CHAPTER 7 |

CHARLES SHEELER AND PAUL STRAND

Friends, Collaborators, Rivals

Charles Musser

Scholars engaged in cultural investigations are often quick to focus on individual artists and their achievements. Biographies, catalogues raisonnés, and one-person shows are central to the art historical method. Such has certainly been the case with both Charles Sheeler and Paul Strand. As Constance Rourke has remarked in her foundational treatment of Sheeler, "Sheeler's search for form in American sources would be enough to give his work a unique position even if there was nothing more to say of it. His discoveries and his use of them may have a signal importance for the future. . . . In his derivations from plastic forms, as well as in his discoveries, Sheeler has opened up an essential compendium for the modern artist."[1] More recently, Peter Schjeldahl responded to a one-man show of Paul Strand's work by asserting, "Strand, in his 20s, gave photography specialized formal lexicons and professional attitudes keyed to a sense of the modern world as perfectly unprecedented and bound for intelligent glory. Like Pablo Picasso, James Joyce, and other exemplary reinventors of their respective arts, he thereby released volcanic zest. Just try resisting the intellectual strength and visual excitement of the pictures in this show."[2]

In this respect, such collaborative undertakings as *Manhatta* (1920–21), a short nonfiction film "photographed by Paul Strand and Charles Sheeler," according to the film's opening credits, often pose problems since it is difficult to determine who was responsible for what. One solution has been to simply minimize or ignore such works, particularly when they are isolated achievements. As this film's reputation has grown, however, such an approach has become problematic. The first avant-garde motion picture made in the United States, *Manhatta* was the progenitor of the city symphony film, which has had a long and illustrious history, from Walther Ruttmann's *Berlin: Symphony of a Great City* (1927) and Dziga Vertov's *Man with a Movie Camera* (1929) to many of more recent vintage, such as Michael Glawogger's *Megacities* (1998). *Manhatta* was made as the documentary genre was assuming its modern-day articulation and is increasingly recognized as a significant participant in that new formation. The nine-minute film was also pivotal in the careers of both Sheeler and Strand, though for quite different reasons. After getting to know and admire each other in the late 1910s, the two pursued various projects together of which

PLATE XLV
John Gilbert, 1926

Manhatta was the most successful. Then, in its wake, the partners had a falling out. This did not strictly end their relationship, however, for they defined their work, even if partially and indirectly, in opposition to each others' methods and commitments (Figs. 7.1 and 7.2).

Collaboration in the form of partnerships has been fundamental to the history of motion pictures from its very outset. Thomas A. Edison and William Kennedy-Laurie Dickson coinvented and introduced the first commercial modern motion-picture system between 1889 and 1894. The most often raised question is: which one of these collaborators held principal responsibility for the invention of modern motion pictures? The "Wizard of Menlo Park" had the initial idea and supplied the funding, the laboratory, and various mechanical specialists. Dickson certain did most of the hands-on work and then became head of Edison film production. Despite much initial success, the co-inventors parted ways less than a year after the first kinetoscope parlor opened in New York City on April 14, 1894, as Dickson soon become a key figure in the rival American Mutoscope & Biograph Company—the preeminent motion-picture company during the late 1890s and beyond. Since Edison and Dickson's informal exchanges of ideas were never written down and later accounts of what took place are often suspect, scholars and historians have been arguing over who deserved the real credit ever since.[3] That the invention was the result of a rich and collaborative process is perhaps the most accurate conclusion. Edison, however, never forgave Dickson for what he considered to be "his "betrayal."

Early filmmaking also generally involved collaborative teams: at the Edison Manufacturing Company, producer and cameraman Edwin S. Porter worked with a succession of creative partners: stage director and set designer George S. Fleming (1901–1902), actor G. M. Anderson (1903–1904), former Biograph producer Wallace McCutcheon (1905–1907), and stage director and playwright J. Searle Dawley (1907–1909). (One indication that these constituted equal partnerships was that both men generally received the same salary.) The rapid proliferation of specialized motion-picture theaters in 1906 and 1907 precipitated a variety of changes in film production, distribution, and exhibition that turned cinema into a mass media. By 1908, there was a strong move toward a hierarchical chain of command, with the producer on top, followed by the director and then the cinematographer. D. W. Griffith as producer-director claimed authorship and actively asserted his role as a film artist by the early 1910s. Such a shift did not occur so dramatically in documentary. Many of the most prominent documentaries in the United States have been produced by collaborative pairs, including Willard Van Dyke and Ralph Steiner, the Maysles brothers, D. A. Pennebaker and Chris Hegedus, Steven Ascher and Jeanne Jordan, Spike Lee and Sam Pollard, and Joe Berlinger and Bruce Sinofsky. Collaborative partnerships were crucial for two films involved in the formation of the modern documentary. Robert and Frances Flaherty worked together on *Nanook of the North* (1922), while Strand and Sheeler joined forces on *Manhatta*. The Flahertys continued to work together until Robert's death in 1951, but for Strand and Sheeler, *Manhatta* was a one-time occasion.

Although Sheeler (1883–1965) was seven years older than Strand (1890–1976), the two men shared similar backgrounds and interests. Both their fathers were merchants of somewhat limited means. Sheeler, who grew up in Philadelphia, avoided discussions of his ethnic background, but his father's side of the family may have

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7.1 Morton Schamberg, *Portrait of Charles Sheeler*, ca. 1913–18. Gelatin silver print, 3 ¼ × 2 3/16 in. (8.2 × 5.5 cm). ©The Lane Collection, photograph Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

7.2 Alfred Stieglitz, *Portrait of Paul Strand*, 1919. Palladium print, image: 9 5/8 × 7 11/16 in. (24.5 × 19.5 cm); sheet: 9 15/16 × 7 15/16 in. (25.2 × 20.2 cm). National Gallery of Art, Alfred Stieglitz Collection. 1949.3.411. ©Board of Trustees, National Gallery of Art, Washington.

7.3 *House exterior*, Negative date: ca. 1912–18. Gelatin silver print. 6 ½ × 8 ¼ in. (16.51 × 20.95 cm) ©The Lane Collection, photograph Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

been secular Jews, Christian converts, or Quakers (his mother's maiden name—Mary Cunningham—suggests a Christian background). Paul Strand's family lived on Manhattan's Upper West Side and downplayed their Central European Jewish roots: Paul's father, Jacob Stransky, changed the family's last name and was known as Jack Strand. Both fathers were supportive of their sons' decision to pursue the arts. Sheeler studied at the School of Industrial Design and then under William Merritt Chase at the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts (1903–1906). Strand, after attending the Ethical Culture School and studying photography with Lewis Hine, joined the New York Camera Club in 1908 and became a full member in 1909. There he learned the ins and outs of photographic technique. Both also toured Europe, albeit on modest budgets. Sheeler went with Chase and his fellow students in 1904 and 1905, then with his family in 1908–1909. Strand used some inheritance money to tour Europe in 1911. Finally, both began to make their living doing commercial photography involving architecture. Sheeler acquired a camera around 1910 and had a business photographing newly finished houses for architects (Fig. 7.3).[4] Strand took photographs of college campuses, which he had hand colored and sold to alumni. Both showed their artwork in professional exhibitions. Sheeler began showing his paintings in 1907 at the annual exhibition of the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts and had six paintings in the 1913 Armory Show. Strand began to show photographs at the Camera Club's annual exhibition in 1910. His photograph *Garden of Dreams* (1911), shot in Versailles, subsequently won a Camera Club prize and recognition at the London Salon.[5]

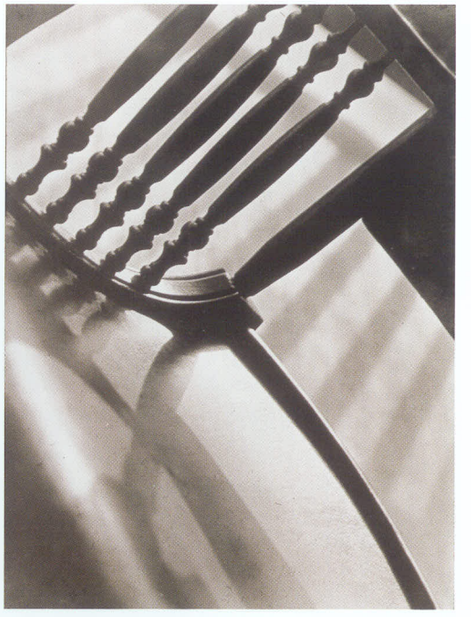
Sheeler and Strand participated in overlapping circles in New York's art scene of the 1910s and would have crossed paths under a variety of circumstances. However,

their collaboration had a quality of inevitability as Strand and then Sheeler became Alfred Stieglitz's protégés: Stieglitz's circle revolved around his photo journal *Camera Work* (1903–1917) and his gallery known as "291" (1905–1917), located at 291 Fifth Avenue. Strand famously visited 291 while taking a photography class with Lewis Hine at the Ethical Culture School on Manhattan's Upper West Side in 1907. He became a regular visitor in subsequent years but did not really connect with Stieglitz until late 1914 or early 1915 when the great man critiqued his photographs and urged him to reject pictorialism, with its soft-focus lenses, and embrace a "straight style." Sheeler tried to connect with Stieglitz as early as 1911, but the photographer-impresario was sufficiently uninterested or unfamiliar so that he addressed him as Mr. Sheller in a letter dated June 11, 1915.[6]

Strand's correspondence with Stieglitz began later than Sheeler's, largely because as fellow New Yorkers, letters were not necessary to their evolving relationship. Strand's earliest surviving correspondence with Stieglitz, a postcard from San Francisco, is dated May 3, 1916.[7] They were already on friendly terms since Stieglitz had given Strand a one-man show at 291, entitled "New York and Other Places," less than two months before.[8] Many of these photographs would be published in *Camera Work* that October.[9] Finally, in March 1917, Strand's photograph *Wall Street* (1915) won first prize in Wanamaker's Twelfth Annual Exhibition of Photographs: Stieglitz and his closest collaborator, Edward Steichen, were judges.[10]

Sheeler, building on his skills photographing architecture, began to take photographs of artworks for galleries and collectors. Early on, these included a Chinese head and Roman marbles, but then African sculpture. In their composition, use of light, and photographic qualities, Sheeler increasingly recognized that his photos possessed their own value as artworks. They were artworks of artworks, and given the need to clearly document the objects, such photographs required sharp focus and a straight style that had Stieglitz's sympathies.[11] Throughout 1915 and into 1916, Sheeler would send prints to Stieglitz ostensibly as a way to discuss choices in photographic papers but quite obviously as a way to win the master photographer's attention.[12] Finally, in October 1916, Sheeler was able to visit Stieglitz's home and see "a large and comprehensive collection of [his] photographs."[13] He expressed his heartfelt appreciation, which Stieglitz quickly reciprocated.[14] The end of November saw another important breakthrough in the Sheeler-Stieglitz relationship as Stieglitz finally warmed to Morton Schamberg. As he wrote Sheeler, "For the first time I really liked Shamberg [*sic*]. Unreservedly. And I am very glad about it. And naturally I must tell you after what I had told you. Some of his photographs really interest me. They showed me a real sensibility and a real respect for the medium."[15]

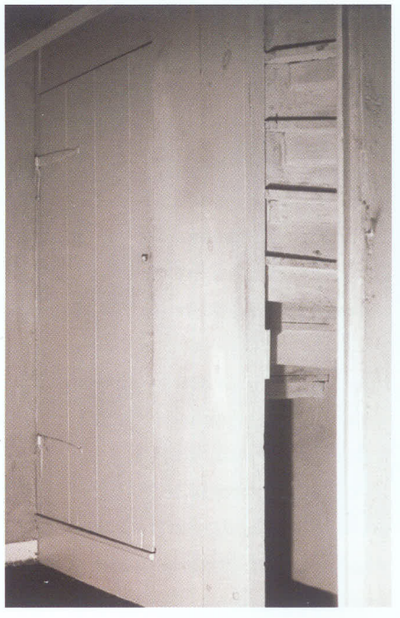
Sheeler and Schamberg were the closest of creative partners. They had met at the Philadelphia Academy and were soon sharing living and studio spaces.[16] They not only traveled to Europe together as part of Chase's student entourage in 1904 and 1905, but Schamberg also traveled with Sheeler and his family through Europe in 1909. Moreover, they spent their summers and weekends together in the Doylestown house, which Sheeler would soon photograph. From March 26 to April 10, 1917, Stieglitz associate Marius de Zayas featured *Photographs by Sheeler, Strand and Schamberg* at his Modern Gallery. Sheeler was presenting his photographs of sculpture (Fig.



7.4) but also, apparently, a cityscape.[17] Crucially his photography in the wake of this show represented an innovative departure and level of attainment. This became evident in December 1917, when de Zayas gave Sheeler a one-person show devoted to his photography, specifically a sequence of twelve images of the Doylestown house—primarily of its interior. (Sheeler's estate included sets of fourteen negatives and prints from this series, creating uncertainty about which ones were specifically shown.) As *New York Sun* critic Henry McBride remarked—echoed by later historians—the series was indebted to a Cubist sensibility and foregrounds abstract form even as the succession of images of the house interior offer a fragmented, disorienting sense of space and time.[18]

Charles Brock has suggested that a series of images that Paul Strand took at the family's summer cottage in Twin Lakes, Connecticut, during the summer of 1916 provided a source of inspiration for Sheeler: "Strand's 1916 series of tilted images, shot in broad daylight, of shadows and objects on the porch of the Twin Lakes house defined the rules against which Sheeler formulated his Doylestown project."[19] Putting these two sets of images in relationship to each other is certainly productive, though one might put greater emphasis on their complementarity. Strand's *Chair Abstract, Twin Lakes Connecticut* shares more with Sheeler's Doylestown project than *Abstraction, Porch Shadows, Twin Lakes*—the image foregrounded by Brock (Fig. 7.5). Certainly Sheeler's originality is not in question. Although the difference of a year might seem slight at first glance, various historical and circumstantial factors shaped his photographs of the Doylestown house—underscoring both their differences and similarities to Strand's earlier work (Figs. 7.6 and 7.7).

The Doylestown house photographs reverberated with another group of photographs that Sheeler took of a Bucks County barn, including *Side of White Barn*. The



dating of these later photographs has been a source of some controversy. Stebbins and Keyes initially dated them as 1917, but more recent studies of Sheeler's photographs moved that back to 1915, while Brock has embraced that earlier date as well. On what basis the change was made—other than an approximate dating by Sheeler many years later—is not clear.[20] *Side of White Barn* won a prize at the Wanamaker Exhibition in March 1918, along with one of the Doylestown photos. They seem of a piece, particularly when situated within a broader social, cultural, and political context. Sheeler is often called an American modernist, and his subjects in these two series are quintessential American in ways that earlier work—paintings of flowers or photos of European, Asian, or African and Chinese art—are not. Under what circumstances did he suddenly begin to engage American motifs?

While Sheeler, Strand, and Schamberg were savoring their three-person show at de Zayas's Modern Gallery, the United States declared war on Germany. The Doylestown house and Bucks County barn series that followed in the wake of these two events did two things. First, they reinvested in Sheeler's long-standing activities as a photographer of architecture but provided a new sensibility developed from photographing artworks. Like the African sculptures he had photographed, the barn and 1768 vintage house were traditionally seen as "primitive" objects that Sheeler and others now imbued with the status of Art.[21] This house and this barn, Sheeler's photographs assert, are American artistic achievements of the first order. In this respect, both sets of Sheeler's photographs are part of the same project and logically made at roughly the same time (i.e., in 1917). They differ from Strand's 1916 abstractions that took ordinary objects as subjects—objects that Strand was not in any way suggesting were worthy of being elevated to the status of artworks in and of themselves. Moreover, Strand's series is international rather than American in its

OPPOSITE

7.4 *Six West African figures*, John Quinn Album of African Art, ca. 1916–19. Gelatin silver print. Closed: 16 5/16 × 13 × 2 in. (41.5 × 33 × 5.1 cm). ©The Lane Collection, photograph Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

7.5 Paul Strand, *Chair Abstract*, Twin Lakes, Connecticut, 1916. ©Aperture Foundation Inc., Paul Strand Archive.

ABOVE

7.6 *Doylestown House, Stairway, Open Door*, Negative date: about 1916–17. Gelatin silver print. 10 × 8 in. (25.4 × 20.3 cm). ©The Lane Collection, photograph Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

7.7 *Doylestown House—Closet, Stairs*, Negative date: 1917. Gelatin silver print. 9 3/8 × 6 7/16 in. (23.81 × 16.35 cm) ©The Lane Collection, photograph Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

sensibility and orientation. Sheeler's newly articulated American orientation broke with both Strand's photographic abstractions and his own previous work in terms of subject matter.

Second, given this new American orientation, we need to ask what these photographs reveal about Sheeler's attitude toward the United States in this period of war. While Sheeler and Strand's correspondence with Stieglitz has been examined for information about their work in a narrow art historical sense, their thoughts about the war and its impact on their lives and American society have been largely ignored. As Strand wrote his mentor, "It seems impossible to thoroughly detach myself from things—as long as I live in this damn country I seem to be attached [to the] navel of it. . . . It seems impossible to get away from the war—it touches everybody now—and everywhere one finds the same resentment and lack of enthusiasm."[22] The following month, he wrote Stieglitz that "the mere idea of trying to create anything in nowadays seems so mad."[23] Stieglitz ruefully admitted that "the war as a background emphasizes all the weaknesses which I tried to overcome all these years—in which I failed. Somehow I only see a weakening all along the line—and seeing that a weakening follows."[24] Naomi Rosenblum reports that Stieglitz and Strand both knew and supported the views of Randolph Bourne, who opposed American involvement in the war.[25] Sheeler likely shared these views. Certainly he told Stieglitz, "I resent bitterly being made a victim of the army and wish I could devise some means of frustrating it."[26] In fact, the thirty-five-year-old Sheeler—unlike Strand—was successful at avoiding the wartime draft.

Sheeler's decision to photograph a Quaker house in its simplicity and strength carried an implicit meaning, further elaborated by the fragmented, "cubist" views. Many Philadelphia-area Quakers were actively opposing the war.[27] This can be further clarified by placing Sheeler's December 1917 exhibition in its historical context as it contended with a much publicized three-week exhibition of war posters by the Allied nations, organized by *American Art News*.[28] Sheeler's modest black-and-white photographs of his Quaker home stood in marked contrast to over a hundred large and colorful propagandistic broadsides. Sheeler's white-washed interiors were further echoed by photographs of a well-kept Bucks County white barn, particularly *Side of White Barn* (Figs. 7.8 and 7.9).[29] In contrast to the colorful and emotional call to arms, white is the color of peace. In this respect, some critics may have focused too quickly on "the technical problem posed by white on white subjects" without bearing in mind underlying considerations for this choice of subject matter.[30] To be sure, Sheeler and his circle of Stieglitz colleagues were not peace activists. They felt largely trapped, powerless, and alienated. They retreated into art. Sheeler's photographs possess an empathetic detachment—a warm coolness, which became the foundation of his later style. This coolness offers then an understated, implicit refusal.

Surely it is not too much to suggest that Stieglitz and Strand recognized the obliquely political nature of these images, which helps to explain their enthusiasm. Strand's influence might even be felt in a potent high-angle image of New York backyards covered in white snow, which appeared in the October 1916 issue of *Camera Work*.[31] It possesses a quiet stillness that might suggest either peacefulness or death. Technical challenges and aesthetics may not be enough to fully explain this photo, nor the white sheets and white snow in Strand's *Backyard Winter, New York*

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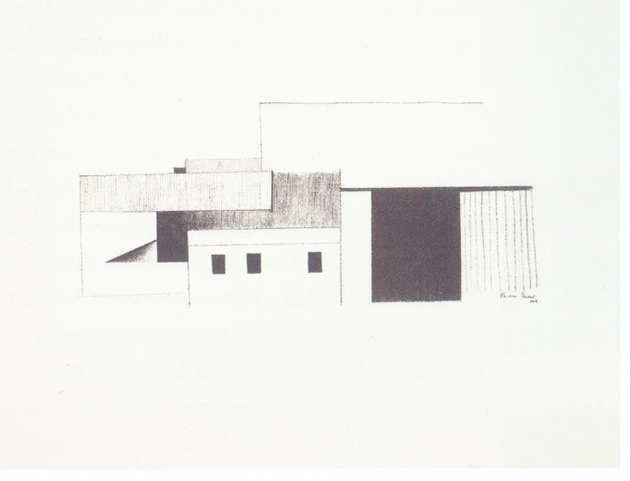
7.8 *Bucks County Barn (with wall)*, Negative date: about 1915–17. Gelatin silver print. 7 3/16 × 7 15/16 in. (18.3 × 20.2 cm) ©The Lane Collection, photograph Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

7.9 *Side of White Barn, Bucks County*, Negative date: 1915. Gelatin silver print. 8 × 10 in. (20.3 × 25.4 cm). ©The Lane Collection, photograph Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

7.10 *Barn Abstraction*, 1918. Lithograph, composition: 8 ¼ × 18 ½ in. (20.9 × 47 cm); sheet: 19 ¾ × 25 9/16 in. (50.2 × 65 cm) Abby Aldrich Rockefeller Fund. The Museum of Modern Art, New York, NY, U.S.A. Digital Image ©The Museum of Modern Art/Licensed by SCALA / Art Resource, NY.



(1917) and *Geometric Backyards, New York* (1917). Certainly all these images emphatically rejected the propagandistic rhetoric that was pervasive in the omnipresent war posters and other art endeavors of this period.

The happy troika, what one reviewer somewhat ironically referred to as "the Trinity of Photography," achieved their high watermark in March 1918 as they took the top three prizes in the Thirteenth Annual Wanamaker Photography Exhibition: Sheeler, the first for a photo of *Bucks County House*; Strand, the second for *Wheel Organization*; and Schamberg, the third for *Portrait S.*[32] Sheeler's *Side of White Barn* received a fourth prize, while Strand also received additional recognition.[33] The two men, who took first prize in successive years, clearly admired each other. Sheeler hoped that Stieglitz would visit his Doylestown house and bring Strand.[34] Strand declared his admiration for Sheeler's work to Adele C. Shreve, the editor of *Pictorial*

Photography in America 1920: "Photography or any other medium is either an expression of a cosmic vision—an embodiment of life movement—or it is nothing—to me. This quality I find only in the work of two men in photography—Charles Sheeler of Philadelphia and Alfred Stieglitz in New York."[35]

If art historians locate the emergence of Sheeler's mature style in his photographic work of 1917, there are still other aspects of this style that require consideration. Charles Brock has identified one of Sheeler's distinctive achievements in his commitment to the remaking of images across media. Sheeler's photographs were not simply guides for subsequent paintings: both functioned as intermedial counterparts of similar status. This seems to have originated somewhat tentatively with Sheeler's photographs of the white barn, which led to such work as *Barn Abstraction*—a black chalk drawing on Japanese paper signed and dated 1917—and *Bucks County Barn* (1918) (Fig. 7.10).[36] Sheeler continued to develop this newfound interest over the next few years—and pursue it for the rest of his career.

The year 1918 was extremely difficult and disruptive for both Sheeler and Strand. Schamberg died in the flu pandemic on October 13, 1918, leaving Sheeler devastated. As he wrote Stieglitz, "Knowing both of us as well as you did makes it unnecessary for me to tell you what it means for the one who remains."[37] In August 1919, he left behind the unhappy memories of Philadelphia and moved to New York. Meanwhile, Strand was coping with life in the military, which he entered in the spring of 1918. He ended up working for an X-ray unit in a medical corps, making many of the exposures. "The work is rather nice, comparatively interesting and so much better than most jobs out here," he wrote Stieglitz. "The other four men in the dept all fine fellows—A queer existence."[38] In August, shortly after getting out of the army, he wrote Stieglitz, "New York holds a summer dullness and everyone seems to be away. . . . So coming from a life of constant associations and one that at the last was not [un]pleasant socially, find myself more or less alone in NY realizing how few people I know. The readjustment is a bit unpleasant—and yet of course I am glad to be out of the army."[39] Is it surprising that Stieglitz's two protégés, young stars in the field of straight photography who were lonely and seeking to restart their lives would get together? Or that after a period of mourning for Schamberg, Sheeler would look for a new creative partner? And that Strand was the logical, indeed, the inevitable choice?

When it came to the Sheeler-Strand partnership, Schamberg was the ghost in the room. Sheeler and Schamberg had had a productive and happy association of roughly fifteen years. They knew each other inside out—complementing and supporting each other. Schamberg left all his possessions to Sheeler.[40] When Sheeler was able to buy a motion-picture camera in late 1919 or early 1920, some of the funds may have come from Schamberg's estate.[41] Obviously Strand was not Schamberg, and this reality was certain to produce tensions, disappointment, and misunderstandings over time. If Sheeler found collaborators in later life, they were not fellow visual artists. Correspondingly, Strand had no previous experience with artistic collaboration. His key relationship in this regard had been as Stieglitz's protégé. This is not to deny that their joint project got off to a successful start. As Theodore Stebbins Jr. and Norman Keyes Jr. have remarked, the two worked well together, quoting Strand as saying, "*Manhatta* was based on a very close and fluid experimentation between us, a very fine film . . . with Walt Whitman titles."[42]

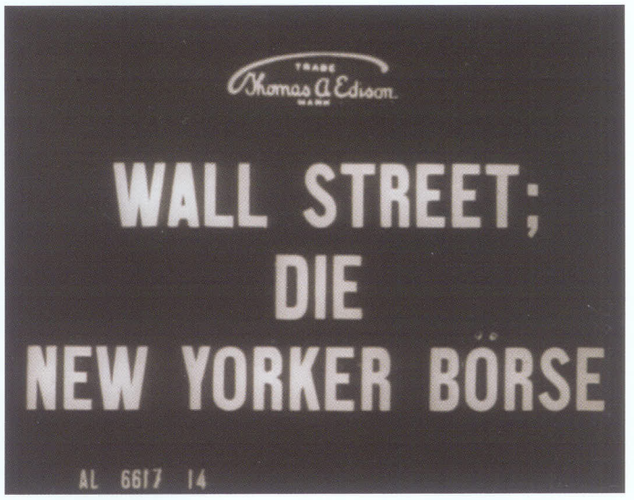
Sheeler and Strand shot *Manhatta* in the spring and summer of 1920, "restrict-

OPPOSITE

7.11 "Wall Street: die New Yorker Borse," title frame from *New York of Today*, 1910 (Thomas Edison Company). Courtesy of Kino Lorber, Inc.

7.12 "Wall Street," frame from *New York of Today*, 1910 (Thomas Edison Company). Courtesy of Kino Lorber, Inc.

ing themselves definitely to the towering geometry of lower Manhattan, and its environs."[43] The brief press release written by Strand for the film's commercial debut at the Rialto Theater on July 24, 1921, suggests the film's complexity and the diversity of its impulses. On one hand, they wanted the film, then entitled *New York the Magnificent*, "to register through conscious selection and space-filling those elements which are expressive of the spirit of New York, of its power and beauty and movement." Strand might have been evoking his earlier essay, which compared the artistic explorations of a few innovative photographers to the building of skyscrapers: "Everything they wanted to say had to be worked out by their own experiments: it was born of actual living. In the same way the creators of our skyscrapers had to face the similar circumstance of no precedent, and it was through that very necessity of evolving a new form, both in architecture and photography that the resulting expression was vitalized."[44] As Kirsten Jensen has detailed, writers and visual artists often recognized the majestic scale of New York's commercial architecture as a forceful expression of modern life and communicated this through their work.[45]



Yet at the same time, the filmmakers made clear their debt to one of the bleakest and most disturbing films of the post–World War I era. According to Strand, they "tried to do in a scenic with natural objects what in *The Cabinet of Dr. Caligari* was attempted with painted sets."[46] Robert Wiene's German Expressionist masterpiece, which opened at New York's Capitol Theatre on April 21, 1920, showed a world that was out of joint and did not function on a rational basis. It undoubtedly served as an important catalyst. The collaborators could readily imagine a succession of motion-picture shots, definitively arranged, instead of a series of photographic stills. There was also the distinction between the almost medieval architecture suggested by the sets of *Caligari* and the skyscrapers of New York—a difference between the old world and the new.

Strand further suggested that their approach to *Manhatta* contrasted with and critically engaged with earlier films about New York City, which generally relied on "recordings in haphazard fashion, unrelated places of interest." *New York of Today* (Edison, 1910), for instance, is a seven-minute picture that offers a tourist's view of New York in which city landmarks (Columbus Circle, Times Square, Coney Island, Wall Street, Chinatown, and so forth) are filmed at street level and clearly identified with intertitles.[47] Occasionally, the camera will look up but never down (Figs. 7.11 and 7.12). The film has a title/shot/title/shot structure that carefully orients the viewer. Strand and Sheeler took the opposite tack with *Manhatta*. Everything is shot from above, looking down—offering a viewpoint that tourists and most of the city's citizens would not ordinarily encounter. It reveals a generally unfamiliar world of rooftops, water towers, and smokestacks. Moreover, its restricted geography works against the earlier film, which purposefully offers highlights from around the city. Finally, the intertitles in *Manhatta*, which are lines from Walt Whitman's poetry (though a few may merely be Whitmanesque), refuse to orient the viewer.

A close reading of *Manhatta* reveals the film's ambivalence and perhaps a deeper irony. The opening shots of *Manhatta* follow hordes of daily commuters into lower Manhattan. They disembark from the ferry (shots 8 to 10) and then walk rapidly uptown toward their destination (shot 11). The following shot (12) is dominated by the Trinity Church graveyard, with many of the headstones becoming dark markers against a lighter ground. The people walking briskly to work appear only on the upper edge of the frame. The next shot—a restaging of Strand's *Wall Street* photograph—shows human figures dwarfed by huge, dark windows. As Tom Gunning has remarked, this "association of the dark windows with the small headstones of the previous shot carries a certain power because it remains almost subliminal, absorbed into a coherent geography and human trajectory, rather than asserting an obvious meaning" (Figs. 7.13–7.15a,b,c).[48] While Gunning is certainly correct in asserting that the film refuses any obviousness, the analogy between the windows of the Morgan Trust Company and the dark headstones of Trinity Church remains potent even if understated—not only the windows but the Morgan Trust building itself feels oppressive and tomblike. Whitman's poetic celebration of tall buildings follows.

Although Whitman's inspirational lines "high growths of iron, slender, strong, uprising toward clear skies" evoke "the power and beauty" of the skyscrapers, the promise of these lines remains unfulfilled. In the following shot of New York's skyline, smog obscures the view. What sky we do see is not clear in another sense: even at its highest upward point, the camera never reveals the top of the Woolworth Building. Instead of panning upward as the intertitle would suggest, the camera tilts downward from the skyline to the cavernous city. This scene—the first shot to focus on a skyscraper—pans down the Woolworth Building, the tallest building in the world from 1913 to 1930. Its numerous dark windows resonate in turn with the large windows and tombstones of the previous scenes. New Yorkers rush to spend their day entombed in these huge buildings, which we then see being built (shots 16 to 21) and later inventoried (shots 22 to 28).[49] These include the Equitable Building—then the largest building in the world in terms of floor space—with its "monotonous repetition of windows."[50] As suggested by this commentary, which appeared in *Vanity Fair*, the majesty of these buildings depends on monotony and this extends to the monotony imposed on the masses who come off the ferry to fill them.

The detached but intense presentation of architecture evident in Sheeler's Doylestown house interiors is carried over, which is not to say that this was solely or even primarily Sheeler's contribution rather than a product of the collaboration. Stieglitz was already writing Strand about the film as early as July 1920—referring to it as his movie.[51] On another occasion, he called it Sheeler's "abstract" movie.[52] At times, the Sheeler-Strand collaboration had its stresses. Strand's letters to Stieglitz from that summer are lost, but we can read Stiegltiz's replies: "What you wrote about Sheeler is but as I see it too. It's really pathetic. New York is certainly a blood-sucker—As for yourself I can imagine how you feel. The constant conflict. The struggle. Still I hope that in the knowledge of growing work you get some satisfaction."[53] Although their collaboration was not always easy, Strand and Sheeler were still ready to work together on another, potentially lucrative motion-picture project in August 1921—shortly after their film's one-week run at the Rialto Theater.[54]

The Sheeler-Strand association was nevertheless in the process of breaking down and would be completely shattered by spring 1923. Several factors contributed to

OPPOSITE

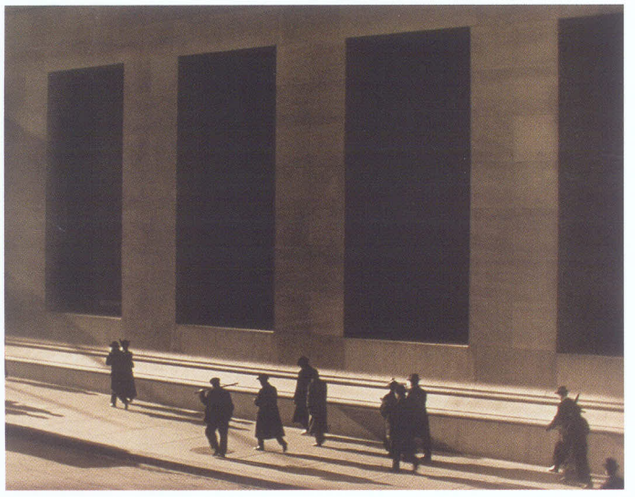
7.13 Trinity Church Graveyard, frame from *Manhatta*, 1920. Courtesy of the author.

7.14 Morgan Trust Building, Wall Street, frame from *Manhatta*, 1920. Courtesy of the author.

FAR RIGHT

7.15 Woolworth Buiding, three frames from *Manhatta*, 1920. Courtesy of the author.

this unraveling. Both were increasingly involved with women who soon became their wives: Sheeler married Katharine Baird Shaffer in 1921, while Strand married Rebecca Salsbury in 1922. The couples did not apparently socialize. Rather Strand and "Beck" became close to Stieglitz and G.O.—that is, Georgia O'Keeffe. Sheeler and Strand's inability to make money from *Manhatta* or other potential jobs in the motion-picture field must have also weighed heavily on their association. Sheeler seemed to find employment—taking photographs of artwork for *The Arts* and acting as gallery manager for de Zayas, while Strand struggled. In June 1922, Strand also bought his own motion-picture camera—an Akeley—which he photographed in loving closeups. This was an important step in his commitment to filmmaking, but it may also indicate that Sheeler was unwilling to loan his camera to Strand. Moreover, earlier that month, Sheeler had declined to contribute to a special issue of *Manuscript* on photography that was being put together by Stieglitz and Strand. "This should not be mistaken for apathy toward the subject, but rather that in selecting the camera I have chosen the medium through which, I believe, I can best express my opinions concerning photography," he explained.[55] Yet less than a year later, he published a review essay, "Recent Photographs by Alfred Stieglitz," which irritated Stieglitz and infuriated Strand, bringing their friendship to an end.[56] These factors were probably all secondary to the conflicts that surrounded what might properly be called the larger *Manhatta* project.



ABOVE

7.16 Paul Strand, *Wall Street,* 1915. ©Aperture Foundation Inc., Paul Strand Archive.

OPPOSITE

7.17 Morton Schamberg, [View of Rooftops], 1917. Gelatin silver print, 9 5/16 × 7 ½ in. (23.7 × 19.0 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Ford Motor Company Collection, Gift of Ford Motor Company and John C. Waddell, 1987. 1987.1100.116.

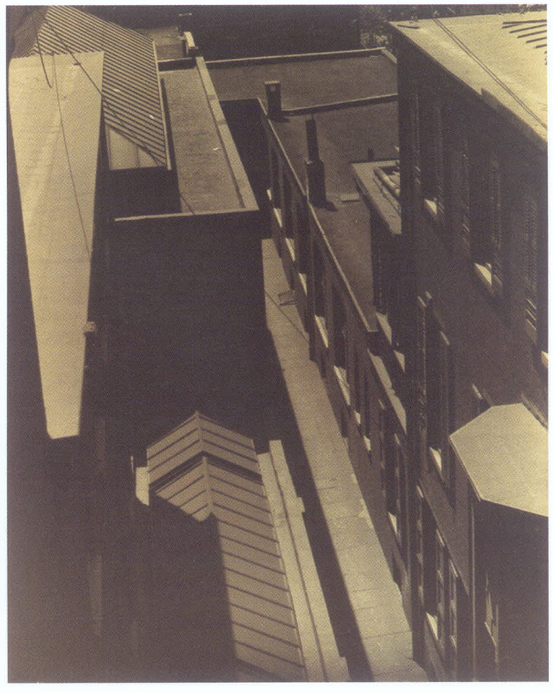
7.18 *New York Park Row Building, Distant View.* Negative date: 1920. Gelatin silver print, 10 × 8 in. (25.4 × 20.3 cm). ©The Lane Collection, photograph Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

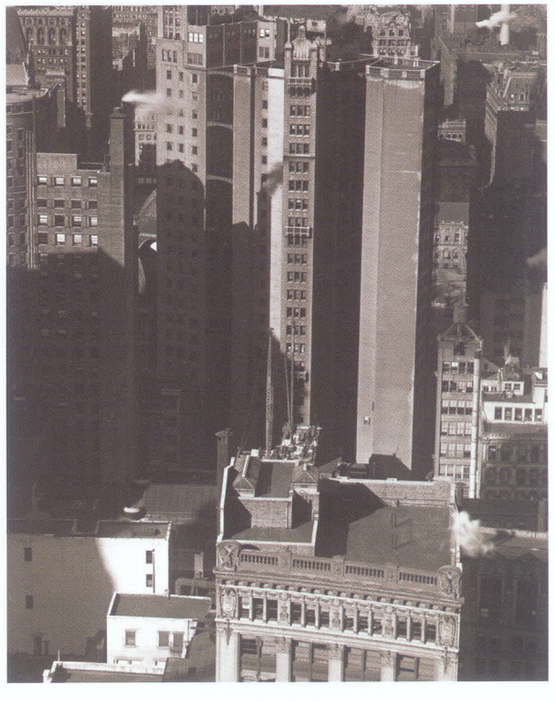
The *Manhatta* project and the Strand-Sheeler collaboration prove more complex when examined within the context of different production practices and conceptions of authorship. The motion picture was conceived as a coauthored undertaking, while their photographs, paintings, and other artworks were assumed to have a singular author (and still are). Moreover, there was the larger project that was in some sense a joint project but was never formalized as such. As Strand explained, "In this collaboration the intention of the photographers has been to apply their special knowledge gained from experiments in still photography to the motion picture."[57]

Sheeler and Strand had become interested in what can happen when an artist moves across media platforms. One aspect of *Manhatta* as an experiment involved their selection of recognizable photographs and exploring what happens when they are transposed to motion pictures. Many of the shots in *Manhatta* had photographic antecedents (Fig. 7.16). One of the most obvious is shot 13, which closely mirrors Strand's photograph *Wall Street*, but there are other Strand photos from this same period that treat similar locales: *Railroad Sidings* (1914–15) and *Overlooking Harbor, New York* (1916).[58] Jan-Christopher Horak has noted, "Two Stieglitz photographs, *City of Ambition* (1910) and *The Ferry Boat* (1910) can almost be mistaken for frame enlargements from *Manhatta*."[59] These and other Stieglitz photographs of New York, such as *Lower Manhattan* (1910), published in *Camera Work* (no. 36, October 1911), offered Strand and Sheeler a blueprint for a number of other sequences. Brock has also suggested, citing Erica Hishler, that the early photographic work of Alvin Coburn (ca. 1912) might have been influential as well.[60] Here I would add that Morton Schamberg's high-angle photographs of city rooftops, which he made in 1917, were another critically important reference point. Although

Strand had previously shot the city from above, Schamberg's images were remarkably aggressive (Fig. 7.17). The filmmakers' insistence on this perspective might even be seen as an implicit homage to their dead associate.

Manhatta is something more than an homage to a set of antecedent images: the motion picture does not simply look backward. The two artists were very much operating in the present tense as well. We must consider the possibility that they also brought along two still cameras when they went to film the Woolworth Building from a window in the Equitable Building. Soon after filming what became shot 15, Sheeler may have taken a whole series of photographs from the same window—or from a similar vantage point several floors lower. Seven of these are reproduced in Theodore Stebbins's *The Photography of Charles Sheeler*, including *New York, Buildings in Shadows and Smoke* (1920).[61] Six of them were taken with two cameras having different focal lenses, with camera A having a wider-angle lens than camera B. These were serially directed toward the same cityscape of skyscrapers: set one, *New York, Towards the Woolworth Building* with camera A, and *New York, Building in Shadows* with camera B; set two, *New York, Park Row Building, Distant View* with camera A, and *New York, Park Row Building* with camera B; set 3, *New York, Temple Court, Distant View* with camera A, and *New York, Temple Court* with camera B (Fig. 7.18 and see Fig. 2.4).





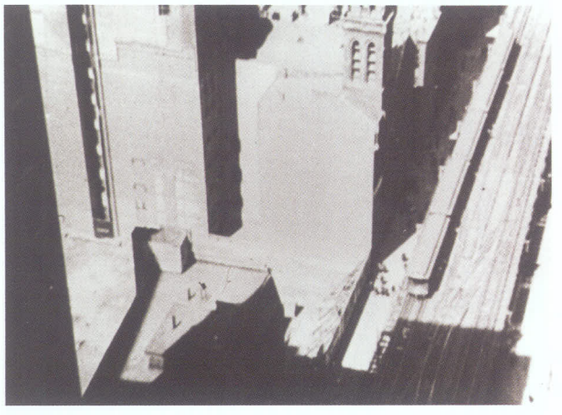
This key part of the *Manhatta* experiment encourages us to explore the relationships among these pictures that were taken from the same building if not the same window. Sheeler's photographs are all verticals, like the photographs of the Doylestown house interiors—a choice of frame format that is well suited to the architecture of skyscrapers. The motion-picture frame, in contrast, is horizontal, and here the photographers had no choice. The vertical framing of the still cameras, however, found a counterpart in the motion-picture camera's downward tilt. As the shot begins, the top of the Woolworth Building extends beyond the top edge of the frame; gradually, the downward pan encompasses the subject area that was captured by Sheeler's still cameras. The motion-picture camera, which has a much wider-angle lens than either of the two still cameras, moves downward, ending on a static frame of the immobile buildings. The long, thin strip of motion-picture film has its counterpart in the long, thin skyscrapers. The windows even resemble motion-picture sprockets. Moreover, the succession of film frames registers only the smallest of changes in the images, recalling the monotonous repetition of skyscrapers that nonetheless produce an expression of majesty and dynamism.

The three vertical sets of photographic images involve a horizontal movement from left to right so that there is overlap between the first and second set of images and the second and the third. While the wide-angle shots taken from the first and third positions have overlap, the telephoto shots do not (or just barely). These produce a certain staggered or stuttering effect that can be understood as cubist but also

seem almost structuralist in their rhymes with the film—still film/vertical frame/horizontal pan versus motion picture/horizontal frame/vertical pan. Meanwhile the smoke that continues to dance into the air in the motion pictures is frozen in time with the photographs—and finally eliminated in Sheeler's paintings derived from these photographs. This complex interplay opens up a wide range of questions about the experiments embedded in *Manhatta*, many of which can be discovered and explored by the attentive viewer.

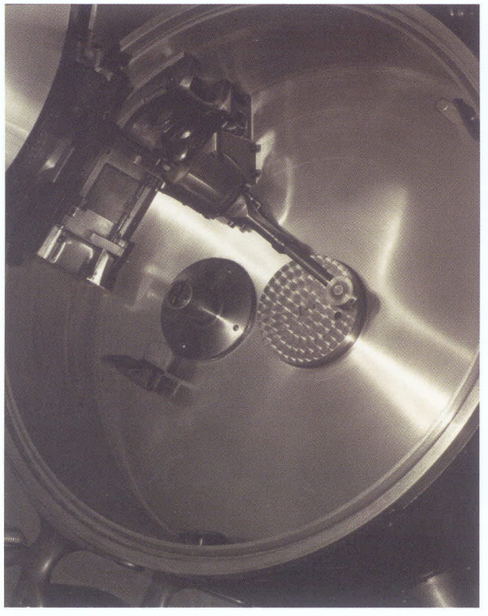
The contours of the larger *Manhatta* project, which were informal and ill defined, ultimately contributed to the breakdown of Sheeler and Strand's relationship. A consideration of artistic activities in the Equitable Building might explain why Strand's name appeared first in the credits for *Manhatta*—"Photographed by Paul Strand and Charles Sheeler"—out of alphabetical order. On that day at least, Strand was in charge of the motion-picture camera, while Sheeler took charge of the large-format still cameras. In the division of credit—and property— Strand received first credit on the film while Sheeler enjoyed sole credit for and possession of the photographs—using them for his many sketches and paintings in which these images migrated across media platforms.

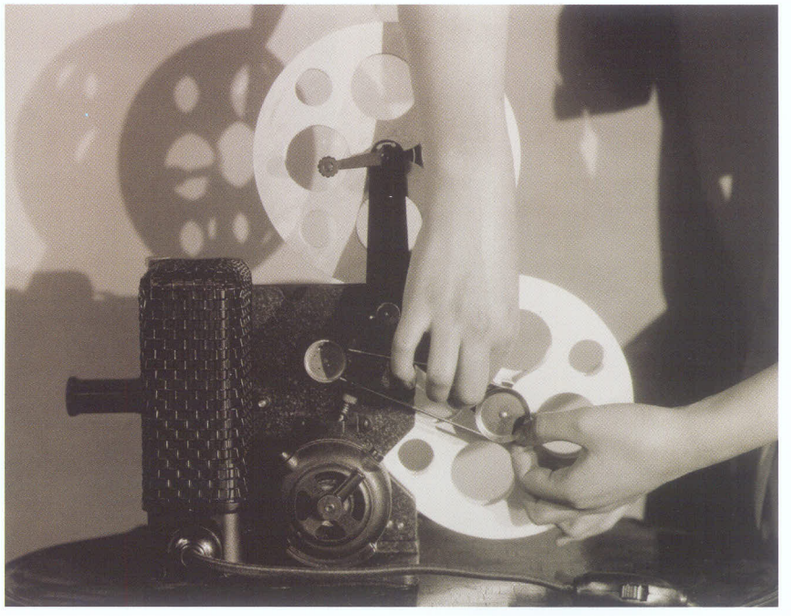
A large number of artworks might be seen as part of the larger *Manhatta* project, including Strand's 1922 series of photographs of his new Akeley camera, which offered another way to play with the relationship between still and motion-picture cameras. Strand also took another sequence of photographs entitled *Truckman's House, New York*: he used the same camera position over several months, during which the *mise en scène* changed significantly.[62] Yet this informal umbrella project was never publicly articulated except perhaps in Strand's press release for *New York the Magnificent*. Perhaps if the larger *Manhatta* project had been more explicitly acknowledged or the film had been more successful commercially, this issue of credit, authorship, and ownership would not have been so serious a problem. However, the migration of images across media encountered conflicting paradigms of authorship that came to annoy, infuriate, or outrage (choose the verb) Strand and Stieglitz as Sheeler successfully exploited his components of the broad project.



As Sheeler began to present work connected with the larger *Manhatta* project, he received considerable media attention. In January 1921, *Vanity Fair* featured Sheeler's photograph *New York, Park Row Building* under the title "Cubist Architecture in New York." Sheeler was hailed as "an American painter of note" who saw skyscrapers as America's "most vital contribution to architectural progress."[63] Strand and the film go unmentioned. A reproduction of Sheeler's painting *Church Street El* (1920) also appeared in the April 1921 issue of *Vanity Fair* (see Fig. 6.1). It was said to be "from a photograph made by the artist,"[64] even though it was from a film frame of *Manhatta* (Fig. 7.19). When *Vanity Fair* published a full-page layout of frames from the film in April 1922, both filmmakers were finally mentioned—but Sheeler was named first.[65]

The March 1923 issue of *Shadowland*, a magazine for the arts that covered motion pictures extensively, ran a flattering in-depth profile of Sheeler and included a color reproduction of a Sheeler painting of Lower Manhattan, *Skyscrapers,* which cor-





responded to the aforementioned photograph *New York Park Row Building*.[66] Once again neither *Manhatta* nor Strand was mentioned in the piece. The image itself is interesting as part of a sequence—from film to photograph to painting. The painted image has simplified the *mise en scène*, pushing it toward abstracted form with the removal of smoke, the crane and pieces of architectural detail from the canvas. In the May 1923 issue of *The Arts* (which also contained Sheeler's review of Stieglitz's photography), critic Forbes Watson concluded an eleven-page overview of Sheeler's career as a painter on a celebratory note: "Finally in his exquisite arrangement of spaces, in his complete destruction of the superfluous, Sheeler reaches the cool refreshing heights of the best periods of American design and most important of all, his work is imbued with the necessary element of life, that native tang and fragrance, that sense of inherent quality without which art cannot rise above logic."[67] *Church Street El* was one of the artworks that illustrated the article, but here again both the film and Strand's indirect contribution to Sheeler's painting went unmentioned.

Strand undoubtedly found these repeated omissions more and more hurtful. Given that these two essays focused on Sheeler's painting and not his work in photography or film, Sheeler himself may not have been fully aware of their cumulative effect and was initially somewhat taken aback by the intensity of Strand's angry reaction. Privately, Strand and Stieglitz began to refer to Sheeler's work as "Suspended Form in a Vacuum."[68] Indeed, the implicitly critical perspective on the city offered by *Manhatta* seems even more muted as Sheeler's photographs and paintings focus on the play of light, shadow, and form, as well as framing.

Sheeler and Strand's falling out was exacerbated by diverging, even conflicting career trajectories. Strand had become sufficiently enchanted by his experiences with the motion-picture camera that he began to make his living primarily as a cinema-

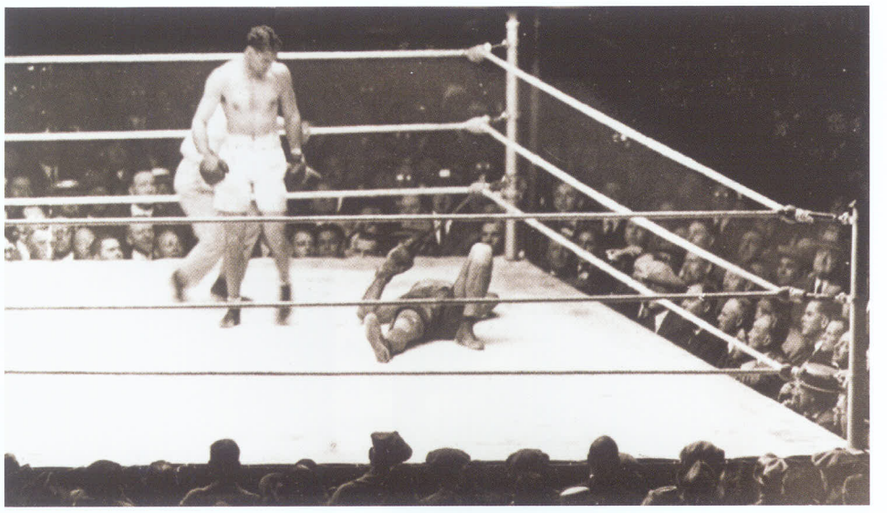
OPPOSITE

7.19 Church Street El, frame from *Manhatta*, 1920. Courtesy of the author.

ABOVE

7.20 Paul Strand, Akeley Motion Picture Camera, 1922. Gelatin silver print, 9 5/8 × 7 11/16 in. (24.5 × 19.5 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Ford Motor Company Collection, Gift of Ford Motor Company and John C. Waddell, 1987. 1987.1100.3. ©Aperture Foundation Inc., Paul Strand Archive. Image copyright ©The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Image source: Art Resource, NY

7.21 Kodak Projector, Negative date: 1924. Gelatin silver print, 5 1/8 × 6 1/2 in. (13.0 × 16.5 cm). ©The Lane Collection, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.



7.22 Unidentified photographer, Heavyweight champion Jack Dempsey stands over challenger Luis Firpo down on the canvas in the second round of their title bout at the Polo Grounds in New York City on Sept. 14, 1923. Image Courtesy of Associated Press.

tographer. In August 1922, he was delighted to write Stieglitz that he had made sixty dollars over two days and was about to film a polo match.[69] He was soon hired as a news cameraman and also worked on a number of feature fiction films that were being shot in New York City in the mid-1920s. His readiness to pursue commercial photography receded. Photography for him became the realm of art that was unsullied by commercialism. For Sheeler, it was different. Commercial photography became his way to make a living. Here Strand's lovingly abstracted images of his Akeley camera (1922) can be contrasted with Sheeler's photograph of the Kodak projector (1924), made for advertising purposes, even though it possessed impressive visual qualities, particularly in its use of light (Figs. 7.20 and 7.21).[70] Sheeler's photo helps us understand how the projector works. Strand's photos of his Akeley camera do not. It was with painting and other inward-looking forms of expression that Sheeler found art unsullied by pragmatic concerns.

The split between Sheeler and Strand echoed another breakdown between two other long-standing collaborators—Steichen and Stieglitz. In 1923, Steichen was hired by Condé Nast as its chief photographer for *Vogue* and *Vanity Fair*. This move into commercial photography was rejected by Stieglitz as the latest threat to the medium's integrity as an art form. Steichen soon aligned with Sheeler and hired him for commercial work at Condé Nast in 1926, while Strand retained Stieglitz as a close associate. Despite these rivalries, the careers of Strand and Sheeler had some intriguing resonances during the mid-1920s. For instance, Strand was occasionally hired to film boxing matches, such as the brief but brutal Dempsey-Firpo fight on September 14, 1923, at the Polo Grounds (Fig. 7.22).[71] Sheeler, in contrast, photographed a sequence of images of French boxing champion Georges Carpentier, dressed in an elegant suit and demonstrating the Charleston for *Vanity Fair*.[72]

Strand worked as a cinematographer on at least two Johnny Hines comedies, *The Live Wire* (1925) and *Crackerjack* (1925), at the Tec-Art studio at 723 Forest

Avenue in the Bronx. Tec-Art was a booming, full-service rental studio and likely provided Strand with work on other fiction films—until the company moved West around 1927.[73] This was a step up from being a stringer for the newsreel companies, though Strand likely continued to perform this kind of work as well. Credited as one of several cameramen on *The Live Wire*, Strand was still relatively low in the pecking order and did not receive any official credit on *Crackerjack*. In contrast, Sheeler's work at Condé Nast, which put him at the center of the glamour industry, was properly credited. He had ten photographs in the June 1926 issue of *Vanity Fair*. Most were of movie stars, including superstar John Gilbert (see Plate XLV); Broadway star Alice Brady, who had left motion pictures behind in 1923 after making more than fifty features (she was also William A. Brady's sister); Lya De Putti, who had starred opposite Emil Jannings in E. A. Dupont's *Variety* (1925) and had just made her first American appearance in D. W. Griffith's *The Sorrows of Satan* (1926); and Georges Carpentier, who was making big money in vaudeville.[74] On June 17, Carpentier fought Tommy Loughran and lost in a unanimous decision: Loughran would go on to win the World Light Heavyweight title the following year. Carpentier's career as a fighter was nearing its end, but the Frenchman had become almost as famous for dancing the Charleston as for his boxing. Sheeler's six-photo spread, which shows the vaudevillian doing the Charleston in six different positions, may evoke some of Sheeler's earlier photographic series. Here he offers Carpentier in representative poses rather than providing a fluid sequence of images; in that sense they might be seen as cubist. As with all these performers, it is Carpentier's cool elegance that is featured. That is also true for the final photo in the June issue—a portrait of sculptor Constantin Brancusi, whom *Vanity Fair* was nominating for its Hall of Fame (see Fig. 1.15).[75] Employed by *Vanity Fair*, Sheeler used his talents to promote glamorous personas—not that different from the glamour featured in advertisements for Rolls Royces, Cadillacs, and other luxury cars that filled the magazine's pages.

The animosity and differences in approach between Sheeler and Strand were further reiterated at decade's end when Carl Sandburg published a biography of his brother in law: *Steichen: The Photographer* (1929). Paul Strand wrote a long letter to the editor of the *New Republic* mocking Steichen, who is quoted on a number of occasions as favoring commercial art over "art for art's sake." In mocking Steichen, he was also mocking Sheeler who was his employee. Of course, Sheeler's "art for art's sake" could be found in his drawings and paintings. Moreover, despite his manifest hostility, Strand's experience with Sheeler on *Manhatta* proved formative in important respects. Unlike Sheeler, who subsequently avoided filmmaking, Strand became centrally involved in at least two ambitious film projects over the course of his professional career. Both involved creative partnerships: he collaborated with Fred Zinnemann on *The Wave* (1937), which they shot in Mexico. He then went on to work with Leo Hurwitz on *Native Land* (1942). While *Manhatta* inspired Strand to make filmmaking an important part of his career and to eventually work with artistic collaborators on subsequent motion-picture projects, it was equally critical in helping Sheeler fully develop his transmedia style. In this respect, despite the differences and misunderstandings that ultimately drove them apart, *Manhatta* was more than a canonical achievement: it proved immensely beneficial to both individuals as they continued to work creatively in the 1920s and beyond. Yet what remains to be still

further explored and better understood is the amorphous, underarticulated project on which the two artists collectively embarked—a set of affinities and experiments that spanned the period between roughly 1917 and 1922.

NOTES

1 Constance Rourke, *Charles Sheeler in the American Tradition* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1938), 195–96.

2 Peter Schjeldahl, "20th-Century Strand," Artnet, http://www.artnet.com/Magazine/features/schjeldahl/schjeldahl4-3-98.asp.

3 A remarkably aggressive champion of W. K. L. Dickson has been Gordon Hendricks in *The Edison Motion Picture Myth* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1961). Edison hagiography is more common.

4 Rourke, *Charles Sheeler*, 29.

5 Naomi Rosenblum, "The Early Years," in *Paul Strand: Essays on His Life and Work*, ed. Maren Stange (New York: Aperture: 1990), 34; Sarah Greenough, *Paul Strand: An American Vision* (Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art, 1990), 34, 152.

6 Alfred Stieglitz's assistant to Charles Sheeler, September 18, 1911, and Stieglitz to Sheller [sic], June 11, 1915, Box 45, Folder 1064, Alfred Stieglitz–Georgia O'Keeffe Archive, Yale Collection of American Literature (YCAL), MSS 85, Yale University Library, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library.

7 Paul Strand to Alfred Stieglitz, May 3, 1916, Box 48, Folder 1129, Stieglitz–O'Keeffe Archive, YCAL, MSS 85, Yale University Library.

8 *Camera Work* 48 (1916), 11. The show ran from March 13 to April 3, 1916.

9 Ibid., 25–35.

10 Wanamaker advertisement, *Philadelphia Inquirer*, March 1, 1917, 11.

11 Stieglitz had earlier photographed African sculpture, when presented at his 291 Gallery in November 1914. These were published in *Camera Work* 48 (1916), 66–68.

12 Sheeler to Stieglitz, May 25, 1915; Sheeler to Stieglitz, November 23, 1916, Box 45, Folder 1064, YCAL, MSS 85, Stieglitz–O'Keeffe Archive, Yale University Library.

13 Charles Sheeler to Mr. Stieglitz, October 28, 1916, Box 45, Folder 1064, YCAL, MSS 85, Stieglitz–O'Keeffe Archive, Yale University Library.

14 Stieglitz to Sheeler, November 1, 1916, Box 45, Folder 1064, YCAL, MSS 85, Stieglitz–O'Keeffe Archive, Yale University Library.

15 Stieglitz to Sheeler, December 1, 1916, Box 45, Folder 1064, YCAL, MSS 85, Stieglitz–O'Keeffe Archive, Yale University Library.

16 Did Sheeler and Schamberg have a sexually intimate relationship? This is a question that art historians—somewhat surprisingly—seem not to have raised. Although any answer is obviously somewhat speculative, it seems quite possible.

17 "Calendar of Special Exhibitions," *American Art News*, March 24, 1917, 8; and "Photographic Art and Modern Gallery, *American Art News*, March 31, 1917, 3; cited in Theodore E. Stebbins Jr. and Norman Keyes Jr., *Charles Sheeler: The Photographs* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1987), 6–7.

18 "Cubism Justified," *New York Sun,* December 10, 1917, 7. Stebbins and Keyes have identified this critic as Henry McBride (*Charles Sheeler,* 7–8). See also "'Modernist' Photographs," *American Art News*, December 15, 1917, 3.

19 Charles Brock, *Charles Sheeler: Across Media* (Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art, 2006), 25.

20 Theodore E. Stebbins Jr., Giles Mora, and Karen E. Haas, *The Photography of Charles Sheeler: American Modernist* (Boston: Bulfinch, 2002), 27.

21 The affinities between the Doylestown house interiors and African art were noted in a brief review appearing in *American Art News*, December 15, 1917, 3.

22 Paul Strand to Alfred Stieglitz, July 31, 1917, Box 48, Folder 1129, YCAL, MSS 85, Stieglitz–O'Keeffe Archive, Yale University Library.

23 Paul Strand to Alfred Stieglitz, August 15, 1917, Box 48, Folder 1129, YCAL, MSS 85, Stieglitz–O'Keeffe Archive, Yale University Library.

24 Stieglitz to Strand, August 18, 1917, Box 48, Folder 1129, YCAL, MSS 85, Stieglitz–O'Keeffe Archive, Yale University Library.

25 Naomi Rosenblum, "Paul Strand: The Early Years, 1910–1932" (PhD dissertation, City University of New York, 1978), 69–70.

26 Sheeler to Stieglitz, [n.d. August 1917], Box 45, Folder 1064, YCAL, MSS 85, Stieglitz–O'Keeffe Archive, Yale University Library.

27 "Quakers Remain Firm Pacifists," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, March 27, 1917, 12; "The Quakers Are the Only Christian Body on Earth Who Have Officially Remained True to Their Principles," *The Truth* (Erie, Pennsylvania), May 18, 1918.

28 "Exhibition of War Posters," *American Art News*, December 8, 1917, 3; and "War Poster Exhibition," *American Art News*, December 15, 1917, 2.

29 "25 War Objectors Given Furloughs Camp Meade Officials Believe Quakers and Mennonites Better at Farming," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, July 17, 1918, 7.

30 Brock, *Charles Sheeler*, 14.

31 *Camera Work* 48 (October 1916), 31.

32 Wanamaker advertisement, *Philadelphia Inquirer*, March 4, 1918, 11; W. G. Fitz, "A Few Thoughts on the Wanamaker Exhibition," *Camera* 22 (April 1918), 205, cited in Carol Troyen, "Photography, Painting, and Charles Sheeler's 'View of New York,'" *Art Bulletin,* vol. 86, no. 4 (December 2004), 747, fn. 9.

33 Jan-Christopher Horak, *Making Images Move* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1997), 82. Horak dates both of Sheeler's prize-winning photographs as 1915. Again one should assume that the two photographers would have submitted recent work to the Wanamaker competition.

34 Sheeler to Stieglitz, [n.d. August 1917], Box 45, Folder 1064, YCAL, MSS 85, Stieglitz–O'Keeffe Archive, Yale University Library.

35 Strand to Adele C. Shreve, August 9, 1919, Box 48, Folder 1135, YCAL, MSS 85, Stieglitz–O'Keeffe Archive, Yale University Library.

36 Carol Troyen, "'From the Eyes Inward': Paintings and Drawings by Charles Sheeler," in *Charles Sheeler: Paintings and Drawings*, ed. Troyen and Erica E. Hirshler (Boston: Little Brown, 1987), 69–73.

37 Sheeler to Stieglitz, October 15, 1918, Box 45, Folder 1064, YCAL, MSS 85, Stieglitz–O'Keeffe Archive, Yale University Library.

38 Strand to Stieglitz, April 15, 1919, Box 48, Folder 1134, YCAL, MSS 85, Stieglitz–O'Keeffe Archive, Yale University Library.

39 Strand to Stieglitz, August 9, 1919, Box 48, Folder 1135, YCAL, MSS 85, Stieglitz–O'Keeffe Archive, Yale University Library.

40 Sheeler to Stieglitz, November 12, 1918, Box 45, Folder 1064, YCAL, MSS 85, Stieglitz–O'Keeffe Archive, Yale University Library. Schamberg's father died in the same flu epidemic, in the same hotel, and at the same time as Morton.

41 How much actual filmmaking Sheeler did in the later 1910s is unclear, but two sets of printed frames from motion pictures survive: *Schamberg with Parakeet,* generally dated 1914–15, and a series of Katharine Baird Shaffer, dressed and naked, made circa 1919. One wonders if these are indeed frames from two "motion pictures" or if the motion-picture camera was not being used for experiments in serial photography—intended to generate specific still frames that might be used for a variety of purposes.

42 Sheeler to Charles W. Millard, in Stebbins and Keyes, *Charles Sheeler*, 17.

43 Paul Strand, [press release for *New York the Magnificent*], [1921], Museum of Modern Art.

44 Paul Strand, "Photography," *Seven Arts*, August 1917, 524–26, reprinted in Nathan Lyons, ed., *Photographers on Photography* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1966), 137.

45 Kirsten Jensen, "Painting *Manhatta*: Modernism, Urban Planning and New York, 1920–1940," in *Industrial Sublime: Modernism and the Transformation of New York's Rivers, 1900–1940* (New York: Empire State Editions, 2013), 71–91.

46 Strand, [press release for *New York the Magnificent*], [1921] Museum of Modern Art.

47 *New York of Today* (Edison, 1910) is available for viewing on YouTube, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5fYaehvpqq8.

48 Tom Gunning, "Strand's *Manhatta*: Steam-Powered Photography," unpublished paper presented at Philadelphia Museum of Art, November 7, 2014.

49 The Stieglitz group clearly had ambivalent feelings about New York and often complained about it as they savored their summers in the countryside. Strand, stuck in the city, wrote about the gallery where Sheeler was working: "But—gosh—Stieglitz the place is a tomb—one can hardly look at anything in it" (Strand to Stieglitz, November 26, 1920, Box 48, Folder 1136, YCAL, MSS 85, Stieglitz–O'Keeffe Archive, Yale University Library). This makes clear that the comparison of different aspects of the city to a tomb was not far from Strand's mind (and perhaps Sheeler's as well).

50 "Manhattan—'The Proud and Passionate City,'" *Vanity Fair,* April 1922, 51.

51 Stieglitz to Strand, July 20, 1920, Paul Strand Collection, Center for Creative Photography, University of Arizona.

52 Stieglitz to Strand, August 9, 1920, Paul Strand Collection, Center for Creative Photography, University of Arizona.

53 Stieglitz to Strand, September 16, 1920, Paul Strand Collection, Center for Creative Photography, University of Arizona.

54 Strand to Stieglitz, August 3, 1921, Box 48, Folder 1138, YCAL, MSS 85, Stieglitz–O'Keeffe Archive, Yale University Library.

55 Sheeler to Stieglitz, June 2, 1922, Box 45, Folder 1064 YCAL, MSS 85, Stieglitz–O'Keeffe Archive, Yale University Library.

56 Charles Sheeler, "Recent Photographs by Alfred Stieglitz," *The Arts*, May 1923, 345.

57 Strand, [press release for *New York the Magnificent*], [1921] Museum of Modern Art.

58 There are two ways of counting shots: following Brock's shot-by -hot inventory, I include titles. If titles are not counted, shot 13 would be shot 9 (Brock, *Charles Sheeler*, 54–59).

59 Horak, *Making Images Move,* 85.

60 Brock, *Charles Sheeler,* 46.

61 Stebbins, *Photography of Charles Sheeler*, 105–11. Two of these seven photographs are reproduced in Brock, *Charles Sheeler*, on pages 66 and 67. This suggests a cubist fragmentation along the lines of his Doylestown interiors.

62 Peter Barbiere and Amanda N. Bock, eds., *Paul Strand: Master of Modern Photography* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014), plates 36–38.

63 "Cubist Architecture in New York," *Vanity Fair*, January 1921, 72. The photograph is *New York, Park Row Building* (1920). See Stebbins, Mora, and Haas, *Photography of Charles Sheeler*, 109.

64 "Above the Turmoil of New York," *Vanity Fair*, April 1921, 47.

65 "Manhattan–'The Proud and Passionate City,'" *Vanity Fair*, April 1922, 51.

66 Thomas Craven, "Charles Sheeler," *Shadowland,* March 1923, 11ff.

67 Forbes Watson, "Charles Sheeler," *The Arts*, May 1923, 334–44.

68 Stieglitz to Strand, July 12, 1923, Paul Strand Collection, Center for Creative Photography, University of Arizona.

69 Strand to Stieglitz, August 31, 1922, Box 48, Folder 1140, YCAL, MSS 85, Stieglitz–O'Keeffe Archive, Yale University Library.

70 Stebbins and Keyes, *Charles Sheeler*, plate 41.
71 Dan Streible, "Paul Strand: Newsreel Stringer," Orphan Film Symposium,http://orphanfilmsymposium.blogspot.com/2008_07_01_archive.html.
72 "Ol' Massa Carpentier: The Charleston Expert," *Vanity Fair*, June 1926, 61.
73 Rosenblum, Paul Strand (dissertation), 94; Richard Koszarski, *Hollywood on the Hudson: Film and Television in New York from Griffith to Sarnoff* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2008), 76–77.
74 "Carpentier at $2500: 3 Weeks for Pantages," *Variety*, June 30, 1926, 22.
75 "We Nominate for the Hall of Fame," *Vanity Fair,* June 1926, 78.