

Physical and Emotional Cravings: Coping Mechanisms in World War I

Cole Thornton

HIS 336, "Sexual Revolutions in Europe"

Dr. Patricia Tilburg

August 10th, 1915. British soldier R. James writes from a war-torn France:

Dear Burgie, Thanks awfully for your letter, glad to hear that you are all serene and that the G.W.R. is still flourishing without me, as a matter of fact I expect it's better without me but still there you are.¹

The above excerpt is an example of countless letters, diary entries, oral recordings, and other forms of written memory that exist from soldiers who fought in the First World War.

Loneliness and love are palpable in James' words and those of other soldiers' letters as these individuals strove to record their existence, connect with those to whom they were writing, and make sense of their experiences in the socially, culturally, and politically devastating conflict. A global phenomenon unlike any conflict that came before, World War I radically shaped the course of history as the four years of violence forever altered concepts of masculinity and femininity. Letters and memoirs from men in the army constitute a wealth of knowledge about the War's social changes and provide evidence of men at the front processing the horrors they witnessed daily. These records give insight into male soldiers seeking intimacy with each other and with their families as well as the less obvious ways, such as alcohol and sports, that they coped physically and emotionally with the War.

As Joan Scott notes, gender is a productive lens through which to study the course of history. The world wars had major consequences for gender roles, relations, and the structure of gender itself.²³ World War I brought women into industry in mass numbers to keep the war machine running; this abrupt and massive shift in the labor economy had social consequences because women were now the breadwinners for homes where the husbands or fathers had gone

¹ James, Richard. *Richard James to Burgie, August 10th, 1915*. Letter. From The National Archives, *Letters from the First World War*.

² Scott, Joan. *Gender and the Politics of History*. Columbia University Press, New York: 1988, 18.

³ Carden-Coyne, Ana. "Masculinity and the Wounds of the First World War: A Centenary Reflection." *French Journal of British Studies*, Vol. 20. No. 1 (2015), 1.

to war. This increase in female social and economic autonomy provoked male anxieties of an improper and sexually promiscuous “new woman.”⁴

This uneasiness is reflected in letters, where soldiers instruct their wives or families on managing the finances in their absence. These men felt the roles on which their identity was formed disintegrating before their eyes. In response to Mary Corfield suggesting she find herself a job, her husband balked: “About the work Darling I don’t know what to say 32/ a week isn’t too bad if the hours are reasonable and provided you can give it up the moment I come home on leave.”⁵ The effects of distance and new economic opportunities for women incited tension between couples. Anxieties about their wives appearing to thrive in their absence and feelings of failure regarding their virtual disappearance as financial supporters, fathers, and husbands no doubt weighed heavily on the psyches of soldiers. These stresses placed further importance on the role of letters, which enabled men to send instructions and receive affirmations of love, loyalty, and mutual loneliness as they attempted to carve intimacy with their loved ones out of their isolated existence.

Just as the absence of men precipitated shifts in women’s roles and sexuality, so the absence of women exacerbated the societal breakdowns that men experienced firsthand on the front.⁶ As Santanu Das notes, “Mutilation and mortality, loneliness and boredom, the strain of constant bombardment, the breakdown of language, and the sense of alienation from home led to

⁴ This paper focuses mainly on the experience of men at the front and how that experience is depicted in letters and written records, and therefore does not present a nuanced or adequate representation of the physical and emotional trauma and difficulties that women suffered during the war both on the homefront and on or close to the battlefield as nurses, prostitutes, and soldiers in some cases.

⁵ Corfield, Frederick. *Frederick Corfield to Mary Corfield, 31 December 1916*. Letter. From Liddle Collection, *Correspondence of Frederick and Mary Corfield*.

⁶ Granted, there were still women at the front in many roles (nurses, civilians and prostitutes which I discuss later), however the fact remains that this large-scale gender segregation had effects. Although gender-segregated spaces obviously existed (i.e. military, boarding schools, etc.) the scale was large and abrupt due to the draft.

a new level of intimacy and intensity under which the carefully constructed mores of civilian society broke down.”⁷ Soldiers often developed deep emotional and physical bonds with one another and became each other’s sources of comfort and support.

Indeed, historians often note the impact of the world wars on the visible prevalence of homosexuality and how the phenomenon of large-scale gender segregation accelerated the chance to engage in homosexual behavior and identity for men (and women).⁸ As John D’Emilio notes in *Capitalism and Gay Identity*, “the war severely disrupted traditional patterns of gender relations and sexuality, and temporarily created a new erotic situation conducive to homosexual expression.”⁹ Despite these perceived freedoms however, homophobia was still a reality, and homosexuality remained criminalized.

Moreover, descriptions of male physical relationships in the trenches and elsewhere are often analyzed through a false binary of platonic friendship or homosexual romance. Santanu Das expands beyond these traditional interpretations in *Kiss Me, Hardy: Intimacy, Gender, and Gesture in First World War Trench Literature*, his analysis of male physical intimacy in trench literature. Discussing the ways in which war broadened and redefined masculinity, he focuses on the subtleties of physical touch in notions of same-sex intimacy. Sarah Cole continues this conversation in *Modernism and something*, creating space for nuance and inversions: “Clearly, the spectrum from the homosocial to the homosexual became an axis along which individual identity was imagined during the War, and war literature is rife with contradictions about the status and nature of physical intimacy.”¹⁰ Both of these authors discuss the gaps in

⁷ Das, Santanu. “‘Kiss Me Hardy’: Intimacy, Gender, and Gesture in World War I Trench Literature.” *MODERNISM / modernity*, Vol. 9 No. 1 (2002), 52

⁸ Although the focus of these historians is on WWII, as is Demilio’s comment, the understanding of the ways in which trenches and gender-segregation provides opportunities rings true for the format of WWI as well.

⁹ D’Emilio, John. “Capitalism and Gay Identity.” *The Lesbian and Gay Studies Reader* (1993), 472

¹⁰ Cole, Sarah. “Modernism, Male Intimacy, and the Great War” *ELH*, Vol. 68 No. 2 (2001), 472; Cole cites Eve Sedgwick’s *Between Men: English Literature and Male Homosocial Desire* here in her notes.

historiographies of World War I and open up deeper analyses of soldiers' relationships with each other and with their experience in the War.

World War I was full of internal contradictions and hypocrisies. Heroism and patriotism were lauded where death and destruction abounded. Comradeship and friendship were promoted as two key aspects of the army as soldiers survived and underwent trauma together. Yet, at its heart, war destroyed friendship as individuals lost companions daily.¹¹ The trenches exhibited a breakdown of social standards and barriers and a simultaneous desperate attempt to keep them in place. As D'Emilio argued, war allowed for greater expression and experimenting with sexual identity; yet men were continually punished socially and legally for homosexuality.¹² In a fascinating, unpublished memoir, W. B. Henderson candidly describes his perspective of war relationships:

Army life which brings together men of very different types and by forcing them to life in close contact with one another very often causes a feeling of comradeship and friendship to arise, in too many cases breaks up the friendship before it has well begun ... To the many men to whom these relationships with their comrades mean much, the feeling comes that it is useless to make friends in the army. They are like travelers coming to an inn for a night, meeting strangers there, spending an evening over the fire in the enjoyment of mutual sympathy and in the discovery of common pleasures and interests, feeling their hearts warming and a kindling desire to know more and to see more of the new found friends. Then the morning comes; each must go his own way; they part.¹³

The chaotic reality described here strengthened the need for coping mechanisms, physical comfort, and emotional support for soldiers. In reading these accounts of the War, Cole argues that "if the war destroys traditional forms of lasting friendship, these texts suggest that the best way to protect personalized intimacy is to proclaim an ironic longevity in fleeting encounters and

¹¹ Cole, 476: "Far from being a site of great intimacy, the war fostered distance and self-protectiveness."

¹² "The reality of the situation remained stark though: punishment was quickly enforced and reputations were ruined. During the war, 22 British officers and 270 soldiers were court-martialed for homosexual acts. Homosexuality was viewed as a practice that would not be tolerated.": <https://www.exploringsurreyspast.org.uk>.

¹³ Cole, 476; Here, Cole cites W.B. Henderson's memoir, from the Imperial War Museum.

momentary heightenings of emotion.”¹⁴ This argument is supported in accounts that show men in brief, intimate encounters with each other, describing sexual possibilities at the front, and soliciting prostitutes. However, lasting relationships were made and able to be maintained, although many ended in tragedy. This paper expands on this argument first by highlighting the importance of soldiers’ correspondence with loved ones and their attempts to maintain intimacy despite the distances. The paper also notes other ways in which non-tactile temporary satisfactions and exertions could act in similar ways to the human connections which Cole describes.

For soldiers like R. James at the front, attempts to process and cope with the horrors of the War took on many forms. The act of writing letters itself was a coping mechanism and a way to process one’s thoughts and experiences.¹⁵ Receiving correspondence from home was of paramount importance for soldiers as a means of escape, emotional support, and fostering an intimacy with an absent loved one.¹⁶ The following letters and written records depict the soldiers varying experiences of emotional and physical processing and coping. The obvious ways of cultivating intimacy, such as records of physical and emotional relationships with other soldiers, are shown. Additionally, correspondence with loved ones, as well as accounts describing soldiers seeking sexual satisfaction from prostitutes highlight ways in which soldiers attempted to create intimacy in their bleak reality. Finally, analyzing the letters reveals the often overlooked importance of food, drink and games or sports to the physical comfort and well-being of soldiers.

¹⁴ Cole, 478.

¹⁵ As Cabanes notes, one cannot approach letter sources with the presumption that the individual is expressing themselves fully and honestly in letters. For letters to family, an attempt at positivity and heroism was in fact encouraged by the military and government, who censored letters, and this attitude is often reflected in letters. This censorship and laws also account in part for the absence of soldiers describing their sexual experiences, with prostitutes or other soldiers.

¹⁶ Cabanes, Bruno. “Negotiating Intimacy in the Shadow of War (France, 1914-1920s): New Perspectives in the Cultural History of World War I.” *French Politics, Culture & Society*, Vol 31. No. 1 (2003), 8.

The daily uncertainty and isolation which soldiers faced turned contact back home into a lifeline. Sailor Teddy Ashton wrote to his sister Gertie in 1916: “Dear Gertie, I have written two or three times recently so you may get them together.”¹⁷ He expressed his boredom with the monotony of his position during the non-combat period, stating “You will see I am telling you the same things over and over again. At least I know I have told you them once or twice but everything about is all of a sameness kind of thing.” For him, maintaining this connection with his sister and keeping her updated, regardless of whether or not anything had changed, allowed him the space to escape his reality briefly and, at least for a moment, feel connected and intimate with his family back home. Throughout the letter, Ashton described the weather, his new job, and other surface level details to keep his family updated on his new reality in the navy. This letter also reflects the financial anxieties that soldiers faced in being apart from their families. Towards the end, Ashton wrote to inquire about the money he sent the family and send instructions: “Did you get the £1-0-0 I remitted? Let me know. I have remitted another £ 3-0-0 this month. Let me know if you receive this also. I shall probably send a little more next month or later. Don’t hold the paper money. Bank it or keep it by you in gold until I come home.” His direct instructions to his sister demonstrated his effort to stay involved in the family economy and maintain his role in a financially supportive way. In typical fashion, his final words showed him missing his family: “Tell Dad I shall write to him as soon as I can get enough to tell him about. Give my best love to everyone at home, I think about you all. I am yours ever, Ted.” Expressing his close relationship with his father, Ashton promised him a letter so that everyone

¹⁷Ashton, Teddy. *Sailor Teddy Ashton to his Sister Gertie, 1916*. Letter. From Imperial War Museum Archives, *Letters to Loved Ones*.

in the family feels connected to him. In their absence, he attempted to sustain a feeling of connection and mutual support.

The effects of the absence of loved ones and soldiers' attempts to fill this void are revealed further in letters that describe physical intimacy between soldiers. In a letter to his fiancé Evelyn, Lieutenant Frank Cocker described a "very peculiar drama," as Das puts it:¹⁸

As we arrived at the barn-door he said, "Just a moment, Frank, before we go in I've something else to give you,—put that light out." I put the lamp out and into my pocket, wondering what was coming. Then I felt an arm round my neck, and the dear lad kissed me once—"that's from Evelyn" he said; then he kissed me again and said, "that's from your Mother." I returned his tender salute and said, "that's from me." There we were, two men, like a couple of girls,—but then, there was no one about, and the matter was a sacred one between us,—and you.¹⁹

As Das notes, this episode is a peak in a general trend of homoeroticism between Frank and Charlie in letters: "I have watched Charlie's face intently under all manner of circumstances"; "I gazed at him and loved him"; "We suddenly caught each other's glance and both his eyes and mine were hot with tears."²⁰ Despite what these phrases might suggest, Cocker and Evelyn married after the War. And, after all, these instances are described by Cocker in letters to her. He clearly felt certain that expressing these feelings and incidents would not jeopardize their relationship. In fact, as Cocker repeatedly mentioned her name and placed her as "you" in the letters, he believed the intimacy with the fellow soldier transformed into intimacy with her. The kisses, as Charlie stated, are from her and from his mother, firmly placing the two of them in a heterosexual framework. Conversely, this intentional placement and Cocker's referring to them as "like a couple of girls" in a "sacred" moment shows that Cocker and Charlie were aware, at least to some extent, of how their behavior could be perceived. Indeed, Charlie

¹⁸ Das, 51.

¹⁹ Cocker, Frank. *Lieutenant Frank Cocker to fiancé Evelyn. 16 January 1916*. Letter. From Imperial War Museum Archives.

²⁰ Cocker, Frank. *Lieutenant Frank Cocker to fiancé Evelyn*.

instructed Cocker to “put that light out” before the exchange of kisses, which revealed some concern regarding their being seen. Even if they are seen by no one else, the darkness would have provided a means of privacy and comfort for them to touch each other in ways not accepted by British society. Because Cocker was writing to his fiancé here however, this scene becomes not so much a realization for Cocker as much as a description of the fleeting, intense intimacy that Cole describes and that characterizes soldiers’ relationships at the warfront. Clearly, he leaned on Evelyn for emotional support and was here creating an imaginary space where he could be close to her while he was physically intimate with Charlie.

Lance-Corporal D. H. Fenton also stepped into a traditional feminine role of maternal comfort as his friend died on the battlefield:

I suddenly saw Jim reel to the left and fall with a choking sob. I did what I could for him, but his stout heart had already almost ceased to beat and death must have been mercifully instantaneous. I held him in my arms to the end, and when his soul had departed I kissed him twice where I knew you would have kissed him—on the brow—once for his mother and once for myself.²¹

Here, Fenton wrote to the mother of his fallen friend and described how he kissed him on the brow as his mother and as himself. Again here the intimacy occurs at a moment of heightened emotion and physical contact as the roles of friend and mother are reconceptualized and merged. In contrast to Charlie and Cocker, Fenton here is comforting his friend in death as a mother would. Fenton’s and Cocker’s letters to their family reveal that the need to cope with the horrors of war and the breakdown in societal norms allowed a new level of physical intimacy for soldiers to comfort one another. Additionally, the presence of these stories in letters to family and loved ones in some cases highlights the contrast in presence and absence as soldiers attempted to

²¹ Fenton, D.H. *Lance-Corporal D. H. Fenton to Mrs. Noone, n.d.* Letter. From Imperial War Museum Archives.

negotiate intimacy and comfort themselves and each other in the place of female family members.

The absence of women from home for men to satisfy their sexual desires did lead to homosexual behaviors and relationships between soldiers as they sought comfort, support and intimacy. Although, for obvious reasons, very little shows up in letters regarding sexual encounters and relationships between men, veterans have since recorded their memories of the War and physical encounters they had – or didn't have – with other soldiers. One soldier noted that he “had several chances, mind you, with two or three different private soldiers [he] knew.”²² However, because of his promotion from corporal to sergeant to corporal, he decided that he “couldn't take no chances ... because if something happened you're going to get court martial[ed].” Despite his decision to refrain, he made it very clear that “You can gauge ‘em,” and that sexual encounters with other soldiers were a possibility for those who sought them.²³

Despite these expanded freedoms, homophobia and the threat of extreme punishment hung over all such encounters, as the memories of another soldier make plain. Corporal Tommy Keele recorded his perspective of a night he spent sharing a bed with a fellow soldier when the other soldier attempted to initiate sex: “I woke up with a funny little movement round my bottom. I thought, ‘Oh, he's having a dream,’ ... I felt a hand around my bottom again and I pushed the hand away quickly and said: ‘Don't you dare!’ ... Then he went even further and he was almost raping me.”²⁴ Keele fought the soldier off and “really battered his head and face for trying to bugger me.” When the other soldier threatens to report him for the violence, Keele

²² Wales, Roland, *From Journey's End to The Dam Busters: The Life of R.C. Sherriff, Playwright of the Trenches*. Pen & Sword Military, Barnsley: 2016, 53.

²³ Wales, 53.

²⁴ “Keele, Tommy A. An Oral History.” Corporal Tommy Keele of the 11th Battalion, Middlesex Regiment. *Imperial War Museum Archives*. 1991.

retorted, “Buggery is a crime in the army and it carries the death penalty. You’d be shot if I opened my mouth because you tried to bugger me.” The threat is effective, and the situation de-escalated. Keele’s initial response is unsurprising. What is intriguing, though, is Keele’s comments towards the end regarding his pity for the soldier. Describing him as “sex-starved” and saying “anything was good enough” because “there was no such thing as real girls around” makes it seem as though Keele believed the other soldier to merely be seeking sexual intimacy rather than desiring Keele himself. While this sort of explanation is often used to dismiss accounts of sex among soldiers, this soldier was clearly risking much in an attempt to seek some sort of carnal comfort and intimacy.

In terms of sexual exploits as a coping mechanism, other soldiers were not the only options for those on the front. Soldiers patronized brothels in large numbers, with various observers describing the long lines of soldiers outside the so-called red houses.²⁵ During training, recruits would be instructed to avoid intimacy with women on the front as soliciting prostitutes was frowned upon on principle by the government and the military. Little was done, however, in the way of preventing soldiers from following their urges. Interestingly enough, it was often considered more appropriate for married men who were merely addressing needs rather than single men who were engaging in lust and vice.²⁶ Encounters with prostitutes were another method of coping which provided a brief, intense interlude from the front. As LG R. Dixon claimed, “If bought love is no substitute for the real thing, it at any rate seemed better than

²⁵ Makepeace, Clare. “WWI brothels: Why troops ignored calls to resist ‘temptation.’” *BBC News*. February 27, 2014.

²⁶ Makepeace, Clare. “WWI brothels: Why troops ignored calls to resist ‘temptation.’”

nothing. And in any case it worked off steam!”²⁷ As Dixon referenced, solicitation of prostitutes had two benefits for soldiers: the physical comfort and human connection. Physically, the soldiers were able to engage in pleasurable sexual relations with the real chance of landing a bed in the hospital for a few weeks due to sexually transmitted diseases. Perhaps less obviously, the prostitutes also offered a moment of intimacy with another human being that soldiers who were isolated on the front so desperately needed.

A less explored avenue in the historiography of soldiers’ coping with war is that of food and entertainment, both of which show up in soldiers’ letters. Cole’s argument regarding the “fleeting encounters and momentary heightenings of emotion” which characterized the quest for intimacy in war can be effectively applied to the categories of food and entertainment. Food and drink are both innate human needs that can bring momentary happiness and satisfaction and bond those sharing the experience. Entertainment, especially in the physical form of sports, is a similarly collective experience which stimulates interaction and camaraderie without the fear or fatal violence of war. In a 1915 letter from the trenches, Dick James wrote about enjoying a hot drink after a long journey:

I took our one up and the liquid smelt so good that with a little judicious wangling we managed to get another one full. When we tasted it, it was simply gorgeous. Boiling hot coffee and rum as only Frenchmen can make it, you know how. Gee but it did go down a treat.²⁸

The vivid description and ecstatic remembrance of a drink emphasize how important moments like these were for soldiers on the front lines. With such limited options in terms of fresh and hot substances, it is unsurprising that the chance for a luxury like coffee and alcohol was a full body

²⁷ Bourke, Joanna. *Dismembering the Male: Men's Bodies, Britain and the Great War*. Reaktion Books, London: 1999, 156.

²⁸ James, Richard. *Richard James to Burgie*.

experience that soldiers shared blissfully. In a letter that describes brutal battles in fewer words, James' memory of this drink stands out. He went on to sign the letter, "Please remember me to all the boys and tell Long Liz that I would give anything for a barrel or two of the club bitter."²⁹ His final words were a request for alcohol, seeking a pleasure that can bring at least a moment's respite from the horrors of the front. While delectable food and drink may not have been equivalent to relationships and connections with other humans, the value of these experiences to soldiers should not be underestimated.

Entertainment through athletics is another activity that could act as a healthy coping mechanism for soldiers, both physically as a form of exercise and emotionally as an outlet to relieve stress. Later on in the same letter, James mentioned a boxing tournament among the soldiers: "We are having a good time here in the way of concerts, sports, boxing tournaments etc. The latter was great especially the bout between a Farrier Sergeant and a cook's mate. They biffed at one another until neither could stand, it was awfully funny."³⁰ Exerting their physicality and energy in ways that were not killing or trying to avoid being killed offered another form of escape from the brutality of war. While the boxing was clearly described as violent given that the two men are so spent and beat up that they have to sit down, it is a remarkably different sort of violence that does not end in the usual death and despair. E.W. Bratchell made note of another episode of sports on the front in his letter: "Had a game of football about two weeks ago with R.G.A. Battery, the pitch being a serious drawback. I think it was a cabbage patch. Still we managed to get a good game in and most important of all, won."³¹ These insights into life on the front provide a fascinating chance to analyze the role that sports played in the lives of soldiers.

²⁹ James, Richard. *Richard James to Burgie*.

³⁰ James, Richard. *Richard James to Burgie*.

³¹ Bratchell, Ernest W. *Ernest Bratchwell to Burgie, 1915*. Letter. From the National Archives, *Letters from the First World War*.

Engaging in a sport like football allowed a return to normalcy in a way that wasn't possible with many other events on the front. Soldiers could play as they would have back home and talk about a "cabbage patch" like it was a "pitch" they might have played on before they left. Beyond allowing another form of exercise and male bonding that wasn't as psychologically and physically destructive as battle, sports allowed a sense of accomplishment. As seen here, Bratchell made it very clear that they won, calling the victory "most important of all." For soldiers who were literally on the ground level of World War I, seeing no progress in this mass destruction, a simple victory in a game of football would have brought much pleasure and fulfilment.

The ultimate illustration of the power of sports in the War is the famous 1914 Christmas Day Football Game between British and German soldiers. Captain A.D. Chater was serving with the 2nd Battalion Gordon Highlanders when peace came briefly to the British and German trenches on the Western Front. His letter to his mother contains a description of the remarkable event. He described the troops trading cigarettes and autographs and taking pictures together.³² According to Chater, they even decided to have another truce on New Year's Day, in order to see how the photos turned out. Chater recollected that, "From what I gathered most of them would be glad to get home again as we should – we have had our pipes playing all day and everyone has been walking about in the open unmolested."³³ Music and sports brought these warring sides together in an incredible fashion and gave those present perhaps the strongest sense of camaraderie and human connection that they experienced throughout the War.

Each of these letters and memoirs shows the different perspectives and visceral encounters that soldiers had in World War I, from the navy to the trenches. Common to all is an

³² Chater, Alfred D. *Captain A.D. Chater to his mother. n.d.* Letter. *From Imperial War Museum Archives.*

³³ Chater, Alfred D. *Captain A.D. Chater to his mother.*

attempt to process what is happening around them and to connect with some collective human experience. Furthermore, the accounts of sports and hot drinks make a compelling case for the importance of mundane activities and non-violent, non-sexual physical sensations to soldiers seeking intimacy and attempting to cope with the daily horrors they were witnessing on the front of the Great War. Whether physical and sexual intimacy with prostitutes and fellow soldiers, or creating imaginary spaces and emotional intimacy with absent loved ones, these individuals strove to survive and carve an existence for themselves in the heavily isolating and destructive arena of war.

Bibliography

Primary Sources:

- Ashton, Teddy. *Sailor Teddy Ashton to his Sister Gertie, 1916*. Letter. From Imperial War Museum Archives, *Letters to Loved Ones*.
<https://www.iwm.org.uk/collections/item/object/1030009553> (accessed May 8th).
- Bratchell, Ernest W. *Ernest Bratchwell to Burgie, 1915*. Letter. From the National Archives, *Letters from the First World War*.
<http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/education/resources/letters-first-world-war-1915/trenches-game-football/> (accessed May 7th).
- Chater, Alfred D. *Captain A.D. Chater to his mother. n.d.* Letter. From Imperial War Museum Archives, <https://www.iwm.org.uk/collections/item/object/1030000497> (Accessed May 11th).
- Cocker, Frank. *Lieutenant Frank Cocker to fiance Evelyn. 16 January 1916*. Letter. From Imperial War Museum Archives. Taken from Santanu Das's *Kiss Me, Hardy: Intimacy, Gender, and Gesture in First World War Trench Literature*.
- Corfield, Frederick. *Frederick Corfield to Mary Corfield, 31 December 1916*. Letter. From Liddle Collection, *Correspondence of Frederick and Mary Corfield*.
https://encyclopedia.1914-1918-online.net/article/war_letters_communication_between_front_and_home_front#cite_note-ftn77-77 (accessed May 10th).
- Fenton, D.H. *Lance-Corporal D. H. Fenton to Mrs. Noone, n.d.* Letter. From Imperial War Museum Archives. Taken from Santanu Das's *Kiss Me, Hardy: Intimacy, Gender, and Gesture in First World War Trench Literature*.
- James, Richard. *Richard James to Burgie, August 10th, 1915*. Letter. From The National Archives, *Letters from the First World War*.
<http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/education/resources/letters-first-world-war-1915/trenches-being-under-fire/> (accessed May 6th).

Secondary Sources:

- 'Bourke, Joanna. *Dismembering the Male: Men's Bodies, Britain and the Great War*. Reaktion Books, London: 1999.
- Cabanes, Bruno. "Negotiating Intimacy in the Shadow of War (France, 1914-1920s): New Perspectives in the Cultural History of World War I." *French Politics, Culture & Society*, Vol 31. No. 1 (2003), Pp. 1-23. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/24517580> (accessed May 11th).
- Carden-Coyne, Ana. "Masculinity and the Wounds of the First World War: A Centenary

- Reflection.” *French Journal of British Studies*, Vol.20. No. 1 (2015), Pp. 1-6.
<http://journals.openedition.org/rfcb/305> (accessed May 10th).
- Cole, Sarah. “Modernism, Male Intimacy, and the Great War” *ELH*, Vol. 68 No. 2 (2001), Pp. 469-5090. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/30031977> (accessed May 11th).
- Das, Santanu. “‘Kiss Me Hardy’: Intimacy, Gender, and Gesture in World War I Trench Literature.” *MODERNISM / modernity*, Vol. 9 No. 1 (2002), Pp. 51-74.
- D’Emilio, John. “Capitalism and Gay Identity.” *The Lesbian and Gay Studies Reader* (1993), Pp. 467-475.
<http://sites.middlebury.edu/sexandsociety/files/2015/01/DEmilio-Capitalism-and-Gay-Identity.pdf> (accessed May 12).
- “Keele, Tommy A. An Oral History.” Corporal Tommy Keele of the 11th Battalion, Middlesex Regiment. *Imperial War Museum Archives*. 1991.
<https://www.iwm.org.uk/collections/item/object/80009214> (accessed May 8th).
- Makepeace, Clare. “WWI brothels: Why troops ignored calls to resist ‘temptation.’” *BBC News*. February 27, 2014. <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-england-25762151> (accessed May 10th).
- Scott, Joan. *Gender and the Politics of History*. Columbia University Press: New York, 1988.
- Wales, Roland, *From Journey's End to The Dam Busters: The Life of R.C. Sherriff, Playwright of the Trenches*. Pen & Sword Military, Barnsley: 2016.