In February of 1921 the photographer and entrepreneur Alfred Stieglitz mounted the first public exhibition of his work since the closing of his pioneering art gallery, ‘291’, nearly four years earlier. 3 This show was instrumental in helping Stieglitz ultimately to reassert his prominence in the New York art world and re-establish his status as an important American artist. Curiously, however, the manner in which Stieglitz and his associates chose to promote the photographer was somewhat unusual. They repeatedly described the camera as an extension of Stieglitz’s own body, and his photographs as an extension of his spirit. As a result, they claimed that Stieglitz had achieved a profound physical and spiritual union both with his machinery and with the subjects he photographed.

As original and compelling as this notion may seem, the image of the photographer as an embodied camera was not entirely of Stieglitz’s own invention. To a considerable extent, this theme was developed as a creative response to the New York Dada movement. During the late 1910s New York Dada constituted one of the most important oppositional practices confronting Stieglitz and his circle. 2 Like its European counterpart, New York Dada was an ‘anti-art’ movement which focused on the irrational and contradictory aspects of modern life. Unlike Stieglitz circle works, Dada art tended to be cerebral, nihilistic and mechanical in character.

These qualities are exemplified by the works of two of the most important figures connected with the movement, Francis Picabia and Marcel Duchamp. Especially important for Stieglitz were Picabia’s mechanomorphic portrait of the photographer (figure 1), and Duchamp’s unfinished The Bride Stripped Bare by Her Bachelors, Even or The Large Glass (1915–23). 3 What began in 1915 as a friendly collaboration between Stieglitz and the Dada artists slowly turned to conflict. By 1921, Duchamp’s and Picabia’s works provided nothing less than an antithetical model against which Stieglitz’s identity and his version of American modernism could be defined. While elements of Stieglitz’s aesthetic discourses pre-existed Picabia’s and Duchamp’s arrival on the New York art scene, his themes became solidified and amplified under the productive counter-example which these artists offered. 4

Stieglitz became acquainted with Picabia in 1913 during the painter’s visit to the Armory Show in New York. Soon after their initial meeting, Stieglitz gave Picabia his first one-man exhibition in the United States. A second show followed in January of 1915. 5 The first sign of a conflict came several months later, when Picabia’s symbolic ‘portrait’ of Stieglitz was published on the cover of the July–August issue of 291. 291 was an avant garde magazine developed earlier that year by Stieglitz’s associates. The publication was named after Stieglitz’s art gallery at 291 Fifth Avenue, where it was assembled in the back room.

Picabia’s drawing was boldly printed in black and red. It featured an open camera and a caption which read ‘Ici, c’est ici Stieglitz/Foi et Amour/291’. Faith and love were qualities which Stieglitz and his followers repeatedly claimed that Stieglitz lavished on both his gallery and his photographic activities. Yet in Picabia’s image, the words appeared oddly flat and empty, more a mocking emblem than an accolade. In this ‘portrait’ Picabia represented Stieglitz as a broken camera, its exposed and somewhat deflated bellows separated from its body, and its lens aiming at, but unable to make contact with, an ‘Ideal’ which floated elusively above it. 6 Picabia set the camera on a platform with a stick shift in neutral and an engaged handbrake. In this position, the camera is literally ‘going nowhere’. Taken as a whole, Picabia’s drawing suggests that Stieglitz is both eviscerated and stuck.

Although enigmatic, an important clue to Picabia’s symbolic portrait lies in an article by the Mexican caricaturist Marius De Zayas which appeared in the same issue of 291. De Zayas was one of Stieglitz’s closest followers, and he was chief editor of the journal. In this essay De Zayas stated outright that Stieglitz had failed to reach his professed ‘ideal’ of educating the American public through modern art and photography. De Zayas attributed Stieglitz’s failure to his unwillingness to pursue success directly through advertising and commercial means, instead developing the practice of hiding behind ‘the shield of psychology and metaphysics’. 7 Over the next year De Zayas and Stieglitz would have a falling out over such ideological and practical issues.

While Picabia’s portrait captured the declining state of Stieglitz and his gallery around 1915, this icon also served as
an important benchmark against which Stieglitz's identity would be redefined during the early 1920s. Another such crucial definitional image was Duchamp's *Large Glass*. Duchamp began constructing this work shortly after he arrived in New York in 1915. Resembling a double-paned window, Duchamp's 'canvas' consists of two large sheets of glass. The 'bride', a motorized assemblage, hovers alone in the upper stratum; below, her 'bachelors' stand waiting.

In *The Large Glass* Duchamp appears to have constructed a monument to the objectification of the human subject. Duchamp presents generic, mechanized bodies with non-generative sexualities. Duchamp's 'bachelors' are destined to remain bachelors because they cannot reach the 'bride' but ceaselessly engage in the futile attempt to do so. The bachelor figures resemble chess pieces, players lined up for a game based on ritualized, patterned movements. In both chess and in courtship, unfolding patterns typically reach an ending, or 'consummation', of one sort or another. Yet in order for the game to go on, completion cannot occur. If either the bachelors or the chess pieces are 'mated', then the game is over. Duchamp's alienated figures seem to revel in their own frustration. Self-consciously styled as gratuitous and empty (Duchamp called his bachelors 'empty suits'), the presence of Duchamp's figures serves as a glorified expression of absence.

Unlike the persistent ideology of absence and sterility associated with Duchamp's and Picabia's works, Stieglitz and his in-house critics repeatedly emphasized that Stieglitz's
works were vitalized by the photographer's unique and generative presence. In numerous critical accounts, Stieglitz's 'masculinity' and his art were conflated to produce the public phenomenon of Alfred Stieglitz. This theme was developed extensively by the group of writers Stieglitz assembled after the closing of 291 in 1917. They include the novelist Sherwood Anderson and the critics Waldo Frank, Herbert J. Seligmann and Paul Rosenfeld. By 1920 Stieglitz's new disciples were securely in place, and the photographer officially distanced himself from New York Dada. That year he declined an invitation by Duchamp and Katherine Dreier to join the board of their newly founded and highly esoteric Museum of Modern Art, the Société Anonyme. The following year Stieglitz held his 'comeback' exhibition at the Anderson Galleries.

In a privately printed pamphlet that accompanied Stieglitz's 1921 show, the photographer Paul Strand wrote of Stieglitz's relation to the camera, 'Stieglitz had accepted the machine, instinctively found in it something that was a part of himself, and loved it'. Paul Rosenfeld was even more to the point in his review of the exhibition for the Dial. Rosenfeld claimed that as soon as Stieglitz learned to photograph, 'He began attempting to make [the camera] a part of his living, changing, growing body'. Moreover Stieglitz had 'above all, a savage desire to make the rebellious machine record what he felt, to make the resistant dead eye of the camera register that which his animal eye perceived'. Building on this interpretation, in 1922 Sherwood Anderson even went so far as to locate Stieglitz's 'maleness' in his relationship with his 'tools'. Anderson wrote, 'I have quite definitely come to the conclusion that there is in the world a thing one thinks of as maleness that is represented by such men as Alfred Stieglitz. It has something to do with the craftsman's love of his tools and his materials'.

As an artist and a 'craftsman', Stieglitz described himself as naturally sympathetic to machines. Yet Stieglitz also viewed man's creative employment of the machine as a mark of his sexual potency. In particular, Stieglitz described photography as a procreative activity. In September of 1920 Stieglitz sent a letter to the critic Herbert J. Seligmann in which he used the metaphor of impotence to characterize his own failed prints. Stieglitz wrote: 'I am getting to hate "nearly" more & more – And the more nearly to the It – the more I hate that nearly. – It's like an incomplete erection – a sort of 7/8 – I know the difference! – The 1/8 lacking is often due to too much "Intellectuality"' (emphasis in original). As in the writings of his followers, Stieglitz's attributing notions of impotence to excessive intellectuality may well have been inspired by Picabia's mechanomorphic 'portrait' and by Duchamp's bachelor figures. Taken collectively, the Stieglitz circle's emphasis on the body and the 'soul' of the machine constitutes an ongoing critique of dualism, of the split and failed subjectivity which underlay Dadaism's machine-like subjects.

This critique of dualism becomes particularly evident in Stieglitz circle discourses which attempt to invest the photographer's relations with his camera with a larger social and cultural significance. Anderson, Rosenfeld, Frank and others viewed the organic, even phallic, connection between Stieglitz and his camera as an antidote to the mechanized sexuality and the denial of aesthetics they perceived in Duchamp's and Picabia's works and in modern industrial life. Rosenfeld clearly established this contrast in his review of Stieglitz's 1921 exhibition. He claimed that 'the whole of society was in conspiracy against itself, eager to separate body and soul, to give the body completely over to the affairs of business while leaving the soul straying aimlessly in the clouds'. Rosenfeld described a veritable fantasy of castration, as man is severed from his body and is rendered passive by the machine. Yet while the machine has made man its prey, Stieglitz 'has made the very machine demonstrate the unmechanicalness of the human spirit'. As these statements suggest, Stieglitz's 1921 exhibition was crucial to the photographer's project of 're-centering' not only himself, but man's position in the fragmented modern world. Stieglitz and his critics countered the idea of the camera as a disembodied, mechanical eye, detached and precise in its movements, with the image of Stieglitz's organic incorporation of the camera into himself. With this rhetorical move, man became re-centred, and was restored to a position of control and mastery.

Thus while Duchamp's art featured a disembodied portrayal of vision and of subjectivity, Stieglitz's art was described as the product of a guiding (embodied) human eye and a compliant mechanical lens. The painter John Marin, himself an artist closely affiliated with Stieglitz, made this point in his response to the question, 'Can a Photograph Have the Significance of Art?' for the December 1922 issue of the literary journal Manuscripts. Marin wrote, 'this photographer has made camera sight and his own sight into One'. Duchamp was somewhat less generous in his reply to this same question. He wrote: 'Dear Stieglitz, Even a few words I don't feel like writing. You know exactly how I feel about photography. I would like to see it make people despise painting until something else will make photography unbearable. There we are. Affectueusement, Marcel Duchamp (NY, May 22, 1922)'.

Lying behind Duchamp's banter was by then a well-established conflict between his and Stieglitz's views on art, the body and modernity itself. Unlike the alienation of Dada works, the Stieglitz circle's emphasis on gender and spirituality permitted a process of sublimation which enabled their works to be read as abstracted and aestheticized. Duchamp's art, in contrast, does not permit such aestheticization. As Rosalind Krauss has pointed out, Duchamp's art acknowledges the physical body, yet denies the viewer the possibility of sublimation. In fact, The Large Glass insists on desublimation. Stieglitz's photographs, in contrast, privilege both sensuous content and aestheticized form. Thus his images could appeal to their viewers on a variety of levels. Because Stieglitz had theoretically made the camera a part of his own body, his photographs were understood to be informed by the same desires and emotions that had inspired him in making the images. Presumably, such feelings and responses were available to his audience as well.

Nowhere were these themes more clearly established than in the critical commentary which accompanied Stieglitz's photographs of the painter Georgia O'Keeffe. It is
appropriate that the final show that Stieglitz held at 291 was an exhibition of O’Keeffe’s works. In various ways, this show marked an important transition in Stieglitz’s personal and professional life. During the summer of 1918 Stieglitz left his wife and began a relationship with O’Keeffe. At that time he also undertook a series of photographs which ultimately would form a composite portrait of the artist. Stieglitz displayed a selection of these works, including several intimate nude studies, at his ‘comeback’ exhibition of 1921. Images such as Breasts and Hand (figure 2) caused a sensation both at the Anderson Galleries and in the critical press. More effective than anything else could have been, the public display of Stieglitz’s seemingly private photographs of O’Keeffe helped to mend his image as a ‘broken’ camera and restore the photographer to a position of potency and originality. Clearly, Stieglitz was no ‘bachelor’, and the sensuous allure of O’Keeffe’s body was not to be outshone by the mechanized sexuality of Duchamp’s ‘Bride’.

It seems that while Stieglitz’s photographs nominally were meant to represent O’Keeffe, the photographer presented fragments of her body as abstracted symbols of himself. Rosenfeld wrote that Stieglitz ‘has arrested apparently insignificant motions of the hands, motions of hands sewing, gestures of hands poised fitfully on the breast, motions of hands peeling apples. And in each of them he has found a symbol of himself.’ Significantly, Rosenfeld himself owned a print of Stieglitz’s photograph Breasts and Hand.

Moreover, critics equated the forms and feelings evoked by Stieglitz’s photographs of O’Keeffe with his images of clouds and apple trees (figure 3). According to Rosenfeld, behind the embodied eye of Stieglitz’s camera lay not a split or alienated subject, but an artist who was intensely aware of the organic relations between sexuality, aesthetics and the natural world. Rosenfeld presented these themes as evidence of Stieglitz’s universal affirmation of humanity:

Here, symbolized by the head and body of a woman, herself a pure and high expression of the human spirit, there is registered something of what human life was, not only in America, but all over the globe, during the last few years; perhaps, also, something of what human life always is. Sometimes, it is a tree, a noble, dying chestnut, or a little apple tree standing pearled with raindrops in autumn wind-stillness and not a head or pair of hands or torso, that is used in these infinitely poignant, infinitely tragic, expressions. But, whatever it is, woman or tree, it makes surge in us the same flood of wonderful and sorrowful emotion, the same tragic recognition.

Under Stieglitz’s guidance, similar interpretations of his works would persist well into the 1930s. The social critic and architectural historian Lewis Mumford, another of Stieglitz’s followers, identified Stieglitz’s composite portrait of O’Keeffe as a crucial turning point in the photographer’s career. Mumford claimed that Stieglitz’s ‘manly’ response to O’Keeffe’s body ultimately enabled him to achieve his best, most intense and seemingly unmediated, work:

Figure 2. Alfred Stieglitz, Breasts and Hand, photograph, 1919. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Mrs. Alma Wertheim, 1928.
It was [Stieglitz’s] manly sense of the realities of sex, developing out of his own renewed ecstasy in love, that resulted in some of Stieglitz’s best photographs. In a part by part revelation of a woman’s body, in the isolated presentation of a hand, a breast, a neck, a thigh, a leg, Stieglitz achieved the exact visual equivalent of the report of the hand or the face as it travels over the body of the beloved.26

In short, the mastery, control and consummated sexuality which Rosenfeld, Anderson, Mumford and Stieglitz himself described as the guiding knowledge behind Stieglitz’s photographs could not have been more different from Picabia’s emasculated portrait of the photographer, or from the frustration of Duchamp’s ‘bachelors’.27 In a real sense, Duchamp and Picabia did Stieglitz a great service during the late 1910s by ‘breaking’ his camera and generally upstaging his avant-garde activities at 291. As a result of these encounters, Stieglitz and his critics undoubtedly were better able to solidify the identity of their circle and formulate their own idealized if idiosyncratically conceived version of ‘American’ modernist aesthetics. By February of 1923 Duchamp had stopped working on The Large Glass; meanwhile, Stieglitz’s comeback was well under way.28

Notes

This essay is based on the second chapter of my PhD dissertation, “‘Abstract Passion’: Images of Embodiment and Abstraction in the Painting and Criticism of the Alfred Stieglitz Circle” (Brown University, 1997). For their many helpful comments I would like to thank Dian Kriz, Carolyn Dean and especially, Kermit S. Champa.

1. An exhibition of 146 of Stieglitz’s photographs was held at the Anderson Galleries in New York during February of 1921.
2. The New York Dada movement was centred around the salon of Walter and Louise Arensberg. The Arensbergs were a wealthy couple whose avid interests spanned poetry, music and the visual arts. The Arensbergs provided the New York avant-garde with more than a place to display their works: even more importantly, their frequent parties facilitated a kind of Dada performance space. In 1921 the Arensbergs left New York and moved to Los Angeles.
3. It is likely that Stieglitz knew The Large Glass from the time Duchamp began to assemble the work in New York. Stieglitz was closely associated with many of the central figures of the New York Dada movement, and he occasionally attended the Arensbergs’ parties. Herbert J. Seligmann has recorded the comments Stieglitz made on The Large Glass in a public lecture delivered at the Brooklyn Museum in December 1926. See Herbert J. Seligmann, Alfred Stieglitz Talking: Notes on Some of his Conversations, 1925–1931, New Haven: Yale University Library 1966, 110.
5. Picabia’s shows at 291 included an exhibition of 16 ‘studies’ of New York which ran from 17 March to 5 April 1913; and an exhibition of three large, non-objective oils which were displayed from 12 to 26 January 1915.
6. The camera in Picabia’s drawing is visibly broken since the lens plate has been pulled away from, and the bellows have been separated from, the body of the collapsible camera.

8. Stieglitz became acquainted with Frank and Rosenfeld around 1915 when both were working as writers in New York. Rosenfeld's first article on Stieglitz appeared in the November 1916 issue of the magazine Seven Arts under the pseudonym Peter Minuit. By 1920 Stieglitz was in frequent contact with both men, and had begun an extremely close personal and professional association with them.


11. Paul Rosenfeld, 'Stieglitz', The Dial 70 (April 1921), 405. Rosenfeld's ideas would be expanded and refined in his collection of essays Port of New York: Essays on Fourteen American Moderns, New York: Harcourt, Brace, and Company 1924. It is of considerable interest that Stieglitz helped Rosenfeld to edit the manuscript before Port of New York went into print.


13. For example Stieglitz's 7 October 1916 letter to O'Keeffe in which he comments on the 'great souls' of machines. This letter is reprinted in Sarah Greenough and Juan Hamilton, Alfred Stieglitz: Photographs & Writings, Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art 1983, 201.

14. Stieglitz's portrait of Alfred Stieglitz 1920, Yale Collection of American Literature, Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Yale University.

15. Rosenfeld, 'Stieglitz', 402. Rosenfeld also wrote: 'For a century, the machines have been enslaving the race. For a century, they have been impoverishing the experience of humanity. Like great Frankenstein monsters, invented by the brain of human beings to serve them, these ideas would be expanded and refined in his collection of essays Port of New York: Essays on Fourteen American Moderns, New York: Harcourt, Brace, and Company 1924. It is of considerable interest that Stieglitz helped Rosenfeld to edit the manuscript before Port of New York went into print.

16. Stieglitz, 'Photography', 70

17. John Martin, 'Can a Photograph Have the Significance of Art?', Manuscript 4 (December 1922).


19. Despite their substantial differences, Richard Whelan has pointed out that a parallel of sorts exists between Duchamp's readymades and Stieglitz's photographs. Stieglitz's detractors had insisted that photographs, unlike paintings, were not hand-made works of art (Whelan, Alfred Stieglitz, 383). In addition, Rosalind Krauss has compared Duchamp's readymades with photographs in The Originality of the Avant-Garde and Other Modernist Myths, Cambridge, MA and London: MIT Press 1985, 206.


21. An exhibition of Georgia O'Keeffe's watercolors, drawings and oils was held at 291 from 3 April to 14 May 1917. The final issue of Camera Work appeared that June. Stieglitz permanently closed 291 on 1 July 1917.

22. For a description of the stir caused by Stieglitz's photographs of O'Keeffe, see Henry McBride, 'Modern Art', The Dial (April 1921), 480–2.

23. Rosenfeld, 'Stieglitz', 399.

24. Early on, Marius De Zayas recognized that Stieglitz's photographs were not simply records of the material world, but were studies of ideal form. De Zayas based his 1911–13 caricature of the photographer on this interpretation of Stieglitz and his work. For a discussion of these issues, see Geraldine Wojno Kiefer, Alfred Stieglitz: Scientist, Photographer and Avater of Modernism, 1880–1913, New York and London: Garland Publishing 1991, 416–17, 434–5 n. 70, and plate 122.

25. Rosenfeld, Stieglitz, 408. Dian Kritz has pointed out that Rosenfeld's tendency to universalize the particularities of American imagery is a tactic that he borrowed from discourses on classical art. In addition, although the photograph reproduced in this article is dated 1922, Stieglitz exhibited a print entitled 'Rain-Drops, Apple-Tree' (1920) at the Armory Show of 1913. Like the Anderson Galleries. In 1924 Stieglitz and O'Keeffe were married, and Port of New York appeared as Stieglitz's and Rosenfeld's consolidated programme for American modernist aesthetics. With the paintings, discourses and people in place, Stieglitz was ready. The 'Alfred Stieglitz Presents Seven Americans' exhibition opened at the Anderson Galleries in March of 1925. That December Stieglitz once again had his own gallery, The Intimate Gallery, where he was officially 'back in business'.


27. The Lange Glass is Dachamp's definitively unfinished 'master' piece. Various critics have compared this work to an unachieved orgasm. See for example Martin Jay, Downcast Eyes: The Denigration of Vision in Twentieth-Century French Thought, Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press 1993, 167. Arturo Schwarz has written that, while it is difficult to know why Duchamp failed to complete the Glass, 'this may be paralleled to his failure to have any male progeny' (Arturo Schwarz, The Complete Works of Marcel Duchamp, London: Thames and Hudson 1969, 147–8.) Schwarz also provides a Freudian interpretation of this work on pp. 147–8 of this study.

28. Between 1921 and 1922 Rosenfeld published monographic essays on Stieglitz, Marsden Hartley, John Marin and Georgia O'Keeffe in such prominent locations as the Dial and Vanity Fair. In January of 1923 Stieglitz organized the exhibition 'Alfred Stieglitz Presents One Hundred Pictures: Oils, Water-colors, Pastels, Drawings, by Georgia O'Keeffe, American' at the Anderson Galleries. In 1924 Stieglitz and O'Keeffe were married, and Port of New York appeared as Stieglitz's and Rosenfeld's consolidated programme for American modernist aesthetics. With the paintings, discourses and people in place, Stieglitz was ready. The 'Alfred Stieglitz Presents Seven Americans' exhibition opened at the Anderson Galleries in March of 1925. That December Stieglitz once again had his own gallery, The Intimate Gallery, where he was officially 'back in business'.

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