

# Notes

## Introduction

1. Damousi, *The Labour of Loss: Mourning, Memory and Wartime Bereavement in Australia*; Winter, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural History*. Damousi's *Labour of Loss* and her more recent *Living with the Aftermath: Trauma, Nostalgia and Grief in Post-War Australia* and Winter's *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning* inform my study throughout. They have been crucial in legitimising the study of wartime bereavement and in offering ways of approaching the subject. However, both writers focus primarily on post-war grieving and its cultural construction. This book looks primarily, though not entirely, on the experience of grief during war and the bereaved individual's interaction with wartime discourses of loss.
2. Summerfield, *Reconstructing Women's Wartime Lives: Discourse and Subjectivity in Oral Histories of the Second World War*. Summerfield's work has been important to my approach in offering a useful theoretical perspective from which to consider the relationship between the private individual and public discourse in wartime.
3. On the First World War, see Braybon, *Women Workers in the First World War*; Melman, ed., *Borderlines: Genders and Identities in War and Peace, 1870–1930*; Grayzel, *Women's Identities at War: Gender, Motherhood, and Politics in Britain and France during the First World War*; Smith, *The Second Battlefield: Women, Modernism and the First World War*; Cohen, *Remapping the Home Front: Locating Citizenship in British Women's Great War Fiction*; Gullace, 'The Blood of Our Sons': Men, Women, and the Renegotiation of British Citizenship during the Great War; Watson, *Fighting Different Wars: Experience, Memory, and the First World War in Britain*; Potter, *Boys in Khaki, Girls in Print: Women's Literary Responses to the Great War 1914–1918*. On the Second World War, in addition to Summerfield, see Campbell, *Women at War with America: Private Lives in a Patriotic Era* and Lassner, *British Women Writers of World War Two: Battlegrounds of Their Own*. For a broader ranging discussion, see Noakes, *War and the British: Gender, Memory and National Identity*. Two important works on war and masculinity are Dawson, *Soldier Heroes: British Adventure, Empire and the Imagining of Masculinities* and Garton, *The Cost of War: Australians Return*.
4. Dana Millbank, 'Curtains Ordered for Media Coverage of Returning Coffins', the *Washington Post* (Tuesday, 21 October, 2003) A23.
5. Cannadine, 'War and Death, Grief and Mourning in Modern Britain', in Whaley (ed.), *Mirrors of Mortality: Studies in the Social History of Death*; Lyn MacDonald, *1914–1918: Voices and Images of the Great War*. For a specific discussion of the negotiation between public and private commemoration post-war, see Moriarty, 'Christian Iconography and First World War Memorials', *Imperial War Museum Review* 6 (1991): 63–75.
6. Higonnet et al., 'Introduction', in Higonnet et al. (eds), *Behind the Lines: Gender and the Two World Wars* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press,

- 1987) p. 4. See also Higonet and Higonet, 'The Double Helix' in the same collection.
7. One limitation of using diaries is the inherent bias towards a middle-class perspective. Since most diaries were and continue to be written by middle- and upper class women it is their legacy that we tend to draw on. This study does not wish to privilege these already privileged voices, but must at the same time rely on the material available. As far as possible it also draws on working-class women's writing. Internet technology may continue this bias, given that the creation of message boards and blogs requires ownership or availability of a computer and some working knowledge of the technology.
  8. Further collapse of the concept of home and front happens in the event of a combatant receiving news of the death of his family in the Blitz in the Second World War.
  9. See Litoff and Smith, ' "Will He Get My Letter?" Popular Portrayals of Mail and Morale during World War II' *Journal of Popular Culture* 3 (1989/90): 21–43.
  10. For further discussion of gender and letters during the Second World War, see Jolly 'Love Letters versus Letters Carved in Stone: Gender, Memory and the "Forces Sweethearts" Exhibition', in Evans and Lun (eds), *War and Memory in the Twentieth Century*.
  11. For discussions of gender and wartime binaries, see Elshtain, *Women and War*; Higonet et al. (eds), *Behind the Lines: Gender and Two World Wars*; Cooper et al. (eds), *Arms and the Woman: War, Gender, and Literary Representation*; Cooke and Woollacott (eds), *Gendering War Talk*.
  12. On women's and men's wartime bodies, see Jane Marcus, 'Corpus/Corps/Corpse: Writing the Body in/at War', in Cooper et al. (eds), *Arms and the Woman*.
  13. Useful examinations of gender and grief are collected in Field, Hockey and Small (eds), *Death, Gender and Ethnicity*.

## Chapter 1 For Women Must Weep

1. Phyllis Kelly, an Irish girl from Athlone, was engaged to Eric Appleby who was serving in the Royal Field Artillery in France. Having met Appleby while he was in training in Ireland, the term of endearment that they exchange, Englishman, is part of a private joke on their English/Irish difference. Appleby signs his letters to her 'Your Englishman'. This letter, the only letter by Phyllis in the collection, is taken from Jean Kelly (ed.), *Love Letters from the Front* (Dublin: Marino Books, 2000) p. 284. Quotations from this collection are reprinted by kind permission of Mercier Press Ltd., Cork.
2. *The Girl's Friend* (London: Amalgamated Press, 1914). Magazines used in this chapter are housed in the Doris Lewis Rare Book Room, Dana Porter library, University of Waterloo.
3. Although these extracts are taken from magazines published at the beginning of the war when, it could be argued, the war was seen as an adventure and heroic ideals were still uppermost in the minds of the general population, stories and columns from 1917 and 1918 show little change in attitude. The major difference is that heroines of later stories are taking a more active

part in the war; however, romantic links to a sweetheart at the front are still of paramount importance in defining the woman's position in relation to the war.

4. For an important discussion of popular wartime writing and propaganda, see Potter's *Boys in Khaki, Girls in Print*, especially chapter 2, "Is your best boy wearing khaki?": Publishing and propaganda", and chapter 3, "Putting things in their right places": The War in Romance Novels'.
5. I define 'official' discourse as that implemented by the state or in the service of the state for specific propaganda purposes, such as recruiting posters, pamphlets and so on. I define as 'unofficial' other discourse that was public and supported the war effort directly or indirectly, but did not come directly from state intervention, such as advertising, public forms of behaviour, such as the wearing of the badge of sacrifice, sermons and magazine columns.
6. This discussion refers to the British situation. The scale of deaths was, of course, repeated in all the belligerent countries and was necessarily most severe in France and Belgium.
7. See McDonald, *1914–1918: Voices and Images of the Great War*, p. 165; Connelly, *The Great War, Memory and Ritual: Commemoration in the City and East London 1916–1939*; Imperial War Museum Misc. 91, Item 1358: Collection of Mourning Cards.
8. *Letters from a Lost Generation: First World War Letters of Vera Brittain and Four Friends*, ed. Alan Bishop and Mark Bostridge (London: Little, Brown, 1998) p. 398. The manuscript letters and diaries in the Vera Brittain Archives, William Ready Collection, McMaster University, were also consulted as part of my research. Quotations from the published edition of the letters are referenced by date of publication (1998); unpublished quotations are referenced as manuscript, abbreviated to ms. Quotations from Vera Brittain material are reproduced by permission of Mark Bostridge and Rebecca Williams, her literary executors.
9. It is important to note that anticipatory 'mourning' also appears to be part of the combatant narrative. On leaving for the front in March 1915, Leighton sent Brittain an amethyst brooch, traditionally a mourning stone, accompanied with a card engraved 'In Memoriam'.
10. Roland Leighton to Vera Brittain, 11 September 1915: *Letters* (1998) p. 165; *Chronicle* (1982) p. 344; 14 September 1915.
11. For an interesting commentary on Brittain's description here, see Das, "The impotence of sympathy": Touch and trauma in the memoirs of the First World War nurses', *Textual Practice* 19.2 (2005): 239–62.
12. Transcribed by Brittain and enclosed in a letter to Edward Brittain, ms: 7 January 1916.
13. Transcribed by Brittain and enclosed in a letter to Edward Brittain, ms: 6 January 1916.
14. Damousi disputes this (1999, p. 11), but the example she gives contains the formulaic phrases that are repeated again and again in condolence letters from the front in the Imperial War Museum collections and elsewhere.
15. Higginson collection, Imperial War Museum 95/1/1: Material taken from collections in the Imperial War Museum's department of documents will henceforth be referenced in the text as IWM and collection number.

16. Material in the Anderson collection shows that Anderson was a skilled stained glass designer and artist who sent sketches as well as letters and cards home to his wife. His letters suggest that he had a much higher level of formal education than his wife.
17. A search of the Commonwealth War Graves Commission yields no record of a site for Crees, so we must presume, thankfully, that Dorothy Cartwright was spared the message she so dreads in her letter.
18. Vera Brittain's post-war writing, especially *Testament of Youth* and *Honourable Estate*, suggests a need to claim ownership of Leighton because she was denied it at his death. Socially and legally there was a painful gap between her status as fiancée and her status as wife. Brittain's grief was certainly exacerbated by the fact that she was not married to him at the time of his death: that, in fact, his death at that particular moment prevented the marriage she had anticipated. Marriage would, of course, have placed Brittain, rather than Leighton's mother, as the recipient of his possessions, including his poetry.
19. Asquith's comment is rendered even more pertinent when set against John Buchan's tribute to Raymond Asquith: 'Debonair and brilliant and brave, he is now part of that immortal England which knows not age or weariness or defeat.' Buitenhuis, *The Great War of Words: Literature as Propaganda 1914 and After*, p. 97.
20. See Cannadine's essay, 'War and death, grief and mourning in modern Britain', in Whaley (ed.), *Mirrors of Mortality: Studies in the Social History of Death*.
21. For a discussion of the reception of *Journey's End* during the early days of its production, see R.C. Sherriff's autobiography *No Leading Lady* (London: Gollancz, 1968). The 75th anniversary production of the play in London (2004) shows that the First World War dead are not forgotten. The play, which extended its run, ended with a poignant memorial to the war dead in place of the traditional curtain call.

## Chapter 2 Grieving the 'Good' War

1. Dana Gioia, 'The most unfashionable poet alive: Charles Causley' (<http://www.danagioia.net/essays/ecausley.htm>), p. 2. accessed 12 July 2005.
2. Brittain, 'They that mourn', in Brittain (ed.), *One Voice: Pacifist Writings from the Second World War*. I would like to thank Dr. Michael W. Higgins for bringing to my attention this new edition of Brittain's Second World War essays.
3. Hartley's anthology and her analysis of the texts and their context in her introduction are important resources in the study of women and the Second World War; it remains an area that demands more scholarly attention, particularly at the level of primary texts.
4. Phyllis Warner, 'England in 1940: The human front – Measuring the moods of Britain', published in the *Washington Post*, 21 April 1940 (IWM 95/14/1). Warner was a journalist for the *Washington Post*, living in London. The archives include Warner's own journal, 'Journal under terror' and extracts from that journal and other articles published in the *Washington Post*. This piece comments on the use of Mass Observation in revealing the moods of the people of Britain. For a very specific analysis of the relationship between

the individual, the community and wartime ideology, see Freedman, *Whistling in the Dark: Memory and Culture in Wartime London* (Louisville, KY: The University Press of Kentucky, 1999).

5. For further discussions of film and other media during the war, see, among others, Aldgate and Richards, *Britain Can Take It: The British Cinema in the Second World War*; Lant, *Blackout: Reinventing Women for Wartime British Cinema*; Hayes and Hill (eds), *'Millions Like Us?': British Culture in the Second World War*; Murphy, *British Cinema and the Second World War*.
6. Jesse and Harwood, *London Front: Letters Written to America (August 1939-July 1940)*; Hodgson, *Few Eggs and No Oranges: A Diary Showing How Unimportant People in London and Birmingham Lived through the War Years 1940-1945 Written in the Notting Hill Area of London*; Byerly and Byerly (eds), *Dearest Phylaby: Letters from Wartime England by Edith Base*; Webley (ed.), *Betty's Wartime Diary 1939-1945*.
7. Naomi Mitchison, *Among You Taking Notes ... The Wartime Diary of Naomi Mitchison 1939-1945*, ed. Dorothy Sheridan (London: Victor Gollancz, 1985).
8. Joan Kirby was in the 'WRENS'. Her letters are written from the various places around Britain where she was stationed, including her time as a signaller on the coast of Scotland.
9. Litoff and Smith, ' "Will he get my letter?": Popular portrayals of mail and morale during World War II'.
10. A reading of British Second World War private writing suggests that God was rarely mentioned.
11. Two noteworthy collections of oral accounts are Wicks, *No Time to Wave Goodbye* and *The Day They Took the Children*. Further discussion of wartime evacuation can be found in Inglis, *The Children's War: Evacuation 1939-1945* and Jackson *Who Will Take Our Children: The Story of the Evacuation in Britain 1939-45*. Jackson is one of the few writers to examine the psychological effects of the evacuation on parents and children.
12. Mabel Lucie Attwell, 'August 1939 - The evacuation of school children was carried out with complete success', in *The Queen's Book of the Red Cross*, p. 192.
13. The idea of the photograph as a means of transcending 'home' and 'front' is exemplified in a Kodak advertisement in *Chatelaine* magazine, July 1944, which shows a soldier outside a Salvation Army hut studying a photograph that has come with his mail: 'Home ... it's what they all talk about, think about. It stands for everything that's dear to them - everything they're fighting for ... Nothing else brings home so close as letters and snapshots. Over and over again they ask for "more snapshots". Let's see that they get them'.

### Chapter 3 Vietnam: The War at Home

1. Baskir and Strauss, 'The Vietnam Generation', in Horne (ed.), *The Wounded Generation*. This essay also provides statistics on the particular groups that were sent to Vietnam and those that avoided it, particularly in relation to class and educational privilege.
2. In 'Chicken or hawk? Heroism, masculinity and violence in Vietnam War narratives', Angela Smith quotes Berg and Rowe to emphasise this connection between potential draftees and their communities: ' "[C]itizens served

on local draft boards and their review panels, forced to decide which neighbors' children would go to war". This ... ensured that the rhetoric of patriotism infiltrated the whole community', in Smith (ed.), *Gender and Warfare in the Twentieth Century: Textual Representations*, p. 187.

3. For further discussion of this, see Piehler, *Remembering War the American Way*.
4. Women were also killed in Vietnam, but their families were usually unaware that they were in danger.
5. Describing the deaths of airmen she witnesses in the Second World War, J. Westren writes of a particular body, 'I stood there with him, aching for his family – a wife, a girl, a mother? – who were still knowing him alive, yet I knew he was dead; they did not, yet – perhaps wouldn't know for hours, they would be on a sort of borrowed time of knowing him still alive' (IWM, 91/4/1, p. 153).
6. Mullen's memoir was, in large part, written as a response to the Mullen's story as told by Bryan in *Friendly Fire*.

## Chapter 4 Mourning and Combat: 'No One Sings: Lully, Lully'

1. On combatant grief and PTSD see Lifton, *Home from the War: Vietnam Veterans: Neither Victims nor Executioners* and 'Understanding the traumatized self: imagery, symbolization, and transformation', in Wilson, Harel and Kahana (eds), *Human Adaptation to Extreme Stress: From the Holocaust to Vietnam*; Shatan, 'Stress disorders among Vietnam veterans: The emotional content of combat continues', in Figley (ed.), *Trauma and Its Wake*, vol. II and 'Have you hugged a Vietnam veteran today? The basic wound of catastrophic stress', in M.D. Kelly (ed.), *Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder and the War Veteran Patient*. See also the findings of Pivar and Field in 'Unresolved grief in combat veterans with PTSD', *Journal of Anxiety Disorders* 18.6 (2004): 745–55: '[G]rief severity was uniquely associated with losses of comrades during combat whereas no such relationship was shown for trauma or depressive symptoms. The latter finding suggested that in fact higher levels of grief stemmed from interpersonal losses during the war and was not simply an artefact of current general distress level' (p. 745). *The Iraq War Clinician's Guide*, U.S. Department of Veterans Affairs (<http://www.ncptsd.va.gov/war/guide/index.html>).
2. Das offers an important analysis of physical intimacy amongst combatants in Das, '“Kiss me, Hardy”': Intimacy, gender, and gesture in World War I trench literature', in *Modernism/Modernity* 9.1 (2002): 51–74 and in *Touch and Intimacy in First World War Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).
3. Siegfried Sassoon, *Memoirs of an Infantry Officer* in *The Complete Memoirs of George Sherston* (London: Faber & Faber, 1980/1937). *Memoirs of an Infantry Officer* was first published in 1930 and subsequently as the first part of *The Complete Memoirs of George Sherston*. The quotations here are taken from *The Complete Memoirs*.
4. Fussell, *The Great War and Modern Memory*; Mosse, *Fallen Soldiers: Reshaping the Memory of the World Wars*; Hynes, *A War Imagined: The First World War and English Culture* and *The Soldier's Tale: Bearing Witness to Modern War*.

5. See J. Westren's comments on such 'desperate gaiety' in Chapter 2.
6. Walter Robson, *Letters from a Soldier* (London: Faber & Faber, 1960). Quotations from this collection are reprinted by kind permission of Faber & Faber.
7. It is important to note that this state of mind is also present in home front bereaved, as we have seen in Chapters 1 and 2.
8. Geoffrey Thurlow to Vera Brittain, France, 20 April 1917: Thurlow, a close friend of Brittain's brother Edward, was killed on 23 April. His letters to Vera and Edward Brittain are included in *Letters from a Lost Generation: First World War Letters of Vera Brittain and Four Friends*.
9. Private Ivor Rowbery to 'the best Mother in the world' in Sanger *Letters from Two World Wars: A Social History of English Attitudes to War 1914–45*.
10. For an important discussion of British survivors' silence after the Second World War, see McManners, pp. 12–14. Also see Ben Shepherd's chapter 'A good war' in his discussion of war and psychiatry, *A War of Nerves: Soldiers and Psychiatrists in the Twentieth Century* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001). Although Shepherd notes that returning combatants were made very aware of potential psychiatric problems, individual accounts suggest that many veterans preferred to deal with their war experience outside of professional help.
11. O'Donnell, *Beyond Valor: World War II's Ranger and Airborne Veterans Reveal the Heart of Combat and Into the Rising Sun: In Their Own Words, World War II's Pacific Veterans Reveal the Heart of Combat*.
12. In *The Poetry of Mourning*, Ramazani finds this rejection of a transformative ideology also represented in 'the Wall': 'The Memorial skeptically signifies its inability to recuperate the dead, to redeem death as life' (p. 362).

## Chapter 5 'Can't Face the Graves Today': Nurses Mourn on the Western Front

1. K.E. Luard's first collection, *Diary of a Nursing Sister on the Western Front 1914–1915*, was published anonymously in 1915; the diary/letters she wrote after that point, from October 1915 to August 1918, and collected in *Unknown Warriors* were not published until 1930.
2. See Chapter 4, note 1.
3. For an important discussion and illustrations of such representations, see Hutchinson's 'Pictorial essay', in *Champions of Charity: War and the Rise of the Red Cross*.
4. The man is North African – this change to 'whiteness' suggests that part of the value of his dying is his becoming 'white'.
5. Contrast Borden's 'Paraphernalia', in *The Forbidden Zone*: 'And here are all your things, your blankets and your bottles and your basins. The blankets weigh down upon his body. Your syringes and your needles and your uncorked bottles are all about in confusion ... What have you and all your things to do with the dying of this man? Nothing. Take them away' (pp. 125–6).
6. See Borden's fragment 'Conspiracy', in *The Forbidden Zone* for an extended exploration of this concept.
7. An American V.A.D. [Katherine Foote, daughter of Arthur Foote], *88 Bis and V.I.H.: Letters from Two Hospitals*.

8. Higonet, 'Not so quiet in no-woman's-land', in Cooke and Woollacott (eds), *Gendering War Talk*, p. 210. One writer who does 'decode' the lies is Ellen La Motte in *The Backwash of War* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1934), published in 1916, but, La Motte writes in her introduction to the 1934 edition, suppressed in the summer of 1918 because it was seen as 'damaging to the morale'.
9. For further discussion of women's war writing as witness, see Potter, *Boys in Khaki, Girls in Print*, chapter 4, ' "I alone am left to tell the tale": Memoirs by Women on Active Service'.
10. The French term for coward or shirker.

## Chapter 6 Vietnam: Bringing Home the Front

An earlier version of this chapter appeared in Peter Gray and Kendrick Oliver (eds), *The Memory of Catastrophe* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004). I am grateful to Manchester University Press for allowing me to reprint it here.

1. I use nurses' war poetry in this chapter because I see it as a form of life writing. Including the poetry adds a further dimension to the understanding of the nursing experience and of the connection between the private and political that is important in the women's writing in general. All of the poems are taken from the anthology, *Visions of War, Dreams of Peace*, ed. Lynda Van Devanter and Joan Furey.
2. For an important discussion of the Vietnam War and remembrance, see Sturken, *Tangled Memories: The Vietnam War, the AIDS Epidemic, and the Politics of Remembering*.
3. See again Piehler, *Remembering War the American Way*.
4. For a further discussion of this issue in relation to the 'Wall', see Sturken, pp. 44–84 and Ringnalda, pp. 240–3.

## Chapter 7 Epilogue: 'Mother to Mother': The War in Iraq

1. Lorna Martin, ' "Mother to mother" plea to Cherie over Scottish soldier killed in Iraq', *Observer* (Sunday, 19 December, 2004) <http://politics.guardian.co.uk/print/0,3858,509143-111256,000.html> accessed 24 November 2005.
2. There are notable exceptions to this, of course. Women soldier's blogs from Iraq include 'Life in this girl's army' (<http://sgtlizzie.blogspot.com/>); 'A view from a broad' (<http://www.livejournal.com/users/ginmar/>) and 'Desertdiet' (<http://desertdiet.blogspot.com/>). In addition, one of the better soldier accounts to come out of the Iraq War is Kayla Williams's *Love My Rifle More Than You: Young and Female in the U.S. Army* (New York and London: W.W. Norton, 2005). The experience of the 'waiting father' is powerfully articulated in Frederick Busch's essay ' "Don't watch the news": A marine's family lives from phone call to phone call', *Harper's Magazine* (November 2005): 33–41.



3. Salam Pax, *Salam Pax: The Clandestine Diary of an Ordinary Iraqi*. One reason for the appeal of this blog may have been its overall 'Western' tone.
4. Many returning soldiers have spoken against the war; others have refused to serve in Iraq. For an overview of such dissension and the Iraq veterans against the war movement, see David Goodman's October 2004 article 'Breaking ranks' ([http://www.motherjones.com/news/feature/2004/11/10\\_400.html](http://www.motherjones.com/news/feature/2004/11/10_400.html)), accessed 28 January 2006.
5. George Lakoff, 'Metaphor and war, again' (<http://www.alternet.org/story/15414/>), p. 1, accessed 18 January 2006.
6. This chapter focuses on British and American representations of the war, but recognises that the Americans are the dominant players supported by the British troops and, to a lesser extent, by other coalition forces.
7. Murdo Macleod and Ben McConville, 'Michael Moore wants mother of dead soldier in next movie' (Sunday, 12 December 2004) (<http://scotlandonsunday.scotsman.com>), accessed 24 November 2005.
8. Robert Fisk, 'The betrayed mothers of America' (19 November 2005) (<http://www.robert-fisk.com/articles547.htm>), p. 1, accessed 1 December 2005.
9. For further discussion of the role of blogs in the Iraq War, see the following: Hockenberry, 'The blogs of war', *Wired Magazine* ([http://www.wired.com/wired/archive/13.08/milblogs\\_pr.html](http://www.wired.com/wired/archive/13.08/milblogs_pr.html)), accessed 18 November 2005; Piper and Ramos, 'Blogs of war: A review of alternative sources for Iraq War information', *Searcher: The Magazine for Database Professionals* (February 2005, pp. 15–21); Wall, 'Blogs of war: Weblogs as news', *Journalism* 6.2: 153–72.
10. 'Justice for Gordon Gentle' (<http://www.justice4gordongentle.org/>).
11. 'Final Salute', see note 16.
12. For statistics on wartime bloggers and their readers, see Kaye and Johnson, 'Weblogs as a source of information about the 2003 Iraq War', in Berenger (ed.), *Global Media Go to War: Role of News and Entertainment Media during the 2003 Iraq War*, pp. 291–301.
13. 'Some soldier's mom: Thoughts of a soldier's mom in a time of war' (<http://somesoldiersmom.blogspot.com/2005/11/funeral-of-spc-tommy-byrd.html>), accessed 5 December 2005.
14. 'Fallen Heroes of Operation Iraqi Freedom: Remembering the soldiers who died in the service of their country' (<http://www.fallenheroesmemorial.com/oif/profiles/woodsericp.html>), accessed 5 December 2005.
15. Sheeler and Heisler, 'Final Salute' (<http://denver.rockymountainnews.com/news/finalSalute/>), accessed 30 January 2006. Quotations are taken from the text at this site. A shorter version of this story, 'The last post,' detailing the return of James Cathey's body to Reno, Nevada, was published in the *Sunday Times Magazine* on 8 January 2006. I am indebted to Dr. Jane Potter for bringing this piece to my attention and supplying me with the *Times* hardcopy.
16. A mischief of magpies: Sunday, November, 13, 2005, 'One for remembrance Sunday' (<http://amischiefofmagpies.blogspot.com>), accessed 24 November 2005.
17. Tierney, 'The lost boy' (<http://www.justice4gordongentle.org/news-stories/2004/12/11/the-lost-boy.html>), accessed 24 November 2005.

18. This relationship between the First World War and the Iraq War in British consciousness is further evidenced in Andrew Steggall's production of *The Soldier's Tale* at the Old Vic, February 2006.
19. Marine corps moms, (<http://www.marinecorpsmoms.com>), accessed 28 November 2005.
20. See also Anderson, 'War wounds: Bombs fall and the Lights go out', *The New Yorker* (14 April, 2003): 46–51.

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