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Laura Brandon

This article pulls together for the first time all the reproductive graphic art programs that utilised or promoted Canadian art and artists during the First and Second World Wars. It demonstrates that not only did the two conflict's programs differ markedly, but the rationales for their existences were also entirely different. This study does not discuss the visual content of the referenced images in any detail but rather explores on the works' collective functions and their production contexts. (Images for a majority of the referenced prints are on the Canadian War Museum's website under "Collections."¹) The focus is on original prints and that, as we will see below, primarily means the First World War.

Abstract: This article pulls together for the first time all the reproductive graphic art programs that utilised or promoted Canadian art and artists during the First and Second World Wars. It demonstrates that not only did the programs substantially diverge during these conflicts but that the rationales for their existence were also entirely different. By paying artists to produce propaganda images, whether as fine art or as posters and reproductions, the responsible organizations helped ensure wider public access to war imagery than art and photography exhibitions and illustrated publications alone could achieve. This helped foster a Canadian identity and pride that, ultimately, helped achieve victory in both wars.

For completely different reasons, the individuals who ran the First World War Canadian War Memorials Fund scheme and the Second World War Canadian War Records program considered artists' original prints and mechanical reproductions of their artwork important. They actively supported the production of such graphic art. While now an art collection very much associated with a single government institution in the form of the Canadian War Museum, the First World War collection was, in fact, the result of a private enterprise that had to pay its own way. One approach it took was to sell prints and reproductions associated with the larger paintings or drawings it commissioned. Conversely, the government-funded Second World War Canadian War Records Committee did not need to raise money to keep its war art program afloat. Nonetheless, individuals closely associated with it, including National Gallery director H.O. McCurry and former Group of Seven artist A.Y. Jackson, actively promoted related graphic art projects, including poster production. Propaganda was clearly the most important motive but also they did so in order to provide remunerative work to artists on post-Depression limited incomes and in order to serve the greater public good by building civil and service morale through art.

The First World War

In December 1916, the Canadian War Memorials Fund (CWMF), powered by the energetic and mercurial Canadian expatriate Lord Beaverbrook, started in London, England, under the auspices of the Canadian War Records Office (CWRO).² The CWRO was responsible for documenting (and to some degree publicizing) the war in film, photography, publications, war diaries, and art. The fund hired more than 60 artists to produce canvases, works on paper, and sculptures depicting Canada's participation in the First World War. It purchased

Résumé : Le présent essai rassemble, pour la première fois, tous les programmes de reproduction d'arts graphiques qui, durant les deux guerres mondiales, ont fait appel à l'art canadien et à ses artistes ou en ont fait la promotion. Il fait la démonstration que non seulement ces programmes ont pu avoir des divergences, mais que la raison d'être de leur existence était également entièrement différente. En rémunérant des artistes pour exécuter des images de propagande, œuvres d'arts, affiches ou reproductions, les organismes responsables ont fait en sorte qu'un plus large public a pu accéder à une imagerie de guerre, dans une mesure plus large que n'auraient pu le faire des expositions d'art ou de photos ou la presse illustrée. Le procédé a ainsi aidé à forger une identité canadienne et une fierté nationale qui, en fin de compte, ont contribué à la victoire dans les deux conflits.

work from almost the same number of artists and ended up with a collection of some 1,000 visual images. The CWRO funded its activities, including the CWMF, through a complicated mix of private and government donations, special exhibitions, and product sales. A committee associated with the National Gallery of Canada that included Sir Edmund Walker, chairman of its board of trustees, and Eric Brown, the gallery's director, ran the Canadian arm of the CWMF from Ottawa. Operation of the CWMF ceased five years after its founding and its artwork was in Ottawa in the gallery's custody. It remained there until the gallery, in 1971, transferred most of the art to the Canadian War Museum.³

In 2006, Rosemarie Tovell published an important essay on First World War graphic art entitled "A National Work: Canada's Printmaking Program During the Great War."⁴ Her focus, however, was on the imagery and its production more than on the commercial context. An examination of the catalogues associated with the official exhibitions of the collection between 1919 and 1926, at which point the art went into storage for decades, provides further information on the role of graphic art in what by any standards is a remarkable art making enterprise. The correspondence with the artists retained by the National Gallery of Canada's archives is also very useful for the illumination it sheds on the CWMF's involvement in graphic art production. What still exists from the Fund's own correspondence, however, provides little on the role of the medium in the story of Canada's First World War art. Nonetheless, its surviving promotional products make it clear that the CWRO tied graphic art production to making money for the art collection. *Canada*



in Khaki, an anthology of war art reproductions, cartoons, military history, and personal recollections that the CWRO published in three volumes between 1917 and 1919, is one such source. Indeed, in volume 2, it introduces the CWMF concluding with the words,

the Canadian War Memorials Fund is...entirely self-supporting. There is no Government grant. The artists will be paid from the amazingly successful Canadian War Photographs Exhibitions, and of publications issued by the Canadian War Records Office. CANADA IN KHAKI stands foremost among these publications. Its success is bound up with the success of the Fund.⁵

Even if making money was the prime motivator behind the production of graphic art, there were other factors at play. As Rosemarie Tovell makes clear in her important 1996 catalogue, *A New Class of Art, The Artist's Print in Canada, 1877-1920*, the medium as a whole was

enjoying a revival in Great Britain, Canada and elsewhere.⁶ Not only were fine art prints increasingly popular, but posters were playing an important public information role as well as encouraging recruitment and fundraising. The addition of the popular war photograph exhibitions, better newspaper visuals thanks to new technology, and the burgeoning film industry also contributed to an increasingly visually sophisticated society.

Tovell points out that the artist print revival directly affected the CWRO's decision to produce and sell prints.⁷ Furthermore, the organization would have been aware of the popularity amongst soldiers of the modestly

priced wartime images by French and Belgian artists, including Marcel Augis, for example, that recorded the devastation of the battlefields where Allied troops had served. One immediate inspiration, moreover, may have been the 1918 British series *The Great War: Britain's Efforts and Ideals* consisting of 67 prints by all the major British artists of the time. The British Ministry of Information published a selling edition of 200 and a presentation edition of 100. Many of the artists who had painted for the CWMF and for its British equivalent (from early 1917 that same Ministry of Information, also run by Lord Beaverbrook) contributed to the series including artists such as Paul Nash and C.R.W. Nevinson.⁸ Artist prints thus provided a known sales opportunity for a cash-starved organization like the CWRO. It did not limit its activity, however, to original prints but also sold reproductions of the larger paintings the CWMF acquired, which, of course, also found another purpose as illustrations in *Canada in Khaki*.

A June 1918 list of pictures from the CWMF provides further

information about the origins of the first prints the organization acquired or commissioned and later exhibited.⁹ It ordered 15 individual images from new Canadian Cyril Barraud based on field drawings of his experiences in France and Flanders. *Canada in Khaki* artist Canadian Harold Mowat was supposed to work up his dramatic trench sketches into etchings according to the document but there is no record elsewhere of any eventual production. The list also notes that the CWMF purchased copies of nine of Nevinson's non-government commissioned 1918 lithographs that he based on his earlier wartime experiences at the front. Later, Canadian Paris resident Caroline Armington was to print 30 copies of two of her existing images for the CWRO, *British Army and Navy Leave Club, Paris* and *No.8 Canadian General Hospital*. The list mentions only her husband Frank Armington's seven Paris drawings. The CWMF likely also commissioned Gyrth

Russell's prints from drawings he had made in the field, although the list does not state this. In several cases, such as *An Estaminet at Camblyneul* (a behind-the-lines bar), the prints are based on unrecorded drawings that also inspired the commissioned paintings that are listed.

In January 1919, the Canadian War Memorials Exhibition opened at Burlington House, Piccadilly, London. The exhibition brought justly earned attention and recognition to Canadian achievements during the war. The paintings that the CWMF commissioned were on display as were a number of the prints that they had continued to commission or acquire. The exhibition's catalogue was priced at one shilling to ensure that no visitor was denied the opportunity to spend money to fill the CWRO's chronically empty coffers.¹⁰ The publication advertised the latest battle photography exhibition at the bottom of nearly every page. The first page announced that a limited

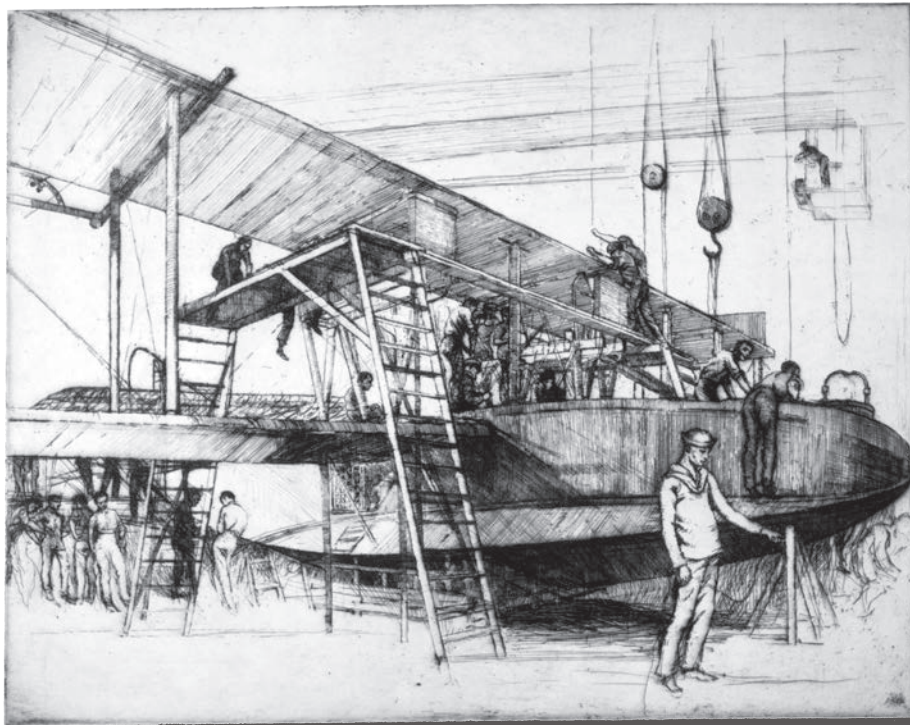
edition of 300 reproductions of 12 of the paintings were available for purchase for prices ranging from ten shillings and sixpence to a guinea (21 shillings). The prints, surprisingly, given the focus on Canadian contributions to victory, were all by British artists.¹¹ Reproductions of these paintings also formed part of the lavish accompanying publication *Art and War*, which, it stated on page four, visitors were encouraged to buy from the Canadian War Records Office for a guinea. A smaller and cheaper souvenir publication was available in which all the reproduced images were in black and white.¹² The etchings, lithographs, and drypoints were clearly marked for sale in the main catalogue, beginning with expatriate Canadian Gyrth Russell's *An Aerodrome* at a guinea on page 33 followed by his other five drypoints at prices as high as two pounds, 12 shillings and sixpence. Barraud's etchings by now numbered 21, and the catalogue advertised them at

Evening on the Ypres – Poperinghe Road near the Asylum – Cyril H. Barraud



Canadian War Museum (CWM) 19710261-0043

CWM 19890086-720



Ready for Shipment, aeroplane factory no.1 – Dorothy Stevens

CWM 19710261-0357



H.M.S. Grilse on Convoy Duty – Arthur Lismer

prices ranging from a guinea to five guineas. Gerard De Witt's etching, *Canadian Troops entering Cambrai*, was four guineas (De Witt had been born in South Africa, but enlisted in the Canadian forces). The CWRO priced premier British Great War poster designer and artist Frank Brangwyn's six dramatic architectural lithographs (a commission) at a guinea with the complete set printed on special Japanese paper, signed, mounted, and wrapped costing 25 guineas. It priced Armington's two Paris wartime prints at three guineas each. To date, no evidence sheds light on the basis for the prices.

If visitors were still unsure about making a purchase, the CWRO published a separate catalogue of all the available prints to accompany the exhibition.¹³ This cost threepence. This list is longer than that in the exhibition catalogue. Clearly, not everything available for sale had been included in the exhibition. All the works by Barraud, De Witt, Armington, and Russell are illustrated and described. In the case of the De Witt, the price is hand-altered to six guineas, which suggests that the amount of four guineas in the exhibition catalogue was a misprint. The commentary on the Barrauds the CWMF had commissioned emphasizes their connection to the drawings the soldier-artist had made in the field. Significantly, the brochure stresses that the prints were "executed for the Canadian War Memorials Fund."¹⁴

The CWRO also promoted Brangwyn's lithographs through a separate illustrated pamphlet.¹⁵ It subsequently produced a single undated printed leaflet for De Witt's etchings in which it offered two further prints at a price of six guineas, *On to Cambrai* and *Mine Crater on the Road to Mons*.¹⁶ The leaflet references a forthcoming fourth etching depicting the entry of the Canadians into Mons, which, if it was ever completed, the CWMF did not accept. There is no record of the organization ever

selling or exhibiting such a print. The pamphlet also notes that the 25 prints available for sale are “generously presented” to the CWMF and that: “One of these will form part of the great Canadian War Memorials Collection which will finally go to Ottawa as a record of Canada’s share in the Great War...The remaining 24 prints are for sale,” the leaflet helpfully and hopefully notes.

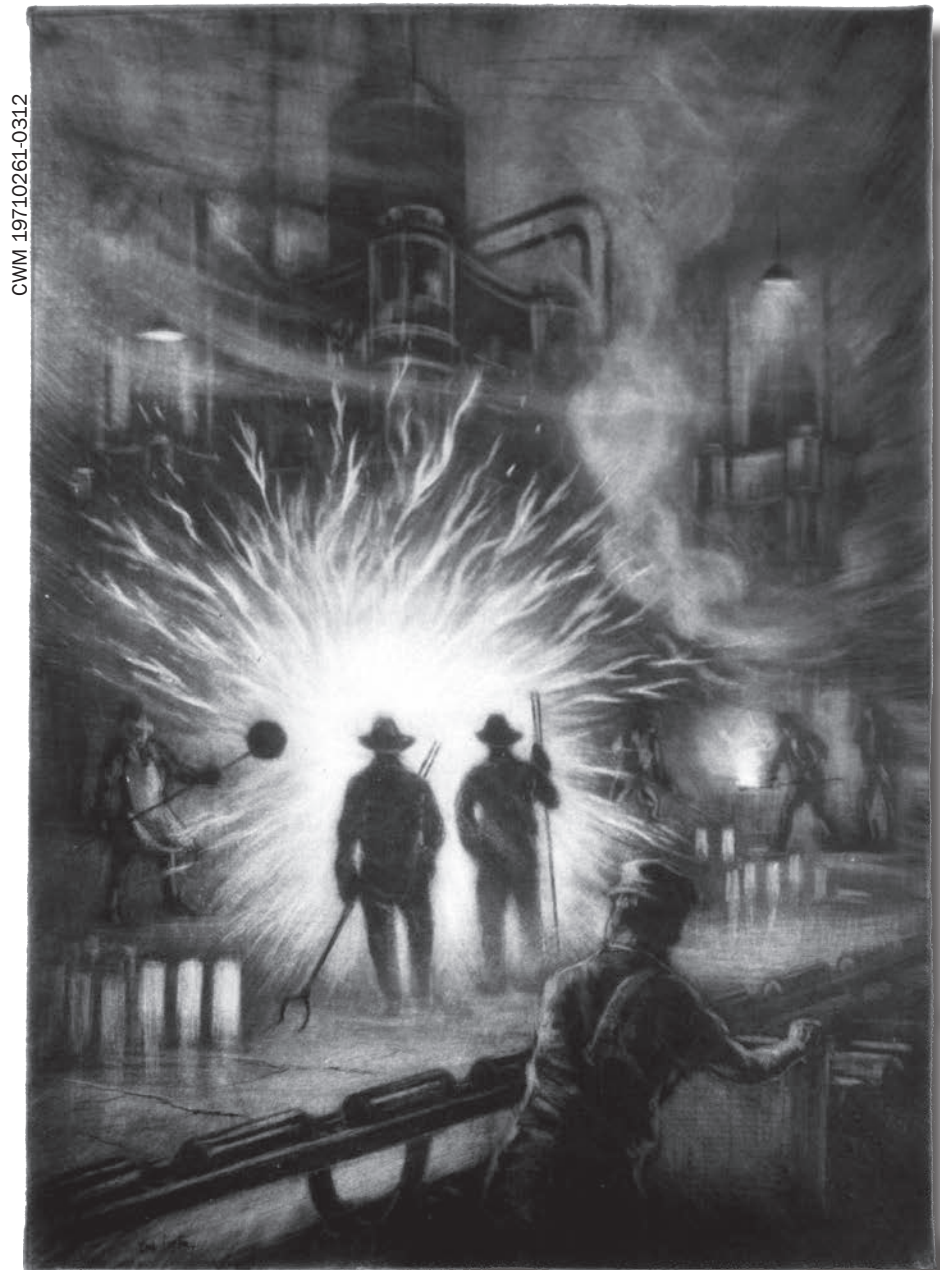
For some reason, when the exhibition travelled to the United States later that year for exhibition in New York at the Anderson Gallery from 10 June to 31 July, the CWRO did not include the commercial angle in the catalogue.¹⁷ Although the organization exhibited the prints, its catalogue contains no advertisements and no prices. By this time the CWRO had transferred its remaining funds to its Canadian operation run by the National Gallery of Canada so perhaps the generation of money was no longer of importance.¹⁸ One can only assume that purchases were possible. The collection then travelled to the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts in October. No specific catalogue is identified with this exhibition. The works then went into storage in Ottawa. There had been no place to exhibit them in Ottawa following the 1916 fire in the Parliament Buildings, which had resulted in the government moving into the Victoria Memorial Building, the gallery’s already congested home.

Sales of the CWMF reproductions and prints produced by the CWRO rapidly tapered off in Great Britain. On 8 March 1920, a CWMF statement valued at cost the outstanding stock of reproductions at £1,818, and the prints at £370.¹⁹ In a 17 November 1921 letter, the London, England, accountancy firm of Deloitte, Plender, Griffiths and Co., the CWMF company secretaries, quantified the unsold reproductions at 15,000 copies and remarked that, “sales have recently only amounted to some 15 to 20 copies per half year.”²⁰

This suggests that the etchings and lithographs had sold reasonably well even if the reproductions had not. Tovell suggests in her 2006 article about the First World War prints that Barraud’s 22 etchings, by far the majority in terms of the number of prints available for sale, sold well at the time of their publication.²¹ None the less, in a 3 October 1922 letter to a Mrs. Alexander (acting for Lord Beaverbrook) Deloitte’s bemoans the fact that they have been

unable to close the CWMF’s books due to “the large stocks of prints in possession of the Fund.”²² At some point, presumably as part of the final closing of the accounts, the CWMF transferred the remaining quantity of these reproductions and prints to the National Gallery of Canada.²³

In August 1920, the Canadian arm of the CWMF exhibited the second part of the Canadian War Memorials paintings at the Canadian National Exhibition in Toronto.



Forging the 9-inch Shell – Frederick Jopling

CWM 19710261-0860



Mine Crater, Vimy Ridge – Gyrth Russell

Some of the art stored in Ottawa was included. The majority of the works were by Canadian artists and dealt with the final phases of the war, "the triumphal entry of Canadian troops into the liberated cities and into German Rhineland, the surrender of the German Fleet the Return of the Refugees to their devastated homes, and kindred subjects," the catalogue stated.²⁴ Inside, the publication makes the commercial aspects of the war art scheme abundantly clear once more. Page four is devoted to an advertisement explaining where visitors can purchase the official war photographs in Toronto. On page 22, the Johnson Art Galleries in Montreal announces that it specializes in "Framing and can supply War Etchings, Colour-prints, etc., of the Canadian War Memorials collection." Beginning on the following page, three pages encompass a "Price List of War Etchings, Drypoints, Lithographs By (*sic*) British and Canadian Artists." "Signed Artist's Proofs" are also available and "A copy of each print is also on display," it notes. On the last page, the catalogue repeats Johnson's

advertisement, but this time full-size. The available print list is extensive compared to its British predecessors, as the Canadian arm of the CWMF had been busy. Canadian artists who had not previously exhibited their prints included C.W. Jefferys with three lithographs priced at \$5.00 each, Arthur Lismer with 16 lithographs priced at \$5.00 each, and Dorothy Stevens with six etchings priced at \$12.50 each.²⁵ Payments went to the Canadian War Memorials Exhibition. As previously mentioned, this was probably because the CWMF had passed on its remaining funds to Walker's control and making money was now the gallery's responsibility, not the CWRO's.

Further opportunities for commercial gain occurred that year and the next. In June 1920, the Hudson's Bay store in Calgary exhibited an unknown number and type of prints.²⁶ In 1921, the National Gallery of Canada's Board of Trustees allowed the Imperial Order Daughters of Empire (IODE) to reproduce 18 of the images for distribution to Canadian schools.²⁷ As

Maria Tippet has written, by the mid-1920s this program undoubtedly was not a success. Some Canadians protested the distribution of these images to schools understanding them as tools that glorified a war whose human cost had devastated families in Canada.²⁸ Perhaps this explains why the new commercial enthusiasm was once again short-lived. In 1923, when the National Gallery of Canada, since 1921 the legal owner of the paintings, finally displayed the first half of them in Ottawa, it mentioned nothing regarding prints for sale in the catalogue. The National Gallery's October 1926 exhibition of the second half of the paintings at the

Art Gallery of Toronto, however, discreetly mentioned on the back cover of its catalogue that: "A series of thirty-two Etchings, and Drypoints of the Great War, by Official Canadian and British Artists are hung in the Corridor leading to the Old Grange House. Copies are for sale, and prices may be obtained at the desk in the House."²⁹

The origins of the Canadian prints varied.³⁰ Dorothy Stevens approached National Gallery of Canada director Eric Brown independently proposing a plan to create prints for the CWMF on the subject of munitions plant work, foundries, and shipyards. In September 1918, Brown directed her to make two etchings on "a ship building subject...and girls' munition or aeroplane factory work."³¹ He underlined that "all this war work has to be on rather a large scale." In a subsequent letter, he expresses misgivings at purchasing them at the price she suggests of \$200 for an edition of 25 of which 20 would go to the gallery. "Considering the state of the funds it may be necessary to reconsider the price of the etchings,"

he notes.³² When she subsequently produced two more prints in Montreal at the Vickers shipbuilding plant and at the Angus shops, Brown let her know in a December 1919 letter that "the business has to be wound up and no further commissions are to be given and therefore that these etchings cannot unfortunately be purchased."³³ In early 1919, Brown recommended to Sir Edmund Walker that Arthur Lismer and C.W. Jefferys produce 100 prints of each of 16 naval scenes in Halifax in the former's case and 5 training scenes in Ontario in the latter's, of which they could keep five of each image for themselves.³⁴ This was a large number compared to the British orders. Earlier correspondence implies that they would make 50 of each, which even then represented a significant quantity compared to the British purchases and commissions.³⁵ While Brown was keen to support Canadian printmakers, in the immediate national euphoria about Canada's success in the war that followed the Armistice, he did not anticipate the kind of negative attitudes to the war that the IODE later experienced with its print distribution to schools.³⁶ Frederick Jopling also made overtures to Brown and like Stevens did not end up benefitting as much as he had hoped. In November 1919, the gallery director ordered five each of two images at \$10.00 each.³⁷ When Jopling offered a third print in early 1920, Brown wrote on 19 January that, "there will be no more purchases made for the Canadian War Memorials."³⁸ There were also no more exhibitions.

The Second World War

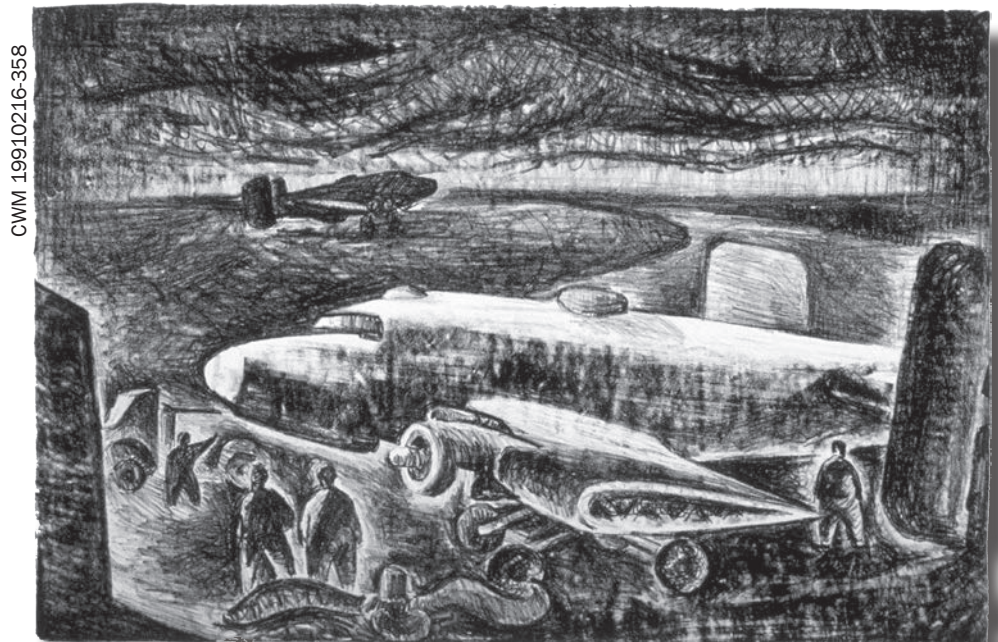
Late in 1942, Prime Minister Mackenzie King approved an official war art program in which 32 Canadian artists were ultimately to serve.³⁹ Since the Second World War Canadian War Records Committee (CWRC) had no need to make money, printmaking did not feature

directly in the nearly 6,000 works of official war art. Thus, the story of graphic art involving Canadian artists in the Second World War is entirely different from that of the First World War. Where the graphic arts flourished was in the context of the cultural mindset that had emerged in the wake of the Depression that saw the artist and the work of the artist as an integral part of the Canadian social fabric even in wartime. It was this socially aware attitude on the part of the arts community that provided the context for Canadian artists' involvement in wartime graphic production, supported art courses for service personnel, resulted in armed forces art exhibitions and competitions, and created the groundswell that led to the establishment of the official war art program.⁴⁰

Artists were involved in poster production throughout the war. Albert Cloutier, who later became an official war artist, was the government supervisor for war poster production from 1940 to 1944, and, until running the official war art program took up all his energies, National Gallery

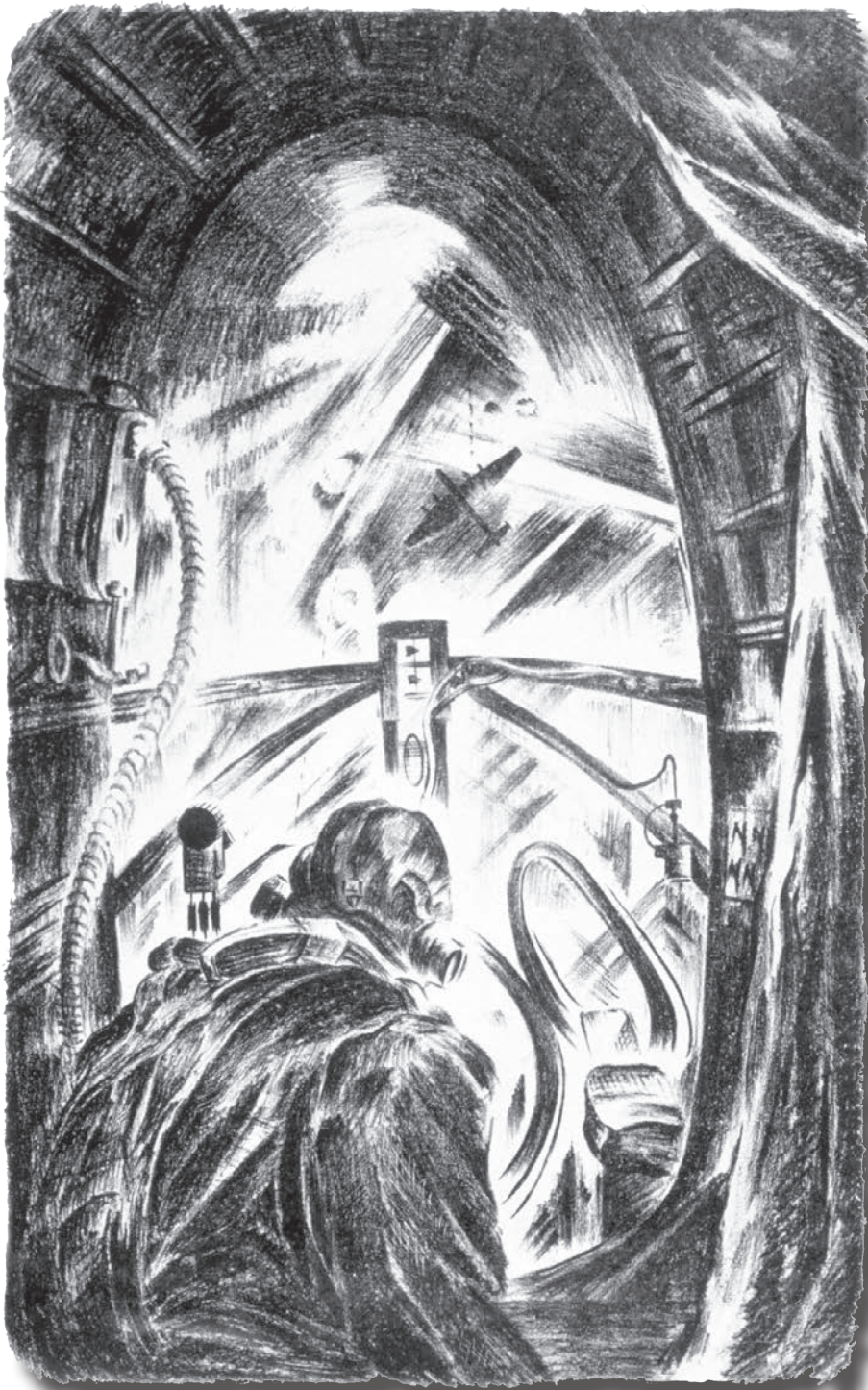
director H.O. McCurry retained an involvement – in the early years an active one – in poster design and management. McCurry was keen to employ Canadian artists.⁴¹ He did not enjoy, however, a particularly effective relationship with G.H. Lash, the director of public information, until the government reorganized its propaganda department and established the Wartime Information Board in September 1942. In a March 1941 letter to Robert Ayre, a Montreal-based art critic then in the publicity department at the Canadian National Railways, he wrote, "I think the Director of Public Information is making a mistake in not allowing us to throw the full weight of Canadian artists' abilities into this vital job." He continued, "I do not see that there is anything I can do about it just now."⁴² The artists McCurry corresponded with responded well to possible involvement, however. Future official war artist Pegi Nicol MacLeod wrote to him from Fredericton in October 1940. "It was at a party," she reported,

that I heard your poster schemes might advance. So here is what I



Dismembering U Uncle – Aba Bayefsky

CWM 19910216-358



Bomb Aimer C Charlie, Battle of the Ruhr, 1943

Carl Schaefer

want to say: 1st. I have a number of sketches to show you. 2nd. A poster with a poignantly sleeping child indicating something precious needing protection would be appealing as something to work for.⁴³

In this case, the final poster never materialized or the government agency never commissioned it.

McCurry also responded to former Group of Seven artist A.Y. Jackson's suggestion that the gallery support the reproduction of Canadian artists' work for distribution to armed forces bases in Canada and overseas.⁴⁴ The United States' Depression-era Works Progress Administration programs were a significant influence. This organization hired impoverished artists to decorate public buildings.⁴⁵ As Joyce Zemans ably explains, reproductions of Canadian artists' paintings comprised the wartime series.⁴⁶ In terms of the project as a whole, McCurry and Jackson believed that the prints would provide low-income artists whom the Canadian War Records Committee had not selected as official war artists with remuneration.⁴⁷ This was not, however, always the case. Official war artist Leonard Brook's *North and Barrington Streets, Halifax (Halifax Harbour)* was based on an official war painting.⁴⁸ The distribution was nevertheless impressive: 1,781 prints to the Royal Canadian Navy, 3,000 to the Canadian Army, 3,000 to the Royal Canadian Air Force, and 2,727 to the auxiliary services.⁴⁹ The gallery even made a little money.⁵⁰

As for the original artist prints in the form of lithographs, etchings, and drypoints that had been such a feature of the First World War program, on the few occasions that artists made them, they were out of personal interest and perhaps out of a desire to make a little money on the side. Of the two examples that are known, official war artist Carl Schaefer's first lithograph of two was the result

of a 1942 pre-official war artist appointment opportunity to draw in the John Inglis manufacturing plant in Toronto. From an ink and wash drawing he made a print, *Crankshaft for Corvette, Marine Engine* in an edition of four.⁵¹ The plant was not interested in the work he did but the experience of working there as an artist may have contributed to his war artist appointment in 1943. His 1945 over-titled print, *Bomb Aimer, C. Charlie, Halifax Mk III, Aircraft, 428 Squadron, A Flight, 6 Bomber Group, Royal Canadian Air Force, Battle of the Ruhr*, was based on field studies and, specifically, a fragile May 1944 watercolour on tracing paper that he also reworked in 1951 in a larger size.⁵² Andrew Oko lists seven trial proofs and ten prints in his catalogue entry for this image.⁵³ When Oko wrote the article in 1983, prints 2/10 to 10/10 were in the Canadian War Museum's collection, which implies that Schaefer handed them in as part of his official war art. The CWRC, however, does not appear to have ever offered them for sale. Today, only 2/10 and 3/10 and one artist's proof remain in the museum's collection. The institution eventually disposed of the balance, as we shall see below.

Official war artist Aba Bayefsky also made prints from two of his battlefield images but the gallery's files give no indication as to their genesis or the number printed. None of the extant prints carries an edition number. As Bayefsky was interested in printmaking (he was in 1956 president of the Canadian Society of Graphic Art), they may have been an experiment. He based *Dismembering U Uncle* on a 1945 drawing of the same name in which an air force crew take apart an aircraft. The war museum has a single undated copy formerly in the possession of Bayefsky's fellow war artist Charles Goldhamer. This suggests an independent initiative. Bayefsky included his rank in his

signature on *Servicing Halifax*, a gentle and lyrical image in which air force personnel work on an aircraft's fuselage, but whether this was because he believed that it constituted part of his official work remains unknown.

In 1992, the Canadian War Museum, which had acquired from the National Gallery of Canada those prints from both wars that had not sold, put them up for sale. This was not an entirely new initiative. In 1982, faced with 83 lithographs of C.W. Jeffery's *Departure of the Siberian Battery* in storage, Hugh Halliday, the war art curator, pleaded in a letter addressed to war museum director, Lee Murray, "Is there any way that we could have them marketed through the boutique?"⁵⁴ An August 1921 letter from Eric Brown to Jefferys suggests that the artist originally pulled 100 prints and kept five so very few sold.⁵⁵ In 1992, the museum priced the six Stevens etchings at \$150 each, the three Jopling views at \$100 each, the six Brangwyn compositions at \$150 each, the four remaining Lismer images at \$250, the two remaining Jefferys scenes at \$75 each, the two Bayefsky lithographs at \$150, and the single Schaefer at \$250.⁵⁶ This suggests that the CWRO's and the gallery's earlier sales efforts had disposed of the Armingtons, the Barrauds, the De Witts, and the Russells. Although we can no longer verify the total quantities put on sale, they all appear to have sold. In 1992 the boutique also sold the remaining reproductions from the First World War program for \$5 each. As far as can be ascertained now, no more of these are available through the museum either.

War art clearly has always encompassed commercial and creative aspects. The political and social contexts, the individuals involved, and who has benefitted has varied, of course. In both wars, the artists and the sellers profited

to some degree, both creatively and fiscally. This remains the case in more recent times. In 1990-1991, when Canada fought during the Gulf War, officially appointed artist Ted Zuber subsequently marketed reproductions of the paintings he had sold to the Department of National Defence. These paintings are now in the Canadian War Museum's collection, as is a set of the reproductions.⁵⁷ The reproductions are still available for sale on Zuber's website.⁵⁸ Furthermore, the Canadian War Museum itself continues to make available reproductions of all the official Canadian war art for sale both through individual order and in its boutique.⁵⁹

Where war is concerned, graphic art has always had a commercial dimension. During the two world wars, by paying artists to produce propaganda images, whether as fine art or as posters and reproductions, the responsible organizations helped ensure wider public access to the war than art and photography exhibitions alone could achieve. Moreover, they helped foster the Canadian identity and pride that, ultimately, helped achieve victory in both wars. What current commercial enterprises involving war art achieve will be for future generations to assess.

Notes

1. <<http://www.warmuseum.ca/>> Accessed 9 September 2010.
2. The standard text on this program is Maria Tippet, *Art at the Service of War: Canada, Art, and the Great War* (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1984).
3. See, for example, Laura Brandon, "'A Unique and Important Asset?' The Transfer of the War Art Collections from the National Gallery of Canada to the Canadian War Museum," *Material History Review* 42 (Fall 1995), pp.67-74.
4. Rosemarie Tovell, "A National Work: Canada's Printmaking Program During the Great War," in David Tatham, ed., *North American Prints, 1913-1947: An Examination at Century's End* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2006), pp.63-81.

5. "The Canadian War Memorials Fund: Its History and Objects, *Canada in Khaki No 2* (London: The Pictorial Newspaper Co. (1910) Ltd., 1917), pp.25-8.
6. See, for example, Tovell, *A New Class of Art, The Artist's Print in Canada, 1877-1920* (Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 1996).
7. *Ibid.*, p.145.
8. "Handlist to an exhibition in the Charrington Print Room, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, 2 Feb.-2 May 1993." Copy in Canadian War Museum artist file, Brangwyn, Frank.
9. List of Pictures Commissioned for, Purchased by, and Presented to the Canadian War Memorials Fund, 20 June 1918, Library and Archives Canada (LAC), Department of Militia and Defence (OMFC), RG 24, vol.1749, file DHS 7-3. Appendix C in Lloyd Bennett, "Politics, Patronage and the Support for Empire as seen in the 1919 Canadian War Memorials Exhibition, Burlington House, London" (PhD Dissertation, University of Manchester, 2006), pp.261-7.
10. Copies of this catalogue are rare. Bennett, *ibid.*, provides a copy in his dissertation as Appendix D. *Canadian War Memorials Exhibition* (2nd Ed., Burlington House, January & February 1919), pp.268-74.
11. The works were: Edgar Bundy's *Landing of the 3rd Canadian Infantry Brigade at St. Nazaire, 1915*, D.Y. Cameron's *Flanders from Kemmel*, Richard Jack's *Battle of Vimy Ridge* and his *Second Battle of Ypres*, the Canadian-born James Kerr Lawson's *Cloth Hall, Ypres*, Gerald Moira's *No.3 Canadian Stationary Hospital*, Julius Olsson's *Patrol in English Channel*, Charles Nevinston's, *War in the Air*, John Byam Shaw's, *The Flag*, Norman Wilkinson's *Canada's Answer*, and two non-First World War paintings, William Romney's *Portrait of Thayerdanega (Joseph Brant)* and Benjamin West's *Death of Wolfe*.
12. *Canada in action: a souvenir of the Canadian War Memorials Exhibition: containing reproductions of some of the principal mural decorations, battle pictures, portraits, etc., which are to constitute Canada's permanent war memorial* (Canadian War Memorials Fund, 1919).
13. *Catalogue of war etchings by Cyril H. Barraud, Gerard De Witt and Caroline H. Armington, and drypoints by Gyrth Russell* (catalogue) (London: Canadian War Records Office, 1919). Original copy in Canadian War Museum artist file, Barraud, Cyril.
14. I explore Russell's wartime production in some detail in "The Mysterious Mr. Russell, A Halifax Artist Rediscovered," *Arts Atlantic* 15, no.1 (Spring 1997), pp.30-3.
15. *Canadian War Memorials Exhibition, The Ruins of War* (London: Canadian War Records Office, 1919). Copy in Canadian War Museum artist file, Brangwyn, Frank.
16. *Etchings by Lieut. Gerard De Witt* (London: Canadian War Records Office, undated). Copy in Canadian War Museum artist file, De Witt, Gerard.
17. *Canadian War Memorial Exhibition* (New York, 1919).
18. Tovell, *A New Class of Art*, p.146.
19. *Ibid.*, 8 March 1920.
20. Deloitte, Plender, Griffiths and Co to Mrs. Alexander, 17 November 1921, House of Lords Records Office, Beaverbrook Papers, Canadian War Memorials Fund, Unlisted File A.
21. Tovell, "A National Work," p.73.
22. Deloitte, Plender, Griffiths and Co to Mrs. Alexander, 3 October 1922, House of Lords Records Office, Beaverbrook Papers, Canadian War Memorials Fund, Unlisted File A.
23. This is assumed on the basis that the gallery transferred an unrecorded amount of this material to the Canadian War Museum in 1971.
24. *Canadian War Memorials Paintings Exhibition – 1920 – New Series: The Last Phase* (n.p., n.d.).
25. *Ibid.*, p.25.
26. Bennett, p.212.
27. *Ibid.*
28. Tippet, p.102.
29. *Catalogue of an Exhibition of the Canadian War Memorials* (Toronto: Art Gallery of Toronto, 1926).
30. Tovell, *A New Class of Art* contains the most detailed account of the First World War Canadian artist prints to date.
31. Eric Brown to Dorothy Stevens, 27 Sept. 1918. National Gallery of Canada Archives (NGCA), 5.42-S.
32. *Ibid.*, 31 May 1918.
33. *Ibid.*, 5 December 1919.
34. Brown to Sir Edmund Walker, 13 Feb. 1919, NGCA 5.42-J.
35. "Memorandum as to arrangements made with C.W. Jeffreys," n.d., *ibid.*
36. Brown to Walker, 20 September 1918, NGCA, file 01.01. Cited in Tovell, *A New Class of Art*, p.150.
37. Brown to Frederick Jopling, 10 November 1919, *ibid.*, file 5.42-J
38. *Ibid.*, 29 January 1920.
39. The most complete survey of this program is found in Fiona Valverde, "The Canadian War Artists' Programme" (MLitt dissertation, Cambridge University, 1997).
40. See, for example, Charles C. Hill, *Canadian Painting in the Thirties* (Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 1975).
41. While the politics of poster production dominate, the only extensive discussion of Canada's Second World War poster production is found in William Young, "Making the Truth Graphic: the Canadian Government's Home Front Information Structure and Programmes During World War II" (PhD dissertation, University of British Columbia, 1978). An extensive correspondence in the NGCA beginning 30 May 1940 and ending 4 November 1943 shows the extent of the gallery's involvement.
42. H.O. McCurry to Robert Ayre, 27 March 1941, NGCA, 5.41-P.
43. Pegi Nicol MacLeod to McCurry, received 22 October 1940, NGCA, 7.1-M.
44. Joyce Zemans, "Envisioning Nation: Nationhood, Identity and the Sampson-Matthews Silkscreen Project: The Wartime Prints," *Journal of Canadian Art History* 19, no.1 (1998), pp.6-52. She describes Jackson's initial involvement on pages 9-10.
45. Zemans, p.10.
46. Zemans, p.36.
47. Zemans, p.9.
48. <<http://collections.civilization.ca/public/pages/cmccpublic/emupublic/Display.php?irn=1016318&QueryPage=%2Fpublic%2Fpages%2Fcmccpublic%2Femupublic%2FQuery.php&lang=0>>. Accessed 14 August 2008.
49. Zemans, p.34.
50. *Ibid.*
51. More information on Carl Schaefer's two wartime prints is found in Andrew J. Oko, "The Prints of Carl Schaefer," *Revue d'art canadienne/Canadian Art Review* 10, no.2, pp.178-9 and 197.
52. Schaefer to McCurry, 3 April 1951, NGCA, NGC fonds, correspondence with artists, 7.1-S.
53. Oko, p.197.
54. Hugh Halliday to Lee Murray, 19 May 1992, Canadian War Museum artist file, Jeffreys, C.W.
55. Brown to Jeffreys, 21 August 1920, NGCA, file 5.42-J.
56. "Canadian War Museum Boutique, List of Prints", undated. CWM Corporate Files, 2006-002, Box 18.
57. The Canadian post-war official art program known as the Canadian Armed Forces Civilian Artists Program is described in the final chapter of my book, *Art or Memorial? The Forgotten History of Canada's War Art* (Calgary: University of Calgary, 2006).
58. <http://www.zuberfineart.com/mm5/merchant.mvc?Screen=CTGY&Store_Code=ZFA&Category_Code=OW-G>. Accessed 14 Aug. 2008.
59. <<http://store02.prostores.com/servlet/cyberboutique/the-From-our-Permanent-Collections-scln--scln--cln-CWM-Beaverbrook-Reproductions/Categories>>. Accessed 14 August 2008.

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