3-1-1981

Edward Steichen and World War II naval photography

Christopher Phillips

Follow this and additional works at: http://scholarworks.rit.edu/theses

Recommended Citation

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by the Thesis/Dissertation Collections at RIT Scholar Works. It has been accepted for inclusion in Theses by an authorized administrator of RIT Scholar Works. For more information, please contact ritscholarworks@rit.edu.
EDWARD STEICHEN AND WORLD WAR II NAVAL PHOTOGRAPHY

by

Christopher Phillips

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree

MASTER OF FINE ARTS

MFA PHOTOGRAPHY PROGRAM

SCHOOL OF PHOTOGRAPHIC ARTS AND SCIENCES

ROCHESTER INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY

ROCHESTER, NEW YORK

March 1981

Andrew Eskind, Assistant Director, International Museum of Photography at George Eastman House

Professor Charles Arnold, Jr., School of Photographic Arts and Sciences, Rochester Institute of Technology

Professor Elliott Rubenstein, School of Photographic Arts and Sciences, Rochester Institute of Technology
### Table of Contents

**Preface**  
i

**Introduction**  
1

**Part One: Steichen's Road to Victory**  
7

**Part Two: The Naval Aviation Photographic Unit**  
32

**Conclusion**  
69

**Notes**  
77

**Selected Bibliography**  
89

**Appendix I: Institutions receiving World War II Photographs from Steichen's estate.**  
91

**Appendix II: Prints and negatives in the U.S. National Archives.**  
92

**Appendix III: Prints from the Naval Aviation Photographic Unit in the IMP/GEH Collection**  
95

**List of Illustrations**  
139

**Illustrations**  
141
Preface

This examination of Edward Steichen's World War II photographic work for the U.S. Navy is an outgrowth of research which began in the spring of 1979, when I assisted curator Marianne Margolis in preparing an exhibition at the International Museum of Photography/George Eastman House intended to mark the centennial of Steichen's birth. Part of my pre- liminary work involved compiling a biographical file, detailing decade by decade the major events of Steichen's life and photographic career. I discovered an extensive and growing literature concerning the best-known periods of Steichen's work: the Photo-Secession era (roughly 1898-1914), the fashion and celebrity photographs for the Conde Nast publications (1923-38), and his fifteen-year tenure as director of the Department of Photography at the Museum of Modern Art (1947-62). However, I found as well that a number of highly interesting episodes in his long and productive "life in photography" had been unaccountably slighted or overlooked.

I grew especially curious about the lack of attention directed to Steichen's photographic activities for the Navy during the Second World War. In addition to the biographical puzzle of a retired, 62-year old photographer seeking out military duty, there was an additional puzzle closer at hand. Shortly after his death in 1973, a selection of
over 800 photographs from Steichen's collection of World War II military photographs was presented to the International Museum of Photography, one of a number of institutions receiving such material. While searching through these photographs to gather a few examples of Steichen's wartime photography for the exhibition, I found that only a handful could be conclusively identified as his own. The rest carried little helpful information other than a set of identifying numbers apparently placed on them during the war.

I made my curiosity known to Grace M. Mayer, curator of the Edward Steichen Archive at the Museum of Modern Art. She encouraged me to investigate further, and provided me with the addresses of several of the surviving members of Steichen's Naval Aviation Photographic Unit. She suggested, in addition, that I visit the National Archives in Washington, where the original negatives of this unit's work were kept.

After some months of correspondence, interviews, research in the picture files of the National Archives, and correlation of images and information, the outlines of Steichen's Navy years began to take shape. This thesis is an attempt to bring together the most important results of this research. What is presented here can best be considered a preliminary survey; the territory is too vast, and the paths have become too tangled in the intervening
forty years, for me to claim to have more than scouted the
terrain. However, I think that the available information
should make clear how Steichen, in the years 1941-45, con-
sciously charted a transition which carried him from active
picture-making toward a role in which he organized and pro-
moted the photographic efforts of others. In addition, an
examination of the photographs produced by the members of
his Naval Aviation unit provides not only a glimpse of
scenes of considerable historical interest, but an insight
into the ways in which photographic vision can be shaped by
the temper of the times.

Through my research I have met reasonable success in
identifying the photographs in the IMP/GEH collection which
go back to the photographers in Steichen's Naval Aviation
unit, and in identifying those which can with some confi-
dence be said to be Steichen's own. This information is
presented in Appendix III.

I wish to express my thanks to the members of my
Thesis Committee, who provided valuable advice and support:
Andrew Eskind (chairman), Assistant Director of the Inter-
national Museum of Photography/George Eastman House;
Professor Charles Arnold, Jr., of the Rochester Institute
of Technology; and Professor Elliot Rubenstein of the
Rochester Institute of Technology.

I am grateful to Grace M. Mayer, Curator Emeritus of
the Department of Photography of the Museum of Modern Art,
for her encouragement and for providing access to material in the Edward Steichen Archive.

For providing recollections and reminiscences of events nearly forty years past, I am grateful to Ansel Adams; Herbert Bayer; Mary Baer, formerly of the Naval Photographic Center; Marty Forscher, Barrett Gallagher, Victor Jorgenson, and Wayne Miller, who served in the Naval Aviation Photographic Unit; Oliver Jensen; David McAlpin; Beaumont Newhall; George Kidder Smith; Thomas J. Maloney; and Arthur Rothstein.

I have benefitted greatly from the transcripts which WXXI-TV (Rochester) provided me from interviews taped for a Steichen biographical feature in the fall of 1979.

Mikki Carpenter of the Department of Rights and Reproductions at the Museum of Modern Art provided great help in furnishing photographic records of the exhibitions which Steichen organized at MOMA in 1942 and 1945.

The staff of the Old Army and Navy section of the Still Picture Division of the U.S. National Archives deserves thanks for their patience and consideration during my many hours of research in their photographic files.

In addition, the staff of the U.S. Navy Library in Washington, D.C. provided great assistance in locating Navy publications from the war years.

I am especially grateful to Ann McCabe, Registrar, and Deborah Barsel, Assistant Registrar, of the International Museum of Photography for their cooperation in allowing me
continuing access to the IMP/GEH Steichen Navy material, without which this project could not have been undertaken.

Finally, I owe a special debt to Jeff Wolin and Linda McCausland of the International Museum of Photography for their fine job in preparing the illustrations found in the latter section of this thesis.
Introduction
Most discussions of the photographic career of Edward Steichen would have us believe that Steichen's successive self-transformations as a photographer offer an abbreviated history of the changes through which the medium itself has passed in this century. The parallel is striking and not altogether unfounded. A man who combined great native talent, prodigious energy, and vaulting ambition, Steichen was, in addition, ever-attuned to the changing rhythms of his times. He was pleased to think that in his photographs could be discovered the flavor, the temper of particular epochs. In a revealing remark of the 1930's, he judged Picasso's work of that period "unimportant" precisely because it failed to illuminate the *Zeitgeist* of the era. ¹

Many of Steichen's works and projects, have, indeed, become irrevocably associated with the atmosphere of their own times. The masterful multiple-gum prints from the early years of the century still carry more than a trace of the rarefied aesthetic air which lingered around Paris, New York, and London before the First World War. The angular, brilliantly-lit studio portraits of personalities like Garbo, Chaplin, and Eugene O'Neill sum up one vision of the American Twenties and Thirties. Along with the rousing images of sailors clustered on carrier decks somewhere in the Pacific, and the ecumenical message of *The Family of Man* in the mid-Fifties, they have become emblematic of their particular moments.
The resulting difficulties are two-fold: to successfully imagine the continuous sweep of these diverse activities across Steichen's seven decades of involvement with photography, and to situate his achievement against the background of photography's own remarkable unfolding as an art medium and as a vehicle of public communication. Amazingly, we still know too little about the details of Steichen's artistic development and about the history of photography's rapid expansion in this century to feel completely secure in any assessment of their relation.

In his autobiographical *A Life in Photography* (1962), Steichen endorsed what has become the accepted version of his photographic career as a series of decisive turn-aboutss. The persuasiveness of this account as a dramatic narrative, if nothing else, has encouraged us to consider Steichen's many artistic guises mainly in isolation from each other; in consequence, periods of transition in his work, as well as long-term continuities, have been neglected.

We still lack, for instance, a satisfying account of the interweaving of pictorial and modernist currents in Steichen's photographs between 1914-1921. In his *Life*, Steichen helpfully points us to World War I as a watershed, his experience as a photo-reconnaissance officer confirming his taste for the straight, unmanipulated print. But, if we look carefully at the photographs which lie on either side of that great divide, we find a much longer period
in which the visual reflexes usually associated with
pictorialism and modernism seem to alternately contend and
combine. 1920, for example, witnessed not only Steichen's
variations on the Time-Space Abstraction theme, one of his
farthest ventures into abstraction; but Wind Fire (Therese
Duncan) as well, which returned to a much earlier attitude
toward the female subject, and displayed a considerable
amount of handwork in addition. Although we clearly need
a reconstruction of the sequence in which sharp-focus tech-
nique and modernist vision emerged in Steichen's work, most
recent writing clings to the notion of a decisive rupture
which replaced one set of stylistic concerns with another. 2

Similarly, a lack of adequate historical groundwork has
so far held back any assessment of what seems to be Steichen's
leading role in the great revolution in magazine photography
in the 1920's. In America as in Europe, the battle for the
widespread, popular diffusion of the principles of modern
art was fought in the pages of the illustrated periodicals
which, during that decade, began to forge truly national
audiences. The parallel between Steichen's attitude toward
the use of modern mass-media technology and that of his
Bauhaus contemporaries remains generally unremarked. 3

This thesis paper, which examines Steichen's photo-
graphic activities during the Second World War, treats a
transitional period during which Steichen gradually relin-
quished his role as an active photographer and moved toward
the concerns which occupied the latter part of his "life in
photography”. The war years saw Steichen formulate and put into practice certain ideas regarding the efficacy of photography—particularly documentary photography—as a medium of information, communication, and persuasion. This approach, to which he joined a continuing sympathy to the fine-art applications of photography, marked the exhibition program he organized at the Museum of Modern Art after the war.

The record of Steichen’s Naval Aviation Photographic Unit has received scant attention for two reasons. Steichen, in later years, tended to downplay the more prosaic aspects of his Navy duties, choosing instead to concentrate on the consequences of his personal reaction to the war's horror and devastation. He located these experiences as the point from which sprang up, in response, the humanistic attitudes which informed The Family of Man. In his Life, Steichen carried this line of explanation back a bit farther, suggesting that as early as Pearl Harbor he had become convinced that "if a real image of war could be photographed and be presented to the world, it might make a contribution toward ending the specter of war.” While this account is not entirely implausible, I hope to show that Steichen's motives were undoubtedly more complex, and not easily disentangled from the extraordinary circumstances leading up to the outbreak of the war.

A second factor contributing to the neglect of this area has been the unfortunate scattering of the photographic
files of Steichen's unit after the war. During the relocation of the Navy Department's photographic records of the war to a permanent home in the National Archives, those which had been grouped as the "Steichen collection" were dispersed among another half-million images. Only the information provided by several of the photographers and technicians who served under Steichen enabled me to begin to work my way through this vast collection of Navy photography and partially reconstruct the chronology of the Naval Aviation unit.

In the first section of this paper, I set forth the events which led up to Steichen's surprising decision, at age sixty-two, to seek an active role in the national war effort. Special attention is directed to his growing recognition of the peculiar power of documentary photography, and to the equally important influence of his brother-in-law Carl Sandburg during this period. Road to Victory, the 1942 exhibition which Steichen organized as his first assignment for the Navy, is presented as the first appearance of the dramatic form of museum display which became his trademark in later years.

In the following section, I trace the origin and development of Steichen's Naval Aviation Photographic Unit. Here frequent reference is made to the photographs which are reproduced in Appendix III; these have been culled from the large number of World War II military photographs,
originally part of the Steichen estate, now in the collection of the International Museum of Photography at George Eastman House. Here an introduction is provided to the work of an almost-forgotten group of photographers who worked during a time of great historical interest.
Part One:

Steichen's ROAD TO VICTORY
Deploying Documentary Photography on the Home Front

In May 1942, Road to Victory opened at the Museum of Modern Art in New York. The exhibit was a continuation of the series of mobilization-minded activities which the museum had sponsored since the outbreak of war in Europe two years earlier. Coming six months after the attack on Pearl Harbor, and America's entry into the conflict, it had been organized by Edward Steichen, probably the country's best-known photographer, and his equally celebrated brother-in-law Carl Sandburg. Despite the museum's preliminary hint that Road to Victory would be "by no means a photography exhibition in the ordinary sense", New York Times art reviewer Edwin Alden Jewell confessed little sense of anticipation. "One expected just to take it, when it came along, in one's stride."²

The ceremonies surrounding the opening of Road to Victory marked, for Steichen, a return to center stage. Four years earlier, he had closed his New York studio and gone into a fitful retirement at his Umpawaug Farm in Connecticut. Now sixty-three, he had apparently gained his second wind. He appeared as Naval Lieutenant Commander Steichen when he and his wife Dana joined the other guests at a private dinner in MOMA's penthouse on May 20, 1942, just before the opening of the exhibition. Their host, David McAlpin, the trustee chairman of the museum's Committee on Photography,
had assembled a diverse company. In addition to museum officials such as Stephen Clark, chairman of MOMA's board, the guest list included Carl Sandburg and his wife Lilian (Steichen's sister), the publisher Condé Nast, Mrs. Simon Guggenheim, Mr. and Mrs. Roy Stryker, and the seventy-eight year-old Alfred Steiglitz.³

The museum's press release, which was handed out in place of a still non-existent catalogue, promised "one of the most powerful propaganda efforts yet attempted".⁴ The first visitors to reach the exhibition itself discovered that all of the interior walls of the museum's second floor galleries had been removed by Herbert Bayer, the emigre artist/designer who had supervised the installation, to make way for Steichen's giant "procession of photographs of the nation at war".

**Road to Victory** unfurled an epic portrait of the American land and people, using a sequence of carefully-selected documentary images drawn largely from government files. The visitor was greeted by the opening lines of Sandburg's accompanying text: "In the beginning was virgin land, and America was promises." On either side rose up mural-sized enlargements of great Western canyons and red-woods, and a fleeting reminder of the original Indian inhabitants of the land. A more contemporary note was quickly sounded. In rapid succession, the exhibit evoked America's vast agricultural and industrial enterprise, her
people's confident harnessing of the forces of nature, and the daily pleasures of rural, small-town and city life.

Just beyond this panorama of purposeful, harmonious activity, the spectator walked up and around a curving, elevated ramp. There suddenly appeared a tremendous explosion: the flaming destruction of an American battleship at Pearl Harbor. Immediately opposite, the grim visage of a "Texas farmer" was revealed, his thoughts made visible in the legend: "War, they asked for it; now by the living God, they'll get it!" Moving still farther around the ramp brought into view a vista filled with stirring images of American boys in training, on transports, and in action on land, sea, and air. A triumphant concluding panel presented endless columns of marching American soldiers, while smaller panels pictured the reaction of proud fathers and beaming mothers.5

In New York, the critical reaction from all quarters was tumultuous. In the Communist Daily Worker, Edith Anderson wrote: "It is the most sensational exhibit of photographs that ever was shown in these parts . . . . What a country to fight for!"6 Ralph Steiner, the picture editor of PM (and himself a photographer of some note), observed: "The photographs are displayed by Bayer as photographs have never been displayed before. They don't sit quietly on the wall. They jut out from the walls and up from the floors to assault your vision . . . ."7 Edwin
Alden Jewell, in his long, enthusiastic review in the Times, wrote: "The drama enacted transcends the picturing of a 'nation at war', in that it searches and searchingly reveals the very fiber of the nation that is now fighting to preserve all it holds most dear . . . . In its vast sum it constitutes a true, a stirringly articulate portrait of America." Jewell, like many others, seemed surprised at the intensity of his own emotional response: "It would not at all amaze me to see people, even people who have thought themselves very worldly, non-chalant, or hard-boiled, leave this exhibition with brimming eyes."8

The unanimous critical chorus anticipated a popular success of unexpected proportion. Vogue soon alerted its readers that the "world is crowding" to MOMA,9 and, indeed, more than 80,000 visitors made their way to the museum that summer. Road to Victory traveled to Cleveland, Chicago, St. Louis, Rochester, and Portland. Smaller replicas were shipped to Honolulu, Columbia, and Uruguay; the first exhibit sent to the British Isles was sunk by a submarine and had to be replaced.10 Coming at a time when American military fortunes were at their nadir, Road to Victory was help up before the world as an emblem of the nation's resolve. Steichen, asked by Newsweek to account for the overwhelming popular reaction, replied: "It shows the good common horse sense of the common people. It will give them something to base their faith upon."11
Road to Victory was not quite the earliest attempt to deploy American documentary photography on the World War II home front. That distinction probably belongs to the ten-story photomurals, made up of enormous prints of F.S.A. images, that were raised in Grand Central Station in late December 1941. But if not the first, Road to Victory was certainly the most ambitious wartime use of documentary photographs. William Stott has described the conservative side of the American documentary tradition of the Thirties; here it emerged as the basis of a militantly patriotic rhetoric. The alternating moods of sentimentality and toughness, the emphasis on the particular experience of the common man, and the theme of American unity-in-diversity were joined in Road to Victory to achieve a stunningly effective propaganda end.

It seems surprising at first to find Steichen involved in this kind of effort. Until this point, his considerable reputation had been based on his ability to produce sophisticated images for rather exclusive audiences--initially his fellow members of the Photo-Secession, later the affluent readers of Vogue and Vanity Fair. Now, relying on documentary photographs, he launched a patriotic appeal to the entire American people. At the same time, he announced his intention to form a unit of documentary photographers for the U.S. Navy.

The turnabout seems dramatic. However, by reconstructing
the events of the years preceding *Road to Victory*, the gradual evolution of Steichen's views should come more clearly into focus. By tracing Steichen's growing interest in documentary photography, and his particular uses of it, we can better understand the origin of his Naval Aviation Photographic Unit.

**A Portrait of the Face of America**

In January 1938, not long after Steichen announced his retirement, a crowd made up of New York's leading commercial illustrators gathered for a farewell banquet at the Algonquin Hotel. Seated around the long tables were men who, like Steichen, had taken part in the rapid growth of American mass-circulation magazines during the previous two decades. The photographers on hand included Anton and Martin Bruehl, Nickolas Muray, Arnold Genthe, Paul Outerbridge, Jr., H. I. Williams, and Lejaren à Hiller. Other well-wishers were Frank Crowninshield, editor of the late *Vanity Fair*; Miguel Covarrubias, that magazine's best-known artist; and Thomas J. Maloney, editor and publisher of *U.S. Camera Annual*. Some were surprised to see Steichen, for over fifteen years a fixture on the New York scene, depart so abruptly. *Time* remarked: "If Chrysler were to retire from the auto industry, or Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer from the cinema, the event would be more surprising but no more interesting to either business than Steichen's was to his."
implying that Steichen's dramatic studio approach belonged to a passing era, noted the documentary leanings of younger photographers like Berenice Abbot and Walker Evans. It assumed, perhaps too quickly, that the exhaustion of a style signalled the exhaustion of the photographer.

Even in retirement, Steichen never completely severed his ties to the commercial world. He took on twenty-five assignments for various magazines during the next four years. But he did immediately set out to investigate other areas of photography which he had not yet explored to his satisfaction. When he and his wife Dana moved from New York to Connecticut for good, they were accompanied by Steichen's color technician, Noel H. Deeks. Deeks' first assignment was to set up a workable studio and color darkroom. Steichen intended to extend his mastery of color photography; in addition to the traditional views of gardens and flowers eventually published as part of Richard Pratt's Picture Garden Book, he also undertook a series of experimental color manipulations. Deeks, in his diary, kept careful notes on his four years as Steichen's assistant and printer. His entries reveal that Steichen's insistence on technical perfection remained as firm as ever.

At the same time, Steichen turned his attention to the advantages of the small, hand-held camera, which represented a striking departure after years of reliance on the 8 x 10-inch studio format. Just after his retirement he traveled to Mexico and the Yucatan with a Contax 35mm outfit. The
color photographs he produced—unposed views of gaily-dressed senoritas, somber Indian children, and the bright confusion of fishing docks—showed a newly-awakened interest in photography's ability to render a convincing report of the world outside the studio.²⁰

Around the time of his retirement, Steichen began to contemplate a photographic project that was potentially vast in concept and execution: a photographic portrait of the American land and people, to be carried out in giant photo-murals. Wayne Miller, who served in Steichen's Navy unit and remained a close friend afterward, has recalled:

He told me that before the war, in the late Thirties he had the idea of doing a massive, big show on America, and it was going to be the spirit of America, the face of America, and so forth. He hoped to use the Grand Central Station . . . . He wanted to use the walls of that and have pictures from floor to ceiling; I guess it must be five to six stories high inside. We were going to paper the inside of that with America where all the people going back and forth, to and from work could see it. In the heart of Manhattan.²¹

Already, in 1934, Steichen had demonstrated a keen interest in the ways in which American faces suggest the national character. In a Vanity Fair feature, "Masks for the American Drama", he presented his photographic interpretation of twelve "glamorous roles on our national stage". Among these were the Politician, the Aviator, the Prizefighter, and the Poet.²² Perhaps the appearance in 1936 of his brother-in-law Sandburg's epic poem The People Yes, which considered the destiny of the American land
and people, spurred Steichen on to a similarly ambitious effort.

By 1938, he had resolved upon the broad outlines of a "portrait of America". It would begin with an astronomical motif showing the stars in their heavens. Next would come panoramic murals presenting the American land, cities, and factories. Finally a series of more intimate scenes would focus on everyday life in homes, offices, hospitals, and city streets. Winding throughout would be a decorative motif consisting of tassled, growing corn.

It is unclear whether Steichen intended to produce all of these images himself, or draw upon previously existing work. By the spring of 1938, however, he had certainly become aware of a group of photographers who, for several years, had been chronicling an unsuspected face of contemporary America.

On April 18, 1938, more than seven thousand people lined up to await the opening of the International Photographic Exposition at New York's Grand Central Palace. It was the largest display of photographs that New Yorkers had ever seen under one roof. Organized by Willard Morgan, the exposition featured over three thousand images drawn from the far-flung corners of the photographic world. Individual sections presented images from the medium's past, by Daguerre, Hill and Adamson, Brady, Cameron, and Atget; news, theatrical, and industrial photographs; pictorial
work from camera clubs; portraiture and illustational photographs; a large display of photomurals; and examples of the latest color processes from Europe and America. 24

The most controversial display, however, was the section of approximately seventy photographs submitted by the historical section of the Farm Security Administration. These photographic documents from the heart of the Depression, by Lange, Lee, Rothstein, and Evans, among others, created a small tempest. Following the opening of the exposition, Roy Stryker, chief of the F.S.A.'s historical section, wrote to a friend: "It is not exaggerating a bit to say that we scooped the show. Even Steichen went to the show in a perfunctory manner and got a surprise when he ran into our section." 25

Steichen was, indeed, so taken with the work of the F.S.A. photographers that he included a number of their pictures in that year's U.S. Camera Annual, a popular round-up of the year's best work for which he acted as one-man jury. In "The F.S.A. Photographers", a short essay introducing the pictures, Steichen drew a general distinction between two kinds of photographic documents. He set purely informational photographs apart from those he called "good story-telling photographs". Specifically, he praised the F.S.A. photographers for producing "a series of the most remarkable human documents that were ever rendered in pictures". 26 He emphasized that "these documents told stories,
and told them with such simple and blunt directness that they made many a citizen wince."\(^{27}\)

Denying an often-heard contemporary charge that the pictures were calculated propaganda for New Deal programs, Steichen wrote: "Pictures in themselves are very rarely propaganda. It is the use of pictures that makes them propaganda. These prints are obviously charged with human dynamite and the dynamite must be set off to become propaganda; they are not propaganda--not yet."\(^{28}\)

Steichen's close association with *U.S. Camera* during these years was but one facet of his continued effort to encourage popular awareness of photography's past as well as its potential. In 1939, he commemorated the centennial of the birth of photography by restoring one of the cameras which Daguerre had used; the resulting Steichen self-portrait was featured in *Life* the following week.\(^{29}\) The next year, he appeared at a dinner honoring the frontier photographer William Henry Jackson, who, nearly one hundred years old, had been discovered living quietly in New York.\(^{30}\) Steichen continued to accept occasional portrait assignments, and often ended up attracting as much attention as his sitters. When he photographed the First Lady's new inaugural gown, *Life* treated its readers to a full-page view of the "famed photographer" posing Mrs. Roosevelt.\(^{31}\)

In September 1939, the German invasion of Poland plunged
Europe once more into war. Americans began to debate their country's proper stance in regard to the conflicts raging in Europe and Asia. Steichen's brother-in-law Carl Sandburg, long an independent political voice, became increasingly outspoken in advocacy of Roosevelt's preparedness policies; on election eve in 1940, he addressed the nation by radio on FDR's behalf. Steichen undoubtedly shared Sandburg's foreboding that a "hurricane of fate" lay just ahead. In 1940 he sought to reactivate his commission in the Army Air Corps, and offered his services as a photographic consultant to the national defense program. Neither offer was taken up.

In this time of gathering crisis, Steichen reaffirmed his interest in documentary photography in the special two-volume U.S. Camera Annual brought out late in 1940. The first volume was devoted to an evocation of "America". In his introduction to the volume, Steichen claimed to find "convincing evidence that photography has gained in stature by coming out of the studio and darkroom and looking frankly and directly at life." Featured were a photo-essay on a Mid-western farm ("the roots of America"); a group of Dorothea Lange's heart rending migrant portraits; "American Portraits" of eight national types such as Businessman, Worker, and Farm Mother; and chilling views of war's devastation around the world. In a rousing finale, a sequence of images of American military might illustrated the slogan:
"America Says . . . And Means . . . Don't Tread on Me!"
These martial images seem to predict the answer to the question which Steichen had posed in his introduction: "What will be photographed during the coming year, what will be the image of these relentless, desperate circumstances?"  

By mid-1941, the American entry into the war seemed imminent. During the summer, Sandburg spoke at a series of national-unity rallies and addressed the question directly. "War? Who wants war? Only fools and idiots want war . . . Yet sometimes the issue comes before a nation of people . . . ." By August, American industry was on a wartime footing. That month, Steichen contributed to a portfolio of mobilization posters published in a special issue of *Fortune* titled "Total War for the U.S." He constructed a dramatic photomontage to illustrate the slogan "No Peace Without Power". In the left panel, a terrified mother clutched her child as an ugly black bomb plummeted from above; on the right, a calm, handsome woman held up a beaming baby girl to the camera, while in the background formations of American warplanes filled the skies. "Buy Bonds Now", urged the caption.  

In September 1941, Steichen was offered a considerably larger forum. David McAlpin, a trustee of the Museum of Modern Art, asked him to organize a large photographic
exhibition for the next spring, directed to the theme of national defense. McAlpin, a wealthy stockbroker and collector of photographs, had been instrumental in setting up MOMA's Department of Photography the year before, together with Beaumont Newhall and Ansel Adams. McAlpin assured Steichen that he could count on the necessary support.37

The proposed exhibition (which, before Pearl Harbor, was called "The Arsenal of Democracy" and "Panorama of Defense") had less to do with the program of the new photography department, which was primarily historical and aesthetic in outlook, than with the series of topical exhibitions which the museum had sponsored since the start of the European war. In 1940, War Comes to the People: A Story Written with the Lens had presented scenes from the opening of the conflict. Britain at War, the following year, had shown wartime paintings and photographs from the British Isles. Early in 1941, Image of Freedom featured photographs selected by Beaumont Newhall and MOMA's director, Alfred H. Barr, Jr., which aimed directly at shoring up the national spirit. The exhibition which Steichen was asked to prepare was a continuation in the same line, a special project arising from a growing sense of national emergency.38

Steichen must have seen here the opportunity to realize, at least in part, his long-standing desire to assemble a "portrait of America" through a selection of documentary images. Since the exhibition, as he envisaged it, would
require a unifying text to serve as counterpart to the images, he enlisted his brother-in-law Carl Sandburg to work with him. The vision of America which emerged from their collaboration carried the unmistakable stamp of ideas which Sandburg had previously elaborated in his long poem The People Yes. A brief look at the poem and its main themes will help to clarify the framework of thought form which Road to Victory grew.

Carl Sandburg's THE PEOPLE YES

When The People Yes appeared in 1936, Sandburg was already well-known as a poet in the line of Walt Whitman, a biographer of Lincoln, and a collector of American folk songs, stories and sayings. He interrupted his Lincoln study to complete The People Yes, a book-length collection of interrelated poems dealing with the American people and their nation, set against the background of the political and economic turmoil of the Depression. At a time when it was not inconceivable that the country might fly apart, Sandburg offered an optimistic, almost mystical belief in the deep-rooted unity of the American "common people".

Using the language of the common people--proverbs, folk-sayings, and slang--Sandburg constructed an oblique analogy to the American predicament in the Thirties. He conjured up a Biblical parallel: from the corners of the earth the "family of man" had gathered to construct an
edifice, but the confusion of tongues prevented the completion of the task. Through the character of a Cheyenne chief, the poet insisted that among these people there yet existed a unity which ran deeper than common language or heritage. "There are birds of many colors . . . / Yet it is all one bird./ There are horses of many colors . . . / Yet it is all one horse./ So men in this land, where once were only/ Indians, are now men of many colors . . . / Yet all one people."\(^{39}\)

The "nourishing earth" awaits the strong people who tame the wild land and bring forth crops. A multitude of occupations spring up. The poet sings of "... a tall freight-handler and a tough long-shoreman, a greasy fireman and a gambling oil-well shooter . . . ",\(^{40}\) and praises the Promethean "firebringers" who have harnessed electricity and transformed the land.\(^{41}\) This multitude will join together to complete the edifice which is America.

But there are villains in the land, who mislead the people with cynicisms and half-truths: crooked lawyers and judges, international bankers, munitions makers, "big-shot" executives, public relations men. Although Sandburg describes the people as "an old anvil" which "laughs at man broken hammers", he also warns of their volatility. They can unpredictably burst forth when pressed by "wrongs too heavy to be longer borne".\(^ {42}\) He warns of the whirlwind if circumstances call "the sleepers awake".\(^ {43}\)
But the whirlwind—revolution—is not inevitable. Sandburg believes that the delicate balance between liberty and authority, freedom and discipline, can be re-established, and serve to guarantee a cohesive community of all Americans. Only such a reconciliation will tame the people's volatile potential and see it harnessed for the common good.

Whatever the wild kids want to do they'll do
And whoever gives them ideas, faith, slogans,
Whoever touches the bottom flares of them
Connects with something prouder than all deaths
For they can live on hard corn and like it . . .
Give them a cause and they are living dynamite
They are the game fighters who will die fighting.44

On December 7, 1941, the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor imposed just such a reconciliation on the American people. The Nation declared that Pearl Harbor had."... made the nation one. Today we love each other and our country. We have a sense of happy union swelling in our hearts."45

In Road to Victory, Steichen set out to give visible form to such sentiments. The documentary photographs which he selected for the exhibition pictured an America corresponding to Sandburg's brightest hopes—a united community of common citizens. The People Yes had suggested that such a goal was to be eagerly sought; Road to Victory proclaimed it a living reality, to be ardently defended by all Americans.

Orchestrating the Images

U.S. Camera editor Thomas J. Maloney has recalled that Steichen was a visitor in his Long Island home on the Sunday
afternoon when word came of the attack on Pearl Harbor.46 As we will later examine in detail, Steichen promptly took steps to join the military; within a few weeks he secured a Navy commission, and began to organize a small group of documentary photographers. His first assignment, however, was to complete preparations for the MOMA exhibition which, after Pearl Harbor, was called Road to Victory.

By that time Steichen had already carried out an exhaustive search through the photographic files of many government agencies, the Associated Press, Time-Life, U.S. Steel, the military services, and individual photographers. In the process he handled more than 100,000 photographs.47 But more than a third of the 134 photographs finally selected were pulled from the picture file of the Farm Security Administration. Edwin Rosskam, who handled picture research and exhibit planning for the F.S.A., remembers Steichen's visit to Washington to inspect the file. Roy Stryker was on hand to guide him around; for important visitors like Steichen, Rosskam recalls, "Stryker bestirred himself".48

For Road to Victory, Steichen chose few of the hard-hitting documentary images which had so impressed him in 1938. In the four years since that time, the national mood had swung sharply, and Stryker had instructed his photographers to move away from covering only the "lower third" of the rural poor; he sought now a more judicious balance
of rural, small-town, and urban subjects. By late 1941 the F.S.A.'s picture file could supply photographs of hard-working laborers in defense plants, idealized portrayals of New England small-town life, and lush views of the "horn of plenty" in the American heartland.\textsuperscript{49} With only a few exceptions, these more recent images furnished the vision of America set forth in \textit{Road to Victory}.

Steichen, the master portraitist, took great care to include a host of striking American faces in the exhibition. In the spring of 1942, while the exhibition was in final preparation, he voiced his continuing preoccupation with a contemporary "portrait of America". In an address to representatives of the nation's camera clubs, urging them to make their services available to the government, he declared:

\begin{quote}
You're not going to be able to get into the factories for pictures, of course. But there is other work. Your portrait of America today is in the faces of the people . . . . I think you will agree that if enough photographs were made all over the country, the good reader of photographs would be able to determine from looking at the pictures just what is happening today.\textsuperscript{50}
\end{quote}

\textit{Road to Victory}, as it finally appeared, showed who Sandburg's "people" were and what they looked like. The faces were proud, vigilant, and determined; they belonged to Westerners, Southerners, and New Englanders; farmers, factory workers, and gas station attendants; blacks, whites, and Filipinos. The diversity was striking, but all of these faces of idealized "common citizens" were alight with a single dream: America. Spectators found it difficult not
to identify with the faces they gazed upon. In Photo Notes, the critic Elizabeth McCausland wrote: "If we need to be taught a lesson of unity in these days, we can read it in these faces, which might be our own."\(^{51}\)

Not just an "epic portrait", Road to Victory set out to provide a reinvigorated myth of the American land and people around which all who saw it could rally. Given the circumstances, it seems to have caused little concern that some of the photographs were cast in roles for which they had not originally been intended. Edwin Rosskam of the F.S.A. has pointed out that the photographs in the F.S.A. file frequently led "double lives".\(^{52}\) In the first place, they provided visual evidence, in a strictly informational sense, about particular times, places, and events. But the same pictures, when presented in editorial or exhibition lay-outs, could take on symbolic overtones which might have little to do with the original intent. Dorothea Lange's photograph of a wrathful "Texas farmer", which in Road to Victory was placed opposite the Pearl Harbor explosions, had originally carried the F.S.A. caption: "Industrialized agriculture. From Texas farmer to migratory worker in California. Kern County. November, 1938."\(^{53}\)

A sharp-eyed U.S. Camera reader complained, not long after the exhibition opened, that Lange's picture had appeared earlier with a different caption. Publisher Maloney sternly replied: "Times and sentiments have changed for the
'Okies' as for all Americans."54 Lange's photograph, a literal document of the social unrest of the Depression, thus found a new life as a symbol of bitter determination in the aftermath of Pearl Harbor. This new affirmative note would be the hallmark of American documentary photography for the war's duration.

Herbert Bayer's Exhibition Design

When Carl Sandburg arrived from the Midwest in April 1942, he found Steichen beginning to arrange 8 x 10-inch copy prints into thematic sequences around the floor of his Connecticut home. Sandburg set to work preparing a stirring text to accompany the images. Together they devised a rousing procession of words and pictures, but the question remained of accommodating these to the requirements of museum display. Steichen probably favored from the outset the use of photomurals, a format he had used with great success in the early 1930's.55 But Road to Victory, which aimed at a complicated narrative sequence of photomurals, called for a sophisticated approach to exhibition design. On the recommendation of Monroe Wheeler, MOMA's director of exhibits, responsibility for Road to Victory's design was given to Herbert Bayer.56

An Austrian emigre from Hitler's Germany, Bayer had taught typography and design at the Bauhaus, and was also an accomplished painter and photographer. In the 1930's he had devoted considerable attention to modernizing the
techniques of museum and gallery display. The dynamism of modern life, he felt, should find expression in new forms of exhibition design. In a short essay published in 1939, he suggested that the modern exhibition "... should not retain its distance from the spectator, it should be brought close to him, penetrate, and leave an impression on him, should explain, demonstrate, and even persuade and lead him to a planned reaction." Road to Victory, whose motive was exhortatory and extra-aesthetic from the outset, provided a fine vehicle for putting such ideas into practice.

Bayer has recalled that Steichen initially presented him with the "story" and consecutive development of the images; Bayer proceeded to build a three-dimensional model indicating the placement and relative size of the enlargements. Bayer remembers: "He constantly asked me for my opinions. We always spread photographs on the floor and he always became sentimental about American things." The final installation followed Bayer's model, and incorporated its most original features.

After he had cleared MOMA's second-floor galleries of all movable walls, Bayer painted the remaining walls, floor, and ceiling a uniform white. He determined upon a floor-plan which would guide visitors in a predetermined route through the exhibition, and used the largest murals--some up to forty feet in length--to articulate the main divisions. The floor-plan in this way served to structure the exhibition's
narrative. As MOMA's bulletin announced, "Each room is a chapter, each photograph is a sentence."

To provide an air of dynamism to the enlargements, many were placed free-standing or free-floating, thin wires supporting them at a variety of angles from floor to ceiling. At the exhibition's critical point, the dramatic opposition of the Pearl Harbor explosion and the hard-bitten "Texas farmer", Bayer underlined the moment's significance through his "principle of extended vision". The spectator was led onto a raised ramp which afforded a striking view of the enlargements. The ramp continued to wind around through the procession of military images which followed, thus coming to embody the "road" to which the exhibition's title referred. The concluding photomurals grew progressively larger and larger, culminating in a gently curving forty-foot mural which showed row upon row of American soldiers. Smaller, superimposed images presented the faces of their proud parents.

As remarked by Alexander Dorner in his study of Bayer's work: "The visitor was led from one such reaction to another, and finally to the climactic reaction of intense sympathy with the life of the U.S.A. and an ardent wish to help it and share its aims." By employing visual strategies calculated to excite the audience's emotions, imagination, and patriotism, Road to Victory marked the first great step toward mobilizing American documentary photography behind the war effort.
Photography into Uniform

One of the most insightful responses to *Road to Victory* was offered by critic Elizabeth McCausland in *Photo Notes*. Praising Steichen's masterful use of photography to persuade, inspire, and rally the American people, McCausland accurately foresaw what would become one of photography's central roles during the war. She noted: "Here art has been made a weapon of unmistakable intent and power." She insisted, however, that these images served not just to mold men's minds, in the manner of totalitarian propaganda; rather, they sought to "evoke the deepest aspiration and historic remembrance of human beings". She observed with satisfaction that after the Thirties' bitter wrangles over the value of socially committed art, here art had "taken sides on the side of the American people". She pinned a medal on art.62

The success of *Road to Victory* undoubtedly confirmed Steichen's sense of the enlarged role which documentary photography could play in the days ahead. In addition, the exhibition provided specific lessons upon which he could subsequently build in setting up his Naval Aviation Photographic Unit. It proved anew that documentary could serve not only as a medium of historical record, but as a potent persuasive tool; the Naval Aviation unit would seek to fulfill both ends. It offered Steichen the opportunity to sharpen his skill at orchestrating the images of others; as the Naval unit's main picture editor, Steichen would determine which photographs reached the public, and in
what form. Finally, the exhibition's special emphasis on the "common man" suggested a similar point of view from which to approach the story of the Navy's war. Photographing "the sailor", the Navy's equivalent of the "common man", would become a unifying concern of the photographers who served under Steichen. In the following pages we will trace the steps by which he organized and sent into operation the photographers of the Naval Aviation unit.
Part Two:

The Naval Aviation Photographic Unit
The Commissioning of Lt. Commander Steichen

The precise steps by which Steichen set in motion his Navy career remain something of a puzzle. Long before the United States actually entered the war, he had shown a keen interest in re-entering the military. In 1940 he persuaded his old friend Eugene Meyer (then publisher of the Washington Post) to assist in an effort to reactivate his World War I commission in the Army Air Corps. But Meyer's support was not enough; in October, 1940, he wrote Steichen: "If you want to get into the service, I think you had better come down here and get to work on it yourself. I cannot do it for you."\(^1\) Steichen in person enjoyed no better success. In his autobiography he described the Army's reluctance to take on a sixty-one-year-old photographer for active duty. Meyer also looked into the civilian side of the government's nascent defense program, and, in November, 1940, received a letter from Donald M. Nelson, Co-ordinator of National Defense Purchases, promising to keep Steichen in mind "in case we need somebody to advise us on photographic problems of any kind."\(^2\)

As noted earlier, Steichen had already begun preparations for the exhibition which became *Road to Victory* when Pearl Harbor was attacked on December 7, 1941. Within a matter of weeks he was on his way to Washington, where an interview had been arranged at the request of the Navy Department. If the Army had found no use for his talents,
why might the Navy now show such interest? It seems possible that one or several of Steichen's associates may have played an active role in bringing him to the Navy's attention. According to David McAlpin, Eugene Meyer interceded on Steichen's behalf with Under Secretary of the Navy James Forrestal. McAlpin himself may have been able to provide some assistance: he had served in the Navy in the First World War, had gone into uniform again after Pearl Harbor, and been assigned to the Bureau of Aeronautics, where Steichen's initial interview was arranged. Still another associate, U.S. Camera publisher Thomas J. Maloney, an Annapolis graduate, had maintained his ties to the Navy after he ventured into publishing in the mid-1930's. But for all of these potentially valuable allies, Steichen was guaranteed no more than an introductory interview with Captain Arthur W. Radford of the Bureau of Aeronautics. After that first step, he was clearly on his own.

One of the Navy's rising stars, Radford (see illustrations TR-5943, TR-7433 in Appendix III) was responsible for the rapidly expanding program for recruiting and training the Navy's flyers. According to Steichen's account of their initial meeting, Radford had not been informed of Steichen's age, and Steichen's persuasive powers, which were considerable, were tested to the utmost. He stressed his own aviation experience as a reconnaissance photographer during World War I, and proposed the formation
of a special photographic unit to follow the story of Naval aviation in the present war. Steichen may have pointed out the historical importance of the work of Brady's Civil War photographers and Stryker's F.S.A. team, for he was certainly aware of these precedents. He may also have known that the project he proposed, in addition to its long-term historical value, offered the Navy certain immediate advantages. The early days of the war found the services engaged in a heated rivalry to attract the highest-quality recruits. The Navy estimated that it would have to train 30,000 pilots a year, drawn mostly from the ranks of college-age men, and Radford may have calculated that dramatic photographs could play a role in attracting public attention to the area of his special concern. Just as Stryker had insured the existence of the F.S.A. historical section by providing his superiors with a certain number of photographs which could be used to promote New Deal programs, Steichen was able to point to the tangible benefits which his proposed photographic unit could offer to the Navy. As Wayne Miller, the first photographer to join the unit, has recalled:

... the under-the-table idea was to publicize Naval Aviation in competition for pilots and gunners and crewmen. Competition with the Army Air Corps could have had a big recruiting problem the first part of the war. So under the guise of creating training materials, for use within the service, we were to produce images which would make the Navy exciting to possible recruits. So, that's why Radford was involved in it.7

Radford took Steichen to the office of Artemus Gates
(TR-8406-1), Under Secretary of the Navy (Air), who, after overcoming his initial skepticism concerning Steichen's age, promised to lend his support. It was decided that the unit which Steichen was to organize would operate out of the Training Literature division, which lay within Radford's jurisdiction, in order to minimize the chance of conflict with the Navy's already-existing Public Relations Office. While the necessary medical waivers were processed, Steichen was to complete preparations for Road to Victory in New York. On January 13, 1942, Under Secretary Gates sent Steichen a note assuring him that "we are all delighted that you are going to join the Navy, and I look forward to seeing you on active duty soon." A special medical waiver was granted on January 28, and two days later Lt. Commander Edward Steichen, United States Naval Reserve, was officially commissioned.

The Naval Aviation Photographic Unit: The "Original Six"

Five months later, on June 5, 1942, Captain Radford notified the commanding officers of six Naval Air Stations that Steichen and two of the officer/photographers of his Naval Aviation Photographic Unit were about to commence a rapid preliminary tour. Even before he reported to Washington, Steichen had begun to search out experienced young photographers to recruit to his unit. His first choice, however, was based not so much on experience as enthusiasm, as Wayne Miller has recounted:
While Miller returned to Washington to prepare lists of the photographic equipment which would be needed, Steichen turned his attention to other young photographers who had already demonstrated their ability. He invited Arthur Rothstein (who had left the F.S.A. in 1940 to work for Look) to accompany him to Washington in the spring of 1942, showed him the photographic facilities he was having built, and persuaded Rothstein to enlist in the Navy. However, Rothstein failed to meet the Navy's height requirements, and Steichen was unable to obtain a waiver for him. Rothstein joined the Army's Signal Corps instead. Similar difficulties kept W. Eugene Smith out of the Navy. As Smith has written:

Steichen tried to get me into the naval unit that he had set up. But I had already been in a dynamite explosion, suffering some severe physical injuries, and my eyes were weak. These two things combined made the
Navy turn me down. Steichen appealed, but the statement from the Navy hierarchy was: "Although Eugene Smith appears to be a genius in his field, he does not measure up to naval standards." So Steichen managed to arrange with Ziff-Davis publications to send me out as a correspondent.  

Although Steichen had recruiters active in New York and on the West Coast, three of the men who made up the unit's "original six" were already familiar to him through their connection to either the Luce publications—Time, Life, and Fortune—or U.S. Camera. Horace Bristol, then in his early thirties, presented the strongest credentials in mainstream photojournalism. After studying architecture in Europe in the early 1930's, he had taken up photography with Will Connell at the Los Angeles Art Center School; in 1934, he opened a studio in San Francisco. Bristol joined Life's staff in 1937, and in March of the following year accompanied John Steinbeck through California migrant camps on the Life assignment from which sprang The Grapes of Wrath. In the years just before the war, Bristol traveled for Life and Fortune up and down the Pacific coast, to Alaska, and to the Dutch East Indies.  

Fenno Jacobs, originally from Boston, had also worked for Life in its early days, and had been sent on assignments by Fortune to Bolivia, Hawaii, and the Philippines. In addition, he had undertaken a few special assignments for the Farm Security Administration during the late 1930's. He became acquainted with Thomas J. Maloney as a tenant in one
of Maloney's buildings in downtown Manhattan, and when U.S. Camera introduced a "travel" section, Jacobs was sent on assignment to South America. Although he enjoyed a reputation as a cynic and bon vivant who cared as much for gourmet cooking as for photography, Jacobs was judged by his fellow photographers to have carried more than his share of the load in the Naval Aviation unit.\textsuperscript{15}

Charles Kerlee, thirty-four years old when he joined Steichen's outfit, was recognized as one of Los Angeles' leading photographic illustrators. He maintained a large modern studio for advertising assignments and was equally comfortable with outdoor photography. He taught classes at the Art Center School, and had published \textit{Pictures with a Purpose}, a guide to illustration technique. \textit{U.S. Camera} reproduced his work often, and had featured several articles about Kerlee in the years before the war.\textsuperscript{16}

Victor Jorgensen, the last still photographer to join the original unit, had worked as a reporter and photographer for the \textit{Portland Oregonian}, and had free-lanced for \textit{Harper's Bazaar} and the \textit{Saturday Evening Post}. He learned that Steichen was recruiting photographers from Oregon's Senator Dick Newberger, with whom Jorgensen was acquainted from his newspaper work.\textsuperscript{17} Jorgensen recalls that Newberger, an associate of the Navy's Forrestal, "heard about the Steichen unit and wrote me a letter saying, why don't you make an application for it? The draft was ... breathing
down my neck, so I said, heck yes. So I did, and it worked out. It was beautiful.18

Steichen admitted afterward that his selection of these photographers "caused some eyebrows to be raised". But he insisted that the diversity of photographic backgrounds was a positive factor, that "... in planning this work originally, I attached considerable importance to differences in personality and to the variety of their talents in the belief that the final document would, as a result, present not any one point of view, but a balanced pictorial symposium leading to an objectivity no one photographer could obtain."19

The "original six"--Miller, Bristol, Kerlee, Jacobs, Jorgensen, and Dwight Long (whose motion picture unit operated independently and will be treated only briefly here) -- formed the core of the Naval Aviation Photographic Unit until late 1944, when additional photographers were taken on. Steichen had carefully composed his unit of men who could not only contribute to the photographic "document" he had in mind, but could be counted on to provide images which the Navy could use to present its case to the public. According to Wayne Miller: "Each of us had our own qualities but ... Steichen had insured himself that he had pros, every one of them was a pro except me. They were proven professionals and he had insured himself that he had people who could go out and do a good job."20

To provide the necessary technical support for his
photographers, Steichen was able to take advantage of a special photographic laboratory, responsible only to the Naval Aviation unit, which was set up in the Fisheries Building (now the site of the Smithsonian Air and Space Museum). The lab was designed according to the most advanced professional standards by Leo Pavelle, who operated one of New York's best-known commercial laboratories. Since Steichen intended that his photographers would employ the recently introduced Kodachrome from time to time, a separate color facility was set up to process transparencies and prepare dye-transfer prints. Pavelle recruited young photographic technicians from the New York area to staff the lab, among them Marty Forscher, who signed on to learn camera repair. Since most of New York's professional camera repairmen at that time were of German origin, and thought to be dubious security risks, Forscher was one of the few technicians who started out as a relative novice. He has recalled that on the first day he reported to the lab, he gathered up samples of all the cameras with which he was expected to be familiar. He disassembled the first camera, shuffled the parts in a box, and set out to learn how to put it back together again. He proceeded in similar fashion through the rest of the cameras. Forscher's ability to restore seemingly unsalvageable equipment became a legend within the unit.21
**Naval Tradition, Photographic Convention**

During the first nine months that the Naval Aviation unit was in operation, Steichen kept closely within the bounds of the group's original mission. From the summer of 1942 through the spring of 1943, the unit's photographs consist largely of a visual record of the Navy's aviation training program. These pictures followed flight trainees through a program of calesthenics, swimming lessons, instruction in hand-to-hand combat, glider and balloon exercises, and into the first stages of flight training. In addition, the activities of aviation support personnel such as engineers, mechanics, and repairmen were detailed.

Although Steichen took part in the initial tours of the Naval Air Stations, and continued to take on shooting assignments from time to time, his duties were increasingly those of an organizer and administrator, rather than a photographer. In Wayne Miller's view: "Steichen's work was really . . . in continuing support for the survival of this group within the Navy structure and it was a fight for the acceptance of this material . . . ."22 Conflicts regularly arose over the unit's seemingly autonomous position within the Navy, and over what was perceived as the somewhat non-military bearing of the photographers. As Victor Jorgensen recalls: "There was always some sort of cataclysmic hoorah going on . . . ."23

Surprisingly, Steichen's first battle with Naval tradition came over the right of his photographers to carry
their own cameras and photographic gear. All of his photographers had been enlisted as officers to assure them greater freedom of operation. But Navy custom decreed that officers carried no more than their white gloves; cameras were operated by enlisted men under the supervision of photographic officers. Steichen's views prevailed in this case, but his photographers had to contend with the disgust of old-line Navy men who saw in them mavericks bent on destroying tradition. Jorgensen recalls an encounter with Admiral Ernest J. King, the frosty Chief of Naval Operations:

. . . I was over in the Navy Department, on some sort of job and trotting down . . . one of those mile-long corridors with both hands full of gear, and who comes steaming down the corridor but the King himself--E. Jesus King. So what do I do . . . here I can't salute him, I can't do anything--I've got my hands full. So I just kept going and "Howdy do, Admiral? Nice day", you know. And . . . one of his coterie peeled off and came along-side and "What's your name? What's your number?" . . . I guess Steichen got a little read off for that because that was strictly not done in the Navy. But we got away with it one way or another.24

The quality of the photographs that were being produced, and their usefulness to the Navy, probably served the unit well, and insured the continuing support of Captain (soon to be Admiral) Radford. By mid-1943, Wayne Miller has estimated, well over half of the photographs released through the Navy Public Relations office originated within the Naval Aviation unit. Many of the images (TR-102, TR-1160) were well suited to use as recruiting posters, successfully dramatizing the different roles available in the Navy. Horace
Bristol seems to have been the first of the photographers to spend an extended period on a carrier at sea; in late 1942 his photograph of the American flag snapping over the deck of the USS Santee (TR-1212) became one of the most widely reproduced pictures of the early part of the war. The photographers understood clearly enough what was expected of them, and Steichen was able to dispense with any special instructions. Victor Jorgensen remembers that although Steichen insisted that the images be "clear, clean, and sharp, ... he never gave us any art lectures or anything like that .... And if you could make it dramatic, fine. If you couldn't, and it was a record shot, that was fine, too." 25

Comparing the photographs produced by the Naval Aviation unit to those of the Navy's regular photographic corps, the immediate difference lies in the former's mastery of the conventions of Life-style photojournalism. In November, 1942, Life provided a back-handed lesson in the nature of these conventions in a piece titled "Navy Men Photograph Roosevelt's Trip". 26 The President had, for unknown reasons, barred the civilian press corps from his inspection tour of Detroit's war industries, and assigned Navy enlisted photographers to provide exclusive coverage. Life, in a fit of pique, retaliated with a withering five-page critique of more than forty of the photographs which were subsequently released to the wire services. Life noted with obvious relish that "by ordinary newspaper standards the Navy photographs were
technically so poor and emotionally so dull that most picture editors published only half a dozen and discarded the rest as 'lousy coverage'. What were these pictures' fatal flaws? Life pointed to "dark, over-crowded pictures", or, worse, those in which "over-exposure kills much detail". The primitive use of flash was singled out as particularly offensive: "Note man's head outlined in white along entire left side of picture"; "Note flash-bulb reflection on car door"; "background unintentionally blacked out". The parameters of acceptable camera operation were tightly drawn: while angle shots were encouraged as a legitimate dramatic device ("All the Navy photographs were taken at the same monotonous eye level"), a tilted horizon line was considered unacceptably disorienting ("tilted camera makes picture tilt down on right side"). Life concluded with the observation that the timid Navy enlisted men "could not take the simple risks of protocol a trained news photographer must take to get good pictures."27

Needless to say, such "mistakes" had been bred out of the photographers of the Naval Aviation unit long before they met Steichen. Oliver Jensen, a writer for Life before the war, and for the Navy after Pearl Harbor, has recalled his relief at discovering within the Navy a group of photographers who could furnish the kind of pictures to which he was accustomed. He remembers the photographs produced by Navy Public Relations as "bad prints of indifferent and
corny pictures", and contends that "there would have been no really good photography of that part of the war if Steichen hadn't been there with a batch of first-class photographers (many of them Life-types)." Situated in the second-floor offices of the Training Literature division in the Navy's temporary buildings on Constitution Avenue, Steichen was surrounded by men who before the war had been professional writers, artists, and cartoonists. He was, in Wayne Miller's words, ". . . working really back in his own world; working with pros when it came to the visual image as well as the written image . . . ."  

A Widening Mission  

A vivid memoir of Steichen in early 1943 is provided by Victor Jorgensen, the last of the "original six" to join the unit. After finishing a "ninety-day wonder" training school in Tucson, Jorgensen reported to Washington for duty:  

. . . when I got to Washington, he and Kerlee were down in Florida doing some training film . . . he telephoned up and ordered me down there, and so I rattled on down to Jacksonville . . . I don't remember what the name of the hotel was, but whatever it was, it was a bar, and there he was, you couldn't miss him . . . he was sixty-two, or somewhere like that at that point, but he had more energy than the rest of us put together. And I know at the point I got there, why poor old Kerlee had been run right down to the knees, in fact, the day after I got there he went into the hospital for a rest. And I drew the token of chasing Steichen around, which was really quite a job, he ran me ragged. But . . . for sixty-two, he had a fabulous energy. He could go eighteen hours a day at a dead flat out and he'd do it.  

Apparently word of Steichen's fabulous energy failed to
reach the Navy's bureaucracy: in March, 1943, as his sixty-fourth birthday drew near, he was informed that he had reached retirement age and was taken off the active duty list. Radford had recently departed for carrier duty in the Pacific, but Steichen's immediate appeal to Under Secretary Forrestal was successful. He was transferred to the Honorably Retired list and ordered to continue his present duties.31 For good measure, he was soon promoted to full commander. Later in 1943, when Radford's successor, Admiral John S. McCain, became Deputy Chief of Naval Operations (Air), Steichen's Naval Aviation unit was administratively transferred to the jurisdiction of DCNO (Air). This move appears to have made more or less official the expanded scope of operation to which Steichen had been building up, and the photographers' pace of activity quickened.32

By the summer of 1943, Steichen's photographers had begun to fan out in all directions, and to broaden the scope of their coverage far beyond the Navy's air arm. In August, 1943, Horace Bristol was sent to Alaska to provide photographs of the Navy's campaign against the Japanese in the Aleutian Islands (TR-5464). Wayne Miller accompanied a Naval mission to Brazil in search of quartz for military radios. Also in August, Fenno Jacobs toured the aircraft plants of Southern California; in addition to the usual factory interiors, Jacobs contributed a number of documentary-flavored images of young defense workers relaxing at lunch-time under the ubiquitous camouflage netting. That same
month, Jacobs, Jorgensen, and Steichen traveled to the Navy base at New London, Connecticut, and produced a series of photographs around the submarine base there (TR-4691, TR-5141, TR-5913). By September, Kerlee was following the Navy's first offensive moves against Japanese bases in the South Pacific (TR-6913).

It was probably around this time that the photographers began to refer to themselves as "Steichen's chickens" because of the way they scattered in all directions and seldom saw each other. As they began to spend more and more time away from the mainland, a general set of operating procedures evolved. Steichen seldom handed out specific assignments, but allowed the individual photographers to propose their own itineraries, and, once approved, to write their own orders. According to Wayne Miller: "... we could just go out and pursue our instincts together with the tremendous responsibility of coming back with something, but he had this faith, he would bet on the individual ... and it paid off."  

While he recognized the necessity of continuing to hand in images which could be useful to the Navy in a public-relations sense, Steichen encouraged his photographers to concentrate on the human drama of men at war. Miller has recalled: "It was a very open assignment ... I remember one time he said, I don't care what you do, Wayne, but bring back something that will please the brass, a little bit ... an
aircraft carrier or somebody with all the braid, but spend the rest of your time photographing the man."  

Continuing the emphasis on the common man established in *Road to Victory*, Steichen stressed the importance of picturing the war through the eyes of the common sailor. According to Miller, "It was Steichen's prime concern--don't photograph the war, photograph the man, the little guy; the guts, the heartaches, the struggle, plus the dreams, the frustrations of this guy; photograph the sailor . . ."  

Typically, the photographers of the Naval Aviation unit set out from Washington with camera equipment and photographic provisions for a two to three month tour. If they flouted Navy tradition by carrying their own cameras, the cameras they carried were, by Navy standards, equally unorthodox. The Navy preferred its cameramen to use either the Graflex or the Speed Graphic, both bulky machines of approximately 4 x 5-inch format. Steichen's men almost unanimously adopted the smaller, more maneuverable 2½-inch Rolleiflex. Steichen himself saw the 35mm camera as the format of the future, and encouraged the use of Kodak's 35mm Medalist camera, which was noted for its remarkably sharp Ektar lens. For assignments involving aerial photography, Graflex's K-20 camera, a sturdy fixed-focus unit, became a favorite of many photographers.  

What ultimately set the members of Steichen's unit apart from the Navy's regular photographers, however, was the
unique system of "open orders" which assured them freedom of movement throughout the Pacific war zone. These orders (which, according to Miller, Steichen worked out with the approval of the Commander-in-Chief of the Pacific Fleet and the Chief of Naval Operations in Washington) allowed the men of the Naval Aviation unit to go aboard any ship or station and take the photographs they wanted; just as important, they could claim priority in arranging air travel from one point to another. As Victor Jorgensen put it: "We could go anywhere we wanted, we could stay as long as we wanted, and come home when we wanted." The existence of such orders occasionally gave rise to reactions of incredulity. Barrett Gallagher, who joined the Naval Aviation unit in late 1944, has written that on his first assignment to the Pacific he requested temporary duty on the staff of Admiral Gerald F. Bogan. "He had not heard of me and he asked what my orders were. On an Irish impulse I told him my orders were to go anywhere I liked, to do whatever I wanted, and go home when I felt like it. After he had read them he said 'Damned if they don't, and took me on.' "

While in the field, the photographers were seldom able to inspect the results of their work. Steichen encouraged his men to return their exposed but undeveloped film to the Washington lab for standard processing; this was seen as the first step toward the print quality on which Steichen insisted. The resulting contact sheets were sent to
Steichen's office on Constitution Avenue, where he and his administrative staff decided which images were to be printed, how they were to be cropped, and if special printing procedures were required. Steichen gained a reputation as a superb picture editor, one who could examine close to a thousand contact sheets in an hour without overlooking a shot. The photographers were expected to remain on hand to identify their pictures and provide caption information, if this had not been done earlier, but, to judge from the photographs filed in the National Archives, this was not vigorously enforced.

According to Marty Forscher, who, as unit camera repairman, was assigned to the laboratory in the Fisheries Building, Steichen was a stickler for proper processing of prints and negatives, and insisted that all materials be thoroughly washed and all chemicals regularly tested. When it came to print quality, his standards were notoriously high. He regularly sent photographs back to the lab for reprinting, usually accompanied by the instructions which the lab printers learned to chant in chorus: "Deeper, darker, DOWN!" Forscher remembers that whenever word arrived that Steichen was about to make one of his periodic inspections, a nervous buzz would circulate through the lab. If a large batch of identical prints was on hand, waiting to be sent out, Steichen sometimes liked to conduct an on-the-spot check. Pulling two prints from the top of the stack,
two from the middle, and two from the bottom, he would toss them on the floor and scrutinize them. If the prints failed to match up tone for tone, without exception, the entire lot would be sent back for reprinting.⁴³

After their release, the photographs circulated in a number of ways. As noted previously, some were distributed by the Navy's Public Relations office, and others were used to illustrate recruiting posters. The service publication Naval Aviation News became a showplace for the photographs of Steichen's unit; virtually every cover during the war originated with the Naval Aviation unit. In addition, Steichen must have put to use his many contacts within the magazine field, for photographs from his unit were featured prominently in Life, Look, The New York Times Magazine, Popular Photography, Vogue, Art News Annual, and, of course, U.S. Camera. By the end of the war, Navy offices around the world featured photographs by Steichen's photographers hung next to paintings of famous scenes from the Navy's past.⁴⁴

The only problem, from the photographers' point of view, was that no one outside the Navy knew by whom the photographs were taken, and the wide circulation of the pictures may have exacerbated their overriding complaint: the lack of individual picture credits. Despite Steichen's efforts, he was never able to convince the Navy to relax its policy of crediting all pictures simply "Official US Navy Photograph". As former working professionals, the photographers
in Steichen's unit must have realized that they were at a
distinct disadvantage to civilian war photographers like
Robert Capa and Eugene Smith, who were at least assured of
due credit for the risks they ran. Victor Jorgensen recalls
that some of the photographers felt, at times, that they
were being used by Steichen, endangering their lives while
he harvested all the glory in Washington. Jorgensen, with
some irony, has told of Steichen's silencing him during an
argument with the news that he had just arranged for a num-
ber of Jorgensen's photographs to appear in Look. The photo-
graphs duly appeared, but Steichen's was the only name
Jorgensen found mentioned in the accompanying text.45

Steichen in the South Pacific: The USS Lexington

Steichen's own best-known photographs from the war
years came about as a result of his voyage to the South
Pacific in late 1943 aboard the carrier USS Lexington.
Admiral Radford had arranged for Steichen and Victor
Jorgensen to be assigned to temporary duty on his former
flagship during a mission to the Marshall Islands to pro-
vide support for the Marine assaults on Tarawa and Kwajalein.
Upon their arrival in Pearl Harbor to meet the Lexington,
Jorgensen recalls, Steichen discovered that his reputation
had preceded him.

... there was a riot before we went on the Lexington.
Of course, Steichen's fame in the Navy was considerable
after some of the admirals found out he'd soaked old
man Morgan five thousand dollars for one shot. And so
we hit Pearl Harbor and all the admirals wanted a Steichen photograph, you know, be photographed by Steichen. So, O.K., Steichen say, fine, he'll do it. And so we set up shop out there on Ford Island, and had a parade of a whole works of them come by . . . we worked on that thing about two weeks before we got through them all. But I think we shot every darn one of them.46

On board the Lexington, Steichen enjoyed certain privileges. Captain Felix Stump turned over his own below-decks quarters to him once the carrier was at sea and Stump had moved into a cabin on the bridge. Steichen was granted free run of the Lexington, and Stump apparently liked to use the ship's bullhorn to advise him of interesting picture possibilities.

Steichen did not shy away from the hazardous situations on deck during take-off and landing operations. On the second day out, he was busy photographing the ship's Landing Signal Officer at work, facing the L.S.O. with his back to the incoming aircraft. A plane suddenly came in too low, skidded across the deck and directly over the spot where Steichen would have been standing, if the signal officers hadn't pulled him along into the safety net beneath their perch. Jorgensen, who had seen the plane plummet over side, has written:

I had dashed down the deck fully expecting to find the Old Man spread all over the platform, but had only gotten about half way when he and the two LSO's climbed up on the flight deck and sauntered toward the bridge. His second words were:
"I think I got it!"
"Got what?", I asked.
"The picture", he grinned. "Right when the thing was overhead."47
Steichen was nevertheless reluctant to let Jorgensen join the ship's aircrewmen on their missions aloft. "I didn't hire you to get you killed", he insisted.48

Working sometimes together, sometimes separately in different parts of the carrier, Steichen and Jorgensen set out to compile a record of the activities of the Lexington's 3,000-man crew. These photographs capture the long periods of inactivity on the way to and from the Marshalls (TR-7949, TR-8139), during which enlisted men whiled away the hours with cards, jacks, or by sleeping. A few of the interior scenes may have been staged for greater effect; the National Archives holds several variations of Steichen's view of the ship's radar room (TR-7991) which suggest at least some degree of coaching.49 Steichen made the most of the dramatic possibilities which arose as the Lexington approached its target. His infra-red rendering of ghostly-pale ship's officers clustered on a somber deck on the eve of the strike against Kwajalein (TR-8387) has been compared to a stage set just before the curtain rises; and his carefully flash-lit scenes from the pilots' ready-room (TR-8198) bring to mind, in their use of dramatic lighting and deployment of recognizable personae, Steichen's earlier recreations of theatrical scenes for Vanity Fair.

On December 4, 1943, the task force of which the Lexington was a part found itself suddenly in the thick of action. Before dawn an air strike was launched against
enemy bases on Roi and Kwajelein; the pilots, on their return later that morning, broadcast the details of the engagement to the whole ship (TR-8125). Just before noon, Japanese torpedo bombers surprised the Lexington, but were driven off by the ship's gunners. Half an hour later, a new air attack was directed against the Lexington's sister ship, the USS Yorktown (TR-8398-D). Steichen, using a K-20 aerial camera, photographed the scene from the Lexington's flight deck. (TR-8522-D, TR-8364).

That evening, a fresh enemy attack was launched under a full moon in a cloudless sky. Circling Japanese torpedo bombers pursued the retreating task force. In a remarkable passage in The Blue Ghost, his account of the voyage, Steichen recalled the suddenly altered meaning which the moon had taken on for him. Before the First World War, the moon and the moon-lit scene had been for him "nature's supreme evocation of beauty"; the nocturne theme had been the subject of many of his paintings. But on this night the moon stood as a betrayer: "All hell is let loose around us. This moon is no neutral bystander ... How I now hate that smooth bland moon, want to scratch it out, blast it to smithereens." Its rudder damaged by a torpedo, the Lexington circled helplessly for half an hour, until the damage was repaired. Finally the moon sank below the horizon, and the attack abated. Early the next morning, Steichen photographed the exhausted crewmen sleeping in their helmets on deck (TR-7961).
After limping back to Pearl Harbor, the *Lexington* was ordered on to Seattle for repairs. Steichen returned to Washington, and quickly began to organize the material for a book about his experiences. A dummy for *The Blue Ghost* was assembled by Lt. Richard Garrison, a book designer on Steichen's staff, and by June, 1944, Steichen was in communication with Harcourt, Brace, and Company regarding the details of publication. 51 Although the appearance of the book was announced later that year in *U.S. Camera Annual*, its actual publication was delayed until 1947, two years after the end of the war.

"The Fighting Lady" and "Power in the Pacific"

After the latter part of 1943, the photographers of the Naval Aviation unit spent more and more time following the action in the Pacific. In November 1943, Wayne Miller provided dramatic coverage of the carrier *Saratoga’s* first strike against the Japanese stronghold of Rabaul (TR-7272, TR-7194). In February, 1944, he photographed the amphibious landings on Engebi from a plane overhead (TR-8547). Later that year, he succeeded in photographing his way around the world, from England to the Mediterranean to the Indian Ocean to the South Pacific. Victor Jorgensen, who had accompanied Steichen on the *Lexington*, returned to the South Pacific aboard the carrier *Monterey* during the summer of 1944, at the time of the Second Battle of the Philippines (TR-10060, TR-10955). He continued to focus on the human
side of life aboard the carriers, and, in one photograph of a group of crewmen playing basketball (TR-10948), caught a glimpse of a future President.52

As the Navy and Marines took over more island territory, the Naval Aviation photographers began to spend as much time on land as at sea. During 1944, Jacobs, Bristol, and Kerlee photographed the aftermath of island battles, the construction of air bases on captured land, the sometimes frantic activity on "rest and recreation" islands like Mog Mog, and the chronicles of Navy personnel on leave in Australia and New Zealand. Views of the Marines' island-fighting campaigns were provided by Paul Dorsey, a Marine sergeant placed on duty with the Steichen unit. A West Coast news photographer before the war, he was reputed to have become as skilled with a rifle as with a camera (TR-10828, TR-10978).53

In September, 1944, Steichen set down in a long memo to Admiral Radford the progress of the Naval Aviation unit since the beginning of the war. He noted that the unit's files held, at that point, over 11,000 selected black and white and almost 3,000 color photographs. Pointing out that the unit's original mission was to produce pictures for training publications, he referred to the many photographs covering aviation training centers and the construction of Navy aircraft. The unit's photographs of these and other subjects he hoped to have published as Naval Aviation at War, a 400-500 page book to be produced on a non-profit basis by U.S. Camera
with the support of American photographic manufacturers. In the meantime, he was proceeding to organize a large exhibition of war photographs requested by the Museum of Modern Art for January, 1945. Finally, Steichen voiced his concern that the still photographs and motion picture footage produced by his unit, for both the historical record and for release through the Navy's Public Relations Office, should remain together and be kept separate from the Navy's reconnaissance and other strictly military photographs. This was a matter to which he would devote more attention at the war's end.  

The following month, on November 19, 1944, Steichen traveled to Rochester, N.Y., to address the Technical Section of the Professional Photographers of America. There he showed clips of the color motion-picture footage which was at that moment being edited into final form for release as The Fighting Lady. This hour-long documentary was first shown in Los Angeles in December, 1944, and in New York in January, 1945. Steichen's role in the actual filming and editing was minimal. Lt. Dwight Long, who was attached to the Naval Aviation unit, had directed the film crew on the carrier Yorktown from approximately mid-1943 through mid-1944. The footage, shot on early Kodachrome, was edited by Louis de Rochemont of Twentieth Century Fox.  

Like the images produced by Steichen's still photographers, The Fighting Lady emphasized the teamwork of
common sailors to win the war. At one point the naval war was likened to a baseball contest, with the Navy skippers cast as big-league managers. What most impressed the home front audience was the inclusion of a sizable amount of aerial combat footage, obtained by synchronizing movie cameras to the planes' machine guns. This wrenchingly effective device, which seemed to put the viewer right into the seat of American fighter planes, was employed to great advantage. The film drew to an emotional conclusion with lingering flashbacks to the faces of missing pilots filling the screen over a dirge-like hymn, while narrator Robert Taylor urged their shipmates to fight on to the "bitter, glorious end".

A similar effort directed primarily to the home front audience, and one in which Steichen was more directly involved, was the exhibition Power in the Pacific, which opened at the Museum of Modern Art on January 24, 1945, a little over a month after Steichen's promotion to Captain. In preparing the exhibition, Steichen was empowered to examine and select from among all Marine and Coast Guard, as well as Naval, photography. The exhibition was intended as a recapitulation of the war in the Pacific as seen through the camera's lens and the photographer's eye. Power in the Pacific continued the exhibition principles pioneered in the earlier Road to Victory. Once again, a "procession" of giant enlargements was sequentially ordered to unfold a
dramatic narrative; in this case, the saga of Pacific combat on land, sea, and in the air. Lt. Roark Bradford, a poet on duty with the Navy, was assigned to write the accompanying text; Lt. George Kidder Smith was brought in to design the exhibition. Kidder Smith, an architect and photographer who had been associated with MOMA before the war, remembers having "an enormous amount of stimulating fun" preparing the exhibition:

At one point the Captain and I had a long-standing disagreement as to which photograph should lead off the show. He wanted—no, he was insistent on—a six by eight foot panel showing the 16-inch guns of a battleship firing. I did not think that this symbolized "man" enough and mulled on what could be used for weeks until I found a great shot (probably by Victor Jorgensen) of a deck full of cheering sailors. With only a small amount of trepidation I said to the Captain that I thought that this would "key" the show better than the firing guns: "Kidder, you are absolutely right", replied the Captain—while two others on the project fell off their chairs. He was that kind of person: brilliant, demanding to the millimeter, contagiously enthusiastic, and always receptive to the ideas of others.58

According to Marty Forscher, the Washington lab was not equipped to print the largest murals, and improvisation was required: exposures were made a section at a time, and the prints processed on the lab floor by barefoot technicians wielding mops laden with developer and fixer.59 The prints were then rushed to New York, where Victor Jorgensen remembers long sessions of spotting the enlargements with paintbrushes.60 Although it was understood that the major Navy contribution was from the photographers of Steichen's unit, in accordance with Navy policy no individual photographers were credited.
As with *Road to Victory*, in *Power in the Pacific* the scope of the conflict was there to be read in the faces of everyday citizen-soldiers. Elizabeth McCausland, writing in the *Springfield Sunday Union and Republican*, demonstrated the extent to which the Sandburgian themes of *Road to Victory* had been absorbed into American wartime rhetoric. She began with the observation: "No photographer in these instances has set out to make 'beauty' or 'art'. Yet beauty and art have resulted, and this is cause for thought." She proceeded to examine why this might be so:

... the exhibition states its theme at the outset: personnel is the road to victory. And in the faces of these men, one sees that strength which generates victory for the democratic cause. Called from the wide lands of the United States, they represent all groups and interests united in a common struggle. These faces are faces for America to be proud of ... This theme is surely the most real and immediate that today could concern itself with. There will be no future for the studio, the artist, for the museum, beauty, and all the rest, if the war is not won with bitter endeavor and loss ... Surely it is the understanding of this historic process which informs the photographs and produces that beauty afore-said ... \(^61\)

Like its predecessor, *Power in the Pacific* proved a tremendous popular success for MOMA. It was circulated in "editions" of various sizes and displayed at museums and galleries around the country; among its first stops were the Corcoran Gallery in Washington, M.I.T., Yale, and the Minnesota Institute of Fine Arts. \(^62\) An inexpensive paperback version, brought out by *U.S. Camera*, carried the images to a still wider public.
By this time in early 1945 additional photographers had been added to the original Naval Aviation group, and Steichen had been placed in command of other Navy photographic units. Among the most active of the new photographers was Barrett Gallagher, a young New Yorker (and former contributor to *U.S. Camera*) who had served until late 1944 as an artillery gunner in the Atlantic. Other new faces (who left behind considerably fewer pictures) included Thomas Binford, John Swope, and Charles Steinheimer.

Steichen at this time assumed command of the Navy's "combat camera crews", which had previously been directed by Lt. Carleton Mitchell. These crews, which consisted of a photographic officer, two motion-picture cameramen, and one still photographer, produced visual material which aimed at determining the effectiveness of Navy combat performance. Although it remains unclear why the combat camera crews were placed under Steichen's command, the change-over coincides with his appointment as director of the newly-created Naval Photographic Institute.

The Institute, a branch of the Naval Photographic Services, appears to have been conceived as a vehicle for the expanded use of photography within the Navy. The creation of the Institute gave formal approval to the objectives which Steichen had set for his Naval Aviation unit: the dual application of Naval photography as a medium of historical
record and public information. According to the Navy's press release, the Institute's original plans called for the production of a feature-length motion picture incorporating the best Navy film footage of the war; an awards ceremony honoring the most outstanding Navy still photographers; and the preparation of a series of exhibits of Navy still photography to be shown in major cities around the country.65

In connection with his new duties, Steichen made a second trip to the Pacific in March, 1945, accompanied by U.S. Camera's Tom Maloney. Maloney had been prevented from following Steichen into the Navy by an untimely automobile accident, but as U.S. Camera's war correspondent he was able to report on the conflict from close range.66 He joined Steichen and his administrative assistant, Lt. Willard Mace, in March for an inspection of the battlegrounds of Iwo Jima shortly after it was secured by the Marines. Here Steichen made his most extensive foray into photographic reportage during the war, producing a series of almost ninety photographs to which an accompanying commentary was later joined. He surveyed the wreckage of landing craft abandoned on the black beaches, airplane fragments steeped in rubble, and the "desolate mass of rocks, steel, and tangled vegetation". He photographed the fingers of a Japanese soldier buried in a bomb blast emerging from the ground; and a small white flower, "the only living thing in sight", poking up through a debris-strewn hillside.67
During the war's closing months the members of the Naval Aviation unit continued their work both at home and on the fighting front. Wayne Miller and Fenno Jacobs chanced to be in Washington on April 12, 1945, when Franklin Roosevelt's sudden death in Warm Springs, Georgia, jolted the country. Miller and Jacobs turned their cameras on the stunned faces in the streets of the capital as the newspaper headlines appeared, and captured the emotion visible on the faces of those who gathered at the Capitol to await further news. They continued to record the events in Washington through the arrival of Roosevelt's funeral cortege and his subsequent burial.\(^6\)

In May 1945, Victor Jorgensen arrived in the Philippines just after the reconquest of those islands, and witnessed the streets of Manila slowly returning to life. In Okinawa, after the bloody landings on that island, he produced a series of widely reproduced images of wounded sailors and Marines undergoing treatment on the hospital ship *USS Solace*. Jorgensen was in New York when the announcement of the Japanese surrender came on August 14; he photographed the night-long celebrations by millions in the streets of Manhattan.

It was Barrett Gallagher who produced the most arresting views of the end of the war in the Pacific. Following the Japanese capitulation after the atomic destruction of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, Admiral William Halsey ordered the entire Third Fleet to assemble for an hour-long exercise called "Operation Snapshot". While more than 5,000 vessels
turned at identical angles through the waters off the coast of Japan, Gallagher, from a plane flying overhead, captured the climactic image of American naval power (TR-14785). Navy airplanes then filled the skies for a companion maneuver, "Operation Tintype". On September 2, 1945, Gallagher was on board Halsey's flagship, the USS Missouri, for the formal surrender, and photographed the ceremony which, after four and a half years of fighting, signalled the end of the war.

Aftermath

The wave of national euphoria and relief which greeted the end of the war persuaded the Navy, as well as the other services, to set in motion a plan of rapid demobilization. Since priority was given to those who had spent the most time on active duty overseas, most of the members of the Naval Aviation unit qualified for early release, and were out of uniform by Thanksgiving. The post-war relaxation of martial standards led to the issuance of a stern warning to the unit's lab crew: under no circumstances were they to consider the stockpile of photographic equipment which had accumulated there as fair game for souvenir hunting. A truck arrived one morning unannounced, according to Marty Forscher, and hauled away most of the photographic supplies.

So clearly did Americans signal their desire to put the war behind them that Steichen set aside plans for a final
exhibition to be called *Victory in the Pacific.*\(^{72}\) Before he was taken off of active duty on October 22, 1945, he arranged for a ceremony to honor the most outstanding Navy, Marine, and Coast Guard photographers. The awards were handed out by the Naval Photographic Institute on October 25, 1945, at the National Press Club in Washington, coinciding with an exhibit there of 150 prints. The following week, Steichen was honored in Rochester at a banquet sponsored by the Professional Photographers of America.\(^{73}\) Finally, on November 6, Secretary of the Navy James Forrestal awarded Steichen the Navy's Distinguished Service Medal. The citation commended his "exceptionally meritorious service" and continued:

Adapting his wide experience as an illustrious photographer to this important assignment, Captain Steichen maintained the highest possible standards of excellence in Navy photography for training the Navy's flyers, for informing the public as to the progress of the war, and for creating an invaluable historical record of our ships, planes, and fighting men.\(^{74}\)

Many of the members of the Naval Aviation unit turned their association with Steichen to good advantage following their release from the Navy. In 1946, George Kidder Smith and Wayne Miller received awards from the Guggenheim Foundation: Kidder Smith to photograph architectural subjects, Miller to document the lives of Chicago's black urban dwellers.\(^{75}\) (Miller, who of all the men in the unit remained closest to Steichen, joined him several years later to help organize *The Family of Man.*) Charles Kerlee returned to
advertising photography in New York now rather than Los Angeles, and quickly established himself as a leading commercial illustrator. Marty Forscher, who had learned camera repair in the unit's lab, remembers that Steichen's was a good name to mention in New York after the war. He set up practice in Ben Saltzman's lighting shop on Lexington Avenue, in the same building which housed the studios of Nicholas Muray and Anton Bruehl. His reputation as the man who could repair the unrepairable spread quickly among New York's camera professionals.76

Some found it more difficult to return to a routine existence after several years of globe-trotting. Barrett Gallagher and his wife free-lanced in Africa for two years before settling in New York, where he began to draw regular assignments from Fortune.77 But the most ambitious scheme was that conceived by Jacobs, Jorgensen, and Bristol. As told in the December 1945 issue of Fortune, they marched into the magazine's New York office

. . . still wearing the naval officers uniforms and the ribbons they won serving with Captain Edward Steichen's camera unit . . . with a beautifully global proposition. It was this: to divide the world into three parts—each to be covered for a year and a half by one of them. All Fortune had to do was to guarantee them enough money to keep going. Fortune enthusiastically agreed.78

Bristol, who had dreamed up the three-way plan, chose to cover Asia; Jorgensen selected Africa; Jacobs headed for Europe.

Steichen, who was officially detached from the Navy
on January 30, 1946, replanted his delphinium garden at his Connecticut home. He remained a member of the Navy's Civilian Advisory Board, and later that year edited *U.S. Navy War Photographs*, a compilation of some of the most striking wartime pictures. At age sixty-seven, Steichen felt that he was still too young to retire, and let it be known that he was available for a position in accord with his interests and energy. The following year, Tom Maloney conveyed a confidential offer from MOMA's board of Trustees: would Steichen care to join that museum as director of the Department of Photography? Steichen eagerly accepted and launched himself into the next fifteen-year chapter of his "life in photography".
Conclusion
It might have been supposed that Steichen's appointment to head MOMA's Department of Photography in the summer of 1947 signalled, on his part, a revived interest in photography's fine-art side. But this was not entirely the case; if his primary concern now lay elsewhere, so did the museum's. The President of MOMA's board, Nelson Rockefeller, clearly had in mind the success of the two wartime exhibitions which Steichen had organized when he welcomed him to the museum:

... Steichen ... joins the Museum of Modern Art to bring to as wide an audience as possible the best work being done in photography throughout the world, and to employ it creatively as a means of interpretation in major Museum exhibitions where photography is not the theme but the medium through which great achievements and great moments are graphically presented.¹

The first major exhibition to be mounted by the expanded department (which, according to Rockefeller, enjoyed the "endorsement and support of the photographic industry") would present Photography in the Service of Science in War and Peace.²

However, in his first interview after the appointment, Steichen seemed considerably more excited at the prospect of returning to his earlier dream of a vast portrait of America. The New York Times reported that during the war Steichen had been "impressed by what could be achieved by taking pictures on a grandiose scale and using them selectively to tell a complete story".³ In Steichen's words:

In the Navy I started with a handful of good photographers who became experts, not only in using a lens but in photographing with their hearts and minds. The influence of that handful spread to 4000 Navy photographers.
Not all were great photographers. But they all contributed to the story of the war. And there has never been anything like the photographic story of the last war. It's terrific.4

The Times went on to explain how Steichen believed this lesson could be applied to the creation of a contemporary view of America:

... sooner or later he wants to gather under his wing the 200,000 of America's amateurs who are already skilled photographers and teach them something about making pictures. Later on he wants them to send the pictures to him for sorting and cataloguing; then, some time, he wants exhibitions on a grand scale, in the manner of his war picture exhibits. Ultimately, perhaps, there will be a great building in the nation's capital with murals covering the walls and ceiling, a place where tourists may see the great story of America in pictures.5

Such extravagant speculation, while never acted upon, anticipated the grand scale of activity which led up to The Family of Man in 1955. Steichen attributed his turn toward global humanism in the intervening years to his personal experience of the horrors of war, and to his belief that, in the atomic age, acceptance of the idea of universal human familyhood was the only alternative to universal destruction. For our purposes, however, Steichen's evolving post-war views can perhaps be located more precisely within a larger response, on the part of photographers themselves, to the shortcomings of interpretive photography during World War II.

A useful analogy from the First World War is provided by Paul Fussell in The Great War and Modern Memory,6 a study of the ways in which the war experience was processed by the literary imagination, considered in its widest sense. Fussell
examines, in part, the systematic prophylaxis of language which marked the attempts of British correspondents to convey to the home public an understanding of the unprecedented form of warfare taking place at the front. He notes the atmosphere of euphemism designed to maintain an artificial innocence of the awful reality of the trenches. Moreover, consciously and unconsciously, officially and unofficially, British accounts of the war tended to envelop it in the conventions and mythologies of the heroic past. For Fussell, World War I represents the first truly modern war to the extent that this attempt to bring into play the language of earlier forms of heroic struggle foundered on the horror and absurdity of the calamitous proceedings it pretended to depict. Britain's Prime Minister Lloyd George came to believe that if the war were to be described in accurate language, people would insist that it be stopped.

A generation later, the war photographer replaced the correspondent as the source of the most vivid reports of an equally unprecedented form of warfare. Although it was felt that these visual reports somehow embodied a documentary truth not available through written accounts, the same curtain of euphemism and conventionalization descended just the same, and on all sides. John G. Morris, Life's London picture editor during the war, later wrote of photography's role:

World War II was the still photographer's war. There were the twice-weekly newsreels, but the image of war
that came into the home was carried by newspapers and magazines. It was the decade before television. News photographers captured the public imagination . . . . Yet the photographer in World War II, while scarcely realizing it, lived by rules, written and implied. He cooperated fully with the censors. His pictures did not show unit designations, new weapons, camouflaged factories, or gun emplacements; if they did, they were retouched. The faces of the severely wounded and the dead were taboo . . . . Finally . . . the photographer did not show his side being ghastly . . . . The result, intentional or not, was to glorify the war . . . .

Were these constraints perceived as such at the time?

No elaborate apparatus was required to insure compliance; and, as John Steinbeck has written of his days as a war correspondent:

We edited ourselves much more than we were edited. We felt responsible to what was called the home front. There was a general feeling that unless the home front was carefully protected from the whole account of what the war was like, it might panic. Also we felt we had to protect the armed forces from criticism, or they might retire to their tents to sulk like Achilles.

In such circumstances, when the fate of the nation was felt to hang in the balance, there was no question of taking on probing photographic investigations of unresolved social conflict, as in the best work of the F.S.A. photographers in the Thirties. Even though Steichen's Naval Aviation unit was charged with the duty of compiling an historical record (as well as serving the Navy's "public information" needs), the circumstances guaranteed that the resulting record would be shaped as much by what was consciously or unconsciously omitted as by what was portrayed. Great care was taken that nothing presented might conflict with official Navy views,
or in any way prove detrimental to the war effort. Steichen's photographers emphasized the tremendous operational freedom which they enjoyed. But it was a freedom which seems in retrospect to have been necessarily conceived within a narrow frame, beginning with the photographers' own intuitive self-censorship, and ending with Steichen's decisive role as final picture editor. The photographic record assembled by the Naval Aviation unit testifies, among other things, to the visual conventions by which Americans told themselves—and avoided telling themselves—about the war.

Only afterward did the lingering doubts and unresolvable questions which had been patriotically suppressed during the actual conflict began to rise to the surface. In "Losses", a poem written during the war, but published only afterward, Randall Jarrell sounded a bitterly ironic note:

In bombers named for girls, we burned
The cities we had learned about in school
Till our lives wore out; our bodies lay among
The people we had killed and never seen.
When we lasted long enough they gave us medals;
When we died they said, "Our casualties were low."
They said, "Here are the maps"; we burned the cities. 10

This uneasy tone echoed through much of the subsequent American literature which took the war as its theme: Mailer's The Naked and the Dead, Heller's Catch-22, Vonnegut's Slaughter-House Five, and Pynchon's Gravity's Rainbow.

Photographers, unable to work in the past tense, were offered other opportunities to fill in the gaps produced by the one-sided coverage of World War II. Some, who had been
most strongly affected by the human tragedies which afflicted all sides during the conflict, began to perceive war itself as the ultimate enemy of all humanity. Robert Capa, one of World War II's best-known photographers, declared that his aim was to become an "unemployed war photographer". Along with the other photographers of the Magnum agency he helped organize, he set out to demonstrate, in a world-wide assignment, that "People are People the World Over". By cutting across national and cultural boundaries to show the underlying unities of human experience, these photographic essays anticipated, in many ways, Steichen's approach to The Family of Man. Capa, in addition, felt called upon to provide continuing witness to the human desolation brought on by war around the world; in 1954 he fell a victim himself in Indochina.

The idea held by some photographers that picturing the horrible actuality of war would somehow contribute to its disappearance was put to the test in Korea. It was a particularly difficult war to glorify, and the old system of one-sided coverage broke down almost completely. Photographers themselves came to deride images of glistening warplanes winging through cotton-candy clouds—a staple of World War II aviation romance—as "wild blue yonder" shots. David Douglas Duncan, who had been a Marine photographer during World War II, followed the fighting in Korea. Although he never questioned the American military role there, he
showed, unforgettably, what before had been so assiduously avoided: the senselessness, the horror, the human waste.

Duncan's photographs were displayed prominently in Steichen's 1951 exhibition Korea: The Impact of War. Although the visual records of the exhibition, and Steichen's own ambivalent introductory statement, indicate a surprisingly hesitant stance, Steichen's admission that "senselessness" and "brutality" were among the fruits of modern war marked, for him, a sharp break with the attitudes which had informed his two World War II exhibitions. In his autobiography Steichen attempted, rather unconvincingly, to extend the tentative anti-war message of Korea back to the World War II exhibitions Road to Victory and Power in the Pacific. By doing so he implicitly acknowledged that the martial tenor of the earlier exhibitions was inappropriate in the atomic age. Steichen considered that Korea's expose of war's horror failed to decisively move a wide audience, as he had hoped it would. The following year, he turned to a more affirmative approach to the question of international human relations, an approach which culminated, in 1955, in The Family of Man exhibition.

The importance to Steichen of the humanistic themes of The Family of Man may have led him, in his later years, to try to imaginatively reconcile his intentions before World War II with the conclusions he reached in its aftermath. Hence his assertion in his Life that as early as Pearl
Harbor he held the conviction that "if a real image of war could be photographed and be presented to the world, it might make a contribution toward ending the specter of war."

Although his World War II experiences may only later have given rise to the attitudes which informed The Family of Man, the war years undeniably furnished Steichen with valuable lessons that contributed to the spectacular success of that exhibition. He learned the picture editor's skills—how to shape a mass of imagery from disparate sources into a coherent whole. He learned to think of photography as a vehicle for social communication, capable of reaching a near-universal audience. Finally, he developed a provocative exhibition style through which the great issues of the day could be brought before a large public. Seen in this light, Steichen's war years served as an important course of preparation for the photographic concerns which dominated his later career.
Notes

Introduction

1 Clare Booth Brokaw, "Edward Steichen, photographer", Vanity Fair, June 1932, p. 49.


Part One: Road to Victory


This description of the Road to Victory installation is drawn from the complete set of installation views held by MOMA's Department of Rights and Reproductions; a number of these are reproduced in Carl Sandburg, Home Front Memo (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1943) following the main text.


7 Ralph Steiner, PM, May 31, 1942, untitled review.

8 Jewell, "Portrait of the Spirit of a Nation".

9 Vogue, July 15, 1942, p. 29.

10 Sandburg, Home Front Memo, p. 309. Road to Victory's American travel schedule is outlined in an undated memo in the files of MOMA's Department of Photography.

11 "Road to Victory", Newsweek, June 1, 1942, pp. 64-65.


14 A panoramic photograph of the banquet scene can be found in the Nikolas Muray collection at the International Museum of Photography/George Eastman House.

15 "Camera, Career, Corn", Time, January 10, 1938, p. 36.


18 Noel H. Deeks, correspondence with author, June 18, 1979. A copy of Deeks' diary is located in the Edward Steichen Archive, MOMA.
19 For *Vanity Fair*, Steichen had on occasion used the hand-held camera. See his series of color snapshots of the School of American Ballet in the April, 1935 issue of that magazine, pp. 38-39.

20 A number of the photographs from the 1938 Mexican trip can be found in the Edward Steichen Collection, International Museum of Photography/George Eastman House.

21 Wayne Miller, transcript of interview with WXXI-TV (Rochester), fall 1979, Reel #1-038, p. 1.

22 *Vanity Fair*, April 1934, pp. 38-39. A total of 12 photographs were contributed by Steichen.


24 "Photography Show Will Open April 18", *New York Times*, April 3, 1938, II:1. For a report on the opening day of the exposition, see the *New York Times*, April 19, 1938, I:23. For a general report on the reception of the exposition, see Frank Crowninshield's account in the 1939 *U.S. Camera Annual*.


27 Ibid, p. 44.

28 Ibid, p. 45.

29 "Edward Steichen Takes His Own Picture with a 100-Year-Old Camera", *Life*, January 9, 1939, p. 27.


31 "Mrs. Roosevelt Tries On Her Inauguration Frocks", *Life*, January 13, 1941, p. 27.

32 Sandburg, "Election Eve Broadcast", in *Home Front Memo*, pp. 29-33.

34 Ibid.

35 Sandburg, "The Dream That Holds Us", in Home Front Memo, p. 40.

36 Fortune, August 1941, pp. 90-91.

37 Sandburg, "Road to Victory", in Home Front Memo, p. 307. McAlpin has acknowledged his role in the origin of the exhibition in correspondence with the author dated March 25, 1980.

38 For a review of the background of MOMA's prewar program of topical exhibitions, see Russell Lynes, Good Old Modern (New York: Atheneum, 1973), pp. 233-238.


40 Ibid, pp. 251-252.

41 Ibid, p. 197.

42 Ibid, p. 198.


44 Ibid, p. 257.


46 Interview with Thomas J. Maloney, November 6, 1979, Lawrenceville, New Jersey.


48 Conversation with Edwin Rosskam, April 17, 1980. This is probably the meeting with Stryker that Steichen described in a 1962 interview before the opening of The Bitter Years exhibition. See WPAT Gaslight Revue Program Guide, October 1962, p. 2. Departmental Files, Department of Photography, Museum of Modern Art.

50 Photo Notes, April 1942, pp. 1-2.

51 Elizabeth McCausland, "Photographs Illustrate Our 'Road to Victory'", Photo Notes, June 1942, pp. 3-5. The piece appeared originally in the Springfield (Mass.) Sunday Union and Republican, May 31, 1942.


53 The original F.S.A. caption is attached to a copy print of the Lange photograph in the bound record of the exhibition in MOMA's Department of Rights and Reproductions. The photograph was reproduced in the 1941 U.S. Camera Annual with the caption: "We ain't no paupers. We hold ourselves to be white folk. We don't want no relief. What we want is a chanst to make an honest living like what we was raised," apparently supplied by Lange.

54 "Letters to the Editor", U.S. Camera, October 1942, p. 35.


57 Herbert Bayer, "Fundamentals of Exhibition Design", P.M., December/January, 1939/40, p. 17. P.M. (Production Manager) was the publication of New York's Laboratory School of Industrial Design.
58 Bayer, correspondence with author, April 14, 1980.

59 Hill and Cooper, Dialogue with Photography, p. 125.

60 Dorner, The Way Beyond 'Art': The Work of Herbert Bayer, p. 199, presents an early Bayer drawing illustrating his "principle of extended vision".


62 McCausland, Photo Notes, p. 3.

Part Two: The Naval Aviation Photographic Unit

1 Eugene Meyer to Edward Steichen, October 10, 1940, Meyer correspondence, Library of Congress.

2 Donald M. Nelson to Eugene Meyer, November 1, 1940, Meyer correspondence, Library of Congress.

3 David McAlpin, correspondence with the author, March 25, 1980.


5 After the war, Radford became Deputy Chief of Naval Operations, (Air); from 1953-1957 he served as Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. Samuel Eliot Morison, History of U.S. Naval Operations in World War II (Boston: Little Brown and Company, 1964), vol. 7, p. 95n.

6 Time, May 25, 1942, p. 69.

7 Wayne Miller, Transcript of Interview with WXXI-TV (Rochester), fall 1979, Reel 1-038, pp. 2-3.


9 Copies of the notification of medical waiver and subsequent commission are located in the Edward Steichen Archive, Museum of Modern Art.

10 A copy of Radford's memo of June 5, 1942, is located in the Edward Steichen Archive, Museum of Modern Art.

12 Conversation with Arthur Rothstein, March 10, 1980.


14 Biographical information about Horace Bristol was gathered from *U.S. Camera*, June 1944, p. 17; and *Fortune*, December 1945, p. 2.

15 *Fortune*, December 1945, p. 2. Additional information was gathered during the course of the previously cited interview with Thomas J. Maloney; and from my interview with Barrett Gallagher, New York City, October 5, 1979.

16 See, for example, "American Aces--Charles Kerlee", in *U.S. Camera*, February 1941, p. 34; and "Pictures with a Purpose", July 1941, p. 49.

17 Interview with Victor Jorgensen, Lake Oswego, Oregon, December 27, 1979.

18 Victor Jorgensen, transcript of interview with WXXI-TV (Rochester), fall, 1979, Reel 1-044, p. 1.

19 Edward Steichen, "Twelve Great Pictures of the War", *Art News Annual*, December 1944, p. 100.

20 Wayne Miller, WXXI-TV interview, Reel 1-038, p. 8.

21 Interview with Barrett Gallagher and Marty Forscher, New York City, October 5, 1979.

22 Wayne Miller, WXXI-TV interview, Reel 0-138, p. 5.

23 Victor Jorgensen, WXXI-TV interview, Reel 1-044, p. 10.

24 Ibid, p. 10.

25 Ibid, p. 11.

26 "Navy Men Photograph Roosevelt's Trip", *Life*, October 12, 1942, pp. 29-33.

27 Life was undoubtedly protecting its own interests here: any limitation of access to war coverage--the central story of the time--would have been a journalistic and financial disaster for the civilian press.

28 Oliver Jensen, correspondence with the author, March 5, 1980.
29 Wayne Miller, WXXI-TV interview, Reel 0-138, p. 9.
31 A copy of Forrestal's orders of March 18, 1943, transferring Steichen to the Honorably retired list, can be found in the Edward Steichen Archive, Museum of Modern Art.
32 Steichen's Navy records date his transfer to the office of DCNO (Air) as September 6, 1943, according to Navy Department Bureau of Personnel Pers-3270-rmf; 126546; 10 Nov 45. Apparently he continued to report to Radford, as indicated by the long memo of November of 1944.
33 Wayne Miller, WXXI-TV interview, Reel 0-138, p. 5.
34 Ibid.
36 Ibid.
37 The Rolleiflex's square format is one of the most obvious ways that the photographs of the members of the Naval Aviation unit can be distinguished from other Navy photographs in the files of the National Archives.
38 Wayne Miller, WXXI-TV interview, Reel 0-138, p. 4.
39 Victor Jorgensen, WXXI-TV interview, Reel 1-044, p. 2.
41 Gallagher recalled that occasionally he made use of the carrier darkroom facilities when the reconnaissance pilots were out on missions; in this way he made certain that his materials and equipment were functioning properly. Interview with Gallagher and Forscher, New York, October 5, 1979.
43 Ibid.
44 See, for example, "Naval Aviation", U.S. Camera, April 1943; "Get the Carriers", Look, November 28, 1944; "Carrier Ready Room Has an Anxious Moment", Life, September 11, 1944.
45 Victor Jorgensen, interview December 27, 1979, Lake Oswego, Oregon.


49 See the photographs identified as 80-G-431069, 80-G-431073, and 80-G-431041 in the National Archives' Still Picture Division, Old Army and Navy section.


52 I am grateful to Ann Fallen of the Washington design firm Staples and Charles, which is planning the Gerald Ford Museum, for confirming the identity of former President Gerald R. Ford (on the left, in the photograph, jumping for the ball).

53 See "Paul Dorsey", U.S. Camera, December, 1943, p. 27.


55 Undated press release, the Edward Steichen Archive, Museum of Modern Art.

Steichen had spoken in Rochester earlier in the year, on February 17, before the Rochester Camera Club. A letter from its chairman, G. E. Matthews of Eastman Kodak, to Steichen, dated February 8, 1944, discusses the collotype reproductions of Navy photographs which had been sent from Washington to Rochester for display at Kodak's Main Office, Hawkeye plant, and Kodak Park. Information File, International Museum of Photography/George Eastman House.

56 A print of The Fighting Lady can be found in the Film Archives of the International Museum of Photography/George Eastman House.
Steichen's promotion to Captain was authorized by President Franklin Roosevelt on December 7, 1944. A copy of the notification can be found in the Edward Steichen Archive, Museum of Modern Art.


Elizabeth McCausland, Springfield Sunday Union and Republican, January 28, 1945, the Edward Steichen Archive, Museum of Modern Art.

The exhibition's traveling schedule is outlined in a memo in the files of the Department of Photography, Museum of Modern Art.

Interview with Gallagher and Forscher, October 5, 1979.


"Steichen to Head Navy Photographic Institute", The Commercial Photographer, August 1945, p. 358.

Thomas J. Maloney, interview November 6, 1979.

The series remains intact in the National Archives' Still Picture Division, Old Army and Navy Section, 80-G-412461 through 80-G-412551. A small number of the photographs are attributed to Mace.

National Archives' Still Picture Division, Old Army and Navy Section. The very interesting section dealing with Roosevelt's death and funeral begins at approximately 80-G-377529.


George Nowinski's claim, in his The Camera at War, that David Douglas Duncan was the only American photographer present at the surrender, cannot be credited. Nowinski's misidentification of Duncan as one of Steichen's photographers only compounds the problem. Nowinski, The Camera at War (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1978).

Marty Forscher, ibid.

Photographs of the ceremony can be found in the Information File, International Museum of Photography/George Eastman House.

Navy Bureau of Personnel Records dated September 4, 1946, provided by the Naval Historical Center, Washington.


Barrett Gallagher, ibid.

Fortune, December 1945, p. 2.

According to Thomas J. Maloney, Admiral Radford approached Steichen with the idea of producing an inexpensive photographic book which could be distributed to the Navy's sailors. According to Maloney, six million copies were sold in six months, at a cost of thirty-five cents a copy.

Thomas J. Maloney, interview November 6, 1979.

See Lynes, Good Old Modern, pp. 259-60, for an account of Steichen's arrival and Beaumont Newhall's subsequent departure.

Conclusion


Ibid.


Ibid.

Ibid.

7 Ibid, p. 174.

8 John G. Morris, "This We Remember: Have Photographers Brought Home the Reality?", Harpers, September 1972, p. 73.

9 John Steinbeck, Once There Was A War (New York: The Viking Press, 1958), p. xvii. Steinbeck's post-war reflections should be measured against the feelings he expressed in 1942 in Bombs Away: The Story of a Bomber Team (New York: The Viking Press, 1942), where he sounded a familiar note in remarking that "a kind of fierce joy runs through the country" in the wake of Pearl Harbor (p. 15).


11 Morris, "This We Remember", p. 73.

12 In his introductory text, Steichen wrote: "Here human nobility, selfless devotion, inexhaustible endurance, senselessness, and brutality are scrambled together in the impact of war . . ." Undated press release, Edward Steichen Archive, Museum of Modern Art. Installation views of the exhibition may be found in MOMA's Department of Rights and Reproductions.


Appendix I: Institutions receiving World War II photographs from Steichen's estate.

At the time of Steichen's death in 1973, Thomas J. Maloney was selected to distribute the approximately 8000 World War II Navy, Marine, and Coast Guard photographs which Steichen held. These included many duplicates; Maloney estimated the collection held no more than 1000 separate images. Maloney reported that as of the first of 1974, the following institutions had received selections of these photographs:

1. U.S. Naval Academy Museum, Annapolis
3. U.S. Military Academy Museum, West Point
5. U.S. Marine Corps Museum, Quantico
6. U.S. Coast Guard Museum, Washington, D.C.
7. U.S. Naval Base, San Diego
8. The Naval War College, Newport, R.I.
10. International Museum of Photography/George Eastman House, Rochester
11. University of Texas, Austin
12. Stevens Institute of Technology, Hoboken, N.J.
Appendix Two: Prints and negatives in the U.S. National Archives

At the end of World War II, the files of Steichen's Naval Aviation Photographic Unit contained more than 15,000 "selected" black and white prints. These were mounted on pieces of 11 x 14-inch white cardboard, to which relevant caption information (place, date, photographer) was also affixed. Each print was assigned an identifying number with a special TR-prefix. These TR-numbers make it possible to place the prints in a rough chronological order. There were, in addition, over 100,000 black and white negatives held in reserve. Approximately 2,000 "selected" color transparencies were filed in paper sleeves which carried caption information and an identifying number with a TRK-prefix.

Steichen, in his September 1944 memo to Admiral Radford, stressed the historic value of his unit's work and urged that after the war it be maintained separately from the Navy's other photographic records. Secretary of the Navy James Forrestal eventually agreed; in a memo of December 15, 1945, he instructed the Deputy Chief of Naval Operations (Air) to make certain that this "document" remained intact pending clarification of a filing and preservation system. On April 11, 1946, the U.S. Naval Photographic Service was instructed to take charge of the files, and keep them intact as the "Steichen collection".
So they remained until around 1960, when all Navy photographs and negatives from the World War II period were sent to the U.S. National Archives. Before it could be made available to civilizn researchers, this mass of material was completely re-organized on the basis of subject matter. The 15,000 "selected" prints of the Steichen unit were "shuffled in" among approximately a half million other Navy photographers, effectively destroying the integrity of the original Steichen file. The original TR-designations were replaced by the National Archives' uniform numbering system. Luckily, a cross-listing was compiled which matches the old TR-numbers with their current identifying numbers. The negatives for these prints have been assigned numbers identical to the current print numbers.

Unfortunately, the 100,000 "reserve" negatives appear to have been discarded, as were a small number of the "selected" prints.

The Steichen unit's color transparencies were held by the National Archives for several years. However, they were eventually reclaimed by the Naval Photographic Center at Anacostia, Virginia, which argued that the National Archives was not properly caring for the transparencies. All World War II color material is now kept at Anacostia; unfortunately it has never been arranged in a filing system of which outside researchers can avail themselves. The examples of World
War II-era Kodachrome transparencies that I was able to examine at Anacostia were in generally excellent condition. The early Ektachrome-type transparencies, however, showed extensive fading and other damage.
Appendix III: Prints from the Naval Aviation Photographic Unit in the IMP/GEH collection.

841 prints from the World War II period came to IMP/GEH after Steichen's death in 1973. Nearly one-third of these can be attributed to the Naval Aviation unit by the TR-prefixed number which appears on the reverse of the prints. In the following pages, these photographs from the IMP/GEH collection are presented together with such accompanying information as I have been able to obtain.

The images have been arranged in order according to their TR-numbers, running from lowest to highest, in this way obtaining a rough chronological order. It should be kept in mind that this chronology is approximate: a period of several months often elapsed between the time the negatives were exposed and the time they were processed, proofed, printed, and assigned numbers. Rarely, a negative from a much earlier date would be resurrected for subsequent printing; here, the TR-number is a reliable indicator only of the point at which the print finally made.

Some prints in the IMP/GEH collection were found to carry numbers with a TRX-prefix. These appear to have been "extra" images which were added to the Steichen unit's files. Usually they were the work of other Navy photographers not attached to Steichen's outfit. They are not treated here.

The accompanying information which follows is arranged in a three-line format:
Line 1: TR-number; IMP/GEH accession number; current National Archives identifying number.

Line 2: Photographer; place of photograph; date of photograph.

Line 3: Caption information.

All attributions of pictures to photographers are my own, based on my examination of the caption information accompanying the prints in the National Archives, and my interviews with the surviving photographers. Where no strong evidence was available, no attribution has been made.

A special case arises from the photographs made by Steichen and Victor Jorgensen on the USS Lexington in November/December 1943. The records in the National Archives credit Steichen with all of the photographs from that period, an unlikely circumstance in light of Steichen's later writings and Jorgensen's recollections. Jorgensen has graciously helped identify his own photographs on the basis of the prints he has kept from that period. Again, where no strong evidence exists, no attribution has been made.
TR-102; 74:025:882; 80-G-472661
Photographer unidentified; July 1942.
Aviation machinist trainees at Navy Pier,
Chicago, work on an aircraft engine.

TR-743; 74:025:465; 80-G-425091

TR-1160; 74:025:832; 80-G-472854
Photographer unidentified; Norfolk, Virginia;
September 1942.

TR-1177; 74:025:536; 80-G-470002
Horace Bristol; USS Santee; November 1942.
U.S. flag flies over the deck of the USS Santee.

TR-1212; 74:025:901; 80-G-361481
Horace Bristol; USS Santee; November 1942.
U.S. flag flies over the deck of the USS Santee.
TR-1365; 74:025:260; 80-G-469665
Horace Bristol; USS Santee; November 1942.
Crewman gets a haircut on the USS Santee.

TR-1526; 74:025:260; 80-G-474788
Horace Bristol; USS Santee; November 1942.
Part of the 2000-vessel Allied convoy taking part in Operation Torch, the first landing in North Africa.

TR-1543; 74:025:384; 80-G-469688
Horace Bristol; USS Santee; December 1942.
Lt. Cdr. J.T. Blackburn transferred back to carrier after 60 hours adrift in the Atlantic.

TR-2044; 74:025:862; 80-G-475440

TR-2240; 74:025:883; 80-G-43095
Wayne Miller; New River, N.C.; November 1942.
Para-marines in training.
TR-2310; 74:025:589; 80-G-43089
Horace Bristol; USS Santee; November 1942.
Silhouette of a U.S. carrier in the Atlantic.

TR-2333; 74:025:589; 80-G-417667
Horace Bristol; Fort Lauderdale, Florida; January 1943.
Grumman Avengers in formation.

TR-2403; 74:025:877; 80-G-398905

TR-2426; 74:025:828; 80-G-41869
Charles Kerlee; USS Suwanee; January 1943.
Torpedo ready to be loaded onto a torpedo-bomber in the South Pacific.

TR-2576; 74:025:928; 80-G-412735
Fenno Jacobs; Baltimore; February 1943.
Construction of fuselages of PBY patrol bomber at the Glenn H. Martin aircraft plant.
Workers at the Glenn H. Martin aircraft plant in Baltimore check the de-icing equipment on a Mariner flying boat.

Worker assembles machine-gun turrets at the Glenn H. Martin aircraft plant.

A practice depth charge is set off during training exercises.
Fenno Jacobs; Del Monte, California; July 1943.
Navy aviation trainees leaving their mess hall.

Charles Kerlee; USS Yorktown; 1943.
Aerial view of USS Yorktown.

Charles Kerlee; USS Yorktown; May 1943.
40mm gun crews take target practice.
TR-4328; 74:025:246; 80-G-419960
Charles Kerlee; USS Yorktown; 1943.
Signalman at work on the USS Yorktown.

TR-4359; 74:025:241; 80-G-474607
Charles Kerlee; USS Yorktown; October 1943.
Crewmen clean gun barrels.

TR-4691; 74:025:538; 80-G-468675
Edward Steichen; USS Cero; August 1943.

TR-5042-D; 74:025:156; 80-G-426843

TR-5141; 74:025:814; 80-G-415497
Fenno Jacobs; USS Cero; August 1943.
Crewmen of the USS Cero examine snapshots, at the submarine base at New London, Connecticut.
Horace Bristol; Aleutian Islands; August 1943. Part of the U.S. fleet anchored at Adak Harbor before moving against the Japanese on Kiska Island.


Charles Kerlee; USS Yorktown; October 1943. Captain J.J. Clark (left) and R. Adm. A.W. Radford.

Charles Kerlee; USS Mobile; August 1943. A signalman sends a message from a 40mm gun mount.
TR-5960; 74:025:660; 80-G-474619

TR-6058; 74:025:670; 80-G-211025

TR-6045; 74:025:907; 80-G-473509
Charles Kerlee; USS Yorktown; October 1943.
Crewmen of the USS Yorktown.

TR-6067; 74:025:700; 80-G-473512
Charles Kerlee; USS Yorktown; October 1943.
Morning calisthenics on the carrier deck.

TR-6202-K; 74:025:229; 80-G-43967
Horace Bristol; Daytona Beach, Florida; October 1943.
Douglas Dauntlesses fly above a Naval Air Station.
A Douglas Dauntless dive bomber flies over burning Wake Island.

Firefighters in protective clothing on aircraft carrier.

The USS Yorktown as seen from an aircraft during takeoff.
Charles Kerlee; USS Yorktown; September 1943. Marcus Island burns after an air raid by planes from the USS Yorktown.

Wayne Miller; USS Saratoga; November 1943. Pilots walk to their aircraft on the USS Saratoga.

Wayne Miller; USS Saratoga; November 5, 1943. Medical corpsmen hurry to remove wounded aircrewmen from a torpedo-bomber.

Wayne Miller; USS Saratoga; November 5, 1943. An aircrewman wounded during a raid on Rabaul is lifted from his plane.

Wayne Miller; USS Saratoga; November 5, 1943. Cdr. J.C. Clifton passes out cigars after the successful mission against Rabaul.
TR-7194; 74:025:786; 80-G-415477
Wayne Miller; USS Saratoga; November 5, 1943.
A wounded gunner is lifted from a torpedo-bomber after a raid on Rabaul.

TR-7198; 74:025:656; 80-G-470918
Wayne Miller; USS Saratoga; November 5, 1943.
An aircrewman, wounded in the raid on Rabaul, is helped from his plane.

TR-7206; 74:025:771; 80-G-470678
Wayne Miller; USS Saratoga; November 5, 1943.
Cdr. J.C. Clifton, leader of Air Group 12, after his return from a raid on Rabaul.

TR-7210; 74:025:755; 80-G-470922
Wayne Miller; USS Saratoga; November 1943.
A plane parker signals to the pilot of a Hellcat.

TR-7224; 74:025:325; 80-G-211044
Wayne Miller; USS Saratoga; November 5, 1943.
The flight deck of the USS Saratoga on the day of the raid on Rabaul.
Aircrewmen relax with food and drink after returning from a raid on Rabaul.

Enlisted man preparing to swab the deck.

A flight officer holds back a Hellcat until its wheels are cleared for take-off.

Bombers with fighter escorts en route to Rabaul.
Wayne Miller; USS Saratoga; November 1943.
Carrier deck at dawn as the USS Saratoga moves in to launch an attack on Rabaul.

Wayne Miller; USS Saratoga; November 1943.
R. Adm. A.W. Radford (right) is shown at breakfast with the officers of the USS Saratoga.

Wayne Miller; USS Nassau; October 1943.
Port lookout on the USS Nassau.
TR-7925; 74:025:73; 80-G-407745
Edward Steichen; USS Lexington; November-December 1943.
Vortices formed by the propeller blades of an aircraft.

E-402-1; 74:025:728
Edward Steichen; USS Lexington; November-December 1943.
Enlargement of vortices formed by the propeller blades of an aircraft.

TR-7949; 74:025:730; 80-G-471232
Edward Steichen; USS Lexington; November 1943.
Enlisted men relaxing on the flight deck of the USS Lexington.

TR-7961; 74:025:729; 80-G-471240
Edward Steichen; USS Lexington; December 5, 1943.
Enlisted men, exhausted after more than 24 hours at general quarters, sleep on the deck of the USS Lexington.

TR-7966; 74:025:912; 80-G-471241
Pilots in the ready room of a carrier.
Edward Steichen; USS Lexington; November 1943.
Crewmen watch Navy planes returning from a strike against Mili Island.

Edward Steichen; USS Lexington; November 1943.
Fighter director and radarmen in the plot room of the USS Lexington.

Edward Steichen; USS Lexington; December 1943.
Crewmen race to bring up planes on elevator.

Edward Steichen; USS Lexington; November 1943.
Starter gives the signal to the pilot of a Grumman Avenger.

Victor Jorgensen; USS Lexington; November 1943.
40mm gunners watch as planes leave the carrier on a mission.
Edward Steichen; USS Lexington; November 1943.

Enlisted men sleeping on the flight deck of the USS Lexington.

Victor Jorgensen; USS Lexington; November 1943.

A signal officer flags the take-off sign to the pilot of an Avenger.

Victor Jorgensen; USS Lexington; December 1943.

Gun crew and officers keep watch for planes returning to the USS Lexington.

Ensign V.A. Prather energetically directs crewmen as they move a damaged plane on the deck of the USS Lexington.

Victor Jorgensen; USS Lexington; November 1943.

Planes return to the USS Lexington from a strike against Mili Island.
Edward Steichen; USS Lexington; November 1943.
The Lexington's crew listens as pilots describe, over the ship's intercom, a successful air mission.

Edward Steichen; USS Lexington; November 1943.
Jubilant pilots of the USS Lexington after downing 17 enemy planes in air combat.

Edward Steichen; USS Lexington; November 1943.
Crewmen sleep beside an airplane tire on the deck of the USS Lexington.

U.S. flag flies over the flight deck of the USS Lexington.
Edward Steichen; USS Lexington; November 1943.
The ready room on the USS Lexington. The man holding the magazine is Victor Jorgensen.

USS Lexington; November 1943.
Pilots in the ready room of the USS Lexington after a mission.

Edward Steichen; USS Lexington; December 1943.
Gunnery officer points out a Japanese torpedo-bomber approaching the USS Lexington.

Victor Jorgensen; USS Lexington; November-December 1943.
Gunnery officers of the USS Lexington.

USS Lexington; November 1943.
TR-8187; 74:025:672; 80-G-56341
Edward Steichen; USS Muskallunge; August 1943.
The control room of the USS Muskallunge at the New London, Connecticut, submarine base.

TR-8198; 74:025:727; 80-G-470183
Edward Steichen; USS Lexington; December 1943.
Pilots in the ready room of the USS Lexington.

TR-8201; 74:025:705; 80-G-470186
USS Lexington; November 1943.
Pilots in the ready room of the USS Lexington fill out reports after a strike against Mili Island.

TR-8218-C; 74:025:800; 80-G-470814
Wayne Miller; USS Saratoga; November 1943.
View of the USS Saratoga from a plane just after take-off.

TR-8347; 74:025:746; 80-G-211058
TR-8354; 74:025:600; 80-G-399285

TR-8364; 74:025:822; 80-G-211068
Edward Steichen; USS Lexington; December 4, 1943.
Japanese planes attack the USS Yorktown; an American plane flies overhead.

TR-8387; 74:025:550; 80-G-431063
Edward Steichen; USS Lexington; November 1943.
Infra-red view of the carrier deck and super-structure of the USS Lexington.

TR-8398-D; 74:025:821; 80-G-415001
A.N. Cooperman; USS Yorktown; December 4, 1943.
The wing is torn off of a Japanese torpedo-bomber by artillery fire from the USS Yorktown. (Cooperman was a ship's photographer aboard the Yorktown.)

TR-8406-1; 74:025:603; 80-G-299895
Portrait of Artemus Gates, Assistant Secretary of the Navy (Air).
TR-8414; 74:025:903; 80-G-471275
USS Lexington; November-December 1943.
Crewmen of the USS Lexington gather around a dive bomber damaged in air action.

TR-8431; 74:025:873; 80-G-471283
Victor Jorgensen; USS Lexington; November 1943.
Crewmen listen to the ship's intercom as pilots describe a raid on Kwajelein Island.

TR-8434; 74:025:909; 80-G-471284
Landing signal officer on a US aircraft carrier.

TR-8438; 74:025:761; 80-G-471287

TR-8459; 74:025:889; 80-G-471289
USS Lexington; December 1943.
Gremlins dance on deck: effect obtained by a time exposure of a flashlight attached to the wrist of a landing signal officer.
TR-8499; 74:025:251; 80-G-474379
Charles Kerlee; USS Yorktown; August 1943.
"Talker" relays gunnery officers orders to the gun crews of the USS Yorktown.

TR-8504; 74:025:666; 80-G-471295
USS Lexington; November 1943.
Pilots of the USS Lexington await orders to board their aircraft.

TR-8509; 74:025:704; 80-G-471229
Pilots' ready room on the USS Lexington.

TR-8517; 74:025:847; 80-G-475249
Edward Steichen; USS Lexington; November-December 1943.
Cdr. B.W. Wright, the executive officer of the USS Lexington.

TR-8519; 74:025:72; 70-G-415476
Charles Kerlee; USS Yorktown; October 1943.
Crewmen read and relax below decks on the USS Yorktown.
TR-8522-D-1; 74:025:83; 80-G-475250
Edward Steichen; USS Lexington; December 4, 1943.
The USS Yorktown under attack by Japanese aircraft, as seen from the USS Lexington.

TR-8523; 74:025:734; 80-G-468254
Victor Jorgensen; USS Lexington; November-December 1943.
Edward Steichen photographing with a K-20 aerial camera from the USS Lexington.

TR-8524; copy print from an original in the collection of T.J. Maloney (GEH neg 27755); 80-G-418194
Edward Steichen; USS Lexington; November 1943.
A Grumman F6F Hellcat roars off the deck of the USS Lexington.

TR-8547; 74:025:237; 80-G-216213
Wayne Miller; Engebi Island; February 1944.
Landing craft carry Marines toward Engebi Island behind a smoke screen.

TR-8787; 74:025:387; 80-G-225251
Marshall Islands; 1943.
View of part of Fast Carrier Task Force 58.
Charles Kerlee; Eniwetok Island; March 1944. Seabees with bulldozers carve out an airstrip with bulldozers.

Victor Jorgensen; USS Lexington; November-December 1943. Aircrewm en of the USS Lexington board their plane.

Horace Bristol; Espiritu Santo; February 1944. Navy personnel prepare to depart Espiritu Santo on a transport plane.

Victor Jorgensen; USS Lexington; November-December 1943. The deck crew of the USS Lexington wipes up oil spilled during the landing of a damaged plane.
An aircraft carrier seen from the deck of the USS Lexington.

Crewmen sit on the edge of the flight deck of the USS Lexington.

Ready room of the USS Lexington after a mission.

The flight deck of the USS Lexington after the ship's planes have returned from a mission.
TR-9329; 74:025:902; 80-G-471737
Edward Steichen; USS Lexington; November 1943.
The flight deck of the USS Lexington after its planes have returned from a mission.

TR-9330; 74:025:686; 80-G-473089
Victor Jorgensen; USS Lexington; November-December 1943.
Edward Steichen is shown with the officers of the USS Lexington.

TR-9331; 74:025:752; 80-G-471738
Victor Jorgensen; USS Lexington; November 1943.
In the background, a plane comes in for a landing on the USS Lexington.

TR-9339; 74:025:900; 80-G-471740
USS Lexington; November 1943.
Landing signal officer at work aboard the USS Lexington.

TR-9340; 74:025:673; 80-G-471741
USS Lexington; November 1943.
Landing signal officer at work aboard the USS Lexington.
Ensign Andy Jagger describes air action over Rabaul.

A Navy PBY patrol bomber over the Pacific.

The Marines' testament to the Seabees on Bougainville.

Protestant services are held aboard the USS Saratoga.
Victor Jorgensen; USS Monterey; June 20, 1944. Lt. Roland "Rip" Gift relaxes with a drink in the ready room of the USS Monterey after making a night landing.

Victor Jorgensen; USS Monterey; June 1944. A crewman of the USS Monterey is shown with a stack of sandwiches.

Victor Jorgensen; USS Monterey; June 1944. A Grumman Avenger lands on the USS Monterey after a mission over Tinian Island.

Victor Jorgensen; USS Monterey; June 11, 1944. In the ready room of the USS Monterey, a pilot reports on a mission over Tinian.
Victor Jorgensen; USS Monterey; June 1944.
A pilot describes air action in the ready room of the USS Monterey.

Fenno Jacobs; USS Yorktown; June 1944.
Flag flies over gun crew at its station on the USS Yorktown.

Fenno Jacobs; USS Yorktown; June 1944.
The USS Hornet is seen from the deck of the USS Yorktown.

USS Yorktown; September 1944.
Crewmen during off-duty hours on board the USS Yorktown.
TR-10922; 74:025:916; 80-G-476318
Fenno Jacobs; USS Yorktown; June 1944.
Pilots in the carrier ready room of the
USS Yorktown.

TR-10928; 74:025:745; 80-G-305229
Guam; September 1944.
Portrait of Sgt. Paul Dorsey, USMC.

TR-10939; 74:025:766; 80-G-468752
Victor Jorgensen; USS Monterey; July 1944.
A Grumman TBM Avenger on its way to Guam.

TR-10945; 74:025:866; 80-G-468756
Victor Jorgensen; USS Monterey; July 1944.
A Navy pilot heading to an Avenger before
a strike against Guam.

TR-10948; 74:025:146; 80-G-417628
Victor Jorgensen; USS Monterey; June-July 1944.
Navy crewmen use the forward elevator for a game
of basketball. The left-hand figure jumping
for the ball is Ensign Gerald R. Ford.
Pilots of the USS Monterey head for their torpedo-bombers before a strike against Guam.

Aircrewm en of the USS Monterey discuss an air mission.

A Marine wounded in the fighting on Guam receives plasma at a first-aid station.

A Marine wounded in the fighting on Guam receives plasma at a first-aid station.
TR-10988; 74:025:748; 80-G-474793
Victor Jorgensen; USS Monterey; June 11, 1944.
The ready room of the USS Monterey: waiting for word of a mission over Tinian.

TR-11017; loan from the collection of T.J. Maloney; 80-G-471762.
Victor Jorgensen; USS Lexington; November-December 1943.
Edward Steichen photographing sailors asleep on the deck of the USS Lexington.

TR-11020; 74:025:763; 80-G-401047
Paul Dorsey; Majuro Island; August 1944.
A Marine pilot based on Majuro stands on the wing of his plane.

TR-11086; 74:025:672; 80-G-468782
Wayne Miller; USS Tulagi; August 1944.
A plane handler gives the signal "Lock tailwheel" to a Hellcat pilot on the USS Tulagi, off southern France.

TR-11108; 74:025:749; 80-G-405235
Wayne Miller; USS Tulagi; August 1944.
Debriefing session in the ready room of the USS Tulagi.
Debriefing session in the ready room of the USS Tulagi after a strike in southern France.

Barrett Gallagher; USS Intrepid; November 1944. A Hellcat taxies into position for take-off on the USS Intrepid.

A pilot in the ready room of the USS Yorktown listening for news of the members of his squadron who have not yet returned.
A Grumman Avenger flies through Pacific clouds.

Sailors stand on top of a 5" gun turret.

Portrait of Chief Boatswain Alfred Reyman.
Wayne Miller; USS Ticonderoga; November 1944. Aircrewnmen in the ready room of the USS Ticonderoga.

Wayne Miller; USS Ticonderoga; November 1944. Aircrewnmen being briefed before the first air strike against Manila.

Wayne Miller; USS Ticonderoga; November 1944. A plane captain adjusts a pilot's flight gear.

Wayne Miller; USS Ticonderoga; November 1944. A signalman sends a blinker message from the USS Ticonderoga.

Wayne Miller; USS Ticonderoga; November 1944. Aircrewnmen slip into flight gear before the first attack on Manila.
TR-11656-C; 74:025:247; 80-G-469992
Fenno Jacobs; USS New Jersey; November 1944.
A gunner prepares to load a 16-inch shell into the breech of a gun on the battleship USS New Jersey.

TR-11666; 74:025:228; 80-G-284439
Bomber camera photo; Philippines; October 1944.
A Japanese cruiser is attacked by U.S. dive bombers off the Philippines.

TR-11672; 74:025:153; 80-G-287018
Bomber camera photo; Manila Bay; November 1944.
A Japanese cruiser under attack by U.S. warplanes.

TR-11674; 74:025:242; 80-G-469993
Fenno Jacobs; USS New Jersey; November 1944.
Gunners packing bags of powder into a 16-inch gun on the battleship USS New Jersey.

TR-11940; 74:025:9; 80-G-342482
Barrett Gallagher; USS Intrepid; November 25, 1944.
Firemen battle flames after a kamikaze hit on the carrier deck.
Edward Steichen on the USS Lexington. (According to Jorgensen, this is a combination print; the carrier deck was added at a later date.)

Deck crewmen on board the USS Lexington.

Cdr. G.A. Heap; over Japan; February 1945. U.S. planes fly past Mt. Fujiyama en route to a bombing raid on Tokyo.

Aerial view of Iwo Jima coastline.
Thomas Binford; USS Castle Rock; April 1945.
Crewmen enjoying a swim at shipside.

Charles Kerlee; USS Hornet; January 1945.
A Curtiss Helldiver returns to the USS Hornet.

Victor Jorgensen; USS Solace; May 1945.
Wounded receive treatment aboard the hospital ship USS Solace.

Victor Jorgensen; USS Solace; May 1945.
Wounded receive treatment aboard the hospital ship USS Solace.
Victor Jorgensen; USS Solace; May 1945.
Wounded receive treatment aboard the hospital ship USS Solace.

Thomas Binford; Okinawa; May 1945.
Naval officers wait in a dugout on Okinawa for the end of a Japanese artillery attack.

The radar plot room of a U.S. destroyer.

Barrett Gallagher; USS Alut; June 1945.
Sailors watch a plane landing on the USS Ticonderoga.
Admiral Halsey's Third Fleet maneuvers during "Operation Snapshot" off the coast of Japan.

Admiral Halsey's Third Fleet maneuvers during "Operation Snapshot" off the coast of Japan.

Admiral Halsey's Third Fleet maneuvers during "Operation Snapshot" off the coast of Japan.

Submarine crewmen pass the hours while beneath the surface.

A Japanese prisoner is taken on board an American submarine.
A submarine crewman catches up on his mail after a long cruise.

Crewmen's quarters on a submarine.

A U.S. submarine.
ADDITIONS

TR-5949; 74:025:739; 80-G-470528
Alfonso Ianelli; USS Mobile; August 1943.
Religious services en route to Marcus Island.
(Ianelli was an enlisted man who served with
Steichen's unit.)

TR-5950; 74:025:680; 80-G-470529
Alfonso Ianelli; USS Mobile; August 1943.
Religious services en route to Marcus Island.

TR-7963; copy print from an original in the
collection of T.J. Maloney (GEH neg 27764);
80-G-415580
Edward Steichen; USS Lexington; November 1943.
A Hellcat takes off from the USS Lexington.
List of Illustrations

1. Road to Victory: installation view.
2. Road to Victory: installation view.
3. Road to Victory: installation view.
4. Fenno Jacobs: Assembly of machine-gun turrets at the Glenn H. Martin aircraft plant. (TR-2623)
6. Wayne Miller: Scene at dawn on the deck of the carrier USS Saratoga. (TR-7289)
7. Charles Kerlee: Calisthenics on the deck of the USS Yorktown. (TR-6067)
9. Wayne Miller: Aircrewmen slip into flight gear in the ready room of the USS Ticonderoga. (TR-11600)
10. Fenno Jacobs: Gunner on the battleship USS New Jersey prepares to load a shell. (TR-11656-C)
11. Fenno Jacobs: Gunners on the USS New Jersey packing in bags of gunpowder. (TR-11674-C-)
12. Charles Kerlee: Ordnancemen load a torpedo onto a torpedo-bomber on the USS Suwannee. (TR-2426)
15. Victor Jorgensen: Crewmen move a damaged plane off the deck of the USS Lexington. (TR-8061)
16. Victor Jorgensen: Pilots relax after a night landing on the USS Monterey. (TR-10060)
17. Wayne Miller: A wounded gunner is removed from a torpedo-bomber after a mission. (TR-7194)

18. Barrett Gallagher: Firemen battle flames after a kaimaze attack on the USS Intrepid. (TR-11940)

19. Victor Jorgensen: A wounded soldier is treated on the hospital ship USS Solace, off Okinawa. (TR-13771)

20. Wayne Miller: Debriefing in the ready room of the USS Tulagi. (TR-11108)

21. Edward Steichen: Jubilant pilots of the USS Lexington after an air battle in which they destroyed 17 enemy planes. (TR-8134)

22. Edward Steichen: Crewmen asleep on the deck of the USS Lexington. (TR-8139)

23. Victor Jorgensen: Basketball game on the USS Monterey. Figure on the left, jumping for the ball, is Ensign Gerald R. Ford. (TR-10948)

24. Wayne Miller: A plane parker signals the pilot of a Hellcat on board the USS Saratoga. (TR-7210)


26. Horace Bristol: A Japanese prisoner is led off of an American submarine. (TR-15161)

27. Barrett Gallagher: The Third Fleet maneuvers during "Operation Snapshot" off the coast of Japan. (TR-14785)


30. Edward Steichen: Take-off from the deck of the USS Lexington. (TR-7963)