

Introduction

The World at War, 1914–1918

One hundred years ago, the June 1914 assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand of Austria by a Bosnian-Serb student triggered a global conflict that came to be known to its participants as The Great War and to subsequent generations as the First World War. Within weeks of the assassination, nearly all of the major nation-states of Europe were drawn into a war that lasted four long years and killed ten million men. Soldiers in the trenches of the so-called “war to end war” faced the horrors of industrialized warfare in the form of the machine gun, tank, and poison gas. Home fronts were threatened by invasion and zeppelin attack. The collective personal and national trauma inflicted on all who experienced the war remains a potent touchstone for a contemporary world still embroiled in conflict.

This exhibition illuminates the lived experience of the war from the point of view of its participants and observers, preserved for a twenty-first-century generation through letters and diaries, memoirs and novels, photographs and drawings by battlefield artists, and propaganda posters and films. Through these materials, the exhibition seeks to recover the deeply personal experience of the war and to mark an event that would forever change our relationships with war, grief, history, industry, faith, and one another.

Unless otherwise noted, all items on view are drawn from the Ransom Center’s collections.

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The War Begins

“One day the great European War will come out of some damned foolish thing in the Balkans.”
—Prussian statesman Otto von Bismarck, ca. 1897

At the dawn of the twentieth century, the multi-cultural empires of Austria-Hungary and the Ottoman Turks were beginning to fragment under the pressure of growing ethnic unrest and appeals for self-rule. Witnessing the deterioration of these age-old empires, the great colonial powers of Europe strategically maneuvered themselves into alliances and coalitions. By 1914, the Balkans had already been the object of two wars and countless diplomatic standoffs when Franz Ferdinand, heir to the Austro-Hungarian Empire, visited Serbia to oversee military maneuvers in a volatile Balkan area.

His ill-fated visit to the city of Sarajevo on June 28, 1914, coincided with the anniversary of the defeat of Serbia by the Turks in 1389—a date symbolic of oppressive foreign rule. Riding in an

open car, Franz Ferdinand and his wife were assassinated by Gavrilo Princip, a member of the Black Hand, a Serbian nationalist organization.

The assassination, a seemingly local act of terrorism, triggered a chain reaction of European mobilization that exploited a dense, interlocking network of standing alliances, ultimately resulting in the outbreak of the world's first global war.

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“Will History Repeat Itself?”

New York Journal-American 1934 reprint of a June 29, 1914 headline
Digital reproduction from the original

This reprint of the June 29, 1914 lead article in the *New York Journal-American* newspaper features an image of the bloody tunic of Archduke Franz Ferdinand, the heir to the Hapsburg empire, whose assassination by Serbian nationalists sparked a chain of events that resulted in the outbreak of global war.

This reproduction was published twenty years after the event, under the headline “Will History Repeat Itself?” Two weeks before the feature appeared, the 1934 Geneva Disarmament Conference had failed after Hitler objected to France and Britain restricting Germany's armament under the terms of the 1919 Treaty of Versailles that ended World War I.

Belgium

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Ellsworth Young (American, 1866–1952)
Remember Belgium – Buy Bonds – Fourth Liberty Loans, 1918
Lithograph

American artist Ellsworth Young created an iconic image of anti-German propaganda in this poster. The exaggeration of German atrocities in Belgium was a propaganda staple throughout the war. While the suffering of the Belgian civilian population is unquestionable, charges of widespread murder and mutilation, especially of children, were greatly overstated.

It is estimated, however, that approximately 6,400 civilians were intentionally killed by German troops in occupied Belgium and France during the war. Similarly, the burning of the university library of Louvain and the destruction of the Reims cathedral convinced propagandists that Germany was against culture and religion, even though some of the devastation was committed by the allies.

281, part 1

General Otto von Emmich (1848–1915), Commander-in-Chief of the Army of the Meuse
Au Peuple Belge! August 1914
Lithograph

The German Army demanded free passage through Belgian territory. The Belgians refused the ultimatum, and the siege to the ring of fortresses surrounding the Belgian city of Liège began.

281, part 2

Au Peuple Belge! reads:

To the Belgian People! It is to my greatest regret that German troops find themselves forced to cross the Belgian frontier. They are acting under the constraint of an inevitable necessity as Belgium's neutrality has already been violated by French officers who, in disguise, crossed Belgian territory by motorcar in order to infiltrate Germany.

Belgians! It is our greatest desire that there may still be a way to avoid a fight between two nations which have been friends until now, and once even allies. Remember the glorious days of Waterloo where German arms contributed to founding and establishing the independence and prosperity of your country.

But we must have free passage. The destruction of bridges, tunnels, and railways will be regarded as hostile actions. Belgians, it is for you to choose.

I hope that the German Army of the Meuse will not be forced to fight you. A free passage to attack those who wanted to attack us, that's all we want.

I give **formal guarantees** to the Belgian population that it will have nothing to suffer from the horrors of war; that **we will pay in gold coin** for the provisions that we will need to take; and that our soldiers will prove themselves the best of friends to a people for whom we feel the highest esteem, and the greatest sympathy.

It rests on your wisdom and understandable patriotism to save your country from the horrors of war.

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E. de Jaer, Mayor designated by military authority
Habitants d'Andenne, August 21, 1914
Lithograph

On August 19, 1914, the 2nd and 3rd German armies moved into the area around the town of Andenne. When the retreating Belgian army blew up the bridge across the Meuse, the Germans, believing the civilians in the town had sabotaged the bridge and were shooting at them, retaliated, killing approximately 262 civilian men, women, and children and looting and burning homes. The German fear of guerilla warfare of *francs-tireurs*, civilian sharpshooters, who would not observe the rules of war, motivated the massacres at Andenne and elsewhere during the initial phase of the war.

By order of the German military authority occupying the town of Andenne:

All the men are held as hostages.

For every shot fired on German troops, there will be AT LEAST two hostages executed.

The hostages will be fed by the women [of the town], who will bring them what is needed near the bridge at six in the evening and at 8 in the morning.

It is strictly forbidden for the women to speak with the hostages.

All the streets and public squares will be immediately cleaned BY ALL THE WOMEN IN THE TOWN, under penalty of arrest.

It is formally forbidden to be outside in the town after 7 o'clock at night and before 7 o'clock in the morning, under penalty of harsh punishment.

The dead will be buried immediately without any ceremony.

Young people from 14 years and above and women will comply with every request.

It is strictly forbidden to look out of the windows.

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Captain Becker, Commandant of Andenne

Proclamation, August 2, 1914

Lithograph

1. From noon Saturday August 29, 1914, all clocks will be set to German time (**one hour earlier**).
2. Gatherings of more than 3 people are strictly forbidden, under penalty of fines.
3. **Authorization** from the Commandant is required for any travel after 8 o'clock at night.
4. Firearms must be deposited with the guard at the Casino by noon on the 29th. If any firearms are found in a house after this time, **the head of the household will be hanged**.
5. German soldiers require absolute calm; workers can return to their jobs immediately. The least sign of revolt by the residents WILL RESULT IN THE BURNING OF THE ENTIRE TOWN, **and the men will be hanged**.

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Commandant of Noyon

Avis au public, May 12, 1916

Lithograph

Noyon, in the north of France, was occupied from the early months of the war.

Public Notice.

The population is reminded that, **by superior order**, all male residents over **the age of 12**, must politely salute, by removing their hats, every German army officer, as well as officials having the rank of officer.

The Commandant has found that, despite these rules many men and mainly young persons, **do not salute** or do it **in an offensive way**.

Consequently, in order to avoid any trouble, the population is invited to adhere strictly to the orders mentioned above.

Mobilization

1, 2, 3, 4

Christina Broom (British, 1862–1939)
Grenadier Guard reservists outside a medical inspection room, August 1914
Gelatin silver print

Families saying farewell to soldiers headed for active service in France, 1914
Gelatin silver print

Inspection of soldiers' kits before departing for France, August 1914
Gelatin silver print

Irish Guards at 4:00 a.m. in front of Wellington Barracks, waiting to deploy to France,
August 5, 1914
Gelatin silver print

London photographer Christina Broom documented the mobilization of British troops following Britain's declaration of war against Germany at midnight on August 4, 1914.

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The British Parliamentary Recruiting Committee
"Step into your Place," 1915
Lithograph

Before introducing conscription in May 1916, Great Britain was the only major European nation to rely on a volunteer army. This recruiting poster encourages all classes of British

society to enlist; miners and aristocrats alike “step into [their] place” in the line of identical “Tommies” marching off to war. Though class distinctions were upheld by the British Army, the high fatality rate among young subalterns necessitated that men from the rank be promoted to officer class. Many of these “temporary gentlemen” would later lead the postwar labor strikes that shook Britain’s socio-economic foundation in the 1920s.

France

France was drawn into the war against a backdrop of the defeat of Napoleon III to Germany in 1871. Still recovering from that war’s reparations debt, the loss of Alsace and Lorraine to Germany, and the aftermath of a brutally-repressed revolution in Paris, the chain of events in 1914 that precipitated France into a new war unfolded a mere month following the assassination of Franz Ferdinand.

Austria-Hungary, backed by its ally the German Empire, issued a list of demands to Serbia—a list designed to offend. Serbia refused the ultimatum and Austria declared war on July 28, 1914. When Russia announced that it was mobilizing its army in support of Serbia, a volley of telegrams passed between the Tsar and his cousin, the Kaiser of Germany. Despite the Tsar’s assurances that mobilization did not mean war, Germany declared war on Russia on August 1.

France was obliged under the Franco-Russian Convention of 1892 to mobilize on August 2, and the next day Germany declared war on France. Seeking to avoid the heavily fortified French border, Germany gave an ultimatum to Belgium demanding passage for its army. Belgium refused and Germany invaded on August 4. This action violated the 1839 Treaty of London guaranteeing Belgian neutrality and, in turn, drew Great Britain into the war.

By midnight, August 4, 1914, a mere week after Austria had declared war on Serbia, the European continent was engulfed in a conflict that would last four long years and kill nearly ten million men.

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Unidentified photographer

Prussian artillery on the Place de la Concorde, Paris, March 1, 1871

Gelatin silver print

Following the fall of the French Empire under Napoleon III, and a prolonged siege of the city of Paris, a unified German Empire was proclaimed at the Palace of Versailles in January 1871. The French were charged with five billion francs in war reparations, and the provinces of Alsace and Lorraine were ceded to Germany. Revolution broke out in Paris, and was brutally repressed by the newly formed government of the French Third Republic.

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Alphonse Bertillon (French, 1853–1914)

Alfred Dreyfus after the degradation ceremony, January 5, 1895

Gelatin silver print

After the French loss of the provinces of Alsace and Lorraine during the Franco-Prussian War of 1870–1871, anti-German feelings and paranoia about spies flourished in France. In 1894, a cleaning woman working for French Intelligence in the German Embassy pulled an unsigned piece of paper from the trash. It was a memorandum, a *bordereau*, detailing military secrets that indicated a spy at a high level. Suspicion quickly, and wrongly, fell on Captain Alfred Dreyfus (1859–1935) a Jewish officer from Alsace. After a kangaroo court military trial, Dreyfus was condemned to life imprisonment on Devil’s Island in French Guiana. When new documents surfaced that implicated another officer, Marie Charles Walsin-Esterhazy (1847–1923), the French military covered up inculcating evidence and fabricated other documents that would point back to Dreyfus instead. The Dreyfus Affair, as it became known, soon divided France, exposing a large anti-Semitic element in society.

This photo was taken immediately after the ceremony where Alfred Dreyfus had his epaulets and buttons, the distinguishing marks of his rank, ripped from his uniform and his sword broken.

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Text of the *bordereau* Alfred Dreyfus was made to copy for handwriting analysis during his second court martial trial, ca. August-September 1899

Public outrage over the injustice of Dreyfus’s conviction forced a new trial in 1899, held in Rennes rather than Paris. Dreyfus was again found guilty, but with extenuating circumstances. Sentenced to ten years, Dreyfus was pardoned by the French Prime Minister on condition that he not protest the guilty verdict. The court did not overturn the Rennes verdict and declare Dreyfus innocent until July 12, 1906.

Despite what the army and his country had put him through, Dreyfus, now a Major, returned to duty in 1916 and served in the reserves as a rear-echelon supply officer, obtaining the rank of Lieutenant Colonel in 1918. His son Pierre, would see action in almost every major battle of the war, and was awarded the Croix de Guerre.

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Orens (French, b. 1879)

Ct. Esterhazy. The Honor of the Army?, ca. 1904

Hand-colored postcard

Orens (French, b. 1879)

Caricature of Jean Jaurès, ca. 1904
Hand-colored postcard

The French socialist leader Jean Jaurès (1859–1914) wrote an influential book declaring the innocence of Dreyfus. Jaurès implicated the army in forging documents, a determining factor in Dreyfus obtaining a second trial.

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Jean Jaurès' notes for a speech at the French National Assembly, November 13, 1906

In this speech on the separation of church and state, Jaurès notes some of his most well-known beliefs: "Peace by ideas; The Republic—system of freedom."

In July 1914, as war rhetoric enflamed Europe, Jaurès, an ardent pacifist, traveled to Brussels to convince international labor leaders that a general strike should be called in order to force European governments into arbitration if war were to erupt.

When Jaurès was assassinated at a Paris café on July 31 by Raoul Villain, a French nationalist, France lost its most powerful voice against war.

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Otto
Marcel Proust, not dated
Gelatin silver print
Inscribed by Proust to his devoted servant, Céleste Albaret

Like French author Marcel Proust (1871–1922), Charles Swann, one of the main characters in Proust's *In Search of Lost Time* (also known as *Remembrance of Things Past*), is Jewish and an ardent *Dreyfusard*—supporter of Albert Dreyfus.

The Dreyfus Affair and the Great War are two of the main historical events traversing Proust's seven-volume work and the War dominates much of its last volume, published posthumously as *Le Temps retrouvé* (*Time Regained*):

. . . it had become fashionable to say that the pre-war period was separated from the war-period by a gulf as deep, implying as much duration, as a geological period. . . The truth is that the great change brought about by the war was in inverse ratio to the value of the minds it touched. . . what profoundly modifies the course of their thought is rather something of no apparent importance which overthrows the order of time and makes them live in another period of their lives.

Marcel Proust's draft proof of *L'ombre des jeunes filles en fleurs*, carnet violet No. 22, Volume II of *A la recherche du temps perdu*, ca. 1914–1918

When the war broke out, part of the second volume of *In Search of Lost Time*, *In the Shadow of Young Girls in Flower*, was in the proof stage, but war shortages prevented its publication until 1918. During the war, Proust rewrote the volume almost entirely. When it was finally published in 1918, it won France's most prestigious literary prize, the Prix Goncourt, prevailing over *Les Croix de bois* (*Wooden Crosses*), a war novel by Roland Dorgelès.

In the novel, Proust uses a plant analogy to describe the growth of young girls into women [translation by Charles Kenneth Scott-Moncreiff]:

Alas! In the freshest flower it is possible to discern those just perceptible signs which. . . indicate already what will be. . . the ultimate form, immutable and already predestinate, of the autumnal seed. I knew that. . . there dwelt beneath the rosy inflorescence of Albertine, Rosemonde, Andrée, unknown to themselves, held in reserve until the circumstances should arise, a coarse nose, a protruding jaw, a bust that would create a sensation when it appeared, but was actually in the wings, ready to 'come on,' just as it might be a burst of *Dreyfusism*, or clericalism, sudden unforeseen, fatal, some patriotic, some feudal form of heroism emerging suddenly when the circumstance demand it from a nature anterior to that of the man himself, by means of which he thinks, lives, evolves gains strength himself or dies, without ever being able to distinguish that nature from the successive phases which in turn he takes for it. . . we take from our family, as the *Papilionaceae* take the form of their seed, as well the ideas by which we live as the malady from which we shall die.

Raymond Poincaré (French, 1860–1934)
A la Nation Française, August 2, 1914
 Lithograph

In this address, President Raymond Poincaré tried to assure the French people that mobilization does not mean war: “At this time, there are no more parties. There is eternal France, a resolute and peaceful France. There is the country of law and justice united in calm, vigilance and dignity.”

Poincaré, a Lorrainer who distrusted Germany and solidified the alliance with Russia, hints here at what he would soon refer to as the *union sacrée*. Despite the assassination of the Socialist Jean Jaurès, there was to be no more partisan dissention, but a united France. This union of political differences would become more difficult as the war carried on.

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Military Governor of Paris Joseph Gallieni's announcement of the French government's evacuation from Paris, September 3, 1914

Lithograph

As the German Army threatened Paris during the Battle of the Marne, General Joseph-Simon Gallieni (1849–1916) announced that the members of the government have left Paris for Bordeaux, declaring, "I have been trusted with the task of defending Paris against the invader." Gallieni commandeered Parisian taxis to help move troops to the front.

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Unidentified photographer

Taxis of the Marne, ca. September 1914

Gelatin silver print

By early September 1914, the French had already suffered 260,000 casualties and the German army was within 30 miles of Paris. French commander General Joseph Joffre (1852–1931), using reconnaissance airplanes to identify German positions, regrouped the French army around Paris. With 32 daily trains and requisitioned taxis bringing troops to the defense of Paris, Joffre managed to beat back the over-extended German First Army under Alexander von Kluck (1846–1934) during the First Battle of the Marne. The legendary taxis were more effective in boosting morale than moving troops, but became a potent symbol of French solidarity.

397, part 1

A letter from Sylvain Royé to Gaston Picard, September 16, 1914, with a poem by Royé written on the last page

In this letter, the French poet Sylvain Royé (1891–1916) describes to his friend, novelist and literary critic Gaston Picard (1892–1962), the "methodical retreat" and the "brilliant offensive" of the First Battle of the Marne as he observes, "the eternal convoys!" that pass "like a dark river" beneath his window.

At the time of the Battle of the Marne, Sylvain Royé was a clerk eager to leave his desk for the real fighting. By 1916, he succeeded and was a *fantassin*, an infantryman, when he volunteered to carry a message to his superiors at Douaumont, during the Battle of Verdun. He was last seen racing down the trench corridor when a shell exploded and collapsed the trench walls. The other men in his unit were taken prisoner by the Germans. Sylvain Royé's body was finally found and identified by his dog tag on January 9, 1929.

397, part 2

[translation of page four of Royé's letter to Picard]

. . . now that we are advancing we are crossing forsaken battlefields, looted villages, and deserted countryside. It was after the Battle of Montmirail when I saw the first dead. A nasty feeling at first and profound sadness, but you get used to it and I remember spending more than an hour next to a German corpse, beside a path, one day when I was in the telegraph van. So it has been only dead bodies, burning, and looting for the last two weeks. Yesterday they brought us 645 prisoners and we shot 4 spies, 2 men and 2 women, and 2 German looters. Hiding behind a hedge most of us enjoyed this tantalizing spectacle to the greatest degree. I did not miss it, I assure you, because everything here is ruled by sensation.

But more than all this spectacle, I can boast of having seen death. Yeah, my little Gaston, I have seen it, felt it, touched it, and now I can return to Paris with my head held high. I faced danger as others have. An evening three days ago we entered a large city of the Champagne region, which was just liberated that morning. We encamped there on the alert, since the Germans were only a few miles away, and we were hearing gunfire closer than we were accustomed. But suddenly, a huge detonation exploded with windows shattering, cries, and tumult. At that moment, I was reading *Le Glu* [*The Glue*, a novel by Jean Richepin (1849–1926)] and thinking it was a stray shell I continued my reading, but then there were three, four, ten shells falling. They brought in two wounded, the windows fell in and we learned that one of our colonels was seriously injured by a fragment. So there was great alarm, then terror. It is terrible to hear “bzzzbzzzbzzz” above you without knowing where the shell will fall—on you, to the right or to the left, then suddenly a huge explosion and walls collapsing, there are people fleeing, screaming.”

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Epitaph (The Battle Hymn)

Those who were the companions of my childhood,
Friends the best who will not return,
Have drained their life in the winds of war
And threw their fate swiftly in the balance.

They now sleep in some French field
Intimately united by a common death,
And loved ones silently worry,
Not yet daring to abandon the last hope.

Tomorrow on their graves new wheat will grow
Without even entrusting their names to the summer wind;
Their names of which they had made a page of history,

But I want, remembering their past,
To snatch a palm from the sheaves of Glory

To honor the sorrow of their interrupted youth.

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Proof copy of Isabelle Rimbaud's *Dans le remous de la bataille* (Paris: Librairie Chapelot, 1917) annotated and corrected by the author

Isabelle Rimbaud (1860–1917), the sister of the French poet Arthur Rimbaud (1854–1891), fled before the invading German army from her home in Roche, near the Belgian border, with her husband who was ill with bronchitis, taking with her a photograph of her brother at his first communion. They took refuge in Reims just as the city came under siege by the German army and Isabelle witnessed the shelling of the Notre-Dame de Reims Cathedral on September 4.

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Unidentified photographer

The bombardment of the Notre-Dame de Reims Cathedral, ca. September 20, 1914

Gelatin silver print

In her memoir, Isabelle Rimbaud wrote:

“Involuntarily I lengthen my step and find myself a few meters ahead [of the others]. In the middle of the street, in front of the Beau Dieu portal, two clergymen dressed in long coats, and whose faces remain impassive, have stopped and impenetrably watch the top of the north tower, enveloped in a murky cloud of dust and hidden by scaffolding, from which fly many birds the size of pigeons. There is a long whistle over my head. I cower in the archway of a small door, after a huge crash, there are falling stones, rubble, and dust at my feet. Strange objects, which I take first for pieces of bottle ends, quiver and bounce off the pavement. I take a step to seize one of these singular objects, and my hand already reaches out towards one of them when I realize what they are. It is death that surrounds me. I'm afraid. I remain motionless, petrified, staring mechanically at the sculptures removed from the cathedral whose details emerge with an amazing clarity. A worker runs, haggard, pulling a young woman by the elbow who screams and folds her apron over a small child nestled in her arms. The man shouts at me, ‘Get away, they are aiming at the Cathedral!’

‘Look!’ exclaims our friend who had stopped and was staring into the sky, ‘Look! A bomb fell right on the Cathedral! ‘ I see only cloud of dust or smoke, and the twirling flight of birds, but a crash of broken windows makes me tremble with fear.’”

223 Wall

Abel Faivre (French, 1867–1945)

On les aura!, 1916

Lithograph

One of the most famous French posters of a *poilu* from the war reads, “We’ll get them!” The quotation is from an order to the troops by General Petain (1856-1951) on April 10, 1916, after a particularly brutal German attack at Verdun. An informal name for French infantryman, the term *poilu* translates literally as “hairy one.”

At the outset of the war, *poilus* sported brilliant blue coats and red trousers and *kepi* caps, making them easy targets. In late 1914, however, they were issued a more discreet sky blue, or *bleu horizon*, uniform, and in the summer of 1915, the *casque Adrian*, steel helmet, replaced the *kepi*. The identity bracelet, seen on this *poilu*’s wrist, was first introduced in France in 1881, although the Prussians had them in 1870, and the Americans during the Civil War. Identity tags were intended to be worn around the neck, but some *poilus* made them into bracelets, while others refused to wear them out of superstition. Despite the tags, over 250,000 French dead remained unidentified at the war’s end.

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International News Photo
French soldiers in a Trench, ca. 1915–1918
Gelatin silver print

As the Battle of the Marne ended with an allied victory, and the armies “raced to the sea” trying to outflank each other, the Germans ended up on the high-ground of the Aisne Valley and dug in. The Western front stretched from the North Sea to Switzerland, and remained essentially immobile until the last year of the war.

Henri Barbusse (1873–1935), the WWI veteran, described life in the French trenches, “We perceive long lacing hollows where the gathering of night pools. It is the trench. The bottom is carpeted by a sticky coating where a foot noisily unglues itself with each step, and which reeks around each shelter, from the night’s urinations. The dugouts, if you stick your head in while passing, smell—like bad breath.

I see shadows emerging from these lateral shafts, massive misshapen masses moving: a species of bear that wallows and growls. This is us.

We are swaddled like Arctic dwellers. Woolens, blankets, gunnysacks, wrapping us, covering us, rounding us out strangely. Some stretch, yawning wide. Faces emerge, ruddy or ashen, marked by grime, pierced by the lights of eyes blurred and caked with sleep, bushy with untrimmed beards or stained by stubble.

Crack! Crack! Boom! Rifle shots, and canon blast. Above us, all around, it crackles or rolls, by long bursts or single shots. The dark and lurid storm never stops—never.”

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Letter from French poet Roger Allard to Louis de Gonzague-Frick, October 6, 1915

Roger Allard (1885–1961) was a soldier in the infantry, and later a pilot. He was wounded twice over the course of the war. Here, he writes to his friend, the poet Louis de Gonzague-Frick (1883–1959) having returned to the front after his first leave home, “. . . nor am I in good spirits. I am still under the weight of my furlough and especially by its brevity. Never would I have thought that eight days of happiness could bring such suffering or for so long. These days I don’t even have time to listen to my own regrets, I am in the fire night and day on the road, which is a polite way of describing it, because they are only trails, and what trails, quite the war path, lined with dead horses around us. See Souvain-Tahure, that’s all I need to say! This is incredible. Magical and horrifying. Even without the tear gas it’s enough to make the stones cry like old Arkel [in the opera *Pelléas and Mélisande* by Debussy]. I embrace you my dear Louis. Do not forget me.”

The Tahure Hill, in the Champagne region, was part of a massive allied offensive in the fall of 1915, along with Loos. French General Joffre’s strategy was “we shall kill more of the enemy than he can kill of us,” but the Germans, under General Erich von Falkenhayn (1861–1922), dug in out of the reach of the French guns. For a minor gain in territory, there were a quarter of a million allied casualties compared with only 60,000 German losses. The failed offensive led to the breakdown of French Prime Minister René Viviani’s government. He was succeeded by Aristide Briand (1862–1932). The Tahure Hill is now a military cemetery.

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Letter from Pablo Picasso to Henri-Pierre Roché, August 1915

In his letter, Picasso (1881–1973) writes to French author, art dealer, and collector Roché (1879–1959): “My dear friend, Braque is wounded. That’s all I know. Here is his address—Second Lieutenant Braque—Ambulance 1/18 Postal Sector 96. Perhaps with the help of your general [Malleterre] you could telegraph for news about how he is. I would be so grateful. . . . You know my friendship for Braque.”

Artist Georges Braque (1882–1963), who, along with Picasso, invented Cubism, was wounded in the head in battle at Carency on May 11, 1915. He underwent trepanation surgery and temporarily lost his sight. Braque was subsequently awarded the *Croix de Guerre* and the *Légion d’honneur*. After Apollinaire was similarly wounded, a French author joked that the Germans were aiming at the heads of French artists and writers.

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Unidentified photographer
André Dunoyer de Segonzac in uniform, ca. 1914
Gelatin silver print

French artist André Dunoyer de Segonzac (1884–1974) was enjoying some success (he had exhibited his work at the New York Armory show in 1913 and had his first solo exhibition) when the war broke out.

After seeing action on the front, Dunoyer de Segonzac and other French artists were re-assigned as *camoufleurs* after the camouflage section was organized in February 1915.

Gertrude Stein described Picasso's reaction upon seeing his first camouflage vehicle, "I very well remember at the beginning of the war being with Picasso on the boulevard Raspail when the first camouflaged truck passed. It was at night, we had heard of camouflage but we had not seen it yet and Picasso amazed looked at it and then cried out, yes it is we who made it, that is cubism."

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Letter from André Dunoyer de Segonzac to the widow of Roger de Blives, November 29, 1915

Here Dunoyer de Segonzac consoles the widow of his friend the artist Roger de Blives (1876–1915) who was killed at Loos: "I have just found out about the terrible misfortune that has struck you. I cannot tell you all the pain that this horrible news has caused me. This is a very dear and admirable friend that I have lost. De Blives was truly a wonderful man by his nobility and delicacy of feeling—by his beautiful and charming intelligence—by the purity and decency that was how he conducted his whole life... And he stayed admirable until the end—asking to go defend his country that he so loved and to which he tragically gave his life... Believe Madame in my very great and respectful sympathy in the painful hours that you are enduring, for you and the charming child that is near. . . ."

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Letter from LAT [possibly Louis Auguste Thomas (1885–1962)] to Gaston Picard, editor of the *Bulletin des écrivains*, August 14, 1915

"I am pained to learn of the death of Jean-Marie Bernard who didn't write very interesting poetry, but was a curious character. Who will escape unscathed from this great turmoil? Every day, in my circle of friends I learn that there are new rifts. And sometimes it's cold within these walls breached by death and the blowing wind!

Yesterday, I was on mission in [Le] Mans—an afternoon of rain and wind—and even here we feel the weight of the war. The streets are crossed by soldiers of all colors and of every uniform. The number of Muslims here is substantial and sometimes one crosses a Moroccan cadaver carried on a stretcher, without a coffin, and preceded by a crowd of his comrades come from Morocco to defend causes which they can't state the nature.

The anonymity of modern combat has reached its climax there and warlike anger, on the front lines, and in these troops must be formidable. Anonymous anger too, elementary, without interruption, anger *en masse* and which grows like a mound of lava. Lots of emotion from

thinking about a meeting one rainy and windy evening, on a street, in a town, where only soldiers seem to live.”

416

Kadel and Herbert Photography

General Mangin passing the Colonial troops in review, not dated

Gelatin silver print

General Charles “The Butcher” Mangin (1866–1925) was one of the first proponents of creating a military force made up of colonial troops from West Africa. The so-called *La force noire* used *indigène* soldiers to offset France’s declining birthrate and to further France’s paternalistic “*mission civilisatrice*,” or civilizing mission.

After the French army’s heavy losses in 1914–1915, colonial troops became a necessity. Approximately 500,000 soldiers from the French colonies in West and North Africa, Madagascar, and Indochina were recruited or drafted to fight in France, and even more were employed in French factories.

General Mangin used his African regiments as “shock troops” to recapture the Fort of Douaumont during the Battle of Verdun in 1916, but earned his nickname during the disastrous Nivelle Offensive in spring 1917 at the *Chemin des dames*, where in two weeks the French lost 30,000 soldiers, with 100,000 wounded. One Senegalese regiment lost 60 percent of its men.

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Letter from Henri de Lallemand to Mademoiselle Valentine Gross, March 16, 1916

“For the past 4 days I am at the front lines and under a violent bombardment for an unknown reason. Would this be the preparation for a new attack? I don’t know but we can’t go out without hearing the whistle and explosion of *marmites* [French slang for a large German shell; a *marmite* is a large cooking pot]. Just a while ago even, a man from my unit was killed a few meters from the spot where I am writing you. And it is so horrible that one can’t escape completely and even when I write you I can’t do it with complete lucidity. It is really hard with always a weight on my chest, always. Not so much from the feeling that one can be killed at any time—that’s a given—but the atmosphere of destruction, of brutality, the feeling deep inside that so many human lives are being sacrificed, it’s this that is horrific and which demands a strength of soul. The finest reasoning serves no purpose, and you don’t know how you can hang on.”

This candid letter was written during the fighting at Verdun, a battle that lasted from February 1916 to December 1916. By the time it was over, there were 377,231 total French casualties with 163, 440 dead, and 337,000 German casualties with 143,000 dead. Under the pressure of combat, Lallemand confessed his profound feelings to Valentine Gross (1887–1968), who unfortunately did not return them.

Unidentified photographer
 General Pétain at the Verdun front, ca. 1916
 Gelatin silver print

In February 1916, German General Erich von Falkenhayn (1861–1922) launched *Unternehmen Gezicht*, Operation Judgment, which would force the French to defend Verdun in a battle of attrition.

French General Philippe Pétain (1856–1951) was put in charge of the Verdun sector in February 1916. His wartime philosophy was “*le feu tue*” (firepower kills). Thanks to a Roman-built road known as “*le voie sacrée*,” the sacred way, and a specially built railway for transporting ammunition and men to the Verdun from Bar-le-Duc, Pétain was able to keep up an almost constant barrage of the German positions. Every day, 6,000 vehicles made the 90-mile round trip, as entire divisions were rapidly rotated on and off the battlefield in an attempt to preserve morale despite the physical and mental toll of battle. It is estimated that over 23 million shells fell around Verdun, altering its landscape forever.

233 Wall

Adolphe Willette (French, 1857–1926)
 Poilu Appreciation Day. *Alone at last*, December 25 and 26, 1915
 Lithograph

At the beginning of the war, when the armies were still relatively mobile, permission to go on leave was rare for the French troops. Only in summer 1915, when it was clear that the war would be a long one, was a policy for giving furloughs to all the *poilus* established.

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Charles Fouqueray (French, 1871–1956)
 African Army and Colonial Troop Day, 1917
 Lithograph

Many World War I-era representations of colonial soldiers evoke stereotypes of race and culture. These posters were intended to show the people of metropolitan France that they were not alone in their fight, but supported by their colonies and territories. Pictured here are the Zouave troops from Algeria.

The French army tried to accommodate the different religious beliefs of their colonial forces, especially concerning their diet, burial rites, and holy days, although, this became difficult when

Ramadan occurred in the middle of each summer during the war years. The Muslim troops were read fatwas that condoned the relaxing of fasting tenets during the month of Ramadan in times of war, but the decision strictly observe Ramadan “must be left to the judgment of indigenous soldiers.”

Fouqueray was the official artist of the Naval and Colonial Ministries.

374 (part 1)

Letter from Guillaume Apollinaire to Louise de Coligny-Châtillon, October 10, 1914

Poet Guillaume Apollinaire (1880–1918), was born Wilhelm Apollinaris de Kostrowitzky, in Italy to a Polish mother and an Italian father, yet he volunteered to fight on behalf of the French during the First World War. Apollinaire joined the army in Nice. While in basic training he met Louise de Coligny-Châtillon (1881–1963), a divorcée volunteering as a nurse, and fell deeply under her spell. “Lou” inspired many of Apollinaire’s greatest poems.

In this letter, transcribed nearby, he writes to her about his day in basic training.

374 (part 2)

“Lou my love, I am writing you from the mess hall. The paper is already stained, it will be even so more in a while, but there is nowhere but here, where I can find a little peace among the brouhaha. This morning we had reveille in the dark, roll call in the rain. Coffee in between, then after roll call they gave us some bread and a chocolate bar. The corporal assigned me to be teamed up with another poilu. At six-thirty in the stables they showed me how to saddle, which smell good, like love. At eight-thirty we went to the horse training arena where I watched my buddies get a spanking. It will be my turn in the afternoon. At nine-thirty marching, they made me march separately. At ten-thirty I go get the soup and the *rata* [slang for ratatouille]. Not too fun. We eat. I bring back the plates and the dirty utensils all alone, and I get out of there quickly so that no one makes me empty the garbage. And there you have it, Lou dearest. I only have a couple of minutes. I am eating a pear and drinking a *chopine* [half a liter, or around 17 oz.] of wine. At 11:45 I have to wash and shave before going to the saddle room. It is 11:15. This area is off limits until 5:30. Dearest Lou, I promise to love you my whole life and to love only you. You are the only woman for me forever and always, I will always be faithful to you. I got your two cards and they made me laugh.

. . . I think of you, of your adorable body, of your soul so simple yet so deep. Good-bye little Lou, I will see you soon. I am going to work.

I have won the lottery. My Lou is exquisite, my Lou is everything to me, my lips are only for you, darling, you, the best part of myself.

I quaff my last glass of wine to your health and I kiss you with all my heart. Until this evening.”

375, part 1

Letter from Guillaume Apollinaire to Louise de Coligny-Châtillon,
April 18, 1915

In April 1915, Apollinaire, frustrated with his relationship with Lou, quits officer training school and asks to be sent to the front.

A partial translation of the poem included with the letter is nearby. In it, Apollinaire writes about a fading photograph of Lou that he carries.

375, part 2

But it is for me, it's for me alone
Only I have the right to speak to this paling image
To this portrait that fades
I look at it sometimes a long time, one hour, two hours
I also gaze at the 2 small miraculous portraits
 My heart
Flying battles last forever
Night is falling
 What sad song they make in the depths of night
 The bomb shells rotate like little worlds!
So do you love me, my heart, and your well-born soul
Would she like the laurel wreath that crowns my head?
I would add to it these beautiful green myrtle leaves,
Crown of lovers who are not wicked;
Meanwhile here is what the oak tree gives me
 His warrior's crown

And when will I see you again, O Lou, my sweetheart
Will I again see Paris and its pale light
Trembling evening mist around street lamps
Will I again see Paris and the smiles from under veils
The short rapid steps of unknown women
The tower of Saint Germain des Prés
The Luxembourg fountain
And you, my adored, my only adored one
You my own dear love?
 I love you fully
 So sweetly
 My pretty little Lou
 And I kiss you

Gui

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Manuscript of Guillaume Apollinaire's poem, *La nuit d'Avril 1915*, dedicated to L. de C.-C.
[Louise de Coligny-Châtillon]

At the time this poem was written, Apollinaire, a corporal of the 38th regiment, 43rd artillery, begins to move to the front lines.

The Night of April 1915

The sky is starred by Boche bomb shells
The forest wondrous where I live is throwing a ball
The machine gun plays a tune in three-eighths time
But have you the word? Ah! yes the fatal word
To the battlements. To the battlements. Leave the pick axes there

Like a lost star that seeks its seasons
Heart burst shell you whistle your love song
And your thousand suns have emptied the caissons
May the gods of my eyes fill in silence
 We love you
 O Life and we annoy you.

The shells meow a love to die for
A love that dies is the sweetest of all
My breath swims at the river where blood will run dry
The shells caterwauling. Hear ours sing
Purple love. Saluted by those who are about to die

Springtime all damp the night light skirt the attack
It's raining my soul it's raining but it's raining dead eyes
Ulysses! What a lot of days to return to Ithaca -
 Lie down in the straw and dream a fine remorse
That by virtue of art is aphrodisiac

But, Organ music in the nest of
 straw where you sleep
The hymn of the future is
 paradisique

377

Jean Hugo (French, 1894–1984)

Portrait of Guillaume Apollinaire, not dated
Pen and ink

On March 17, 1916 at Bois des Buttes near the Chemin des Dames, while reading a newspaper, Apollinaire was wounded by a piece of shrapnel that pierced his helmet, leaving a star-shaped scar. His novella, *Le poète assassiné* (*The Poet Assassinated*), was published this same year.

Apollinaire succumbed to the Spanish Flu on November 9, 1918, just days before the end of the war. His last words, as reported by his friends, were “I want to live, I want to live, I have so many things to do.”

The influenza pandemic of 1918–1919 killed approximately 50 million people worldwide, and soldiers who were wounded, or had their lungs weakened by gas attacks, were especially vulnerable.

378

Jean Hugo’s handwritten copy of his citation for bravery, May 21, 1916

The French artist Jean Hugo (1894–1984), the great grandson of the French author Victor Hugo (1802–1885), was a sergeant in the 36th Infantry Division. He was wounded at Neuville Saint-Vaast near the Vimy Ridge in 1915, and was twice cited for bravery, promoted to Second Lieutenant, and then decorated once again for bravery at Fort Douaumont during the Battle of Verdun.

The citation reads that Sergeant Hugo, “Demonstrated spirit and self-sacrifice throughout the attack on April 15, 1916. He took over the squad, after his platoon leader was killed, and secured the seized positions with the greatest zeal and a remarkable intelligence.”

379

Letter from Jean Hugo to Valentine Gross, April 10, 1917

Jean Hugo met his future wife, the artist Valentine Gross (1887–1968), in March, 1917, while on leave in Paris. She was famous for her beautiful swan-like neck, as well as her paintings of the Ballets Russes. They were married on August 7, 1918.

Here, he writes and draws rather quickly during a moment of repose as the mail courier is about to leave. He includes a sketch of himself climbing a tree to hang some telegraph wires. Amourously he takes leave of her, “. . . Valentine angel, I miss you, I miss you, I miss you. . . yes, yes. . . yes. I embrace you with all the tenderness of my newfound kiss, she who taught it to me, pressing noses at the same time as mouths. . . oh! la la!!! I am knotted. Again, and again, there!” Then he breaks the mood with “(this doesn’t mean anything).”

Letter from Jean Hugo to Valentine Gross, July 28, 1917

In the spring of 1917, after Verdun and the disastrous Nivelle offensive at the Chemin des Dames, about 40,000 exhausted French troops revolted. Jean Hugo's 36th was one of the divisions that mutinied in April and May 1917. Disgusted with his men, Hugo requested a transfer and he spent the rest of the war as a translator for the newly arrived American troops.

In this letter, he writes to his wife about his first encounter with American troops: "This morning at the crack of dawn, the train flung me into the middle of a strange people. It feels even more like prison than it did in my regiment—faces of horse thieves, of German clergymen, of old picadors—a frightening mix of bible and lassos, of gold-rimmed spectacles and spurs. Would you believe that I have stirrups like a train's snow plow, that I eat two oranges and a steak at eight in the morning—that I have to inform the General on the population of each city in France, on the average size of the wild boars in Lorraine, to explain to him why the French don't know how to swim, and why barges are pulled by horses. You have never given a thought to these things, and neither have I; we are very frivolous."

Guillaume Apollinaire's *Calligrammes*, with lithographs by Giorgio de Chirico (Paris: Gallimard, 1930)

Maurice Darantière's proof copy, with manuscript notations throughout, signed by de Chirico.

A *calligram* is a shaped poem. The tension between the words and the image they make extends the poem's meaning. In the poem, "2nd Gunnery Driver," a reference to Apollinaire's own rank, there are five *calligrams*: a trumpet, a combat boot, the Cathedral of Notre Dame de Paris, the Eiffel Tower, and what appears to be a "potato masher" hand grenade. The trumpet at reveille sings of a poxy strumpet, the boot is all haste, the cathedral symbolizes Paris before the war, the Eiffel Tower is a radio transmitter that is eloquently blowing a raspberry at the Germans, and the grenade sings like a bird of prey overhead.

In 1914, Italian artist Giorgio de Chirico (1888–1978) gave a painting to Apollinaire in thanks for his support as an art critic. This portrait, entitled *L'Homme cible* (*The Man-Shaped Target*) shows the silhouette of a man with a target over his temple. This silhouette resembled Apollinaire, but was probably that of Dante. When he was at the front, Apollinaire worried about the painting, making sure it was in a safe place, as if his own fate was joined with that of the portrait. He wrote to a friend, "Here I am quite the man-shaped target just as in the de Chirico portrait." After he was wounded in the temple, his friends re-baptized the picture "Prophetic Portrait of Apollinaire."

Guillaume Apollinaire's *Calligrammes*, with lithographs by Giorgio de Chirico (Paris: Gallimard, 1930). Maurice Darantière's proof copy, with manuscript notations throughout, signed by de Chirico.

Like many of the *calligrams*, "The Night of April 1915," was composed in a letter to Apollinaire's lover Lou.

The poem was first published at the front on June 17, 1915, using a gelatin hectograph. This simple technology consisted of tracing the back of a document on transfer paper, or with transfer pencils, and pressing it onto a gelatin surface. Once the image was transferred onto the gelatin, the hectograph paper was lifted and conventional paper pressed on the gelatin to make a direct copy. Apollinaire also used a hectograph to produce a trench journal, *Tranchman' écho*, which was published whenever "the editor was wasted."

In April 1915 Apollinaire also began writing to Madeline Pagès (1892–1965), a high school teacher whom he met while on furlough, and who replaced Lou in his affections.

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Apollinaire's poetry mixes love and war, sex and death, heartbreak and horror. The *adieu* (goodbye, or go with God) and the *Ah Dieu!* (Oh God!) of the "Cavalryman's Goodbye" plays on this tension.

Oh God! what a lovely war
With its songs its long leisureliness
This ring I have polished it
The wind joins with your sighs

Go with God! here is the signal to mount up
He disappeared down a bend
And died over there while she
Laughed at surprising fate

In a newspaper article, published while he was in Paris recuperating from his head-wound, Apollinaire debates what exactly to call this "lovely war:"

We began by calling it 'The War of 1914,' then, when 1915 arrived, we said 'The European War,' then the Americans joined, and now they are talking of 'The World War' or 'The Universal War,' which sounds better. 'The Great War' also has its fans. 'The War of Nations' might win some votes. A case could be made for 'The War of Races.' But, perhaps 'The War of Alliances' best explains the character of this gigantic conflict.

Maurice Neumont (French, 1868–1930)

On ne passe pas! 1914–1918

Lithograph

They shall not pass! 1914–1818. Twice I have held my ground and was victorious on the Marne. Civilian, my brother, the underhanded offensive of the white peace will assault you in turn. Like me, you need to hold your ground and triumph, be strong and clever. Beware of *Boche* hypocrisy.

A “white peace,” a peace without victor or vanquished, was proposed off and on during the war by various parties. As the war wound down, it became a question of what kind of peace there would be.

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Léon Poirier (French, 1884–1968)

Verdun: Visions of History, 1928

Gelatin silver print

French film and theater director Léon Poirier joined the army in 1914. He served with distinction as a Lieutenant in the infantry. Ten years after the war he made the silent film, *Verdun: Visions of History*, mixing documentary and new footage using French and German veterans as actors. Poirier recalled of the filming:

In 1927, 11 years after the German onslaught at the *Bois des Caures*, many of the combatants were still living. There were also survivors among Driant’s troops [author Lieutenant Colonel Émile Driant, killed at Verdun] who participated in the re-enactment of those terrible days. Lieutenants Simon, Robin, Captain Vantroys and all the veterans of the 56th and 59th infantry answered my call, Moroccan soldiers from the Verdun garrison and new recruits mingled with poilus from the 42nd division, so that Verdun was not reenacted, but relived.

Although the film is dedicated to all the war’s martyrs, a scene showing ghostly images of a French and a German mother putting their fallen sons on the same stretcher angered some viewers.

422

French official photograph

French crew puts captured German tank in order, 1918

Gelatin silver print

402 & 403 Black wall case (402-405, 457, 406, 407, 408)

Jean Cocteau (French, 1889–1963)
Les Boches, 1914
Ink on paper

Jean Cocteau (French, 1889–1963)
L'U DADA, 1914
Ink on paper

The French author and artist, Jean Cocteau had completed his illustrated picaresque novel *Le Potomak* when the war broke out. During the Battle of the Marne, he redrew some of the illustrations, adding pointed helmets to the adversaries.

When Paris was threatened, Cocteau joined with his friends the pianist Misia Sert (1872–1950) and the illustrator Paul Iribe (1883–1935) in providing ambulance service from the front.

Cocteau witnessed the burning of the Reims cathedral and described it in his 1923 novel *Thomas l'imposteur* [Thomas the Imposter].

The cathedral was a mountain of old lace. The army doctors, unable to work because of the heavy shelling, were waiting for a lull in the cellar of the *Lion d'Or*. There were three hundred wounded in the rest home and the hospital. Reims found itself, in time of war, under the protection of a city [Paris] that gave it scarcely a thought, unable neither to evacuate, nor feed anyone. The wounded were dying from their wounds, from hunger, from thirst, from tetanus, from shelling. The night before, an artilleryman was told that his leg had to be amputated without chloroform, that it was his only chance, and sickly pale, he smoked a last cigarette before the ordeal, when a shell reduced the surgery equipment to powder, and killed two medical assistants. No one dared to face the soldier. They had to let the gangrene spread like ivy on a statue. . . . We lived under a bower of our own shells passing with the sound of an express train, and German shells punctuating the end of their sleek signature with a black stain of thunder and death.

404

Le Mot, No. 1, November 28, 1914

The journal *Le Mot*, published by Jean Cocteau and Paul Iribe (1883–1935), appeared from November 28, 1914 to July 1, 1915. This first issue, with a drawing by Iribe of “David and Goliath,” shows a *poilu* with his little ’75 next to an enormous German cannon spewing soldiers, encouraged by kicks from an officer.

Most of the content in *Le Mot* is extremely jingoistic, although it also made fun of censorship on the home front, and warned against *espionniste*, “spy-itis,” seeing spies everywhere.

405

Letter from Jean Cocteau to Abbé Arthur Mugnier (1853–1944), December 1915

In 1915, Cocteau joined Count Etienne de Beaumont's (1883–1956) Red Cross ambulance unit. At Christmas, Cocteau was at the extreme western edge of the trenches near Coxyde in Belgium, by the North Sea. The troops were a mix of French *poilus*, North African Zouaves, Senegalese sharpshooters, and a British division. There was a short Christmas truce, where they could hear the German soldiers singing "*O Tannenbaum*."

Cocteau writes to his spiritual advisor, the priest Abbé Mugnier, "Dunes and tempests. I thought of you the whole night of Christmas at the front lines. Silence of Bethlehem, scent of stable, cease-fire from the hail of bullets, infantrymen upright and grave like the Wise Men, huge aluminum stars, which correct the shots, alas."

457

Pablo Picasso (Spanish, 1881–1973)
Portrait of Jean Cocteau in uniform, ca. May 1916
Proof

Cocteau described this Picasso portrait to his friend Valentine Gross as "very suitable for a portrait of a young author to accompany posthumous works after premature death."

Shortly after this portrait was completed, Cocteau was sent with his ambulance unit to the Somme. In a letter to Gross he writes, "We're living like rangers in a Western—hunting for the dead—horrible deliveries of wretches battered to pulp—blood flows—the very sheds are groaning." And then, "A storm of shelling was building up. A night of bombs dropping from the sky, with red flashes lighting the tent. Solitude among volcanoes. . . ."

By the end of July 1916, Cocteau was back in Paris having suddenly abandoned his unit. Letters to friends indicate that he may have had a nervous breakdown, "I am paying for the war traumas, ridding myself of immense fatigue and disgust. Tics, dizziness, toxic smells that cling to my hands."

406

H. Denant
Roland Garros, not dated
Photographic postcard

According to Jean Cocteau, the French aviator Roland Garros (1888–1918) was visiting his home, viewing a portrait of the poet Paul Verlaine through the blades of a moving electric fan, when he came up with the idea for an armored propeller that would allow pilots to shoot from

their cockpits. Garros destroyed at least four German aircraft before being shot down in March 1915. Unable to destroy the plane, the Germans learned about the new propeller. Garros spent three years in a prisoner-of-war camp before escaping and returning to the air war. He was shot down and killed on October 5, 1918, near Vouziers, France.

Anthony Fokker (1890–1939) invented the synchronized interrupter-gear for German aircraft, which allowed the pilot to shoot machine-gun bullets between the propeller blades, causing devastation among allied pilots. This period, up to spring 1916, when allied technology caught up, was known as the Fokker scourge.

407

Jean Cocteau's dedication for *Le Cap de Bonne-Ésperance*, 1918

Jean Cocteau flew with Roland Garros before the war, and his poem, *Le Cap de Bonne-Ésperance* [The Cape of Good Hope], is a tribute to Garros and to flying. When the poem was at the printer, Cocteau learned of Garros's death and rewrote the dedication, "Goodbye Roland. I did not know when the earth would take you back and that this poem about our friendship would become, in victory, a tribute to my sorrow."

408

Proof page from *Le Cap de Bonne-Ésperance* by Jean Cocteau, 1918
Translation by Jean Hugo

Garros I you
 Garros here

we

You Garros
Nothing but this black silence

....

Cüstrin so far away in
 Joanne and Larousse
Cüstrin hard to find on the
 map

Garros our flights
I thought we were falling
and it was your famous
 bank on the wing

now they teach it to all the
 pilots
at Plessis-Belleville

from Ottoman invasion. British officials offered financial support and weapons and also assigned a young staff officer fluent in Arabic, T. E. Lawrence, to accompany Feisal.

Over the next two years, Prince Feisal and “Lawrence of Arabia” staged an uprising that revolutionized warfare in the Middle East and revitalized Arab patriotism across the region. Lawrence and Feisal mobilized the Bedouins to execute a cunning strategy of desert guerilla warfare. Using hit-and-run tactics and explosives, the Arabs destroyed trains, bridges, garrisons, telephone lines, and public buildings that were crucial to the Ottoman army’s survival. After a grueling 600-mile trek through the desert, Feisal’s forces captured the Red Sea port of Aqaba on October 1, 1918, driving the Ottomans out of Damascus and effectively ending Ottoman rule in Arabia.

13

New York Journal-American

T. E. Lawrence on his motorcycle, not dated
Digital reproduction of original gelatin silver print

Throughout his life, T. E. Lawrence was fascinated by speed and new machines. A month after being discharged from the Royal Air Force, where he had developed new airplanes and boats for the military, Lawrence retired to a country cottage. On the morning of May 13, 1935, while driving his motorcycle at a high speed on a back road, Lawrence swerved to avoid two boys on bicycles. Not wearing a helmet, he flew over his handlebars and suffered fatal head injuries that left him in a coma for six days. His funeral was attended by artists, writers, government dignitaries, and former comrades-in-arms, and his death was mourned across the Arab world.

15, 16

Eric Kennington (British, 1888–1960)
Said Sikeine of Nejd, ca. 1925
Charcoal and pastel

Eric Kennington (British, 1888–1960)
Hussein Mohammed Bagdaddi, ca. 1925
Pastel

Painter and sculptor Eric Kennington was one of T. E. Lawrence’s closest confidants for much of Lawrence’s adult life. Kennington served as an official War Artist during 1914–1918, and afterward gained recognition for a series of war memorials he designed and built in England and France. Lawrence, enamored of Kennington’s work, asked him to oversee the selection of art for the 1926 limited edition of Lawrence’s autobiography, *Seven Pillars of Wisdom*. Kennington agreed, contributing paintings of Lawrence’s Arab

associates and designing the woodcuts that would be printed as the endpapers of the volume.

These portraits feature Arab soldiers who fought alongside Lawrence during the campaign in the desert. Said Sikeine, on the left, was famed as an expert in laying mines that exploded Turkish trains and railroad tracks.

14

Eric Kennington (British, 1888–1960)
Emir Abdullah, ca. 1925
Charcoal on paper

For the 1926 edition of *Seven Pillars of Wisdom*, T. E. Lawrence and Eric Kennington commissioned popular artists to draw portraits of the most important figures of the Arab Revolt. Eric Kennington painted this portrait of Emir Abdullah (1882–1951), son of Sharif Hussein, ruler of the Arab tribes in the years leading up to the First World War. In 1914, Abdullah convinced his father that the outbreak of war in Europe provided the perfect opportunity to stage an uprising against Turkish rule in the Middle East.

Abdullah secretly met with Lord Kitchener, British Secretary of State for War, who provided weapons for the Husseins' guerilla campaign in Mesopotamia and the Sinai Peninsula. British high command also sent young officer T. E. Lawrence. After the defeat of Turkish rule, Lawrence, working as an aid to Winston Churchill, helped Abdullah and his brother Faisal establish independent Arab states in the Middle East. In his memoir Abdullah wrote that, though he resented Western influence among the Arab tribes, Lawrence "was regarded as the moving spirit in the Revolt."

Following the Arab Revolt, Abdullah ruled Jordan from 1921 to 1951. In the aftermath of the Arab-Israeli War of 1948, Abdullah became a hated figure by Palestinian militants, who resented his willingness to negotiate with Western countries and the new Israeli nation-state. He was assassinated by a Palestinian national in 1951.

17-19

T. E. Lawrence (British, 1888–1939)
Yenbo, Nakhil Mubarak, and Weju, 1916–1917
Gelatin silver prints

On October 12, 1916, T. E. Lawrence wrote a friend, "I am going off tomorrow for a few days. I hope to be back in about a fortnight or less." He would spend the next two years assisting Arab forces with a campaign of guerilla warfare that started outside Mecca and ended with the capture of the city of Damascus. With Lawrence's help, insurgent Arab soldiers used improvised explosives to sabotage the Ottoman Empire's valuable Hijazi

railway, executed a successful surprise attack upon the port city of Aqaba, and overtook Turkish strongholds in modern-day Israel and Syria. These photographs, taken by Lawrence during his desert odyssey, chronicle his movements with the Bedouin tribes of Arabia led by Sharif Hussein. Yenbo, Nakhil Mubarak, and Weju were cities on the Red Sea that served as base camps for the Arab armies.

Artist Paul Nash used many of these photographs to produce his landscape illustrations for *Seven Pillars of Wisdom* (1926).

7

A manuscript of T. E. Lawrence's *The Arab Revolt*, 1920

In 1919, British newspapers reported that the 250,000 word manuscript of Lawrence's much-anticipated autobiography had been lost or stolen in the Reading railway station, and appealed to the public for its safe return. Lawrence had left a briefcase containing the manuscript on a bench while changing trains. The story sparked a nationwide hunt for the lost memoirs of "Lawrence of Arabia," who by then had become a household name. Throughout the country, readers speculated about the manuscript's whereabouts, but it was never recovered. The following year, Lawrence, who had burned his notes from the first draft, rewrote the book from memory in three months, this time producing a manuscript of over 400,000 words. Thinking the draft too long for publication, he abridged his manuscript into the version you see here, and then burned the longer second draft. The Ransom Center's holograph, entitled *The Arab Revolt*, is thus the earliest existing manuscript of what would come to be Lawrence's celebrated *Seven Pillars of Wisdom* (1926).

8

Unidentified photographer
T. E. Lawrence, ca. 1916–1918
Gelatin silver print

While traveling with nomadic Bedouin soldiers, Lawrence dressed in traditional Arab robes. After the war, images of Lawrence in his robes would help create the romantic "Lawrence of Arabia" legend. At roughly the same period that this picture was taken, Lawrence wrote to his family, "It is very nice to be out of the office, with some field work in hand, and the position I have is such a queer one—I do not suppose that any Englishman before ever had such a place."

9

T. E. Lawrence letter to Edward Garnett, August 22, 1922

In November 1917, Lawrence was captured by the Turkish army in the city of Deraa (in modern-day Syria) and subjected to physical, psychological, and sexual torture. While writing *Seven Pillars of Wisdom*, Lawrence often questioned whether descriptions of his torture would repel readers. In this letter to his friend and editor Edward Garnett, Lawrence writes, “For weeks I wanted to burn [the chapter on Deraa]. . . . because I could not tell the story face to face with anyone, and I think I’ll feel sorry, when I next meet you, that you know it. The sort of man I have always mixed with doesn’t so give himself away.”

Lawrence claimed to Mrs. George Bernard Shaw that between 1919 and 1925 he rewrote the chapter on Deraa nine times. “Working on it always makes me sick,” he stated. In letters to his friends Eric Kennington and Robert Graves, Lawrence revealed that his experience at Deraa “did permanent damage” to his nerves and that writing down his experiences was both painful and therapeutic.

10

A postcard from George Bernard Shaw to Sydney Cockerell, April 13, 1923

Playwright George Bernard Shaw and his wife, Charlotte, were among Lawrence’s best friends. Lawrence even adopted Shaw’s last name when he surreptitiously reenlisted in the Royal Tank Corps in 1923.

Here Shaw endorses Lawrence’s *Seven Pillars of Wisdom*, writing that although it is “about twice as long as the Bible” it is nonetheless “one of the great books of our time.” Shaw helped Lawrence edit the manuscript for punctuation errors and possible libel. In reference to Lawrence’s misuse of colons and semi-colons, Shaw scolded: “Confound you. . . . You are no more to be trusted with a pen than a child with a torpedo.”

11

William Roberts’s “Appeasing a tumult” in T. E. Lawrence’s *Seven Pillars of Wisdom* (London: Printed by M. Pike with the assistance of H. J. Hodgson, 1926)

Lawrence’s chronicle is accompanied by maps, woodcuts, and reproductions of paintings and drawings by such well-known artists as Eric Kennington, Augustus John, William Roberts, and Paul Nash. Originally, Lawrence intended to print only a few copies of the book to give as gifts to friends and family but, after much coaxing, agreed reluctantly to make it available to the public. Although *Seven Pillars of Wisdom* was a popular success, it also nearly bankrupted Lawrence; he had privately printed only 200 copies and sold them at a fraction of the production cost. To pay off his debts, Lawrence agreed to the commercial publication of an inexpensive abridged version of his autobiography entitled

Revolt in the Desert (1927). Lawrence's publisher sold 150,000 copies within four months.

12

T. E. Lawrence's sketchbook, ca. 1917

Throughout his campaign in the desert, Lawrence documented his adventures through extensive notes, photographs, sketches, and letters. This sketchpad, probably carried by Lawrence in 1917, contains drawings of the landscapes and buildings of Judah (modern-day southern Israel) as well as pictures of nomadic Arab soldiers on camels.

468

Eric Kennington (British, 1888–1960)

T. E. Lawrence, 1926

Bronze

Artist Eric Kennington sculpted this bust of T. E. Lawrence in the same year Lawrence published *The Seven Pillars of Wisdom*. A cast of the bust serves as a memorial to Lawrence in the crypt of St. Paul's Cathedral in London and was featured in director David Lean's landmark 1961 film *Lawrence of Arabia*. Kennington was one of the six pallbearers at Lawrence's funeral in 1935.

Russia, The Unknown War

If for a space we obliterate from our minds the fighting in France and Flanders, the struggle upon the Eastern Front is incomparably the greatest war in history. In its scale, in its slaughter, in the exertions of the combatants, in its military kaleidoscope, it far surpasses by magnitude and intensity all similar human episodes.

It is also the most mournful conflict of which there is record. All three empires, both sides, victors and vanquished, were ruined. . . . Ten million homes awaited the return of the warriors. A hundred cities prepared to acclaim their triumphs. But all were defeated; all were stricken; everything that they had given was given in vain. The hideous injuries they inflicted and bore, the privations they endured, the grand loyalties they exemplified, all were in vain. Nothing was gained by any. They floundered in the mud, they perished in the snowdrifts, they starved in the frost. Those that survived, the veterans of countless battle-days, returned, whether with the laurels of victory or tidings of disaster, to homes engulfed already in catastrophe.

Winston Churchill, *The Unknown War*, 1931

331

Typed manuscript draft of Princess Marthe Bibesco's *The Last Journey Abroad of the Last Tzar of Russia*, not dated

On June 14, 1914, two weeks before the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand in Sarajevo, the Russian Imperial family made its last foreign visit to explore the possibility of a marriage between Prince Carol and one of the Romanov duchesses.

In this essay, Romanian Princess and writer Marthe Bibesco (1886–1973) sentimentally recalls this last idyllic voyage to the Romanian port of Constanza.

330

New York Journal-American

Tsar Nicholas II of Russia with his Family, ca. 1913

Gelatin silver print

In support of Serbia, Tsar Nicholas II of Russia (1868–1918) ordered his armed forces to mobilize against Germany and Austria on July 31, 1914. The unexpectedly quick mobilization of the Russian army thwarted the Schlieffen Plan, Germany's strategy to avoid a war on two fronts by vanquishing the French before Russia could muster its troops.

333 Walpole Wall Case

Unidentified photographer

Hugh Walpole in Galicia with the Russian *Sanitas*, or Red Cross, ca. 1915

Gelatin silver print

Prolific English novelist Hugh Walpole (1884–1941) joined the Russian Red Cross as an orderly knowing that his poor vision would disqualify him for the British army. He was sent to the Galician front with the 9th Russian Army in 1915. Galicia, now part of present-day Poland and Ukraine, was one of the largest provinces in the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

Walpole wrote to his friend and writer Henry James (1843–1916) in June, "I had the other night a race from the Austrians in a haycart that was Gilbertian, quite especially as I'd lost my braces [suspenders] and my glasses were crooked! Day before yesterday eight hundred wounded in twelve hours. I cut off fingers with a pair of scissors easily as nothing!"

334

Walpole's certificate of identification for the Russian Red Cross, April 28, 1915

While on the Galician Front, Hugh Walpole noted in his June 3, 1915 diary entry, "Here happened the adventure of my life."

332

Hugh Walpole's diary entry for June 21, 1915

Walpole arrived on the Eastern front just before the Russians retreated *en masse* ahead of the advancing German and Austrian armies. By the summer of 1915, the Russian army was a shadow of what it had been. The officer corps was decimated, there was an ammunition shortage, and a crushing defeat to the Germans at the Battle of Tannenberg had demoralized the men.

Walpole's unit was deep in the Carpathian Mountains when the attack began, shattering the Russian army as its soldiers fought with bayonets on empty rifles. On June 21, Walpole writes: "Every kind of horror. Wounded on both sides of the road in the wood crying and screaming. Awful business choosing our wounded as we couldn't take all. One dying in awful agony in the wood I wanted to take but as he was sure to die we had to take another. He begged us to take him." At the end of the day, he had a nervous breakdown, "Luckily got quickly off by myself. Utterly wretched—overwhelmed by today's business. Sleep at last. Determined not to let myself go like this again."

More than a million Russian soldiers would surrender to the German and Austrian armies during what became known as "The Great Retreat."

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Hugh Walpole's medal for bravery, Order of St. George, 4th class

336 Wall

New York Journal-American

Grigori Efimovich Rasputin with acolytes, 1914

Gelatin silver print

Low morale after the Great Retreat led the Tsar to take personal control over the army, leaving the Tsarina Alexandra (1872–1918) as the acting head of the government in Petrograd, formerly St. Petersburg.

Concern for her hemophiliac son's health made the Tsarina susceptible to charlatans and mystics. Ultimately, she fell under the spell of the "Mad Monk," Grigori Rasputin (1869–1916).

Rasputin's influence at court grew while rumors of his sexual lasciviousness, prowess, and his possibly pro-German sympathies spread through the country. After many unsuccessful attempts to discredit, arrest, or assassinate Rasputin, a group of aristocratic conspirators, led by Prince Feliks Feliksovich IUsupov (1887–1967), poisoned, bludgeoned, shot, and weighed him down

with chains and threw him in the Neva River on December 16, 1916. Days later, when Rasputin's body was recovered from the icy river, his followers collected the waters as holy relics.

337

Axel Malmström (Swedish, 1872–1945)
Lenin arrives in Stockholm en route to Russia, 1917
Gelatin silver print

No one was more surprised by the spontaneous February Revolution than Vladimir Ilich Lenin (1870–1924) in exile in Geneva, Switzerland. Unfortunately, for Germany, the new Provisional Government supported the continuation of the war effort. In order to stir up conflict in Russia, the Germans decided to aid Lenin's return by slipping him across Europe's borders in a 'sealed' train on April 3, 1917.

340 February Revolution Case

Hugh Walpole's diary entries for March 8–15, 1917 (Gregorian calendar)

A prolonged war, constant shortages of bread and food, the coldest winter in many years, and a scarcity of fuel brought the Russian people to their limit. Indeed the Revolution was set off by women marching in Petrograd on International Women's Day to reclaim equal rights and protest bread shortages, taking the Bolsheviks by surprise.

Walpole, now in charge of British propaganda in Petrograd, witnessed the beginning of the Russian Revolution in March 1917 (February 1917 in the Julian calendar), noting in his March 12 diary entry:

One of the most exciting days in my life. In the morning things seemed quiet and I walked to the office easily enough. About twelve, however, on the way to Embassy heard some firing. On arriving at Embassy Lady Georgina Buchanan told me we had taken Bagdad. Then Bruce [Lockhart] burst in with news that four regiments had risen against their officers and seized arms. At lunch Ambassador reported Government in great state of panic. Afterwards walking back heard loud firing. Then about four a terrific noise of firing and shouting in Liteini [St.]; went to our windows and saw whole revolutionary mob pass down our street. About two thousand soldiers, many civilians armed, motor lorries with red flags. All orderly, picketing the streets as they passed. . . .At every doorway citizens being given rifles. Got home to hear that provisional Revolutionary Government established, [Mikhail] Rodzianko at head. Last news that Czar has given way about everything and appointed Michael Regent. Don't believe it.

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Art historian and critic Nikolay Nikolaevich Punin (1888–1953) wrote in his diary for February 27, 1917 (Julian calendar, 13 days behind the Gregorian calendar):

A provisional government has been formed. Automobiles and trucks filled with armed workers rush past from the direction of Vladimir Square, where the sound of shots can be heard. Huge red flags, shouts of “Hurrah!” and shots into the air. They say that the Arsenal has been taken, as well as the Artillery Headquarters, and its defender, General Mamusov, has been killed; the Peter and Paul Fortress is under siege. A whole series of regiments has gone over to the revolutionaries. They say the fortress has been taken; it is evening, it is dark, rebelling horseguards just went past with music. Autos race along Zagorodny without cease; they are met with shouts of “Hurrah!” Soldiers and workers shoot into the air, there are a few people out, it is noisy and dark; soldiers roam around in groups, smoke, and shoot aimlessly. The revolution has taken the form of a military uprising. I didn’t sleep all night, across the way a section of the city was burning, glowing; isolated gunfire constantly rings out.

Early morning February 28, 1917

The temporary government has been formed with the participation of the Duma. We just found out that there was a decree on the dismissal of the Duma. After its publication the Duma named itself the provisional government. The Workers’ Soviet deputies are meeting in the Duma. The mood is festive, there are lots of people on all the streets, no *intelligentsia*, the police officers are disarmed; the shots are heard less often, but autos race in all directions. The troops are disorganized, walk around in crowds, a few are drunk, sections of the troops patrol without officers, trying to keep order.

Is it really possible that the creative power of socialism will be realized? My people—are you finally able to become the greatest people?

[Translation by Professor Sidney Monas]

338

George Nathaniel Nash (British, b. 1888)
Parades after the February Revolution, Petrograd, 1917
Gelatin silver print

Lieutenant George Nathaniel Nash was part of a British mission to supply artillery and training to the Russian Army. He returned to Petrograd from the Russian Army Headquarters soon after the February Revolution and photographed the parades. The banners say “Down with the 10 Capitalist Ministers,” “Proletariat of the Country Unite!” and “Long Live Socialism!” The Russian writer Maxim Gorky (1868–1936) described these demonstrations: “They are truly Russian idiots. Most of the slogans demanded ‘Down with the 10 Bourgeois Ministers!’ But there are only eight of them!”

342 & 341

Unidentified photographer
Coffins of the Revolution, 1917
Photographic postcard

Lieutenant George Nathaniel Nash's permit to see the burials of the victims of the Revolution at Mars Field in Petrograd, March 23, 1917

The Revolution's victims were celebrated as secular martyrs, their coffins painted red and carried through the streets. Leon Trotsky (1879–1940) estimated that 800,000 people attended the ceremony, and the burial site became a place of pilgrimage.

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George Nathaniel Nash (British, b. 1888)
The July retreat, 1917
Gelatin silver print

After the February Revolution, army discipline suffered greatly. The Provisional Government's new War Minister, Aleksandr Kerensky (1881–1970), signed Order No. 8 on the Rights of Servicemen, which allowed soldiers to form governing committees that questioned the shortages of supplies, of munitions, and of relief and undermined the authority of officers.

Kerensky's June offensive against the Germans was a disaster. Almost 400,000 soldiers lost their lives and many more were taken prisoner. The defeat contributed to the decline of the Provisionary Government and eventual take-over by the Bolsheviks.

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Unidentified photographer
The 1st Russian Women's Battalion of Death, 1917
Gelatin silver print

In June 1917, Maria Bochkareva (1889–1920) (bottom row, second from left) was given permission to form a battalion of women "to serve as an example to the army and lead the men into battle" in the ill-fated Russian offensive against Germany. Although the so-called Women's Battalion of Death fought bravely and successfully, its gains evaporated when supporting troops refused to advance, resulting in 80 per cent casualties.

260

Unidentified artist

The Great European War: Air Combat, the Heroic Act of the French Pilot Garros, (Moscow: A.P. Korokin and D.V. Beideman & Co., 1914)

Lithograph

This spectacular image is based on an apocryphal news story that circulated in the first days of the war. The press reported that the French pilot Roland Garros (1888–1918) had rammed a Zeppelin with his plane, killing everyone on board and losing his own life.

These Russian propaganda images, known as *lubki*, were mass-produced illustrated broadsides used to promote the war to a largely illiterate population. Often featuring modern technology, as in this *lubok*, or Cossack battlefield exploits, *lubki* became rare as Russian reverses on the battlefield made such propaganda difficult to believe. By 1916, *lubki* had mostly disappeared.

121

Boris Kustodiev (Russian, 1878–1927)

Заем Свободы “Liberty Loan”

Lithograph

In 1917, Russia was fighting two wars: one against the Central Powers, and the other against their own government. After the abdication of Tsar Nicholas II following the February Revolution, a provisional government took over control of Russia. On the Eastern Front, Russian troops were in desperate need of supplies. To raise money for the war effort, the Provisional government began issuing “Liberty Loans” in March 1917. A series of contests were held for the best artwork advertising the loans. Winnings images were displayed in newspapers, on postcards, and posters such as this one.

The campaign failed to raise money or morale. Citizenry was distrustful of the loans and reluctant to support the “war until victory” stance of the Provisional government.

344 Wall

Ilya Repin (Russian, 1844–1930)

Portrait of Aleksandr Fyodorovich Kerensky, 1917

Oil on canvas

Aleksandr Fyodorovich Kerensky (1881–1970), a popular lawyer and Socialist, was named Minister of Justice in the new Provisional Government. Although Trotsky would characterize him as someone who “hung around the Revolution,” Kerensky’s fiery and emotional speeches attracted a popular following and he was made Minister of War and then Prime Minister of the Provisional Government.

In August 1917, British writer Somerset Maugham (1874–1965) was sent by Britain to St. Petersburg with \$21,000 to encourage the Russian war effort and to spy on the Kerensky

Government. In Maugham's opinion, Kerensky "was more afraid of doing the wrong thing than anxious to do the right one, and so he did nothing until he was forced into action by others." Less generously, Kerensky's detractors attributed his "green tinge" and odd behavior toward the end of his rule to alcohol, morphine, and cocaine addictions.

347-350 October Revolution Case

Letters from Walter Selwyn Crosley and Pauline Stewart Crosley to Mr. and Mrs. McAllister-Smith, November 10, 1917

U.S. Navy captain Walter Selwyn Crosley (1871–1939) was the Assistant Naval Attaché in Petrograd. Crosley was awarded the Navy Cross for escorting a group of Americans through the hazards of Revolutionary Russia to safety in Sweden.

In her 16-page letter, Pauline Crosley describes the beginnings of the October Revolution:

. . . we are in the midst of another Bolshevik uprising. The city was taken on Wednesday night between ten and 3 am. So easy! All walked out and they walked in. Nine ships from Kronstadt came down to bombard the palace. I believe the Aurora was the only one that bombarded. The Woman's Battalion fought from the square side assisted by the cadets not yet officers (young boys) that was the Provisional Government's only reserve force. They were soon captured and badly treated by Bolsheviks taken in the barracks and imagine the rest. General Knox our English General went to the barracks and interceded. They promised to treated [sic] them better. The Provisional Gov. supporters claim they dropped bombs from the Winter Palace into the court yard in a collection of Bolsheviks and killed 1,000, while 100 cadets were killed—never heard how many women killed. An officer in command of the Cadet School made this statement. (Papers are censored, state 6 killed + 1,000 wounded) carefully avoiding saying which side was who. The big cannon firing away in the night was gruesome. The flashes plainly seen over your apartment roof. The Winter Palace is badly marked. Old machines, barrels, wagons, etc. form barricades all around the Winter Palace. Kerensky fled—Rodzianko in hiding. Tereschenko reported killed today—some officers were killed, no one knows why.

Captain Crosley's report of the revolution to Mr. McAllister-Smith, written on the same date, was more restrained, characterizing it more on the scale of a small *coup d'état*.

343

John Reed's signed copy of *Ten Days That Shook the World* (New York: Boni and Liveright, 1919)

American journalist John Reed (1887–1920) traveled to Russia in August 1917 with his wife, writer Louise Bryant (1885–1936). Reed's sympathetic book about the Revolution is still

considered one of the most stirring eyewitness accounts of the events, evident in his description of the crowd's reaction to Lenin's proclamation that he would end the war with Germany:

A grizzled old soldier was sobbing like a child. . . . The immense sound rolled through the hall, burst windows and doors and seared into the quiet sky. 'The war is ended! The war is ended!' said a young workman near me, his face shining. And when it was over, as we stood there in a kind of awkward hush, some one in the back of the room shouted, 'Comrades! Let us remember those who have died for liberty!' So we began to sing the Funeral March, that slow, melancholy and yet triumphant chant, so Russian and so moving. . . . the very soul of those dark masses whose delegates sat in this hall, building from their obscure visions a new Russia—and perhaps more. . . . For this did they lie there, the martyrs of March, in their cold Brotherhood Grave on Mars Field; for this thousands and tens of thousands had died in the prisons, in exile, in Siberian mines. It had not come as they expected it would come, nor as the *intelligentsia* desired it; but it had come—rough, strong, impatient of formulas, contemptuous of sentimentalism; real. . . .”

351 Wall

New York Journal-American

Tsar Nicholas II (1868–1918) as prisoner of the Bolsheviks, ca. 1918

Gelatin silver print

The Tsar's abdication was not the end of trouble for the Romanov family. The Kerensky government sent the family to live in Tobolsk, but in April 1918 the Bolsheviks moved them to Yekaterinburg. On the night of July 16, 1918, the local Cheka, the secret police, which feared the White Russian Army encircling the town, shot the entire family.

353

August Petrytyl (1867–1937)

Our Soldiers In Siberia!, 1918

Lithograph

The allies intervened in the Russian civil war in support of the White Russian Army, which favored the monarchy, against the Red Russian Bolshevik Army. British, American, French, Czech, and Japanese troops guarded railway lines, trained White Army soldiers, provided weapons, and operated a naval blockade of Bolshevik Russia.

Winston Churchill advocated an even more bellicose policy towards the Red Army, and noted allied hypocrisy, “Were they at war with Soviet Russia? Certainly not; but they shot Soviet Russians at sight. They stood as invaders on Russian soil. They armed the enemies of the Soviet Government. They blockaded its ports, and sunk its battleships. They earnestly desired and schemed its downfall. But war—shocking! Interference—shame!”

Although President Woodrow Wilson pushed for the withdrawal of allied troops from Russia during the Peace Conference, the blockade continued and allied troops did not leave the Soviet Union until January 1921.

352

New York Journal-American
Armenian victims, not dated
Gelatin silver print

As a condition of the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, signed by the Central Powers and Bolshevik Russia in March 1918, Russian troops pulled back from territorial gains made in the Ottoman Empire during the war.

On May 30, 1918, Lieutenant George Nathaniel Nash wrote in his diary, “The state of the Georgian Road from Tiflis to Vladikavkaz must be appalling. It is just one long line of Armenian refugees—many on foot & their sufferings must have been intense, to say nothing of the numerous robberies. Each night at Kazbek about 3,000 refugees slept in the open waiting for the dawn to continue their journey. Many of them were ill & there were 2 cases of small pox in the hotel while I was there. I have read & heard much of Kazbek & I must confess it is a beautiful mountain—but as long as I live I don’t wish to see it again.”

By the time Lieutenant Nash encountered the Armenians fleeing from Erzurum, over one million of them had been systematically massacred by the Ottoman Turks, either directly or through detention and deportation.

430 Romania wall case

New York Journal-American
Oil Fields at Ploesti, Romania, ca. 1914
Gelatin silver print

Encouraged by Russian General Brusilov’s gains on the eastern front, Romania finally entered the war on the side of the allies at the end of August 1916. Outside Russia, Romania had the highest oil production in Europe. Germany, suffering from the allied naval blockade, coveted its resources. By December, the country was almost completely overrun by the German army.

431

Princess Marthe Bibesco’s typed annotated draft of *Three Men Who Destroyed the Oil Fields of Romania*, not dated

In 1915, British Colonel Christopher Birdwood Thomson (1875–1930) was ordered to Romania to convince its leaders to support the allied cause. While there, he became the lover of Romanian author Princess Marthe Bibesco (1886–1973). She and her husband, Prince George III Valentin Bibesco (1880–1941), had an unconventional marriage; a relationship so accommodating that Prince Bibesco and Thomson went on a mission to destroy Romania’s oil fields together.

The mission, coordinated by Thomson, took two days. As Bibesco described the burning oilfields to his wife, “Nero did nothing compared to us. What a sight!” German tanks entered Ploesti on December 5 just hours after the fields were destroyed. By 1918, however, the Germans had managed to repair 80 percent of the damage, and Romanian oil sustained the German war effort going.

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Exit permit for Princess Marthe Bibesco and her maid from German occupied Romania, April 24, 1917

After Romania entered the war, Princess Bibesco devoted herself to nursing at a hospital in Bucharest. Her diary recounts bombardments, amputations, lice, the continual search for supplies, and the looting of her estate by the Germans. She also managed to negotiate the release of some Romanian women forced into prostitution by the Germans. When Bibesco was threatened with arrest, one of her former lovers, Wilhelm, the German Kronprinz (1882–1951), smoothed the way for her escape to Switzerland.

Germany

“Preemptive war is like committing suicide for fear of death.”
—Otto von Bismarck, first German Chancellor, February 9, 1876

The unification of Germany in 1871 changed the balance of power in Europe. Germany asserted itself as a world empire by joining Britain, France, and Belgium in colonizing Africa. The expansion of the German navy endangered Britain’s dominance of the world’s oceans. Germany, suspicious of France’s growing ties to Russia and of a new *entente* between France and Great Britain over Africa, clung to her only major ally in Europe, the declining Austro-Hungarian Empire.

Threatened by the mobilization of France and Russia following the assassination of Archduke Ferdinand in July 1914, Germany hurled itself into an offensive war by invading neutral Belgium, a flat and less fortified route to France than through its northern border. The German advance, however, stalled quickly. France and Russia mobilized faster than was anticipated; Britain came to the defense of Belgium; and Germany’s principal ally, Austria-Hungary, failed to bring the full force of its army against Russia, leaving the Germans feeling as if they were “shackled to a corpse” and fighting a war on two fronts.

Failing to capture Paris during the First Battle of the Marne, and pushed back to the Aisne River valley, the Germans dug in and from then on the Western front hardly moved more than a few miles until the last months of the war, eventually stretching from the North Sea to the Alps. Approximately 25,000 miles of trenches were constructed on both sides; and the war that the German High Command had anticipated would take a mere weeks or months bogged down into a war of attrition.

456

Heinrich Hoffmann (German, 1885–1957)

Crowd cheering Germany's declaration of war on Russia in Munich's Odeonsplatz, August 2, 1914

Gelatin silver print

Heinrich Hoffmann's iconic photograph of 25-year-old Adolf Hitler in the crowd of Germans cheering the start of the First World War may be a clever fake. Nevertheless, Hitler later described his emotions in 1914 when war was declared: "Even today I am not ashamed to say that, overpowered by a mighty enthusiasm, I sank to my knees and thanked heaven from an overflowing heart that it had granted me the good fortune to be alive at such a time."

439

Lucian Bernhard (German, 1883–1972)

Zeichne die Kriegsanleihe! Heer und Flotte erwarten es von dir!, 1917

["Subscribe to the war loan! The Army and the Navy expect it from you!"]

Lithograph

German graphic designer Lucian Bernhard abandoned his signature *Sachplakat* (object-poster) technique of simple images and flat colors, to create this steel-helmeted dark knight. The *Stahlhelm* replaced the ineffective spiked *Pickelhaube* in early 1916, in time for the battles of Verdun and the Somme. As the war lengthened, analogies between medieval knights and modern iron warriors saturated German propaganda.

125

Fritz Erler (1868–1940)

Und Ihr?, 1918

Lithograph

"And you?" asks this war loan poster depicting a wounded German pilot. Fritz Erler's design for another iconic war poster, "*Helft uns Siegen!*" (Help us win!), inspired the cover-art for the first American edition of *All Quiet on the Western Front*.

441 & 442

Letter from Heinrich Lerche to his grandson Thomas, describing his military service in the First World War, translated by his daughter Christina Jones, September 10, 1980

All the items in this case are on loan, courtesy of Christina Jones.

Heinrich Friedrich Karl Lerche (1895–1986) was 19 years old when he joined the German army on November 2, 1914. “There was tremendous enthusiasm then, and many young people, I among them, wanted to participate. It was being said that the enemy would be defeated by Christmas. Nobody anticipated five Christmases.” Lerche served on both the western and eastern fronts and was wounded twice. His two brothers, Fritz and Albert, also served in the army.

443

P. Wolfkamp
Sergeant Heinrich Lerche, 1919
Gelatin silver print

444

Unidentified photographer
Excursion into the mountains of Lower Silesia (Riesengebirge, today the Karkonosze Mountains bordering the Czech Republic and Poland), May 1915
Gelatin silver print

In May 1915, after serving in the trenches near Reims, where “food was good, losses were light,” Lerche’s Regiment was sent to the foothills of the Carpathian Mountains to reinforce the Austro-Hungarian army against the Russians. Within six weeks, the German divisions under General August von Mackensen routed a poorly supplied Russian army, taking 240,000 prisoners while suffering only 90,000 casualties. Lerche wrote, “The crossing of the San caused many casualties in the 92nd regiment. One spoke of 44 dead and 110 injured. My friends from Velstove were among the victims: Karl Borchardt dead and Sergeant Uehlecke suffered a stomach wound. This happened on May 17, 1915, two days after my accident [Lerche broke his foot]. That was God’s will!”

By autumn 1915, after a period of convalescence, Lerche was again in the trenches on the western front at Sommepey. “Once, the fire exchange lasted 70 hours. It was so violent that some soldiers lost their nerves and left the trenches. . . .After the enemy had succeeded in penetrating our position, we had to protect ourselves front and rear. We were surrounded. . . .Our position was being bombarded for days, and most of our trenches started caving in. In the night of October 8–9, 1915, a renewed fire attack by the enemy occurred. Mines were also employed. It

got so bad that I pressed myself down into the trench and prayed. A grenade exploded at the edge of the trench and I was hit. . . .my pants were soaked in blood. . . .a grenade fragment had penetrated deeply into my right hip.”

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Unidentified photographer
Heinrich Lerche, 1916
Gelatin silver print

After two operations and a year’s convalescence, Lerche was posted to the eastern front near Riga [Latvia] as a bicycle messenger. “Our position was on the Bay of Riga. The winter of 1916–17 was very harsh and there was more frost than battle casualties. On November 19, 1916 it was 16°C below zero [3.2°F]. . . .Since I was only conditionally able because I could not wear a belt, I was assigned to be a messenger. . . .apart from the danger involved, this was a great assignment, for I had solid quarters and more importantly, good food. . . .Winter and high snow, however made traveling very difficult; yet it was a quiet position. The Russians were tired of fighting and there were many deserters who were led blindfolded to the rear. Their revolution began in 1917.”

446

Unidentified photographer
Eastern Front, 1917
Gelatin silver print

Lerche recalled, “Not counting the harsh winter weather, Russia was less dangerous. But the cold and the roads were unbearable. Despite having been issued fur coats and fur boots, many soldiers suffered frost damage to their extremities. Once we were transported in an open field train at a temperature of 36°C below freezing [-32.8°F]. Guards were replaced every hour. One couldn’t sleep because the fur coats were lice-infested. And then the bed bugs! Strangely, I was spared. I guess my blood was too sour, or why else should they have left me alone?”

445

Unidentified photographer
Outside Riga, May 1917
Gelatin silver print

The Germans entered Riga in September 1917, after the collapse of the Russian army. However, Heinrich Lerche had already left for his first furlough in 16 months.

448

Unidentified photographer
German soldiers reinforcing a trench, 1917
Photographic postcard

Lerche was back on the western front as a bike messenger when his bike was shot out from under him and he was wounded by shrapnel. “My face and hands were bleeding. When I wanted to climb on my bike, I realized that it had been shot in two. I thus arrived at my destination with half a bicycle in each hand. Even now I still have a small piece of shrapnel in the little finger of my left hand. It is very well possible that there are more in my body, for I was bleeding all over. Again, I had been lucky and God had watched over me.”

“Our losses were heavy because the enemy, supported by the Americans, attacked more and more aggressively. I was at the front. . . .The losses were so great that the 412th was dissolved and attached to another unit. The attacks became more and more violent and were now also supported by airplanes. We continued to retreat. There was an especially heavy air attack on October 22, 1918. . . .On November 10, 1918 I was promoted to non-commissioned officer. Finally, on November 11, 1918 the armistice was announced, which brought great joy.”

449

Heinrich Lerche’s pay log and field hospital record, 1914–1919

451, 452, 453

Heinrich Lerche’s Iron Cross Certificate, Iron Cross, Service Cross, and a 50-pfennig *kriegsnotgeld* [German War emergency money]

“Demobilization was supposed to take place in Berlin, as we were part of the 2nd guard regiment. At this time, there were fights in Berlin between pro and anti-royalists. As it was thought that our arrival was to strengthen the military, we were attacked by machine gun fire, which fortunately was not very well aimed and there were no losses. Again we departed with the final destination Friedberg on the Warthe. On January 11–12, 1919, horses and wagons were auctioned off. Another promotion on January 13 and then I was free. I received the Iron Cross, the Braunschweig Service Cross, the Battle Cross, and the Purple Heart. On the same evening, a big farewell ball took place, and then martial music accompanied the soldiers to the train station.

I arrived home on January 15, 1919. Thank goodness! Finally peace and quiet after 4 years, 2 months and 13 days!”

292

Der Mensch Schreit by Albert Ehrenstein, with a portrait of the author by Oskar Kokoschka (Leipzig: Kurtwolf Verlag, 1916)

Der Mensch Schreit (“The Man Screams”) displays the Austrian Expressionist poet Albert Ehrenstein’s (1886–1950) disgust with the war. Declared unfit for military service, Ehrenstein worked instead in the Vienna War Archives with several other writers, including Stefan Zweig (1881–1942). Ehrenstein became associated with the pacifist and Dadaist movements, including the *Neue Jugend* newspaper, which was quickly suppressed after its first issue in 1917.

Viennese artist Oskar Kokoschka (1886–1980) volunteered as a cavalryman in the Austro-Hungarian army following his unhappy break-up with Alma Mahler (1879–1964), widow of the composer Gustav Mahler (1860–1911). In 1915, Kokoschka was severely wounded in the head and bayoneted in the chest during an offensive in Galicia. His physical and mental health broken by war, Alma’s marriage to architect Walter Gropius (1883–1969) appears to have temporarily unhinged him. He commissioned a life-size replica doll of Alma and escorted it to the opera, threw parties for it, employed a maid to take care of it, and painted portraits of it.

293

Galley page of Ehrenstein’s “Der Dichter und Der Krieg” (“The writer and the War”), which first appeared in *Der Mensch Schreit*, from *Modern German Poetry* (1963) translated by Michael Hamburger and Christopher Middleton.

294

Die Ferne Schlacht from *Kleines Bilderbuch vom Krieg* by Klabund with Illustrations by Richard Seewald (Munich: Goltzverlag 1914)

This poem by the German poet Klabund (pseudonym of Alfred Henschke, 1890–1928) tells of a “far-off battle.” Unable to serve because of tuberculosis, Henschke contributed to the war spirit through his art, composing original poems like those of the *Kleines Bilderbuch vom Krieg* (“Little Picture-book of the War”) as well as translating and adapting Chinese war poetry for a German audience. In 1916, Henschke moved to neutral Switzerland after a relapse of his illness, where he became increasingly disillusioned with the war. He embraced pacifism and rejected the nationalistic and militaristic attitudes of his homeland, remaining in Switzerland until his death from tuberculosis in 1928.

291

Kleine Bilder aus grosser Zeit by Thomas Theodor Heine (Munich: Verlag Simplicissimus, 1917)

The cartoons collected in this book were initially published in Munich's influential literary and satirical journal *Simplicissimus*. Thomas Theodore Heine (1867–1948) was one of the founding editors and illustrators of the magazine in 1896. In 1898 Heine was briefly imprisoned for “insulting the Monarchy,” but returned to *Simplicissimus* and continued lampooning the economic inequality and cultural chauvinism of the Kaiser's regime and its *Junker* allies until the outbreak of the First World War.

Wary that the war was no place for “satire,” Heine converted *Simplicissimus* from an irreverent opponent of the Wilhelmine regime to an unwavering supporter of the war effort, greatly expanding the magazine's popular appeal.

295

Oskar Blobel's "*Die Tankschlacht von Cambrai*," *Innsbrucker Kriegsflugsblätter* no. 365. (1917), illustration by M. Bucher

Blobel, author of the *Innsbrucker Kriegsflugsblätter* (“Innsbruck war-fliers”), produced two poems a week, creating 502 from the summer of 1914 until fall 1919.

This poem describes the battle of Cambrai in November, 1917, where the British Army, supported by a mass tank assault, launched a large attack against German lines. Though the British initially broke through and advanced towards Cambrai, German counterattacks eliminated British territorial gains and destroyed a large part of the British Tank force. Both sides suffered nearly 50,000 casualties.

296

Emil Pottner (German, b. Austria, 1872–1942)
Unter neutraler Flagge (Berlin: Julius Bard, 1915)
Lithograph

This lithograph comes from a collection of 48 prints produced in the Berliner Secession's *Krieg und Kunst* (“Art and War”) series. Seceding from the more conservative Association of Berlin Artists in 1898, the Berliner Secession encouraged the development of the new Expressionist style in Germany.

The artist Emil Pottner, primarily a painter of birds, chose to represent the warring countries through their animal counterparts. The French cock, English fox, and Russian bear shelter themselves “under the Neutral Flag” and call the American eagle to their aid.

124

Walter Georgi (German, 1871–1924)

Kriegsanleihe, helf den Hütern eures Glückes, 1918
Lithograph

This *Kriegsanleihe* (“War Loan”) poster depicts a muscular man sheltering his family and grasping a sword, exhorting Germans to “Help the protectors of your happiness.”

German artists often used images of rural or medieval Germans exhibiting idealized racial and national characteristics. In contrast to the sexualized depictions of young women in American posters, women in German posters appear as mothers, nurses, and nuns, aiding the war effort by fulfilling the traditional obligations of their gender.

Germany Defeated

By 1917, Britain’s effective naval blockade of German ports in the North Sea led to serious shortages of food and resources on Germany’s home and war fronts, this despite Germany’s territorial control of much of the industrial and coal producing areas of France, Belgium, and Russia. In response, Germany began to wage unrestricted submarine warfare. Already outraged that 128 Americans had died in 1915 when German U-boats sank the British liner *Lusitania*, the United States entered the war in 1917 on the side of Britain and its allies.

The March 1918 Treaty of Brest-Litovsk between the Central Powers and the new Bolshevik government of Russia ended Russia’s participation in the war and allowed Germany to concentrate its forces on the western front. Despite mounting a devastating offensive in the spring, nearly reaching Paris, Germany was beaten back in the Second Battle of the Marne, as the coalition of the Central Powers crumbled.

With exhausted and attenuated troops, unrest on the home front, and the start of a global flu epidemic, Kaiser Wilhelm II abdicated his throne and it was a German Republic that signed the Armistice ending the war on November 11, 1918.

255

Max Antlers (German, 1871-1929)
Deutsche Volksspende zum Ankauf der Lesestoff für Heer und Flotte, 1917
Lithograph

“*Wir brauchen Bücher, spendet Geld!*” (We need books, give money!) exclaim the men in this poster encouraging donations for reading materials to German soldiers and sailors.

120

Rudi Feld (German, 1896–1994)
Die Gefahr des Bolschewismus, 1919
Lithograph

At the end of the war, economic and political instability threatened the German people and the German state. Marxist revolutionary groups like the *Spartakusbund* [Spartacus League] attempted to establish new Soviet republics in Prussia and Bavaria. They were suppressed by German army and police forces, aided by the *Freikorps*, anti-Bolshevist nationalist militias composed of war-veterans.

This skeletal figure holding a bloody knife in his teeth represents the “Danger of Bolshevism.” The revolution officially ended on August 11, 1919, when the Weimar Republic was established, although fears of communist revolutionaries within Germany would spur the rise of the National Socialist party in the following decades.

454

New York Journal-American

Adolf Hitler (sitting far left) with fellow soldiers from Liszt, ca. 1917
Gelatin silver print

Future Nazi leader Adolf Hitler served as a dispatch runner for a Bavarian infantry unit during the war, earning the rank of corporal. He was severely wounded during the Battle of the Somme and was decorated with the Iron Cross. In his autobiography, *Mein Kampf*, Hitler claimed that his experiences as a soldier in the war, as well as his anger over the war reparations exacted from Germany at the Treaty of Versailles, deeply influenced his postwar politics. Hitler considered his service as a German infantryman “the greatest and most unforgettable time of [his] earthly existence” and found that after the war “the rage of the international exploiters of our people in Versailles was directed primarily against the old German army.”

455

New York Journal-American

Adolf Hitler with fellow wounded soldiers, ca. 1916
Gelatin silver print

As soon as the war ended, Adolf Hitler became an intelligence officer for the German *Reichswehr* defense force. In the 1920s, Hitler traveled throughout Germany delivering speeches entitled “The True Causes of the World War” and “The Peace Treaties of Brest-Litovsk and Versailles.” The speeches were enormously popular with audiences and contributed to the rise to power of the National Socialist German Workers,’ later Nazi, Party.

Artists

A Lost Generation

“That’s what you all are . . . all of you young people who served in the war. You are a lost generation.”

—Gertrude Stein

In the years leading up to the war, European avant-garde artists emphasized innovation and embraced the new technologies and ideologies of a young twentieth century. In London, the art world was dominated by Wyndham Lewis and his Vorticist magazine, *Blast*. In Italy, Filippo Tommaso Marinetti’s Futurism emphasized speed and youth. In France, Georges Braque and Pablo Picasso created Cubism. And in the 1910s German Expressionism found its voice in the works of Paul Klee and Otto Dix. Industrialized warfare and massive loss of life in the First World War would, however, significantly restructure the concepts and language used by art movements across the globe. Artists such as Henri Gaudier-Brzeska and Isaac Rosenberg were killed in action during the war; and artists who survived the conflict often produced abstract, nightmarish visions based on the landscapes of the Western Front. Prewar enthusiasm for youth and machines was replaced by the social, political, and personal anxiety now closely associated with modernism.

Following the war the avant-garde art world flourished in Paris, where artists, many of them veterans, flocked to the Rue de Fleurus apartment of famed writer and art collector Gertrude Stein, credited with first referring to the survivors of the war as a “Lost Generation.”

435-437

John Thomason (American, 1893–1944)

Company officer, 2nd division; Private, 5th Marines; soldiers on riverbank, ca. 1917

Ink on paper

Artist John Thomason was born in Huntsville, Texas, and attended The University of Texas at Austin from 1912 to 1913. After working briefly as a writer and illustrator for the *Houston Chronicle*, he joined the U.S. Marine Corps in 1917. Throughout the war he sketched the everyday lives of soldiers and collected these drawings in his 1926 war narrative *Fix Bayonets!* The book was celebrated by such newspapers as the *London Times*, which concluded, “No book which we can recall that has for subject the actual fighting man in the Great War, has appeared to us to equal this. The drawings match the prose.”

173

Wyndham Lewis (British, 1882–1957)

The cover of the war edition of *Blast*, July 1915

The artist Wyndham Lewis was the creative force behind the Vorticist movement in Great Britain. Comparable in intent to Cubism in France and Futurism in Italy, Vorticism endorsed abstraction, dynamism, and the modern machine. Lewis edited *Blast*, which, although lasting for just two issues, included poems, drawings, stories, and reviews by some of the most inventive figures of the day, such as T. S. Eliot, Ford Madox Hueffer (later Ford), Henri Gaudier-Brzeska, Ezra Pound, and Rebecca West.

174

A letter from Wyndham Lewis to Robert Gregory, January 6, 1916

In this letter to his fellow artist Robert Gregory (1881–1918), Lewis requests help getting an army commission. Among his qualifications Lewis notes, “Organizing capacity. . . . Heavens yes! Have organized the ‘Cubist’ invasion of England without the loss of a single cube!”

Lewis served as a second lieutenant in the British Royal Artillery, spending much of his time in dangerous observation posts. He recalled his days as a machine gunner in his memoir *Blasting and Bombardiering* (1937).

The recipient of Lewis’s letter, Robert Gregory, was an Irish pilot for the Royal Flying Corps who was shot down in Italy in 1918. His death became the inspiration for William Butler Yeats’s poem “An Irish Airman Foresees his Death.”

177

Unidentified photographer
T. E. Hulme, ca. 1918
Gelatin silver print

The Vorticist movement’s philosopher was the English critic and poet T. E. Hulme (1883–1917), whose influence on his contemporaries was substantial. T. S. Eliot considered Hulme, the first Imagist poet, to have authored “two or three of the most beautiful short poems in the English language.” Ezra Pound memorialized Hulme in section XVI of *The Cantos*:

And ole T. E. H. he went to it,
With a lot of books from the library,
London Library, and a shell buried ‘em in a dug-out,
And the Library expressed its annoyance

176, 175, 440

A postcard from T. E. Hulme to Kate Lechmere, not dated
T. E. Hulme sketch of a knuckle-duster

Prior to the war, French sculptor and Vorticist Henri Gaudier-Brzeska (1891–1915) gave T. E. Hulme a pair of brass knuckles that Hulme cherished. He christened his gift the “Knuckle Duster,” sending a sketch of it to his mistress, the painter Kate Lechmere (1887–1976), and signing all his letters to her as “K. D.”

Hulme met Lechmere through Wyndham Lewis, with whom she had founded the Rebel Art Centre in 1914. The two men competed for her affections, coming to blows in Soho Square. Hulme prevailed, leaving Lewis hanging upside down by his trouser cuffs on an iron fence.

In a letter to Lechmere from the front Hulme wrote optimistically, “The man I relieved was killed by a shell, but I don’t think that’s at all likely to happen to me.” But on September 28, 1917, Hulme took a direct hit from a shell he failed to hear coming. Lewis, who had not spoken to Hulme since their public boxing match, happened to be stationed in an adjacent battery. Upon receiving news of his former friend’s death, he lamented, “I was sorry when I heard he’d been killed that I had not made my peace with him.”

440

T. E. Hulme left this “knuckleduster,” his second best pair, with his mistress Kate Lechmere when he left for the war. After Hulme’s death in 1917, Lechmere treasured it as a memento of him until her own death in 1976.

179

A typed letter from Ezra Pound to Alice Corbin Henderson at *Poetry*, July 7, 1915

At the end of this letter, Pound writes: “Brzeska has been killed, so sculpture will stick where it is for another half century. It does not increase one’s love of the Teuton.”

178

Ezra Pound’s *Gaudier-Brzeska* (London: John Lane, 1916)
American poet E. E. Cumming’s copy

*And Henri Gaudier went to it,
and they killed him,
And killed a good deal of sculpture...*

Ezra Pound (1885–1972), the American expatriate poet and critic, memorialized French sculptor Henri Gaudier-Brzeska (1891–1915) in this book of essays and letters, as well as in his *Canto XVI* (“And Henri Gaudier went to it/and they killed him,/and killed a good deal of sculpture”). Pound also mentions Hulme, Wyndham Lewis, and Hemingway, among others.

Gaudier (who appended the last name of his companion, Polish writer Sophie Brzeska, to his own) was living in London when the war broke out. Gaudier had dodged his compulsory two-year military service and was arrested when he first tried to enlist in the French army in August 1914. He escaped and returned to England, but the burning of the Reims Cathedral in September moved him to try again, this time with success. He quickly gained a reputation for risky missions, and was promoted twice. “The fellows in the company say that I am blessed and shan’t be killed in this war—we shall see. . . .”

180

Blast, July 1915

Henri Gaudier-Brzeska was near the Vimy Ridge in Northern France when he was killed at the age of 23 on June 5, 1915. In a letter penned a week before, he described the conditions from “the foremost trench element near Neuville St Vaast!”

. . . a continual bombardment, and endless inferno. I have been buried twice in the trench, have had a shell bursting in the middle of a dozen hand grenades, which miraculously did not explode, and men nastily wounded whom I must give the first aid. We are betting on our chances, whose turn is next. The boches are restless, but we pay them well, they dared attack the day before yesterday. It has been a lurid death dance. Imagine a dull dawn, with clouds of black and yellow smoke, a ceaseless crackling noise from the rifles, a few legs and heads flying, and *me* standing up among them like Mephisto—commanding: ‘Feu par salve à 250 mètres—joue—feu!’ then throwing a bomb, and again a volley—until the Germans had enough of it. We give them a nice gas to breathe when the wind is for us. I have magnificent little bombs, they are as big as an ostrich egg, they smell of ripe apples, but when they burst your eyes weep until you can’t see, you are suffocated, and if the boche wants to save his skin he has to scoot. Then a good little bullet puts an end to his misery. This is not war, but a murder hunt, and we have to bring these rascals out of their holes, we do it and kill them remorselessly when they do not surrender.

This final issue of *Blast* features “Vortex (written from the Trenches).” Gaudier-Brzeska composed the poem just before his death.

222

William Rothenstein (British, 1872–1945)

Frederic Manning, 1921

Conté crayon

Australian-born writer and poet Frederic Manning (1882–1935) fought on the Western Front as a low-ranking infantry soldier and became one of the few privates to publish an influential war book based on his experiences.

275

William Rothenstein (British, 1872–1945)

Eric Kennington, 1918

Conté crayon

Eric Kennington (1888–1960) served on the Western Front alongside William Rothenstein as an official war artist for the British Army during 1917–1918. In the years following the war, Kennington became well known as the designer of both the Battersea Park memorial in London and the memorial of Allied Forces in Soissons, France. He also achieved fame with his illustrations for T. E. Lawrence's *Seven Pillars of Wisdom* (1926).

For Ever England

“If I should die, think only this of me:
That there's some corner of a foreign field
That is for ever England.”

—Rupert Brooke, “The Soldier”

The Commonwealth of Great Britain—England, Scotland, Wales, Ireland, Australia, New Zealand, Canada, British India, and South Africa—sent more than four million men to the front lines of the First World War. The outbreak of war unified Great Britain in a common cause and eclipsed, temporarily at least, many prewar signs of labor unrest, demands for suffrage, and national autonomy, particularly in Ireland.

The British Expeditionary Force took part in some of the bloodiest battles of the war, including Ypres, Loos, and Passchendaele. Perhaps their most affecting pyrrhic victory came in the summer of 1916 at the Battle of the Somme, where they lost 70,000 soldiers in a single morning.

The sacrifice of the Generation of 1914 became a prominent theme of the national literature, the horrors of trench warfare producing some of the best-known poets of the conflict. Wilfred Owen, Siegfried Sassoon, and Robert Graves fought as officers on the Western Front; poets Isaac Rosenberg and David Jones fought as privates. Their works honor the soldiers who suffered during four years of attrition, castigate the high command for not halting hostilities, and lament that the civilians on the home front had so little understanding of the actualities of modern war and its psychological effects on soldiers.

Though Britain would declare victory with the Allies in 1918, it did so at the cost of one million young men and the near collapse of its economy and infrastructure.

315

New York Journal-American

Lord Kitchener, date unknown

Gelatin silver print

While many British statesmen believed that the troops would be home by Christmas, 1914, the Secretary of State for War, Horatio Herbert Kitchener, predicted the European war would last three years. Firm in this conviction, he set about raising a “New Army” of volunteers to defend Britain in the fight.

Kitchener’s face, featuring a prominent handlebar mustache, would become the subject of Britain’s most famous “Your Country Needs You” recruiting poster. By the end of the war, nearly two and a half million men had volunteered for what came to be known as “Kitchener’s Army.”

316

Unidentified photographer

Winston Churchill watching the military parade of the British 47th Division after the liberation of Lille, October 28, 1918

Gelatin silver print

By the end of World War I, Winston Churchill (1874–1965) was 44 years old, his political career nearly wrecked after planning the disastrous 1915 British campaign in the Dardanelles. In this photograph, taken just a few weeks before armistice, Churchill pensively watches the military parade of Allied forces after the liberation of the French City of Lille.

Standing in front and to the left of Churchill is Bernard Montgomery, who would later lead the British Army in World War II. In 1944 Prime Minister Churchill would assign “Monty” to plan and execute Operation Overlord, the D-Day invasion of Normandy. Though the two men would together bring the Second World War to an Allied victory, they sustained a famously antagonistic relationship. Churchill’s personal secretary, Edward Marsh (standing beside Churchill, wearing a bowler hat), wrote that Churchill claimed Montgomery was “in defeat, unbeatable; in victory, unbearable.”

317

Christina Broom (British, 1862–1939)

A portrait of Edward VIII, Prince of Wales, 1918
Gelatin silver print

The 20-year-old heir to the British throne, Edward VIII (1894–1972), joined the Grenadier Guards just two months before the outbreak of hostilities. On June 30, 1914 he wrote to a friend: “When in camp I make it a rule *never* to open a newspaper so am completely ignorant of all happenings in the outer World, except that the Austrian Archduke and his wife have been assassinated. I expect it has caused a stir in Germany.”

As the conflict escalated, the young and rebellious prince saw the war as an opportunity to defy the restrictive life of a royal. After receiving a commission with the army, he wrote in his diary on August 8, 1914: “I am so glad to have joined up and to have escaped from the palace!!”

Although Lord Kitchener, Secretary of State for War, refused to allow the prince to fight, Edward VIII visited the front lines in France as frequently as he could to boost morale. He also became known for riding his bike to field hospitals near the front, where he took special care to visit the most severely mutilated soldiers.

155, 156, 157

Edmund Blunden
A manuscript and sales placard for *Undertones of War*

Edmund Blunden’s famed war memoir *Undertones of War* (1928) captures his experiences as a young lieutenant—Blunden was just 19 years old when he enlisted—commanding men on the Western Front. In the book Blunden identifies as “a shepherd in a soldier’s coat”—an aspiring pastoral poet who is severely affected by the ruin and carnage of modern battle.

The book established Blunden’s literary reputation, going into eight impressions within two years. It was received warmly by both novelists and poets—E. E. Cummings called it “miracle filled”—and Blunden continued to receive fan mail from veteran readers of the book for the next 40 years. Among one of Blunden’s chief admirers was Keith Douglas (1920–1944), who was Blunden’s student at Oxford in the post-war period, and who went on to be one of the best remembered poets of the Second World War.

158

Edmund Blunden’s manuscript poem, “Vlamertinghe: Passing the Chateau,” July 1917

Blunden’s “Vlamertinghe” is one of the many wartime poems that established the blood-red poppy as the lasting symbol of the war. During the war the lush gardens at Vlamertinghe Chateau, situated directly behind the front lines of battle, were transformed

into British and Commonwealth cemeteries upon which bloomed “Poppies by the million!; Such damask, such vermillion!” The poem’s opening lines—“And all her silken flanks with garlands dressed’/’tis we are coming to the sacrifice”—reference John Keats’s “Ode on a Grecian Urn,” indicating that in modern times it is men—as opposed to animals—that are being used in ritual sacrifices.

160

Unidentified photographer
Siegfried Sassoon in uniform, ca. 1918
Gelatin silver print

Poet Siegfried Sassoon (1886–1967) became well known during the war for the satirical verses he wrote from the Western Front. Many of his poems blamed the high command of the British Army for ineptitude, lack of compassion for the lower ranks, and bungled offensives that cost thousands of young lives.

On July 27, 1917, Sassoon published a formal declaration against the generals and politicians responsible for running the war, stating that he believed “the war [was] being deliberately prolonged by those who have the power to end it.” In response to Sassoon’s anti-war statement, the British Army announced that the poet was suffering from shell-shock and sent him to Craiglockhart Hospital, where he collaborated with fellow poet and patient Wilfred Owen on many of their most famous works.

159, 161

The title page of Siegfried Sassoon’s manuscript of *Counter-Attack*, 1918

Manuscript of Siegfried Sassoon’s “The General,” 1918

In early 1918, Sassoon’s publisher, William Heinemann, asked him for “some amiable stuff to mitigate the horrors” of the war. Sassoon responded with *Counter-Attack*, perhaps the most damning and best remembered poetry collection to be published during the war. The Center houses manuscripts for nearly all of the poems featured in *Counter-Attack* including this extra-illustrated manuscript that Sassoon dedicated to his friend and mentor, Robbie Ross.

162

Manuscript of Robert Nichols’s “Burial Party,” ca. 1919

The violence, noise, danger, and—in particular—mud of the Western Front made burying the bodies of dead soldiers one of the most daunting tasks of army life near the front. In his poem “Burial Party,” British war poet Robert Nichols (1893–1944) describes one such muddy cemetery:

This is the Ultimate Hell, the Wilderness
To which all Youth, Laughter and Love must come:
Twelve graves brutishly scraped among the slime.

Only after thousands of men had died in the opening battles of the war did the British Army and Red Cross begin registering the names of the dead. As recently as April 2013, a French farmer uncovered the bodies of five British soldiers who died during the 1917 Battle of Arras. Only one was identifiable.

163

Wheels, edited by Edith Sitwell (London: Blackwell, 1919)

Only five of Wilfred Owen’s poems were published during his short lifetime. After Owen was killed at age 25 on November 4, 1918, seven days before the cease-fire, his friend and mentor Siegfried Sassoon, along with poet Edith Sitwell, tirelessly championed his work. Sitwell published a cycle of Owen’s poems in her 1919 avant-garde poetry anthology, *Wheels*, which was dedicated to Owen’s memory. Owen’s mother received her copy of *Wheels* on the first anniversary of her son’s death. The following year, with her help, Sassoon and Sitwell published a collection of Owen’s work that established him as one of the most important poets of the First World War.

164, 165

Manuscript of Rupert Brooke’s poem “1914”

Unidentified photographer
Rupert Brooke, ca. 1914
Gelatin silver print

At the time of his death, Rupert Brooke (1887–1915) was considered England’s foremost—and most dashing—young poet. Brooke’s celebrity is credited to a series of war sonnets he published after witnessing the fall of Antwerp. The sonnet “1914,” Brooke’s most popular poem, became synonymous with the British cause, and war supporters frequently quoted his depiction of Flanders as a “foreign field that is for ever England.” Brooke died from septicemia en route to the Gallipoli Campaign, and he was mourned throughout Britain. Winston Churchill wrote Brooke’s obituary for the *London Times*, eulogizing him as “all that one could wish England’s noblest sons to be.”

Brooke wrote in his last letter to his friend and literary executor Edward Marsh (1872–1953), “I wish I’d written more. I’ve been such a failure.” The posthumously published *1914 and Other Poems* sold in the tens of thousands and made Brooke a lasting icon of the Generation of 1914.

166, 167

Manuscript of Wilfrid Ewart’s “Christmas Morning, 1915,” written, partially, on an envelope

In 1914 and 1915, unofficial Christmas cease-fires occurred along the trenches of the Western Front. British and German soldiers met in No Man’s Land, where they shared chocolate and cigarettes, sang carols, and played friendly football matches. This manuscript is Scots Guard Captain Wilfrid Ewart’s eyewitness account of the Christmas Truce of 1915. He writes: “A common brotherhood of suffering—or is it an act of God, or just human curiosity?—has united Englishman and Bavarian in fraternity on the battlefield this gray morning which no one on either side who has taken part in this quaint scene will ever forget.”

168

Vera Brittain’s *Verses of a V.A.D.* (London: E. Macdonald, Ltd., 1918)

Poet and novelist Vera Brittain (1893–1970) worked as a Voluntary Aid Detachment nurse in London and on the Western Front, and wrote about her war experiences in her 1933 book *Testament of Youth*, still one of the most widely read war memoirs of all time. Brittain’s writings capture not only the cataclysmic effects of the war on her generation, but tell of her personal grief as she lost her brother, two best friends, and fiancée, the poet Roland Leighton, as war casualties.

This rare edition is inscribed to Marie Connor Leighton, author of the book’s foreword and the mother of Brittain’s lost fiancée.

169

A first edition of Robert Graves’s *Good-bye to All That* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1929)

Robert Graves’s autobiographical farce is perhaps the best known British war memoir. Using a tone that critic Paul Fussell found “dangerously unique” and from “an ungoverned mouth,” Graves’s book fiercely satirizes his experience as a captain with the British Army in France, and uses archival documents of the war—both personal papers and propaganda—as sources for parody.

When Graves is mistakenly pronounced dead after being lacerated by shell fragments during the Battle of the Somme, he writes that “the joke contributed greatly to my recovery. People with whom I had been on the worst terms during my life wrote the most enthusiastic condolences to my mother.”

170

Page proofs for Robert Graves’s *Good-bye to All That* containing a pasted-in poem entitled “Peace Day 1919.”

In his autobiography Graves describes his emotional state in 1919:

Very thin, very nervous and with about four years’ loss of sleep to make up . . . I knew that it would be years before I could face anything but a quiet country life. My disabilities were many; I could not use a telephone, I felt sick every time I travelled by train, and to see more than two new people in a single day prevented me from sleeping. I felt ashamed of myself . . . but had sworn on the very day of my demobilization never to be under anyone’s orders for the rest of my life.

Graves received these page proofs on the island of Majorca, where he had moved as soon as he had finished the manuscript of the book. Disgusted with the “all that” of British culture and society, Graves lived as an ex-patriot in Majorca until his death in 1985.

171

Unidentified photographer
Production still of R. C. Sherriff’s *Journey’s End*, 1929
Gelatin silver print

R. C. Sherriff’s three-act play was one of the first and most popular of London stage plays to adopt the war as its subject matter. Sherriff, who saw active service when he was 18, wrote the play in the mid-1920s for his rowing club, hoping to raise money for the club to buy a new boat. Theatrical agents initially showed little interest in a play that emphasized the war’s tragic consequences. But when George Bernard Shaw wrote in support of it, the Apollo Theater produced the play in November 1928. Laurence Olivier played Captain Stanhope, a disillusioned, hard-drinking infantry officer who struggles to protect his younger, more innocent officers during the last German offensive on the Western Front.

The production crew struggled to reproduce the sound effects of modern weapons, and Sherriff feared that even staged noises of battle might renew symptoms of hysteria in shell-shocked veterans attending the show. Despite these reservations, the play was a

success, running for 16 months and more than 600 performances in London before moving to Broadway and theaters in 17 different European nations.

172

A first edition of Frederic Manning's *Her Privates We* (London: Peter Davies, 1930)

Australian infantryman Frederic Manning's *The Middle Parts of Fortune* was published anonymously by Peter Davies in 1929 in an unexpurgated, limited edition of some 500 copies. It tells the story of soldiers of the rank during the Battle of the Somme, with dialog written in colorful—and often blasphemous—vernacular and slang. A larger, expurgated edition was published in 1930 under the title *Her Privates We*, the author identified only as “Private 19022.” Only in 1943 was authorship posthumously credited to Manning. Ernest Hemingway called it “the finest and noblest book of men in war” and claimed to read Manning's book once a year so as not to forget “how things really were.”

102

E. J. Kealey (dates unknown)
“Women of Britain Say—GO!,” 1915
Lithograph

A mother, child, and Belgian refugee watch through a window as a local battalion marches off to fight. As soon as war was declared in Britain, women's groups were organized to assist in the recruiting effort. British Navy Admiral Charles Penrose Fitzgerald organized a “white feather” campaign, in which women gave a white feather—a symbol of cowardice—to any able-bodied man not wearing khaki. The Women's Active Service League, which had nearly 200,000 members by war's end, required its members to sign a pledge promising the following:

I do hereby pledge myself most solemnly in the name of King and Country to persuade every man I know to offer his services to his country, and I also pledge myself never to be seen with any man who, being in every way fit and free for service, has refused to respond to his country's call.

370

Unidentified artist
“The War of Munitions,” ca. 1917
Lithograph

Britain, the most industrialized nation of the Allied war effort, shouldered the burden of supplying armed forces with sufficient weaponry and equipment. Between 1914 and 1918,

Britain produced four million rifles, a quarter of a million machine guns, 52,000 airplanes, and over 170 million rounds of artillery shells. As more and more men enlisted, factories in Britain became populated by female workers, who were known as “munitionettes.”

Ireland and the Easter Rising

In 1914, tension between northern Protestant Ulster and southern Catholic Ireland was at a fever-pitch: unionists in the north wished to remain a part of the British union, while large numbers of nationalist southerners desired Home Rule. After two earlier failed efforts, a Home Rule Act was passed by the British parliament in September 1914, but implementation was postponed until hostilities ended in Europe.

With local fighting suspended, 200,000 Irishmen—the vast majority Ulstermen—enlisted in the British Army. In the south, constitutional nationalists who supported Home Rule encouraged enlistment as a show of goodwill toward an empire that might soon give Ireland its independence.

On Easter Sunday, 1916, a radical group of nationalists known as the Irish Republican Brotherhood, led by Padraig Pearse, overtook the General Post Office and other central public buildings in Dublin, and held off British imperial forces for a bloody six days. The execution of the leaders of the Easter Rising in the aftermath of the insurrection sparked rebellion across the island, where support for the Sinn Féin party and the irregular Irish Republican Army would continue to threaten British imperial rule. In 1919 Sinn Féin proclaimed an Irish Republic and called for the expulsion of all British subjects from Ireland, leading to three years of bloody guerilla warfare carried out by the IRA.

367

The British Parliamentary Recruiting Committee
“Is Your Home Here?”
Lithograph

When Britain went to war in 1914 to defend the rights of “poor Catholic Belgium,” Ireland—a predominantly Catholic island still under British rule—became embroiled in controversy. Recruitment posters such as this one encouraged Irishmen to think of themselves as part of the United Kingdom, despite Irish nationalists’ 50-year struggle to achieve Home Rule. In the north, Protestant unionists enlisted in large numbers as a show of solidarity with Protestant Britain; recruits from the Catholic south were less forthcoming.

When Britain sought to impose conscription in Ireland in 1918, widespread anger erupted from nationalists, trade unionists, and the Catholic Church. Despite the fact that conscription was never enforced in Ireland, over 200,000 Irishmen fought for the British. Of those, nearly 30,000 were killed.

77

Christina Broom (British, 1862–1939)

A platoon of Irish Guard machine gunners, August 1914

Gelatin silver print

The Irish Guard reservists were among the first troops called up by Britain, fighting in almost every major battle in France and Belgium: Ypres, the Somme, Cambrai, and Arras. Among the Irish Guardsmen killed during the Battle of Loos was a young lieutenant named Jack Kipling, the son of poet Rudyard Kipling. The elder Kipling, who had encouraged his son to enlist despite his defective vision, was devastated by the loss. In his postwar bereavement he researched and composed a regimental history of the Irish Guards and wrote a poem in their honor. His son's remains were never recovered.

78

The Sinn Féin Rebellion Handbook (Dublin: *Irish Times*, 1917)

As moderate, constitutional Irish nationalists joined the ranks of the British army, radical republicans planned to strike against colonial rule at home. During Easter Week of 1916, members of the Irish Republican Brotherhood, the Irish Volunteers, and the Irish Citizen Army seized a number of key locations around Dublin and proclaimed independence from Britain. The General Post Office was taken over, and the President of the Provisional Government, Patrick Pearse, proclaimed an independent Irish republic. British reinforcements were immediately sent to Dublin to put down the rebellion. Fighting continued around the city for a week, with heavy civilian casualties. Those responsible for planning the rebellion were arrested and executed by the British government. The publicity surrounding their trials and executions helped foster the revolutionary mentality that would incite the Irish War for Independence in 1919. The event sparked so much publicity in Ireland that the *Irish Times* compiled its coverage and maps of the fighting into the handbook seen here.

79

Sinn Féin autograph book, purportedly compiled by the Irish actress Maire Nic Shiubhlaigh, an IRA sympathizer, 1917

This small notebook was carried by visitors to British jails during 1917 and signed and dated surreptitiously by Irish republican inmates—many of whom had given their jailors false names after the 1916 Easter Uprising. In this way the Irish Republican Army could keep track of who was imprisoned, where, and for how long. The entries shown here are for Éamon de Valera, who signed the book in both English and Irish, and Harry Boland. De Valera became the first president of the new Irish Republic in 1921. Harry Boland

fought against De Valera's new republic during the Irish Civil War. Boland was shot by Irish Free State soldiers, acting under De Valera's orders, in 1922.

80, 81

H. Montgomery Hyde's transcript of Roger Casement's interrogation at Scotland Yard, 1916

Roger Casement (1864–1916) was an Irish revolutionary who joined the Irish Volunteers in 1914 after retiring from his post as a British consul. Casement and fellow revolutionary Joseph Plunkett secured German guns, ammunition, and troops for the planned Easter Rising, but the disguised German ship carrying 20,000 rifles and ammunition was intercepted by the British on April 20, 1916. Casement was captured and arrested the next day off the coast of Kerry, shortly after disembarking from a German submarine.

Casement was tried for treason, sabotage, and espionage against the Crown. He freely admitted to conspiring with the Germans in the name of Irish independence and refused to recognize the validity of his trial. He was an Irishman in a foreign court, and if he was to be tried at all, he insisted it should be "in Ireland, before an Irish court, and by an Irish jury." Casement was found guilty on all counts, sentenced to death, and executed in London on August 3, 1916.

82

Roger Casement's Speech from the Dock (Brooklyn, NY: '76 Publishing Company, 1916)

Roger Casement, in a famed courtroom speech delivered after having been convicted of treason, accused Britain of the hypocrisy of defending the rights of small nations such as Belgium while denying the right of independence to Ireland:

We are told that if Irishmen go by the thousand to die, not for Ireland, but for Flanders, for Belgium, for a patch of sand in the deserts of Mesopotamia, or a rocky trench on the heights of Gallipoli, they are winning self-government for Ireland. But if they dare to lay down their lives on their native soil, if they dare to dream even that freedom can be won only at home by men resolved to fight for it there, then they are traitors to their country, and their dream and their deaths are phases of a dishonourable phantasy.

83

Letter from James Joyce to Mrs. Thomas Kettle, September 25, 1916

Thomas Kettle (1880–1916) was an Irish poet, nationalist, member of Parliament, and one of James Joyce’s closest friends from their undergraduate days at University College Dublin. When war broke out, Kettle enlisted with the Dublin Fusiliers in the belief that Irish soldiers serving for the cause of Belgium would gain British favor for Irish Home Rule. Kettle was shocked when the execution of the leaders of the Easter Rising radicalized Ireland and turned public opinion toward armed revolt and against Home Rule. He was so depressed by the turn of events that he turned down leave and requested to be sent to the Battle of the Somme, where he was killed on September 9, 1916.

In this letter, James Joyce sends his condolences to Kettle’s widow, lamenting the “misfortunes that have fallen . . . in these evil days.”

Women and Children

The mass mobilization of men in 1914–1918 created severe labor shortages that dramatically altered women’s roles in the home and at the battlefield. Women replaced enlisted or conscripted laborers in munitions factories, where they worked long hours, often for a third less pay than the men they replaced. In America, civic groups organized Land Armies of women farmers. In Britain women were newly deputized as policewomen; in France they replaced male postal carriers and tramway conductors. Though suffragist campaigns in many nations were halted, it is clear that women’s social, political, and economic roles were elevated by wartime conditions.

Women were also critical to military operations on the Western and Eastern Fronts where they served as nurses, ambulance drivers, medics, telephone operators, and, in Russia, combatants. Behind the lines, women volunteering with such aid organizations as the Red Cross and the Salvation Army supplied first aid and meals to weary soldiers.

Children were enlisted in the war effort as well. The Boy Scouts of America helped distribute pamphlets, sell war bonds, and promote patriotism and national service. The U.S. Victory Boys and Victory Girls programs encouraged American children to work after school and donate their income to the war effort. The U.S. Food Administration sponsored a U.S. Garden Army that taught children to plant “victory gardens” at their homes and schools.

For children, too, the war was a profoundly life-changing experience. By 1916, the British schoolboy Stephen Potter could list four uncles and two cousins “now in the army.” By 1918, he was eligible to be called up, noting in a diary, “If this war doesn’t end soon I shall have to join the beastly army and lay down my blooming life for my blinking country.”

103

Maginel Wright Enright (American, 1881–1966)

“Follow the Pied Piper—Join the United States School Garden Army,” 1918

Lithograph

In 1917, the U.S. Bureau of Education, with funding from the War Department, spearheaded the United States Garden Army, an effort to encourage schoolchildren and their teachers to grow extra food to feed troops abroad. The Bureau of Education distributed books and manuals that taught children how to garden and can food. Children learned about landscaping, botany, and nutrition while helping curtail the food shortage brought on by the war. The image of Uncle Sam as the Pied Piper appeared on manuals distributed to schools across the nation. The image was designed by children's book illustrator Maginel Wright Enright, sister of architect Frank Lloyd Wright. The United States Garden Army's official slogan was: "A garden for every child, every child in a garden."

104

Edward Penfield (American, 1866–1925)
"Every Girl Pulling for Victory," 1918
Lithograph

In 1918 the United War Work Campaign introduced youth organizations called "Victory Boys" and "Victory Girls." These groups encouraged schoolchildren to dedicate their time, labor, and earnings to the war effort. Unlike the Boy Scouts of America, Victory Boys and Girls did not publicly solicit money. Instead, they were encouraged to work after-school jobs, so they could "earn and give" to the United War Work Campaign fund. Participants were encouraged to hang "Victory" banners in the windows of their homes.

99

Urquhart Wilcox (American, 1874–1941)
"We'll Help You Win the War, Daddy"
Lithograph

The Boy Scouts of America were leading fundraisers for the U.S. war effort. In 1917–1918, the Boy Scouts sold over \$350 million in war bonds and over \$100 million in war savings stamps. They also collected fruit pits that were turned into charcoal for use in gas masks, and inventoried trees that could be used for the production of airplane propellers.

461

James Montgomery Flagg (American, 1877–1960)
"Boys and Girls! You can Help your Uncle Sam Win the War," 1918
Lithograph

104

Edward Penfield (American, 1866–1925)

“Every Girl Pulling for Victory,” 1918

Lithograph

In 1918 the United War Work Campaign introduced youth organizations called “Victory Boys” and “Victory Girls.” These groups encouraged schoolchildren to dedicate their time, labor, and earnings to the war effort. Unlike the Boy Scouts of America, Victory Boys and Girls did not publicly solicit money. Instead, they were encouraged to work after-school jobs, so they could “earn and give” to the United War Work Campaign fund. Participants were encouraged to hang “Victory” banners in the windows of their homes.

459

Unidentified artist

“A Million Boys Behind a Million Fighters,” 1918

Lithograph

35, 36

Letter from Wilfred Owen to Colin Owen, August 23, 1916

British soldier-poet Wilfred Owen (1893–1918) wrote faithfully to his family from the trenches of the Western Front. Owen particularly doted on his younger brother Colin, who was only 14 when the war started. Owen desperately hoped that Colin would be saved from the war, writing, “Your tender age is a thing to be valued and gloried in, more than many wounds.” Colin, who idolized his brother, joined the Royal Flying Corps in 1917 against Wilfred’s wishes. He withdrew from the military after Owen was killed in France a week before the cease-fire.

37

Stephen Potter’s diary, 1916–1917

British writer Stephen Potter (1900–1969) was 14 years old at the outbreak of the war. His teen diaries juxtapose a record of daily activities with news clippings and ephemera about the war. On this page, Potter has pasted in a notice from his school magazine, *The Trifler*, which encourages students to buy postcard images of the campus so that they may remember its glory in the event that it is ruined by zeppelin attack. His scrapbook also includes rare copies and clippings from *Blighty*, the official newspaper produced by the British Army and Navy for servicemen overseas. One of Potter’s journal entries from his diary reads: “If this war doesn’t end soon I shall have to join the beastly army and lay

down my blooming life for my blinking country.” In spite of this grim vision of his future, Potter volunteered and was commissioned to the Coldstream Guards just as the war was ending.

39, 40

Evelyn Waugh’s war-related cartoons and battle depictions, ca. 1914–1916

British novelist Evelyn Waugh (1903–1966) was 11 years old when the war began. His mother served as a volunteer army nurse, and Waugh and his father visited London hospitals to perform humorous skits for convalescing soldiers. In the summer of 1915, at the age of 12, Waugh served as a messenger for the British War Office, and in 1917 Waugh’s older brother Alec enlisted and was sent to France.

As an adult, Waugh was known for his outspoken manner and hatred of hypocrisy. By 1919, when he was 16 years old, he had already developed strong opinions about the way the war should be commemorated. On November 11, 1919, the day of the cease-fire, he wrote:

At eleven today we had the King’s amazing proposition of two minutes silence to commemorate last year. It was really a disgusting idea of artificial nonsense and sentimentality. If people have lost sons and fathers they should think of them whenever the grass is green or Shaftsbury Avenue brightly lighted, not for two minutes on the anniversary of a disgraceful day of national hysteria.

41

Evelyn Waugh’s 1914 diary

Waugh’s diaries chronicle his experience of wartime England while he was at Heath Mount preparatory school. This diary depicts one of his schoolmasters, “Mr. Vernon,” who enlisted in 1914. Waugh has written “I feel rather sorry now I used to rag him so.” Another illustrates a mock trench built by Waugh and his fellow Boy Scouts. The Scouts charged nearby residents a fee to walk through the makeshift trench then donated the proceeds to the national war fund.

232

Francisque Poulbot (French, 1879–1946)

Paris Day, on behalf of the Hôtel de Ville’s war charities, July 14, 1917

Lithograph

Famous for his delightful illustrations of *les gosses de Paris* (the kids of Paris), Poulbot drawings are still reproduced today.

38

G. Douanne (16 years old)

Je suis une brave poule de guerre. Je mange peu et produit beaucoup, 1918

[I am a brave war hen. I eat little and I produce a lot!]

Lithograph

This poster was one of the winning designs in a contest for girls held in French schools by the Minister of Education. In contrast to most French poster art during the war, these drawings are full of color and delightful naïveté.

382

Unidentified photographer

Émile Dujardin, September 13, 1915

Gelatin silver print

Before the war, the French author Édouard Dujardin (1861–1949) sent his teenage son Émile (b. 1896) to Germany to learn the language and some discipline. When war erupted, Émile was caught in Germany and was sent to the Holzminden internment camp. While conditions were harsh, prisoners were allowed letters and parcels, and there was a school and a photographic studio. On this photograph from the camp, Émile requests that gingerbread and tobacco, “only yellow scaferlati Maryland” (a Gauloise brand of tobacco packaged in a yellow wrapper and only sold in Switzerland), be included in his next care package.

383

Émile Dujardin’s exit permit from Germany, August 11, 1916

As the former editor of the *Revue wagnérienne*, Édouard Dujardin was acquainted with the composer Richard Wagner’s daughter Eva Wagner and her husband, the English author Houston Stewart Chamberlain (1855–1927). Dujardin wrote several letters to Chamberlain asking him to intercede on behalf of Émile, but also requesting that Émile be made to work. Whether it was through Chamberlain’s influence, Émile was finally allowed to leave Germany for Switzerland on the condition he not join the army.

During the war, Chamberlain took German citizenship and published anti-British propaganda, republished in England as *Ravings of a Renegade*. The Nazis adopted his racialist and anti-Semitic philosophy, and he wrote to Adolf Hitler in 1923, “That in the hour of her deepest need Germany gives birth to a Hitler proves her vitality.”

460

Howard Chandler Christy (American, 1873–1952)

“Gee, I Wish I Were a Man!,” 1918

Lithograph

Howard Chandler Christy was one of the best known and highest paid book illustrators in America in the early twentieth century. Though he gained renown for the combat drawings he produced as a war artist during the Spanish-American War, he is best remembered for his “Christy Girls” recruiting campaign, in which he used voluptuous women in uniform to encourage young men to join Uncle Sam’s army.

365

Gordon Conway (American, 1894–1956)

Cover illustrations of *Vanity Fair*, ca. 1918

Gouache and ink on paper

Dallas-born artist and costume designer Gordon Conway’s drawings of socialites and flappers for *Vanity Fair* captured the changing roles of women in society. The cover drawing on the left shows a female relief worker offering a flag to a soldier. The second study was rejected by *Vanity Fair* editors but was later used by the Red Cross for recruitment posters.

112

George Mather Richards (American, 1880–1958)

“Oh Boy! That’s the Girl,” ca. 1917

Lithograph

In 1917, Salvation Army “lassies” became famous for their “Doughnuts for Doughboys” campaign. Approximately 250 women set up kitchens in abandoned huts near the front lines and provided food and first aid to weary soldiers. Salvation Army Ensign Margaret Sheldon and Adjutant Helen Purviance are credited with first serving doughnuts to soldiers, and the treat was instantly popular. The women became known as the “Doughnut Girls” and were celebrated in popular songs and posters.

100

Clarence Frederick Underwood (American, 1871–1929)

“Back Our Girls Over There,” ca. 1917

Lithograph

The American Signal Corps Female Telephone Operators Unit, known as the “Hello Girls,” operated telephone switchboards in France from late 1917 until the end of the war. General Pershing, who organized the Hello Girls, demanded that the switchboard operators be bilingual, have college educations, be at least 25 years old, and be single. Out of nearly 7,000 volunteers, only 450 were chosen. The majority of these were former employees of the Atlantic Telegraph and Telephone (AT&T) Company. The women received military training, wore uniforms, and were subject to the same rules and regulations as male Signal Corps soldiers.

Though chief operator Grace Banker received the Distinguished Service Medal in 1918 for her war work, returning Hello Girls were denied official veteran status. Only after tireless campaigning by former Hello Girl Merle Egan Anderson was the status of the group changed from civilian volunteer to certified member of the military. In 1977 President Jimmy Carter signed a bill instating former Hello Girls as official First World War veterans, and the 50 who were still living at the time received honorable discharges, 60 years after their service ended.

108

Edward Penfield (American, 1866–1925)

“Yes Sir—I am Here!,” ca. 1918

Lithograph

The shortage of trained medical personnel in the First World War encouraged all nations of the conflict to induct women into roles they had never before held. In particular, American and British forces recruited women as ambulance drivers. Female ambulance drivers worked long hours transporting troops on bad roads, were responsible for the maintenance of their automobiles, and administered basic first aid before the troops reached field hospitals behind the lines.

111

Adolph Treidler (American, 1886–1981)

“For Every Fighter a Woman Worker,” 1918

Lithograph

Between 1917 and 1918 thousands of American women left the domestic sphere to take on jobs traditionally held by men. Women worked long hours at an average of two-thirds the typical wage for men. The uniforms in this poster indicate different professional roles—industrial laborer, street car conductor, Motor Corps driver, and Land Army worker—held by women supporting the war effort.

122

Edward Penfield (American, 1866–1925)

“The Girl on the Land Serves the Nation’s Needs,” 1918

Lithograph

The Women’s Land Army of America (WLAA) was organized in 1917 to plow fields, drive tractors, and plant and harvest crops. Developed by a consortium of civic groups, women’s colleges, gardening clubs, the YWCA, and suffragette societies, the “farmerettes” grew to a force of 20,000 and became symbols of women’s liberation and support of the war effort. Though many male farmers were initially skeptical of “land lassies” who wore pants and military tunics and demanded the same wages as men, the WLAA nonetheless successfully alleviated the extreme wartime farm labor shortage brought on by enlistment. One of their popular slogans was: “Joan of Arc Left the Soil to Save France. We’re Going Back to the Soil to Save America.”

239

A letter from Freya Stark to Flora Stark, August 10, 1917

British writer Freya Stark (1893–1993), one of the most famous explorers of her generation, served as a Voluntary Aid Detachment nurse on the Italian Front. In this uncensored letter to her mother, which Stark smuggled out of her field hospital, she describes the dangers of life near the artillery fire of the trenches and the difficulties of treating wounded soldiers. Stark, like nurse Catherine Barkley of Ernest Hemingway’s *A Farewell to Arms*, helped attend to the more than 20,000 wounded Italian soldiers who were evacuated from the Austro-Italian front following the Battle of Caporetto in October–November, 1917. In one day the Italian Army lost 11,000 men to the German offensive.

240

Christina Broom (British, 1862–1939)

Female British Army cooks, ca. 1915

Gelatin silver print

As men were mobilized for combat units, women were recruited for tasks such as cooking, cleaning, or serving as clerks or typists. This picture shows women who were among the first female cooks to serve the British Army in 1915. As groups such as the Women’s Auxiliary Army Corps (WAAC) and Voluntary Aid Detachment (VAD) expanded in numbers, female cooks served at army bases both at home and abroad.

241, 242

Maurice Leroy (French, 1885–1973)
Time for the Mail Delivery, 1917

Maurice Leroy (French, 1885–1973)
The Tramway Conductor, 1917

This charming series of images illustrates stereotypical views of the changing roles of women during the First World War. Initially, women were not mobilized for the war effort by the French government, except as nurses. By the summer of 1916, however, all the available men were needed at the Somme, and the government began actively recruiting women to work in war industries. Unfortunately, this enthusiasm for working women did not last into peacetime. Women who did not immediately quit their new jobs after the return of the *poilus* were sometimes accused of war profiteering.

238

Sketchbook of an unidentified French artist, ca. 1914–1918
Ink on paper

French soldier's wives were not allowed to visit their husbands even if they were stationed far from the front lines. Prostitutes, however, were permitted to ply their trade as long as they were registered and worked out of a government-controlled brothel. As one French general explained to the Duchess Elisabeth de Gramont (1875–1954) when she inquired about the reasoning behind this policy, "The whore is a necessary distraction, while the wife, who represents the home, weakens the soldier's heart." Because of the spread of venereal disease, brothels and prostitutes were registered in order to facilitate medical supervision.

243, 244

A letter from D. H. Lawrence to Lady Cynthia Asquith, October 21, 1915

In 1915 D. H. Lawrence became notorious throughout England both for the highly publicized obscenity trial surrounding his novel *The Rainbow* and for the anti-war views he expressed to the press during the proceedings. In numerous letters to his friend, the novelist Lady Cynthia Asquith, daughter-in-law to the British Prime Minister Herbert Henry Asquith, Lawrence describes his exasperation with wartime Britain. Lady Asquith became the inspiration for Lawrence's novella, *The Ladybird* (1923), which tells the story of a young wife awaiting the homecoming of a husband whose face had been mutilated by shrapnel during battle.

245, 246

The diary of Kathleen Isherwood and a photograph of Frank Isherwood and soldiers, 1915

The chaotic nature of trench warfare, combined with delayed communications, often meant that soldiers on the Western Front were considered “missing” for weeks or months before being declared dead, a situation that caused agony for loved ones. This diary kept by Kathleen Isherwood (1883–1971), mother of writer Christopher Isherwood (1904–1986), documents the seven weeks of uncertainty she experienced before her husband’s body and identity tags were found and reported to the British War Office.

Christopher Isherwood, who was ten years old at the time, was traumatized by his father’s death. His anguish over his father’s fate inspired the pacifism he later championed in his novels. Isherwood transcribed his mother’s wartime diaries in order to write *Kathleen and Frank* (1971), a biography of his parents and a memorial to his late father. In this photograph taken from Kathleen Isherwood’s diary, Isherwood’s father (the second soldier from the left) relaxes at camp after sharing a meal with fellow officers.

247

A letter from Dora Carrington to Noel Carrington, not dated

The Bloomsbury artist Dora Carrington (1893–1932) had three brothers who served in World War I. Sam, the eldest, was severely shell shocked. Teddy, her middle and favorite brother, was killed during the Battle of the Somme. Noel, her youngest brother, was wounded in the elbow by a German sniper and nearly lost his arm. Carrington corresponded with her brothers faithfully throughout the war, often including humorous drawings. Although a committed pacifist, Carrington involved herself in activities dedicated to improving soldiers’ morale—acting in a series of theatrical entertainments, for example—despite her parents’ disapproval.

248

Christina Broom (British, 1862–1939)
Newly deputized policewomen, 1916
Gelatin silver print

Between 1914 and 1918 more than 1,000 women were deputized for police work in London. These policewomen became known for their efforts to curtail “khaki fever”—the loosening of morals and the increase of promiscuity—brought by wartime conditions. In an effort to stop indecent behavior, policewomen were assigned to patrol parks, where they separated embracing couples and arrested prostitutes. The March 1918 Defense of the Realm Act (DORA) allowed policewomen to detain and prosecute any woman

infected with a venereal disease accused of having sexual relations with a member of the armed forces.

371

Dexter

“JOIN—Red Cross Work Must Go On—All You Need is a Heart and a Dollar,” 1917

Lithograph

The American Red Cross, established in 1881, experienced phenomenal growth between 1914 and 1918, when membership jumped from 17,000 to over 20,000,000 members. Its bold advertising and publicity campaigns encouraged the American public to donate more than \$400,000,000 to Red Cross programs that staffed Allied hospitals in France, provided ambulance drivers, and gave medical care to refugees. The Red Cross recruited 20,000 registered nurses to serve the military during the war, and many of them continued to work with the Red Cross during the postwar influenza pandemic that killed over 20 million people worldwide.

369

Unidentified artist

“Back Him Up!,” ca. 1918

Lithograph

A Canadian infantryman with fixed bayonet faces a battleground exploding with shells. Before war’s end, nearly a half million Canadian men and women would serve the British Expeditionary Force as soldiers, nurses, and ambulance drivers.

269

Fraternal Association for Veterans of Battle of the Marne

Dans le Métro !! Faites attention à nos blessés! 1915

Lithograph

“On the subway!! Please show respect for our wounded soldiers!”

Pacifism

Opposing the War

“I believe that the war is being deliberately prolonged by those who have the power to end it.... Also I believe that I may help to destroy the callous complacency with which the majority of those at home regard the continuance of agonies which they do not share, and which they have not sufficient imagination to realize.”

—Siegfried Sassoon, “Finished with the War: A Soldier’s Declaration”

Though the crisis of the summer of 1914 created fervent nationalism in the warring states of Europe, there were also tens of thousands of dissenters who foresaw the tragic outcome of a global war and spoke out against it. Socialists such as Rosa Luxemburg, Eugene V. Debs, and Bertrand Russell vehemently opposed the war—and served time in prison for their pacifism. They believed that the working men and women of Europe should refuse to fight a war designed to benefit industrialists and politicians. In Britain, a significant number of conscientious objectors faced social ostracism for refusing to give in to “khaki fever.” By the conflict’s end, more than 20,000 British men of military age had refused the draft, with 6,000 of them serving prison sentences for also refusing noncombatant service. Many soldiers, such as the poet Siegfried Sassoon, developed anti-militarist stances after witnessing the horrific conditions on the Western Front, finding the war to be pointless, a madness that justified mutiny. Suffragette groups from all nations adopted pacifist stances as well. In the United States in 1915 such groups joined to form the Women’s Peace Party (now the Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom), which campaigned tirelessly for an end to hostilities on the European continent and voiced opposition toward the U.S. declaration of war and subsequent program of conscription.

194, 195

George Bernard Shaw’s *Common Sense About the War* [New York: New York Times Co., 1914]

Unidentified photographer
George Bernard Shaw, ca. 1916
Gelatin silver print

Irish playwright George Bernard Shaw (1856–1950) published his anti-war pamphlet “Common Sense about the War” just weeks after armed conflict broke out in Europe. It sold 75,000 copies in six weeks. When Shaw was accused of treasonous pro-German sympathies, he quipped that angry readers thought of him as a “son of a bitsch.”

196

George Bernard Shaw’s custom-printed form postcard concerning “Common Sense About the War,” with handwritten postscript to Frederick Evans, February 2, 1915

George Bernard Shaw’s “Common Sense About the War” was published as a 32-page supplement to the *New Statesman* on November 14, 1915. It elicited so many letters, generally in protest, that Shaw resorted to a pre-printed reply, such as this one sent to photographer Frederick Evans. The heated response to his essay caused Shaw to write to his *New Statesman* editor Clifford Sharp: “The war article is a superb performance and

will reflect eternal glory on your editorship; but whether the paper will survive is another matter.”

197

Letter from George Bernard Shaw to Austin Harrison, November 24, 1914

In a letter to *English Review* editor Austin Harrison, Shaw explains that he wishes for a shift in human beings’ relationship to violence: “It is utter nonsense to say that if you keep guns they will go off: people can wear boots without kicking their wives.”

198

The Tribunal, March 30, 1916

As chairman of the No-Conscription Fellowship (NCF), philosopher Bertrand Russell wrote a weekly editorial for the organization’s newspaper, *The Tribunal*. He also oversaw the paper’s content, which was mostly inspirational pacifist material. Reflecting the views of the NCF’s leadership, the paper took an absolutist stance toward conscription. Absolutists wanted total exemption from forced government service, including civilian jobs that conscientious objectors were expected to take. By 1918, more than 1,000 absolutists were being held in British prisons.

199

A letter from D. H. Lawrence to Bertrand Russell, September 14, 1915

In early 1915 Bertrand Russell, a 43-year-old liberal aristocrat mathematician, met writer D. H. Lawrence, a fiery 26-year-old son of a miner whose latest novel, *The Rainbow*, had been censored for its anti-war stance. The two staunch pacifists immediately formed an intense friendship and planned a joint lecture tour to speak out against the war. The collaboration proved to be a disaster. As soon as Russell sent Lawrence his proposed lecture, entitled “The Danger to Civilization,” Lawrence replied with savage invectives such as “I would rather have the German soldiers with rapine cruelty than you with your words of goodness.” Lawrence, ever on the side of laborers and socialists, felt Russell’s views were not radical enough to change the capitalist system. He considered Russell’s outdated liberalism as “super-war-spirit.” In his autobiography, Russell would later claim that Lawrence possessed a megalomania akin to Adolf Hitler’s.

200

“Rex v. Bertrand Russell” (London: Non-Conscription Fellowship, 1916)

Cambridge philosophy professor Bertrand Russell (1872–1970) was one of the most vocal British anti-war activists. In 1916 Russell wrote a pamphlet in support of Ernest Everett, a conscientious objector who had been imprisoned for his refusal to serve in the military. Russell was tried under the Defense of the Realm Act and fined for hampering recruiting. This booklet published by the Non-Conscription Fellowship, of which Russell was chairman, documented Russell's rebuttals to the government's indictment. Two years later, Russell was once again arrested for spreading anti-war literature and served six months in prison.

201

Lytton Strachey's statement on conscientious objectors, 1917

Bloomsbury writer and critic Lytton Strachey was one of the most outspoken opponents of conscription. Strachey sent this statement to Philip Morrell, parliament's leading opponent of the 1916 Military Service Act, a compulsory draft of single men between 19 and 41. Strachey believed that the war had been waged to refute militarism, and that to introduce compulsory military service would contradict Britain's original intentions. Strachey was deemed medically unfit for service by a draft board and spent the war years writing for the No-Conscription Fellowship.

202

Letter from Siegfried Sassoon to Ottoline Morrell, written from Craiglockhart War Hospital, 1917

Lady Ottoline Morrell (1873–1938) provided a safe-haven for pacifists and conscientious objectors at her large country estate, Garsington Manor. Along with her lover, philosopher Bertrand Russell, Morrell supported a British peace treaty with Germany. During the war, politicians and intellectuals began referring to a "Garsington Peace Movement" promoted by Morrell and such artists as D. H. Lawrence, Dora Carrington, Augustus John, Clive Bell, and Lytton Strachey.

Siegfried Sassoon convalesced at Garsington after being wounded in 1917. While there, Sassoon drafted his famous "Finished with the War: A Soldier's Declaration," in which he refused to return to active duty because he believed the war was being disastrously prolonged and that the government should end it.

When in July 1917, Sassoon's declaration was widely printed and read in British Parliament, the War Office announced that the army captain was suffering from shell shock and sent him to Craiglockhart War Hospital, where he wrote Morrell "I am afraid I can't do anything 'outrageous.' They would only say I had a relapse and put me in a padded room."

189

A letter from E. M. Forster to Malcolm Darling, February 3, 1916

British novelist E. M. Forster (1879–1970) spent the war years in British-occupied Egypt as a Red Cross volunteer who reported the whereabouts of missing soldiers to worried families. In this letter, Forster describes his job and comments that in addition to interviewing wounded soldiers, he befriends them: “[I] mend their watches, lend their books, write to their wives, compile deeds for the sale of houses in Australia.”

Forster remarked that the time he spent in Egypt deeply influenced the sympathy toward human suffering expressed in his novel *A Passage to India* (1924). Forster had written a draft of the novel in 1913–1914, but completely revised the book after his wartime experiences. The Ransom Center houses both pre-war and post-war manuscript drafts of *A Passage to India*.

190

A postcard promoting the International Conference of Women Workers, 1915

Feminist and human rights activists May Wright Sewall and Jane Addams were early, outspoken opponents of the war in Europe. Even before the U.S. entered the war, they organized a Women’s Peace Party in favor of negotiated peace. Their International Conference of Women Workers brought together suffragettes, mothers, laborers, educators, and socialists into a combined pacifist platform. In 1931 Jane Addams became the first American woman to win the Nobel Peace Prize, largely for her work promoting peace during the First World War.

191

A flyer distributed by the People’s Council for Democracy and Peace, ca. 1917

The People’s Council for Democracy and Peace was organized in May 1917 to oppose U.S. entry into the war. Led by suffragettes such as Mary Ware Dennett and socialists such as Eugene V. Debs, the organization sought to solidify women, workers, and intellectuals against American militarism. Rallies sponsored by the People’s Council were often broken up by police and its leaders jailed under the June 1917 Espionage Act. In 1918 Eugene V. Debs was arrested for making a speech that obstructed recruiting and was sentenced to ten years’ imprisonment. As leader of the Socialist Party, in 1920 he ran for President from prison.

192, 193

A passenger list for the Ford Peace Party, 1915

Henry Ford's open letter to the Ford Peace Party, December 11, 1915

Automotive industrialist Henry Ford, an ardent pacifist, spoke against the European war as soon as it erupted. On August 12, 1915, he told the *Detroit Free Press*: "I hate war, because war is murder, desolation and destruction, causeless, unjustifiable, cruel and heartless to those of the human race who do not want it, the countless millions, the workers." Ford believed war was caused by financial interests that sought to profit by it, and went so far as to say that he would burn his factory down rather than supply automobiles to belligerent nations.

Incensed by the war, Ford took action by sponsoring a "Ford Peace Ship" that would sail from New York to Europe, where a delegation would negotiate peace. Though highly publicized by the press, the venture was a failure. Notable pacifists squabbled among themselves, Ford fell sick, and European statesmen made no time for the good intentions of an American auto magnate. After spending \$465,000 on the crusade, Ford commented, "I didn't get much peace, but I learned that Russia is going to be a great market for tractors."

152

A letter from Romain Rolland to Jacques Copeau, October 20, 1914

French theaterdirector Jacques Copeau (1879–1949) had written to French dramatist and novelist Romain Rolland (1866–1944), who was working for the Red Cross in Switzerland, to ask for help finding his friend Jacques Rivière who was missing in action. At this time, Rolland had already started publishing pacifist articles in the Swiss press and was severely criticized for his views by many in France, including several of his friends.

"Write to Berliners, what a new crime to add to my dossier for my Parisian accusers! They insult me in France; they insult me in Germany. That's okay; it's only what I deserve. I await, one day, for an indictment. They want to intimidate me, as they did Anatole France [over the Dreyfus Affair]. They will not succeed. Rather, they will break me. I fear that it will become more difficult for free spirits to live in Europe after the war. Fortunately, the world is a big place. I will go see the New World, if the Old World is stifling. Only keep me in your esteem, you who know me. I want, as much as I can, to defend the name of France, what is just and humane, even against inhumane opponents."

Jacques Rivière (1886–1925) was finally located in a German prisoner-of-war camp. After the war, he wrote a memoir of his prison experiences and was an editor at the *Nouvelle Revue Française*, where he published Proust, Jean Giraudoux, and Jules Romains, among others.

153

Au-dessus de la mêlée by Romain Rolland (Paris: P. Ollendorff, 1915)

Above the Battle, a compilation of Romain Rolland's pacifist essays, caused a furor upon publication, and Rolland was demonized in the press. However, it is largely due to this antiwar work, as well as his book on Beethoven and his novel *Jean-Christophe*, that Romain Rolland was awarded the Nobel Prize in 1915. Rolland gave the money from the prize to the Red Cross and other charities.

154

Romain Rolland, der Mann und das Werk by Stefan Zweig (Frankfurt: Rütten & Loening, 1921)

At the beginning of the war, Austrian dramatist Stefan Zweig (1881–1942) was caught up in the general enthusiasm for the war. Unable to fight, he had a medical exemption and worked in the War Archive, along with the poets Rainer Maria Rilke and Albert Ehrenstein. In September 1914, he wrote "To My Friends Abroad" in the *Berliner Tageblatt*, where he fully embraced the German war effort to the detriment of his friendships. Romain Rolland, responding to his open letter, wrote, "I am more faithful to our Europe than you are, dear Stefan Zweig, and to none of my friends do I say adieu." Their correspondence continued, and their debate on the morality of war deepened. However, it was only after traveling to Galicia in 1915, to document the Russian occupation, and seeing the horrors of war firsthand that Zweig fully embraced pacifism. Upon his return, he began to write his antiwar drama *Jeremiah*. He moved to Switzerland in 1917 to produce the play and remained there for the duration of the war. Zweig translated several of Rolland's works into German, and after the war, he wrote *Romain Rolland, the Man and His Work*, as a tribute to his mentor.

Spies

309 Black wall case (309, 308, 311, 310)

Unidentified photographer
Henri-Pierre Roché, 1914
Carte de visite

The French writer and flâneur, Henri-Pierre Roché (1879–1959), was declared unfit for combat because of problems with his knees. Eventually, he was made secretary to the Governor General of the Invalides, General Gabriel Malleterre (1858–1923), who had lost a leg in battle during the first weeks of the war.

308

Henri-Pierre Roché's diary for August 30 – September 5, 1914

During the first days of the war, Roché wrote of his worries for his German friends, particularly the writer Franz Hessel (1880–1941). It was because of his large number of “foreign friends” and “copious international correspondence” that someone anonymously denounced Roché to the authorities. Accused of espionage, Roché spent sixteen days in the Conciergerie prison, the site of guillotine executions during the French Revolution. He noted in his diary, “the first two [days] were appalling, and the last ten were tolerable. One can get used to anything.”

311

The final installment of Henri-Pierre Roché's *Deux semaines à la conciergerie pendant la bataille de la Marne*, serialized in the Parisian journal *Le Temps*, December 2, 1915

More than a year later, Roché could look back with some humor on his imprisonment. His cellmates had variously been a debt collector, a waiter, an American millionaire, a pimp, a juvenile delinquent, a dancer, and a gambler who was also a former professor of Greek.

310

First edition of Henri-Pierre Roché's *Deux semaines à la conciergerie pendant la bataille de la Marne*, illustrations by Robert Bonfils (Paris: Attinger Frères, 1916)

Author's own copy inscribed to the critic Émile Vuillermoz.

301 Wall

New York Journal-American

Margaretha Geertruida Zelle MacLeod, aka Mata Hari

Digital reproduction of original gelatin silver print

Born in the Netherlands, MacLeod (1876–1917), married a colonial officer and followed him to the Dutch East Indies. By 1906, she divorced her abusive husband, and began to support herself by exotic dancing, calling herself “Mata Hari,” which means “eye of day” in Malayan. After the start of the war, Mata Hari traveled freely as a citizen of a neutral country, which provoked the interest of German, French, and British authorities. It appears she accepted money from both French and German Intelligence agencies—the Germans dubbed her spy H-21—but it is doubtful whether she passed on any relevant information. Arrested by the French in February of 1917, she was executed by firing squad on October 15, 1917.

438

TAISEZ-VOUS! MÉFIEZ-VOUS !

“Keep quiet! Be careful! Enemy ears are listening!” 1915

This announcement declares that the police must approve all classified ads to prevent the ads being used by enemy agents to pass information to each other.

303

New York *Journal-American*

Espion. Traître à [*sic*] son Pays, 1914

Gelatin silver print

This French farmer was executed near Reims in September 1914. During the first months of the war, civilians were often caught between the rapidly changing battle lines and were sometimes suspected of aiding the enemy.

The *Journal-American* caption reads, “As Judas Did—This man took a hundred pieces of silver to betray the position of a French battery by firing a shot. The death post is labeled ‘spy.’”

302

Unidentified photographer, *New York Journal-American*

Edith Cavell with her dogs Don and Jack, 1915

Gelatin silver print

At the outbreak of the War, British-born Edith Cavell (1865–1915) had been the head of *L'École Belge d'Infirmières Diplômées*, a nursing school in Brussels, Belgium. After the Battle of Mons, Cavell and her friends clandestinely nursed wounded Allied soldiers that had been caught behind the lines in German occupied Belgium. The wounded were then transported across the border into Holland, a neutral country. On August 5, 1915, Edith Cavell was arrested by the Germans, found guilty of treason, and sentenced to death. On the eve of her execution she spoke with the Reverend Horace Stirling Townsend Gahan, the English chaplain of Christ Church, telling him, “This I would say, standing as I do in view of God and Eternity, I realize that patriotism is not enough. I must have no hatred or bitterness towards anyone.”

The nursing school was later renamed the *Institut Edith Cavell*. Cavell’s dog, Jack, was embalmed after his death in 1923, and remains on display in the Imperial War Museum in London.

227

Proclamation announcing Edith Cavell's death sentence and immediate execution for treason, Brussels, Belgium, October 12, 1915

This poster was produced by the Germans as a warning to the population of occupied Belgium: "The Governor-General of Brussels publicizes these facts so that they may serve as a warning."

Generalleutnant Traugott, Martin von Sauberzweig, the Military Governor of Brussels who ordered the immediate execution of Edith Cavell committed suicide in 1920.

300

Sir Compton Mackenzie's own copy of *Greek Memories* (London: Cassell, 1932)

At the end of August 1915, British author, Sir Compton Mackenzie (1883–1972), a Lieutenant in the Royal Marines, was sent to neutral Greece to be the head of British counter-espionage in Athens. Despite adopting the code name Z, Mackenzie presented a conspicuous sight, dressing in a white suit and hat and chauffeured by a Greek soldier wearing the traditional white *fustanella* uniform. Nevertheless, he proved extremely successful and soon controlled much of the counter-intelligence operations in the Aegean as well. He moved the counter-espionage headquarters to the British School of Archaeology and employed its librarian to help organize the Black List, a catalog of enemy agents and informers. Mackenzie also centralized control of the visa applications in the Z Bureau, as his office was known, where the names and details on applications were immediately added to the Black List.

297

Unidentified photographer
Alfred Hoffmann, not dated
Gelatin silver print

Among Mackenzie and the Z Bureau's exploits was the capture of Alfred Hoffmann, head of the German spy network in the Aegean, as well as the seizure of secret German reports destined for Berlin, along with letters confirming close ties between the Greek court and Germany; King Constantine I was the Kaiser's brother-in-law. When Greece eventually entered the war, however, it was on the side of the Allies.

307

Major Monreal's notes on a meeting with suspected German spies addressed to Major Samson, ca. 1915

When first posted to Athens, Compton Mackenzie worked under Major Monreal (variously known as "M," "Liebig," and "L"), who was head of British counter-espionage in Athens.

Monreal in turn reported to Major Samson (aka “R,” and “V”), the head of British intelligence in Athens.

After Monreal started plotting unauthorized assassinations of enemy agents, he was reassigned to Malta.

299

Letter from Mansfield Cumming to Compton Mackenzie, May 4, 1918

In this letter, Cumming thanks Mackenzie for dedicating his latest book (*Poor Relations*) to him, but asks that his identity be kept secret, and that he be referred to as ‘C,’ his code name, or Chief.

Mackenzie was accused of violating the Official Secrets Act by revealing in his memoir, *Greek Memories*, that Mansfield Cumming (1859–1923) was the chief of the British Secret Intelligence Service (now MI6) and for divulging details of British intelligence operations. Although many of Mackenzie’s revelations were already well known, the book was banned and Mackenzie put on trial. He pled guilty and was fined £100 plus court costs. An expurgated version of the book was published in 1939.

To this day, however, as a tribute to Mansfield Cumming, the chief of MI6 goes by ‘C,’ and adopts Cummings’s custom of signing papers with green ink.

306

Typed manuscript of Somerset Maugham’s *Ashenden*, ca. 1927

British author, Somerset Maugham (1874–1965) was a Red Cross stretcher-bearer and ambulance driver during the First Battle of Ypres. Recruited by the Secret Service Bureau (later the Secret Intelligence Service), he was sent to Geneva, Switzerland as a British agent in November 1915. Maugham adopted the code name “Somerville” and posed essentially as himself, i.e., as an author in search of a quiet place in war-torn Europe to write, even as he facilitated drops and passed information. In 1917, he was sent to Russia to report on the Provisional Government, notably on Aleksandr Kerensky the Prime Minister, and to prevent the Russians from making a separate peace with the Germans. After the war, Maugham thinly veiled his escapades in his 1928 novel *Ashenden; or, The British Agent*.

305

Arthur Conan Doyle’s own copy of the first American edition of *His Last Bow* (New York: G. H. Doran, 1917)

In 1917, Arthur Conan Doyle (1859–1930) brought his great detective Sherlock Holmes out of retirement to help the war effort. In this short story, published simultaneously in *Strand* magazine and *Collier's*, Sherlock Holmes, now in his sixties, sabotages the German war effort by passing on false information and capturing the German spy Von Bork on the eve of the war. In this adventure, Holmes disguises himself as an Irish-American “with clear-cut features and a small goatee beard which gave him a general resemblance to the caricatures of Uncle Sam.”

At the end of *His Last Bow*, Holmes declares to Dr. Watson, “Good old Watson! You are the one fixed point in a changing age. There’s an east wind coming all the same, such a wind as never blew on England yet. It will be cold and bitter, Watson, and a good many of us may wither before its blast. But it’s God’s own wind none the less, and a cleaner, better, stronger land will lie in the sunshine when the storm has cleared.”

Doyle served as a military correspondent during the war. His son, Kingsley (1892–1918), was wounded in the Battle of the Somme in 1916 and died of influenza in 1918.

304

Frederic Dorr Steele (American, 1873–1944)

Illustration for *His Last Bow* as serialized in *Collier's*, September 22, 1917

Digital reproduction from original

In this adventure, Holmes is disguised as an Irish-American “with clear-cut features and a small goatee beard which gave him a general resemblance to the caricatures of Uncle Sam.”

The Weapons of War

The conflict of 1914–1918 was the world’s first full expression of industrialized warfare, marked by extensive martial use of the machine gun, poison gas, tanks, airplanes, and zeppelins. Paradoxically, the “war to end war” introduced the most lethal methods of fighting that human beings had ever experienced. The war blended many traditional, established tactics of nineteenth-century warfare with newly industrialized strategies of the twentieth century. Old ways were not completely supplanted; new ways were not completely efficient.

The new technologies of the war created some of the most haunting images associated with the period: soldiers in gas masks, corpses caught on barbed wire, and tanks stranded in the shell holes of No Man’s Land. Poison gas, the most controversial and feared new weapon of the war, was introduced during the Second Battle of Ypres in April 1915. On all sides of the conflict, nations developed technologies that they hoped would break the stalemate of trench warfare. In 1916, the British Army, at the urging of young Lord of the Admiralty Winston Churchill, unleashed tanks on the Somme battlefield in the hopes that the huge “land ships” would break through barbed wire entanglements. Cavalry divisions, ineffectual in trench warfare, were replaced by the airplane. By war’s end flying aces, such as the Red Baron, had become folk heroes. On the British home front, however, air power became a source of terror and

controversy: in 1915 Germany began an unprecedented zeppelin bombing attack against civilians. The attacks were highly publicized as evidence of the “barbarous” nature of the German people.

236

Instructions about what to do if an airplane lands in the territory of the allied armies,
April 22, 1916
Lithograph

This French army poster familiarized civilians with the various markings on war aircraft. It also outlined the procedures to follow if a French or Allied plane landed outside the designated runway area: keep it safe and notify the nearest garrison. In case of a German plane, however, the population was urged to prevent the pilot from taking off again by “breaking the tail, or a wheel.”

105

Bert Thomas (British, 1883–1966)
“Feed the Guns with War Bonds and Help to End the War,” ca. 1917
Lithograph

This British propaganda poster from the “Feed the Guns” war bond campaign shows the most significant new weapon of the war—the machine gun—in contrast to bayonets employed in hand-to-hand combat. The rapid-fire machine gun, advertised as having the firepower of 80 hand-cranked Gatling guns, almost rendered hand-to-hand combat obsolete and further depersonalized the experience of trench warfare.

368

J. McGibbon Brown
“Join the Signal Corps”
Lithograph

To fight in an industrialized war, the U.S. Signal Corps had to mobilize and expand its technological, scientific, and economic resources rapidly. In April 1917 the U.S. Signal Corps consisted of only 55 officers and 1,570 enlisted men. To swell the ranks—and also to speed the rate of research and communications development—the Signal Corps recruited scientists from the private sector to join as reserve officers. Drawn from such companies as American Telephone and Telegraph Company (AT&T) and Eastman Kodak, these temporary officers contributed to the rapid advances made in telephone, radio, wireless communications, and photographic reconnaissance that were crucial to survival in the trenches.

203

New York Journal-American

Scottish soldiers wearing gas masks, not dated
Gelatin silver print

During World War I, nineteenth-century military traditions and tactics gave way to twentieth-century industrialized warfare. In this photograph, the traditional uniform of the Scottish Army stands in sharp contrast to the soldiers' gas masks.

204

New York Journal-American

Soldiers wearing gas masks, ca. 1918
Gelatin silver print

The German Army first used poison gas on the Western Front during the Second Battle of Ypres on April 22, 1915, opening canisters of chlorine gas that the wind carried across No Man's Land and into French trenches. Soon all nations were developing this lethal technology along with the means to protect troops from its deployment.

This photograph shows four different styles of gas masks. The earliest and most primitive masks consisted of cotton wads soaked in baking soda. By 1918 soldiers in the trenches were issued masks with filtration canisters. Masks with filter respirators were more effective than earlier models but were still unwieldy and made maneuvering in the trenches difficult. An estimated 91,000 soldiers died from exposure to poison gas during the First World War.

205

New York Journal-American

Machine gunners with gas masks, July 1916
Gelatin silver print

British machine gunners, wearing primitive gas masks, rain rapid-fire bullets across enemy territory in the opening month of the Battle of the Somme.

206

Christina Broom (British, 1862–1939)

Hand grenades, 1914

Gelatin silver print

In the trenches the hand grenade (from the French for “pomegranate”) quickly supplanted the bayonet as a crucial weapon for infantry. Prior to the war, Germany led in the production of grenades, holding 70,000 in reserve at the war’s start. The British had produced far fewer of their Mark 1 grenade, which often detonated arbitrarily and was unpopular with Tommy soldiers who preferred to make “jam tins”—homemade grenades constructed by putting dynamite and metal shards in a jam jar and throwing it into an enemy trench. This innovation encouraged Britain to develop the Mills bomb, the first manufactured fragmentation hand grenade to scatter shrapnel as it detonated. By mid-1915 Britain was producing approximately 250,000 Mills bombs a week. Germany, in turn, developed bombs that released chlorine gas when detonated.

207 and 208

New York Journal-American

Hiram Maxim and his invention, the machine gun, not dated
Gelatin silver print

New York Journal-American

Hiram Maxim and his brother, Hudson, not dated
Gelatin silver print

American inventor Hiram Maxim (1840–1916) first patented the machine gun in 1883. Maxim stated that he first got the idea for the machine gun in 1882 when a friend in Vienna told him, “Hang your chemistry and electricity! If you want to make a pile of money, invent something that will enable these Europeans to cut each other’s throats with greater facility.”

Maxim took the advice seriously, and by the 1910s was selling machine guns to the Kaiser, the Russian Tsar, and the British Army. The Maxim gun, which allowed a handful of gunners to subdue masses of enemy infantry, changed the nature of modern warfare and contributed to the high fatality rates on all fronts of the war.

Maxim later expressed remorse for his invention. After failing to obtain backing for medical inventions, he commented, “From the foregoing it will be seen that it is a very creditable thing to invent a killing machine, and nothing less than a disgrace to invent an apparatus to prevent human suffering.”

209

New York Journal-American

Soldiers cutting barbed wire, date unknown
Gelatin silver print

Trenches on the Western Front were fortified by millions of miles of barbed wire strung on pickets. As front lines shifted and No Man's Land became a dense thicket of wire, industrial wire cutters became one of the most valued tools of the infantry soldier. This photograph shows American soldiers cutting a path through barbed wire entanglements in preparation for an attack on German positions. The grotesque and ghostly forms of dead bodies ensnared in barbed wire in No Man's Land inspired the British Army euphemism of death as "hanging on the old barbed wire."

210

New York Journal-American

British "Blarney Castle" tank on the Western Front, ca. 1917–1918

Gelatin silver print

The armies of the Western Front were in a stalemate for the first three years of war, making only miniscule infantry advances. The tank was designed by British Army engineers to break this deadlock.

Tanks were first sent into action at the end of the Battle of the Somme in 1916. Though many of the 18 tanks put on the battlefield broke down, British newspapers reported their use as a wild success. In spring 1918, the British government launched a "Tank Bank" fundraiser in which military carrier pigeon post delivered war bond checks to tanks on display in Trafalgar Square. Citizens of London were asked to choose between "British bonds to-day or German bondage to-morrow." The War Office raised 4.5 million pounds in the first week of the campaign.

211

New York Journal-American

American military telephone station, ca. 1918

Gelatin silver print

Telecommunication technologies, essential for maintaining rapid communications and efficient battlefield command structures, advanced rapidly during the war. By summer 1918, the United States alone was manufacturing 20,000 miles of wire per month to connect front line trenches to command stations and headquarters behind the lines. The wires were strung on short stakes that ran along trench walls or were buried underground to protect them from shelling and foot traffic. Switchboards were installed in underground dugouts to protect them from artillery bombardment.

212

New York Journal-American

British pilots preparing for a raid into enemy territory, June 26, 1918

Gelatin silver print

Early in the war Allied forces dominated the skies. At the opening of the Battle of the Somme in July 1916, Allied aircraft outnumbered the Central Powers three to one. In September of that year, however, Germany introduced the new, sleek and sturdy Albatros D1, which turned German air fighters into aces. The German Air Corps's aerial dominance encouraged star pilot Oswald Boelcke, mentor of the "Red Baron," to draw up a set of guidelines for aerial combat: "seek the advantage before attacking, attack from the rear and, if possible, with the sun at one's back." This led to an Allied dictum that lasted through both world wars: "Avoid the Hun in the sun."

In the photograph, British Royal Air Force pilots mark off known enemy positions prior to a dangerous reconnaissance mission across No Man's Land.

213

Charles Steele, San Antonio

Members of the American Expeditionary Force 96th Aero Squadron

Gelatin silver print

The A.E.F. 96th Aero Squadron, formed in Kelly Field, Texas, in August 1917, was one of the most elite units of the American Expeditionary Force, and one of the first World War I flight squadrons to be designated specifically for strategic bombing. The 96th flew hundreds of combat missions aimed at destroying railways, roads, aerodromes, and massed troop formations behind German lines. The plane in the photograph is painted with distinctive 96th Aero insignia: a waving red devil wielding a bomb smiles ghoulishly at the ground beneath him.

214

The Pictorial News Co., New York

Unidentified Aero squadron with planes, 1919

Gelatin silver print

Nations entered the war with rudimentary air services, but as the tactical and reconnaissance uses of airplanes became apparent, the expansion of air service and aviation industry spiraled upward. Aerial observation forced enemies to move their operations further underground or farther behind the lines, while control of the airspace over battlefields became crucial to victory. Often pilots, such as the ones in this photograph (and particularly if they were fighting "aces" with many kills to their credit)

emerged as romantic heroes both to troops in the trenches and the readers of newspapers on the home fronts.

236

Instructions on what to do if an airplane lands in the territory of the allied armies, April 22, 1916

Lithograph

This French Army poster familiarized civilians with the various markings on war aircraft. It also outlined the procedures to follow if a French or Allied plane landed outside of the designated runway area: keep it safe and notify the nearest garrison. In case of a German plane, however, the population was urged to prevent the pilot from taking off again by “breaking the tail, or a wheel.”

235

Bei Gasangriffen

Lambersart, France, September 18, 1916

Lithograph

This is a bi-lingual poster issued by the German occupying forces in Lambersart, France, warning what to do in case of a gas attack in the area. “Upon hearing the alarm, everyone should go inside the closest building, preferably to an upper floor. Try not to run. All the doors, windows and openings should be closed with damp cloths. Cover your head with a cloth soaked in vinegar. Light the fireplace. Animals should stay in the stables, where all the openings should be closed with wet sacks.”

218

Unidentified Author

*Zeppeline über England, ein Tagebuch von **** (New York: Deutschland Library Co., 1917)

This German language book published in the New York claims to be an anonymous diary of a Zeppelin crewmember conducting raids on the English Coast. Bernard H. Ridder (1883–1975), a member of the German-American Ridder publishing empire, provides an introduction. The Ridder Family’s *New Yorker Staats-Zeitung*, the German language newspaper with the largest circulation in the U.S., encouraged Americans to support Germany until the U.S. entered the war on the side of the Allies—a choice that later made them a target of anti-German sentiment.

219

New York Journal-American

“When the British Bagged a Zeppelin,” undated
Gelatin silver print

“Brought down by three British fighting planes in Northern France.” Airship raids were more effective at terrorizing civilians, than effective strategic bombers, although approximately 4,000 deaths have been attributed to airships.

221

H. Scott Orr (British, dates unknown)
Zeppelin attack on London, September 2–3, 1916
Photographic postcard

In September 1916, the Germans sent 13 airships to bomb London in the largest air attack of the war. The Shütte-Lanz SL-11, captained by Hauptman Wilhelm Schramm, was captured in the floodlights and shot down by Lieutenant William Leefe Robinson (1895–1918) in front of thousands of cheering Londoners. Robinson was awarded the Victoria Cross for the action. He was later shot down in occupied France by a squadron of German fighter planes, captured, and spent the rest of the war in a prisoner-of-war camp. His health was ruined by life in the camp, where he was often kept in solitary confinement. He died of the Spanish flu on December 31, 1918.

220

Marie Belloc Lowndes’s diary entry describing zeppelin attacks, 1915

Many British civilians considered Germany’s zeppelin attacks against civilian populations to be acts of unbridled barbarism. The threat of “sky pirates” created an atmosphere of terror on the English home front, as this page from the diary of writer Marie Belloc Lowndes attests. Belloc Lowndes relates hearing at a society dinner a rumor purportedly originating with Winston Churchill that a fleet of advancing zeppelins would soon inflict more than 10,000 casualties in England.

Though no less tragic for the comparatively modest number, by war’s end 557 deaths on British soil were attributed to German zeppelin attacks.

221

H. Scott Orr (nationality and dates unknown)
Zeppelin attack on London, September 2–3, 1916
Photographic postcard

In September 1916, the Germans sent 13 airships to bomb London in the largest air attack of the war. The Shütte-Lanz SL-11, captained by Hauptman Wilhelm Schramm, was captured in the floodlights and shot down by Lieutenant William Leefe Robinson (1895–1918) in front of thousands of cheering Londoners. Robinson was awarded the Victoria Cross for the action. He was later shot down in occupied France by a squadron of German fighter planes, captured, and spent the rest of the war in a prisoner-of-war camp. His health was ruined by life in the camp, where he was often kept in solitary confinement. He died of the Spanish flu on December 31, 1918.

Ambulance Drivers and Medics *Treating the Wounded*

Though U.S. forces did not join the war until 1917, many Americans, such as Gertrude Stein, Ernest Hemingway, Jon Dos Passos, and E. E. Cummings volunteered their services as ambulance drivers and medics from the outset, braving heavy bombardment to deliver wounded soldiers to casualty clearing stations behind the lines. Ambulance drivers, stretcher-bearers, and medics executed many of the most dangerous duties of the war. They were responsible for moving casualties under heavy fire, checking for signs of blood loss, shock, and infection, applying first aid, and, in extreme situations, making triage decisions that determined which wounded soldiers would leave the lines first.

Volunteer ambulance corps such as the Norton-Harjes, Motor Corps of America, American Field Service, and Red Cross were especially popular with young American men from educated backgrounds who either did not qualify for the army (both Hemingway and Dos Passos had defective vision) or opposed actual combat (Cummings claimed his pacifism prohibited him from active service). Units were formed from Harvard, Yale, and Princeton, and adventurous young men joined them by the dozens. The automobile itself was such a new invention that many of the young men had to be taught to drive before being sent to France. The experiences of volunteer ambulance drivers in the war inspired some of the most significant literature of the 1920s and 1930s: Hemingway's *A Farewell to Arms*, E. E. Cummings's *The Enormous Room*, John Dos Passos's *1919*, and Gertrude Stein's *The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas*.

148

Unidentified photographer
Ernest Hemingway, ca. 1917
Gelatin silver print

American novelist Ernest Hemingway (1899–1961) joined the Red Cross Ambulance Corps in December 1917 at the age of 18 after being rejected by the U.S. Army due to defective vision. While delivering chocolate to troops on the Italian front in July 1918, a trench mortar exploded three feet away from him, the shrapnel lacerating his legs in 227 places. The story of Hemingway's wartime wound—and the Silver Medal of Valor that

he received for carrying another injured soldier to a field hospital during the attack—appeared in newspapers both in America and Europe. About the publicity Hemingway wrote his family, “It’s the next best thing to getting killed and reading your own obituary.”

While convalescing in a war hospital in Milan before being invalided home, Hemingway met and fell in love with a Red Cross nurse, Agnes von Kurowsky, who would become the model for nurse Catherine Barkley of *A Farewell to Arms* (1929).

149

Unidentified photographer
E. E. Cummings in uniform, 1918
Gelatin silver print

American poet and painter E. E. Cummings (1894–1962), the son of a pacifist Unitarian minister, avoided combat duty with the American Army by volunteering for the Norton-Harjes Ambulance Service in France. Though he hoped for adventure, Cummings found his service uneventful and his work tedious. To the annoyance of his commanding officer, he spent his free time gossiping with French soldiers who told him rumors of mutiny in the French Army. Cummings then exasperated censors by hinting at his location and the mutiny, as well as composing caricatures of his superiors. Finally, when Cummings wrote about his pacifism and reluctance to kill Germans, he was arrested and sent to a prisoner-of-war camp. Cummings’s 1922 memoir, *The Enormous Room*, tells of his incarceration.

150

Unidentified photographer
Gertrude Stein and Alice B. Toklas, 1917
Photographic postcard

Expatriate American author Gertrude Stein (1874–1946) and her companion Alice B. Toklas (1877–1967) were living in Majorca, Spain when the Battle of Verdun compelled them to return home to Paris. They ordered a Ford van, which they nicknamed “Auntie” (“after Gertrude Stein’s aunt Pauline who always behaved admirably in emergencies and behaved fairly well most times if she was properly flattered”) and went to work for the American Fund for French Wounded.

Stein and Toklas were delivering hospital supplies to Rivesaltes when they were photographed outside Maréchal Joffre’s birthplace. The photograph was made into postcards sold to raise money for the American Fund.

151

Unidentified photographer

Gertrude Stein and Alice B. Toklas with a group of French relief workers, not dated
Gelatin silver print

In *The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas*, Gertrude Stein describes their war work:

We led a very busy life. There were all the americans, there were a great many in the small hospitals round about us as well as in the regiment in Nîmes and we had to find them all and be good to them, then there were all the french in the hospitals, we had them to visit as this was really our business, and then later came the spanish grippe and Gertrude Stein and one of the military doctors from Nîmes used to go to all the villages miles around to bring into Nîmes the sick soldiers and officers who had fallen ill in their homes while on leave.

After the Armistice, they continued working with refugees in Alsace and were awarded the medal of Reconnaissance Française.

261

Letter from Wilfred Owen to his brother Harold, September 23, 1914

At the outbreak of war, British poet Wilfred Owen (1893–1918) was working as an English tutor in the city of Bordeaux, a short distance from the Western Front. One month after hostilities began, Owen visited one of the town's hastily built army hospitals. In this letter to his younger brother, Harold, he drew pictures of the gruesome bullet wounds he saw while touring the hospital, warning "I deliberately tell you all this to educate you to the actualities of the war."

Wilfred Owen joined the British armed services in 1915; his brother Harold joined the following year.

264

New York Journal-American

Wounded soldiers awaiting transport, not dated
Gelatin silver print

A wound that got a soldier sent home was known among the British as a "blighty one." The slang term "blighty," meaning England, derived from colonial soldiers' mispronunciation of the Hindi word for "foreign." A soldier with one of these wounds could be sent into homeland domestic service, which many soldiers found preferable to the danger of the trenches. The desirability of a "blighty one" was so high that the army

enforced court martial and death sentences for soldiers found guilty of self-inflicting wounds.

265

New York Journal-American

Disabled American veterans returning home from the Western Front, ca. 1918

Gelatin silver print

The severely wounded American Expeditionary Force “doughboys” in this photograph represent the nearly 20 million non-fatal casualties of the First World War. The use of industrialized weapons such as the machine gun and trench mortar made shrapnel wounds and amputations commonplace and doctors—especially surgeons—among the most valued members of the armed services. By 1918 over half of Britain’s doctors were in service with the armed forces. By decree they were not allowed near the front lines, where their lives would be jeopardized. The majority of doctors treated soldiers in “casualty clearing stations,” where they were forced to make triage decisions as to whether a soldier’s wounds were too severe to be treated.

266

New York Journal-American

First World War veterans with facial disfigurement, date unknown

Gelatin silver print

In the war machine gun fire and shrapnel, if not fatal, often inflicted disfiguring wounds. The British Army alone had an estimated 60,500 casualties suffering from head or eye injuries, and 41,000 casualties who had one or more limbs amputated. At a specialist hospital for facial injuries in Kent, doctors performed 11,000 operations on 5,000 facially disfigured servicemen between 1917 and 1925. Mirrors were not allowed in the recovery wards.

The severity of facial wounds led to many significant advances in reconstructive surgery that are still in use. Additionally, such artists as Francis Dermot Wood and Anna Coleman Ladd pioneered the making of masks for veterans with facial wounds, helping them re-enter society despite their dramatically altered appearances.

114

William B. King (American, 1880–1927)

“Hold Up Your End!,” 1918

Lithograph

Within two months of the German invasion of Belgium, the relief ship *Red Cross* steamed out of New York harbor with a team of surgeons, 120 nurses, and thousands of dollars of medical supplies for treating the wounded in Europe. By October 1918 a total of 14,368 Red Cross nurses had been assigned to the U.S. Army, and 2,545 to the U.S. Navy. The Red Cross also sent over 600 nurses to treat severely wounded doughboys in French hospitals, to spare wounded American troops the trauma of recovering consciousness or convalescing where medical personnel did not speak their language.

This poster was created for the American Red Cross's second and highly successful war-fund drive in 1918. The fundraising goal was 100 million dollars; by the end of the drive the Red Cross had raised 182 million.

143

A draft fragment of Ernest Hemingway's *A Farewell to Arms*, date unknown

Ernest Hemingway based his famed novel *A Farewell to Arms* (1929) on his own experiences as an ambulance driver on the Italian front and his romance with a nurse during his convalescence from shrapnel wounds.

Hemingway gave this original typescript of *A Farewell to Arms*, inscribed as "suitable for hanging in bars," to his hunting partner Bud Purdy in the 1950s. Hemingway's first title for the novel, *Disorder and Early Sorrow*, is scratched out and replaced with *A Farwell to Arms*, a reference to a sixteenth-century poem by George Peele, written in the voice of a soldier honoring Queen Elizabeth I.

144

A first edition of E. E. Cummings's *The Enormous Room* (New York: Boni & Liveright, 1922)

E. E. Cummings's 1922 war memoir records his experience of being incarcerated in the French prisoner-of-war camp *Depôt de Triage* after American censors found objectionable ideas—mostly written in French—in Cumming's letters. When Cummings first saw this copy of his memoir and realized it had been expurgated by the publisher, with French expletives removed, he was outraged and demanded that the edition be "immediately suppressed, thrown in a shittoir."

Cummings had to wait six years for his work to appear uncensored in print.

145, 146

Letter from Rebecca Cummings to E. E. Cummings, November 30, 1917

During his internment in a German prisoner-of-war camp, E. E. Cummings's letters to his family were withheld and his identity confused with that of another soldier. His family received an erroneous cable that Cummings had been lost at sea when the ship *Antilles* was torpedoed by a German submarine.

In this letter, Cummings's mother expresses her joy and relief after the State Department cabled the family to clarify that it had been "H. H. Cummings" rather than E. E. Cummings who had been lost on the sunken ship. Cummings was released from the prisoner-of-war camp in December 1917.

147

Letter from John Dos Passos to E. E. Cummings, ca. 1918

John Dos Passos (1896–1970) and E. E. Cummings met at Harvard and became close friends. When the U.S. declared war on Germany, Cummings and Dos Passos volunteered with the Norton-Harjes ambulance service. Here Dos Passos writes a comic and fanciful letter in French from a Medical Corps training camp. It describes Mother Liberty's marriage to Mr. Military, and Dos Passos's new family: his wife, Madame Boredom; his sister, Laziness; and "a bastard child named Dream of Overseas." "As for me," Dos Passos continues, "I don't have any more will of my own. I only have one idea: to return to France and lose myself in the ridiculous circus of the war."

USA

Over There

"They will not even come, because our submarines will sink them. Thus America from a military point of view means nothing. . ."

—Admiral Eduard von Capelle, German Secretary of State for the Navy, in a speech to German parliament, January 31, 1917

The Central Powers' dismissal of the United States as a formidable military force was anchored in fact: at the time, the U. S. Army consisted of 101,641 men, ranking it only the 17th largest in the world, and it possessed no modern equipment heavier than its medium machine guns. The few troops it had were scattered through Central American republics the U.S. was policing in the aftermath of the Spanish-American War of 1898. When war broke out in Europe in 1914, President Woodrow Wilson had quickly declared American neutrality, viewing the conflict as a foreign affair in which the nation had no vested interest.

Two events reversed this stance: Germany's sinking of the *Lusitania* in 1915 resulting in the deaths of 128 American civilians, and the highly publicized Zimmermann telegram, a message sent by Germany to Mexico in March 1917, offering Mexico aid and a return of territory to

launch an offensive against the U.S. should it declare war on Germany. In an address to Congress on April 2, 1917, President Wilson called Germany's actions "a war against all nations." Four days later, the U.S. joined the war effort on the side of the Allies. By the end of the war, the U.S. military had grown, through conscription, to nearly four million men.

Under General John J. Pershing, American Expeditionary Forces provided reinforcement for the final Hundred Days Offensive of 1918. The entry of U.S. "doughboys" into the war provided critical relief to British and French forces exhausted by three years of costly and catastrophic fighting on two fronts.

118

Laura Brey (nationality and dates unknown)
"Enlist—On Which Side of the Window are YOU?," 1917
Lithograph

A common enlistment tactic on both sides of the Atlantic was an appeal to masculinity. In this American poster a civilian dandy passively looks out a window while troops in formation march under a flag.

188

Harry Ryle Hopps (American, 1869–1937)
"Destroy This Mad Brute!," ca. 1917
Lithograph

The "Mad Brute" ape of this American recruitment poster is perhaps the most notorious depiction of German militarism to emerge from the First World War. The poster references Germany's 1914 invasion of Belgium, which came to be known as the "Rape of Belgium," a propaganda term that protested both Germany's violation of Belgium's neutrality and reported German Army atrocities against women and children.

The image was so widespread and well-remembered that in 1939, just five days after the invasion of Poland, Joseph Goebbels (1897–1945), the Reich Minister of Propaganda in Nazi Germany, reprinted the poster with the title "The old hatred—the old goal!" Goebbels's caption read: "When they assaulted us 25 years ago, they wrote on their rotten slanderous poster: 'Destroy this mad beast'—they meant the German people!!!"

106

James Montgomery Flagg (American, 1877–1960)
"I Want YOU for U.S. Army," 1917
Lithograph

Of the more than 2,500 posters printed in the U.S. in support of the war effort, Flagg's is perhaps the most iconic. Flagg adapted this poster from Alfred Leete's British recruiting poster, which featured Secretary of State for War Horatio Kitchener's face and the slogan "Your Country Needs YOU." For the American version, Flagg modeled the face of Uncle Sam on his own.

278

A poster featuring U.S. Army insignia, not dated

New technologies introduced during the war gave rise to special units such as the balloon corps, camouflage engineering unit, tank corps, and chemical warfare service. This poster shows the insignia for these new units as well as the insignia for the 90th "Tough Hombres" infantry division, which was formed in 1917 and drew the majority of its soldiers from Texas.

229

Head-Mayberry, New York

Arrival of U.S.S. Santa Teresa, Carrying Troops of the 1st Division, 18th U.S. Infantry, New York, August 4, 1919

Panoramic gelatin silver print

433

New York American, March 1, 1917

Berlin Urged Mexico and Japan to War on America

Reproduction

328

Scrapbook compiled by Barbara A. Fasker, ca. 1918

Loan courtesy of Doris Mohler

In 1918 Miss Lucy Hewitt, an American socialite, started a campaign to "re-chickenize France" by selling "I have a chicken in France" buttons for ten cents apiece—the price of an incubator egg.

329

Scrapbook compiled by Harriet McCown Angus, ca. 1917–1918
Loan courtesy of the Angus and Gallagher families

Filled with clippings, letters, and memorabilia, this scrapbook from a family living in the Dallas area documents American participation in the war. Harriet Angus's son, Alexander, who signed his letters "Boy," served in the war.

228

Pictorial News Co.

103rd Aero Squadron: Lafayette Escadrille, 'Just Back from France,' 1919

Panoramic gelatin silver print

In 1915, American volunteers flying in French squadrons were grouped into a single pursuit unit called the *Escadrille Américaine* (N.124), an elite corps of fighter pilots under the command of Captain George Thénault. The American Escadrille first saw action over the battlefields of Verdun in May 1916. Germany protested the squadron's name, as the U.S. had not yet officially entered the war, and it was changed to *Lafayette Escadrille* in honor of the Marquis de Lafayette of American Revolutionary War fame.

When the U.S. formally declared war, the Lafayette Escadrille was disbanded and its pilots transferred to the 103rd Aero Squadron of the Air Service, originally based at Kelly Field in San Antonio, Texas. The united 103rd first saw action during the German Spring offensives in 1918. Only six of the original 38 American *Escadrille* pilots survived the war, in which the average life span of an aviator was less than 15 hours.

230

E. O. Goldbeck (American, 1892–1986)

18th and the 26th Infantry Regiments of the "Fighting First" Division at the Nation's Capital, 1919

Panoramic gelatin silver print

The First Expeditionary Division was officially renamed the First Division on July 6, 1917, two days after announcing, "Lafayette, we are here!" to a grateful French nation. In battles at Soissons, St. Mihiel, and the Argonne Forest, the 1st Division suffered over 22,600 casualties, earning their nickname "The Big Red One."

231

Charles Steele (American, dates unknown)

Red Cross Celebration, Kelly Field, 'The greatest aerial exhibition ever given for the Red Cross,' May 25, 1918

Panoramic gelatin silver print

In November 1916, the future site of Kelly Field in San Antonio was chosen for the expansion of the Aviation Section of the U.S. Army Signal Corps. Flights began in April 1917. Almost all U.S. aviators serving in World War I were trained there, and the Academy Award winning film “Wings” was shot there in 1926–1927.

469

Unidentified photographer
African-American soldiers aboard ship, ca. 1917
Gelatin silver print

Over 370,000 African-American soldiers served in the First World War, comprising nine percent of total American troop force. Despite racial barriers and discrimination, dozens of African-American regiments fought with distinction on the Western Front. Leading African-American activists of the time were divided about war service. W.E.B. DuBois believed that black participation in the war effort would result in postwar gains, while other leading African-American intellectuals argued that America should focus on making the Jim Crow South safe for blacks, rather than making the rest of the world safe for democracy.

115

John Norton
“Keep These off the U.S.A.,” 1918
Lithograph

The opening day of America’s Third Liberty Loan, April 6, 1918, marked the first anniversary of the U.S. declaration of war against Germany and was fully supported by the government’s newly formed Division of Pictorial Publicity. Forceful posters such as this one, which encouraged citizens to keep the Kaiser’s boots off U.S. soil, proliferated in public spaces across the nation. The government also asked movie stars such as Douglas Fairbanks and Mary Pickford to host bond rallies, and sponsored the cross-country excursion of a “war exhibit train” that put trench artifacts on public view. Within one month of opening, the Third Liberty Loan campaign raised more than 100 million dollars in bond subscriptions bought by more than 18 million American citizens.

119

James Montgomery Flagg (American, 1877–1960)
“Tell That to the Marines!”
Lithograph

New York Journal-American

James Montgomery Flagg painting in midtown Manhattan, 1918

Gelatin silver print

Flagg was an ardent advocate for American recruitment. In the photograph, taken in July 1918 as soldiers look on, he paints an enormous canvas of the “Tell That to the Marines” poster outside the New York Public Library. Flagg hoped his public performance would increase enthusiasm for enlistment. The headline “Huns Kill Women and Children” was taken from actual newspapers printed in August 1914.

373

George M. Cohan

Sheet music for George M. Cohan’s “Over There” (New York: Leo Feist, 1918)

In 1917 George M. Cohan (1878–1942), one of the most influential figures of American musical theater, composed and recorded the patriotic tune “Over There,” which became a hit almost overnight.

The song sold more than 1,500,000 copies in the sheet music form displayed here. Cohan received \$25,000 for the mechanical instrument rights alone, which he gave to his mother, who distributed it among soldiers’ funds and civic charities. In 1918 he joined an all-star cast that made a two-week tour in a war play called *Out There*. It grossed \$600,000, which Cohan donated to the Red Cross. In 1936 Cohan received the Congressional Medal of Honor for writing “Over There” and tirelessly supporting the American war effort.

181

“Remember the Lusitania and the Tuscania,” 1918

In February 1915, Germany established a submarine blockade around England and Ireland and announced that any vessel in this zone was a legitimate target, subject to attack without warning. Germany’s plan was to cripple Britain’s economy by cutting off supplies and to starve its civilians into surrender.

On May 1, 1915, the *Lusitania* departed New York, carrying nearly 2,000 passengers and a secret cargo of war munitions for Britain. Six days later, a German U-boat torpedoed the *Lusitania* as it passed the south coast of Ireland. The 790-foot ship sank in 20 minutes, and bodies of passengers washed up on Ireland’s shoreline for nearly a week after the tragedy. Of the 1,200 civilians who died, 198 of them were American.

The sinking of the *Lusitania* became a key symbol in British and America propaganda campaigns to bring the U.S. into the war. The attack was characterized as barbaric, particularly because it killed innocent women and children. Pictures and propaganda

posters helped set off a near-hysterical popular reaction against German aggression, greatly influencing the U.S. government's eventual decision to enter the war in April 1917.

182

New York Journal-American

Woodrow Wilson addressing a joint session of Congress, April 2, 1917

Gelatin silver print

On April 2, 1917, President Woodrow Wilson solemnly urged Congress to put aside neutrality and join the Allied war effort in Europe. Wilson specifically cited the submarine attacks against American civilian ships as cause for declaring war against Germany:

I am not now thinking of the loss of property involved, immense and serious as that is, but only of the wanton and wholesale destruction of the lives of non-combatants, men, women, and children, engaged in pursuits which have always, even in the darkest periods of modern history, been deemed innocent and legitimate. Property can be paid for; the lives of peaceful and innocent people cannot be. The present German submarine warfare against commerce is a warfare against mankind.

The American declaration of war against Germany was signed four days after Wilson's speech.

183

New York National Guard

"Are You Man Enough?" 1917

Recruitment flyers such as this one often appealed to patriotism, offered education, emphasized masculinity, and offered inclusion in a proud tradition of American military service.

184

New York Journal-American

A U.S. Army and Navy recruiting station at Columbus Circle, New York, April 14, 1917

Gelatin silver print

In early 1917 America's army was modest in comparison with its overseas counterparts. The standing U.S. Army consisted of only 107,641 men, ranking it as 17th largest among

world armies. In January 1917, the German Secretary of the Navy announced that “America from a military point of view means nothing.” Yet General Pershing’s aggressive recruitment campaign defied the expectations of both the Allied and the Central Powers. Over 24 million Americans registered for service in 1917–1918, and the first contingent of draftees numbered 2,810,000. Altogether, the war raised the strength of the United States ground forces to nearly 4 million.

185

New York Journal-American

American Secretary of War Newton Baker pulling the first draft number, July 20, 1917
Gelatin silver print

The U.S. Selective Service Act of May 1917 allowed Woodrow Wilson’s administration to raise an army through conscription. Though Wilson had planned to enlarge the U.S. Army with an aggressive recruitment campaign, volunteers were not as forthcoming as he had hoped. Wilson accepted the advice of Secretary of War Newton Baker to implement a nationwide draft. In this photograph a blindfolded Baker chooses the first draft number of men to be conscripted.

186

People’s Council of America

“What are Your Views on Conscription?,” 1917

Lithograph

The U.S. draft required that every man between the ages of 21 and 31 register for active military service. Before the war’s end, 24 million men did. As this flyer proves, however, conscription was hotly contested, and many American citizens feared the persecution of conscientious objectors. The People’s Council of America was formed in protest against conscription and called for the U.S. government to negotiate peace in Europe.

320

Bentley family scrapbook

In this photograph from a World War I–era family scrapbook, Salvation Army “lassies” serve coffee and doughnuts to doughboys.

321

New York Journal-American

Soldiers marching to the front, ca. 1917
Gelatin silver print

Long marches to and from front line trenches were frequent for infantry soldiers. To keep up morale while marching, soldiers often sang together. Songs such as “A Long, Long Way to Tipperary” and “The Bells of Hell Go Ting-a-ling-a-ling” are closely associated with the First World War and were also sung in the second.

322

Lyrics by Joe Young and Sam M. Lewis
Music by Walter Donaldson

“How Ya Gonna Keep ‘Em Down on the Farm after They’ve Seen Patee?,” 1918

Many American parents feared that their sons would return home from France corrupted by European influence. In the popular wartime song “How Ya Gonna Keep ‘Em Down on the Farm after They’ve Seen Patee?,” an American mother and father lament that their returning, worldly doughboys will be “jazzin’ around and paintin’ the town.”

325

William Faulkner’s sketch of a Royal Air Force Cadet, 1918

Though American novelist William Faulkner (1897–1962) claimed that he had been a decorated flying ace during the First World War, he actually spent four months of 1918 as a low-ranking cadet with a regiment of the Royal Air Force stationed in Canada. Faulkner drew this sketch of a cadet in uniform during his service in Toronto just before the end of the war. After he was demobilized in December 1918, Faulkner traded his authorized cadet uniform for the tailored tunic and breeches of an RAF second lieutenant, which he bought second-hand during his return to his hometown of Oxford, Mississippi. Faulkner arrived wearing wings to which he was not militarily entitled and told stories about being wounded in combat. Faulkner’s exaggerations, however, would come back to haunt him. While writing a critical biography of Faulkner in 1946, journalist Malcolm Cowley questioned Faulkner on the validity of his military record. Faulkner replied, “You’re going to bugger up a fine dignified distinguished book with that war business.”

326

A letter from William Faulkner to his parents, postmarked June 7, 1918

In this letter Faulkner explains his reasons for wanting to join the army. A primary reason was his belief that, “At the rate I am living now, I will never be able to make anything of myself, but with this business I’ll be fixed up after the war is over.” Using false

references, Faulkner enlisted in a training corps in Toronto shortly after sending this letter, but spent the four months before the end of the war cleaning airplanes rather than flying them.

Bored and disappointed, Faulkner in letters home invented romantic stories about flights he never made and boasted about skills he never acquired. He also used the war to reinvent his surname: he enlisted using “Faulkner” rather than the “Falkner” of his boyhood. He would use the “Faulkner” spelling in 1926 for his first novel, *Soldier’s Pay*, which tells the story of a wounded veteran returning to his small Southern hometown after the end of the First World War.

323

Unidentified photographer
Lieutenant J. Frank Dobie, 1917
Gelatin silver print

Texas author and University of Texas English professor J. Frank Dobie (1888–1964) was a vocal advocate for the U.S. to enter the war on the side of the allies. He was so vocal that the *Austin American* newspaper, which maintained a neutral position on intervention, published an editorial that addressed Dobie’s criticism of the paper’s stance, “The amiable alien harbored in the University is at it again. In addition to preaching British propaganda to his class, he has taken occasion to advise it that *The American* is a ‘diabolical’ newspaper. Of course Old Sweetie prefers to fight Great Britain’s battles in the University rather than on the firing line. . . .”

324

J. Frank Dobie’s wartime diary, April 3, 1917

After publication of the Zimmermann telegram, in which Germany promised Texas to Mexico if they entered the war on the side of the Central Powers, helped prompt America to enter the war, Dobie penned a letter, which he copied into his diary, offering his services to the U.S. Cavalry: “I can speak Mexican fluently and read Spanish easily. . . .I know the Mexican genius. . . .I can and will raise a company of one hundred men out of the ranch countries of Southwest Texas. These men would be hard of physique, efficient as to riding and shooting, and knowing as to Mexican territory. . . .They would be well mounted.” Varicose veins kept Dobie out of the cavalry and he entered the Army as an artillery officer while his wife, Bertha McKee Dobie (1890–1974), took over his classes at UT.

In October 1918, Dobie was sent to France where he enjoyed himself so much that even his wife’s influenza was not reason enough to return to Texas. He wrote to her, defending his need to stay in France, “I was *destined*, in a way, to learn something of the foreign. There was in me a vacancy that, for my work, must be filled with life abroad. It was not a whim, not a child’s love of romance, not a fool’s paradise of traveling, not a mere gratification of desire for experiences

that kept me in France. You will understand this.” Finally, after receiving notice that Bertha’s condition had become critical, he returned in May 1919.

458

A U.S. Army First World War uniform
Courtesy of the Texas Forces Museum, Camp Mabry, Austin, Texas

This uniform, graciously loaned to the Harry Ransom Center by Camp Mabry’s Texas Forces Museum, was worn by native Texans who served in the 1917–1918 theaters of war. The tunic belonged to Corporal Robert E. Lee Pickett, who served with Company F, 144th Infantry, 36th Infantry Division. The helmet belonged to Private Bert Whitehead of Company B, 111th Signal Company, 36th Division.

In 1917–1918, the standard U.S. Army service uniform consisted of an olive drab tunic with a high closed collar bearing branch insignia in bronze metal, khaki breeches, brown boots, and puttees, which helped keep the mud of the trenches out of soldiers’ boots. The American Expeditionary Force in France was issued an “overseas” cap of a design that is still used today; but when soldiers went to the front lines they switched this cap for a steel helmet such as the one seen here. Along with a steel helmet, the American infantry soldier of 1917–1918 was issued a gas mask, entrenching tool, map case, blanket, mess kit, an Enfield rifle, bayonet, trench knife, and an extra bandolier of ammunition. Because of the rapid expansion of the U.S. army in 1917, supply departments could barely keep up with demand, and American soldiers were often seen on the battlefield with a hodge-podge of American and British tunics, Sam Browne belts (named for a nineteenth-century British officer), and mismatched buttons.

African-American Soldiers *African-American Soldiers*

Over 370,000 African-American soldiers served in the First World War, constituting nine percent of total American troop force. Only 20 percent of African-American servicemen deployed to France, however, participated in combat operations; African-American troops were most commonly deployed in support roles, segregated from their white counterparts both in officer training and in camp.

Leading African-American activists of the time were divided in their opinions about African-Americans’ service in the war. W. E. B. Du Bois urged black soldiers to “close ranks” with whites, believing that black participation in the war effort would result in postwar gains, famously stating that “if this is our country, then this is our war.” Other leading African-American intellectuals argued that America should focus on making the Jim Crow South safe for blacks, rather than making the rest of the world safe for democracy. Additionally, they opposed segregation in the ranks, which denied black soldiers equal pay or advancement. Charles

Hamilton Houston, a Harvard-trained attorney, left the army in 1919 in disgust to lead the NAACP's fight against segregation, saying "my battleground is in America, not France."

Despite racial barriers, dozens of African-American regiments fought with distinction on the Western Front, where they were most often placed within French divisions. The French, who had a long history of mixed-race interaction with colonial troops, were more flexible in their policy of segregation than American forces. One of the best-remembered African-American regiments of the war, the 369th "Harlem Hellfighters," earned one of the highest French military honors, a unit Croix de Guerre, for their bravery in action with the 16th French division at Chateau-Thierry and Belleau Wood. They would also become famous throughout Europe for their regimental band, which played Harlem-style jazz and toured the continent during and after the war.

187

"Nation's Want Column," 1917

Throughout 1917–1919 American Expeditionary Force General John J. Pershing was deluged with angry letters from African-American activists who complained that African-American soldiers were used mainly as stevedores or laborers and were denied combat or leadership roles. Of the 200,000 black soldiers sent to France during the war, 150,000 of them served on work details. As this poster bears out, "colored" soldiers were wanted primarily as blacksmiths, buglers, bricklayers, carpenters, chauffeurs, and cooks.

364

New York Journal-American

Members of the 369th Infantry Division, ca. 1918

Gelatin silver print

The U.S. Army's 369th Infantry Division, known as the "Harlem Hellfighters," was organized in 1913 and became the first African-American regiment to serve with the Allied Expeditionary Force in France in 1917. Attached to the French Army, the 369th saw heavy fighting in the battles of the Marne and Meuse-Argonne, and suffered nearly 1,500 casualties. They were under fire for a greater number of days—191 in total—than any other American regiment. The German army referred to soldiers of the 369th as *blutdürstig schwarze Männer*—"bloodthirsty black men."

The Hellfighter's regimental band, which played jazz, became famous throughout Europe, touring both during and after the war. In the postwar period, the 369th and its band frequently paraded the streets of New York, reminding citizens of the sacrifices made by African-Americans in service to the nation.

327

New York Journal-American
1st Army Post Band, 1918
Gelatin silver print

In mid-1918, the 807th Pioneer Infantry Band, led by legendary composer and conductor Will Vodery, beat out four white regimental bands to become the American 1st Army Headquarters Battalion Post Band, the most distinguished and lengthiest assignment undertaken by any of the black regimental bands in France. Vodery and his musicians traveled all over Europe, where they performed for French President Raymond Poincaré, the Prince of Monaco, General John J. Pershing, and the king and queen of Belgium. They also traveled to military hospitals across the Western Front, where in addition to songs they performed comedy sketches and song-and-dance routines.

In June 1918, under the order of General Pershing, Will Vodery received a commission to become one of only 1,300 African-American officers serving with the American Expeditionary Force. He returned from France to launch a long and successful career that included composing the Broadway musical *Showboat* (1927) and arrangements for the *Ziegfeld Follies*.

The Italian Front

“War is not won by victory.”

—Ernest Hemingway, *A Farewell to Arms*

Upon the outbreak of war, the Central Powers expected that Italy—signatory with Germany and Austria to the Triple Alliance of 1906 and a nation with a small army but strategic geographic location—would come to their aid. Instead Italy declared its neutrality through a narrow interpretation of the terms of the 1906 treaty.

This neutrality was not to last, however. France, Britain, and Russia promised to return lands lost to Austria in nineteenth-century conflicts should Italy agree to join the Allied cause. Gambling on future victory and profit, Italy joined the Allies by declaring war on Austria on May 23, 1915.

The campaign in Italy was one of the war’s most difficult and treacherous theaters of battle. The entire Italian border with Austria rests against the highest mountains in Europe, noted for their precipitous crags and steep ridges. In this alpine terrain, exploding shells splintered rocks, which became secondary projectiles that created a staggering casualty rate, 70 percent higher than that of the battlefields of France and Belgium.

Austria, declaring Italy a traitor to the Triple Alliance, unleashed a 1916 “punishment expedition,” which would culminate in the disastrous retreat of Caporetto, which a young American ambulance driver, Ernest Hemingway, experienced and later immortalized in his novel *A Farewell to Arms*. In three days Austria took 275,000 Italian prisoners. Italy was saved from

decimation and surrender by an unseasonal flood that hampered Austrian maneuverings and through French and British aid.

277

“American Poets’ Ambulances in Italy,” 1917

In August 1917 poet and editor Robert Underwood Johnson (1853–1937), inspired by a conversation with a young American doughboy, organized a relief group called the American Poets’ Ambulances in Italy that was dedicated to raising funds to buy ambulances for troops on the Italian front. At the time the cost of an ambulance was \$2,000. Johnson wrote fundraising letters to prominent writers and publishers and within two months had sent 50 ambulances to Italy. By the war’s end the American Poets’ Ambulances in Italy had raised \$176,800. Each ambulance bought by Johnson’s organization was named for a writer or statesman, with name-plates placed on the automobiles accordingly.

312

The Vigilantes

“A Hurry Call for Ambulances in Italy,” September 19, year unknown

“The Vigilantes” was an American publishing syndicate organized to inspire patriotism and to distribute pamphlets and newsletters dedicated to war relief and war poetry. In this flyer the Vigilantes praise the work of Robert Underwood Johnson’s organization of American Poets’ Ambulances in Italy, noting that “poets are often supposed to be unpractical, but here is something amounting almost to ‘efficiency.’”

313

Rudyard Kipling’s “The War in the Mountains,” 1917

In early 1917 British writer Rudyard Kipling traveled to Italy to report on developments on the mountainous Austro-Italian front. He published five essays in the London *Daily Telegraph* and the *New York Tribune* that described the morale and experiences of Allied troops in alpine warfare, offering humorous anecdotes about such events as mountain-top concerts performed by military bands.

An additional essay, however, entitled “The War in the Mountains,” harshly criticized upper-class Roman society’s attitude toward the war and was censored by the British War Office. Kipling wrote that “the bewildered stranger is left wondering whether it would not be better for [Roman high society] to be bombed by Boche aeroflames, just to crystallize their minds.”

314

Robert Underwood Johnson's photograph album of ambulances in Italy

The majority of European nations began the war with ambulance corps consisting primarily of horse-drawn wagons. By Italy's 1915 entry into the war, however, automobiles had come to be prized as means of transporting the wounded—and nowhere were mechanized ambulances more valued than in the harsh mountainous terrain of the Italian front.

The European Allied nations relied on American manufacturers such as Packard, Cadillac, and Ford to design and produce ambulances for the war effort. By the time the U.S. entered the war and the previously independent ambulance corps were absorbed by the U.S. Army, over 3,500 Americans had served in their ranks.

318

Unidentified photographer

Cesare Battisti sulla via del martirio, 1916

[Cesare Battisti on the road to martyrdom]

Photographic postcard

Italian nationalists objected to the Austro-Hungarian Empire's dominion over the Italian-speaking areas of the Tyrol. Before the war, Cesare Battisti (1875–1916), a politician from the Trentino region, attempted to obtain autonomy for the province without success. When the Kingdom of Italy formally entered the war in 1915, Battisti, an Austro-Hungarian citizen, fled to Italy and fought in the Alpini Corps against Austria-Hungary. Captured by the Austrians on July 10, 1916, during the Battle of Asiago, he was sentenced to death for treason in his home town of Trento. Requesting to be executed by firing squad as a member of the military, Battisti's appeal was refused and he was garroted and then hung on the same day as his capture. The photos of his execution, and his smiling executioners, spurred the nationalist cause, and Battisti was celebrated as a martyr.

319

Unidentified photographer

Alla fronte Italiana durante l'offensiva del Maggio 1917

[At the Italian Front during the May 1917 offensive.]

Photographic postcard

The May 1917 offensive, also known as the Tenth Battle of the Isonzo, was planned to coincide with the spring offensives on the Western Front. The Tenth Battle resulted in 157,000 Italian casualties and 57,000 Austro-Hungarian losses with little gain in territory.

There were two more Isonzo offensives in 1917, the Twelfth Battle, known as the Battle of Caporetto, where the German army joined the army of Austria-Hungary, ended in such a terrible loss for Italy that it has become a byword for defeat. The Italian losses were horrifying, with 12,000 killed, 30,000 wounded, and 294,000 taken prisoner. After the battle, the Italian order to shoot deserters was incorporated into a key episode in Ernest Hemingway's *A Farewell to Arms*.

Animals

Dogs, horses, pigeons, camels, and other animals played essential roles in various theaters of the war. Animals were used in combat and for service, as messengers, medics, intelligence-gatherers, and comforting mascots. Some of the uses of animals in the First World War were familiar: horses, for example, were used to transport troops, mortars, stretchers, and machine guns. Some new employments of animals were experimental and successful—the German Medical Corps trained war dogs to check the vital signs of wounded soldiers stranded in shell craters. Others proved preposterous failures: the British, for example, tried to teach sea gulls to defecate on submarine periscopes. Additionally, civilians behind the lines used animal imagery for wartime propaganda, from the sentimental (“Even a Dog Enlists, Why Not You?”) to the ferocious (“Destroy This Mad Brute!”).

An accurate landscape drawing of the trenches of the First World War would include not only soldiers, rifles, bayonets, and machine guns but also pigeons carrying messages through chlorine gas, dogs laying signal wire under heavy artillery fire, and horses carrying the human wounded to hospitals far behind the front lines. The posters, books, newspapers, and cartoons of the wartime period testify to the enduring power of animal imagery in the service of the human imagination.

113

Republic of France, Prefecture of the Department of the Seine
Law, Relating to Military Requisitions, 1917 Inventory of Carrier Pigeons,
December 11, 1916
Lithograph

During 1914–1918, all combatant nations governed the local population's ownership of carrier pigeons. This official announcement by the French Government declares that by January 1, 1917, anyone with carrier pigeons in Paris or its surrounding regions must have a permit issued by the police or the Minister of the Interior, as well as a receipt from their local Mayor's office. Britain made the killing, wounding, or molesting of homing pigeons a criminal offence under the Defense of the Realm Act; if caught, offenders faced a fine of £100 pounds or six months imprisonment. The German Army maintained a strict policy of destroying all pigeons in

occupied French and Belgian territories. Any citizens found housing or selling the birds were accused of possessing war contraband and were severely punished.

116

Mildred Moody

“Even a Dog Enlists, Why Not You?,” ca. 1917

Lithograph

The keen hearing and eyesight of dogs made them a valuable asset to the medical corps and Red Cross volunteers near the front lines of battle. Because of their superior auditory sense, dogs could often anticipate—and therefore outrun—artillery shells. Medical Corps dogs were trained to enter No Man’s Land at night and seek out wounded soldiers. The dogs were taught to recognize the smell of blood, check the soldier for breath, and, if the soldier was still alive, return his hat to the medical corps officer waiting in the front lines. By identifying the insignia on the hat, the officer would then send stretcher-bearers to remove the wounded soldier at first light.

109

August Hutaf (American, 1874–1942)

“‘Treat ‘Em Rough!’,” ca. 1918

Lithograph

In 1918 the newly formed American Tank Corps adopted this belligerent black cat—usually drawn with bared fangs and claws—as its unofficial insignia. Though there are many conflicting stories about the origin of the yellow-eyed attacker, the cat and the Tank Corps slogan “Treat ‘Em Rough!” were frequently painted on the armored sides of the Army’s much talked-about new weaponry. One of the earliest supporters of the tank was George S. Patton (1885–1945), who was the first commander of the American Expeditionary Force’s 1st Light Tank Battalion in France. His future commander, Dwight D. Eisenhower (1890–1969), was in Maryland during World War I, organizing the Army’s 1st Heavy Tank Battalion. In a memo from this time, Eisenhower wrote: “The Tank Corps, although the baby branch of the service, is a baby in name—perhaps a baby wild cat—and the slogan ‘Treat ‘Em Rough’ will prove to be a very appreciative phrase when the kitten has grown a bit more and sharpened his claws.”

98

Charles Buckles Falls (American, 1874–1959)

“Teufel Hunden—German nickname for U.S. Marines,” 1918

Lithograph

According to U.S. Marine Corps lore, the Marine nickname “Devil Dog” originated in an

April 1917 German Army dispatch from the front lines to high command—one that described fresh American troops as “Teufel Hunden,” or “dogs from hell.” Use of the slang term “devil dog” for a Marine Corps infantryman soon proliferated through the American press, usually accompanied by an image of a bulldog, the official mascot of the U.S. Marine Corps. This recruitment poster featuring a bulldog chased by a dachshund is one of the first official uses of the “devil dog” nickname by the Marine Corps.

107

Fortunino Matania (English, born Italy, 1881–1963)
“Help the Horse to Save the Soldier,” ca. 1917
Lithograph

The subterranean landscape of trench warfare dramatically changed the role of horses in wartime from cavalry mounts to haulers of supplies behind the lines. Horses also became the target of the world’s first organized campaign of biological warfare, conducted by a German-American doctor named Anton Dilger.

Dilger, who was living in Germany and treating wounded civilians at the start of the war, became incensed that the U.S., a declared neutral nation, continued to ship horses to the Allies, and offered to help the Germans stop them. Supplied by the German government with pure strains of known equine diseases, Dilger paid stevedores in Virginia to administer anthrax and glanders to horses waiting to be delivered to Britain and France. When equine pandemics broke out in Allied horse stables, Dilger came under suspicion of espionage by the FBI and fled to Mexico and then Spain, where he died of influenza.

Ultimately, the German government found a more effective means of stopping American shipments of horses to the Allies. In 1916 it introduced a concentrated submarine campaign against U.S. ships carrying livestock, one that killed some 7,000 horses and mules.

57, 58, 59, 60

New York Journal-American
Infantrymen deploying pigeons, ca. 1918
Gelatin silver print

These images illustrate the method of transferring carrier pigeon messages from the trenches to base camps located several miles behind the front lines. An officer would write a brief message on a small piece of paper, place it in a slender aluminum tube, and attach the tube to the leg of the pigeon to be released. If the pigeon evaded danger and returned to its coop, a bell would sound, and a member of the Signal Corps would remove the message and forward it by telegram, telephone, or personal messenger.

The unreliability of trench telephone lines contrasted with the high success rate of the pigeon post made carrier pigeons an essential resource. By the end of the war, the British Army alone had 100,000 trained birds at its dispatch. Because carrier pigeons could fly distances of almost 200 miles at more than 60 miles per hour, they were also a favorite method of communication between ships at sea and military units on land.

61

Edmund Blunden's war diary, 1917, with notes about carrier pigeons

Carrier pigeons, because of their small size, dull coloring, speed, and ability to fly above tear gas, could often navigate under heavy artillery fire much better than human dispatch runners. The majority of birds used in the war were donated by civilian pigeon fanciers to the military Signal Corps, who would train the pigeons to fly from the trenches to home coops kept at a stationary headquarters behind the lines.

Blunden's war diary contains notes about the care of the birds and the successful sending of "pigeongrams." He records that pigeons should be kept hungry so that they fly quickly to their home coop, and that their transport "assault baskets" should be "kept clean and out of rats' way." On the facing page Blunden has written a cipher for use in encoding messages.

62

New York Journal-American
Rin Tin Tin, date unknown
Gelatin silver print

On September 15, 1918, Corporal Lee Duncan, of the American 135th Aero Squadron, found an orphaned German shepherd while inspecting the ruins of the village of Fluiry, France. Duncan adopted the orphaned pup and named him Rin Tin Tin, after a French doll carried as a good luck charm by many soldiers on the Western Front. After the war, Duncan trained the dog and took him to Hollywood, where Rin Tin Tin became an international star.

This publicity photograph shows Rin Tin Tin posing as a Red Cross war dog, delivering aid to wounded soldiers. Such dogs roamed the craters of No Man's Land carrying saddlebags of medical supplies and were known as "sanitary" or "mercy" dogs.

63

New York Journal-American
German war dog carrying signal wire into No Man's Land, ca. 1916–1918

Gelatin silver print

This German shepherd carries a reel of telephone wire on its back. The wire, unrolled across No Man's Land, would connect the German soldier in the shell hole with front line command. War dogs near the front were trained for various dangerous and unpleasant tasks. Large dogs pulled ordnance and ammunition carts, and small dogs, known as "ratters," were used to clear rodents out of trenches. The unluckiest dogs were used as "demolition wolves": suicide bombers that were released into No Man's Land with explosives strapped to their backs.

64, 65

The New York Journal-American
German war dogs, ca. 1916–1918
Gelatin silver print

While American and British forces relied primarily on carrier pigeons to deliver messages at the front, the German army employed a highly trained corps of war dogs. Dogs were active in the German forces in nineteenth-century wars, and by 1900 the German army had established multiple dog training schools that turned canines into dispatch runners. During the First World War, German dog trainers expanded the use of dogs in military action to include searching for wounded soldiers on battlefields, sentry duty, scout missions, transport of supplies, and laying signal wire from backpacks strapped to dogs' backs. Unlike pigeons (which were used only during the day), war dogs had superior night vision and became valued evening message bearers. Pigeons could fly above tear gas, however, as is evident in one image.

The Imperial German Army used approximately 30,000 war dogs during the First World War.

Journalism/Photography/Film
Reporting the War

"As usual the Press had given no hint of that tragedy's dimensions, and it was only through the long casualty lists, and the persistent demoralizing rumours. . . .that the world was gradually coming to realize something of what the engagement had been."

—Vera Brittain, *Testament of Youth*

The reality of First World War battlefields was not widely known to the civilian populations of warring nations until the 1920s. Governmental and military censorship, combined with treacherous conditions for journalists, photographers, and filmmakers, dictated that documentation of everyday life in the trenches was sparse, and often withheld from the general public.

In 1914, military tradition held that journalists should not be allowed near the front lines of battle; Lord Kitchener famously called reporters “outlaws” and threatened to arrest any that he found close to his troops. As war dragged on, however, and the popularity of the costly conflict waned, all nations began to see the advantage of “official” war correspondents whose reportage, because subject to military censorship, could promote a positive view of the war’s progress. Just as soldiers’ letters home were subject to censorship, reports from official war correspondents could not give away troop or naval movement and could not include any description or news of battle that might undermine public support of the war effort. Banned, too, were photographs of corpses and film footage of mortally wounded soldiers. Not until nearly a decade after the war would the majority of censored letters, photographs, and films be made public.

75

Ernest Smith’s passport, 1915–1917

British journalist Ernest Smith (1864–1935) traveled throughout Europe during the war, reporting on such events as the Battle of the Somme and the Greek and Russian revolutions. His wartime passports bear the stamps of nearly a dozen nations. Press badges gave him access to key political figures and combat zones near the Western Front. In his autobiography, *Fields of Adventure* (1923), Smith shocked readers by presenting an insider account of Kaiser Wilhelm II’s abdication on November 9, 1918. Smith revealed that Wilhelm II had not wanted to give up power but was persuaded to do so after Field Marshal Paul von Hindenburg exaggerated reports that civil war had broken out in Germany, threatening the supply line to German troops on the front.

76

Unidentified photographer
Captain E. Cadge, H. M. Tomlinson, and Philip Gibbs
Gelatin silver print

In May 1915 the British Army changed its longtime policy of restricting the press from war zones and allowed five reporters (including Philip Gibbs, far right), to be recognized as “official” war correspondents. Official war correspondents were given officers’ uniforms that signified their endorsement by the army (a year earlier Gibbs, in his civilian clothes, had nearly been killed by German soldiers who mistook him for a spy).

Though given closer proximity to the front lines, the reports made by journalists such as Gibbs and H. M. Tomlinson (center) were severely censored by press officers such as the one seen here on the left. In the opinion of another official reporter, Beach Thomas, the press officer served under strict orders only to “waste the time of the correspondents.”

97

Frank Brangwyn (Anglo-Welsh, 1867–1956)
“The Zeppelin Raids: The Vow of Vengeance,” 1916
Lithograph

Between 1914 and 1918 the German Army made 51 zeppelin raids over England, killing 557 civilians and producing millions of dollars in property damage. The massive airship assaults blurred the line between the home front and battlefield, and British propagandists quickly exploited German attacks against women and children to encourage enlistment. Zeppelins were depicted as omens of a barbarous future in which weapons of mass destruction would be turned against civilian populations.

At the outbreak of war in August of 1914, writer Vera Brittain wrote in her journal:

Eight German Zeppelins, the existence of which no one suspected, are said to be intending to sail over England, dropping dynamite on our ports & probably on our rich cities like London. Truly we of this generation are born to a youth very different from anything we ever supposed or imagined for ourselves. Trouble & disasters are menacing us the nature of which we cannot even guess at.

66, 67

Wachtfeuer #6 (Berlin: Zirkel-Verlag, 1914)

Wachtfeuer #7 (Berlin: Zirkel-Verlag, 1917)

Wachtfeuer, which translates to “*Watchfire*,” was a weekly propaganda magazine published in Berlin between 1914 and 1919. The cover of this 1914 issue depicts a German fist crushing the hull of a boat, emblemizing the submarine and torpedo power of the German navy during the war. A year later, the German navy attacked and sank the British passenger ship *RMS Lusitania*, killing more than 2,000. Blazoned with the slogan “Nieder Mit England!”—“Down with England!”—this edition of *Wachtfeuer* also contains poems and illustrations that lampoon American presidents Teddy Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson.

The dramatic cover of a 1917 issue features a German soldier in a traditional *pickelhaube*, an imposing spiked hat popularized by the Bavarian Army in the early nineteenth century. In 1915, the German Army replaced the *pickelhaube*, which was easily seen above the parapet of trenches and made infantrymen easy targets for snipers, with a more rounded and sensible steel helmet.

68, 69

Telegram from William Randolph Hearst to the London *Observer*, May 1915

New York Journal-American

The sinking of the *H.M.S. Audacious*, October 27, 1914

Gelatin silver print

In the fall of 1914, American newspaper mogul William Randolph Hearst (1863–1951) published a dramatic photograph of a capsized British battleship, the *H.M.S. Audacious*, which had been torpedoed by the German navy. The British government, which had denied the incident, boycotted the Hearst wire service and newsreels, refusing to supply Hearst writers with war reports. In efforts to sidestep the ban, Hearst sent messages such as this one to individuals he knew in the British press. In 1916 Hearst, a vocal opponent of the British Empire throughout the war, struck a deal with German news services to use their wireless stations on Long Island.

70, 71

Letter from Edith Wharton to Morton Fullerton, August 10, 1916

American novelist Edith Wharton (1862–1937) was living in France at the outbreak of the war. She was an ardent supporter of the French war effort and a proponent for American entry into the war. In this letter to her lover, journalist William Morton Fullerton (1865–1952), she expresses her distaste for American newspaper mogul William Randolph Hearst, whose *New York Journal-American* newspaper had criticized the hanging of Irish rebel Roger Casement for his collusion with Germany. Although Wharton had been a featured writer for Hearst's *Cosmopolitan* in the prewar period, she refused to publish with Hearst during wartime.

She writes:

I am horribly sick over the whole thing since I have read of Hearst's mourning page for Casement. I had forgotten that he was a pro-Boche propagandist, I had remembered him only as generally offensive, personally + spiritualistically, otherwise I should have preferred not to give my novel to any paper belonging to him, even though—as I suppose is the case with the *Cosmopolitan*—he does not use it like the *Journal* for "propaganda."

72

The Fatherland: a Weekly, December 30, 1914 (New York: The Fatherland Corporation, 1914)

Poet George Sylvester Viereck (1884–1962) was born in Munich, Germany and came to the U.S. with his family in 1896. His poetry was of a sensual nature and enjoyed popular appeal until 1914.

At the outbreak of the war he began publishing *The Fatherland*, a pro-German journal that reached a circulation of 100,000. The object of the journal was to ensure American neutrality in the war and to help German-Americans, or “hyphenated Americans” as he referred to them, counteract anti-German sentiment. This became increasingly hard to do after the sinking of the *Lusitania* in 1915 and impossible after the U.S. entry into the war. In February 1917, the journal’s name was changed to *New World* and then to *Viereck’s the American Weekly*. Viereck was expelled from the Author’s League of America for his political beliefs, and in 1918 he admitted receiving \$100,000 from German interests during a government investigation of his propaganda activities.

73

Ernest Smith’s London *Daily News* arm band

In May 1915 the British Army issued arm bands to official war correspondents, indicating that the reporters were part of intelligence services and answerable to press officers near the front. This arm band belonged to Ernest Smith, a war correspondent who specialized in reports on new martial uses of aviation, telephones, and film.

74

A letter from Winston Churchill to John Fisher, September 16, 1916

During the war the British War Office enjoyed close relationships with many of the most powerful newspaper magnates in the country. Newspaper editor J. L. Garvin, for example, was a confidant of Prime Minister David Lloyd George and Winston Churchill, First Lord of the Admiralty. Garvin’s Sunday paper, *The Observer*, became a key propaganda outlet for the War Office.

In this letter from Churchill to Navy official John Fisher, a close friend of Garvin’s, Churchill lists topics to be promoted in the editorial pages of *The Observer*. Number five on Churchill’s list is: “ME!”

94

A film still from Charlie Chaplin’s *Shoulder Arms*, 1918

Charlie Chaplin’s *Shoulder Arms* is a silent comedy that tells the tale of a hapless World War I private who dreams of capturing the Kaiser and Crown Prince thus ending the war. The subject was a gamble for Chaplin, who had been heavily criticized in 1914 for not returning to his native Britain and enlisting. Though his friend Cecile B. DeMille warned him that “it’s dangerous at this time to make fun of the war,” Chaplin nonetheless opened the film in the last week of October 1918. By November 11, Armistice Day, it was clear

that Chaplin had a blockbuster hit on his hands. Within a year it grossed over two million dollars.

95

Sheet music for “Your Lips Are No Man’s Land but Mine,” from the film *Over the Top*, 1918

The new and exciting medium of film was a crucial tool for publicizing the recruitment efforts of all warring nations. In America, the film adaptation of Arthur Guy Empey’s bestselling book *Over the Top* reached enormous audiences and caused a sharp spike in army enlistment.

The film features a hero named James Owen, who joins the army after becoming angered by the sinking of the *Lusitania*. The film shows dramatic scenes of infantry advances and machine-gunning in the trenches. Empey wrote the screenplay, starred in the film, and traveled the country promoting the movie and advocating for enlistment. He was also a prolific songwriter, perhaps best known for the lyrics to “Your Lips are No Man’s Land but Mine.”

96

Paramount Pictures
Wings, 1927
Gelatin silver print

Wings, filmed on location in San Antonio, was an homage to First World War pilots. It was directed by William “Wild Bill” Wellman, who had been both an ambulance driver and pilot during the war. Starlet Clara Bow played Mary Preston, an irresistible Red Cross ambulance driver. Though Bow, known largely for her flapper dresses and pearls, despised the army uniforms required for her role, the film was one of her most successful. *Wings* costume designer Edith Head commented: “It’s pretty hard to look sexy in a U.S. Army uniform, but Clara managed.”

434

Committee on Public Information
Under Four Flags, 1918
Lithograph

President Woodrow Wilson established the Committee on Public Information, a governmental propaganda organization led by journalist George Creel, one week after the United States declared war on Germany. In September 1917, the “Creel Committee”

introduced a Division of Films that encouraged Hollywood support for the war effort and produced patriotic documentary films using footage garnered from the U.S. Signal Corps.

Under Four Flags, the division's third full-length feature, was released a week after the Armistice. It showcased the Allied efforts of the U.S., France, Britain, and Italy, and included footage of Generals Foch and Pershing, and Field Marshal Haig. The *New York Times* reported that the audiences of *Under Four Flag's* opening night greeted the film with shouts, singing, and tears.

84

New York Journal-American

U.S. Signal Corps Sergeant John A. Marshall, with a camera, ca. 1917

Gelatin silver print

In World War I, the newly established Photographic Section of the American Signal Corps was responsible for ground and combat photographs, as well as aerial photographs, mapping, and reconnaissance. The U.S. Army controlled all combat photography and did not allow civilian photographers to operate close to the front lines. By the end of the war, signal corps photographers had taken nearly 30,000 still pictures, most of which were developed in mobile darkrooms behind the lines. The army used these photographs for training, propaganda, and documentation purposes. Army censors maintained a strict policy against publishing any pictures of dead U.S. soldiers. The most graphic photographs collected by the Signal Corps were not released to the general public until nearly a decade after the war's end.

85

New York Journal-American

A soldier with a camouflaged film camera, ca. 1917

Gelatin silver print

Motion picture footage was used extensively for propaganda purposes for the first time during World War I. Cameras of the time period were bulky and therefore difficult to position on the front lines. Though footage of actual combat was scarce and heavily censored, the U.S. Signal Corps provided the majority of the film used in newsreels released to American theaters by the U.S. government's Committee on Public Information.

86

New York Journal-American

Canadian soldiers entering No Man's Land, not dated

Gelatin silver print

Photographs documenting forward attacks in World War I are scarce. This image, remarkable for its proximity to advancing soldiers, shows a Canadian regiment going “over the top” into No Man’s Land. Because the photograph shows soldiers who may have been wounded or killed as the photograph was taken, it most likely would have been censored during wartime. This photograph appeared in a *New York Journal-American* feature a decade after the war’s end.

87

Annotated and extra-illustrated copy of Siegfried Sassoon’s *Picture Show*, 1919

As the war drew to a close, British poet Siegfried Sassoon (1886–1967) collected his elegies and anti-war verse in a volume entitled *Picture Show*. In his personal copy of the book, Sassoon pasted in multiple government-censored photographs of dead soldiers. These images were strictly forbidden from publication during the war.

88

An album of German postcards, taken from original photos by A. Grohs, A. Kühlewindt, R. Sennecke, M. Obergassner, and others (Berlin: chiefly published by Photochemie Berlin and Gustav Liersch, 1914)

Cheap, mass-produced, and easy to pass the censor, the picture-postcard became an item used for propaganda by all warring nations. This album contains cards that reproduce pictures taken by official German war photographers. From Kaiser and cavalry to artillery and infantry, the images emphasize the strength and number of the Central Powers.

89

Avant et après la destruction d’Ypres (Poperinghe, Belgium: Sansen-Vanneste, between 1914 and 1922)

One of the deepest ironies of the war is that while European powers ostensibly fought over regions considered geo-political prizes in terms of trade and agriculture, the value of the land was all but destroyed by four years of trenching, shelling, and machine-gun fire.

One of the most severely decimated towns of Flanders was Ypres, which saw three separate battles between 1914 and 1918, including the bloody battle of Passchendaele in 1917. Ypres stood in the path of Germany’s planned invasion of France from the north, and German forces repeatedly tried to overtake the village and surrounding areas.

Immediately following the war, postcard books such as these appeared, featuring “before” and “after” images of the town. This set of postcards shows the ruin of St. Martin’s Cathedral, which was originally built in the thirteenth century.

90-93

Stereoscopes

A stereoscopic image is one where two nearly identical images taken from slightly different positions (typically the spacing of a pair of eyes) are simultaneously viewed, tricking the brain into fusing them into one image that gives the illusion of three dimensions. By 1914, handheld stereoscope viewers were wildly popular, and photography companies capitalized on both the demand for the medium and interest in the war. In 1923, the Keystone View Company, then the world’s largest producer of stereographs, released a collection of more than 300 stereographic images taken during the war.

Armies produced useful reconnaissance images by affixing stereoscopic cameras to the wings of airplanes. Because of the fast forward motion of the plane, the two images needed to form the stereoscope were often taken thousands of feet apart. This created an exaggerated 3D effect where trenches appeared as deep as canyons and farmhouses looked like skyscrapers. This exaggerated perspective actually made the images easier to interpret and more useful for reconnaissance of enemy positions.

Censorship

51, 52, 53

A letter from Wilfred Owen to his brother Harold, February 27, 1917

Wilfred Owen’s letters were censored by the military in wartime and by his family after his death. Owen’s parents and brother, afraid that certain sentences of Owen’s would offend surviving family members and friends or damage his reputation, heavily censored Owen’s letters before they were published and archived. Owen’s brother Harold, the editor of the first *Collected Letters of Wilfred Owen*, used India ink, a permanent masking medium, to redact Wilfred Owen’s most personal statements and criticisms of the conduct of the war.

While forensic techniques, such as the use of infrared light, have allowed scholars to restore some text, much of what Owen wrote remains unrecoverable.

A digital reproduction of Wilfred Owen's February 27, 1917 letter to Harold Owen, in retroReveal

For this exhibition curators worked with retroReveal software to decipher the redacted letters of Wilfred Owen. Censored in India ink by his younger brother Harold, these letters have never been published in full. retroReveal allows for forensic enhancement of digital images, often recovering through automated algorithms content that is indecipherable to the human eye. Though Owen's redacted letters have not yet been transcribed in full, the Center hopes that continued efforts will recover at least in part the lost words of the war-poet.

The exhibition organizers would like to thank retroReveal software developer Hal Erikson and volunteer Matthew Clayton for their tireless efforts and enthusiasm for the Wilfred Owen retroReveal project (retroReveal.org).

55

A note written by Susan Owen about her son Wilfred Owen's wartime correspondence, December 28, year unknown

Wilfred Owen's mother guarded his wartime letters with meticulous care after his death in 1918. The Center's Edmund Blunden collection holds extensive notes that she wrote as Blunden was editing Owen's poems for publication in 1931. In this note she reveals a secret code Owen used to evade censors in his letters written in the latter half of the war.

56

A letter from Wilfred Owen to his mother Susan, January 4, 1917

Giving away a battalion's position in letters home was considered high treason by the British Army. Consequently, soldiers' letters were censored so that any mention of geography or impending attacks was removed. Owen and his mother worked out a secret code that allowed the young officer to tell his family his unit's whereabouts in France. After using the word "mistletoe," the second letters of the following lines would spell out Owen's location. In this letter the secret code in the central paragraph spells out "S-O-M-M-E."

42, 43

A letter and envelope sent from J. B. Priestley to his father Jonathan, September 27, 1915

Writer J. B. Priestley, who grew up in a working-class family in a Yorkshire mill town, joined the British army as a private in 1914. As a low-ranking soldier, his letters were heavily censored by his commanding officers. Officers worried that letters written by the rank could expose the army's tactical positions or deplete civilian morale by telling the graphic truth about physical conditions in the trenches. For this letter to be sent to his father, Priestley had to sign the censorship agreement on the envelope. The letter is headed "Somewhere in France," a location-masking term that would emerge as one of the best-known clichés of the war.

44

New York Journal-American
U.S. Army censors, ca. 1917–1918
Gelatin silver print

Official army censors proliferated during the First World War, often frustrating journalists reporting from the front lines. In October 1917, President Woodrow Wilson established a Censorship Board to review all communications by mail, cable, radio, telegraph, and telephone between the U.S. and foreign countries. The censorship process slowed news reportage considerably. In addition to reviewing reports sent by the press, censors checked letters written by soldiers. American censors faced the added challenge of checking thousands of letters written by immigrant soldiers in their native languages—a process that often delayed those letters for months or prevented them from ever being delivered.

45

Letter from Henry Major Tomlinson to his wife, Florence, September 4, 1914

H. M. Tomlinson (1873–1958) began the war as a journalist for the London *Daily News* and later served as an official war correspondent for the British Army, spending much of the war near the French and Belgian front lines. In this letter, Tomlinson describes a close brush with German troops while fleeing Belgium by train and expresses his frustration over the censorship enforced by British officials, whom he accuses of playing favorites. He writes:

[t]here is a lot I could tell you, old lady, but this letter will probably be opened and read by an official... I have played the game fairly with the authorities; but they have not played it fairly with some of us. They allow the Times and the Daily Mail to do things and say things which some of us, for a good many reasons, would never think of asking permission to do.

46

A postcard from Henry Major Tomlinson to his wife, Florence, September 18, 1915

The heavy censorship of letters mailed from the front delayed delivery, so many soldiers settled on quick and easy-to-read postcards. In this one, Tomlinson ominously writes his wife, “don’t worry if you don’t hear from me for a bit.”

47, 48

Standard British Army Field Service postcards sent from Wilfred Owen to his mother, Susan Owen, April 5, 1917 and October 29, 1918

The British Army encouraged troops to send Field Service Postcards, which offered friends and relatives scripted information about the soldier but no mention of his actual whereabouts. Wilfred Owen (1893–1918) developed a code system to work around the army’s form letter. Owen’s double strikeout of “I am being sent down to base” indicated that he was headed to the front lines.

Fearing that his mother might misread this secret system of communication and worry unduly, on October 29, 1918 Owen wrote, “I don’t want to send Field Cards in case you suppose they mean in the Line. In future... a F. Card will be no proof that I am actually there.” He assured his mother he was not headed toward battle. Shortly after writing the letter, Owen’s battalion was moved to the front line of the Sambre-Oise Canal where nine days later he was killed by German machine gun fire.

49

A letter from Edmund Blunden to Siegfried Sassoon, March 30, 1929

In this letter, Blunden mixes wartime references with inside jokes, creating a postwar parody of the standard Field Service Postcard. In personalizing the “form-letter,” Blunden emphasizes the impersonal nature of the Field Service Postcard in its original form.

50

The unexpurgated American edition of Erich Maria Remarque’s *All Quiet on the Western Front*, 1930

When Erich Maria Remarque’s *All Quiet on the Western Front* (*Im Westen nichts Neues*) was published 1929, it sold more than 2 million copies in multiple languages in its first 18 months in print. Yet many readers, including a great number of veterans, felt that

Remarque's novel sensationalized the events of the war and presented a one-sided portrait of trench life as unremittingly filthy, brutal, horrific, and senseless.

The first American edition of *All Quiet on the Western Front* was expurgated by Little, Brown at the request of the Book-of-the-Month Club, which felt that Remarque's original text—which included a long section dedicated to a battalion's camp latrine—would repel the average reader in the States. The book fared worse in Germany, where it was burned publicly by Nazis who claimed that the novel represented treason against the fatherland. In 1938 Remarque's German citizenship was revoked. He lived in exile the rest of his life, becoming a naturalized citizen of the U.S. in 1947.

Trench Life

362

Edmund Blunden's trench map of the Beaumont-Hamel sector of the Western Front, ca. 1917

Lieutenant Edmund Blunden (1896–1974), a cartographer for the British Army, annotated this map to show a winding trench known to soldiers as “Jacob's Ladder.” Maps had to be updated continually as the shelling of the Western Front decimated known landmarks and obliterated buildings and roads. Between 1914 and 1918, the field survey and cartographic units of the British Army published approximately 34 million such maps of the sectors of the Western Front.

354

New York Journal-American
“Two Minutes to Go,” ca. 1916
Gelatin silver print

The many memoirs written by young subalterns who served on the Western Front reveal the great sense of responsibility they felt for the men in their regiments, particularly when given the order to send them “over the top” in a forward attack. In this photograph, a young British officer coolly smokes a cigarette while looking at his watch, waiting for the appointed hour to advance his infantrymen. Officers would blow a whistle, indicating for the first wave of soldiers to climb ladders out of the trenches and advance toward enemy lines.

355

Edmund Blunden's maps and lesson plans from a course on scouting in No Man's Land, ca. 1917

Night raids across No Man's Land were among the most dangerous assignments. Going on patrol, especially on moonlit nights, left soldiers open targets for snipers. Though soldiers going on trench raids would camouflage their faces with burnt cork, No Man's Land brought great risk of death or capture. Poet Arthur Graeme West (1891–1917) wrote that night patrols were “a dangerous business, and most repulsive on account of the smells and appearances of the heaps of dead men that lie unburied.”

356

Edmund Blunden's Field Service Correspondence Book

Boredom was one of the primary enemies to be fought during the seemingly endless stalemate on the Western Front. Officers were responsible for keeping men occupied in order to stave off discontent and depression. This schedule of work kept by Lieutenant Edmund Blunden shows a detailed plan for such activities as wiring, sandbagging, repairing duckboards, and cleaning rifles. When Robert Graves arrived in the trenches in 1915, he was told by his commanding officer: “The best way to make [soldiers] behave is not to give them too much time to think. Work them off their feet.”

357

New York Journal-American

Scottish soldiers going over a parapet in the Battle of Arras, 1917

Gelatin silver print

This image depicts an advance known as the “creeping barrage,” an artillery technique developed on the Western Front that required precise gunnery skills to be successful. The maneuver depended on a line of exploding shells moving just fifty yards in front of the line of advancing infantry. In theory, this “wall of fire” would keep enemy gunners in opposing trenches from being able to fire at the infantry as they advanced. Without the advantage of tactical radio communication between the infantry and artillery, gunners had to fire by timetable, calculated by the speed at which the infantry was expected to advance. Shell-holes and barbed wire frequently altered these calculations, resulting in infantry deaths by friendly fire.

358

Compton Mackenzie's pocket diary

As early as 1915, stationers in London were issuing pocket diaries specifically printed for soldiers serving on the Western Front. This one includes diagrams of rifles, machine guns, and useful knots, as well as guides to insignia, Morse code, cartographic signs and

symbols, bugle calls, and foreign money. Additionally, each page features a helpful tip for making trench life more comfortable. This page includes instructions for how to keep eggs fresh in camp by burying them in a cool hole filled with straw. Other trench tips include how to make salt and pepper shakers out of bamboo, how to make lanterns out of tea kettles or cocoa tins, how to make a frying pan out of a tin ammunition box with a bayonet as a toasting fork, how to sew extra pockets onto a haversack, and how to make a barometer out of a jam jar.

359

New York Journal-American

A trench system on the Western Front, ca. 1916

Gelatin silver print

The trenches of the Western Front were approximately six feet deep and only wide enough for two men to pass. The soldiers walked on “duckboards”—wooden planks placed over drainage ditches that were often home to rats. The trenches were reinforced with sandbags and had steps cut into the forward-facing parapets so that soldiers could position their rifles. The niches were widened at intervals to accommodate machine gun nests or trench mortars. Opposite the enemy line of the trench were cave-like dugouts, which served as barracks for officers commanding troops in the line.

360

Gerald Brenan’s wartime diary, 1913–1918

British writer Gerald Brenan (1894–1987), the son of a career army officer, began his wartime service as a message bearer with the Cyclists’ Company. He was sent to the front for the first time on April 7, 1915, his 21st birthday. Though he was initially eager to fight, Brenan’s wartime diary reveals a swift change in attitude after he saw combat and lost a cousin and a best friend in battle. By April 30 he wrote, “The greatness of my longing for the end of the war is all that occupies me seriously.”

361

Eric Gill (British, 1882–1940)

Westward Ho!, 1921

Wood engraving on paper

This image of a war-weary soldier was engraved by celebrated illustrator and sculptor Eric Gill. Gill based his design upon a drawing rendered by war veteran and memoirist David Jones (1895–1974).

Jones, a protégée of Gill's, helped Gill produce this image of a trudging infantryman as the two artists were designing the base of the Trumpington War Memorial, near Cambridge. After serving as an apprentice to Gill in the 1920s, Jones published his prose-poem recollection of his experiences on the Western Front, entitled *In Parenthesis* (1937).

117

Frank Lucien Nicolet (Canadian, b. 1887)
“If ye break faith—we shall not sleep,” 1918
Lithograph

John McCrae's “In Flanders Fields” is one of the best remembered and most often quoted poems of the First World War, establishing the red poppy as the emblem of those lost during the conflict.

McCrae (1872–1918), a Canadian doctor and soldier, wrote the poem after the death of a friend and former student in the first attack of the Ypres salient in 1915. McCrae's poem describes the blood-red poppies that proliferated on the battlefields and cemeteries in Flanders. The specific species of poppy that McCrae indicates (*papaver rhoes*) thrives in upturned soil, which the trenches and shell-holes of the Western Front supplied in abundance.

This poster, which features a Canadian soldier mourning the dead in a field of scarlet flowers, invokes McCrae's poem to warn the civilian not to forget the sacrifices made by soldiers. The quotation is from the last stanza of “In Flanders Fields”:

In Flanders fields the poppies blow
Between the crosses, row on row,
That mark our place; and in the sky
The larks, still bravely singing, fly
Scarce heard amid the guns below.

We are the Dead. Short days ago
We lived, felt dawn, saw sunset glow,
Loved and were loved, and now we lie
In Flanders fields.

Take up our quarrel with the foe:
To you from failing hands we throw
The torch; be yours to hold it high.
If ye break faith with us who die
We shall not sleep, though poppies grow
In Flanders fields.

215

Unidentified photographer
Airplanes in flight, ca. 1918
Gelatin silver print

These photographs feature aerial views of the trench systems of the Western Front taken from reconnaissance aircraft. The stereoscope viewer below provides images of soldiers' daily lives in or near the trenches built in various theaters of the war.

216

Unidentified photographer
Aerial photograph of trenches between Beaumont and Mandres taken from reconnaissance aircraft, not dated
Gelatin silver print

Allied and German forces began digging the first trenches in the wake of the September 1914 Battle of the Marne, during which Allied forces halted the German advance through Belgium and France. By 1918, the trench system of the Western Front stretched from the North Sea to the French-Swiss border; laid end-to-end, they would have stretched for 25,000 miles.

Well-built trenches, as seen in the photographs left and center, were castellated in a zigzag pattern that contained the danger of *enfilade* (sweeping fire) caused by enemy grenades. Between the trenches of the Allies and the Central Powers lay No Man's Land, known for the dangerous, muddy shell craters seen in the photograph on the right.

217

Unidentified photographer
Fort Douaumont, ca. 1918
Gelatin silver print

After the fall of the Belgian fortresses to German heavy armament in the first weeks of the war, the French General Staff severely underestimated the strategic value of Forts Douaumont and Vaux. The tactical error would cost 100,000 lives in recapturing the citadels. Fort Douaumont, one of the rings of defensive fortresses that protected the French city of Verdun, easily fell to the Germans in February 1916 and was not retaken until October 1916. Shelling during the Battle of Verdun created a lunar landscape that still marks the countryside today.

Last Letters
20, 21, 22

Roland Garvin's last letter to his parents, July 20, 1916

Roland Garvin, known as "Ged," was the son of newspaper editor J. L. Garvin. In what became his last letter to his parents, composed from a ravine in Mametz Wood, he writes:

This is just a short note for you. We go into action in a day or two and I'm leaving this in case I don't come back. It brings you both, and to the girls and Granny, my very deepest love. Try not to grieve too much for me.... I hope my death will have been worthy of your trust and I couldn't die for a better cause.... Heart's love and kisses. xxx Ged

J. L. Garvin wrote a letter to his son on July 21, but that letter and others sent before Garvin learned of his son's death were returned to Garvin stamped "Return to Sender," and "Killed in Action." Ged likely died shortly after midnight on July 23, killed by machine-gun fire while leading his company in a night assault on a strongly fortified German line north of Bazentin-le-Petit. His body was never recovered.

23

Clifford Bax (British, 1886–1962)
Edward Thomas, 1913
Gelatin silver print

24, 25

Letter from Edward Thomas to Edward Garnett, January 13, 1917

In this letter written from a British Army base, poet Edward Thomas says good-bye to one of his oldest and best friends, writer and editor Edward Garnett. The two men met long before the war and for years were leading members of the "Mont Blanc" literary club, so-named for the French restaurant in Soho where they met. A friend, mentor, neighbor, and fishing partner, Garnett was a tremendous influence on the younger Thomas, who dedicated *The South Country* to Garnett in 1909.

Upon the outbreak of war Garnett used his influence to try to secure a home service posting for Thomas but was not successful. Thomas was killed by an exploding shell during the first hours of the Battle of Arras on April 9, 1917.

26, 27

Edward Wyndham Tennant's last letter to Osbert Sitwell, June 6, 1916

Young poets Osbert Sitwell (1892–1969) and Edward Wyndham Tennant (1897–1916) were best friends and fellow officers in the Grenadier Guards of the British Army. Both enlisted in 1914 (Tennant was only 17), and they shared a dugout together during the bloody Battle of Loos. When Sitwell was injured in 1916, he was removed from the front lines but continued to write his good friend on the Western Front. This is the last known letter written to Sitwell by Tennant, or “Bim” as he was nicknamed, before Tennant’s death on the Somme in the fall of 1916. Tennant writes: “It is a terrible death-roll. O Osbert, when will it finish?”

Following his friend’s death, Sitwell oversaw the publication of Tennant’s war poems and became a mentor to Tennant’s younger brother, artist Stephen Tennant. Throughout the 1920s and 1930s Stephen became known for wearing a leather coat fashioned after his brother’s army jacket, an image captured in a famous photograph taken by Cecil Beaton.

28, 29

Gerard Chowne’s last letter to Henry Tonks, April 11, 1917

Artist and surgeon Henry Tonks (1862–1937) was one of the most revered instructors at London’s prestigious Slade School of Fine Arts. He taught many of the British artists who served in the war, such as Isaac Rosenberg, Augustus John, and Wyndham Lewis. In particular he was a mentor to the landscape, portrait, and flower painter Gerard Chowne (1875–1917). In this, the last letter Chowne wrote to Tonks before dying in Macedonia on May 2, Chowne laments his failed attempts to paint battle landscapes blown apart by shells and machine guns, but nonetheless asks Tonks to safeguard his wartime sketches until he can reclaim them after his service: “Will you put these in a drawer til I am released from this bondage. You will see by my drawings how low I have sunk in artistic intention.”

Henry Tonks organized a posthumous one-man show of Chowne’s battlescapes. Moved by Chowne’s profound sketches of military life, Tonks increased his own involvement with the army as both artist and doctor, specializing in painting facially disfigured soldiers before and after their reconstructive surgeries.

30, 31, 32, 33

Wilfred Owen’s last letter to his mother, Susan Owen, October 31, 1918

Owen composed this last letter to his mother in the smoky cellar of a French farmhouse, just a few days before being killed by machine gun fire on the Sambre-Oise canal. Reflecting on the camaraderie of the men, he writes: “It is a great life. I am more oblivious than alas! yourself, dear Mother, of the ghastly glimmering of the guns outside,

& the hollow crashing of the shells. . . . Of this I am certain you could not be visited by a band of friends half so fine as surround me here.”

Owen was killed one week before the universal stand-down to arms. In 2011, the French farmhouse in which Owen wrote this letter was turned into a memorial for the fallen soldiers of the Western Front.

34

A digital reproduction of the grave of Wilfred Owen

Wilfred Owen’s grave in Ors bears an epitaph chosen by his mother, drawn from his own poem, “The End”:

Shall life renew these bodies? Of a truth
All death will He annul, all tears assuage?

Susan Owen, a fervent evangelical Christian, chose to exclude the questioning phrase “all tears assuage?” from the second line of her son’s poem.

The Lost

“Their bodies are buried in peace; but their names liveth forevermore.”

—Ecclesiastes 44:14, chosen by Rudyard Kipling as the inscription for war cemeteries in France and Belgium

Of the nearly ten million soldiers killed in the First World War, almost half could not be laid to rest; their bodies decimated by artillery fire, entombed in collapsed trenches, or left unidentified in the shell-holes that pockmarked No Man’s Land. The sense of grief was global, and combatant nations struggled to find adequate ways to memorialize the dead.

In 1917, Rudyard Kipling, whose son’s body was never recovered from the Battle of Loos, joined Sir Fabian Ware’s Imperial (now Commonwealth) War Graves commission and chose the inscription “A Soldier of the Great War Known Unto God” for the headstones of unknown warriors. He also helped raise money for large architectural memorials to the dead—the largest of which, at Thiepval, records the names of the 70,000 missing from the Battle of the Somme. The French buried their 1,700,000 dead both in individual and collective graves, most notably at Verdun, the site of the nation’s most devastating sacrifice of men. The Germans, having to bury their dead on foreign, hostile soil, were often forced to hastily excavate inconspicuous mass graves. The German memorial in Vladslo, Belgium, contains the remains of over 25,000 soldiers, most reburied there in 1956 from smaller surrounding cemeteries.

The postwar world spoke of a “Lost Generation,” a reference both to the appalling fatality rate of the first global war and the disenchantment of the veterans and civilians who survived the conflict. For the modern imagination, as historian Paul Fussell concluded, the First World War stands as “a permanent symbol for anything innocently but irrecoverably lost.”

137

Funeral service for the Unknown Warrior, Westminster Abbey, November 11, 1920

The bodies of thousands of soldiers who died in battle during the war were never identified or recovered. They were either decimated by artillery fire or buried under the wreckage of No Man’s Land. On November 11, 1920, Britain and France thus introduced the first national tombs dedicated to unknown warriors. Simultaneously on the 1920 Armistice Day an unidentified body was interred at both Westminster Abbey in London and the Arc de Triomphe in Paris. In both cities the coffins of the unknown soldiers were carried by military horse-drawn carriages in miles-long processions past silent, mournful crowds.

139

Theodore Roosevelt’s son Quentin in uniform, ca. 1917

On July 15, 1918, German aviators near the Marne shot down several American planes near the French village of Chancery, then held by Germany. Upon inspecting the coat pockets of the fallen enemy pilots, they discovered that one was celebrity socialite Quentin Roosevelt, the youngest son of former American President Teddy Roosevelt. An eyewitness American prisoner-of-war reported that the German officers, who explained that they had great respect for Teddy Roosevelt, buried his son Quentin with full military honors and an elaborate service. Three days later the village of Chancery was recaptured by the Allies. When soldiers discovered the headstone of Quentin Roosevelt, the grave became a point of pilgrimage for thousands of American troops. Teddy Roosevelt, who was an outspoken pro-war advocate throughout 1914–1918, was heartbroken by the death of his son and died six months after Quentin.

141

New York Journal-American

Mother and coffin, Hoboken, New Jersey, not dated

Gelatin silver print

The mother of an American soldier lifts the flag draped over the coffin of her son, a private in the American Expeditionary Force. Though General Pershing favored burying fallen American soldiers near the battlefields where they died, surviving relatives of the

soldiers were given the choice of having their loved ones permanently interred in large overseas cemeteries or brought back to the U.S. for reburial. When the war ended, the families of 43,909 dead troops asked for their remains to be brought back to the U.S., while roughly 20,000 chose to have the bodies remain in Europe. The first bodies of troops killed in the conflict were not sent back to the U.S. until 1921.

126, 127

A manuscript of W. B. Yeats's "In Memory of Robert Gregory," 1918

Poet W. B. Yeats (1865–1939) and dramatist Lady Augusta Gregory (1852–1932) were leaders of the early twentieth-century Irish Literary Revival, as well as being close friends. When Lady Gregory's beloved son Robert, a painter and Royal Flying Corps pilot, was shot down on the Italian Front in 1918, Lady Gregory asked Yeats to write an elegy in her son's honor. Though Yeats was conflicted about memorializing the young man's death due to the violent anti-war, anti-British feeling that had erupted in Ireland in the aftermath of the 1916 Easter Rising, he composed several poems dedicated to Robert Gregory, including "An Irish Airman Foresees His Death" and "In Memory of Robert Gregory."

Soon after Yeats completed the manuscript seen here, the Royal Air Force reported to Gregory's mother that her son had mistakenly been shot down by an Allied pilot.

128

Arthur Conan Doyle's record of a sitting with a spirit medium, November 1918

Sir Arthur Conan Doyle (1859–1930) began writing and lecturing about his belief in Spiritualism during the war "when all these splendid fellows were disappearing from our view." His son, Arthur Alleyne Kingsley Doyle, known as Kingsley, died in October 1918 of pneumonia contracted while recuperating from serious injuries sustained at the Battle of the Somme in 1916.

In this record of a personal sitting in which the spirit of Kingsley visits, Doyle records the medium's message in the left-hand column and his own assessment of its validity in the right-hand column.

Medium:

"Kingsley is here. Apologises for barging in."

Doyle:

"My son had died 6 weeks before. His name was given as Arthur in the papers. Calls me Dad. That is good. Usually Dadsy."

129

Unidentified photographer

A spirit photograph of a dead soldier, not dated

Gelatin silver print

Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, in addition to using mediums to contact his own dead son, collected “spirit photographs” such as this one of a dead soldier appearing to his surviving family members.

130

Unidentified photographer

Joyce Kilmer in uniform, ca. 1917

Gelatin silver print

American poet Joyce Kilmer (1886–1918), author of “Trees,” was enraged when Germany sank the *Lusitania* in 1915. His poem “The White Ships and the Red” helped foster anti-German feeling. Two weeks after the U.S. declared war he joined the Irish-American 165th infantry, known as the Rainbow Division. Though Kilmer was given the “bulletproof” job of statistician for the high command (who wanted Kilmer to concentrate on writing patriotic poetry), Kilmer insisted on being sent to the front lines. After finally achieving an assignment for scouting in No Man’s Land, Kilmer was killed by German machine gun fire during a raid on July 30, 1918. His poem “Rouge Bouquet,” which commemorated the deaths of two dozen members of his regiment during an artillery barrage, remains one of the best remembered American poems of the war.

131, 132, 133

Postcard photograph of Isaac Rosenberg, not dated

Manuscript of Rosenberg’s “The Dying Soldier,” not dated

Letter from Annie Rosenberg to John Rodker, April 28, 1918

Poet and painter Isaac Rosenberg (1890–1918) is considered one of the greatest English war poets. Critical of the war from the outset, Rosenberg nevertheless enlisted to help support his mother and was killed in France on April 1, 1918. Rosenberg’s sister, Annie, in a letter to writer and publisher John Rodker, asks Rodker’s help compiling Rosenberg’s work for posthumous publication.

“Killed in Action,” Rosenberg’s remarkable eulogy to himself, “so poor an outward man,” references his chronic poor health and his stature. He was initially assigned to a “bantam” battalion of men who stood less than 5’ 3” tall.

134, 135

Charles Hamilton Sorley's *Marlborough and Other Poems* (Cambridge University Press, 1916), 2nd edition

Letter from Robert Graves to William Ritchie Sorley, March 15, 1917

Robert Graves (1895–1985) sent this letter to the father of Charles Hamilton Sorley, a Scottish poet who was killed by a sniper at the Battle of Loos on October 13, 1915. Sorley's only volume of poems was published posthumously and went through six editions its first year. Sorley's last poem, recovered from his kit, contains some of his most famous lines: "When you see millions of the mouthless dead/Across your dreams in pale battalions go." Graves, in his memoir *Good-bye to All That*, described Sorley as "one of the three poets of importance killed during the war," Isaac Rosenberg and Wilfred Owen being the other two.

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Christina Broom (British, 1862–1939)

The unveiling of the Cenotaph, 1919

Gelatin silver print

London's famous war memorial, the Cenotaph, was erected in 1919 for the July 19 London Victory Parade that marked the signing of the Treaty of Versailles on June 28. Originally intended as a temporary structure, the Cenotaph was designed by well-known sculptor Sir Edwin Lutyens (1869–1944) and built of wood and plaster. For days after the parade, residents of London lay flowers, wreaths, and mementos of the lost at the base of the Cenotaph. These public acts of mourning encouraged the British war cabinet to announce on July 30 that the temporary structure would be replaced by a permanent stone memorial. Since its unveiling, the Cenotaph has remained the site of the National Service of Remembrance, which annually commemorates Armistice Day in Britain. By military law, all uniformed British servicemen must salute the Cenotaph as they pass it.

138

Eric Gill (British, 1882–1940)

Sketch for the British Museum War Memorial, 1922

Pencil

Artist, sculptor, and craftsman Eric Gill, who served briefly in 1918 as a driver at a British Royal Air Force transport camp, became one of the most sought-after war memorial artists of the postwar period. He designed and built memorials for Oxford,

Cambridge, and, as seen here, the British Museum. As Gill's pacifist and socialist beliefs deepened after the war, his war memorials became increasingly controversial. In Leeds, for example, he erected a war memorial depicting the Biblical story of Jesus turning the moneychangers out of the temple. Gill painted the money-changers as well known Leeds businessmen who had profited from the war effort.

425

Bulletin des écrivains, No. 49, July 1919

Beginning in November 1914, the *Bulletin des écrivains* informed French authors at the Front about their fellow enlisted writers, listing their addresses, citations, decorations, wounds, and deaths. This last issue of the *Bulletin* honored the French writers that had been killed or were missing: "Born to speak to others, they have sacrificed in the same heroic act, their life and the promised word, dead so that their silence speaks, that their gift may adorn the earth."

The Panthéon monument in Paris honors the 560 French authors who died during the First World War.

Clemenceau Vitrine

426 & 427

Georges Clemenceau's manuscript draft of « Prêt ! » laid in a first edition of *Traité de paix entre les puissances alliés et associées et l'Allemagne et protocole signées à Versailles, le 28 juin 1919* (Paris : Imprimerie nationale, 1919). The binding, with its repeating "V" for victory, was almost certainly designed by World War I veteran Pierre Legrain (1889–1929), and executed by René Kieffer (1876–1963).

Georges Delaw (French, 1871–1938)

Drawing of Georges Clemenceau, titled *Le Sauveur* (The Savior), on stationary from the French War Ministry, not dated
Ink on paper

In "Ready!," an editorial published on August 22, 1914 in his newspaper *L'Homme libre*, French statesman Georges Clemenceau (1841–1929) writes, "Let the terrible days come, then, when France must sacrifice to the dark Moloch of destiny the purest of her blood. She is resolved to live. She is resolved to live, not for the pleasure of the massacre, like her enemies, but that she may bring them to a peace founded on that justice which is the sole source of human grandeur. We stand rifle to rifle, cannon to cannon, and this time at least—all Frenchman stand forth to guarantee it—it is courage which will gain the victory."

Clemenceau, nicknamed “The Tiger,” was the French government’s most vocal critic on how the war was being conducted. His newspaper, *L’Homme libre* was regularly censored. However after the reverses and mutinies of spring 1917, Clemenceau was appointed Prime Minister in November, and he became responsible for articulating the French side of the peace demands.

After seven months of intense negotiation, the Treaty of Versailles was signed on June 28, 1919 at the Palace of Versailles on the anniversary of the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand and his wife at Sarajevo. The treaty has been maligned for its demand for onerous German war reparations, and its ineffectual League of Nations, but its most significant defect was without a doubt the cavalier and imperialist redrawing of borders, especially in the Middle East and Africa, the consequences of which are still felt.

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Fox newsreel interview with Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, 1927
Edited download from publicdomainreview.org/2012/06/29/sir-arthur-conan-doyle-interview-1927

Sir Arthur Conan Doyle’s son Kingsley died of pneumonia while convalescing from serious wounds inflicted during the Battle of the Somme. Doyle purportedly made contact with Kingsley through a medium in 1919. In this film, he explains his reasons for promoting spiritualism.