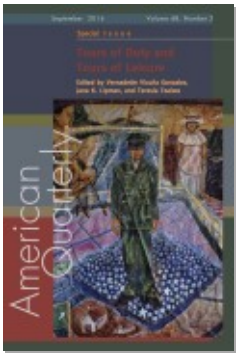
“I Felt like a Tourist instead of a Soldier”: The Occupying Gaze—War and Tourism in Italy, 1943–1945

Andrew Buchanan



American Quarterly, Volume 68, Number 3, September 2016, pp. 593-615 (Article)

Published by Johns Hopkins University Press

"I Felt like a Tourist instead of a Soldier": The Occupying Gaze—War and Tourism in Italy, 1943–1945

Andrew Buchanan

On March 19, 1944, Lieutenant Benjamin McCartney was lead bombardier in a squadron of American airplanes attacking railroad yards in central Rome. McCartney had visited the city as a tourist before the war, and as his flightpath skirted the Vatican, familiar landmarks like the Coliseum and the "great white monument to Victor Emmanuel II" flashed beneath his crosshairs.[1] With antiaircraft fire bursting around him, McCartney fed his pilot an exuberant running commentary on the historical buildings passing below. McCartney had trained hard for low-level precision attacks, but his tourist knowledge also came in useful. Approaching Florence on a later mission, he was already familiar with the layout of a city that looked "luminous beneath the darker hills." Again, he lined up the bombers on a familiar landmark, this time picking out the gleaming San Giovanni Battista; approaching the target, his pilot exclaimed, tourist-like, "It's beautiful, look how white it is!" As the bombs dropped, McCartney searched for familiar sites, but to his disappointment he was unable to pick out his prewar *pension*.

McCartney's bombing missions wove war and tourism together particularly tightly, with military and touristic experiences intersecting and overlapping in unexpected ways. Highlighting the convergence of these seemingly antithetical gazes, a *National Geographic* article written by McCartney juxtaposed images of picturesque tourist sites and wartime devastation.[2] McCartney's experience of wartime tourism was unusually concentrated, but it was far from unique. In fact, all wartime service overseas contained touristic elements. On top of the tourism implicit in all breaks with normal routine that permit travel to distant locales and encounters with the exotic other, many GIs also participated in explicitly touristic visits to landscapes and urban spaces known to be sites of historical, cultural, or recreational significance.[3] Since these visits were made by conscript soldiers whose travel plans were made for them, however, it might seem questionable—even perverse—to consider them tourism. Moreover,

while McCartney displayed touristic sensibilities during his bombing runs over Rome and Florence, he was also performing a particular kind of paid work, and that fact alone might exclude him from being a tourist.[4] Perhaps, as Peter Schrijvers concludes, unrelenting exposure to the horrors of war meant that "American combat soldiers were never able to think of themselves as tourists."[5]

It is striking, then, that American soldiers in Italy often *did* view themselves self-consciously as tourists.[6] Sometimes, as Sergeant William Robinson admitted to his wife after a long day touring the baroque palace at Caserta, they actually felt *more* like tourists than soldiers.[7] Many GIs had time to be tourists. Most time spent on active duty was not spent in combat: aircrews had breaks between missions, sailors enjoyed "liberty" in ports like Naples, and most soldiers—as many as four out of five—performed logistical and support operations on bases well behind the lines.[8] Thousands of soldiers in Italy were assigned to the military government, where army civil affairs officers often enjoyed work schedules that resembled those in civilian life and allowed regular time off. And even combat infantrymen had periods of rest and recreation during which tourism became a possibility.

After dumping Benito Mussolini in July 1943, the new Italian government signed an armistice with the Allies in September, just as American and British troops began landing near Naples. At a stroke, Italy became a "co-belligerent," a category denoting the beginning of a transition from defeated enemy to rehabilitated ally. As they advanced, Allied forces established military governments and a Control Commission that supervised Italian authorities at the national and local levels and took all major economic and political decisions.[9] With an eye to postwar influence in Italy, and in contrast to London, Washington favored the rapid political liberalization and economic rehabilitation of the country. In this multidimensional political landscape, Allied soldiers found themselves welcomed, more or less warmly, as allies, or else tolerated, with various degrees of antipathy, as conquerors. American soldier-tourism unfolded within this fluid framework, and, as it did so, it helped define a new relationship between the two countries.

Soldier-tourism was actively promoted by American military authorities, which moved quickly into the tourist business. Shortly after Allied troops entered Naples in October 1943, the local edition of the army newspaper *Stars and Stripes* began advertising trips to the island of Capri for a "few hours of tourist gaping."[10] The navy, it enthused, was running five "all free" trips weekly, and "outfits running doughboys into the Naples area" were encouraged to sign up. Then, just weeks after the capture of the city in June 1944, *Stars and Stripes* began a regular "When in Rome" column, listing everything from sports events

and movie shows to historical tours; a typical entry advertised an art exhibition jointly sponsored by the mayor of Rome and the Allied military governor.[11] When American troops landed in southern France in August 1944, *Stars and Stripes* saw tourist opportunities there, noting that soldiers who had "gazed" at sites from North Africa to Sardinia had not "seen anything" until they had "once-overed the Riviera."[12] Finally, when Allied troops reached Venice in May 1945, it, too, became a "tourist mecca," with GIs packing into gondolas even as Italian partisans and German soldiers exchanged potshots in the background.[13]

When the war in Europe ended in May 1945, military officials were keen to find ways to occupy soldiers with time on their hands. According to *Stars and Stripes*, several "week-long" bus tours were organized, creating an "extensive sightseeing program" that covered much of Italy. Lucky servicemen were also eligible for flights to Athens, Cairo, London, or Paris, and military chaplains received priority on trips to the "Holy Land."[14] Organized by an army Special Service battalion, the tours employed German buses and qualified Italian guides, and they included visits to art galleries and noteworthy "monuments" that *Stars and Stripes* boasted were "of the same caliber as those for which pre-war tourists paid big sums."

Self-conscious tourism was thus deeply embedded in the American experience of war and military occupation in Italy. Military planners saw it as a way to relieve both boredom and the stresses of combat, but they also viewed it as a vehicle for the projection of the engaged benevolence that they believed critical to the remaking of Italy along liberal and pro-American lines. This vision of soldier-tourists as unofficial cultural ambassadors is evident in the *Soldier's Guide to Italy*, a pocket handbook produced by the army Special Services Division and issued to all military personnel.[15] The *Guide* offered linguistic and cultural tips and a political explanation of the American occupation of Italy, but it also encouraged GIs to act in ways that would convince Italians that the "German way isn't the only way of occupying a country."[16] To help in this work, the *Guide* gave its readers thumbnail sketches of cities they might visit, observing in carefully gendered language that "she [Italy] is herself like a huge art gallery."[17] "If you are interested in art," it concluded, "you will have a wonderful chance for study." In case that sounded too highbrow, the *Guide* assured its readers that even if art was not their thing, there would still be "plenty to look at and enjoy."

Stepping up official efforts to promote soldier-tourism, in 1944 new guidebooks were issued to give soldiers more detailed descriptions of the cultural treasures awaiting them in specific cities and regions. The *Pocket Guide to Italian Cities* encouraged soldiers to view Italy's cultural heritage with respect, even

awe; a soldier-tourist flagging after a long day viewing the sights of Florence was admonished to "keep at it," since seeing what "man is capable of doing" would "make one proud of the human race."[18] The *Pocket Guide* combined this upbeat liberal universalism with the gleeful democratic promise that GIs would have a "great chance to do now, major expenses paid, what would cost you a lot of your own money after the war."[19] The often-repeated idea that soldiers would have an opportunity for cultural enrichment on the government's dime suggests an official hope that the wartime democratization of tourism might produce Americans who saw themselves as active participants in their country's expanding global role.[20] The unspoken assumption was that outside wartime, most Americans lacked the money to visit Europe, and Robinson's exclamation that he "felt like a tourist instead of a soldier" surely expressed the surprised realization that without being a soldier, he might never have got to feel like a tourist at all.[21]

Wartime soldier-tourists, encouraged to act as ambassadors for Americanism while broadening their cultural horizons at government expense, were the armed vanguard of the great postwar expansion of American tourism in Europe. World War II is often seen as the turning point in the development of mass tourism, with postwar stability in Western Europe, cheap transatlantic flights, and a favorable relationship between the "quality of life in the tourist-generating area [and] the attractions of the destination areas" making tourism safe and affordable.[22] The number of American tourists visiting Europe had fallen from 185,000 in 1935 to a mere 11,000 in 1940, but numbers rose rapidly after the war to 250,000 in 1949.[23] If, however, the millions of US servicemen and servicewomen who served in Europe are included—742,700 in the Mediterranean theater and another 3,065,500 in the rest of Europe—then a very different picture emerges.[24] Since most of these soldiers enjoyed some opportunity for tourism, the years 1942–45 now stand out as an exceptional *high point* of American overseas tourism, and the great expansion is seen to begin not after the war but during it. Moreover, since soldier-tourism involved not only a quantitative expansion but also a social broadening, it also signaled the opening up of overseas tourism to working- and middle-class Americans.

Wartime tourism repurposed the idiom of earlier grand tours—the extended continental treks undertaken by elite young men for education and pleasure—maintaining their intertwined expressions of veneration and superiority while opening participation to anyone who could pass an army draft board. In these democratized grand tours, breezy pocket-sized guidebooks replaced learned multivolume tomes, stripping cultural knowledge down to its barest essentials. Despite differences in the depth of erudition, however, the goal of cultural

appropriation embedded in the traditional grand tour not only remained but was reinforced by the new intersection of tourism and military occupation.

This great surge in mass tourism unfolded as the United States was laying the material and ideological foundations of its postwar predominance in Italy.[25] After the capture of Rome in June 1944, American officials engineered the replacement of the conservative government of Pietro Badoglio by a liberal-communist coalition. This political shift opened the way for American government agencies and nongovernmental organizations to collaborate with the Italian government and with American and Italian businessmen to promote economic reconstruction, bilateral trade, and American investment. Key elements of America's postwar hegemony were thus assembled *during* the war, in a process that involved not only the imposition of military and economic power but also the assertion of political, cultural, and moral leadership.[26] The wartime operations of what *Star and Stripes* referred to as a "tourist army" took place within this context, becoming an important element in the overall projection of American power.[27]

As with other aspects of the occupation, soldier-tourism was not simply a one-way imposition but a reciprocal, if highly unequal, relationship. Tourism had had an ambiguous status under Mussolini, at times lauded as a source of foreign currency and a vehicle for the propagation of Italian culture, and at other times denounced as a conduit for "cosmopolitan corruption."[28] Some tourism experts, like Giovanni Mariotti, hoped to moderate Fascist demagogy in order to encourage foreigners, particularly Americans, to visit Italy.[29] The Allied occupation gave him new opportunities to do just that, and in 1945 Mariotti published the first postwar English guidebook to Italy. He offered his readers a timeless, beautiful, and highly cultured Italy that was remarkably unscarred by war, and when he did touch briefly on the "low and abject" state of contemporary Italy, it was to explain that tourism was both a "principal [economic] resource" and a way of "renew[ing] contact with the outside world."[30] Mariotti's vision of an Italy based on giving "peace, serenity, and repose to all men" conformed to Washington's goal of establishing a demilitarized country under American leadership, and in their touristic ventures American forces found enthusiastic local collaborators. Forty percent of the country's hotels had been destroyed, but their owners were soon busy refurbishing them to meet burgeoning wartime demand.[31]

Italian American GIs played a special role in this reciprocal process. Their touristic sojourns contained aspects of homecoming, and many found their linguistic ability, often a marker of incomplete assimilation in America, validated as a bridge between GIs and locals. In the American army, the journalist

Ernie Pyle reported, "you only had to yell twice to find a soldier who spoke Italian."[32] It worked both ways. As Pyle noted, "In the very remotest and most ancient town, we found that half the people had relatives in America, and there was always somebody . . . who had lived for twelve years in Buffalo or thirty in Chicago."[33] Appreciating the utility of Italian Americans in smoothing relations between soldiers and civilians, *Star and Stripes* highlighted such encounters, reporting on the day American troops entered Rome that Private Edward Savino from New York had run into his aunt on the Corso Umberto. Under the headline "Of Course, GIs Meet Relatives," the army paper noted that it "always happens" when GIs enter a newly liberated town.[34]

The presence of large numbers of African American GIs added another layer of complexity to these touristic interactions. Largely excluded from combat by the racist policies of army leaders, African Americans were concentrated in support operations where—paradoxically—they often enjoyed a significant degree of personal freedom. One black GI complained bitterly that he had to hitchhike fifty miles to a city not placed off limits by segregationist policies, but the remarkable fact is that, despite the obvious difficulties, he was able to make the journey.[35] Black soldiers quickly found that, as one officer put it, Italians were often "colorblind with regard to race."[36] Contact with Italians offered a welcome break from the vicious racism prevalent in the army, and black GIs found themselves welcomed for their apparent exoticism as well as for the fact that their military assignments often gave them access to cigarettes and food. Despite opposition from white officers, relationships between black GIs and Italian women were common.[37] Black soldiers also participated in the broader aspects of soldier-tourism, and Captain Edward Brooke recalled pleasurable jeep trips to Florence and the Tuscan countryside before meeting his Italian wife on the beach at Viareggio.[38]

American servicewomen also seized the liberating opportunities offered by overseas soldiering. Thousands of women served in Italy, either as nurses or as clerks, drivers, and postal officials with the Women's Army Corps.[39] Many worked in large general hospitals or on supply bases behind the front lines where they, like their male counterparts, enjoyed considerable opportunities for tourism. Writing from Rome, Lieutenant Mildred O'Connell, a nurse, reported that she and her comrades were "very happy and thoroughly enjoy[ing] sunny Italy," while Lieutenant Evelyn Mahoney commented, "Sightseeing in Rome is wonderful."[40] "Anyone could recognize the famous buildings," Mahoney added, since they "look just like the pictures in the Latin textbooks." For O'Connell, the high point of her visit to Rome with six other nurses was an audience with Pope Pius XII, who exchanged a few brief words before "al-

lowing them to kiss the papal ring." These women expressed similar touristic reactions to male soldiers, and it is surely possible to catch in their enthusiasm a glimpse of the liberating possibilities of engaging in overseas tourism in the company of other women. For others, overseas service led to marriage. When their units were both based near Naples, Mahoney married Lieutenant Rodney Martin before an altar built by Italian prisoners of war out of C ration cans. The couple enjoyed a romantic honeymoon in Casablanca—hardly a possibility for a middle-class couple outside wartime.[41]

As soldier-tourism worked to normalize the occupation for occupying GIs and occupied Italians, it also softened it for domestic consumption in the United States. Initially, the prospect of soldier-tourism in Italy provoked skepticism at home, as "fighting men" seemed unlikely to make "ideal tourists."[42] Later, however, tourism offered narratives of a benign American presence in Italy, overshadowing images of forceful military rule and effectively turning conquest into "anti-conquest."[43] Soldiers filled their letters home with touristic encounters, giving friends and family awe-struck descriptions of visits to well-known tourist sites. Many such letters were passed on to local newspapers, which often ran them as short articles, highlighting hometown connections with headlines like "Beauties of Rome Described in Letter from Cpl. Steiger."[44] In "Altoonan Visits Rome," Private Charles Tear reported enthusiastically on a five-day leave, concluding that the city was just "like it was in the history books."[45] Such stories, featuring soldiers known to many readers and filled with reports of "very nice" hotels complete with "running water (tap)," undoubtedly brought relief to families concerned for loved ones in Europe. They also blurred the harsh contours of military rule, repackaging it as a series of tourist encounters with historic sites and significant cultural markers.[46]

Many letters touched on religion. Sergeant Ernest Treece of Carbondale, Illinois, was disappointed with the "evil-smelling" Coliseum, but reported enthusiastically on his visit to the Vatican, where the experience of a papal audience "far exceeded anything I had dreamed off."[47] Treece's description of the treasures of the Vatican ended with a spiritual meditation on Rome as a place belonging to neither Catholics nor Protestants but the "whole world," including "the black, the white, [and] yellow." The city's liberation, he speculated, suggested "God smiled on the Allies." Private Douglas Arrowsmith of Salamanca, New York, was equally enthusiastic, reporting that the pope "blessed everything and everyone in the room," while his Catholic friend Andy Balleger "actually kissed the ring on the Pope's hand."[48] Although not a Catholic himself, Arrowsmith slipped a postcard of Pius XII into his letter home.[49] These imaginings pictured Rome as a site of uplifting nondenominational spirituality

that, in rising above the war, offered a vision of a better future even as it reaffirmed the notional framework of common—if vaguely defined—Christian values. This comforting shared religiosity helped, in turn, to saturate military occupation with well-intentioned and reciprocal spiritual generosity.

These aspects of soldier-tourism obscured the radical denial of sovereignty that is at the heart of military occupation. In other ways, however, tourism intervened more forcefully into Italian life. When the pilots of the Fifty-Seventh Fighter Group arrived in Alto, Corsica, in March 1944, they began to turn their newly constructed airstrip—named "Breakneck Field" with typical bravado—into a little piece of America. In an ad hoc prelude to the sprawling "America Towns" characteristic of postwar base construction, the prefabricated airstrip and rickety control tower were surrounded by customized living quarters and recreational facilities.[50] Soon, there was a beach house (complete with a bar fashioned from the wing of a German fighter) and a swimming lagoon produced by damming the Alto River. These were sites of high-spirited beach tourism, complete with watercraft made from aircraft parts and visits from Red Cross nurses. These young fliers asserted their control over foreign land with the same carefree imperial insouciance with which they flew their missions. As the narrator of the documentary *Thunderbolt!* (dir. John Sturges and William Wyler, 1947) put it, they built as though they would "be there forever!" "Nobody," the voice-over continues, "says you can't dam a river to make a swimming hole." "Nobody," of course, meant that no local farmer or government official could block the work of an "American community" intent on having "everything." It implied that all foreign land could be reconfigured to meet American needs.

As American forces advanced, they left behind them a dense network of such bases that became, as the journalist John Hersey put it, home to the numerous "after-armies" that were destined to "stay in Europe."[51] These bases, and the military, political, and economic structures of the Allied Military Government and of the Allied Control Commission in which they were embedded, formed a cartography of occupation that overlay the geography of Italy. This occupational map defined a place that, like the airbase at Alto, operated by rules grounded in military conquest, reinforced by economic might, and sanctioned by the legal privileges of extraterritoriality. Occupational space was both separate from and interwoven with the topography of Italy.[52] The military occupation reached deeply into Italian civil society, and Allied officers oversaw all critical aspects of life, from food distribution to economic reconstruction.

The Allied occupation of Italy, like *all* military occupations, embodied a profound sense of the superiority of the occupiers over the occupied.[53] Col-

laborationist political leaders were embraced and new political structures installed, but the fundamental levers of power remained in the hands of the conquerors. It was their mental maps, often drawn without reference to the occupied population, that were materialized. To perform their work, military occupations require the othering of the occupied, conducted through discourses that demonstrate their incapacity for effective self-government and hence the legitimacy of the radical deprivation of sovereignty that occupation entails. In Italy, American officials grounded this discourse on long-standing notions of Italian indolence and inefficiency, reinforced by the perception that sexual immorality was "almost universal" in Italy.[54]

Framed in this way, and operating in the context of economic dislocation, social breakdown, and hunger, it is not surprising that sexual encounters were woven deeply into the experience of soldier-tourism.[55] Such encounters encompassed a broad range of possibilities, from casual sex-tourism to the pursuit of female companionship, to courtship and marriage. Casual sexual encounters were commonplace, with a remarkable 70 percent of white GIs and 76 percent of black soldiers reporting that they paid for sex in Italy.[56] In Naples, a British soldier, Norman Lewis, saw long lines of soldiers waiting to have sex with "working-class housewives" for two cans of army rations, while in Sicily Sergeant William Hahn thought it "sad" that many of his comrades had sex with local women for "one can of C-Rations per plug."[57] These soldier-tourists surely felt that the exotic otherness of their new environment—and the concomitant reaffirmation their own cultural superiority—permitted behaviors they would have considered immoral back home. This is the premise of all sex-tourism, and it functioned here in occupational space where the conjoined military, economic, and gender dominance embedded in military occupation found full expression; again, tourist and occupational gazes intersected and overlapped. Many soldiers, like Lewis and Hahn, were undoubtedly appalled by what they saw, and others, like William Robinson, expressed disinterest in the "sex angle," but many more clearly participated in the sexual carnival.[58]

Soldiers' sexual fantasies were informed by orientalist place-myths equating sunshine, exoticized sun-browned bodies and sexual promiscuity, and these notions dovetailed neatly with official explanations that it was the Mediterranean climate that made Italians "indolent."[59] Military authorities shaped these expectations, with the *Soldier's Guide*—read by many GIs on their way overseas—promising "many warm-looking, attractive women in Italy."[60] The *Guide* issued stern warnings about the dangers of venereal disease and cautioned that it would not be easy to "pick up a respectable girl," but its upbeat tone suggested that it would indeed be possible to do so. That many soldiers

reported home on their impressions of local women—Private Howard Denny enthused that "the girls in Rome could pass any day for true Americans," while Major Creal Black thought that northern Italians' "Nordic descent . . . added charm"—suggests that there was something going on here beyond the crude sex-tourism that so repelled Lewis and Hahn.[61]

In a centerspread photomontage "Yank's Roman Holiday," *Stars and Stripes* set up Corporal Jack Richardson, a paratrooper from Opp, Alabama, for an afternoon of sightseeing with the young daughter of a "prominent Roman family."[62] The story unfolds in the gauzy tones of a holiday romance, and the day concluded with a moonlight visit to the Coliseum. Everything is very proper—Richardson's companion is clearly a "respectable girl"—but the encounter is charged with unspoken possibilities that transcend casual sex. In fact, GIs based behind the lines often had the opportunity to form ongoing relationships; as one officer reported, "Most of the soldiers [in Naples] had girls."[63] The complexities of such relationships were explored in Alfred Hayes's novels *All Thy Conquests* (1946) and *The Girl on the Via Flamina* (1949), with their tender depictions of young men and women driven by different desperations, embedded in shifting matrices of enmity and allegiance, and living—vacation-like—in bounded time. Hayes, who served in Italy with the Special Services Division, shows how these relationships stretched the meanings of prostitution, since even ongoing consensual relationships were underpinned by multivalent disparities in wealth and power and by the one-sided giving of food, cigarettes, and clothing.[64] While military authorities tolerated such affairs, they regularly refused to sanction marriages between GIs and Italian women, except in cases involving Italian American soldiers.[65]

The official denigration of Italians and Italianness that was so critical to the military occupation was not unproblematic for the Americans. After all, as a postwar version of the *Pocket Guide* put it, Italy had made an "enormous and enduring" contribution to the core cultural values of the "West," particularly during the "two brilliant phases" when it had been "the mistress of the entire western world."[66] Even with this careful feminization of its storied history, Italy's cultural contribution was clear and unavoidable; the accomplishments of ancient Rome and the Renaissance now had to be assimilated into America's own claim to universal leadership, even as contemporary Italians were belittled. Generations of British grand tourists had grappled with the same worrisome disparity between the "glories" of Italy's ancient past and the perceived "degradation" of its contemporary state, resolving the tension by imagining an unbridgeable divide between present-day Italians and their noble forebears.[67] American officials crafted a similar resolution, and the *Soldier's Guide* promoted

reverential visits to key cultural sites even as it explained that the Italian climate produced the "excitability" and "slipshod" discipline held to be "typical of Mediterranean civilization."[68] Drawing on these climatic explanations of national character, the *Guide* explained that the Roman Empire had fallen thanks to the typically Italian vices of "inefficiency and corruption."[69] What this argument lacked in consistency—surely Roman and Renaissance Italians labored under the same climatic difficulties that produced contemporary indolence—it made up for with continual repetition. It certainly found its target audience: after describing the wonders of Pompeii to his wife, Robinson turned to the deficiencies of contemporary "Eyeties," concluding, "I don't think that these people are descendants of the Romans."[70] Instead, he thought, they must have "sneaked in the back door."

Ironically, German authorities faced a comparable challenge during their occupation of France, a country they found simultaneously "exquisite and morally deficient."[71] German leaders framed their occupation by highlighting French backwardness and cultural degeneracy. But it was not enough simply to denigrate France, since Nazi leaders also wanted to position themselves as the modern-day bearers of the historic grandeur of French culture and military glory. To this end, special tourist units of the Wehrmacht were set up to organize cultural tours of Paris for German soldiers and members of Nazi mass organizations. Eight hundred thousand Germans visited Paris during the first year of the occupation, and tours were still running just weeks before the arrival of Allied troops in August 1944.[72] Like the American military, the Wehrmacht prepared soldiers for their tourist experience by issuing an official guide to Paris's architectural and artistic sites. As Bertram Gordon argues, this promotion of large-scale tourism reflected the Nazis' desire to demonstrate their "possession" of high culture and their cultural superiority over France, and the guidebook's praise for classical French culture was liberally salted with warnings about the decadence of modern-day Paris and the degeneracy of its art.[73]

Judging by the "tourist army" that *Stars and Stripes* pictured flooding into the Coliseum, American soldiers embraced cultural tourism with as much enthusiasm as their German contemporaries. Underscoring the democratizing impulse of mass tourism, soldiers from different class backgrounds seem to have participated with equal gusto, and officers and enlisted men expressed similar—and similarly conventional—reactions of awe, pleasure, and excitement. Prefiguring the mass tourism of the postwar years, GIs asserted touristic ownership by sheer weight of numbers; as Mark Meigs describes soldier-tourism in World War I France, visiting the attractions with other soldiers enhanced the cultural significance of the experience, with every soldier-tourist adding

to the "numinous glow of the site."[74] Some claimed more physical ownership, chipping off bits of ancient stonework or carving their initials into it, and *Stars and Stripes* reported jokingly that the Coliseum had shrunk to half its original size after GIs began mailing chunks of it home.[75]

Some GIs had the time and the interest to take cultural tourism more seriously, and the scope and texture of their experiences illustrate the breadth of possibilities inherent in soldier-tourism and the multiplicity of its touristic gazes. Captain Benedict Alper from New York and Sergeant William Robinson from Boston were two such soldier-tourists. Alper, a professional criminologist and an enthusiastic New Deal liberal, was in his forties when he volunteered for duty in the military police. Assigned to the Allied Control Commission and given responsibility for resettling displaced persons, he was posted to Naples and Rome. It was not demanding work—at times Alper felt that he lived a "stupid and idle existence"—but it did allow him to fill "every available free hour [with] exploring, sightseeing, and going to concerts."[76] Robinson, a skilled technician, was assigned to a communications base near Naples. He also found the work boring, but, like Alper, he looked forward to "see[ing] everything I can."[77]

Taking to heart the *Soldier's Guide*'s injunction not to "miss the chance" of going to the opera, both men attended performances in Naples, one seeing the *Barber of Seville*, the other *Rigoletto*.[78] The working-class Robinson was astounded by the very idea of attending an opera in Italy—"believe it or not I hope to be able to see an Opera," he told his wife at the start of his deployment—and he was particularly impressed by the splendor of the San Carlo opera house.[79] Alper was also captivated by the experience, but noted that while opera was "part of the life" of ordinary Italians, Allied soldiers had taken over the auditorium, with some giving the new relationship of power a carnivalesque twist by packing noisily into the royal box.[80] These men may have mirrored the attitude of a fictional operagoer in the *Stars and Stripes*, who asserted his preference for "hillbilly songs and square dances" while wondering aloud if the war might end before the performance![81]

Alper and Robinson, like thousands of others, had assignments that allowed them to engage in sustained soldier-tourism. A commissioned officer, Alper wangled numerous "jaunts" by "jeep or plane." He visited Pompeii and other Roman sites around Naples before enjoying several carefree days in the Renaissance heartlands of Siena and Florence, where he found the Duomo a little "too rich for ordinary human consumption."[82] An enlisted man, Robinson had less opportunity for long-distance sightseeing, but he worked the tourist sites

around Naples with single-minded determination. His detailed accounts of his visits to Naples, Pompeii, Sorrento, and the pretty fishing village of Pozzuoli (which he likened to Gloucester, Massachusetts) filled his often-daily letters to his wife. Robinson was fascinated by the details of Italian life, marveling at the stone houses, the use of burros—taken as a sure marker of the backwardness of Italian agriculture—and the cultivation of eggplants.[83]

Like many tourists, Robinson knew that mastering some basic Italian would deepen his touristic experience and facilitate his relentless pursuit of mementos to send home to his wife. His letters are full of negotiations with local vendors, and one box of souvenirs dispatched to Boston was stuffed with small cameos, coral brooches, and mosaic earrings, together with a silver bell, a leather cigarette case, and a variety of Roman coins and Fascist memorabilia.[84] Robinson's experience was typical—*Stars and Stripes* even had a story about a "rear-echelon fellow" selling souvenirs to hospitalized GIs at greatly inflated prices—and, in a democratized echo of the vast collections of paintings and sculpture sent home by earlier generations of grand tourists, the tourist army acquired enormous quantities of souvenirs.[85] Soldier-tourism necessarily embodies elements of self-congratulatory ritual, and in its own modest way every souvenir mailed home represented another assertion of American cultural dominance.[86] This orgy of consumption also helped soften the occupation's harder edges, establishing apparently normal transactional relationships with enterprising Italians who expanded the supply of "genuine" Roman artifacts and Fascist memorabilia to meet tourist demand.

Despite their interest in Italian history and culture, many GIs kept their distance from ordinary Italians: "It is hard to trust them," Robinson explained to his wife.[87] Other GIs asserted American superiority more bluntly. Writing in *Stars and Stripes*, the soldier-journalist Archibald McGonigle challenged the "theory" that travel was a "broadening experience."[88] With millions of "uniformed tourists" ranging across the world, McGonigle argued—not implausibly—that America now had the "most widely traveled citizenry in the world." But what did it all add up to? McGonigle conceded that Naples was beautiful, but complained that GIs who had "seen and smelled" the city while dodging Neapolitans "bent on fleecing" them had quickly come to dislike it intensely. Warming to his theme, McGonigle warned that "on closer inspection" Nice and Cannes hardly "measured up" to Atlantic City, while Paris was spoiled by open urinals and Florence marred by a confusing web of "twisting streets." Even the "riches of the Orient" were ruined by the "horrid squalor" surrounding them.

McGonigle's comments display an assumption at the heart of much American overseas tourism, particularly its wartime variant: however enjoyable, educational, or even exciting it might be to sojourn among the exotic other, the experience ultimately reinforces the superiority of home. As his enforced stay in Naples dragged on, Robinson began to express similar sentiments, growing increasingly "tired of seeing old ruins" and putting up with the "smells, dirty people, and lousy weather."[89] Unlike Alper, he had little sympathy for the suffering of the Italian people—"who knows or cares" about that, he exclaimed bitterly—since they had "wished it onto themselves" by supporting Mussolini.[90] Robinson's growing aversion to Italy was sharpened by his desire to get back to his wife and newborn baby. Like all tourist destinations, Italy had its attractions, but at the end of the day it reaffirmed the modernity, cleanliness, and comfort of home.[91]

If the realities of wartime Italy began to wear on soldiers like Robinson, for others tourism retained its allure. Based in Corsica, the young pilots of the Fifty-Seventh Fighter Group were removed from the squalor produced by turning Italy into a battlefield. They flew their missions over Italy in airplanes they described as "offices," occupied for a day's work before returning to their seaside "country club."[92] Their work was not without danger. Planes were downed by antiaircraft fire, and the big P-47 was difficult to take off and land, but by this time American fliers faced little opposition from the Luftwaffe.[93] Life followed a daily routine of work and play, punctuated by more extensive vacations. These pilots became dedicated tourists, and they had the time and the access to airplanes that made regional tourism possible. If class did not necessarily determine what servicemen were interested in—these mostly middle-class officers were as attracted to beach life as much as to the expansion of their cultural horizons—class-influenced military specialization meant that pilots were well placed to enjoy the full possibilities of Mediterranean tourism. For them, touristic and occupational gazes intersected in ways that could, however temporarily, entirely privilege the former.

American fighter pilot Captain James C. Hare took over three hundred color photographs that attest to these possibilities, documenting trips to Cannes, Rome, Venice, Pisa, Verona, Lake Como, Athens, and Naples.[94] Hare and his fellow pilots also explored Corsica, making forays into the mountains on foot or by jeep to view picturesque villages and fields of wild flowers. In Hare's photographs, groups of relaxed airmen pose in front of famous buildings, push the Leaning Tower of Pisa upright, and cram into Venetian gondolas. The sun shines brightly and the sky is blue; sometimes a woman, a local girl or a Red

Figure 1.
"Our happy bunch": a relaxed group of pilots from the Fifty-Seventh Fighter Group in Athens, 1945. Photograph by James C. Hare. Reproduced by kind permission of the Fifty-Seventh Fighter Group Association.

Cross nurse, gets into the frame, but mostly it is just exuberant young men. Their unmilitary poses suggest, as Maria Höhn argues of American soldiers in postwar Germany, that they were just "big, friendly, relaxed boys" rather than "tough fighters" and that their presence was fundamentally benign.[95] If it followed a similar itinerary to that of their aristocratic forebears, their modern grand tour was no stately progress in pursuit of cultural refinement but a hectic drive to see all the sites and to be photographed seeing them. Like all tourists, they knew which places were significant, and they recognized that the sites themselves were more important than any historical understanding attached to them.[96] In Hare's album, an impressive triumphal memorial becomes simply an "arch to commemorate some famous person."[97] But for the uniforms, they could be any group of young Americans "doing" the Mediterranean.

Hare's colorful images chronicle a frenetic round of well-known tourist sites, beaches, and bars, and they underline Susan Sontag's assertion that travel itself becomes simply a "strategy for accumulating photographs."[98] Cameras were banned in combat infantry units, and while some GIs carried them surreptitiously, they remained scarce until the large-scale looting of Leicas by US troops in Germany.[99] Even for rear-echelon soldiers like Robinson, the difficulties

of developing film dissuaded many potential photographers.[100] Nevertheless, Peter Schrijvers's claim that wartime Europe had "squandered its photogenic charm" seems exaggerated, and servicemen who had the time and resources to do so often became enthusiastic photographers.[101] Air Force personnel were particularly well placed in this regard, and the photograph collection assembled by the members of the Fifty-Seventh Fighter Group documents a prolonged touristic odyssey from the pyramids of Egypt, via the ruins of Roman Tunisia, to the glories of Renaissance Italy.[102]

As they photographed sites of known cultural significance, these young Americans performed the newly emerging rituals of mass tourism. Mediated through the camera lens, their gaze implied an asymmetric relationship of power between themselves—the tourist subject—and the objectivized focus of their photography, so that the making of the photograph became a vehicle for the appropriation of the object being photographed.[103] Their photographic images present scenes signifying the ancient and venerable cultures of imperial Rome or of Renaissance Italy; contemporary Italians, other than those like Venetian gondoliers whose presence certified authenticity, are almost entirely absent. The photographs dismissed the wartime squalor within which the tourist sites were embedded, giving them a pristine and timeless quality. Here, occupational and touristic gazes intersected and overlapped, adopting different viewpoints and looking from different angles. This tourism was performed in wartime, but recorded in ways that exclude war. Cultural appropriation and assertions of superiority are deeply embedded within the basic structure of *all* tourist experience, but wartime tourists are tourists of a particular kind. They are in uniform, and they arrive as members of an occupying army. Acts of normal touristic appropriation—common to all the aspects of soldier-tourism discussed here—are thus embedded in the structures of military occupation and in the assertion of American predominance.

It is difficult to know what relatives and friends receiving letters and souvenirs from soldier-tourists made of it all, particularly since most collections of wartime letters are one-sided. Given the defensive tone of some soldiers' letters, stateside correspondents may have felt envious of—or even annoyed with—loved ones who seemed to be enjoying themselves a little too much while overseas. By the same token, soldiers' own sense of guilt at these unwarriorlike and enjoyable ventures may account for their almost complete erasure from popular memory of the war.[104] In broader terms, popular perceptions of the war were shaped in part by media presentations that framed wartime geographic knowledge in touristic terms. In addition to reprinting soldiers' letters, newspapers used color commentary to explain and humanize the spaces

Figure 2.
A Walgreen's store serving Coca-Cola to GIs at a beach near Toulon, spring 1945. This is an American-run facility—note the "No Guests, Please" sign. This photograph is one of a series taken by Lieutenant Charles Hubbell of Bennington, Vermont, that document his tourist activities while serving with an army signals unit in Italy. Hubbell's beach photographs are remarkable for their normalcy; but for the uniforms, there is no sign of war, and they could be of any beach at any time. Photograph by Charles Hubbell. Courtesy of Special Collections, Bailey/Howe Library, University of Vermont.

within which the war was being fought. The veteran *National Geographic* correspondent Maynard Own Williams, for example, arrived in Sicily hard on the heels of Allied troops. Williams's seven previous visits to Sicily vouched for his knowledge, and his article combined news of the "biggest invasion armada in history" with lyrical descriptions of Sicilian history and geography.[105] In his account, the "sail-winged sea" breaks, valleys "smile," and "honey-gold" temples dot the hillsides, while just a few miles away bombers "make a mess" of Messina. This shocking conjunction of war and tourism was underscored by a series of photographs that interspersed timeless images of Sicilian life with dramatic shots of aerial combat. The effect of this armchair tourism was to give benign shape to conquest and occupation; after all, Williams notes, the Americans are just the latest in a long line of conquerors to have "played a part in the life history" of Sicily.[106]

Wartime tourism in Italy in all its forms—sex-tourism, mass visits to the Coliseum and the beaches of Capri, cultural tours, and the frenetic grand tours enacted by young pilots—created a broad skein of connections between the cartography of the Allied military occupation and the geography of Italy on which it was inscribed. Every sexual contact, every carved name, every souvenir, and every carefully posed photograph asserted the primacy of the former over the latter. Most American soldier-tourists surely did not see themselves as active agents of Washington's hegemonic project, but in their aggregate performance of tourism—a performance encouraged and facilitated by American military authorities—they became the advance guard for the broader projection of American soft power. Soldier-tourism worked to normalize armed conquest and military occupation, shaping the GIs' own understanding of their mission, acclimatizing Italians to life under Allied rule, and helping form public opinion in the United States. The lived experiences of wartime tourism were necessarily diverse, shaped by the class background, gender, and ethnicity of the tourists as well as by the vagaries of military specialization and assignment. At a broader level, however, these multivalent experiences and their accompanying ways of looking coalesced into a unified and useful occupational discourse.

The Allied military occupation of Italy ended in 1946, but the United States continued to exert significant overt and covert influence in Italian politics.[107] In this context, the projection of soft power—including the establishment of American-style supermarkets and fashion pageants—intertwined with and legitimized the gross structures of American economic and military predominance.[108] Tourism played a significant part in this process. Promoted by the Italian government as an important source of foreign earnings, tourism affirmed Italy's cultural standing within the "Atlantic Community" while expressing the leading role of the United States within that community.[109] Following the first wave of wartime soldier-tourists described here, large numbers of American visitors developed the practices of "mass" tourism. Many former GIs returned with their families. Wartime airstrips were repurposed to open up previously remote areas to tourism, and ex-military DC-3 transport aircraft formed the backbone of postwar tourist transportation in Europe.[110]

After the Allied occupation ended, archipelagos of the wartime "moral wonderland" continued—and indeed continue—to flourish around the numerous American military bases maintained by agreement with the Italian government.[111] The 1956 Department of Defense *Pocket Guide to Italy* featured a cartoon montage of typical tourist sites, from a wildly leaning Tower of Pisa to a homey pizzeria, and the slim booklet devoted over twenty

pages to detailed descriptions of the cultural attractions in several major cities. In the more prosperous postwar years, skiing and golfing were added to the soldier's tourist options, and GIs were still encouraged to visit the opera.[112] Judging the book by its cover, military service in postwar Italy was framed in entirely touristic terms. The new *Guide* welcomed Italy as a "free nation" that had "thrown in its lot" with the United States, but its description of Italians had changed little from that in the wartime guides. The "typical Italian," an arriving GI was informed, was a "romantic" much given to the "sheer joy of living" and to the pursuit of "good music, good food, good wine, and the other pleasures of life."[113]

Military occupations, as Atina Grossmann points out, are sites of "unexpected entanglement."[114] On one level, they are straightforward instruments for the victorious power to impose its will on the vanquished. But the process of imposition involves complex webs of coercion, consent, and complicity, and these are themselves complicated—on both sides—by dynamic interactions of class, gender, and race. An occupational cartography, complete with its own structures, laws, and ideological assumptions, is mapped onto the native topography, and the two are woven together by numerous points of interactive contact. In wartime Italy, American soldier-tourism, in all its multivalent forms, provided many of these avenues of contact. Most GIs had some opportunity to be tourists, and their ability to do so at the government's expense broadened and democratized the experience of overseas tourism and opened the way to postwar mass tourism. At the same time, these wartime tourists were members of a victorious army, and their tourist gaze was also an occupying gaze; soldier-tourism thus simultaneously worked to normalize the experience of military occupation, shaping the perceptions of the GIs themselves, of the folks back home, and of the people of occupied Italy.[115]

Notes

I would like to thank my colleagues at the University of Vermont, who discussed an initial version of this essay at a faculty seminar; Mary-Nell Bockman, Charlie Briggs, Susan Carruthers, Bogac Ergene, Marisa Escolar, Douglas Porch, and Richard Robbins, who read and commented on drafts; Benjamin Greene and his student Csenge Virag Zalka, whose work helped mine; and Chris Burns and Prudence Doherty at Bailey/Howe Library Special Collections. Thanks also to the editors of this special issue for their engagement, hard work, and encouragement, and to Paula Dragosh for her exemplary copyediting. Special thanks are due to Captain James "Rabbit" Hare, whose wartime photos prompted this project.

1. Benjamin C. McCartney, "Return to Florence," *National Geographic*, March 1945, 273. McCartney was mortally wounded over Milan on September 22, 1944.

2. In a short commentary on a similar juxtaposition of images in the wartime photographs of Colonel Claude A. Black, Phil Klay suggests that it "seems wrong," since war photographs should reflect "more horror and less Picturesque Germany." Ultimately, however, Klay concludes that the images converge and that Black was simply an "honest photographer" (Klay, "Tour Guide," *Granta*, Summer 2013, 128).
3. See the definitions of tourism in John Urry and Jonas Larsen, *The Tourist Gaze 3.0* (Los Angeles: Sage, 2011), 4–5.
4. Urry and Larsen argue that tourism must be for "purposes not directly connected to paid work" (*Tourist Gaze*, 4).
5. Peter Schrijvers, *The Crash of Ruin: American Combat Soldiers in Europe during World War II* (New York: New York University Press, 1998), 215.
6. Wartime soldier-tourism has been largely overlooked in scholarly literature. While there are several fine studies on militarism and tourism in the postwar construction of US hegemony, and others that focus on battlefield tourism, there is little that discusses soldiers *as* tourists. Notable exceptions include Mark Meigs, *Optimism at Armageddon: Voices of American Participants in the First World War* (New York: New York University Press, 1997); Mary Louise Roberts, *What Soldiers Do: Sex and the American GI in World War II France* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013); Christopher Endy, *Cold War Holidays: American Tourism in France* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004); and Rebecca Stein, "Souvenirs of Conquest: Israeli Occupations as Tourist Events," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 40 (2008): 647–69. See also Vernadette Vicuña Gonzalez, *Securing Paradise: Tourism and Militarism in Hawai'i and the Philippines* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2013); Richard Butler and Wantanee Suntikul, eds., *Tourism and War* (New York: Routledge, 2013); Elizabeth Diller and Ricardo Scofidio, *Back to the Front: Tourisms of War* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1994); and Janina Struk, *Private Pictures: Soldiers' Inside View of War* (New York: I. B. Tauris, 2011).
7. "I felt like a tourist instead of a soldier": William Robinson to Blanche Robinson, August 24, 1944, Sgt. William Robinson Papers, Box 2L394, Briscoe Center for American History, University of Texas, Austin. Hereafter cited as Robinson Papers.
8. Of 4,308,114 GIs in the Europe in 1945, 828,402 were assigned to combat units. See John J. McGrath, *The Other End of the Spear: The Tooth-to-Tail Ratio (T3R) in Modern Military Operations*, The Long War Series, Occasional Paper 23 (Fort Leavenworth, KS: Combat Studies Institute Press, 2007), 105.
9. Allied military governance was divided between areas under direct Allied Military Government (AMG), which included regions adjacent to the front lines and the port of Naples, and those areas where, nominally at least, the Italian government was in charge. The Allied Control Commission—later simply the Allied Commission—worked closely with the Italian government, exercising control over all substantive policy.
10. "Board for Capri," *Stars and Stripes*, November 14, 1943, 4.
11. "When in Rome," *Stars and Stripes*, September 13, 1944.
12. "Riviera, Once Gay, Now a Battleground," *Stars and Stripes*, August 17, 1944, 2.
13. "Liberators Rush to Try Out Venice Gondolas," *Stars and Stripes*, May 2, 1945, 6.
14. "Extensive Sightseeing Program to Show Traveling GIs Nearly All Italy," *Stars and Stripes*, June 4, 1945, 8.
15. See Christopher S. DeRosa, *Political Indoctrination in the U.S. Army* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2006), 10–11.
16. See Endy, *Cold War Holidays*, 1, 18; *Soldier's Guide to Italy* (Washington, DC: War Department, 1943), 9.
17. *Soldier's Guide to Italy*, 27.
18. *Pocket Guide to Italian Cities* (Washington, DC: War Department, 1944), 36.
19. Ibid., iv.
20. See Endy, *Cold War Holidays*, 18.
21. Robinson to Robinson, August 24, 1944.
22. Valene L. Smith, "War and Tourism: An American Ethnography," *Annals of Tourism Research* 25.1 (1998): 202, 203.
23. Ibid., 210.
24. Maurice Matloff, *Strategic Planning for Coalition Warfare, 1943–1944* (Washington, DC: US Army Center of Military History, 1994), 555.

25. See Andrew Buchanan, *American Grand Strategy in the Mediterranean during World War II* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014), esp. chaps. 6, 7, 10, and 12.
26. On this Gramscian concept of hegemony, see Giovanni Arrighi, *The Long Twentieth Century: Money, Power, and the Origins of Our Times* (New York: Verso, 2010), 28–37.
27. "Views of Rome II: Colossuem," *Stars and Stripes*, June 16, 1944.
28. R. J. B. Bosworth, "Tourist Planning in Fascist Italy and the Limits of a Totalitarian Culture," *Contemporary European History* 6.1 (1997): 10. See also Bosworth, *Italy and the Wider World* (New York: Routledge, 1996), chap. 8.
29. See Bosworth, "Tourist Planning in Fascist Italy," 6.
30. Giovanni Mariotti, *Here's Italy*, trans. Eugenio Vaquer and S. M. Abernethy (Florence: Vallecchi, 1945), 9, 207, 209.
31. Bosworth, *Italy and the Wider World*, 177.
32. Ernie Pyle, *Brave Men* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2001), 156.
33. Ibid., 95. These experiences exemplify patterns of transatlantic migration; before 1914, nearly half of all Italian men who lived and worked in the United States later returned to Italy. See Donna R. Gabaccia, "Is Everywhere Nowhere? Nomads, Nations, and the Immigrant Paradigm of United States History," *Journal of American History* 86.3 (1999): 1120.
34. "Of Course, GIs Meet Relatives," *Star and Stripes*, June 5, 1944, 3.
35. See Susan Zeiger, *Entangling Alliances: Foreign War Brides and American Soldiers in the Twentieth Century* (New York: New York University Press, 2010), 97.
36. Senator Edward W. Brooke, *Bridging the Divide: My Life* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2007), 33. Later, Brooke was US senator for Massachusetts.
37. Ibid.; Zeiger, *Entangling Alliances*, 97; Shelleen Greene, *Equivocal Subjects: Between Italy and Africa—Constructions of Racial and National Identity in Italian Cinema* (New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2012), 165–66.
38. Brooke, *Bridging the Divide*, 33.
39. During much of 1944, there were nearly 2,000 WACs in Italy. See Mattie E. Treadwell, *The Women's Army Corps* (Washington, DC: Center of Military History, United States Army, 1991), 773.
40. "County Nurse Sees Pope Pius," *Manitowoc Herald-Times*, September 26, 1944, 6; "Drug Stores with Ice Cream a Welcome Sight to Lt. Martin," *Lincoln Sunday Journal and Star*, November 12, 1944, 6-D.
41. "Drug Stores with Ice Cream."
42. "Baedeker for Soldiers," editorial, *Evening Sun* (Hanover, PA), September 9, 1943, 4.
43. For a parallel process on the West Bank, see Stein, "Souvenirs of Conquest," 648, 657, 661.
44. "Beauties of Rome Described in Letter from Cpl. Steiger," *Hamilton Daily News*, August 8, 1944.
45. "Altoonan Visits Rome," *Altoona Mirror*, October 17, 1944, 19.
46. "Enjoys a Visit to the Ancient City of Rome," *West Bend Journal*, September 7, 1944, 1.
47. "News of Our Men and Women in Uniform," *Carbondale Free Press*, July 13, 1944, 3.
48. "Pvt. Douglas Arrowsmith Meets Bill Hughes in Rome; Sees Pope," *Salamanca Republican Press*, October 3, 1944, 3.
49. On the appeal of Catholic churches to non-Catholic GIs, see Schrijvers, *Crash of Ruin*, 241–42.
50. On the construction of bases as simulacrums of America, see Mark L. Gillem, *America Town: Building Outposts of Empire* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2007).
51. John Hersey, *Bell for Adano* (1944; rpt. New York: Vintage, 1988), vii. On the place of *Bell for Adano* in the conceptualization of the "good occupation," see Susan L. Carruthers, "'Produce More Joppolos': John Hersey's *Bell for Adano* and the Making of the 'Good Occupation,'" *Journal of American History* 100.4 (2014): 1086–113.
52. For an analogous situation in Vietnam, see Meredith Lair, *Armed with Abundance: Consumerism and Soldiering in the Vietnam War* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011), 194, 196.
53. See Lair, *Armed with Abundance*, 204–11.
54. Zeiger, *Entangling Alliances*, 95; see also Andrew Buchanan, "'Good Morning Pupil!' American Representations of Italianness and the Occupation of Italy, 1943–1945," *Journal of Contemporary History* 43.2 (2008): 217–40.
55. On the economic and social crisis in Italy, see William I. Hitchcock, *The Bitter Road to Freedom* (New York: Free Press, 2008), 233–39.

56. Zeiger, *Entangling Alliances*, 96.
57. Norman Lewis, *Naples '44: A World War II Diary of Occupied Italy* (New York: Carroll and Graff, 1978), 24; William Hahn, "My Perspective of WWII, June 1941 thru September 1945, Palestine-Western Desert-Tunisia-Sicily-Italy" (self-published, n.d.), 32, www.57thfightergroup.org/personal_stories.html (accessed June 7, 2015).
58. William Robinson to Blanche Robinson, October 8, 1944, Robinson Papers.
59. See Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage, 1979), 188; Urry and Larsen, *Tourist Gaze*, 67–69; *Soldier's Guide to Italy*, 10. See also Lair, *What Soldiers Do*, 108–9.
60. *Soldier's Guide to Italy*, 14.
61. Jean Hoppe, "Private Describes His Life in Italy," *Valley Morning Star*, August 25, 1944, 6; "Major Creal Black Tells about Visits to Rome," *Sikeston Herald*, August 3, 1944, 6.
62. John Welsh, "Yanks Roman Holiday," *Stars and Stripes*, July 29, 1944, 4–5.
63. Pyle, *Brave Men*, 127.
64. Similar complexities existed in other theaters of war, including in occupied Berlin. See Atina Grossmann, *Jews, Germans, and Allies: Close Encounters in Occupied Germany* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2007), esp. 75–77.
65. See Zeiger, *Entangling Alliances*, 99–101.
66. *A Pocket Guide to Italy* (Washington, DC: Department of Defense, 1956), 5.
67. Clare Hornsby, ed., *The Impact of Italy: The Grand Tour and Beyond* (London: British School at Rome, 2000), 4–5.
68. *Soldier's Guide to Italy*, 20.
69. Ibid., 23.
70. William Robinson to Blanche Robinson, November 5, 1944, Robinson Papers.
71. Harvey Levenstein, *We'll Always Have Paris: American Tourists in France since 1930* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), 75.
72. See Bertram M. Gordon, "Warfare and Tourism: Paris in World War II," *Annals of Tourism Research* 25.3 (1998): 622.
73. Ibid., 627.
74. See Meigs, *Optimism at Armageddon*, 70–71.
75. Harry Shershow, "Yank about Italy," *Stars and Stripes*, August 30, 1944, 4.
76. Benedict S. Alper, *Love and Politics in Wartime: Letters to My Wife, 1943–1945*, ed. Joan Walcott Scott (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1992), 105, xxii.
77. William Robinson to Blanche Robinson, September 1, 1944, Robinson Papers.
78. *Soldier's Guide to Italy*, 12; William Robinson to Blanche Robinson, September 24, 1944, Robinson Papers.
79. William Robinson to Blanche Robinson, August 30, 1944, Robinson Papers.
80. Alper, *Love and Politics in Wartime*, 43.
81. Ralph G. Martin, "Yank about Italy," *Stars and Stripes*, December 7, 1943, 2.
82. Alper, *Love and Politics in Wartime*, 85, 115–18.
83. William Robinson to Blanche Robinson, August 31, 1944, Robinson Papers.
84. William Robinson to Blanche Robinson, November 9, 1944, Robinson Papers.
85. "GI Black Market," letter, *Stars and Stripes*, June 22, 1944, 2.
86. For an analogous experience in the Israeli occupation of the West Bank, see Stein, "Souvenirs of Conquest," 654.
87. William Robinson to Blanche Robinson, August 31, 1944, Robinson Papers.
88. Archibald McGonigle, "Travel Is So Narrowing," *Stars and Stripes*, September 30, 1945, 11.
89. William Robinson to Blanche Robinson, October 14 and 20, 1944, Robinson Papers.
90. William Robinson to Blanche Robinson, November 10, 1944, Robinson Papers.
91. See Schrijvers, *Crash of Ruin*, 218–48.
92. Quotations from the narration in *Thunderbolt!*
93. Captain James C. Hare's photographic record contains a dramatic sequence of photos of aircraft taking off, punctuated by an orange fireball and the laconic comment "Lt. Drennick didn't make it." See the website of Fifty-Seventh Fighter Group Association, www.57thfightergroup.org/index.html (accessed June 9, 2015).
94. Hare's entire collection of 344 images can be viewed at www.57thfightergroup.org/pictures.html.

95. Maria Höhn, "The American Soldier Dances, the German Soldier Marches," in *Over There: Living with the U.S. Military Empire from World War Two to the Present*, ed. Maria Höhn and Seungsook Moon (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010), 262, 274.
96. See Meigs, *Optimism at Armageddon*, 72–73.
97. See the "Rome" section of Hare's photograph collection, www.57thfightergroup.org/pictures.html (accessed June 10, 2015).
98. Susan Sontag, *On Photography* (New York: Picador, 1973), 9, 161–62.
99. See Schrijvers, *Crash of Ruin*, 212.
100. William Robinson to Blanche Robinson, September 21, 1944, Robinson Papers.
101. See Schrijvers, *Crash of Ruin*, 212.
102. See the photograph collections at www.57thfightergroup.org/pictures.html (accessed June 10, 2015).
103. See Sontag, *On Photography*, 4, 155; Urry and Larsen, *Tourist Gaze*, 169.
104. For a contemporary discussion on this question, see Klay, "Tour Guide," 128.
105. Maynard Own Williams, "Sicily again in the Path of War," *National Geographic Magazine*, September 1943, 307.
106. Ibid., 319; see also Stein, "Souvenirs of Conquest," 648.
107. See Kaeten Mistry, *The United States, Italy, and the Origins of Cold War: Waging Political Warfare, 1945–1950* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014).
108. Victoria de Grazia, *Irresistible Empire: America's Advance through Twentieth-Century Europe* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2005), 377; see also Stephen Gundle, *Between Hollywood and Moscow: The Italian Communists and the Challenge of Mass Culture, 1943–1991* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2000).
109. See Endy, *Cold War Holidays*, 205.
110. See Orvar Löfgren, *On Holiday: A History of Vacationing* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 173, 217; J. K. Walton, "War and Tourism: the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries," in Butler and Suntikul, *Tourism and War*, 66.
111. Lair, *Armed with Abundance*, 198.
112. *Pocket Guide to Italy*, 14, 21.
113. Ibid., 3.
114. Grossmann, *Jews, Germans, and Allies*, 12.
115. Urry and Larsen discuss several variants on the "tourist gaze," ranging from the spectatorial to the anthropological and environmental; I suggest adding "occupying" gaze to the morphology. See Urry and Larsen, *Tourist Gaze*, 17–18.