GEORGE WESLEY BELLOWS' WAR LITHOGRAPHS AND PAINTINGS OF 1918

by
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ABSTRACT

Title of Thesis: George Wesley Bellows' War Lithographs and Paintings of 1918

Krystyna Wasserman, Master of Arts, 1981

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This thesis analyzes the sources, subject matter and style of George Bellows' seventeen war lithographs, five paintings and five drawings of 1918. Evidence is advanced to prove that the political developments of the First World War were a decisive factor in the creation of the War Series by Bellows who otherwise had no interest in war themes. The development of Bellows' patriotic feelings, culminating in the creation of war lithographs as a response to the changes of United States policy from one of neutrality to one of full involvement in the European conflict and a state of war with Germany in April 1917, is traced in Bellows' art and political statements.

For the purpose of analysis Bellows' lithographs and paintings are divided into: scenes of atrocities depicting crimes committed by the German Army in Belgium in August 1914 as described in the Bryce Report published in the New York Times on May 13, 1915; Bellows' illustrations for the war stories published in magazines in 1918; and scenes

inspired by war events and war photographs. Thematic and stylistic comparisons with the works of old masters and contemporary European artists are made.

The study concludes that Bellows' war lithographs and paintings are not evaluated by modern critics as enthusiastically as most of his other works. It is suggested that one of the reasons why this is so, is the fact that Bellows who painted usually scenes he had known and seen, never went to war, and thus had to rely on articles, correspondence or photographs rather than on personal observations to determine the subjects of his war lithographs and paintings.

To my husband Paul, without whom

I would never know the country of Bellows

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Beginning with her guidance in helping me to organize my work and focus on its main themes, through aiding me in selecting the salient elements of the material and on to the laborious editing stages, Dr. Elizabeth Johns, my advisor, contributed in innumerable ways to the final form of this study. For this, as well as her unswerving support, sustained interest and patience with one for whom the English language poses particular barriers, I should like to express my deepest gratitude.

I am very grateful to Dr. Edith Tonelli for reading my thesis with such insight and critical perspective. Her comments added significantly in the clarification and definition of many issues and in improving stylistic and grammatical features of the work.

Dr. Josephine Withers' valuable suggestions were another important support element in the revision of the final manuscript.

All the Bellows' war lithographs, paintings and drawings described in this thesis with the exception of the drawing of The Murder of Edith Cavell were seen by the author. It took some effort to achieve this and to those who facilitated my undertakings I want to offer my grateful thanks.

Several of Bellows' war lithographs are in the collection

of prints of the Library of Congress. For showing them to me I am indebted to Mrs. Karen Beall, curator of Fine Prints, Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division.

The necessity to examine the whole War Series required a trip to the Mead Art Gallery at Amherst College. The War Series had been presented to Amherst College and its Gallery, by Professor Charles Hill Morgan, former Chairman of the Amherst Art History Department and author of the biography George Bellows: Painter of America. Because of Morgan's interest in Bellows the artist's daughters, Mrs. Maynard Kearney (Anne) and Mrs. Earl M. Booth (Jean) had decided to donate their father's papers to the Robert Frost Library at Amherst. These papers, which include handwritten notes and letters, newspaper clippings, photographs and other material, in combination with Professor Morgan's research and correspondence regarding Bellows' art and life made for an unusual scholarly resource which I was fortunate enough to explore. The Bellows' papers however failed to provide very much material on the war period.

I am deeply grateful to Bellows' youngest daughter, Mrs. Jean M. Booth, for being interested enough in my research to assist me. It was she who wrote the librarian of the Special Collection at Amherst recommending that I be allowed to examine her father's papers. She supported my request to view several war paintings stored by Bellows' dealer Mr. Gordon Allison of New York. I am also grateful

to her for directing my attention to Bellows' letters to Robert Henri, in the Yale University Library, some of which included minor references to the war paintings, and for answering questions regarding her father's reading habits.

To Professor Morgan I wish to extend my warmest thanks for discussing with me sources for his book George Bellows: Painter of America, especially for the chapter related to the war lithographs and paintings.

Mr. John Lancaster, Special Collection Librarian at the Amherst Library and Mrs. Joanne C. Dougherty provided me with access to Bellows' and Professor Morgan's papers and made available to me photocopies of several articles.

Mrs. Judy Barter, curator of the Mead Art Gallery of Amherst College allowed me to examine and photograph all lithographs in the War Series as well as some other works of Bellows' owned by the Gallery.

I am very grateful to Mr. Gordon Allison of H. V. Allison Gallery of New York, dealer in Bellows' paintings and his family friend. He not only invited me to examine the war lithographs but also allowed me to study Bellows' handwritten record book, old magazines and clippings including reproductions of Bellows' drawings. I am particularly appreciative of his permitting me to see and photograph in the warehouse the rarely exhibited three oil canvases of Bellows which are based on his war lithographs, The Barricade, The Germans Arrive, The Massacre at Dinant.

I was permitted to examine the fourth war canvas of Bellows' The Return of the Useless through the courtesy of the Hirschl and Adler Gallery representative, Mrs. M. P. Naud, who arranged for the showing with the owner. I am grateful to Mrs. M. P. Naud and to Mrs. Ruxton Love, the owner of the painting.

Four drawings of Bellows for the war lithographs, in the Wiggin Collection, Boston Public Library were made accessible to the author thanks to the helpful staff of the Wiggin Collection, Mr. Sinclair Hitchings, Mr. Paul Swenson and Ms. Alexandra Lee.

I am grateful to Ms. Elizabeth Roth, Keeper of Prints of the New York Public Library, Prints Division, for making available the vertical files on Bellows and for retrieving catalogues of the earliest exhibition of war lithographs.

Lisa Browar of the Yale University Library kindly provided photocopies of the correspondence from Bellows to Henri written in 1918.

I would like to acknowledge the help of the Director of the Archives of American Art in Washington, D.C., Dr. Garnett McCoy who suggested that I read Max Eastman's Love and Revolution and Richard Fitzgerald's Art and Politics, as background material for this thesis. He also discussed with me the political attitude of the socialists' movement in the USA in the years preceding American

involvement in the First World War and the role of The Masses in this movement.

The opportunity to study the war works of the European artists for the purpose of comparison with Bellows' lithographs was facilitated by the availability of a splendid collection of lithographs, etchings, watercolors and drawings by European artists of the First World War period, assembled by Maj. Willard D. Straight and deposited on loan in the Library of Congress by his family in 1950. While permission was granted to photograph all of these works, the variable quality of the photographs was due to this author's limited photographic skills.

I am most grateful to Mr. Bernard Reilly, Curator of the Department of Popular and Applied Graphic Art of the LC Prints and Photographs Division for permission to examine the Willard Straight Collection and for offering me easy access to the Division's prints.

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Oh God, why I was not born a wolf or a tiger
who kills only when he must, and who never
destroys his own kind. Man alone amongst
your creatures oppresses, tortures and kills
his brothers in the name of abstract ideas
invented by himself. Only a man is capable
of crimes nonsensical.

Marek Żuławski, Studium do Autoportretu,
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

In the many publications written about George Bellows, there has not yet been any extensive research published about his war lithographs and paintings of 1918. The present study is an analysis of the sources, subject matter and style of these lithographs and paintings. It seeks to explain their creation as a consequence of the political developments of the First World War. It explores Bellows' decision to use the Bryce Report describing German atrocities committed in Belgium in the Fall of 1914 as source-material for several lithographs, rather than the war events closer to the time of the execution of the War Series in April 1918. It also considers whether and how Bellows' war works relate to the other works of the artist.

Chapter II describes the political situation in the United States during the First World War and Bellows' reaction to these events as reflected in his art and statements.

Chapter III offers an analysis of Bellows' series of seventeen war lithographs, five paintings and five drawings created as a protest against German atrocities committed in Belgium and France. In this chapter the iconography of the war series is investigated taking into account the following

sources: 1) The Bryce Report, published in the New York Times, May 13, 1915; 2) Brand Whitlock's serial "Belgium," published in Everybody's Magazine from February 1918 until January 1919; 3) Reports from the front published in the American press during the period 1914 to 1918; 4) Depictions of war by Goya and the works of European artists contemporary with Bellows;[1] and 5) Christian iconography.

In the concluding chapter an attempt is made to evaluate the reaction of the American public and fellow artists to the War Series.

The subject of this thesis may be depressing and the artistic quality of the works discussed not always of the highest rank; however, Bellows' war lithographs and paintings are worthy of exploration for what they reveal of one powerful artist's perception of the ever-present human instinct for destruction.

CHAPTER II

THE POLITICAL SITUATION, 1914-1918, AND BELLOWS' REACTION TO THE WAR DEVELOPMENTS

On August 5, 1914 Germany invaded Belgium. "A formal declaration of hostilities has been issued by the Kaiser and at least two columns of German troops have crossed the Belgian frontier. This violation of Belgian neutrality followed the failure of a second German ultimatum to induce Belgium to permit the passage of the Kaiser's troops to the French border."[2] President Wilson proclaimed the neutrality of the United States and barred all military aid to the belligerent nations. He was praised in the August 9, 1914 issue of the New York Times by a poet, Lurana Sheldon, as a King of Peace:

> Now in the chaos of this warring sphere,
> What King as noble as our Peace King here.

The possibility of active participation in the European conflict in 1914 seemed rather remote. Because the United States had not been invaded, Americans believed they should remain neutral. John Jay Chapman summarized the attitude of the majority of Americans in the article "The Teuton and the Uplift" in the September 1918 issue of Vanity Fair, suggesting that the delay in the United States entry into the European conflict was due to American unwillingness to

face the problems which had been eliminated from their philosophy of life,--"fierce, distant and uncertain things, bloody and unhygienic, things not to be settled by circulars, classes and kindness . . . The people will not fight except for an idea,--unless indeed they are being invaded which we were not."

Even though the United States government maintained its policy of neutrality, from the beginning of the war the American press published extensive reports from the European front. Newspapers analyzed the causes of the war. Daily accounts of battles and photographs from the trenches were published while the reports of journalists tended to reflect a feeling of sympathy and compassion for the suffering Belgians.

George Bellows, like most Americans, was not preoccupied with the war. When in the summer of 1916 the Government proclaimed "Preparedness Day" (prophetic of the future military involvement of the U.S. in the war), the artist produced a cheerful satirical drawing Prepare America, fig. 1, depicting a young woman, looking very much like Bellows' wife Emma, pinning a button on the lapel of a young man's jacket in the park.

During the years 1914-1917 Bellows contributed several drawings to the socialist magazine The Masses. At the time The Masses was known for graphic excellence. The contributing artists were John Sloan, Glenn O. Coleman, Henry Glintenkamp, Art Young, Stuart Davis, Boardman Robinson and

others. Bellows was introduced to The Masses by Sloan who was the art director of the magazine. The Masses from the beginning of the war took a strong antiwar position. Its editorial policy was to maintain that the war was caused by international competition for new markets and profits and that the United States should not have anything to do with the governments of the belligerent nations. The magazine expressed support for the workers of all the countries involved in the war and encouraged them to turn the imperialistic war into an international revolution and civil war against capitalism and imperialism. These ideas were very much in the spirit of Lenin and the Bolsheviks in Russia who were then preparing for the Great October Revolution.

The German methods of fighting the war were ruthless. Their total disregard for international laws and opinion of neutral countries caused the United States to reconsider its neutral position. Europe was bleeding, millions were killed on both sides. American and British ships with cargo and foods were torpedoed. The oceanliner Lusitania was sunk in May 1915 by a German submarine with 128 Americans on board causing an uproar and wave of protests all around the world. The waters surrounding the Eastern United States were no longer safe. Families were afraid to vacation on the coast of Maine, as was the case with Bellows' family, who went to Ogunquit in the summer of 1915 and to Camden in 1916.[3]

In the meantime Bellows published several drawings in

The Masses such as Playmates, in the March 1915 issue, fig. 2, depicting two fighting boxers. The title, which might have been assigned by the editors of The Masses (who were known to provide political captions to non-political drawings),[4] had a satirical connotation in the context of the war. In the April 1915 issue of The Masses there is a full-page untitled drawing by Bellows on the cover, fig. 3, representing a soldier on horseback, in the dark landscape. Dead bodies are on the ground. In the right corner a soldier is holding the head of a wounded companion. Another Bellows' drawing in The Masses of May 1915 entitled The Savior of His Race, fig. 4, shows a boxer resting between rounds, his arms stretched on the ropes like Christ's on the cross. Next to the boxer the two managers and a trainer of the fighter are seen whispering advice on how to win the next round in his ear, massaging his loins, spitting water on his face and waving a towel to cool him. The crowd is watching in the background. The title of the drawing might have been provided by the editors of The Masses in this case as well or Bellows might have selected the title. If the artist conceived the nations at war as analogous to a boxing match he was not alone in such perception. The drawing of a Belgian artist Pierre Boine entitled Match Europeen de 1914-1915 depicts a boxing ring surrounded by prominent figures of the time watching the bout. They are Grand Duc Nicolas, Joffre, Mikado, Pierre Ier, Nicolas Montenegro, François Joseph,

Le Kaiser, Enver Pasha and President of the United States Woodrow Wilson,[5] fig. 5.

The most political of Bellows' cartoons, reflecting the influence of the socialist ideology on the artist, was the drawing of Christ in prison stripes, published in the July 1917 issue of The Masses, fig. 6. Christ symbolized a pacifist who was imprisoned for discouraging young Americans to enlist in the army and for representing the Christian and pacifist point of view that human beings should not kill and that peacemakers were to be blessed. The same drawing had appeared unsigned earlier in March 1917 in an anarchist magazine The Blast published in San Francisco by Alexander Berkman. Bellows had a leaning toward anarchism. He felt "close sympathy for the anarchist movement until the entry of the United States into World War I."[6] He was a friend of Emma Goldman, a Russian-born anarchist, who believed, as Bellows did, in the unlimited freedom of the individual.[7] Bellows, however, unlike many anarchists, did not believe in political violence. When anarchists bombed a Preparedness Day Parade in San Francisco in 1916, causing the death of many innocent people, "he vigorously disapproved of the slaughter . . ."[8]

By 1917 most of the American press saw in the European conflict a struggle between the absolutism of the Kaiser and the democracy of the Allied Forces and declared that the United States should cast its lot with the Allies on the fighting line of democracy.[9] The Government could no

longer be indifferent to German provocations and limit itself to economic and moral support of the Allies. President Wilson decided to declare war on Germany. In his message to the Congress on April 2, 1917 the President said: "The world must be made safe for democracy. Its peace must be planted upon the trusted foundations of political liberty[10] . . . Neutrality is no longer feasible or desirable when the peace of the world is involved and the freedom of its peoples, and the menace to that peace and freedom lies in the existence of autocratic government backed by organized force, which is controlled wholly by their will, not by the will of their people."[11] The President understood that "it is a fearful thing to lead great peaceful people into war, into the most terrible and disastrous of all wars," but he believed that "the right is more precious than peace . . . and that the day has come when America is privileged to spend her blood and her might for the principles that gave her birth and happiness and the peace which she has treasured. God helping her, she can do no other."[12] Patriotic fervor spread in the United States and the Government demanded support and loyalty from its citizens. Those who supported the Kaiser, as did some German-Americans, were ostracized and considered traitors. Those who wrote antiwar or anti-conscription articles were put on trial.

The issue of pacifism divided the staff of The Masses into two groups. Sloan and Bellows "tried to take over the magazine and re-direct it toward its former libertarian and

eclectic nature."[13] They failed. John Sloan, Glenn O. Coleman, Stuart Davis, Henry Glintenkamp and the writer Robert Carlton Brown then left the magazine. Sloan dropped his membership in the socialist party and ceased to be politically active.[14] Bellows remained on the staff of The Masses after Sloan's departure in 1917 and suggested a reorganization of the art work of The Masses. A typescript corrected by Bellows outlined the plan in which drawing and illustration were to be given more importance. The artist suggested: "You have to get rid of obvious, heavy propaganda--the public will not read it--and make what propaganda there may be, subtle, interesting, full of wit and art or not at all" and proposed that the art and the literature department of The Masses should be made entirely separate but equally important.[15] In 1917 Bellows contributed six illustrations to The Masses which, with the exception of the imprisoned Christ in the July issue, were all of a nonpolitical nature, mostly nudes and cityscapes. Bellows' efforts to neutralize the propagandistic bias and antiwar position of The Masses failed.

Charlene Engel in her unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, "George Bellows' Illustrations for The Masses and other Magazines and the Sources of his Lithographs of 1916-1917," suggests that Bellows had friends on the political left. However the attraction of The Masses and later of Liberator, where he published two drawings in 1919 of a nonpolitical nature, was for him more artistic than political. "The

two magazines were the forum where his works could be widely seen."[16]

The August 1917 issue of The Masses was held up by the Post Office Department which had the power under the Espionage Act to exclude from the mails anything which might interfere with the successful conduct of war. Max Eastman, the editor of The Masses, remembers four cartoons and four passages of text cited as violations of the law:

> The cartoons were: a drawing by H. J. Glintenkamp of the Liberty Bell falling to pieces along the old cracks; a cartoon, also by Glintenkamp, entitled "Conscription"--two naked young men, "Labor" and "Youth," chained to a cannon, and a naked woman, "Democracy," lashed to its wheel; a double page by Boardman Robinson, "Making the World Safe for Capitalism," showing Elihu Root preparing a noose for the Petrograd Soviet (satirizing the famous "Root Mission," which had been sent to Russia in a forlorn attempt to keep her in the war); a cartoon by Art Young representing a group of big businessmen studying "War Plans" with Congress at the door hat-in-hand: "Excuse me, gentlemen, where do I come in?" "Run along now!--we got through with you when you declared war for us."[17]

As a result of the trial in October 1917 The Masses lost its mailing privilege and its editors were indicted for obstructing recruitment into the armed forces.

Bellows was deeply affected by the change in the United States policy from an isolationist stance to active participation in the war. The artist whose "Americanism" was often emphasized in terms of his preoccupation with the American scene, his reluctance to travel abroad and his skepticism in adopting the avant-garde experiments coming from Europe, suddenly became a cosmopolitan, sensitive to the miseries

and disasters of the Allied nations. He expressed his feelings toward France very clearly in a never-published article, preserved in the Amherst collection, in which he said: "Her war was our war in our hearts from the beginning, her peace will be our peace and the peace of Man."[18] Bellows was grateful, like many Americans that the Allies fought the war in Europe rather than on American soil. The artist understood the horror of war but he was torn between the idea of dying for the country as a patriot would do, and a pacifist's belief that the United States was never invaded and should not get involved in the European conflict. The patriot won over the pacifist, in Bellows' sense of right and wrong, "because the patriot does not have the chance to be a coward." Bellows expressed his feelings about patriotism, democracy and war in an interview for the Touchstone in July 1917. "I am a patriot for beauty"--George Bellows announced--"I would enlist in any army to make the world more beautiful. I would go to war for an ideal--far more easily than I could for a country. Democracy is an idea for me, is the Big Idea. I cannot believe that democracy can be dropped out of existence because of the purpose of one or of many nations . . . If you think you know democracy has got to win--not in this nation or in that, but freedom for the whole world."[19]

When the country needed him, Bellows translated his ideas into action. In response to President Wilson's appeal to the nation "for the final demonstration of loyalty,

democracy and the will to win" which meant a selective draft of all men in the United States who were not yet in the military service, the artist, together with his close friend Eugene Speicher, volunteered his services for the Tank Corps. Bellows was never sent to Europe. Perhaps as a substitute for personal involvement, he created a series of lithographs which he called the "War Portfolio."

CHAPTER III

SOURCES AND ANALYSIS OF BELLOWS' WAR LITHOGRAPHS, PAINTINGS AND DRAWINGS

A. Sources

When Bellows suggested to the editors of The Masses in 1917 that they should get rid of obvious heavy propaganda he did not know that very soon he would produce the most propagandistic lithographs of the period. They were not subtle, full of wit and art as he thought propaganda should be, but heavy with political content and anger.

According to Bellows' biographer Charles Hill Morgan, the war lithographs, called also the "War Series" or the "War Portfolio" were created in April and May 1918.[20] By the end of May, Bellows had produced sixteen prints and two variants of these, an amazing record of more than two designs a week.[21] However, there are some discrepancies regarding the number and the titles of the lithographs belonging to the War Series. They were definitely created in 1918 but there is no indication that they were indeed executed during the months of April and May. There is no established chronology for the creation of particular lithographs and the only relevant document--Bellows' record book--lists fourteen titles under the year 1918, without providing specific dates for any of the lithographs. They are recorded under

the title "War Portfolio" in the following order:[22]

1. Belgian Farmyard (untitled)
2. Massacre at Dinant
3. The Germans Arrive
4. The Cigarette
5. The Baccanale (sic)
6. Base Hospital No. 1
7. Base Hospital No. 2
8. Sniped
9 Russian Charge
10. Murder of Edith Cavell, also drawing
11. Gott Strafe England
12. Barricade
13. The Last Victim
14. Return of the Useless, also drawing

Emma Bellows added the following three titles to the list of war lithographs in her book, George W. Bellows: His Lithographs:[23]

15. The Charge, detail
16. Battlefield, detail
17. The Barricade No. 2

and her titles differ slightly from Bellows' record book titles. For example The Massacre at Dinant is called Massacre; The Germans Arrive is called The Enemy Arrive; Russian Charge is called The Charge; Murder of Edith Cavell is called Edith Cavell.

The main source for the War Portfolio was the Bryce Report. Viscount James Bryce, the famous historian and British Ambassador to Washington was made the Chairman of the Committee investigating alleged German atrocities committed on civilians in Belgium from August 4th to August 30th, 1914. The British Home Office collected evidence of German crimes from Belgian witnesses, some soldiers, but most of them civilians from towns and villages through which the German army passed, and from British officers and soldiers. More than 1200 depositions made by the witnesses were submitted by the Committee to the public and excerpts appeared in the New York Times on May 13, 1915. Bellows admitted in his comment on one of the war lithographs The Cigarette, fig. 15, exhibited in Albert Roullier's Art Galleries in Chicago in 1919, that the tragic image of a woman with her breasts cut off was inspired by the Bryce Report. Bellows' caption for The Cigarette reads: "Mutilated woman stripped and impaled to a door. A lieutenant smokes on the doorstep. The Bryce Report has much testimony about events of this character."[24] Charles Morgan, in the biography of Bellows,[25] and Lauris Mason in the catalogue raisonné of Bellows' lithographs[26] confirm the influence of the Bryce Report on the War Series. Mason considers at least seven prints as Bellows' conceptions of the events described in the Bryce Report.[27] They are: 1) Village Massacre, 2) Gott Strafe, 3) The Last Victim, 4) The Cigarette, 5) The Bacchanale, 6) The Germans Arrive, and 7) Belgian

Farmyard.

A thorough analysis of the Bryce Report fails to provide any evidence to corroborate the inclusion of Gott Strafe as one of the lithographs motivated by the text of the Report, but one additional lithograph, The Barricade, can be attributed to this source based upon the concordances between the text of the Bryce Report and the situation depicted by Bellows' lithograph.

The time lapse between the publication of the Bryce Report in May 1915 and the execution of the War Series in April 1918 is difficult to explain. Why did Bellows wait three years to express his feelings about the German invasion of Belgium? Perhaps it can be partly explained by Bellows' previously neutral stance and his pacifistic leanings, similar to those of most Americans toward the European conflict. His transformation into a patriot and supporter of the Allies appears to have taken place only after the United States entered the war. Morgan suggests that Bellows accidentally came upon a copy of the Bryce Report in 1918 and was absorbed and horrified by its content.[28] This could be so. However, there is one source hitherto unacknowledged by either Bellows or those who wrote about him which also could have contributed to the creation of the War Series. This is a series of articles by Brand Whitlock entitled "Belgium," published in Everybody's Magazine in twelve installments, starting from February 1918, the year of the execution of War Series.

Brand Whitlock was the United States Minister to Belgium. He was stationed there from December 1913 until the United States joined the Allied Forces in 1917, and he personally witnessed the tragedy of Belgium. The editor of Everybody's Magazine, Howard Wheeler, in introducing the Whitlock series, wrote: "Who in the world could stir the American people more profoundly than could Whitlock. He has seen. He knows. He can tell powerfully."[29] In April and in May of 1918 Whitlock's third and fourth installments described the atrocities committed by the Kaiser's army which correspond directly to the period in which Bellows worked on the war lithographs. That Bellows was aware of Everybody's Magazine and Whitlock's series is strongly suggested by the fact that two of his drawings appeared in 1918 in that magazine. One, in April, illustrated a story by Perceval Gibbon, "Russia's Red Road to Berlin." The other, entitled The Return of the Useless, appeared in December as an illustration for the eleventh installment of Whitlock's serial "Belgium: The Crowning Crime." This drawing, later transferred to stone, became one of the lithographs in the War Series. The subject of the drawing refers to Whitlock's article which describes the homeward return of Belgian prisoners who were unfit for further work. This theme was never covered by the Bryce Report because these returns had not yet taken place at the time when the Report was written. Whitlock's reports describe life in Belgium under the German occupation until the end

of the war, while the Bryce Report ends with the events of the fall 1914. Therefore it seems reasonable to deduce that the lithograph The Return of the Useless was not created in April or May 1918, as Morgan believes, but rather in the fall of 1918 to illustrate Whitlock's article. It is highly probable that Bellows had read both the Bryce Report and Whitlock's serial "Belgium" and found in each of them subjects for the war lithographs. Both documents describe the early developments of World War I, but the Bryce Report, based upon the testimony of Belgian peasants and soldiers, contains more shocking details of the Belgian tragedy than the more literary cycle of articles presented by Whitlock. We know from Bellows' captions for his lithographs[30] that he had read the Bryce Report. We do not know, however, whether he had read it in May 1915, when it was published in The New York Times, or sometime later. If he had read it in May 1915, a later reading of Whitlock's serial might have reminded him about the tragic scenes and compelled him to reread the Report. Another hypothesis is also possible. Bellows may have read Whitlock's serial in the March and April 1918 issues of Everybody's Magazine first, and then, as he was searching for themes for the War Portfolio, he may have turned to the Bryce Report and found there all the graphic details of German atrocities he needed for his series. It is impossible to determine which of

these two sources for the war lithographs Bellows read first, but it is clear that both were stimulation for the artist.

At the time of the creation of the War Series Bellows was strongly influenced by the art theoretician Jay Hambidge. His influence is not related to the subject of the War Series but to the composition of the individual lithographs in the War Portfolio. Bellows attended Hambidge's classes in the Salmagundi Club in 1917 and was very much interested in his theory of dynamic symmetry. This theory ". . . involved ratios and roots and elementary mathematics. . . . it consisted of a series of geometric formulae governing the relationships of squares and rectangles within a composition," explains Bellows' biographer, Morgan,[31] who also maintains that dynamic symmetry became "the most important single influence on George's work for the rest of his life."[32] Bellows himself admitted this influence in an article "What Dynamic Symmetry Means to Me," published in the American Art Student, June 1921, in which he said: ". . . ever since I met Mr. Hambidge and studied with him I have painted very few pictures without at the same time working on his theory. I believe it to be as profound as the law of lever or the law of gravitation . . . a great and interesting tool."[33] ". . . [the] study of dynamic symmetry is probably more valuable than study of anatomy."[34] Morgan suggests that dynamic symmetry "seemed to Bellows an answer to the puzzle the Cubists had presented, a demonstrable

relationship between flat planes."[35] Milton Brown maintains that the appeal of dynamic symmetry was based on the combination of "a reputed discovery of an ancient formula and enough mathematical complication to appear scientific"[36] and considers dynamic symmetry a pseudo-science in which principles and laws governing science were misapplied to art.[37] Hambidge tried to oppose the modern tendency of regarding art as purely instinctive. He, according to the tradition of American art which often sought answers to questions in science, believed that "instinct and feeling must be directed by knowledge and judgement . . . and that . . . symmetry provides the means of ordering and correlating our design and ideas."[38] Hambidge tried to impose the laws of geometry upon composition. His theory reduced the composition to geometric constructions based on the infinite subdivisions of a rectangle. Hambidge maintained that dynamic symmetry introduces assymetric balances and in general introduces life and movement into the composition. He believed that dynamic symmetry was used by Greeks who inherited it from Egyptians, as a method of fixing proportions and controlling the composition in painting.

Bellows agreed with the theory of his mentor and laws of geometry came to rule his composition. "There are no successful pictures without a geometric basis . . .", Bellows wrote. ". . . in years gone by much talk was heard on 'triangulation' and students and artists were told they must have a triangle in their compositions. It is hardly

possible to paint any picture without a triangle appearing,--but the limited knowledge, tightened down to the triangle theory, hurt painting and 'tied up' the artists' knowledge. Contrary to the single triangle theory, dynamic symmetry gives a freedom impossible elsewhere."[39]

Emil Armin, a well-known Chicago artist who studied with Bellows at the Art Institute of Chicago in 1919, wrote in a letter some interesting details about Bellows' methods of teaching the rules of dynamic symmetry to students: "He made diagrams on the blackboard for the students in composition, simplifying Hambidge's rediscovery of dynamic symmetry and encouraged students to create compositions of familiar objects and scenes."[40] In some of Bellows' drawings from that period the lines of the formula were applied on the top of the sketch, fig. 7. It is unfortunate that we do not have any examples of application of formula lines in relation to the War Series. It was often observed that Bellows' works after 1917 lost their spontaneity and vigor in an attempt to conform to the rules of dynamic symmetry. Artificiality of poses and the stage-like arrangement of some of the war lithographs were blamed on the influence of dynamic symmetry.

Morgan tried to explain Bellows' interest in dynamic symmetry as a form of escape from the state of chaos and disturbance created by World War I. "When civilization seemed bent on its own destruction, the contemplation of a simple and well ordered cosmos provided a welcome refuge."[41]

Dynamic symmetry seemed to be such a refuge to Bellows, a refuge where the laws of geometry and order reigned supreme. A similar explanation is suggested by William Inness Homer who analyzed Robert Henri's infatuation with dynamic symmetry in his monograph Robert Henri and His Circle.[42]

The war lithographs inspired five oil canvasses which were executed during the summer and fall of 1918. Bellows worked on them in Middletown, Rhode Island, where he spent the summer vacation with his family, and later in New York. They are listed below in the order of their creation:

1. Massacre at Dinant
2. The Germans Arrive
3. Return of the Useless
4. Edith Cavell
5. The Barricade

and discussed together with the lithographs. Why several of the war lithographs were used as the themes for the paintings while others were not, remains an unanswered question. One of the reasons may be that by the time Bellows had finished his five canvasses the armistice had been signed. If the war had lasted longer Bellows might have continued to use the war lithographs as material for the paintings. Since the war was over the artist turned his attention to happier subjects.

Bellows also executed five drawings, thematically identical with the lithographs from the War Series. They are:

1. The Base Hospital
2. The Last Victim
3. The Barricade
4. The Return of the Useless
5. The Murder of Edith Cavell

The drawings are undated and it is difficult to ascertain whether they were created as preparatory drawings for the lithographs or as independent sketches. The drawings are discussed together with the lithographs and the paintings.

Bellows' War Series was shown publicly soon after its creation. Frederick Keppel's Gallery in New York handled George Bellows' lithographs from the time he began to produce them in 1916. After finishing the War Series Bellows brought this shocking set of lithographs to the assistant manager, William Allison. Allison was a man more interested in Bellows' new prints than the potential profits from their sales. He was surprised to see the War Series--so unlike Bellows' other works on stone. Bellows explained to Allison that "he had to draw them." Allison is said to have answered. "If you had to draw them then we have to show them."[43] And they did. From November 7 to 23, 1918 the Keppel Gallery held an exhibition of lithographs of George Bellows, among which was the War Series. In the introduction to the catalogue Bellows said: "In presenting these pictures of the tragedies of [World] War I I wish to disclaim any intention of attacking a race or a people. Guilt is personal not racial. Against that guilty

clique and all its tools, who organize and let loose upon innocence every diabolical device and insane instinct, my hatred goes forth together with my profound reverence for the victims."[44]

For the next exhibition of the War Series in the Albert Roullier Art Galleries in Chicago in January 1919, Bellows provided comments for individual lithographs. Some of these comments served as explanations of the sources used for specific lithographs, for example, the use of a photograph for the Base Hospital. Others provided information on the content of the image. The caption for the Murder of Edith Cavell described the circumstances of her execution; in the comment for Gott Strafe England Bellows explained that the soldiers who are being tortured are British "Tommies." In one case the caption explained that the lithograph The Germans Arrive was a study for a painting and was drawn for the Liberty Loan. The lithographs illustrating stories in the magazines such as The Charge, Sniped in Colliers and the Return of the Useless in Everybody's Magazine were provided either with a quotation from the story (The Charge) or with Bellows' own description of the image (Sniped, The Return of the Useless). All these captions and comments are quoted and discussed in the following analysis of the individual prints. Without Bellows' explanatory descriptions, the War Series would lose its documentary character. These lithographs were intended as illustrations of specific events which took place in Europe in the fall of 1914 and

Bellows' comments informed the public of what was being represented.

B. Analysis

For the purpose of analysis the lithographs belonging to the War Series are divided into three groups.

1. The Lithographs Inspired by the Bryce Report Testimonies

The lithographs in the first group depict scenes of atrocities and crimes committed by German soldiers on civilians in Belgium in August 1914 as they were reported by the eyewitnesses to the Bryce Committee investigating these crimes.

This group of lithographs is compared with the depictions of scenes of atrocities executed by the European artists of the period, in most part French and Belgian, whose works were found in the Major Willard Straight Collection (on loan in the Library of Congress). Comparisons are also made with the works of other artists, either old masters or Bellows' contemporaries, whose works thematically or stylistically are comparable to the War Series.

In this group are included the following works:

1. Belgian Farmyard (lithograph)
2. The Cigarette (lithograph)
3. The Last Victim (lithograph and drawing)
4. The Bacchanale (lithograph)
5. The Germans Arrive (lithograph and painting)

6. Massacre at Dinant (lithograph and painting)

7. The Barricade (lithograph and drawing)

We shall start our analysis by discussing three of Bellows' lithographs, Belgian Farmyard, The Cigarette and The Last Victim which depict torture and abuse of Belgian women by German invaders.

Belgian Farmyard

In the Belgian Farmyard,[45] fig. 8, a German soldier has raped a Belgian girl. The crime has taken place on a secluded farm, with the night the only witness to the drama. Bellows chose to depict the aftermath of the crime. The artist's caption in the Albert Roullier Catalogue describes the Belgian Farmyard scene as follows: "The girl was violated against her will and left dead or unconscious on the ground. The eternal crime when the animal is let loose."[46] Scenes like this were reported by a witness quoted in the Bryce Report who testified seeing "a girl of seventeen dressed only in chemise and in great distress. She alleged that she herself and other girls had been dragged into a field, stripped naked and violated, and that some of them had been killed with the bayonet."[47]

Examining the lithograph we see a soldier getting dressed. A young woman lies on the grass. The soldier's gun is still on the ground. His back is turned toward us. The moon throws its light on the face of the girl, on her white blouse and her petticoat. Her skirt is still raised.

She does not move. Her arms are extended as if she would be nailed to a cross. Her face is almost serene. We do not know whether she is dead or alive.

The composition of the lithograph is shaped like a letter "L." The standing soldier creates a strong vertical and the girl's horizontal body balances the composition. The soldier, the girl and the fence (which looks like an extension of the right arm of the girl), create a triangle.

The theme of soldiers violating women in invaded countries is as old as the history of war. Traditionally, some artists have emphasized the act of violence itself; as in Goya's No Quieren (They do not want to), fig. 9, or Amarga Presencia (Bitter Presence), fig. 10, from The Disasters of War series, or Otto Dix's Soldat und Nonne (Soldier and the Nun) from Der Krieg series, fig. 11.

A work that is more contemporary with Bellows' Belgian Farmyard, and which also depicts as the American artist's print does, the aftermath of the crime rather than the act of violence, is an undated lithograph by Jean Julian, Un Brave!!!, fig. 12. We identify in the print a German soldier standing at the entrance to the house and a young woman lying on the ground very much like a girl from the Belgian Farmyard. Another soldier is raising a toast to the "brave" companion who is hoping to be rewarded for his barbarian act with an Iron Cross (Et avec ça j'aurai la Croix de Fer!!!). The composition of both works is similar but the scenery where the act of violence took place is different. Julian's

scene was enacted in front of the house while Bellows' setting is the outdoor farmyard.

The Cigarette

One of the most dramatic lithographs in Bellows' War Series is The Cigarette, fig. 13. There are only two dramatis personae: the victim and the murderer. Bellows' caption identifies the scene as a "mutilated woman stripped and impaled to the door. A lieutenant smokes on the doorstep. The Bryce Report has much testimony about events of this character."[48] And as Bellows implied, the Bryce witnesses testified that women were attacked and bayoneted, and in a number of cases their breasts were cut off. "In Malines itself one witness saw a German soldier cut a woman's breast after he had murdered her, and many other dead bodies of women in the street."[49] Another witness reported in the Bryce Report the following horror story: "At a village called Putte, between Liere and Malines, my patrol came to a farmhouse. The door of the farmhouse was pushed back against the wall and we found the dead body of a girl, apparently 18 years of age, evidently some time dead. Her arms were nailed to the door in extended fashion, the front part of her dress torn away and her left breast half cut away, and numerous other bayonet wounds on the chest, some piercing through to the back."[50]

Bellows documented these testimonies in The Cigarette, as they were described in the Bryce Report, but he added his

own idea--the cigarette smoked by a German soldier. This cigarette made the lithograph particularly poignant. The contrast of the white naked body of the mutilated woman, her face distorted by a paroxysm of pain, with the soldier puffing calmly on his cigarette is one of the most eloquent protests of the artist against the inhumanity of a man.

The furniture in the room where the crime was committed is in disarray. The mattress is on the floor, the chair is turned over. The window is open. The shutters are broken off their hinges. A fight must have taken place before its tragic conclusion. In the left corner, on the window sill lies another dead woman, an older one, perhaps the mother of the girl nailed to the door. The wind blows the curtains behind the head of the dead woman on the window sill.

Bellows' admiration for Goya has been documented. The artist acquired knowledge and taste for the Spanish master from his teacher and best friend Robert Henri.[51] Thematic similarities between Bellows' war lithographs and Goya's etchings The Disasters of War are several times pointed out in this study. The Cigarette can be compared with the etching Tampoco (Not [in this case] either), fig. 14. An indifferent soldier contemplating the victim is the theme of both Bellows' lithograph and the etching by Goya.

The Last Victim

In the lithograph The Last Victim, fig. 15, Bellows depicts a young woman, who has just witness her whole family

being killed and who knows that she is going to be the next and last victim. The girl's face reflects despair and terror. She looks at her dead family--her father, mother and brother. The little brother's body lies on her father's torso. The girl extends her arms, desperately trying to hold the edge of a sofa,[52] the last thing she can grasp before she gives up. The windows are broken and the wind blows into the room, moving the soft fabric of the curtains. The curtains seem to belong to a different world, a world which is quiet and peaceful, where people can listen to the wind. The furniture is broken, the carpet rolled half way. In the left corner of the room three soldiers are getting ready to assault the last victim. The second soldier is reaching toward the girl, the one behind him is laughing. The hands of the first soldier who is holding his rifle upside down appear disproportionately large, like exaggerated tools of his crimes. The Last Victim is almost a literal visual translation of an excerpt from the appendix to the Bryce Report which reads: "In the case of one family the father and mother were shot, and a daughter of 22, having been outraged, died because of the violence she had received. A son was wounded by several shots."[53] Bellows himself described the scene in the following words: "German soldiers enter a peasant home during the wild first passage through Belgium. They kill mother, father, brother and have a further inspiration about the girl. Incidents of this character were wholesale according to the official

evidence."[54]

The composition of the lithograph is triangular with the window of the room as an apex of the triangle, and the diagonals of the soldier's rifle on the left, and the falling window on the right, as its sides. Inside this big triangle another smaller triangle can be identified with the girl's head as its top and the dead figures on the floor and the rolled up carpet as its base.

In the Wiggin collection in the Boston Public Library there is a drawing The Last Victim, fig. 16. The image on the drawing is reversed in comparison with the print, and we can identify slight differences in the level of individualization of faces of the soldiers. On the lithograph each face has a different expression. In the drawing the soldiers' faces are less clear. Only the horror on the face of the "last victim" is the same in the drawing and in the print. The drawing appeared in the November 1918 issue of Vanity Fair as illustration of the essay "The Hun" together with Bellows' lithographs The Massacre at Dinant, Murder of Edith Cavell and Gott Strafe England.

The tragic Mater Dolorosa, fig. 17, one of Raemaekers' cartoons[55] from the European War may be used as contemporary comparison with Bellows' Last Victim. Raemaekers, a Dutchman, was a native of the country who proclaimed neutrality in the European conflict. In spite of the official position of the government Raemaekers did not remain silent. His cartoon Mater Dolorosa is as convincing indictment of German

militarism translated into personal human tragedy as is the lithograph of Bellows. Both images depict the situation after the crime but in the Raemaekers' cartoon the murderers are already gone and the only live member of the family, the mother, is left alone with her madness and despair. The bodies of the murdered families are still bleeding. The red color used by Raemaekers in executing the cartoon magnifies its horror. Bellows' Last Victim, in comparison, is still awaiting the worst to happen. The black and white colors of the lithograph amplify the tension between the girl, whose horrified face and outstretched hands are illuminated by light, and the three soldiers slowly approaching her in the darkness of the room.

Paul de Plument also depicted a family scene in his lithograph La Defense du Foyer (Defending the Home), fig. 18, but the spirit of his print is different than Bellows' and Raemaekers'. The civilians are no more passive sufferers; they resist. The father of the family fires the gun in defense of his home and the family. The scene is heroic and at the same time melodramatic. Some of this mixture of heroism and melodrama can be observed in the two lithographs of Bellows' The Murder of Edith Cavell and The Return of the Useless, both discussed later in this chapter.

Bellows was very fond of children. As a father of two little girls he was particularly upset by reports of atrocities committed against children in Belgium and France. The artist depicted the brutal slaughter of children by

drunken soldiers in The Bacchanale, fig. 19, and the torture of a young boy in The Germans Arrive, fig. 22. Thomas Beer, in the introduction to George W. Bellows: His Lithographs, wrote: "A good many painters able to visualize the 'atrocities' more completely than most men, suffered from a kind of indwelling excitement during the war that disturbed them to the point not yet admitted in print."[56] Bellows was certainly one of them.

The Bacchanale

Bellows' caption tells us that "The German soldiers marching through Belgium were encouraged to commit outrages. The impaling of children on bayonets was common according to many eyewitnesses."[57] A shocking case of the murder of a baby by a drunken soldier is reported as follows: "One day . . . I saw eight German soldiers and they were drunk. . . . As the German soldiers came along the street I saw a small child, whether boy or girl I could not say, come out of a house. The child was about two years of age. The child came into the middle of the street so as to be in the way of the soldiers. The soldiers were walking in twos. The first line of two passed the child: one of the second line, the man on the left, stepped aside and drove his bayonet with both hands into the child's stomach, lifting the child into the air on his bayonet and carrying it away on his bayonet he and his comrades still singing. The child screamed when the soldier struck it with his bayonet, but

not afterward."[58] Bellows must have remembered this description because he included some of its horrible details in the Bacchanale, fig. 19. In the center of Bellows' lithograph two soldiers, one standing another sitting, hold rifles with naked dead bodies of children hanging from their bayonets. In one instance the hands and legs of the slaughtered child almost touch the helmet of the seated German soldier who appears oblivious to this while talking to a companion who is pouring wine from a bottle into his mouth. The German troops were said to have been for the most part drunk and to have murdered and ravaged unchecked. The witness testified that many of the worst outrages appear to have been perpetrated by men under influence of drink. The Bellows' lithograph illustrates this testimony--we can easily identify next to the drinking soldier already three emptied bottles and a basket of wines stolen from a Belgian vineyard. Another soldier is approaching, carrying more bottles for the bloody picnic on the grass. The most horrifying element of the lithograph is the indifference of the soldiers to the dead bodies of the children. On the left a group of soldiers is seen dragging a woman, perhaps the mother of the slaughtered children. One soldier is pulling her hair while the other two are forcing her arms behind her back. In the Bryce Report there is the description of a fight between a woman from Malines who had witnessed her husband being shot by German soldiers. The woman, who had a little child with her, "sprung at the Germans like a lioness

clawing their faces. One of the Germans took a rifle and struck her a tremendous blow with the butt on the head. Another took his bayonet and fixed it and thrust through the child. He then put the rifle on his shoulder with the child up it, its little arms stretched out once or twice."[59] This description also corresponds to Bellows' The Bacchanale. The horror of the scene is incredible in its force because of the contrast between the dead little bodies hanging from the bayonets and the picnicking soldiers. In the background, on the right side of the lithograph, in the front of the house, soldiers force a group of women out of the house. Some women are nailed to the door of the farmhouse with bayonets, others are being beaten and abused. The irony of the title of Bellows' lithograph is bitter and painful as the scene itself, especially if one compares his Bacchanale with the lively and joyful Feast of Gods of Bellini or Titian's Bacchanale. A much more appropriate title for this lithograph might be "The Slaughter of the Innocents."

Two French artists illustrated scenes of similar tragic power. A lithograph by Morinet, fig. 20, depicts a German soldier stabbing a child after killing the whole family. A drawing The Path of Glory, fig. 21, from Le Rire Magazine[60] depicts a dead boy on a battlefield with the bayonet of a rifle struck through his body. Next to the boy are empty bottles of wine--indication that the soldiers committing the crime were drunk. In the background are dead bodies and smoke from the burning houses. The drawing from Le Rire

emphasizes the tragedy in a more symbolic manner than the works of Morinet and Bellows. The vertical rifle stands out in the empty field like a monument to all the martyred children of Belgium.

The Germans Arrive

The lithograph The Germans Arrive,[61] fig. 22, illustrated an advertisement for U.S. Government bonds Fourth Liberty Loan,[62] and first appeared on the back cover of Collier's magazine on September 1918. The caption under the lithograph, fig. 23 (xerox copy), was contributed through the Division of Advertising, U.S. Government, Committee on Public Information and was a passionate accusation of "German Kultur" for violating rules of civilized warfare and committing crimes against women and children in Belgium and France. The caption also appealed to Americans for sacrifice and financial support.

Bellows decided to support the Fourth Liberty Loan campaign by offering his lithograph and painting The Germans Arrive to the organizers of the campaign. He confirmed this intention in the comment to The Germans Arrive, exhibited in January 1919 at the Albert Roullier Art Galleries which reads: "Drawn for the Liberty Loan. Study for a painting,"[63] and in a letter to Henri in which he wrote: "My canvas called The Germans Arrive, the boy with his hands off is in Scott and Fowles' window for the Liberty Loan. . . ."[64]

The theme of the lithograph was inspired by the

testimonies in the Bryce Report. Bellows depicts a young Belgian boy, barefoot and barechested, caught by two German soldiers. While one is holding the boy, the other is seen with bayonet in hand after having cut off the boy's hands. The scene corresponds to the deposition made by the Belgian witness who testified: "We saw a boy of 12 with bandage where his hands should be. We asked what was the matter and were told that the Germans had cut his hands off because he clung to his parents, who were being thrown into fire."[65] Bellows' lithograph depicts the immediate action--the German has just cut off the hands of the boy and has not yet had time to put the bayonet aside. The pain and fear depicted on the face of the tortured boy is more than the viewer can stand. The boy fights desperately to free himself from the iron embrace of the seemingly giant-like Germans. This gruesome scene is the most important part of the composition and as such is placed in the center of the lithograph. In the left side of the print a woman in a long white dress is being strangled by another soldier. Next to this scene a little child is trying to reach the back of a falling woman who is being held by a man wearing a helmet. The man's role is not clear. The helmet on his head indicates that he is one of the German soldiers. We do not know whether he is depicted by the artist as an exception among the barbaric invaders or whether he is a Belgian man. The details of uniforms were not Bellows' expertise. All his soldiers look alike and often it is difficult to recognize

to what army they belong.

In the lower left corner the dead woman is lying on the ground. In the background the village is burning--"The Germans arrive. . . . The first night they were there they started burning the houses and killing civilians,"[66] testified the Belgian witness in the Bryce Report. On the right, soldiers are marching, armed with bayonets and guns, faceless and threatening.

The drama is augmented by the diagonal position of the boy's body in the center of the composition. The helmeted head of the soldier holding the boy becomes an extension of the boy. The same diagonal extends down to the boy's leg which is parallel to the soldier's heavy boot. These diagonals add intensity to the composition and amplify the struggle between the soldier and the boy. On the boy's face and torso light falls while the silhouettes and the faces of the soldiers remain in the shadow.

The prominent display of the mutilated hand of the boy in the foreground recalls the Goya's etching "Grande hazana! Con muertos" (Great deeds--against the dead!), fig. 24.

Bellows' lithograph was followed by a painting executed in the fall of 1918, fig. 25.

The subjects of the painting and the lithograph are almost identical but the color of the painting heightens its emotional tone while the black and white lithograph gives more of an impression of a document of a crime. The colors Bellows uses are mostly greys and greens and they

are similar to colors of some of his landscapes and city-scapes such as The Barnyard and Mountains of 1920 or Approach to the Bridge at Night of 1913. In The Germans Arrive, the smoky sky above the scene of horror looks like an angry sea. The grass is green and stained by blood. One thinks of Walt Whitman's walks in the camps of the wounded during the Civil War and his responses: ". . . O heavens, what scene is this?--is this indeed humanity--these butchers' shambles? there are several of them. There they lie, in the largest, an open space in the woods, from 2000 to 3000 poor fellows--the groans and screams--the odor of blood mixed with the fresh scent of the night, the grass, the trees--that slaughterhouse . . . the red blood oozing out from heads, or trunks, or limbs upon that green and dew-cool grass . . ."[67]

The Germans Arrive was seldom exhibited after the war. The painting was not included in the Bellows' retrospective in the Metropolitan Museum in 1925 and in other later important shows. It is still owned by the Bellows estate.

The Barricade

George Bellows executed a lithograph, a drawing and an oil painting entitled The Barricade in which he depicted a group of German soldiers shooting from behind a barricade formed by a line of nude Belgian civilians. It is significant that the descriptions of the use of Belgian civilians as shields in the Bryce Report do not mention that the civilians were nude. The witness testified: "I saw that

the (Germans) collected a number of women and children I cannot say how many, from the houses in the town (Mons) and they placed them in front of the German soldiers in order to prevent us from firing at them. They would be 100 to 150 yards away from us. I could see that the Germans had their bayonets fixed and pointed to the backs of the women and children to make them advance."[68] It might be that Bellows did not remember exactly the description published in the Bryce Report. He wrote in the caption to The Barricade that "Belgian civilians in at least one instance were stripped and marched in front of the troops as a shield."[69] It is also possible that Bellows used some other source than the Bryce Report in which the Belgian civilians were depicted stripped of their clothing. The search for such information in several New York papers and magazines proved unsuccessful. Bellows' preoccupation with the nude figure, in the period during which he made the war lithographs, as reflected in numerous drawings of nudes and in some paintings,[70] perhaps contributed to his decision to depict the Belgian civilians in the nude. The central male figure, with both hands raised, in the middle of the composition, reminds us more of the heroic nudes of Pollaiuolo or Michelangelo than of a helpless Belgian hostage. The nude woman in the lithograph is beautifully rendered by Bellows. Her senuous, curved body seems inappropriate to the situation and creates a strange dissonance with the horror which the artist intended to convey in this scene.

There are two identical versions of this lithograph. They are exact reversals of the same image.[71] The image with the victims turned to the right was printed from the stone and the image with the victims turned to the left was printed from the zinc plate on which the drawing had been transferred from the stone,[72] fig. 26, fig. 27.

The lithograph printed from the stone, fig. 26, is the reversed and modified image of the drawing which is in the Wiggin Collection in the Boston Public Library. This crayon drawing, fig. 28, differs in details from the lithograph, particularly in the treatment of the group on the right. In the drawing the old man to the right of the nude man in the center, is depicted with many more details than on the print where he is almost invisible. In the drawing, his over-elongated hands are up, his bearded head is bent, his body is so thin that one can count his ribs. The little boy with widely open mouth in front of him is much smaller in the lithograph than in the drawing. The falling figure between the old man and the boy is not very clear in the drawing, partly hidden behind the old man and the boy. The same figure on the lithograph is poorly rendered and we can hardly determine which part of the body belongs to whom. The figure of a soldier shooting from behind the barricade of men is lighter and depicted in more detailed manner in the drawing than on the print. In the drawing the first gigantic figure on the right with hands up seems to be falling after being shot. On the lithograph the same figure,

here first on the left, stands firmly, and his pose reminds us more of a pose of a gymnast than a civilian used as a shield. The figure next to him on the lithograph is missing from the drawing. The left side of the drawing and the right side of the lithograph are more comparable. They both include four figures, two women and two men with raised hands. There is more contrast in the drawing than in the lithograph between the dark head and the lighter body of a bearded young man standing next to the heroic youth in the center. The nude woman is the most beautiful figure both in the drawing and the lithograph. There are a dead figure and some turned over pots on the grass in the foreground of the lithograph. The dead figure is part neither of the drawing nor of the painting.

The painting, fig. 29, is almost identical with the lithograph (printed from the zinc plate), fig. 27. The colors make the details of the village in the background more vivid. We can identify a red brick roof of a house on the left, the tree branches covered with green leaves while in the lithograph and drawing they are bare. The sky is cloudy and smoky as in all other Bellows' paintings related to the War. There is less foreground in the painting than in the drawing and lithograph. The light falls on nudes in the foreground in the drawing, in the lithograph and in the painting. The German soldiers remain in the darkness. In the painting their green uniforms contrast with the illuminated bodies of the nudes. In the lithograph and the

drawing the contrast is limited to black and white tones. The soldiers look like an anonymous mass; the nudes are more human and individualized.

The symmetrical arrangement of the group with the male figure in the middle and the two groups on both sides, one posed frontally, another turned to the left (or right in the second version) can be attributed to the influence of dynamic symmetry. The vertical arrangement of the tree trunks which parallel the vertical bodies of men and women introduces rhythm and order to the composition.

We can compare The Barricade print with a lithograph by Abel Pann Leur Abri (Their shelter), fig. 30, depicting German soldiers hiding behind a group of women and children. Pann's print is composed like a triangle with the woman with two children as the apex of the triangle. She and her children are the sole surviving element of the barricade. Bellows' lithograph is composed like a rectangle and his barricade of theatrically posed men and women is still very much alive.

In both Bellows' and Pann's lithographs the civilians are heroic figures, tall and illuminated, while the cowardly Germans are small and hidden in the background and shadows in an anonymous mass.

La Vivante Muraille (The Living Wall), fig. 31, a drawing by Erik Leon also portrays women and children used as a protective wall by Germans. The works of French artists are more effective in creating a response in the viewer than

Bellows' nudes slightly shocking in their unexpected nudity. Perhaps the American artist wanted to suggest through nudity the vulnerability of the prisoners. Clothing worn by those who face execution may seem like protective armor. The fact that the prisoners are deprived of clothing makes them more helpless and pitiful, and magnifies the contrast between the heroic Belgians and cowardly soldiers in green uniforms hiding behind them.

Massacre at Dinant

Massacre at Dinant, fig. 32, depicts a group of Belgian civilians taken prisoner by the German soldiers, awaiting the firing squad. The presence of Germans is indicated only by the cut-off figure of a soldier with a bayonet in the left corner of the lithograph. We do not see the execution; we observe only the reaction of those who are waiting to die--the men, women, children, the nun and the priest. Some prisoners, already dead, are lying on the grass. The nun and the priest look up to the sky and pray, the man in the center raises his fist in anger. Next to him stands a man with his hands tied and head bent down--others are kneeling trying to protect their heads and eyes against the bullets. A woman in the first line desperately covers her face with both hands--she does not want to see what is going to happen. There is a heart-breaking family scene--a man is holding with one hand the body of a dying woman, and extending the other hand to the older man on his left, perhaps also a family member.

The lithograph depicts a group which is universal and timeless, in a situation which might have happened in any country, during any war, at any time. Each member of the group reacts differently to the approaching death. There is anger, despair, tenderness, resignation, appeals to God and fear. Nothing indicates that this is the massacre in the courtyard of the prison at Dinant reported by the Belgian witness in the Bryce Report which reads: "Just outside the prison (at Dinant) the witness saw three lines of bodies which he recognized as being those of neighbors. They were nearly all dead, but he noticed movement in some of them."[73] In the catalogue of the exhibition of the war lithographs at the Albert Roullier's Gallery under the reproduction of the Massacre at Dinant, Bellows noted in the caption: "At Dinant there were five to six hundred civilians massacred singly and in groups."[74] Bellows' caption meant that he had started the lithograph with the image of the massacre at Dinant in mind but in the process of creation a universal image of a village massacre came into being. Perhaps because of that even though Bellows himself entitled the work the Massacre at Dinant[75] the print was sometimes known as The Village Massacre or simply The Massacre.

The lithograph was published in Vanity Fair in November 1918 under the title Village Massacre as an illustration of the essay "The Hun." This time the caption was provided not by Bellows but by the editors of Vanity Fair, fig. 33.

Bellows executed a painting Massacre at Dinant in the

fall of 1918, fig. 34. The painting and the lithograph depict the same scene. They differ significantly in size, the print is relatively small, 17-3/4 x 29-5/8 inches, in comparison with the painting which is, like all the other Bellows' war paintings quite large--49 x 83 inches. Both in the painting and in the print some figures are more individualized than the others, such as the man raising his fist, the nun and the man holding the falling woman. Their clothing is rendered in detail, their features are sharper than the other figures. Perhaps Bellows considered them as leaders of the group, and as such more important than the others.

Light illuminates the same areas in the painting and the lithograph, figs. 34 and 32, the dead in the foreground, a nun in white dress, a man with hands tied, a woman who is covering her head with both hands, a falling woman and a man who is holding her. The sky looks like a source of unearthly light. This is not heavenly light--this is the light of hell. The colors of the painting are acid blues, whites, greens and grays. A big black cloud, both in the painting and the lithograph hangs like a threat above the heads of the prisoners. The only red on the canvas, the bayonet of the German soldier covered with blood, is juxtaposed with the white dress of the nun.

The composition of both Massacre at Dinant and The Barricade, fig. 34 and fig. 29, paintings and the lithographs is based on a rectangle. A rectangle was recommended to

artists by dynamic symmetry as one of geometric elements introducing stability and order. The arrangement of the prisoners, one next to the other, like figures on the classical Greek friezes and Roman sarcophagi may also be related to Hambidge's instruction and his admiration of the art of Ancient. The composition in The Massacre is more self-contained than in The Barricade. In The Barricade the nudes and the soldiers behind them occupy the whole space of the lithograph and the painting, while in The Massacre they create a tightly bound group in the center of the composition. In comparison with The Barricade, The Massacre reflects a tragedy in a more human scale (compare fig. 29 and fig. 34). There is no pathos, no nudes, no beautiful bodies, but simple people huddling together, unified in a desperate effort to survive the bullets. In both lithographs the group of prisoners includes people of different age and sex. Young are juxtaposed with old, men with women and children. They all represent humanity reduced to heroic symbols.

Bellows' Massacre at Dinant can be compared with a lithograph of the Frenchman Jeanniot, an illustrator of Pierre Nothamb's book Les Barbares en Belgique, fig. 35. Jeanniot used as a source for his print the Report of the French Government of July 8, 1915 containing accounts of German atrocities committed in Belgium and France that were similar to those in the Bryce Report. The Frenchman's lithograph does not emphasize the reaction of prisoners facing death as Bellows' does, but documents the brutal act

of murder committed on helpless people. Even though Bellows' War Series illustrates atrocities of war, the artist usually depicts the aftermath of crimes as he does in The Belgian Farmyard, The Cigarette, Sniped; or the moment before the crime is being committed as in The Barricade, The Massacre at Dinant or The Murder of Edith Cavell, fig. 50. Thus he provides more drama to the situation by heightening the moment of tension before or after acts of violence. His heart is always with the victims who are depicted with sympathy and compassion, while their tormentors are usually represented as anonymous crowd (The Barricade, Gott Strafe England), fig. 63, or cruel, inhuman types (The Cigarette, Belgian Farmyard). Sometimes German tormentors are not present at all at the scene of the execution and then Bellows devotes his whole attention to the victims, as in The Massacre at Dinant.

Because Bellows never went to Europe he had to rely on imagination depicting scenes taking place in Belgian villages. It is noticeable that most of his lithographs are located in the same landscape. It is usually a field, with some houses and trees in the background (The Barricade, The Massacre, The Bacchanale, The Germans Arrive). European artists in contrast placed their works in the real geographic and topographical locations, as most of them knew the depicted places or lived through the illustrated events, see for example Les Otages (The Hostages) by Paul de Plument, fig. 36.

2. The Lithographs Illustrating the War Stories in the Magazines in 1918

The second group of works to be discussed includes those which were used as illustrations for the war stories published in the magazines in 1918, namely

1. The Russian Charge (lithograph)
2. Sniped (lithograph)
3. The Return of the Useless (lithograph, drawing and painting)

The Charge (The Russian Charge) and Sniped

Bellows' two lithographs The Charge also known as The Russian Charge[76] and Sniped, fig. 37, fig. 38, illustrated a war story by Donal Hamilton Haines which appeared in Collier's July 13, 1918 issue, entitled "Something." The title "Something" refers to the encounter of the British soldiers with the Russian troops in France at the outbreak of the Russian Revolution in 1917 and the feeling of "something baffling and incomprehensible and terrible"[77] about the Russians which made the British uneasy about them.

The story describes the battle of the Russian and German soldiers and the death of the Russian captain Letsch. It is possible that Bellows' two lithographs referred to these particular events, that Bellows read Haines' story and made The Charge and Sniped especially for "Something." However, if that were the case, one might be led to wonder about the lack of details relevant to Haines' story in the

two lithographs. The Charge and Sniped could illustrate any war story describing the battle or a wounded soldier--a popular theme at the time of the war. Collier's did not provide any caption for The Charge. As for the lithograph of Sniped there is no indication that the sniped soldier is the Russian captain Letsch. Collier's caption under the lithograph is an excerpt from Haines' story which reads: "Under the parapet of the German trench they found Letsch, . . . in his arms was the red flag,"[78] fig. 39. The full quote from Haines' story included more detailed description of Letsch: "Under the parapet of the German trench they found Letsch. Clasped in his arms was the hastily made red flag of the revolution, and his face was that of an inspired child. In his breast were four bullet holes. . . ."[79] On Bellows' print we see neither the flag nor the face of the wounded soldier. His left hand covers his face while the right hand is extended in the foreground. The soldier does not look dead. The seven soldiers gathered around the sniped are solemn. Their faces and gestures do not show emotion. Just as in the other war lithographs, Bellows does not wish to explore the individual expression or the psychology of his heroes. The soldiers are portrayed as a group of war companions rather than as individuals. They try to help their wounded friend and represent a spirit of comradeship and soldierly loyalty. Bellows himself in the Roullier's catalogue did not mention Haines' story as a source for his lithograph and described Sniped as "a study of soldiers

binding the wounds of a victim of German snipers."[80] Based on this description it seems most probable, unless documentation to the contrary is found, that Charge and Sniped were neither intended nor commissioned as the illustrations for "Something." They had been bought by Collier's because of the subject which might have served as appropriate illustrative material to almost any war story published in Collier's in that period.

Sniped is one of two lithographs in the War Series (the second is The Base Hospital), fig. 70, which shows the effort of saving human life, rather than demonstrating the inhumanity of man to man, which is the theme of the other works in the War Portfolio.

The subject of The Charge, fig. 37, is the slaughter of a man. A pile of disjointed dead bodies lies in the foreground. In the middleground a small group is still fighting. We do not see the faces of the soldiers but only their backs and their rifles. The barbed wire--symbol of the battlefield-- is prominently included by Bellows as part of the scenery. On the horizon from the left, soldiers are attacking. The captain, with a bravado hand gesture, leads the group into a battle. Clouds of smoke and fire rise over the battlefield.

The subject of The Charge is comparable to one of Louis Raemaekers' drawings of the European War called The Barbed Wire (compare fig. 37 and fig. 40). In particular the dead soldier falling on the barbed wire in the foreground of

Raemaekers' drawing is similar to Bellows' soldier falling on the barbed wire in the center of The Charge. Raemaekers' drawings were very popular in the United States during the First World War. In December 1916 they were exhibited in New York and in Boston, they appeared in the numerous magazines and newspapers and were published in a sumptuous edition by the Century Publishers in New York in 1917 and by the Doubleday, Page and Co. in the same year. It is possible that Bellows was influenced by Raemaekers' war drawings while he worked on the War Series.

Another artist whose lithograph, La Prise d'une Battery Allemande (Taking of a German Battery), fig. 41, can be compared with The Charge is Jean Julien. Although Julien is showing the surrender of the German battery, while Bellows is interested in the battlefield, both prints show the confrontation of enemies in a hilly landscape and the victorious charge of the approaching soldiers, presumably representing the allies (compare fig. 37 and fig. 41).

The Charge is smaller than the other war lithographs. It measures 10 x 16½ inches. In addition to The Charge Bellows executed two small detail scenes of this print: The Charge, Left Detail, called by Emma Bellows The Battlefield, Detail[81] and The Charge, Right Detail (first and the second state), figs. 42, 43, 44, which "are actually halves of the same stone as The Charge."[82] The differences between the first and the second state of the right detail are insignificant. The second state is narrower than the first

one and the figure of the soldier on the left is cut off further in the first state than in the second (compare fig. 43 and fig. 44). The second state is also lighter than the first one.

The Return of the Useless

In December 1918 Bellows was commissioned and paid $100[83] by Everybody's Magazine for a drawing, The Return of the Useless, fig. 45. The drawing illustrated the eleventh installment of Brand Whitlock's serial describing German crimes in Belgium, published in the December 1918 issue of Everybody's under the title "Belgium: The Crowning Crime." The article described the process of recruitment of Belgian people for slavery work in the German mines, munition factories and trenches, their maltreatment and return back to Belgium, useless for further work. The return home of the Belgian peasants served Bellows as a theme not only for a drawing for Everybody's Magazine but also for a lithograph and a painting, fig. 46, fig. 47.

The Return of the Useless contains elements which were pure invention of the artist and were not included in Whitlock's story. The main figure--a heroic woman in the center of the composition descending from the freight car--is nowhere mentioned by the writer even though Whitlock described the spirited women of Belgium who fought at the side of their men singing "La Brabançonne." The heroine is represented by Bellows as the only person who did not lose

her fighting spirit, who survived hardship and returned to her country angry, proud and heroic, ready to lead her people to victory. Her vitality, youth and beauty are contrasted with the agony of exhausted prisoners and the brutality of the soldiers. Because of her presence there is a feeling of optimism about the image which is lacking in Whitlock's version of the "return of the useless."

The light falls on the woman overwhelmed by daylight after many days of journeying in the crowded, dark cattle car. Her head, arms and blouse are the lightest points of the lithograph. The woman is surrounded by shadows of men--the returning prisoners repatriated by the Germans--faithfully interpreted by Bellows in response to Whitlock's description of them: "They were pitiable objects of German brutality; they were those, for the most part, who had refused to work, or whose physical condition made them useless as workers--and they were brought back to Belgium to die, broken, maimed, helpless, hopeless, pale, emaciated men whom a few weeks in slave compounds in Germany had so reduced by sickness, exposure and starvation that they were hauled back home and flung down in their villages to die."[84]

In Bellows' lithograph the prisoners are divided into two groups: one is located inside the freight car and the other has already left the train. Among the latter one prisoner "has fallen exhausted and is being kicked by a guard," as Bellows explained in the caption to the Return in Roullier's catalogue to his exhibition in Chicago in 1919.[85]

The man is leaning on his elbow with his hand raised in a pathetic gesture. His mouth is open as in eternal cry of misery. In the left side of the lithograph the prisoners are carrying their belongings, "old hobbling men, some ill drenched to their skin, carrying their poor, pathetic little bundles," as Whitlock described them in his article.[86] They are barefooted. On the back of the garment of one of the prisoners the letters "Krgsgfg" are painted, fig. 45. The inscription is difficult to decipher and to understand at first, even though the association with the German word for war--"der krieg"--is obvious. But the explanation and Bellows' source for the inscription on the prisoner's back can be found in another installment of Whitlock's saga. In the July 1918 issue of Everybody's Magazine at the beginning of Whitlock's article a photograph was published of a prisoner on whose back the same "Krgsgfg" was written, fig. 48. The caption under the picture reads: "This degrading mark is painted in oil-colors on the back of every civil prisoner interned in one of the German camps."[87] Bellows used the designation found in the photograph in his lithograph and the drawing, but not in the painting. "Krgsgfg" is an abbreviation of the word "Kriegsgefangenen" (prisoner of war).

In the group of prisoners, inside the freight car, a man is lying on the floor. His mouth is open. Next to him a mother is holding a child, and a woman supports the falling body of a man who does not have strength to stand by himself any longer. The prisoners are barely alive.

The composition of The Return of the Useless is similar to the composition of The Last Victim--a triangle with a female figure as a center and an apex and the prisoners and soldiers in both sides of the triangle (compare fig. 46 and fig. 15). There are also similarities in the representation of individual figures; for example, the standing German soldier with a rifle in the left corner of The Last Victim is reminiscent of the German soldier in the right corner of The Return. The fallen victim on the floor of the train in The Return reminds one of the murdered man from The Last Victim (compare fig. 46 and fig. 15).

The Return of the Useless takes place in a very limited space. The depth is suggested by the open door of the freight car with the prisoners inside. The figures are barely visible in the darkness which is logical since the train does not have windows. In the middleground the central female figure is descending the steps of the train. The foreground is occupied by the prisoners who have already left the train, and the German soldiers.

There is not much difference between the lithograph and the original drawing of The Return of the Useless published in Everybody's Magazine with the exception that the print is a reverse image of the drawing and of the painting. The dimensions of the drawing and the lithograph are almost identical, the drawing measures 19-3/4 x 21-3/4 inches, while the lithograph is 19-7/8 x 21-1/2 inches. The silhouettes of the prisoners behind the woman stepping down

from the train are slightly more exact in the drawing (even though the reproductions in this thesis indicate the opposite). On the lithograph they are merely shadows. Perhaps the drawing was executed with greater care by Bellows than the print by his printer, who might have let the ink dry on the lithographic stone when this particular print was pulled.

The real difference in the treatment of these background figures is noticeable in the painting of The Return of the Useless (compare fig. 46 and fig. 47), executed in November 1918 in Newport according to Bellows' record book.[88] The figures inside the freight car are rendered sharply enough to be identified. We can see the profile of a bearded man who is falling on the back of a young woman, perhaps his daughter. She is bending under the burden too heavy for her strength. The mutual dependency and loyalty characterize the members of the group inside the train. People are helping each other even if they can barely stand on their feet. Human concern is juxtaposed with the cruelty and indifference of the German soldiers. A man in a green uniform is holding his head as if he had a headache. After a long journey in an airless cattle car this would not be surprising. The silhouette of a woman holding a little child is also much sharper in the painting. In contrast to the background figures inside the train, the prisoners in the foreground of the painting seem less finished than the same figures in the lithograph and the drawing, expecially in the right side of the canvas where the barefoot

prisoner stands with a bundle, and the German soldier with a rifle is turned toward him. There is no tension in this group and the figures behind the prisoner and the soldier are presented as a shapeless mass of shadows. Perhaps by the time Bellows was finishing this canvas he had lost patience for details (which were never his passion anyway); besides, the peace treaty was about to be signed and the artist might have thought about more cheerful subjects. The dominating colors of the painting are greens and rusts. The train is reddish-rust, the prisoners are wearing grayish-green cloth and the uniforms of the Germans are green. The monotony of color magnifies the effect of hopelessness and defeat. The only exception is the main female figure. Her blouse is white, her hair, face and hands glow with warm golden tones; she is the only accent of hope in the painting and the symbol of survival.

The painting of The Return of the Useless was seldom shown to the public. In October 1942, however, it was included in Bellows' exhibition held in the Allison Gallery. The critic of the New York World Telegraph complained: "It is always Bellows' Stag at Sharkey's, or The Murder of Edith Cavell you see. And they let The Return of the Useless languish in Mrs. Bellows' home, from which it has not ventured forth before its present showing since its inclusion in the George Bellows memorial exhibition presented by the Metropolitan Museum the year of his death, 1925."[89]

When Bellows' exhibition was held at the Allison

Gallery in October 1942 the world was at war again. The timeliness of The Return was striking. German behavior in Europe was as horrible as during the invasion of Belgium in August 1914. Public opinion was again outraged and the allied forces fought the Hitler army. Royal Cortissoz, after seeing Bellows' exhibition in the Allison Gallery, emphasized "emotion heightened by dramatic fervor" perceptible in The Return of the Useless, Bellows' ability to reconstruct a scene not physically beheld (he praised Bellows for the same reason for his Edith Cavell), and the intense actuality of the canvas.[90] The critic of the New York World Telegram also praised The Return: "It is a tragic, frightening, moving and fantastically timely work. It is also a most remarkable piece of painting. The brilliant lighting on the side of the old red box car, the amazing expressiveness of the beautifully broken bodies, the impotent fury of the crazed woman just stepping down from the car make the canvas a great and unforgettable picture."[91]

The painting of The Return of the Useless, executed in November 1918, just before the Armistice[92] was the last of five Bellows' paintings based on a lithograph belonging to the War Series.

3. The Lithographs Inspired by Contemporary Events and War Photographs

The following Bellows' works in the War Series were inspired by contemporary events: 1) The Murder of Edith

Cavell (lithograph, drawing and painting), and 2) Gott Strafe England (lithograph). A photograph was the source for The Base Hospital (lithograph and drawing).

Murder of Edith Cavell

Bellows depicted women as anonymous victims in his war lithographs. He made the only exception for Edith Cavell, fig. 49. Cavell, a British nurse working during the war in a Belgian hospital, was accused by German tribunal of helping wounded Belgian, French and English soldiers to escape from the occupied Belgium. "Her crime was that of aiding mankind, that she has given soldiers (English, French, Belgian, German) shelter, has aided them with money, food and clothing, has further given them medical help. Of spying she was not accused nor was she guilty."[93]

She was arrested and sentenced to death. The world appealed to no avail. Cavell was executed by a German firing squad on October 12, 1915. According to the documents she was fifty years old at the time and wore a white collar and a hairpin on her back.[94] The Amsterdam newspaper Telegraaf, quoted by the Literary Digest of November 6, 1915, describes the execution as follows: "She was fired on by a party of twelve and only one bullet touched her. It was after this that the officer of the firing squad drew his revolver and, putting it to the woman's ear, fired. A priest who was present at the execution was overcome by horror and is now suffering from a nervous breakdown."[95]

Bellows found the murder of the heroic nurse an inspiring subject. He executed a charcoal drawing The Murder of Edith Cavell, presently preserved by the Princeton University Art Museum, a lithograph, The Murder of Edith Cavell, fig. 50, as one of the prints in the War Series, and the oil, Edith Cavell, fig. 51, which he painted in September 1918, in Middletown, Rhode Island.

The lithograph of The Murder of Edith Cavell was shown for the first time in August 1918 with the other Bellows' war lithographs and paintings at the Exhibition of the Art Association School in Newport, Rhode Island (together with the war lithographs by Vernon Howe Bailey). The canvas of Edith Cavell had not yet been painted. D. Cotton who reviewed the exhibition noticed that "the works are brutal, full of horror but reeking with truth, which adds to their poignancy" and he emphasized the fact that the exhibition being held during the time of the war "is one to stiffen the spines of the enlisted men who are here and make them realize what they have to face 'Over There.'"[96]

In October 1918 the lithograph was published by The Delineator--an appropriate reminder of the anniversary of an untimely death of Edith Cavell. The editors emphasized the delicacy and the dignity "in that simply drawn woman figure and spiritual superiority of Edith to her jailers."[97]

The painting of Edith Cavell was first presented to an audience at the exhibition of the Allied War Salon, in the American Art Galleries in New York, in December 1918.

Royal Cortissoz, art critic of the New York Herald Tribune, was deeply moved by this work. "It is quite the finest thing Mr. Bellows has ever done, really rich in that deep, tenderly felt beauty which as a rule he would appear to disdain. The scale of colors used in this canvas is not very broad but the play of light and shade exploited within it is so subtle as actually to enrich the artist's tones. His tragic theme is enveloped in unearthly loveliness. He is a poet at this occasion."[98]

Bellows' interpretation of Edith Cavell romanticized the historical truth. He depicted the nurse both in the lithograph and the painting as a young woman with long, blond hair, in white nightgown, descending the staircase of the prison in the middle of the night to face the firing squad. He might have been influenced by the report of the British Chaplain Mr. Gahan who visited Cavell in jail the night before the execution. When the chaplain arrived "Miss Cavell was lying on the narrow cot in her cell; she arose, drew on a dressing-gown, folded it about her thin form, and received him calmly."[99]

Bellows organized the composition of The Murder of Edith Cavell on two levels. On the upper level there is a prison cell from which Cavell is being led to the execution. Two soldiers, one with a lantern, another with a bayonet show Cavell the way. The shadows of the firing squad are visible in the arch of the prison in the lower right corner of the lithograph. Three soldiers and the priest are

following the nurse down the staircase. The priest's bold head bears a strong similarity to Bellows himself (compare fig. 50 and fig. 52). The presence of the priest in the upper left corner of the lithograph probably refers to the presence of the German military chaplain, who according to the Brand Whitlock article on the murder of Cavell published in the October 1918 issue of Everybody's Magazine, was kind to her, remained with her at the end and after the execution said: "She was brave and bright to the last. She professed her Christian faith and that she was glad to die for her country. She died like a heroine."[100]

On the lower level soldiers are lying on the ground, some are asleep, their helmets resting on the tops of their rifles, others are talking, one is holding a lamp to see better the descending nurse. Light falls on the small figure of the nurse who looks very innocent and very lonely in the center of the drama. According to Whitlock, her last words were, "I know now that patriotism is not enough. I must have no hatred or bitterness toward anyone."[101] The composition of the lithograph and the canvas is almost identical. Static horizontal elements such as the sleeping soldiers are balanced by the vertical figures of the two soldiers in the left and the right corners and the diagonal rail of the stairs which suggests Cavell's movement down the staircase. The two soldiers and Cavell create a triangle, fig. 50, fig. 51. The relaxed, casual poses of the soldiers contrast with the heroic figure of the nurse. Mary

Fenton of Touchstone observed: "In his (Bellows) wonderful presentation of Edith Cavell, white and slender and appealing, moving down the stairway to death, he makes the men about her hideous, leering at her fear, gloating over their part in her destruction."[102]

The distribution of light both in the painting and the lithograph emphasizes the importance of the descending Cavell. She is all light, a modern personification of a saint going to meet her martyrdom. She seems to be illuminated by some supernatural rays from heaven.

The color and the big size of the canvas (45 x 63 inches) in comparison with the print (18-3/4 x 24-3/4 inches) augment the drama and pathos of the scene. The colors bring poetry to the painting as Cortissoz said, and an atmosphere of an early morning, when the gray walls of the prison are barely visible and one almost feels their uninviting rough texture. Even though Bellows was seldom praised as a colorist he demonstrated great sensitivity in choosing almost monochromatic arrangements of greens and grays for Edith Cavell. Light warmly glows in the illuminated areas and balances the coolness of green and gray colors.

It is revealing to notice that two other Bellows' works, a drawing Soldiers in a Barn,[103] fig. 53, and the Bellows' family Christmas card of 1916, fig. 54, later reworked into an oil painting The Studio, fig. 55, are compositionally very similar to Edith Cavell. The action in both works takes place on two levels. The figures and the

objects on the lower level occupy more space on the picture plane than those on the upper level. The two levels are connected by the staircase in the Edith Cavell and in The Studio and by the ladder performing the function of the stairs, in the Soldiers in a Barn. It is possible that both the composition of Edith Cavell and the Soldiers in a Barn were inspired by the arrangement of Bellows' own house which as we see in The Studio was divided into a living quarter downstairs and the studio upstairs, fig. 55. Mahonri Young also noticed this possibility when he said, analyzing the lithograph of Edith Cavell: "Edith Cavell in Bellows' lithograph looks as though she was posed on the steps leading up to the balcony of the house on Nineteenth Street, and maybe she was."[104]

Bellows' portrayal of Edith as a romantic heroine and a lovely young woman differ from the other artists' depictions of women at war. Goya's women in The Disasters of War are fighters, capable of brutality, killing with bayonets, throwing stones, see for example, Las Mugeres Dan Valor (The women give courage), No Quieren (They do not want to), or Y Son Fieras (And are like wild beasts), fig. 56, fig. 9, fig. 57. Bellows could never imagine women committing violence. He depicted them in war lithographs either as victims (The Belgian Farm, The Last Victim) or heroines (Edith Cavell, The Return of the Useless).

French artists, Bellows contemporaries, did not remain indifferent to the murder of Edith Cavell. Lithographs by

Louis Forain Miss Cavell Assassinée, fig. 58, Ibels' Miss Edith Cavell, fig. 59, watercolor by Paul Ribe Edith Cavell, fig. 60, and Louis Raemaekers' drawings Miss Cavell, fig. 61, and Nurse Cavell Thrown to the Swine, fig. 62, are all intended to evoke sympathy for the victim and anger against her murderers. None of these works is as grandiose a stage as Bellows' lithograph or painting. European artists limited the scene of the murder to a German soldier who is "representing" the firing squad and to a dying or already dead nurse Cavell. The prison of St. Gilles from where Edith is led to the execution in the Bellows' lithograph is replaced by an open landscape, perhaps intended as the Tir National outside of the city of Brussels where the murder in fact took place. Bitter comments supplement the images of Forain, Ribe, Ibels and Raemaekers in contrast to the pathetic lithograph of Bellows which does not require any commentary.

Neither the French artists nor Bellows witnessed the execution of Edith Cavell. All of them had to use their own imagination in order to depict this tragic event. Bellows' dramatic composition because of its emotional force, handling of the crowd, arrangement of space, dramatic use of light and selecting one person (Edith) as the center of the drama surpassed the works of the European artists which merely depict the murder as it was reported or interpreted by the press.

Bellows was reproached by his compatriot artist, Joseph

Pennell who was in Europe during the war and fought for the Allies, for the fact that Edith Cavell should not have been painted by someone who had not been present at the execution. Bellows responded angrily to Pennell's criticism: "It is true Mr. Pennell that I was not present at Miss Cavell's execution, but I've never heard that Leonardo da Vinci had a ticket of admission to the Last Supper either."[105]

The lithograph The Murder of Edith Cavell was very popular at the time of the war and immediately after. Senator Frank Brandegree bought four copies in 1919.[106] The canvas Edith Cavell was acquired in 1949 by the Museum of Fine Arts in Springfield, Massachusetts. This is the only one of the war paintings, based on war lithographs, on public display in a museum. Three other war canvases, The Barricade, The German Arrive, The Massacre at Dinant, are still owned by the Bellows' estate and the fourth one, The Return of the Useless, is in a private collection in New York.

Gott Strafe England

The lithograph Gott Strafe England (God punishes England) was first published in Vanity Fair on November 1918 as an illustration of the essay "The Hun," fig. 63. The editor's caption says "This is the lithograph which the Government has used, with such telling effect, in connection with the Fourth Liberty Loan. It depicts a tragedy, amply vouched for in the Bryce Report,--the execution of

three Canadian soldiers who had been captured by the Prussians. Mr. Bellows is now at work in transposing this--and other of his little masterpieces--into the medium of paint, because like the artists of old he is a master in a variety of mediums. A notable group of such canvases by Mr. Bellows will soon be exhibited in New York."[107] The caption is only partly correct. The scene depicted is not to be found among the testimonies of the Bryce Report. Bellows described the scene in Albert Roullier's catalogue as "three British Tommies nailed to the door."[108] He never executed the painting from this lithograph.

The influence of Christian iconography on the composition and the subject of Bellows' lithograph is noticeable. Bellows might have remembered the composition of the religious paintings of his favorite masters Tintoretto and Rembrandt. The two British soldiers nailed to the door are reminiscent of the figures of the two thieves crucified with Christ. The arrangement of soldiers and victims in Bellows' lithograph is comparable to the circular arrangement of the crowd and the central group of mourners, at the foot of the cross, in Tintoretto's Crucifixion, fig. 64, and Rembrandt's etching Three Crosses, fig. 65. The bayonets of the Germans in Gott Strafe England cut the air just as the Roman lances did almost 2,000 years before, in Rembrandt's Three Crosses. The body of the third victim, stretched horizontally in the foreground, surrounded by tormentors, brings to mind the

biblical drama of The Blinding of Samson, fig. 66, executed by Rembrandt. In spite of compositional similarities the spirit of Gott Strafe and Crucifixion and The Three Crosses is very different. Tintoretto added some spirituality and cosmic dimension to his Crucifixion. His Christ is high above mankind. In Rembrandt's etching crucified Christ looks superior and victorious. In Bellows' sad image of a debilitated humanity there are no victors. The artist shows the bestiality of man and the stupidity of killing without a cause. No one is mourning. There is no hope. No one is going to bring us salvation.

Bellows' use of light can also be compared to the use of light by the Baroque masters. The light is always centered on the figures of victims and the dramatic contrast of light and dark areas is intended to heighten the emotional impact of the image. As in Baroque compositions, the profusion of diagonals in Bellows' lithograph suggests movement and action.

In Gott Strafe England Bellows represents an anonymous, bloodthirsty crowd, surrounding the victim, similar to the crowd depicted many times by the artist in his paintings and prints of boxing matches such as the lithographs Between Rounds, 1916 or A Stag at Sharkey's, 1917, figs. 67, 68. The difference between the pugilistic scenes and the Gott Strafe is that the German soldiers are watching the execution which inevitably will lead to the death of the victim, while the spectators of the boxing matches observe only a

violent spectacle. Bellows' biographer, Morgan, reports that when one expert pointed out that fighters never worked their hands and feet in some of the combinations Bellows gave them, he retorted, "I do not know anything about boxing. I am just painting two men trying to kill each other."[109] Violence hidden in human nature nurtured the imagination of the artist and found many expressions in his works long before he started the War Series. This is not to say that Bellows was interested in scenes of tortures and executions. War provoked the creation of the war lithographs but the artist felt nothing but indignation and disgust for people killing each other.

The murder of the British soldiers in Gott Strafe England, like crucifixions and martyrdoms, is performed by a group. It is not an honorable one-to-one fight of the boxing ring. Three German soldiers force the body of the English "Tommy" to the wooden board, while the fourth sticks his bayonet into the leg of the victim. The crowd watching the execution is having a good time. German soldiers are screaming and laughing. The "main executioner" holding the left arm of the tortured soldier is looking around. He seems happy with himself and his audience. The three soldiers in the lower right corner watch the face of the martyr. One bearded soldier is not looking at the execution. His smiling Santa Claus face, like that from a Thomas Nast cartoon, [110] seems completely incongruous with the setting. He is wearing an Iron Cross--a reward from

the Kaiser.

Looking for further formal and thematical analogies we may compare Goya's etching Bien Te Se Esta (It Serves you Right), fig. 69, with Gott Strafe England. The composition of Bien Te Se Esta, and the foreground of Gott Strafe are both shaped like a letter "X." The soldiers watching the door with the crucified Englishman in Gott Strafe, and the group bending over the captive in Bien Te Se Esta, are also comparable in the arrangement of the standing and bending figures. Intensity of contrast of blacks and whites, dark threatening sky, perhaps intended as a night scene, the silhouettes of dead soldiers in the left side of lithograph and the etching are once again confirming Bellows' affinity with Goya.

Gott Strafe England is particularly poignant, because it contains the message that the act of killing a man by a man, whether it is called martyrdom, crucifixion, slaughter of innocents or an execution, can be traced through the history of art as easily as through the history of mankind.

Base Hospital

In the caption to the Base Hospital in the Roullier's catalogue, Bellows indicated that he used a photograph as the source for this lithograph. The caption reads: "Study of a doctor's clinic at a dressing station in a cathedral. An effort to see what could be done with photographs as material."[111] Photography as a form of art with its interplay

of dark and white tones and halftones must have appealed to Bellows whose lithographs were also limited to black and white colors and gradations between these two hues. Unfortunately, the search for a photograph which could have been the source for the Base Hospital has so far proved unsuccessful.[112]

The scene depicted is a dressing station,[113] located in a church, as indicated by the columns of the nave and aisles, an outline of an altar and a carved statue of a saint. The operation is about to take place. The wounded soldier, with his back turned toward the viewer, lies on the operating table. The military surgeon holds the scalpel ready to operate. The surgeon's assistant in a white jacket carries a basin of water and a towel. Two other men, although their function is unclear, seem also to be helping with the operating procedures. One appears to be holding the patient in the position. The men create a circle around the operating table. The artist brought a spirit of tension and gravity to the scene, which, in reality, would have been probably enacted very much as Bellows delineated it. In the May 1917 issue of the Touchstone magazine, a poem was published by Emery Pottle, about a soldier who lost both arms in the war. The poem alludes to Bellows' lithograph perhaps better than any caption:

> Only his head stuck out of the muddy blanket
> A young farmer's head, bullet-shaped, close-cropped.
> He lay very still a stocky bundle;
> But his eyes when he opened them,
> Were glazed and gray with pain
> And awful weariness.

Bellows executed two versions of the Base Hospital lithograph and a drawing, figs. 70, 71, 72. The number of impressions printed from the first stone is unknown and this version was not included in the Emma Bellows' record of her husband's lithographs.[114] The edition of the 50 lithographs[115] printed from the second stone is the reverse version of the image from the first stone (compare fig. 70 and fig. 71). In the print produced from the first stone, the interior of the church is darker and rendered with much less details, than in the print made from the second stone. The columns and the arches are barely visible. In comparison, the impressions made from the second stone are lighter, details are more clear and the light falls not only on the body of the surgeon, his assistant with the basin, and the wounded soldier, but also on the columns and the arches of the church in the background. The surgeon and his helpers are rendered with more distinctive features than other figures from Bellows' War Series. Perhaps, the artist was influenced by the types from the photograph, which served him as a source for the Base Hospital. Next to the column stands a tall, vaguely delineated figure of a man who appears to be observing the operation. Whether he was included for compositional purpose to complete the circle of figures surrounding the patient or why he was not rendered in more detailed manner one can only guess. The figure must have been intended by Bellows, because he is present as well in the drawing, as in the two states of the lithograph. The

drawing of the Base Hospital[116] is smaller than the lithographs. It measures 11-1/2 x 9-1/4 inches while the print, the first stone version, is 24-1/4 x 19-1/4 inches and the second stone version is 17-1/4 x 13-1/2 inches. Generally the figures in the drawing are less specific and less finished; for example, the figure on the right in the drawing is barely outlined, while on the lithograph we can identify a bearded man in a coat, supporting the back of the wounded soldier (compare fig. 71 and fig. 72).

The lithograph of the Base Hospital (the first stone version) was published in Vanity Fair, in August 1918 as the first of Bellows' war lithographs ever published, or seen by the American public. The print was provided with a caption: "The first of a Series of Lithographs dealing with the Great War--by George Bellows."[117] Mason, in the catalogue raisonné of Bellows' lithographs, suggests that the second version of the Base Hospital was the later one of the two, and that the Base Hospital was the one of the first prints made for the War Series.[118] If she is right one cannot help being surprised at how suddenly the imagery of the War Series changed. The solemnity of the scene in the Base Hospital gave way to images of atrocities and bloody horror of other war lithographs. The effort to save human life is replaced by organized and premeditated killing.

The Armistice between the Allies and the Central Powers was signed on November 11, 1918. The War was over. Bellows, elated by the prospect of peace, celebrated the victory by completing two canvases: Hail to Peace, fig. 73, and Dawn

of Peace, fig. 74, which had been commissioned by Lord Duveen, a famous dealer in Renaissance art. The paintings were shown in the windows of Duveen Brothers on Fifth Avenue in New York. Bellows contributed the proceeds from the sale of these works to the Red Cross. Miss Helen Frick, President of the Red Cross Shop, thanked Bellows in a letter of March 27, 1919: ". . . You have done a most splendid service to the Red Cross both in typifying its spirit in your paintings, and in giving such a generous contribution in money to be used for the wounded soldiers."[119] Hail to Peace and Dawn of Peace end the period of Bellows' preoccupation with the First World War. For Christmas 1918 Bellows printed a small lithographic version of Hail to Peace as his family greeting card, fig. 75.

There is one more lithograph related thematically to the war, The Incident of Sergeant Delaney, but the print is signed both by Bellows and by Bolton Brown who is known as Bellows' printer beginning in 1921. The lithograph probably was executed later than the War Series of 1918 and therefore is not discussed in this thesis.[120] There is no certainty who was Bellows' printer at the time when the War Series was executed. The lithographs discussed in this thesis were signed only by Bellows. Mason suggests that "it is possible that Edward Kraus (e) pulled the War Series for Bellows while George Miller [Bellows' printer from 1916 to 1919] was serving in the U.S. Navy."[121] Frank Weitenkampf maintains that the proofs of the prints from 1918 until the end of

1919 were pulled by Edward Krause and proofs beginning with 1921 by Bolton Brown.[122]

CHAPTER IV

REACTION TO BELLOWS' WAR SERIES

From the time of their execution in 1918 until the present, Bellows' war lithographs and paintings have been received with a mixture of enthusiasm and criticism. In general, the American public and critics were more enthusiastic about them in the early years after World War I than they are today. It is understandable that in 1918 everybody was deeply concerned with the events of the war. Contemporary critics better understood Bellows' need for expression and his anger than modern art historians for whom the First World War is history long forgotten. Modern-day critics concentrate on the aesthetic values of the war lithographs and compare them with other Bellows' works, which are superior in terms of style, and often neglect the context and political circumstances which provoked the creation of the War Series.

Bellows was not the only American artist who reacted to the war by producing works directly related to the war events. When the United States declared war on Germany, the U.S. Government established in April 1917 the Division of Pictorial Publicity, with an artist, Charles Dana Gibson, as its chairman. The task of the Division was to supply the Government with graphic propaganda on the War. The

drawings, posters and cartoons submitted by the artists were screened by the Chairman Gibson and his colleagues and sent to Washington for final approval.[123] Dana Gibson was enthusiastic about Bellows' War Series:--"These things of yours are tremendous. You must be full of this sort of ammunition. . . . I saw the five powerful lithographs and was again deeply impressed by them and I hope they hang in the room when they discuss peace terms. I tried changing their titles but they are such true remainders of the early days of the War, I found it difficult to harness them up to the present moment. It is a pity these pictures were not made when the war started . . ." wrote Gibson to Bellows on August 27, 1918.[124]

Albert Gallatin, Chairman of the Committee on Exhibitions of the Division of Pictorial Publicity, was less enthusiastic. He was moved by dramatic power and "terrible frankness" of the lithographs and considered them "one of the most eloquent contributions made by an American artist" but he criticized them as "marred by rather feeble draftsmanship."[125]

Charles Johnson Post, Director of Publishers Advisory Board, was deeply moved by the War Series. He wrote a letter to Bellows on October 7, 1918 in which he said: ". . . I wish to pay the tribute of the very sincere admiration I have for those lithos I have seen--originals or reproduced--of the German atrocities. . . . I believe they should have been used as lantern slides in the present

Liberty Loan Campaign."[126] Post praised the "very fine and purely artistic balance and the dramatic effectiveness" of the lithographs and asked Bellows' permission for making slides of them for the purpose of propaganda.

Mary Fenton Roberts, an editor of Touchstone, the periodical in which Bellows in July 1917 published his statement on patriotism, wrote an enthusiastic review about the first exhibition of Bellows' war lithographs at the Keppel Gallery in New York in November 1918. She praised Bellows' works "because they were almost the only entirely fearless drawings that have been made of war as Germans practice it."[127]

A more recent and less flattering evaluation of the War Portolio can be found in a Henry Sayles Francis article of April 1940 analyzing the total lithographic output of George Bellows--196 lithographs created between 1916 and 1925. Francis maintained that Bellows believed the worst propaganda and that his war works were "among the most vindictive representations of horrors reported of the Germans." Francis understood that Bellows created his series because "he felt with deep emotion the atrocious tales which flowed from Europe" but "these fervid and pardonably mistaken chronicles of 1914-1918" were, according to him, the least objective of all commentaries on war and the most dated.[128] In my view Francis, like many others who learn about the tragedies of war from history books, preferred not to believe that the Germans committed the crimes depicted

by the artist. He failed to understand that the war lithographs were inspired and based on the testimony of eyewitnesses to the atrocities committed on civilians in Belgium, and depicted facts described in official government documents. Francis' criticism was written in April 1940 and should be understood in the context of American neutrality in this period. Until December 7, 1941, the date of the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, the United States did not believe that World War II would affect its peaceful existence or that history would repeat itself.[129]

Bellows' biographer, Morgan, summed up the War Series in the following words: "These eighteen stones produced a grim indictment of war, sometimes as moving, often as revolting as that of Goya or his French predecessor, Jacques Callot. Violence is there, and tension, melodrama and tragedy."[130]

The most unexpected reaction to the war paintings was that of Bellows himself. According to a footnote in Thomas Beer's introduction to George W. Bellows: His Lithographs, published in 1927, Bellows in 1924 referred to his war paintings as hallucinations, although as Beer suggested, he was not ashamed of them.[131] It is possible that Emma Bellows, who cooperated with Beer in preparing the book on Bellows, knowing that the War Series, and following it the war paintings, were not considered by the critics the finest examples of Bellows' work, suggested to Beer that Bellows did not like them himself. In 1927, when the George W.

Bellows: His Lithographs was published, the United States was again on friendly terms with Germany. Perhaps by then bitter accusations of German war cruelties seemed out of date. The fact that Beer provided information on Bellows' reaction to the war paintings in the footnote, nine years after their execution in 1918, and two years after the artist's death, makes one somewhat skeptical about the veracity of the statement. There is no proof in Bellows' correspondence or in anything published by the artist or about the artist during his lifetime, which to my knowledge would support Beer's footnote.

The important factor which has to be taken into consideration in evaluating the war lithographs and paintings is the fact that Bellows never went to war. Bellows was a painter of "experience" in an Emersonian sense of the word and he never had the chance (or ill luck) to experience war. He experienced the breeze of the coast of Maine when he painted landscapes in Ogunquit, Matinicus and Camden, and the dust and heat of New York City when he painted cityscapes or kids jumping into the water; he was excited watching boxers in Sharkey's Club and his best portraits were of those he knew well and loved. Bellows was not a painter of imagination. He was a painter of things seen. The fact that the War Series was based on secondary sources rather than on the artist's observations may well explain its only limited success.

Another element, which should not be underestimated when

discussing the war lithographs and paintings, is Bellows' anger. Bellows has been characterized as a painter of emotion, not intellect.[132] Bellows was angry with the Germans, who, at the time the War Series was executed, not only committed terrible crimes in Europe but became a threat to freedom and democracy everywhere, including the United States. As Thomas Beer thoughtfully noticed: "a man in a fine state of anger can never fully exercise his imagination."[133] The same anger which contributed to the creation of the war lithographs and paintings could possibly have paralyzed Bellows' artistic vision, limited his inspiration, and might have influenced his decision to choose as a theme for the Series, scenes of atrocities rather than more universally appealing themes related to the tragedies of war. The evidence of critical reaction to Bellows' war works is mixed. Artistically the consensus suggests that the works are not at a standard comparable to his more widely acclaimed achievement. Yet at the level of reportorial graphics, the power and forcefulness of his works have been compared to the output of classic masters of war graphics, such as Goya and Callot.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY

In summarizing the results of the research conducted for this study, it can be concluded that Bellows' War Series was created because of the political developments of the First World War. Bellows had no interest in war themes, nor had he ever done any other work related to war, but he always reacted swiftly and emotionally to the world around him. He wanted to paint this world; he did not want life to be destroyed by war. He defined the important tasks for himself as an artist when he said: "There are only three things demanded from a painter: to see things, to feel them and to dope them out for the public."[134] The creation of the War Portfolio is one more example in the history of art when the artist, stirred by an outburst of patriotism in his country threatened by war, is provoked to produce art as a tool for the purpose of propaganda in order to arouse popular sentiments.

Bellows' lithographs and paintings are documents of the horrors of the First World War. In contrast to most artists who focus upon spectacular aspects of war such as military pageants, battle scenes, views of the trenches, landscapes after battles, Bellows concentrated upon the human tragedy and drama resulting from war.

Bellows' lithographs represent groups of Belgian civilians or individual victims confronted by their German tormentors. Both victims and German soldiers are depicted not as specific individuals but as faceless general types. Rather than render psychological portraits Bellows portrayed the feelings: fear, courage, lust, cruelty. Particularly poignant among the lithographs are scenes of atrocities committed against women, children and old people, the most innocent victims of the war. The fact that Bellows chose them as the heroes of his works confirms his particular empathy for these victims and his anger against abuse of these most helpless and vulnerable groups in society.

For the purpose of this thesis Bellows' war lithographs and paintings have been divided into: a) scenes of atrocities illustrating the crimes committed by German soldiers in Belgium in the fall of 1914, b) scenes illustrating the war stories published in American magazines, c) scenes inspired by war events and war photographs.

Bellows used secondary sources for his War Portfolio. Among them the most important were the Bryce Report published in the New York Times, May 13, 1915; Whitlock's series "Belgium," published in Everybody's Magazine in 1918; contemporary press reports from the European front; war stories published in American magazines; correspondence with friends who went to war, such as Waldo Peirce.[135]

Several etchings from Goya's series, The Disasters of War, and the works of Bellows' European contemporaries, were

found to be thematically or stylistically comparable to the War Series.

The critics generally judged Bellows' war lithographs and paintings to be inferior to his other works (with the exception of the Murder of Edith Cavell which was always praised). It is suggested that this is so partly because Bellows never went to war and was therefore unable to express himself as well in political art as in his other works, which reflected his own experience and depicted the world observed first hand.

During recent decades Bellows' war art has seldom been shown to the public. This is unfortunate because these works show an unknown or little known side of the artist, his political sensitivity, and his humanitarian interest.

This thesis is a tribute to Bellows who did not remain indifferent to the world around him, and to the artist who was an active spectator of life, "a reverential, enthusiastic emotional spectator through whose mind surged the great dramas of human nature."[136] It is also an attempt to insure that Bellows' war lithographs and paintings not be forgotten.

For George Bellows art was a document of the human mind and spirit. "We do not care," he said, "to see the documents of empty heads and hearts. The work of art should be a document of the wholeness of man, not of one single part."[136] Bellows' war lithographs and paintings have proved this wholeness of the artist, who, as his best friend Eugene Speicher wrote, "above all had a heart and used it

at all times."[138]

The political content of the War Series sets these works apart from Bellows' other artistic efforts and creates a separate chapter in his oeuvre.

Fig. 1 George Bellows
"Prepare America", 1916
Lithograph
Published in: Lauris Mason. The Lithographs of George Bellows.
A Catalogue Raisonné, KTO Press, 1917, p. 74

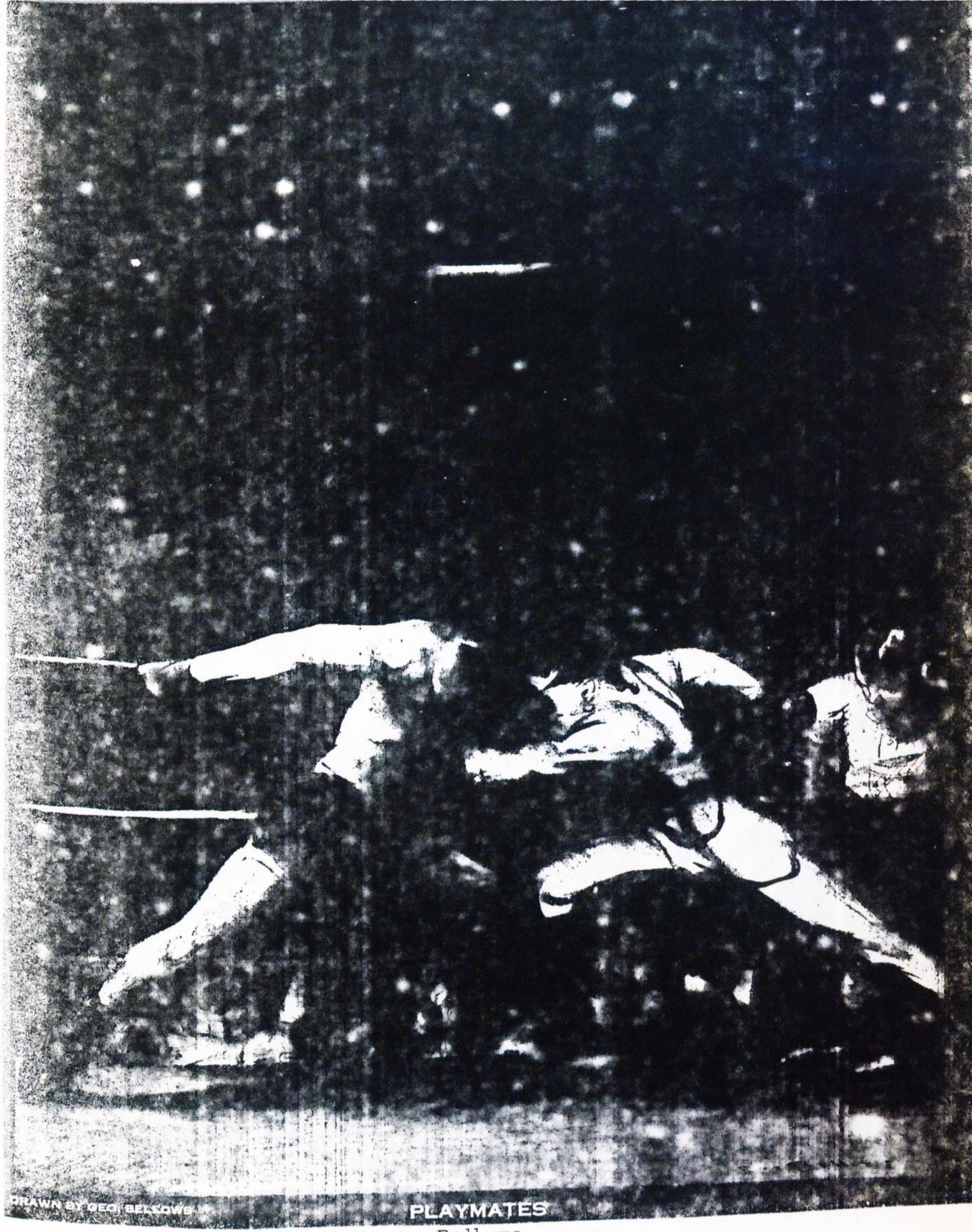


Fig. 2 George Bellows
Playmates, 1915
Drawing
The Masses, March 1915, cover

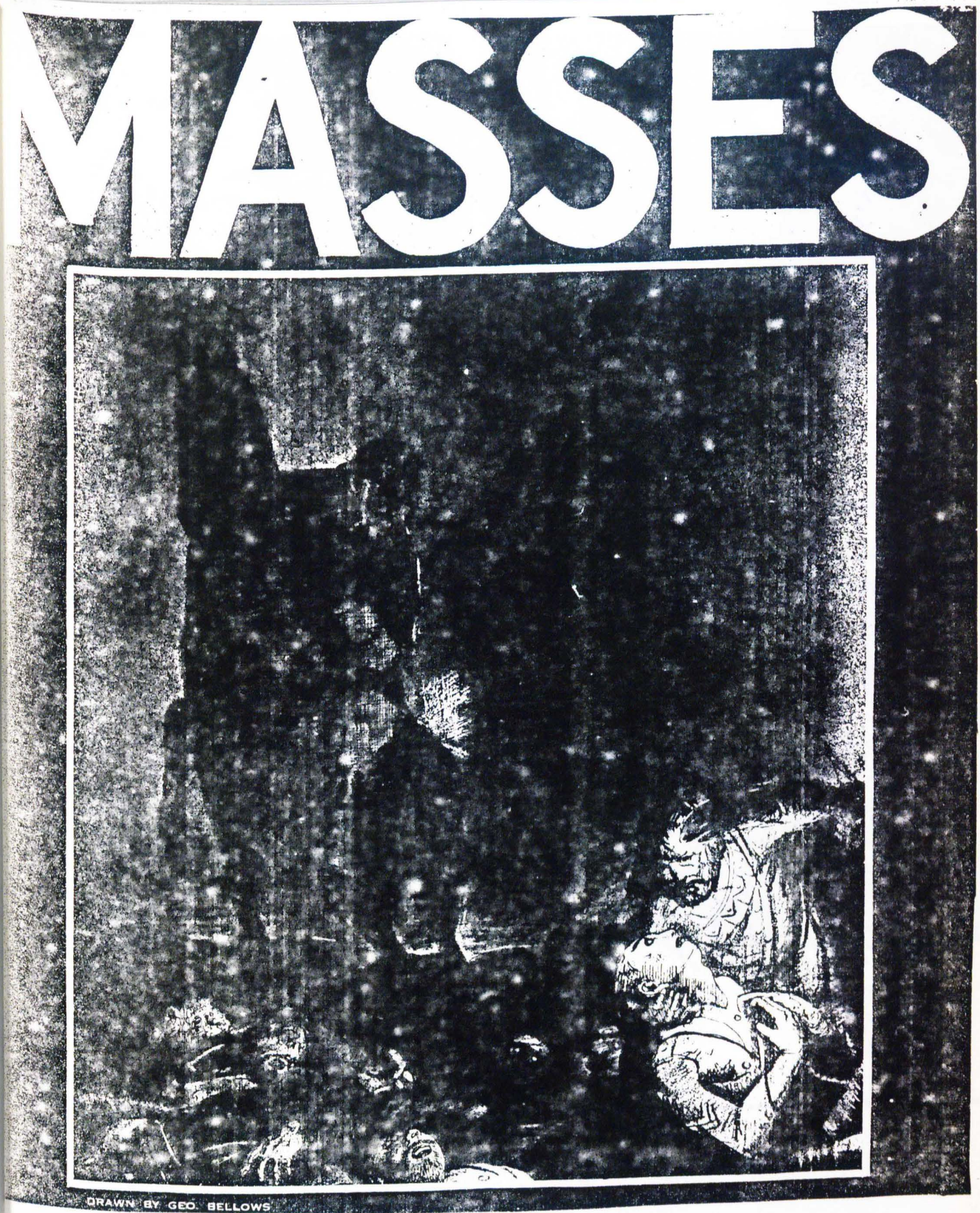


Fig.3 George Bellows
Untitled drawing, 1915
The Masses, April, 1915, cover

Drawn by George Bellows.

Fig. 4 George Bellows
"The Savior and His Race", 1915
Drawing
The Masses, May 1915, p.11

Fig.5 Pierre Boine
"Match Europeen de 1914-1915
Drawing, 1915
Library of Congress
Prints and Photographs Divis
Willard Straight Collection
Portfolio 8D

THIS man subjected himself to imprison ment and probably to being shot or hanged

THE prisoner used language tending to discourage men from enlisting in the United States Army

IT is proven and in deed admitted that among his incendiary statements were

THOU shalt not kill

and

BLESSED are the peacemakers

Drawing by George Bellows

Fig.6 George Bellows
Untitled drawing, 1917
The Masses, July 1917

George W. Bellows, *Jean*. Courtesy of Albright Art Gallery, Buffalo, N.Y.

Fig. 7 George Bellows
Jean
Drawing
Published in: The Art Institute of Chicago. Bulletin, September 18 - November 13, 1977, p. 66

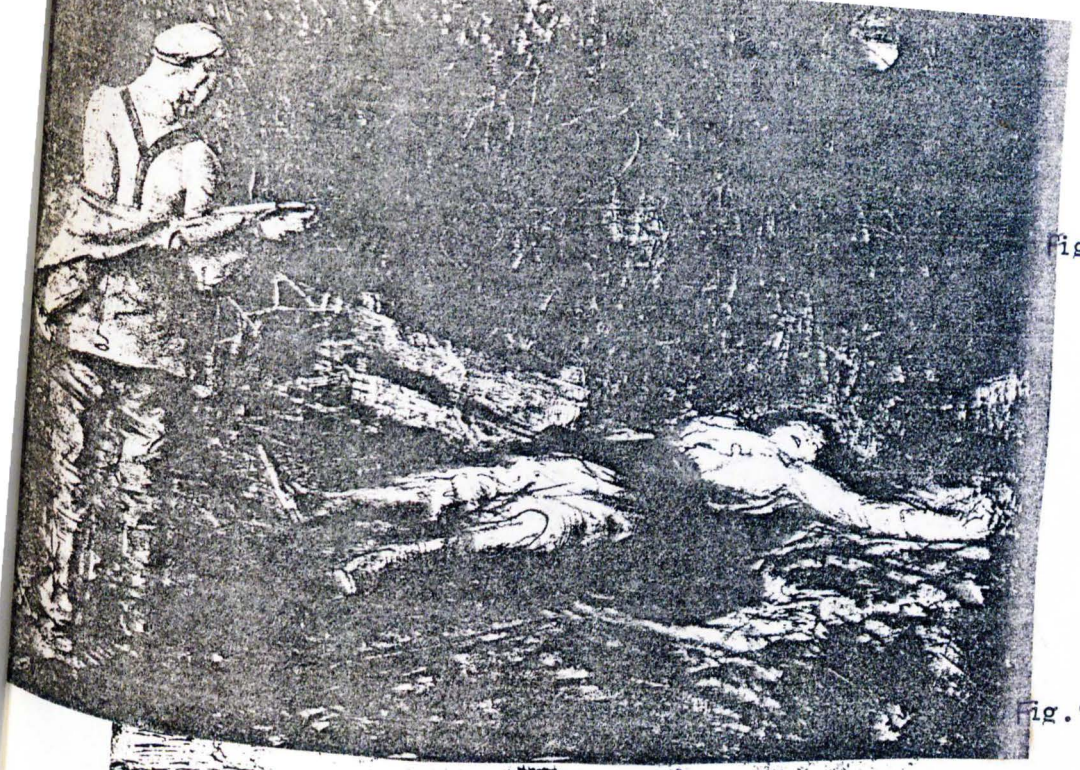


Fig. 8 George Bellows
Belgian Farmyard, 1918
Lithograph
Mead Art Gallery
Amherst College

Fig.9 Francisco Goya
No Quieren (They do not want to)
Etching
Published in: The Disaste of War by Francisco Goy y Lucientes, Dover, 1967, ill.9

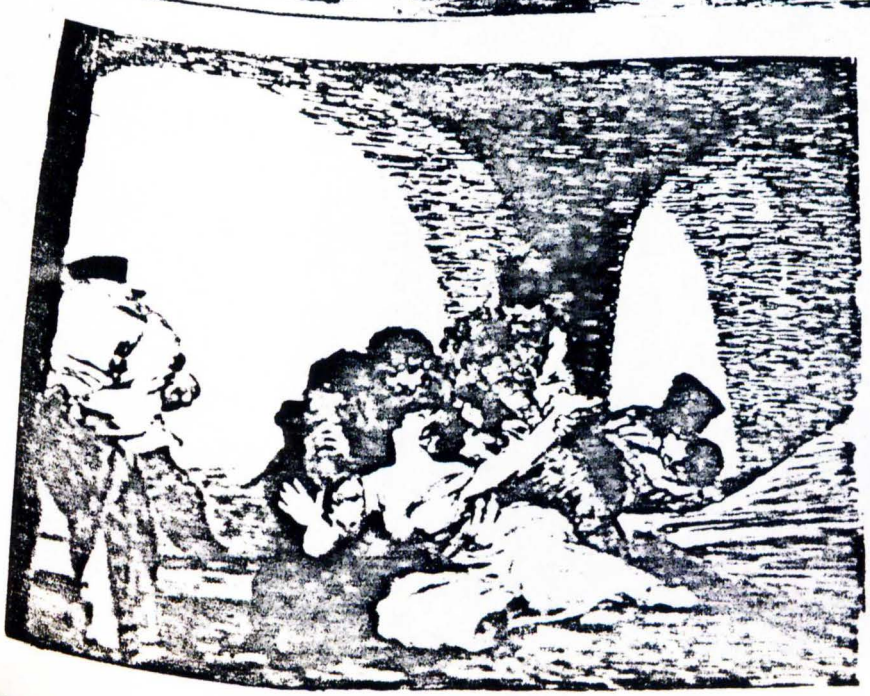


Fig.10 Francisco Goya
Amarga Presencia (Bitt Presence)
Etching
Published in: same as above, ill. 13

Fig. 11 Otto Dix
Soldat und Nonne (A Soldier and a Nun), 1924
Etching
Published in: Otto Dix. Der Krieg. Stadtische Galerie Albstadt, Sep. 18- Nov. 13, 1977, p. 66

Fig. 12 Jean Julien
Un Brave!!!(The Brave One)
Lithograph
Library of Congress
Prints and Photographs Division
Willard Straight Collect
Portfolio 2A

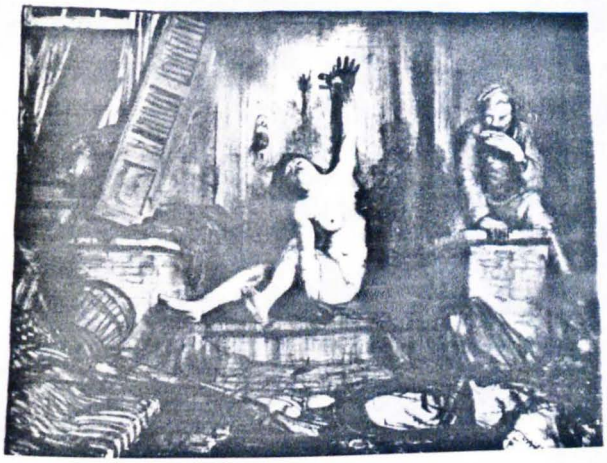


Fig. 13 George Bellows
The Cigarette, 1918
Lithograph
Mead Art Gallery
Amherst College

Fig. 14 Francisco Goya
Tampoco (Not [in this case] either)
Etching
Published in: The Disasters of War by Francisco Goya y Lucientes, Dover, 1967, ill. 30

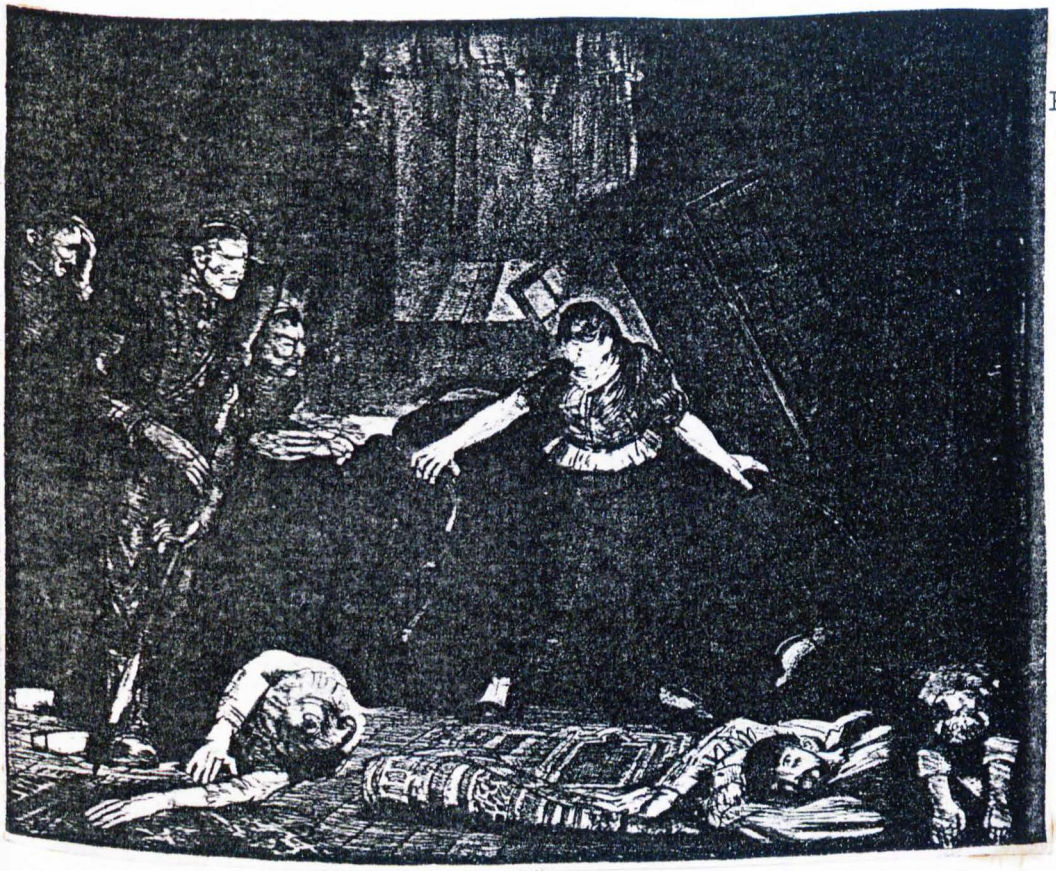


Fig.15 George Bellows
The Last Victim,
1918
Lithograph
Mead Art Gallery
Amherst College

Fig. 16 George Bellows
The Last Victim, 1918
Drawing
Wiggin Collection
Boston Public Library

Fig. 17 Louis Raemaekers
Mater Dolorosa
Drawing
Raemaekers' Cartoons on the European War
Library of Congress
Prints and Photographs Divisic
Willard Straight Collection

Fig. 18 Paul de Plument
La Defense du Foyer
(Defending the Home)
Lithograph
Willard Straight Collection
Portfolio 1 C

Fig.19 George Bellows
The Bacchanale, 1918
Lithograph
Mead Art Gallery
Amherst College

Fig. 20 G. Morinet
Dieu est avec nous dit le Kaiser, 1915
(God is with us says the Kaiser)
Lithograph
Library of Congress
Prints and Photographs Division
Willard Straight Collection
Portfolio 8 D

Fig. 21 Pubin de Treaupaiz(?)
The Path of Glory
Drawing
Cartoons Magazine,
April 1915, p. 597

Fig. 22 George Bellows
The Germans Arrive, 1918
Lithograph
Mead Art Gallery, Amherst College

'HERE is no sharper contrast between German Kultur and the civilization that our forefathers died for, than the difference in the itude of the two civilizations towards women and children.

Kultur in Belgium, and other devastated countries, is a tale so terrible that never yet has one dared more than whisper fragments of it. Yet the wrongs of Belgium, as a State outraged, pale beside the wrongs inflicted in savage, bestial revenge upon its defenceless women and children.

Such a civilization is not fit to live. And, God willing, it shall be mended or ended. To this task America summons every loyal heart and hand. It is a Crusade, not merely to re-win the tomb of Christ, but to bring back to earth the rule of right, the peace, good will to men and gentleness He taught.

To carry on this crusade of modern righteousness means not merely that our young men shall cross the seas to fight the Hun. It means that we at home shall uphold them. It means that we shall back them with all things spiritual and material. It means that we shall lend, not merely from our plenty, but that we shall save and serve. It means that we shall give up many things that are dear to us; sacrifice, that our Crusaders may save us and our children from the horrors that have come to the little ones of Belgium and of France.

UY U. S. GOVERNMENT BONDS FOURTH LIBERTY LOAN

Fig. 23 Caption for Bellows' The Germans Arrive
Collier's, September 28, 1918, p. 31

Fig. 24 Francisco Goya
Grande Hazana! Con Muertos! (Great deeds - against the dead !)
Etching
Published in: The Disasters of War by Francisco Goya y Lucientes , Dover, 1967, ill . 39

Fig.25 George Bellows
The Germans Arrive
Oil on canvas
V.H. Allison Gallery
New York

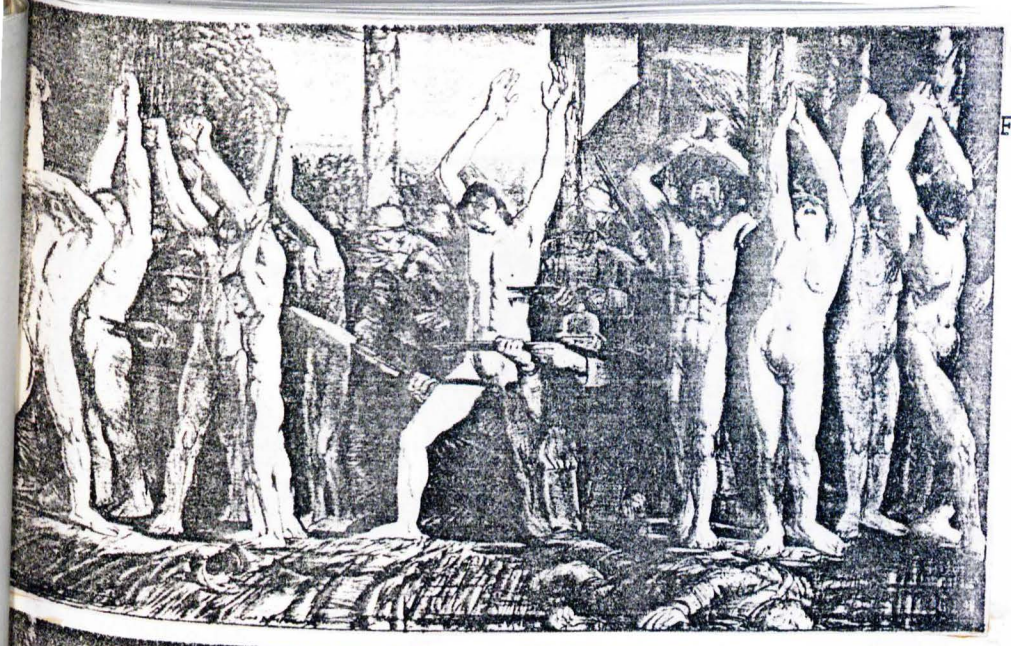


Fig. 26 George Bellows
The Barricade, 1918
First stone
Lithograph
Mead Art Gallery
Amherst College

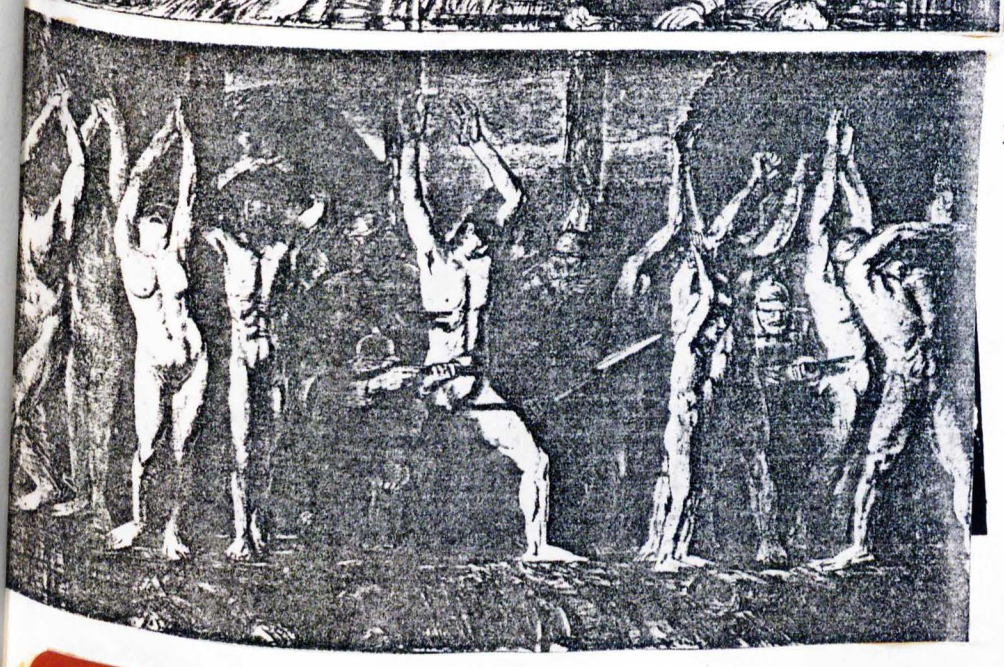


Fig. 27 George Bellows
The Barricade, 1918
Second Stone
Lithograph
Mead Art Gallery
Amherst College

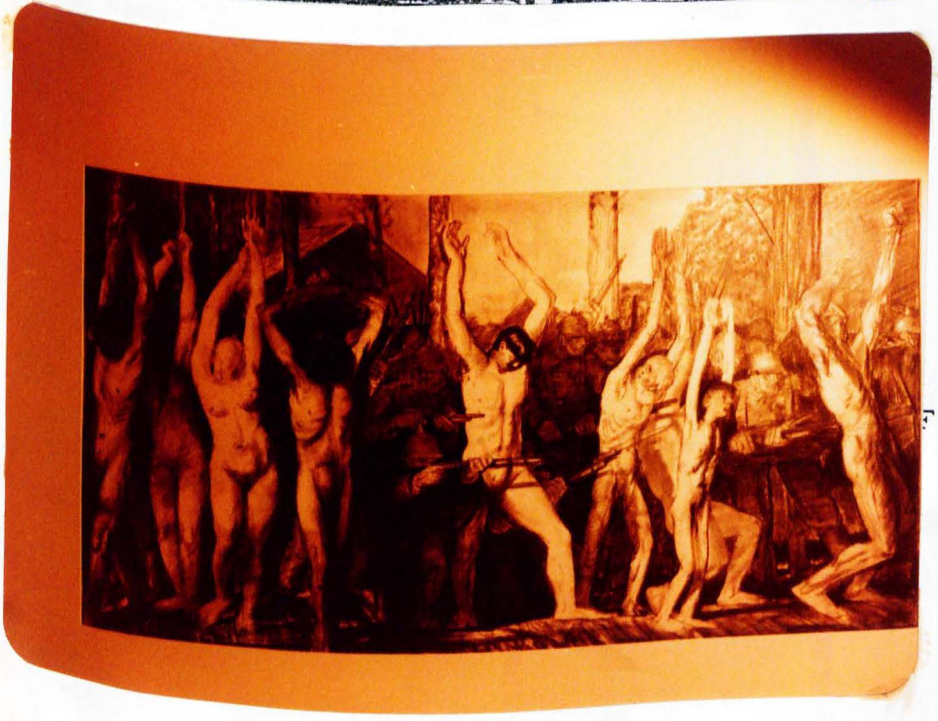


Fig. 28 George Bellows
The Barricade, 1918
Drawing
Wiggin Collection
Boston Public Library

Fig. 29 George Bellows
The Barricade, 1918
Oil on canvas
V.H. Allison Gallery
New York

Fig. 30 Abel Pann
Leur Abri (Their Shelter)
Hand colored lithograph
Library of Congress
Prints and Photographs Division
Willard Straight Collection
Portfolio 8A

Fig. 31 Erik Leon
La Vivante Muraille (Living Wall)
Drawing
Willard Straight Collection
Portfolio 4

Fig. 32 George Bellows
Massacre at Dinant,
Lithograph
Mead Art Gallery
Amherst College

FREDERICK KEPPEL & CO.

VILLAGE MASSACRE

This lithograph represents an episode which was of frequent occurrence during the advance of the German hordes through Belgium and France. Arrived at a village, the Hun soldiers—if they encountered the slightest opposition from the civilian population—rounded up groups of them, stood them before the guard and shot them, their excuse being that in the *next* village people would be a trifle more reasonable

Fig. 33 George Bellows
Massacre at Dinant (Village Massacre), 1918
Lithograph
Vanity Fair, November 1918, p. 37

Fig. 34 George Bellows
Massacre at Dinant
Oil on canvas
V.H. Allison Gallery
New York

Fig.35 Pierre George Jeanniot
Les Barbares en Belgique
1919 (The Barbarians in
Belgium)
Lithograph
Library of Congress
Prints and Photographs
Division
Willard Straight Collectio
Portfolio 4

Fig 36 Paul de Plument
Les Otages (The Hostag
Lithograph
Willard Straight Collecti
Portfolio 1C

Fig. 37 George Bellows
The Charge, 1918
(The Russian Charge)
Lithograph
Mead Art Gallery
Amherst College

Fig 38 George Bellows
Sniped, 1918
Lithograph
Mead Art Gallery
Amherst College

Under the parapet of the German trench they found Letsch, . . . in his arms was the red flag

Fig. 39 George Bellows
Sniped, 1918
Lithograph
Collier's, July 13, 1918, p.17

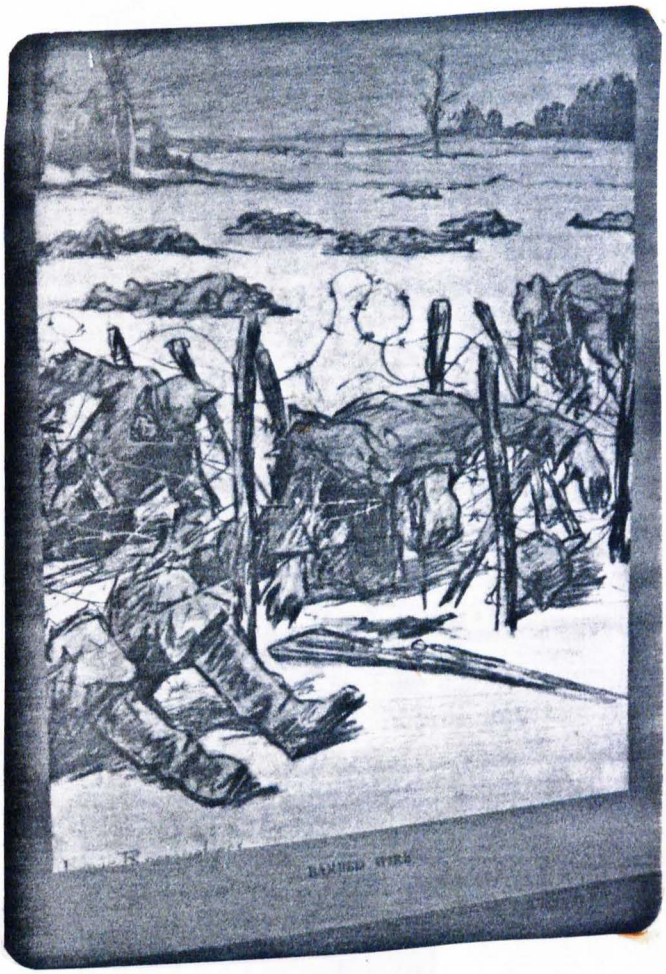


Fig 40Louis Raemaekers
Barbed Wire
Drawing
Library of Congress
Prints and Photographs Division
Lot 4014

Fig. 41 Jean Julien
La Prise d'une Battery Allemande, 1916
(Taking of a German Battery)
Lithograph
Library of Congress
Prints and Photographs Division
Willard Straight Collection
Portfolio 2A

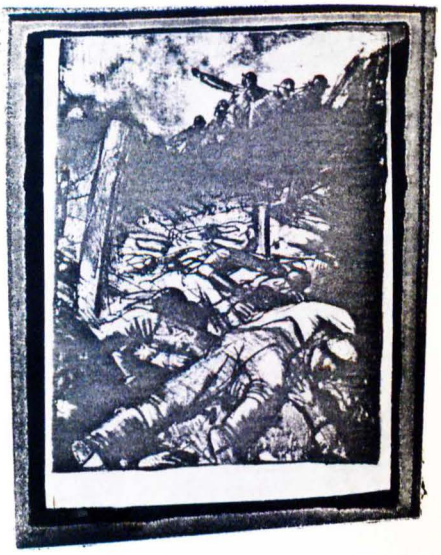


Fig. 42 George Bellows
The Charge, 1918
Left Detail
Lithograph
Mead Art Gallery
Amherst College

Fig. 43 George Bellows
The Charge, 1918, Right Detail
Lithograph, first state
Mead Art Gallery
Amherst College

SECOND STATE

Fig. 44 George Bellows
The Charge, 1918, Right Detail
Lithograph, second state
Published in: Lauris Mason. The Lithographs of George Bellows. A Catalogue Raisonné, KTO Press, 1977, p. 109

Fig .45 George Bellows
The Return of the Useless,
1918
Drawing
Wiggin Collection
Boston Public Library

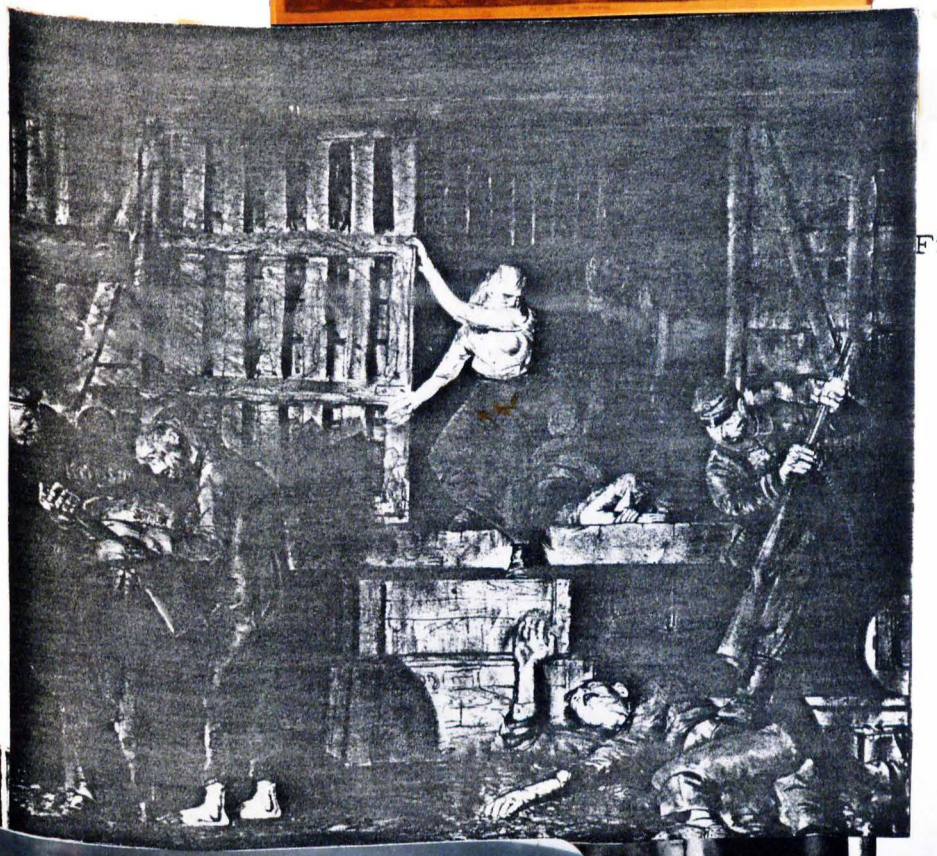


Fig. 46 George Bellows
The Return of the Useless,
1918
Lithograph
Mead Art Gallery
Amherst College

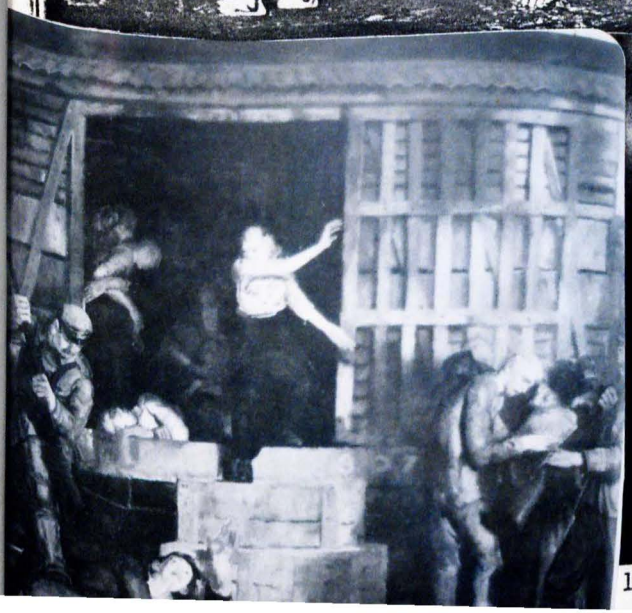


Fig. 47 George Bellows
The Return of the Useless, 1918
Oil on canvas
Mrs Ruxton Love Collection
New York

BELGIUM

By

Brand Whitlock

United States Minister to Belgium

The TIGHTENING GRIP

Including the story of Cardinal Mercier's Heroic Stand Against Tyranny

THIS is the sixth instalment of the story of Belgium, told by the American Minister to Belgium, who was in the stricken country from December, 1913, to our entry into the war, and witnessed its suffering from the beginning.

The story opens with an enthralling picture of the idyllic life of Brussels in the spring before the deluge a picture of the peace, the simple happiness that filled the little Belgian capital with a golden glory as radiant as the sunshine of the season.

Then, in July, come the first faint, foreboding omens of the world drama; the storm breaks with stupendous suddenness; the German ultimatum; the Belgian defiance; the invasion.

And with it the heavy cloud of horror rolling on from the scenes of blood and fire that mark the trail of the invader through Louvain, Liège and Dinant. From the unending stream of refugees that flows into the capital, from the official sources, from all the evidence, Mr. Whitlock pieces together the first complete—and final—story of the atrocities of that Reign of Terror.

The wave of flame and murder passes on, but behind it the iron weight of military and bureaucratic oppression settles down; and in the mute agony of a people under that remorseless yoke begins the real story of Belgium and its deeper significance for the world.

This degrading mark is painted in oil-colors on the back of every civil prisoner interned in one of the German camps. "Kriegsgefangenen, Celle." (War prisoners for Celle.) "Kriegsgefangenen, Münster." (War prisoners for Münster.)

Fig. 48 Photograph of a War Prisoner
Everybody's Magazine, July 1918, p.17

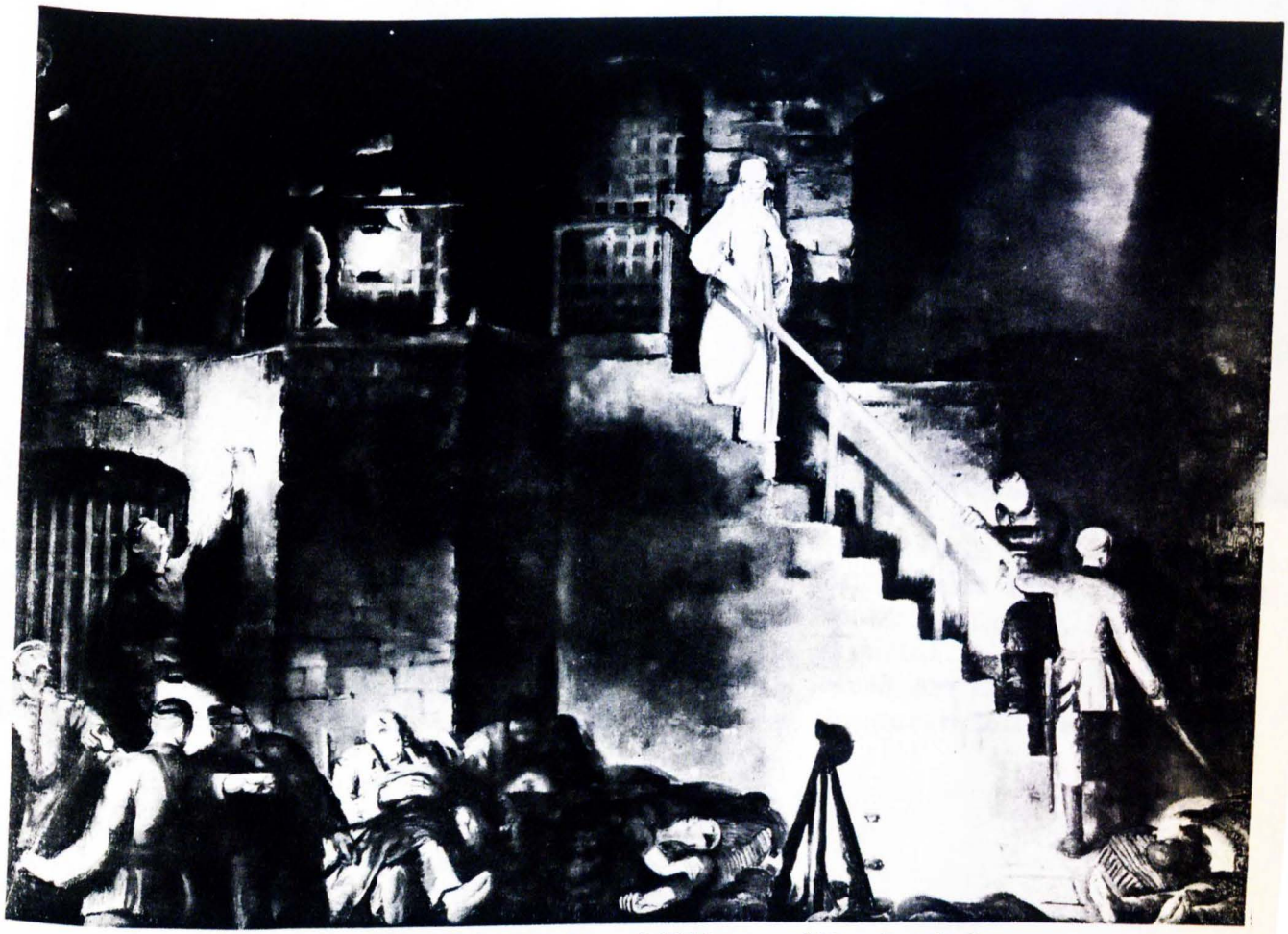
Copyrighted by the International Film Service.

EDITH CAVELL.

The last picture of Miss Cavell, taken in Brussels a short time before her arrest.

Fig. 49 Edith Cavell
Photograph
The Literary Digest, November 13, 1915, p. 1075

Fig. 50 George Bellows
The Murder of Edith Cavell, 1918
Lithograph
Mead Art Gallery
Amherst College



20) EDITH CAVELL, 1918. Springfield Museum of Fine Arts, Springfield, Massachusetts, The James Philip Gray Collection.

Fig. 51 George Bellows
Edith Cavell, 1918
Oil on canvas
Museum of Fine Arts, Springfield, Massachusetts

Fig. 52 George Bellows
Photograph

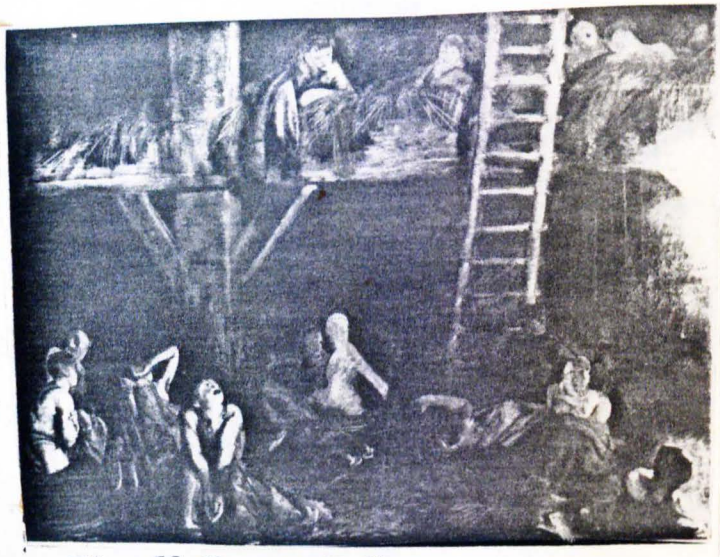
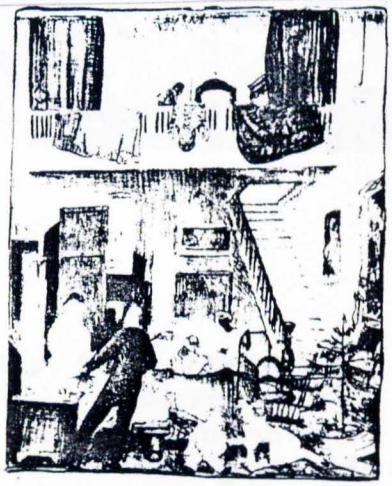


Fig. 53 George Bellows
Soldiers in A Barn or "The Moan of Sergeant Pilley as he Died in no Man's Land", 1918
Drawing
Mead Art Gallery
Amherst College



1916
MRS. JEAN BELLOWS
MISS ANNE BELLOWS
EMMA BELLOWS
AND GEORGE BELLOWS
WISH YOU A MERRY CHRISTMAS
AND A HAPPY NEW YEAR

Fig.54 George Bellows
The Studio, Family Christmas Card, 1916
Lithograph
Published in:Lauris Mason
The Lithographs of George Bellows. A Catalogue Raisonné,KTO Press,1977
p.75

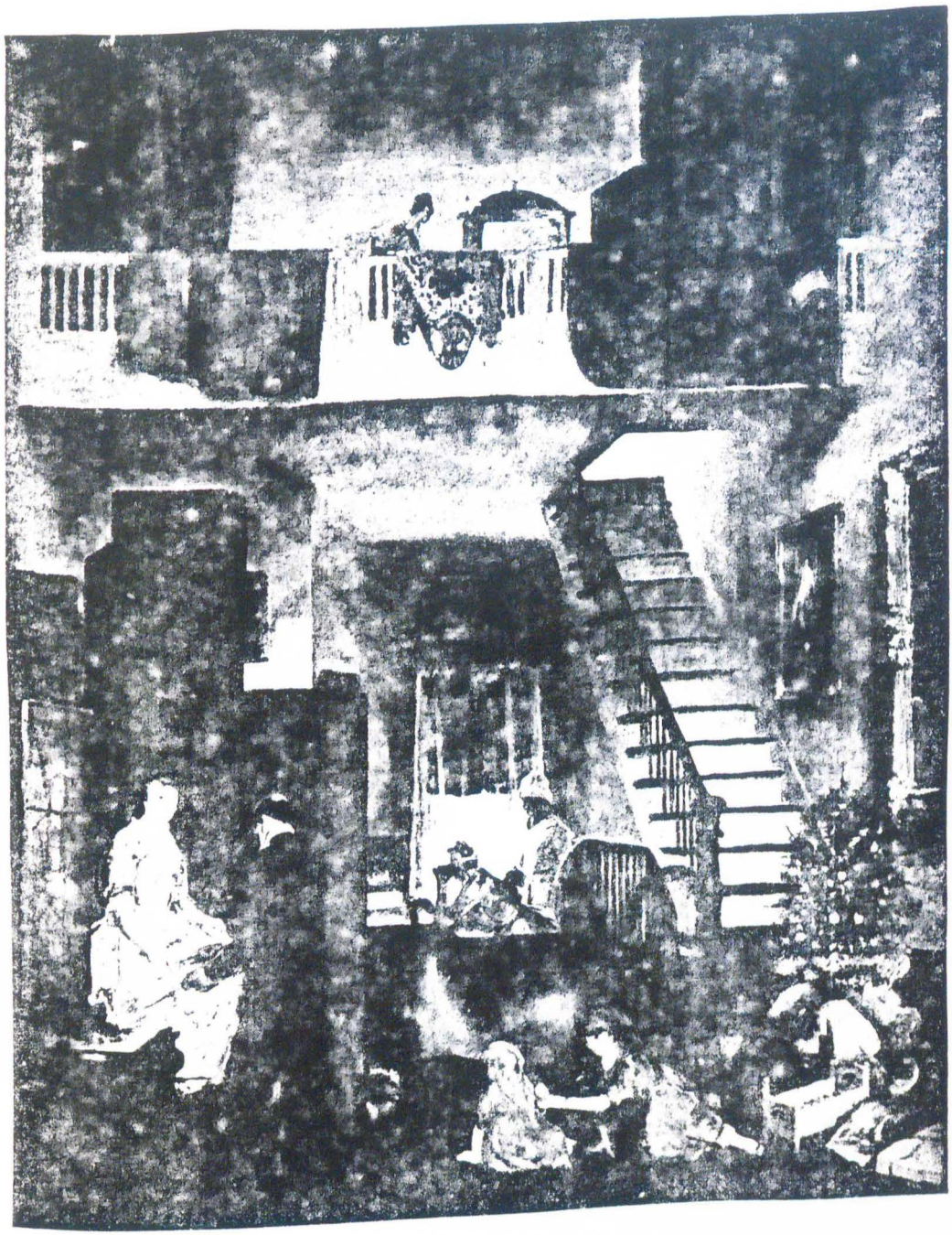


Fig. 55 George Bellows
The Studio, 1919
Oil on canvas
Hirschl and Adler Galleries
New York

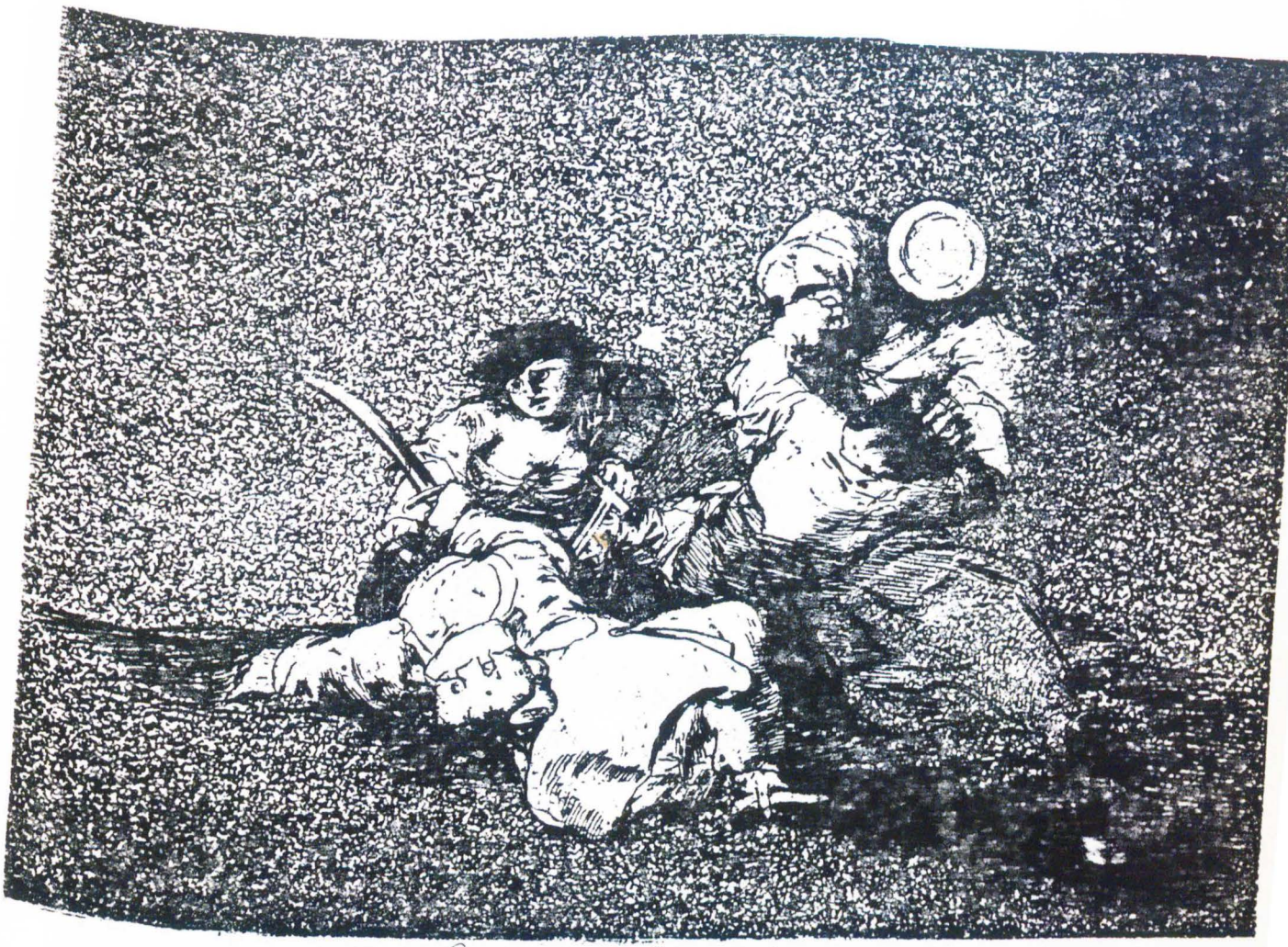


Fig. 56 Francisco Goya
Las mugeres dan valor (The women give courage)
Etching
Published in: The Disasters of War by Francisco Goya y Lucientes. Dover, 1967, ill. 4

Fig. 57 Francisco Goya
Y son fieras (And are like wild beasts)
Etching
Published in: The Disasters of War by Francisco Goya y Lucientes. Dover, 1967, ill.5

Fig 63 Louis Forain
Miss Cavell Assassinée
Lithograph
Published in: Forain. De la Marne au Rhin. Dessins des Annees de Guerre 1914-1918, Tome I, Editions Pierre Lafitte, [1920], n.p.

Miss Edith Cavell

LA GRANDE ALLEMAGNE

Fig 64 Henri Gabriel Ibels
Miss Edith Cavell
Lithograph
Library of Congress
Prints and Photographs Division
Willard Straight Collection
Portfolio 26

Fig.60 Paul Ribe
Edith Cavell
Watercolor
Library of Congress
Prints and Photographs Division
Willard Straight Collection
Portfolio 1A

Fig. 61 Louis Raemaekers
Miss Cavell
Drawing
Raemaekers' Cartoons on the European War
Willard Straight Collection

Nurse Cavell Thrown to the Swine.
Cartoon by Louis Raemaekers.

Fig. 62 Louis Raemaekers
Nurse Cavell Thrown to the Swine
Drawing
Everybody's Magazine, October 1918, p. 15

GOTT STRAFE ENGLAND

This is the lithograph which the Government has used, with such telling effect, in connection with the Fourth Liberty Loan. It depicts a tragedy, amply vouched for in the Bryce report,—the execution of three Canadian soldiers who had been captured by the Prussians. Mr. Bellows is now at work in transposing this—and other of his little graphic masterpieces—into the medium of paint, because, like the artists of old, he is a master in a variety of mediums. A notable group of such canvases by Mr. Bellows will soon be exhibited in New York

Fig. 63 George Bellows
Gott Strafe England (God Punishes England), 1918
Lithograph
V.H. Allison Gallery
New York

Fig. 64 Tintoretto
Crucifixion, 1565
Oil on canvas
Scuola di San Rocco, Venice

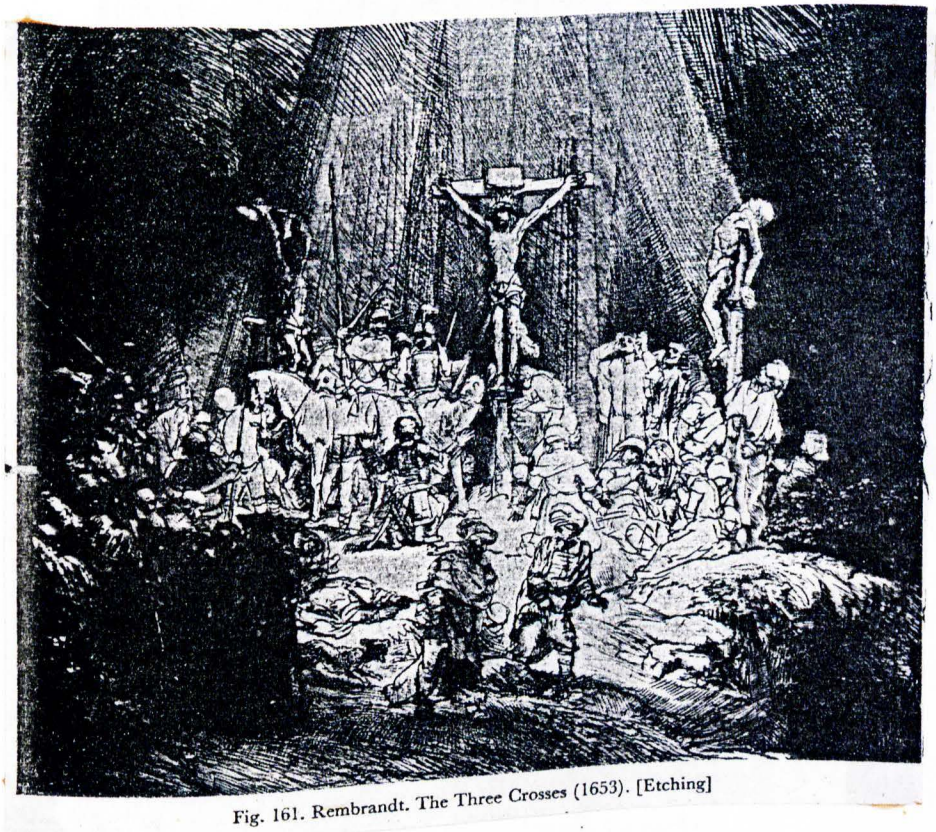


Fig. 161. Rembrandt. The Three Crosses (1653). [Etching]

Fig. 65 Rembrandt
The Three Crosses
Etching
Published in: Kenneth Clark. Rembrandt and the Italian Renaissance, The Norton Library, 1966, pp. 168-169

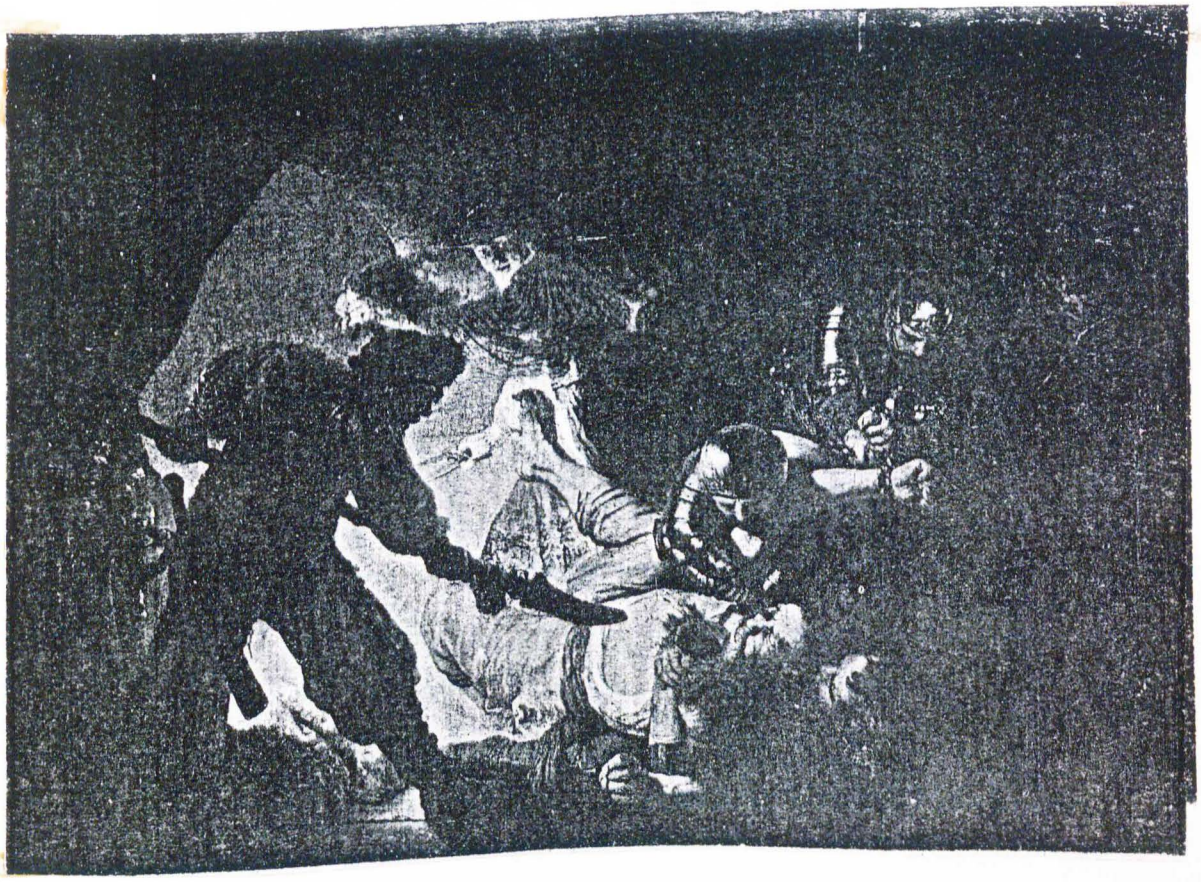


Fig. 66 Rembrandt
The Blinding of Samson
Oil on canvas
State Museum, Frankfurt on Maine

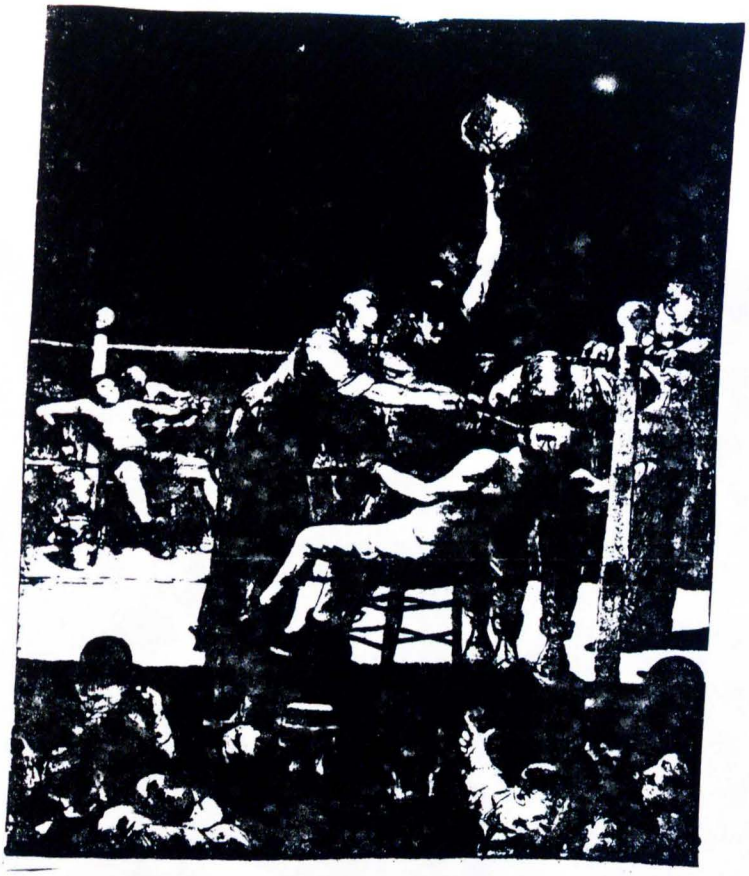


Fig 67 George Bellows
Between Rounds ,1916
Lithograph, first stone
Published in: Lauris Mason. The Lithographs of George Bellows. A Catalogue Raisonné, KTO Press, 1977, p.66

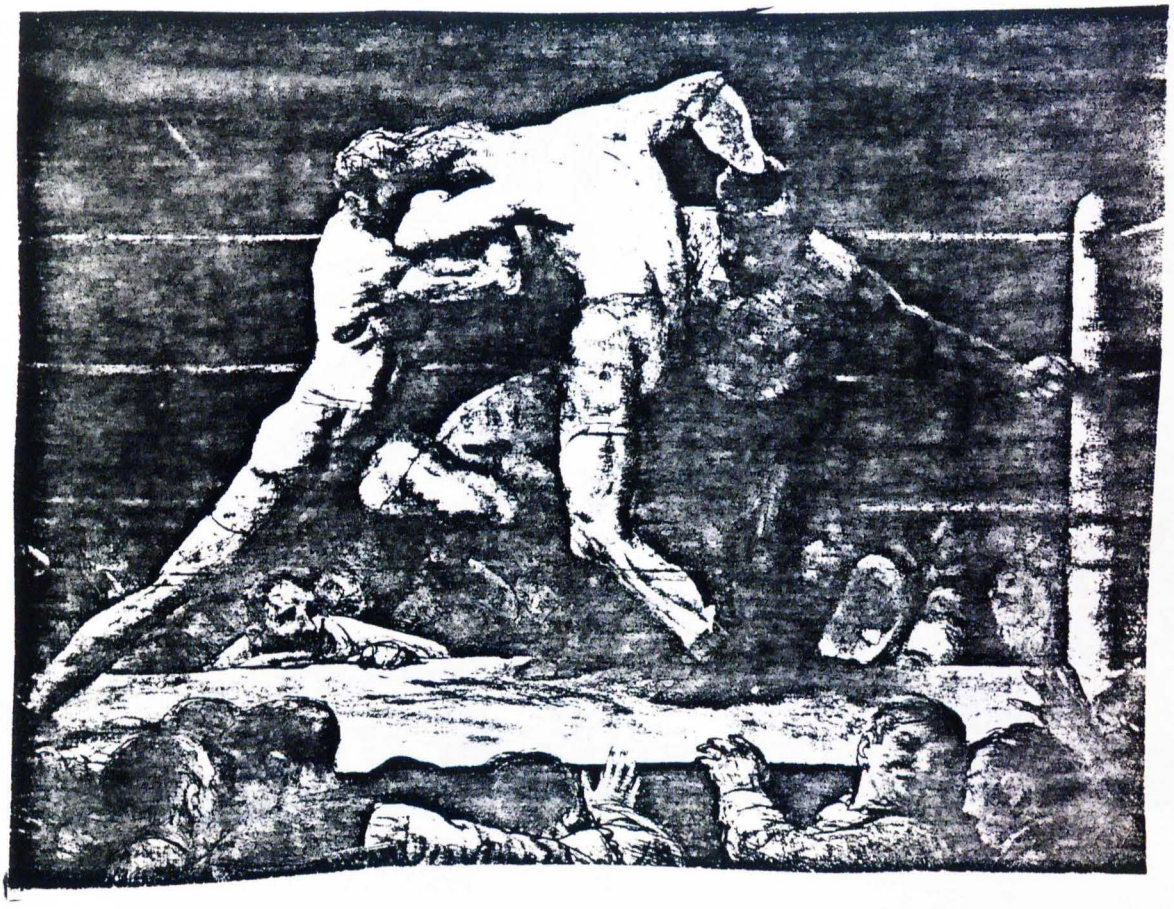


Fig 68 George Bellows
A Stag at Sharkey's, 1917
Lithograph
Hirschl and Adler Galleries
New York

Fig. 69 Francisco Goya
Bien te se esta (It serves you right)
Etching
Published in: The Disasters of War by Francisco Goya y Lucientes, Dover, 1967, ill. 6

Fig. 70 George Bellows
Base Hospital, 1918
Lithograph, first stone
Mead Art Gallery
Amherst College

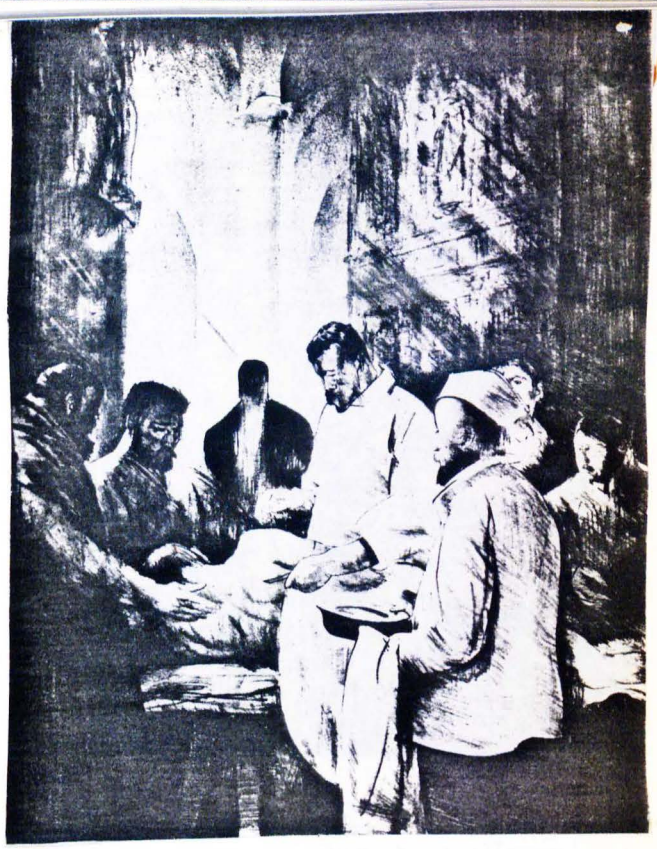


Fig. 71 George Bellows
Base Hospital, 1918
Lithograph, second stone
Mead Art Gallery
Amherst College

Fig. 72 George Bellows
Base Hospital, 1918
Drawing
Wiggin Collection
Boston Public Library

Fig. 73 George Bellows
Hail to Peace
Oil on canvas
Cincinnati Art Museum
Cincinnati, Ohio

Fig. 74 George Bellows
Dawn of Peace
Oil on canvas
Cincinnati Art Museum
Cincinnati, Ohio

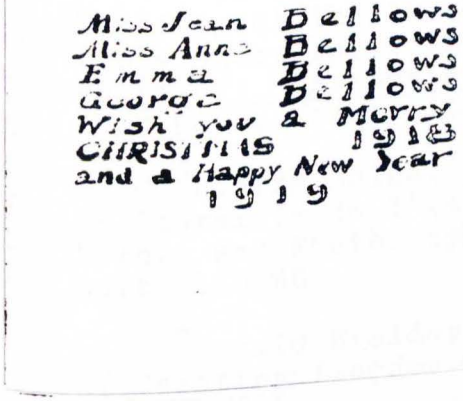


Fig. 75 George Bellows
Hail to Peace, Christmas 1918
Lithograph
Published in: Lauris Mason. The Lithographs of George Bellows. A Catalogue Raisonné. KTO Press, 1977, p.112

FOOTNOTES

[1]There were many excellent European artists, well known for their antiwar works such as Forain, Steinlen, Dix, Grosz, Kollwitz, to name just a few, whose works are not compared with Bellows' lithographs in this study. These better known artists who have not been considered, depicted scenes from the trenches, battlefields, ruined towns and villages or produced satirical drawings on war, military leaders and politicians. A number of examples selected for comparison in this thesis were executed by little known artists whose works depicted, as Bellows' lithographs did, atrocities committed by German soldiers on civilians in Belgium and France. They were drawn from an impressive collection of original watercolors, drawings, woodcuts, lithographs, photographs, posters and reproductions relating thematically to the First World War, 1914-1918, principally by French artists, assembled by Major Willard D. Straight (1880-1918) and deposited on loan in the Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, by Mrs. Leonard K. Elmhirst of Devon, England and by his son, Mr. Michael Straight of Alexandria, Virginia, in 1950.

[2]The New York Times, August 5, 1914, p. 1.

[3]Charles Hill Morgan, George Bellows: Painter of America (New York: Reynal, 1965), p. 191.

[4]"In resigning from The Masses, Sloan, Coleman, and Davis specifically objected to the editors' antiwar captions under their pictures." Richard Fitzgerald, Art and Politics: Cartoonists of 'The Masses' and the 'Liberator' (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1973), p. 29.

[5]Pierre Boine, "Match Europeen de 1914-1915," Copyright by Librairie de l'estampes 1915. Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Willard Straight Collection, portfolio 8D.

[6]Donald Braider, George Bellows and the Ashcan School of Painting (Garden City, New Jersey: Doubleday and Company, 1971), p. 66.

[7]About associations of Bellows and Emma Goldman see: Charles Hill Morgan, George Bellows: Painter of America, pp. 123, 169, 199, 206.

[8]Braider, p. 105.

[9]Literary Digest, April 7, 1917, p. 365.

[10]Woodrow Wilson, War Addresses of Woodrow Wilson, "At War with Germany," Address to Congress, April 2, 1917, (Boston: Ginn and Company, 1918), p. 42.

[11]Ibid., p. 39.

[12]Ibid., p. 45.

[13]Charlene Stant Engel, "George W. Bellows' Illustrations for The Masses and other Magazines and the Sources of his Lithographs of 1916-1917," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1976, Ann Arbor, Mich.: University Microfilms (available in the Archives of American Art, Washington, D.C., on microfilm), p. 15.

[14]Ibid., p. 15.

[15]Bellows' Papers, Robert Frost Library, Amherst College Special Collection, Box IV, Folder 4, p. 2. (unpublished material).

[16]Engel, p. 20.

[17]Max Eastman, Love and Revolution (New York: Random House, 1964), p. 59.

[18]Bellows' Papers, Robert Frost Library, Amherst College, Box IV, Folder 1.

[19]George Bellows, "The Big Idea: George Bellows Talks About Patriotism for Beauty," Touchstone, July 1917, pp. 269-275.

[20]Morgan, p. 218.

[21]Ibid.

[22]Bellows' record book is preserved by his dealer, Mr. Gordon Allison, Allison Gallery, New York.

[23]Emma S. Bellows, George W. Bellows: His Lithographs (New York: Knopf, 1927).

[24]Albert Roullier Art Galleries, Catalogue of an Exhibition of Original Lithographs by George Bellows, Chicago, January 6-20, 1919.

[25]Morgan, p. 218.

[26]Lauris Mason, The Lithographs of George Bellows: A Catalogue Raisonné (New York: KTO Press, 1977), p. 95.

[27]Ibid.

[28]Morgan, p. 218.

[29]Howard Wheeler, "Brand Whitlock's Own Story," Everybody's Magazine, January 1918, p. 27.

[30]Albert Roullier Art Galleries, Catalogue of an Exhibition of Original Lithographs by George Bellows, n. p.

[31]Morgan, p. 216.

[32]Ibid.

[33]George Bellows, "What Dynamic Symmetry Means to Me," The American Art Student, June 1921, p. 7.

[34]Ibid., p. 5.

[35]Morgan, p. 126.

[36]Milton Brown, American Painting from the Armory Show to the Depression (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1970), p. 164.

[37]Ibid., p. 160.

[38]Jay Hambidge, The Elements of Dynamic Symmetry (New York: Dover, 1967), p. xvii.

[39]Bellows, "What Dynamic Symmetry Means to Me," p. 6.

[40]Frederick A. Sweet, "George Bellows: His Paintings," The Art Institute of Chicago Bulletin, February 1946, Part I, p. 12.

[41]Morgan, p. 217.

[42]William Inness Homer, Robert Henri and his Circle (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1969), p. 194.

[43]The story was reported to me by the son of William Allison, Gordon Allison, owner of the H. V. Allison Gallery in New York, solely devoted to handling of Bellows' estate. The Allison Gallery was opened in 1941 when William Allison took from previous Bellows' dealer the Keppel Gallery all works of Bellows and decided to handle them himself. Gordon Allison remains on very friendly terms with the only surviving daughter of Bellows, Mrs. Earl Booth (Jean) and continues to sell Bellows' works.

[44]Frederick Keppel and Company, Catalogue of an Exhibition of Lithographs by George Bellows, New York, November 7-23, 1918, p. 3.

[45]Belgian Farmyard in Bellows' record book is listed as Untitled. See also Lauris Mason, Lithographs of George Bellows: A Catalogue Raisonné, p. 105. The catalogue of the first exhibition of Bellows' war lithographs in the Frederick Keppel Gallery in New York, November 7-23, 1918, listed the print as the Belgian Farmyard.

[46]Albert Roullier Art Galleries, Catalogue of an Exhibition of Original Lithographs by George Bellows, n. p.

[47]Bryce Report, The New York Times, May 13, 1915.

[48]Albert Roullier Art Galleries, Catalogue of an Exhibition of Original Lithographs by George Bellows, n. p.

[49]Bryce Report, The New York Times, May 13, 1915.

[50]Viscount Bryce, Evidence and Documents laid before the Committee on Alleged German Outrages, New York: Macmillan [1915], pp. 65-66. Not all of evidence and testimonies accumulated by the Bryce Committee were published in the New York Times on May 13, 1915. Separate publications, as the one listed above, included more material on German crimes committed in Belgium and France, than the excerpts printed in the New York Times.

[51]"Henri had given George a fondness for Goya," said Morgan in his biography of Bellows (Morgan, p. 68).

[52]The same horse-hair sofa, part of Bellows' living room furniture was often portrayed in other lithographs such as: My Family, Elsie, Emma and Marjorie, Emma and Marjorie, and in the painting Emma and her Children.

[53]Viscount Bryce, Evidence and Documents laid before the Committee on Alleged German Outrages, p. 4.

[54]Albert Roullier Art Galleries, Catalogue of an Exhibition of Original Lithographs by George Bellows, n. p.

[55]Louis Raemaekers, Raemaekers' Cartoons on the European War (London: Pulman and Son, n. d.).

[56]Emma S. Bellows, George W. Bellows: His Lithographs, p. 22.

[57]Albert Roullier Art Galleries. Catalogue of an Exhibition of Original Lithographs by George Bellows, n. p.

[58]Bryce Report, The New York Times, May 13, 1915.

[59]Ibid.

[60]Drawn from a sketch made by one of Le Rire artists at the front, at the outskirts of a village on the Marne, shortly after the Germans had passed through it (Cartoon Magazine, April 1915, p. 597). The name of the artist is illegible--Pubin de Treaupaiz seems the most probable guess.

[61]Also known under the titles: The Enemy Arrive and Made in Germany, (see Mason, The Lithographs of George Bellows: A Catalogue Raisonné, p. 194).

[62]Liberty Loans were U.S. Government loans aimed at borrowing money from citizens to help support the war expenses. It was a patriotic duty to buy the government bonds. American artists produced propaganda posters and cartoons on the occasion of the Liberty Loans and Bellows offered his lithograph and the painting The Germans Arrive to support the government war efforts.

[63]Albert Roullier Art Galleries, Catalogue of an Exhibition of Original Lithographs by George Bellows, n. p.

[64]Undated letter from George Bellows to Robert Henri and his wife, probably written in the fall of 1918. (The Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University Library, New Haven, Connecticut.)

[65]Viscount Bryce, Evidence and Documents laid before the Committee on Alleged German Outrages, p. 10.

[66]Ibid., p. 79.

[67]Walt Whitman, Specimen Days, in Walt Whitman Representative Selections with Introduction, Bibliography and Notes by Floyd Stoval (New York: Hill and Wang, 1966), p. 365.

[68]Viscount Bryce, Evidence and Documents laid before the Committee on Alleged German Outrages, p. 175.

[69]Albert Roullier Art Galleries, Catalogue of an Exhibition of Original Lithographs by George Bellows, n. p.

[70]See Mason, The Lithographs of George Bellows: A Catalogue Raisonné, pp. 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 78, 80, 81, 86, 118, 119. Bellows' paintings of nudes include Nude with Parrot, 1915; Nude with Fan, 1920; Nude with Red Hair, 1920.

[71]Ibid., pp. 196-197.

[72]Dale Phillips, one of Bolton Brown, Bellows' printer, last students wrote to Lauris Mason on November 12, 1976 ". . . Whether Bellows planned the reversal in the beginning I cannot say. I suspect he suffered the shock of seeing left handed gunmen, then decided on the transfer. The signature (backwards) would not support arguments for a planned transfer." (Mason, p. 106).

[73]Bryce Report, The New York Times, May 13, 1915.

[74]Albert Roullier Art Galleries. Catalogue of an Exhibition of Original Lithographs by George Bellows, n. p.

[75]In the Bellows' record book the lithograph is listed as the Massacre at Dinant (Gordon Allison Gallery, New York).

[76]The lithograph was listed in the Bellows' record book of 1918 as the Russian Charge. Emma Bellows in George W. Bellows: His Lithographs had the lithograph listed under the title The Charge.

[77]Donal Hamilton Haines, "Something," Collier's, July 13, 1918, p. 18.

[78]Ibid.

[79]Ibid., p. 29.

[80]Albert Roullier Art Galleries, Catalogue of an Exhibition of Original Lithographs by George Bellows, n. p.

[81]Emma Bellows, George W. Bellows: His Lithographs, ill. 174.

[82]Mason, p. 109.

[83]Morgan Papers on Bellows, Robert Frost Library, Amherst College, Special Collections, Box V, Folder 16 (sales and professional income of George Bellows).

[84]Everybody's Magazine, December 1918, p. 17.

[85]Albert Roullier Art Galleries, Catalogue of an Exhibition of Original Lithographs by George Bellows. Full comment of Bellows to the lithograph The Return of the Useless reads as follows: "Belgian slaves being shipped back and dumped, broken in health and useless for further exploitation by their German masters. A man has fallen exhausted and is being kicked by a guard." (unpaginated)

[86]Everybody's Magazine, December 1918, p. 13.

[87]Everybody's Magazine, July 1918, p. 17.

[88]Bellows' record book. Allison Gallery, New York.

[89]Anon., "A Timely Bellows of 1918 and Other Good Pictures," New York World Telegram, October 24, 1942. Since then the painting was acquired by Mr. and Mrs. Ruxton Love of New York.

[90]Royal Cortissoz, "George Bellows and Some Others," New York Herald Tribune, October 25, 1942.

[91]Anon., "A Timely Bellows of 1918 and Other Good Pictures," New York World Telegram, October 24, 1942.

[92]Ibid., "It was painted just before the Armistice in 1918" wrote the anonymous critic.

[93]Frederick B. Robinson, "George Bellows' Edith Cavell Bought by Fine Arts Museum," Springfield Sunday Republican, May 8, 1949.

[94]Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Lot 2928.

[95]Anon., "Edith Cavel," Literary Digest, November 6, 1915, pp. 1001-1002.

[96]D. Cotton, "Newport R.I.," American Art News, September 14, 1918, p. 3.

[97]The Delineator, October 1918, p. 1. Bellows was paid $100 for the lithograph The Murder of Edith Cavell by The Delineator (Morgan Papers on Bellows, Robert Frost Library, Amherst College, Special Collections, Box V, Folder 16).

[98]Clipping from the Literary Digest, December 28, 1918, found in the Morgan Papers on Bellows, Robert Frost Library, Box V, Folder 19.

[99]Brand Whitlock, "Belgium," Everybody's Magazine, October 1918, p. 68.

[100]Ibid.

[101]Ibid.

[102]Anon., [Mary Fenton Roberts] "Art Notes," Touchstone, January 1919, p. 349.

[103]George Bellows' drawing Soldiers in a Barn or the Moan of Sergeant Pilley as he died in no Man's Land, 1918, was given to the Mead Art Gallery in Amherst College by Gordon Allison.

[104]Mahonri Sharp Young, The Paintings of George Bellows (New York: Watson-Guptill Publications, 1973), p. 15.

[105]Peyton Boswell, Jr., George Bellows (New York: Crown Publishers, 1942), p. 19.

[106]Morgan Papers on Bellows, Box V, Folder 16.

[107]Vanity Fair, November 1918, pp. 36-37.

[108]Albert Roullier Art Galleries, Catalogue of an Exhibition of Original Lithographs by George Bellows, n. p.

[109]Morgan, p. 77.

[110]Thomas Nast, 1840-1902, popular political cartoonist who worked for Harper's Weekly.

[111]Albert Roullier Art Galleries, A Catalogue of an Exhibition of Original Photographs by George Bellows, n. p.

[112]Careful examination of the New York Times, 1914-1918; Everybody's Magazine, 1917-1918; Collier's, 1914-1918; Vanity Fair, 1914-1918; Touchstone, 1914-1918; The Masses, 1914-1917; and the Library of Congress collection of photographs from the First World War period yield no results.

[113]The first title given by Bellows to the Base Hospital was the Dressing Station (Frederick Keppel Gallery. Catalogue of an Exhibition of Lithographs by George Bellows, New York, November 7-23, 1918).

[114]Mason, p. 96.

[115]Ibid.

[116]The drawing of the Base Hospital is in the Wiggin Collection, Boston Public Library.

[117]Vanity Fair, August 1918, p. 18.

[118]Mason, p. 96.

[119]Letter from Miss Helen Frick to Bellows, dated March 27, 1919. Bellows Papers, Robert Frost Library Amherst College, Special Collections, Box II, Folder 12.

[120]The lithograph The Case of Sargeant Delaney was examined in the L C Prints and Photographs Division. The print is dated 1918 and signed by Bolton Brown and George Bellows. It is dedicated by the artist to Josephus Daniels, Secretary of the Navy 1913-1921: "To Josephus Daniels Esq.

with my compliments. George Bellows." Mason maintains that the lithograph is listed in the artist's record book as a work executed in 1921 and that Emma Bellows included the print together with War Series and dated it 1918 because of its military subject (See Mason, p. 141).

[121]Mason, p. 24.

[122]Frank Weitenkampf, "George W. Bellows, Lithographer," Print Connoisseur, July 1924, p. 239.

[123]Albert Gallatin, Art and Great War (New York: Dutton, 1919), p. 34.

[124]Letter from Charles Dana Gibson to Bellows, dated August 27, 1918, Bellows Papers, Box II, Folder 12.

[125]Gallatin, pp. 46-47.

[126]Letter from Charles Johnson Post to Bellows, dated October 7, 1918, Bellows Papers, Box II, Folder 12.

[127]Mary Fenton Roberts, "Art Notes," Touchstone, January 1919, pp. 348-349.

[128]Francis Henry Sayles, "The Lithographs of George Wesley Bellows," Print Collectors' Quarterly April 1940, pp. 139-165.

[129]Dr. Josephine Withers pointed out the fact that Francis' criticism should be understood in context of America's neutrality in the period his article was written.

[130]Morgan, p. 218.

[131]Emma S. Bellows, George Wesley Bellows: His Lithographs, Introduction by Thomas Beer (New York: Knopf, 1927), p. 22.

[132]Walter Gutman, "George Bellows," Art in America, February 1929, p. 103.

[133]Emma S. Bellows, George Wesley Bellows: His Lithographs, p. 21 (footnote).

[134]George Bellows, "The Big Idea: George Bellows talks about patriotism for beauty," Touchstone, July 1917, p. 275.

[135]A fellow artist, Waldo Peirce wrote six undated postcards and a letter to Bellows from the trenches of France in 1918. They contain sketches from the front and vividly describe the war events as for example: "A week's

constipation melted like snow in the sun under a 45 minutes bombardment of which we in calm were target apparently . . . one of our men was killed X-mas. Two have been wounded. I can't even pick up an honorable splinter in the fleshy part of my behind in order to get a little rest. If I ever get out of this with my manhood and a whole set of bowels I'll do a little painting . . ." (Unpublished postcards from Waldo Peirce to Bellows, Amherst College, Mead Art Gallery).

[136]George Bellows, "The Big Idea: George Bellows talks about patriotism for beauty," Touchstone, July 1917, p. 275.

[137]George Bellows, "What Dynamic Symmetry Means to Me," The American Art Student, June 1921, p. 6.

[138]Frederick Keppel and Company, Catalogue of an Exhibition of Lithographs and Drawing by George Bellows, New York, March 24-April 25, 1925, Introduction by Eugene Speicher.

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