

IMAGES OF INHUMANITY: GEORGE BELLOWS'S WAR SERIES

by

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ABSTRACT OF THESIS
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The contributions of George Bellows as a draughtsman, painter, and lithographer are often overlooked in American art history textbooks. Although Bellows was a pupil of Robert Henri and surrounded himself with artists such as John Sloan, William Glackens, and Arthur B. Davies, it is they who are remembered more than he. Although a fair amount of research has been published on Bellows, little has been published on his *War Series* of 1918.

In April 1918, Bellows began work on a series of drawings, lithographs, and paintings based primarily on the Bryce Report, a British report that documented German atrocities committed against Belgian civilians during World War I. Belgium was a neutral country, and the Bryce Report contained dozens of eyewitness accounts of the brutal acts. Bellows reacted to the Bryce Report by creating a series of powerfully violent images that served as an expression of the artist's feelings, as visual documentation, and ultimately as propaganda.

This thesis examines Bellows's background and development as an artist, as well as his religious, social, and political views, in an effort to understand the reasons he created something that at first seems so out of character for him. Although the Bryce Report was the main reason Bellows created the *War Series*, he drew from other artistic sources for the imagery. Through the comparison of Bellows's sources with the actual

artwork in the *War Series*, it becomes clear which images are purely documentary, and which are more personal expressions of Bellows's sympathy for the victims.

Lithography was Bellows's passion, and he chose to execute this series first as lithographs because he felt so strongly about the subject. That choice and the compositional systems and color theories Bellows utilized in the *War Series* will also be examined. This thesis sheds light on an aspect of Bellows's work that has been largely overlooked by scholars for many years. The *War Series* holds a unique place in American art history. It played a critical role in the development of lithography in the United States and influenced the way propaganda is thought of today.

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to the memory of my father, Joseph William Pilato, and my grandmother, Rose Cerniglia Pilato, and to my husband, Paul Hilliard Greenwood. Without their love, encouragement, and support, I would not have been able to complete this project. I will be forever grateful for their confidence and support.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

George Bellows (1882-1925) was one of the most prolific American painters of the early twentieth century. Although Bellows is best known for his boxing images, he was also an accomplished landscape, genre, and portrait painter. In addition to painting, Bellows was a master draughtsman and talented lithographer, and his illustrations appeared in countless journals and magazines. Although a fair amount of scholarly research has been published on Bellows, he is frequently overlooked in art history surveys and is even omitted from American art classes. One significant body of work that has received little attention is Bellows's *War Series* of 1918, a series consisting of six drawings, sixteen lithographs, and five paintings, all dealing with the subject of World War I. This thesis will examine the *War Series* as a whole and its contributions to American art in the context of historical illustration, the development of lithography as a fine art, and its reception as anti-German war propaganda.

This particular series is significant to the field of art history not only as an example of Bellows's work as a lithographer but also in its relevance to the interpretation of historical events. The significance of the *War Series* to Bellows's oeuvre merits close examination because it is so different and such a blatant anti-war statement that it is utterly shocking in comparison to his other works. The *War Series* was the most powerful set of images produced during his career; he produced nothing as

powerful before or after. My research on the subject fills an important gap in the scholarship on Bellows. To

date, the research published on Bellows by Americanists, historians, and relatives has focused on his life, his portraits, his landscapes, or his genre paintings. There has been surprisingly little published on the *War Series*. This thesis examines the series in depth by focusing on its significance within Bellows's oeuvre, its role as historical documentation, and its relationship to other works of art dealing with war.

In the second chapter of the thesis, Bellows's background and development as an artist are examined, as well as his social, political, and religious beliefs. He grew up in a staunchly Republican and Methodist home; however as soon as he moved to New York, he quickly developed his own set of beliefs and frequently used his art to express them. Bellows associated himself with anarchist and socialist groups, and he frequently contributed illustrations to anarchist and socialist magazines and journals, especially *The Masses*. Many of his prints and illustrations contained hints of anti-establishment undertones and political and religious satire. Through the depiction of slums or the mockery of religious figures, Bellows made his opinions on social issues known, albeit with the utmost subtlety. With the *War Series*, however, he put all subtlety aside. These images were at the time the most violent produced by an American artist, and many of them are still painful to view, even in comparison to the violence routinely portrayed in American television and cinema. Through the examination of Bellows's background and

beliefs, it is possible to trace how his art became more and more expressive in the years leading up to the *War Series*.

In the third chapter of the thesis, Bellows's sources and intent for the series will be examined, as well as the role the series played in American history. It is known from interviews that Bellows had strong feelings about the war—he was against it initially, however, when the United States entered the war in 1917, Bellows volunteered for the Tank Corps. Bellows was inspired to create the series after reading the contents of the Bryce Report, which listed numerous accounts of German atrocities committed against innocent Belgian civilians at the onset of war in 1914. Although the Bryce Report was Bellows's main source, he was also influenced by a series of articles written by Brand Whitlock, U.S. Ambassador to Belgium, that discussed essentially the same events that the Bryce Report had documented but did so from a different viewpoint. These were the two textual accounts on which he relied; however, for visual references, Bellows was influenced by Goya's *Disasters of War* and also may have been influenced by documentary photographs. By using a combination of sources, Bellows created composite images that were part history painting, part propaganda, and part art as a means of personal expression.

The thesis next examines the aesthetic choices and the artistic techniques Bellows used in the series. Bellows was passionate about his printmaking, and it is definitely worth exploring that aspect of his oeuvre in conjunction with this series. I believe he chose to execute this series as lithographs because of his love for the medium. He was as passionate about the subject matter as he was about the medium. The choice to execute the series as lithographs was not only because of his love for the

medium, however. Printmaking was the original medium in which the series were produced, and it was not until after he had executed the lithographs that he produced the five paintings depicting the same subjects found in the lithographs. The paintings offer an example of Bellow's fascination with Dynamic Symmetry, a technique about which he had learned just prior to the production of the series. The dimensions of all five paintings are uniform in size, and the widths and lengths of each conform to the ratios needed for the concept of Dynamic Symmetry to work.

The fourth chapter of this thesis examines the reception and exhibition history of the series. It focuses on the reception of the prints and the paintings when they were first created, and it examines what happened to the pieces after the war. The *War Series* was not commissioned, so Bellows took an enormous risk in producing it. One of the dealers who represented Bellows was appalled when he was first shown the lithographs, but he reluctantly agreed to exhibit them. Several interested parties wrote to Bellows congratulating him on the works, and later the prints and the paintings were exhibited nationally. There had been discussions about exhibiting several of the images in the building where peace negotiations were being discussed, but that never came to fruition. Many of the prints were used as illustrations for magazines featuring articles about World War I. There were multiple editions of all of the prints, but *Murder of Edith Cavell* was the most popular. Many of the paintings, lithographs, and drawings are now in the collections of major institutions across the United States.

In the past decade, there have been several exhibitions including some or all of the lithographs from the *War Series*. Some have had accompanying catalogs, but they contained little more than basic catalog entries for each image and offered no further

analysis of the series. Research on the *War Series* is timely. As the current situation in Iraq reminds us, the lessons and tragedies of war do not change with time, but continue to repeat themselves. In addition to the moral or political value inherent in works dealing with the subject of war, a thorough examination of the series is a critical aspect of the exploration of Bellows's oeuvre and one that has been too often overlooked.

My research examines Bellows's leftist social and political beliefs as expressed through his art in the years leading up to the *War Series* and examines the series as the culmination of a more general underlying theme that often appears in Bellows's work: man's inhumanity to man. When his work is first examined, Bellows is quickly recognized as an early American Realist painter; however, upon further examination, it becomes clear that Bellows was actually a complex artist who used his work to express his concerns for mankind. The decision to execute the series as lithographs is particularly significant as this was a subject about which Bellows felt very passionate, and therefore felt that lithography would be the best medium for the series. During World War I, lithography was often associated with propaganda posters, but my research shows that the *War Series* cannot be neatly placed into just one category. Although the images in the series were received as propagandistic, an understanding of Bellows and his work proves that this was not his intent. Through the examination of both Bellows's personal beliefs as expressed in his early illustrations, and his use of lithography as a form of artistic expression, this thesis sheds light on a critical aspect of Bellows's oeuvre that has been overlooked. My research establishes the *War Series* as a significant source of historical illustration and enhances our understanding of Bellows as an artist.

CHAPTER 2

BIOGRAPHY AND BACKGROUND

Throughout his career, George Bellows struggled with conforming to his audience and expressing his own ideas. By today's standards, the messages represented through Bellows's work would be considered conservative. To the upper middle class, art buying public of New York, however, he was a revolutionary. Through his associations with anarchist and socialist organizations, Bellows developed a reputation as somewhat of a radical, which was part of his appeal. Bellows's artwork often consisted of very controversial subject matter, but he was always careful not to cross the line so far as to be offensive, with the exception of the *War Series*. The development of his life as an artist and his social, political, and religious views all played a vital role in the *War Series*, the most expressive series of drawings, paintings, and lithographs Bellows ever created.

Bellows grew up in the Midwestern town of Columbus, Ohio. He was raised by two devoutly Methodist and Republican parents and by all accounts was a good, red-blooded American. The only aspect of his life that tainted his image was his interest in art. Early on, Bellows was taunted by his peers for taking an interest in art, and his father almost forbade him to pursue a career in art, suggesting that it was not a suitable career for an upstanding young man.¹ Although he loved to draw, he soon learned that, in order to fit in with his classmates, he would have to find other pastimes. His mother,

Anne Bellows, encouraged him to pursue his drawing but to also develop other interests. Not only was Bellows hampered by his affinity for art, but he was awkward and lanky, making it even more difficult for him to fit in with his peers. In spite of his awkward physique, he excelled in sports, especially baseball and basketball. The development of his interest in sports ultimately contributed to the success of his career as an artist. It was an area of his life that made its way into his paintings at various points throughout his career.

In college at Ohio State University, Bellows again encountered the problem of trying to fit in. He found that being an artsy type did not bode well on the fraternity circuit. He continued to play baseball, at which he was already skilled, and eventually, his success at baseball outweighed the disadvantage of having an interest in art, and he was finally admitted into the fraternity of his choice. For the remainder of his college career, Bellows spent time developing both his athletic and his artistic skills. He drew for the college yearbook, the *Makio*, modeling much of his work after that of Charles Dana Gibson, the successful illustrator known for drawing attractive female models who came to be known as "Gibson Girls."² In addition to actively drawing, Bellows had engrained in his memory the events about which he learned in college, and these events served as subjects to depict when he was at a loss for subject matter later in his career. For example, Bellows had heard many stories about lynchings but had never actually witnessed any. While at Ohio State, however, he read a vivid description in the *Columbus Dispatch* of the lynching and burning of a black man and later used that story as a source for his drawing on the same subject in *The Law Is Too Slow*, 1923.³ Bellows also took economics in lieu of art his first year of college, where he may have

begun to develop leftist views and a sympathy for social causes. By the middle of his junior year, however, he became bored with academia and was ready to start a career. Although he had been offered a position on the promising professional baseball team, the Cincinnati Reds, he decided that he really wanted to be a professional artist. In the summer of 1904, between his junior and seniors year of college, he worked furiously doing illustrations for local advertising agencies and singing in the church choir so that he could save enough money to buy a bus ticket to New York to develop his career.

His parents were unhappy with his decision, but his father was comforted somewhat when he found out that George would be living at the YMCA, which promoted Christian values in addition to physical activity, which was thought to be good for the body and the soul. Living at the YMCA was good for Bellows because it was within walking distance of the New York School of Art, where he immediately registered for classes. The New York School was directed by William Merritt Chase, a traditional artist who painted in the academic style. It would have made sense for Bellows to take classes from Chase, given his traditional conservative upbringing. However, Chase's classes were full, and with a stroke of luck Bellows ended up under the direction of Robert Henri, a dynamic teacher and a modernist. Henri's style and persona were considered non-conformist at best. He had new ideas about the future and direction of painting in America. Henri taught his students that first they had to learn to be great men first and then great artists.⁴ He had the ability to instill in his students the enthusiasm and energy needed to become great artists, but at the same time encouraged them to develop themselves emotionally. Bellows finally felt that he found a place where he fit in, and Henri became a mentor and lifelong friend to Bellows.

It was at the New York School that Bellows slowly developed not only his own persona and image but also a style uniquely his own. When Bellows was in college at Ohio State, nearly all of his illustrations for the *Makio* were copies of work by his two favorite illustrators, Charles Dana Gibson and Howard Chandler Christy. In fact, when Henri first saw Bellows's portfolio, he jokingly said of his drawings, "Haven't I seen these somewhere before?" (referring to Bellows's obvious copying of drawings by the two famous illustrators).⁵ He proved that he could draw well and copy with great precision; however, as far as creative design went, he had no experience. Henri helped him develop his creative side and introduced him to work by the Old Masters such as Velázquez and Rembrandt and also to work by Goya and modern masters such as Eakins and Manet. During his time at the New York School Bellow's work was at first clearly influenced by Henri. Henri's *Robie the Laughing Boy*, 1907, and Bellows's *Laughing Boy*, 1907, are similar in title and style. In Bellows's early portraits, he emulated Henri's bravura brushwork and coloring, especially when delineating facial features.

Bellows painted what he knew and what he saw, in particular, the streets of New York. He embraced the city and used what he saw in his daily life as the subjects for his artwork. He painted the real New York and not just the upper class parts of society depicted by the academicians. Americans were just coming out of the Victorian age, and class differences were great. New York was hub to thousands of poor immigrants, industrial workers, and tenement houses. Although Bellows himself was not wealthy by any means, his living conditions were still considerably better than those of the people whom he depicted in his artwork. He was sympathetic to many causes, from the sub-

standard living conditions of the poor to complex issues such as domestic violence and capital punishment. All of these issues would be commented on through his artwork at various points throughout his career. Once Bellows developed his own style, he quickly became successful, eventually surpassing his mentor Henri in popularity.

Bellows looked to Henri not only as a mentor for his art but also as a philosophical mentor. Bellows was not strongly tied to any political party; however, but he sympathized with the anarchists and the socialists, and Henri had introduced him to many people that were members of both of these parties.⁶ Henri introduced Bellows to Emma Goldman, founder of the Ferrer Center, and Bellows attended her lectures on anarchist philosophy.⁷ It was not the chaos or lack of order associated with anarchy that attracted Bellows but was instead the philosophical arguments of anarchy in which he believed. Although Bellows was not an active "anarchist," he was involved in a number of activities that link him to the movement. Bellows and Goldman became good friends; later, when she was arrested for actively advocating the illegal use of birth control methods, Bellows, Henri, and John Sloan, along with a number of supporters, protested her arrest. At her trial, they again made their support known by giving her an accolade in Carnegie Hall.⁸

Bellows also became involved with the socialist movement and was sympathetic to the International Workers of the World, a socialist workers party, led by William Dudley "Big Bill" Haywood. In 1907, Haywood and two other men were tried for conspiracy to murder the governor of Idaho.⁹ The defendants were acquitted but were labeled undesirable citizens. Bellows and other Haywood supporters demonstrated their support by marching up and down Lexington and Fifth Avenues wearing buttons that

read, "I am an Undesirable Citizen."¹⁰ It was this type of public display, rather than any violent activist action on his part, that made people associate Bellows with socialism or anarchism.

Although Bellows participated in radical activities in his personal life and although his paintings often suggested controversy, the paintings were not so obviously outlandish that they would run the risk of not being sold. Bellows was smart and knew that, in order to be successful, his reputation had to first be established. After Bellows had lived in New York only two years, paintings such as *River Rats*, 1906 (fig. 1), expressed Bellows's unique style and modern approach to painting. Both in its subject matter and in its technique, *River Rats* touches on controversy. Thin, pale, nude figures are represented by equally thin, quick brushstrokes. Neither facial features nor anatomy is delineated in this early work. The cliff which leads down to the river is represented by a blur of muted earth tones. The entire palette is limited to umber and ochre, echoing the dimness of the subject, the slums of New York and its inhabitants. With lack of access to proper swimming areas, young boys were often sighted jumping off the docks and skinny-dipping in the filthy Hudson and East rivers. Thomas Eakins, whom Bellows admired, had painted a scene several years earlier that dealt with the subject of boys at the swimming hole; however, stylistically, this was not at all like Bellows's depiction of the subject. He may have been partially inspired by Eakins; however, most likely, this painting was produced as an expression of Bellows's sympathy and revolt at the living conditions of the poor.

When "The Eight" exhibited together for the first time at the Macbeth Gallery in 1908, George Bellows was busy with his own work. Although he is often associated

with "The Eight," Bellows was never officially a part of the group. While "The Eight" were referred to as "apostles of ugliness," Bellows was winning awards for pieces such as *North River*, 1908, which reflects Bellows's ever changing moods and brisk shift in subject matter.¹¹ While *North River* is set in New York, Bellows focuses on the tranquility of the river and the beauty of the landscape, rather than on the evils that went on in the city he loved so much. Bellows's classmates at the Academy were being criticized for their harsh depictions of urban life, while Bellows was being praised for his fresh approach to painting. *North River* was the first painting he ever sold, and it went for the hefty sum of \$250 and was awarded the Second Hallgarten Prize, a distinct honor.¹² By 1909 Bellows had begun to establish himself as an artist; at the age of twenty-six, he became the youngest member of the National Academy of Design.¹³

During the next several years, Bellows continued to document New York's ever-changing landscape. Paintings like *Pennsylvania Excavation*, ca. 1907-09, exposed the destruction of the beautiful natural landscape in the name of progress. Likewise, *Cliff Dwellers*, 1913 (fig. 2), depicts the crowded and inferior living conditions experienced by those who lived in the city's slums. With Bellows, the substance of the subject matter was just as important as color and form.

It is Bellows's boxing images, however, for which he is most remembered today. These images reflect not only his interest in human rights issues and racism but also his interest in the human form—a departure from the blurred figures in his earlier works. It is here where we see some of Bellows's best work. *Both Members of This Club*, 1909 (fig. 3), is a subtle reference to Bellows's opinions of the archaic rules of boxing at the time. Although he never publicly aired his views on the subject, he must

have known that this piece would create a stir. Prizefighting was not legal as a sport when this piece was painted, but it was allowed in private “sporting” clubs. However, in order to actually participate in a boxing match, both participants had to be members of the club, but blacks were excluded. Blacks had originally been put in boxing matches because they were thought to be racially inferior to whites, and it was believed that it would be an easy win for the white man. Boxing fans were beginning to realize, however, that they were mistaken and that the black boxers were indeed superb athletes.

In *Both Members of This Club*, Bellows portrays the sheer brutality of the sport. Both the black and the white figures are equally engaged in battle. The contrasting tonalities of the flesh tones and blood on the white man highlight the musculature of the figure, while the strong diagonal that runs from the black figure’s back leg up to his fist holds the composition together. Although the message is subtle, Bellows was definitely taking a risk in presenting this fight between the races; also, by showing the figures locked in a hold, he shows no bias toward either, which he could have easily done. The two figures are thought to be the white boxer, Kid Russell, and the black fighter, Joe Gans.¹⁴ This was a risk not only in terms of the racial subject but also in terms of the portrayal of violence itself. Both Eakins and Luks, whom Bellows admired, had produced boxing images; however, neither had done so with the same voracity as Bellows, and neither had shown the boxers in such aggressive action. In addition to the action, the figures are placed so that the viewer feels as though he has a ringside seat to the event, whereas Bellows’s earlier work typically kept the viewer at a distance. As mentioned earlier, Bellows was interested not only in building a reputation but also in earning a living. Although he took a risk with the subject matter, it was the kind of risk

that would earn him attention. It can be assumed that Bellows knew when he painted this piece that it would have the same success as *Club Night* had just two years earlier.¹⁵

In 1910, Bellows married Emma Story, a fellow student from the New York School whom he had courted for several years. The couple moved to Upper Montclair, New Jersey, not too far from the city but less expensive. Emma wholeheartedly supported her husband's career, and he found her support invaluable. The only differences they had were over religion. Emma Story Bellows was a practicing Christian Scientist, and George Bellows thought organized religion was hypocrisy. Shortly before the *War Series*, Bellows would express his feelings about religion more openly through his illustrations.

Later that year, Bellows submitted eight pieces for the first Independent Artists Exhibition, which he also helped organize. Again, the tension between conformity and radicalism came to light. The exhibition was headed up by Henri, who was frustrated with the Academy's refusal to exhibit any works of art by "The Eight" at the Academy's Spring exhibition.¹⁶ Bellows, who was not an official member of "The Eight," and Henri could not be excluded from exhibiting their work because they were both members of the Academy. The Academy had openly criticized the work of "The Eight" ever since their first exhibition and clearly did not support Henri. As an associate member of the Academy, and a teacher at the New York School, Bellows was taking a risk by working with Henri on the Independent Artists Exhibition, and even his association with "The Eight" could have been damaging to his tenure at the Academy. Although Henri was also a member, he had already made enemies, and wasn't as concerned with his reputation. Bellows was still indebted to the Academy, and hoped to

one day become a full academician. Whether by luck or by fate, Bellows managed to engage in a controversial exhibition and remain in good standing at the Academy.

In 1911, Bellows spent the first of many summers on Monhegan Island, Maine.¹⁷ This marked only the third state Bellows had ever visited. He traveled with Henri and began another stage in his career. Moving away from scenes of the city, he again used his surroundings as inspiration. While on Monhegan Island, he painted thirty small panels and twelve canvases, working at a furious pace.¹⁸ The entire set shows influences of Winslow Homer, Rockwell Kent, and even some of the symbolists. The mood of the paintings is appropriate for contemplation. Unlike his boxing images and realist New York scenes, the paintings invite the viewer to look at them from a distance, rather than offering the up close view offered in the boxing images. There are few if any visible figures in the paintings produced on Monhegan. The focus is on the land and the sea, and the scenes invite contemplation. One of the most remarkable is *An Island in the Sea* (fig. 4). Using a dark palette and wide, flat brushstrokes, Bellows created a scene of solemnity that reflected his own inner thoughts. The large black mass represents the actual island of Monhegan, as seen from the Maine shoreline. The sky is created using large flat brushstrokes of white and grey, giving it look of mystery. It is not hard to imagine that such a lonely place would create a setting for contemplation. Being close to the sea both inspired and frightened Bellows. In a letter to his wife, Emma, Bellows wrote, “I climbed into the Lair of the Sea Eagle where human foot had never trod, and then what do you think happened? I lay on the edge for a while...and then suddenly the thought got into my head; suppose that—and just as suddenly I arose and climbed out again.”¹⁹ Letters this revealing Bellows only wrote to his wife, who was his most trusted

confidante. It is not surprising to find out that Bellows had somewhat of a dark side, as many of the images in the *War Series* are disturbingly haunting, even if they were based on historical documents.

After returning home to a new baby (his first child, Anne), Bellows and his family moved back to New York to Gramercy Park, a popular area for artists, creative types, and bohemians. It was good for Bellows to be near other fellow artists. He often worked in sets; that is, he worked best when he could produce a large body of work very quickly, and then he moved onto something else, although never really abandoning completely any one subject. Bellows had always loved drawing but had partially abandoned it when Henri introduced him to direct painting. With a new baby to support, however, he began drawing again as a means to support his family. He submitted and published his work in magazines such as *Collier's*, *Everybody's*, *Harper's*, and *American Magazine*. In 1912, Bellows reportedly made \$1000 from the sale of his drawings alone.²⁰

One of the biggest events and turning points in Bellows's career was the Armory Show in 1913. The Armory Show was at first an attempt to recreate the fervor and excitement that occurred with the Independent show in 1910, but it turned out to be the most important exhibition for the development of modern art in America. In 1911, the Society of American Painters and Sculptors was formed. Again, Bellows was not a member of this association but associated with many of its members. Arthur B. Davies was the main organizer of the Armory show, but Bellows did help physically hang many of the paintings, including eight of his own, and was also on the organizing committee. One of the main highlights of the show was that it included numerous works

by European artists. This was the first time many Americans, including Bellows, had ever actually *seen* modern, European art for themselves, firsthand and with their own eyes. There were so many genres of art to be discovered and all of the "isms": impressionism, symbolism, cubism, and futurism, among others. This was also the unveiling of Marcel Duchamp's controversial *Nude Descending a Staircase*, 1912, which challenged the academic fundamentals of painting.

Bellows was fascinated by the new painting techniques and styles presented at the Armory Show. His internal battle between the traditional painting styles of the Academy and his own, more radical style continued. He did not particularly care for works like *Nude Descending a Staircase*, but he always championed it and other cubist works when they were attacked by critics.²¹ During the run of the exhibition, Bellows produced no work. He was consumed by the show and spent all of his time studying the works on display. The end of the show coincided with the Academy's Annual Spring Exhibition, which kept Bellows busy, along with the good news that he had been elected a full Academician. Although he had participated in the anti-academic Armory Show, he still knew the value of being backed by the Academy.

The paintings he saw at the Armory Show continued to consume his thoughts, long after the show was over. Bellows was interested in color early on in his career, but the works he saw in the Armory show sparked a renewed interest in it. This new interest in color is evident in the seascapes he painted on Monhegan Island that year. In contrast to the limited palette and dark colors he used in his seascapes of 1911, these had much larger blocks of brighter, more varied colors. In *Monhegan Island*, 1913, (fig. 5), Bellows's experimentation in color is evident, especially when compared to his

seascapes of 1911. The cold, placid sea represented by large blocks of flat color in the earlier paintings has been replaced with large, roaring waves in shades of sea green and ocean blue, topped with thick whitecaps, possibly created with a palette knife; a nod to Rembrandt and Titian. The churning of the waves reflects Bellows's internal preoccupation with modern techniques in painting.

He could not get color out of his mind. He continually thought back to the Armory Show and thought of how the Old Masters used color. Over the summer, he had experimented with Hardesty Maratta's color system, which utilized pre-mixed colors in tubes and was based on a triad theory. He had learned of this system when he studied at the New York School with Henri but had not really utilized it that much. Bellows was intrigued by a book he had read by Denman Ross that discussed more theories on color. For Bellows, who was first a draftsman and then a painter, Ross's ideas about color were fascinating but at the same time must have been hard to take. Ross's ideas focused on the theory of color unlimited, which utilized pure color in the place of line.²² Bellows's curiosity about color, fueled by the Armory show, would haunt him for the rest of his career. His experimentation with color would show up again in the five paintings he created as part of the *War Series*.

Although painting and color experimentation would remain a part of Bellows's life, a new opportunity for artistic expression became available in 1913 when Bellows was asked to contribute to *The Masses*. *The Masses* was a politically and socially fueled magazine that provided artists with a forum for expressing their ideas to an audience that was receptive to the radical thinking associated with socialism, communism, and anarchism.²³ Artists did not have as many outlets as writers did to express their

opinions, and this gave them the opportunity to use their art as a means of social expression, as well as offering artists a very large, public venue for showing their work. Bellows began contributing to *The Masses* in April 1913 and was first listed as an art editor in June of that year.²⁴ Many of "The Eight" and members of Henri's circle also contributed to *The Masses*, including John Sloan, William Glackens, Arthur B. Davies, and others associated with the group of realist painters known as the Ashcan School.²⁵

At *The Masses*, art editors and writers voted on the content of each issue equally, and it can be safely assumed that Bellows knew exactly for what storylines his illustrations were being used.²⁶ If he had any objection to his illustrations being used in one context or another, he would have had every opportunity to say so. Not all of Bellows's illustrations for *The Masses* carried a social commentary, but the ones that did were effective enough that their intended message would be noticed by the average reader. Some, such as *Why Don't They Go to the Country for a Vacation?* (fig. 6), are clearly a stab at the class division between rich and poor. Bellows has made a statement about the overcrowded, filthy living conditions of the poor with the image and, with the title, adds even more commentary on the class division that permeated New York's social structure in the early twentieth century.²⁷ Other illustrations that commented on the dire living conditions of the poor include *Splinter Beach* and *Dey's Worms in It* (fig. 7), a humorous, but also sad depiction of two degenerates picking through the garbage can to see what kind of leftover food scraps they can find. When they do find something to eat, it is, much to their dismay, full of worms and deemed inedible. The subject matter of drawings like this may have contributed to the term "Ashcan School," which became the term later given to Bellows and the artists in his circle.²⁸

Since Bellows was not paid for the work he contributed to *The Masses*, he sustained himself on commissioned portraits during the next few years. He did have some experience with painting portraits but had never before depended on portraiture as a main source of income. Bellows continued to draw and submit illustrations to magazines, some of which even dealt with the subject of war, but at the time Bellows seemed indifferent.²⁹ Although there was a war going on in Europe, Bellows was too busy with his work to concern himself with the affairs of a foreign country. In 1915, he had made \$6530.54 in commissions and sales, quite a sizable sum for that year.³⁰ That same year, the Bryce Report was published in the *New York Times*. It would become the source material for the most powerful series Bellows ever produced.

In 1916, Bellows, who had always been interested in drawing, developed a burning interest in lithography. He had tried etching but never favored it. Lithography at the time was primarily used for commercial applications, but Bellows hoped to push it into the realm of fine art. Once again, Bellows was on a kick and furiously worked to produce twenty-eight lithographs and fifty editions of each that year.³¹ This zealous interest in lithography would carry over into the *War Series*, although at the time he never dreamed the United States would enter the war. In another drawing, "Prepare, America!" (fig. 8), Bellows depicts a young woman pinning a war support button on a young man. Bellows presents this image in a cartoonish way, as if to mock the idea that the United States would actually enter the war. The United States did in fact enter the war just a few months after this image appeared.

1917 proved to be a very good year for Bellows. *Day in June*, which he painted in 1907, was sold for \$1000 to the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts, and another of

his paintings was awarded a prize at the National Academy of Design. Bellows continued to produce lithographs and drawings that were used as illustrations for *The Masses* and other magazines. Bellows's political, social, and religious views became more apparent in his artwork in the year leading up to 1918, which was the year he created the *War Series*.

Bellows's lithograph, *Electrocution*, 1917 (fig. 9), relates to the trial of Thomas J. Mooney. In 1916, the anarchist labor leader Thomas J. Mooney was accused of planting a bomb that killed ten people at a Preparedness Day parade in San Francisco, and he was sentenced to death by electrocution.³² It was soon discovered that Mooney had been falsely accused and could prove that he was ten blocks away from the bomb when it exploded.³³ Pleas from around the world, even from President Wilson himself, were made for Mooney's release, and his sentence was commuted to life in prison.³⁴ Bellows's lithograph adamantly expressed Bellows's denouncement of capital punishment. It also expressed his sympathy for the anarchists and was probably inspired by the Mooney execution. Bellows called this lithograph "a study of one of the most horrible phenomena of modern society."³⁵

Perhaps the most adamant political statement made by Bellows through his art that year was *Christ Condemned* (fig. 10), which depicts a slumping figure of Christ dressed in prison garb and with a ball and chain attached to his foot. This image first appeared in *The Blast*, an anarchist magazine, in 1915; then it again served as an illustration for *The Masses* in July 1917.³⁶ *The Masses* was openly against the war; by July 1917, the United States had already entered the war, so this statement blatantly went against the Untied States's policy. The presentation of Christ in chains and the

prison outfit was a satirical view of the United States policy toward those who vocally expressed their opinion about the war. Christ is depicted in a striped, prison issue uniform and wearing a crown of thorns, with a ball and chain around his ankle. The caption explains that this man, Christ, is being persecuted for making remarks that would discourage U.S. citizens from registering to fight in the war. Although Bellows himself ultimately signed up for the Tank Corps, he was against the idea of any government body forcing anyone to go to war or persecuting anyone for speaking out against it. The depiction of Christ may have also referred to Bellows's opinions on organized religion. Bellows believed that churches placed their political beliefs before their Christian values when it came to war.³⁷

When Bellows married Emma Story, who was a Christian Scientist, he respected her religious beliefs, but that was the closest he came to going to church. One of the events he most despised was evangelical preachers delivering overdramatic sermons, and he often represented this subject in his artwork.

One of the greatest personal expressions of Bellows's feeling toward evangelism can be seen in his two illustrations of the preacher Billy Sunday. The first, *The Sawdust Trail*, was created in 1917 after Bellows had seen Billy Sunday in action. The scene depicts the preacher in his role as soul saver, with the traditional audience weeping and fainting as Billy Sunday preaches to them. Bellows's satire clearly shines through. A much later work, *Billy Sunday* (fig. 11), from 1923, shows the preacher in full action. He stands at the pulpit preaching at high intensity with both arms engaged and pointing at the audience. In an article for *Touchstone* magazine, Bellows made his feelings about Billy Sunday very clear:

"I like to paint Billy Sunday, not because I like him, but because I want to show the world what I do think of him. Do you know, I believe Billy Sunday is the worst thing that ever happened to America? He is Prussianism personified. His whole purpose is to force authority against beauty. He is against freedom, he wants a religious autocracy, he is such a reactionary that he makes me an anarchist.³⁸

Although Bellows did not like Billy Sunday, he was captivated by his performances and his ability to hold the audience's attention. Part of Bellows's fascination with Billy Sunday was similar to his fascination with the events related to the *War Series*.

Although he was repelled by them both, at the same time they held his interest. Part of the reason Bellows found the evangelists so repelling was that he found them so satirical. In *Benediction in Georgia* (fig. 12), a group of black inmates have been forced to attend a sermon by a white preacher delivering his sermon in the jailhouse.³⁹ The inmates are shackled at the ankles, and the expressions on their faces range from utter discontent to barely awake. The enthusiastic preacher is not bothered by the fact that his audience is not listening to him at all.

Although Bellows had strong feelings against the evangelical preachers such as Billy Sunday, he respected more traditional religions. About a much later work, *Crucifixion of Christ*, 1923 (fig. 13), Bellows is quoted as having said, "I hope it will be liked as I have given it my all."⁴⁰ Bellows used the same crucifixion-like poses on the figures in *The Barricade* (fig. 30) and *Gott Strafe England, second state* (fig. 26) from the *War Series*. By placing the figures in these types of poses, he is comparing their suffering to that of the crucified Christ. Although he was not a religious person, the symbolism is evident.

Although Bellows was against the war initially, he and his friend Eugene Speicher volunteered for the Tank Corps in 1917 but were never actually called to active duty. The following quote may help explain Bellows's change of heart about the war. In an interview for *Touchstone* magazine, Bellows made the following statement about patriotism:

"I am a patriot for beauty. 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 go for a country. Democracy is an idea to me, it is the Big Idea" ... I hate the thought of fighting—but I am all for democracy... I have been called a Revolutionist—if I am, I don't know it. First of all, I am a painter, and a painter gets hold of life—gets hold of something real, of many real things. That makes him think, and if he thinks out loud, he is a revolutionist."⁴¹

I believe that Bellows is referring to fighting for his beliefs through his artwork, but this may also be when he began thinking about actually going to fight in the war. His concern for mankind and especially those less fortunate than himself is overwhelming; although he is against the idea of war, the idea of fighting for one's beliefs was an idea that he could grasp.

Later that year, when Max Eastman, the editor-in-chief of *The Masses*, wanted the staff to devote less time to its revolutionary efforts and devote more time to preventing United States entry into the war, Bellows did not go along with the idea.⁴² Eastman circulated a paper stating that position for all the editors to sign, and Bellows refused. Bellows felt that "*The Masses* has no business with a 'policy.' It is not a political paper ... Its 'policy' is the expression of its contributors."⁴³ Although the position paper Eastman circulated was never signed by the editors, the articles and artwork published in *The Masses* continued to carry anti-war and anti-government messages and eventually caused its demise. Because of the Espionage Act of 1917, the

United States Post Office had the authority to pull any material promoting "treason" as they saw fit.⁴⁴ The August issue of *The Masses* was sent to Washington for inspection and was deemed unavailable. The editors were eventually tried for sedition, and publication ceased in December 1917.⁴⁵

Bellows remained on *The Masses* staff until its demise. His statement about politics shows that he was willing to stand up for a cause, which is why I believe he felt compelled to create the *War Series*. With all of the political activity in which Bellows was involved in the years leading up to the United States involvement in the war, it seems as though Bellows was putting all of his creative energies into spurts of drawing that effectively dealt with his feelings about war and politics, and the *War Series* was the culmination of all of these. When we look at the complex social, political, and religious beliefs of Bellows, we can begin to understand Bellows's reasons for creating the *War Series* that seems so out of character for him at first glance. The subjects Bellows chose to depict were often difficult subjects that not every artist would have been brazen enough to approach, and Bellows used his art as a tool for those who might not have been able to speak up for themselves. If we think about Bellows's depictions of the slums of New York and the poor and the less fortunate, it is easy to see how that concern could be translated to concern for the victims of war. If we think of the *War Series* as an extension of Bellows's concern for man's inhumanity to man, as well as of his ability as an artist to express himself through visual rather than verbal means, then its place in Bellows's overall oeuvre becomes much clearer.

CHAPTER 3

SOURCES OF TEXTUAL AND VISUAL INSPIRATION

The United States entered World War I in April 1917, yet George Bellows did not begin work on his *War Series* until one year later in April 1918. Bellows's *War Series* is often viewed as pure anti-German propaganda; however, when examining the sources and inspiration for the series are examined, it becomes clear that the series cannot be placed in just one genre. It is part history painting, part political statement, and part art for art's sake. In the spring of 1918, Bellows came across an old copy of the Bryce Report.⁴⁶ After reading the Bryce Report thoroughly for the first time, Bellows was outraged by the atrocities about which he read and he felt compelled to express his feelings through his work, as he had often done in the past. In fact, it may have been the Bryce Report that influenced Bellows and his friend and fellow artist Eugene Speicher to volunteer for the Tank Corps in June 1918.⁴⁷ Bellows was against war in general but felt strongly about democracy, and it was natural for him to want to help those who could not help themselves. Although the Bryce Report was Bellows's main source for the *War Series*, a source of visual inspiration was found in the work of Francisco de Goya. When Bellows's main sources are examined and compared with the actual works in the *War Series*, it becomes clear that the series served as a voice for the victims, a political statement against man's inhumanity to man, and a demonstration of what an artist can illustrate without actually having witnessed an event. The Bryce Report,

which served as the main textual source for the *War Series*, was a document created under the order of the British government by a committee established to investigate allegations of German atrocities committed against Belgians. The committee was headed by Viscount James Bryce, former British Ambassador to the United States.⁴⁸ Although the Bryce Report was distributed to numerous countries and printed in thirty-seven languages, when it was presented to the United States, it was used as a propaganda tool to garner support for the Allies. Under the leadership of President Wilson, the United States had maintained an isolationist policy, and most Americans liked it that way. However, when the British passenger liner *Lusitania* was sunk on May 7, 1915, by German torpedoes, many Americans began to reconsider their opinions about the war. One hundred ninety-eight Americans were on board when the ship was torpedoed, and all perished.⁴⁹ The Bryce Report was published in an abridged format in the *New York Times* on May 15, 1915, adding to the outrage caused by the sinking of the *Lusitania*.⁵⁰ The Bryce Report alone may have been lost among the plethora of anti-German propaganda being fed to the media, but the timing of its printing and the fact that it was a government document fueled the argument for United States entry. While some still adamantly protested the war, the general feeling across the country was one of patriotism.⁵¹ Citizens began organizing preparedness parades to rally support for the war and believed that the United States would indeed enter it soon. Part of President Wilson's agenda was to keep the United States neutral; however, by April 1917, he asked Congress to issue a declaration of war and allow the country to join the allied forces in the war against Germany.

At least nine of the images in Bellows's series were taken directly from eyewitness accounts contained in the Bryce Report. According to the Bryce Report, German troops had invaded neutral Belgium on the evening of August 2, 1914, and had committed a number of brutal attacks on innocent civilians. These attacks included sacking and pillaging villages, beating and raping women and children, using men, women, and children as human shields, and ruthlessly murdering hundreds of other innocent civilians.⁵²

While many of the images in Bellows's *War Series* take their visual inspiration from Goya's *Disasters of War* (1808-1814), the historical significance of each series is quite different. Goya may have actually witnessed the events he portrayed, unlike Bellows, who was relying on textual accounts.⁵³ There were eighty-five images in the *Disasters of War*, yet none were published during Goya's lifetime; neither was there any evidence to suggest that they were produced with the intent of being sold.⁵⁴ Goya may have produced his images purely for the purpose of artistic expression. If Goya witnessed these events, he may have actually used his art as a form of therapy to help him emotionally recover from what he had witnessed. The *Disasters of War* contained some of Goya's most disturbing images, but they were not as out of context for Goya as the *War Series* was for Bellows. Nowhere in Bellows's work is the influence of Goya more obvious than in the *War Series*. Bellows had long been an admirer of Goya's work, and it was known among the students at the New York School of Art that Goya was one of Bellows's major influences.⁵⁵ When the *War Series* was complete, Bellows was asked when he would make more paintings based on the German atrocities, and he replied, "I'll Goya."⁵⁶ Bellows depicted these expressive images of atrocity as he

pictured them in his mind using the Bryce Report as his main textual source but also clearly influenced artistically by Goya. Without the historical documentation provided by the Bryce Report, and without the artistic examples of Goya, the *War Series* would not have been so powerful. There are several images in the *War Series* that contain references to both sources.

In *Massacre at Dinant* (fig. 14), a cluster of figures dominates the foreground, some standing, some on their knees, some lying dead on the ground. Included in this cluster of figures are men, women, children, nuns, and clergymen. To the left are presumably German soldiers, although the figures are cropped so that all we see are arms, bayonets, and rifles pointed toward the group. The group of nuns and a priest look in horror toward the soldiers, and several of the other figures are shielding their eyes from what is presumably about to happen.

In the section headed, “Dinant” in the Bryce Report, Bryce describes the incident of massacres in the town of Dinant. There are several specific incidents of brutality in the report, and it appears that Bellows has combined elements of one or more incidents in his depiction of this event. In one section of the report, a witness has explained that, after the Germans had invaded and burned many of the houses in the town, he and his family hid in their basement. The witness then stated that on the next morning, three Germans began banging on the doors and windows and ordered the family out into the street. There, they met another family, and the two families were marched out into the street with their hands raised above their heads. In another incident, the report states that “Unarmed civilians were killed in masses at other places ...about 90 bodies were seen lying on the top of one another in a grass square opposite

the convent.”⁵⁷ I believe that Bellows has taken these two incidents and combined them to produce the subject matter for this lithograph. The first part of the report documents the families and the men with their hands raised, and the second part details the grassy area on which the figures stand, as well as the nuns and priest from the convent. Bellows has captured the massacre of over 200 civilians and selectively edited history in this one lithograph.

The print, *That is not to be Looked at* (fig. 15), from the *Disasters of War* is extremely similar compositionally to *Massacre at Dinant*. The rifles pointed at the figures are coming from the viewer's right, rather than the left, but the composition of the picture itself is essentially the same. A group of figures is huddled together in the central picture plane, with rifles pointed toward them. In Bellows's image, some of the figures are standing, and some are lying on the ground, which sounds like an account given in the Bryce Report. Considering the darkness of the bottom third of both images and the strong tonal contrasts and positioning of the figures in both images, I feel certain that Bellows drew his inspiration from the Goya image.

In *The Bacchanale* (fig. 16), we see two soldiers in the foreground; one is drinking, and one is holding upright his rifle, the bayonet of which is pierced through the body of a child, who hangs lifeless atop the weapon. In the middle ground is another group of soldiers, one of whom holds another rifle and bayoneted child. In the Bryce Report, there are several instances in which this atrocity is described. In one eyewitness report, a Belgian civilian reported that, after he was taken prisoner by a group of German soldiers, the soldiers stopped by the house of a peasant. When the peasant didn't answer the door, the soldiers proceeded to beat it down. They then shot the

peasant, whose wife ran out in a panic and began to claw the soldiers with her hands. The wife was then hit and killed with the butt of the rifle, and her infant child was taken by one of the soldiers, who impaled the child with his bayonet. The family, all dead by that point, was then taken outside, where the public could see; and all three family members were thrown on top of a pile of hay and set on fire. The soldiers told the townspeople that this was a lesson and that they should do what the Germans tell them to do. There is a similar incident described later in the report where a female eyewitness explains that on a rather peaceful day when the Germans were merely inhabiting her town but not actually bombarding it, she saw a group of soldiers out in the street, singing and dancing and obviously drunk. A child came out of his house and got in the path of the Germans. One of the soldiers drove his bayonet through the child and proceeded to lift the impaled child up into the air and swung his impaled body around on the bayonet while the other soldiers continued with their singing.⁵⁸

Bellows has again taken a recurring incident and made a representative depiction of these types of atrocities in general. The images of townspeople being harassed in the background and the woman being pulled by the hair in the middle ground could be from the first account, while the drinking soldiers seem to tie in with the second account. The contrast of the stark white bodies of the bayoneted children with the darker figures of the soldiers makes the scene all the more horrific. There is nothing in the report that describes the children in either case as being naked, but Bellows depicts them as such, highlighting their vulnerability and their innocence.

Goya's *Do They Belong to Another Race?* (fig.17) may be related thematically to Bellows's *The Bacchanale*. The idea that the German soldiers could treat people the way

they are being treated in Bellows's portrayal is so barbaric and animalistic that it causes the viewer to ask himself if the villains might really be from another species. Although some of Bellows's titles were self explanatory, this one was not. There are several images in *Disasters of War* that depict humans being impaled, and I believe Bellows used Goya as his artistic influence for that part of the composition. In *Populace* (fig. 18) and *This is Still Worse* (fig. 19), Goya depicts a man who is about to be impaled by a sword and a man who has been impaled by a tree, respectively. Both artists were successful at creating equally disturbing images.

Since Belgium was a neutral country, they were totally unprepared for an attack by the Germans. On August 3, 1914, German troops crossed the Belgian border; on August 4, German troops marched toward Liege and District.⁵⁹ The scene that Bellows represents in *The Last Victim* (fig. 20) is thought to be taken from this event. In this lithograph, a group of three dead bodies is strewn across the foreground, one of which has his face turned forward so that he looks at the viewer. To the left of the figures are three men, one of whom holds a rifle. Behind these figures stands a woman with her mouth open, aghast at the horror of what has just taken place. The light is focused on the woman's face and on the dead girl to the left.

The Bryce Report states that a witness saw an incident that sounds very much like the event Bellows is portraying. The witness states that, in the hamlet of Melen, “....forty men were shot. In one household alone the father and mother were shot, the daughter died after being repeatedly outraged, and the son was wounded. Nor were children exempt.” A few sentences down, there is a similar incident mentioned. In this instance, the witness states that

....near Vottern,I saw a man, woman, and girl about nine, who had been killed. They were on the threshold of the house, one on top of the other, as if they had been shot down...as they tried to escape.⁶⁰

Again, Bellows has taken several accounts and tried to convey these atrocities through a composite image that embodied many elements. Goya's *Ravages of War* (fig. 21) is similar to *The Last Victim* in its reference to the disarray that is often commonplace in war zones. The figures in Goya's image have literally been turned upside down, just as the victims' lives have been turned upside down in the Bellows image. In both images, bodies and belongings have been strewn across the room; in both images, it is also clear that the victims' home and person has been invaded.

Bellows may have also used *Ravages of War* as compositional inspiration for *The Cigarette*. Although the subject matter is not the same, the general sense of chaos is echoed throughout both images. Also, in both compositions, there is a great deal of contrast between the light flesh tones of the central figures and the dark background that surrounds the images. Bellows would have had his choice in finding scenes of mutilation in any of the *Disasters of War*; even so, this image is particularly chilling. In *The Cigarette* (fig. 22), Bellows portrays a scene of mutilation and presumably rape. This is a very disturbing image, even to modern viewers. In this lithograph, a woman is nailed to the wall with a knife that has pierced her hand. She is naked, and one of her breasts has been cut off. The room has been ransacked, and a soldier sits to the left smoking a cigarette. This image needs no further explanation. While there is no specific reference in the Bryce Report that describes this incident, there are many stories of the rape and mutilation of women throughout the report.⁶¹ As in many of the other prints in

this series, both the light colored flesh of the victim's body and the fact that she has been stripped of her clothes draw the viewer's attention to her vulnerability.

The Germans Arrive (fig. 23) is another image taken from the events at the beginning of the German invasion into Belgium. Again, this is a composite of many eyewitness accounts in the Bryce Report of Germans marching into small towns and attacking innocent civilians. This particular image is very dark; however, the central figure, presumably a Belgian civilian, is being forcibly held by one German soldier while another German soldier severs his hands. There were numerous reports of this type of mutilation throughout the Bryce Report, and this was one of the types of mutilation for which the Germans were rumored to be famous for. *And Nor do These* (fig. 24) from the *Disasters of War* depicts a theme of struggle; although the viewer may assume that the intended outcome here would be rape, the general theme is the same. A Napoleonic soldier is forcibly pulling a woman by the arms; although her body is being pulled from the opposite direction, the composition is very similar. There is another struggle going on in the background, but the central focus of the image is the struggle involving the woman's arms. Although the Bryce Report may have been Bellows's source of documentation for the severed hands, he surely must have gained some inspiration from the *Disasters of War*, particularly from images such as *Wonderful Heroism! Against Dead Men!* (fig. 25).

In the following lithographs that will be discussed, the theme is more general, and it is difficult to trace the scenes portrayed to any one specific incident listed in the Bryce Report, neither is there any specific image in the *Disasters of War* that can be linked to any one particular image in the *War Series*. In *Gott Strafe England* (fig. 26), a

large group of German soldiers are forcibly restraining a man by holding down all of his limbs and securing them to a large board. Behind the crowd are two men hanging from boards in a crucifix like position. In the Bryce Report, there is no specific mention of this event, but there are numerous accounts of German troops brutally attacking British troops after they had raised the white surrender flag. This depiction seems to be an embodiment of the savagery of war. There are several images in the *Disasters of War* where men have been tied up in preparation for their execution. In *There is no Remedy* (fig. 27) and *Nor This* (fig. 28), Goya depicts men who have been tied up to trees or boards and have been shot, some with onlookers in the foreground, others not.

Belgian Farmyard (fig. 29) again touches on the issues of rape and murder. There are so many instances of rape in the Bryce report that it would be difficult to trace this image to just one event. In this image, a woman is lying on the ground, presumably dead and most likely raped. To the left of her stands a soldier with his back turned to us, and he appears to be putting his jacket back on. We see the victim's face, but the identity of the perpetrator is unknown. This is perhaps a device indicating that he is a German but not anyone to whom we could relate. As in the Bryce Report, the *Disasters of War* contains many images that allude to the act of rape if not explicitly documenting it.

In *The Barricade* (figs. 30 and 36), we see a group of men, women, and children standing naked in front of a group of German soldiers. The soldiers peer through the group of people with their weapons out in attack mode. The people stand with their hands raised and in crucifixion-like poses. This image refers to the many instances in the Bryce Report where innocent civilians were used as human shields. In many cases,

the civilians were poked, prodded, and impaled with bayonets as they were forced to march in front of the soldiers to block the line of fire. However, there was not any mention in any of these instances of the civilians being naked. By adding this to the image, Bellows again emphasizes the vulnerability of the victims.

One aspect of war to which Bellows neglected to devote much attention is the status of the victims who were not mutilated, raped, or killed by the Germans. He did devote one painting to that subject, however. *The Return of the Useless* deals with the Belgian civilians who were taken by the Germans and exploited for work detail. Very much like the work camps of the second world war, these camps had been set up during the first world war by the Germans, who got as much work out of their captives as they could. Bellows depicts a group of Belgians being brought back after the Germans have worked them to the point of exhaustion. One man is being beaten with the butt of a rifle because he has fallen down. Goya also shows the exhaustion of the people in the *Disasters of War*.

Murder of Edith Cavell (fig. 31) was an image that was inspired by one of the articles written by Brand Whitlock for *Everybody's Magazine*. Whitlock was the United States Ambassador to Belgium and had written a series of articles documenting his experiences that was titled "Belgium, The Crowning Crime." The first installment of articles appeared in the February 1918 issue, and *Murder of Edith Cavell* was used to illustrate the ninth installment.⁶² Edith Cavell was a British Red Cross nurse who was in charge of a hospital in Belgium. She was found guilty of helping Allied soldiers escape and was sentenced to death. This outraged people all over the Allied territories, and many pleas were made for her release but to no avail. She was executed by firing squad

on 12 October 1915.⁶³ In his depiction of this event, Bellows shows Cavell just moments before her execution. Cavell, in the white dressing gown, appears almost angelic as she descends the staircase with grace to meet her executioners. The lantern at the bottom of the image serves to illuminate the wall in front of which Miss Cavell will stand in front of to be shot. A group of soldiers clustered together at the bottom of the print are either drunk or asleep. Although Edith Cavell is the victim here, she also stands out as the heroine, as the saving grace for these misguided souls. Clearly, Bellows could not have derived this scene from the *Disasters of War*, but I feel that Miss Cavell and the white dress in particular are symbolic of something else. In Goya's *Truth is Dead*, woman in white, (Truth), lies dead on the ground, emitting rays of white light, and the next plate in the series is titled *Will She Rise Again?* Finally, another image is titled *This is the Truth* (fig. 32), and it appears that Truth has indeed risen again. I am convinced that Bellows must have been inspired by Goya and personified Edith Cavell as the embodiment of truth and all that is good. She clearly symbolizes the eternal struggle of good versus evil. *Return of the Useless* was also inspired by Brand Whitlock's articles and was used to illustrate the eleventh installment of his series in *Everybody's Magazine*.⁶⁴

The remaining images in the *War Series* do not relate directly to the Bryce Report, Brand Whitlock's articles, or Goya's *Disaster's of War*, although Goya's influence is evident in much of Bellows's work. Both *Sniped* and *The Charge* deal with actual trench warfare and combat action, neither of which have the romantic appeal of innocent civilians being brutalized. *Base Hospital* is also more of a documentary piece. It was taken from a photograph and portrays a soldier going through an operation in a

military hospital.⁶⁵ Although this is the only piece in the series where Bellows acknowledges using a photograph as a reference, photographs of the battlefields were abundantly published in newspapers, and he would have easily had access.⁶⁶

Although the *War Series* is usually categorized as pure propaganda, Bellows was actually creating composite images of historical fact, on the basis of several reputable sources. To clarify his intent for the series, Bellows made the following statement when he exhibited the *War Series* lithographs together at Roullier Gallery in 1919:

"In presenting these pictures of tragedies of war, I wish to disclaim any intention of attacking a race or a people. Guilt is personal, not racial. Against the guilty clique and all its tools, who organized and let loose upon innocence diabolical device and insane instinct, my hatred goes forth, together with my profound reverence for the victims."⁶⁷

Bellows worked fast and furiously to produce these images in a very short period of time, and in just several months he had completed almost the entire series.⁶⁸ In fact, when his dealer first saw the series, he seemed shocked; Bellows said, "I *had* to draw them," as if he were on a mission.⁶⁹ Some of the images, particularly *The Bacchanale* and *The Cigarette*, are so disturbing that Bellows must have drawn them purely as a reaction to what he had read, without even thinking about selling them. The main textual source of documentation, the Bryce Report, was a factual government document. Even if it was being used to persuade the United States to enter the war, Bellows based his series on what he read and believed to be true. Bellows could have used numerous propaganda posters as tools for inspiration, but he chose to create the series as an artist reacting to a situation and not as a propagandist. Bellows was an accomplished artist and illustrator by that time, and the Committee on Public Information, headed by Eric

Creel, was actively recruiting artists to create propaganda posters.⁷⁰ If Bellows had chosen to create propaganda, he could have easily done so and would have probably been guaranteed a steady income. Instead, he created art and provided a visual record to accompany the textual accounts. Rather than looking to commercial artists or propaganda posters, he looked to one of the great masters for inspiration. By using a combination of historical documentation and artistic influences, Bellows created a series that had a lasting impact, not as a propagandist series but as a series that even today effectively stands as history painting, political statement, and, most important, as a reminder of the tragedies of war.

CHAPTER 4

LITHOGRAPHY, DYNAMIC SYMMETRY, AND THE RECEPTION OF THE *WAR SERIES*

The *War Series* of 1918 consists of six drawings, sixteen lithographs, and five paintings.⁷¹ It is my belief that the *War Series* was not only a culmination of artistic expression and socio-political ideals for Bellows but also an experiment in reversing the order of lithography. It is customary for a lithograph to be created after a painting as a means of reproduction; however, with the *War Series*, Bellows created the lithographs first. Bellows was influenced artistically by Goya's series of etchings, the *Disasters of War*, but the turn to lithography was a personal decision. Bellows had begun to experiment with lithography in 1916, and this project gave him the opportunity to perfect his craft. In 1918, shortly before the *War Series* was created, Bellows attended a lecture by the Canadian artist Jay Hambidge, who touted his system of Dynamic Symmetry.⁷² Bellows instantly became fascinated with the system, which incorporated a series of measurements, triangles, and roots into every picture plane. The *War Series* gave Bellows a chance to explore his lithographic techniques and also gave him a chance to try his hand at this newfound system of Dynamic Symmetry. In this chapter, the techniques Bellows employed in the *War Series* will be examined, as well as its exhibition history and reception.

Bellows and Lithography

In the late nineteenth century, lithography in the United States had become very commercial, and there were few artists who practiced lithography. Lithographs were made by printers, who were craftsmen but not fine artists. Firms such as Currier & Ives had made commercial printing a viable industry in the United States, and most artists looked down upon lithographers. In Europe, interest in lithography as a fine art was renewed through artists such as Daumier, Manet, Redon, and Fantin-Latour, who all began making lithographs in black ink in the nineteenth century. However, it was not until the 1890s that black and white lithography in Europe really became accepted as an art form. Although artists such as Toulouse-Lautrec and Jules Chéret began making color posters in the 1870s and '80s, it was not until 1899 that the Society of French Artists allowed color lithographs to be admitted to its annual salon.⁷³ It was also in the 1890s that dealers such as Ambrose Vollard and Gustave Pellet began publishing print albums with works in black and white and in color by artists such as Bonnard, Vuillard, Gauguin, and Denis.⁷⁴ By the turn of the century, all forms of lithography were accepted as fine art.

It took a little longer for the trend to catch on in the United States. Bellows was introduced to lithography in 1915 when he was invited to a meeting at Albert Sterner's studio in New York. Sterner had worked in Paris and was associated with Whistler and Joseph Pennell, both of whom had learned the art of lithography while living abroad. Sterner wanted to share his passion for lithography with other American artists, and the ultimate outcome of the meeting was the founding of the Painter-Gravers of America that evening.⁷⁵ Bellows played a major role as an advocate of lithography as a fine art

form. Almost immediately, he and Sterner worked together to encourage other artists to get involved in lithography; in March of 1916, the Painter-Gravers of America held its first exhibition.⁷⁶

Bellows had tried his hand at etching but found it too technical. He liked working with lithographic crayons and liked the fact that he could draw directly on the stone.⁷⁷ Once Bellows discovered lithography, he immediately went to work. He bought a press, found a printer, and set up a printing studio on the balcony overlooking his living room, which he proudly showed off in *The Studio*, his family Christmas card for 1916. In a letter dated January 1917, Bellows stated that he had created twenty-eight lithographs of approximately fifty proofs each in the past year, which is remarkable considering he was also painting during that time.⁷⁸

By April 1918, when Bellows began working on the *War Series*, he had at least a year and a half of solid experience; however, as far as his lithographs go, this series does not represent his best work. One of the reasons may have been the printer with whom Bellows was working at the time. Bellows's first printer was George C. Miller, a young printer who worked with a number of artists in the Ashcan school. Bellows had tried pulling prints himself and was unsuccessful at it, which is why he employed Miller in the first place. Miller was only with Bellows for a short time, and there are some conflicting accounts as to the printer with whom Bellows was actually working during the *War Series*. In his biography on Bellows, Charles Morgan describes an account told by Emma Story Bellows, that George Miller came over for long sessions and he and George would stay up all night working on the proofs.⁷⁹ However, George C. Miller went off to fight in the war at some point after the U.S. entered the war in 1917, and he

returned in 1918.⁸⁰ During Miller's absence, Bellows hired another printer, Edward Krause. It is likely but not certain that the *War Series* was begun with Miller but finished with Krause, about whom unfortunately little is known.⁸¹ Bellows was never really happy with Miller's work and must have also found Krause's work unsatisfactory because, when Miller returned from the Navy, Bellows was working with Bolton Brown.⁸²

Bellows and Brown had a very special relationship. Miller came from a long line of printers and had a four year apprenticeship at the American Lithographic Company before working for Bellows.⁸³ He approached printing as a craft, rather than as an art. Miller would prepare the stones for Bellows, and then he would come back the next night to run the prints through the press. He was there purely for the technical purpose of printmaking and had very little say about the tones and values that went into the prints, and his prints were rarely signed.⁸⁴ Bolton Brown, on the other hand, had a completely different philosophy on printmaking. Brown was an artist himself and felt that it was important for a printer to understand the art before being able to accurately understand printmaking. Bellows first met Brown after Brown had seen a proof of *Murder of Edith Cavell* in the Brown Robertson Galleries. Bellows expressed his disappointment with the proof to Brown, and Brown offered to become Bellows's printer.⁸⁵ It was a shame the two could not have started working together sooner, as Bellows's later lithographs reflect the quality of work that is achieved when an artist and printer have a good working relationship.⁸⁶

Although many of Bellows's lithographs before the *War Series* were taken from drawings Bellows had done earlier in his career, the *War Series* appears to have been

original. There are preparatory drawings for some of the prints in the *War Series*, but there is no evidence to suggest that they were done much earlier than the lithographs.⁸⁷ He began working on the series in April 1918. There is no indication as to which image he began working on first, and all that is known is that the lithographs were created between April and June.⁸⁸ All of the lithographs were printed during his lifetime, but Bellows did not sign all of the editions before his death in 1925.⁸⁹ Editions printed after Bellows's death are marked with his wife's initials, "ESB."⁹⁰

There are several lithographs in the series where Bellows drew an image on one stone, made a print, and then decided that he wanted to re-work the drawing. He would take another stone, redraw the image to make the necessary changes, and make another print. To differentiate between the two prints, which were often very similar in appearance, he would keep the title the same in both but indicate from which stone it had been pulled. For example, *Base Hospital, First Stone* and *Base Hospital, Second Stone* (figs. 33 and 34) are essentially the same base image, but Bellows made some major modifications in size and shading and reversed the image between the first and second stones. *Base Hospital, First Stone* measures 24 1/4 x 19 1/4 inches and has a very black background contrasting white coated central figures in the foreground. *Base Hospital, Second Stone* is much lighter in tone, and there is less contrast between background and foreground. The interior of the building is easily discernible, and the figures clearly stand out. The entire composition has been reversed and reduced in size. This was the only instance in the series where Bellows mentions using a photograph as his source material.⁹¹ According to Charles Morgan, Bellows had recently seen an Eakins exhibition and, in a letter to Robert Henri, specifically refers to *The Gross Clinic*

as being equal to Rembrandt's *Night Watch*, calling Eakins "one of the best of all the world's masters."⁹²

The Barricade is another image that was drawn on two stones. *The Barricade, First Stone* (fig. 35) is the same image as *The Barricade, Second Stone* (fig. 36) but in reverse. The second stone is also considerably darker than the first. Apparently, Bellows drew the image on the first stone and then realized that the gunners were left handed, and he then transferred the image from the first stone onto a zinc plate.⁹³ Rather than redrawing the image, he transferred it from the zinc plate onto the second stone. Both lithographs contain Bellows's signature; however, on the second stone, both image and signature are reversed.⁹⁴

In some instances, Bellows would rework an image on the same stone, as in the case of *The Bacchanale* and *Gott Strafe England*. In these instances, he would indicate the state of the drawing by noting in the title, "first state, second state," etc. There are some subtle differences in the different versions of *The Bacchanale*. *The Bacchanale, First Stone* (fig. 16) has a sketch-like, unfinished quality compared to *The Bacchanale, Second Stone, first state* and *The Bacchanale, Second Stone, second state*, which appear more finished and are shaded more heavily throughout. The two versions of *Gott Strafe England* are very similar, but *Gott Strafe England, second state* (fig. 26) is inscribed "Gott Strafe England" with the "S" in reverse.⁹⁵ *The Charge* (fig. 37) was drawn on one stone but was later split up, and prints were taken from each half of the stone to create two separate images, *The Charge, Left Detail* and *The Charge, Right Detail, first state* (figs. 38 and 39).⁹⁶ Bellows did not leave any notes indicating why he broke up the image, but it is interesting to compare them.

Murder of Edith Cavell, Massacre at Dinant, Gott Strafe England, The Germans Arrive, and *The Last Victim* must have been created very quickly. According to Morgan, Bellows had completed all of those listed above by May.⁹⁷ *The Cigarette*, according to Morgan, was printed later in the series. *The Bacchanale, Belgian Farmyard, The Barricade, The Charge, Sniped* (fig. 40), and *Return of the Useless* must have been created sometime between the two periods but there are no clear records other than that it is certain they were created in 1918.

There are several other lithographs and drawings dealing with the subjects of war that either predate or postdate the *War Series*. Although these images have similar subject matter, they are not included in the body of work produced by Bellows between April and November 1918 that constitutes the *War Series*. The lighter tonalities and background imagery of "Prepare, America!" for example, send a completely different message than the images I have just discussed do. The lithograph, *Hail to Peace, Second State* (fig. 41), was created in the traditional order of lithography; it was made after the painting, which was commissioned by Helen Clay Frick, sister of the steel magnate, to commemorate the Armistice.⁹⁸ Miss Frick commissioned two paintings, *The Dawn of Peace* and *Hail to Peace*, and paid Bellows five hundred dollars for each one.⁹⁹ Bellows used the lithograph as the image for his family Christmas card for 1918.¹⁰⁰ Another two lithographs, *The Case of Sergeant Delaney, First Stone* (fig. 42) and *The Case of Sergeant Delaney, Second Stone* were not printed until 1921 but, because they deal with an incident that happened during the war, are often associated with the *War Series*. According to recent research by Charlene Stant Engel, the prints were commissioned by the Navy to commemorate the heroic tale of Chief Gunner's

Mate James Delaney, who was captured by the Germans during the first U-boat attack on a U.S. Navy ship since the U.S. had entered the war.¹⁰¹ The heroic tale of Delaney was recorded by Josephus Daniels, Secretary of the Navy, who wrote a book about his experiences in the war.¹⁰² Just as he had done in the *War Series*, Bellows used the textual accounts in the book as his source of information for the print. It is not known why Bellows was asked to produce the lithographs, but the United States government was very pleased with Bellows's *War Series*. The emotional tone of these prints is different from those in the *War Series* as they have a more obvious propagandistic quality. The German officer is made to look sinister; however, in the *War Series*, the focus was more on the inhumanity of the acts than on the people committing them.

Experimentation with Color and Dynamic Symmetry

Bellows had an unquenchable thirst for knowledge and was fascinated by any kind of art theory. Ever since he had first met Hardesty Maratta at the New York School, he had been experimenting with color. Maratta was a chemist, artist, and entrepreneur who sold pre-mixed paints in tubes, eliminating the need to add black or white to his palette.¹⁰³ Bellows's next experimentation with color came after the Armory Show, when he encountered the theories of Denman Ross, a lecturer at Harvard, who described the concept of "color unlimited" in his book, *On Drawing and Painting*.¹⁰⁴ Bellows became obsessed with the book, reading it over and over and focusing on Ross's specific study of sixty set color palettes, some consisting of only two colors and others consisting of three or four. In the *War Series*, however, Bellows completely abandoned this system for indirect painting.

The bright, illuminated colors of Bellows's paintings from 1917 are in colors from the opposite end of the spectrum from those used in his *War Series*, which are done in a much more limited color palette. Bellows wrote a letter to his longtime friend and former college professor, Joe Taylor, that describes a color system used by the Old Masters.¹⁰⁵ In the letter, Bellows tells Taylor that he has been reading the *Secrets of the Old Masters*, a book by the artist Albert Abendschein that described the principles of indirect painting.¹⁰⁶ Many of the Old Masters that Bellows admired, such as El Greco, Rembrandt, and Titian, used this technique; therefore, it only made sense that at some point Bellows would follow suit. The process of indirect painting involves applying a white undercoat of paint that is fully allowed to dry, with the knowledge that more color will be added later. Forms were modeled with the undercoat and then colored with a later coat of oil glaze. In the *War Series*, the luminosity added by this method is evident in *Murder of Edith Cavell*, as both her dress and the few areas of light in the painting seem to have a very convincing glow. After the *War Series*, Bellows abandoned indirect painting and went back to direct painting but continued to experiment with color.

Although Bellows was constantly experimenting with new techniques and changing from one method to the next, there was one theory that he found so impressive that, once he found it, he continued to work with it for the remainder of his career: Dynamic Symmetry. Bellows was first introduced to Dynamic Symmetry when he attended a lecture by Jay Hambidge in early 1918.¹⁰⁷ Hambidge was a Canadian artist and illustrator who had invented an elaborate compositional system based on arrangements of triangles and rectangles that depended on the proportions of the canvas and the relative proportions of the objects to be depicted.¹⁰⁸ Hambidge's theories can be

calculated and divided in proportion to the size of the painting. For example, the painting, *Massacre at Dinant*, is 49 x 79 inches; therefore, the proportion of the sides of the rectangle is 1:1.691.¹⁰⁹ In theory, an artist could break down his composition into a number of proportionate rectangles to create an ideal form; however, to the naked eye, what are most obvious are some elements that are common to many of the paintings and lithographs in the *War Series*. In *Massacre at Dinant*, *Murder of Edith Cavell*, and *The Germans Arrive*, Bellows places clusters of figures all within the same plane, although not always in the same cluster, and also leaves significant amounts of negative space to counterbalance the figures. The composition itself is divided by the rectangles and triangles established in Hambidge's theory, but the viewer has to really know what he is looking for to determine the compositional elements. Hambidge's theory is so flexible that it can conform to almost any composition.¹¹⁰ Bellows continued to incorporate Dynamic Symmetry into all his compositions, except for his portraits, until his untimely death in 1925.

From 1916 to 1925, Bellows created almost 200 lithographs, a remarkable quantity in such a short period of time. Although Albert Sterner had introduced Bellows to lithography, and had been responsible for promoting the practice of graphic arts in the United States, Bellows still took a risk in producing his *War Series* as lithographs, since lithography was still a relatively new medium to the field of fine arts. It was ironic, however, that the war would actually be the boost that gave lithography a head start as a true art form.¹¹¹ Long after the war, Bellows continued to make lithographs, sometimes making prints from old drawings and sometimes working new drawings

directly on the stone. As an artist, Bellows contributed more to the field of lithography than he did to any other medium.

Bellows's experimentation with Dynamic Symmetry and color theory added little to his work and may have even detracted from it, but they are both important to his development as an artist. After the *War Series*, Bellows abandoned indirect painting and went back to some of the other color theories such as the Maratta color system he had used when he first began painting at the New York School. Although he continued to use Dynamic Symmetry throughout his career, it became less prominent in his later works.

Reception and Exhibition History

The *War Series* lithographs were first exhibited in 1918, just after the Armistice. In general, they were very well received, not because they were hailed as an artistic triumph but mostly because of the anti-German sentiment they were thought to represent. Although Bellows had clearly stated that he created the series as a reaction against the atrocities of war and not against any particular race, the series was received as anti-German propaganda. Bellows had established himself as a truly American artist, and that was an essential part of his appeal. He was a realist, and he portrayed the subject of war with the same brutal honesty he had used in his earlier work. Bellows presented war for what it was: horrific, violent, and cruel. Some critics praised the works for their artistic merit, but for the most part it was the propagandist appeal of the series that won over people. As both an artist and a man trying to support a family,

Bellows had to appreciate that the pieces were well received, regardless of his intent for the series.

When Bellows first began working on the *War Series* and had finished some of the lithographs, he took them to the assistant manager at Keppel's, one of his main dealers. When the assistant manager first saw the prints, he looked distraught at the idea of showing such brutal images; Bellows said, "I *had* to draw them." The assistant manager, William H. Allison responded, "Oh then, we'll *have* to show them."¹¹² It is important to place Bellows's work in the context of the time and place in which it was produced. When the United States became involved in the war, the market for propaganda posters produced by the government flourished, and this served as a great opportunity for artists. The purpose of these posters was to show support for our troops through the purchase of war bonds and the growing of victory gardens and to solicit enlistment for the armed forces. There were also many images that displayed anti-German sentiment and some that focused particularly on German atrocities committed against innocent Belgian civilians. However, these images were designed as commercial propaganda, and they were often the work of illustrators and cartoonists and not of fine artists. Even when the subject of German atrocities was dealt with, as in the Dutch artist Louis Raemakers's series of cartoons, the images were not as brutally realistic as the Bellows series, and therefore did not have the same impact. These types of images alluded to the facts at hand, but the artists were careful not to produce images that might be too offensive to the early twentieth-century public. German artists also dealt with the war, but their perspective was, of course, different from that of the Americans. German artists such as Otto Dix and Max Beckmann had both fought in the war, and their

depictions of war, though sometimes as brutal as those of Bellows, focused on the hardships that the soldiers had endured, rather than on the victims.¹¹³ German artists, particularly Dix, blamed the German government for the destruction that had torn Europe apart. These artists had seen the maimed and disfigured soldiers that had fought for their country, and this was the type of imagery represented in their artwork. Several years after the war was over, the German artist Käthe Kollwitz produced a series focusing on the unseen victims of the war: the mothers and families that had been left behind.¹¹⁴ Still, Bellows was really the only preeminent American artist during the first World War to examine war and the atrocities of war as an artistic subject.

Keppel & Co. had shown Bellows's lithographs on the subject of war as soon as he began producing them. When Charles Dana Gibson saw them at Keppel's Gallery in 1918, he wrote Bellows a letter claiming that they were the "finest things that have been done anytime, anywhere."¹¹⁵ Bellows greatly admired the work of Gibson; in college, his drawings were clearly inspired by Gibson, so this letter must have meant a great deal to Bellows. At the time, Gibson was a chairman on the Committee on Public Information, which was responsible for creating propaganda, and was probably interested in Bellows's work for their propagandist messages. Gibson also approached Bellows about doing some cartoons for *Life* magazine and, in another letter, told him that he wished the war lithographs could hang in the room where they discuss peace terms.¹¹⁶ In November 1918, an exhibition at Keppel & Co. showed twelve of the lithographs from the *War Series* together for the first time under the heading, "War."¹¹⁷ While at Keppel's, they caught the eye of Lieutenant Henry Reuterdahl, who wrote a letter to Henry Goode, director of the British Pictorial Service, suggesting that they be

sent overseas. Lieutenant Reuterdahl's intentions were clearly propagandist in nature; he wrote that Bellows had "made a series of the most remarkable and eloquent lithographs that portray the Hun in his true colors of crime and lust."¹¹⁸ The twelve War lithographs were next exhibited together at the Albert Roullier Art Galleries in Chicago in January 1919.¹¹⁹

The paintings were created after the prints in one-month intervals. The first, *Massacre at Dinant* (fig. 43), was done in July. Next were *The Germans Arrive* (fig. 44), *Murder of Edith Cavell* (fig. 45), and *The Barricade* (fig. 28).¹²⁰ In November, Bellows had just finished *Return of the Useless* (fig. 46) when he found out about the Armistice. Bellows did not indicate why he chose those particular images for the paintings. There are some compositional differences between some of the paintings and the lithographs. In *The Barricade* lithograph, there is a German soldier lying on the ground in the foreground, presumably shot; in the painting, the figure is absent; in one version of the lithograph, the image is in reverse. In *Return of the Useless*, the image in the painting is the reverse of the lithograph (fig. 47).

The painting, *The Germans Arrive*, was completed in August 1918 and was displayed in the window of Scott and Fowles on Fifth Avenue.¹²¹ The art dealer E.C. Babcock wrote a letter to Bellows congratulating him on the painting, saying that it was the most impressive thing on the avenue.¹²² The painting was not exhibited again until 1983 and remained in the estate of the artist until that date as well.¹²³

The painting, *Murder of Edith Cavell*, received the most attention of all the pieces in the series and is the only piece that received any negative criticism. The painting was first exhibited in the "Allied Salon" space at the Anderson Galleries in

1918. Joseph Pennell, the artist and critic, told Bellows that he had no business painting such a subject when he had not been there to witness the event himself.¹²⁴ To this Bellows replied that he was not aware that "Leonardo da Vinci had a ticket to the Last Supper."¹²⁵ Frederick James Gregg found the composition to be overcrowded and felt that the placement of the soldiers complicated the simplicity of the situation.¹²⁶ Other than those disparaging comments, the painting received widespread positive criticism, both for its subject matter and for its artistic merit. Royal Cortissoz, critic for the *New York Tribune*, called the painting "quite the finest thing Mr. Bellows has ever done" and went on to say, "the play of light and shade exploited within it is so subtle as actually to enrich the artist's tones."¹²⁷ The subject matter was the execution of British Red Cross Nurse Edith Cavell. The world was stunned when the German Army executed her by firing squad despite pleas to spare her life from around the world. *Murder of Edith Cavell* was purchased from the estate of the artist by the Museum of Fine Arts, Springfield, Massachusetts in 1949, for the enormous sum of \$25,000, which was more than the museum usually paid for Old Master paintings.¹²⁸ In the post World War II years, patriotism was high, and the museum's directors wanted to make a statement about American painting and felt that Bellows's portrayal of Cavell was equal in stature to any European painting in the collection.¹²⁹

Massacre at Dinant, which depicted the first of the German invasion into Belgium in 1914, was first shown at the National Academy of Design in 1918 and was exhibited continuously up and down the East Coast throughout 1919. After being exhibited at the Vassar College Art Gallery in 1919, it was not exhibited again until 1983 and remained in the estate of the artist until that time. *Massacre at Dinant* was the

first of the five paintings. *The Barricade*, which depicted another scene from the German invasion into Belgium, was not exhibited until 1983. It remained in the estate of the artist until that time. In 1990, it was purchased by The Birmingham Museum of Art, which also has the lithograph in its collection.¹³⁰ The last painting Bellows created for the *War Series* was *Return of the Useless*. It was completed in November 1918, just before the Armistice, and was the only painting in the series that depicts an event that actually took place in the year it was created. *Return of the Useless* depicts Belgian prisoners being returned to their homeland by their German captors, who have beaten them and gotten as much use out of them as they could. First exhibited at Knoedler Gallery in 1919, *Return of the Useless* enjoyed a long exhibition history and traveled into the 1970s.¹³¹ It is now owned by private collectors.¹³² All five paintings were shown together for the first time in 1983 in an exhibition titled *George Bellows and the War Series of 1918*.¹³³

A number of the lithographs and drawings were used as illustrations in magazines, and two were used as advertisements to support the purchase of war bonds. In addition to being influenced by the Bryce Report, Bellows was also inspired to create the *War Series* because of a series of articles entitled, "Belgium: The Crowning Crime," that appeared in *Everybody's Magazine* beginning in February 1918. The articles were written by Brand Whitlock, United States Ambassador to Belgium. The lithograph, *Murder of Edith Cavell*, was used to illustrate the ninth installment of the series; the drawing, *Return of the Useless*, was used to illustrate the eleventh installment of that series.¹³⁴

Several other magazines published Bellows's lithographs and drawings from the *War Series* as well. *Vanity Fair* reproduced the lithographs *Base Hospital*, *Murder of Edith Cavell*, *Massacre at Dinant*, *Gott Strafe England*, and the drawing, *The Last Victim*, in a series titled "The Hun."¹³⁵ Donal Hamilton Haines wrote a story for *Collier's* in July 1918 entitled "Something."¹³⁶ The title "Something" referred to the feeling the British Tommies had about their Russian comrades with whom they were fighting side by side after the Russian Revolution.¹³⁷ The British knew there was "something" about the Russians they just did not like. *The Charge* and *Sniped* were used to illustrate Haines's story. *The Germans Arrive* appeared on the back inside cover of *Collier's* September 28, 1918, issue as an advertisement for the U.S. Government Bonds Fourth Liberty Loan. The following text was published with it:

This is Kultur

There is no sharper contrast between German Kultur and the civilization that our forefathers died for, than the difference in the attitude of the two civilizations towards women and children.¹³⁸

Gott Strafe England was also used for the Fourth Liberty Loan Drive but did not have dramatic text to go along with it.

After their initial exhibition together at Keppel & Co., the lithographs were not shown together again until 1983 at the Hirschl and Adler Galleries in New York.¹³⁹ At that exhibition, five paintings, twenty lithographs, and thirty drawings were exhibited, some for the very first time.¹⁴⁰ That was the only time to this day that the entire series has been shown together. The drawings, *The Base Hospital*, *The Last Victim*, *The Barricade*, and *Return of the Useless*, are in the collection of the Print Department of the Boston Public Library.¹⁴¹ The drawing, *Murder of Edith Cavell*, is in the collection

of the Art Museum, Princeton University, and a study for *Belgian Farmyard* is in a private collection.¹⁴²

The Mead Art Museum at Amherst College and the Fogg Art Museum at Harvard University have complete sets of *War Series* prints. The Fogg acquired the last set from the artist's estate in 2003 and held an exhibition titled, *George Bellows and the Tragedies of War* to celebrate the acquisition.¹⁴³ The exhibition featured all of the lithographs in the series, and the painting, *The Germans Arrive*, which was on loan from an anonymous lender.¹⁴⁴ Impressions of *Murder of Edith Cavell* and *The Charge* are in the collection of the Amon Carter Museum.¹⁴⁵

Since Bellows began the series after the United States had been in the war for a little over a year and patriotism was high, it is natural that the reception of the series was very positive. In general, the brutality of the images was overlooked, and the images were praised for their propagandistic value, regardless of whether or not that was what Bellows intended for them. There were, however, a few critics who credited Bellows for his dramatic contrasts in values in the lithographs, particularly the *Murder of Edith Cavell*, which was by far the most popular of all. Critics often compared him to Rembrandt or Goya because of his use of light and shade, as well as his interest in tragedy.¹⁴⁶

Although the reception of the *War Series* was positive when it was produced, the market for artwork with such violent subject matter was limited in the years following the war. There has been a market for Bellows's work in general thanks to the clever marketing strategy of his widow, Emma Story Bellows, and the art dealer, H.V. Allison, who worked exclusively with Mrs. Bellows on handling the artist's estate. Mrs. Bellows

and Allison would hold small exhibits of Bellows's work periodically, showing never before seen pieces so that there was always something new. As a result, public interest in his work has continued, even to this day. Although there have been many exhibitions that may have included one or two prints from the *War Series*, the entire series of paintings and lithographs has only been shown together once, and the entire set of lithographs has only been exhibited together a few times. Bellows must have been pleased with the positive reception of the series, but it is not known whether he was disappointed that they were praised mostly for their propagandistic value. Charles Dana Gibson, whom Bellows greatly admired, complemented the images; surely he would have appreciated them for their artistic value. If Bellows was hurt by the fact that the pieces were taken to be propaganda, there is no indication of it. After the war, Bellows quickly moved on to other subjects. He continued to incorporate Dynamic Symmetry and color theory into his work, especially in the 1920s, during his time at Woodstock. Lithography grew as an art form due in great part to the enthusiasm of artists like George Bellows. Some of Bellows's best work came after the *War Series*, when he was working with Bolton Brown. Unfortunately, the theme of war and man's inhumanity to man is one that tends to repeat itself. In May 2006, The University of Georgia Art Museum will hold an exhibition featuring many but not all of the prints in the *War Series* and two of the paintings, *The Barricade* and *Murder of Edith Cavell*, as well as the two paintings that were commissioned by Helen Clay Frick to commemorate the end of the war, *Hail to Peace* and *Dawn of Peace*.¹⁴⁷ I suspect that, as long as there are wars to be fought, there will be exhibitions featuring George Bellows's *War Series*.

Bellows would be pleased to know that his art was being used to reflect upon the current state of affairs.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

George Bellows died of appendicitis in January 1925 at age 42. Bellows had suffered for several months before finally being in enough pain that he had to seek medical attention.¹⁴⁸ It is ironic that a man who had dedicated so much of his life's work to speaking out against man's suffering actually ended his life with a great deal of pain. From his early days at the New York School, his concern for the underprivileged was evident in his portrayals of urban New York. Although his associations with anarchists and socialists made him seem like a radical, his concern for the common good always came through. It was this genuine sympathy for mankind that turned Bellows from a pacifist to a patriot, and initiated the burst of emotion that created the *War Series*.

The *War Series* is received, even today, as propaganda, but it cannot be placed into just one genre. Bellows created this series as a reaction to what he had read first in the Bryce Report and then later in the Whitlock articles. If Bellows believed what he had read to be true, then he was creating something that documented a historical event. Still, some of the harsher images such as *The Cigarette* must have been produced purely for the sake of artistic expression. Although the series can be placed in several different categories, propaganda is the most obvious. What people immediately see when they view the series is the horrific images of human suffering and not the ability of the artist to manipulate tones in the lithographs or the compositional elements of Dynamic Symmetry.

Since propaganda is the first thing that people associate with the *War Series*, the artistic quality is often overlooked. Bellows was an advocate for lithography, and the fact that he chose lithography as the primary artistic mode for the series shows that he felt as passionately about the subject as he did about the medium. Oddly enough, it would actually be the production of real propaganda posters that gave lithography the push it needed to flourish in America as an art form. However, the drama created by the contrast between light and dark in the lithographs could not be duplicated in the paintings, and the lithographs when shown together make the strongest statement. The reception of the *War Series* was positive, mostly for its propagandistic aspect rather than its artistic merit. Some critics did compliment the lithographs for their fine quality and compared them to the works of Goya, Rembrandt, or Daumier, but most of the compliments were in reference to the subject matter. The impetus that caused Bellows to create the paintings is not known, but the success of the lithographs may have been a driving force. Still, the five paintings were not commissioned, and Bellows had no way of knowing whether or not they would sell. The painting, *The Barricade*, was not even exhibited during Bellows's lifetime. Although the paintings are impressive for their massive size, which Bellows had in mind for the distinct purpose of implementing his newly found method of compositional theory, Dynamic Symmetry, they do not have the same impact as the lithographs. I suspect that if the war had continued, Bellows would have made more paintings for the *War Series*, but the end of the series coincided with the end of the war. Whether Bellows was pleased with how the images were received is not known; however, as a father and head of household, he must have been glad that

they were received so well. Bellows made it known that the images were not created to attack any one particular race but were created to honor the victims.

The *War Series* is unique to American art because it does not fall neatly into one genre, especially since it was created in three mediums. If we examine the drawings and lithographs, it is easy to view the series as historical illustration and propaganda; however, when we put the paintings into the mix, the series becomes more difficult to categorize. Traditionally, history paintings commemorate or glorify an event, but the drawings, lithographs, and paintings in the *War Series* presented history in a brutally realistic way. Although the subject of war had been depicted rather violently by European artists, there was no precedent for a series like Bellows's in American art. Traditionally in American art, depictions of war served to glorify or memorialize historical events. Although Matthew Brady's photographs of the Civil War certainly presented the subject of war realistically, they were taken from a documentary point of view, rather than from an artistic point of view. Bellows's series combines the documentary aspect characteristic of historical illustration and history painting with his own artistic expression to create a series that holds a unique place in American art history.

History is supposed to teach us not to repeat our mistakes; however, from the beginning of time, history has been repeating itself, and we as humans continue to repeat our mistakes. George Bellows's *War Series* is still exhibited today; sadly, it coincides with times when we are once again at war. After examining Bellows's life and the reasons he created the *War Series*, I think that he would be glad to know that he is

remembered but that he would also hope that the people for whom he created the *War Series* are remembered as well.

NOTES

¹Marianne Doezeema, *George Bellows and Urban America* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1992), 73. Doezeema points out that the prevailing mode of thought in the Methodist church was that artists were not upstanding citizens; male artists were thought effeminate, and in general it was considered an undesirable profession in Methodist circles.

²Charles H. Morgan, *George Bellows, Painter of America* (New York: Reynal & Co., 1965), 24.

³Ibid, 31.

⁴Doezema, 75.

⁵Donald Braider, *George Bellows and the Ashcan School of Painting* (New York: Doubleday & Co., 1971), 23.

⁶D. Scott Atkinson and Charlene S. Engel. *An American Pulse: The Lithographs of George Wesley Bellows*. (San Diego: San Diego Museum of Art, 1999), 13.

⁷Morgan, 153.

⁸Ibid, 199.

⁹Braider, 41.

¹⁰Ibid.

¹¹Ibid, 45. This was a quote from the review of the Macbeth Gallery exhibition.

¹²Morgan, 83. The show that is referred to here is the 83rd Annual Exhibition of the National Academy of Design.

¹³Michael Quick et al., *The Paintings of George Bellows* (Fort Worth: Amon Carter Museum, 1992), 241, 244. Bellows was made an associate member in 1909 and made a full academician in 1913.

¹⁴*George Bellows, Paintings, Drawings, and Prints*. (Chicago: Art Institute, 1946), 17. This is speculation. There is no evidence that Bellows actually witnessed the fight.

¹⁵Quick et al., 107. *Club Night* was originally titled *Stag at Sharkey's* when it was displayed at the National Academy's Winter Exhibition in 1907. It was given a good review by the critic, Nilsen Laurvik, who wanted to see more work by the "manly, uncompromising" Bellows and the other younger men in the exhibition.

¹⁶Braider, 57.

¹⁷Marjorie B. Searl and Ronald Netsky, *George Bellows at Woodstock*, (Rochester, New York: Memorial Art Gallery at University of Rochester, 2003), 19.

¹⁸Morgan, 79.

¹⁹Quick et al., p. 144. It is assumed that the "Lair of the sea eagle" was atop one of the mountains on Monhegan Island, and that his thought was to jump over the edge.

²⁰Morgan, 153.

²¹Ibid, 165

²²Braider, 90.

²³Rebecca Zurier, *Art for the Masses: A Radical Magazine and Its Graphics, 1911-1917*. (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1988), 41.

²⁴Charlene Stant Engel, "George W. Bellows's Illustrations for The Masses and Other Magazines and the Sources of his Lithographs of 1916-1917," Ph.D. Dissertation (Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1976), 14.

²⁵Zurier, 40.

²⁶Engel, 7-8. Engel notes that editorial decisions were made jointly between artists and writers at monthly meetings.

²⁷Atkinson and Engel, 12. *Why Don't They Go to the Country for a Vacation?* was a study for the painting, *Cliff Dwellers*, one of Bellows's best known works.

²⁸Atkinson and Engel, 13.

²⁹Ibid, 19. Bellows contributed several illustrations to magazines in 1915 on the subject of war. *Wounded Soldier on the Road to Berlin* was one of two drawings commissioned by *Metropolitan Magazine*. Bellows also contributed drawings that year to accompany "A War Story" by Ernest Poole and "Russia's Red Road To Berlin" for *Everybody's Magazine*. However, these are not part of the *War Series*.

³⁰Morgan, 195.

³¹Ibid, 204.

³²Atkinson and Engel, 17.

³³http://www.english.uiuc.edu/maps/poets/m_r/ridge/mooney.htm. University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign website gives an overview of the Thomas J. Mooney case.

³⁴Ibid.

³⁵Lauris Mason, *The Lithographs of George Bellows, A Catalog Raisonné* (San Antonio: Alan Wolfsky Fine Arts, 1992), 88. As quoted by George Bellows.

³⁶Atkinson and Engel, 19-20.

³⁷Zurier, 36.

³⁸Mason, 212.

³⁹Mason, 50. This image appeared first in *Arts & Decoration* in May 1916 and then in *The Masses* in May 1917.

⁴⁰Mason, 215.

⁴¹Charles Morgan Papers, Box 11, Folder 11, Robert Frost Library, Amherst College, "The Big Idea: George Bellows Talks About Patriotism for Beauty," *Touchstone*, July 1917.

⁴²Ibid., 58.

⁴³Ibid.

⁴⁴Ibid.

⁴⁵Ibid.

⁴⁶Morgan, 218.

⁴⁷Ibid., 219. Neither Bellows nor Speicher actually served as the Armistice ended the war before they were assigned.

⁴⁸Atkinson and Engel, 20.

⁴⁹Robert H. Zieger, *America's Great War: World War I and the American Experience*, (Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2000), 22.

⁵⁰Jane Myers and Linda Ayers, *George Bellows: The Artist and His Lithographs, 1916-1924* (Fort Worth, Texas: Amon Carter Museum, 1988), 64.

⁵¹Zieger, 23.

⁵²See Bryce Report, *New York Times*, May 13, 1915, 6-8.

⁵³Hugh Thomas, *Goya: The Third of May, 1808* (New York: The Viking Press, 1972), 60. Thomas suggests that Goya may not have actually witnessed the events in the *Disasters of War*, as legend has led people to believe.

⁵⁴Fred Licht, *Goya: The Origins of the Modern Temper in Art* (New York: Universe Books, 1979), 80.

⁵⁵Ibid.

⁵⁶Myers and Ayres, 64. This is an unusual answer, and an incomplete sentence, but I assume that it means that Bellows was using Goya for his inspiration.

⁵⁷United Kingdom. Public Record Office, *Report of the Committee on Alleged German Outrages*. 14 December 1915. Report.

⁵⁸Ibid.

⁵⁹Ibid.

⁶⁰Ibid.

⁶¹Ibid.

⁶²Atkinson and Engel, 20.

⁶³Myers and Ayres, 64.

⁶⁴Atkinson and Engel, 20.

⁶⁵Mason, 109.

⁶⁶Zieger, 34.

⁶⁷Myers and Ayers, 67.

⁶⁸Morgan, 218.

⁶⁹Ibid., 219.

⁷⁰Zieger, 79.

⁷¹When I refer to Bellows's *War Series*, I am referring to the body of work completed between April and November of 1918. There are other works in Bellows's oeuvre before and after this time that dealt with the subject of war, but they were not part of the series.

⁷²Morgan, 215.

⁷³Clinton Adams, *American Lithographers, 1900-1960* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1983), 6-7.

⁷⁴Ibid.

⁷⁵Ibid., 19.

⁷⁶Ibid.. Most of the pieces in the exhibitions were etchings; however, this was still a very important step for graphic arts in the United States.

⁷⁷Morgan, 197.

⁷⁸Ibid., 204.

⁷⁹Morgan, 218.

⁸⁰Adams, 34.

⁸¹Mason, 21. There are conflicting reports from several sources as to the exact date that Miller actually quit printing for Bellows. He may have not worked on the *War Series* at all.

⁸²Adams, 34.

⁸³Mason, 21.

⁸⁴Ibid., 20.

⁸⁵Adams, 31. As retold by Brown in Bolton Brown, *My Ten Years in Lithography*, 38.

⁸⁶Brown was the printer for one print associated with the *War Series*, *The Case of Sergeant Delaney*.

⁸⁷Myers and Ayers, 109-27. There were studies drawn for *Belgian Farmyard*, *Base Hospital*, and *The Barricade*.

⁸⁸Morgan, 218-19. According to Morgan, the prints were created this quickly.

⁸⁹*George Bellows and the War Series of 1918* (New York: Hirschl and Adler Galleries, Inc., 1983) 15.

⁹⁰Ibid.

⁹¹Mason, 109.

⁹²Morgan, 215.

⁹³Mason, 121.

⁹⁴Ibid.

⁹⁵Mason, 113.

⁹⁶Ibid., 125.

⁹⁷Ibid., 218.

⁹⁸This painting was not part of the *War Series* because it was created after Bellows had completed the series and was a commissioned work. Bellows's *War Series* was fueled by emotion, whereas this was a commissioned piece that was created with a patron's interests in mind.

⁹⁹Ibid. Miss Frick had some association with the Red Cross, but it is not clear if she was a volunteer or (more likely) a major donor.

¹⁰⁰Mason, 128.

¹⁰¹Charlene Stant Engel, "The Man in the Middle: George Bellows, War, and "Sergeant" Delaney," *American Art* (Spring 2004): 78-87.

¹⁰²Ibid.

¹⁰³Morgan, 60.

¹⁰⁴Ibid., 175.

¹⁰⁵Michael Quick et al., "Technique and Theory: The Evolution of George Bellows's Painting Style," *The Paintings of George Bellows* (Fort Worth: Amon Carter Museum, 1992), 67.

¹⁰⁶Ibid.

¹⁰⁷Braider, 111.

¹⁰⁸Ibid. The system is very complicated, but Donald Braider sums it up succinctly in his summary.

¹⁰⁹Quick et al., 63.

¹¹⁰Ibid., 65.

¹¹¹Myers and Ayers, 67. Myers and Ayers credit propaganda posters for the widespread popularity of lithography that followed in the 1920s.

¹¹²Morgan, 220.

¹¹³Matthias Eberle, *World War I and the Weimar Artists* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1985), vii.

¹¹⁴Stephanie Barron, introduction, *German Expressionism 1915-1925: The Second Generation*, ed. Stephanie Barron (Prestel: Munich, 1988), 23, 24.

¹¹⁵Charles Morgan Papers, Robert Frost Library, Amherst College, Box 6, Folder 15, Letter dated July 12, 1918.

¹¹⁶Charles Morgan Papers, Robert Frost Library, Amherst College, Box 6, Folder 15, Letter dated August 17, 1918.

¹¹⁷Hirschl & Adler, 10. This is the first time that the lithographs were all grouped together and shown under the same heading. It is assumed that the term *War Series* was applied by the dealers and not by Bellows himself.

¹¹⁸Charles Morgan Papers, Robert Frost Library, Amherst College, Box 6, Folder 15, undated letter.

¹¹⁹Albert Roullier Art Galleries, *Catalogue of an Exhibition of Original Lithographs by George Bellows* (Chicago: Albert Roullier Art Galleries, 1919).

¹²⁰Morgan, 220.

¹²¹Morgan, 220. Morgan notes that Bellows sent the painting to the dealer as soon as it was dry, but there is no explanation as to why the paintings were exhibited just one at a time and not all together. It could be because of the success of the lithographs, dealers were asking to show whatever they could get their hands on.

¹²²Charles Morgan Papers, Robert Frost Library, Amherst College, Box 6, Folder 15, Letter dated Sept. 28, 1918.

¹²³Hirschl & Adler, 13.

¹²⁴Morgan, 221.

¹²⁵Ibid.

¹²⁶As pointed out in Ayers and Myers, 143.

¹²⁷Ibid.

¹²⁸Hirschl & Adler, 7.

¹²⁹Ibid.

¹³⁰Birmingham Museum of Art. Registrar's Files. The Birmingham Museum of Art purchased both the painting and the lithograph to complement the museum's collection of American art. Both were purchased because of their artistic merit.

¹³¹Ibid., 15.

¹³²Ibid.

¹³³Hirschl and Adler, 5.

¹³⁴Ibid., 21.

¹³⁵Mason, 109-17.

¹³⁶Mason, 123.

¹³⁷Ibid.

¹³⁸Ibid., 119.

¹³⁹Hirschl & Adler, 5.

¹⁴⁰Ibid. The twenty lithographs in the exhibition included *Prepare, America!* and *The Case for Sergeant Delaney*, which, although they are associated with World War I, were not created during the same time as the rest of the pieces in the *War Series*. Many of the drawings in the exhibition were from the estate of the artist and had not been exhibited before.

¹⁴¹Ibid., 18-21.

¹⁴²Ibid.

¹⁴³<http://www.artmuseums.harvard.edu/press/released2003/bellows.html>

¹⁴⁴Ibid. This was only the third time the painting had been publicly displayed.

¹⁴⁵Mason, 111 and 125.

¹⁴⁶Myers and Ayers, 154.

¹⁴⁷Personal correspondence via e-mail with Tricia Miller, Head Registrar at the University of Georgia Museum of Art. They wanted the whole series but had problems getting the works lent.

¹⁴⁸Joyce Carol Oates, *George Bellows: American Artist* (Hopewell, New Jersey: Ecco Press, 1997), 67.

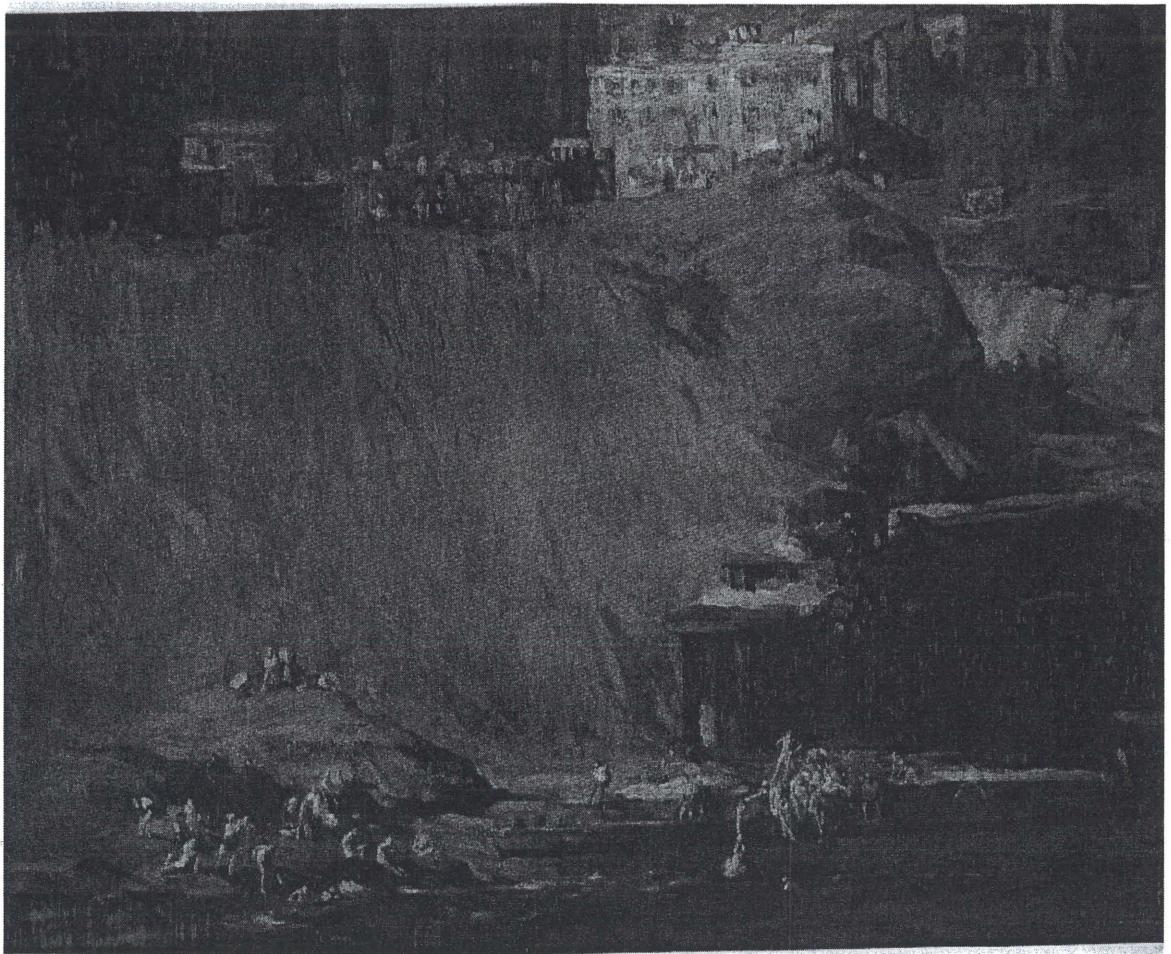


Fig. 1. George Bellows, *River Rats*, oil on canvas, 1906. As reproduced in Michael Quick et al., *The Paintings of George Bellows* (Fort Worth: Amon Carter Museum, 1992), 100.



Fig. 2. George Bellows, *Cliff Dwellers*, oil on canvas, 1913. As reproduced in Michael Quick et al., *The Paintings of George Bellows* (Fort Worth: Amon Carter Museum, 1992), 117.

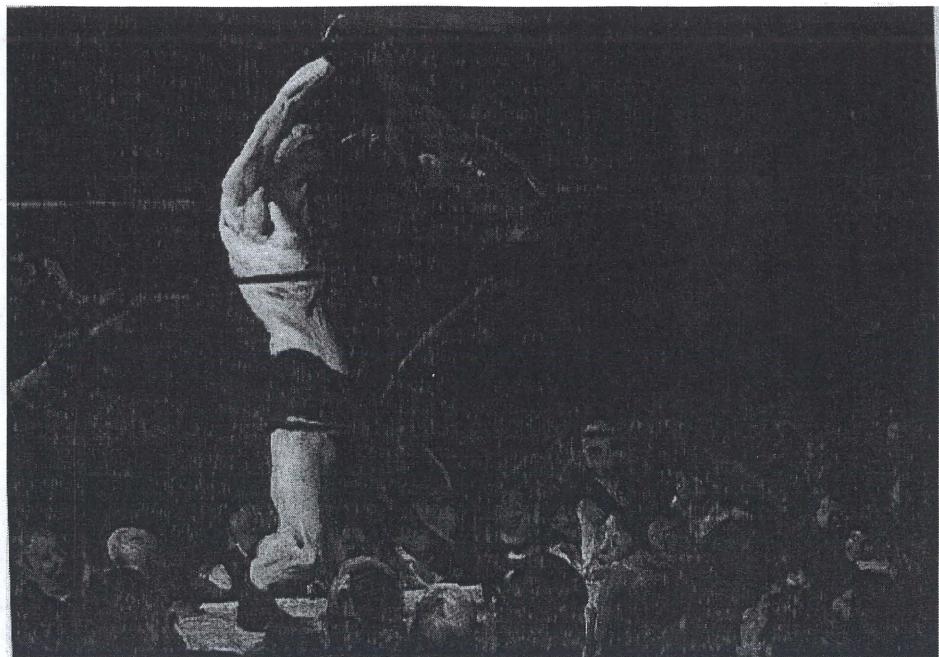


Fig. 3. George Bellows, *Both Members of This Club*, oil on canvas, 1909. As reproduced in Michael Quick et al., *The Paintings of George Bellows* (Fort Worth: Amon Carter Museum, 1992), 22.

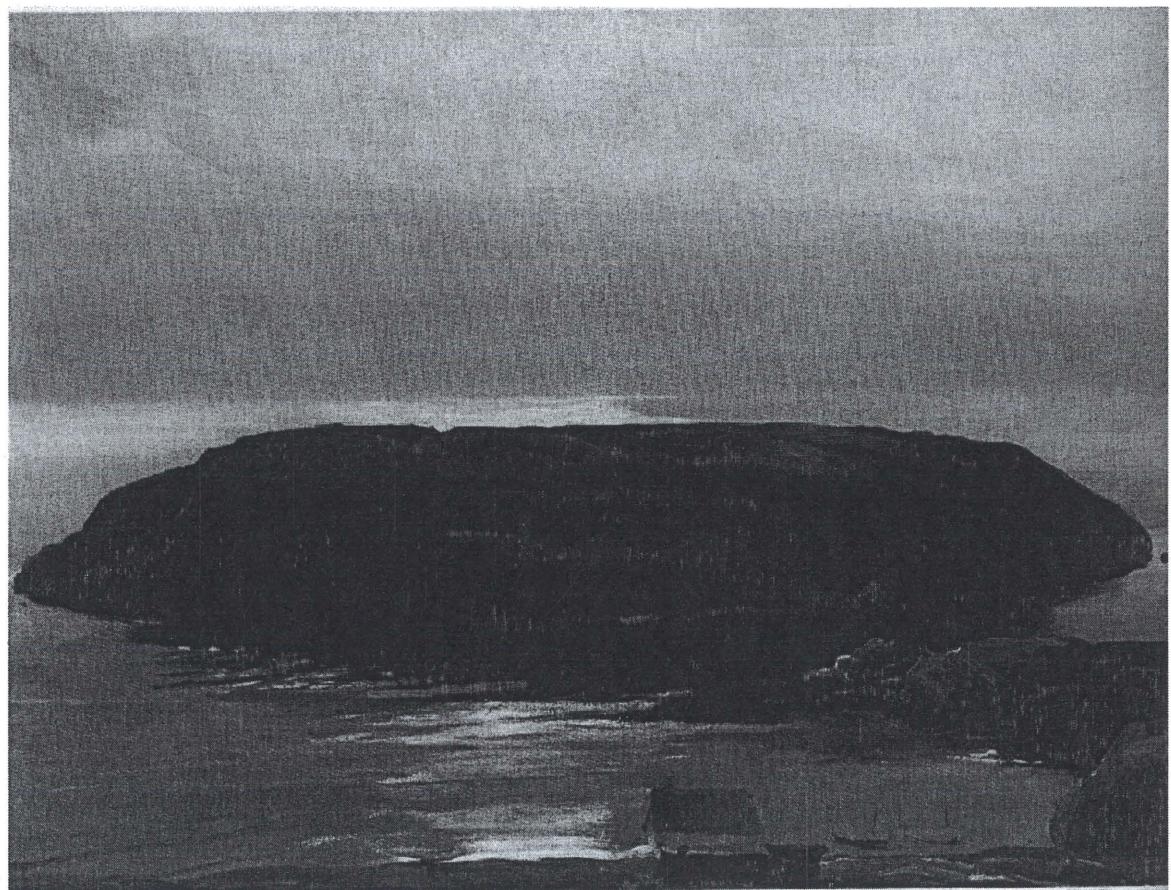


Fig. 4. George Bellows, *An Island in The Sea*, oil on panel, 1911. As reproduced in Michael Quick et al., *The Paintings of George Bellows* (Fort Worth: Amon Carter Museum, 1992), 146.



Fig. 5. George Bellows, *Monhegan Island*, oil on panel, 1913. As reproduced in Michael Quick et al., *The Paintings of George Bellows* (Fort Worth: Amon Carter Museum, 1992), 153.



Fig. 6. George Bellows, *Why Don't They Go to the Country for a Vacation?*, transfer lithograph reworked with pen, 1913. As reproduced in Michael Quick et al., *The Paintings of George Bellows* (Fort Worth: Amon Carter Museum, 1992), 115



Fig. 7. George Bellows, *Dey's Woims in It*, lithograph, 1914. As reproduced in Atkinson and Engel, *An American Pulse: The Lithographs of George Wesley Bellows* (San Diego: San Diego Museum of Art, 1999), 14.



Fig. 8. George Bellows, "Prepare, America!", lithograph, 1916. As reproduced in Lauris Mason, *The Lithographs of George Bellows: A Catalog Raisonné* (San Francisco: Alan Wolfsky Fine Arts, 1992), 113.



Fig. 9. George Bellows. *Electrocution, first state*, lithograph, 1917. As reproduced in Lauris Mason, *The Lithographs of George Bellows: A Catalog Raisonné* (San Francisco: Alan Wolfsky Fine Arts, 1992), 89.

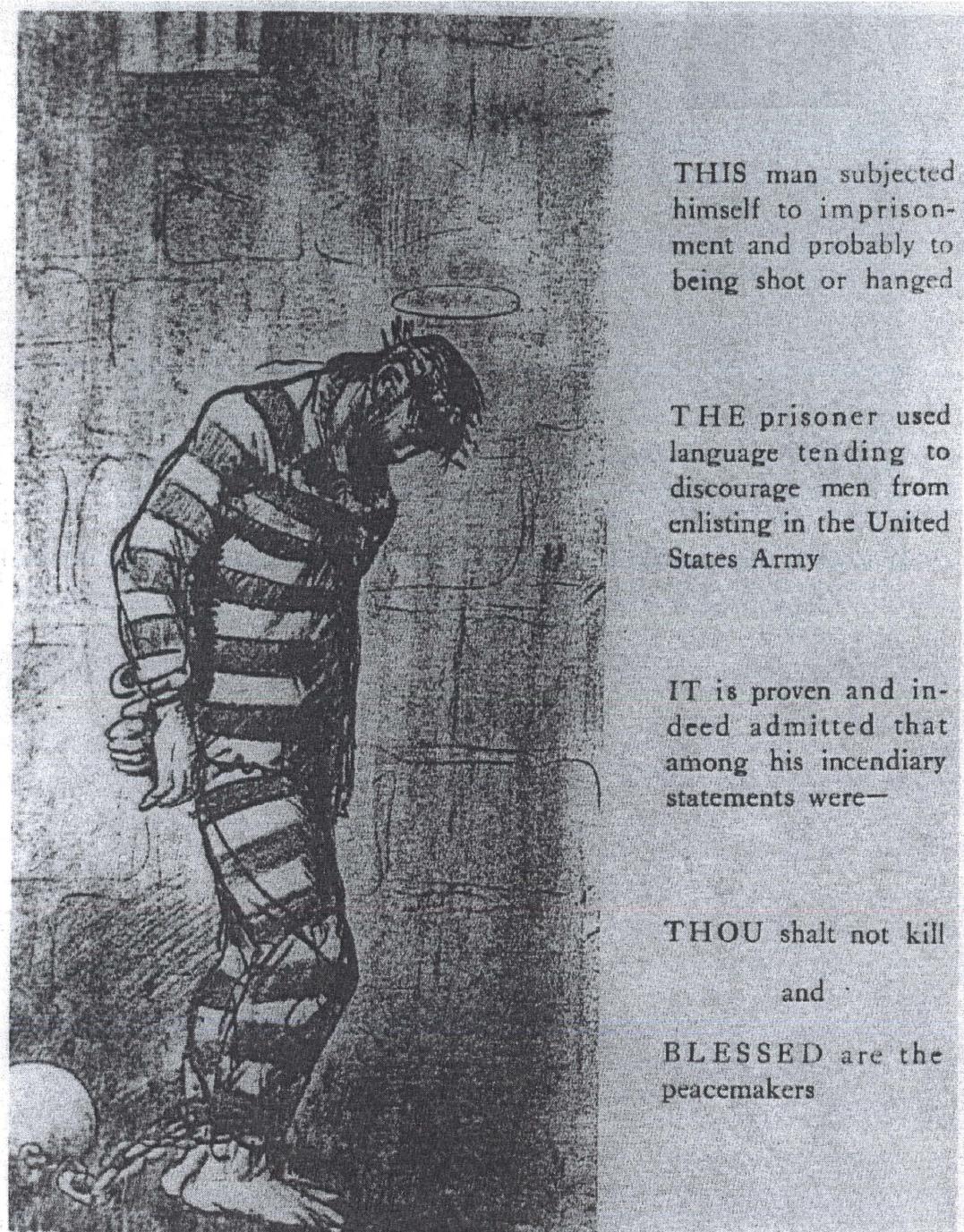


Fig. 10. George Bellows, *Christ Condemned*, pen and ink drawing, 1917. As reproduced in Rebecca Zurier, *Art for the Masses: A Radical Magazine and Its Graphics, 1911-1917* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1988), 22.

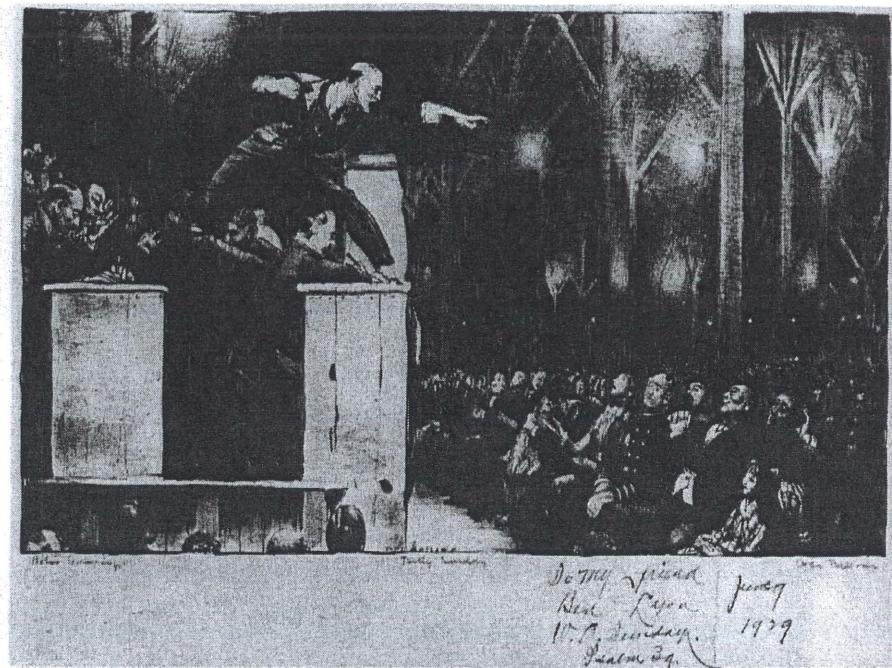


Fig. 11. George Bellows. *Billy Sunday*, lithograph, 1923. As reproduced in Lauris Mason, *The Lithographs of George Bellows: A Catalog Raisonné* (San Francisco: Alan Wolfsky Fine Arts, 1992), 113.



Fig. 12. George Bellows, *Benediction in Georgia*, lithograph, 1918. As reproduced in Lauris Mason, *The Lithographs of George Bellows: A Catalog Raisonné* (San Francisco: Alan Wolfsky Fine Arts, 1992), 113.



Fig. 13. George Bellows, *Crucifixion of Christ*, lithograph, 1923. As reproduced in Lauris Mason, *The Lithographs of George Bellows: A Catalog Raisonné* (San Francisco: Alan Wolfsky Fine Arts, 1992), 215.



Fig. 14. George Bellows, *Massacre at Dinant*, lithograph, 1918. As reproduced in Lauris Mason, *The Lithographs of George Bellows: A Catalog Raisonné* (San Francisco: Alan Wolfsky Fine Arts, 1992), 11.



Fig. 15. Francisco de Goya, *That Is Not to Be Looked At*, etching, ca. 1808-1814. As reproduced in *The Disasters of War*, intro. by Elie Faure (New York: Phaidon Press, 1937), 26.



Fig. 16. George Bellows, *The Bacchanale, First Stone*, lithograph, 1918. As reproduced in Lauris Mason, *The Lithographs of George Bellows: A Catalog Raisonné* (San Francisco: Alan Wolfsky Fine Arts, 1992), 114.



Fig. 17. Francisco de Goya, *Do They Belong to Another Race?* etching, ca. 1808-1814. As reproduced in *The Disasters of War*, intro. by Elie Faure (New York: Phaidon Press, 1937), 61.



Fig. 18. Francisco de Goya, *Populace*, etching, ca. 1808-1814. As reproduced in *The Disasters of War*, intro. by Elie Faure (New York: Phaidon Press, 1937), 11.



Fig. 19. Francisco de Goya, *This is Still Worse*, etching, ca. 1808-1814. As reproduced in *The Disasters of War*, intro. by Elie Faure (New York: Phaidon Press, 1937), 37.



Fig. 20. George Bellows, *The Last Victim*, lithograph, 1918. As reproduced in Lauris Mason, *The Lithographs of George Bellows: A Catalog Raisonné* (San Francisco: Alan Wolfsky Fine Arts, 1992), 114.



Fig. 21. Francisco de Goya, *Ravages of War*, etching, ca. 1808-1814. As reproduced in *The Disasters of War*, intro. by Elie Faure (New York: Phaidon Press, 1937), 30.

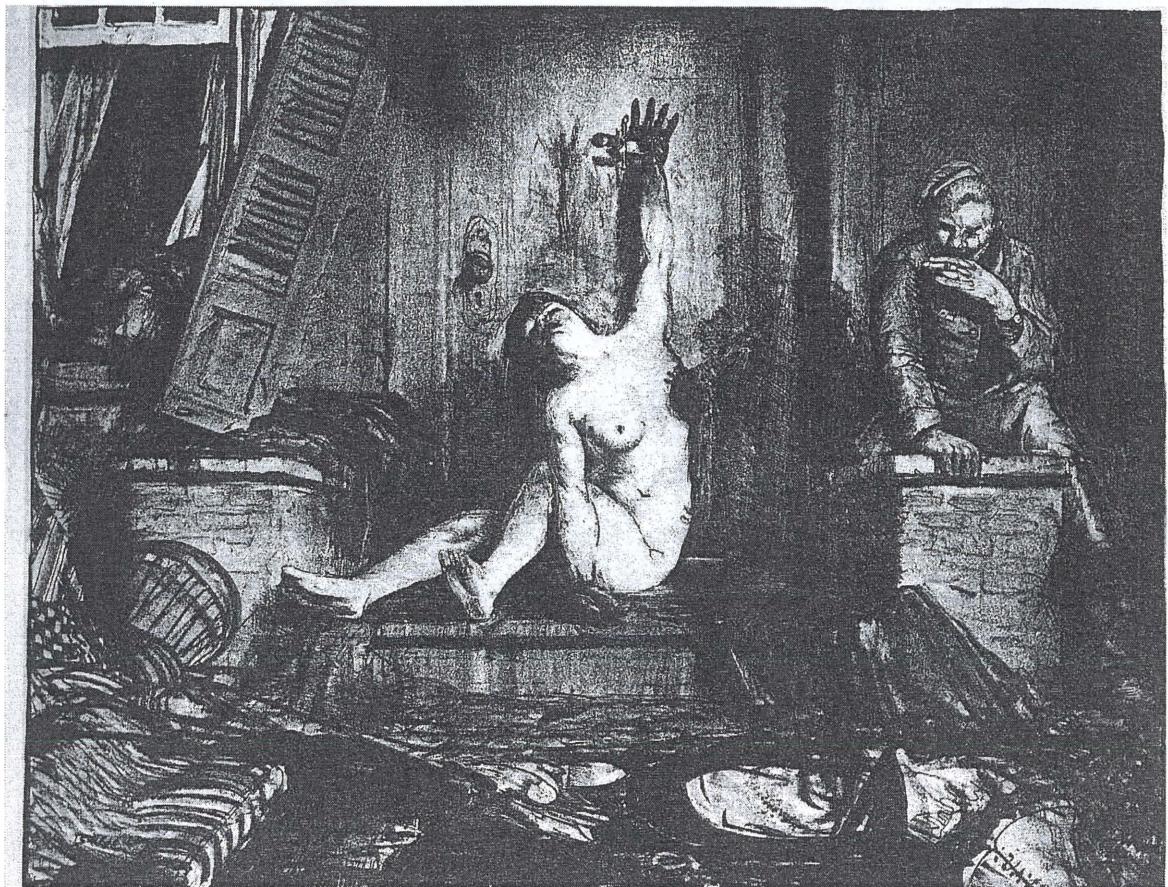


Fig. 22. George Bellows, *The Cigarette*, lithograph, 1918. As reproduced in Lauris Mason, *The Lithographs of George Bellows: A Catalog Raisonné* (San Francisco: Alan Wolfsky Fine Arts, 1992), 114.



Fig. 23. George Bellows, *The Germans Arrive*, lithograph, 1918. As reproduced in Lauris Mason, *The Lithographs of George Bellows: A Catalog Raisonné* (San Francisco: Alan Wolfsky Fine Arts, 1992), 113.



Fig. 24. Francisco de Goya, *And Nor do These*, etching, ca. 1808-1814. As reproduced in *The Disasters of War*, intro. by Elie Faure (New York: Phaidon Press, 1937), 11.



Fig. 25. Francisco de Goya, *Wonderful Heroism! Against Dead Men!*, etching, ca. 1808-1814. As reproduced in *The Disasters of War*, intro. by Elie Faure (New York: Phaidon Press, 1937), 39.



Fig. 26. George Bellows. *Gott Strafe England, second state*, lithograph, 1918. As reproduced in Lauris Mason, *The Lithographs of George Bellows: A Catalog Raisonné* (San Francisco: Alan Wolfsky Fine Arts, 1992), 113.



Fig. 27. Francisco de Goya, *There is no Remedy*, etching, ca. 1808-1814. As reproduced in *The Disasters of War*, intro. by Elie Faure (New York: Phaidon Press, 1937), 15.



Fig. 28. Francisco de Goya, *Nor This*, etching, ca. 1808-1814. As reproduced in *The Disasters of War*, intro. by Elie Faure (New York: Phaidon Press, 1937), 36.



Fig. 29. George Bellows, *Belgian Farmyard*, lithograph, 1918. As reproduced in Lauris Mason, *The Lithographs of George Bellows: A Catalog Raisonné* (San Francisco: Alan Wolfsky Fine Arts, 1992), 120.

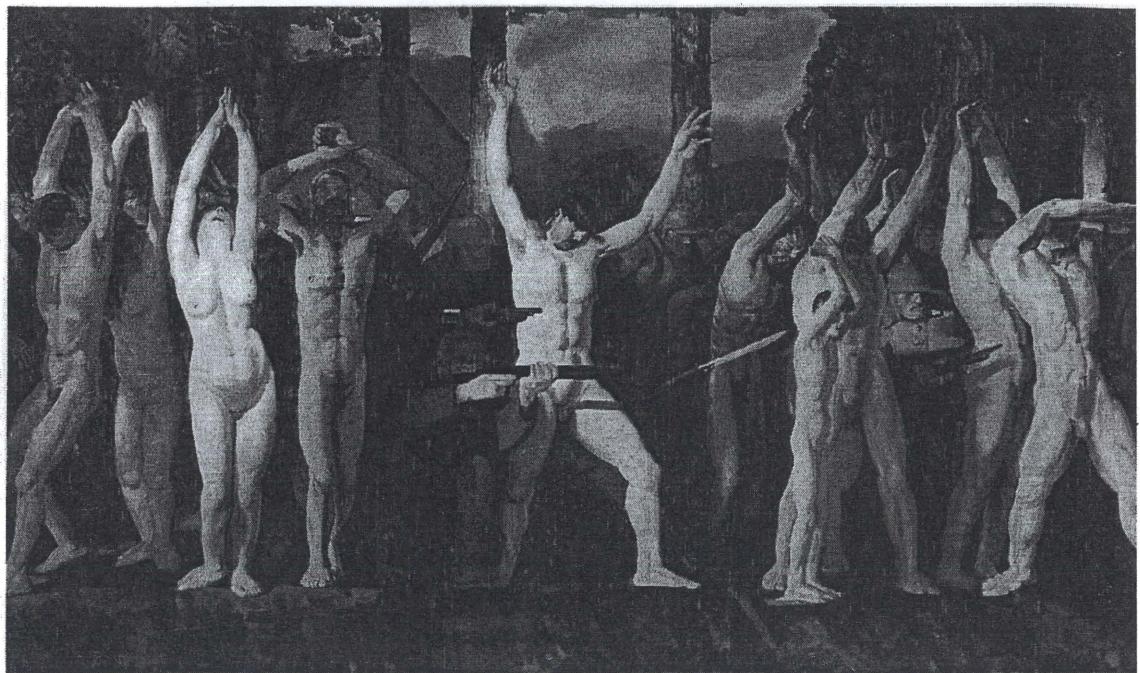


Fig. 30. George Bellows, *The Barricade*, oil on canvas, 1918. As reproduced in *George Bellows and the War Series of 1918* (New York: Hirsch & Adler Galleries, Inc., 1983), 19.

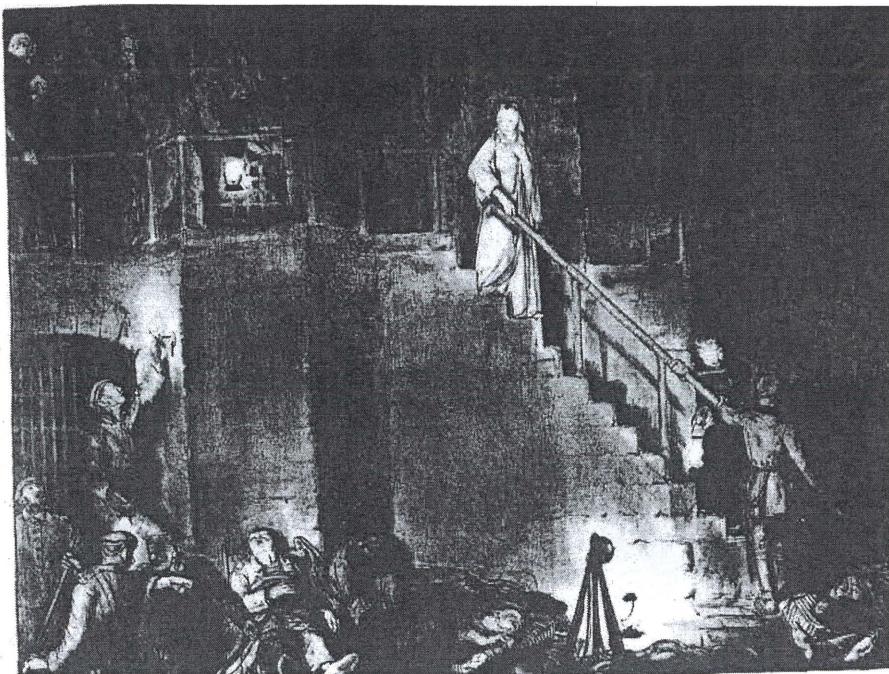


Fig. 31. George Bellows, *Murder of Edith Cavell*, lithograph, 1918. As reproduced in Lauris Mason, *The Lithographs of George Bellows: A Catalog Raisonné* (San Francisco: Alan Wolfsky Fine Arts, 1992), 111.



Fig. 32. Francisco de Goya, *This is the Truth*, etching, ca. 1808-1814. As reproduced in *The Disasters of War*, intro. by Elie Faure (New York: Phaidon Press, 1937), 82.

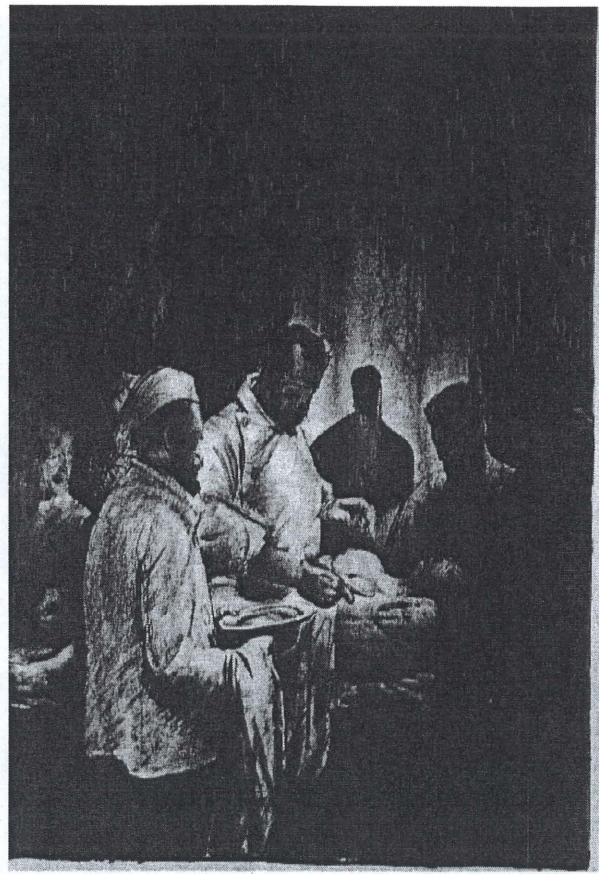


Fig. 33. George Bellows, *Base Hospital, First Stone*, lithograph, 1918. As reproduced in Lauris Mason, *The Lithographs of George Bellows: A Catalog Raisonné* (San Francisco: Alan Wolfsky Fine Arts, 1992), 113.



Fig. 34. George Bellows, *Base Hospital, Second Stone*, lithograph, 1918. As reproduced in Lauris Mason, *The Lithographs of George Bellows: A Catalog Raisonné* (San Francisco: Alan Wolfsky Fine Arts, 1992), 113.

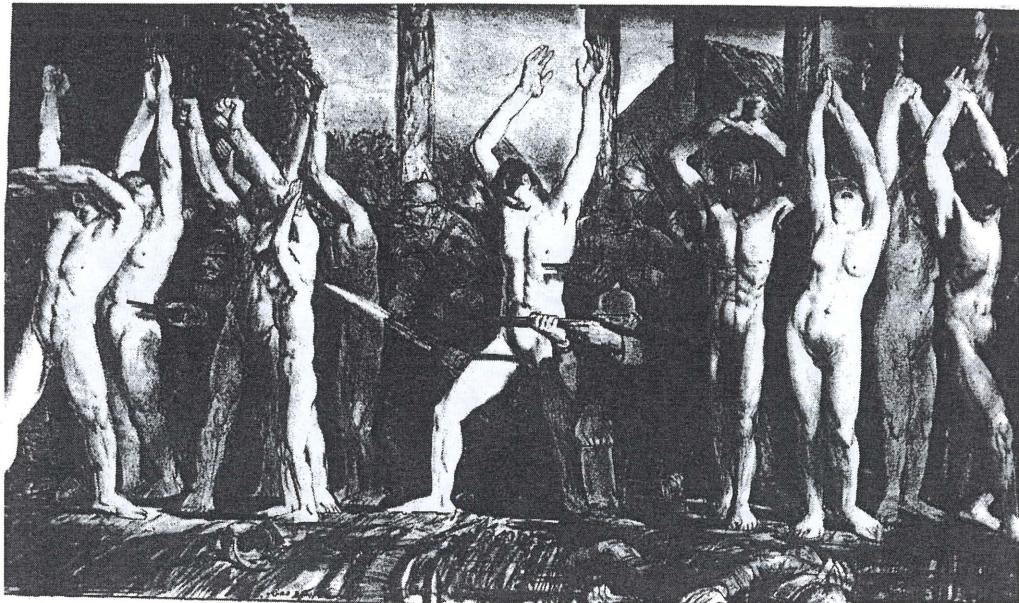


Fig. 35. George Bellows, *The Barricade, First Stone*, lithograph, 1918. As reproduced in Lauris Mason, *The Lithographs of George Bellows: A Catalog Raisonné* (San Francisco: Alan Wolfsky Fine Arts, 1992), 121.



Fig. 36. George Bellows, *The Barricade, Second Stone*, lithograph, 1918. As reproduced in Lauris Mason, *The Lithographs of George Bellows: A Catalog Raisonné* (San Francisco: Alan Wolfsky Fine Arts, 1992), 120.



Fig. 37. George Bellows, *The Charge*, lithograph, 1918. As reproduced in Lauris Mason, *The Lithographs of George Bellows: A Catalog Raisonné* (San Francisco: Alan Wolfsky Fine Arts, 1992), 123.

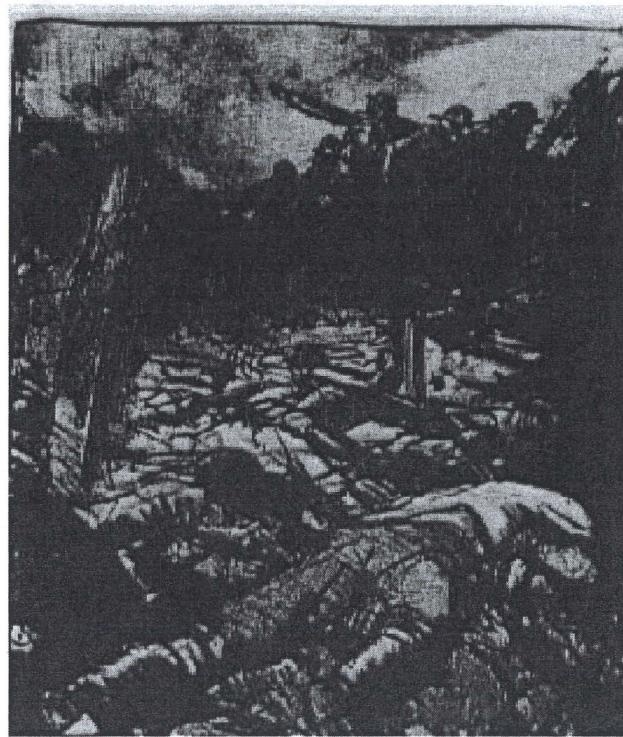


Fig. 38. George Bellows, *The Charge*, Left Detail, lithograph, 1918. As reproduced in Lauris Mason, *The Lithographs of George Bellows: A Catalog Raisonné* (San Francisco: Alan Wolfsky Fine Arts, 1992), 124.



Fig. 39. George Bellows, *The Charge*, Right Detail, *first state*, lithograph, 1918. As reproduced in Lauris Mason, *The Lithographs of George Bellows: A Catalog Raisonné* (San Francisco: Alan Wolfsky Fine Arts, 1992), 125.



Fig. 40. George Bellows, *Sniped*, lithograph, 1918. As reproduced in Lauris Mason, *The Lithographs of George Bellows: A Catalog Raisonné* (San Francisco: Alan Wolfsky Fine Arts, 1992), 113.



Fig. 41. George Bellows, *Hail to Peace*, second state, lithograph, 1918. As reproduced in Lauris Mason, *The Lithographs of George Bellows: A Catalog Raisonné* (San Francisco: Alan Wolfsky Fine Arts, 1992), 129.



Fig. 42. George Bellows, *The Case of Sergeant Delaney, First Stone*, lithograph, 1921. As reproduced in Lauris Mason, *The Lithographs of George Bellows: A Catalog Raisonné* (San Francisco Fine Arts: Alan Wolfsky Fine Arts, 1992), 139.



Fig. 43. George Bellows, *Massacre at Dinant*, oil on canvas, 1918. As reproduced in *George Bellows and the War Series of 1918* (New York: Hirschl & Adler Galleries, Inc., 1983), 14.

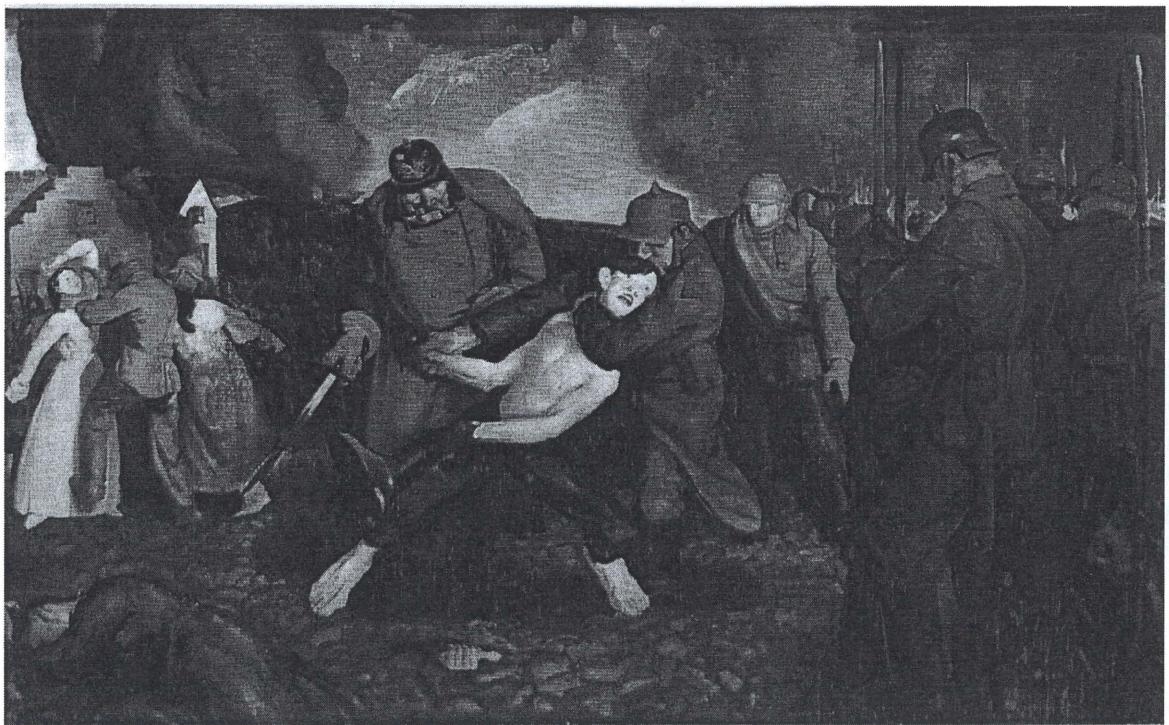


Fig. 44. George Bellows, *The Germans Arrive*, oil on canvas, 1918. As reproduced in *George Bellows and the War Series of 1918* (New York: Hirschl & Adler Galleries, Inc., 1983), 2.

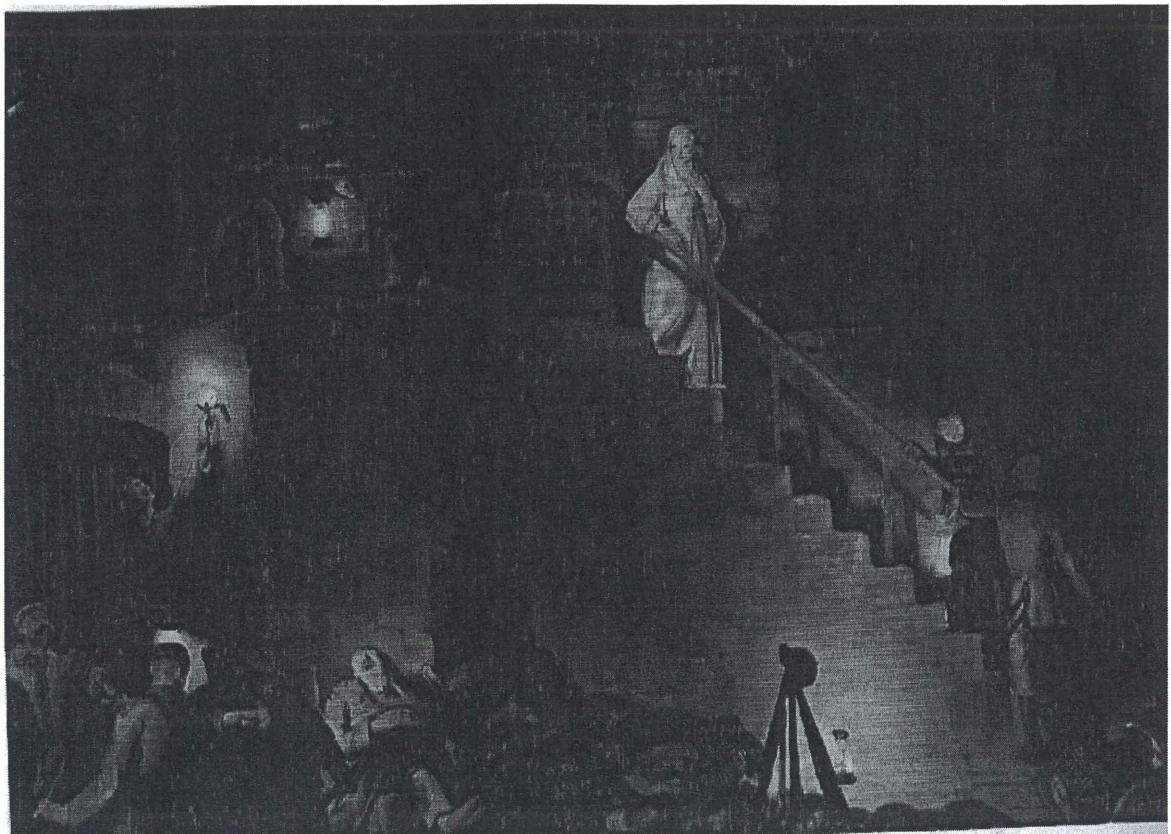


Fig. 45. George Bellows, *Murder of Edith Cavell*, oil on canvas, 1918. As reproduced in *George Bellows and the War Series of 1918* (New York: Hirschl & Adler Galleries, Inc., 1983), 4.

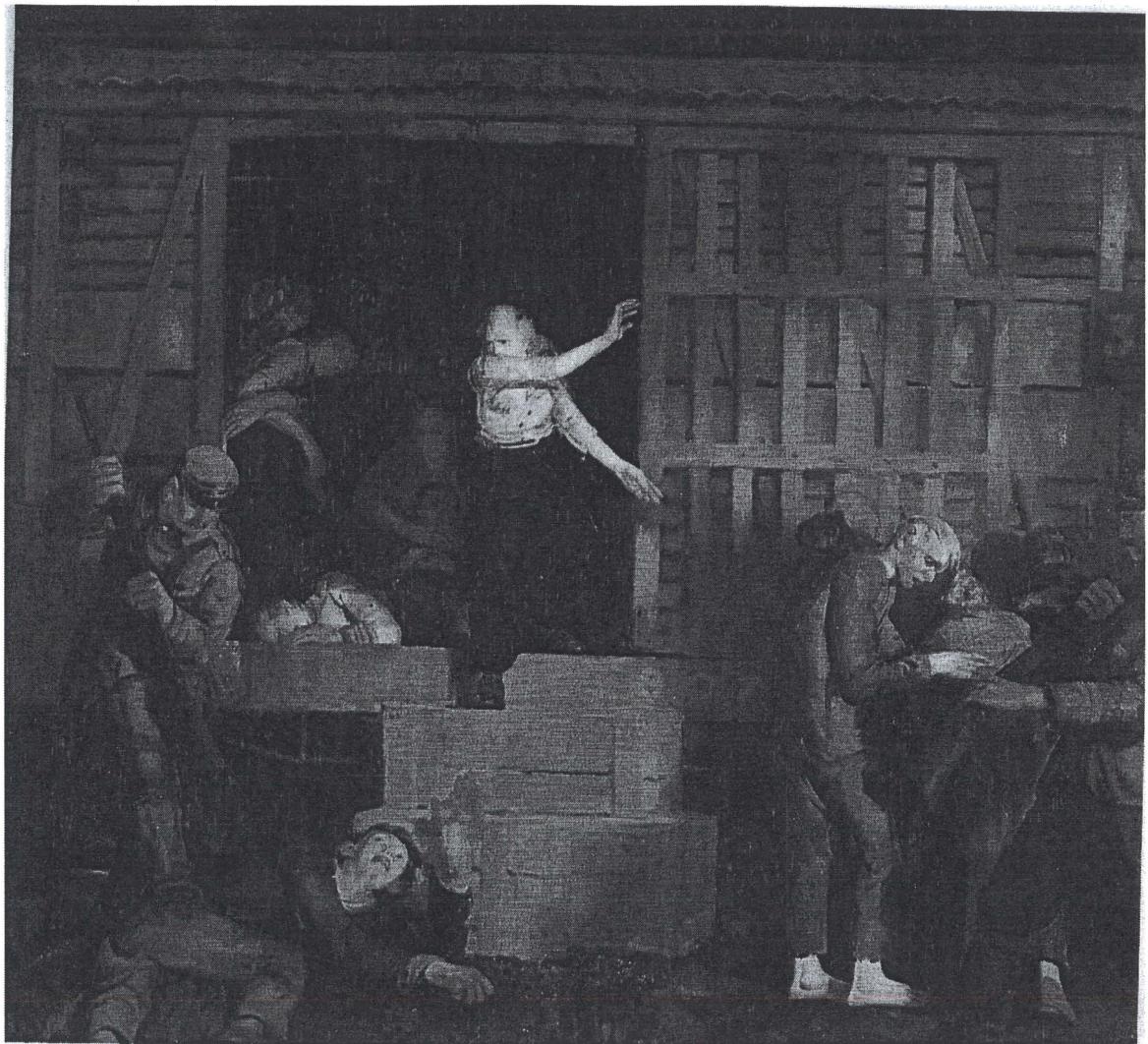


Fig. 46. George Bellows, *Return of the Useless*, oil on canvas, 1918. As reproduced in *George Bellows and the War Series of 1918* (New York: Hirschl & Adler Galleries, Inc., 1983), 19.



Fig. 47. George Bellows, *Return of the Useless*, lithograph, 1918. As reproduced in Lauris Mason, *The Lithographs of George Bellows: A Catalog Raisonné* (San Francisco: Alan Wolfsky Fine Arts, 1992), 127.

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