cemeteries for this research is their annual reports archived in the NARA 2 facility in College Park, Maryland. No visitor numbers appear in the ABMC annual reports until 1969. Since the most recent annual report in the Archives is from 1979, that only provides a ten-year data sample. However, there are some issues to note regarding these numbers. In the reports, the ABMC does not differentiate the visitor numbers between nationalities, instead grouping them together as "American and foreign visitors" and listed for all "memorials and cemeteries" (see Appendix 2.5 - 2.15). As such, it is impossible to know exact number of visitors for the cemeteries, or for any one cemetery specifically.

One annual report, for the year 1970, does have enough information to deduce a rough estimate as to the number of specifically American visitors. In his letter to then President

Nixon, added to the beginning of the annual report, the chairman of the ABMC boasts that "[m]ore than three million foreigners visit our cemeteries annually" (see Appendix 2.6.10.3). When subtracted from the total number of visitors that year, 3.6 million, that leaves only six hundred thousand visitors being American, or less than one percent of the population of the United States in 1970, which was 205.1 million. These numbers assume that every person mentioned in the ABMC chairman's letter also visited a memorial in order for the math to equal out properly. While one year's worth of information is not enough to establish a pattern, the <1% number of American visitors was anecdotally verified by the researcher in 2018 when looking through the logbook of the Cambridge Cemetery where visitors are encouraged to share their nationality. To further support this idea regarding a lack of American visitors, the very next year, 1971, the 25th anniversary of Rhone cemetery was only attended by residents from the local area and no American visitors (see Appendix 2.7.12). Further study would be needed to truly verify these numbers. It is doubtful that each American visitor made it a point to see every cemetery and memorial overseen by the Commission.

1971 was also the year in which the ABMC started to attach letters from visitors to the end of their reports. This first letter went into detail with its questions, inquiring about the possible symbolism envisioned by the architect. This was after noting how the "care and attention displayed" to the graves gave the writer great comfort (see Appendix 2.7.10.2). These ideas are part of the connecting point between the physical and sociocultural components of the cemeteries, which will be covered in more detail below. Throughout the 1970's, the length and detail of any letters attached to the end of the annual reports

would decrease, possibly due to the advancing age of their writers (see Appendix 2.14.3).

In 1979, the ABMC put out a letter to travel agencies asking them to start promoting the cemeteries as travel destinations or day trip spots during other holidays, which they attached to their annual report. For the purposes of this research, that action and year mark the transition of the ABMC from promoting emotional and spiritual bereavement to heritage tourism, beginning what is described as the 'Interpretation Era' from Chapter 4.

Using the search phrase 'American battlefield cemetery tours Europe' in Google offers multiple choices for tours available before the COVID-19 pandemic. The websites are a mixture of those that chose to pay to be listed or advertised at the top of the first page of Google, and those that listed near the top by relevance. Two of the websites originate from the United Kingdom, visible by their domain names ending with '.co.uk' as opposed to the ambiguous commercial domain '.com'. One website, Viator.com, listed over 20 different tours to Normandy cemetery, from half day excursions to multiple nights, often paired with visits to the Mont Saint-Michel Commune. The Luxembourg American Cemetery and Memorial is listed on multiple tours, in varying capacities. In some, the cemetery is a stopover on the way to another destination (such as Henri-Chapelle cemetery in Belgium). For more general WWII tours, it is the last stop on the tour before tour guests return home. It is also the last stop, but primary destination, in tours designed around the American military leader of WWII General George Patton. Of the tours that start in either Paris or Normandy, Luxembourg is a common destination. This

may be an attempt to both start and end on a high note in terms of tourism. The Netherlands American Cemetery and Memorial is mentioned in only one tour as a stop on the way to Luxembourg, titled the 'Band of Brothers Tour'. Of the few tours reviewed that traveled through Italy, the Sicily-Rome Cemetery is a destination, along with various German, Polish, and Commonwealth cemeteries, with no mention of Florence cemetery in Northern Italy. While the Google search phrase specified Europe, one of the websites offered an Iwo Jima tour, starting at the National Memorial Cemetery of the Pacific and Honolulu Memorial in Hawaii, then moving on to the various battleground islands where the United States fought in the Pacific theater. At no point in the tour itinerary were either of the two cemeteries located in the Philippines listed as a stop, or even mentioned at all, even though the deceased from battles like Iwo Jima are interred at these cemeteries.

A search through Tripadvisor.com reviews for the ABMC cemeteries reveals that visitor responses to the sites fall in one of three categories, (i) green space visitors commenting on the landscaping, (ii) commemoration visitors, who may have family members buried at the cemetery, who quote some form of the remembrance rhetoric 'lest we forget,' and (iii) disappointed visitors who were unhappy with their visit. There are likely many more sentiments held by visitors to the cemeteries, but without approval from the ABMC, this self-selecting group is the best available. The most common reviews are the ones commenting on the meticulous landscaping by the ABMC. The cemeteries are noted as gorgeous places to go for a walk or contemplate life, rhetoric common among parkscape settings. The second most common reviews are of the

commemoration variety. These reviews focus on the soldier dead and how the memories of the war are maintained by the ABMC. Occasionally, these reviews mention a familial connection as the reason to visit, such as a great-uncle. The least common type of review are the disappointed reviews. After the Federal Government shutdown in 2013 by failing to pass a budget, many reviews were left on Tripadvisor expressing their disappointment at the cemeteries being closed. Such reviews are examined by Hulver (2015, 349) as part of the cemeteries' memory diplomacy. Other types of disappointed reviews stem from the grave plots being cordoned off as part of the landscaping or the 'Disney-ification' of the sites due to children running around unsupervised or music playing in the memorials. It is important to note again that Tripadvisor reviews are a self-selecting group.

In Chapter 3, it was noted that the ABMC cemeteries are sensitive heritage sites. The cemeteries fit the academic definition of sensitive sites as places related to death (Car and Sturdy-Colls 2016, 703). These are also sensitive sites simply because the ABMC claim them to be such, usually on the grounds of family bereavement. On the other hand, there is a contradiction in this claim to sensitive heritage and the treatment of the sites as heritage. These sites also fit the academic definition of settled heritage, as the ABMC is a government sponsored organization tasked with the oversight of these heritage sites. As noted above, family bereavement visits to the cemeteries had nearly ceased by the mid-1960s (Hulver 2015, 312). In addition, also shown above, these sites make up a sizeable portion of heritage tours and the military tourism industry in Western Europe. Some sites have even been decried for their 'Disney-ification' in online trip

reviews. This projected image of settled heritage is brought further into question when considering the portrayal of the ABMC in the few intensive, substantial pieces of research that have been written on the Commission. This thesis marks the first time an independent researcher has undertaken intensive research on the ABMC cemeteries. Hulver finished his thesis on the memory diplomacy of the Commission in 2015 after serving in multiple internships with the ABMC. Lemay finished a book analyzing the art history of five WWII cemeteries in France in 2018 after having her introduction to the Commission facilitated by a sitting United States Senator. Finally, Connor published his historical biography of the ABMC in 2018 after having visited the cemeteries multiple times over the course of 20 years, making friends with many of the superintendents and staff in the process. As time continues to proceed from the World Wars, more independent academics will attempt to undertake research on the ABMC from various disciplinary perspectives. Based on the context of the prior research presented above, intensive research into the ABMC has in the past required close engagement and oversight by the Commission, which they seem reluctant to allow unless the Commission is relatively certain that the researcher(s) have a bias toward them or when it would be politically risky to dismiss. In addition, even in those instances where intensive research was permitted, the Commission has never allowed research to involve contact with visitors. It is posited here that the ABMC's claim to sensitive heritage status on behalf of visitors and control over intensive research projects is actively done to ensure that visitor and/or vernacular memories of the World Wars are not associated with the cemeteries, which is integral to how the ABMC constructs their narrative control in their efforts to wield soft power, which is further discussed later in

this chapter. In reality, these sites are both sensitive and settled heritage, with their sensitivity waxing and waning with the proximity to round number commemoration events. More independent research will need to physically take place at the cemeteries to show otherwise.

Cultural Myths

Many tourist destinations around the world have myths associated with them. Myth, in this context, is not in the colloquial sense such as ghost stories, although some of the ABMC cemeteries have such stories. As mentioned in Chapter 3 in relation to the methods used, this thesis refers to myth in the Barthian tradition of cultural myth or extended metaphor, connecting the denotation and connotation of the cemeteries to the ideology they represent, usually represented by ideas or notions that are 'common sense' or 'natural' (Chandler 2020, no page number). This section will focus on the two cultural myths that pertain to the ABMC and their cemeteries that were uncovered as part of this research and what their continued perpetuation might mean. These myths are born from or play into other components of the ABMC cemeteries that are covered in this chapter.

The first myth is so ingrained in the American consciousness as 'common-sense' that the ABMC has it listed second on the frequently asked questions page: "Are the cemetery grounds American territory?" (ABMC n.d.-i). The answer to this question has some nuance to it, but is ultimately no. The land the ABMC cemeteries rest on has been loaned to the United States via treaty without rent, lease, tax, or other financial burden

into perpetuity (*ibid.*). While this may in a sense mean they are American territory, the specific language of these leases enables the ABMC to operate free from certain legal and political issues. The legal issue involved is criminality. Since the cemeteries are on land still owned by the host nation, a crime that takes place at the cemeteries is dealt with by local police and laws of the host nations. This also stops criminals from seeking refuge at the cemeteries across what would be considered international borders if the myth were true. This means the ABMC does not have to worry about getting American police, diplomats, or negative international attention from outside incidents. Refuge seeking is also the heart of the political issue avoided. Since the cemeteries are not American land, no one can enter them and seek sanctuary or asylum from the United States (see Harrington 2012). This stops confusing asylum or extradition procedures from taking place around the ABMC, which would not be good public relations for any party involved, especially the Commission, as such activities would actively detract from the bereavement the Commission claims to immortalize.

If the question has a clear answer, why does this misconception still exist? The strongest case to be made lies in the civic architecture and makeup of the ABMC administration. Flying the American flag so prominently at the cemeteries, and every cemetery having an American superintendent gives the cemeteries the same 'air' and 'feeling' as an official government embassy, complete with their own diplomat. In the annual reports, the ABMC has noted that the President has instructed members of the Commission to act as "emissaries" and they have fulfilled that role (see Appendix

2.6.10.1). It also connects to ideas of land ownership being marked by cemeteries, and the dead contained therein, as show of continuity through time (see Moen 2020).

The second myth is one that was overheard during a visit to the Cambridge Cemetery on Memorial Day 2018 and has two variations: "Are the interred soldiers facing Arlington National Cemetery/Washington DC?". This question is possibly born out of religious practices found in Islam, certain Jewish denominations, and certain Christian denominations of facing a holy site or object during prayer regardless of a person's physical location on Earth.

The differences between the two variations of this question have major differences in meaning and implication, even if there is not much difference in space. Washington DC is the capital of the United States and is a district situated on the border of two states: Virginia and Maryland. Arlington National cemetery is colloquially associated with DC but is physically situated just outside of DC in Arlington, Virginia. From the perspective of the ABMC cemeteries across the Atlantic Ocean, both Arlington and Washington DC are situated so close together that to face one would also face the other. This means the difference is in the meaning and intent behind the actions of facing either location.

To have the interred face Arlington, this thesis suggests, is an homage to history of and/or focused on the US military community. Arlington National Cemetery is one of the first and largest military cemeteries in the United States, and partly inspired the architectural design of the ABMC cemeteries. Having the interred purposely face Arlington would be a means to connect the dead with the history of their cemeteries,

that even though they lay amongst inspiration, they long to be in the original. It could

also be to connect the dead with the rest of the American war dead who are buried in

Arlington. Such a reading puts emphasis on the US military community, that US soldiers

around the world are part of a singular community, even in death.

The Washington DC variant of the myth has more in common with the religious

practices noted earlier. Specifically, the practice may be in reference to the Jewish

practice of facing Jerusalem, if in Jerusalem facing the Temple Mount (current site of

the Dome of the Rock Temple), or if in Temple face the Holy of Holies (see Shurpin

n.d.). The idea of the interred war dead facing Washington DC equates the city to a holy

city. To go further with the analogy, the war dead could be facing the Capitol building in

Washington DC, or specifically the Constitution of the United States housed in the

National Archives, to which the soldiers made their oath to uphold. Such a reading

means that the layouts of the graves are part of the religious iconography of the

cemeteries, further reinforcing the notion that America is a '[Judeo-]Christian nation'.

This also supports the idea of civic religion and pilgrimage, which is covered later in this

chapter.

Bereavement and Trauma

As noted in the beginning of this chapter, the ABMC purports that visitors to their

cemeteries are actively bereaving for family members. Heritage sites such as military

cemeteries and other sites dealing with the aftermath of war are inherently tragic

(Nytagodien and Neal 2004; Broderick 2010; Carr and Sturdy Colls 2016; Hirschberger

2018; Lemay 2018b; Gross 2020; Chalcraft 2021; Su and Park 2022). While most trauma studies are concerned with the 'referent-interpretant' perspective of heritage sites (see Chapter 1 and Chapter 3), this section of the research presented in this thesis seeks to highlight the 'sign-referent' perspective of these feelings at the ABMC cemeteries. In other words, the symbols constructed into and around the sites and their possible meanings.

Regarding the trauma aspects of the 'sign-referent' perspective which is the focus of this thesis, the artistic/architectural design and construction of the ABMC cemeteries glosses over, hides, and otherwise obfuscates the trauma associated with the realities of the wars from which the Commission's cemeteries originate, essentially distancing these sites from such feelings (Lemay 2018b, 7-8). The artistic depictions of soldiers being raised whole to heaven with no depiction of injury belies the often brutal reality of death in the World Wars. The manicured landscaping offsets the reality of artillery fire craters or the vast miles of land that were nothing more than mixtures of mud, blood, and oil. While this landscaping symbolizes renewal and rebirth after conflict for the living, it glosses over and obfuscates the realities that soldiers faced. This choice may have been deliberate so as to help the war dead's next-of-kin cope with their trauma.

It is also worth mentioning within this context the example of where war crimes have been concealed in 'Plot E' of the Oise-Aisne Cemetery. This plot holds the remains of American soldiers who were executed for military crimes during the wars (Conner 2018, 213). The crimes represented include theft, looting, rape, and murder. The people

buried here are a clear contradiction to the ABMC's stance that all who are buried in

their cemeteries are heroes. According to Lemay, "there a visual shame in the

recessed, almost hidden headstones but also it would appear that the ABMC wishes to

continue to keep the existence of the plot secret from the public" (Lemay 2018b, 96).

This plot is not labeled, or even illustrated, on any map produced by the ABMC. The

headstones are not in the shape of the Latin Cross, rather they are recessed into the

ground, the highly manicured grass obscuring them from vision to the wandering eye. In

addition, the headstone markers are not symbolic of individuals either, rather they are of

multiple people convicted of their crimes. No pathway has been constructed to lead to

the plot, and the ABMC has never been open about its existence with any scholar for

publishing purposes (Conner 2018; Lemay 2018b). This placement and construction is

clearly a deliberate choice by the ABMC to hide any trauma that American soldiers

inflicted upon others during the wars. With the passage of time, there is also the chance

that those buried in 'Plot E' are innocent of the crimes for which they were convicted, as

the military justice system may have blamed African American soldiers for any rapes

committed as a scapegoat (Lemay 2018b, 95). By hiding this plot, any trauma the family

of these individuals may have gone through is left unattended into perpetuity. This

obfuscation of trauma allows the ABMC to exert greater control over the narrative

shared at the cemeteries, which will be discussed in more detail later in this chapter.

Political Field

This section of the chapter will explore the ways in which the ABMC cemeteries function

as part of, frame, or otherwise participate in political endeavors drawing upon the case

studies in Chapters 5 through 7, the history of the ABMC presented in Chapter 4, and

the case studies in Appendix 3. Drawing upon the ABMC's own stance of neutrality and

historical veracity, the section will refer to prior sections, cemetery commemoration

days, and messaging to establish that the cemeteries are deeply entrenched political

entities when they claim not to be. The political uses of conflict heritage sites have been

looked at by other scholars (e.g., Ashplant et al. 2000; Blades 2003; Beaumont 2016;

Callahan 2017; Clarke, Cento Bull, and Deganutti 2017; Cento Bull *et al.* 2019; Clarke

and Woycicka 2019).

Political Field

Figure 88 The four factors of the political field.

All the political semiotic factors of the ABMC cemeteries (see Figure 88 above) exist for

the purpose of creating and/or maintaining America's international relations. As framing

devices, the cemeteries operate as the setting for speeches on commemorative anniversaries for reaffirming friendships and alliances. A major note for this section is that the cemeteries themselves are a vestige of international relations. Each host country required a formal treaty to be drawn up, ratified, and enacted by itself and America. This required many weeks, if not months, of cooperative work and negotiations from diplomats and ambassadors immediately following the wars. The cemeteries were the tangible start to and are the modern-day continuation of such international diplomatic endeavors.

Communication of Values

The ABMC cemeteries have been the stage for America to communicate its values as part of memorial diplomacy since their inception (see Graves 2014). They function as memorial diplomacy by hosting "carefully choreographed public ceremonies on the anniversaries of historic occasions at selected sites of memory" (Graves 2014, 170). In 1919, the first chairman of the ABMC, General Pershing, spoke at the Meuse-Argonne cemetery while President Woodrow Wilson spoke at the Suresnes cemetery in France (Conner 2018, 205). The two men had differing opinions of the war and its outcomes, which may have caused a slight political rift leading to the two separate but coinciding speeches. Prime ministers, ambassadors, presidents, kings, and all other kinds of diplomats have spoken of political topics pertinent to the time of their speech at the ABMC cemeteries throughout the past century taking part in this memorial diplomacy. Memorial Day is one of a small number of commemoration days or anniversaries that all the cemeteries share, the other being Armistice Day (Veterans Day in the United

States). Each cemetery has its own anniversary date, which is either the beginning or end of the most prominently associated battle or associated military operation. For example, Normandy cemetery has D-Day, Meuse-Argonne cemetery has the anniversary of the recovery of the Lost Battalion, and the Luxembourg Cemetery has the Battle of the Bulge anniversary. These are the days when this political messaging of shared values, friendship, or tradition is the most politically effective. The recent centennial anniversary of WWI saw the various participant nations holding these ceremonies as acts of enduring friendship and value alignment. Consequently, these are the only days of the calendar year that such messaging is evoked on so grand a scale. The other 340 days of the year, the cemeteries lie effectively unnoticed for those who are not looking, waiting for the next commemoration day to come to be used again. Three instances of this memorial diplomacy in the form of speeches really highlight how these heritage sites are used. The first one involves President George H.W. Bush visiting the Sicily-Rome Cemetery in 1989. The second is a visit to Flanders Field by President Barack Obama in 2014. The final one is a speech by the American ambassador to Luxembourg at Luxembourg Cemetery in 2020. As shown in the case study for Sicily-Rome in the last chapter, President H.W. Bush spoke at the cemetery during a European tour that would culminate with a NATO meeting where the president would be asking for more funding from member nations. During his speech, President H.W. Bush retold the story of an American folk hero from WWII, Sergeant Audie Murphy, who was buried in the cemetery. He used this story and the other bodies that lay in the cemetery to underscore his mission and desired outcome from his upcoming NATO address, that more funding to the military alliance would ensure that another

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cemetery need never be built. There is an irony here, that no nation should want its citizens to become a legendary folk hero, but should it happen there is no qualm with evoking their story for political purposes.

President Obama's visit to Flanders Field Cemetery in 2014 was used to criticize the existence of chemical weapons in Syria. Surrounded by the American war dead of WWI, President Obama, along with the Belgian King and Prime Minister, reaffirmed the message of friendship between America and Belgium before admonishing the use of chemical weapons. Such chemical weapons had been the cause of death of a multitude of people from all participating nations in WWI. President Obama was using the cemetery setting to imply that history itself was condemning the contemporary stockpile and use of such weapons on the international stage. Syria had been embroiled in a civil war since 2012, and both sides claimed the other used chemical warfare in and around the cities of Aleppo and Damascus (see Masterson and Quinn 2021).

A more recent instance of memorial diplomacy is the American ambassador to Luxembourg speaking at the Luxembourg Cemetery on Memorial Day 2020. He assured the few press that were present and all those watching online that the men who lay in the cemetery were happy to help liberate Luxembourg during WWII. Connecting his speech to the present day, the ambassador implied that all those around the world who were dying from the Covid pandemic should be just as happy. This speech implies that fighting a pandemic is equal to fighting a war. And as covered in the horticulture section of the physical semiotics, death in war is divine and not to be questioned. At the

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very least, it equates the deaths between the two, and since death and casualty in war

is seen as socially acceptable, so too should the deaths and casualties from the

pandemic. This ignores the criticisms during any conflict as to the number of casualties

a country faces and criticism on how governments have handled the pandemic.

At other times, the ABMC cemeteries function as parts of cultural diplomacy (Winter

2014; 2015; 2016). President George H. W. Bush in 1989 and Obama in 2014 made

stops at the cemeteries while on overseas trips for other diplomatic measures. During

the Cold War, when France asked the United States to remove all its troops from

French borders, President Lyndon B. Johnson famously, or infamously, quipped to the

French ambassador if such request included the dead ones too, or merely the living

(see Cohen 1994; Hulver 2015). This was done to deter the French, for there was fear

that if the French insisted on the change that communism from the USSR would take

hold soon after in country. After a hurricane in the 1970s, the Manila cemetery in the

Philippines gave local residents clean water from their storage tank until their

infrastructure was back online (see Appendix 2.7.8.1 and 2.7.8.2). While this took a toll

on the landscape maintenance of the cemetery for a few months and was the moral

thing to do, it brought great political influence from the Philippines toward the United

States.

U.S military community

During the pilot study Memorial Day visit to Cambridge Cemetery in 2018, the

superintendent giving a tour talked about military visitors. He often talks to military

officials in the United States about having newer recruits stationed at the nearby airbase

in Lakenheath brought to the cemetery. The superintendent stressed how important it is

for the newer members of the US armed forces to see the cemeteries, and that

stationing them at Lakenheath gave them a better chance of making such a trip.

Members of America's military need to see the dead of their past to fully understand and

internalize the messages, values, and traditions for which they are fighting. This is a

specific and targeted example of the communication of values above, at use on

America's own citizens. These notions of showing current military members America's

war dead as part of an initiation may also play into the seemingly ever-present idea of

'leave no man behind' (see Samet 2005; Wong 2005 for further exploration behind the

phrase). This also reinforces the idea that American soldiers, alive and dead, all belong

to one community.

Field Overlap

Up until this point, this chapter has analyzed the most prominent physical, sociocultural,

and political semiotic aspects identified across the ABMC cemeteries and the various

components associated with each. The signs and meanings of the ABMC cemeteries,

however, do not operate in isolation. The diagram in Figure 89 below shows how the

three primary fields from the first half of the chapter overlap to form a Venn Diagram.

The overlapping sections of the diagram highlight the primary functions of the ABMC

cemeteries as heritage sites in the present, namely that of the cemeteries as sites of

pilgrimage, sites for education, and sites for projecting a specific vision of American

identity abroad. These functions are the primary intention identified for the ABMC in

Chapter 4 and arise from an understanding of the combination of the semiotic fields above.
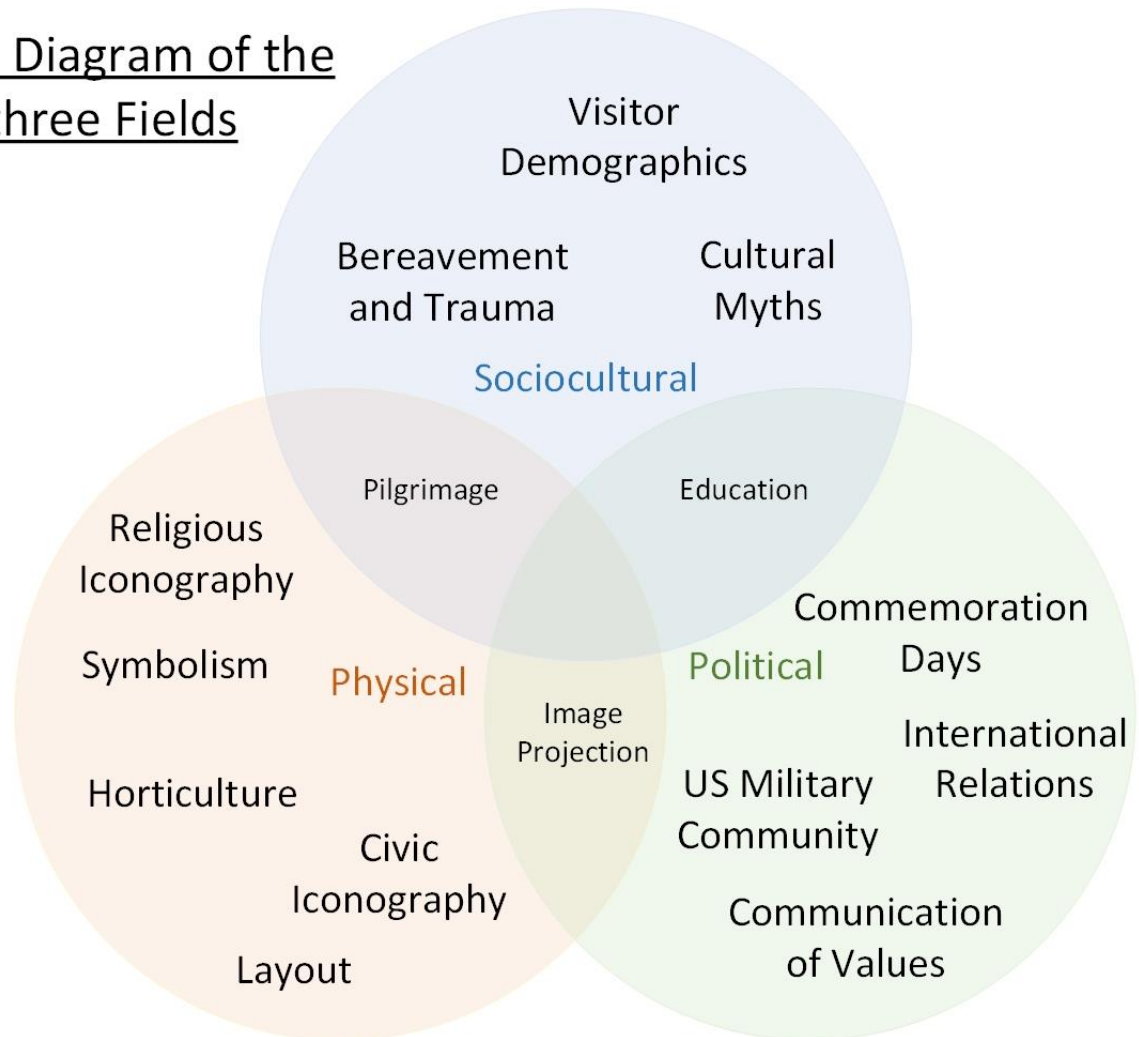
Figure 89 Diagram of the semiotic fields from above as a Venn Diagram.

The overlap between the physical and sociocultural fields is pilgrimage. While going through the archive material for the ABMC and looking at their website content, pilgrimage language is invoked when referring to commemoration days, anniversary events, or the dead (see Budreau 2008; Conner 2018; Appendix 2.7.10.3). This section is the most straightforward of the overlaps as the cemeteries are places of pilgrimage

for people to make journeys to and are referred to as such. There are three distinct kinds of pilgrimage that can be made which are religious pilgrimage, civic pilgrimage, and heritage pilgrimage, and each is the subject of the different fields to greater extents, which will be shown later in this chapter. While it is done through constructed aspects of the built environment, people who go to the cemeteries can visit the chapel, visitor center/museums, or talk to the ABMC personnel to learn about the war from which the dead originate. This education is informed by the political goals of America and the ABMC, with stories and political messaging chosen to show America in the best light. Such an educational endeavor is useless, however, without people to receive it. As such, education is the outcome of the overlap between the sociocultural and political fields. The outcome of the physical and political field overlap is image projection. Two images are being projected by these cemeteries, with the second image being reliant on the first. Essentially, the ABMC, when designing the cemeteries, wanted the physical architecture and landscaping to answer two questions, the first question being "Whose cemetery is this?", the answer being America (see Chapter 4). In the archive records of the ABMC, the first board of the Commission started with the answer and worked backward to create the question. To them, there could be no doubt in any visitor's mind who operated the cemeteries. The second question being asked is "What does it mean to be an American?". The answer to the second question is much more complicated than the first. Nevertheless, when someone enters an ABMC cemetery, there is no doubt what country operates it. And during a person's visit to an ABMC cemetery, a specific political idea of America is being projected onto the visitor via the whole of the designed and constructed landscape, regardless of whether they are aware of it or not.

As such, the image projection of the sites is the outcome of the overlap between the physical and political fields.

The next section of the chapter will discuss the functions pilgrimage, education, and image projection fulfill independently before continuing to the remainder of the chapter which examines how the three fields act as a totality. Until the ABMC publishes its own visitor studies or allows outside independent research to be conducted on its visitors, the information in the pilgrimage and education sections will contain speculative elements based on the information available at the sites themselves and are based on assumptions about people as a collective entity.

Pilgrimage

Ideas of pilgrimage are not new to cemeteries. In an attempt to create a typology, Rugg draws upon ideas of pilgrimage as support for the 'sacredness' of cemeteries (see Rugg 2000). The literature written about CWGC sites after WWI uses language overtly associated with pilgrimage such as 'Lest we forget' (see Scutts 2009), language that is also used and associated with the ABMC cemeteries. Trips to Gallipoli by Australians have been described as 'secular pilgrimage' and coming of age rituals (see Hyde 2011). Lemay (2018b, 27) makes mention of individual family pilgrimage to the ABMC cemeteries in France. In addition, as mentioned in Chapter 4, the Federal Government financed the 'Gold-Star Mothers Pilgrimage' (Budreau 2008; 2010). Due to the digitized remote nature of this thesis, no examples of family pilgrimage for the past four years can be known or verified, outside of Lemay (2018b). These ideas and this project

connect to wider studies regarding pilgrimage and tourism to war cemeteries, memorials, and battlefields by such authors as John Urry (1990), David Lloyd (1998), Kevin Blackburn (2001), and Caroline Winter (2019). Mention of secular pilgrimage to war memorials all over the world has become more pronounced in the present day (see Reader 2015, 103-104), and the ABMC cemeteries function as interim sites for the transition from religious to secular (or civic) pilgrimage. The ABMC cemeteries would also function as a good setting for a continuation of Caroline Winter's recent 2019 work on pilgrimage votive deposition at war memorials.
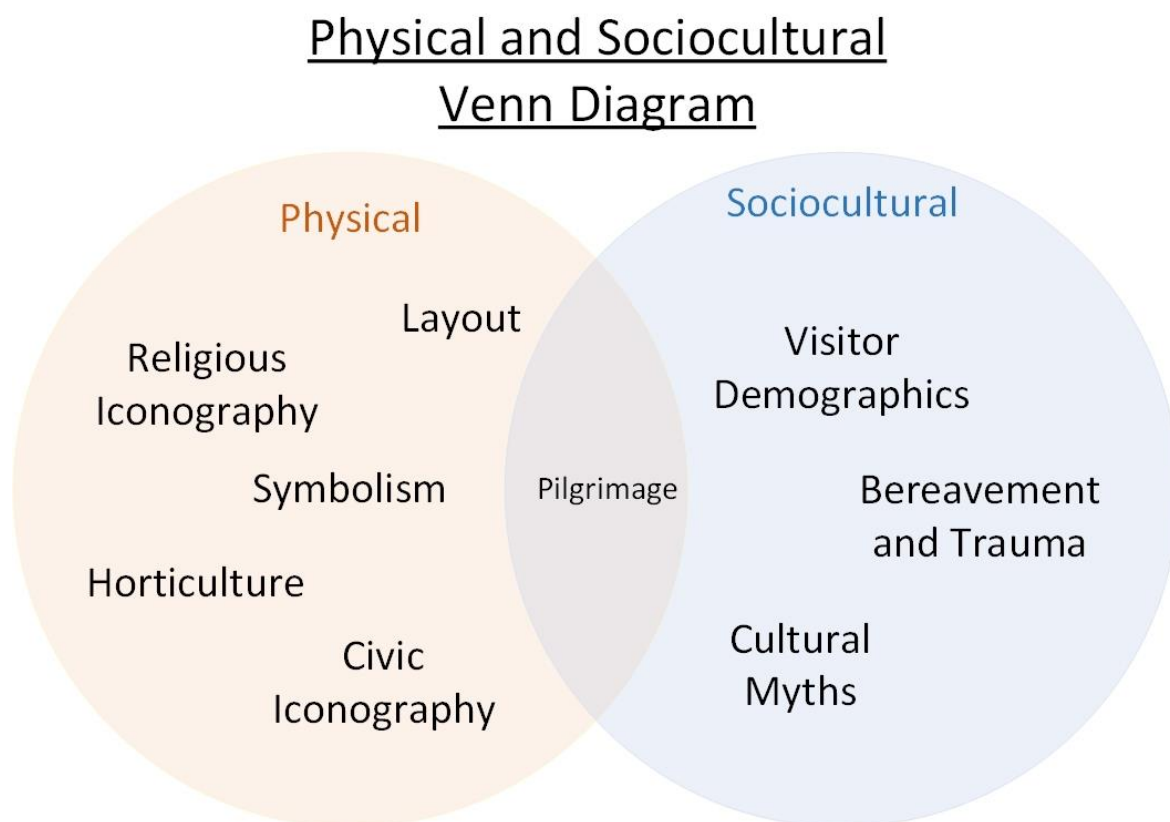
Figure 90 Focused Venn Diagram of the Physical and Sociocultural semiotic fields.

The Commission itself is on record expecting people to visit the cemeteries for

pilgrimage reasons (see Appendix 2.2.18; see also Conner 2018) to grieve for fallen

loved ones. The word pilgrimage has significant religious connotations, and the ABMC

cemeteries, as outlined in the physical thematic sections above, have multiple religious

elements to them. These religious aspects of the cemeteries formed the basis for

choosing the term pilgrimage as the title for the overlap of the physical and sociocultural

fields of the cemeteries, shown in Figure 90 above. However, focusing purely on the

religious connotation of the word pilgrimage is to dismiss or diminish the other meanings

of the word that heritage in general, and the ABMC cemeteries specifically, engender,

as:

> "pilgrimage is found almost universally across religious traditions, it has also, in modern contexts, become widely associated with places that have no specific religious affiliations or links to formal religious traditions. Many of the themes associated with pilgrimage may be visible in a variety of settings that include visits to the graves and homes of deceased celebrities, war memorials, places associated with seminal political figures, and itineraries relating to the search for cultural roots, identity, and heritage. Moreover, those who participate in such visits may refer to their activities as pilgrimages and to themselves as pilgrims." (Reader 2015, 100)

There are three broad classifications of purposeful visitor to the ABMC cemeteries, (i)

the visitors making the trip from purely heritage education/tourist perspectives, (ii) those

making the visit for purely patriotic/nationalist reasons, or a (iii) mix of the prior two with

more interest in the religious meanings of the cemeteries. In thinking about all three of

these visiting categories, the word pilgrimage in the title is done so from the broadest

definition of making a trip to a specific foreign destination. Within the next sections, this

thesis will discuss the distinct types of pilgrimage evoked by the ABMC cemeteries, utilizing their various connotations as necessary. The reason that pilgrimage is an overlap area of the diagram is because it can only take place when people come to visit the cemeteries for reasons that overlap with the symbolism of the physical aspects of the cemeteries. Without either the physicality of the cemeteries or the people visiting, pilgrimage cannot take place. Pershing and the ABMC's wish for pilgrimages would only come true twice, such as with the visit of the Gold Star mothers in 1937 (Budreau 2008).

Religious Pilgrimage

This section addresses the most common connotation associated with the word pilgrimage, the religious. Most of the religious aspects have already been examined in the broader physical field above. Unsurprisingly, this section on religious pilgrimage has crossover with the physical components of this religious nature. The religious symbolism inherent in the headstone shapes and presence of the physical chapel building, under such specific terminology, offers up the ABMC cemeteries as places for Judeo- Christian pilgrimage for Americans along the lines of Jerusalem in Israel. This type of pilgrimage is also where the ABMC expected most visitors to originate from (see Appendix 2.2.18). Families who lost loved ones during the World Wars, who are themselves religious, would have been more likely to hold funerals or burials in line with their religious views in a local churchyard or cemetery. This group would be most relieved to make a religious pilgrimage to the ABMC cemeteries and see the Christian or Jewish symbolism associated with their family members and the thought that the fallen have received a proper Judeo-Christian burial. Further reinforcement of this idea

is that the notion of pilgrimage is part of the crusader motif at sites like Flanders Field and Aisne-Marne (Robin 1995; Bull 1997).

Civic Pilgrimage

Americans are familiar with making pilgrimage to military sites important to American history. Before the ABMC was established, many had begun to make such journeys to Gettysburg (see Gatewood and Cameron 2004) and Arlington (see Grant 2005). These visitors come for the different notions of nationalism, patriotism, identity, and the symbolism of American values presented within the cemeteries. All these notions are part of the American civil religion, where symbols, songs, people, and ideas relating to the state are elevated and held in regard much like a religion (Gardella 2014; Karant 2016; Watson 2019). The civil religion allows for different, if not mutually exclusive, ideas of the state to fit into the collective identity. It can combine white Christian nationalists who want America to be a white Christian ethno-state to be categorized with those who see America as the diverse multicultural ideal for the world, as both can read their preferred meaning into these cemeteries. Civil religion is therefore the most inclusive way to address this modern American identity. Moreover, civic pilgrimage as such is an extension of religious pilgrimage while still addressing the more secular connotations.

The symbolism that civil pilgrims seek would be the landscaping and maintenance of the grass, trees, and other plantings at the cemeteries, the maintenance of the headstones, the American flag, and all the symbolic iconography of American tradition.

The landscape and maintenance may be to ensure that fellow Americans who sacrificed everything during the World Wars are seen to be taken care of while being identified or lying under the American flag. The religious pilgrims mentioned earlier may come to the chapel as a place of religion to pray, while civic pilgrims may be drawn to its architectural style imitating that of Washington DC. The domed ceilings, Greek columns, and American seal all recalling the American value and tradition of democracy, and by extension the World Wars being fought to ensure that right for all people (Robin 1995). The symbolism of the physical field of the cemeteries were purposely designed and authorized by the ABMC to appeal to visitors of either civic or religious pilgrimage types.

Heritage Pilgrimage

The first two types of pilgrimage examined above are not specifically for American consumption but are certainly targeted toward an American audience. This final type of pilgrimage, heritage pilgrimage, is not targeted toward an American audience but the wider heritage or tourist audience. Pilgrimage as the primary motivation for tourism has been established for other military sites (see Gough 1996), thanatourism specifically (see Seaton 2002), and tourism in general (see Dunkley et al., 2011). The visitors in this section could come from the local area around the cemeteries or from other countries. Visitors coming from the immediate local community will be addressed in more detail below. Heritage pilgrims may be coming to learn about the history of the World Wars or coming to view the architecture for its own sake. There are many tourism studies about the diverse types of visitors to heritage sites, which will not be analyzed in this thesis. Heritage pilgrims also have the most overlap not just with the physical field section of

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the cemeteries, but also the political field via the education produced by and for the

cemeteries. However, they still need the cemeteries to be physically present to visit and

make the pilgrimage.

Education

For the purposes of this research, education is considered the outcome of the overlap

between the sociocultural and political fields from earlier in this last chapter, reproduced

in Figure 91 below. Education is a robust and nuanced field of study, but in practice will

always need someone to set the curriculum (read politics) and someone to receive said

curriculum (read people) (see Lawton 1980). If lacking either of these two foundations,

education is nonexistent.

Sociocultural and Political Venn Diagram

Sociocultural

Political

Bereavement and Trauma

Visitor Demographics

Cultural Myths

Education

Commemoration Days

International Relations

US Military Community

Communication of Values
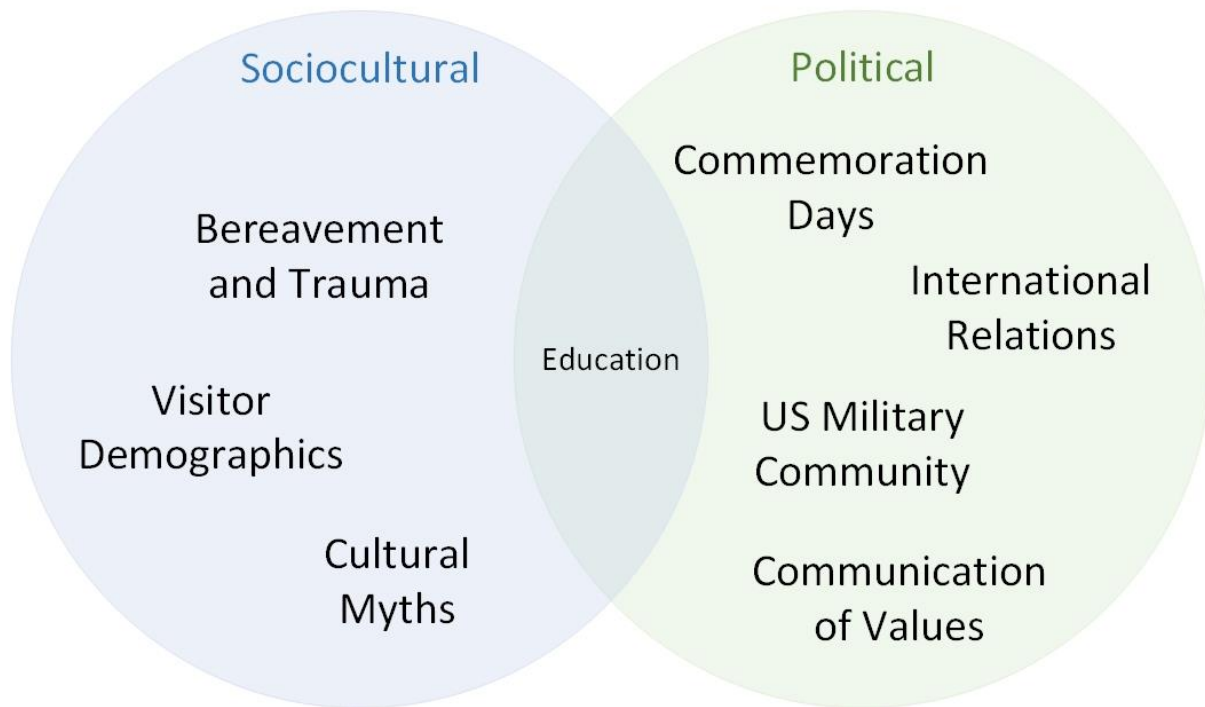
Figure 91 Focused Venn Diagram of the Sociocultural and Political semiotic fields.

In the historical context of the ABMC analyzed in Chapter 4, it was noted that in recent decades a transition has taken place in the operation of the Commission. As the fiftieth and centennial anniversaries for the World Wars have come and gone, the ABMC has added interpretation as part of heritage care to their mission list to provide a more educational experience for visitors (Conner 2018). This has included getting some of the sites on heritage listings where possible (see Appendix 2.8.5) and the construction of museums at the cemeteries. Often, this museum construction has taken the form of refurbishing the visitor room in the administrative building to become a museum-like space. At other cemeteries such as Cambridge or Normandy, a separate purpose-built

building has been constructed. These buildings are often concealed to be out of sight from most of the site for two reasons, (i) the newer, turn of the millennium architecture, would be in stark contrast to the marbled, traditional feel of the remainder of the cemetery, and (ii) if the cemetery is inscribed on a historic register, such as Cambridge Cemetery being a grade I listed park and garden in the UK, any new construction has to be approved via the heritage planning process of the host country (see RIBA 2021) *while* meeting the expectations of the CFA in America. This turn to heritage education and the use of the formal term 'museum', with its educational, if not also its impartial or apolitical connotations, help to disguise the politics inherent in these cemeteries by what are on the surface noble goals and intentions (Linantud 2008). Such a noble goal of education can even be used as a shield when facing criticism from outsiders, be they politicians of any country, visitors, academics, or even family members of the deceased.

Image Projection

To Pershing and the ABMC "the American burial grounds were not meant to be mere memorials; they were designed primarily as representations of the American spirit abroad and as a political 'foothold in Europe'..." (Robin 1995, 55). When analyzing the political functions of the ABMC cemeteries in Chapter 4, this thesis highlighted the use of the ABMC as pseudo-ambassadors in the host countries of the cemeteries. It also described earlier in this chapter how the cemeteries themselves are the settings for political acts, such as speeches, by being the setting for acts of continued international relations between America and its allies. During the analysis in the prior chapters, the symbolism of the ABMC cemeteries and their possible readings were the focus. In

Figure 92 below, these political uses for the cemeteries and the Commission are linked

with the physical construction of the cemeteries to inform how American identity is

projected internationally.
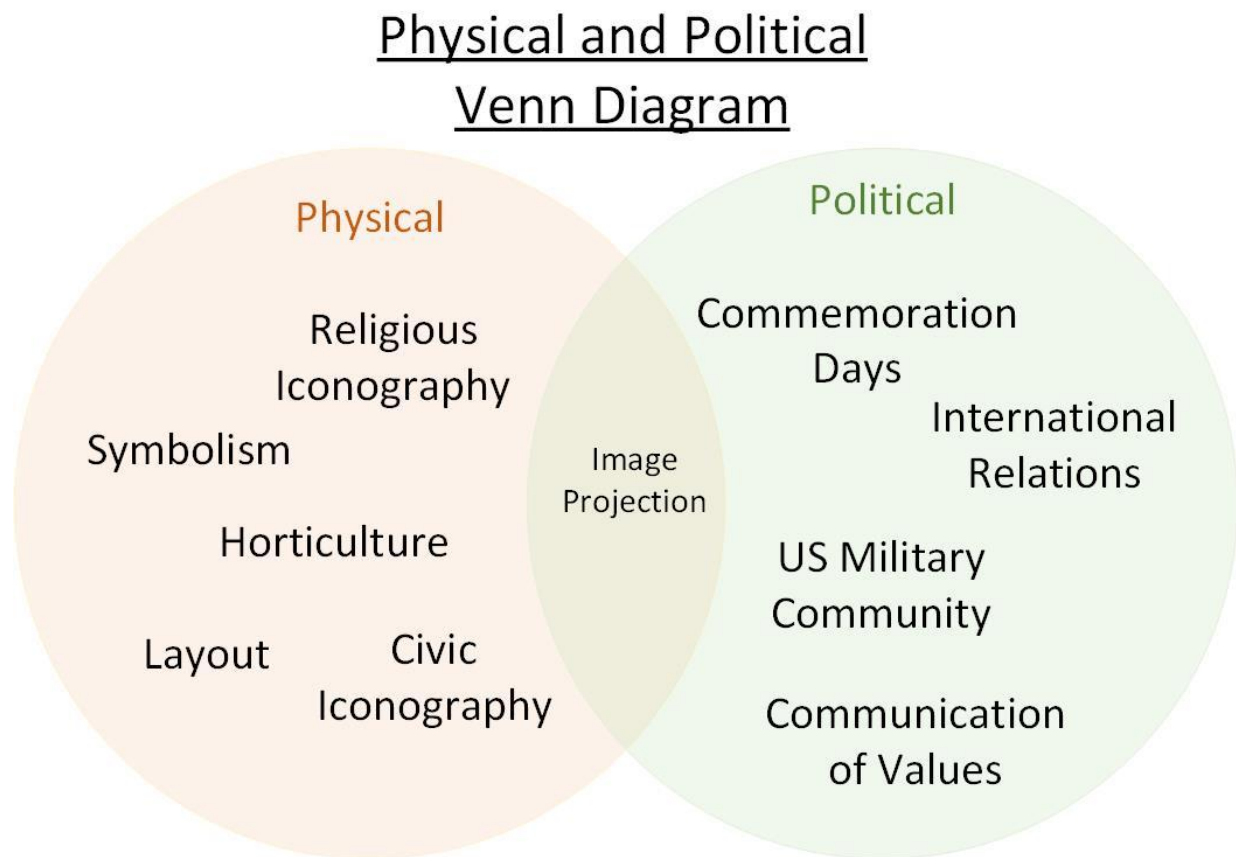
Figure 92 Focused Venn Diagram of the Physical and Political semiotic fields.

The combination of the two fields, physical and political (shown in Figure 92 above)

relies on the symbolism inherent in the design of the cemeteries to reinforce a specific

image of America to the rest of the world, but especially to other political agents during

commemorative events. The religious symbolism reinforces the idea of America as a

Judeo-Christian nation, with the civic symbolism reinforces American values and

traditions. On the political side, the monuments and memorials constructed at the

cemeteries, especially in WWI cemeteries, emphasize the friendship between America

and the host country. While not a part of this project, the largest example is the

Chateau-Thierry monument in France, where two massive statues portray two women

linked in friendship, one America the other French (ABMC n.d.-b, 19). Regardless of the

reality that these cemeteries are not 'American soil,' the ABMC cemeteries nonetheless

project an idea that 'this is America', which is useful for politicians and diplomats

enacting the government's agenda overseas. More useful for the politicians, however, is

the presence of the soldier dead. The message, unconsciously or otherwise, put forth is

'we *died* for *you*'. That message is more than implied during the speeches of

commemoration days, where it is explicitly stated that the grounds of modern friendship

between America and other nations begins with the fallen of the World Wars present in

the cemeteries.

These messages and this idea of image projection are most at work in the people who

live, work, and spend the most time among the cemeteries: the local populace. This

image projection functions as the invisibility of heritage inherent to monuments erected

in public spaces (see Musil 2006). By being around these sites every day, the

messages carried by the sites are likely to be internalized and normalized by the local

populace (Schjrivers 2012). This is the most efficient form of soft power in use by the

ABMC, which will be covered in more detail in the next section. This image projection

has resulted in the Netherlands cemetery having every American grave 'adopted' every

year at commemoration days for flowers to be placed (see Chapter 4). These

'adoptions' are sometimes claimed by a family and have carried on through generations.

The ABMC themselves could not foresee such a situation and have regarded it as the most positive form of public relations within the entire history of the Commission (Conner 2018). The landscaping techniques and ideals examined in the physical field above paired with the architecture are the physical, tangible face of America across the Atlantic Ocean, born out of "the desire to control and guide symbolic representations of America abroad, which, in the absence of a firm governmental policy, had established an eclectic appearance in Europe in the immediate aftermath of the Great War" (Robin 1995, 57) show foreign audiences an America without turmoil and where every action taken serves a greater ideological purpose.

Soft Power

The ABMC cemeteries operate as the location for, and tool used to engage, soft power when all three fields, physical, sociocultural, and political are considered together, shown in Figure 93 below. Soft power is enacted through attraction and endearment, with perceived legitimacy being the key to its realization (Luke and Kersel 2012, 4). The ABMC cemeteries employ a time-capsule effect and narrative control to enact this soft power. By placing themselves as apolitical agents of an apolitical agency, the ABMC is free to tell the story of the World Wars and America that it feels is most appropriate. The way soft power is achieved at the ABMC cemeteries is primarily through narrative control, as the confluence of the three fields identified in this research, physical, sociocultural, and political. This narrative control is what allowed the ABMC to pivot from purely custodial duties immediately following the construction of the cemeteries to a heritage interpretation focus in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. If any

of the three fields are missing, the cemeteries would be much more akin to an embassy, a school, or a road-side attraction. Without the sociocultural field, the cemeteries are sites of ornate architecture where political actors meet to discuss their agendas, like an embassy. If the architecture and symbolism of physical field are not present, then the sites are like a school where people go to learn about the World Wars. And without the political field and activities at commemoration events, the sites are no different than other roadside heritage attractions trying to attract tourists.
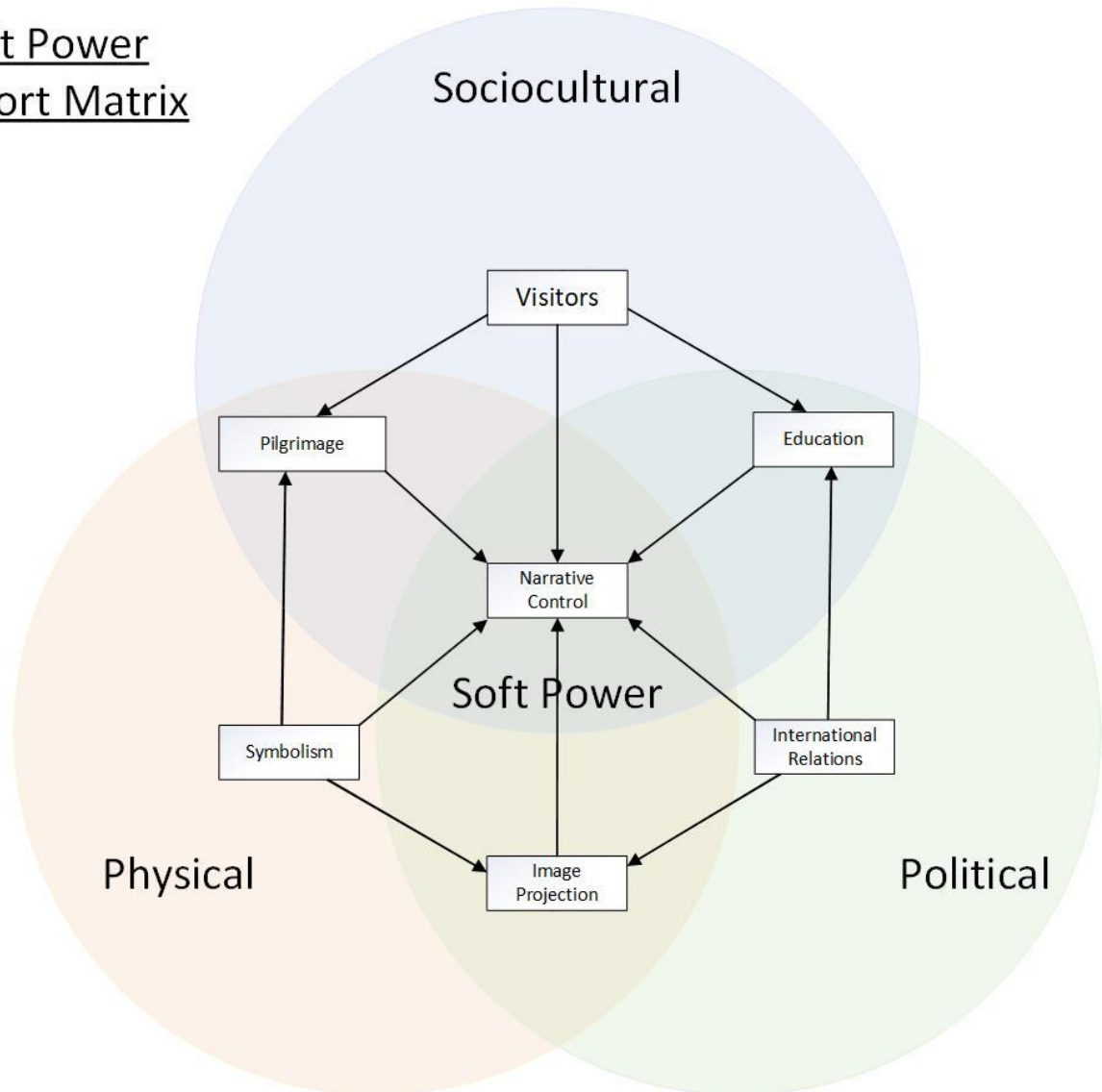
Figure 93 Diagram of the primary roles from each semiotic field of the ABMC cemeteries, how they influence each other and construct the soft power of the cemeteries and the ABMC.

Building on Luke and Kersel's (2012) work regarding archaeological research centers overseas and the soft power they promote, the ABMC cemeteries function in much the same way by being staffed by Americans and acting as ambassadors for the United States. However, since the ABMC is not looking to expand the cemeteries or help send

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American agents into other countries, the Commission can be regarded as apolitical even more so than other heritage or archaeological institutions in foreign lands such as the British School at Rome or the Council of American Overseas Research Centers. This is only further enhanced by the ABMC's passivity. While other United States agencies actively send out agents or politicians to forge deals and make agreements, the ABMC waits for people to visit the cemeteries and memorials.

The soft power the ABMC possesses lies primarily in the cemeteries as settings. Visitors who come to the cemeteries are primed by the setting to hear its American perspective on the events of the World Wars that happens at three levels. The first level is through symbolism of the architecture and the cemeteries as designed landscapes covered in the physical field earlier in this chapter. At the second level is the museums and informational materials; visitors are not required to engage with these materials, but if they do, the narrative control aspect of the cemeteries' soft power can begin to change the perception of visitors. The final level is if visitors ask the superintendent or other employees for a tour. Such tours take place in the present while allowing the tour guide to make connections between the past wars and the fallen to events happening today. This would most likely manifest in the ABMC putting forward American values, or the values the ABMC wants visitors to associate with America in the contemporary world. As the dead do not speak, the Commission speaks for them, that they fought for those American values, even as those values and their meaning have changed over time.

Of other note from Luke and Kersel's (2012) work is the artifact as political object. If a soldier in an ABMC cemetery has been misidentified, the remains may be removed from the cemetery. This removal would be done with strict secrecy to maintain the privacy of the dead (ABMC FOIA 2010), as it was when the remains of one of President Roosevelt's sons was moved to Normandy discussed in Chapter 4. This secrecy also keeps the ABMC fixed in time, as the news of remains being removed and the grave layout being altered would remind people that the events commemorated are long past. Following removal, the remains would then be moved to be reburied in a cemetery of the appropriate nation, which would get international headlines and adulation from foreign political agents and diplomats for the treatment of the dead while it was believed to be American. These two occurrences may seem disjointed with the present-day proliferation of the internet, but before the new millennia the two events would occur in different nations with vastly different press coverage, and different nationalisms (Billig 1995). The war dead of these cemeteries are themselves the political artifact, and the positive treatment of them architecturally will elicit the kind of positive attitude resulting from soft power that Luke and Kersel examined in their work (Luke and Kersel 2012, 45).

Eliciting positive influence from soft power depends on the type of diplomacy used to enact it. The different layers of diplomacy at work for the ABMC cemeteries are shown below in Figure 94. The cemeteries operate as places of cultural diplomacy (Cull 2009; Winter 2014; 2015; 2016) because the ABMC built them using American architectural inspirations and with America's image abroad in mind (see Appendix 2.1.4). Since the

1980's, with the ABMC turning to heritage interpretation and with a handful of the cemeteries being inscribed on heritage lists, the cemeteries operate as sites of heritage diplomacy (Winter 2015). The most choreographed form of diplomacy at the cemeteries is that of memorial diplomacy (Graves 2014), with political actors reaffirming alliances and friendships at the cemeteries. All these various forms of diplomacy are built upon a shared, or at least accepted, memory propagated by the ABMC cemeteries. While there is no official position as a 'memory diplomat,' memory underscores all diplomatic efforts around the world (Hulver 2015).

The Layers of Diplomacy

Cultural Diplomacy

Heritage Diplomacy

Memorial Diplomacy

Memory [Diplomacy]
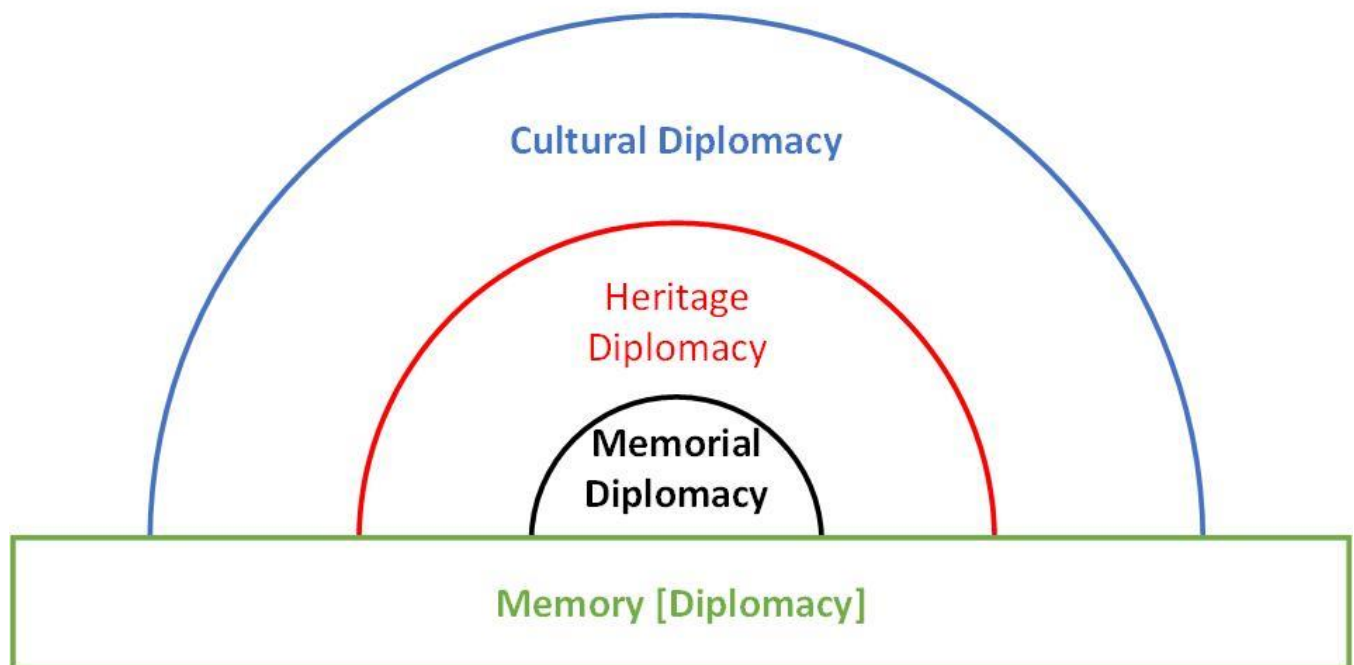
Figure 94 Layers of diplomacy in operation at the ABMC cemeteries and how the cemeteries are used, based upon the ideas of Graves (2014), Hulver (2015), and Winter (2014; 2015; 2016).

The remainder of this chapter will discuss the two ways that the soft power of the ABMC cemeteries manifests and the possible functions of such manifestation.

Geography

There are two aspects of the geography that help to construct the soft power of the ABMC cemeteries, (i) the uniformity of the geography and (ii) the spatial distance between America and the cemeteries inherent in their extra-territorial locations. Uniformity of geography refers to the meticulous landscaping performed on the cemeteries. As covered in the sociocultural section above, the meticulous landscape maintenance is the most identified feature by visitors in Tripadvisor reviews. While the impeccable status of the cemeteries is typically taken as honoring of the dead, it also gives a veneer of sameness to the cemeteries. The clean headstones, mowed green grass, etc. are all hallmarks of the geography. In effect, without knowing the subtle threshold design, religious iconographic, and civic iconographic differences between the cemeteries, the average visitor may be forgiven for adhering to the colloquial notion 'seen one, seen them all'. This could be why outlier influences make some cemeteries more visited than others, such as Normandy overlooking the beaches of the invasion or General Patton's presence in Luxembourg. This idea may keep American visitors who do not believe the institutional memory narrative from visiting multiple cemeteries and possibly from asking questions around federal spending for the cemeteries.

The geographic distance idea seems insidious by design but came about more by happenstance than intention. Earlier in this chapter, it was noted how there is no segregation by race among the burials at the ABMC cemeteries despite the fact that at the time of their creation, the American armed forces were still segregated by race. This fact helps the ABMC today in the 21st century as exemplifying American progress and hiding the racial animosity present in the country's history. The geographic distance also helps in much the same way. Referring to Olick's (et al. 2011) typologies of collective memory, of which the ABMC is the institutional memory, there are also vernacular and autobiographic memories of the World Wars. Specifically for WWI, the United States Federal Government never published an official history of the war, so the ABMC's institutional memory is the de facto official memory and history of America for the war. In the 21st century there are two types of memory American visitors have, (i) historical memory and (ii) vernacular memory, but all visitors will have a mix of the two. If the visitor is a history aficionado, they most likely know the narrative of the wars put forward by the ABMC. And by visiting the cemeteries, they are giving implicit support for this narrative and memory from the American perspective. American visitors who may only have a vernacular memory of the wars from school or their family may be more likely to spontaneously visit the cemeteries if they are already visiting that area of the world. These visitors are more likely to accept the narrative put forward by the ABMC as an official American institution, again giving implicit American popular support, and thus legitimacy to the narrative. Any protests or counter memories being put forward for the World Wars are most likely to take place within American borders. Visitors who already believe the ABMC narrative are more likely to make the journey to visit the cemeteries

and a visitor who knows nothing of the World Wars or America's participation therein is unlikely to make the journey. Thus, the ABMC is always putting forward this image of American popular and official support to foreign visitors, which no matter how minor, helps to construct the soft power of the cemeteries.

Frozen in Time

One factor supporting the soft power of the cemeteries is the 'time capsule' effect with which they are constructed. In this case, the time capsules are the cemeteries themselves. By presenting them as pristine, static items that never change as time moves forward, any visitor entering the sites returns to the day after they were dedicated, whether that is 1937, 1956, or 1960. This effect is accomplished primarily by extremely detailed landscape and building maintenance, and highly controlled language within the on-site interpretation.

The ABMC ensures that its cemeteries never go through the transitions normal cemeteries go through. After the period of initial burial, new burials were seldom added to the sites, and with extremely rare exceptions, none of the ABMC cemeteries are open to new burials today. If a body from WWI or WWII is uncovered today and identified as American, the body is likely to be buried in Arlington cemetery with full military honors. Any new bodies that have been interred in the ABMC cemeteries since their dedication had the utmost effort spent to source the correct type of marble for the headstone to match the remainder of the cemetery. If a body is to be disinterred for identification purposes, little, if any, news stories or fanfare is made by the ABMC (ABMC FOIA

2010). By the ABMC going to such lengths, they greatly limit the awareness of the cemeteries in reference to the passage of time.

Moving from the fallen to their resting places, the ABMC never lets the graves themselves age. Part of the landscape maintenance is re-leveling the ground where the body is buried to stop it from sinking, a natural effect of subsidence of the ground over time (see Appendix 2.5.2; 2.5.3). The trees and grass chosen for the cemeteries were done so to avoid excessive maintenance costs and any perceived negative image caused by items such as decaying leaves or barren trees depending on the season (see Appendix 2.2.16; 2.6.4; 2.6.13). Another effect of these plantings is that, once matured, the cemeteries look the same no matter the season or year. The size of some of the trees suggests they have been there for hundreds of years, if not eternity. This landscape maturation took decades to achieve, and the ABMC had planned it from the beginning (see Appendix 2.2.16; 2.6.13). The headstones are meticulously cleaned to avoid sun bleaching, stains, or overgrowth (see Appendix 2.5.2; 2.5.3; 2.6.7; 2.7.5). In the 1970's, the ABMC tried out some of the early pressure washers to aid in this effort to enormous success. A cemetery's life cycle is one of aging, overgrowth, and eventual reuse. This reuse is either of the individual plots for new burials when the old ones have been forgotten or of the entire cemetery for different construction (see Townsend 2012; Wallis et al. 2014; McCarthy 2017). By not allowing new burials, the ABMC cemeteries should be on a quick timeframe toward restitution back to the host countries and reuse, which has been asked of the Commission a few times in its history (see Appendix 2.6.18; 2.9.1). By maintaining the grounds as though only built and dedicated yesterday,

the ABMC maintains this time capsule effect. The bodies and memory of the wars will forever remain fresh for use in the present and going forward into the future.

Narrative Control

The soft power present at any heritage site is going to differ based on the specific fields of memory the site is constructed with that would contribute to its own soft power matrix. For the ABMC cemeteries, the soft power is manifested as narrative control. This control is truly the coalescent point of the entire diagram and the function of the ABMC cemeteries. The time-capsule effect discussed above allows for the ABMC to enact its narrative control without regard to time passed. The Commission has final say over the history of the American World War experience, as they are the arbiters of the 'American truth' of the events. Their narrative control manifests via the education visitors receive through the visitor centers/museums made physical via the image of America projected to all visitors. To highlight an example: in the booklets for Sicily-Rome and Florence cemeteries, which are put forth as educational materials/resources, the story presented states that during the Mediterranean Campaign of WWII, the allied troops that landed in Sicily and fought their way up the Italian peninsula triggering the surrender of Italy, only met German opposition (ABMC 2016; 2018n; 2018m). The allied troops specifically meet resistance by dug-in "German troops" (*ibid.*). This distinction dismisses Italy's actions as part of the Axis Powers by presenting the country as one invaded and occupied like Poland at the start of the war, rather than an active then occupied enemy combatant.

The power of this narrative control is quite apparent should the ABMC wish to deflect criticism. Unless the critic understands how the ABMC cemetery in question functions physically, politically, socioculturally, and how they reinforce one another within the cemetery, any criticism against one field of memory of the cemetery is deflected and shifted to a different one. For example, a person criticizing the ABMC for their image projection or international politics is responded to by bringing the narrative over to the sociocultural field or education under the title heritage. In other words, if political or physical fields are being critiqued, talk about the sociocultural. If the sociocultural is critiqued, talk about the political or the physical. Every aspect of the functional diagram of the ABMC cemeteries supports the others, represented by the soft power matrix in Figure 93 above. The ABMC purports to be apolitical, essentially denying one entire field of how their cemeteries and agency operate. This would leave them with the sociocultural and physical fields. This research has shown the Commission and their cemeteries to be more than they claim, and that the cemeteries have been functioning primarily for their roles in politics and physical construction, or as Robin (1995) put it: "A Political Foothold in Europe".

Other Cemeteries of the Allied Nations

The soft power matrix in Figure 93 above cannot be universally applied to cemeteries of the other Allied forces. There are several reasons for this, specific to the country's situation following the World Wars. The English and French cemeteries do not have the same physical impact, and the Australian cemeteries, specifically Gallipoli, are in different political circumstances, relating to the differing views on commemoration

between the Turkish and Australian governments. Due to the sheer number of

cemeteries they needed to care for, the English cemetery organization, the IWGC (now

the CWGC), standardized their designs to save money. The graves of the CWGC

cemeteries are often standing directly adjacent to one another, which restricts any

militaristic regimented spacing from forming in the landscape. As shown in Figure 13 in

Chapter 6, the landscape at CWGC cemeteries is also not at meticulously maintained

as the ABMC cemeteries. The French made the same practical decision in regard to

their cemetery designs, specifically the headstones, to save money (Lemay 2018b, 99).

In addition, after WWII, the French memory of the World Wars became more

complicated than a single victory narrative, needing to deal with the narrative of defeat

and occupation as well. Gallipoli cemetery is a place of secular pilgrimage for

Australians today (see Hyde and Harman 2011). Its place within international relations,

however, is sometimes controversial due to the cemetery being located in historically

opposition-controlled territory. The United States was uniquely poised to spend the time

and resources to construct these cemeteries in such an impressive artistic and

architectural form. The US is also lucky that the nations in which it had chosen to

construct its cemeteries have remained allies since the end of the World Wars, allowing

the sites to effectively enact their soft power. The method used in this thesis could be

applied to the cemeteries from the other Allied nations to understand their soft power

contribution, but each would need their own soft power matrixes constructed, and the

constituent 'fields' and elements may have little to no overlap with the matrix

constructed here in Figure 93 for the ABMC cemeteries.

Conclusion

This chapter has answered the final sub-question of this research which set out to identify the different social and political functions of the ABMC cemeteries through time. When viewed in their totality, it becomes apparent that the ABMC cemeteries have always been tools used by the United States Federal Government as one of many soft power elements of its foreign policy. The specific form of this soft power projected by the ABMC cemeteries is that of narrative control. By having precise control over the language used when telling the story of America's involvement in some of the deadliest conflicts in human history, the Commission is able to effectively freeze their cemeteries as well as the memories and emotions they evoke in time. This allows for the cemeteries to be used as staging areas for political and diplomatic endeavors in the present. The ABMC understands what they are doing and focuses on the memories evoked by their sites to shield themselves from any criticism or attempted political takeovers from both within the United States government or from the cemeteries' host countries requesting their land back. By maintaining their relevance, the ABMC is able to participate in memorial diplomacy (Graves 2014) multiple times through the calendar year, and as wider and more passive types of heritage and cultural diplomatic efforts (Winter 2015; 2016). The Commission's cemeteries are uniquely positioned for these actions by being sites of American heritage within foreign territory. Such placement allows for much wider viewing among target foreign audiences and allows for a specific, pure version of America to be normalized within the communities and populaces of their host countries. The primary argument of this chapter is that the ABMC cemeteries and the agency itself were constructed as political agencies and manifestations of American

imperialism and exceptionalism to reflect a changing world order. These cemeteries today continue to function as and facilitate soft power through cultural, heritage, memory, and memorial diplomacy actions.

Chapter 9 – Conclusion

Utilizing all the sources and data collected, analyzed, and discussed throughout this thesis, this chapter summarizes how the ABMC cemeteries are part of the United States' soft power strategy and broader cultural, heritage, and memorial diplomacy efforts in their constant goal to sway foreign populaces and visiting audiences into believing the notion of 'American exceptionalism'. This chapter addresses the primary research question in light of the research presented throughout this thesis and its significance. The chapter ends with a brief discussion of the uses and limitations of digitized heritage methodologies before exploring areas for potential future research. By seeking to understand these cemeteries as complete heritage sites rather than focus on one element within them, this thesis has shown how seriously the ABMC takes its position as the official institutional memory of the World Wars from the American perspective, to what lengths it goes to protect that status, the extent of how it uses this status in a show of soft power diplomacy, and how it creates that soft power.

Answering the Research Question and Significance

The primary research question for this thesis is 'How have the American military cemeteries located outside of the United States enacted soft power since 1851?'. The second chapter of the thesis established the theoretical basis for what the social and political purposes are for cemeteries in general drawing upon past research from the fields of heritage, archaeology, anthropology, diplomacy, international relations, memory, history, architectural history, art history, landscape studies, linguistic studies, environmental philosophy, and how others how chosen to research cemeteries. After

detailing the historical context for the ABMC as an agency, the historical social and

political functions of the Commission became apparent via their annual reports and

approved agency biography (i.e., Conner 2018). Describing and analyzing each of the

22 cemeteries established how the sites function in the present today, omitting how the

COVID pandemic that began during the write up of this thesis affected operating hours

and procedures. It would be irresponsible to take such an outlier in the ABMC's

operations during a 'once a century' pandemic into account when trying to understand

the agencies place and use in society overall. Chapters 4-7 also highlighted how the

interpretation of the cemeteries has changed through time. Chapter 8 then built upon

what was thematically identified in Chapters 5-7 as well as Appendix 3 to fully

understand the Commission's soft power.

Therefore, to answer to the primary research question, it should be understood that the

ABMC has used a variety of methods to enact soft power on foreign audiences, and this

continues today. While the ABMC tries to freeze the cemeteries in time, sites such as

Flanders Field with its museum containing the history of commemoration of the

cemetery show that the Commission is cognizant of the temporality of their sites, where

the past "includes not only the history being commemorated but also the accumulated

succession of commemorations, as well as what has occurred between those powerful

moments" (Olick 2007, 58). This concept of temporality is the primary driver in why and

how the ABMC are beginning to change how their sites present information to the

visiting public. In their efforts to continue enacting soft power on visiting audiences, the

ABMC has already shown its willingness to negotiate with foreign governments with the

help of the State Department of the United States Federal Government to keep their cemeteries open, resisting the normal cemetery lifecycle of restitution of the land for reuse in the future.

To answer the research question, this thesis has shown how the ABMC created and maintains its soft power on behalf of the US government. Other authors from the subjects of heritage and international politics have understood these cemeteries to be places of soft power for America. Lemay (2018a, 2018b) analyzed the symbolism in the art and architecture of the ABMC cemeteries and connected these concepts to soft power via the emotive aspects of art. Bartov (2010) and Langenbacher (2010) connected heritage sites that are rife with memory to international policy decisions and public support for them without mentioning soft power. In Chapter 2, this thesis discussed how Winter (2014, 2015, 2016) overcomplicated the place of heritage within diplomacy under soft power strategies. None of these authors, however, described *how* soft power is created at heritage sites. Lemay (2018a, 2018b) came the closest but, as this thesis shows, missed much of the contributing material. As shown in Chapter 8, and inspired by Olick's (2007) 'process-relationalism' approach, this thesis has pinpointed that the soft power of the ABMC lies within its narrative control. This control is partly constructed from the art and architecture of the cemeteries, as extrapolated by Lemay (2018b) after her review of five of the WWII cemeteries in France. What Lemay did not consider is (i) the educational/historical material the ABMC display in the literature and plaques in their visitor rooms and museums, (ii) the role the cemeteries play in commemoration speeches and other international political events, (iii) the saliency of

the memory enshrined within the sites, and (iv) how the ABMC projected these ideas

semiotically. These four things, when paired with the fact that no other institution can

claim to share the American memory and perspective of the World Wars, are what gives

the ABMC such an iron grip on the narrative surrounding the sites and, more broadly,

America's place in global military history, for at least the last century. The ABMC has

even utilized this control to effect academic research. As outlined in Chapters 1 and 8,

the only academics the ABMC have allowed to do intensive research physically at their

cemeteries are those who the Commission is certain have a bias in their favor or were

introduced by a sitting US Senator. The methods used in this thesis for understanding

how the soft power of the cemeteries is created can be used for other similar heritage

sites steeped with such salient memories at the intersection of art, education, and

international politics.

The soft power of the ABMC cemeteries helps support the notion of 'American

Exceptionalism' abroad. Even though by every objective metric available, be it

education, poverty, healthcare, etc., America is not the best country in the developed

world (e.g. the Legatum Institute Prosperity Index), the image of America portrayed at

the cemeteries helps to reinforce the idea that it is, just as the cemeteries portray the

idea of America as a [Judeo-]Christian nation. By employing their narrative control to

downplay the inconsistent realities of American life during the World Wars, such as not

telling the story of war crimes committed by the US or the realities of segregation as

covered in Chapter 8, foreign visitors to the cemeteries receive a skewed version of

history that deters critical analysis. Vernacular memories and the various legacies of the

World Wars in America are abundant within the United States, but the ABMC is

fortunate enough to have such a large geographic gap between its cemeteries and

these other, possibly counter, narratives, to the point that its institutional memory is all

foreign audiences are exposed too. As time continues forward, and the events of the

World Wars are eventually replaced with newer memories of future conflicts, and as the

internet provides more open access to other narratives and memories of the mid-20th

century, the ABMC will find itself relying on the unspoken taboo dictates of collective

memory sites (see Chapter 2) in order to continue operating as a soft power setting for

the United States.

The significance of this research lies in its scope and analysis. The studies summarized

in Chapter 1 from Hulver (2015), Conner (2018), and Lemay (2018a, 2018b) focused on

the sites from an historical perspective, describing the sites as places of memory and

their political uses between America and France in the latter half of the 20th century. The

research perspective in this thesis brings these narrower historical and architectural

works undertaken at the ABMC sites prior into consideration and relates these

perspectives to the present while positing on the potential future. The ABMC is much

more than just the meaning built into the architecture or the historical biography of the

Commission. This is the first analysis of the ABMC from such a broad perspective that

identifies how the ABMC operates at a crucial point in the Commission's history, as the

events commemorated by the sites turn from living memory to history, a process

famously highlight by Nora (1989). As these sites of American heritage abroad are

approaching and/or moving beyond their centennial anniversaries, the narratives

surrounding the history of the sites will be changed to match the needs of America for the present and moving ahead into the future. If the Commission's narrative control and interpretation continues to be accepted by foreign audiences, the soft power diplomacy of the cemeteries will likely continue well into the future. Oppositely, if their narrative interpretation and control take on a more nationalistic approach or otherwise offend their foreign audiences, it is perhaps inevitable that the host countries will demand their land be returned. Even though the land has been granted in perpetuity, time may change how the meanings and interpretations of the sites change. Such actions have taken place within the United States over a war memorial in Virginia that was meant to stay standing in perpetuity as well (Associated Press 2021), thus establishing a precedent for the reuse of land within the United States for the host country governments to invoke if deemed necessary.

To date, no scholar has analyzed more than five of the ABMC cemeteries at one time. These scholars also focused purely on one of the World Wars and only one country, France. The 'digitized' techniques (Drucker 2013), explained in Chapter 3, and further discussed below allowed the research presented in this thesis to expand the scope of ABMC cemeteries analyzed to now include those from the UK, Belgium, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Italy, Mexico, Panama, and North Africa. The only ABMC cemeteries that have not been analyzed academically in any form have been narrowed to one cemetery in Belgium and two cemeteries in the Philippines, due to a lack of available data online to perform the digitized research methods. This expanded scope has allowed for broader comparisons to be performed on the cemeteries academically,

between both time and space. This research has shown that the cemeteries are designed in ways that diminish the amount of variety amongst them when categorized by war. In other words, the WWI cemeteries all share essentially the same design, and the WWII cemeteries all share essentially the same design. Aside from minor differences stemming from designer preference, these similarities are consistent across national borders. The largest juxtaposition exists between the cemeteries by time period. The WWI cemeteries put more emphasis on crusading analogies, a threshold design centered around nature, and the narrative of international friendship while the WWII cemeteries put more emphasis on democratic analogies, a threshold design of an all-powerful government, and the narrative of America as the dominant power in a changing world. Prior scholars focusing on either of the World Wars have missed this juxtaposition and the changing interpretation of the cemeteries that these differences showcase.

The digitized techniques used to understand these heritage sites enabled the analysis of a larger, international sample of cemeteries, but also proved necessary due to the ABMC's negative stance on intensive research that has the possibility of interacting with visitors. The digitized techniques used Google Earth, Street View, and virtual tours to understand how the cemeteries were designed, experienced, and how people moved through them. These are extremely useful tools, providing virtual access for heritage scholars when site access is difficult. For the purposes of this thesis, these tools acted as a way to independently verify the information that the ABMC has posted on their official government website in their creation of soft power. Google Street View was

especially useful for having a surface level, nearly phenomenological understanding of how visitors moved through the cemeteries. Only a small handful of the sites had full Street View access. The majority of the sites analyzed consisted of specific spots on Street View where enough visitors had taken photos and uploaded them for Google to compile the 360-degree composite that anyone can scan. These spots would form a 'connect-the-dots' type puzzle of how visitors moved through the sites. It should be noted, however, that these spots can also be understood as the places visitors felt would make the best photographs or felt that it was socially acceptable to take photographs. For established heritage organizations like the ABMC, utilizing digital tools such as Google Earth and Street View as well as procuring any online literature allows for a greater research scope to be undertaken.

Originally, this research was going to examine eight of the ABMC cemeteries across the UK, northern and western France, and Belgium. By having the analytical portions of the research digitized, the number of sites examined could be vastly increased and global in scope. A larger sample size also enables diachronic comparison between wars. Most of the content pertaining to the ABMC cemeteries online is heavily curated by the Commission. While this helped to understand how the Commission creates and enacts their soft power diplomacy by focusing on what it wishes visitors to focus on, it leaves out the aspects of the cemeteries and the Commission that they find objectionable. Specifically, this thesis did not go into any significant detail on 'Plot E' of Suresnes cemetery, where convicted war criminals are buried. Lemay (2018b) has a short section on 'Plot E' from her physical visits, but even she was unable to uncover any information

regarding this part of the cemetery from any of the ABMC staff. As mentioned in

Chapter 3, the seeming ubiquity of internet access available today allows many

traditional research projects about an established heritage organization to be

undertaken from a completely remote, digitized format. If the research question is

formulated with such digitized methods in mind, the format even allows for greater

analysis to be undertaken, such as through the international scope and ability to

increase sample sizes. However, the curated format of the internet needs to be

considered and how this effects any results collected.

Avenues for Future Research

This research has provided a bench line framework for the ABMC, consisting of analysis

of 22 out of their 26 cemeteries. Certain elements of the interpretation presented in this

thesis offer avenues for future research. The first element is visitor studies. All

interpretive elements of this research were pursued to the fullest extent possible but

would need visitor interaction to complete. This visitor interaction would need to take

into account possible intergenerational trauma that visitors may have. The second

element is the challenge between detail and breadth of research.

This thesis has not included ways that the events portrayed at, or that have happened

to, the ABMC cemeteries have or could have been traumatic for visitors or specific

communities. This decision to not include elements of trauma studies has not been

done to downplay or dismiss the realities of such emotion and feeling connected to

these sites. Rather, this research has established how the ABMC portrays America and

the American experience of war at its cemeteries as the repository of the United States'

official institutional memory of the conflicts for the construction of soft power. Even

though military cemeteries are sites of trauma, the official institutional memory portrayed

at the ABMC cemeteries, and analyzed as part of the research presented in this thesis,

has obfuscated the traumatic realities of war, a fact first noted by Lemay (2018b, 7). The

only notion of trauma at the ABMC cemeteries is that implied by their stated use as sites

of mourning, ritualistic or personal. Now that this thesis has established how soft power

is constructed at the ABMC cemeteries and the role institutional memory plays in this

construction, trauma studies would be a logical next step for future research. From a

theoretical perspective, trauma is one of many counter memories available for research

regarding the ABMC cemeteries. Each cemetery may be analyzed for the role they

played in national or local trauma of war for the nations in which they are located. The

cemeteries may also be used as the window to research inter-generational trauma for

the families of veterans. In addition, the cemeteries may be juxtaposed to various

trauma counter memories that are suppressed by the ABMC. Any of these future

research ideas would help build a more holistic picture of the ABMC cemeteries as dark

heritage sites, orphan heritage sites, memorial heritage sites, and sites of memory by

analyzing the outside or visitor perspective currently missing from scholarly literature on

the Commission.

While the remote methodology devised for this research allowed for a greater scope in

sample size to be used from the ABMC, it did make analysis and even description

difficult at some of the sites. While the larger, more well-known sites had a variety of

sources for information, the smaller or lesser-known sites had comparatively little. Being able to physically visit the sites in person would allow for verification of the ABMC sources. This would also enable different research questions to be addressed, such as visitor experience and emotional response, or the 'referent-interpretant' semiotic perspective. Another limitation of this thesis stems from its scope. The research presented in the chapters up to this point required the use of analysis from fields such as landscape design, art history, architectural history, conflict archaeology, and memory studies, among others. The author's background is in broader archaeological anthropology with a focus on conflict and memory. Researchers from the other disciplines would offer much more detailed analysis of the cemetery elements relative to their respective fields. The ABMC cemeteries are a perfect topic for interdisciplinary research in the future. The research presented within this thesis builds upon work done within the last 10 years by scholars such as Luke and Kersel (2012), Graves (2014), Hulver (2015), Wanger (2015), Winter (2015; 2016), Conner (2018), and Lemay (2018a; 2018b). Going forward more work can be done to examine the connection between war memorials and memorialization with diplomatic strategies, especially soft power. Collaboration between diplomacy and heritage scholars would help to establish the multiple functions of sites such as military cemeteries. Other areas of research would be adapting and improving the methods used in this research and applying them to other military cemeteries located outside of their country of origin such as France, Germany, or the United Kingdom.

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Appendix 1

Transcription of *An Act for the Creation of an American Battle*

Monuments Commission, Public Law 546, U.S. Code 36 (1923), §2103

Sec. 1. "Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That a commission is hereby created and established, to be known as the American Battle Monuments Commission (hereinafter referred to as the commission), to consist of seven members who shall be appointed by the President, who shall also appoint one officer of the Regular Army to serve as its secretary. The members and secretary shall serve at the pleasure of the President who shall fill any vacancies that from time to time occur. The secretary shall also serve as disbursing officer of the commission, who shall make disbursements upon vouchers approved by its chairman.

The members of the commission shall serve without compensation except that their actual expenses in connection with the work of the commission may be paid from any funds appropriated for the purposes of this Act, or acquired by other means hereinafter authorized.

Upon the request of the commission the President is authorized to designate such personnel of any department or of the Army, Navy, or Marine Corps as may be necessary to assist in carrying out the purposes of this Act, and the commission is authorized to employ such further personnel as may be necessary to carry out the purposes of this Act, within the limits of any appropriation or appropriations made for such purposes.

Sec. 2. That the commission shall prepare plans and estimates for the erection of suitable memorials to mark and commemorate the services of the American forces in Europe and erect memorials therein at such places as the commission shall determine, including works of architecture and art in the American cemeteries in Europe.

The commission shall control as to materials and design, provide regulations for and supervise the erection of all memorial monuments and buildings in the American cemeteries in Europe.

The commission shall cause such photographs to be secured or taken of the terrain of the various battle fields of Europe, upon which units of the armed forces of the United States were actively engaged with the enemy, as will complete the historical photographic record of the operations of such units; and the commission shall transmit

such record when completed to the Secretary of War for permanent file with the records of the War Department.

Sec. 3. That before any design or material for memorials is accepted by the commission, the same shall be approved by the National Commission of Fine Arts.

Sec. 4. That the President is requested to make the necessary arrangements with the proper authorities of the countries concerned to enable the commission to carry out the purposes of this Act.

Sec. 5. That the commission is authorized to receive funds from any State, municipal, or private source for the purposes of this Act, and such funds shall be deposited by the commission with the Chief of Finance of the United States Army and shall be kept by him in separate accounts and shall be disbursed upon vouchers approved by the chairman of the commission.

Sec. 6. That authority is hereby given for the preparation of models and designs and the fabrication of memorials, and the materials for such memorials, at arsenals or navy yards or by other governmental agencies, if the commission shall so determine.

Authority is hereby given for the use of captured war materials, not otherwise disposed of by congressional action, in the fabrication of not to exceed ten thousand pounds of bronze to be used on the memorials constructed under the provisions of this Act: Provided, That in the selection of materials the commission shall refrain from utilizing material which might otherwise be available for decorative or memorial purposes.

Sec. 7. That the commission is authorized to furnish replicas of any memorial, or any part thereof, to States, municipalities, or interested private persons or associations at actual cost, and to apply any proceeds from such sales to the purposes of this Act.

Sec. 8. That the commission is authorized and directed to cooperate with American citizens, States, municipalities, or associations desiring to erect war memorials in Europe in such manner as may be determined by the commission: Provided, that no assistance in erecting any such memorial shall be given by any administrative agency of the United States unless the plan has been approved in accordance with the provisions of this Act.

Sec. 9. That it shall be the duty of the Secretary of War to maintain the memorials erected by the commission under authority of this Act, and the commission shall advise the Secretary of War of the location and date of completion of each memorial.

Sec. 10. That the commission shall transmit to the President of the United States annually on the 1st of July a statement of all its financial and other transactions during the preceding fiscal year.

Sec. 11. That such sum or sums as Congress may hereafter appropriate for the purposes of this Act are authorized to be appropriated.

Sec. 12. That the records and archives of the commission shall, upon the termination of its duties, be deposited with the Secretary of War.

Approved, March 4, 1923."

Excerpts from ABMC annual reports from the United States National Archives and

Records Administration

During my archival research, the ABMC annual reports were not deemed suitable for photograph, copier, or scanner by NARA staff. Since copies of the reports could not be taken and no scans available online, what follows in this appendix are select excerpts and notes taken from the annual reports. These excerpts are labeled according to report year and end with a page number should verification wish to be made at the Archives.

2.1 Annual Report 1924

2.1.1   "The initial draft of the above act [see Appendix 1] was made with the following objectives in mind: to commemorate by suitable memorials and markers the services of the American Armed Forces in Europe; to secure supervision over the locations, designs, materials and inscriptions of memorials that might be erected abroad by Americans; to establish an official agency to assist in the erection and maintenance of such memorials; and to complete the historical photographic record of the war." Page 4

2.1.2   "The first of these objectives was considered the most important as our country has always favored the erection of permanent memorials to perpetuate the deeds of its sons and to serve as some slight expression of its gratitude." Page 4

2.1.3   "The continuation of this traditional policy as applied to the services of our armies in Europe will be in keeping with public sentiment, and its fulfillment will in some degree help to preserve the glorious record of America's achievement in the World War." Page 4

2.1.4   "The need of some authoritative control… is apparent to anyone who has made a study of such memorials here at home and abroad… many monuments that are inartistic in design and incorrect in inscription… It is obvious that all American memorials abroad will be considered by the people of those countries as reflecting our national tastes in architecture. For this reason, as well as for others, no memorials should be erected that do not conform to the very highest artistic standards. Moreover, it is of the greatest importance that all inscriptions should be in appropriate language entirely in accord with the historical facts in each case." Page 4

2.1.5 "While abroad conferences were held with such authorities of England, France, Belgium and Italy as might be able to furnish valuable suggestions, and visits were made to typical military cemeteries and battlefield memorials of those countries." Page 8

2.1.6 "As effective control [of monument erection by American citizens in foreign countries] could not be exercised, however, without the aid of the foreign governments involved, the Department of State asked the governments of France and Belgium to withhold approval of all American memorials unless they were first approved by the American Battle Monuments Commission. The above request was formally agreed to by both governments…" Page 9

2.2 Annual Report 1925

2.2.1 "At the present time there are 30,405 bodies buried in the American military cemeteries in Europe and 130 American soldiers buried in Europe outside of these cemeteries. A total of 46,214 bodies were returned to the United States from Europe." Page 5

2.2.2 "[Brookwood]… has an ideal location on level terrain with a wooded hill as a background… the bodies buried here were concentrated, after the armistice, from various places throughout England, Scotland, and Ireland, and consist of those members of the American Expeditionary Forces who lost their lives in or near England during the war." Page 5

2.2.3 "[Flanders Field] … is on ground fought over by the Ninety-first Division. The soldiers buried here are mainly those of the Thirty-seventh and Ninety-first Divisions who fought in the vicinity and of the Twenty-seventh and Thirtieth Divisions who fought near Ypres." Page 5

2.2.4 "[Somme]… is located on a battlefield of the Twenty-seventh Division… Besides members of the Twenty-seventh and Thirtieth Divisions who fought in the vicinity, many who are buried here fell during the operations of the First Division, near Cantigny, and the Thirty-third Division, east of Amiens." Page 5

2.2.5 "[Suresnes]… is beautifully located overlooking the Seine River, on the slope of Mont Valerien, near Paris… Most of those buried here died in hospitals in or near Paris during the war." Page 5

2.2.6 "[Oise-Aisne] … The dead who lie here are mainly those from the Third, Fourth, Twenty-eighth, Thirty-second, Forty-second, and Seventy-seventh

Divisions who fought in the vicinity of the Ourcq River and as far north as the Oise." Page 9

2.2.7   "[Aisne-Marne] … is attractively located at the foot of the hill upon which stands Belleau Woods. There are 2,172 graves here, including those of 320 marines, the bodies having been concentrated from a wide area. The dead are mainly from the First, Second, Third, Fourth, Twenty-sixth, Twenty-eighth, Thirty-second, and Forty-second Divisions." Page 9

2.2.8   "[St. Mihiel] … is the only one [cemetery] in the area of the St. Mihiel operation of the American Army… Most of these [graves] were members of the First, Second, Fourth, Fifth, Twenty-sixth, Forty-Second, Eighty-second, Eighty-ninth, and Ninetieth Division, which made the attack in the great offensive action of the American Army which resulted in the reduction of the St. Mihiel salient. Many soldiers from divisions which had sector service in the vicinity are also buried here." Page 9

2.2.9   "[Meuse-Argonne] … The soldiers who rest here came from almost every combat division of the American Expeditionary Forces. Most of them gave their lives in the Meuse-Argonne operation, the greatest battle in American history and one of the most decisive offensives of the war." Page 9

2.2.10   "The development of these cemeteries has been done by the War Department with the advice and cooperation of the National Commission of Fine Arts. The plans for their development were made by Maj. George Gibbs, jr., landscape architect, and carried out, after proper approval, by the Graves Registration Service in Europe." Page 9

2.2.11   "It has been stated by the National Commission of Fine Arts that in preparing the plans for these cemeteries older parts of the Arlington National Cemetery, near Washington, were used as a model." Page 9

2.2.12   "The graves in all cemeteries… have been arranged so that the markers are equidistant apart and in rows spaced at regular intervals. This regularity is very effective and adds greatly to the appearance of the cemetery. Where not regularly arranged, the effect is disturbing, as the graves are close together, and many spaces exist due to the removal of bodies for return to the United States and other places." Page 13

2.2.13   "The markers in use are exactly the same as the temporary ones used during the war. They are made of white-painted wood and are of two types—the cross and the Star of David. These markers are kept well

painted and aligned, and the effect of rows upon rows of them is very impressive." Page 13

2.2.14   "As a general rule, each cemetery… has walls along the sides following roads and wire fences on the other sides." Page 13

2.2.15   "This [the American flag atop a pole] serves as a means of identification and is the first object seen when the cemetery is approached from a distance. It is very appropriate that our soldiers rest under the flag for which they fought and gave their lives." Page 13

2.2.16   "Growing flowers are not planted on each grave. In our cemeteries this was thought undesirable, because flowers only bloom at certain seasons of the year and the expense of growing them is very great." Page 17

2.2.17   "In fact, the impression gained in almost every cemetery is that the work has been done with a minimum expenditure of funds. This is in direct contrast to the impression gained from a British cemetery, where everything is of the best." Page 17

2.2.18   "A chapel of nonsectarian character should be erected in each of the cemeteries. Such a building will serve many useful purposes. It will add a religious touch and give a sheltered place where those so inclined can go for a few moments of meditation and prayer. If properly constructed, it will give a focus to the cemetery and thus attract attention away from the houses which are now the outstanding architectural features. It will also serve as some slight testimonial of the nation's debt to the men who are buried there." Page 17

2.2.19   "All of the cemeteries, except Brookwood, should be enclosed by masonry walls. The present situation of having a wall on the road sides only is decidedly unattractive. Before these walls are built it will be necessary to make certain changes in area, as some of the cemeteries are very irregular in outline, and a permanent wall will but accentuate the unattractiveness of this irregularity." Page 17

2.2.20   "They [stone seats] should be carefully located so as to be useful and to take full advantage of the existing views." Page 21

2.2.21   "There are about 100 Americans still buried in British cemeteries, left there at the request of relatives." Page 25

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2.2.22   "Certain towns, such as Montfaucon, are not to be rebuilt. These have been purchased by the French Government and will be retained in their present condition as memorials of the Great War." Page 33

2.2.23   "While in Europe a committee of the commission was sent to Italy to inspect the American battle fields[sic] in that country and to visit Rome to collect such information as would help the commission in its work." Page 39

2.2.24   "The commission visited a very attractive cemetery at Cliveden, the estate of Lord Astor in England… the commission received many helpful ideas during this visit." Page 43

2.2.25   "A rough cross of boughs and a board sign bearing the inscription "Roosevelt, American Aviator," had been erected by the Germans." Page 43

2.2.26   Headstones designed by Dr. Paul P. Cret, architect, made of white stone or marble

2.3 Annual Report 1926

2.3.1   "As obvious from the wording of the above act [see Appendix 1], the commission is an independent establishment of the Government, responsible directly to the President. It is not, as many people have been inclined to believe, under the jurisdiction of the War Department or any other department of the Government." Page 2

2.3.2

Table 1 Architects and Cost Allocation for Chapels at World War I Cemeteries		
Cemetery	Cost	Architect(s), Country
Aisne-Marne	$110,000	Cram and Ferguson, New York
Brookwood	$70,000	Egerton Swartwout, New York
Flanders Field	$50,000	Paul Cret, Philadelphia
Meuse-Argonne	$300,000	York and Sawyer, New York
Oise-Aisne	$140,000	Cram and Ferguson, New York
Somme	$90,000	Mellor, Meigs, and Howe, Philadelphia
St. Mihiel	$140,000	Thomas Harlan Elliot, New York
Suresnes	$100,000	Charles Platt, New York

Table A4 Architects and Cost Allocation for Chapels at World War I Cemeteries.
Information taken from ABMC annual report 1926 pages 11 & 13.

2.4 Annual Report 1965

2.4.1   "…the Commission's World War I chapel in the military cemetery at Suresnes, near Paris, was enlarged and converted to a Shrine of the Dead of both wars." Page 3

2.4.2   By 1965, 21,583 aerial lithographs and headstone photos have been mailed to family members by the ABMC. 1,855 of them in 1965. Page 4

2.5 Annual Report 1969

2.5.1   "No Federal funds for new construction were made available. This austerity reflected the high costs of welfare programs and the Vietnam conflict." Page 5

2.5.2   "The Commission continued to insist that immaculate appearance of the headstones, structures, plantings and lawns is essential to the solemn purpose of these shrines…" Page 7

2.5.3   "Although its cemeteries and memorials continued to draw praise from the ordinary visitor, to an experienced eye maintenance deteriorated slowly. Furthermore, it was necessary to eliminate some plantings which were part of the landscape architects' designs in favor of more easily maintained grass." Page 8

2.5.4   Pylons at Luxembourg were constructed on a hollow brick core which deteriorated leading to their emergency dismantle in 1969 to be repaired hopefully in 1970. Page 9

2.5.5   "Especially outstanding during fiscal year [hereafter FY] 1969 was the celebration of the 25th anniversary of D-Day at the Normandy Cemetery, conducted by the French Government and attended by many thousands of visitors." Page 15

2.5.6   "The total number of visitors, American and Foreign, to the Commission's memorials and cemeteries during FY 1969 was 3,008,479." Page 16

2.5.7   1968/69, legislation is brought before congress about the abolishment of the ABMC, its cemeteries, memorials, and duties being taken over by the Veterans Administration.

2.5.8   "The Commission opposes strongly transfer of its cemeteries and memorials to the Veterans Administration on the principal grounds that (a) they are closed to future burials and therefore can provide no material benefit to veterans, (b)the Commission has performed its functions efficiently and effectively, (c) no economies would be achieved, but in fact the transfer would be expensive, and (d) in a large organization the present high standards of maintenance of its cemeteries and memorials would inevitably deteriorate to that of Government cemeteries in the United States." Page 17

2.6 Annual Report 1970

2.6.1   "However, while personnel strengths decline aging of structures and greater numbers of visitors increase workloads." Page 3

2.6.2   "The Commission has designs for several such memorials in an advanced stage of preparation, but no funds for new construction of memorials have been included in any President's budget since FY 1960." Page 3

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2.6.3   ABMC maintained a budget of just over $2,000,000/year for the decade of 1960.

2.6.4   Water supply at Manila contained high levels of salt and other dissolved solids, leading to "ugly stains" on the headstones and the possibility of damage to the grass and plantings. Page 14

2.6.5   Mexico City cemetery, acquired by the ABMC in 1947, still needed re-landscaping and maintenance to bring it up to their standards by 1970. Page 14

2.6.6   Luxembourg Pylons still not repaired, but contract for repair awarded. Page 15

2.6.7   Electrical system deterioration at North Africa cemetery. Page 15

2.6.8   "There were 3,635,068 American and foreign visitors to the Commission's memorials and cemeteries during the fiscal year." Page 21

2.6.9   ABMC still at risk of being absorbed into Veterans Administration. Page 23

2.6.10 The following from a letter written by Mark W. Clark, chairman of the ABMC to President Nixon, Pages 25-27:

2.6.10.1   "You[the President] cautioned us[the commissioners] to act as emissaries of good will and friendship to the citizens of the countries in which our cemeteries and monuments are located."

2.6.10.2   "The people of the countries in which the cemeteries are located show a real and affectionate interest in the cemeteries near them."

2.6.10.3   "More than three million foreigners visit our cemeteries annually."

2.6.10.4   "We believe that the awe-inspiring beauty and solemnity of these cemeteries together with their immaculate appearance and the considerate attention paid to visitors creates more respect, understanding, good will and friendship for the United States than any other single Federal program."

2.6.10.5   "Perhaps we can also have some influence on the news media, which give too much attention to the unruly minority who are violating our laws at will while not placing proper emphasis on the often forgotten virtues of Duty, Honor and Love of God and Country."

2.7.8 **Remarks taken from letter to the President, written by Gen. Mark W. Clark, Pages 27-28:**

2.7.8.1   "For four days after the November typhoon the poor people in the vicinity of the Manila American Cemetery, as well as nearby Philippine Army and Air Force units, were without water because the city water works lacked electrical power. The Superintendent furnished water from our Cemetery's reservoirs free of charge to all who would carry it away; the total quantity distributed was 235,000 gallons."

2.7.8.2   "The Superintendent also lent portable generators to operate critically needed equipment, including that of a local doctor. These actions generated much good will for the United Sates and drew an official letter of appreciation from the Philippine Army."

2.7.8.3   "We believe that appropriate memorials should be erected in Korea and Guam. Korea should have first priority because of the greater magnitude of the effort there, the greater number of people involved and most important because of the resultant development of South Korea into a strong and faithful ally."

2.7.9 **From President Nixon's response letter, Page 30:**

2.7.9.1   "The recommendations included in your February 8 letter will be particularly helpful as we examine appropriate means for emphasizing and strengthening the bonds which unite us to allied and friendly nations in the Asian area."

2.7.10 **Remarks from a commendation letter written by a visitor to Lorraine, Page 32-33:**

2.7.10.1   "I always considered a cemetery as a place to put dead people. It had no beauty or semblance of sacredness in my mind."

2.7.10.2   "The simplicity — I think the dignity might be a better word — of the surroundings, the care and attention you displayed, gave me great comfort."

2.7.10.3   "After we left, I started to wonder whether the architects who designed the cemetery intended certain symbolism in the construction of the site. Do you know if he meant the chapel to be a common grave stone, the two adjacent walls to be arms embracing all, the long plot of grass in front to be the grave, and the rough stone work around the knoll to be the foot stone?"

2.7.11   The American ambassador and President of the Republic of the
            Philippines made speeches at Manila during Memorial Day. Page 43

2.7.12   25th anniversary of Rhone only saw participation from locals in the area.
            Page 60

2.7.13   Sicily-Rome worked to place a stone wall on its southern side for
            protection. Page 99

2.8 Annual Report 1972

2.8.1   "These memorials [Korea and Guam] need not be elaborate or costly. One
            of their principal functions will be to remind present and future generations
            of the nations in which they will be located, as do our existing memorial
            cemeteries and memorials, of American sacrifices on their behalf." Page 3

2.8.2   Commission wants to start thinking of erecting a memorial in Vietnam.
            Page 3

2.8.3   5,180,566 American and Foreign visitors to the cemeteries and
            memorials. Page 21

2.8.4   Agency absorption into Veterans Administration still a possibility. Page 23

2.8.5   "Arrangements were initiated with the French Government to establish
            Montsec Monument as a classified historical site. In addition to protecting
            this impressive monument from unattractive speculation-type construction
            in the near vicinity it may establish a valuable legal precedent that can be
            applied to other memorials where necessary." Page 47

2.9 Annual Report 1973

2.9.1   Mexico City Cemetery at risk of destruction for new truck route roughly
            130 years after initial creation. Page 6

2.9.2   4,671,818 American and foreign visitors to the memorials and cemeteries.
            Page 23

2.9.3   National Cemetery system ran by veterans Administration established,
            without absorbing or interfering with ABMC duties. Page 25

2.10 Annual Report 1974

2.10.1   4,690,930 American and foreign visitors to the memorials and cemeteries.
            Page 19

2.11 Annual Report 1975

2.11.1   5,094,195 American and foreign visitors to the cemeteries and memorials. Page 16

2.12 Annual Report 1976

2.12.1   7,672,497 American and foreign visitors to the memorials and cemeteries. Page 15

2.12.2   Example letters of commendations given by visitors are starting to shorten in length and lessen in detail. Page 21

2.13 Annual Report 1977

2.13.1   Mexico City Cemetery renovations completed. Page 3

2.13.2   6,397,684 American and foreign visitors to the memorials and cemeteries. Page 14

2.13.3   Mexico City cemetery rededicated after completion. Page 27

2.13.4   "Many of the American cemeteries, which were formerly located in outlaying areas, are now subject to the pressures of urban expansion and expanding commercial and industrial activity." Page 42

2.13.5   They are maligning the loss of views from the cemeteries due to high rise buildings, possible (if not already existing) noise pollution from mining/airports, and other notations of urban progress. Pages 42-43

2.14 Annual Report 1978

2.14.1   Corozal Cemetery to come under ABMC control. Page 3

2.14.2   6,601,561 American and foreign visitors to the memorials and cemeteries. Page 18

2.14.3   Ages of letter authors in examples are getting much older, this example being 85. Page 21

2.15 Annual Report 1979

2.15.1   7,418,822 American and foreign visitors to the memorials and cemeteries. Page 18

2.15.2   Letter to tourist industries asking for more promotion of the cemeteries to customers. Pages 20-22

Appendix 3

This appendix contains the remaining 17 cemeteries analyzed during the course of this research that have not been presented in Chapter 5. The cemeteries are listed in alphabetical order.

3.1 Ardennes American Cemetery and Memorial

The Ardennes cemetery is located on the southeast edge of the village of Neupre (formerly Neuville-en-Condroz), 12 miles southwest of Liege, Belgium (ABMC n.d.-c). This World War II cemetery is made up of mostly casualties from the American Air Forces (now US Air Force). Below is a map of the cemetery from an ABMC brochure.

Figure 95 Map of Ardennes Cemetery from ABMC brochure

History

The area where Ardennes Cemetery is located was liberate by the Allies on 8 September 1944. A temporary cemetery was established on the site on 8 February

1945 to bury the dead from the final major German counter-offensive of WWII. After the war, it was decided that this temporary cemetery would be one of the 14 permanent WWII American cemeteries (ABMC n.d.-c, 6-7). The cemetery was dedicated on 11 July 1960 (ABMC n.d.-c).

Grave Arrangement

The 5,311 graves are arranged in the shape of a Greek cross that is separated into four different plots by two intersecting paths. The cemetery memorial is located at the intersection point of the paths and the Greek cross (ABMC n.d.-c, 7; ABMC n.d.-c).

Built Architecture

The chapel and flagpole stand on opposite sides of the grave plots at Ardennes Cemetery. The memorial chapel is rectangle is design and above the main entrance to the chapel on the south face of the building is a 17-foot facade of an American eagle beside three figures representing justice, liberty, and truth, and 13 stars representing America (ABMC n.d.-c, 8). These 13 stars are likely in reference to the original 13 colonies. Carved on the north face of the chapel near the chapel exit doors are the shoulder insignia of the major military units that fought in Northwest Europe (ABMC n.d.-c, 14).

Inside the memorial chapel are multiple maps detailing the history of the Ardennes-Alsace campaign of WWII in both English and Flemish (ABMC n.d.-c, 8). An entire map has been dedicated to telling the history of the 'Battle of the Bulge', one of the most famous stories of American entrenchment halting the German advance in the area (ABMC n.d.-c, 8). In between the various maps, engraved upon white Carrara marble painted black are pictures representing (i) heavy bombers, (ii) battlefield communications, (iii) naval fire support, (iv) antiaircraft artillery, (v) paratroopers, (vi) medium bombers, (vii) battlefield first aid, (viii) field artillery, (ix) armor in action, (x) infantry in action, (infantry support weapons, (xi) combat engineer bridging, (xii) Atlantic supply convoy, (xiii) ordnance repair, (xiv) military railroad operations, (xv) supply depots, (xvi) rear area communications, (xvii) supply by air, (xviii) port operation, (xix) military chaplain, (xx) military police-traffic control, (xxi) airfield construction, (xxii) engineer heavy bridge, and (xxiii) medical corps (ABMC n.d.-c, 12-13). The altar located

in the chapel is also of Carrara marble flanked by US flag and bronze screens inlaid with the insignia of the major units that fought Northwestern Europe, the same as those on the north face of the chapel outside (ABMC n.d.-c, 14). Above the altar an angel is outlined by light that streams in through the ceiling (ABMC n.d.-d). The 'Tablets of the Missing' are inlaid in the ground surround the memorial chapel and list 462 names (ABMC n.d.-c, 15). Located at the east end of the grave plots is a bronze statue of a nearly naked man except for a set of laurels covering his groin holding a sword symbolizing American youth (ABMC n.d.-c, 15).

Borders

The Ardennes Cemetery is located in a small town. However, there is dense concentration of trees separating the cemetery from the town on all sides, as shown in the Figure A? below. The four grave plots are surrounded by shrub roses, with groups of oak, beech, hornbeam, and tulip trees dictating where visitors are able to re-enter the intersecting pathways (ABMC n.d.-c, 15).

Lines of Sight

The Ardennes Cemetery is completely isolated visually from the surrounding town. As is typical of the ABMC WWII cemeteries, the memorial chapel dominates the view upon entering the cemetery. The grave plots at on a slightly lower elevation and completely hidden by the chapel. The site has been constructed to funnel visitors into and through the chapel, and thus the American history of WWII, before facing the totality of the dead represented at the cemetery.

Figure 96 Aerial photograph of Ardennes. Screenshot taken from Google Earth.

Museum Element

There is no evidence in any of the obtained documentation or the ABMC website that a museum element exists at Ardennes Cemetery. This could be due to the lack of information or detail regarding the interior of the visitor building in the consulted documentation.

Access Model

Ardennes Cemetery is laid out in the common manner for World War II cemeteries, with visitors encountering the chapel first, then the graves. The deepest part of the cemetery is the flag and memorial positioned on perpendicular axis requiring backtracking to the

center of the grave plots to visit the one from the other. Due to a set of stairs just behind the chapel, disabled access to the graves is to be found via path 3 from the entrance. The path grass tree tunnel that gently slopes to allow access to the graves proper. An able-bodied visitor encounters the graves from a slight elevation, with the American flag standing as a rallying point on the other side. The disabled encounter the graves much closer to the earth, with the memorial being their endpoint in if going in a straight line. The grave plots are separated from one another with visitors being required to return to the constructed path before venturing out into the wilderness of death again.
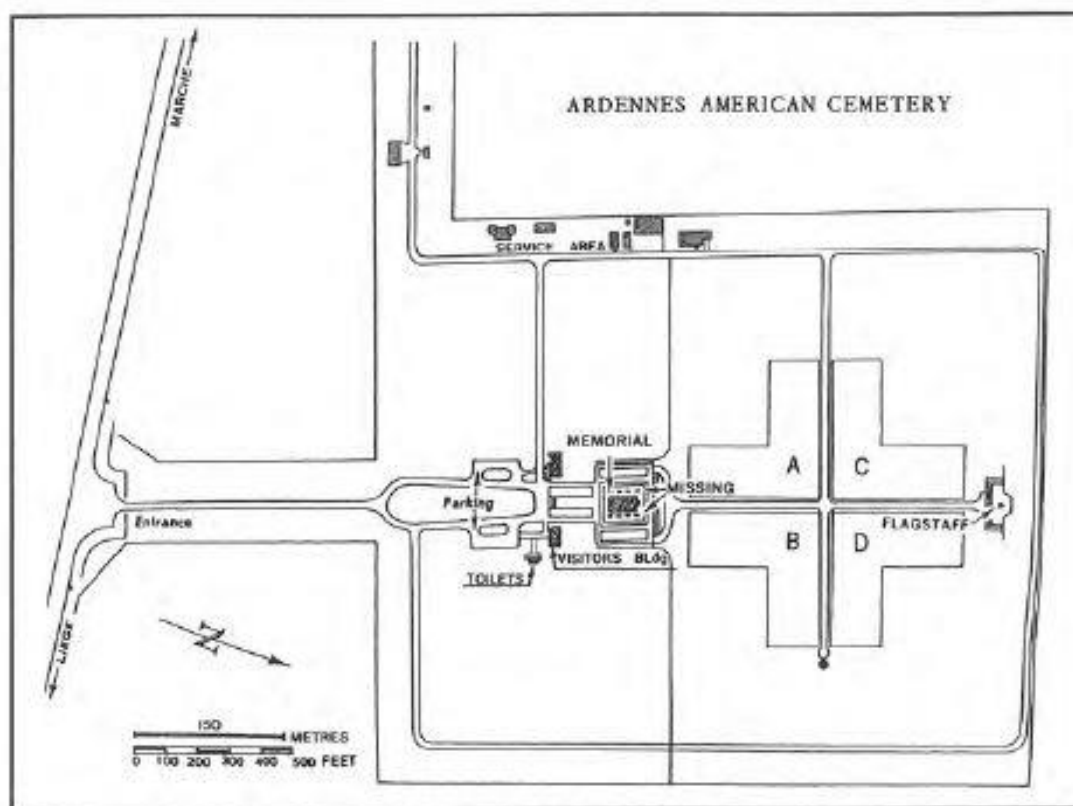
Figure 97 Ardennes Cemetery layout from site booklet.
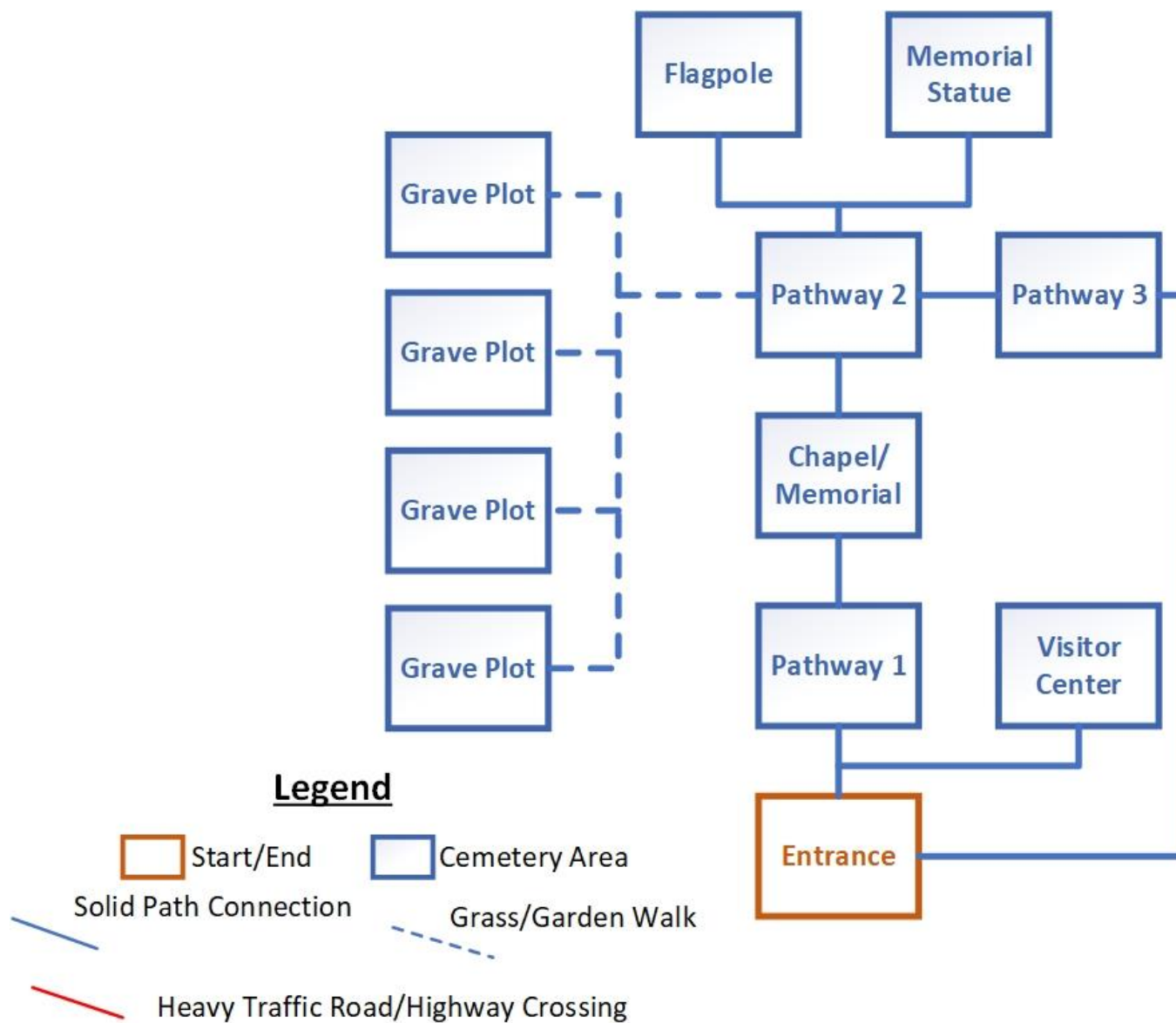
Figure 98 Access Map of Ardennes Cemetery

3.2 Epinal American Cemetery and Memorial

The Epinal cemetery is located in the village of Dinoze-Quequement, 4 miles southeast of its namesake city of Epinal, and 231 miles from Paris. This World War II cemetery was established during the initial push after the D-Day operations as part of Operation Overlord. Below is a map of the cemetery from an ABMC brochure.
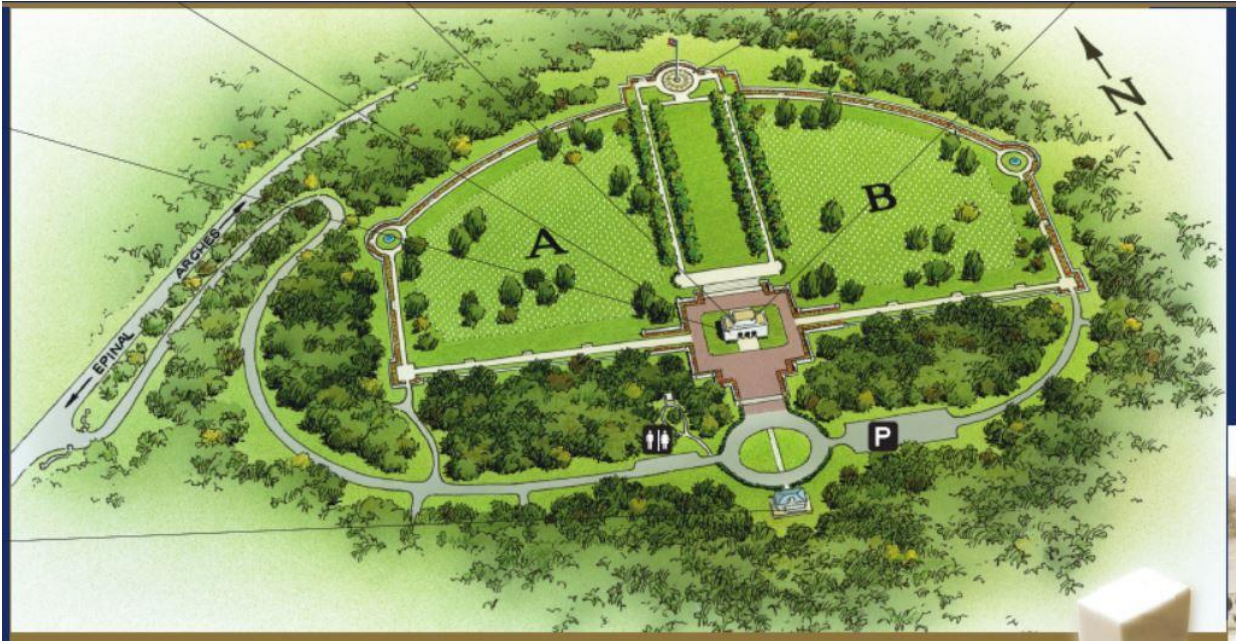

Figure 99 Map of Epinal Cemetery from site brochure.

History

The area that Epinal Cemetery is located upon was liberated on 21 September 1944. The cemetery was dedicated in 1956. The most notable aspect of the cemetery's history is that this was the location that 13 unknown soldier caskets were brought for selection of which would be sent to Washington as part of the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier (ABMC n.d.-f,6-7).

Grave Arrangement

There are 5,255 burials at Epinal Cemetery arranged in two plots. The plots are split by two pathways flanking a grass mall.

Built Architecture

A Court of Honor at Epinal Cemetery is where the walls of the missing are located. The memorial at the cemetery is located between the chapel and the museum. Carved on the memorial is a depiction of the Crusade in Europe and Survival of the Spirit. Behind the altar inside the chapel is a large sculpture of the Angel of Peace. Around the interior of the chapel are various United States flags for the different armed forces (ABMC n.d.-f,8-12).

Borders

The area immediately adjacent to Epinal Cemetery is primarily a rural, wooded area as shown in the figure below. Within the cemetery itself, there are very few border elements. A small half wall frames the chapel near the cemetery's entrance. Otherwise, sparse trees dot the grave plots and line the pathways in the center of the site, but do not block access to any area.

Lines of Sight

Visibility with Epinal Cemetery is very good. From any one area, a visitor may see the entire cemetery. The intervisibility between the inside and outside of the cemetery is non-existent, as the surrounding trees form a wall cutting off vision to the surrounding landscape.

Figure 100 Aerial photograph of Epinal Cemetery. Screenshot taken from Google Earth.

Museum Element

The museum at Epinal Cemetery is located in the western room of the memorial chapel. There are no known artifacts in Epinal Cemetery's museum. Rather, the room is dominated by a large colored glass memorial. The memorial retells the history of the advance of the US armed forces from the North and South, meeting in central France as they liberated it from German occupation (ABMC n.d.-f, 12).

Access Model

The access model for Epinal cemetery shows the characteristic entrance facing chapel of the other World War II cemeteries. The chapel acts as the true entrance to the site. Unlike many of the other ABMC cemeteries, Epinal's layout often links back to itself, offering pathways to other parts of the cemetery without the need to backtrack. Epinal does not conform to the idea of multiple grave plots as at other ABMC cemeteries but does keep the consistency of splitting them with a grass mall running through the center

of the site. By grouping what could be four or five grave plots together, Epinal allows visitors to interact with more death, but still not the entire whole that is present in the cemetery.
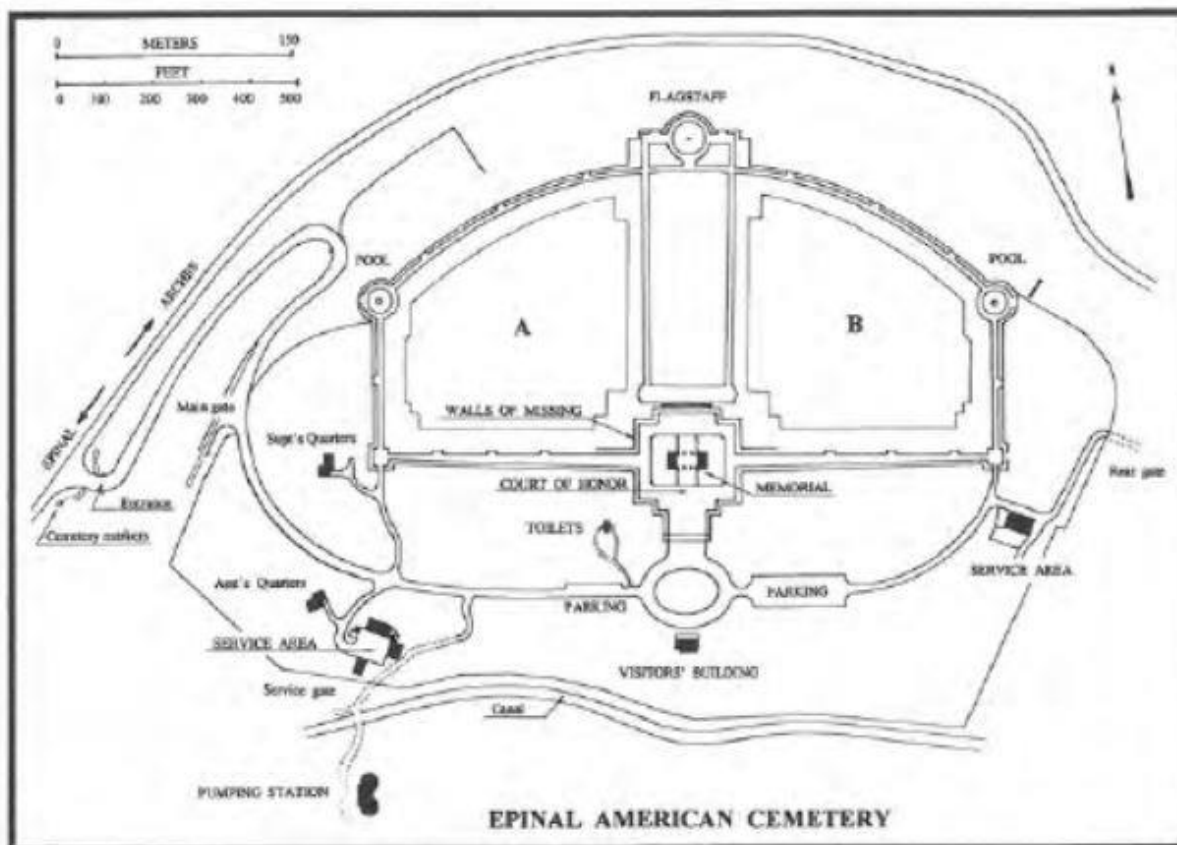
Location of Cemetery Features

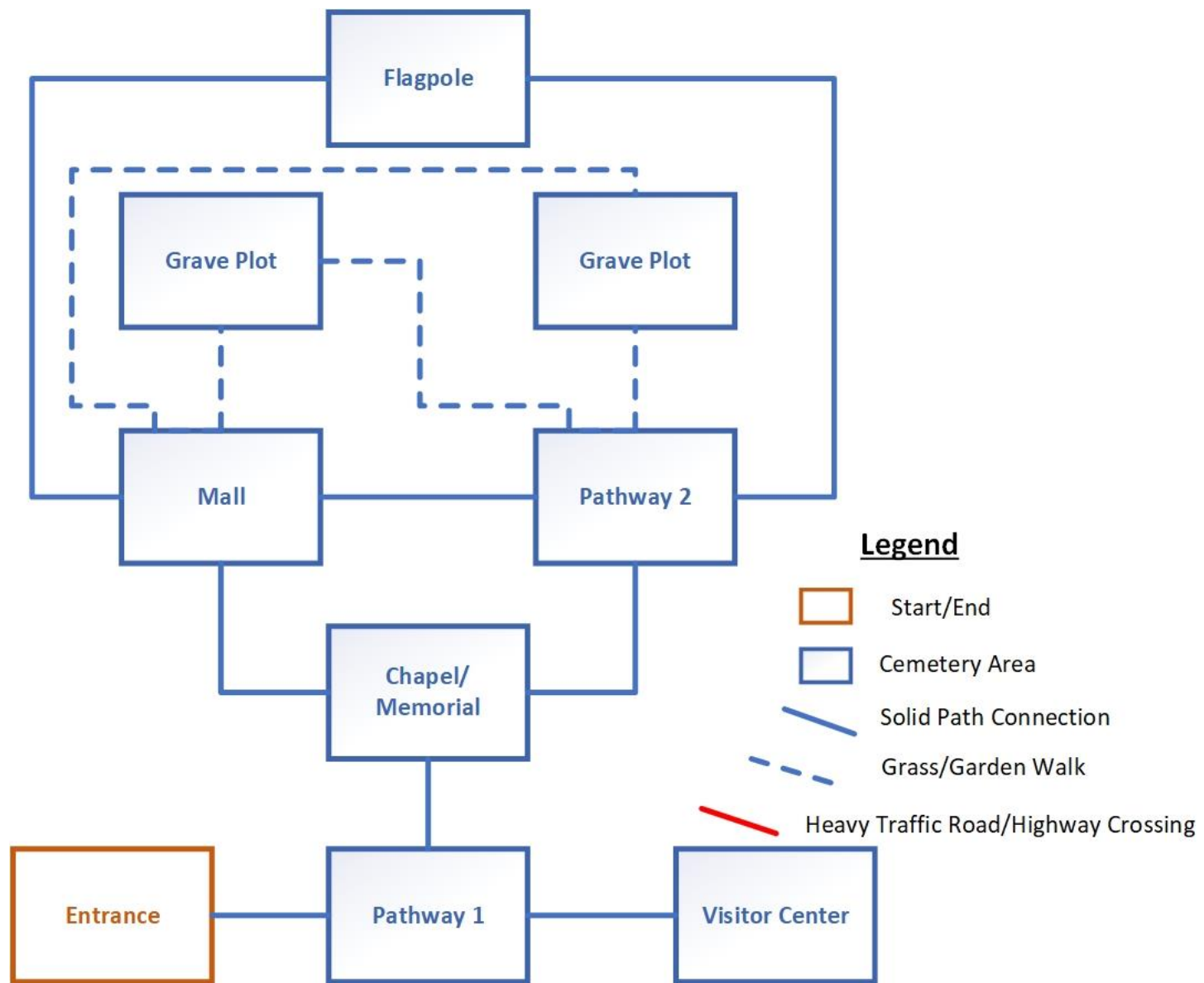Figure 101 Epinal Cemetery site layout from site booklet.

Figure 102 Access Map for Epinal Cemetery.

3.3 Florence American Cemetery and Memorial

The Florence cemetery is located 7.5 miles south of Florence, Italy along the Via Cassia, a highway connecting Florence with Siena and Rome. This World War II cemetery was established for casualties of the North Africa and Mediterranean campaigns. Below is a map of the cemetery from an ABMC brochure.

Figure 103 Map of Florence Cemetery from site brochure.

History

The site for Florence Cemetery was liberated on 3 August 1944. The cemetery was dedicated in 1960 (ABMC 2016,6).

Grave Arrangement

There are 4,398 burials at Florence Cemetery arranged in eight rectangular plots. The grave plots in the cemetery are unique in that grass malls surround and separate every plot. The only constructed pathway encircles the entire center of the cemetery which contains these grave plots.

Built Architecture

The memorial at Florence Cemetery consists of two courts connected by the wall of the missing, the chapel, and a stele surmounted by a sculpted figure representing the spirit of peace. The two courts contain rectangular pools with jets in the center and regional maps with the story of the fighting and prayer inscriptions. Inside the chapel is a mosaic depicting Remembrance standing on a cloud holding lilies of resurrection in her arms with a helmet and sword at her feet (ABMC 2016,7-14).

Borders

Immediately inside the entrance gate to Florence Cemetery is a bridge across the Greve River. This river acts as a border for the site, funneling visitors to the central point of the pathway connected to the bridge that encircles the grave plots. Once across the river, the cemetery has no hard borders. Trees line the circling pathway and the grass mall in the center, but do not stop access through the site. At the far side of the site is the memorial containing the chapel.

Lines of Sight

Florence Cemetery is in a heavily wooded rural area, shown in figure below. The lines of sight within the cemetery are only obstructed by the occasional tree. The surrounding woods make it impossible to view the countryside beyond.

Figure 104 Aerial photograph of Florence Cemetery. Screenshot taken from Google Earth.

Museum Element

There is no known museum element at Florence Cemetery.

Access Model

Florence Cemetery is the only ABMC cemetery to have a river run through its boundaries. The entrance and the visitor center are separated from the rest of the cemetery by the Greve River. On the other side of the river, the cemetery is symmetrical along the axis of the mall in the center. This symmetry includes the memorial at the deepest part of the cemetery. To achieve this symmetry, the museum element of the

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cemetery is placed in the memorial opposite the chapel room instead of in the visitor center where the museum is usually placed by the ABMC. Due to the symmetry of the site, the flag, mall, and memorial areas are the focal and pivot points of the site.
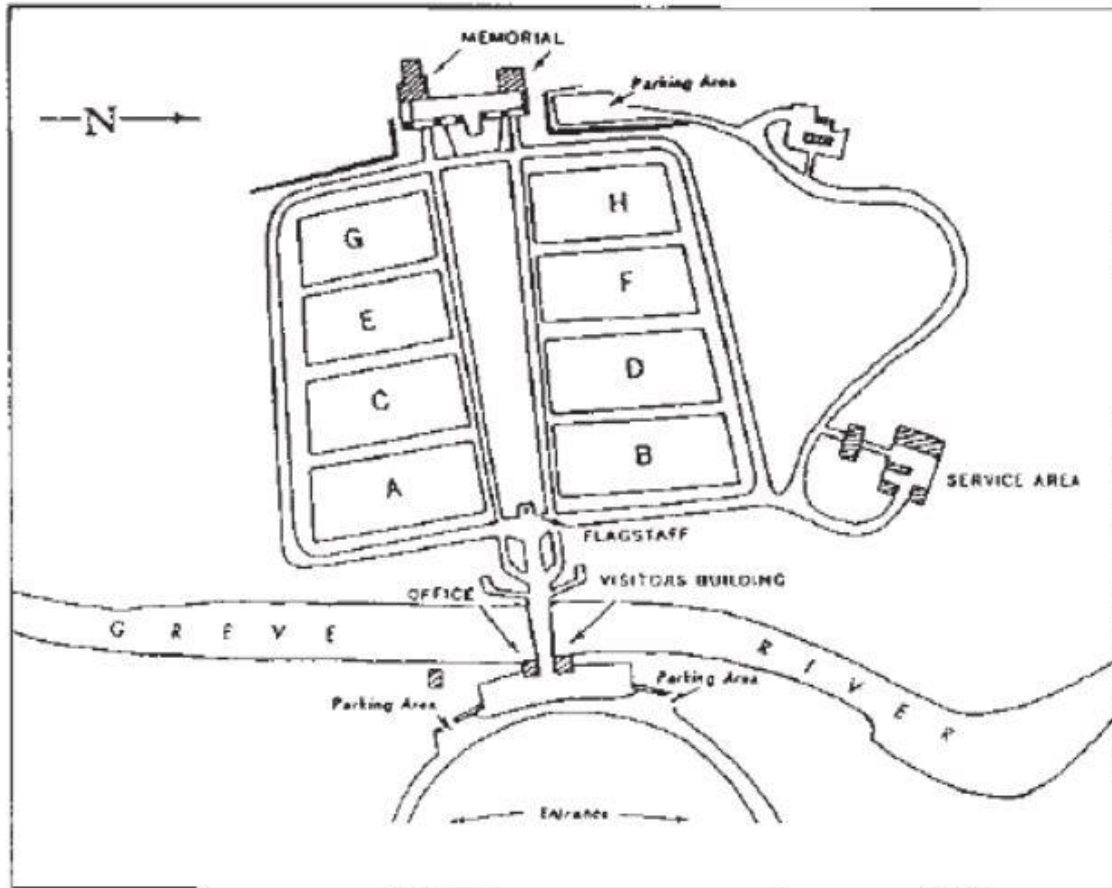
Location of Cemetery Features

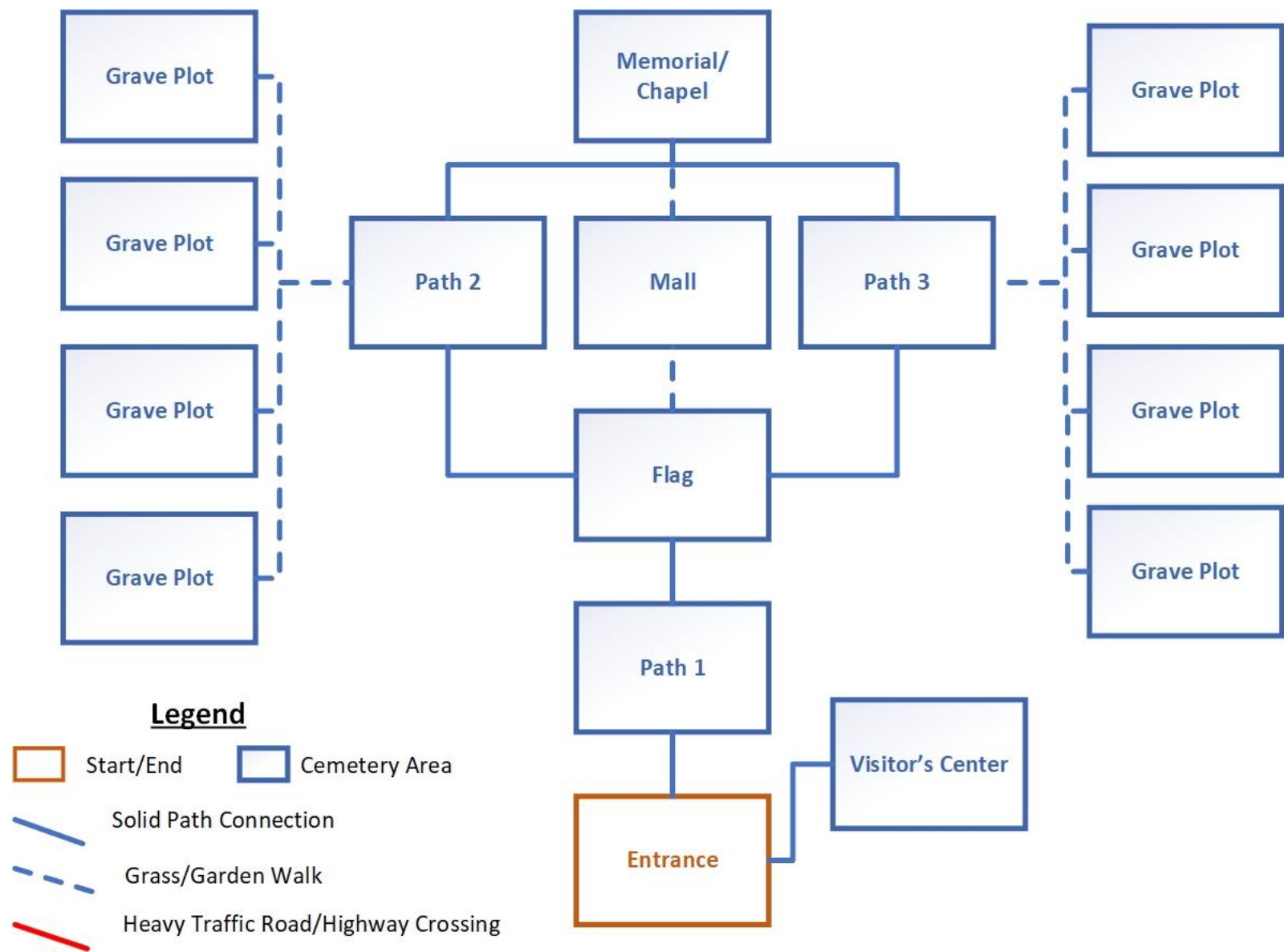Figure 105 Layout map of Florence Cemetery from site booklet.

Figure 106 Access map of Florence Cemetery.

3.4 Lorraine American Cemetery and Memorial

The Lorraine cemetery is a World War II cemetery located less than a mile northeast of the town of St. Avold, France, 220 miles from Paris. Below is a map of the cemetery from an ABMC brochure.
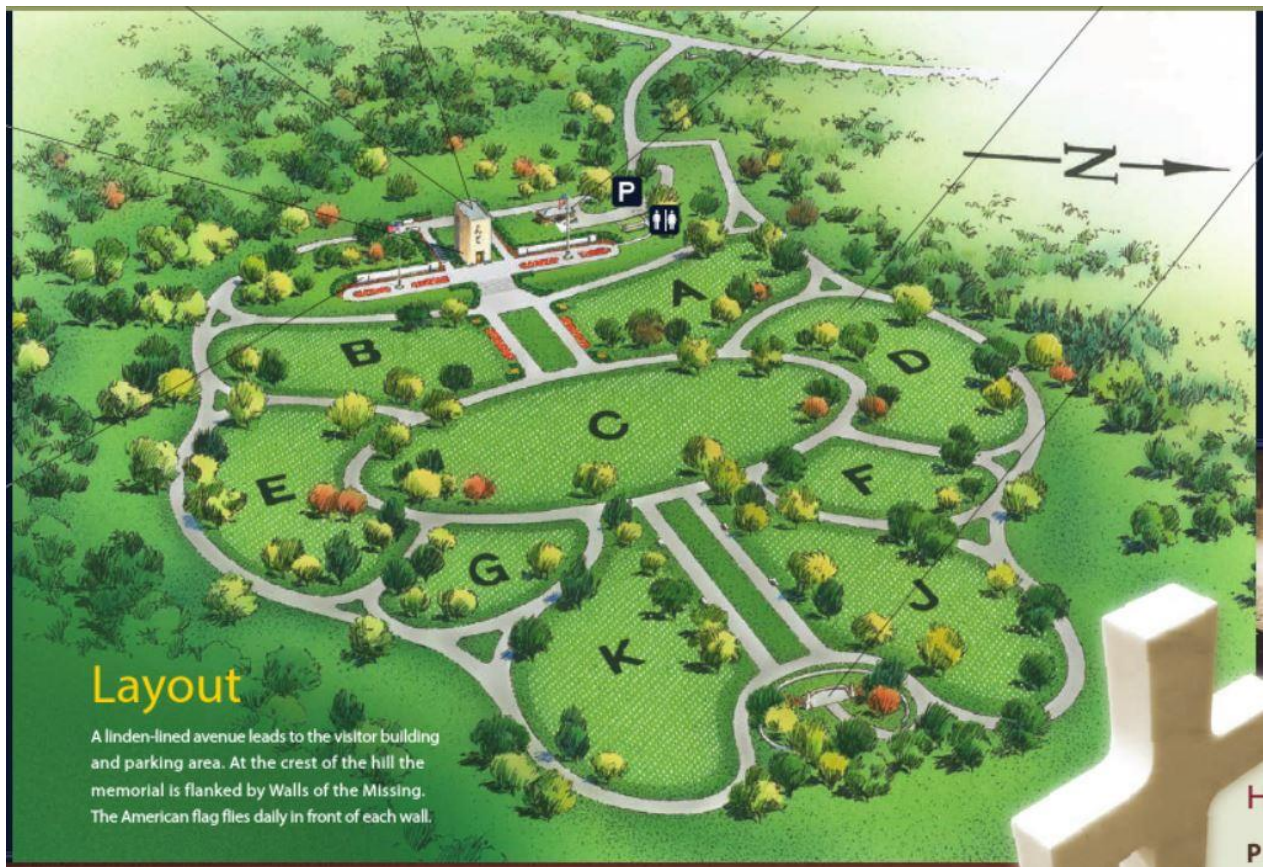

Figure 107 Map of Lorraine Cemetery from site brochure.

History

The site for Lorraine Cemetery was liberate on 16 March 1945. The cemetery is the largest WWII cemetery in Europe. The site was dedicated in 1960 (ABMC 2005,8).

Grave Arrangement

There are 10,487 burials at Lorraine Cemetery arranged in nine plots. The grave plots are in the shape of a flower, with the pathways in between outlining the floral arrangement.

Built Architecture

The memorial at Lorraine Cemetery consists of a tall rectangular tower and walls of the missing. Around the memorial are the obverse of the Great Seal of the United States, angels of Victory bearing laurel wreaths, and the figure of St. Avold with a trumpet bearing Archangel above his head. Inside the memorial chapel is a group of five sculpted figures of King David, Emperor Constantine, King Arthur, and George Washington around a youthful figure represented those who lie in the cemetery. Along the walls of the chapel are the regional battle maps (ABMC 2005, 10-15).

Borders

There are no borders within Lorraine Cemetery to guide visitors around the grave plots in any particular fashion as such construction design elements would alter the lines of sight offered by the overlook located at the far end of the cemetery. The immediate surroundings of the cemetery consist of wooded areas with some urban zones just beyond.

Lines of Sight

Urban sprawl has begun to envelop Lorraine Cemetery, although there is still a considerable tree buffer between the cemetery and the encroaching urban areas, shown in the figure Below. Inside the cemetery, the lines of sight at completely open. Lorraine Cemetery is one of the few ABMC cemeteries with an overlook constructed at the far end of the site to allow visitors to the floral design of the grave plots.

Figure 108 Aerial photograph of Lorraine Cemetery. Screenshot taken from Google Earth.

Museum Element

There is no known museum element at Lorraine Cemetery.

Access Model

The Lorraine cemetery is unique in its architectural style in that its paths are more curved and circular than linear. This curvature helps the site to circle back on itself multiple times, a fact reflected in the access model. The cemetery is laid out such that visitors receive the story of World War II from the visitor center, encounter more visual aids from the maps in the memorial or chapel, then wander amongst the death, eventually coming to the deepest point of the cemetery, the overlook. The overlook is

approached from behind. When reaching the top of the overlook, visitors are shown the whole extent of the grave plots and pathways with the memorial standing tall behind flanked by flags either side. This is the opposite of the architectural strategy taken by the ABMC for World War I cemeteries, where visitors have a complete view of the cemetery before encountering the narrative on display. The ABMC World War II cemeteries such as Ardennes and especially Lorraine have visitors encounter the narrative first before viewing the cemeteries in their entirety. The entrance, visitor center, and memorial are clustered in the beginning almost as a pre-requisite to getting to the graves.
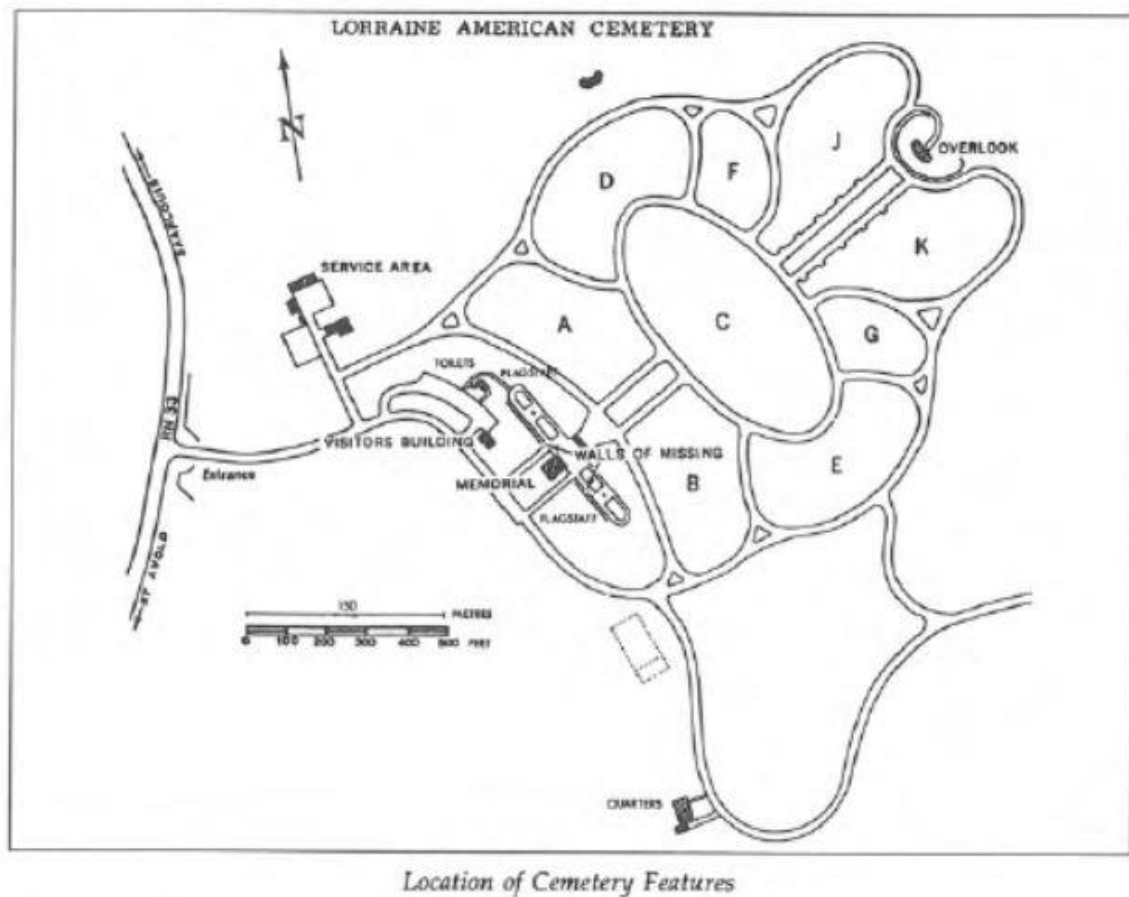

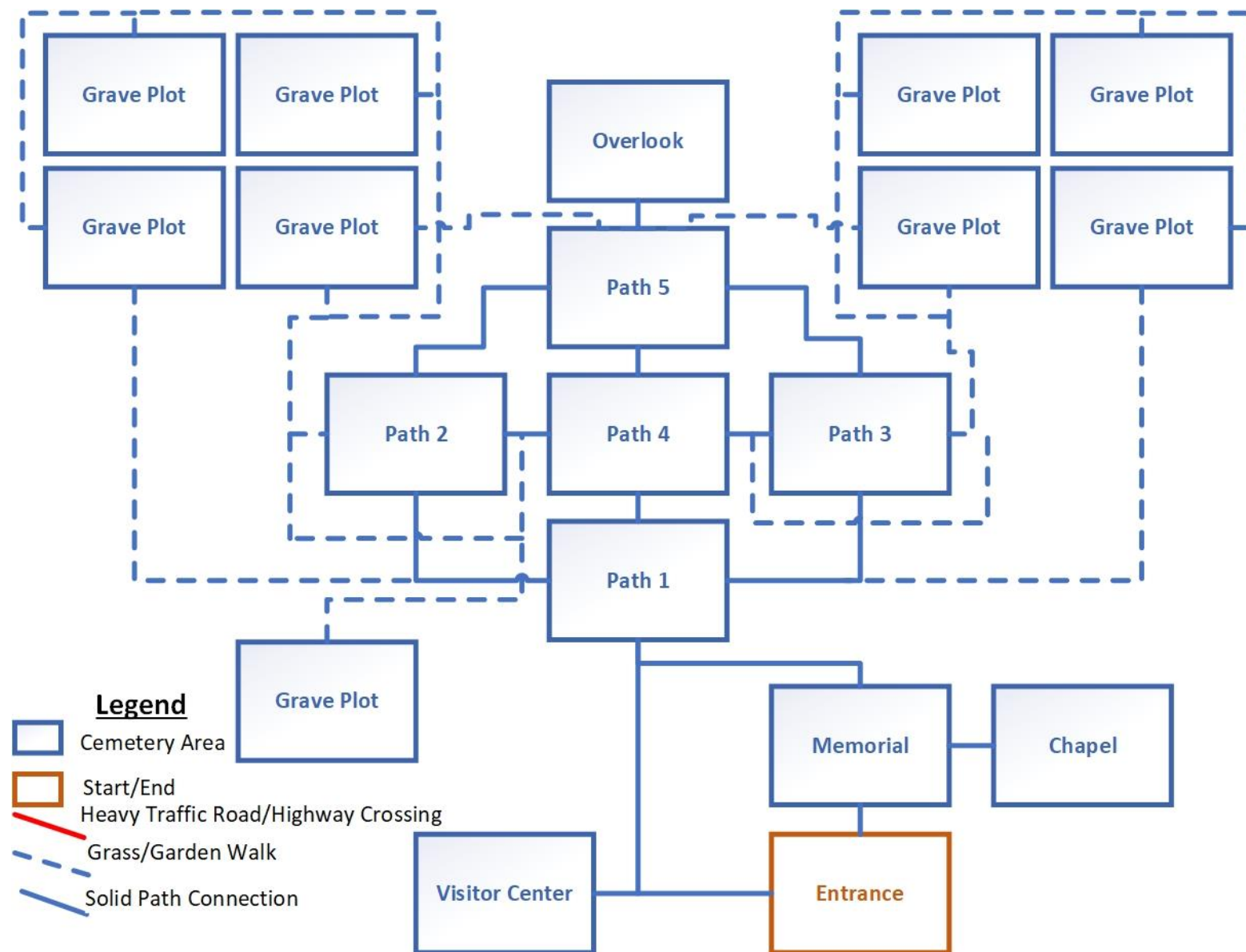Figure 109 Layout map of Lorraine Cemetery from site booklet.

Figure 110 Access map of Lorraine Cemetery.

3.5 Meuse-Argonne American Cemetery and Memorial

The Meuse-Argonne cemetery is located near the village of Romagne-sous-Montfaucon, France, 26 miles northwest of Verdun. This World War I cemetery is the largest ABMC cemetery in Europe. Below is a map of the cemetery from an ABMC brochure.

Figure 111 Site map for Meuse-Argonne Cemetery from brochure.

History

The site for Meuse-Argonne Cemetery was liberated on 14 October 1918. The cemetery was dedicated in 1937 (ABMC n.d.-o,10).

Grave Arrangement

There are 14,246 burials at Meuse-Argonne Cemetery arranged in eight plots. This is the largest ABMC cemetery in Europe in terms of interment numbers. The 8 plots are

located just in front of the chapel and separated by grass malls and tress sectioning them off from one another.

Built Architecture

The memorial at Meuse-Argonne overlooks the graves toward valley. It consists of the chapel and two loggias where the names of the missing are inscribed. Inside the chapel, the altar is backed the flags of the principal Allied nations. The insignia of multiple American divisions are reproduced in the stained-glass windows around the memorial (ABMC n.d.-o,10-15).

Borders

Meuse-Argonne Cemetery is located in an area of rural farmland with a few small villages nearby. The cemetery itself is heavily covered in trees, like in effort to make the site seem as 'natural' as possible. The trees act as a border for every pathway and grave plot within the cemetery.

Lines of Sight

The clearest line of sight at Meuse-Argonne Cemetery is between the visitor building and the chapel at opposite ends of the cemetery. The entrance gates are located at the bottom of the valley, and when visitors park next to the visitor building the chapel is resting on the crest of the hill opposite the valley. The grave plots are hidden from view by trees and the two wooded grass malls.

Figure 112 Aerial photograph of Meuse-Argonne Cemetery. Screenshot taken from Google Earth.

Museum Element

There is no known museum element at Meuse-Argonne Cemetery.

Access Model

Meuse-Argonne is a completely symmetrical architectural design. The Chapel at the south end and the visitor center at the north ends of the cemetery are connected by two grass malls separated by a pool feature. Running east and west from the pool feature are roads leading to the two symmetrical entrances on each side. For special purposes,

pathway 2 is openable to allow vehicular traffic to drive to the chapel or closer to the graves, but usually visitors arriving by vehicle will begin their visit at the visitor center. From there, visitors can walk through one of the grass malls devoid of any type of signage or narrative, cross the pool feature, and access the eight grave areas via the second grass mall. At the end of this journey is the chapel which houses the memorial. This is in line with other ABMC World War I cemeteries such Brookwood. The access model for Meuse-Argonne is unique in that vehicle parking/bus drop-off is typically placed just inside or outside the entrance gate(s) to the ABMC cemeteries, but here is located one or two levels into the model. This means a high level of divergence in possible visitor pathing depending on manner of approach. Due to the more rural setting of Meuse-Argonne, any visit is likely to begin at the visitor center, but alternatives are possible.
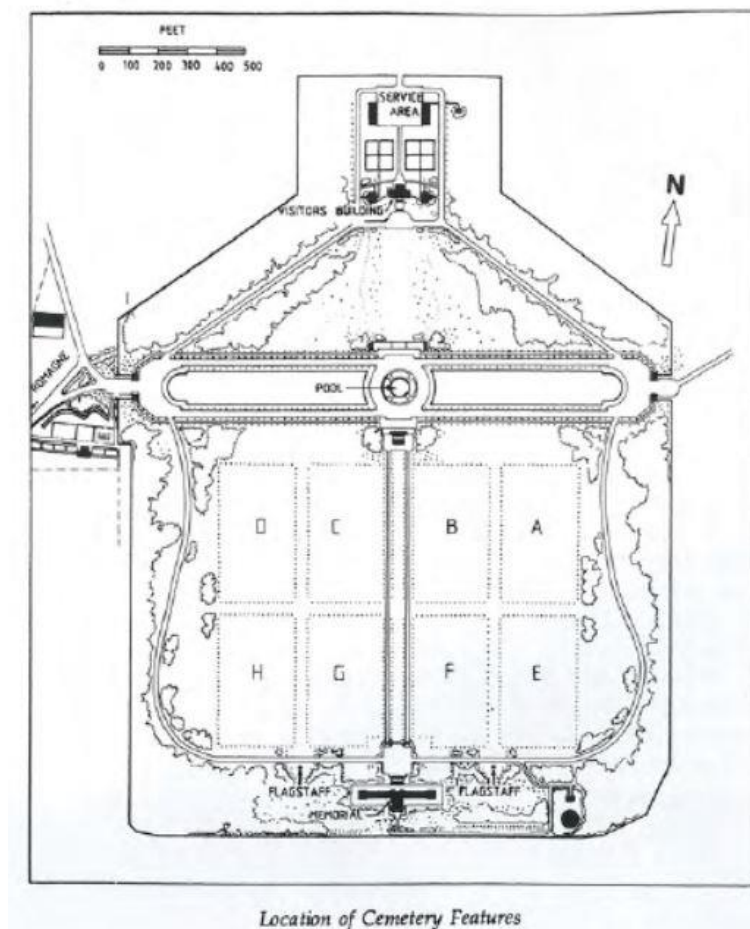

Location of Cemetery Features

Figure 113 Layout map of Meuse-Argonne Cemetery from site booklet.
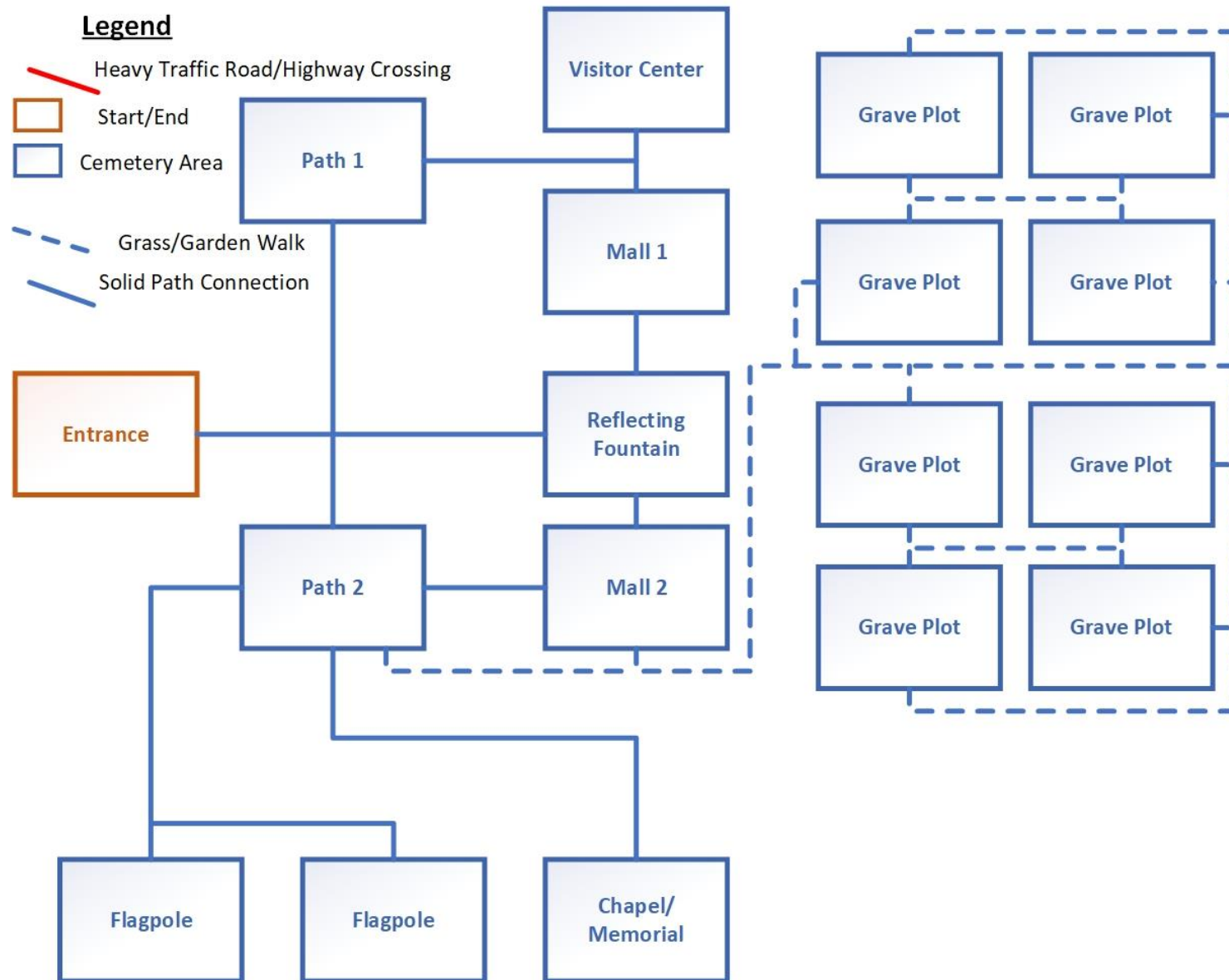
Figure 114 Access map of Meuse-Argonne Cemetery.

3.6 Netherlands American Cemetery and Memorial

The Netherlands cemetery is the only ABMC cemetery in the country of the Netherlands. This World War II cemetery is located six miles east Maastricht, near the village of Margraten. Below is a map of the cemetery from an ABMC brochure.
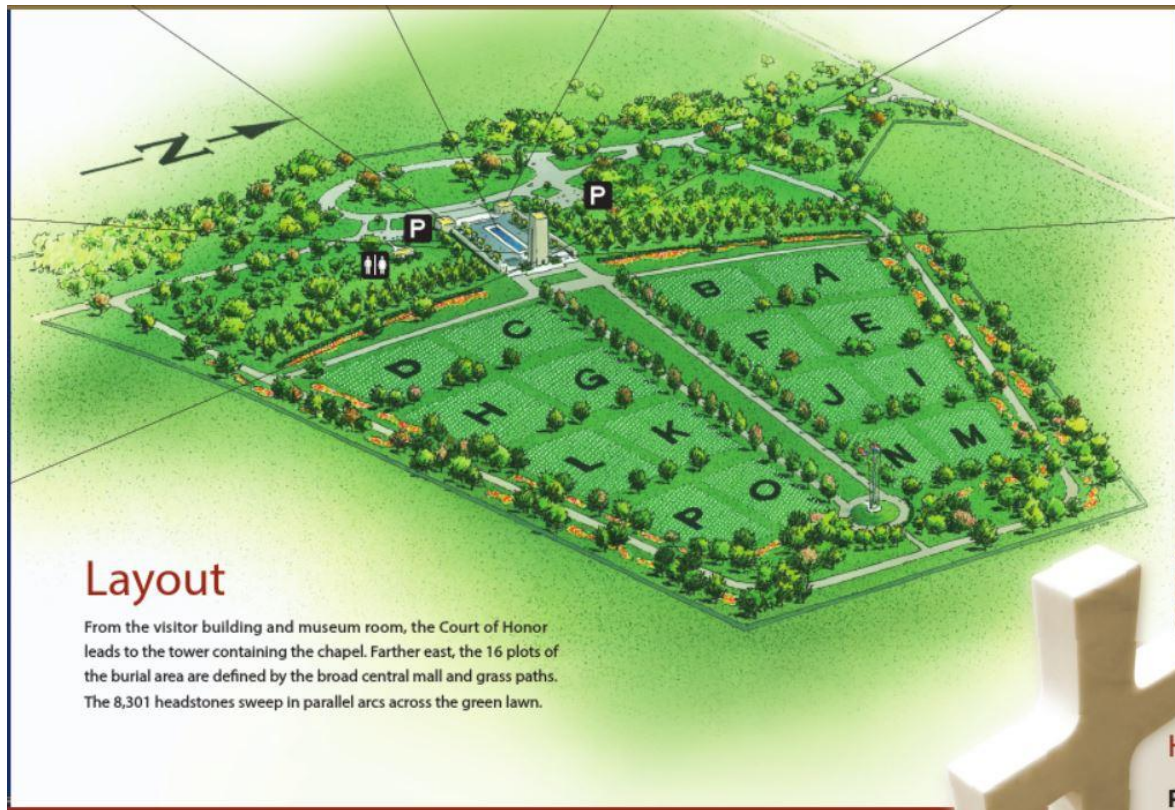

Figure 115 Map of Netherlands Cemetery from site brochure.

History

The Netherlands cemetery was established on the grounds of one of the last major temporary cemeteries of World War II. This temporary cemetery was established on 10 November 1944 (ABMC n.d.-q). The site upon which the cemetery rests was liberated on 13 September 1944, in the beginning of the final push to free the Netherlands and invade Germany. The cemetery was dedicated in the second round of dedications for the World War II cemeteries in 1960.

Grave Arrangement

There are 8,301 burials at Netherlands Cemetery arranged in 16 plots. Every single grave in the cemetery has been adopted by local families, some passing down the adoption through generations.

Built Architecture

From the entrance of Netherlands Cemetery to the tower chapel is the Court of Honor. The court consists of a reflecting pool and the walls of the missing (ABMC n.d.-q, 12). The chapel interior is 52-feet high and contains a lighting fixture presented by the Dutch people consisting of a royal crown surrounded by tiny lights along with a silver alter vase and wrought iron candelabrum (ABMC n.d.-q,14).

Borders

Netherlands Cemetery is located in a rural setting bordering the town of Honthem near Margraten. From the cemetery entrance, visitors approach the memorial chapel via the court of honor. Behind the chapel are the grave plots, which have no barrier to entry.

Lines of Sight

As with most other ABMC WWII cemeteries, the chapel block line of sight to the grave plots at Netherlands Cemetery. It is only after a visitor has encountered the American story of the war or chosen to ignore it that the grave come into view. The cemetery is very open visually, even into the rural fields beyond its borders. From the flagpole at the far end of the cemetery, visitors may turn around and reflect on graves and the chapel in their entirety before ending their visit.

Figure 116 Aerial photograph of Netherlands Cemetery. Screenshot taken from Google Earth.

Museum Element

The museum at Netherlands Cemetery is located within the memorial. It contains three battle maps detailing the movement of troops in the area from the Normandy landings to the end of the war.

Access Model

The access model for the Netherlands Cemetery shows two distinct groupings. The first grouping is the memorial mall containing the Walls of the Missing, museum, visitor center, and chapel. The second grouping are the two pathways and the sixteen grave plots. Separating these two groupings are a set of stairs. To provide disabled access to the graves, the pathways that surround the graves circles around the memorial mall to the entrance. Due to this disabled accessibility, the chapel acts as one of the deepest points in the cemetery along with the flag flying at the far end of the graves. On the

layout map of the Cemetery, the graves appear to be separated into two sets of eight. However, if a visitor wanted to, they could walk to the other set of graves without leaving the grass by going around the back of the flag. Thus, each grave plot is connected to one another.
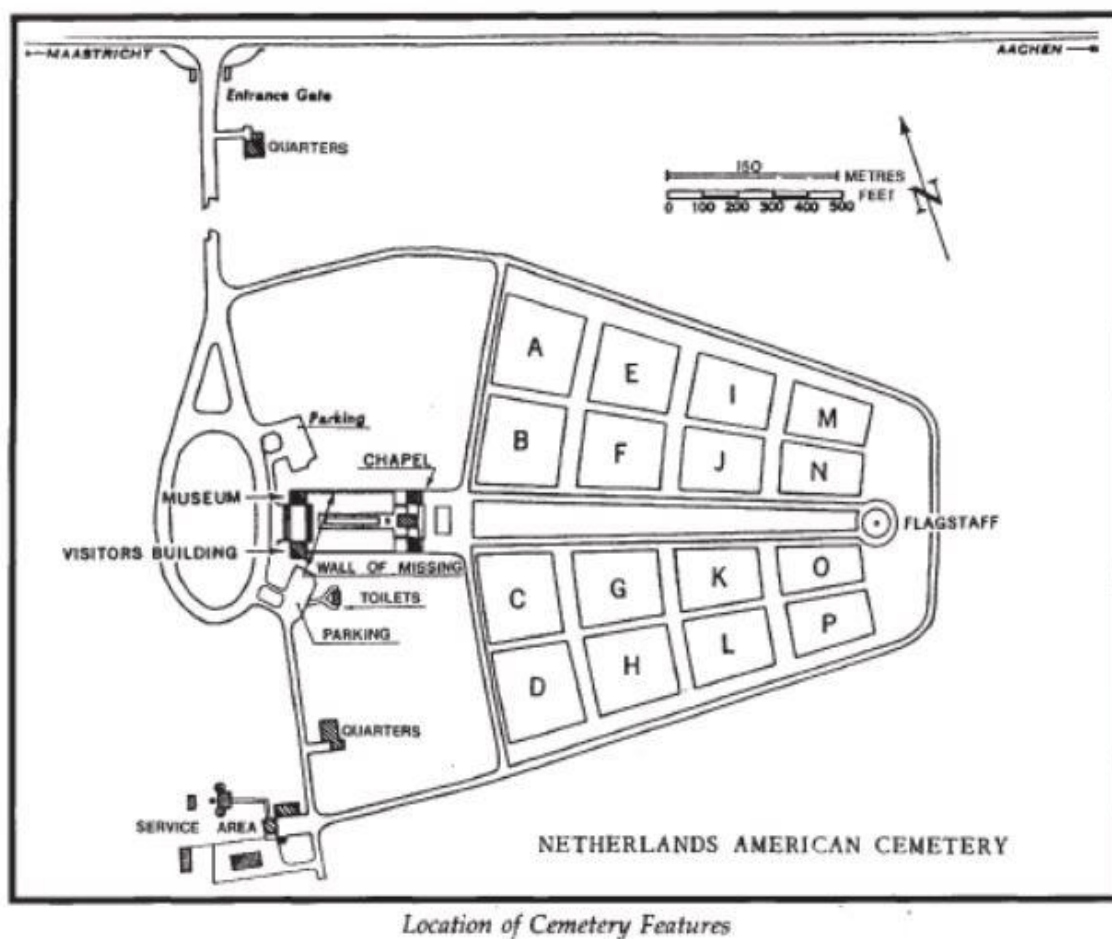

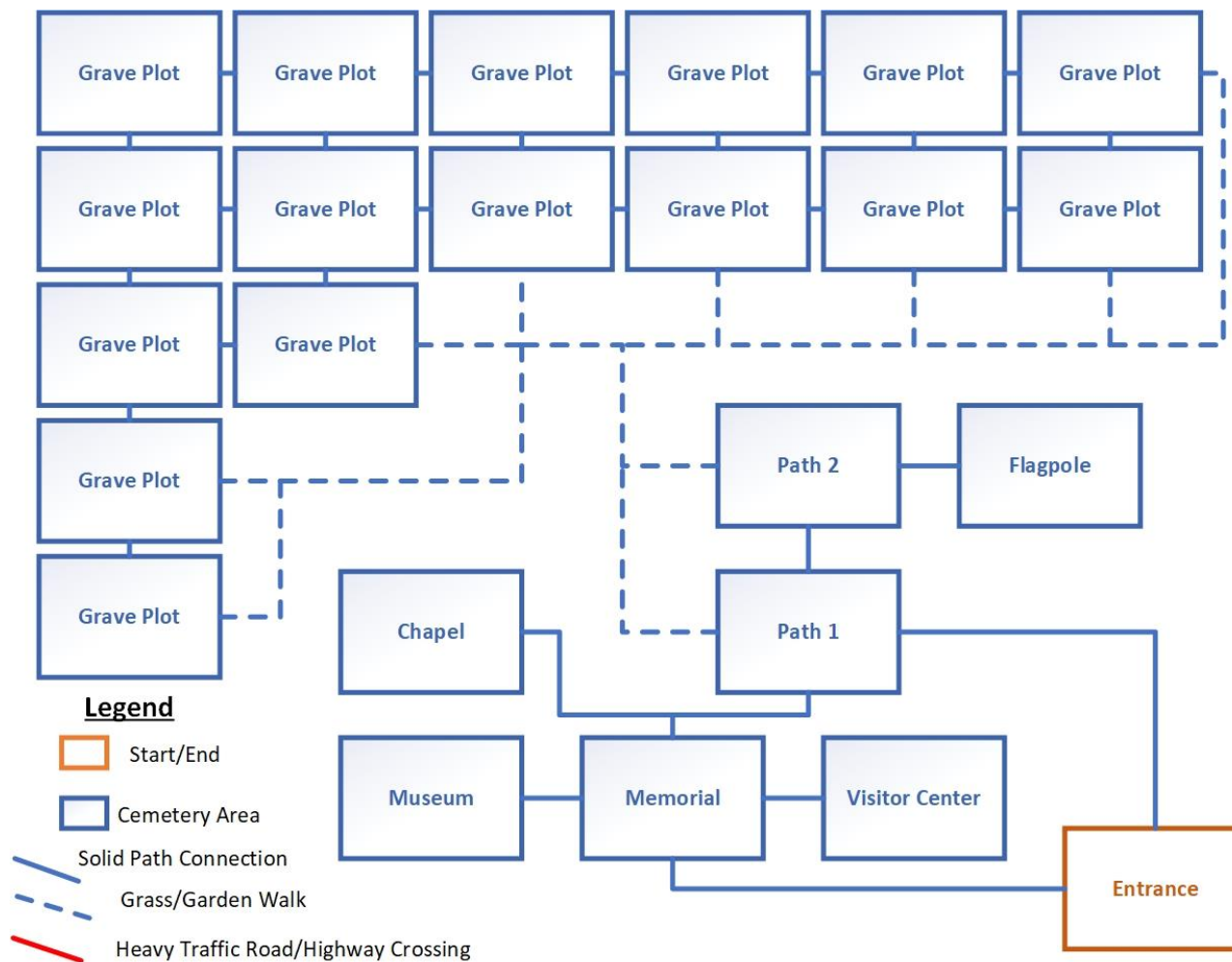Figure 117 Layout map of Netherlands Cemetery from site booklet.

Figure 118 Access map of Netherlands Cemetery.

3.7 Normandy American Cemetery and Memorial

Overlooking the English Channel and Omaha Beach, the Normandy cemetery is located in Colleville-sur-Mer, 170 miles west of Paris. One of the largest, and possibly the most well-known, of the ABMC cemeteries, Normandy was established as a temporary cemetery for bodies from project Overlord in World War II. Below is a map of the cemetery from an ABMC brochure.

rated map of the cemetery with the burial sections labeled.

Figure 119 Map of Normandy Cemetery from site brochure.

History

The history of the military operations of Operation Overlord have been written by multiple authors, however, the history of the Normandy American cemetery is not as grand as the military operations that spawned it. The Normandy cemetery began as a temporary cemetery on the plateau of Omaha Beach just after the D-Day landings in 1944 (ABMC 2018l, 3). The majority of the over 9,000 interments at Normandy came from the initial D-Day landings. Normandy is one of the largest cemeteries overseen by the ABMC. The cemetery was dedicated in 1956. In 2007, a new visitor center was built to house a museum and enhance the story of D-Day and the Normandy Beaches.

Grave Arrangement

There are 9,387 burials at Normandy arranged in 10 plots. Two pathways are laid in the middle of the grave plots to form a cross, with the cemetery chapel erected at their intersection point.

Built Architecture

At the far end of Normandy Cemetery are a set of statues. The statues represent France, a portrayal of Marrianne holding a rooster, and the United States, a portrayal of Columbia holding an eagle. In their other hands, both statues hold olive branches, representing peace (ABMC 2018l, 9). The memorial at the cemetery is where the battle maps and wall of the missing are located. The actual memorial consists of a 22-foot-tall bronze statue entitled 'The Spirit of American Youth Rising From the Waves' which faces west towards the headstones, four large inscribed bronze urns, two of which depict a dying warrior atop a charging horse, symbolizing war, as an angel receives his spirit, while the other two depict a woman and child kneeling beside a decorated grave (ABMC 2018l, 12). Inside the chapel at Normandy Cemetery is a black marble altar with a mosaic depicting America blessing her sons as depart for the war (ABMC 2018l, 15-16).

Borders

Normandy Cemetery is located directly on the bluffs overlooking Omaha Beach and the English Channel. The cemetery site is among a semi-rural area on the northwestern coast of France. Bordering the cemetery on the east, south, and west sides are wooded tree areas. To the north, the cemetery is bordering one of the three beaches that was used for the amphibious assault on D-Day. Within the cemetery, a few wooded areas direct visitors to either the grave plots or the visitor museum/memorial.

Lines of Sight

The lines of sight within Normandy Cemetery are best described as vistas. From different points of interest within the cemetery, other points of interest are visible. The intervisibility between the inside and outside of the cemetery is focused on Omaha

Beach. By having an overlook at the top of the pathway down to the beach as well as a half wall along the north side of the cemetery, the beach is brought into the site. This has been done in an effort to make the stories told regarding the D-Day landings more emotive for visitors.

Figure 120 Aerial photograph of Normandy Cemetery. Screenshot taken from Google Earth.

Museum Element

The museum at Normandy Cemetery opened in 2007 at the 63rd anniversary of D-Day. One third of building is dedicated exhibit space featuring narrative text, photos, films, interactive displays, and artifacts. With going to the cemetery in person, no other information on the inside of the recently constructed museum is available.

Access Model

Even with its expansion sixty years after its dedication, the access model for Normandy has not changed. Pathway 1 is still how visitors encounter the narrative and memorial aspects of the site. The entrance was merely expanded, and the new visitor center built adjacent to the site. The overlook at Normandy does not operate in the same way as overlooks at the other ABMC cemeteries. Normally, the overlooks at the cemeteries turn the visitor back to the site in order to view in its entirety. At Normandy, the overlook faces visitors toward the beaches, an especially pertinent part of the Normandy narrative. Other war relics and artifacts are conserved along the beaches, but they are not maintained by the ABMC, only used as visual aids from the overlook. The overlook also has a path connecting the cemetery to the beach proper. This also allows people who are walking along the beach to enter the cemetery, almost as a separate entrance. Due to this possible access, the model above shows it as a possible way for visitors to maneuver through the site, even if it's not likely for visitors to park at the entrance and walk through the surrounding town to the beach instead of taking the main entrance. The graves at Normandy are separated into ten different plots, but their placement is of note. Coming from the memorial, a visitor encounters the chapel after experiencing 60% of the death represented at Normandy. The Chapel is acting as the end point as a checkpoint for the graves, a reprieve during the journey through and solace on the way back from the other 40% of the graves. Being the largest ABMC World War II cemetery in Europe, the choice to split the graves into separate end points from the pathways ensures the death is never faced in its entirety. Tripadvisor reviews also state that during commemoration days, 'Do not walk on the grass' signs and rules are enforced, taking away the individuality of the war dead, visitors instead facing death two or three plots at a time in a very museum-esque fashion.
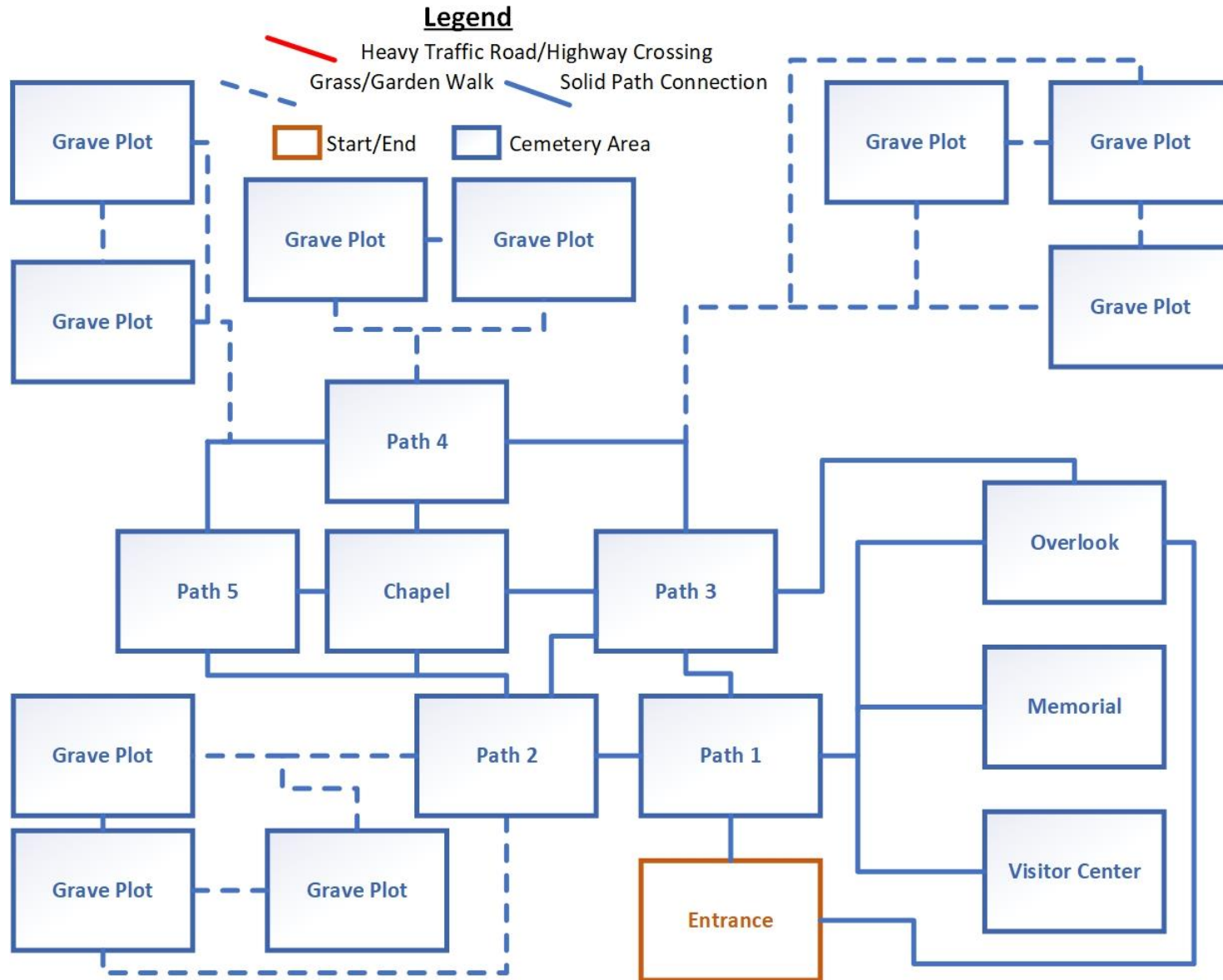
Figure 121 Access map of Normandy Cemetery.

3.8 North Africa American Cemetery and Memorial

The North Africa cemetery is located ten miles northeast of the city of Tunis in Tunisia. It is a World War II cemetery, with the interred coming from the North Africa and Mediterranean campaigns. Below is a map of the cemetery from an ABMC brochure.

Figure 122 Map of North Africa Cemetery from site brochure.

History

While hoping to end World War II as quickly as possible in 1943, the United States was forced to delay any operation in order to reinforce the Allied forces in North Africa and the Middle East. Axis forces had made major gains in the Middle East, especially the Caucasus Mountains, and North Africa, pushing British troops back to Alexandria in Egypt (ABMC 2007, 10). US troops landed in French Morocco. Meeting various forms of resistance, the US troops pushed east, while the British troops rallied and pushed west (*ibid.*). Eventually, the Axis forces were pinned in Tunisia. After months of heavy fighting with shifting lines, the Allied troops were successful in forcing the Axis out of North Africa, paving the way for the Mediterranean campaign and other operations in Europe. The North Africa cemetery is not established on top of any temporary cemetery from the North Africa campaign, as they all had major disadvantages (ABMC 2007, 11). The cemetery site was chosen in 1948.

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Grave Arrangement

There are 2,833 graves at North Africa Cemetery arranged in nine plots. The plots are all separated by pathways. At each corner of the inner square created by the pathways are 'oasis' rest points for visitors to rest at in times of hotter temperatures.

Built Architecture

The flagpole at North Africa Cemetery is located next to the steps descending into the graves area (ABMC 2007, 13). The wall of the missing is just left of the entrance to the cemetery with sculptures entitled 'memory' and 'reconciliation' spaced along its length (ABMC 2007, 14). The memorial in the cemetery consists of the Court of Honor and chapel. The Court of Honor is in the form of a cloister with a large rectangular stone of remembrance within. The south end of the cloister is where the military operations maps are located. Inside the chapel is an altar and a statue entitled 'sacrifice' (ABMC 2007, 19).

Borders

Located in the city of Carthage, Tunisia, North Africa Cemetery is not immediately bordered by residential or commercial zones. Instead, the cemetery inhabits a small, wooded zone near the country's coast. There are no borders within the cemetery, only a small vertical split between the pathway connecting the entrance and the map area and the grave plots.

Lines of Sight

North Africa Cemetery has an open line of sight from nearly every vantage point of the cemetery. Being designed in a large rectangular fashion, the 'oasis' rest areas may block vision to some of the headstones depending on where the visitor is standing.

Figure 123 Aerial photograph of North Africa Cemetery. Screenshot taken from Google Earth.

Museum Element

The only museum element at North Africa Cemetery is a Roman mosaic in the visitors building discovered in the area that was presented to the cemetery by a US ambassador after he received it from the president of Tunisia.

Access Model

The North Africa cemetery is of relatively simple design. The entrance connects to both the pathway 1 and 2 to allow disabled access to the grave plots as there are stairs between the pathways. Small pools and fountains a located around the site to alleviate some of the arid, desert heat. This affected the design by adding four 'oases' at the corners of pathway 3. This makes the central grave plot of the nine like an island surrounded by a moat of the pathway. The heat has made for more of the buildings to be covered rather than open plan style.
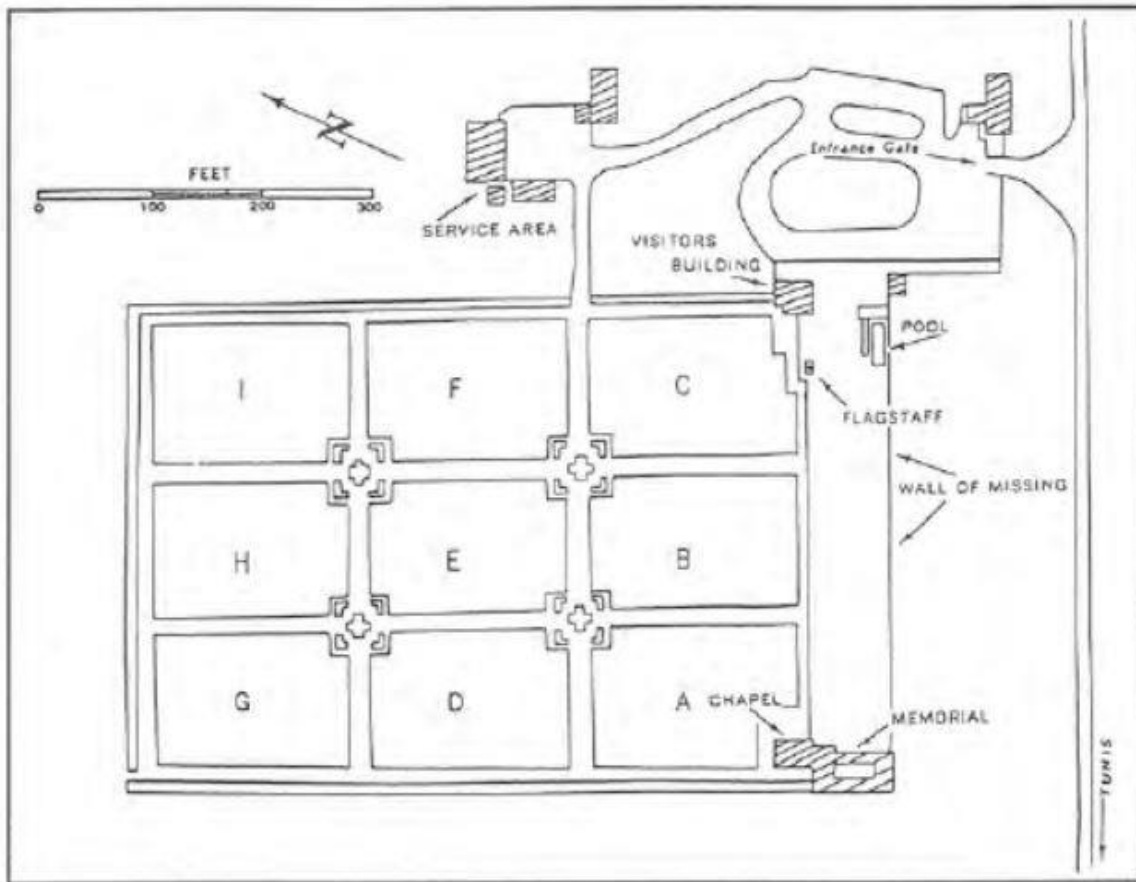
Location of Cemetery Features

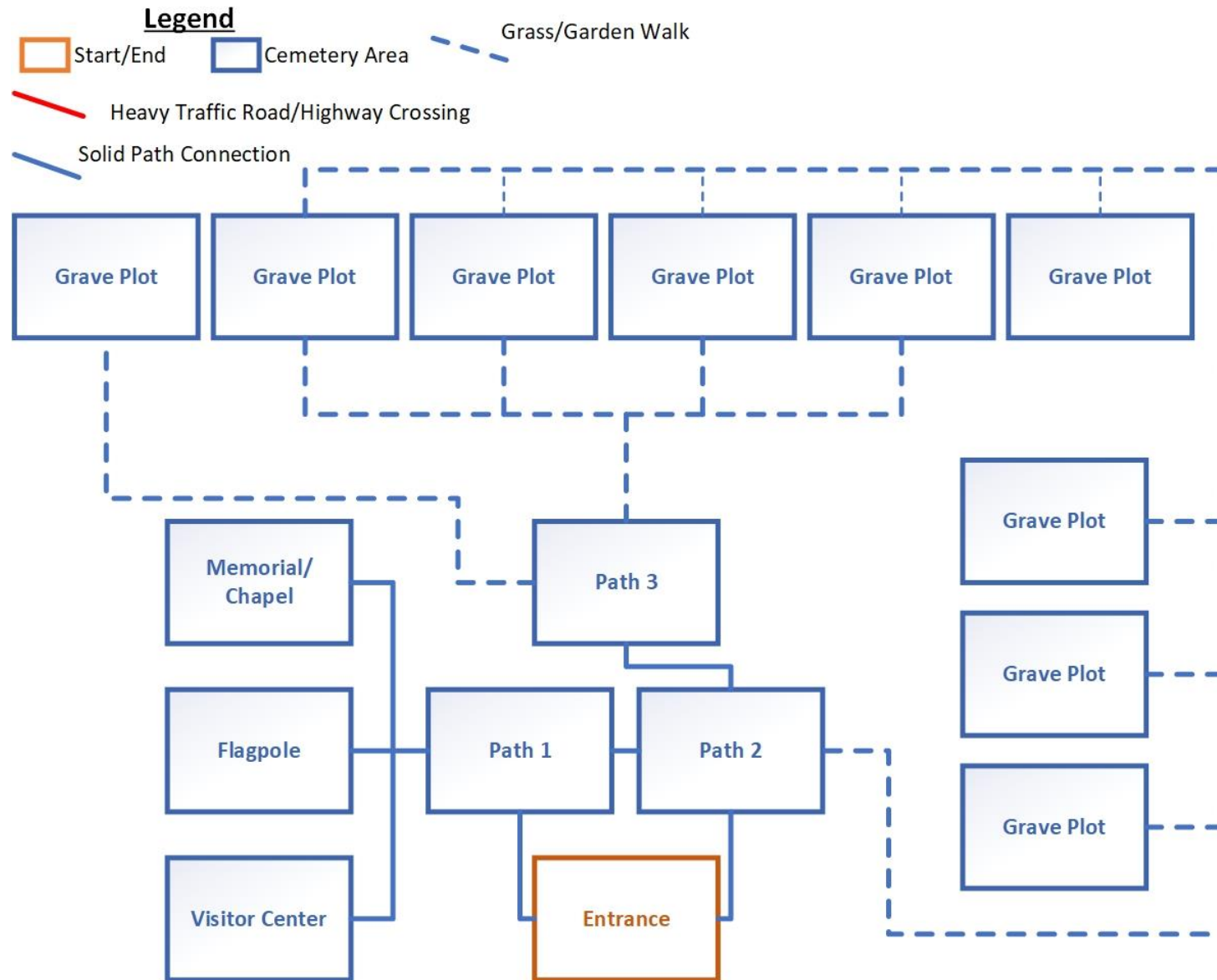Figure 124 Layout map of North Africa Cemetery from site booklet.

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Figure 125 Access map of North Africa Cemetery.

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3.9 Oise-Aisne American Cemetery and Memorial

Oise-Aisne cemetery is a World War I cemetery located 1.5 miles east of Fere-en-Tarde-nois, France. Below is a map of the cemetery from an ABMC brochure.
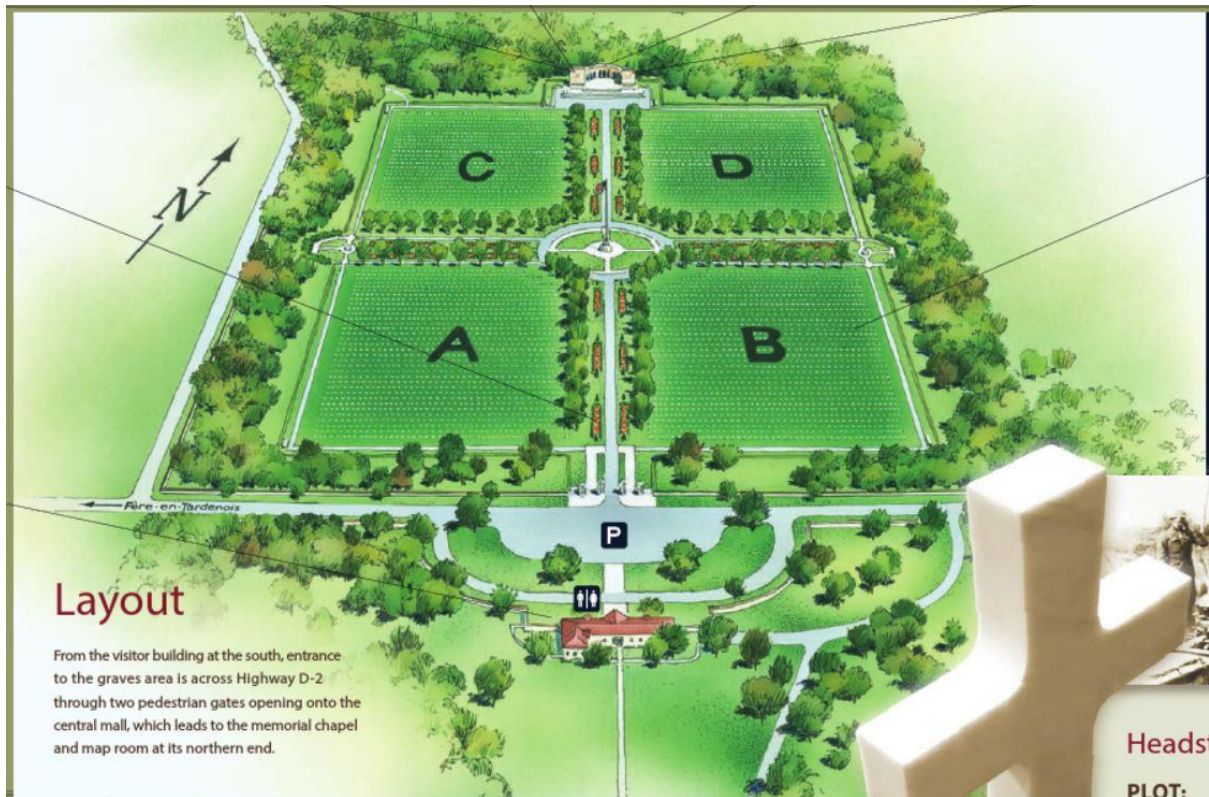

Figure 126 Map of Oise-Aisne Cemetery from site brochure.

History

The history of the Oise-Aisne cemetery is connected to Aisne River in France. Multiple German offensives were made across the river successfully, threatening Paris (ABMC n.d.-s). American and Allied troops halted the German Assault just across the river. After defending against two more German attempts to increase their hold across the river and further supply lines, the Allies learned of German plans for a third offensive. With this information, a counter-offensive was planned to push the Germans back across the river (*ibid.*). The Oise-Aisne cemetery holds the remains of those Americans who fell during these operations along the Aisne River. The ABMC took control of the cemetery in 1934.

Grave Arrangement

There are 6,012 burials arranged in four square grave plots at Oise-Aisne Cemetery. The plots are separated by two intersecting pathways.

Built Architecture

The flagpole at Oise-Aisne Cemetery is locate at the intersection of the two pathways that separate the grave plots atop a small circular island of grass (ABMC n.d.-s,9). The memorial at the cemetery consists of a semi-circular peristyle with a large rectangular altar in the center. Carved on this outdoor altar are (i) an eagle rising, (ii) a palm wreath encircling a cross, (iii) a pelican feeding its young, and (iv) early Christian symbols of redemption and resurrection (ABMC n.d.-s,9). Engraved as embellishments on the columns are (i) a rifle and bayonet, (ii) gas mask, (iii) one-pounder cannon, (iv) airplane propeller, (v) field glasses, (vi) stokes mortar, (vii) airplane bomb, (viii) entrenching tools, (ix) automatic pistol, (x) field telephone set, (xi) hand grenade, (xii) mess kit, (xiii) machine gun on a tripod, (xiv) cannon muzzle, (xv) mule's head, (xvi) trench knife, (xvii) canteen and cover, (xviii) belt of machine gun ammo, (xix) artillery shells, and (xx) a harness (ABMC n.d.-s,9). The altar within the chapel is embellished with decorative sculpture and panels of stylized oak trees and a pelican feeding her young, symbolic of Christ feeding the masses. Around the walls of the chapel interior are carved the names of the missing (ABMC n.d.-s,10).

Borders

Oise-Aisne Cemetery is one of two ABMC cemeteries where certain areas of the site require visitors to cross a highway to get to. At Oise-Aisne Cemetery, visitor parking is located in front of the visitor building across the highway from the cemetery proper. Once across this ethereal barrier and within the cemetery, trees and pathways separate the grave plots, but do not stop intrusion upon them.

Lines of Sight

The lines of sight at Oise-Aisne Cemetery favor the interior of the site rather than its surroundings. From the parking area opposite the entrance to the site, visitors have a

clear vista of the flagpole in the center of the cemetery framed by the memorial located behind it at the far end. Trees surrounding the cemetery offer no vision to the surrounding rural fields.


Figure 127 Aerial photograph of Oise-Aisne Cemetery. Screenshot taken from Google Earth.

Museum Element

The museum at Oise-Aisne is located on the east end of the memorial, opposite the chapel. Carved in the wall facing the entrance is a crusader's sword flanked by vertical laurel. The red, white, and blue colors representing both the United States and France are displayed from bronze hangers in the museum. On the south wall is the carved battle map of the Oise-Aisne region. The museum seems to have been constructed purely for the sake of the symmetry of the memorial.

Access Model

The Oise-Aisne Access model is one of two where visitors have to cross a major traffic route to fully visit the cemetery. This major highway cuts off the bulk of the cemetery, reminding visitors of the time in between the events of the war and the present day. The cemetery is otherwise symmetrical, with four grave plots separated by three pathways. The memorial and chapel building are at the far end of the cemetery and the flagpole is central to the site in the middle of pathway 2.
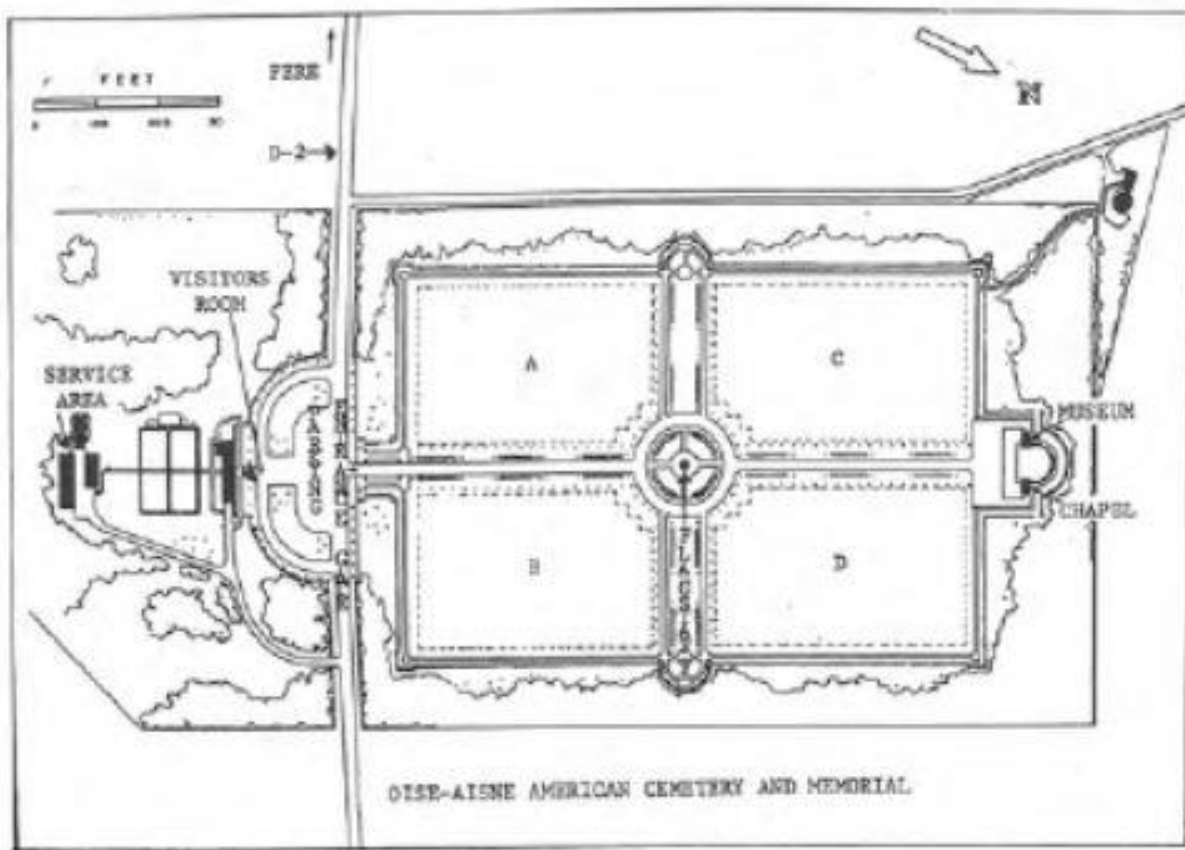
Location of Cemetery Features

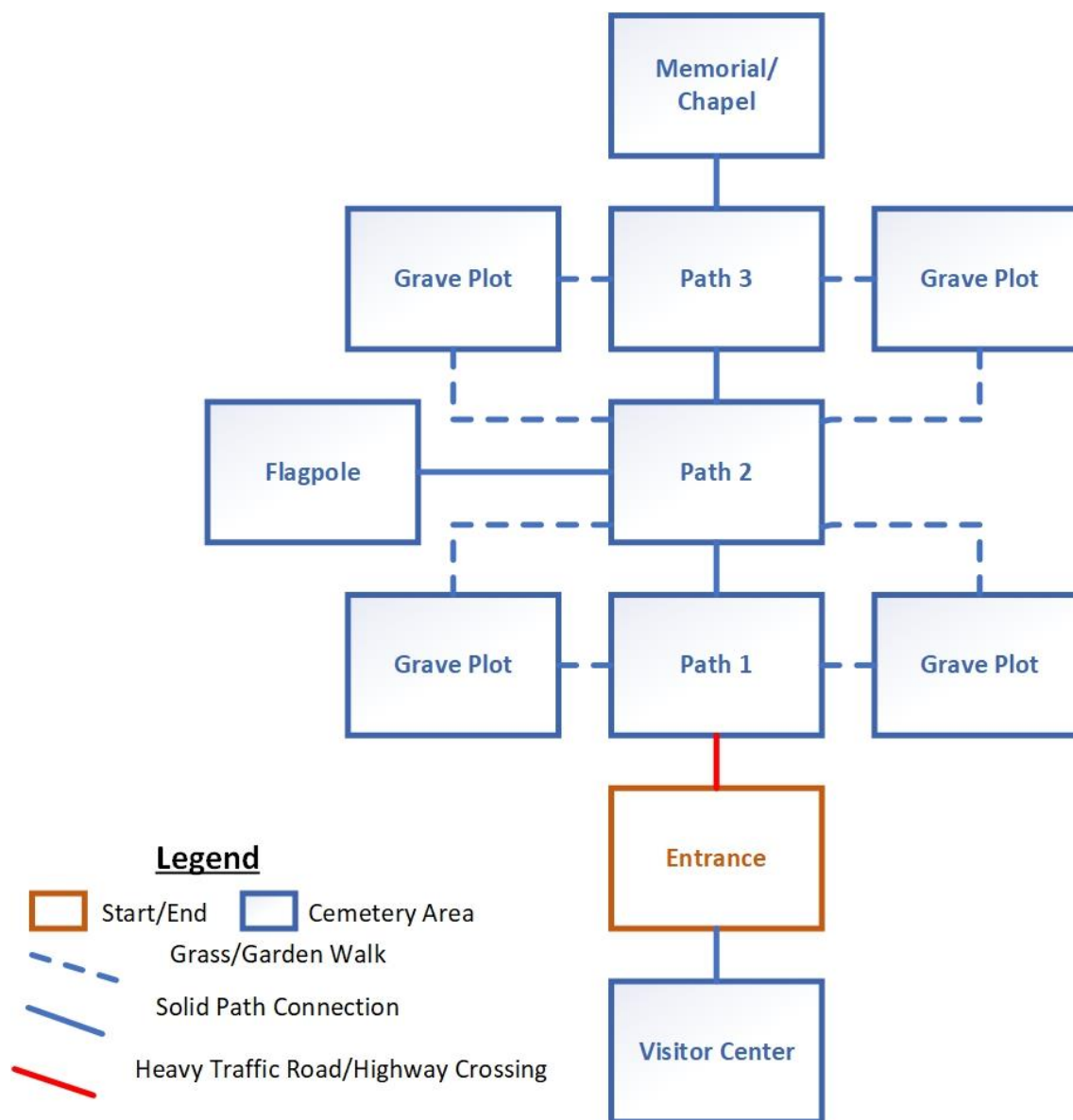Figure 128 Layout map of Oise-Aisne Cemetery from site booklet.

Figure 129 Access map of Oise-Aisne Cemetery.

3.10 Rhone American Cemetery and Memorial

Rhone cemetery is a World War II cemetery located in the city of Draguignan, France. Below is a map of the cemetery from an ABMC brochure.
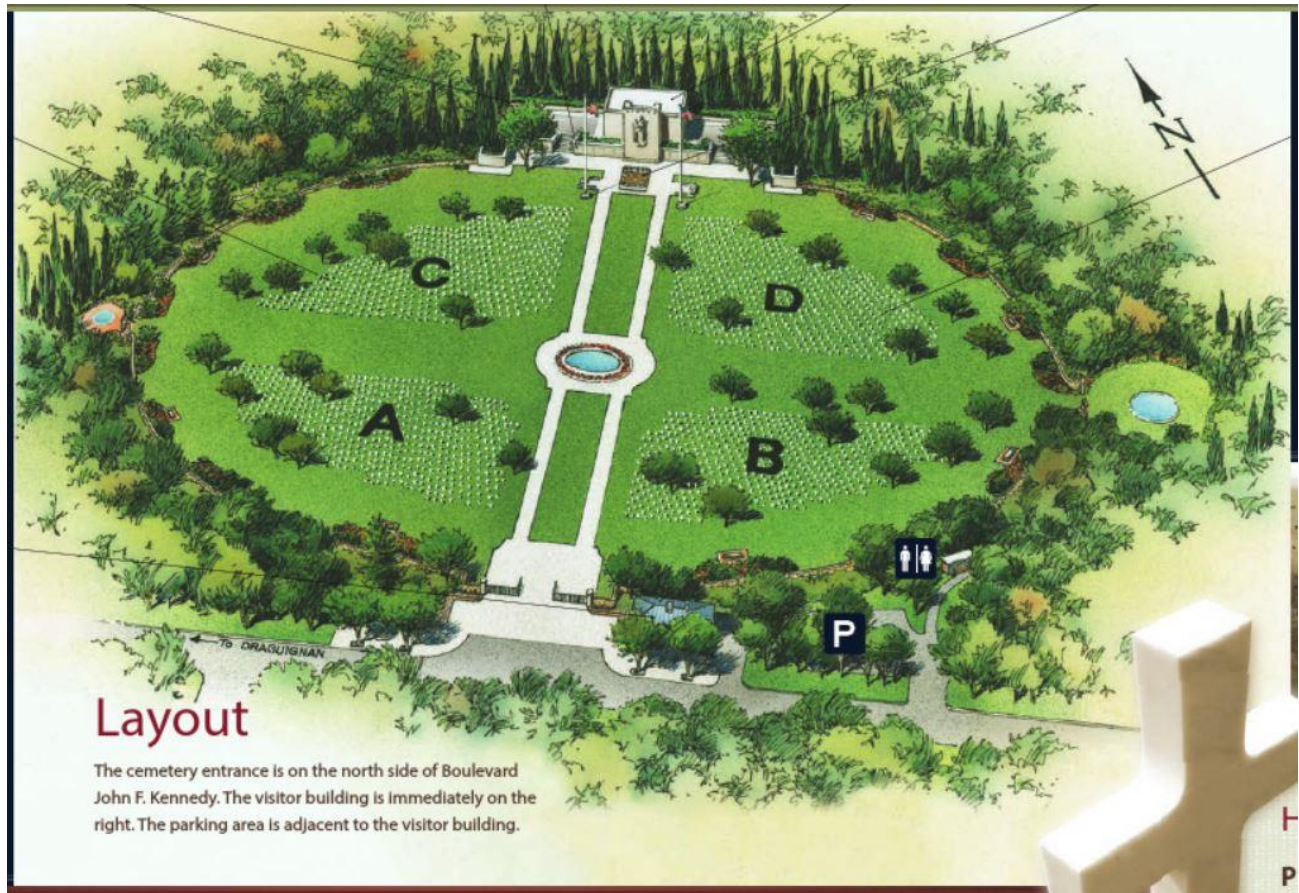

Figure 130 Map of Rhone Cemetery from site brochure.

History

On 6 June 1944, the Allies invaded German occupied France from across the English Channel, the beginning of Operation Overlord. To increase the chances of a successful invasion, the Allies planned to invade the north and south of France simultaneously. The southern invasion was known as Operation Dragoon. When manufacturing and supply constraints proved a simultaneous deployment impossible, Operation Dragoon was delayed, being launched at the first possible opportunity, which arrived in mid-August 1944 (ABMC n.d.-v). Facing much less resistance than the landings in Normandy months prior, Operation Dragoon swiftly established an Allied beachhead in southern France. Within a month, troops from Operation Overlord had made it far enough west and north into France that they made contact with troops from Operation Overlord (*ibid.*). Even if delayed, Operation Dragoon stalled German troop movement

to the north and was integral in Wehrmacht retreat from southern France. The Rhone cemetery holds 816 troops lost during Operation Dragoon from across southern France.

Grave Arrangement

There are 860 graves arranged in four plots at Rhone Cemetery. The plots flank the central pathway with two on each side. Grass malls surround the edge of the grave plots and connect to the side gardens of the cemetery.

Built Architecture

At the north end of Rhone Cemetery lies the memorial, flanked on both sides by flagpoles. Between the flagpoles is a bronze relief map of the military operations that took place in the area. On each side of this bronze relief map are two other maps, one for the European theater of war and one for the Pacific theater of war. On the facade of the memorial is a sculpture of the Angel of Peace nurturing the new generation (ABMC n.d.-v, 10-11). Inside the chapel, mosaics symbolize eternal care under the Almighty, understanding and transcending grief, new hope for future generations, and the crusades (ABMC n.d.-v, 13-14).

Borders

Rhone Cemetery is located in a dense urban area. The cemetery may act as a civic park for locals who wish to enjoy some green space. To block out the modern world, Rhone Cemetery is surrounded by trees to keep visitors inside the cemetery mentally as well as physically. The tall trees would also function as noise blockers so that less traffic could be heard from the outside city.

Lines of Sight

The lines of sight at Rhone Cemetery favor the interior of the site rather than focusing on bringing the outside world into it. Although trees are planted throughout the grave plots, they are spaced sparsely enough to not impede vision amongst the headstones. The two gardens on the east and west sides of the cemetery have to be entered in order to be viewed. This makes them a more intimate areas of the cemetery, one large and one small.

Figure 131 Aerial photograph of Rhone Cemetery. Screenshot taken from Google Earth.

Museum Element

There is no known museum element at Rhone Cemetery.

Access Model

The access model for Rhone Cemetery is completely symmetrical, a common style choice for the ABMC cemeteries. The actual site is not symmetrical, as the eastern garden is significantly larger than the western garden. If visitors stay on the paved pathways, the site is a straight line to the memorial and chapel building before returning to the entrance. Rhone is unique among the ABMC World War II cemeteries in that it makes grass malls and pathways major walking areas. This mirrors more of the nature park cemetery style the ABMC used for some of the World War I cemeteries. Every pivot point for the site has a new destination for visitors to seek and bypass the graves, either a garden, the memorial and chapel building, or the entrance. The graves are readily accessed but seemingly overshadowed by the other elements of the model.
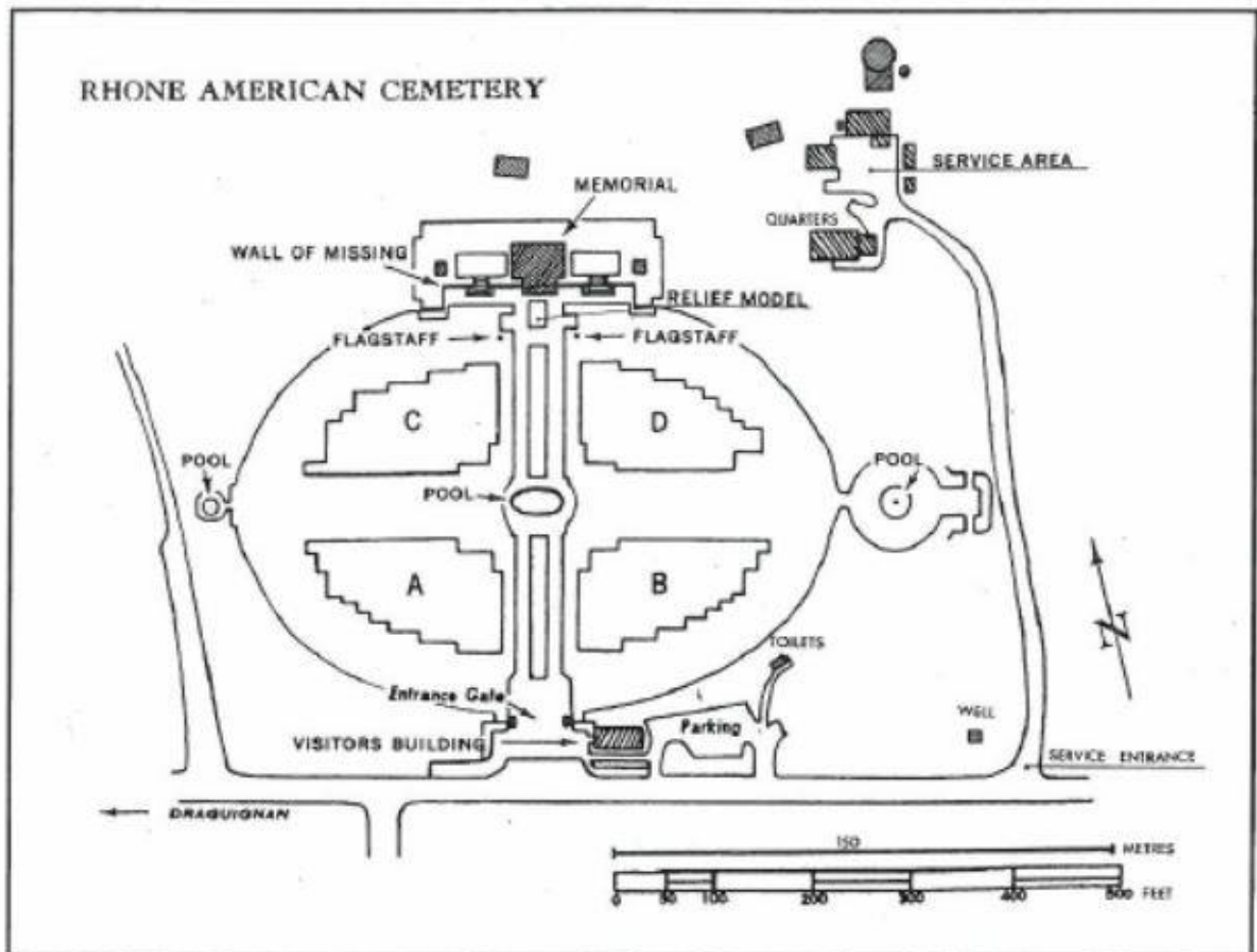
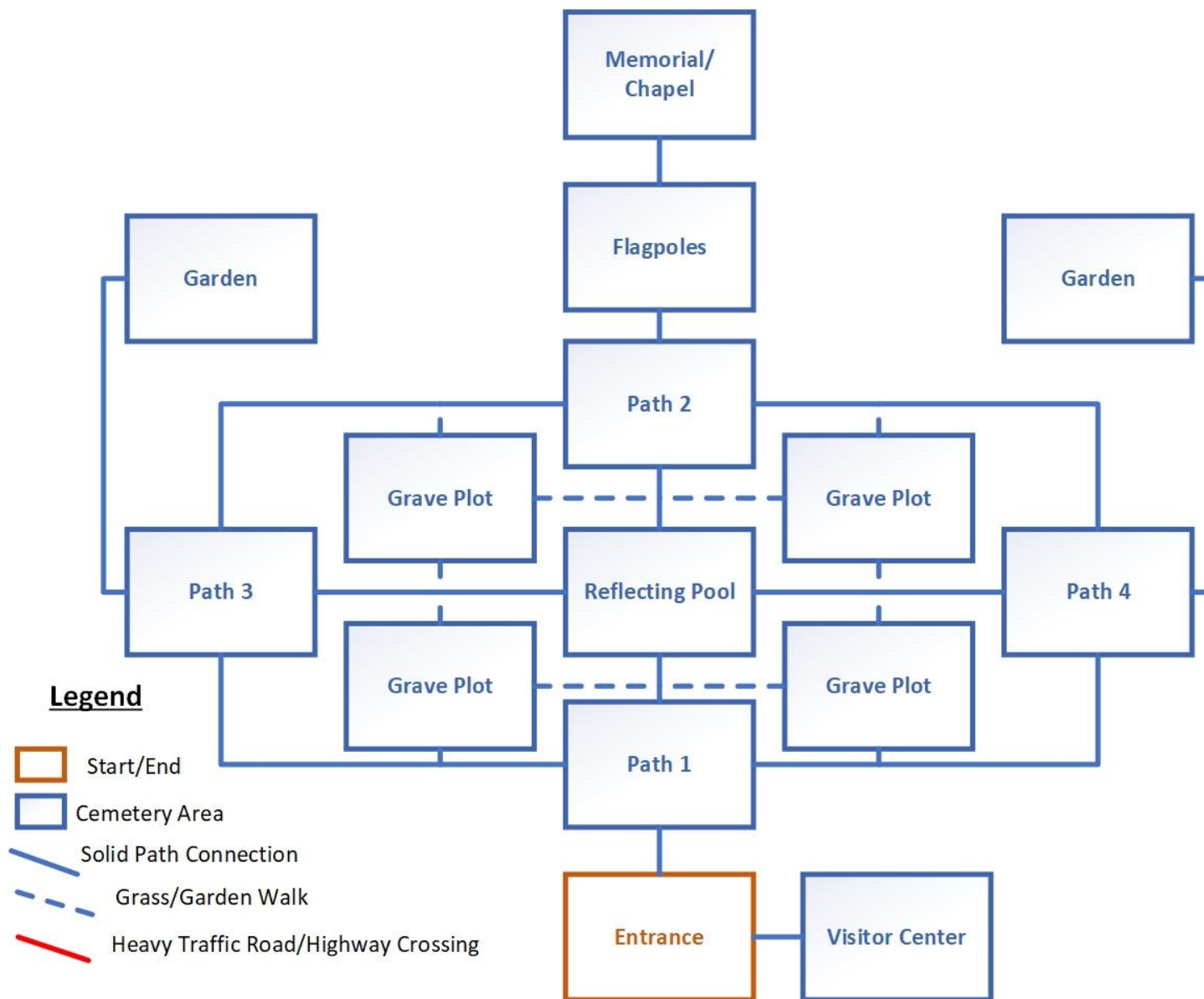Figure 132 Layout map of Rhone Cemetery from site booklet.

Figure 133 Access map of Rhone Cemetery.

3.11 Somme American Cemetery and Memorial

The Somme cemetery is located half a mile southwest of Bony, France, 120 miles from Paris. Below is a map of the cemetery from an ABMC brochure.
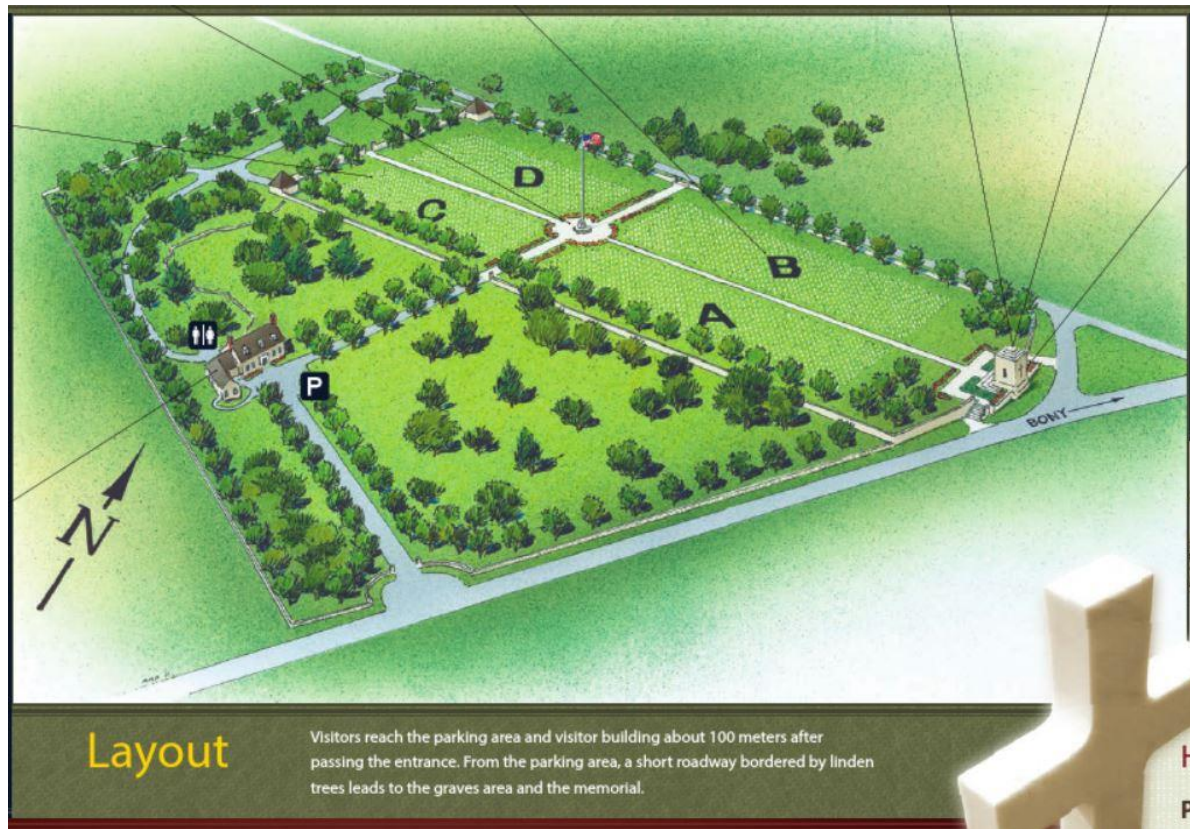

Figure 134 Map of Somme Cemetery from site brochure.

History

The history of the Somme cemetery is connected to multiple battles and operations fought in the Somme region of France. While America was preparing an army to officially join the allied effort on the Western Front, many of the 200,000 soldiers America did have were transported to France for training or attached to British forces as engineers (ABMC n.d.-y). On multiple occasions the British lines were faltering, with the American engineers taking up arms and helping hold the defense (*ibid.*). Eventually, enough American troops had been amassed in the area to form their own division. They would take part in the Hindenburg operation to retake portions of the Somme salient. This operation would see the single largest American casualties in a single day of the war. These dead were placed in a temporary cemetery on a hill were the fighting and casualties were the fiercest for Americans. After the war, this cemetery would become

the Somme cemetery, with other temporary cemeteries in the region being exhumed and reburied here. The ABMC would take control of this cemetery at the same time as the other World War I cemeteries, in 1934.

Choosing this specific cemetery as the permanent American holding of the region can be seen as a show of effort on America's part. The hill on which the cemetery stands is where America took the most casualties and endured fierce resistance only to ultimately succeed. Rather than a place associated with American support, the placement shows real American contribution to the war effort. With America officially joining the war so near to the end, any contribution, major or minor, is going to be highlighted lest America be dismissed in surrender treaties and later histories.

Grave Arrangement

There are 1,838 graves arranged in four rectangular plots at Somme Cemetery. These plots are separated by two paths forming a cross at their intersection point, a style typical of ABMC WWI cemeteries.

Built Architecture

The flagpole at Somme Cemetery is located at the intersection of the pathways that separate the grave plots. Mounted on the flagpole's base are four bronze WWI trench helmets capping wreaths (ABMC n.d.-y, 8).

The chapel at Somme Cemetery is located at the southeastern end of the site. A sculpted bronze eagle rests on the lintel of the entrance doors. Above the eagle is an inscription flanked by sculpted bayoneted rifles. On the exterior facade of the chapel is a sculpted tank on one end and a piece on the other. Inside the chapel, located behind the altar is an hourglass motif. In the center of the hourglass is an embossed grapevine wreath which encircles the ancient Greek religious symbol for 'anointed one'. Flanking the altar on the left and right are stained glass windows containing the insignia of the major units that participated in WWI. Around the walls of the chapel interior are engraved the names of the missing (ABMC n.d.-y, 10-11).

Borders

Somme Cemetery is located among a vast rural expanse of France. The cemetery surrounded by an iron fence. The two pathways leading to the grave plots are lined with trees. This is a typical feature of the ABMC WWI cemeteries as it allows for visitors to exit the modern world and enter the proper mental space to confront the level of death not seen before WWI.

Lines of Sight

The lines of sight at Somme Cemetery are very open. The iron fence is rather permeable visually, blending the cemetery into its surrounding rural expanse. As a consequence, every aspect of the cemetery can be viewed together once standing amongst the grave plots.

Museum Element

There is no known museum element at Somme Cemetery.

Access Model

The entrance to the Somme cemetery acts in much the same way as the two malls at Aisne-Marne. Reflecting a time when vehicles were not widely available, visitors would walk from the gate to the visitor center, learn the narrative of the cemetery if they so choose, and ruminate on the narrative while walking to the grave plots. The flagpole and memorial building act as destinations within the cemetery, being surrounded by the graves. Each plot is separate by a major path with no connection to the others.
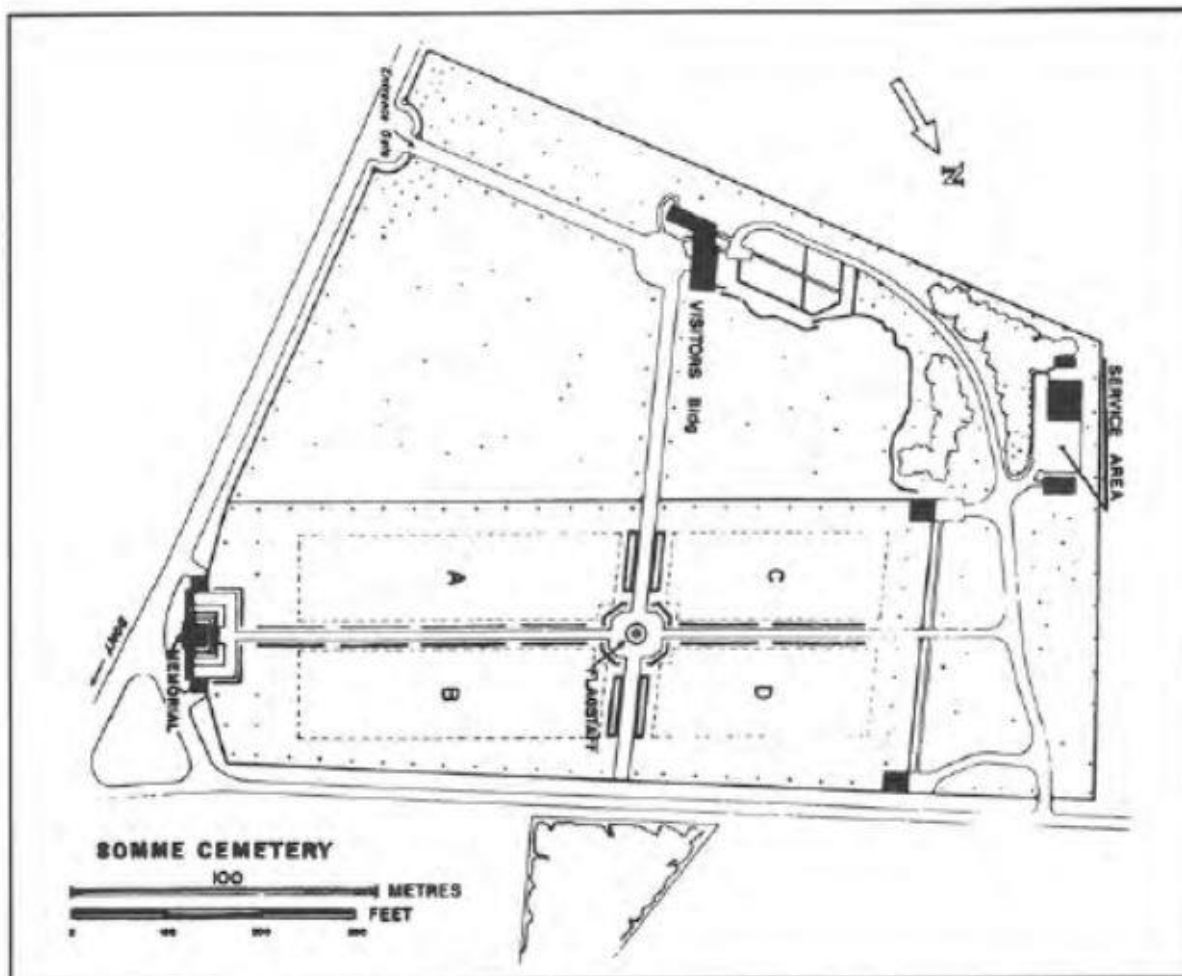
Location of Cemetery Features

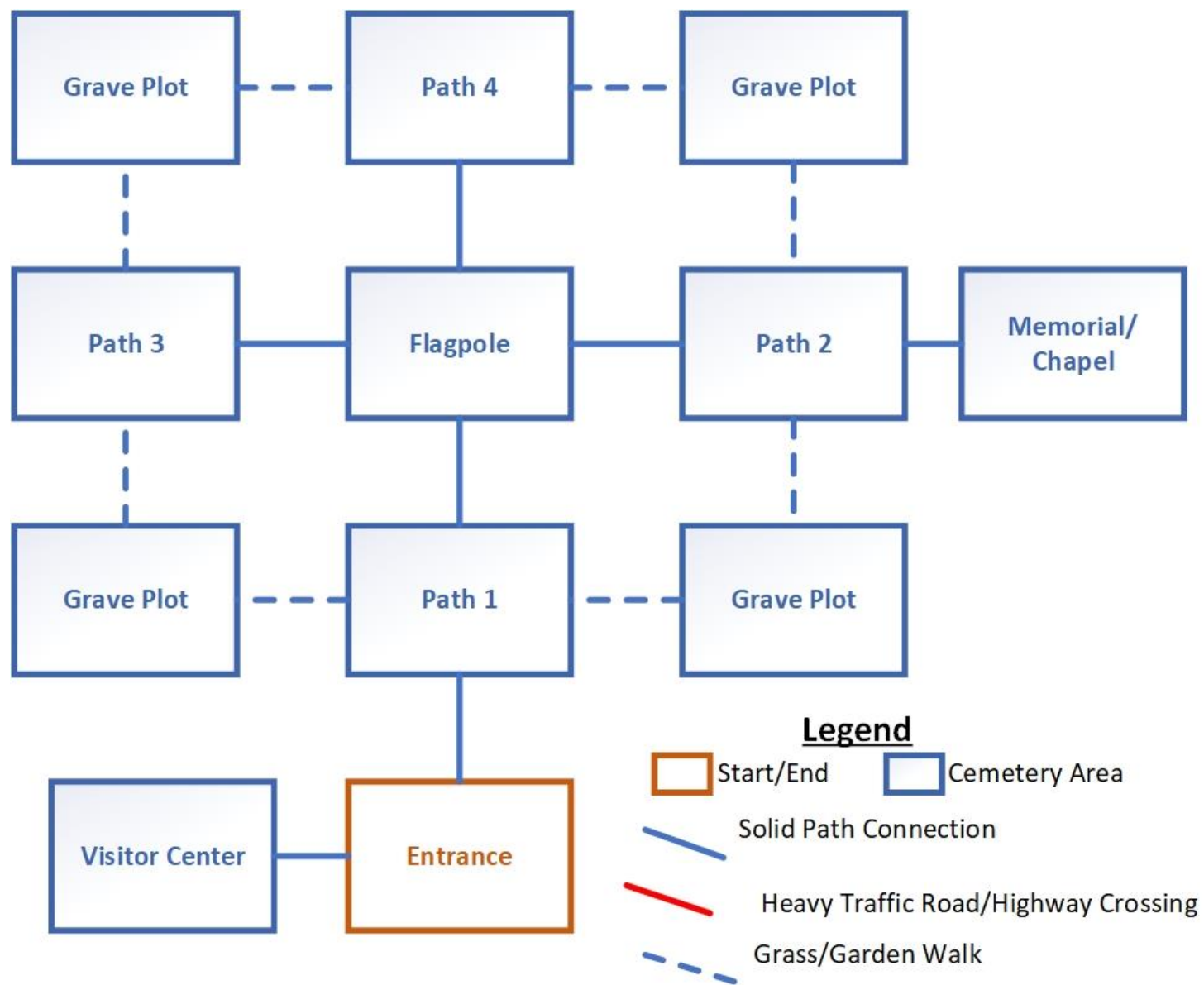Figure 135 Layout map of Somme Cemetery from site booklet.

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Figure 136 Access map of Somme Cemetery.

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3.12 St. Mihiel American Cemetery and Memorial

St. Mihiel cemetery is a World War I cemetery named for the St. Mihiel Salient area in which it resides. Below is a map of the cemetery from the ABMC brochure.
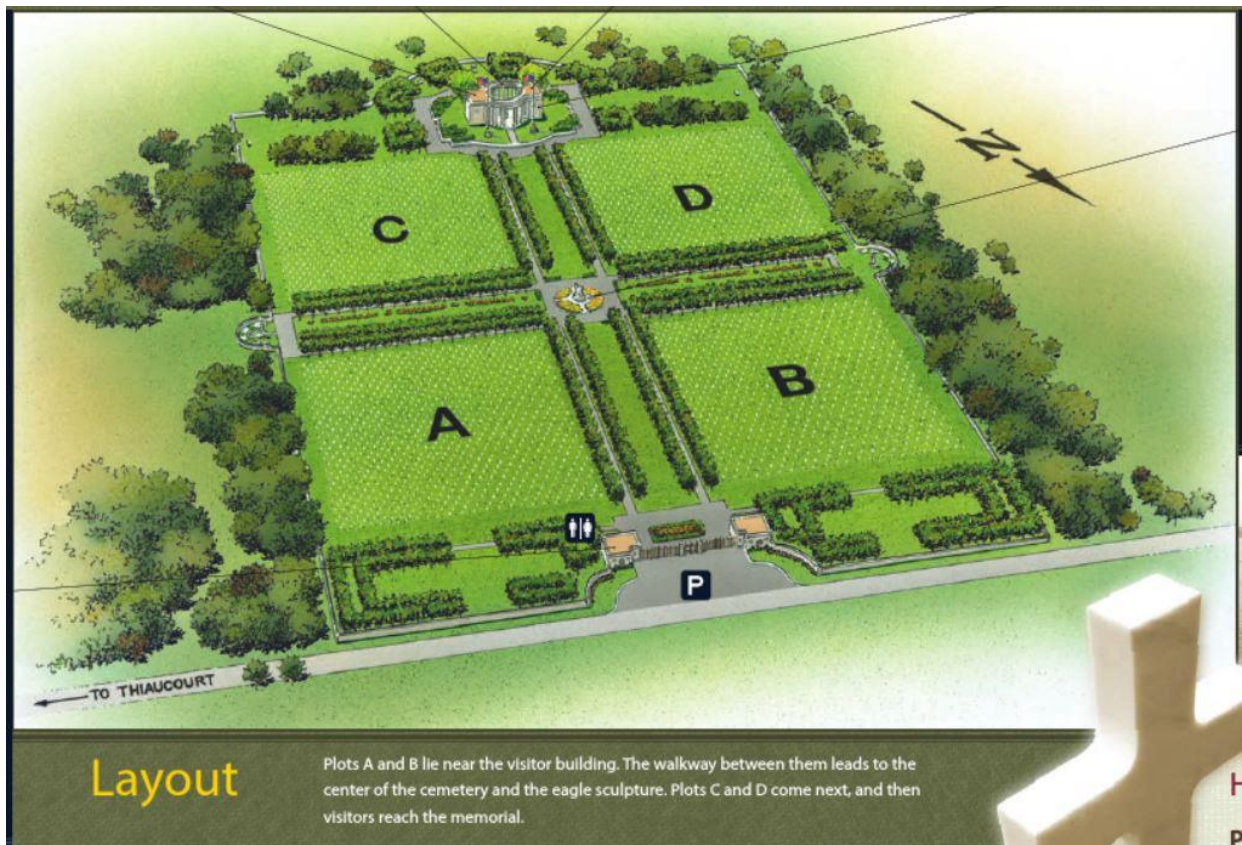
Figure 137 Map of St. Mihiel Cemetery from site brochure.

History

The history of the St Mihiel cemetery is tied directly into the military operation to retake the St Mihiel salient from German forces in World War I. The operation was the first were primarily American troops, under American command, functioned with French troop support, rather than American troops and divisions being attached to French or English command (ABMC n.d.-aa). The objective of the operation was to retake the salient triangulated between Verdun, St Mihiel, and Pont-a-Mousson. The operation was successfully completed in four days. A temporary cemetery was erected in center of the retaken salient (*ibid.*). After the war concluded a few months later, all temporary cemeteries in the area were exhumed and brought to this now permanent St Mihiel cemetery.

General Pershing, being the commander for the US forces in World War I, was the primary negotiator with other allied commanders and integral for America leading its own troops for this operation. Pershing was also the de facto leader of the yet to be established ABMC. These facts make it seem almost like a point of pride or badge of honor for Pershing to have the permanent American cemetery to be the one located in the exact center of the retaken salient, instead of any of the other temporary cemeteries in the area or in other locations in France.

Grave Arrangement

There are 4,153 burials at St. Mihiel Cemetery arranged in four rectangular grave plots. These plots are separated by the two primary pathways that allow visitors to traverse the site.

Built Architecture

At the central axis of St. Mihiel Cemetery is a sundial of a carved stone eagle gnomon. At the west end of the cemetery is a stone sculpture of a youthful American officer standing in front of a stone cross in his field uniform, carrying his trench helmet in hand along with his side arms and a map case. At the east end of the cemetery is an ornamental urn on a semi-circular platform flanked by two yew trees (ABMC n.d.-aa, 8-9).

At the north end of the cemetery stand the memorial flanked by the chapel on the left and the museum on the right. The memorial is an open circular colonnade or peristyle. On the left and right fronts of the memorial is engraved a lamp representing an eternal flame. A large rose-granite urn with carved drapery is located at the center of the peristyle resembling an ancient funereal vase. It has a carving of a Pegasus, symbolizing the flight of the immortal soul to its resting place beyond (ABMC n.d.-aa, 9-10).

Sitting atop the altar within the chapel is a lighted bronze lamp symbolizing the eternal flame. Above the altar is a mosaic depicting the 'Angel of Victory' sheathing a sword and 'Doves of Peace' bearing olive branches. Other mosaics in the chapel feature large

shields displaying the national colors of the United States and France (ABMC n.d.-aa, 10).

Borders

St. Mihiel Cemetery is in a rural expanse of eastern France. The pathways through the cemetery are densely lined with trees, keeping the visitor grounded when traversing the site. The trees are not as dense at their base, however, allowing visitors to walk between them to enter the four grave plots.
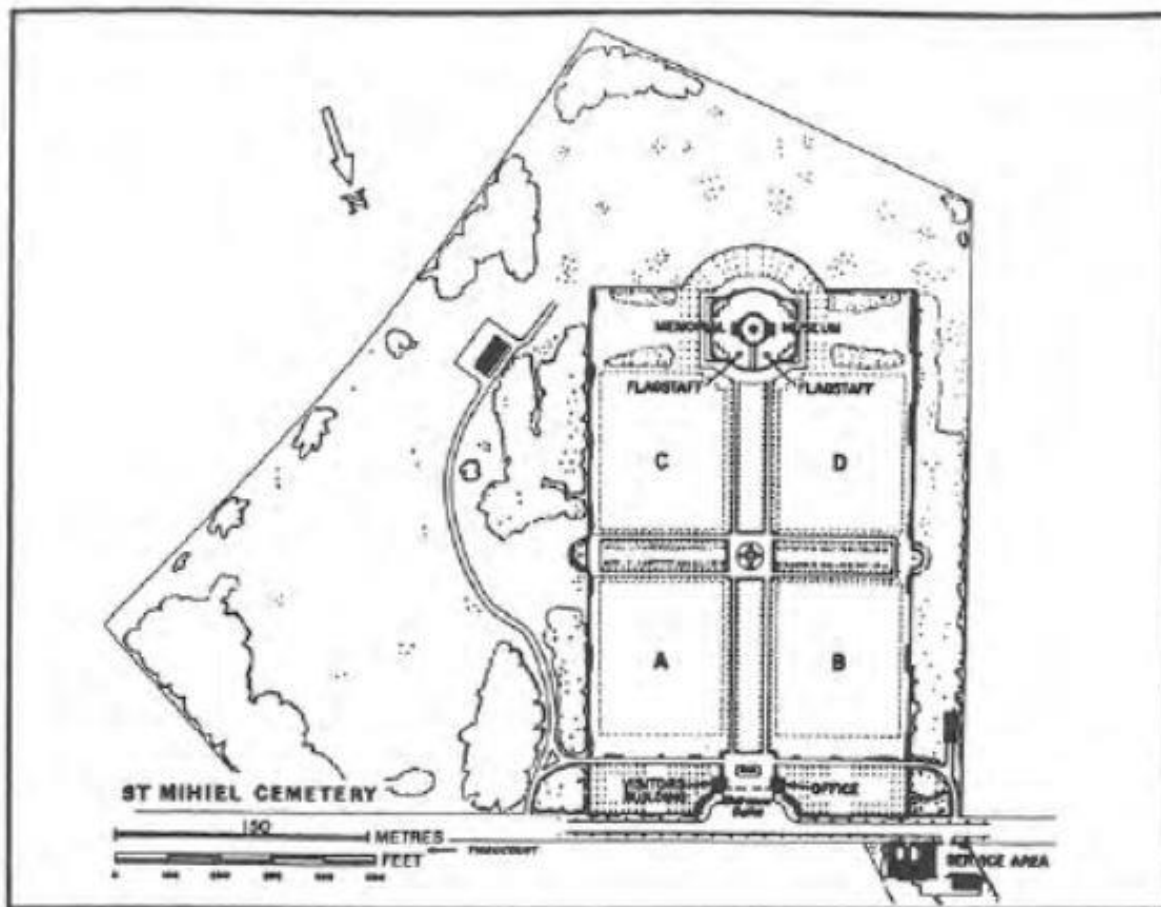
Lines of Sight

The line of sight at Somme Cemetery are focused primarily on the interior of the cemetery. As the pathways are densely lined with trees, a visitor's view is pushed towards the ground. However, no trees are within the grave plots, so when a visitor enters a plot, their view opens toward the sky. This may be intentionally as a way to invoke ideas of resurrection after death in visitors.

Museum Element

The museum at St. Mihiel Cemetery is located on the right side of the memorial chapel. There are no known artifacts from the war in the museum. Instead, the museum contains the large carved battle maps depicting the offensives and counter-offensives relevant to the memory of the site, an element typical in the ABMC cemeteries. The museum is also where the names of the missing are inscribed in St. Mihiel Cemetery.

Access Model

The St Mihiel access model shares many commonalities with the other ABMC cemeteries that are square or rectangular in nature. The site is completely symmetrical, with a central pivot point, in this case a garden, and the memorial and chapel building at the far end from the entrance. The grave plots are separated from each other physically but still visible from any point. As viewable from the layout map above, much of the site has been left unaltered, this may be in an effort to maintain the cemetery as hidden or rural for privacy reasons.

Location of Cemetery Features

Figure 138 Layout map of St. Mihiel Cemetery from site booklet.

Legend

- Start/End
- Cemetery Area
- Grass/Garden Walk
- Solid Path Connection
- Heavy Traffic Road/Highway Crossing

Flagpole — Memorial/Chapel

Grave Plot — Path 3 — Grave Plot

Path 2 — Garden — Path 4

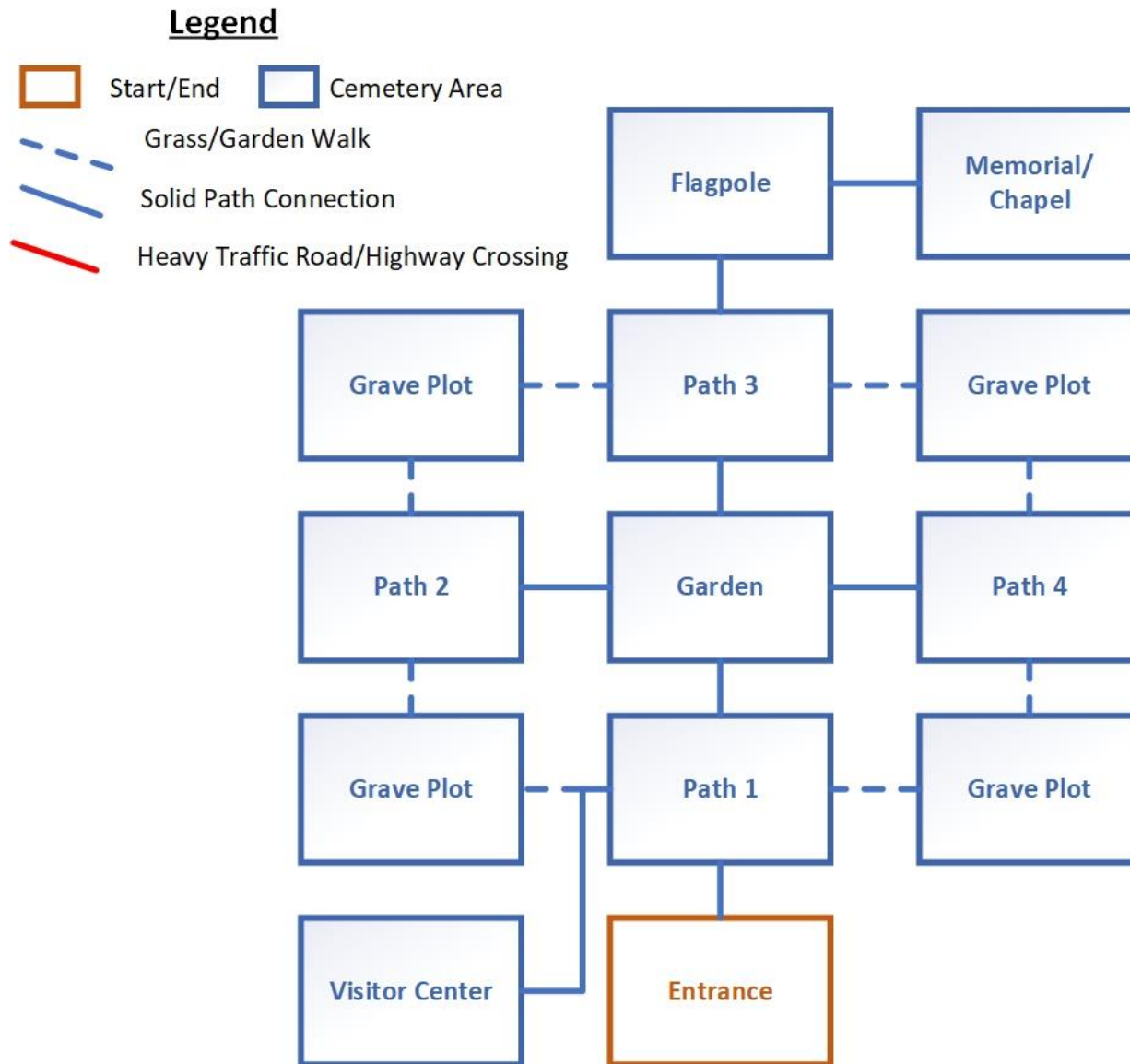Grave Plot — Path 1 — Grave Plot

Visitor Center — Entrance

Figure 139 Access map of St. Mihiel Cemetery.

3.13 Suresnes American Cemetery and Memorial

Suresnes Cemetery is located on the east slope of Mont Valerien, four miles west of Paris' city center in the city of Suresnes (ABMC 2008b, 3). In the figure below is a map of the cemetery.
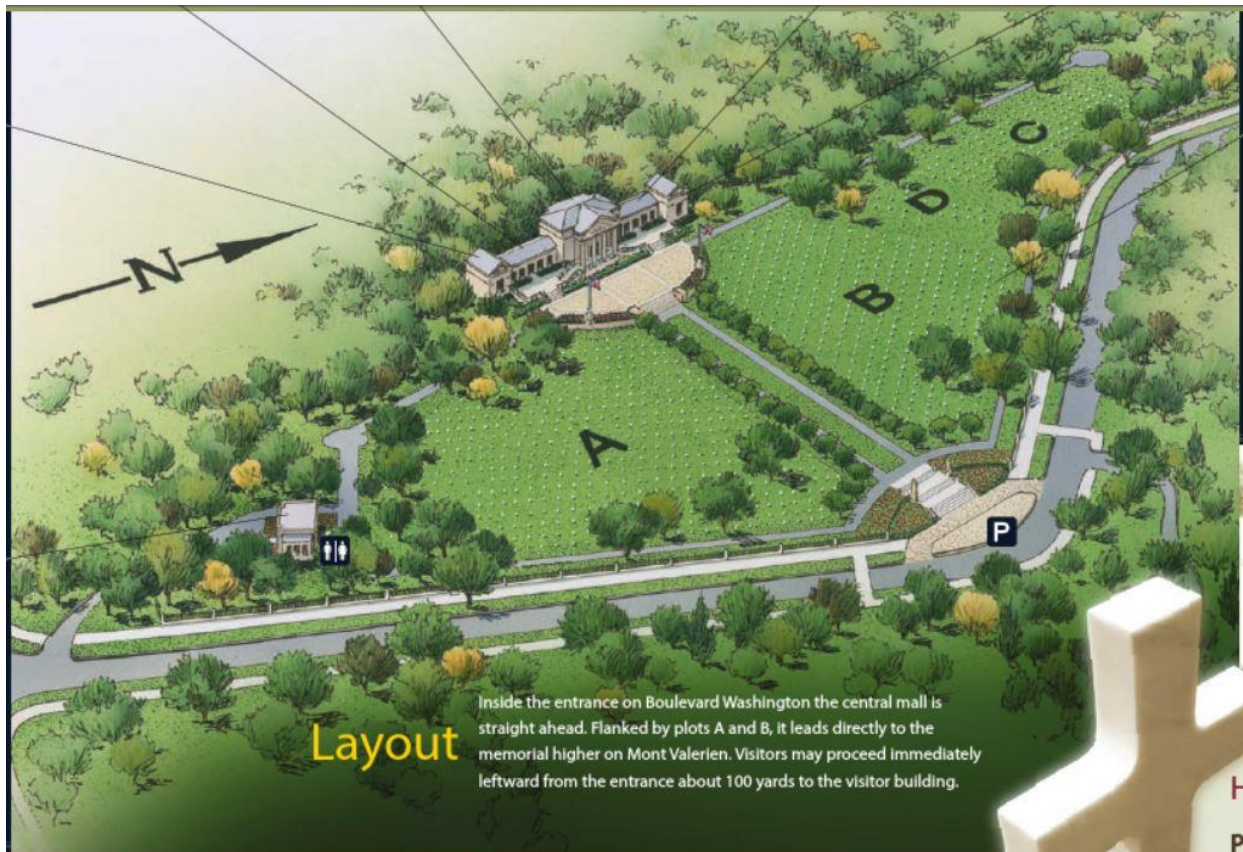
Figure 140 Map of Suresnes Cemetery from site brochure.

History

Suresnes Cemetery was established by the GRS in 1917 (ABMC 2008b, 5). The majority of those buried died of wounds or sickness, including the influenza pandemic of 1918-1919 (ABMC 2008b, 5). President Woodrow Wilson dedicated the cemetery at the first Memorial Day ceremony in 1919 (*ibid.*). It is the only ABMC cemetery to have sections, grave plots, and memorials to both World War I and World War II. This also makes it the only cemetery to have been dedicated twice, once in 1919 and again in 1952. The ABMC took control of the cemetery from the GRS in 1934. The only major construction efforts after the ABMC took control of the cemetery were the renovations adding the World War II sections to the site. As is evident in other aspects of the ABMC,

great efforts were spent to ensure the new construction was symmetrical with the old and not out design with the World War I sections.

Grave Arrangement

There are 1,565 graves arranged in four plots at Suresnes. Three of the grave plots are from WWI, with the remaining plot from WWII.

Built Architecture

The flagpole at Suresnes Cemetery is located next to the entrance of the chapel. The chapel at the cemetery is constructed to have a classical style facade. Inside the chapel is a mosaic of the Angel of Victory bearing a palm branch to the fallen. The names of the missing are inscribed on four large bronze plaques. On the left side of the chapel is door to the WWI loggia and memorial room. The loggia has a relief carving of soldiers carrying an empty bier. Inside the WWI memorial room is a pure white statue called 'Remembrance'. On the right side of the chapel is a door to the WWII loggia and memorial room. The relief carving in the WWII loggia is one of a group of soldiers carrying the shrouded remains of an unknown comrade. The statue located in the WWII memorial room is entitled 'Memory' (ABMC 2008b, 6-12).

Borders

Being located so near to Paris, Suresnes Cemetery is in a densely populated urban area. It has the unique distinction of being the only ABMC cemetery to directly neighbor a French military installation or highly confidential government building. The cemetery itself is surrounded by an iron fence situated on top of a half wall. Trees line the pathway from the entrance to the chapel, but do not hinder access to the grave plots.

Lines of Sight

Being situated on a hill neighboring a sensitive French installation, the vision at Suresnes Cemetery is drawn toward the chapel if outside the cemetery, and toward the surrounding city if within the cemetery. The iron fencing that separates the cemetery

from the town is permeable visually, allowing for the outside world to enter the cemetery.

Figure 141 Aerial photograph of Suresnes Cemetery. Screenshot taken from Google Earth.

Museum Element

There is no known museum element at Suresnes Cemetery.

Access Model

The access model for Suresnes Cemetery shows its history. Originally built after World War I, the Cemetery was comprised of the three pathways, visitor center, flag area, and chapel/memorial building. After World War II, extra rooms and elements were added to

the chapel, and the two extra grave plots added with burials from the new war. These additions ended the symmetry of the site, with the north end heavily favored in time investment should visitors wish to experience the whole site. This also takes the visitor center out of view and attention. Having elements of both wars, the narrative at Suresnes is wholly unique to itself, and this asymmetry may be in effort to hide such an element.
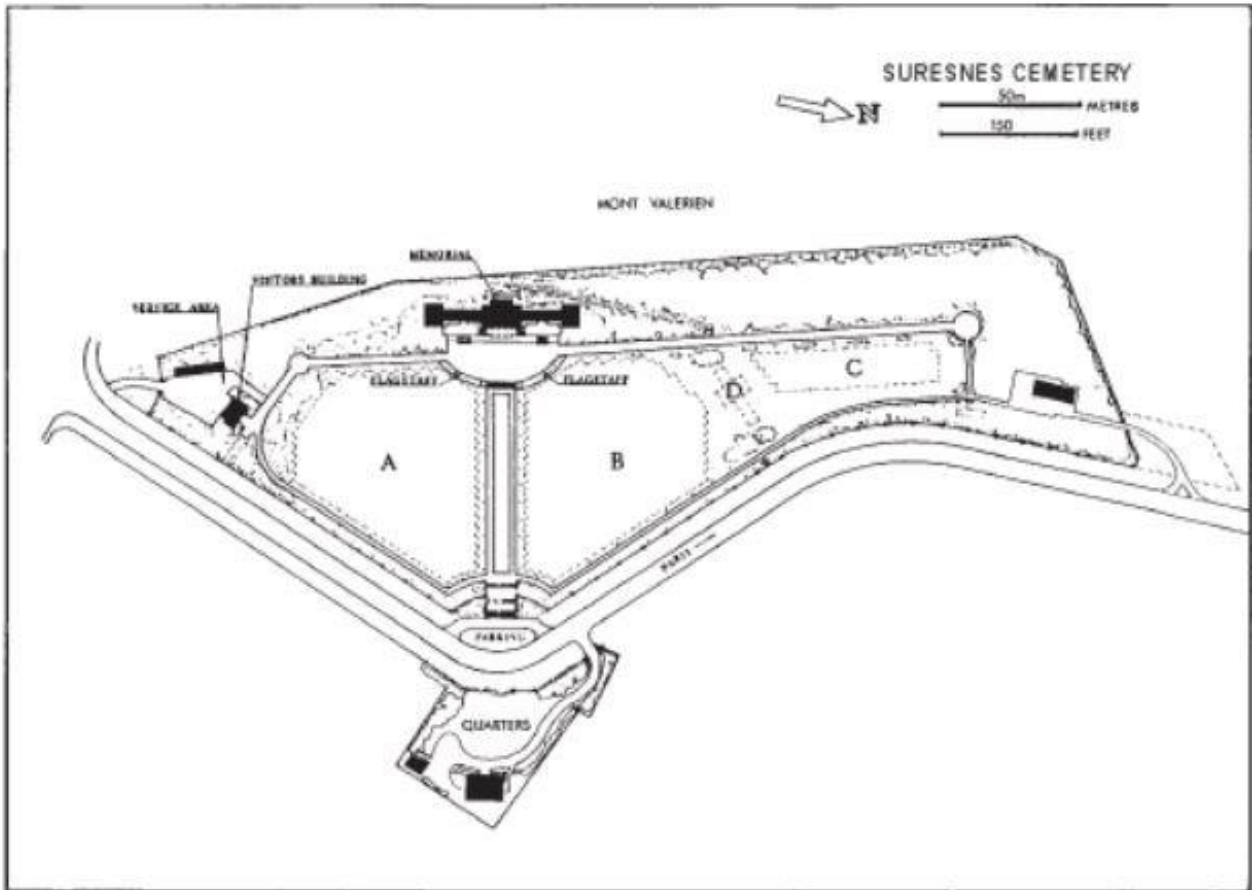

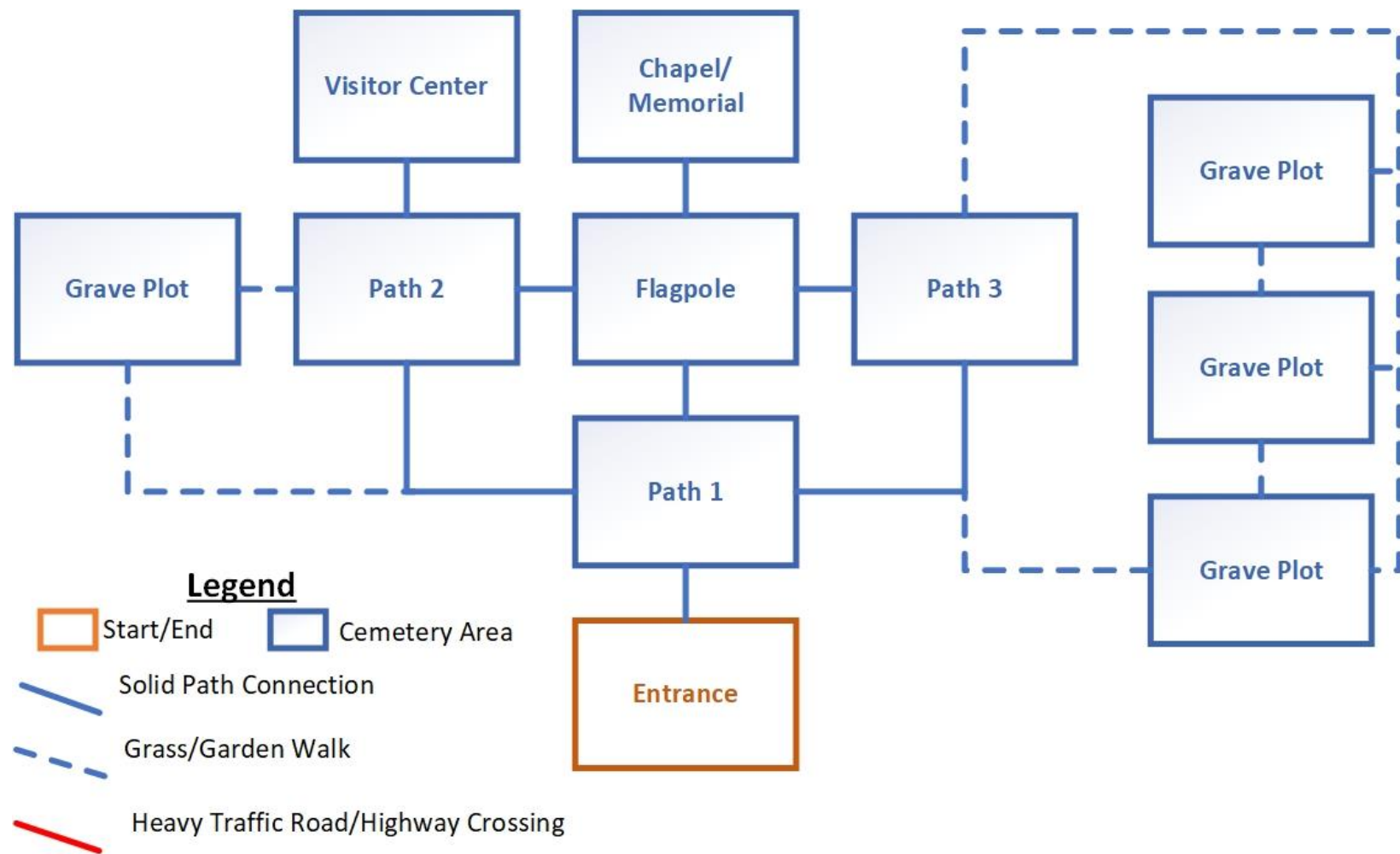Figure 142 Layout map of Suresnes Cemetery from site booklet.

Figure 143 Access map of Suresnes Cemetery.

This appendix contains the full transcripts for the four political speeches examined as part of this thesis, listed in chronological order.

4.1 George H. W. Bush's Remarks at a Memorial Day Ceremony in Nettuno, Italy - 28 May 1989

Mr. Prime Minister, thank you for honoring us today at this service. We gather today to mark Memorial Day in America, to honor the thousands of young men and women buried here and elsewhere who put themselves in harm's way so that others might live in freedom.

As we gather, it's dawn in America, Memorial Day weekend, the first days of summer. And soon, the screen doors will slam; parks are going to sound with the crack of the baseball bat; children's voices will rise in the summer breeze pungent with the scent of barbecue smoke. And the rites of summer are marked by American tradition. As morning comes to Indianapolis, the smells of coffee and gasoline will mingle in the heat rising off that sunbaked raceway. And further west, there's going to be another race, as the blast of a ship's whistle sends the riverboats Huck Finn and Tom Sawyer steaming down the Mississippi off the docks of St. Louis.

Memorial Day weekend -- by the time today's ceremony concludes, the first rays of sunlight will streak across the Potomac, flashing first atop the monument to the founder of our Republic, then reaching down to touch the silent rows of white markers on the green Virginia hillside that is Arlington Cemetery. And soon the gathering light will reveal a lone figure, a man in uniform, standing guard at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier, a round-the-clock vigil unbroken in more than 50 years. Another moment and the dawn will flood the park that lays beneath the gaze of Lincoln, embracing the candles that flicker each night along the walls of the Vietnam Memorial. And soon the plaintive sound of taps will rise in the wind in cities and hamlets all across America, heard by veterans of four wars as they gather to salute the fallen. In town after town, the ritual at sunrise will be the same, as first the flag is raised, then slowly lowered to half-mast.

The thoughts of some will turn eastward toward the Sun, across the ocean, across four decades, to this grassy plain above the shores of the Mediterranean, where 45 years ago, the U.S. 3d Infantry Division, among the most decorated in World War II, led the bloody advance toward the liberation of Rome. And on that Memorial Day weekend, 1944, I wasn't yet 20 years old, flying torpedo bombers off the U.S.S. San Jacinto on the other side of the world, as she headed from Wake Island to Saipan. But like Americans everywhere, the men aboard our ship had eagerly followed the news of the Italian campaign.

And during 4 long months of 1944, the combatants of World War II were locked near Nettuno in a deadly embrace. But before the week was out, the face of the world's greatest conflict would be changed and the fate of the enemy sealed. On June 4th, American troops entered Rome, the streets lined by cheering Italians, and by midnight General Mark Clark's 5th Army stood on the banks of the Tiber. And the word went out to a waiting America: For the first time since the landings at Salerno in September of

1943, the enemy was in full retreat. It was the beginning of the end. And 2 days later a new front opened with D-day, the Normandy landing.

The fight to liberate Italy was as fierce and heroic as any seen in the war. The dangers to each adversary -- the danger was such that the outcome of the war itself seemed to hang at that moment on the valor and vigor of each man who struggled near the water's edge. One such soldier was Sergeant Sylvester Antolak, an Ohio farmboy, the youngest son of Polish immigrants. On a drizzly morning some 45 years ago this week, he led Sergeant Audie Murphy and others in a bold charge through the rain and the ruin near Cisterna, one man against a machinegun nest that blocked the road to Rome. And three times he was cut down by fire; three times he got back up, tucking his gun under his shattered arm. And by the time he disabled the gunners, 10 enemy soldiers surrendered to this man whom their bullets could not stop.

Sergeant Antolak fell near Cisterna that same day. He rests here beneath the pines of Nettuno with nearly 8,000 soldiers, his grave one of two marked with our Congressional Medal of Honor. Joined by the names of another 3,000-missing etched in the white marble of the chapel, they come from every American State from Texas to Maine, Alaska to Florida, New York to California. And these white crosses and Stars of David ring the world -- across the battlefields of Europe and the jungles of Asia, the deserts of North Africa and the hillsides of our homeland -- in silent tribute to America's battles for freedom in this century.

It was with the memory of the sacrifices of the American, British, and French soldiers who fell during the campaign to liberate Italy and the sacrifices of millions of other Europeans and Americans in the cause of freedom fresh in mind that NATO was created after the war.

As I reflect on this scene and anticipate the dynamic and forward-looking Europe of the 1990's, I think of generations of young people on both sides of the Atlantic who have grown up in peace and prosperity. With no experience in the horror and destruction of war, it might be difficult for them to understand why we need to keep a strong military deterrent to prevent war, and to preserve freedom and democracy. The answer is here, among the quiet of the graves.

The cost of maintaining freedom is brought home to us all when tragedy strikes, as it did last month aboard the U.S.S. Iowa. The loss of those fine sailors, the tears of their families and the loved ones, remind all of us of the risk and sacrifice in human terms that security sometimes demands. And let me add how impressive were the many expressions of sympathy that I received from leaders around the world, and particularly by the eloquent words of Italy's distinguished President, President Cossiga, as he shared the sorrow of our loss.

Sergeant Antolak also understood the cost of freedom. Today in his hometown of St. Clairsville, Ohio, population 6,000, the townspeople will gather by the local courthouse to dedicate a white granite memorial to the county's Medal of Honor winners. George and Stanley Antolak will be there to remember their brother -- their hero and ours. It's the kind of scene that will be repeated today and tomorrow in parks and churchyards all across America.

A bit north of Mark Twain's Hannibal, just up the Mississippi from that steamboat race I mentioned, lies the town of Quincy, Illinois. When World War II came, Quincy offered up her sons in service. Three brothers: Donald, Preston, and William Kaspervik joined the Army Air Corps. And their story is a common one, and yet uncommon in the way of all those who answered the call to serve.

The first brother, Donald, was killed when the two bombers collided on maneuvers in New Mexico, and their mother grieved. Preston, the second brother, died just south of here in Sicily shortly after Patton's successful invasion. And their mother was overcome once again. And 10 days later, the third brother, William, went down during a dangerous bombing mission over the mountains of central Italy. On the day of his death, his mother received a letter from him urging her not to worry. When the third telegram came, she couldn't bring herself to go to the door. William and Preston Kaspervik are buried here in soil that they helped free. Brothers in life, brothers in arms, brothers in eternity.

Their mother died 20 years ago, but back home in Quincy, the extraordinary sacrifice of this ordinary American family is still remembered. And today, as they do every year, the VFW and the American Legion will honor Quincy's fallen natives with a hometown parade down Main Street, high above the banks of the Mississippi.

As we gather today, it is dawn in America, Memorial Day weekend. And as the Sun rises and the summer begins, the images both here and at home are of countries that are prosperous and secure, countries confident of their place in the world and aware of the responsibility that comes with that place. Soon that lone soldier at Arlington will resume his paces, 21 steps in each direction, the changing of the guard precisely on the half hour. And at Gettysburg, the schoolchildren will scatter flowers on other unknown graves, blue and gray, side-by-side, Americans.

On Memorial Day, we give thanks for the blessings of freedom and peace and for the generations of Americans who have won them for us. We also pray for the same strength and moral reserve demonstrated by these veterans, as well as for the true and lasting peace found in a world where liberty and justice prevail.

And with that prayer, I ask that you join in your own silent prayers as we place a wreath to commemorate the sacrifice of those buried here at Nettuno and the sacrifice of all men and women who have given their lives for freedom. Thank you very much.

4.2 Remarks by President Obama, His Majesty King Philippe, and Prime Minister di Rupo of Belgium at Flanders Field Cemetery - 26 March 2014

HIS MAJESTY KING PHILIPPE: Mr. President, we are deeply moved to stand here with you amidst the graves of brave American soldiers who gave their lives for our freedom. We remember and honor all those who took part in the First World War and who were killed or maimed, and those who, even if they survived, were often scarred forever by the dreadful experience. We will always be grateful for the sacrifice.

The United States of America fought side-by-side with Belgium and other European nations. As President Woodrow Wilson said, "There is a price which is too great to pay for peace, and that price can be put in one word. One cannot pay the price of self-respect."

For Belgium, this was true when my great-grandfather, King Albert I, led our country in its rejection of the Kaiser's ultimatum, and defended Belgium's status of neutrality. The horrors of the trench warfare, including the use of chemical weapons for the first time ever in world history, the deaths of so many soldiers -- all this was the acid bath in which many of the old beliefs were dissolved.

The First World War led to many changes in all our countries. Many reforms were introduced in the following years. However, the so-called "war to end all wars" was followed by an even more brutal one, which engulfed most of the world and which, moreover, saw the heartrending atrocity of the Holocaust.

Our countries have learned the hard way that national sovereignty quickly reaches its limits when confronted to its heavily armed adversary who do not respect that sovereignty. Thanks to visionary people, we started on the road of European integration. It was and remains a rocky road, but we are truly convinced that it is the only one. Today, international cooperation, both regional and global, is more than ever necessary to roll back the scourge of war and violence with the tragic wake of human suffering.

This year's ceremonies of remembrance must inspire all peace-loving nations to continue to stand shoulder-to-shoulder to spread the rule of law, human rights, and respect for each other. This is the best bulwark against war.

I know that the United States and Belgium will continue to stand together in this endeavor.

PRIME MINISTER DI RUPO: President Obama, Your Majesty, ladies and gentlemen: We are gathered today to remember -- to remember the millions of soldiers and civilians who died during the First World War in Belgium and in the rest of Europe; and here, in Waregem, to especially remember the Americans who lost their lives in our cities and our countryside.

On behalf of Belgium, I will honor their memory and thank them and their families for their terrible sacrifice -- a sacrifice that will remain a part of our history and will always have a place in the heart of the Belgian and American people. We will never forget.

Mr. President, Your Majesty, the ties between Belgium and the United States of America are very strong. I have said this before and I'm saying it again today in the presence of President Obama: We, the Belgian and America peoples, share and cherish the same values of freedom, democracy, and progress. We have fought long and hard to obtain them, and we must work hard every day to keep them alive.

These values are our most precious gift to our young people and future generation. Therefore, we have to continue to draw lessons for the terrible war that started 100 years ago. And above all, we have to prevent new conflicts. Those who ignore the past are taking the risk to relive it. Each step to reconcile difference is a step away from war. Each step to open up our hearts and minds is a step toward peace.

Mr. President, Your Majesty, ladies and gentlemen, the American sons who fell on our soil are our sons. I promise you, Mr. President, that we will always keep their memory alive. At the same time, we will never forget our Second World War liberators. They, as well, were examples of courage. We are determined to ensure (inaudible) of peace, democracy and human rights. We are determined to ensure the integrity of frontiers and the respect of international law. Here next to these graves, we make a solemn commitment to continue our efforts to promote peace and solidarity amongst people.

Mr. President, Your Majesty, the guns fell silent a long time ago, as did the voices of the fallen soldiers. But their example will always continue to inspire us.

PRESIDENT OBAMA: Your Majesty King Philippe, Prime Minister Di Rupo, I'm honored to be here today. Thank you for welcoming me to this sacred place. To the staff of Flanders Field Cemetery and the people of Belgium, thank you for your devotion, watching over those who rest here and preserving these hallowed grounds for all of us who live in their debt.

As His Majesty and the Prime Minister mentioned, we just spent some quiet moments among the final resting places of young men who fell nearly a century ago. And it is impossible not to be awed by the profound sacrifice they made so that we might stand here today. In this place, we remember the courage of "Brave Little Belgium." Here, we visited the grave of a young Polish immigrant to America who just a few hours into his very first battle gave his life for his adopted country. And here, we saw the headstones of two men from Brooklyn, New York, who lay as they fought -- side-by-side.

Here, we also see that no soldier -- and no nation -- sacrificed alone. I'm told that this is one of more than 100 cemeteries tucked into the quiet corners of this beautiful countryside. It's estimated that beneath about 50 square miles there rest hundreds of

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thousands of men -- Belgian and American, French and Canadian, British and Australian, and so many others.

We talked about how many of the Americans who fought on Belgian soil during the Great War did so under the command of His Majesty's great-grandfather, King Albert. And while they didn't always share a common heritage or even a common language, the soldiers who manned the trenches were united by something larger -- a willingness to fight, and die, for the freedom that we enjoy as their heirs.

Long after those guns fell silent, this bond has endured. Belgians and Americans have stood shoulder-to-shoulder with our European allies in World War II and through a long Cold War, then from Afghanistan to Libya. And today, Belgium is one of our closest partners in the world -- a strong and capable ally. And thanks to the extraordinary alliance between our two nations, we know a level of peace and prosperity that those who fought here could scarcely have imagined.

And so before visiting the cemetery, His Majesty, the Prime Minister and I were able to spend some time together. I was very grateful for the opportunity. It was a chance to reaffirm our commitment to keep as strong as they've ever been the bonds between our nations -- a determination that I know is shared by the American and Belgian people.

Here today, I'd also note that the lessons of that war speak to us still. Our nations are part of the international effort to destroy Syria's chemical weapons -- the same kinds of weapons that were used to such devastating effect on these very fields. We thought we had banished their use to history, and our efforts send a powerful message that these weapons have no place in a civilized world. This is one of the ways that we can honor those who fell here.

And so this visit, this hallowed ground, reminds us that we must never, ever take our progress for granted. We must commit perennially to peace, which binds us across oceans.

In 1915, a Canadian doctor named John McCrae sat in the back of an ambulance not far from here, and wrote a poem about the heavy sacrifice he had seen. They became some of the most cherished and well-known words from that war. And they ended with a plea:

To you from failing hands we throw

The torch; be yours to hold it high.

If ye break faith with us who die

We shall not sleep, though poppies grow

In Flanders fields.

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What is lesser known is that three years after he wrote those words -- and thousands of miles away -- an American schoolteacher named Moina Michael read McCrae's poem. And she was so moved that she wrote a response:

Oh! you who sleep in "Flanders Fields,"

Sleep sweet -- to rise anew!

We caught the torch you threw

And holding high, we keep the Faith

With All who died.

Your Majesty, Mr. Prime Minister, thank you again. What I've seen at Flanders Field will stay with me always. To all who sleep here, we can say we caught the torch, we kept the faith, and Americans and Belgians will always stand together for freedom, for dignity, and for the triumph of the human spirit.

May God bless you. May God bless the memory of all who rest beneath these fields. And may God bless the peoples of both our nations.

4.3 Ambassador Evans Remarks at the Patton Memorial for the Battle of the Bulge 75th Anniversary Celebration - 22 September 2019

It is an incredible honor for me as the representative of the people of the United States of America to stand before you and thank you for joining together to honor a great general, a great moment, and a great victory.

Mr. President, thank you for being here. Ms. Patton, thank you for being here; I've really enjoyed the opportunity to spend time together. General Duschène, it's always good to visit with you. My lovely bride Linda is here. For those who don't know, the Ambassador's wife is actually the brains behind the operation. All I do is get the opportunity to stand before you at a moment like this.

But, it's not about any of that. What we're actually here for today is to celebrate a memory, to celebrate a challenge, to celebrate a commitment. The memory that we celebrate is a memory of victory. We must never forget there were those who wanted to occupy and those who wanted to liberate.

There were those who gave their lives for liberation to help those who had been occupied. 19,000 Americans, over 5000 of them, laying right here in Luxembourg at the Luxembourg American Cemetery were killed. Over 5000 Luxembourgers were killed during the course of World War Two. Their heroism and their commitment, and their victory, should never be something that we take for granted or forget, because they paid the highest price that any human being could ever offer, or hope to give, for the purposes of liberty and justice, and freedom for others.

75 years though, is an enormous time to remember. When we were at lunch, and I was talking with Ms. Patton, I said to her, my grandmother once said to me, "the difficulty of avoiding the same mistake is having the freshness of the memory." And my grandmother would say, "Because you never touch a hot stove twice. Your son or daughter may never touch a hot stove once. But your grandson, and your great granddaughter, and your great-great grandson might very well, because they never knew the pain of touching the hot stove once."

We have seen what tyranny and oppression can do. It is up to us to pass on those memories as a vivid reflection of the reality of the moment -that they're not distant vestiges of the past, to be studied in history books. But, they are moments to be relived, and repeated, and shared, so that others may not share the pain that our parents and our grandparents and our aunts and uncles had to endure.

We have to continue with all of our might, to remind, to refresh the importance of what happened. I worry in today's world that those lines get blurred – that somehow, we forget.

We forget that there were those who invaded, that occupied that murdered, that killed, that created concentration camps that set out to exterminate a people that wanted to eliminate the identity of Luxembourg. Those are harsh, cruel words, I know.

They're also the truth.

And we must never let that die from the memories so that we can avoid it ever repeating. It was brave Americans, like General Patton, who came, they fought, and they died – along with our allies, from many countries, who stormed the beaches at Normandy, who fought across the Rhineland, who pushed their way, all the way to Berlin. It was Americans along with others who vindicated, freed, and liberated.

But I remember when I first came to Luxembourg, and I was visiting with average people, and they were telling me how fresh the memory was in their minds of the stories that they had been told by their parents and their grandparents and their relatives. I remember them saying to me the beauty of America was not that America liberated Luxembourg once -in World War One. General Pershing granting it by order, asking for permission before he would cross the boundary into the country.

It wasn't that America liberated Luxembourg twice – in September, when General Patton made it clear that he was coming and those who were the occupiers didn't want to stay to see. And it wasn't that America liberated Luxembourg three times -when on December 16, the counter-offensive known as the Battle of the Bulge, or the Battle of the Ardennes began, with enormous casualties by Americans, who had stayed here to defend Luxembourg, were spread too thin all the way through January the following year. It wasn't that we, the Americans, liberated Luxembourg three times. The thing that he appreciated most was after liberation, the Americans *left*.

They left a liberated and free Luxembourg. Free to be all that Luxembourg could ever hope to be.

As the United States Ambassador to Luxembourg, on behalf of the President of the United States, let me say we remain steadfastly committed to the defense and protection of the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg, to the same extent that we have on each occasion that we have answered the call before.

Carry that with you. Share that with your colleagues and your friends and your children and your grandchildren. To know that there are 5000 young men who lay in the Luxembourg American Cemetery as a true testament, a visual reflection, of the sincerity of our commitment to your freedom. Because your freedom is the key to the world's freedom.

When we let a democracy fall, when we let freedom fail to those who are oppressors, we inevitably ourselves suffer loss of some of our own freedom, and eventually all of our freedom. So we must be continuously prepared to pay the price when those moments come along. Europe itself is at the heart of our international Alliance system. It's our largest economic relationship. There is no foreign policy that does not place at the forefront, our commitments that we have made to our allies.

But let me say one last thing, just so that there is no doubt in anyone's mind. Just as determined as General Patton was, right behind you standing here looking out on the horizon for the enemy, making sure that he was ever focused on protecting, we remain vigilant as well. There will come moments when we will be tested. There will come moments when we have to answer the call. All that we must do is remember the sacrifice they made to have the courage to do what we must when the time comes.

Thank you again. And let me say to you again. It is the greatest honor I've ever had to be the Ambassador on behalf of my country and to be here with you in the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg. Thank you.

4.4 U.S AMBASSADOR RANDY EVANS VE DAY SPEECH AT THE LUXEMBOURG AMERICAN CEMETERY - 8 MAY 2020

Hello, my name is Randy Evans and it is my distinct honor and privilege to serve as the 23rd United States Ambassador to the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg.

We are here at the Luxembourg – American Cemetery in Hamm, Luxembourg where over 5,000 members of the United States Armed Services rest in peace. General George S. Patton is here with us – just a short distance from the City of Luxembourg which served as the headquarters for his Third Army.

This day – May 8, 75 years ago, served as a brief moment of reflection for a world embroiled in a global war that threatened the survival of life as we had known it. It is thus only appropriate on this day we too take a moment to reflect, as we, in some ways, find ourselves again in a war to defeat an enemy so that the generations that follow us can enjoy fully life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness that we have enjoyed.

Seventy-five years ago, on this day, many came together around the world to rejoice in Nazi Germany's unconditional surrender on May 7th – the preceding day. Yet, the war was far from over. Indeed, the end of the war was still months away and the political, societal, social, and economic costs of the Second World War would take generations to fully recover.

But May 8, 1945 was nonetheless an important moment – a critical time to just take note of the six years of conflict costing millions of lives, destroying homes, families, and communities and threatening our very way of life.

Although it was Victory in Europe Day, in reality it was far from Victory in the World Day or even just a celebratory victory especially for those who had lost so much. Many rest here in this Cemetery, having lost their lives before even knowing the outcome of the war in Europe that had cost them their lives and futures.

Others were like my wife Linda's uncle Richard LaFrance, who was wounded shortly before VE Day, and returned blind to live a life very different than he had planned with his wife Betty Lou. He was a First Lieutenant working a tank battalion. For his sacrifice, he received the Bronze Star, three Battle Stars, and a Purple Heart. But, none of these distinguished decorations brought his sight back. Yet, he went on to make the most of life with four beautiful children and serving as a mentor and athletic trainer to many fine young athletes at Cornell University in upstate New York.

Two of his 714th tank battalion mates were not so fortunate. They remain here, with me, buried side- by-side at our Cemetery.

Yet, on May 8, 1945, with the war raging on, the pain of their lost lives and many more, and the many wounds and scars that war leaves behind, there remained reason to pause to recognize that something important to us all had happened.

The Nazis had thrown everything they had at us and we persevered. We never gave up.

It is a little like that today and it is why I felt that it was so important to take this moment to do the same – to pause for a moment bigger than all of us.

You know, at 3:00 p.m. on VE Day, British Prime Minister Winston Churchill announced on a national radio broadcast the Nazi surrender ending the war in Europe. But, as Prime Minister Churchill did so, he was very careful to note that the war was far from over and many challenges still lie ahead. He said:

"We may allow ourselves a brief period of rejoicing; but let us not forget for a moment the toil and efforts that lie ahead."

Like those 75 years ago, it is impossible to truly 'celebrate' today amidst such pain, suffering, and death. But, to ignore such sacrifice as we begin to finish that which we began – to defeat this virus – the Coronavirus or COVID 19 – and to liberate the world from its scourge would be to ignore just how far we have sacrificed and have come.

Thanks to the courage of so many, and the risks assumed and sacrifices made by those on the healthcare front line, including especially doctors, nurses, essential workers, and so many, many more, we are indeed making progress as we 'flatten the curve' and advance toward a cure or vaccine.

As we push forward toward the return of a safe life, with the liberty for all to enjoy life, and the unfettered right to pursue happiness, we can now, as others did 75 years ago, we must not only pause and not only recognize how far we have come, but also how far we must still go.

Just like these men around me when they made the ultimate sacrifice, none of us now know how this all will end. But, end, it must, and end, it will. And when it does, let us look back on this day as the day when we both took measure of what prior generations had done, and the sacrifices we ourselves have made to achieve our own victory over the invisible enemy that threatens us today.

Like those from the generation here with me, we must ourselves be determined, disciplined, and unrelenting in our cause. On behalf of the people of the United States, and as the Ambassador of the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg, all I ask is that we take measure of where we have been, where we are, and where we are going – life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

May God bless you and your family, the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg, and, my home, the United States of America.

Thank you.