

The Battle Lines Were Drawn: The US Army's Struggle to Publish World War I Combat Art

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In February 1918, eight illustrators joined the American Expeditionary Forces (AEF) as the first official combat artists for the US Army. Commonly referred to as the AEF 8, these men—William Aylward (1875-1956), Walter J. Duncan (1881-1941), Harvey Dunn (1884-1952), George Harding (1882-1959), Wallace Morgan (1875-1948), Ernest Peixotto (1869-1940), J. André Smith (1880-1959), and Harry Townsend (1879-1941)—produced approximately 500 images, documenting all aspects of World War I.¹ Their two-point mission involved creating works for a historical record and propaganda purposes.² These dualistic orders—as well as Army inefficiency, a saturated art market replete with war imagery already available in the US, a shift from war-related material found in magazines, and the mediocre aesthetic quality of many of the artworks—contributed to the lackluster propagandistic use of these illustrations. Furthermore, even though the War Department and other government agencies acknowledged the persuasive power of art, they offered little support to the eight combat artists and besieged them with criticism during their tenures abroad. Nevertheless, there are three specific ways the art of the AEF 8 was utilized by the popular press: as examples supporting exhibition reviews, as artistic montages, and as illustrations for journal articles.

By December 1918, the artists had been in Europe for an average of eight months and had submitted almost 375 works

of art, an impressive amount considering the circumstances under which they were created.³ In spite of this, the eight artists, who were commissioned as captains, probably felt frustrated when, in January 1919, Captain J. André Smith, the unofficial leader of the AEF 8, shared the news that only fifty-one works—about fifteen percent—had been selected for publication in US magazines.⁴

This woeful amount reflects the struggles that illustrators faced in the early twentieth century, even though more and more periodicals included visual imagery. From 1890 to 1910, an era dubbed the “Golden Age of Illustration,” opportunities for the illustrated arts expanded.⁵ Illustrations helped to sell magazines, and publishers were quite cognizant of that fact. Interesting and vibrantly-colored covers, serialized stories with provocative images, and smartly illustrated advertisements enticed readers to purchase magazines or, better yet, subscribe. While numerous illustrations made it to the presses, not all illustrators were successful.

The popular press proved to be a tough market because it was saturated with artists and their artworks. According to art historian Michele Bogart:

During the first two decades of the century, the most popular magazines often included the work of as many as fifteen illustrators per issue, and there was strong competition

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¹ The AEF 8 continued to produce war-related artworks after being discharged from the Army. However, I calculate that the AEF 8 produced about 500 images while stationed abroad. Furthermore, this number is justified based on the monthly reports, which include a list of completed artworks that the artists submitted while in France. The War Department donated the official collection to the Smithsonian starting in 1919, and I used the accession records to verify this number. See the Smithsonian's accession record for the Army's World War I art (Record Unit 305, number 64592).

² Major Kendall Banning to Smith, September 30, 1918, National Archives and Records Administration (NARA), College Park, Maryland, Records of the American Expeditionary Forces (World War I), Record Group 120, Box 1, NM-91; Entry 224—Correspondence Relating to the Eight Official Artists of the AEF, 1917-1919, Folder “Artists—J. André Smith, G-2-D.” (Hereafter citations will include record group [RG],

box, and folder information as all locator information is the same.) Banning wrote to Smith regarding the purpose of the official drawings. Smith believed the work of the AEF 8 was to be documentary, but Banning reiterates to Smith that the mission is for propaganda. See also, Banning to Smith, September 30, 1918, NARA RG 111-HB, Box 1, Folder 111-HB-4, Correspondence 1918. See also, Banning, “War Pictures as Propaganda: The Part Played by American Painters and Illustrators in the World War,” *National Service Magazine* 9, no. 5 (May 1921): 272.

³ Calculations are based on the artists' monthly reports. See NARA, RG 120, Box 1, NM-91; Entry 224—Correspondence Relating to the Eight Official Artists of the AEF, 1917-1919.

⁴ Col. C.W. Weeks to Capt. J. André Smith, January 8, 1919. NARA, Records of the AEF (World War I), RG 120, Box 1, NM-91; Entry 224; Folder “Artists-Capt. J. André Smith, G-2-D.”

⁵ An excellent resource on the illustrated arts and artists is Walt Reed, *The Illustrator in America, 1860-2000* (New York: Harper Collins International, 2001). Reed also mentions that “it was an honor for artists to have their work reproduced in the magazines, and nearly all of America's best painters at some time provided illustrations for them” (Reed, *Illustrator in America*, 87).

among the illustrators. Art directors found it preferable to keep their talent pool as large as possible. However, they either tended to use the same artists each time or to commission work from such a wide range of people that most individuals received an assignment only periodically.⁶

Even as early as 1895, critics of the illustrative arts vocalized their concerns about the profession, as one of them wrote, “The trouble is not that there are too many artists, but that there are too few good ones.”⁷ Thus, the occupation was marked by risks and rewards. It provided opportunities for artists to earn a living and gain recognition with a mass audience, yet an illustrator’s livelihood depended on his or her talents as well as the preferences of art editors.

During World War I, the market for illustration grew thanks to government sponsorship. Shortly after the US officially entered the war in April 1917, President Woodrow Wilson created the Committee on Public Information (CPI) and appointed journalist George Creel (1876-1953) as its leader.⁸ As the federal government’s pro-war public relations agency, the CPI oversaw the work of several media divisions, including the Division of Pictorial Publicity (DPP) headed by the prominent illustrator Charles Dana Gibson (1867-1944). The DPP managed a large group of artists who agreed to produce art in support of the wartime programs of the US. Different organizations, such as the Food Administration, the Red Cross, and the Liberty Loan committee, could request artwork for a poster, publication, or other project, and the DPP would assign an artist to that request.⁹

However, the AEF 8 did not work for the CPI nor the DPP but rather for the Army. Their images, though, were distributed by the CPI to magazine and newspaper editors after enduring the Army’s complex archival and censorship processes. This cumbersome process was as follows: every month each member of the AEF 8 submitted to Army officials in France a written report of his activities with any artworks he completed, but the artists were allowed to retain any images for further completion. Once a completed image

was submitted, the US Army Signal Corps’ Pictorial Section photographed it in a variety of formats at one of their laboratories in France. The photographic negatives were reprinted in triplicate and sent to the US with one set filed at the War Department’s Historical Section’s offices in Washington, DC, a second set kept with the Signal Corps, and the third set, with censor-approved captions, released to the CPI which would solicit magazine art editors with the images. After being photographed, the originals were stamped on the verso if approved by the censor and sent to Washington, DC, to be prepared for exhibitions.¹⁰ Overall, the censorship and photographic processes could take weeks—sometimes even months—to complete, and the images often arrived too late in the US to illustrate any current war-related events.¹¹

By late September 1918, high-ranking officials, who were frustrated by the lack of drama in the AEF 8’s artworks, commanded all military personnel to assist the artists in depicting the “action in the Advance Zone with the accent on the action,” according to Harry Townsend, one of the AEF 8.¹² Furthermore, pressure from military officials and art editors back in the US constrained and frustrated the artists. In August 1918, Major Kendall Banning (1879-1944), an author and former editor for *System* magazine who managed the art during his tenure with the Army’s Historical Section, wrote several letters to the artists criticizing their works.

In one letter, Banning included the names of artists, such as H. Devitt Welsh (1888-1942) and Charles Dana Gibson, and art editors from several magazines, including *Ladies’ Home Journal*, *Collier’s*, and *The American Magazine of Art*, who viewed the artworks and found them unpublishable. Banning wrote,

They [the artworks] all have artistic merit in a varying degree but the subject matter is unimportant and the pictures disappointing, nearly all of them showing ruined houses, street scenes in French villages and landscapes. Only a very small number show any soldiers at all, and the pictures are generally lacking in action...all agree

⁶ Michele H. Bogart, *Artists, Advertising, and the Borders of Art* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 317.

⁷ Sidney Fairfield, “The Tyranny of the Pictorial,” *Lippincott’s Monthly Magazine* 55 (June 1895): 861.

⁸ There are several excellent sources pertaining to the history of the CPI. In addition to the official report presented to the government after the CPI ceased operations, Creel also wrote his personal account of the organization. See George Creel, *How We Advertised America: The First Telling of the Amazing Story of the Committee on Public Information that Carried the Gospel of Americanism to Every Corner of the Globe* (New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1920).

⁹ Creel, *How We Advertised America*, 133-140. See also, George L. Vogt, “When Posters Went to War: How America’s Best Commercial Artists Helped Win World War I,” *Wisconsin Magazine of History* 84, no. 2 (Winter 2000-2001): 38-47.

¹⁰ Banning to Smith, August 5, 1918, NARA, RG-111-HB, Box 1, Folder

4, Correspondence 1918. See also, Banning to Smith, September 26, 1918, RG-111-HB, Box 1, Folder 4, Correspondence 1918.

¹¹ For example, Ernest Peixotto submitted a drawing, *Street, Soppe-le-Bas*, on June 1, 1918, with his May report. It took over three weeks for it to be photographed and approved, as indicated by the censorship ink stamp dated June 23 on the artwork’s verso. At the earliest, the original and/or photographic negatives arrived in the US two weeks later in early July, six weeks after Peixotto’s submission date.

¹² Harry Townsend, *War Diary of a Combat Artist*, ed. Alfred Cornebise (Niwot: University Press of Colorado, 1991), 103-104 (diary entry from September 21, 1918). This is corroborated by Captain William Moore, who informed Major Kendall Banning that Major James, Chief of G-2-D, sent memos to the artists instructing them “to confine their work to the forward areas,” per a request from America. For this particular letter, see Moore to Banning, September 30, 1918, NARA, RG 111-HB, Box 1, Folder 3, Correspondence 1918. See also, a memo from Maj. A. L. James, Jr., to the Official Artists, September 19, 1918, NARA, RG 120, Box 1, NM-91, “Artists Miscellaneous.” Specifically,

that the pictures received to date are disappointing and unsuitable for propaganda purposes.¹³

Therefore, months passed before any official drawings were published, and it was clear that art editors struggled with how to implement them.

Some editors, though, utilized the art to accompany exhibition reviews when the AEF 8's paintings, prints, and drawings began an eight-city tour throughout the US.¹⁴ The *Allied War Salon*, held at New York's American Art Galleries in December 1918, received the most attention because it featured hundreds of artworks from European countries and the US, including 196 by the AEF 8.¹⁵ Some journalists wrote favorably about the show, yet the Army's official art proved problematic for most critics.

For example, *Literary Digest* republished noted art critic Royal Cortissoz's review of the *Allied War Salon*.¹⁶ Originally written for the *New York Tribune*, Cortissoz's article offered snippets of praise for a few of the AEF 8 and their works, but overall he found little merit with the official collection. He wrote,

Looking at all these drawings in the mass—and they are so numerous that it is frankly impossible to deal with them otherwise—one kindles to their truth, to their unmistakable value as records. Their purely artistic significance is another matter.... They are good drawings, properly to be preserved and admired for the light they will always throw upon the facts observed by the draughtsmen. They are not, as drawings, as works of art, at all distinguished.¹⁷

To illustrate Cortissoz's comments, *Literary Digest* reprinted only one drawing by a member of the AEF 8: a genre scene by Wallace Morgan that depicts a village cluttered with horses, wagons, a motorcycle, and, in the immediate foreground, children and chickens (Figure 1). Except for the inclusion of a few soldiers, the serene hamlet appears unaffected by the ravages of war. Thus, it supports Cortissoz's comments but does little to entice viewers to the exhibition. Because the AEF 8's art was on tour, it was an easy fit for editors to use the art with the critical reviews. However, because the reviews

Maj. James wrote, "...all work of the Official Artists until further notice will be confined to activities in the Advance Zone. There will be a special effort to portray action wherever possible."

¹³ Banning to William Moore, August 5, 1918, NARA, RG 111-HB, Box 1, Folder 3, Correspondence 1918.

¹⁴ This tour began in November 1918 at the Corcoran Gallery in Washington, DC. From there the art went to the *Allied War Salon* in New York City. After that major exhibition closed, the tour continued to smaller venues throughout the eastern and southern US, with the last stop in Chicago in August 1919.

¹⁵ "List of War Drawings Made by the Official Artists of the United States Army," *Allied War Salon*, exhibition catalogue (New York: American Art Galleries, under the management of the American Art Association,

were mixed, printing the AEF 8's art was not always justified.

Other magazines, though, followed *Literary Digest's* example and utilized the AEF art to supplement exhibition reviews of the *Allied War Salon*, even after the show closed in late December 1918. For example, the *Scribner's* March 1919 issue included eight official drawings as part of a multi-page article featuring very little text, in which a "recent exhibition" is mentioned but not defined.¹⁸ Because *Scribner's* was based out of New York City and catered to a national audience, it is likely that the recent exhibition refers to the *Allied War Salon*, even though a portion of the AEF 8's art was on display at the Arnot Art Gallery in Elmira, New York, at the time of the article's publication.¹⁹

Known for its extensive use of imagery, *Scribner's* selected several works by the AEF 8, but two were exceptional in displaying the war's destructive toll on Europeans and their cultural heritage.²⁰ First, Smith's illustration of a ruined church at Badonviller (Figure 2) weaves intricate architectural details with abstracted heaps of rubble delineated by the use of thick, dark lines, all of which reproduced clearly in the magazine. The well-framed, highly-contrasted, boldly-articulated composition demonstrates how devastating the war was to architectural and religious structures such as the church in Badonviller and cities and villages throughout Europe.

Second, Townsend's detailed illustration of refugees passing soldiers within a crowded street (Figure 3) highlights the human side of the conflict and its aftermath. Although it is unclear if the civilians are retreating or returning home, Townsend emphasizes them by revealing their faces as they progress toward the viewer, by including a tremendous amount of detail in the cargos and packages they carry, and by accentuating the contrasts between lights and darks. Conversely, the soldiers, whose backs are to the viewer, recess into the scene and are rendered with fewer details.

Even though Townsend completed this drawing in June 1918, during a tumultuous period of the Great War, *Scribner's* published it during the Armistice as the American Army of Occupation (the title given to the troops who served in Germany, Austria, and Hungary until 1923) maintained the peace. In a way, this work visualized what so many people questioned: what happens now that the fighting has stopped? Therefore, Townsend's artwork epitomized

1918), 23-28.

¹⁶ "How American Artists Picture the War," *Literary Digest* 59, no. 13 (December 28, 1918): 980-983.

¹⁷ Royal Cortissoz, "The Allied War Salon," *New York Tribune*, 10 December 1918, 9.

¹⁸ "A Selection of War Drawings by the Official Artists of the United States Army," *Scribner's Magazine* 65, no. 3 (March 1919): 361-368.

¹⁹ Because the *Allied War Salon* included hundreds of objects, it was necessary for organizers to divide the exhibition into smaller shows which could easily be displayed in smaller venues, such as the Arnot.

²⁰ Regarding the history of *Scribner's* and its emphasis on illustration,

that exact moment in time—an interim post-war period dominated by negotiations regarding reconstruction and reparations—when Americans questioned if their sacrifices would be worth the rewards.

In this context, Smith's and Townsend's drawings were used effectively as propaganda, a word that has numerous connotations and whose definition has mutated throughout history. In general, propaganda is a purposefully-crafted message imbued (blatantly or not) with a call to action that is transmitted to a mass audience via any mode of communication—print media, radio, speech, film, etc.²¹ Propaganda can support or refute something, as was the case prior to and during America's involvement in the Great War. Regardless of when the Army utilized propaganda imagery (either during the months of intense combat or after the signing of the Armistice), its goal was to publicize the work of the American soldiers abroad.

As the Armistice progressed, art editors needed to find other ways to include the AEF 8's art into their magazines. Art montages, such as that created by *Collier's* for its February 1919 issue (Figure 4), allowed them the opportunity to fulfill their pledges to the CPI, yet a full-length article was not crucial.²² Instead, art editors wrote minimal captions to briefly describe the art, some of which depicted the soldiers in action, as illustrated by George Harding's drawing at the top of the page.

Other magazines followed suit. *Farm and Fireside*, an oversized specialty magazine that featured both fiction and newsworthy articles in its monthly issues, chose a creative, one-page display to reproduce three official drawings in April 1919 (Figure 5).²³ Even though these colored original works appeared in black and white in the magazine, the lengthy captions praised the artists, the art, and the soldiers they portrayed, which probably pleased Banning, the War Department, and the artists.

Also during this time, articles written by military officials appeared in print, and magazine editors discovered that the AEF 8's art could support these retrospective texts as well. For example, in its March 1919 issue, *Everybody's Maga-*

zine reproduced ten images to illustrate a lengthy article by Major-General Omar Bundy.²⁴ In the article's introduction, the editor commented on the drawings, touting that they were "made actually on the battle-ground by three of the eight American artists," an accurate description since all of the artworks were created between May and June 1918 and illustrated how the US soldiers infiltrated the French battlefields.²⁵

Morgan supplied six of the illustrations, including the frontispiece to the issue (Figure 6). As the introductory illustration, *On the Watch at Dawn*, the caption given to Morgan's sketch which he had originally titled *The G.C. at Dawn, Badonviller*, depicts a single soldier stepping from his earthen military post amid blasted trees on a precarious but quietly heroic mission.²⁶ Morgan delineated the scene in charcoal and identified the location as Badonviller, even though it could portray almost any location along the western front. He submitted it in May 1918, making it one of the first works completed by the artist while in France, and, although it lacks the drama so desired by Banning, Morgan's impressionistic and loosely-sketched landscape reveals much about trench warfare.

Everybody's again used the AEF 8's illustrations in its June 1919 issue.²⁷ This time, Captain Archibald Roosevelt, one of Theodore's sons, provided a telling, not-so-positive account of the preparedness of the US Army, and two images, both by Wallace Morgan, complement Roosevelt's text which described numerous commanding officers and soldiers. Roosevelt felt that, "All my officers and men seemed oblivious to the dangers of war, and were quaintly humorous about the discomforts," a sentiment that Morgan's *The Morning Wash-up* (Figure 7) appears to depict.²⁸

The Morning Wash-up reveals men, women, and horses using a water fountain and trough. They all appear aloof as they go about their daily chores or find refreshment, but they all—no matter what their nationalities may be—are "in" this together, meaning both the war and the water trough. Whether or not Morgan intended the work to appear "cartoonish" or comical, the effect is apparent, especially

see Frank Luther Mott, *A History of American Magazines, Volume IV: 1885-1905* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1957), 723-727.

²¹ Several scholars have written about propaganda and its various forms, uses, goals, and implications in society and culture. These authors define "propaganda" in their own words, and I have chosen to combine those definitions into one that encompasses all the various voices and opinions that precede my own. See Alan Axelrod, *Selling the Great War: The Making of American Propaganda* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009); Garth S. Jowett and Victoria O'Donnell, *Propaganda and Persuasion*, fourth edition (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc., 2006); Anthony Pratkanis and Elliot Aronson, *Age of Propaganda: The Everyday Use and Abuse of Persuasion* (New York: W.H. Freeman, 2001); and Stewart Halsey Ross, *Propaganda for War: How the United States was Conditioned to Fight the Great War of 1914-1918* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company, Inc., 1996).

²² "America's Official Artists Abroad," *Collier's* 63, no. 7 (February 15,

1919): 16.

²³ "Château-Thierry," *Farm and Fireside* 43, no. 4 (April 1919): 10.

²⁴ Omar Bundy, "The Second Division at Château-Thierry," *Everybody's Magazine* 40, no. 3 (March 1919): 9-20, 62, 64.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 9. The three artists were George Harding, Wallace Morgan, and J. André Smith.

²⁶ Regarding the original title, see Morgan to Chief G-2-D, May 14, 1918. NARA, Records of the AEF (World War I), RG 120, Box 1, NM-91, Entry 224, Folder "Artists-Capt. Wallace Morgan, G-2-D."

²⁷ Archibald Roosevelt, "Lest We Forget," *Everybody's Magazine* 40, no. 6 (June 1919): 18-22, 90-93.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 19.

in regard to those whose derrières are prominently visible. The man who appears bent over with his face in the trough mimics the horse standing to his left. Also, the man's pants and the shadow between his legs mirror the horse's legs and tail, causing one to question if Morgan disliked the man so much as to equate him to a horse's backside. Regardless of Morgan's intent, the drawing complements Archibald Roosevelt's text that criticized the naiveté of some of his cohorts.

Thus, the popular press began to find ways to incorporate the official images in their pages, but the artworks found their most logical place in a new magazine, *The American Legion Weekly*, whose first issue appeared on Independence Day, 1919. A few months later the magazine began to publish the AEF art with Harvey Dunn's *The Sniper* (1918) appearing on the cover and emphasized with spot-coloring in red (Figure 8).²⁹ This marked the first time the magazine utilized color, and although the color choice was not true to the original, the coveted cover illustration had to have pleased Dunn and his military supervisors.

Dunn, likely the best known artist of the AEF 8, had contracted with numerous magazines, including *Collier's*, *Harper's*, *Ladies' Home Journal*, *McClure's*, *Redbook*, and *The Saturday Evening Post*, prior to his war service.³⁰ Unfortunately, his Army paintings and drawings did not arrive in the US in time to be published in any magazines in late 1918 and early 1919, yet his images were aggressively sought by Banning and art editors in the US throughout Dunn's tenure as an Army artist.

In fact, in September 1918, Banning inquired about Dunn's works, writing that "the magazines are awaiting their [Dunn's drawings and paintings] arrival with expectancy as is the Committee on Public Information through which the pictures will be distributed to the press."³¹ From June through November 1918, Dunn submitted to his commanding officer in France over thirty fully-finished paintings and drawings, many of them in his typical impasto, colorful, and ruggedly modern, manly style.³² Some of them arrived in America in late December 1918, just as the *Allied War Salon* was closing. Dunn's remaining artworks, however, were discovered in the spring of 1919 in the Signal Corps' photographic lab in Paris—forgotten but ready for shipment to the US.³³ Overall, this mismanagement tarnished the Army's reputation with artists and art editors, cost the CPI valuable time with the magazines, and significantly diminished the efficacy of the government's propaganda mission.

²⁹ *The American Legion Weekly* 1, no. 10 (September 5, 1919).

³⁰ For the best account of Dunn's life and career, see Robert F. Karolevitz, *Where Your Heart Is: The Story of Harvey Dunn, Artist* (Aberdeen, SD: North Plains Press, 1970). See also, the Harvey Dunn Files at the Helen Farr Sloan Library of the Delaware Art Museum, Wilmington, Delaware.

³¹ Banning to Smith, September 26, 1918, NARA, RG 111-HB, Box 1, Folder 4, Correspondence 1918.

³² See Dunn's monthly reports, NARA, RG 120, Box 1, NM-91, Entry

Inside the issue featuring Dunn's *Sniper* on the cover, an article by Captain William Moore touted the work of the AEF 8.³⁴ Moore, who served in France with the Signal Corps and who was a good friend of Major Banning, wrote,

These artists have done for the American army and the late war what never has been done before. They depicted war as it really is, as the soldier knows it who has been through it and while the public may never appreciate these war pictures, the American war artists of the A.E.F. will have the satisfaction of knowing they have handed on to succeeding generations a faithful reproduction of Armageddon.³⁵

Moore's article was written for *The American Legion Weekly's* audience, veterans of the Great War, yet his words seem targeted for Banning, other members of the Historical Branch, and art critics, many of whom never made it to France yet harshly criticized the AEF 8 and their artworks.

Over the next few months, *The American Legion Weekly* published over forty works by the AEF 8, mostly by Dunn and Harding, by incorporating the art into articles or as stand-alone montages. Readers took notice and submitted their compliments. For example, William M. Whitaker of Russellville, Kentucky, wrote about two drawings by William Aylward (Figure 9):

I was very much surprised when I picked up my copy of *The American Legion Weekly* of October 17 to see my old homes staring me in the face. The dugouts and shelters near Flirey, France, or to be exact, on the road from Flirey to Bernecourt...were occupied by Company B, Fifth Engineers, Seventh Division of which I was a member, from December 2 to December 7, 1918...I have a picture of this place which proves that our friend W.J. Aylward is some artist. It is readily recognized.³⁶

Much as Captain Moore predicted, veterans appreciated the official illustrations and were eager to vocalize their approval. Unfortunately, just as the images were gaining in popularity with *The American Legion Weekly* in late 1919, the War Department's Historical Branch began reducing its staff. It asked that all works on loan for exhibition or publishing be returned to the Army in order to transfer them to the

224, Folder "Artists—Capt. Harvey Dunn, G-2-D."

³³ Townsend, *War Diary of a Combat Artist*, 232.

³⁴ Captain William E. Moore, "Painted at the Front," *The American Legion Weekly* 1, no. 10 (September 5, 1919): 17.

³⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁶ William M. Whitaker, "Saw an Old 'Home'" in "Letters from Readers," *The American Legion Weekly* 1, no. 22 (November 28, 1919): 34.

Smithsonian's National Museum for permanent storage.³⁷

Therefore, the AEF combat art program, a significant and unprecedented investment in visual documentation and propaganda by the US Army, came to an abrupt end. Poor timing—an issue beyond the control of the artists themselves—proved to be one factor for the insipid dissemination of the official artworks. The magazines that eventually published the works as part of exhibition reviews, illustrations to factual war accounts, or as featured montages seem to have done so reluctantly or unenthusiastically. Several fac-

tors contributed to this, including the haphazard guidance the Army provided to the artists when they were in France, the inefficient censorship and dissemination process of the artworks, and the over-supply of war-related images already in circulation in the US. All these issues, as well as the tensions regarding pictorial representation and the aesthetic quality of the official artworks, reveal that the market for illustrations during the Great War was a competitive battle ground that wasn't necessarily won by the Army's official artists.

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37 Maj. Rowan P. Lemly, Pictorial Section, Historical Branch, War Plans Division, to Mr. William de Chastignier Ravenel, U.S. National Museum, Smithsonian Institution, August 11, 1919, RG 111-HB, Box 2, Folder 9, Correspondence 1919. From August 1919 to January 1920,

the deposit of the official collection occurred. See also, the Smithsonian Archives pertaining to the accession, Record Unit 305, number 64592. Currently the collection is housed at the Smithsonian's National Museum of American History.

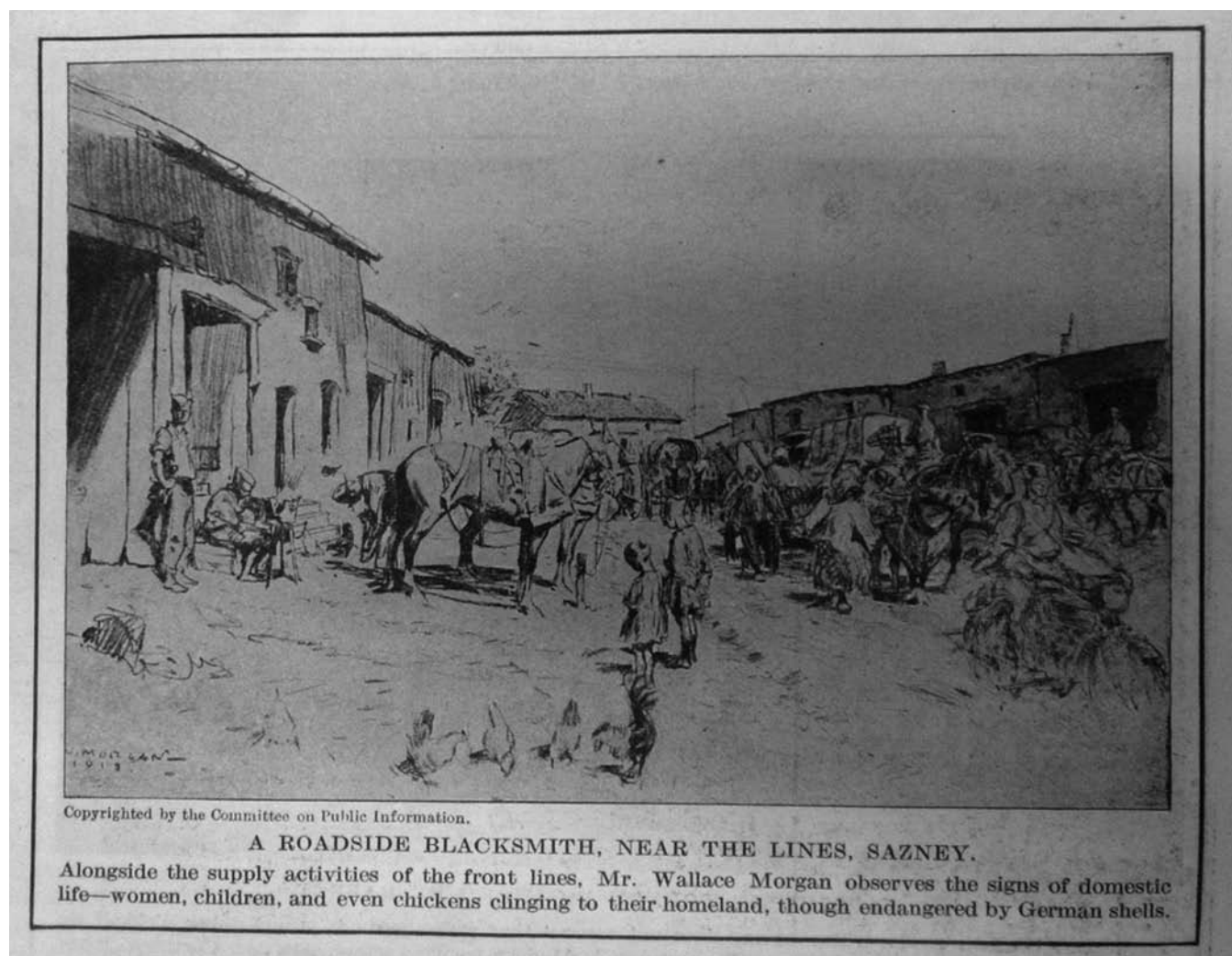


Figure 1. Captain Wallace Morgan, *A Roadside Blacksmith Near the Lines, Sanzey*, 1918, pencil on paper. Reprinted in "How American Artists Picture the War" *Literary Digest* LIX, no. 13 (December 28, 1918): 981.

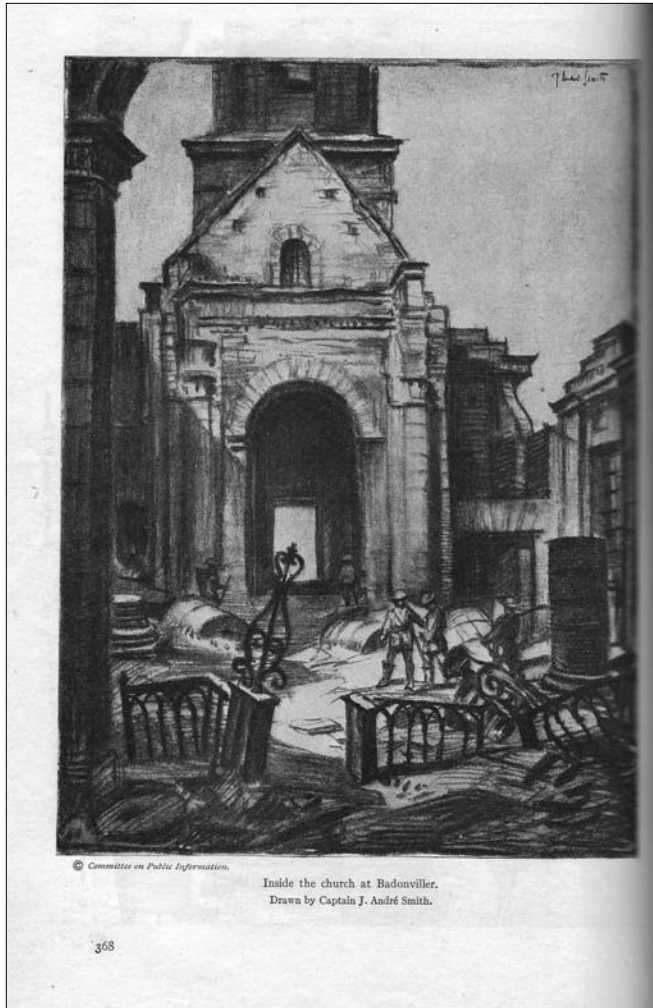


Figure 2. Captain J. André Smith, *American Troops Before a Church Badonviller—Inside the Church at Badonviller*, c. 1918, charcoal, pastel, and watercolor on paper. Reprinted in "A Selection of War Drawings by the Official Artists of the United States Army," *Scribner's Magazine* 65, no. 3 (March 1919): 368.

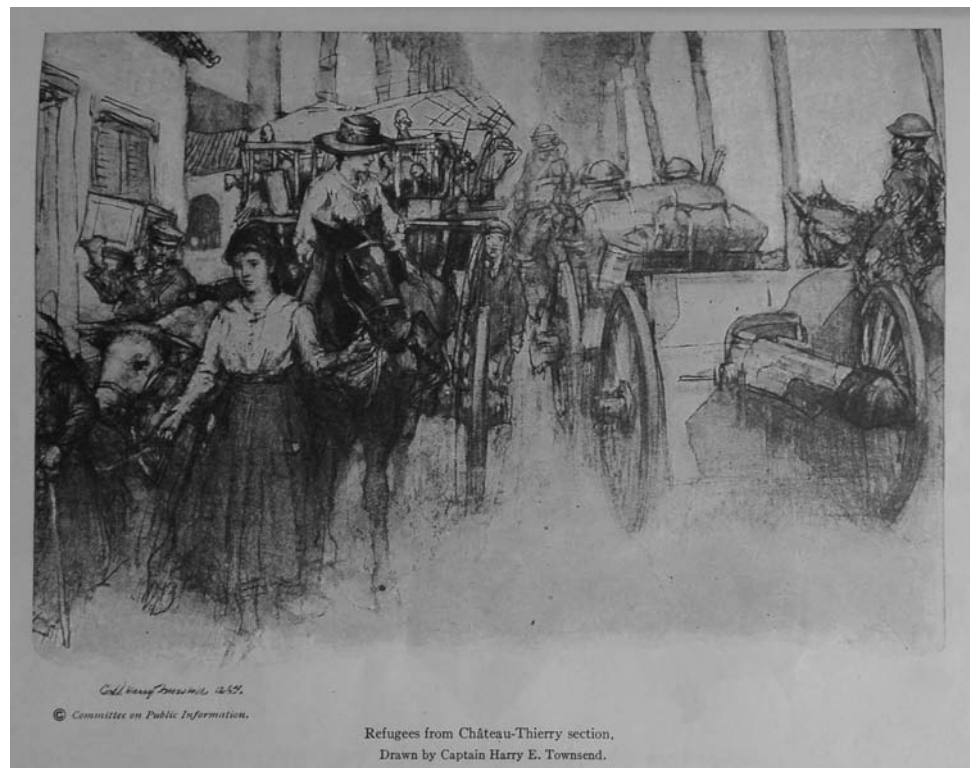


Figure 3. Captain Harry Townsend, *Refugees from Chateau Thierry Section*, 1918, charcoal on paper. Reprinted in "A Selection of War Drawings by the Official Artists of the United States Army," *Scribner's Magazine* 65, no. 3 (March 1919): 363.

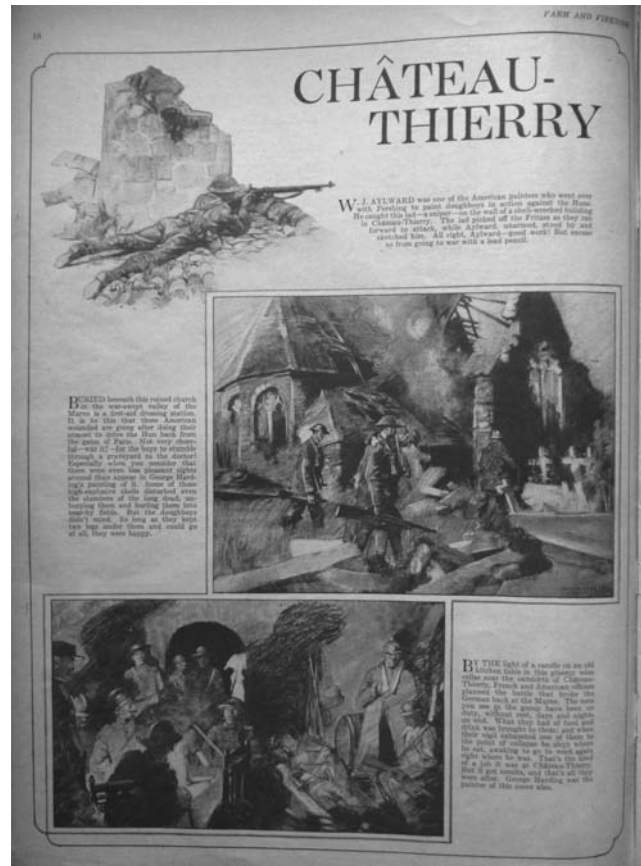
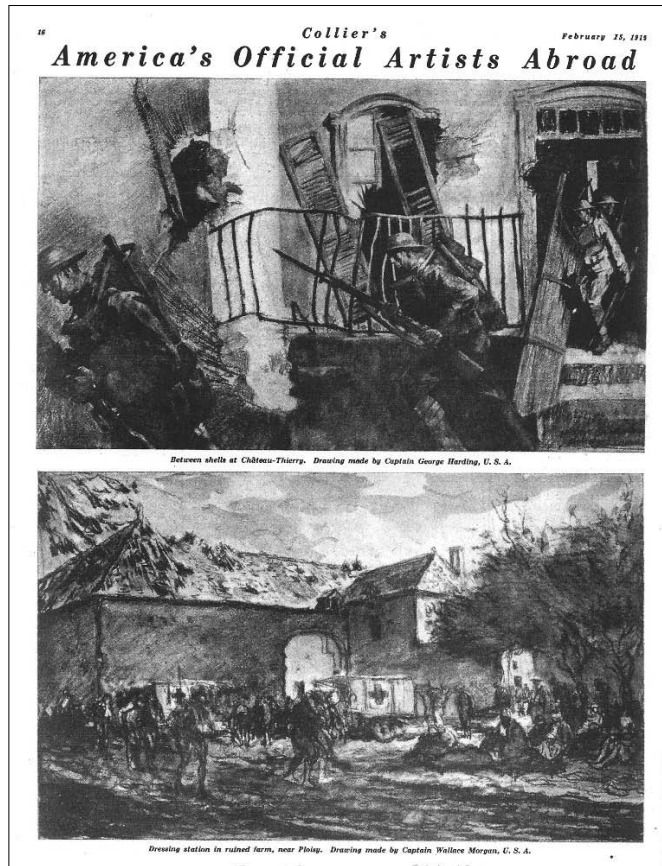


Figure 4. [above, left] TOP: Captain George Harding, *Between Shells, Chateau Thierry* (original title), 1918, charcoal and crayon on paper. BOTTOM: Captain Wallace Morgan, *Dressing Station in Ruined Farm* (original title), 1918, charcoal and watercolor on paper. Reprinted in "America's Official Artists Abroad," *Collier's* 63, no. 7 (February 15, 1919): 16.

Figure 5. [above, right] TOP: Captain William J. Aylward, *Sniper at Chateau Thierry* (original title), c. 1918, charcoal and gouache on paper. MIDDLE: Captain George Harding, *American Wounded* (original title), July 1918, charcoal and pastel on paper. BOTTOM: Captain George Harding, *American-French Conference* (original title), June 1918, charcoal and colored crayon on paper. Reprinted in "Château-Thierry," *Farm and Fireside* 43, no. 4 (April 1919): 10.

Figure 6. [left] Captain Wallace Morgan, *The G.C. at Dawn, Badonviller* (original title), c. 1918, charcoal on paper. Reprinted as *On the Watch at Dawn*, *Everybody's Magazine* 40, no. 3 (March 1919): frontispiece (page 7).

▶ Figure 7. [facing page, top] Captain Wallace Morgan, *The Morning Wash-up, Neufmaison* (original title), 1918, charcoal on paper. Reprinted by Captain Archibald Roosevelt, "Lest We Forget," *Everybody's Magazine* 40, no. 6 (June 1919): 19.

▶ Figure 8. [facing page, bottom left] Captain Harvey Dunn, *The Sniper* (original title), 1918, charcoal, pastel, and watercolor on paper. Reprinted on the cover of *The American Legion Weekly* 1, no. 10 (September 5, 1919).

▶ Figure 9. [facing page, bottom right] TOP: Captain William Aylward, *First Division Headquarters Kitchen San Mihiel Drive* (original title), 1918, charcoal and gouache on beige board. BOTTOM: Captain William Aylward, *Engineer Camp Near Flirey* (original title), 1918, charcoal, crayon, and gouache on heavy card. Reprinted in "Scenes of a Year Ago," *The American Legion Weekly* 1, no. 16 (October 17, 1919): 21.



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