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# A Pelican's Journey to Flight: A Louisiana National Guardsman, The Development of the United States Air Service, and The Human Cost of Military Innovation

## A Thesis

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the University of New Orleans in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts in History Public History

by

James Hadley Smith

B.S. Louisiana Tech University, 2020

May 2023

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#### **Abstract**

George E. Dicks deployed to the Mexican Punitive Expedition and World War I with the Louisiana National Guard. He recorded his experience in writing and photography, all of which reside in the Jackson Barracks Military Museum in Chalmette, Louisiana. His papers reflect an officer's perspective on early military aviation and parallel to the United States military's experimentation with aviation. Dicks became an aerial observer in World War I.

This thesis explores George E. Dicks' papers and how it both represents the development of the Army Air Service and the human cost of military aviation with photographic evidence. By representing aviation's development, he illuminates the human nature of military experimentation. A comparison between Dicks and the emerging American aviator appears before an in-depth interpretation. Each photo album receives a content analysis to understand his changing perspective throughout his military career. His transition to aviation mirrors the Army's operational changes during World War I, emphasizing the observational roles.

Examining Dicks photo albums and journals present a unique perspective on the United States Army Air Service and artillery with the human cost of military experimentation.

#### Introduction

The Wright Brothers' first success in powered flight influenced aviation. A simple plane fabricated with canvas, wood, wire, and a Glenn Curtis motor transformed transportation and military operations. The sponsored flight experiment on June 3, 1909 at Fort Myer, Virginia to American military leaders illuminated the offensive capabilities of horizontal flight. The United States was not the first country to use an airplane in a military capacity as Italy first used aircraft in the Libyan conflict of 1911-1912 and other military powers experimented with aviation in a military capacity up to 1914.

World War I offered opportunities to expand and experiment with aeronautical applications in war. France and Germany used airplanes as observation tools to locate artillery targets. In response to the planes' success, pursuit and bomber squadrons developed by 1915. In 1916, prior to its entry into World War I, the United States used aircraft with the 1st Aero Squadron. It performed aerial observation and communication missions across the Mexican landscape in pursuit of Pancho Villa. Such use of airplanes became the foundation for American military aviation in World War I. The United States' aviation development from Mexico to France mirrors the journey of a particular National Guardsman named George E. Dicks.

George E. Dicks was a Louisiana National Guardsman born in Natchez, Mississippi on September 17<sup>th</sup>, 1887. He began his military career as sergeant for the 141st Field Artillery Regiment in 1915. His first experience with conflict was the Mexican Punitive Expedition in

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Claudia M. Oakes and Kathleen L. Brooks-Pazmany, *Aircraft of the National Air and Space Museum*, ed. by F. Robert van der Linden, 4th ed. (Washington, D.C. and London, Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991), 183.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> John H. Morrow Jr., *The Great War in the Air: Military Aviation from 1909 to 1921* (Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press, 2009), 25.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup>Mitchell Yockelson, "The United States Armed Forces and the Mexican Punitive Expedition: Part 2," *Prologue Magazine* 29, no. 4 (1997): 1.

1916, after which he deployed to France in World War I. His transition from artillery to aviation appears in his writing and photography. His journals have historical value but only cover his experience in World War I. The journals and photo albums allow researchers to examine and interpret Dicks' experience as he transitions from artillery to aviation, which serves as the foundation for this thesis.

Jackson Barracks Military Museum holds these photo albums and journals in a military memorabilia collection donated by Dicks' granddaughter, Mrs. Margaret Schonberg. The journals and photo albums expressed a variety of emotions, ranging from adventurous to sorrow. Contributions to these moments involved his training to become an aerial observer near the end of World War I. From the training, he learns how his military background transfers to aviation. Beyond military skills, his experience mirrored the requirements of early military aviation. His military career allowed him to witness the effects of World War I on France as an early American aviator while participating in aviation training. His experience provides a biased perspective on human cost associated with military innovation through photography.

Dicks' journals illuminate a journey to and from France during World War I. Weather, letters, villages, news, and training appear as topics. Such subjects provide perspective on his military life but do not offer the full story. Two photo albums are a part of the Dicks' collection from his service in the Mexican Punitive Expedition and World War I. Both albums illuminate his military career as he explores the Texas-Mexican border and the war in France. The transition from adventure and national pride to somberness stands out in these two photo albums.

The Jackson Barracks Military Museum recognizes the photos as taken and collected throughout Dicks' military career. Several photos are postcards collected during his time in France, with white writing on the bottom left of the photos as the indication. There are several

throughout the photo albums, notable in the World War I album, which brings to question the other photo's authors. Several photos present his time and travel as an aerial observer, which mirrors those of other Great War veterans. What makes his authorship questionable is the violent photos near the middle and end of the World War I album.

One example is the photo of American soldiers going over a trench in what Dicks describes as a scene at the Chateau Thierry battle. The photo appears from an aerial view, which makes sense to his role as an aerial observer. The photo's origin appears as Dicks but appears again in *The Second Army Air Service Book* on page 108 in the "A Day Over the Lines" section. The book's caption for the photo reads: "We hurry back to the south now towards Pont-a-Mousson, where we find the infantry going over the top behind the smoke and dust of their barrage in the shell torn No Man's Land." The book appears in the George E. Dicks collection as the book connects to his service with the 24th Balloon Company Corps in 1919, where he eventually became the commander of the company.

This pattern of violence pictured throughout the collection becomes a question of what Dicks witnessed during his year and more in France. Part of the research is questioning not only the material but the author of the material. This evaluation does not devalue the veteran's experience but highlights the need for further research into the collection. Researching both photo albums requires a delicate process as both deteriorate with age, especially the World War I album. It is available on the Jackson Barracks Military Museum Flickr page: George E. Dicks WWI | Flickr.

The content analysis methodology for Dicks' photography came from a master's thesis on

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> World War I Photo Album, Photo 64.244, George E. Dicks Collection, Louisiana National Guard Museums Collection, Jackson Barracks, New Orleans, La.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> United States. Army. Army, 2nd. Air Service. *The Second Army Air Service book*. U.S. Army, 1919. 108. https://doi.org/10.5479/sil.98933.39088009319575

evaluating war photography from the Iraq War. Mary Elizabeth Major's thesis "War's Visual Discourse: A Content Analysis of Iraq War Imagery" examines photographs from several news magazines and evaluates how the photos portrayed the Iraq War and its participants. Her categorization and data entry of the Iraq War transitions to other military photography, such as those focusing on combat, civilians, and landscape. Her categories included military and civilian life, damage and destruction, and terrorism.<sup>6</sup> The categories picked for the content analysis of Dicks' photography included military, tools of war, civilian, destruction and damage, and landscape. These categories divide into subcategories: military into soldiers/troops and military leaders; tools of war into artillery, personal arms, planes, and horses; landscape into general, base, camps, buildings, and trenches; and civilians into the general public and political leaders. These categories and subcategories became inputs for a table representing their presence and consistency within Dicks' photo albums. Additional categories and subcategories appear for subjects not initially mentioned. Major's methodology establishes an interpretive pattern within the photo albums and allows further dissection.

A psychological look at war photography illuminates its historical weight. Susan Sontag's work *Regarding the Pain of Others* evaluates the psychological responses received from the portrayal of war by different media, such as photography and video. An emphasis on the emotional weight of photography appears throughout her book, focusing on the immediacy of photography. Photographed subjects come with immediacy, which is visual evidence of an event or moment. Sontag describes the multiple conflicts photographed, such as World War I, when photography "...acquired an immediacy and authority greater than any verbal account..." She

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Mary Elizabeth Major, "War's Visual Discourse: A Content Analysis of Iraq War Imagery," M.S. Thesis, Portland State University, 2013, 3.

described photography's greater power compared to written records.<sup>7</sup> Her recognition of war photography's complexity initiates a deeper reflection of Dicks' photography. Understanding photography's importance allows further evaluation of the soldier behind the camera.

World War I photography requires understanding the subject matter and its bias. In an issue of *Contemporary Austrian Studies*, Markus Wurzer evaluates the hidden and visible violence of World War I photography. Using an Austrian officer from World War I allows easy comparison to Dicks' photo albums. Beyond the subject and proximity to conflict, Wurzer questions the photographer to establish a motive and reasoning for taking a photo during the war. Wurzer also encourages using complementary artifacts, such as a diary or journal, for it "...opens up the methodological chance of bridging the gap of violence in the albums in/visible [invisible or visible] by adopting a comparative perspective." Unified use of the journal and photos allows the researcher to bridge information gaps within the primary sources. This thinking offers clarity on the use of Dicks' journals and photo albums for this thesis. Beyond the evaluation of the photo albums, identifying his occupation and the transferable skills became a necessity.

The research of Dicks' military career began with the artillery officer position during the Mexican Punitive Expedition. Artillery officers needed to understand the different roles of an artillery crew. Pictured throughout his first photo album was the artillery position of a forward observer. A modern-day forward observer interview with Specialist Geron Neil Shackelford established the training dedicated to the role and how training goals remained consistent through the years. Shackelford is a forward observer for the Louisiana National Guard who completed basic training and describes his training with time lapses, procedures for different training

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup>Susan Sontag, Regarding the Pain of Others (New York, NY: Picador, 2003), 24.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup>Markus Wurzer, "In/Visibility of Violence: The First World War in Austrian Private Photo Albums," ed. by Gunter Bischof, Martin Kofler, and Hans Petschar, *Contemporary Austrian Studies*, Vol.30 (Innsbruck-New Orleans: UNO Press-Innsbruck University Press, 2021), 122.

periods, and tools used throughout the process.<sup>9</sup> The difference in time is well above 100 years, but the nature of the forward observer remains the same. Shackelford provides a unique perspective and description for artillery training.

As Shackelford established the foundation of artillery's observational aspect, Private First-Class August Huete details the position's tasks by describing in several interviews the steps a forward observer takes to execute artillery fire. In between the description, he describes the line of communication present within an artillery battery, which Dicks commanded during his time in the Mexican Punitive Expedition. Huete's interviews dive into the environment of a peace-time military and beyond the role of a forward observer. Deployments provide an opportunity to use military skills and break the monotony of stillness. Huete presents a modern look into the benefits of deployment and how a forward observer performs in the field.

Dicks' military career requires multiple perspectives and an evaluation of the military environment he participated in as a soldier. Accompanying his environment is a look at the Mexican Punitive Expedition. As the Expedition's history remains essential, an investigation into the United States military aviation history requires analysis. The works of Juliette A. Hennessy and Philip M. Flammer establish a general background of early military aviation in America. Their works establish the foundation of military aviation and explain early practices and observations. Understanding the positions of an artillery crew required the input of forward observers Shackelford and Huete. Further research involved a combination of aviation practices,

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Specialist Geron Neil Shackelford, interview by James Hadley Smith, Telephone Call in University of New Orleans Earl K. Long Library, April 14, 2022.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> George E. Dicks' Bio, George E. Dicks Collection, Louisiana National Guard Museums Collection, Jackson Barracks, New Orleans, La.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Private First Class August Huete, interview by James Hadley Smith, In-person interview at University of New Orleans Earl K. Long Library, October 9, 2022.

background research on early American military aviation, military photography, and interpretation of Dicks' military collection. Pursuit and bombing aviation overshadowed aviation's early history; but, between the lines, details appear. The imagery within the two photo albums led to research on military photography and the subject matter of Dicks' photography.

# **Historiography**

Researching the Air Service's history requires an academic, military perspective. Samuel Hynes and the late Lt. Lucien H. Thayer present their works in response to the military perspective. Partnered with Hynes and Thayer, John Morrow's work establishes the operations and experimentation of military aviation. Such a collection of works provides a foundation for further understanding of aviation's development and its place in military history.

Researching the lives of World War I veterans requires an evaluation of their personal input, such as their writing and photography. Visual evidence suggests the environment veterans experienced while processing war. Melanie S. Gaumond followed this example with her thesis "An American Ambulance Driver in France during the Great War: The Lasting Memory and Relationship between Harry N. Deyo, the Men of Section 591, and French Civilians." Gaumond identified the relationship between French civilians and American Army Ambulance servicemen with an emphasis on collective memory and remembrance evidence, such as photography. 12

She dives into the details of photography's evolution and use during the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, providing clarification on how the ordinary soldier photographed during World War I.

Letters and articles from the unit's newsletter provides details on aspects not within the photography. The experiences of Harry N. Deyo mirror those of Dicks with their shared interest

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Melanie S. Gaumond, "An American Ambulance Driver in France during the Great War: The Lasting Memory and Relationship between Harry N. Deyo, the Men of Section 591, and French Civilians." Master's Thesis. University of New Orleans, 2020, iv.

in the French countryside and people but separate on their visualization of violence. Gaumond's use of different media to create a cohesive narrative is a helpful guide to other researchers working with veteran's and their stories.

The initial research for military aviation's legislation and military buildup came from an Air Power Historian article. "Men and Planes of World War I and a History of the Lafayette Escadrille" reappeared in 2017 with the centennial celebration of the United States' entry into World War I. The original publication dates from 1956 to 1957, challenging the article's relevance. Hennessy's credentials establish the article's relevance as she was the "...historian in the USAF Historical Division, Research Studies Institute, Air University, Maxwell Airforce Base, Alabama..." at the time of publication. 13 The discussion on government support for the new army branch comes with criticism as the process was slow with interest present. Military background on the Air Service's development follows a limited timeline from the Taft administration to the beginning of World War I. As the article transitions into World War I, the discussion shifts to the Lafayette Escadrille. Hennessy goes in-depth into this Franco-American fighting force as the unit's story provides evidence of the airplane's efficiency. The article's strength comes from the observations of legislative investment into the new Air Service. Representative James Hay of Virginia appears as the foremost legislative advocate of the Air Service. Hennessy highlights the repeated legislation appeals encouraging the Air Service's independence and importance within 1913, establishing civilian support for the Air Service.<sup>14</sup> Hennessey's history of the Lafayette Escadrille mirrors Flammer's work as The Vivid Air: The Lafayette Escadrille dives into pursuit squadrons and the assembly of early military aviation.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup>Juliette A. Hennessy, "Men and Planes of World War I and a History of the Lafayette Escadrille," *Air Power History* 64, no. 2, (2017), accessed October 27, 2022, 44, https://www.jstor.org/stable/26571012.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Hennessy, "Men and Planes of World War I and a History of the Lafayette Escadrille," 44.

The 1981 book, *The Vivid Air*, written by Philip M. Flammer, expands Hennessy's research on military aviation. The narrative comes from the members of the Franco-American squadron, highlighting the triumphs and experimentation. Before the Escadrille formed in 1916, discussion brought the airplane's development beyond an observational tool. Flammer discusses how planes filled in the spaces produced by the "fog of war" as a fast-paced strategy developed into trench warfare along the Western front. From the experimental capacity of observational flights, *The Vivid Air* presents information on the foundation of pursuit aircraft, appearing in February 1915. Understanding the backstory of pursuit aviation and its observational origins creates an understanding of observation's influence.

Air warfare is an important aspect of World War I. The air war had an intricate background with moving parts from the different participating nations. John H. Morrow, Jr. tackles World War I's air warfare in his book *The Great War in the Air: Military Aviation from 1909 to 1921*. Morrow researches the air war's impact through an industrial, economic, and strategic perspective, revealing the complexities of air war and how different countries adapted. The "1918" chapter became the focal point as Dicks arrived in France during the summer of 1918 for aviation training. Morrow's account of France's investment and trust in a developing, independent air force details the environment and expectations presented to American aviators and the United States' military. Morrow's World War I comparison between France's air service and the United States brings participating aviators to the forefront, with Samuel Hynes as a supporting academic.

Morrow's work establishes an in-depth look into the extensive background of early

<sup>15</sup> Philip M. Flammer, *The Vivid Air: The Lafayette Escadrille* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1981), 33-34.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Flammer, The Vivid Air, 46.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Morrow, The Great War in the Air, 283.

military aviation. Before this work, Hynes dedicated a book to military personnel who participated in World War I as aviators and other supporting roles. *The Unsubstantial Air:*American Fliers in the First World War offers a public, historical account of the men who entered military aviation. A focal point of interest is the treatment of observational aviation. The chapter dedicated to observational aviation follows its importance within missions, such as photographic missions and artillery ranging. Another highlight is observation's continued role in the war, even with the developments of its pursuit and bombing counterparts. His book follows a growing pattern within modern military literature by recognizing observational aviators and their contributions. The United States Air Service received recognition for its varied roles in World War I, with one military officer recording the entire history of its wartime service.

As Morrow and Hynes established a modern interpretation of early military aviation, an official history of the United States Air Service during World War I laid the foundation. Lt. Lucien H. Thayer wrote a detailed United States Air Service account from 1917 to 1918. He emphasizes American aviation's observational role in World War I due to the observational plane's production stability. The book also highlights the ballooning presence within World War I, which receives little recognition in the overall narrative. With the mention of small details relating to aviation, photography appears near the end of the book. Aerial photography is a compact subject throughout the book, with brief explanations on how the camera became automatic with the rise of offensive aerial combat. The description illuminates the cause and effect of warfare on technology in observational roles.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Samuel Hynes, *The Unsubstantial Air: American Fliers in the First World War* (New York City, NY: Farrar, Straus and Giroux Press, 2014), 184.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Lucien H. Thayer, *America's First Eagles: The Official History of the U.S. Air Service, A.E.F. (1917-1918)*, ed. Donald Joseph McGee and Roger James Bender (San Jose, CA and Mesa, AZ: R. James Bender Publishing and Champlin Fighter Museum Press, 1983), 16.

America's First Eagles: The Official History of the U.S. Air Service, A.E.F. (1917-1918) by Thayer established the literary foundation of the United States' military aviation in World War I. World War I and its various perspectives dominate the historical narrative of the United States military during the early 20th century. World War I overshadowed previous conflicts, such as the Mexican Punitive Expedition, related to the foundation of the United States' strategy. In 2021, Jeff Guinn published a book titled War on the Border: Villa, Pershing, The Texas Rangers, and an American Invasion, which details the historical tension between Mexico and the United States. The tension in the book emphasizes the Mexican Revolution in 1911, with the election of Fransico Madero as the catalyst. Guinn uses the Expedition as the foundation for the United States' use of airplanes. War on the Border provides a political foundation for the Expedition with generalized military details on a significant moment for the United States Air Service.

Once military aviation received recognition, the Expedition deserved evaluation. Guinn's modern perspective on the Expedition examines the diplomatic and cultural impact of the conflict. His book establishes the environment of Dicks' first deployment and how it influenced his second deployment to France. Before evaluating his transition from artillery to aviation, it is essential to compare Dicks to the emerging class of aviators.

# A Comparison of George E. Dicks among Early Aviators

The military's introduction of aviation came with the help of several military leaders and legislatures. Commissioned officers dominated the history of the aviation branch as it entered the U.S. Army under the Signal Corps. Enlisted men were part of military aviation with limited

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Jeff Guinn, War on the Border: Villa, Pershing, the Texas Rangers, and an American Invasion (New York City, NY: Simon & Schuster, 2021), 29.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Guinn, War on the Border, 168.

recognition. San Diego became the center of military aviation with twenty officers, ranging from 1st to 2nd lieutenants, stationed at the early air base.<sup>22</sup> The nature of military aviation's origins with commissioned officers established a rank hierarchy for future American aviators. Dicks follows this pattern as his entry into aviation came after receiving a commission as First Lieutenant with the Louisiana National Guard as an artillery officer.

Beyond the hierarchical ranking of early aviators, the founding members of the Lafayette Escadrille established another standard for early aviators. Members of the Escadrille established an American presence in military flight at the beginning of World War I. Their history reveals the interpersonal details and politics behind early aviation squadrons. Access to aviation was limited. Only those of relative wealth and connections became the original aviators within the United States. Once the Wright Brothers established accessible flight, Ivy League schools such as Harvard and Yale created aero clubs where many students learned how to fly.<sup>23</sup> Encouragement and practice led to competitions between universities, which transitioned flight into a sport of high stature.

All these elements of early horizontal aviation transitioned into the military's expectations for aviators. Most of the notable members of the Escadrille had a common feature; all graduated from notable colleges. Victor Chapman, James McConnell, and Norman Price went to Harvard; and William Thaw attended Yale before going to France to join the war effort.<sup>24</sup> As the exploits of the Escadrille grew, their educational backgrounds reflected their ranks.

Future members of aviation came as American aviators both abroad and internally

<sup>22</sup> Hennessy, "Men and Planes of World War I and a History of the Lafayette Escadrille," 45, https://www.jstor.org/stable/26571012.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Paul E. Mawn, "Harvard Alumni and the Origins of US Military and Naval Aviation," *Second Line of Defense*, November 25, 2016, accessed November 2, 2022, 2, https://sldinfo.com/2016/11/harvard-alumni-and-the-origins-of-us-military-and-naval-aviation/.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Hynes, The Unsubstantial Air: American Fliers in the First World War, 11.

established standards. Dicks' entry into aviation was not immediate although his background foreshadowed his entry. Before he joined the National Guard, Dicks attended the Georgia School of Technology, a.k.a. "Georgia Tech," and joined the fraternity Sigma Alpha Epsilon in 1910. The educational background and fraternal brotherhood mirror the Escadrille's founders to a degree. With his college career as a foundation, Dicks' background as an artillery officer furthered his candidacy as an aviator.

As aviation developed in the early 20th century, the branch recruited from various locations. The Aviation Section of the Signal Corps was made up of enlisted men and officers from a combination of the infantry and cavalry. These recruits originated due to their interest and background of transferable skills. Aviation started as an observational role dedicated to learning and pinpointing enemy movement. The informational development followed the role of an artillery forward observer. Artillery officers and enlisted men became essential parts of the United States Aviation during World War I, but the idea was not original.

Two of the earliest influential figures within aviation were Guilio Douhet and Count Caproni. The two Italian inventors reimagined aviation, especially regarding bombing. What stands out about Douhet's entry into aviation came with a combination of interest in the emerging field and military background as an army artillery officer. The idea of artillery and other ground forces as the foundation of aviation remained a vital topic for both men. Count Caproni emphasized this relationship as his bomber planes "fueled the perpetual conflict between those who consider aviation as an extension of ground forces and those who advocate an independent air force." Conflict with aviation's development from the ground up presented

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Hennessy, "Men and Planes of World War I and a History of the Lafayette Escadrille," 46.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Frank P. Donnini, "Douhet, Caproni and Early Air Power," Air Power History 37, no. 2, (1990): 45.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Donnini, "Douhet, Caproni and Early Air Power," 47.

challenges to those who defined the emerging field. A build-up of aviation required an understanding of military observation from ground to flight level, which came naturally to artillery officers and enlisted men who entered the emerging field.

Rank, education, and military background defined the standards of early aviators and those entering the field. Aviation in the early 20th century brought the military and the public into an experimental field where connections defined flight availability. Education from early aviators, such as those of the Escadrille, established an educational bar for future aviators. With help from the infantry and cavalry, artillery became the next logical location to recruit future aviation members. The recruitment of artillery officers and enlisted men for aviation appeared within the American military, but Douhet and Caproni reinforced the practice. Dicks followed his military orders, unaware of how his life would change once he began his career with the Louisiana National Guard. His commission as a first lieutenant with the 141st Field Artillery Regiment brought him to the Mexico-Texas border, where he recorded an active United States military.

# The Mexican Punitive Expedition

Tensions rose between the United States and Mexico during the early 20th century. The history between the two countries goes back decades, with the United States and Mexico fighting in the late-1840s and again with Pancho Villa crossing the U.S.-Mexican border in 1916. The Mexican revolutionary was a recognized political and military figure by the United States. Villa's public approach to helping the lower class of Mexico garnered support for his cause of overthrowing the wealthy, sizable landowning class that dominated the landscape. Once the presidency of Mexico became vacant in the early 1910s, the United States supported Villa's opponent, Carranza, who supported the landowning class and American intervention, which

Villa detested.<sup>28</sup> Angered at the disrespect and promotion of his opponent, Villa attacked towns and villages along the Mexican border. The attack on Columbus, New Mexico, initiated the Mexican Punitive Expedition.

Once violence erupted along the Mexican border, President Wilson sent John J. Pershing and the entire National Guard, over 100,000 men, to the Texas-Mexican border. <sup>29</sup> Among those National Guard units was the 141st Field Artillery Regiment in which Lt. George E. Dicks served. His command involved Battery C, which involved a team of sixty to 200 soldiers with three artillery guns. <sup>30</sup> His command of troops along the Mexican border left a great impression as he developed a photo collection during his first deployment.

As the 29-year-old lieutenant traveled to fight Pancho Villa's forces, he photographed different aspects of military life. Fighting along the Mexican border was a precursor to the U.S.'s entry into World War I as soldiers experienced combat. The experiences reflected those in Europe fighting in World War I, with similar themes. As Wurzer describes in "In/Visibility of Violence," soldiers during World War I "...appropriated the foreign as the familiar: for example, foreign landscapes and architecture, unfamiliar military equipment, or the unusual everyday life of war-such as leisure time with comrades or the receiving of rations-got visualized." Wurzer's synopsis of World War I photography identifies the theme of everyday life familiar in soldiers' photography. Each aspect mentioned appears throughout Dicks' first photo album.

The first photographic theme mentioned by Wurzer's observation is the visualization of the unfamiliar landscape with structures. One category in the content analysis of Dicks' photo

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Guinn, War on the Border, 3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> Ibid, 205.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> Private First Class August Huete, interview by James Hadley Smith, In-person interview at University of New Orleans Earl K. Long Library, October 9, 2022.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> Wurzer, "In/Visibility of Violence," 117.

album is "Landscape," with several subcategories. The "Landscape" category constituted nineteen percent of the photo album, split into five subcategories. The first three subcategories shown in Figure 2 identified the overall landscape Dicks observed during his movement along the Mexican border.

One subcategory whose appearance illuminated the development of the modern military strategy was "Trenches," with only two photos. These photos represented the military games used in training, with one photo captioned "Brown Army Entrenched." "Camps" dominated the "Landscape" category with the third highest appearance at thirteen percent. Confirmation of Wurzer's observation of photographed military life appeared throughout Dicks' Expedition photo album.



Figure 1: "Brown Army Entrenched" Source: Mexican Punitive Expedition Photo Album, George E. Dicks Collection, Louisiana National Guard Museums Collection, Jackson Barracks, New Orleans, La.

"Landscape" and "Soldiers/Troops" coincided multiple times, as military personnel appeared consistently within camp photographs. He took a great interest in photographing military personnel, including some of his men, whom he named in the captions. The pictures of the soldiers/troops appear in different fashions, with several in a portrait with varying tools of

<sup>32</sup> George E. Dicks Collection, Louisiana National Guard Museums Collection, Jackson Barracks, New Orleans, La.

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war, notably artillery, sidearms, and even horses. Dicks' photography focused on his experience with an artillery battery and camp life, which appeared in the "Military" category. The category's ninety total photos and fifty-four appearance percentage overshadowed the rest.

Another Wurzer observation present within the photo album was the recording of "unfamiliar military equipment."<sup>33</sup> As an artillery officer, Dicks oversaw multiple functions involved with artillery pieces. The leadership position allowed him to photograph his artillery battery in different stages. For the "Tools of War" category, "Artillery" was the prominent subject matter with twenty-five photos and a fifteen-appearance percentage, the second highest in the chart. One position photographed consistently was the forward observer with artillery pieces in the background. Forward observation involved individuals on high ladders securing an observation post, so the artillery line of communication receives updated targeting data and necessary arrangements.<sup>34</sup>



Figure 2: "Aircraft and Soldier, 1916?" Source: George Dicks Photographs 1916-1919. George E. Dicks Collection, 2016.043.005.

<sup>33</sup> Wurzer, "In/Visibility of Violence," 117.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> Private First Class August Huete, interview by James Hadley Smith, In-person interview at University of New Orleans Earl K. Long Library, October 9, 2022.

Figure 3:

Categorization and Appearance Percentage of Photographs from George E. Dicks' Mexican

Punitive Expedition Album

Category	Subcategory	Photos	Appearance Percentage		
Military	Soldiers/Troops	89	53		
	Military Leaders	1	1		
Tools of War	Artillery	25	15		
	Personal Arms	4	2		
	Horse	13	8		
Landscape	General	4	2		
	Base	2	1		
	Buildings	4	2		
	Camps	22	13		
	Trenches	2	1		
Civilian	General	3	2		
Total		169 <sup>35</sup>	100		

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> The actual total of photos is 104. 169 was a product of photos having multiple categories and subcategories.



Figure 4: Forward Observers with ladders Source: Mexican Punitive Expedition Photo Album, George E. Dicks Collection, Louisiana National Guard Museums Collection, Jackson Barracks, New Orleans, La.

The forward observer's description matches the later observational roles in military aviation. One of the photos from Dicks' photo collection but absent in the Expedition collection is a picture of a soldier in front of a plane.<sup>36</sup>

The photographed plane is a JN-2 or JN-3 series plane<sup>37</sup> played an influential role not only in the Expedition but the history of American military aviation. JN model planes were the first planes used in a combat capacity by the United States. As the National Guard headed

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> George E. Dicks Photographs, George E. Dicks Collection, Louisiana National Guard Museums Collection, Jackson Barracks, New Orleans, La, 2016.043.005.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> The JN-2 "Jenny" planes were a two-seater plane used for artillery liaison work following the use of the Martin "T" plane. Eight planes participated in the Expedition with only two remaining afterwards after challenging conditions from both the environment and the plane itself.

William C. Machado, *Uniforms & Equipment of the Last Campaign*, 1916: The Pursuit of Pancho Villa (Ontario, CA: Kengraphics Printing & Litho, 1993), 95.

towards the Mexican border, the JN-2 planes were "...disassembled, loaded onto trains along with their pilots and repair crews, then reassembled in Columbus before they could be flown into Mexico days after the expedition set out." The 1st Aero Squadron performed in an observational and communication capacity throughout Northern Mexico with mixed results. Pershing reports his opinions of the JN model planes' exploits as quoted in "The United States Armed Forces and the Mexican Punitive Expedition: Part 2":

The aeroplanes have been of no material benefit so far, either in scouting or as a means of communication. They have not at all met my expectations. The further south Villa goes into the mountains the more difficult will be their tasks, and I have no doubt we shall soon be compelled to abandon them for either scouting the enemy or keeping in touch with the advance columns.<sup>39</sup>

The planes experienced technical difficulties on its first conflict expedition. As Guinn and Gary Glynn described, transporting the airplanes alone was exasperating as pilots recognized the JN-2's drawbacks in training and the JN-3'sduring the Mexican Punitive Expedition. The 1st Aero Squadron witnessed the JN-2 plane's failure in training and action as pilots fought the plane's inability to handle turbulence and intense weather. Harsh conditions and circumstances forced the squadron to change roles several times as their training involved aerial artillery spotting and reconnaissance. An offensive investment went into American service planes as the military experimented with aerial bombing and gunnery, but Glynn highlights the resistance against the plane's evolution as an offensive tool of war. 41

As the JN-2s and JN-3s performed in an observational capacity using aerial artillery spotting as training, artillery complimented aviation's capabilities. By evaluating Dicks' photo

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> Guinn, War on the Border, 168.

Mitchell Yockelson, "The United States Armed Forces and the Mexican Punitive Expedition," accessed March 5th, 2022, 2, https://www.archives.gov/publications/prologue/1997/winter/mexican-punitive-expedition-2.html.
 Gary Glynn. "The 1st Aero Squadron and the Pursuit of Pancho Villa." *HistoryNet*. June 12th, 2006. Accessed July 19th, 2022, 1, https://www.historynet.com/mexican-expedition-1st-aero-squadron-in-pursuit-of-pancho-villa/.
 Ibid.

album with content analysis, research shows dedication to and investment in artillery and its observational role through the forward observer. Such an occupation reflects the original use of aviation as an observation tool with attempts to evolve its service. With his avid photography throughout his first deployment, the photo "Aircraft and Soldier?" and others within the topic infer his interest in the new means of war. <sup>42</sup> As the Expedition ended and the National Guard returned to their respective states, the United States entered World War I with the intent of helping the Allied powers and increase their military strength, both on the ground and in the air. Dicks experienced this military service with the American Expeditionary Force, not as an artillery officer but as an aerial observer for the evolving American Air Service.

## World War I Observational Aviation

After the Expedition, Dicks deployed to France for World War I. His two journals and photo album define a unique experience as an artillery officer who transferred to the developing American Air Service as an aerial observer. The reasoning for his transfer follows a pattern of military planning and transferable skills as the United States began to establish its army in Europe. Outside the military world, he discovered a new environment ravaged by war. He recorded his perspective during his training in an emerging field, where casualties in military innovation appeared inside and outside the battlefield.

Dicks' second deployment began with the 39th Infantry Division's journey from Camp Beauregard to New York for their departure to France. Throughout the trip, he catalogs the towns and hotels the division stopped at with the respective times. The consistency of the recording shows his attention to detail, but a piece is missing from his collection. No paperwork

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> George E. Dicks Photographs, George E. Dicks Collection, Louisiana National Guard Museums Collection, Jackson Barracks, New Orleans, La, 2016.043.005.

or record of the transition from artillery to aviation exists within his collection. Relocation paperwork during the final years of his deployment is available but does not define his transition from artillery to aviation. Beyond the apparent enthusiasm for aviation within his journals, the final decision for the transition originates from a combination of the United States military strategy with the Air Service and aviation's partnership with artillery during World War I.

Dicks' World War I journal entries began on July 28, 1918, fifteen months since the United States entered World War I in April 1917. The United States military strategy for World War I came from General John Pershing, his General Staff, and other Allied leaders. All parties believed America's military participation would perform in a limited capacity by 1918 and not create a decisive impact until 1919.<sup>43</sup> Dicks' late arrival in France and stay into 1919 mirrored the strategic expectations of the United States military. With the United States strategy in place, the Air Service followed suit.

The United States Air Service in 1918 was in development, and logistical challenges hindered an effective aviation force. One of the challenges was finding essential administration officers. By 1918, several officers appeared, with a notable example being Colonel William L. Kenley. Colonel Kenley came into the Air Service in 1917 from the 7th Field Artillery. The placement of artillery officers into aviation roles shows how the United States transferred experienced artillery officers to the Air Service. Following the post of commanding aviation officers, general officers appeared with the evolution of aviation strategy.

As the United States' ground forces established their needed numbers, questions became more apparent with the service members required for the Air Service. Several estimates came

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> Allan R. Millett, "Over Where? The AEF and the American Strategy for Victory, 1917-1918," in *Against All Enemies: Interpretations of American Military History from Colonial Times to the Present*, ed. Kenneth J. Hagan and William R. Roberts (New York City, NY: Greenwood Press, 1986), 236.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup> Thayer, America's First Eagles, 22.

from the United States, with one program asking for 40,500 men by December 31, 1918.<sup>45</sup> The men who joined the emerging Air Service were not all experienced aviators. As Flammer discusses in *The Vivid Air*, "A flood of regular and reserve officers also arrived in France, men who had been transferred out of the artillery and infantry...." A combination of the Air Service's needs for men and the United States' strategy established Dicks' transition into aviation and his deployment's length. As the United States strategists developed a plan for 1918 to 1919, Dicks became a new American aviator.

His aviation career followed an educational path at different air bases with various missions. In his first journal, Dicks recorded his flight log with several noted items: planes, motors, missions, time-lapse of missions, and pilots. Before he began his flight log in October, he writes about his journeys and education throughout England and France. He writes about his schooling on August 28, 1918: "School this morning but in the afternoon at a little town of [Cprand?] where we had a lot of fun at a Britan wedding. The town is 4 kilometers from camp. Wrote to Mama and Em." He continues to write about his education in this fashion to various degrees, with some recordings only containing ten words. His perspective on education implies an understanding of its use, but the enthusiasm appears more in the adventure of exploring the nearby town. With the nearby town adventures, he refers to his correspondence with his mother and Emily, his future wife. Present throughout the journal is an emphasis on the mail he receives from his family and the letters he writes in return. This level of enthusiasm for flight did not appear until September 1918, when news from the front appears in his journal.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> Thayer, 33.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> Flammer, *The Vivid Air*, 177.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> George E. Dicks' Journal 1918-1919, George E. Dicks Collection, Louisiana National Guard Museums Collection, Jackson Barracks, New Orleans, La., August 28, 1918, 2010.002.058. The spelling of words and grammar are direct transcriptions from the journals of George E. Dicks.

Dicks' recording of World War I's progression appears throughout his journals, with several photographs presenting different parts of the war. On September 13th and 14th, he wrote about the "...glorious communique it brought from the US Army at St. Mihiel, wish we were in it," and "More good news from the front. Exams today." His adventures and aviation education are a large part of his first journal entries. The St. Mihiel battle aftermath emerges in his photo album as a part of his many expeditions across France. After completing his exams for aviation, he transferred to a new aviation school in St. Maxient, France. From late September until his first flight on October 13, 1918, his journal reads as a tourist sight-seeing the French countryside and nearby cities while writing and reading family letters.

While flying on October 13th, Dicks' journal entry focuses not on his first flight but on the surrounding area and news of the war. He writes: "Spent day in Tours/Germany replys that/ they accept all conditions and/ will evacuate./ What next?/ Wrote to Mama, Em#27." The journal entry illuminates his recognition of the war's close ending but hopes to contribute to the effort. His contributions will come with a cost not physically but mentally as the realities of aviation's dangers become apparent.

Dicks' detailed recording of his flight log reveals the training life of an emerging observational aviator. The cataloged planes reveal the Sopwith to be the popular plane for training aviators, with the DH4 and Breguet<sup>50</sup> appearing only five times together in total. The Sopwith's capability to perform various missions, such as infantry liaison, reconnaissance, and

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> George E. Dicks' Journal 1918-1919, George E. Dicks Collection, Louisiana National Guard Museums Collection, Jackson Barracks, New Orleans, La., September 13-14, 1918, 2010.002.058.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> George E. Dicks' Journal 1918-1919, George E. Dicks Collection, Louisiana National Guard Museums Collection, Jackson Barracks, New Orleans, La., October 13, 1918, 2010.002.058.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup> "The Breguet, originally a French plane, has come to be a sort of international affair, Liberty motors having been selected recently as the best power plant for this type of ship. On the front it was used quite extensively by Yank bombing and observation squadrons..."

United States. Army. Army, 2nd. Air Service. *The Second Army Air Service book*. U.S. Army, 1919. 156. https://doi.org/10.5479/sil.98933.39088009319575

artillery regulation presents the airplane as a versatile aircraft. What adds to the versatility is the Sopwith's ability to reach altitudes ranging from 200 to 1500 meters. His flight log illuminates the time spent with the Sopwith as it took eighty-nine percent of the total flight time from October. The percentage does not change too much as it decreases to eighty-two percent in November. As the Sopwith dominated his flight log, the DH4 materialized in the photo album.

The DH4 plane was the product of a British and American union of engineering, with the plane created by British Capitan De Havilland and the Liberty engine from American manufacturers. With an American observer flying in a British-American plane in a French aviation school, Dicks' first mission embodies Allied cooperation within the field of aviation while performing the initial role of airplanes. The DH4 was not often used in Dicks' missions, as his flight log illuminates. It reappears on November 19th and 23rd with another reconnaissance mission and one illegible, with different altitudes and pilots.

The prominent plane of Dicks' aviation career was the Sopwith plane.<sup>52</sup> The plane's adaptable nature as an observation plane presents a reliable aircraft with rare fault occurrences. As he recorded on November 21st, problems with the Sopwith's Rhone motor forced a landing. In his journal, he writes: "Was to fly Art Regulage [Regulate]/this Am. Then was up in/Sop only 5 minutes and/had to land. Motor gave out."<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup> Thayer, America's First Eagles: The Official History of the U.S. Air Service, A.E.F. (1917-1918), 17-18.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>52</sup> The Sopwith plane associated with Dicks' service was the Sopwith Camel two-seater trainer, not the famed fighter plane. The trainer model followed the string of deaths associated with the Sopwith Camel one-seater, which was starting to gain a one-to-one ratio of training deaths to combat deaths. "The 'Training Camel,' as it came to be called, was distributed to all the major flying schools and significantly helped in reducing training deaths." Leone, Dario. "Camel pilots explain why the iconic Sopwith fighter was a formidable weapon in the right hands but unforgiving with students." *The Aviation Geek Club*. October 31, 2021. Accessed April 17, 2023. https://theaviationgeekclub.com/camel-pilots-explain-why-the-iconic-sopwith-fighter-was-a-formidable-weapon-in-the-right-hands-but-unforgiving-with-students/.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>53</sup> George E. Dicks' Journal 1918-1919, George E. Dicks Collection, Louisiana National Guard Museums Collection, Jackson Barracks, New Orleans, La., November 21, 1918, 2010.002.058.



Figure 5: "DH4, "Liberty" Taking off" Source: World War I Photo Album, Photo 6.21, George E. Dicks Collection, Louisiana National Guard Museums Collection, Jackson Barracks, New Orleans, La.

The journal and flight log present Dicks' reaction to the forced landing as a slight inconvenience in his training as he returns to fly a couple of hours later. His dedication as a soldier conflict with the realities of another forced landing pictured in his photo album. The tone of the photo album begins with pride as Dicks and his comrades pose in different cities, towns, and military tools. As the viewer continues, the realities of World War I appear, with the recorded forced landing as a stark example.

The three following photos illuminate the level of danger in aviation during World War I.

These photos appear on page 34, revealing a level of sensitivity and separation from the event.

There is no date or timestamp related to the event, but they indicate a combination of a common danger and Dicks' mindset while photographing the carnage.



Figure 6: "and the Result." Source: World War I Photo Album, Photo 34.148, George E. Dicks Collection, Louisiana National Guard Museums Collection, Jackson Barracks, New Orleans, La.



Figure 7: "4 Aviators Dead." Source: World War I Photo Album, Photo 34.150, George E. Dicks Collection, Louisiana National Guard Museums Collection, Jackson Barracks, New Orleans, La.



Figure 8: "2 Planes Crashed." Source: World War I Photo Album, Photo 34.149, George E. Dicks Collection, Louisiana National Guard Museums Collection, Jackson Barracks, New Orleans, La.

Military technology, such as airplanes, is susceptible to failure. Aviators and planes contested foes and each other within and outside of battle. Training for aviators presented a controlled moment of danger common during World War I. As Hynes describes:

Flying is dangerous, especially when beginners are doing the flying. Accidents happen, and students write home about them, because broken airplanes are a part of a new life, like the weather. The first accidents they report tend to be minor ones, with more damage to the plane than to the pilot.<sup>54</sup>

Hynes's description of the aviator's acceptance of danger offers insight into Dicks' response to the forced landings and death of four aviators. He appears to understand the dangers of aviation, especially within training. Absent from the photos is the dead aviators who suffered from the crash.

The absence of allied airmen and the repeated appearance of fallen Germans, and the rare occurrence of French soldiers present a biased view within Dicks' photo album. An "us-vs-them" mentality appears throughout the photo album, with American casualties non-existent within the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>54</sup> Hynes, *The Unsubstantial Air*, 78.

various photos. Wurzer reveals the psychological reasoning for this pattern of war photography:

Photographs materialized the vicinity of death and wounding. At the same time, however, photographs should reject the possibility of being harmed. Accordingly, the photographer always appears as the victor; defeat and downfall always concern the enemy. The same applies, of course, to the visualization of death and violence.<sup>55</sup>

Wurzer's insight explains Dicks' response not only to the horrific crash, but the carnage witnessed in the aftermath of several World War I battlefields. The cost of military progress and innovation illuminates the reality of war for Dicks. As the content analysis of the World War I photo album presents, several categories become a necessary addition to the overview of his experience.

The new categories added for the content analysis of the World War I photo album include "Destruction and Damage" and "Casualties," with each of their own subcategories. "Destruction and Damage" has four subcategories, where "Trenches" dominated with twenty photographs. Amongst the twenty photographs, various casualties appeared with a look at death.



Figure 9: "Some times when just one '75mm' 'busts' right there are several Hun Casualities." Source: World War I Photo Album, Photo 69.254, George E. Dicks Collection, Louisiana National Guard Museums Collection, Jackson Barracks, New Orleans, La.

Identifying the casualties within his photographs brought challenges due to limited clues

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>55</sup> Wurzer, "In/Visibility of Violence," 117.

from captions, uniforms, and helmets. Figure 9 presents his setup of the picture with the use of a 75mm artillery piece and its effects on a German trench. German casualties recorded in the content analysis appear with only six total pictures, but it outnumbers the "French" and "Animals." The "Unknown" category became part of the "Casualties" due to the difficulty of identifying the bodies and the absence of clarification. One such photograph is found on page 70, photo 256, where Dicks simply writes "One kind of wave" next to an image of No Man's Land with bodies strewn across the open ground.<sup>56</sup>



Figure 10: "One Kind of Wave." Source: World War I Photo Album, Photo 70.256, George E. Dicks Collection, Louisiana National Guard Museums Collection, Jackson Barracks, New Orleans, La.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>56</sup> World War I Photo Album, George E. Dicks Collection, Louisiana National Guard Museums Collection, Jackson Barracks, New Orleans, La, 2010.002.048.

The macabre photos in the album reveal a stark perspective on death in World War I.

Aviation training demanded an acceptance of risks, which Dicks' accepted; but evidence suggests it left an impression. Following the death and destruction of training, he travelled the battlefields of France and pictured German casualties with dissension towards the fallen. His World War I photo album follows the perspective of an American soldier who experienced not only the end of "the War to End all Wars" but the emerging field of American military aviation.

The human cost of war comes in different fashions. The death and wounded pictured by Dicks came from different military innovations during World War I. Artillery and other new tools of war, substantially helped change the tide of World War I, with the United States developing its own tools as the war closed. Aviation was one of those tools, which progressed to a substantial degree as planes evolved from their initial use of observation. This evolution increased the danger of the plane not only to enemies, but to comrades as well. Dicks' experience during training illuminates the realities of aviation's growth where planes performed to a better capacity but suffered from rushed or problematic parts. Military innovation is a double-edged sword where if words are not enough to detail, pictures tell thousands.

Figure 11:

Categorization and Percentage of Photos from George E. Dicks' World War I Photo Album

Category	Subcategory	Photos	Appearance Percentage		
Military	Soldiers/Troops	122	22.1		
	Military Leaders	2	0.4		
Landscape	General	82	14.8		
	Buildings	68	12.3		
	Trench	33	6.0		
	Base	18	3.3		
	Sea	18	3.3		
	Camp	2	0.4		
Civilian	General	25	4.5		
	Political Leaders	1	0.2		
Tools of War	Planes	45	8.1		
	Ships	15	2.7		
	Balloons	11	2.0		
	Artillery	7	1.3		
	Additional Assortments	17	3.1		
Destruction and Damage	Equipment	11	2.0		
	Buildings	18	3.3		
	Trench	20	3.6		
	General	19	3.4		
Casualties	Unknown	10	1.8		
	German	6	1.1		
	French	1	0.2		
	Animals	2	0.4		
Total		553 <sup>57</sup>	100.0		

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57</sup> The actual number of photos is 318. 553 was the product of photos having multiple categories and subcategories.

## Conclusion

George E. Dicks' name does not appear in the history books or monuments dedicated to those who died in World War I. He was and remained a single soldier who participated in the military during a significant period of American history. The United States conflicted not only neighboring countries but those on the other side of the Atlantic Ocean. Before becoming part of the experimental Air Service, Dicks witnessed the Mexican Punitive Expedition with his comrades and photographed the experience. Unknown to the young lieutenant, a tourist picture of the JN-2 or JN-3 would foreshadow his entrance into the Air Service as it developed with the other European countries during World War I.

As he began his journey to France, his journals and photo album reveal the unique perspective of a Louisiana National Guardsmen who transitioned from artillery officer to aviation. His time in France illuminates a new environment reflected in his photo albums, with a stark reality of World War I's cost. In training and in the aftermath of battlefields, his recordings reveal the effects of aviation's development as an efficient tool of war. But with that efficiency, there was a need to develop the plane more to prevent future friendly casualties. Evaluating George E. Dicks' journals and photo albums reveals the development of the United States' Army Air Service and the human cost of military innovation through photographic evidence.

Appendix:

George E. Dicks' Flight Log 1918 (Table continued)

Date	Plane	Altitude (Meters)	Motor	Mission	Time Out	Time In	Time Total (Min.)	Pilot
Oct. 13	DH4	900	Liberty	Recon.	4:20	4:35	15	O'Loughlin
Oct. 14	Sop(with)	600	Rhone	Sketch	10:40	11:02	22	Cliff
Oct. 16	Breguet	600	Renault	Bty. Flash	3:00	3:20	20	Haymond
Oct. 21	Sop(with)	500	Rhone	Bty. Flash	4:45	5:17	32	Ketchan
Oct. 27	Sop(with)	600	Rhone	Propaganda	2:07	5:07	180	Haymond
Oct. 30	Sop(with)	1500	Rhone	26 Camera	9:34	9:56	22	Cromwell
Oct. 30	Sop(with)	1500	Rhone	26 Camera	2:07	2:37	30	Wilcox
Oct. 31	Sop(with)	500	Rhone	Art Reg[ulate]	2:08	2:30	22	Cole
Oct. Total (Min.)	343	5 hours 43 min.						
Nov. 1	Sop(with)	400	Rhone	Inf. Liaison	6:30	7:10	40	Hale
Nov. 1	Sop(with)	200	Rhone	Reconn	8:23	8:56	23	Benedict
Nov. 2	Sop(with)	400	Rhone	Inf. Liaison	6:30	7:10	40	Prizer
Nov. 2	Sop(with)	500	Clergot	Art Reg[ulage]	3:14	3:28	14	Graves
Nov. 4	Breguet	3100	Fiat	Comm. 26	10:42	11:25	43	Mathews

				Comm. [4				
Nov. 18	Sop(with)	500	Rhone	cm]	7:31	7:43	12	Livingston
Nov. 18	Sop(with)	800-200	Rhone	[M Germ?]	9:27	9:52	25	Parsell
Nov. 19	Sop(with)	500	Rhone	[illegible]	1:15	1:45	30	Smith
Nov. 19	DH4	1500	Liberty	St[illegible]	2:22	2:47	25	Cooper
Nov. 19	Sop(with)	400	Rhone	[illegible]	3:17	3:47	30	Flyer
Nov. 21	Sop(with)	Forced Land.	Rhone	Art Reg[ulate]	10:48	10:53	5	Kengan [Kerigan?]
Nov. 21	Sop(with)	400	Clergot	Inf. Liaison	1:55	2:35	40	Martin
Nov. 22	Sop(with)	900	Rhone	Art Reg[ulate]	1:07	1:27	20	Hale
Nov. 22	Sop(with)	500	Rhone	Inf. Liaison	3:20	4:00	40	George
Nov. 23	DH4	400	Liberty	Reconn	8:20	8:55	35	Denton
Nov. 23	Sop(with)	1500	Rhone	50 Camera	1:12	1:52	40	Kile
Nov. 23	Sop(with)	1000	Rhone	Art Reg[ulate]	3:05	4:10	65	Busley [illegible]
Nov. 27	Sop(with)	1000	Rhone	Art Regu[late]	3:16	4:02	46	McHugh
Nov. Total (Min.)	573	9 hours 43 min.						
Oct. & Nov. Total		15 hours 26 min.						

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# Vita

James Hadley Smith is from Lafayette, Louisiana, and completed his bachelor's degree at Louisiana Tech University. He received a B.S. in Secondary Education with a concentration in social sciences and a minor in history. While pursuing his bachelor's degree, he interned at the Louisiana Sports Hall of Fame in Natchitoches, LA, and the Orphan Train Museum in Opelousas, LA, for a brief period. Louisiana hockey became a topic of interest for him, resulting in his creation of a website dedicated to the sport. After graduating, he worked as a social studies teacher at Teurlings Catholic High School before pursuing a master's degree at the University of New Orleans. Hadley's historical interests include United States' history, World War I, and Louisiana hockey.