



**THE UNDEAD ON  
THE BATTLEFIELD**

# HORRORS OF WAR

EDITED BY

**CYNTHIA J. MILLER | A. BOWDOIN VAN RIPER**

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For our fathers, whose war stories were larger than life . . .  
but not supernatural

Alfred D. Lombardi, Technician Fifth Grade  
747th Engineer Base Equipment Company  
1940–1945

Anthony K. Van Riper, Private First Class  
Headquarters Company, Third Battalion,  
Thirty-First Infantry Regiment  
1944–1946

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When you see millions of the mouthless dead  
Across your dreams in pale battalions go,  
Say not soft things as other men have said,  
That you'll remember. For you need not so.

—Charles Sorley;  
Killed October 13, 1915, in the Battle of Loos

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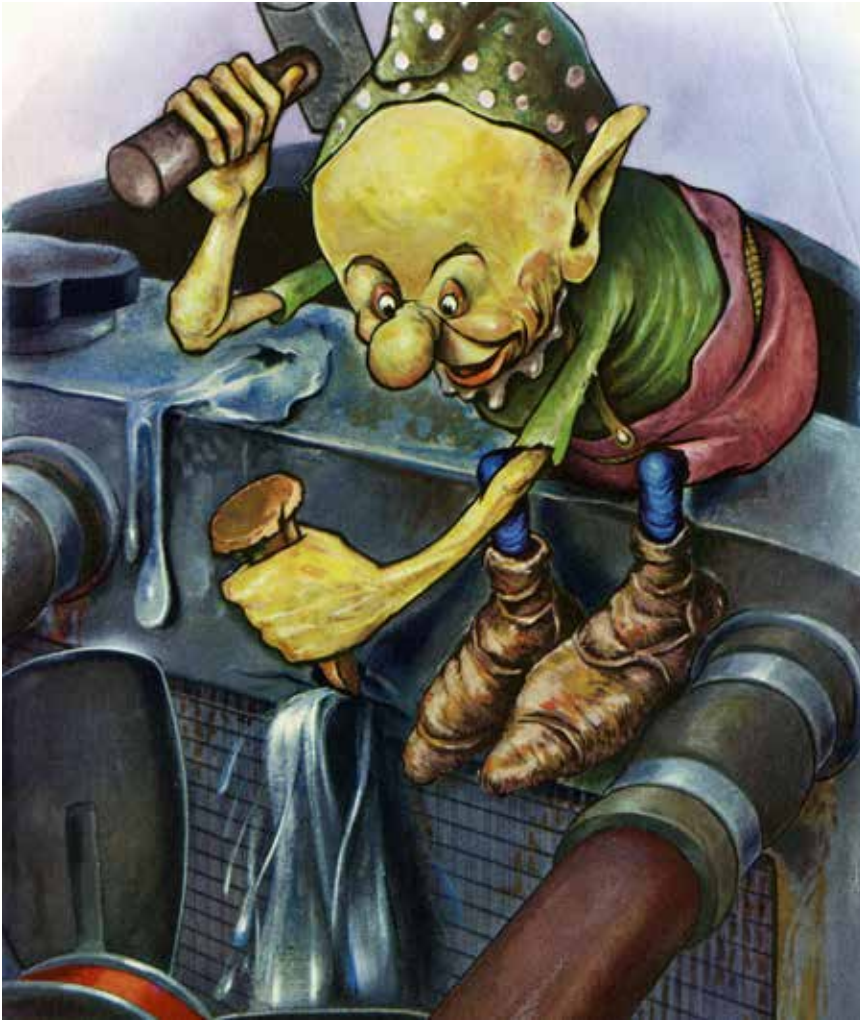
# Introduction

*Cynthia J. Miller and A. Bowdoin Van Riper*

War is hell, so the saying goes, and battlefields are places where the spirits of the dead linger. Bodies litter the landscapes of military conflicts, as the cowardly and the courageous alike become casualties of its devastation. As opposing forces battle for control, vast numbers of souls are lost, and the boundary between the living and the dead seems to erode, as those killed in war pass violently, quickly, and in great numbers from one world to the next. This proximity to death makes the battlefield a site of myth, lore, and superstition, and unseen forces are often blamed for misfortune, as well as credited for triumph. When the planes of Britain's Royal Air Force were plagued by unexplained mechanical problems, mysterious "gremlins" were blamed for wreaking havoc, and soon, the myth of the destructive supernatural beings had spread across all branches of the military among the Allied nations.<sup>1</sup>

Soldiers, pilots, and sailors throughout history have often created talismans to intercede with fate. "The more dangerous the job," reports Marine First Sergeant Vic Martin, "the more superstitious."<sup>2</sup> Silver dollars, mismatched socks and shoes, and other common personal items have all been used as conduits for good luck: Snipers stationed in Iraq wear amulets of 7.62 mm slugs around their necks as protection against the bullet that will bring about their own death; ground troops in both world wars often carried Bibles "tucked or pinned over the portion of a uniform covering the soldier's heart" to fend off bullets;<sup>3</sup> and contrary to their usual association, black cats were popular during World War I as symbols of good luck. In a particularly convincing case, pilot Edwin Parsons wired a stuffed black cat to the struts of his plane, and refused to fly without it. His belief in its protective power was borne out when he discovered it "bleeding" sawdust one day after taking a bullet that would have killed him.<sup>4</sup>

In a similar fashion, supernatural language and imagery—both sacred and secular—pervades modern depictions of warfare, but it is popular culture that



Diffy Dan, a wartime gremlin blamed for all manner of engine trouble, from fouling motor oil and filing down gear teeth to sabotaging transmissions and differentials (from which he gets his name). *Courtesy of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania's Propaganda Collection.*

routinely makes these metaphors concrete. Supernatural tales of war told in print, on screen, and in other media depict angels, demons, and legions of the undead fighting against—or alongside—human soldiers on the field of battle. Ghostly warships and phantom aircraft carry on their never-to-be-completed missions, and horrors deadlier than any bullet or bomb linger in the dark cor-

ners of abandoned fortifications. The spirits, and sometimes the corpses, of dead soldiers return to confront the enemies who killed them, the comrades who betrayed them, or the leaders who sacrificed them without reason. These tales endow the business of war with a mystery and foreboding unlike any other.

This volume explores the deeper significance of such stories: The ways in which they reflect, and often challenge, the popular memory of particular wars, and engage with cultural attitudes toward war in general, as well as with the tensions involved in wartime themes such as battlefield heroism, military ethics, and the politics of sacrifice. In each of these tales, the dead are invoked to both challenge and reinforce the belief systems of the living. The undead do not, however, challenge the morality of war itself, but rather, they illustrate that there are no “good” or “bad” wars—just the values, morals, and ethics of the men and women who fight them. In this way, the undead of war shine a spotlight on questions about the nature of humanity, both in wartime and beyond.

## The Undead Battlefield before World War II

The lines that divide the living from the dead and the familiar from the uncanny—sharp and bright in peacetime—are blurred on the battlefield. Armor and helmets, war paint and battle cries, give ordinary men the appearance of monsters. Casualties of battle—armless, legless, blinded, insane—exist in a horrific no-man’s-land, beyond saving but still capable of thought and feeling and speech. It is no surprise, then, that the fictional warriors of myth, legend, and story have, from time to time, encountered even greater horrors: monsters, witches, and the undead.

Battle as Homer described it in the *Iliad*—a collection of face-to-face duels between individual warriors—was already obsolete when the Greek and Persian armies clashed at Marathon in 490 BC. For the next two thousand years, however, tales of battlefield heroism continued to emphasize the feats of individual warriors, and established their larger-than-life qualities by describing their battles with undead or inhuman foes. Beowulf may be famous for defeating the Swedes, or King Arthur for holding back the Saxons, but their victories over monsters make them legends. It took the spread of firearms across European battlefields—began in the mid-1400s and complete by the early 1700s—before the focus of war stories shifted from the individual warrior to the close-knit unit: *Henry V*’s “band of brothers” and its successors. Firearms also made battlefields larger and casualty lists longer. At Saratoga and Waterloo, Gettysburg and Verdun, thousands were cut down by enemies whose faces they never saw. A million men were killed and wounded, mostly by machine guns and long-range artillery, in the 141-day Battle of the Somme in 1916, a hundred-thousand on the first day alone.

The role of the undead in war stories evolved along with the battlefield. Monstrous opponents encountered in the midst of battle gave way to the restless ghosts of the dead, still roaming the battlefield days, months, or even years after their demise, searching for resolution to the unfinished business of their lives. Frequently, their mission is personal. The Headless Horseman of “The Legend of Sleepy Hollow” is the ghost of a Hessian mercenary, still searching for the head that he lost to a cannonball in “some nameless battle of the revolutionary war” more than a decade earlier.<sup>5</sup> The “Woman in White” glimpsed, at night, by visitors to the Civil War battlefield at Chickamauga is said to be seeking a dead loved one among the hundreds of soldiers who were buried, without markers, where they fell.<sup>6</sup> World War I, however, brought a flurry of stories about the undead deliberately reaching out to shape the affairs of those still living.

The earliest, “The Bowmen,” written by Welsh fantasist Arthur Machen for the *London Evening News*, was a straightforward patriotic adventure story. In it, hard-pressed British soldiers facing overwhelming German attacks call on the spirit of St. George, and are saved by a contingent of ghostly archers who appear out of nowhere and rain destruction on the advancing enemy with their long-bows.<sup>7</sup> Later examples, however, have the dead return not to help the living, but to reproach them. In “Common Form,” a couplet in Rudyard Kipling’s poem-cycle “Epitaphs of the War,” Britain’s dead soldiers collectively reproach their fathers for the lies that led them, innocent and trusting, to their deaths. The next poem in the cycle imagines a newly dead politician, fearful that the glib tongue that served him in life will not appease the dead soldiers he calls “my angry and defrauded young.”<sup>8</sup> Both Abel Gance’s silent 1919 film *J’accuse* (remade as a sound film in 1938) and Irwin Shaw’s 1936 play *Bury the Dead* imagine soldiers rising from their graves to call the living to account.

Kipling and Gance looked backward to the war that had just ended, Shaw (and Gance in his remake) forward to the next war, the coming of which seemed only a matter of time. War did come—to Asia in 1937, Europe in 1939, and America in 1941—and by the time peace returned in 1945, the role of the undead in war stories had, once again, been transformed. New weapons, new tactics, and new levels of savagery produced mass casualties on an unprecedented scale. The victims of earlier wars had died by the thousands, but the victims of World War II died by tens of thousands in concentration camps, bombed-out cities, and the irradiated wreckage of Hiroshima.<sup>9</sup> The war’s technological legacy—atomic bombs and ballistic missiles, napalm and nerve gas—promised that wars-yet-to-come would be incalculably worse, and postwar revelations of experimentation on human subjects underscored the horrific lengths to which warring nations would go in pursuit of victory.<sup>10</sup>

The horrors of World War II and the simmering anxieties of the postwar era led, after 1945, to a new wave of war stories laced with elements of the fan-

tastic, and populated by the undead. Figures familiar from older fictional battlefields—singular, monstrous enemies and the ghosts of dead soldiers—mingled with undead legions enlisted by nations desperate for victory, the undead victims of horrific high-tech weapons, and no-longer-human soldiers transformed by wartime “mad science.” Given sustained life by the fresh horrors emerging from the “small wars” of the post-1945 era, they continue to haunt the battlefields of our imagination.

## Total War and Disillusionment

With the onset of World War II, military conflict became increasingly complex. The war, which, like World War I, had begun as a localized war between opposing countries, spread to distant parts of the world, requiring vast amounts of resources. Entire national economies were directed toward war efforts, and civilians were both mobilized in war production and targeted by military strategies, introducing the notion of “total war.” The scope of World War II, in particular, resulted in a level of destruction and devastation previously unknown. Civilians and military personnel died by the millions, as cities and towns were bombed, concentration camps were implemented, and disease and starvation ran rampant.

Changes in the structure, hardware, equipment, and strategic use of armed forces—unprecedented in both scope and significance—heightened the apocalyptic feel of the conflict. Mass-produced motor vehicles now made it possible to create fully motorized land units, and by the end of the 1930s, technical progress in the automotive industry enabled the production of a new generation of tanks that not only provided fire support for motorized infantry but also became a means of breaking through enemy defenses. Warfare at sea and in the air benefited from similarly dramatic leaps forward in technologies and abilities: Aircraft carriers eclipsed battleships on the high seas, submarine blockades drove island nations to the brink of defeat, and long-range Air Force bombers obliterated industrial and civilian targets deep inside enemy territory.<sup>11</sup>

The beginning of World War II coincided with the appearance of early radar, which dramatically extended the horizon of combat. Meanwhile, the development of radio engineering led to the emergence of weapons that previously could only have been considered science fiction. Ballistic missiles (along with experimental samples of anti-aircraft, anti-ship, and anti-tank missiles), guided torpedoes, and unmanned aircraft, as well as unmanned ground machines, effectively the forerunners of modern robots, depersonalized killing and made possible the long-distance annihilation of the enemy. As the war ended, nuclear weapons introduced an apocalyptic dimension to “total war” that dramatically changed humankind’s attitude to war and peace. Anxiety over military science



gone awry in the hands of the military-industrial complex spilled over into popular culture narratives.<sup>12</sup> The word “blockbuster” had been coined, during the war, to describe a two-ton bomb said to be capable of wiping out an entire city block; the hydrogen bombs of the 1950s, designed to explode with the force of several *million* tons of TNT, were called, by analogy, “city-busters.” Critics of the hydrogen bomb—including many of those who had worked on the Hiroshima and Nagasaki bombs—argued its use would be tantamount to genocide. Europe had been stunned, in 1916, when the Battle of the Somme had killed and wounded a million men over four months’ time. Forty years later, a single weapon could do the same in the blink of an eye.

The multiple millions of casualties that the (implicitly nuclear) “next war” would generate were left discreetly offstage in the novels, films, and speculative articles about it that began to appear as early as 1946. The brutal details were readily available elsewhere, however: woven between the lines of civil defense literature, and stated openly in books like John Hersey’s *Hiroshima* (1946). Those caught by a nuclear blast, but too far from “ground zero” to die instantly, would (like the survivors of Hiroshima and Nagasaki) find their bodies grotesquely transformed: faces lacerated by flying glass, exposed skin charred by the fireball, and eyes seared blind by a flash “brighter than a thousand suns.” Many who survived the injuries inflicted by heat and blast would, in weeks or months or years, succumb to the insidious effects of radiation poisoning. The Bomb—as the science-fiction films of the Cold War obliquely hinted—would not simply kill: It would render the survivors grotesque, even monstrous. The dread created by that knowledge underlay Nikita Khrushchev’s grim observation that, in the next war, the living would envy the dead.

Growing anxieties about technology were matched, in the post-1945 era, by growing disillusionment with war as an instrument of policy and the causes for which they were waged. Ever-expanding nuclear arsenals deterred the great powers from waging war directly with one another, but the superpowers engaged in a seemingly endless string of ideologically driven proxy wars in Asia, Africa, the Middle East, and Latin America, while Europe’s fading colonial powers waded into protracted struggles with rebel groups seeking independence. Fought with brutally excessive force, in support of often corrupt regimes, and for politically suspect reasons, the “small wars” of the Cold War and post-Cold War eras lacked the moral clarity of the World Wars that preceded them. They generated deep political divisions and ferocious domestic opposition, tarnished national reputations, and provided a stage for acts that—to many onlookers—would have been labeled war crimes had they been committed by the losing side.

The blanket of idealism and nobility that had been draped over memories of earlier wars was also growing noticeably frayed and tattered as the twentieth century drew to a close. The genteel “consensus history” of the Civil War that

had coalesced in the 1910s and remained dominant through the 1960s was challenged in the 1970s by a new generation of historians who argued that slavery—and thus race—was the war’s defining theme. In the 1980s, American interventions in the Caribbean and the toppling of the Marcos regime in the Philippines brought new (and unflattering) attention to the “splendid little” Spanish-American War of 1898. Even World War II—styled “the Good War” in a best-selling collection of oral histories—lost some of its luster. New historical investigations, aided by the declassification of wartime records, revealed that ignorance, selfishness, prejudice, and brutality had been as much a part of World War II as they had been of wars before and since.

The ever-darker, ever-grimmer climate of opinion that surrounded the wars of the late twentieth century has continued to cling to the wars of the early twenty-first. It is perhaps no surprise, then, that the undead—who began to emerge in force on imaginary battlefields after 1950—have only grown in numbers, diversity, and tenacity as the new millennium has begun.

## A Diversity of Horrors

The undead routinely appear, in folklore and legend, as enemies of the living, and the opening section of the volume, “Monstrous Enemies,” looks at tales in which this conflict erupts into open warfare. The first two essays in the section focus on carefully crafted alternate histories, in which vampires are unseen agents of military devastation. In “‘Blood-Thirsty Graybacks’: The Monstrous Othering of the Confederacy in *Abraham Lincoln, Vampire Hunter*,” Robert A. Saunders offers a geopolitical analysis of Seth Grahame-Smith’s historical thriller, which turns on the notion that vampires not only plotted the demise of the Union, but also functioned as wartime spies, assassins, and combatants, nearly winning the Civil War for the Confederacy. Saunders contends that, by providing a supernatural overlay to what is arguably the most seminal and controversial event in American history, the Civil War, Grahame-Smith engages in the (literal) demonization of the Confederacy (1861–1865) and, by extension, the whole of the antebellum South.

Similarly, in “Cry ‘Havoc!’ and Let Slip the Vampires of War,” Cynthia J. Miller examines Jasper Kent’s novel *Twelve*, a sprawling epic that chronicles the supernatural forces responsible for turning the tide of battle during Napoleon’s invasion of Russia in the Patriotic War of 1812. Drawing on figures from Russian history, such as Cossack marauders and Ivan the Terrible’s Oprichniki, as well as the Slavic vampire tradition, Miller explores the ways in which Kent weaves together the monstrous of history, myth, and legend to create an undead menace in *Twelve* that draws on horrors and heroes that have persisted for centuries.

In the section's next essay, "Vampire Pilots and Industrialized War in *The Bloody Red Baron*," A. Bowdoin Van Riper looks at another form of alternate history, written into being by author Kim Newman, in which traditional warfare collides with the supernatural, resulting in an alliance between Dracula and German mad science that yields an almost invincible force of World War I fighter pilots led by Manfred von Richthofen, the legendary "Red Baron." Through a close analysis of Newman's work, Van Riper illustrates the ways in which the undead lend new meaning to the notion of "total warfare," as the novel's hellish vampire pilots demythologize the Great War's "knights of the air."

The association between Germany and the supernatural continues in James J. Ward's essay "Nazis on the Moon! Nazis under the Polar Ice Cap! And Other Recent Episodes in the Strange Cinematic Afterlife of the Third Reich." Ward's analysis illustrates that the theme of supernatural Nazi horror continues its cultural usefulness long after the end of World War II. His essay carefully examines the persistence of our cultural fascination with Nazi horror, considering the latest in a long trajectory of films that combine historical evidence of the Third Reich's involvement with the arcane and the occult, and staples of exploitation cinema such as zombies, robots, and hybrid beings.

The volume's next section, "The Dead Don't Rest," features essays focused on the continued presence of the wartime undead, as they haunt the living in search of retribution, reconciliation, and remembrance. In the section's opening essay, "The Wages of War: Spectral Children in *The Devil's Backbone*," Michael C. Reiff considers the ways in which Guillermo del Toro's film examines the history of the Spanish Civil War through its use of spectral characters and objects, as well as the ways in which the living both search for and deny violent and difficult truths during wartime. Reiff uses hauntological readings to explore the complexities of the characters' interactions with the specters in their midst, and considers how, by mixing the war and horror genres, the film sheds light on the historical and ontological issues that a seventy-five-year-old war continues to raise today.

The essay that follows, "Traversing the Afterlife Fantasy: The Haunted Soldier in *Jacob's Ladder*," Thomas Robert Argiro considers another sort of tortured haunting: that experienced by American servicemen in Vietnam who were the unwitting subjects of a covert US Army drug experiment. The drug—a powerful psychoactive agent known as "the Ladder"—leads to terrifying visions of demonic persecution that comment on not only the atrocities of chemical warfare during the Vietnam era, but also the horrors of war, more generally. Argiro argues that the film uses the supernatural to speak not only to the myths of war, but to the fact that we all inhabit a political reality in which the true nature of events is camouflaged by hidden forces without any ethical imperative.

The relationship of the undead to the myths and realities of war is also central to the next essay in the section, "The Haunted Tank," by Paul O'Connor.

O'Connor takes readers on a journey through three decades of DC Comics' series featuring a World War II tank guided by the spirit of a legendary Confederate cavalry general, who acts as a protector and mentor to its crew. O'Connor notes that here the war serves as a crucible where the spirit and courage of men are tested on the field of battle, and destinies are fulfilled with the help of supernatural agency. The tank, its crew, and their ghostly champion thus perpetuate the mid-century myth of the good soldier that is so sharply dispelled in later war narratives such as *Jacob's Ladder*.

In the essay that follows, "(Re)Remembering the Great War in *Deathwatch*," Marzena Sokołowska-Paryż considers Michael J. Bassett's film as a product of cultural memory, weaving together the themes, icons, and legends of World War I in a tale of undead horror. The film's labyrinthine trenches not only house the bodies of the dead, but their suffering and fears, as well—states that reach out from the earth to envelop the living—blurring the lines between absence and presence, life and death. In *Deathwatch*, Sokołowska-Paryż argues, it is the undead whose presence speaks of what it truly means to be a soldier.

The final essay of this section, "The U.N.dead: Cold War Ghosts in *Carol for Another Christmas*" by Christina M. Knopf, examines Rod Serling's apocalyptic twist on Charles Dickens's Christmas tale of supernatural visitation and transformation. *Carol for Another Christmas* presents a Victorian ghost story for the Atomic Age, placing themes of Cold War science fiction and atomic-bomb cinema into a Gothic package appropriate to post-World War II fantasy films and wrapping them in holiday trappings. Here, ghostly visitors to Daniel Grudge bring with them memories and projections of the horrors of war—past, present, and future—as impetus for reflection on dominant Cold War narratives.

Warring nations unleash monstrous weapons into the world, and—all too often—wars bring out the monstrous in those who wage them. The next group of essays, "Making Monsters," explores a diversity of such monsters, beginning with Christopher D. Stone's "Pall in the Family: *Deathdream*, *House*, and the Vietnam War." Both films in this paired reading use the presence of the undead among the living to explore the lingering effects of the Vietnam War on American society, but they form virtual mirror images of one another. *Deathdream* tells the story of a family haunted by the specter of the son they lost in Vietnam, while *House* focuses on a veteran forced to confront his war experiences when a long-dead comrade returns from the grave and kidnaps his young son. Despite their limited viewership and B-movie trappings, Stone argues, they were significant early steps in Hollywood's grappling with Vietnam.

Fernando Gabriel Pagnoni Berns's essay "Strategic Military Reconfiguration in Horror Fiction: The Case of F. Paul Wilson's *The Keep* and Graham Masterton's *The Devils of D-Day*" takes up a very different pair of mirror-image texts and a very different kind of monster. Both novels concern ancient beings

of great power let loose amid the chaos of World War II. Noting the military habit of using language to impose order, and thus control, on their wartime surroundings, Pagnoni Berns considers how such efforts fare when armies confront forces beyond human understanding.

The monsters in Christina V. Cedillo's "Horror under the Radar: Memory, Revelation, and the Ghosts of *Below*" are all too human: submariners who turn a tragic error into an outright atrocity and resort to mutiny and murder in order to conceal it. Their descent into evil unfolds amid a series of uncanny, inexplicable events that may (or may not) be one of their victims, seeking justice from beyond the grave. Cedillo situates the film in the context of Americans' evolving historical memory of World War II, treating the film both as a modern ghost story and as a meditation on the ways that societies at war amplify the crimes of their enemies while systematically eliding their own.

Concluding the section, Steve Webley's "The Supernatural, Nazi Zombies, and the Play Instinct: The Gamification of War and the Reality of the Military Industrial Complex" examines the most popular of all war-spawned monsters. Weaving together the work of theorists from Carl von Clausewitz to Jacques Lacan, the reinvention (and politicization) of the zombie by George Romero, and the parallel rises of the military industrial complex and the computer gaming industry, Webley contends that our fascination with Nazi zombies is the most recent expression of an intertwining of war and play as old as human civilization. "Playing Nazi zombies" in immersive "first-person shooter" simulations like *Call of Duty* allows us to enter a space where multiple needs (not served by mainstream culture) can be met at once.

Wars do not end when the shooting stops; their effects—on individual lives and societies—persist for years, and memories linger for generations. The final group of essays, "Legacies and Memories," examines tales in which the echoes of war become entwined with the supernatural. It begins with "'Strange Things Happen in a War-Torn Land': Cat Demons, Samurai, Victims' Vengeance, and the Social Costs of War in Kaneto Shindo's *Kuroneko* (1968)," Thomas Prasch's exploration of a film about rape, murder, and demonic revenge set in medieval Japan and deeply rooted in Japanese culture. Prasch shows how Shindo interweaves the conventions of the cinema with those of Kabuki and Noh theater, and incorporates elements of both classical literary texts and traditional folktales. Consistent with its director's interest in the lives of ordinary people, the film takes a grim view of an era (and a war) usually wrapped in the warm glow of legend.

No such glow attaches itself to World War I, a conflict whose grim reputation—formed while it was still in progress—persists, undimmed, a century later. Jacques Tardi has, for two decades, depicted the war in a series of meticulously researched graphic novels, and *It Was the War of the Trenches*—among the most audacious—is the subject of Katherine Kelp-Stebbins's "Specters of Media:

Jacques Tardi's Graphic Reanimation of the *War of the Trenches*." Tardi's *War* combines the stories of twenty different soldiers into a complex narrative of shifting viewpoints and overlapping plots, and Kelp-Stebbins examines it using a similarly multilayered strategy, simultaneously employing diegetic, iconologic, and media-specific perspectives to show how Tardi conveys war's blurring of the line between life and death.

A wide gulf seems to separate Tardi's dense, complex work and the straightforward adventure narratives of *Weird War Tales*, but—as Terence Check's essay shows—the latter was conceived by its creators as an attempt to bring a new sense of depth and seriousness to a storytelling medium (war comics) not known for either. In "Public Memory and Supernatural Presence: The Mystery and Madness of *Weird War Tales*," Check argues that the short-lived title failed to fulfill these ambitions. Its fables of ghostly intervention on the battlefields of (mostly) World War II reinforced, rather than challenged, the dominant narratives of American heroism and moral uprightness, even as the Vietnam War and its aftermath undermined them.

Rod Serling's television anthology series *The Twilight Zone* addressed war only occasionally in its five-year run, but the episodes that did so were shaped by his war experiences. Vincent Casaregola's essay "War in *The Twilight Zone*: Rod Serling's Haunted Visions of World War II" explores the unexpected ways in which Serling's deep awareness of the horrors of war—formed as a US Army paratrooper in the Philippines and as a Jewish American appalled by the institutionalized racism of the Nazis—shaped episodes set in wartime, but also those, such as "I Am the Night—Color Me Black," that attacked prejudice and intolerance in the postwar world.

Amanda Landa's "*R-Point* as Postcolonial Palimpsest: Generic Complexity and the Ghost in the War/Horror Film" rounds out the section, and the book, with a close reading of a Korean horror film about eight soldiers trapped in a haunted landscape bloodied by centuries of colonial and wartime violence. Peeling back *R-Point*'s layered meanings, the essay touches on multiple themes that range far beyond its Vietnam War setting: the bleeding of the wartime past into the present; spirits of the dead as agents of truth and justice; and the realization that not all wartime monsters unleashed by war are undead . . . or even un-human.

## Notes

1. Hutto, "Ghosts in the Machines."
2. Phillips, "Superstitions Abound."
3. Watts, *Encyclopedia of American Folklore*, 419.

4. Wilkins, "Luck and Death."
5. Irving, *Rip Van Winkle and The Legend of Sleepy Hollow*, 111.
6. Nesbitt, *Civil War Ghost Trails*, 119–20.
7. McCreevy, "Irishman Who Was the 'Angel of Mons.'"
8. Kipling, "Common Form" and "A Dead Statesman."
9. On the convergence of these factors, see, for example: Dower, *War without Mercy* and Markusen, *Holocaust and Strategic Bombing*.
10. Spitz, *Doctors from Hell* is a harrowing firsthand account based on evidence from the Nuremberg war-crimes trials.
11. O'Connell, *Arms and Men*, 244–310.
12. See Boyer, *By the Bomb's Early Light* for the immediate postwar period, and Winkler, *Life under a Cloud* for the longer view.

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Part I

# MONSTROUS ENEMIES



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