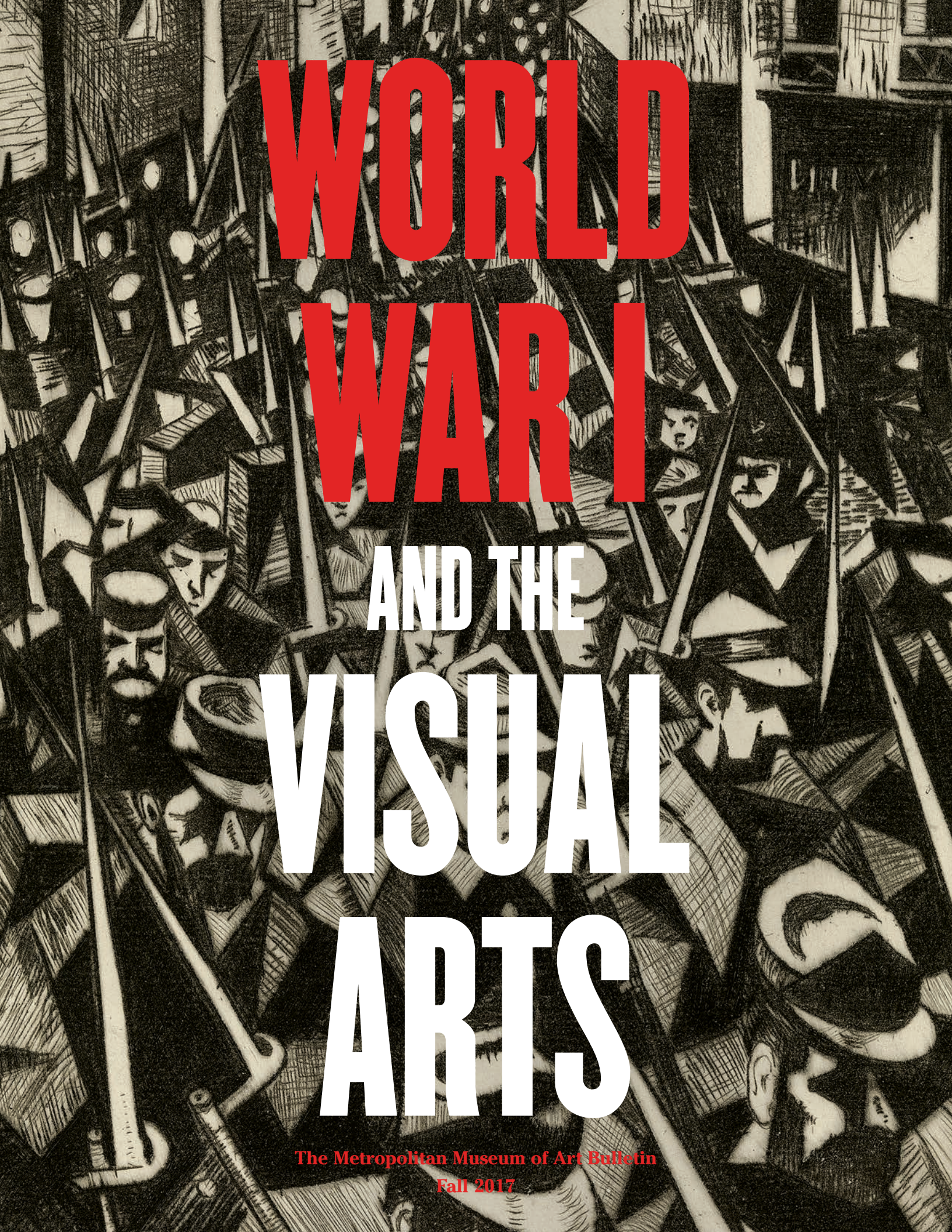

WORLD WAR I AND THE VISUAL ARTS

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WORLD WAR I AND THE VISUAL ARTS

Jennifer Farrell

With a contribution from Donald J. La Rocca

THE MET

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

PRESIDENT'S NOTE

Published on the occasion of the centenary of World War I, this *Bulletin*, which accompanies the related exhibition "World War I and the Visual Arts," on view at The Met until January 7, 2018, explores the myriad and often contradictory ways in which artists responded to the world's first modern war. Drawn primarily from The Met's collection of works on paper and supplemented with loans from private collections, both presentations move chronologically from the initial mobilization in early August 1914 to the tumultuous decade that followed the armistice of November 1918. Ranging from expressions of bellicose enthusiasm to sentiments of regret, grief, and anger, the selected works—from prints, photographs, and drawings to propaganda posters, postcards, and commemorative medals—powerfully evoke the conflicting emotions of this complex period.

In addition to depictions of combat, both the exhibition and the *Bulletin* examine the ways in which artists engaged nationalistic rhetoric; the power and destruction of the modern military arsenal; quotidian experiences at the front and in the trenches; and the unprecedented destruction inflicted upon cultural sites, the natural environment, and humanity itself. Also considered is the profound influence the war had on artists, many of whom served as soldiers or war artists and were subsequently moved to rethink the artist's role in society and, ultimately, the limitations of art in the face of such horrors.

The exhibition "World War I and the Visual Arts" was organized by Jennifer Farrell, Associate Curator in the Department of Drawings and Prints, with important contributions from Donald J. La Rocca, Curator, Department of Arms and Armor, and Allison Rudnick, Assistant Curator, Department of Drawings and Prints. We are grateful to them and to the lenders who supported the exhibition and made their works available to us: Mindell Dubansky, Dr. Lawrence and Mrs. Regina Dubin, Johanna and Leslie Garfield and their curator, Heather Hess, Richard Harris, the Hearn Family Trust, the late Howard Karshan and the Karshan family, Leonard A. Lauder and Lynda Klich, Mary Ellen Meehan and Robert Hicks, Dr. Stephen K. Scher and Janie Woo Scher, and one lender who wishes to remain anonymous.

We thank The Schiff Foundation, whose gracious support made this exhibition possible, and the General Delegation of the Government of Flanders to the USA, which supported the accompanying education programs. We are also grateful for the support of the Lila Acheson Wallace Fund for The Metropolitan Museum of Art, established by the cofounder of Reader's Digest, which makes The Met's quarterly *Bulletin* program possible.

As part of new research for this *Bulletin*, Donald La Rocca learned that the two Met employees cited on the memorial tablet in the Great Hall as having lost their lives during World War I, Charles French and John Reynolds, were both killed in action. On November 11, 2017, observed as Veteran's Day in the United States and Remembrance Day in Europe, let us pause to honor their sacrifice and remember all those whose lives have been touched by war.

Daniel H. Weiss
President and CEO
The Metropolitan Museum of Art

WORLD WAR I AND THE VISUAL ARTS

Jennifer Farrell

When World War I began, in the late summer of 1914, few could have foreseen the magnitude of the destruction and devastation to come. Many artists, writers, and intellectuals, like their fellow countrymen throughout Europe, initially welcomed the conflict, whether out of nationalist fervor or a naive desire to experience an "adventure" they assumed would be over in a few months. This belief was best exemplified by the famous declaration that the troops would be home "before the leaves fall from the trees," or, at the latest, by Christmas.[1] While some saw the war as an opportunity for national glory—the chance to spread their native culture or, conversely, to preserve "civilization" and the existing world order from an onslaught of barbarians—others believed that the conflict would usher in a more peaceful, spiritual, and antimaterialist era. All these romantic notions would soon vanish, however, as the grim reality of modern combat became apparent.

Artists and intellectuals, many of whom experienced combat firsthand, responded in myriad, often contradictory ways to the world's first modern war. The various sentiments the war provoked—from initial enthusiasm and hope for spiritual salvation, to shock and horror at the brutality of the fighting and the barbarous conditions, to deep mourning and anguished regret—are all present in the art of the period. This was true of artists from diverse backgrounds and aesthetic schools. Some drew heavily on prewar avant-garde experimentation, while others were pushed to a more traditional, figurative approach. Artists in applied and commercial arts likewise responded to the war in a variety of ways, from accepting government commissions to supporting the war effort by making fierce propaganda. Focusing on works on paper in The Met's collection, this *Bulletin* and the exhibition it accompanies examine how artists searched for an appropriate language to express what they lived through and to make visible the broad spectrum of beliefs and emotions associated with World War I.

War Begins

On June 28, 1914, Archduke Franz Ferdinand, heir to the Austro-Hungarian Empire, was assassinated with his wife in Sarajevo by Gavrilo Princip, a Bosnian Serb and self-described South Slav nationalist. Owing to a complex system of political alliances, by the beginning of August much of Europe (many of whose rulers were related either through blood or marriage) was at war. The initial conflict between Austria-Hungary and Serbia soon escalated to include Germany, Russia, France, and—after Germany invaded the neutral country of Belgium—Britain, among other nations. By October, the Ottoman Empire had aligned with Germany and Austria-Hungary (the Central Powers) against Russia, Great Britain, Japan, and France (the Allies) (fig. 1).

Mobilization was a decisive event and was supported by many artists on both sides. Théophile-Alexandre Steinlen, a Swiss-born French illustrator known for his colorful Art Nouveau works and his association with nineteenth-century leftist periodicals, used his work to benefit humanitarian charities serving Belgian war victims as well as French soldiers and their families. In *Mobilization* (also known as *La Marseillaise*) (fig. 2), Steinlen depicted French citizens rallying in the street under the guidance of the winged figure of Marianne, symbol of the French Republic since the Revolution. Her image and pose refer to François Rude's 1836 sculpture *La Marseillaise* at the Arc de Triomphe, named after the French national anthem, a traditional rallying cry for

1. Walter Trier (German, born Prague, 1890–1951), *Map of Europe in 1914*, 1914. Color lithograph; sheet, 14⅜ × 37¼ in. (36.4 × 94.5 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Gift of Mrs. William O'D. Iselin, 1961 (61.681.9b)

unity against oppression. Such iconography reflected the French perception of themselves as citizen-soldiers, particularly as France was the only republic among the European nations engaged in the war. Some French also vividly remembered the occupation of their country during the Franco-Prussian War and the subsequent loss of the provinces of Alsace and Lorraine. Despite the patriotic sentiment in *Mobilization*, Steinlen, like many artists, did not shy away from portraying the war's toll on soldiers, families, and society as a whole.

Natalia Goncharova, a Russian artist living in Paris when the war began, was among those who believed in the war's potential to wash away the old social and political orders in favor of a modern utopia. Shortly after mobilization she made a series of fourteen Neo-Primitivist lithographs she called *Mystical Images of War,* one of the earliest responses by an artist to the outbreak of hostilities. Combining references to traditional Russian subject matter (icons, saints, and heraldic arms) with details derived from modern life (military uniforms, airplanes, and smokestacks), Goncharova's prints conflate elements of Russian folk art and modernist abstraction. Spiritual connotations dominate the series, with several images drawn from biblical passages. A row of angels in *Christian Host* (fig. 3), for example, ushers a faceless group of Russian troops into battle from the clouds above, lifting their wings to guide and protect them. The serenity of the angels and soldiers frames the battle more as a religious mission—a contemporary fight between good and evil—than a conflict among nations.

A more secular but equally stirring perspective is evident in John Copley's *Recruits* (fig. 4), which captures the enthusiasm for enlisting during the early days of the war. British men from a variety of ages and classes are shown staring attentively ahead, conveying a sense of their shared duty and unity and the strong support for the war among the general population. Such scenes at

recruiting stations were later memorably evoked by the poet Philip Larkin in "MCMXIV": "Those long uneven lines / Standing as patiently / As if they were stretched outside / The Oval or Villa Park, / The crowns of hats, the sun / On moustached archaic faces / Grinning as if it were all / An August Bank Holiday lark; . . ."[2] By November 1914, however, much of the original British army had been killed, and the criteria for enlistment were revised. When the war began male volunteers had to be 5'8", but by October the minimum height had been lowered to 5'5" and in November it was lowered again to 5'3". The heavy British losses eventually prompted Parliament to pass the Military Service Act in 1916, which made all men from 18 to 41, with few exemptions, subject to conscription into the army.

Artists on both sides of the conflict made self-portraits in their uniforms, affirming their identities as both soldiers and patriots. Charles Camoin was drafted into the French military on August 2, 1914, one day before Germany declared war on France. (General mobilization had begun a day earlier in anticipation of this announcement.) Stationed in Dijon and then Saint-Dié, a small town in the Vosges region under constant assault because of its proximity to Germany, Camoin wrote frequently about life at the front to his friend Henri Matisse. In one letter he included the drawing *Self-Portrait as a Soldier* (fig. 5), in which he wears his *bleu horizon* uniform, so named because of the gray-blue cloth adopted by the French military in 1915. The neutral background, combined with Camoin's rigid, frontal pose and near expressionless gaze, gives the watercolor the appearance of an official portrait or some other image created primarily for identification.

Artists portrayed fellow troops as well, often those with whom they had bonded or formed some other kind of connection. Like many of his generation, the German artist Max Beckmann initially greeted the war with patriotic enthusiasm. He served as a medic on both the Eastern Front and in Belgium and sent back letters to acquaintances and to his wife, who published them in the magazine *Kunst und Künstler* and, eventually, in a small publication. Paul Cassirer (1871–1926), a publisher and art dealer in Berlin, likewise supported the war and enlisted at the outset. Despite the international tenor of the art he championed, Cassirer helped found the nationalistic, pro-war art and literary journal *Kriegszeit* (*Wartime*) shortly after combat began. Cassirer, who exhibited Beckmann's work and that of many of his peers, is the figure at right, wearing a German military uniform, in Beckmann's drypoint *Two Officers* (fig. 6). Cassirer served as an ambulance driver and received the Iron Cross (a Prussian military decoration) for his brave service, but like many others he grew disillusioned as the war progressed and by 1916 had replaced *Kriegszeit* with *Der Bildermann*, a left-leaning, antiwar journal (see fig. 45).

2. Théophile-Alexandre Steinlen (French, born Switzerland, 1859–1923), *Mobilization* (or *La Marseillaise*), 1915. Etching; plate, 21 × 16⅛ in. (53.2 × 41 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1924 (24.58.31)

3. Natalia Goncharova (French, born Russia, 1881–1962), *Christian Host*, from *Mystical Images of War*, 1914. Printed by T-va I. N. Kushnerev i Ko. Published by V. N. Kashin, Moscow. Lithograph; image, 12⅛ × 8¾ in. (30.6 × 22.2 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Bequest of William S. Lieberman, 2005 (2007.49.580)

4. John Copley (British, 1875–1950). *Recruits*, 1915. Lithograph; image, 14⅛ × 16⅛ in. (35.9 × 40.8 cm). Collection of Johanna and Leslie Garfield

5. Charles Camoin (French, 1879–1965), *Self-Portrait as a Soldier*, 1915. Charcoal and watercolor on paper, 7⅝ × 4⅜ in. (19.4 × 11.1 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; The Pierre and Maria-Gaetana Matisse Collection, 2002 (2002.456.23)

American artist Marsden Hartley was living in Berlin at the outbreak of the war. He had met and fallen in love with Prussian officer Karl von Freyburg in Paris in 1912 and subsequently followed him to Berlin, where the artist became fascinated by modern German culture and the city's military spectacles. Hartley remained there until the end of 1915, when the war forced him to return to the United States. The drawings related to Hartley's iconic 1914 painting *Portrait of a German Officer* (The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York) are, like the painting itself, part celebration and part memorial (fig. 7). The collagelike juxtaposition of military motifs, such as flags, uniforms, medals, and insignia, evokes the martial pageantry of Berlin, but the symbols also make specific allusions to Von Freyburg and to Hartley's other close friends who fought in the war. The number four, for instance, refers to the fourth regiment, in which Von Freyburg served before he was killed in battle in early October 1914. The black cruciform shape at bottom center represents the Iron Cross, awarded to Von Freyburg for valor.

Futurism and Vorticism

Italian poet Filippo Tommaso Marinetti had advocated for warfare as a means to achieve national glory and power as early as 1909, the year he published "The Founding and Manifesto of Futurism" on the front page

of the French journal *Le Figaro*. In this influential text, Marinetti lauded the accomplishments of the Futurists, a group of young Italian artists who were attempting to break with the classicism of the past and dismantle existing visual and verbal structures in order to reflect the sounds, images, and dynamism of modern life. Marinetti intended for his manifesto to announce the group and its philosophy to the international community and to serve as a veritable call to arms. His embrace of violence, danger, aggression, and, ultimately, war—in particular a modern conflict that would maximize speed, strength, and technological advances—are recurring themes: "We intend to glorify war—the only hygiene of the world—militarism, patriotism, the destructive gesture of anarchists, beautiful ideas worth dying for, and contempt for woman."[3]

In 1912, as part of his Futurist agenda, Marinetti developed *parole in libertà*, or "free-word" poetry, a radical form of writing that reconfigures words and sounds and eschews conventional syntax and structure. Featuring dispersed text, fragmented words, onomatopoeias, and distorted letters, these collage-poems could be interpreted both visually and verbally. *In the Evening, Lying on Her Bed, She Reread the Letter from her Artilleryman at the Front* (fig. 8), made during the war, represented the next stage in the Futurists' engagement with language: *tavole parolibere*, or free-word pictures, in which innovative typography and diverse pictorial elements are combined in a visual and aural cacophony. An implicit analogy is also made between Futurist poetry and weapons such as grenades and bombs. *In the Evening…* shows the silhouette of a woman reading a note from "her artilleryman" in the bottom right corner. The distorted and fragmented words thundering above her, both real and constructed, convey the sounds of battle (which Marinetti, who served in the war, knew firsthand) and the Futurists' fight against grammatical, artistic, and social conventions.

Gino Severini's *Still Life: Bottle + Vase + Journal + Table* (fig. 9) appears to reflect Marinetti's directive to "Try to live the war pictorially, studying it in all its marvelous mechanical forms (military trains, fortifications, wounded men, ambulances, hospitals, parades, etc.)."[4] Originally titled *Soldier=Vase*, the collage juxtaposes classic still-life objects (a bottle, vase, flowers, and a table) with sensationalist clippings from the French newspaper *La Presse*, arranged in bold diagonal and vertical strips on the sides of the composition. Dated September 3, 1914, these pasted papers contain photographs of troops at the front as well as articles about the French military and its weapons. Also visible is the headline "Le Rôle de l'Italie," a reference to the country's short-lived neutrality. The influence of Cubism, of which Severini was aware through artists and critics associated with that movement, is reflected in the papier-collé technique, yet the division of the surface into diagonal lines and different sections of tone exemplifies the Futurist

6. Max Beckmann (German, Leipzig 1884–1950 New York), *Two Officers (Zwei Autooffiziere)*, from the portfolio *Faces (Gesichter)*, 1915 (published 1919). Printed by Franz Hanfstaengl, Munich. Published by Marées-Gesellschaft, R. Piper & Co., Munich. Drypoint, 4½ × 6⅞ in. (11.4 × 17.5 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Purchase, Reba and Dave Williams Gift, 1999 (1999.232.2)

7. Marsden Hartley (American, 1877–1943), *Military Symbols 2*, 1914. Charcoal on paper, 24¼ × 18¼ in. (61.6 × 46.4 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Rogers Fund, 1962 (62.15.2)

8. Filippo Tommaso Marinetti (Italian, born Egypt, 1876–1944). *In the Evening, Lying on Her Bed, She Reread the Letter from her Artilleryman at the Front (Le Soir, Couchée dans son lit, elle relisait la lettre de son artilleur au front)*, 1917. Published in *Les mots en liberté futuristes* (1919). Relief print, 13¾ × 9⅛ in. (34.9 × 23.2 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Gift of W. Michael Sheehe, 1995 (1995.511.1)

9. Gino Severini (Italian, 1883–1966), *Still Life: Bottle + Vase + Journal + Table*, ca. 1914–15. Charcoal, gouache, and cut and pasted newspaper, 22⅛ × 18¾ in. (56.2 × 47.6 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Alfred Stieglitz Collection, 1949 (49.70.20)

10. Severini, *Train in the City*, 1915. Charcoal on paper, 19⅝ × 25½ in. (49.8 × 64.8 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Alfred Stieglitz Collection, 1949 (49.70.23)

desire to create the sensation of movement through "force lines" and formal contrasts.

Severini made numerous paintings and drawings of trains leaving Paris loaded with troops, weapons, and other supplies based on scenes he witnessed from his house in Igny and from his Paris apartment, which was near the Denfert-Rochereau station and afforded him a bird's-eye view. In *Train in the City* (fig. 10), the locomotive cuts through the town, leaving clouds of smoke in its wake. Trains also ferried injured soldiers back to Paris, yet rather than depict these sobering return trips, which vividly underscored the human cost of combat, Severini's images focused on the speed, power, and dynamism of the train and, by extension, the war itself.

The Futurists' glorification of modernity was paralleled in England by Vorticism, a short-lived literary and artistic movement that likewise advocated for the destruction of established cultural, political, and social orders. *Blast,* a journal founded by the British artist and writer Wyndham Lewis and the expatriate American poet Ezra Pound, provided the ideal forum for the Vorticists' artistic and literary works as well as their many manifestos. The first issue, published in 1914, before the war, concerned itself primarily with distinguishing Vorticism from other modernist movements; the second, titled "War Number," continued this mission while also addressing contemporary events. The editors and contributing artists positioned *Blast* as a supporter of the Allied war effort and Vorticism as an opponent of Germany and "junkerist" (or traditional) art, the latter of which, Lewis claimed, was especially prevalent in German "kultur":

> *Blast* finds itself surrounded by a multitude of other Blasts of all sizes and descriptions. This puce-coloured cockleshell will, however, try and brave the waves of blood, for the serious mission it has on the other side of World-War. The art of Pictures, the Theatre, Music, etc., has to spring up again with new questions and beauties when Europe has disposed of its difficulties. And just as there will be a reaction in the Public then to a more ardent gaiety, art should be fresher for the period of restraint. . . .
>
> Germany has stood for the old Poetry, for Romance, more stedfastly [*sic*] and profoundly than any other people in Europe. German nationalism is less realistic, is more saturated with the mechanical obsession of history, than the nationalism of England or France. . . . [5]

Despite his bellicose imagery and statements, Lewis took great pains to distinguish his support of the war effort—something other artists, such as those associated with the Bloomsbury group, did not share—from a general desire for combat and carnage: "As to

11. Wyndham Lewis (British, born Canada, 1882–1957), *Before Antwerp*, cover of *Blast*, no. 2, July 1915. Published by John Lane Co., London. Photographic reproduction, 12⅜ × 9¾ in. (31.2 × 24.7 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1967 (67.804.13[2])

Desirability, nobody but Marinetti, the Kaiser, and professional soldiers **WANT War**. And from that little list the Kaiser might have to be extracted."[6]

Lewis's cover for the second issue of *Blast* (fig. 11) is radical in its use of modernist forms but also plainly "war art" made in service to the Allied cause. Soldiers aligned in a row are barely distinguishable from the sharp diagonals, thick lines, and jagged edges of their surroundings. Their bodies are reduced to machinelike, angular forms, their rifles united behind the trench as they fight as one unit. The issue was filled with other abstract Vorticist images whose titles similarly evoke combat and the war. The French artist Henri Gaudier-Brzeska was represented by a photographic reproduction of his sculpture *Head of Ezra Pound* and an account titled "Vortex Gaudier-Brzeska (Written from the Trenches)," which included a note explaining that the sculptor has "been in the firing line since early in the war. . . . He has been constantly employed in scouting and patrolling and in the construction of wire entanglements in close contact with the Boches [slang for

German soldiers]."[7] What followed was Gaudier-Brzeska's description of his two months in combat, written in mostly uppercase letters for emphasis:

> THE BURSTING SHELLS, the volleys, wire entanglements, projectors, motors, the chaos of battle DO NOT ALTER IN THE LEAST, the outlines of the hill we are besieging. A company of PARTRIDGES scuttle along before our very trench.
>
> IT WOULD BE FOLLY TO SEEK ARTISTIC EMOTIONS AMID THESE LITTLE WORKS OF OURS.
>
> THIS PALTRY MECHANISM, WHICH SERVES AS A PURGE TO OVER-NUMEROUS HUMANITY.
>
> THIS WAR IS A GREAT REMEDY.
>
> IN THE INDIVIDUAL IT KILLS ARROGANCE, SELF-ESTEEM, PRIDE.[8]

Below his statement was a small note from the editors announcing that Gaudier-Brzeska, promoted twice for "gallantry," had been killed on June 5, 1915, at Neuville St. Vaast.[9]

Also included in *Blast* 2 was Christopher Nevinson's woodcut *On the Way to the Trenches*, a theme he also

12. Christopher Richard Wynne Nevinson (British, 1889–1946), *Returning to the Trenches*, 1916. Drypoint; plate, 6 × 8⅛ in. (15.2 × 20.4 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Rogers Fund, 1968 (68.510.3)

13. Nevinson, *A Dawn 1914*, 1916. Drypoint; plate, 7 × 5¾ in. (17.6 × 14.6 cm). Collection of Johanna and Leslie Garfield

14. Nevinson, *Troops Resting*, 1916. Drypoint; plate, 7¼ × 9½ in. (18.4 × 24.1 cm). Collection of Johanna and Leslie Garfield

explored in the 1916 drypoint *Returning to the Trenches* (fig. 12). In the fall of 1914, Nevinson, unable to enlist in the British army, volunteered for an ambulance unit serving northern France and Belgium. In both images he conveyed the dynamism of a seemingly impenetrable line of French soldiers (known as *poilus*, slang for "the hairy ones") whom he had encountered. Dressed in their distinctive 1914 uniforms, they advance with purpose and determination, an effect amplified by the faceted forms that convey a sense of endless, repetitive movement. Individual features are minimized and further obscured by capes, hats, raised bayonets, and bladelike designs on the shields, while the broad, sweeping strokes that constitute the men's lower bodies further unify the group.

In *A Dawn 1914* (fig. 13), which depicts a similar mass of French soldiers moving steadily forward, Nevinson may have been reacting to his friend Severini's images of war trains cutting through the landscape (*Train in the City* was made the same year). The line of soldiers is seemingly endless, an impression emphasized by the dramatically receding perspective, elevated vantage point, and repetitive forms. The soldiers, neither on a battlefield nor lined up on a desolate road, are shown frontally and in a zigzag formation as they navigate the compressed space of a town. While there is a profound sense of movement and power, the latter amplified by raised bayonets that seem to puncture the air, the fatigue of the troops is evident, as is their exposure and vulnerability to attack.

Before the war Nevinson had been affiliated with the Futurists, even writing and publishing a manifesto with Marinetti detailing all that was wrong with British art and culture.[10] Although it is not surprising that he applied a Futurist aesthetic of repetitive geometric shapes, machinelike forms, and a sense of force and speed to his work, unlike many contemporaries in the movement he did not fetishize violence and destruction. Rather, he was severely traumatized by the horrors he had witnessed on the front, an experience that greatly affected how he portrayed combat and troops as well as his views on war. In his autobiography, Nevinson wrote that he made war images "without pageantry without glory, and without the over-coloured heroic that had made up the tradition of all war paintings up to this time. . . . No man saw pageantry in the trenches."[11]

Nevinson's antiwar sentiments are clearly on view in *Troops Resting* (fig. 14), where, rather than a forceful column marching with steely determination, he portrayed an exhausted group of French soldiers wearing *casques Adrian* (steel helmets from 1915), whose form is repeated in their kits, supplies, and even their food. By this point the French army had suffered enormous losses, and the soldiers' mental and physical fatigue is apparent. Nevinson, later an official British war artist, was

15. Maurice Langaskens (Belgian, 1884–1946), *The Grenadier André Coulemans (The Cellist)*, 1917. Watercolor, colored pencil, and graphite, 33 × 27 in. (83.8 × 68.6 cm). Hearn Family Trust

16. Steinlen, *The Exodus—1915 (L'Exode—1915)*, 1915. Lithograph; image, 18⅞ × 16⅛ in. (48 × 41 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Gift of Mrs. Edward C. Moën, 1960 (60.593.16)

reprimanded by the government for representing the brutality of war and the toll it took on the troops, to which he responded that he refused to portray what he derisively termed the "castrated lancelots" found in illustrated papers.[12]

Belgian artist Maurice Langaskens also depicted fellow soldiers as everyday men rather than idealized figures who felt neither fear nor despair. Langaskens enlisted in the Belgian army in August 1914 and was almost immediately captured by the Germans. Many of his works refer to his wartime experiences, including on-site portraits of Allied soldiers made at the prisoner-of-war camp where he was confined until 1918. Instead of the carnage of modern warfare, Langaskens probed the isolation and melancholy of individuals. In *The Grenadier André Coulemans (The Cellist)* (fig. 15), a remarkable portrait of an imprisoned soldier, he captures a moment of civilized humanity, symbolized by the cello and musical scores, that persists even in a wartime jail cell.

Atrocities of War

Following the German invasion of Belgium and northern France, brutal acts against noncombatants—from mass executions of villagers, including women and small children, to the destruction of towns and cultural centers—were widely reported, shocking the public and leading to the characterization of the Germans as "huns" and of their "kultur" as destructive and uncivilized. Steinlen's lithograph *The Exodus—1915* (fig. 16), also known as the "March of the Orphans," takes as its subject the hundreds of thousands of men, women, and children who fled Belgium during World War I. Less than one month into the fighting, many of the refugees made their way by train and boat to France and Britain, where they were sheltered and cared for by state organizations and charities.

George Bellows's *Bacchanale* (fig. 17), from his *War Series*—the artist's response to published reports of atrocities in Belgium—evokes traditional renderings of orgiastic drunken festivities celebrating the Roman god Bacchus. Rather than a celebration, however, Bellows portrayed a savage scene of murder, mutilation, and sadism. Bellows had opposed American involvement until he read the reports of the events in Belgium (often sensationalized) in the press. He insisted that the *War Series*, inspired in large part by Goya's *Disasters of War*, was addressed to those who had committed the atrocities and not the German people more generally, writing that "against that guilty clique and all its tools, who organized and let loose upon innocence every diabolical device and insane instinct, my hatred goes forth, together with my profound reverence for the victims."[13]

Also widely condemned were attacks on French and Belgian cultural and historic sites and, by extension, the

culture and history of the countries themselves. Perhaps the most discussed were the deliberate burning of the Louvain library in Belgium and the bombing of Notre-Dame Cathedral in Reims, France. As the historian Alan Kramer has noted, "Cultural destruction was not merely an incidental phenomenon of the Great War, but intrinsic to it. Intellectuals anticipated and welcomed the war, and played the leading role in the mobilization of culture and minds. They popularized the idea of the war to defend civilization, as the Allies saw it, or a war to defend culture, as Germany saw it."[14]

The German army began bombing Reims Cathedral in early September 1914, a widely reported event that reinforced the stereotype of a brutal and barbaric army intent on destroying French culture. A masterpiece of Gothic architecture, Reims was more than a church; the cathedral was the site of coronations of French monarchs (Clovis, the first king of France, was baptized on the site in 511) and was thus fundamentally linked to national identity. The attack on the cathedral galvanized artists and intellectuals on both sides of the conflict. Many French, enraged that such a historic structure was targeted, viewed the shelling as an attack on the nation's soul. The Symbolist poet Paul Fort, a Reims native, addressed an anger-filled poem to the "Infamous [German]

17. George Bellows (American, 1882–1925), *Bacchanale (Second Stone, Second State)*, from *War Series*, 1918. Printed and published by the artist. Lithograph; image, 18⅜ × 24 in. (46.7 × 61 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Gift of Loretta Hines Howard, 1956 (56.519)

18. Severini, *Flying over Rheims*, 1915. Charcoal on paper, 22⅜ × 18⅝ in. (56.8 × 47.3 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Alfred Stieglitz Collection, 1949 (49.70.22)

19. Nevinson, *That Cursed Wood*, 1917. Drypoint; plate, 9⅞ × 13¾ in. (24.9 × 34.9 cm). Collection of Johanna and Leslie Garfield

general, Baron von Plattenberg," whom he called "the author responsible for this crime," and his "vaunting Huns."[15]

In contrast, German propaganda accused the French of using the cathedral for war-related activities, and several German artists and intellectuals, including art critics, celebrated its destruction. Writing to an artillery officer, the German artist Franz Nölken dismissed the "sanctimonious blather in the press and among sensitive people about the shot-up cathedrals like Rheims . . . Just make

sure you smash everything up; in the first place the French don't deserve any better, and secondly our good pieces will rise in value. The statues in Rheims are very nice, for sure, those in Bamberg, for example, are no worse; and would people be *so* outraged if they were shot to ruins?"[16]

Severini's *Flying over Rheims* (fig. 18) was likely inspired by Fort's poem (Fort was the artist's father-in-law). Working from an aerial photograph printed in a newspaper, Severini portrayed the building as seen from above between propeller blades. Amid the shattered forms are one of the cathedral's towers and the famous rose windows, which miraculously survived the bombing and fires. Although the Futurists typically praised war and the speed and power of modern technology, *Flying over Rheims* is imbued with a more mournful, melancholic tone.

Robert Burnand's illustrated book *Reims: La Cathédrale* follows a young French soldier who, after witnessing the bombing, charges a group of German soldiers to avenge its destruction. Gravely injured, he is sent to a hospital, where, during a feverish dream, he is visited by an angel representing the spirit of the cathedral. She relays the history of the church and its connection to the French people, all of which are depicted through color illustrations by Eduardo García Benito. In the morning, the soldier wakes in better health, with the angel assuming the form of a female nurse. Further linking the cathedral with the French people is the final image, which, anticipating peace and prosperity at the war's end, shows a rainbow rising over the gloriously restored cathedral, above which the spirit of the angel floats, her arms extended triumphant over both the church and a landscape filled with plentiful harvest and joyful families.

Even within France, however, the outrage over Reims was not universal. Fernand Léger, who saw military service as a sapper (soldiers who helped build trenches and other infrastructure), was much less sentimental than either Fort or Severini. In a letter to the artist André Mare written just two months after the destruction, he stated "When I hear our French bourgeois howling because they [the Germans] have hit Reims Cathedral, I find it idiotic. Either we're at war or we're not. From the moment you cease to have any regard for human life, you're not going to be much bothered about a fine monument or a private house."[17]

No-Man's-Land

By the fall of 1914 the devastation of World War I was already so horrific that Pope Benedict XV referred to it

20. Edward J. Steichen (American, born Luxembourg, 1879–1973), *Aerial View of Vaux, France, after the Bombing Attack*, 1918. Gelatin silver print; image, 14⅝ × 19⅛ in. (37 × 48.6 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Gilman Collection, Purchase, Joseph M. Cohen Gift, 2005 (2005.100.445)

21. Pierre Bonnard (French, 1867–1947), *In the Somme, Village in Ruins (Dans la Somme, village en ruines)*, ca. 1916. Colored chalks and watercolor, 8⅜ × 11¾ in. (21.3 × 29.8 cm). Private collection

22. John Singer Sargent (American, 1856–1925), *Wheels in Vault*, 1918. Watercolor, graphite, and wax, 15⅜ × 20 13⁄16 in. (39.1 × 52.9 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Gift of Mrs. Francis Ormond, 1950 (50.130.56)

23. André Devambez (French, 1867–1944), *The Crazed One (Le Fou)*, from *Twelve Etchings (Douze eaux-fortes)*, 1915. Etching with aquatint; plate, 10¼ × 13¾ in. (26 × 35 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Purchase, Jockey Hollow Foundation Gift, 2017 (2017.188m)

as "the suicide of Europe." Still, the war intensified over the next three years, drawing in more countries, including Italy in 1915 and then, two years later, the United States. Beginning in late 1917 postrevolutionary Russia (now led by the Soviet regime) negotiated an end to combat on the Eastern Front and formally withdrew from the war in early 1918. Exhausted and disillusioned, some military divisions, especially among the French, mutinied, with soldiers refusing to fight or return to the trenches unless conditions improved.

During this period, armies on both sides employed not only traditional methods and equipment, including bayonets, column formations, cavalry, and animals for transport and communication, but also advanced technologies, such as poison gas, submarines, airplanes, machine guns, and tanks. These new and powerful forms of military technology caused previously unimaginable types of injuries and numbers of casualties.

In *That Cursed Wood* (fig. 19), Nevinson graphically portrayed the horrific destruction of nature and humanity that characterized combat on the Western Front. His no-man's-land is a bleak, war-torn landscape scarred by shells and punctuated by seared, mangled trees resembling grave markers. Above the pockmarked surface fly several airplanes that resemble giant insects. Originally employed for reconnaissance, airplanes were now being used for military offensives and to establish air blockades. The title derives from British writer and soldier Siegfried Sassoon's poem "At Carnoy" (1916), which tells of a brigade "crouched among thistle-tufts" as twilight fades. Despite the surroundings, the exhausted soldiers attempt to rest in preparation for the next day: "To-morrow we must go / To take some cursèd Wood . . . O world God made!"[18]

That Cursed Wood corresponds closely to scenes of war photographed by Edward Steichen, who was living in France when the war began. Inspired by the Civil War photographs of Mathew Brady, Steichen volunteered to document the war for the military after returning to New York with his family. Although above the age limit, he enlisted in the summer of 1917 and served on the Western Front as chief of the Photographic Section of the American Expeditionary Forces. Steichen's aerial photography provided valuable topographical information as well as insights on the position and movements of German troops. *Aerial View of Vaux, France, after the Bombing Attack* (fig. 20) shows a bird's-eye view of the remnants of the French village of Vaux, which was officially declared "destroyed" from damage sustained in fierce artillery battles.

When the war began, Pierre Bonnard, like many in France, attempted to enlist, but at nearly fifty he was judged unable to serve. Determined nonetheless to paint the war, Bonnard went to northern France with fellow Nabi artists Maurice Denis and Edouard Vuillard. *In the Somme, Village in Ruins* (fig. 21)—one of the few


Le fou

images of war by Bonnard, who is better known for his domestic interiors and female nudes—depicts the village of Ham, which was heavily bombed during intense fighting.[19] A group of *poilus* dressed in blue stand on the right, across from villagers shown in front of rubble and ruins.

American painter John Singer Sargent, who lived most of his life in Europe, was in Austria when war was declared but was able to get away to London, where he spent the majority of the war without incident. In July 1918 Sargent traveled to northern France and Belgium with the British army as an official war artist, commissioned by British Prime Minister Lloyd George to make a large painting of the collaboration between English and American soldiers. Embedded with a military unit, Sargent, who was over sixty at the time, made numerous sketches of landscapes, mules, truck convoys, dugouts, hospital cots, and British soldiers, known as "Tommies." Interiors of bombed structures, particularly churches (fig. 22), were a frequent subject, no doubt inspired by the death of Sargent's beloved niece and muse, Rose-Marie Ormond, who was crushed by a vault in March 1918 when a German bomb destroyed the Parisian church where she was attending a concert, killing some ninety people.

André Devambez's *Twelve Etchings* vividly depict the horrors of war as experienced by soldiers on the front and civilians in occupied areas. Where *Shell Holes* illustrates the destructive potential of contemporary artillery, in *The Crazed One* (fig. 23) a man gone mad runs through the remnants of a bombed-out town. Devambez often relied on an elevated vantage point to convey the large numbers of people and structures consumed by the fighting, the seeming insignificance of each soldier, and the vast amount of destruction unleashed. Troops are shown huddling in the rain, hiding in trenches, shivering in the cold, and dodging shellfire. Civilians, including women, children, and the elderly, are taken hostage, used as human shields, and deprived of food and coal.

Propaganda

Propaganda played a powerful role in influencing public opinion during the war and in the decade following the armistice. Posters, periodicals, postcards, illustrated books, and other printed materials rallied support for the war effort, encouraged investment in war bonds and donations to charity, and communicated news about the fighting to a broad public. Modern technology, which had revolutionized the machinery of war, allowed publishers to produce and disseminate propaganda rapidly and on a scale previously unimaginable, whether to encourage animosity toward the enemy, criticize the war, or advocate for peace.

Inexpensive to produce and easily shared and collected, postcards were a particularly efficient vehicle for propaganda. *A Powerful Collision* (fig. 24) employs a comic photomontage of a grinning German soldier towering over three cowering figures representing France, England, and Russia to suggest the strength of Germany and its army. In contrast, the British postcard *Fingers of Fate* (fig. 25) portrays representatives of the Allied forces on the fingernails and wrist of a clenched fist, which crushes Germany's Kaiser Wilhelm II. Other postcards anticipated the conquest of rival countries. Several German examples feature zeppelins—rigid airships used for reconnaissance and bombing missions—hovering ominously over iconic landmarks such as the Eiffel Tower and London's Saint Paul's Cathedral (fig. 26). Their captions emphasize German power while taunting French and British audiences. Trade cards (small illustrated cards meant to be collected and exchanged) were also used for war-related propaganda. Those produced by the American firm Underwood & Underwood, which were distributed in cigarette packs, feature images of soldiers, scenes at the front, and animals used in war, such as homing pigeons, whose feathers contained messages written in code (fig. 27).

Posters played an especially important role during World War I, as illustrators of varying renown were called upon to produce forceful images that could be quickly and easily understood by a diverse audience. In Harry R. Hopps's *Destroy This Mad Brute—Enlist* (fig. 28), one of many posters designed to build support for American entry into the war, a crazed gorilla represents a German soldier, whose nationality and bloodlust are represented by a *Pickelhaube* (a spiked helmet) with "militarism" across its band. In his right hand is a giant bloody club with the word "kultur," while in the other he holds a half-naked abducted woman. Behind him is a bombed landscape, whose ruins recall destroyed monuments such as Reims Cathedral and Belgium's magnificent medieval Cloth Hall. To make the threat even more terrifying and real to Americans, the gorilla, drooling in anticipation of his conquest, crosses a body of water to emerge on land marked "America."

One can compare the savagery of Hopps's image with Fritz Erler's poster for war bonds (fig. 29). Rather than a "mad brute," the Austro-Hungarian soldier is shown as a vulnerable human being who might inspire feelings of sympathy, even protection. The reality of the war is evident in the barbed wire curling behind him and the gas mask hanging around his neck, yet his face and hands are exposed, revealing him as flesh and blood. He gazes deep into the distance, with two crosses in his piercing eyes that present him more as a martyr for his country than a crazed invader destroying everything in his wake.

Medals, usually decorated with sculptural figures rendered in low relief, have been popular since the Renaissance to celebrate, memorialize, or vilify

24. *A Powerful Collison (Ein kräftiger Zusammenstoss)*, German, 1914. Published by E. A. Schwerdtfeger & Co., Berlin. Gelatin silver print; image, 3½ × 5⅜ in. (8.7 × 13.7 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Twentieth-Century Photography Fund, 2010 (2010.296)

25. *Fingers of Fate—The Tightening Grip*, British, ca. 1916. Gelatin silver print; image, 3½ × 5⅜ in. (8.9 × 13.7 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Twentieth-Century Photography Fund, 2010 (2010.193)

26. *Dear Moon You Go So Quietly Through the Evening Clouds! (Guter Mond du gehst so stille durch die abendwolken hin!)*, German, ca. 1917. Color lithograph; sheet, 4 × 6 in. (10.2 × 15.2 cm). Leonard A. Lauder Postcard Archive. Promised gift, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

27. Underwood & Underwood (American), *Belgian Carrier Pigeon, with Its Message in Code* (card no. 74), from the series *World War I Scenes (T121)*, 1914–15. Published by American Tobacco Company. Photolithograph; sheet, 2⅝ × 1⅝ in. (6.7 × 3.9 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; The Jefferson R. Burdick Collection, Gift of Jefferson R. Burdick (63.350.246.121.78)

28. Harry R. Hopps (American, 1869–1937), *Destroy This Mad Brute—Enlist*, 1917. Color lithograph; image, 38¾ × 25⅝ in. (98.4 × 65.1 cm). Collection of Mary Ellen Meehan

29. Fritz Erler (German, 1868–1940), *Help Us Win!*, 1917. Color lithograph; image, 22¾ × 17½ in. (57.8 × 44.5 cm). Collection of Mary Ellen Meehan

30. Karl Goetz (German, 1875–1950), *America's Peace Terms (Wilson's Botschaft, Die 14 Punkte),* 1918. Copper alloy (cast), Diam. 2¼ in. (5.8 cm). Collection of Dr. Stephen K. and Janie Woo Scher

31. Paul Manship (American, 1885–1966), *The Foe of Free Peoples/Kultur in Belgium*, 1918. Copper alloy (struck), Diam. 2⅝ in. (6.6 cm). Collection of Dr. Stephen K. and Janie Woo Scher

individuals, events, and institutions. World War I sparked a resurgence of medallic art among the principal participants in the conflict. While the majority of medals produced in France, England, and the United States skillfully utilized conventional artistic styles, German artists such as Karl Goetz developed new visual idioms, employing stark and often gruesome imagery to powerfully convey darker aspects of the war. One medal by Goetz lampoons President Woodrow Wilson and his peace plan as Moses displaying the Ten Commandments (fig. 30). Another by American artist Paul Manship shows Kaiser Wilhelm, ruler of Germany, as a brutish soldier adorned with a "rosary" of human skulls (fig. 31).[20]

Le Mot, a short-lived wartime French literary and artistic journal published by the artists Jean Cocteau and Paul Iribe, was characterized by its fiercely nationalistic and anti-German perspective. Featuring mainly French artists, the publication either mocked the enemy (depicting the Kaiser as a jack-in-the-box toy, for instance) or sought to portray his brutality. Iribe's cover for the January 1915 issue (fig. 32) shows a German officer, his face distorted in rage, holding a smoking gun over the body of a young boy he has killed. The caption ("An era without pity") and title (*After the Execution*) evoke the atrocities committed by the German army in Belgium and northern France.

German cultural journals, such as *Kriegszeit* and *Simplicissimus,* likewise functioned as organs of propaganda. Originally a leftist satirical journal, *Simplicissimus* (named for an absurdist character in a seventeenth-century German novel) became fiercely nationalistic after the war began. The cover from June 25, 1918, *On the Marne* (fig. 33), shows a female figure wearing a Phrygian cap (representing Marianne) slumped over a casket with a dead rooster (another symbol of France) floating on a river of blood. Despite the intimations of a French slaughter, the specific engagement the image refers to, the Second Battle of the Marne, was a substantial defeat for Germany and the country's last major offensive on the Western Front.

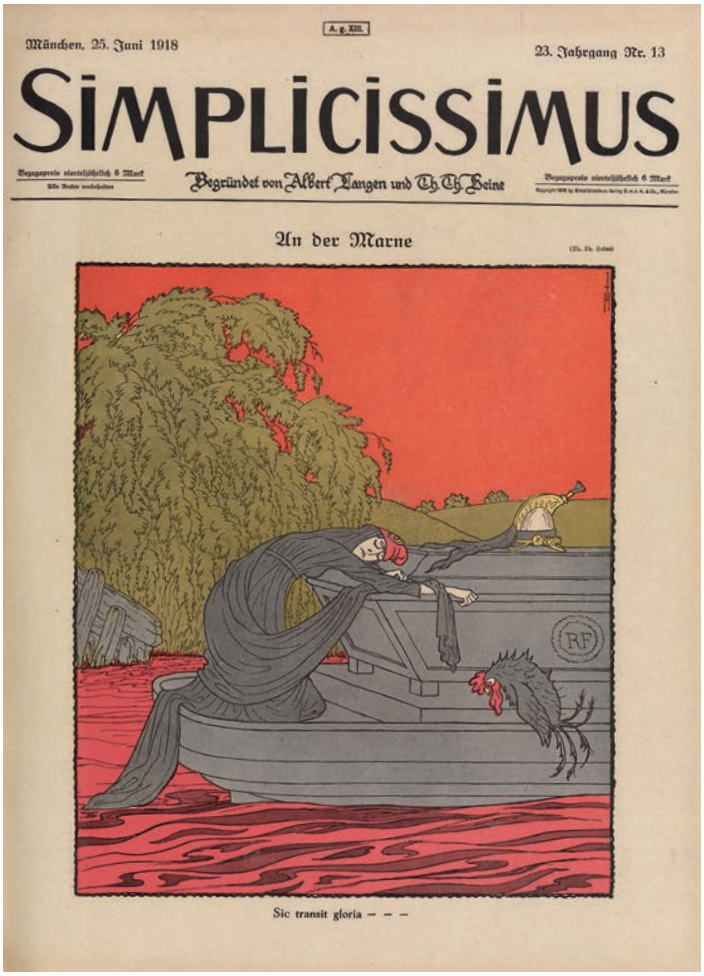
Similar French cultural identifiers can be found on a pair of war toiles (*toiles de guerre*), both based on traditional French printed cotton fabrics (see inside front and back covers). Intended to boost patriotism, they incorporate various nationalist symbols and victorious motifs rooted in ancient classicism, including wreaths and trophies of weapons (victory), fasces (strength in numbers), Phrygian caps (freedom), cockerels (France), and the classically garbed figure of Marianne (reason, liberty, and the personification of the French people), all rendered in a manner at once up-to-date and traditional, topical and nostalgic.

This kind of imagery, along with the so-called *images d'Epinal*—colorful faux-naive renderings of popular subjects—represented patriotic, even nationalist


Helft uns siegen!
Erler
zeichnet
die
Kriegsanleihe
Entwurf: Prof. Fritz Erler, München.
Druck: Hollerbaum & Schmidt Berlin N.


BOTSCHAFT
8
JAN
1918
WILSONS


THE · FOE · OF · FREE · PEOPLES
HIS
ROSARY



32. Paul Iribe (French, 1883–1935), *After the Execution* (*Après l'exécution*), cover of *Le Mot* 1, no. 5 , January 9, 1915. Color woodcut and letterpress; overall, 16½ × 11 in. (41.8 × 28 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Gift of Lincoln Kirstein, 1969 (69.503[5])

33. Thomas Theodor Heine (German, 1867–1948), *On the Marne (Un der Marne)*, cover of *Simplicissimus*, vol. 13, June 25, 1918. Published by Albert Langen Verlag, Munich. Lithograph; 15⅜ × 11⅞ in. (39 × 30 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1964 (64.651[33])

34. *September 11*, from the series *Franco-German Battles*, French, 1914. Published by Lorraine, Paris. Color lithograph; 4 × 6 in. (10.2 × 15.2 cm). Leonard A. Lauder Postcard Archive. Promised gift, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

35. Fernand Léger (French, 1881–1955), *Two Soldiers, War Drawing (Deux soldats, dessin de guerre)*, 1915. Graphite on paper, 5¾ × 5 in. (14.5 × 12.5 cm). Dubin Family Collection

sentiments while also promoting a more traditional "French" aesthetic. In addition to publications such as *Le Mot*, many illustrated books produced during this time transcended war-related propaganda to address broader concerns regarding the fate of French culture. The fear that France was losing its position as an artistic center—and French artists their dominance owing to the rise of international avant-garde movements such as Cubism and Expressionism—was particularly pronounced during the war, a time when many saw the arts in France, indeed French civilization, as under assault.

Artists at War

The French were not wrong to fear a German invasion. According to the Schlieffen Plan (the master strategy behind the initial German invasion of France and Belgium), the goal was to capture Paris within the first six weeks. The Germans ultimately made it within twenty-five miles of the capital—had they been successful, it would have been the second invasion of Paris in fifty years—before being pushed back by Allied

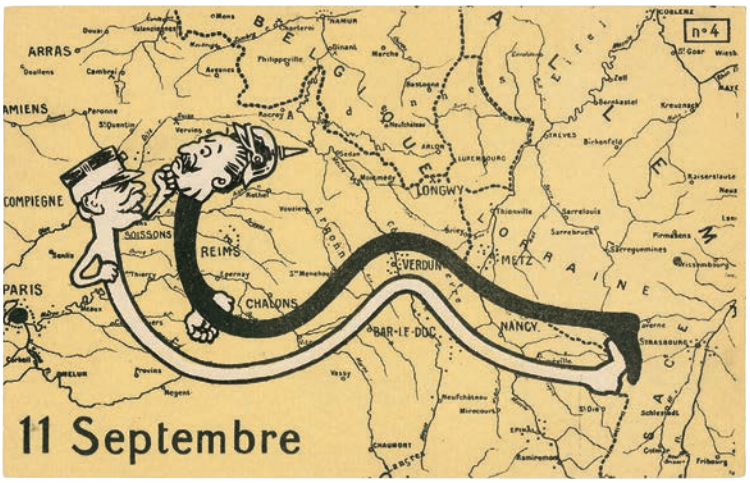
troops at the First Battle of the Marne (fig. 34). The threat was so real that the French government moved its administrative offices in September 1914 from Paris to Bordeaux and transferred masterpieces from the Louvre to the countryside, making provisions should the city be captured or encircled.

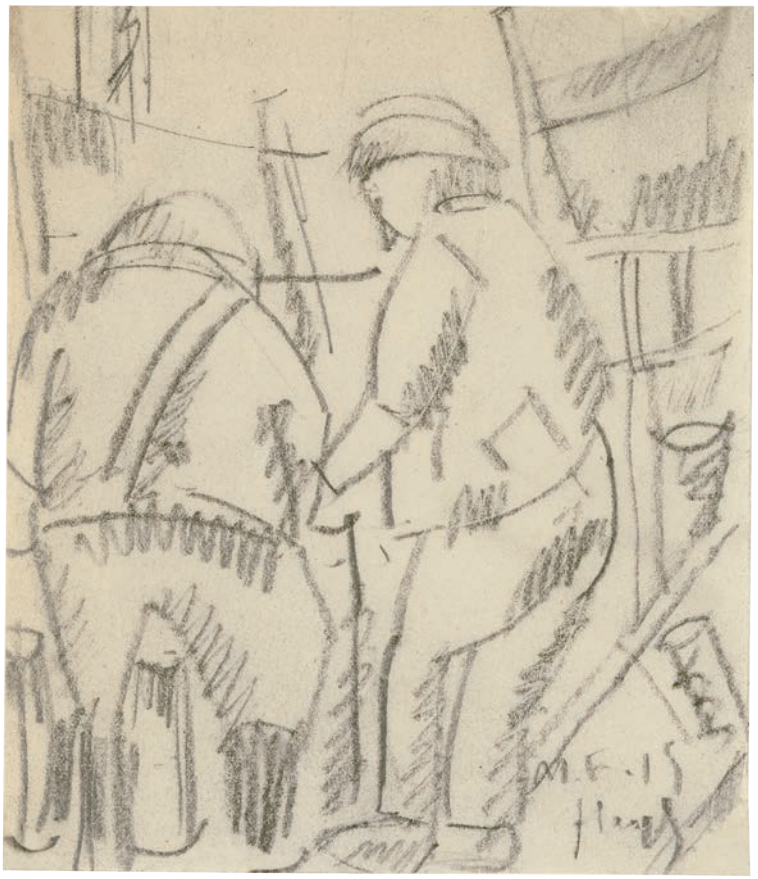
In response to these threats, many intellectuals and artists sought to act; some enlisted in the military, while those who could not serve were often "mobilized" through their art, a means for them to both contribute to the war effort and argue for the superiority of French culture. Henri Matisse, for instance, was unable to enlist owing to his age. Writing to his friend Marcel Sembat, the wartime minister of public works, Matisse asked how he might help France, to which Sembat replied "By continuing, as you do, to paint well."[21]

For those artists who did see combat, the experience was life altering, often prompting a reevaluation not just of their formal preoccupations but also of the artist's role within society. Léger entered the war at the beginning of August 1914 and by the end of the month had been sent to the front. Just a year before he had described his art in purely formal terms,[22] but once mobilized he turned increasingly to figurative imagery to reflect feelings of solidarity with other soldiers in his unit and the French people as a whole, a shift seen in his *Two Soldiers, War Drawing* (fig. 35). Although the composition is dominated by a reductive geometric vocabulary, the figures have greater weight. Hatched lines visually connect them to each other and to the structure they are building (likely a trench, an activity in which Léger participated).

In 1916 Lt. John Warwick Brooke, one of Britain's sixteen official war photographers, was sent to the Western Front with a mandate to follow the country's soldiers. *The Great British Advance in the West: A Raiding Party Waiting for the Word to Go* (fig. 36) captures a line of troops in a trench. The low vantage point emphasizes Warwick Brooke's proximity to the soldiers and to the danger experienced in combat. The metal helmets they wear, known as "Brodie helmets" after their inventor, John L. Brodie, were developed and used in combat by 1916. Before that, head coverings for all the armies were mostly fabric and provided minimal protection. The condition of trenches varied greatly among the combatants; while some were heavily fortified and provided limited comfort, those on the front line were muddy, frequently flooded, and offered little protection or relief. Léger described the trenches and the hardships of war in a biting 1914 letter:

> . . . the current war has become a nasty, harsh war, a war of defenses, trenches, attacks and counter-attacks in order to gain barely 50 meters of terrain. I know, since we are the ones carrying out the work and the "biffins" [army squads] arrive to occupy





36. John Warwick Brooke (British, 1886–1929), *The Great British Advance in the West: A Raiding Party Waiting for the Word to Go*, 1916–18. Gelatin silver print; image, 5½ × 7½ in. (14 × 19.1 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Twentieth-Century Photography Fund, 2010 (2010.365)

37. Nevinson, *Tunnellers,* 1916. Ink, gouache, graphite, and crayon on paper; sheet, 10 × 8 in. (25.4 × 20.3 cm). Collection of Johanna and Leslie Garfield

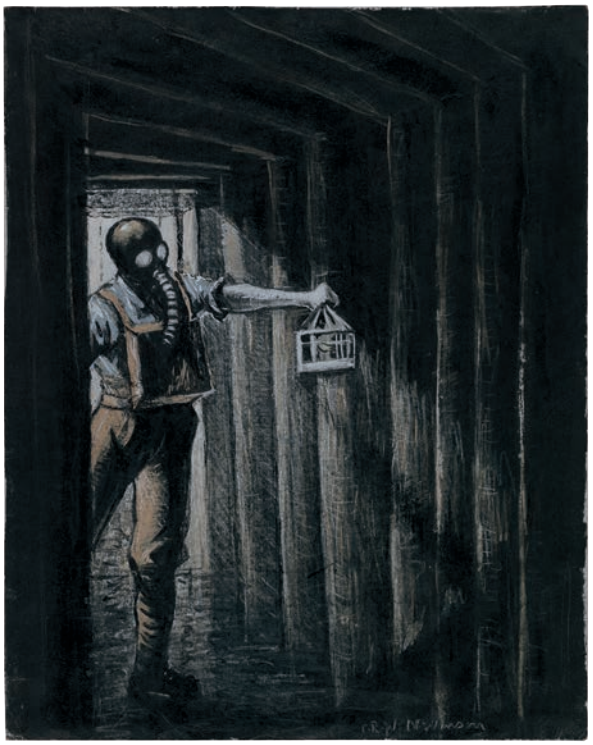
38. Sir Muirhead Bone (British, 1876–1953). *Building a Liner at Greenock (On the Clyde, no. 6)*, 1917–18. Lithograph; image, 20⅜ × 14¼ in. (51.6 × 36.2 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Gift of the artist, 1919 (19.46.6)

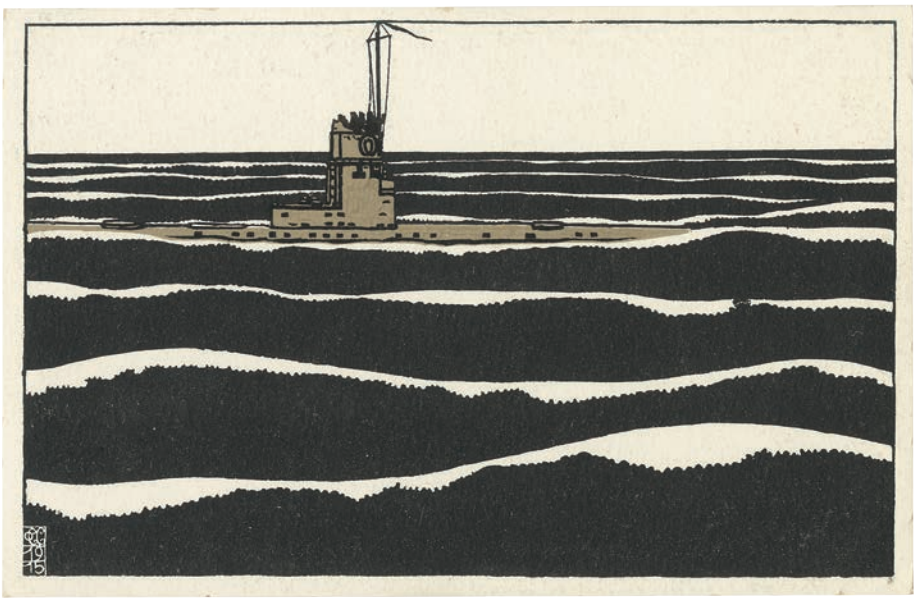
them when the time comes. For the past three weeks, we have been living with them in the advance tunnels that we dug for them. It's an appalling life. . . . The Germans are 100 meters away and watch for hats that jut up. . . . This trench warfare is full of small murders . . . You sleep, you eat in the mud, in the rain . . . I don't know how men can do it. It is incomprehensible to me.[23]

In *Tunnellers* (fig. 37), Nevinson depicts one of the group of soldiers (largely civilian coal miners) charged with digging beneath German trenches to plant explosives. The job was perilous; workers faced carbon monoxide poisoning, tunnel collapses, and mines that sometimes exploded prematurely as well as attack from German tunnelers attempting to sabotage Allied units in a similar way. As seen in Nevinson's drawing, canaries and gas masks were used to ensure there was enough oxygen underground. The greatest carnage occurred on June 7, 1917, when, a little after three in the morning, nineteen mines were blown up in Messines, Belgium, killing an estimated ten thousand German soldiers. The force of the resulting explosion was so great that it was felt in Switzerland and, allegedly, heard on London's Downing Street.

Artists also played a role in the fighting upon the seas. At the turn of the twentieth century Britain possessed the greatest navy in the world, nearly half of it built in the shipyards on Scotland's River Clyde. Sir Muirhead Bone, Britain's first official war artist, documented the construction of some of these giant naval vessels as well as the innovations developed during the war, such as the transition away from outdated and cumbersome coal power to engines fueled by oil, which provided greater flexibility and mobility (fig. 38). The greatest threat posed to Allied warships and passenger ships alike was the fleet of German submarines, or U-boats, that trolled the waters outside the United Kingdom attempting to break the Allied blockade (fig. 39). Among the most infamous and controversial episodes of the war was the sinking of RMS *Lusitania*, en route from New York to England, in May 1915, which resulted in more than one thousand civilian deaths and helped sway American public opinion away from neutrality.

In order to counter the submarine menace, designers and artists employed by the British government devised multicolored optical patterns called "dazzle camouflage" to disorient the U-boats and obscure a vessel's speed and direction. Edward Alexander Wadsworth helped develop designs for the British navy and supervised their application to actual vessels, dubbed "dazzle ships." The bold optical patterns of the camouflage, which recalled Wadsworth's earlier Vorticist work, can be seen in *Liverpool Shipping* (fig. 40), where, in addition to the severe black-and-white pattern, he altered the perspective by adopting an elevated vantage point.





39. Carl Otto Czeschka (Austrian, 1878–1960), *Warship at Sea* (1915), from the series *German Armaments*, 1915–16. Published by H. Bahlsens Keks Fabrik, Hanover, Germany. Color lithograph; 4 × 6 in. (10.2 × 15.2 cm). Leonard A. Lauder Postcard Archive. Promised gift, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

40. Edward Alexander Wadsworth (British, 1889–1949). *Liverpool Shipping*, 1918. Linoleum cut; block, 10¼ × 7¾ in. (26 × 19.7 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Gift of Johanna and Leslie Garfield, 2005 (2005.470.12)

41. George Grosz (American, born Germany, 1893–1959), *War Drawing*, 1917. Ink on paper; sheet, 9⅛ × 7⅜ in. (23 × 18.5 cm). Collection of the late Howard Karshan, courtesy of the Karshan Family

Wounded

As with millions of soldiers, many artists who fought or were otherwise involved in the war suffered physical and mental injuries that led to their hospitalization or release from military service. The trauma of what they witnessed and frequently experienced firsthand had a profound effect on their art in terms of approach, subject matter, and technique. George Grosz, Otto Dix, Käthe Kollwitz, Ernst Barlach, Nevinson, and the American artist-soldier Kerr Eby all became outspoken critics of the war and of armed conflict in general, as did many of the publishers responsible for the earlier bellicose nationalist journals and posters.

Although George Grosz never saw combat firsthand, either in 1917 or during his earlier tour of duty from 1914 to 1915, his wartime experience led to his hospitalization following a nervous breakdown in early 1917. He was discharged that April, suffering from war-related nightmares and hallucinations. In his *War Drawing* (fig. 41), a hellish landscape of scorched earth is overrun with barbed wire, machine guns, and fire. Bodies, faintly visible on the shelled ground, are strung out on spiked blockades, recalling the artist's description in a letter of corpses rotting on barbed wire. His howling skeletal forms, echoing Edvard Munch's iconic image of existential anxiety, *The Scream* (1893), evoke the inescapable agony of what Grosz saw as the "madness of war."[24]

Images of wounded soldiers also figure prominently in Max Beckmann's *Large Operation* (fig. 42), one of the earliest prints from his *Faces* portfolio. On the right, a patient lies facedown on an operating table; on the left, another is carried in on a stretcher. Within this compressed space doctors and nurses calmly treat the wounded. The image corresponds to Beckmann's descriptions of hospitals in letters he wrote during the war, in which "the sick lie naked on the table, often four or five of them."[25] Contrasting the orderliness of the hospitals with the chaos and violence of the war, Beckmann noted that "Everything is very efficiently and clearly managed…. With no sign of emotion the doctors courteously showed me the most horrible wounds. The sharp smell of putrefaction was hovering over everything, despite good ventilation and well-lit rooms. I was able to take it for about an hour and a half, then I had to go out into the open landscape."[26]

Erich Heckel, a founder of the German art group Die Brücke, was stationed in Ostend, a Belgian port on the North Sea, where he worked with the Red Cross medical corps. *Straight Canal* (fig. 43) conveys some of the trauma he witnessed while working in an ambulance unit. With its gouged surface of jagged, contrasting lines and visible patches of rough grain, the woodcut—a technique Heckel embraced for its expressive potential and its links to earlier German artists and craftsmen—contributes to our perception of a battle-scarred terrain or a dark landscape with splintered clouds and heavy foreboding. The subject of his *Wounded Sailor* (fig. 44) has bandages wrapped tightly around his head like a turban. The gashes in the wood, a visual analogue to the primitive brutality of the war, parallel the sailor's wounds, suggesting both physical and psychological scars, while his sacrifice is suggested by the cross-like area of uninked parchment that frames him. Because paper was scarce, Heckel printed this *Wounded Sailor* on the back of a found seventeenth-century Dutch manuscript page.

Like many of his generation, Ernst Barlach initially welcomed war, expressing his enthusiasm through his art (much of which was published in *Kriegszeit*) and by serving in the infantry before being discharged in early 1916 for medical reasons. After experiencing combat and witnessing the extreme devastation, however, Barlach became fervently antiwar, a conviction apparent in the art he produced throughout the rest of his life. For the cover of the December 1916 issue of Paul Cassirer's antiwar journal *Der Bildermann* (fig. 45), he adopted religious iconography, turning a mournful Madonna into a representative of all grieving mothers. As Mary clutches her hands in a prayer for peace, the seven swords around her represent her sorrows and those of the war in general.

42. Beckmann, *The Large Operation (Grosse Operation)*, from *Faces (Gesichter)*, ca. 1914 (published 1919). Drypoint; plate, 11¾ × 17½ in. (29.8 × 44.5 cm). Printed by Franz Hanfstaengl, Munich. Published by Marées-Gesellschaft, R. Piper & Co., Munich. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Purchase, Reba and Dave Williams Gift, 1999 (1999.232.1)

43. Erich Heckel (German, 1883–1970), *Straight Canal (Gerader Kanal)*, 1915. Printed by the artist. Woodcut; block, 14⅝ × 10⅝ in. (37 × 26.8 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Purchase, Bertha and Isaac Liberman Foundation Inc. Gift, 2017 (2017.52)

44. Heckel, *Wounded Sailor (Verwundeter Matrose)*, 1915. Woodcut printed on parchment; block, 14¼ × 11½ in. (36.3 × 29 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Gift of Dietrich von Bothmer, 2002 (2002.234.3)

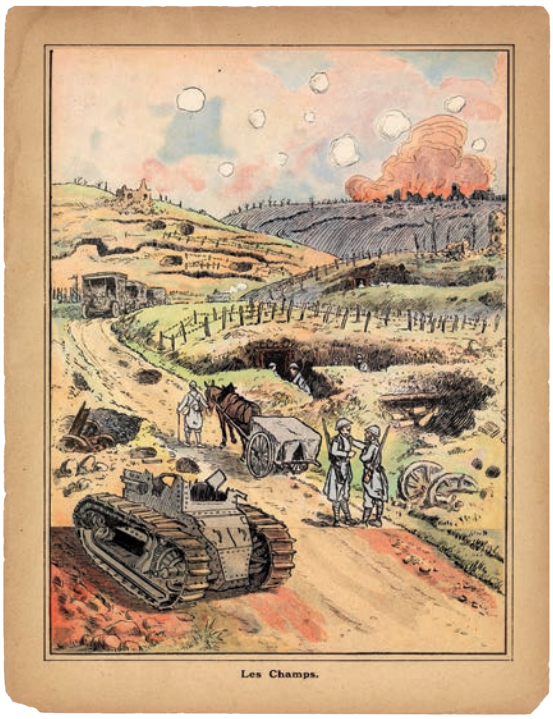
45. Ernst Barlach (German, 1870–1938), *Give Us Peace! (Dona Nobis Pacem!)*, 1916. Printed by Pan-Presse, Berlin. Published by Paul Cassirer, Berlin. Lithograph; image, 7 × 9⅛ in. (17.8 × 23.2 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Gift of Samuel C. Dretzin, 1965 (65.697.12)

Aftermath

Following the armistice declared on November 11, 1918, and the subsequent Paris Peace Conference, World War I officially ended on June 28, 1919, with the signing of the Treaty of Versailles. By that time more than nine million soldiers had died in combat, with over twenty-one million injured and an additional five million dead from illness and starvation. Among the artists killed in "The War to End All Wars" was Umberto Boccioni, who like most Futurists had fervently hoped that Italy would enter the conflict and enlisted when it did in late May 1915. A little more than a year later he was killed when he fell off his horse while doing exercises with his battalion. The German Expressionist Franz Marc likewise had high expectations for the war, believing this "final battle" would usher in a more spiritual and peaceful era. He was killed by shrapnel at the Battle of Verdun in 1916. Other artists who perished include August Macke and Antonio Sant'Elia; countless more were hospitalized from psychological illnesses such as "shell shock," a term developed in World War I to reflect the profound mental devastation created by modern industrial combat.

As with much of the art made during the war, there was no dominant style in the aftermath, even within countries or artist communities, to convey what had been experienced. Rather, the variety of formal choices, often from the same artists, represented the diversity of responses as well as the difficulty many faced in finding an appropriate visual vocabulary to express the inexpressible. Some believed that a *retour à l'ordre* ("return to order") based on a more traditional, even classical style was necessary to reform a society corrupted by modernity and, by association, the avant-garde. There was also a widespread desire to rebuild—structures, families, communities, and country—as well as an interest in promoting the countryside, the family, the church, and other institutions seen as invested with traditional values. Such feelings were especially pronounced in France, where some villages were so heavily damaged they were officially declared destroyed and then abandoned.

Although the children's flip-book *After the Victory* ostensibly celebrates the aftermath of a French triumph, like much of the propaganda for children made during and after the war it has a dark subtext. Thousands of children lost parents to the war; many more were traumatized by the sounds and sights of combat and occupation. It is unsurprising that several books would address this subject, with the dominant theme here being rebuilding and the return of France to an idealized version of itself. The cover depicts a group of children, one of whom wears a military cap, constructing a small village with miniature houses. The interior consists of scenes of devastation that, once a flap is lifted, are transformed: tanks, for instance, are repurposed as tractors



ready to make a countryside scarred by trenches and shells fertile once again (fig. 46a, b).

Beckmann's *Playing Children* (fig. 47), which is based on a scene the artist witnessed, has a more sinister, foreboding tone informed by the trauma of the war and the near revolution within Germany in its aftermath. After his military discharge, in 1915, Beckmann changed his work to reflect the horrors he had experienced. Here, jagged lines, broken planes, and angular forms, combined with a profusion of figures and details, produce a sense of claustrophobia and gritty realism. The composition, in which the figures are compressed into a tight, circular unit, have led to comparisons with the celebrated 1560 painting *Children's Games* by Pieter Bruegel the Elder, but Beckmann's image is marked by a distinct hint of menace: nearly all the children brandish weaponry and engage in a violent mock battle.

Other artists turned inward, launching mournful reflections on the devastating losses sustained by both sides and adopting actively antiwar positions in the hopes that such a horrific conflict might never happen again. Käthe Kollwitz is among the artists most associated with the war and the profound grief it inspired. In her earlier work she had depicted scenes of violent uprisings, sacrifice, and glorified revolution, particularly in the face of injustice and oppression. Kollwitz initially supported the war effort (albeit with reservations), which she viewed as a fight for the "fatherland," evidenced by the work she, like other Berliner Secession artists, contributed to *Kriegszeit*.[27] Swept up in the flurry of patriotic sentiment and war enthusiasm, both of her sons enlisted. Although underage, her younger son, Peter, volunteered (with his mother's assistance) for combat duty at the start of the war. He died in October 1914, at age eighteen, while fighting in Belgium.

Killed in Action (fig. 48) expresses the intense pain of those who lost loved ones in the war. The mother's racked body conveys her devastation, while her children's faces reflect a range of emotions—shock, horror, fear—as they rush to her side. Consumed with grief, however, she is unable to comfort or even acknowledge them. Kollwitz used lithography, a technique in which, she believed, "only the essentials count."[28] The resulting image has a raw, unfinished quality; lines appear quickly drawn, and the son's lower body is absent, as are any details that would identify events or people.

In *Mothers* (fig. 49), women and children shown in different stages of life huddle together, linking their bodies to form a solid structure that fills the composition. Kollwitz depicted herself in the center, with her eyes closed and her arms wrapped protectively around her two sons. She described the work with great pride and tenderness in a journal entry of February 1919: "I have drawn the mother who embraces her two children, I am with my own children, born from me, my Hans and my Peterchen."[29] In the woodcut *The Parents* (fig. 50), Kollwitz again eliminated extraneous detail to suggest the agony of those who had lost a child in war. She began working in the medium after seeing an exhibition of woodcuts by Barlach and being inspired by their graphic power. Where Kollwitz's earlier etchings evidence her mastery of complex techniques, woodcut allowed her to embrace a more brutal visual language, seen here in the two kneeling figures who join together and cover their faces in pain. The forms are jagged and rough, gashes mar the surface, and hands are exaggeratedly large yet

46a, b. Two pages from *After the Victory (Au Lendemain de la Victoire)*, French, 1918. Printed by Imprimerie Kapp. Published by Librairie Hachette and Co. Color lithograph; 12¼ × 9½ in. (31 × 24 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Gift of Lettys Eliot Hallock, 1985 (1985.1064.4)

47. Beckmann, *Playing Children (Spielende Kinder)*, from the portfolio *Faces (Gesichter)*, 1918 (published 1919). Printed by Franz Hanfstaengl, Munich. Published by Marées-Gesellschaft, R. Piper & Co., Munich. Drypoint; plate, 10⅛ × 12 in. (25.7 × 30.5 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Purchase, Reba and Dave Williams Gift, 1999 (1999.232.18)


Kollwitz


Kollwitz

48. Käthe Kollwitz (German, 1867–1945). *Killed in Action (Gefallen)*, 1920. Published by Emil Richter, Dresden. Lithograph; image, 16⅝ × 13⅜ in. (42 × 34 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1928 (28.68.2)

49. Kollwitz, *Mothers (Mütter)*, 1919. Published by Emil Richter, Dresden. Lithograph; image, 17¼ × 22¾ in. (43.6 × 57.7 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1928 (28.68.3)

50. Kollwitz, *The Parents (Die Eltern)*, from *War (Krieg)*, 1921–22 (published 1923). Printed by Fritz Voigt, Berlin. Published by Emil Richter, Dresden. Woodcut; block, 13⅞ × 16⅞ (35.2 × 42.9 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Purchase, Bertha and Isaac Liberman Foundation Inc. Gift, 2017 (2017.230)

nearly skeletal. Stark contrasts between the heaviness of the black ink and the barren white paper make visible Kollwitz's statement that "pain is totally dark."[30]

Otto Dix's series *The War* (figs. 51–53) was released in 1924, dubbed the "Anti-War Year" in recognition of the ten-year anniversary of the outbreak. Comprising five suites of ten images that depict horrors unique to trench warfare and its aftermath, it is widely regarded as one of the twentieth century's most powerful artistic statements on war and as the artist's greatest graphic work.[31] The images of wounded and fallen soldiers, scarred battlefields, bombed towns, and other nightmarish situations highlight the horrors of modern combat and man's inhumanity. Dix knew such scenes firsthand; he described combat at the front as "lice, rats, barbed wire, fleas, shells, bombs, underground caves, corpses, blood, liquor, mice, cats, artillery, filth, bullets, mortars, fire, steel: that is what war is. It is the work of the devil."[32]

Dix left his art studies to enlist in the German army in August 1914. He served four years as a machine-gun operator on the front lines in Belgium and France, where he was seriously wounded and earned an Iron Cross. After the armistice, he experienced horrific nightmares about not only what he had witnessed but also his own wartime activities. It was during this period that he produced *The War*. In addition to his memories and hundreds of sketches he made at the front, Dix referred to photographs of dead and disfigured bodies, Goya's *Disasters of War* series, and earlier German works by Matthias Grünewald and Lucas Cranach to capture the raw grisliness and brutality of the conflict.

The troubling theme of the returning soldier—wounded, often impoverished, neglected by the government, and frequently outcast from society despite his sacrifice—appears in the work of Dix and other artists. In *Card Players* (fig. 54), which Dix realized as both a painting and a print, he took up the age-old subject of the card game but gave it a decidedly contemporary political slant. Gathered around a small table are three veterans missing large portions of their


37/70
II

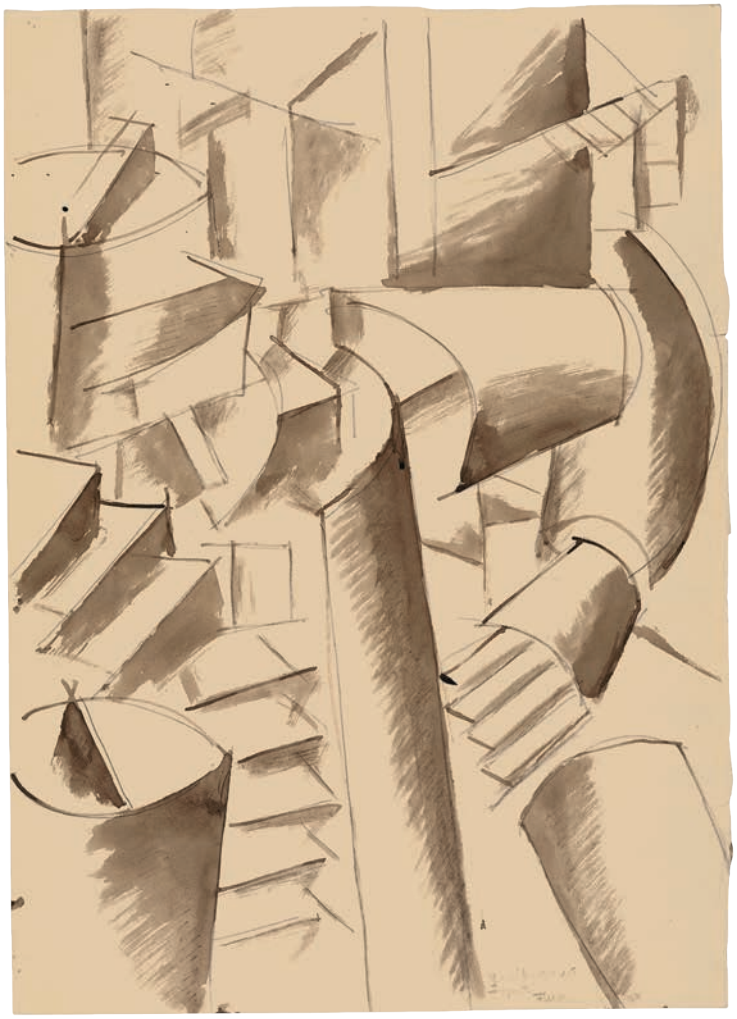

37/70
IV

51–53. Otto Dix (German, 1891–1969), three prints from *The War (Der Krieg)*, 1923–24 (published 1924). Printed by Otto Felsing, Berlin. Published by Karl Nierendorf, Berlin. Etching, aquatint, and drypoint. The Richard Harris Collection

51. *Shock Troops Advance Under Gas (Sturmtruppe geht unter Gas vor)*; plate, 7⅝ × 11⅜ in. (19.3 × 28.8 cm)

52. *Wounded Man (Autumn 1916, Bapaume) (Verwundeter [Herbst 1916, Bapaume])*; plate, 7¾ × 11½ in. (19.7 × 29 cm)

53. *Lens being Bombed (Lens wird mit Bomben Belegt)*; plate, 11¾ × 9⅝ in. (29.8 × 24.5 cm)



mutilated bodies and encumbered with exaggerated, obtrusive prosthetics. Dix highlighted this artificiality, showing wooden legs intertwined with those of the table, for instance.

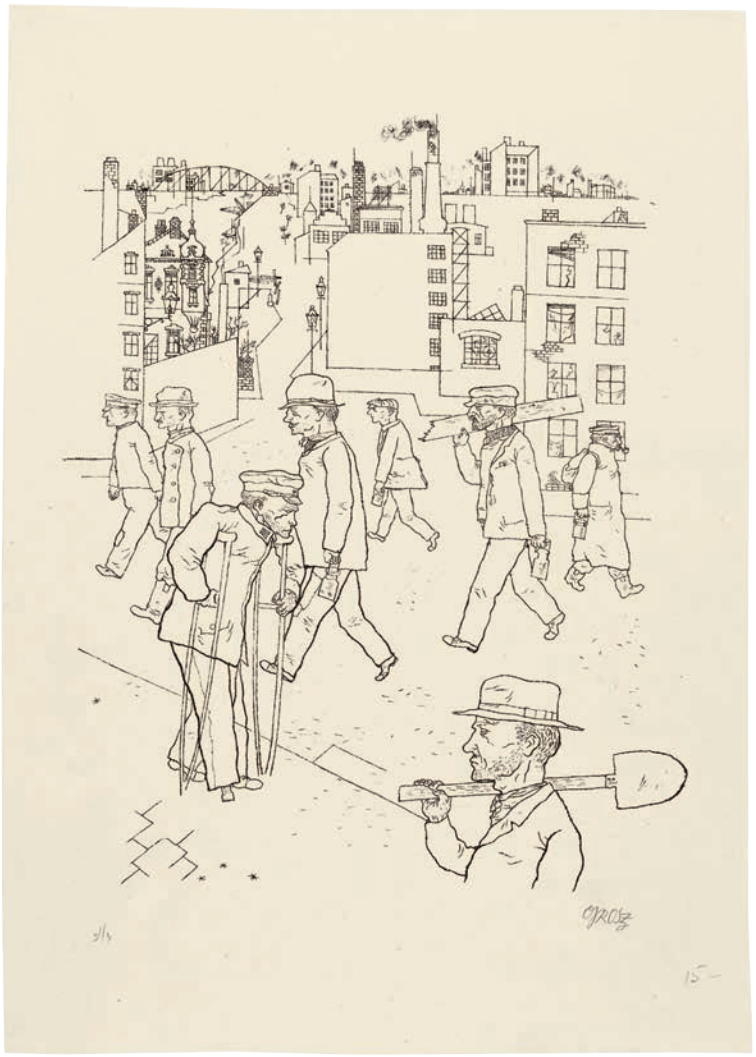
One can compare Dix's depiction of a card game with those in Léger's many sketches and painting of the same theme. While hospitalized during the war, Léger updated the traditional genre scene to represent what he had witnessed among the troops at the front, writing later that "[It was] the first picture for which I deliberately took my subject from what was going on around me."[33] The figure in this drawing (fig. 55) appears more mechanical than human. Léger eliminated individual qualities (including facial features) and reduced the soldier's body to simple geometric forms, which he further distorted to fit the compressed space.

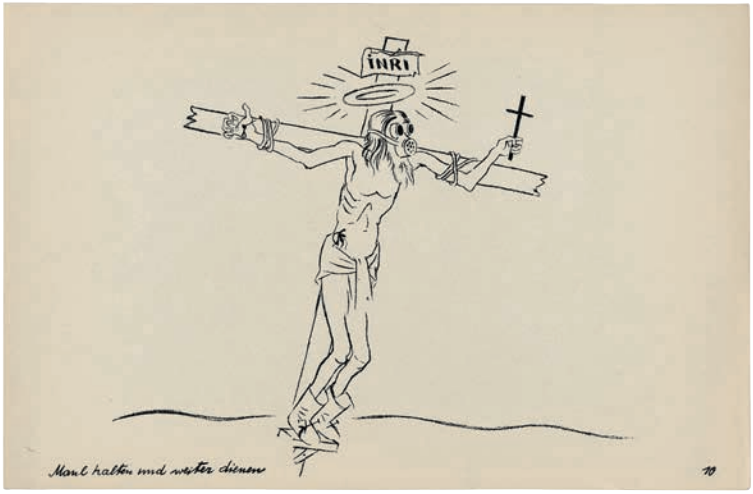
Grosz addressed the theme of the neglected veteran as part of his searing postwar indictments of those he held responsible for the carnage and the resultant poverty that engulfed the working class, including war profiteers and military commanders. In contrast to his more Expressionist renderings, in these biting critiques Grosz used simple line drawings, reproduced through photolithography, to illustrate urban life in Weimar Germany. *War Invalid and Workers* (fig. 56) shows wounded veterans, still wearing their uniforms, largely ignored by busy pedestrians. The seventeen prints in *Background*, made ten years after the armistice, were based on drawings Grosz made to be projected on stage as a set design for Erwin Piscator's 1928 stage production of *The Adventures of the Good Soldier Svejk*. Adapted from a novel by the Czech writer Jaroslav Hašek, the play follows the wartime adventures of the simpleton Svejk, who continually frustrates military officials and others in positions of authority, either innocently or not. In his drawings (which adopt a more cynical tone), Grosz expanded his mordant social critique to institutions such as the church, which he condemned for supporting the nationalistic rhetoric that stoked enthusiasm for combat. *Background* includes images of uniformed skeletons on the battlefield and Christ on the Cross wearing a gas mask (fig. 57), for which Grosz and his publisher were tried twice for blasphemy.

The art made during and after World War I reflects the widespread social and political upheaval of this turbulent era. In addition to the unparalleled destruction unleashed by modern industrial warfare, the political

map of Europe was fundamentally altered. Four empires (Ottoman, Russian, Austro-Hungarian, and German) collapsed, while new states (including the U.S.S.R. and Yugoslavia) arose and communism and fascism gained traction. The response of artists to this turmoil shifted dramatically over the course of the war, as fierce nationalism, enthusiasm for military regalia and combat, and even optimism for a more peaceful and democratic future frequently morphed into mournful reflection, feelings of loss and betrayal, pacifism, and rage not just at the institutions they saw as culpable but also at their own complicity.

While some artists embraced a more conservative aesthetic in response to what they saw as the failure of modernism, others adopted radical new artistic languages that, they believed, would reform society. Dada artists, for instance, sought to disrupt dominant systems, including conventional modes of perception. Surrealism, born in the afterlife of the war, continued the Dadaist urge to destroy a corrupted society by advancing the potential of the unconscious to reject both rational thought and the governing social orders deemed responsible for the war's horrors. Despite numerous attempts to create a permanent mechanism for healing and conflict resolution, however, even peace in the short term proved elusive. The children building toy towns in *After the Victory* and engaged in violent games in Beckmann's *Playing Children* would be of age to fight in World War II. Although neither the artists nor the original audiences could have anticipated such a future, these works serve as somber reminders that a more global and horrific conflict was just around the corner.





54. Dix, *Card Players (Kartenspieler)*, 1920. Drypoint; plate, 13 × 11⅛ in. (32.9 × 28.3 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Purchase, Charles Z. Offin Fund and A. Hyatt Mayor Purchase Fund, Marjorie Phelps Starr Bequest, 1989 (1989.1112)

55. Léger, *Drawing for "The Card Game,"* 1917. Graphite and ink on off-white wove paper (subsequently mounted to paperboard), 20¾ × 14⅞ in. (52.7 × 37.8 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Leonard A. Lauder Cubist Collection, Gift of Leonard A. Lauder, 2016 (2016.237.19)

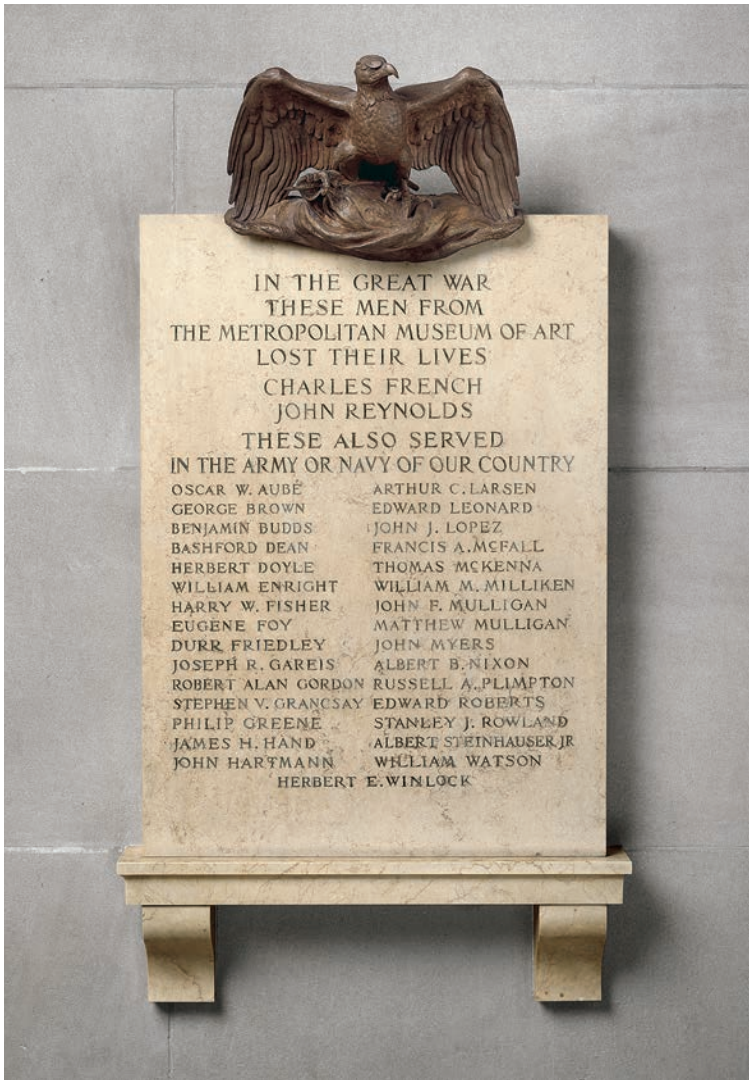
56. Grosz, *War Invalid and Workers (Kriegsinvalide und Arbeiter)*, from the portfolio *In the Shadows (Im Schatten)*, 1920–21 (published 1921). Printed by Hermann Birkholz, Berlin. Published by Malik-Verlag, Berlin. Photolithograph; 14⅛ × 11¼ in. (35.7 × 28.4 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1931 (31.10.7)

57. Grosz, *Shut Up and Do Your Duty (Maul halten und weiter dienen)*, 1927 (portfolio published 1928). Seventeen photolithographs with printed portfolio cover; each sheet, 6⅝ × 10⅞ in. (16.8 × 27.6 cm). Published by Malik-Verlag, Berlin. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York Purchase, Janice Carlson Oresman Gift, 2017 (2017.53.10)

THE MET AND WORLD WAR I

Donald J. La Rocca

58. Memorial tablet honoring employees of The Metropolitan Museum of Art who served in World War I, unveiled in the Museum's Great Hall, 1919

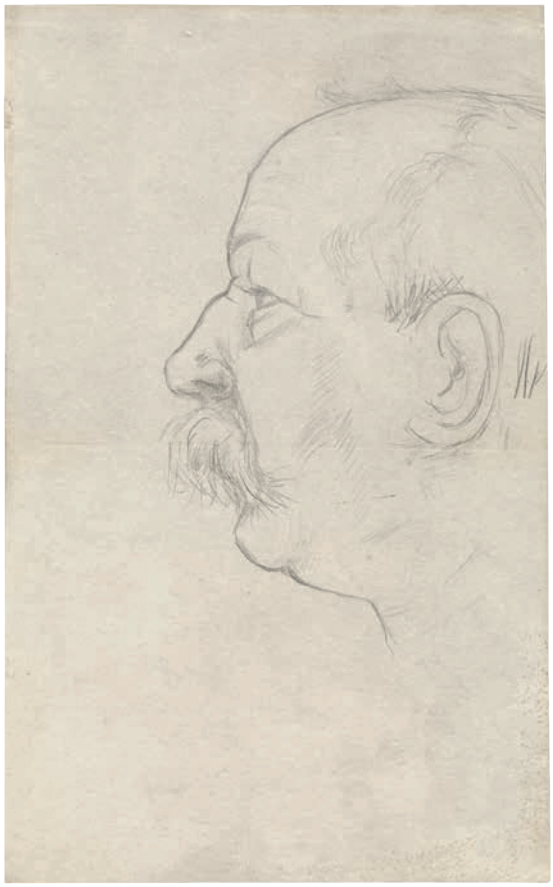


Although the United States did not enter World War I until 1917, more than two and a half years after the beginning of hostilities in Europe, the war's effect on The Metropolitan Museum of Art was immediate and significant, particularly in terms of personnel. A memorial tablet in the Museum's Great Hall, unveiled on October 20, 1919, honors thirty-three Met employees, more than ten percent of the Museum's staff at the time, who served in either the U.S. Army or Navy from 1917 to 1918 (fig. 58).[34] Not included on the tablet are the names of several men from the Museum who joined the armed forces of their native countries—Germany, Great Britain, and France—shortly after the war broke out.

Wilhelm R. Valentiner, a German citizen who had been a curator of decorative arts at The Met since 1907, was on Museum business in Munich in August 1914. In a heartfelt letter to Director Edward Robinson, Valentiner explained why he felt compelled to volunteer for a field artillery regiment rather than wait for his inevitable recall as a reservist.[35] Valentiner's position was held for him until he resigned, with touching expressions of regret and fond regards for his Met colleagues, in December 1916.[36] He returned to the United States in 1921, however, and went on to become one of the most distinguished and influential American museum directors of the mid-twentieth century.[37]

Four of the ten members of the Museum's Expedition in Egypt were British nationals and enlisted as soon as possible. Arthur C. Mace, assistant curator of Egyptian art, was with the British army in northern Italy; archaeologist Hugh G. Evelyn-White served in the Middle East; artist H. R. Hopgood was wounded at the Battle of the Somme in October 1916, recovered, and returned to action at the front; and Egyptologist and photographer Henry Burton became assistant director for the registration of enemy aliens in Cairo.[38] The talented Parisian craftsman and restorer Sylvain Marchat came to The Met early in 1914 to care for a large collection of arms and armor donated to the Museum the prior year. As a French reservist, he returned to his homeland at the outbreak of the war and was put in charge of a vehicle depot near Paris.[39]

After the United States entered the war, a wide cross section of Museum employees enlisted, ranging from what was described at the time as scientific and office staff to attendants and workmen: in today's terms, curators, conservators, educators, security personnel, and other staff. Their status was reported regularly in the Museum's *Bulletin* along with other wartime activities in which the Museum was engaged, including numerous women on staff who volunteered their free time to make supplies for war relief, such as clothing and surgical dressings. In a popular and very successful program, Museum educators and curators gave free guided tours to servicemen seven days a week at 2 P.M., and during the course of the war four Liberty Loan drives were held at the Museum, raising more than $24,000.[40]



59. Major Bashford Dean, 1917 or 1918. Archives of the Department of Arms and Armor, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

60. Daniel Tachaux. Pencil sketch, by Stanley J. Rowland (1891–1964), ca. 1915. During the war, Rowland, who had worked as a draftsman and restorer in the Department of Arms and Armor, was an orderly and surgeon's assistant at an army hospital in France. Archives of the Department of Arms and Armor, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

Two Met employees died in the war. Charles French, an attendant at the Museum, was a Fireman, 1st Class, and was killed in action aboard the destroyer USS *Jacob Jones* on December 6, 1917, when it was torpedoed by a German submarine.[41] John Reynolds, recorded as a "clerk" at the Museum, was a Private, 1st Class, in the U.S. Army and died on October 12, 1918, from wounds received at the Battle of the Argonne Forest.[42]

The Met's Department of Arms and Armor played a special role in the U.S. war effort, becoming, in the words of Edward Robinson, "something of an annex to the War Department."[43] The industrialization and mechanization of warfare in the early twentieth century, including the increased use of artillery, tanks, and machine guns and the advent of trench warfare, resulted in an unprecedented number of killed and wounded right from the outset. In particular, the large number of combatants suffering head wounds soon made it apparent that metal helmets, although long out of use, were absolutely necessary on the modern battlefield and that other forms of armor also should be explored. Soon after America entered the war, the U.S. government turned to Dr. Bashford Dean (1867–1928), curator of arms and armor, to address the situation. After six months as chairman of a government panel called the Armor Section of the Council of National Research, Dean was commissioned as a major in the army and assigned to the Ordnance Bureau, with a mandate to develop practical armor for the modern-day soldier (fig. 59). Working from his extensive knowledge of historical armor, Dean made a thorough study of armor used to defend against firearms—from the Renaissance to his own time—and applied that information to contemporary battlefield conditions. Then, in conjunction with the Museum's armorer, Daniel Tachaux (1857–1928) (fig. 60), and other members of his staff, Dean produced a series of prototype helmets and various forms of body armor to protect U.S. troops. In addition to his Museum duties and other commitments from 1917 to 1918, Dean traveled frequently to Washington, D.C., for meetings and also made trips to London and Paris to confer with members of the general staff of the British and French military.

Dean's principal challenge was to devise a helmet that would provide superior protection while still being light and comfortable enough to wear for extended periods of time, and which could be efficiently and economically mass-produced. By 1916, Germany had developed a helmet—the iconic *Stahlhelm* (literally "steel helmet")—that met all these requirements (see fig. 29), so Dean faced the additional challenge of coming up with an equally effective design that would not be confused with German helmets on the battlefield. American soldiers at the time were wearing the standard British Brodie helmet, patented in 1915 and soon nicknamed the Tin Hat for its shallow bowl and broad straight brim

61. *American Helmet Model No. 2*. Steel, H. 8 in. (20.3 cm); Wt. 2 lb. 4 oz. (1020 g). Handmade by Daniel Tachaux, 1917–18. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Purchase, Gift of Bashford Dean, by exchange, 2013 (2013.581a)

62. *American Helmet Model No. 5*. Steel, leather, paint, textile, and string, H. 6½ in. (16.5 cm); Wt. 2 lb. 8 oz. (1130 g). Manufactured by the Hale and Kilburn Company, Philadelphia, 1918. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Purchase, Gift of Bashford Dean, by exchange, 2013 (2013.582)

63. Technical drawing for *Sentinel's Armor, Model of 1918*. U.S. Ordnance Department, May 1918. Blueprint on paper, 37¾ × 22⅝ in. (95.9 × 57.5 cm). Archives of the Department of Arms and Armor, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

64. *American Helmet Model No. 7—Sentinel's Helmet*. Steel, leather, textile, and paint, H. 12 in. (30.5 cm); Wt. 13 lb. 12.6 oz. (6254 g). Manufactured by the W. H. Mullins Company, Salem, Ohio, 1918. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Bequest of Stephen V. Grancsay, Rogers Fund, Helmut Nickel Gift, and funds from various donors, by exchange, 2013 (2013.583)

65. *American Helmet Model No. 8*. Steel, leather, felt, canvas, bronze, pigment, and sawdust, H. 9 in. (22.9 cm); Wt. 3 lb. 10.5 oz. (1660 g). Manufactured by the Ford Motor Company, Philadelphia, 1918. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Rogers Fund, by exchange, 2012 (2012.473)

(see fig. 36). While not nearly as effective as the German helmet, it provided adequate protection to the top of the head and, owing to its shallow profile, had the advantage of being easy to manufacture.

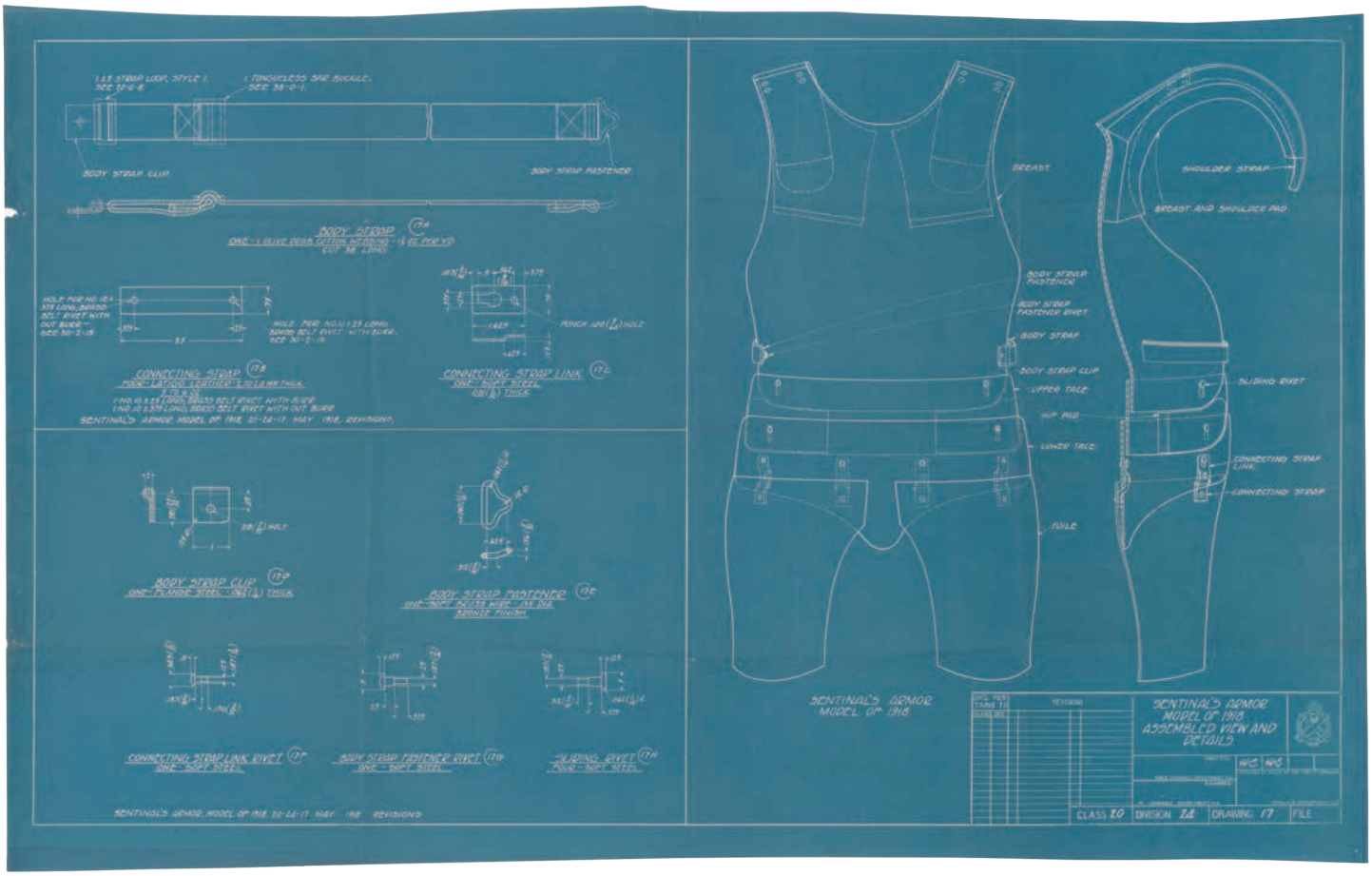
Dean's first fully realized attempt to improve on existing German and British types, a design of June 1917, was called the *American Helmet Model No. 2* (fig. 61). This hand-forged example is one of only a few surviving non-ballistic prototypes that were made in the Museum's Armor Shop by Tachaux as models for prospective manufacturers. Its deeply drawn-down bowl was intended to give much more coverage to the back and sides of the head than the British helmet without impeding movement, vision, or breathing. Although difficult to manufacture because of the depth of the bowl, approximately two thousand examples were produced by the Ford Motor Company at its Philadelphia factory in the fall of 1918.

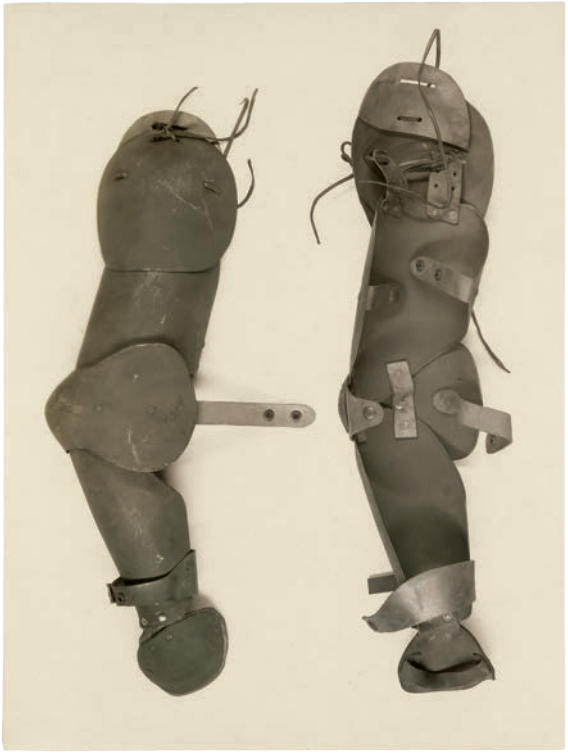
In an effort to combine the protective properties of Model 2 with the ease of manufacture of the Brodie helmet, Dean developed *American Helmet Model No. 5* (fig. 62). With this helmet, he felt he had met or exceeded the goals of improved protection, comfort, and practicality of production. Although shallower than the Model 2, the bowl of the Model 5 still provided excellent coverage to the back and sides of the head, was lightweight at only 2 lb. 8 oz. (1130 g), and was not overly complex to manufacture. In the summer of 1918, five thousand examples were sent to France for field tests. Much to Dean's disappointment, the design was rejected because commanders felt it was not different enough from the British helmet and too similar to the German helmet.

Weighing 13 lb. 12.6 oz. (6254 g) and highly specialized in its design and intent, Dean's next design, *American Helmet Model No. 7—Sentinel's Helmet* (fig. 64), was meant to be worn only for short periods of time, with an accompanying breastplate (fig. 63), in exposed or forward positions where heavy enemy fire was expected. Its construction was based directly on that of the Italian armet, a type of helmet popular during the late fifteenth century. Thirty-five examples were sent to France for field testing, but despite its established ability to resist rifle fire the helmet was rejected because of its weight.

Among the many helmets designed by Dean, he believed his *American Helmet Model No. 8* was the most successful in providing overall protection to the face and head while still allowing good visibility and mobility (fig. 65). In addition, it was fairly light, at 3 lb. 10.5 oz. (1660 g). Dean refined the design to ensure that the helmet was well balanced and could be worn comfortably with its visor either up or down. Ford Motor Company in Philadelphia produced about 1,300 examples in die-stamped ballistic metal in 1918, but the helmet saw only limited field testing before the war ended.

Although helmets received the most attention, Dean and his team also created fully functional protection for the neck, torso, shoulders, arms, and legs—in effect,


BODY STRAP
CONNECTING STRAP
CONNECTING STRAP LINK
BODY STRAP CLIP
BODY STRAP FASTENER
CONNECTING STRAP LINK RIVET
BODY STRAP FASTENER RIVET
SLIDING RIVET
BREAST
SHOULDER STRAP
BREAST AND SHOULDER PAD
BODY STRAP FASTENER
BODY STRAP FASTENER RIVET
BODY STRAP
BODY STRAP CLIP
UPPER TACE
HIP PAD
LOWER TACE
TUILE
SLIDING RIVET
CONNECTING STRAP LINK
CONNECTING STRAP
SENTINAL'S ARMOR MODEL OF 1918
SENTINAL'S ARMOR MODEL OF 1918 ASSEMBLED VIEW AND DETAILS
CLASS 10
DIVISION 24
DRAWING 17
FILE



the first full body armor since the seventeenth century. After making exhaustive analytical and statistical studies of the types of injuries being suffered by troops during the war, Dean found that a high percentage of debilitating wounds occurred on the extremities. As a consequence, he was adamant about the importance and necessity of developing practical plate armor for the arms and legs. The arm defenses he designed (figs. 66, 67) were based closely on sixteenth-century plate armor, but streamlined and made of light ballistic steel, weighing a little over 3 lbs. each. Two hundred pairs were made and sent overseas for testing in 1918, but they were rejected as impractical under battlefield conditions.

The necklet or gorget was developed in early 1918 as a defense for the upper chest and shoulders at the base of the neck (fig. 68). After successful field testing of prototypes in France, it was described in a contemporary report as "the most practical of all body armor examined," resulting in the production of 2,500 examples.[44] Although quickly manufactured and prepared for shipment, they did not arrive in Europe before the end of the war, on November 11, 1918. Surviving examples of this neck defense are very rare today.

After the armistice, the Museum joined the rest of the nation in events to celebrate peace and to honor homecoming troops (fig. 69). Staff released from military service gradually returned to work throughout 1919, and Dean received his own discharge orders in December 1918. After a year in uniform, he was, in his own words, "enjoying again the simplicity of civilian dress."[45] Dean's war work, nearly forgotten now, was appreciated and praised at the time. Former President Theodore Roosevelt (1858–1919) wrote to Dean in 1918 to express his personal admiration for Dean's contributions to the war effort, saying "Lord, how I wish I was half as useful!"[46] Dean compiled a detailed record of his research and its results, published in 1920 as *Helmets and Body Armor in Modern Warfare*. Carl Otto von Kienbusch (1884–1976), Dean's protégé and a fledgling arms and armor collector, had served as a lieutenant in the war and was assigned to assist Dean. He subsequently cooperated in the preparation of the book and can be seen in several illustrations modeling some of the prototypes.[47] Kienbusch later became the leading private arms and armor collector in America and eventually bequeathed his collection to the Philadelphia Museum of Art.[48]

Also pictured in Dean's book wearing some of the prototypes is Raymond Bartel (1896–1949), a promising young restorer who had accompanied his uncle, the armorer Sylvain Marchat, to New York in 1914.[49] Although obligated to serve in the French military after the war broke out, Bartel was able to continue working in the Department of Arms and Armor thanks to appeals by Dean to the State Department and the French

66. *Pair of Arm Defenses*. Steel, paint, leather, and copper alloy, L. of each (when assembled) 29½ in. (74.9 cm); Wt. of each 3 lb. 1.8 oz. (1410 g). Manufactured by the New England Enameling Company, Inc., Middletown, Connecticut, 1918. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Purchase, Arthur Ochs Sulzberger Gift, 2015 (2015.458.1a–f, .2a–f)

67. Arm defenses in 1918, showing original placement of connecting straps. Archives of the Department of Arms and Armor, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

68. *Defense for the Neck and Shoulders (Necklet or Gorget)*. Steel, paint, rubber, and copper alloy, 13 × 11⅝ in. (33 × 29.5 cm); Wt. 1 lb. 12.6 oz. (812 g). Manufactured by New England Enameling Company, Inc., Middletown, Connecticut, 1918. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Purchase, Arthur Ochs Sulzberger Gift, 2015 (2015.458.3)

69. Facade of The Metropolitan Museum of Art decorated for a parade along Fifth Avenue to celebrate the return of the 27th Infantry Division, March 25, 1919

government. In 1917 Bartel volunteered for the U.S. Army, was given the rank of sergeant, and was stationed briefly in Plattsburg, New York, until Dean arranged for his transfer back to the Museum to assist with the helmets and body armor project.[50]

Despite the fact that only one of Dean's designs, the necklet, was adopted for use before the war ended, his work provided an important foundation for the subsequent development of protective gear worn by U.S. soldiers in later conflicts. His book is also considered a classic by contemporary designers of military armor. Following in Dean's footsteps, Stephen Grancsay (1897–1980), who served as an army clerk in France during the war and succeeded Dean as curator in 1929, also provided the U.S. government with designs for helmets, body armor, and other equipment during World War II and the Korean conflict. Leonard Heinrich (1900–1966), the Museum's armorer from 1924 to 1964, made prototype helmets for the war effort with Grancsay, just as Tachaux had done with Dean a generation earlier. The reintroduction of extensive, form-fitting body armor was a radical idea when Dean designed his prototypes in 1917 and 1918, but today it is readily accepted as a vital part of police and military gear. Dean's pioneering efforts helped pave the way for this life-saving change in attitudes toward the use of modern body armor.

1. The comment was made by Kaiser Wilhelm II to German troops at the front in August 1914.
2. Philip Larkin, "MCMXIV," in *The Complete Poems of Philip Larkin,* edited and annotated by Archie Burnett (London: Faber and Faber, 2012), p. 60.
3. F. T. Marinetti, "The Founding and Manifesto of Futurism," originally published in *Le Figaro* (Paris), February 20, 1909, reprinted in *Futurism: An Anthology,* edited by Lawrence Rainey, Christine Poggi, and Laura Wittman (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2009), p. 51.
4. F. T. Marinetti to Gino Severini, November 20, 1914. Cited in Anne Coffin Hanson, *Severini futurista, 1912–1917,* exh. cat. (New Haven: Yale University Art Gallery, 1995), p. 47.
5. [Wyndham Lewis et al.], "Editorial," *Blast,* no. 2, *War Number* (July 1915), p. 5. For more on *Blast* and the war, see Richard Cork, *A Bitter Truth: Avant-Garde Art and the Great War* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1994), pp. 29, 76–79.
6. Wyndham Lewis, "A Super-Krupp—Or War's End," *Blast,* no. 2, p. 14.
7. [Wyndham Lewis], introduction to [Henri] Gaudier-Brzeska, "Vortex Gaudier-Brzeska (Written from the Trenches)," *Blast,* no. 2, p. 33.
8. Gaudier-Brzeska, "Vortex Gaudier-Brzeska," p. 33.
9. [Wyndham Lewis], "Mort pour la patrie," *Blast,* no. 2, p. 34. For Gaudier-Brzeska, see Ezra Pound, *Gaudier-Brzeska: A Memoir* (London: John Lane, The Bodley Head, 1916), p. 3.
10. F. T. Marinetti and C[hristopher] R. W. Nevinson, "Futurism and English Art," originally published in *The Observer,* June 7, 1914, reprinted in *Futurism: An Anthology,* edited by Rainey, Poggi, and Wittman, pp. 196–98.
11. C[hristopher] R. W. Nevinson, *Paint and Prejudice* (1937; New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1938), p. 118.
12. Christopher Nevinson to C. F. Masterman, November 25, 1917. Nevinson file, Imperial War Museum, London. Cited and partially quoted in Cork, *A Bitter Truth,* p. 168.
13. George Bellows, quoted in Jane Myers and Linda Ayres, *George Bellows: The Artist and His Lithographs, 1916–1924,* exh. cat. (Fort Worth: Amon Carter Museum, 1988), p. 67. Bellows's statement was originally published in *Catalogue of an Exhibition of Lithographs by George Bellows, November 7 to 23, 1918,* exh. cat. (New York: Frederick Keppel & Co., 1918), p. 3.
14. Alan Kramer, *Dynamic of Destruction: Culture and Mass Killing in the First World War* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), p. 159.
15. Paul Fort, "The Cathedral of Rheims," in *Selected Poems and Ballads of Paul Fort*, translated by John Strong Newberry, introduced by Ludwig Lewisohn and Carl Sandburg (New York: Duffield and Company, 1921), p. 167.
16. Franz Nölken to Ernst Rump, September 30, 1914. Kriegsbriefe, Ernst Rump, private papers, Hamburg. Cited in Kramer, *Dynamic of Destruction,* p. 28.
17. Fernand Léger to André Mare, November 17, 1914. Quoted in "Biographical Notes, 1911–1924," in *Fernand Léger, 1911–1924: The Rhythm of Modern Life,* by Dorothy Kosinski et al., exh. cat. (Munich and New York: Prestel, 1994), p. 67.
18. Siegfried Sassoon, "At Carnoy," first published in Siegfried Sassoon, *The Old Huntsman and Other Poems* (London: William Heinemann, [1917]), p. 32.
19. The drawing was made in preparation for *A Village in Ruins near Ham* (Musée d'Histoire Contemporaine, Paris), believed to be Bonnard's only painting of war ruins.
20. This discussion of World War I medals is adapted from the exhibition labels written by Donald La Rocca.
21. In a letter to Sembat, Matisse wrote: "Derain, Braque, Camoin, Puy are at the front risking their lives . . . we've [Matisse and Albert Marquet] had enough of staying behind . . . how might we serve the country?" Quoted in Raymond Escholier, *Matisse, Ce vivant* (Paris: Librairie Arthème Fayard, 1956), p. 112; cited in Kenneth E. Silver, *Esprit de Corps: The Art of the Parisian Avant-Garde and the First World War, 1914–1925* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1989), pp. 31, 410 n. 8.
22. As Léger declared in a public lecture in May 1913: "The realistic value of a work of art is completely independent of any imitative character . . . Pictorial realism is the simultaneous ordering of three great plastic components: Lines, Forms and Colours." Fernand Léger, "'Contrastes de formes' through the Great War," in *Fernand Léger, 1911–1924: The Rhythm of Modern Life,* by Kosinski et al., p. 89.
23. Fernand Léger to Louis Poughon, October 27, 1914. Christian Derouet, ed., *Fernand Léger: Une correspondance de guerre à Louis Poughon, 1914–1918* (Paris: Centre Georges Pompidou, 1990), p. 14, letter 4. Cited and translated in Rebecca Rabinow, "*Jouer:* The Games Cubists Play," in *Cubism: The Leonard A. Lauder Collection,* by Emily Braun et al., exh. cat. (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2014), p. 179.
24. Grosz described his fierce opposition to the war, which, unlike many of his peers, he felt from the beginning, in his 1946 autobiography, writing "War meant horror, mutilation, annihilation. Did not many wise people feel the same way?" *George Grosz: An Autobiography,* translated by Nora Hodges, foreword by Barbara McCloskey (1946; Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), pp. 97, 98.
25. Max Beckmann to Minna Beckmann-Tube, L[yck], September 24, 1914. Max Beckmann, *Self-Portrait in Words: Collected Writings and Statements, 1903–1950,* edited and annotated by Barbara Copeland Buenger (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1997), p. 139.
26. Max Beckmann to Minna Beckmann-Tube, Castle M[lawa], September 16, 1914. Beckmann, *Self-Portrait in Words,* p. 137.
27. Unlike many of the other illustrations, however, Kollwitz's contribution depicts neither combat, nor soldiers, nor national glory. Titled simply *Fear* (*Das Bangen*), it shows the tense visage of a woman, more like a death mask than a living person, emerging from the darkness. And, in a journal entry of September 30, 1914, one month before her son was killed, Kollwitz wrote of "the grave mood that comes over one when one knows: there is war, and one cannot hold on to any illusions any more. Nothing is real but the frightfulness of this state, which we almost grow used to. In such times it seems so stupid that the boys must go to war. The whole thing is so ghastly and insane." K[ä]the Kollwitz, *The Diary and Letters of Kaethe Kollwitz,* edited by Hans Kollwitz, translated by Richard and Clara Winston (1955; Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press, 1988), pp. 62–63.
28. Käthe Kollwitz, journal entry of September 28, 1919. Kollwitz, *Diary and Letters of Kaethe Kollwitz,* p. 94.
29. Käthe Kollwitz, journal entry of February 6, 1919. Alexandra von dem Knesebeck, *Käthe Kollwitz: Werkverzeichnis der Graphik; Neubearbeitung des Verzeichnisses von August Klipstein, publiziert 1955,* 2 vols. (Bern: Verlag Kornfeld, 2002), vol. 2, p. 432.
30. Käthe Kollwitz, journal entry of December 13, 1922. Quoted in Knesebeck, *Käthe Kollwitz,* p. 576.
31. Karl Nierendorf, publisher of *The War,* declined to include *Soldier and Nun* owing to its shocking subject, fearing it would lead to the whole series being confiscated.
32. Otto Dix, quoted in Jay Winter, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 159.
33. Fernand Léger, quoted in Dora Vallier, "La vie fait l'oeuvre de Fernand Léger: Propos de l'artiste recueillis par Dora Vallier," *Cahiers d'art* 29 (1954), p. 151. Cited and translated in Christopher Green, "Out of War: Léger's Painting of the War and the Peace, 1914–1920," in *Fernand Léger, 1911–1924: The Rhythm of Modern Life,* by Kosinski et al., p. 46.
34. "The Unveiling of a Memorial Tablet," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 14, no. 11 (November 1919), pp. 244–45. The memorial was made at the suggestion of Edward D. Adams, who also paid for its creation. For correspondence from 1919 relating to the project, see Adams, Edward Dean—Gifts—Sculpture, 1906, 1908–1909, 1912, 1916, 1919–1923, 1927, 1929, 1930, 1934, 1993, Office of the Secretary Records, The Metropolitan Museum of Art Archives, New York. Regarding the number of employees at the Met during the war years see internal memos from February 19, 1914; December 26, 1916; January 5, 1917; April 25, 1917; May 28, 1917; November 1918; and September 18, 1919; in Employees—General, 1914–1917, Office of the Secretary Records. I am grateful to James Moske for locating this material.
35. Wilhelm R. Valentiner to Edward Robinson, Munich, August 15, 1914. Valentiner, W. R.—General, 1907–1908, 1910–1911, 1914–1918, 1921–1922, 1925, Office of the Secretary Records.
36. Valentiner to Robinson, Berlin, December 28, 1916. Ibid.
37. For details of Valentiner's career see Margaret Sterne, *The Passionate Eye: The Life of William R. Valentiner* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1980).
38. "The Egyptian Expedition, 1916–17," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 13, no. 3 (March 1918), supplement, p. 3.
39. "Accessions and Notes," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 13, no. 11 (November 1918), p. 247.
40. See notices in *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 12, no. 8 (August 1917), p. 178; 12, no. 10 (October 1917), pp. 206–8; 12, no. 11 (November 1917), p. 236; 14, no. 9 (September 1919), pp. 202–3.
41. Charles French was born in 1893. For his service records, see *Officers and Enlisted Men of the United States Navy Who Lost Their Lives during the World War, from April 6, 1917 to November 11, 1918* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1920), p. 288; and New York State Abstracts of World War I Military Service, 1917–1919, Adjutant General's Office, Series B0808, New York State Archives, Albany, New York; accessed on Ancestry.com. A newspaper clipping from *The New York World,* December 10, 1917, includes pictures of Charles French and Frederick Magenheimer, two crewmembers not accounted for after the sinking of the *Jacob Jones.* The brief story accompanying the pictures states that French comes from an old Vermont family. His grandfather, Norman T. French, fought in the Civil War. Two brothers are in the service, and although only twenty-four years old, he had been four years in the navy and six months in the Engineering Corps. He lived with his parents, Mr. and Mrs. Norman Waldo French, at no. 240 East 14th Street. "We hope for the best," said Mrs. French, "but we are prepared to make our sacrifice for the country." Employees—General—Military Service, 1917–1919 file, Office of the Secretary Records.
42. John Aloysius Reynolds was born January 9, 1891. He served in Company M of the 308th Infantry Regiment, part of the 154th Infantry Brigade of the 77th Infantry Division, which was comprised mostly of men from New York City. For his service records, see U.S., World War I Draft Registration Cards, 1917–1918, New York, New York, Roll 1786811, Draft Board 150; and New York State Abstracts of World War I Military Service, 1917–1919, Adjutant General's Office, Series B0808, New York State Archives, Albany, New York; both accessed on Ancestry.com.
43. [Edward Robinson], "Report of the Trustees for the Year MCMXVIII," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 14, no. 3 (March 1919), p. 48.
44. Bashford Dean, *Helmets and Body Armor in Modern Warfare* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1920), p. 240.
45. Bashford Dean to Colonel S. W. MacGregor, December 27, 1918. Archives of the Department of Arms and Armor, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.
46. Theodore Roosevelt to Bashford Dean, April 19, 1918. Gift of Dean K. Boorman, 2011, Archives of the Department of Arms and Armor.
47. Dean, *Helmets and Body Armor in Modern Warfare,* figs. 41, 68, 115, 166, 178, and 179.
48. For an overview of Kienbusch's career as a collector see Donald J. La Rocca, "Carl Otto Kretzschmar von Kienbusch and the Collecting of Arms and Armor in America," *Philadelphia Museum of Art Bulletin* 81, no. 345 (Winter 1985), pp. 2, 4–24.
49. Dean, *Helmets and Body Armor in Modern Warfare,* figs. 167, 175, 180, and 196.
50. Raymond Bartel correspondence file, Archives of the Department of Arms and Armor.

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