CAPTURING THE VULNERABLE BODY:

IMOGEN CUNNINGHAM'S PHOTOGRAPHIC SERIES *ROI ON THE DIPSEA TRAIL* (1918)

by

CHARLOTTE MELISSA GAILLET

(Under the Direction of Janice Simon)

ABSTRACT

In 1918, Imogen Cunningham produced nine negatives of a nude male, her husband Roi Partridge, exploring the Dipsea Trail near Mill Valley, California. This thesis examines the often overlooked extant prints from the photographic series *Roi on the Dipsea Trail* in relation to the traditions of Pictorialism and Cunningham's cultural environment in California during World War I and the Spanish Flu Pandemic. Although the photographs do not display explicit war symbolism, my research uses a historical and political lens to place the series within Cunningham's oeuvre and in conversation with Modernist art as a response to the war. This work also considers the photographer's treatment of the nude male body captured in vulnerable poses, viewed in contrast to the era's favored strong man.

INDEX WORDS: Imogen Cunningham, *Roi on the Dipsea Trail*, World War I, Photography, Pictorialism, American Art, Twentieth Century

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I. Introduction

In a 1961 interview, American photographer Imogen Cunningham (1883-1976) exclaimed, "I liked to photograph people in the nude in strange and difficult situations, like standing around in pools of water—regular 'September Morn' stuff, you know," when recounting the early years of her non-commercial, Pictorialist work.[1] Cunningham's affinity for capturing nude subjects in strange circumstances is evident in her 1918 series *Roi on the Dipsea Trail* produced during a sketching excursion with her then-husband Roi Partridge, an artist and etcher. As Partridge was on a mission to depict the American wilderness of the rocky terrain between Mill Valley and Steep Ravine Beach in Northern California, Cunningham made nine celluloid negatives (3 ¼ x 4 ¼ in) of her husband walking, sitting, and interacting with a small creek and the rugged landscape.[2] The subject never confronts or faces the camera frontally, while the photographer uses a soft-focused lens to capture the formal qualities of the sitter's vulnerable nude body. With the ninth negative damaged, only eight gelatin silver printed photographs survive from the couple's time on the Dipsea Trail (Figs. 1-8).[3] The *Roi on the Dipsea Trail* series has largely remained overlooked in scholarship examining Imogen Cunningham's oeuvre, yet the rarity of the subject matter and cultural surroundings of the photographs remains significant.

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[1] At the time of Cunningham's early nude figure-in-landscape photography (1911-1920), the photographer had not seen Paul Chabas's controversial painting *September Morn*, 1912, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Cunningham retrospectively compared her Pictorialist nude photographs to the painting in 1959; Imogen Cunningham and Edna Tartaul Daniel, *Imogen Cunningham: Portraits, Ideas, and Design* (Berkley: University of California Regional Cultural History Project, 1961), 87-88.

[2] These nine negatives are in the care of the Imogen Cunningham Trust, established in 1975 by Cunningham herself. The Trust remains a family operation under the direction of Cunningham's granddaughter, Meg Partridge. The eight prints have been digitized and can be publicly viewed on the Trust's online database; https://www.imogencunningham.com/artworks/categories/53/.

[3] Due to COVID-19 restrictions, I was unable to view the 1918 photographic series in-person. Meg Partridge, Director of the Imogen Cunningham Trust, kindly provided a contact sheet of all eight photographs for the *Roi on the Dipsea Trail* series and description of the negatives.

Although the female nude was a popular subject among Pictorialist photographers aiming to recall classical traditions, the male nude was rarely photographed, and even more rarely so by a female artist.[4] Throughout her early career, Cunningham repeatedly embraced the subject of the male nude, exploring the potential photography had to offer the figure-in-landscape genre. After her marriage in 1915, she photographed her husband nude among nature on three separate occasions, including: *On Mount Rainier* (1915), *Roi on the Dipsea Trail* (1918), and *Roi in the Alabamas* (1923).[5] The couple divorced in 1934, but Cunningham revisited the subject of the male nude in a 1967 series, *On Oregon Beach*, exhibiting an unnamed model in comparable fashion to her earlier series of Partridge within sublime natural surroundings.

Roi on the Dipsea Trail echoes Cunningham's first series of her husband, *On Mount Rainier* (1915), composed during the couple's residency in Seattle, Washington (Figs. 9-12). Both *On Mount Rainier* and *Roi on the Dipsea Trail* reveal her husband classically-posed, nude, and defenseless. In her later series, *Roi on the Dipsea Trail*, Cunningham moves closer to her subject as she places increased awareness on Partridge's muscular physique but still accentuates the vulnerable body through his articulated movements and poses. Though the two series are similar in subject matter and composition, scholars routinely reference or concentrate their analysis on the photographs from Mount Rainier when examining Cunningham's treatment of the male nude body.[6] The lack of scholarship surrounding her later series of the male nude can be

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[4] From the five hundred and fifty-nine images published in Alfred Stieglitz's journal *Camera Work*, less than eight percent (close to fifty photographs) included a female nude and only three included a male nude. Of the three photographs with male nudes, one was of a child and none contained frontal nudity; Alfred Stieglitz, C*amera Work: A Pictorial Guide*, edited by Marianna Fulton Margolis (New York: Dover Publications, 1978), cited in Jennifer E. Hiles, "*On Mount Rainier*: Imogen Cunningham and the Male Nude," (MA thesis, Southern Methodist University, 2011), 1 and Stacey McCarroll Cutshaw, "Framing the Familial in Photography of Imogen Cunningham, Nell Dorr, and Sally Mann.," (Phd diss., Boston University, 2010), 61.

[5] These are not chronological series. The term "series" is used to reference the grouping of photographs based on location, subject matter, and print manipulation.

[6] For analysis of Cunningham's *On Mount Rainier* series, see: Hiles, "*On Mount Rainier"*; Daniel Cornell, "Imogen Cunningham's Trails and Tendrils: From Pictorialist Practice to Modernist Vision," in "Embodying Gender:

attributed to the criticism she received upon circulating her *On Mount Rainier* images. The December 16, 1916 edition of Seattle's *Town Crier* published a photograph from Cunningham's *On Mount Rainier,* renamed *The Bather,* in the "Some Seattle Artists and Their Work" column.[7] The publication faced censure, causing Cunningham to retract the images and keep her subsequent male nude photography within the familial sphere. *Roi on the Dipsea Trail* remained private for nearly fifty-two years, until Cunningham received a Guggenheim Fellowship in 1970. At the age of 87, she retrospectively printed and distributed her photographs showcasing Partridge nude.[8]

As the foremost scholar on Cunningham and previous director of the Imogen Cunningham Trust, Richard Lorenz has produced the most complete and extensive analysis of the photographer's long career. Paul Martineau, the curator of photography at the Getty Museum, and Susan Ehrens, historian and Cunningham's personal acquaintance, recently (2020) published a retrospective in hopes to reevaluate and update Lorenz's foundational scholarship on Cunningham. Although numerous monographs and essays explore the work of Imogen Cunningham, little scholarship addresses her career from 1917-1921 due to her absence from the public eye. During this period, Cunningham and Partridge moved to California, and the photographer, relegated to the duties of a wife, took a hiatus from her commercial work to care for their home and three young children. Most scholarship devoted to Cunningham's nude portraits examines her later, sharper, and abstracted compositions of the female body.[9] Master's

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Narrative and Spectacle in the Photography of Alfred Stieglitz, Imogen Cunningham, Minor White, and Robert Mapplethorpe," (PhD diss., The Graduate Center, CUNY, 2002), 106-189; Susan Kloman, "Imogen Cunningham's *On Mount Rainier* series," (MA Thesis, Florida State University, 1997); Richard Lorenz, *Imogen Cunningham: On The Body,* (Boston, New York, Toronto, and London: Little, Brown and Company, 1998); and Richard Lorenz, "Learning to See," in *Imogen Cunningham: Ideas without End,* (San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 1993), 11-22.

[7] Adele M. Ballard, "Some Seattle Artists and Their Work," *The Town Crier* 11, no. 51 (December 16, 1916), 30.

[8] Lorenz, *Imogen Cunningham: On the Body,* 37; McCarroll Cutshaw, "Framing the Familial in Photography, 33.

[9] For more information on Cunningham's straight photography of the female nude body, see: Susan Ehrens, "Modernist Portraits," in *Imogen Cunningham: A Retrospective,* ed. Paul Martineau, (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty

theses by Susan Kloman and Jennifer E. Hiles, and dissertations by Daniel Cornell and Stacy Cutshaw McCarroll consider Cunningham's early male nude portraiture, but these scholarly works are devoted to her first series, *On Mount Rainier* (1915), of Partridge nude.[10] Hiles' thesis conducts a thorough analysis of *On Mount Rainier* by detailing the series' relationship to the feminist movement, Greek and Roman mythology, German ideas of the body and nacktkultur, and Pictorialism. In her conclusion, Hiles lists other series featuring Roi Partridge that have not been wholly discussed or analyzed, including *Roi on the Dipsea Trail.*[11]

My thesis extends and applies the scope of existing scholarship examining *On Mount Rainier* to Cunningham's second series of a nude Roi Partridge, *Roi on the Dipsea Trail*. These eight photographs produced in 1918 require further examination considering the paucity of the subject matter, the accepted artistic aesthetics of the period, and Cunningham's cultural environment in California during World War I and the Spanish Flu Pandemic. Although the photographs neither respond to the war nor display explicit war symbolism, my research adopts a historical and political lens to consider the series within the tradition of Pictorialism and Cunningham's oeuvre. This thesis also evaluates how Cunningham portrays the nude male body in contrast to the prevalent strong man image of the era and parallel to other Modernist art created amid crisis.

Though Cunningham was seldom seen without her signature peace symbol necklace and produced images criticizing the Vietnam War in her later years, her opinions towards the First

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Museum, 2020), 37-40; Celina Lunsford, "Imogen Cunningham, Modernist and Visionary," in *Imogen Cunningham*, ed. Monica Fuentes Santos, (Madrid, Alcobendas, and New York: Fundación MAPFRE, TF Editores, Distributed Art Publishers, 2012), 10-26; and Lorenz, *Imogen Cunningham: On The Body*, 18-37.

[10] See: Kloman, "Imogen Cunningham's *On Mount Rainier* series;" Cornell, "Embodying Gender;" Hiles, "*On Mount Rainier*;" Stacey McCarroll Cutshaw, "Framing the Familial in Photography."

[11] Hiles only refers to three images from the *Roi on the Dipsea Trail* series; Hiles, "*On Mount Rainier,"* 49.

World War remain widely unknown.[12] She refrains from mentioning events from the period in interviews, letters, or personal writings. During a period where photographs of the male nude were widely unaccepted and the virile man was praised, *Roi on the Dipsea Trail* offers a contrasting view of the male nude body in gentle, vulnerable positions. Considering this series of eight photographs, the following sections of this thesis explore: the symbolism of the male nude within Pictorialist photography, how Cunningham employed classical poses to assign alternative meaning to the photographs, how her work reflects cultural, environmental, and historical circumstances, and how Cunningham's pivotal *Roi on the Dipsea Trail* serves as a precursor to her later straight photography and abstract compositions of the nude female body.

II. *Roi on the Dipsea Trail* within Pictorialism and Cunningham's Oeuvre

Three factors characterize the scholarly reception and centering of Imogen Cunningham's Pictorialist career between the years 1910-1915: her lack of commercial work after moving to San Francisco in 1917, the absence of a personal darkroom space, and her shift to photograph domestic life. Lorenz describes her early photographs from California as "loving and atmospheric without being sentimental," but her photographs produced in 1917-1921 are seemingly excluded in the analysis of Cunningham's Pictorialism owing to their absence from the public sphere.[13] I posit that the subject matter, compositions, and lens manipulation of the 1918 series recalls Cunningham's earlier exploration of Pictorialism and goals for photography as a true art form— regularly discussed in association with her photographic works produced

[12] Judy Dater recalls that "her [Cunningham's] strong individualism kept her from being a joiner." Cunningham was not an active member of the feminist or any other movement, but faced the cultural concerns that organizations aimed to combat throughout her career and personal life; Judy Dater, *Imogen Cunningham: A Portrait*, (Boston: New York Graphic Society, 1979), 16.
[13] Lorenz, *Imogen Cunningham: Ideas Without End*, 23.

from 1910-1915. [14] Yet, the dearth of Pictorialist print manipulation and veiled identity found in *Roi on the Dipsea Trail* signifies Cunningham's initial move toward straight photography as she places focused attention on the male nude body.

When examining *Roi on the Dipsea Trail* in comparison to the tradition of Pictorialist photography, it is worth considering how the series dovetails with Cunningham's own diverse oeuvre. From a young age, she developed an interest in art and was regularly enrolled in lessons, but it was not until her sophomore year at the University of Washington that she decided to pursue a career in photography via a Photo-Chemistry degree.[15] During her junior year, she sent away for a fifteen-dollar 4x5 large format camera from the American School of Art and Photography in Pennsylvania.[16] With her newly acquired equipment, Cunningham developed her first photograph, *Marsh at Dawn* (1905-1906), of a hazy, wooded landscape at the edge of the university's property in typical Pictorialist fashion (Fig. 13).[17] As Cunningham began her foray into photography at the height of Pictorialist trends in the United States, the photographs made during her time in college allowed her to chemically experiment in the darkroom, as she pursued the science of camerawork rather than focusing solely on the medium's artistic properties.

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[14] Referred to as the "Fuzzyographers," the Pictorialist photographers favored a hazy, soft-focused lens and tonal variation to create artistic images. Contrasting straight photography's approach to recording a composition, Pictorialism was interested in creating an image that resembled oil paintings, drawings, or etchings. Pictorialism aimed to solidify photography's status as medium of high art. For a full discussion on Pictorialism, see Paul Spencer Sternberger, *Between Amateur & Aesthete: The Legitimization of Photography as Art in America, 1880–1900* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2001).

[15]Although encouraged by her father to practice art, he disapproved of photography as a career for Cunningham. "Why do you want to go to school for so long if all you turn out to be is a dirty photographer?," her father questioned about her choice of major; James Danzinger and Barnaby Conrad III, "Imogen Cunningham," in *Interviews with Master Photographers,* (New York: Paddington, 1977), 40.

[16] Imogen Cunningham did not own a camera prior to her junior year of college. Her photographs dated earlier than 1905 are now known to be inaccurate; Helen Ross, "Coming to the Front: No. 10—Imogen Cunningham," *The Town Crier* 8, no. 15 (Apr. 12, 1913), 5.

[17] The date for *The Marsh* negative is typically cited as 1901, but Imogen Cunningham retrospectively corrected the date of this negative in a letter to Minor White from March 28, 1957. Jamie M. Allen, "From Vision to Reality: A Transition from Pictorialism to Modernism," in *Imogen Cunningham*, ed. Monica Fuentes Santos (Madrid, Alcobendas, and New York: Fundación MAPFRE, TF Editores, Distributed Art Publishers, 2012), 29.

During the latter half of her senior year, Cunningham served as an assistant in Edward Curtis's studio, learning the platinum printing process as she developed his compositions of the North American Indian and their forgotten culture. Despite working in his studio from 1907-1909, she met Curtis only twice; instead, it was his darkroom manager, Adolph Muhr, who played a key role in Cunningham's Pictorialist career.[18] Muhr introduced Cunningham to Stieglitz's *Camera Work,* Gustav Stickley's *The Craftsmen,* and other photographic journals, exposing her to the work of the Photo-Secession movement's leaders.[19]

In 1909, Cunningham received a grant from her college sorority, Pi Beta Phi, to further study the chemical process of platinum printing in Dresden under the direction of Robert Luther at the Technische Hochschule. While in Europe, Cunningham expanded her knowledge of art history and was exposed to the world's leading photographers at the 1909 Internationale Photographische Ausstellung. She also encountered the paintings of the Die Brücke artists and became interested in their use of the nude in landscape as an outlet to overcome social constraints.[20] On her return to Seattle she visited prominent East Coast artists, and of her experiences in New York in 1910, Cunningham wrote: "Of course I was greatly impressed and rather afraid of him [Alfred Stieglitz]. I did not express myself in any way that anyone could possibly remember and I remember that I felt Stieglitz was very sharp but not very chummy…I also looked up Gertrude Kasebier who was most cordial."[21] Cunningham cites Gertrude Käsebier's *Blessed Art Thou Among Women,* which she saw in *The Craftsmen* (1907), as an

[18] Of Curtis, Cunningham recalled, "Edward Curtis was such a big shot in his own mind that he seldom if ever turned up in the studio and if he did, he never spoke to the help. The man who influenced my life at the time was A.F. Muhr, who has never been heard of since. He was the operator of the Curtis establishment and he was a gentleman from away back also a fine technician." Cunningham to Minor White, May 20, 1964, ICP, roll 1634, quoted in Lorenz, *Imogen Cunningham: Ideas without End*, 13-14.
[19] Cunningham received issues of *Camera Work* from 1910 or 1911-1917; Cunningham and Daniel, *Imogen Cunningham: Portraits, Ideas, and Design*, 80.
[20] Lorenz, *Imogen Cunningham: Ideas without End*, 17.
[21] Ibid., 15.

influential source inspiring her early Pictorialist photography (Fig. 14).[22] In a 1976 interview, Cunningham declared that she did not try to imitate the work of Käsebier while pursuing a career in art photography, but that she was impressed by the novelty of her work.[23] Cunningham opened her own commercial photography studio upon her arrival back home and began to incorporate the Pictorialist and artistic trends she witnessed on her travels within her own personal and experimental work— later exemplified in the compositions and aesthetics of her 1918 series *Roi on the Dipsea Trail*.

From 1910-1915, she occupied a converted farmhouse on Terry Avenue in Seattle with Clare Shepard, a painter of miniatures, and John Butler, a mural painter—both former classmates of the etcher Roi Partridge and the initial connection between Cunningham and her future husband.[24] Cunningham accepted commercial clients, traveling to the patron's home to record the sitter situated among the intimate details of their life, such as in *Mrs. Herbert Coe, Seattle,* (1910) (Fig. 15). In comparison to her commercial work, the *Roi on the Dipsea Trail* series belongs to the exploratory photography she enjoyed making for herself, where she regularly casts her studio mates, husband, and children as her subjects.[25] While Cunningham worked alongside Shepard and Butler, the friends would read aloud poetry and discuss the paintings of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood, and the style and influence from the Brotherhood manifested in the scenes that Cunningham composed of her two friends.[26] In *Sun and Wind* (1910) (Fig. 16) and *The Wood Beyond the World* (1910) (Fig. 17), Shepard and Butler's brother, Ben, embody the

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[22] Cunningham and Daniel, *Imogen Cunningham: Portraits, Ideas, and Design*, IV.
[23] Of Käsebier, Cunningham stated, "There is a photographer. Why haven't I seen anything this good before?" Danzinger and Conrad III, "Imogen Cunningham," 39.
[24] Helen Ross, "Coming to the Front: No. 10—Imogen Cunningham," 5.
[25] Cunningham chronicled her experience working in the Seattle studio, stating: "Oh I made enough to live on. I wouldn't say that I made a lot of money. I guess I was a little bit on the lazy side too. I liked to do a lot of things [for] myself;" Cunningham and Daniel, *Imogen Cunningham: Portraits, Ideas, and Design*, 87.
[26] Margery Mann, *Imogen! Imogen Cuningham Photographs, 1910-1973,* (Seattle and London: University Washington Press, 1974), 11.

prose of William Morris's novel, fantasizing an unproblematic imaginary world of medieval traditions.[27] These two photographs adopt the harmony between figure and landscape, elongated arms, and airy, silk costumes of Pre-Raphaelite artist Dante Gabriel Rossetti.[28] The photographs Cunningham made of her studio mates show an early interest in the ambiguity of gender, Pictorialist aesthetics, and poses that include outstretched extremities, which will all be echoed in her series of Partridge nude on the Dipsea Trail.

Cunningham was quite comfortable with the concept of nudity, likely due to her liberal upbringing, experience in life drawing, and exposure to art history.[29] She even went so far as to pose nude in an early self-portrait taken in 1906 beginning her exploration of capturing the nude body among nature (Fig. 18). She was not naïve regarding the controversy surrounding nude photography and used the subject matter in an effort to challenge the accepted conventions of female behavior.[30] Cunningham hired models only once throughout her career, to pose nude within a wooded landscape in 1910.[31] The session resulted in two prints recreating scenes of Adam and Eve's expulsion from the Garden of Eden imbued with feminist ideals. *Eve Repentant* (1910) (Fig.19) and *The Supplicant* (1910) (Fig. 20) reverse the traditional roles of the first couple where Eve serves as the dominant figure leading her male counterpart. *Eve Repentant* references the supportive pose of Frank Eugene's *Adam and Eve* (1898) (Fig. 21), which

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[27] See William Morris, *The Wood Beyond the World,* (Auckland: The Floating Press, 2010).
[28] Mann, *Imogen! Imogen Cuningham Photographs,* 11.
[29] Lorenz, *Imogen Cunningham: On the Body,* 11.
[30] Cunningham did not claim to be a Feminist and believed a woman's duty was to be a mother. However, when it came to her career, she referred to herself without gender and simply as a "photographer." Her essay "Photography as a Profession for Women" urged women to take up the artistic medium, but not in an effort to out-do their male counterparts. Her photographs exhibiting the male nude body traverse the expected gender norms for a woman of the period but are not made in an effort to progress the social standing of the female gender or Feminist agenda. See: Imogen Cunningham, "Photography as a Profession for Women," *The Arrow of Pi Beta Phi,* 29, no. 2 (Jan. 1913), 203-209.
[31] When asked "Have you ever used models?," Cunningham stated: "I don't like models. They're always models no matter what you do with them. I've only photographed paid models once, in 1910. But they were not real models—they just needed the money;" Danzinger and Conrad III, "Imogen Cunningham," 49.

Cunningham probably acquired a print of at the 1909 International Photographic Exposition in Dresden. *Adam and Eve* was the only photograph of a nude male and female published in *Camera Work.*[32] Although following the Pictorialist tradition of justifying nude photographs with biblical implications, Cunningham diverts from Eugene's interpretation by treating the body more confrontationally. In both *Eve Repentant* and *The Supplicant,* Eve has distinct identity indicated through her defined facial characteristics and role as the active participant within the composition, while Adam is reduced to a passive, agonized body.[33] Comparable to Masaccio's *Expulsion from the Garden of Eden* (1425; Brancacci Chapel), Cunningham's portrayals of Adam shield his face out of shame, which veils his identity and allows the viewer to insert themselves into the photograph. For Cunningham, Eve becomes the stoic, reassuring figure who must muster up the strength to support Adam who is doubled over in anguish. A few years later, Roi Partridge will assume vulnerable, contemplative body positions similar to that of Adam, while nude on the Dipsea Trail (1918).

Cunningham's series of Partridge, *On Mount Rainier* (1915), is her first objective exploration of the body and serves as a study of the figure-in-landscape genre. Select photographs were qualified with allegorical compositions or titles for publication, like *The Bather* (Fig. 12), while other photographs recalled alternative meaning through Partridge's poses, such as the pose in *On Mount Rainier 2* (Fig. 10) inspired by the opening scene of Vaslav Nijinsky's 1912avant-garde ballet, *L'Aprés-midi d'un Faune*.[34] The *On Mount Rainier* prints feature Partridge mirroring or interacting with the landscape, while not conforming to the

[32] Lorenz, *Imogen Cunningham: On the Body,* 11*;* Lorenz, *Imogen Cunningham: Ideas without End*, 16.
[33] Cornell, "Embodying Gender," 123.
[34] Of *On Mount Rainier 2* (1915), Cunningham reminisced: "You could never chase a naked husband around Mount Rainier today; we called this *The Faun* then, but I'd never call it that now." The quotation indicates that at the time of creation Cunningham was interjecting allegorical possibilities into the composition, as per the symbolist movement, but retrospectively embraced the photographs as an investigation of the body. Mann, *Imogen! Imogen Cunningham Photographs*, 34-36; Martineau, *Imogen Cunningham: A Retrospective*, 6-7.

perceived expectations for male or female nude portraits of the period. Taking obvious influence from contemporaries, Cunningham most likely looked to the work of Anne W. Brigman (1869-1950) and F. Holland Day (1864-1933) as references for her male nude photography. Brigman was the first West Coast photographer published in *Camera Work* and participated in many of the same artistic circles as Cunningham within the Bay Area.[35] With Stieglitz's stewardship, Brigman served as an archetype for women photographers laying claim to their right to photograph the nude body.[36] Scholarship typically links the two female photographers based on their geographical location and comparative interest in photographing the nude, but Cunningham herself later downplayed the influence Brigman played on her career, stating: "When I look back on what she did [Brigman] and what Stieglitz picked out, I felt that his judgement at that time was just as faulty as anyone else's."[37] Despite Cunningham's critical reception of Brigman's photographs, scholars specifically cite Brigman's *The Dryad*, 1905 (Fig. 22), *The Bubble*, 1910 (Fig. 23), and *Via Dolorosa*, 1911 (Fig. 24) as photographs of inspiration for Cunningham's *On Mount Rainier* series that examines the figure's integration with nature and similarly depicts the nude exposed to the sublime threat of wilderness.[38] As I will show, however, *Roi on the Dipsea Trail* diverts from Brigman's photographs by excluding associative titles and symbolic props that clearly conjure psychological and allegorical meanings. Nonetheless, the viewer may perceive alternate meaning in any of Cunningham's photographs of Partridge through his poses that recall myths, allegories, and classical depictions of the body throughout art history.

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[35] Cunningham would have also seen Brigman's rhythmic nude forms and symbolist depictions of the nude form surrounded by a natural setting at the Internationale Photographische Ausstellung (International Photographic Exposition) in Dresden, 1909; Lorenz, *Imogen Cunningham: Ideas without End*, 12.
[36] Kathleen Pyne, *Anne Brigman: The Photographer of Enchantment* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2020), 163.
[37] Danzinger and Conrad III, "Imogen Cunningham," 44.
[38] Hiles, "On Mount Rainier," 11-12.

In another comparison, F. Holland Day also adopted the male nude body as a theme throughout his oeuvre to advocate for the 'freedom, vigor, and joy' of Pictorialist photography.[39] In his photography, Day, inspired by the poetry of John Keats in which "beauty is truth and truth is beauty," aimed to recall the ideals of a classical past interjected with allegorical symbolism, through his use of instruments, props, and draped cloths. Cunningham's *On Mount Rainier* assumes similar Pictorialist aesthetics and active poses to Day's *Nude with a Lyre,* 1907 (Fig. 25) or *The Vision* from his 1907 Orpheus series (Fig. 26).[40] In both platinum prints, Day's male figures are enveloped in blurred landscapes; however, unlike in Cunningham's work, the nudes are not concerned with the terrain but instead are enthralled by their props and contemplative thoughts. Day believed that "merely a nude figure…showing beautiful lines and beautiful modeling was indeed not enough for the photographer…a picture [with] a well-planned, well thought out, well executed motif…alone, with the proper figures […could be] considered worthy to be called Art."[41] Cunningham departs from Day's beliefs by removing references and titles with alternative or higher meaning while sharpening and defining Partridge's nude body in the *Roi on the Dipsea Trail* series.

Roi on the Dipsea Trail was made from celluloid negatives, a change from the heavy glass plates Cunningham used until about 1917—including the negatives made while on Mount

[39] Verna Posever Curtis, "Actors and Adolescents—The Idealised Eye of F.H. Day," in *F. Holland Day*, edited by Pam Roberts, (Zwolle: Waanders Publishers, 2000), 49.
[40] Cunningham's *Roi on the Dipsea Trail 3* and *Roi on the Dipsea Trail 5* could be read in reference to the myth of Orpheus. In both photographs, Partridge turns his back on the viewer and Cunningham, like Orpheus turns his back on Eurydice as they make their way to the land of the living. *Roi on the Dipsea Trail 3* exhibits Partridge turning his head back towards the camera and his wife. Cunningham's third photograph recalls the moment Orpheus turned back towards Eurydice to share in the delights of seeing the sun, only to find that she has disappeared. I owe thanks to Dr. Isabelle Wallace for suggesting the connection between Cunningham's *Roi on the Dipsea Trail 3* and *5* and the myth of Orpheus.
[41] Curtis, "Actors and Adolescents," 50.

Rainier.[42] Although still lugging her large format camera and tripod throughout the terrain of the Dipsea Trail, the lighter and more durable celluloid negatives allowed the photographer to have increased mobility. Prior to 1917, Cunningham printed her photographs using orthochromatic dry plates and the platinum process.[43] However, following her move to California, the photographer worked without a personal darkroom and had to send her negatives off to be printed at Pillsbury's in the Bellevue Hotel.[44] The outbreak of World War I made it difficult to obtain platinum papers, resulting in many Pictorialist photographers searching for alternative printing methods. Cunningham turned to gelatin silver prints that produced an image through the suspension of silver metal particles in a gelatin layer.[45] Gelatin silver prints mimicked the black and sepia tones of platinum prints, but the image rests on the pigment-coated paper allowing for crisp definition and notable detail. In relation to *On Mount Rainier*, the photographs of Partridge on the Dipsea Trail display a closer, sharper delineation of the body's outline due to her use of new photographic material and shift in lens aperture. The two series also exemplify a shift in terrain as *On Mount Rainier* highlights the mountainous region of Washington reiterated in the photographs' wide views and low horizon lines, while *Roi on the Dipsea Trail* places the viewer down in the Mill Valley where the landscape encloses them.

Roi on the Dipsea Trail exemplifies Cunningham's experimentalism in the photographs that she made solely for herself and without intention of exhibition. By 1918, Cunningham had experienced backlash from the publication of *The Bather* (from the *On Mount Rainier* series) in

[42] I owe thanks to Meg Partridge, director of the Imogen Cunningham Trust, for information regarding the types of negatives Cunningham utilized in the *Roi on the Dipsea Trail* series.
[43] Reproductions of Cunningham's early works appear to have higher tonal contrast, and many have been reprinted using the gelatin silver process; however, the *On Mount Rainier* series were originally produced as platinum prints exhibiting the muted middle tones favored by Pictorialists.
[44] Lorenz, *Imogen Cunningham: Ideas without End*, 23.
[45] Sarah S. Wagner, "Manufactured Platinum and Faux Platinum Papers, 1880s–1920s," in *Platinum and Palladium Photographs: Technical History, Connoisseurship, and Preservation*, edited by Constance McCabe, (Washington, DC: American Institute for Conservation of Historic and Artistic Works, 2017), 144–183.

the 1916 Christmas edition of the Seattle *Town Crier*.[46] Cunningham withdrew the photographs and later referenced the scandal, claiming:

> I showed no one and consulted no one. I knew no one who would have been interested or knowledgeable. I destroyed a lot of negatives that I remember very well in my mind. The nudes that I did of my husband on Mt. Rainier in 1915 were published in a local paper in Seattle at the time, were so harshly criticized both of them and of me as an immoral woman, that I gave up and hid them.[47]

Removing her male nudes from the public sphere allowed Cunningham to closely capture the body, away from the threat of criticism and a tarnished reputation. Without the pressure of public reception, Cunningham also needn't qualify the prints from the Dipsea Trail with direct allegorical poses or titles. And whereas Partridge was unnamed and unidentified in the title of the *On Mount Rainier* series, allowing the viewer to imagine themselves as the figure within the composition, in 1918, she uses her husband's first name and the location of the series to allow for a contextual reading of the images. *Roi on the Dipsea Trail* becomes personalized as the model is referred to by his familiar name, and the series is centered on the reimaging Partridge's nude body.

III. Symbolism of the Classical Male Nude

The *Roi on the Dipsea Trail* series was created and printed during the second wave of Pictorialism. The Photo-Secession movement began to dissipate following Alfred Stieglitz's turn

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[46] Cunningham recounted retrospectively that public scandal of her nude photography followed the publication of *The Bather*, yet there are no published statements citing this photograph as the catalyst for criticism. A two-page editorial criticizing Cunningham's nude photography by an unsigned author was published in the December 25th, 1915 issue of the *Argus*—the competitor of Seattle's *Town Crier*. The *Argus* referenced an earlier publication of Cunningham's *Eve Repentant* and *Reflections.* The editorial qualified Cunningham's work as 'inexcusably vulgar" and categorized the photographer as an "amateur" and "moral pervert." "The Nude In 'Art,'" Argus 22, no. 48 (December 25, 1915): 2, quoted in Cutshaw, "Framing the Familial," 51.

[47] Imogen Cunningham, letter to Elizabeth Brown, December 5, 1973, and Elizabeth Brown, letter to Imogen Cunningham, November 30, 1973, Imogen Cunningham Papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.., Quoted in Martineau, *Imogen Cunningham: A Retrospective*, 6.

towards modern art and straight photography, and in 1916, Clarence H. White (a founding member of the Photo-Secession movement) assumed Stieglitz's role as the torchbearer for Pictorialist photography.[48] White began his own organization, the Pictorial Photographers of America (PPA), consisting of like-minded artists wanting to continue the exploration of Pictorialism. Cunningham was among the founding members of the PPA along with prominent photographers, including: Gertrude Käsebier, Alvin Langdon Coburn, Karl Struss, Drahomír Joseph Ruzicka, and Edward R. Dickson.[49] The group remained dedicated to wedding the role of reality and aesthetics within photography and producing intimate, tonalist views of nature celebrating classical or allegorical motifs often associated with the realm of painting.[50] Cunningham's desire to persuade critics of photography's status as an artistic medium led her to adopt the nude as an appropriate theme.[51]

In his 1910 *Camera Work* essay "Visions of the Nude," Art critic Sadakichi Hartmann, attempted to challenge the didactic reception of nudity in art and justify the nude figure's role in photography:

> Contemplating a Greek statue, may it be the Venus of Knidos, the Hermes of Olympia or the sandal-lacing female figure of the Parthenon, we become conscious that it is the representation of an ideal type of the human form….The beauty of these ancient masterpieces is so triumphant, that it excludes whatever strange thoughts or discordant images may enter our minds….The body has become disgraceful and passion a shameful thing and it is difficult for our materialistic mind to image those blithe old skies under which the stately figures walked in beautiful, unconscious nudity. Our morals, our

[48] Nordstrom and Wooters, "Crafting the Art of the Photograph," 45.
[49] E.R. Dickson, ed. "Pictorial Photographers of America," *Photographic Art* 3 no. 1 (June 1916): 13.
[50] Margery Mann, *California Pictorialism*, (San Francisco: San Francisco Museum of Modern Art, 1977), 9.
[51] As a collector of *Perry Pictures* and a voracious student of art history, Cunningham attempted to validate photography as high art by comparing it within the context of other media and specific aesthetics. Imogen Cunningham, "Is It Art?" *The Town Crier* 10, no. 14 (April 3, 1915), 7. Her interest in art history and efforts to solidify photography as an artistic medium further suggest she was following in the footsteps of the early Pictorialists, like F. Holland Day. For a full analysis of Cunningham's work in validating photography as art, see Cornell, "Embodying Gender," 120-121.

> climate, our mode of life have turned the nude into a phantom and it leads, alas! A phantom-like existence in the arts.[52]

Cunningham, likely prompted by Hartmann, aspired to bridge the "chasm between pagan and modern conception[s]" of the nude by citing classical and allegorical allusions through her model's bearing, rather than in her use of titles and prompts.[53]

Turning to the series itself, it is notable to consider how the male nude body and poses from *Roi on the Dipsea Trail* embrace symbolic themes and adopt emblematic meaning before considering the photographs in relation to Cunningham's cultural surroundings. *Roi on the Dipsea Trail 1* and *8* display Partridge in sharper focus while sitting on the same rock and facing the right creek bank. Unlike *Roi on the Dipsea Trail 2, 6,* and *7* where Partridge is photographed in shadow, the encompassing scenery remains dark, blurred, and ethereal in *Roi on the Dipsea Trail 1* and *8,* especially compared to Partridge's starkly white body photographed in bright light. In both *Roi on the Dipsea Trail 1* and *8*, Partridge is shown pulling his knees towards his chest and resting his chin on his knees recalling a vulnerable, fetal-like position. In the first photograph Cunningham exhibits Partridge grazing the water with clasped hands while balancing himself to keep from tipping over (Fig. 1). In the eighth photograph Partridge appears to steady himself on the rock as he opens his body up slightly to hover his foot over the water (Fig. 8). This is a departure from Cunningham's *On Mount Rainier Series*, in which Partridge is depicted confidently climbing, jumping, and interacting with his surroundings.

As the only two photographs displaying full body reflections, *Roi on the Dipsea Trail 1* and *8* convey references to the myth of Narcissus, warning against the consequences of vanity. Due to moralistic implications, Narcissus became a favored subject matter propelled forward

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[52] Sadakichi Hartmann, "Visions of the Nude," *Camera Work* 31 (July 1910), 29, quoted in Lorenz, *Imogen Cunningham: On The Body*, 9.
[53] Ibid., 9.

within the dominion of art through literary references following the Italian Humanists.[54] Comparable to the foundational depiction of Narcissus by Caravaggio (1597-1599) (Fig. 27), Roi Partridge becomes connected to his reflection through the extension of his extremities appearing to touch his mirrored image. In the historiography of art, Narcissus is credited with creating one of the first "paintings" through his witness of self-reflection, which serves as a deception fooling the viewer into believing that the mirrored image is of a real person and of somebody other than himself.[55] Cunningham expands upon the art historical narrative of Narcissus by using the myth as an indexical reference to the medium of photography. By using the reflective properties of her camera, she is able to faithfully reproduce her observation of Partridge and his reflection. The images further serve as an illusion allowing viewers to believe they are watching the scene themselves. Like her Pictorialist contemporaries, Cunningham's artistic views of Partridge recalling the myth of Narcissus help her to further certify photography as an artistic medium.

Taken from the same location as the aforementioned photographs, Cunningham depicts Partridge with his body fully extended and his heels slightly dipped in the water in *Roi on the Dipsea Trail 4* (Fig. 4). *Roi on the Dipsea Trail 4* is the only photograph where Partridge appears frontally turned towards the viewer, yet his genitals remain out of view. Partridge is captured in an effeminate pose, like a reclining female nude leaning back on the rock with his pubic hair exposed.

The poses exhibited in *Roi on the Dipsea Trail 1* and *2* can be seen as precursory actions to *Roi on the Dipsea Trail 6* and 7. While *Roi on the Dipsea Trail 6* and *7* also delineate Partridge interacting with the water, they are captured at a distance with the sitter in a shadier

[54] Avigdor W. G. Poseq, "The Allegorical Content of Caravaggio's 'Narcissus,'" *Source: Notes in the History of Art* 10, no. 3 (Spring 1991), 21.
[55] Paul Barolsky, "A Very Brief History of Art from Narcissus to Picasso," *The Classical Journal* 90, no. 3 (1995), 255.

portion of the stream (Fig. 6 and 7). *Roi on the Dipsea Trail 1* and 7 both display Partridge balancing on the edge of a rock with his knees pulled tightly to his chest (Fig. 1 and 7). In *Roi on the Dipsea Trail* 7, his clasped hands seen in the first photograph are now pulled apart and raised over his head shifting his center of gravity, which required determined balance. Partridge has moved closer to the water in *Roi on the Dipsea Trail 2* and *6* with his right arm outstretched down towards the creek (Fig. 2 and 6). In *Roi on the Dipsea Trail 2,* Partridge's left hand holds onto the edge of a nearby rock, while his pointed left foot slightly dips into the water. Comparatively, his left leg is removed from the water's edge and his left arm is wrapped around his knees in *Roi on the Dipsea Trail 6,* allowing him to get closer to the water.

The scenes of Partridge interacting with water among the Dipsea Trail evoke the art historical visual trope of the bather—like that depicted in Michelangelo's lost cartoon *Battle of Cascina* (1504).[56] The Battle of Cascina (1364) was a conflict between Florence and Pisa, and Michelangelo portrayed an imagined tableau from the clash illustrating the Florentine soldiers bathing in the Arno as they are surprised by the approaching Pisans. The cartoon served as a preliminary drawing for a fresco that was commissioned by Pietro Soderinini for the Palazzo Vecchio, but the final mural never came to fruition.[57] Nevertheless, Michelangelo allowed artists access to his compositional drawings for *The Battle of Cascina* to study resulting in many reproductions, interpretations, and engravings of the work. Partridge's nude body crouched alongside the creek bank relates to the foregrounded Florentine bathers reproduced in Luigi Schiavonetti's engraving of *The Battle of Cascina* (18th century) (Fig. 28). [58] In Schiavonetti's

[56] I owe thanks to Dr. Shelley Zuraw for suggesting the comparison of Cunningham's *Roi on the Dipsea Trail* and Michelangelo's *The Battle of Cascina.*
[57] Michael Hirst, *Michelangelo and His Drawings,* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1988), 43.
[58] By the time Cunningham photographed *Roi on the Dipsea Trail* (1918), reproductions and engravings done after Michelangelo were collected by museums and circulated through publications. Luigi Schiavonetti's *The Battle of Cascina* was collected acquisitioned by the British Museum of Art in 1849. *The Battle of Cascina* was reproduced

interpretation (after Michelangelo), the Florentine soldiers hurriedly exit the creek and begin dressing themselves in preparation for battle for the impending arrival of the Pisans. The bathers' nude bodies emphasizes their vulnerability in comparison to the fully dressed Florentine Lieutenant ready for battle and blowing his horn announcing the oncoming attack.[59] In parallel, Partridge's vulnerability among a similar rocky terrain is apparent to the viewer through his nudity and body positions. Unlike the ridged muscular depictions of the Florentine soldiers abandoning their leisurely bath for battle, Cunningham refrains from recording her husband as an active participant within the landscape. Although there is clear delineation of Partridge's muscles at work as he holds his poses, he appears inactive while sitting on the creek bank in *Roi on the Dipsea Trail 4, 6,* and 7—ascribing Partridge to a state of veritable Arcadia and at peace with his natural surroundings.

Cunningham evinces her husband in reference to the idyllic subject and aesthetic standard associated with the male body throughout Late Antiquity.[60] However, as stated by Daniel Cornell, Cunningham and other nineteenth- and twentieth-century artists, such as Thomas Eakins, utilized the praised male nude of classical art as an "avant-garde challenge to bourgeois morality and social conventions."[61] Extending Hiles's brief analysis of Eakins *Swimming* (1884-1885) (Fig. 29) and Cunningham's series *On Mount Rainier,* the photographer's later series, *Roi on the Dipsea Trail,* adopts a similar pseudo-Arcadian state, but places focused attention on the sitter's body.[62] Like Eakins, Cunningham portrays the male nude without a specific context or

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and circulated in America in Fritz Knapp, *The Work of Michelangelo: Reproduced in One Hundred and Sixty-Nine Illustration with a Biographical Introduction,* (New York: Brentano's: 1913).

[59] Christopher Pastore, "The Art of War: Michelangelo's *Battle of Cascina,* Machiavelli, and the Florentine Militia Movement," *Confluence: The Journal of Graduate Liberal Studies* 23, no. 1 (2017), 47.

[60] For a historical classification of the male nude in classical art, see Johann Joachim Winckelmann, *History of the Art of Antiquity,* Trans. Harry Francis Mallgrave, (Los Angeles: Getty Publications, 2006).

[61] Daniell Cornell, "Embodying Gender," 112.

[62] Hiles, "On Mount Rainier," 13.

explicit narrative and the body is the pre-eminent subject—more commonly associated with depictions of the female nude.[63] The male bodies rendered in Eakins's final painting and Cunningham's photographs cannot be considered androgynous due to the detailed musculature of the body, even though neither artist reveals the genitals of their male sitters.[64] However, Eakins abandoned the portrayal of his sitters in a state of self-proclaimed arcadia in the photographic studies for *Swimming.* As a painting teacher at the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts, Eakins had his students pose nude for *Swimming* and was censured for photographing frontal nudity. By capturing the male bodies in crouched positions or from their backsides for reasons of moral decorum, Eakins's final painting and Cunningham's *Roi on the Dipsea Trail* exemplify the self-consciousness of the artists as they harken back to the celebrated classical depictions of the beautiful male nude.[65]

Unlike Eakins, Cunningham created her photographic series *Roi on the Dipsea Trail* at the end of World War I and the beginning of Post-War reconstruction. European and American societies adopted a "return-to-order" mentality through the renewal of classical reconstructions of the body to cope with their anxieties from the Great War.[66] Although Cunningham abstains from capturing Partridge frontally to deemphasize his masculinity and the photographs promote the viewer's observation of the male nude body, the poses in *Roi on the Dipsea Trail 3* and *5*

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[63] Randall C. Griffin, "Thomas Eakins' Construction of the Male Body, or 'Men Get to Know Each Other across the Space of Time," *Oxford Art Journal* 18, no. 2 (1995), 71.

[64] Some scholars, including Martin Berger, have argued that Eakins portrays his models with overt masculinity by painting the mustache and genitals of the figures in the reflection of the water. For a full analysis of Eakins's *Swimming*, see Martin Berger, *Man Made: Thomas Eakins and the Construction of Gilded Age Manhood*, (Berkley: University of California Press, 2000), 89-106; and, especially, Doreen Bolger and Sarah Cash, eds., *Thomas Eakins and the Swimming Picture* (Fort Worth: Amon Carter Museum, 1996).

[65] Susan Danly and Cheryl Leibold, eds., *Eakins and the Photograph: Works by Thomas Eakins and His Circle in the Collection of the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts.* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1994), 86.

[66] Ana Carden-Coyne, *Reconstructing the Body: Classicism, Modernism, and the First World War*, (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 23.

(Figs. 3 and 5) recall a similar composition to the *Apollo Belvedere* from classical Antiquity (Fig. 30).[67] In these two photographs, Cunningham captures Partridge from behind as he walks barefoot over the rocks and uses an outstretched right hand to stabilize himself. Partridge reflects the *Apollo Belvedere*'s contrapposto stance, with his left arm down near his side and his right arm raised and nearly level with his shoulder. The *Apollo Belvedere* was characterized by Johann Joachim Winckelmann as the "highest ideal of art" because "his build is sublimely superhuman and his stance bears witness to the fullness of his grandeur."[68] Partridge's pose, however, counters the confidence associated with the *Apollo Belvedere* due to his lack of frontal gaze towards the camera, his submissive head position looking at the ground in *Roi on the Dipsea Trail 3,* and the unsteadiness and curvature of his body in *Roi on the Dipsea Trail 5*. Through Partridge's similarities to the pose of the *Apollo Belvedere,* Cunningham offers a nostalgic view of the male body harkening back to the classical traditions of art, without placing absolute focus on his masculinity or strength.

Roi on the Dipsea Trail contrasts Cunningham's earlier series *On Mount Rainier* as she refrains from using allegorical titles, captures a named Partridge in sharper focus, and moves in closer on her subject. Her series *Roi on the Dipsea Trail* appears to purposefully showcase the male body to the viewer; yet, Cunningham photographs Partridge in specific poses recalling classical depictions of the male body and signaling the viewer to understand alternative or higher meanings. Given her appreciation and experienced study of art history, Cunningham produced *Roi on the Dipsea Trail* with a hybridity of intentions that extend her investigation of Pictorialist

[67] Jennifer Hiles lists the *Apollo Belvedere* in the figures of her thesis but does not address the connection between the sculpture and Cunningham's *On Mount Rainier* or her male nude photography. Hiles, *On Mount Rainier,* vii.
[68] Winkelmann, *The History of the Art of Antiquity,* 332. Throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth century, it was common in America to equate great male figures and leaders, like George Washington, to the Apollo Belvedere. Specifically, artists such as Benjamin West, Charles Wilson Peale, and Gilbert Stuart used the Apollo Belvedere as an archetype and applied the sculpture's pose to their own sitters.

traditions, indicate moralistic symbolism through Partridge's poses, signify her initial move to the aesthetics of straight photography, and reconsider the male nude figure placed within a landscape.

IV. Artistic Response to World War I

In June of 1917, Congress passed the Espionage Act resulting in the government's control to censor news stories and arraign those suspected of aiding the Central Powers in World War I. Nearly a year later, Congress extended governmental censorship of any "disloyal, scurrilous, or abusive language against the government, the Constitution, the military, or the flag."[69] These congressional acts in conjunction with the civilian spies of the American Protection League resulted in a lack of U.S. art depicting candid reactions to the War.[70] With an insufficiency of American art palpably responding to World War I, art historians Robert Cozzolino, Anne Classen Knutson, and David Lubin suggest that the war's "intensity, size, and duration led its participants and observers to seek a new language and imagery in order to describe it…With few exceptions, however, artists in the United States have been left out of this history, as if the great geographic distance that separated them from the cataclysm precluded their having anything insightful or noteworthy to say about it." Contemporary scholarship, including Cozzolino, Knutson, and Lubin's exhibition catalogue *World War I and American Art*, now retrospectively characterizes American art's relation to the war taking into account the

[69] Anne Classen Knutson, "Hidden in Plain Sight: World War I in the Art of John Marin, Georgia O'Keeffe, and Charles Burchfield," in Robert Cozzolino, Anne Classen Knutson, and David M. Lubin, *World War I and American Art*, (Princeton: Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts, in association with Princeton University Press, 2016), 57.
[70] The American Protection League (APL) consisted of both the Justice Department's Bureau of Investigation and the Military Intelligence Bureau. The APL recruited civilians to spy on their neighbors, co-workers, and other citizens with the intent of reporting any criticism of the war or hint of sympathy towards Germany. Artists were frequently targeted as "suspicious" and the bureau investigated many of the well-known American artists at the time, including: Paul Strand, Alfred Stieglitz, Robert Henri, John F. Sloan, and George Bellows. Knutson, "Hidden in Plain Sight," 58.

government censorship, the absence of obvious combat imagery, and the primary source correspondence and diaries of artists. This model of scholarship allows for reconsideration of Cunningham's *Roi on the Dipsea Trail* in light of World War I.

Cunningham and Partridge were affected by World War I well before America's entry in April of 1917. Partridge lived in Paris prior to the couple's marriage and wrote to Cunningham on August 13th, 1914—just 10 days after the declaration of war between Germany and France—requesting her to join him in the "wondrous lands" of Europe.[71] Partridge, however, was soon forced to return to Seattle given the events of the war. Even though her favored photographic materials became hard to secure during wartime, Cunningham commercially photographed army and navy clients while residing in Seattle.[72] Meanwhile, the couple developed ties to San Francisco's art community when they were invited to display their work in the Fine Arts Building at the Panama-Pacific International Exposition (1915) and Post-Exposition Exhibition (1916).[73] Upon America's entry to WWI and Cunningham's move to San Francisco in 1917, California's National Guard and military was stretched thin between domestic and oversea threats and its citizens were fractured based on their support of the war effort.[74] With an

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[71] Letter from Partridge to Cunningham, dated Aug. 13, 1914, cited in Lorenz, *Imogen Cunningham: Ideas without End*, 19.

[72] Imogen Cunningham, Paul J. Karlstrom and Louise Katzman. "Oral History Interview with Imogen Cunningham-June 9th, 1975." (Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution), 6.

[73] Cunningham was in San Francisco during the summer of 1915, but there is no record of whether she attended the Panama-Pacific International Exposition. Partridge exhibited forty-two etchings and Cunningham had some of her photographs shown at the PPIE. Much of her knowledge and influence of the Futurists and Modernists came from her exposure to the essays in Stieglitz's *Camera Work* and her visit to Frederic C. Torrey's home (who purchased Marcel Duchamp's *Nude Descending a Staircase (No. 2)* at the 1913 Armory Show). Artists like Marsden Hartley, John Marin, and Cunningham's husband Roi Partridge submitted their work to be displayed at the Post-Exposition Exhibition, and viewing these early modernists provided Cunningham with the inspiration to push the accepted conventions of her own medium*;* Lorenz, "A Life in Photography," in Amy Rule, ed., *Imogen Cunningham: Selected Texts and Bibliography*, (Boston: G. K. Hall, 1992), 12.

[74] California's military was strained with orders to protect American borders during the Mexican Revolution (1910-1924) and economic disparity in San Francisco caused labor leaders to oppose the US's involvement in WWI, arguing that only large corporations and the government would benefit from entering the war. A bomb detonated during the National Preparedness Day Parade (July 22, 1916) killed ten people and injured another forty onlookers. For more information, see Lisa Prince and Jessica Herrick, "California Goes to War," (Digital Exhibit. California State Archives, Sacramento, CA, 2017).

oversaturation of reports from the war in Europe, Cunningham was immersed in the historic events taking place around her.

Although the United States remained neutral throughout the majority of World War I, America was not geographically isolated from the adverse impact of combat. Prior to President Woodrow Wilson's request for declaration of war against Germany on April 2nd, 1917, American men sought alternative ways to join the frontlines for the Allied powers by serving with the French Foreign Legion or crossing the border to fight with the British forces in Canada. Journalism in America became saturated with news and images that emanated from Europe. The war, especially the sinking of the Lusitania, forced U.S. citizens to endorse opposing opinions on military intervention and caused many civilians to become politically active.[75] The war cut off the artistic capitals in Europe from the United States conjuring panic regarding the future direction of the art world. *The Seven Arts* magazine determined that America would have to take hold of the art world's cultural destiny and become the new pioneer for artistic innovation during the time of war in Europe.[76] With Stieglitz's 291 gallery and the Armory Show in 1913, New York had poised itself as the obvious successor if the art capitals in Germany, France, and Italy collapsed or declined due to the pressures of the war. Although geographically confined to the West Coast during World War I, Cunningham actively followed the renascent artistic responses and cultural trends developed in New York by corresponding with East Coast artists, subscribing to journals, and studying the work of her contemporaries.[77]

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[75] Frank Trommler, "The *Lusitania* Effect: America's Mobilization against Germany in World War I," *German Studies Review* 32, no. 2 (May 2009), 242.

[76] For the full quotation see Wanda Corn, *The Great American Thing: Modern Art and National Identity, 1915-1935,* (Berkley: University of California Press, 1999), 11.

[77] During World War I, Stieglitz began to slowly shut down his 291 gallery and *Camera Work* journal (the last issue was published in 1917). However, his efforts to progress arts in America left a lasting impression on artists well into the second half of the twentieth century. To better understand the impact of Stieglitz and the 291 gallery on artists, see the various responses to "What 291 Means to Me?," in *Camera Work* 47, (1914-1915).

Throughout her early years in California, Cunningham refrained from voicing her opinions on politics or injecting her compositions with explicit reactions to her environment. She became more actively involved, however, with the problems she saw in the world during the last twelve years of her life and vocally participated in organizations, protests, and committees advocating for civil rights, opposing the bisecting of San Francisco's Golden Gate Park, and calling for the end of fighting in Vietnam.[78] Cunningham expressed her feelings on all wartime violence during a 1968 lecture in reference to the combat in Vietnam:

> Perhaps at this moment many of us are feeling that just being an artist is a selfish thing to do in a world that is destroying itself. Here we are, particularly in the United States standing knee deep in litter and reaching at the same time for the moon…As a people it seems we have made war our way of life. Nationalism and its partner racial prejudice are accepted by the great majority of people, or so it seems to me. Perhaps this is not really admitted but look at us, wallowing in feelings of hate and superiority…So far hope and faith have done little for the world.[79]

Her later documentary-style street photographs, referred to by the photographer as "Stolen Pictures," and Surrealist-inspired compositions of dismembered doll parts demonstrate Cunningham's participation in recording overt references to war and violence. Unlike these later photographs, *Roi on the Dipsea Trail* does not unequivocally present Cunningham's view of war and violence, but it is worth considering the photographer's interpretation of the vulnerable male body in relation to her artistic contemporaries and cultural environment in California.

Cunningham continued to favorably regard the photographers and artists belonging to Stieglitz's circle of friends. She wrote an untitled essay, likely presented as a lecture, outlining the history of photography, and within her discussion she applauded the work of Edward

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[78] Martineau, *Imogen Cunningham: A Retrospective,* 65.
[79] Cunningham lecture notes, May 18, 1968. Imogen Cunningham Archives, The Imogen Cunningham Trust, Berkley California, quoted in Lorenz, *Imogen Cunningham: Ideas Without End,* 55.

Steichen qualifying him as "the greatest photographer of the time."[80] During the Great War, Steichen abandoned his Pictorialist aesthetics while serving as the chief of the photographic section of the American Expeditionary Forces (AEF) from 1917-1919. Steichen required a highly focused lens to capture aerial surveillance photographs and continued to prefer the crisp lines and precise sharpness in his artistic work following the war. In his autobiography, Steichen proclaimed that his experience with the AEF "clarified his vision and taught him to appreciate the beauty of the unmanipulated photograph."[81] The photographs Steichen produced with the AEF largely remained out of the artistic sphere as the provided intelligence and data for the Allied forces, yet he wrote about the importance of "the information written on the surface of the print."[82] Aerial and expeditionary rotogravures from the trenches accompanied journalistic articles in America, such as those reporting the action at the frontlines in *Vanity Fair* and *The New York Times* (Fig. 31 and 32).[83] Using a sharp focused lens and little post-production print manipulation, Steichen and other AEF photographers could present the "information" of an image to viewers, including the texture of the landscape, the fixed temporality of the location, the shape of shadows, and the reflection of light.

The defined landscape of Cunningham's *Roi on the Dipsea Trail* contrasts her earlier series of Partridge frolicking on Mount Rainier. Steichen's war-torn landscapes or images of the trenches were probably not a direct influence of *Roi on the Dipsea Trail*; however, there is a

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[80] Imogen Cunningham, "Untitled paper on the history of photography, (1911?), *Imogen Cunningham papers, 1903-1991*. Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, 34, quoted in Lorenz, *Ideas without End*, 17.
[81] Quoted in Dennis Longwell, *Steichen, The Master Prints 1895-1914: The Symbolist Period,* (Boston: New York Graphic Society, 1978), 20-21.
[82] Edward Steichen, "American Aerial Photography at the Front," *The Camera,* (July 1919), 359, quoted in Jason Weems, "Battle Over Sight: The Aerial Photographer and the Camoufleur," in Cozzolino, Knutson, and Lubin, eds. *World War I and American Art.* (Princeton: Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts, in association with Princeton University Press, 2016), 91.
[83] Cunningham subscribed to *Vanity Fair* and often wrote about the articles and works of art she found interesting in letters to her contemporaries. Figure 31 was published in a *Vanity Fair* owned by Cunningham, and she wrote about one of the articles included in the same issue; Lorenz, "Life in Photography," 10.

likeness between the delineated nature and textured terrain that is not present in Cunningham's Mount Rainier photographs. Due to the increased sharpness of Cunningham's lens, the viewer can recognize the location of the Dipsea Trail adding to the controversy of the photographs. According to Sigismund Blumann in his 1917 *Camera Craft* article, "The Nude in Photography," a nude figure "in a spot that one knows, is startling, to the least."[84] For Blumann, the nude body is successful when veiled by obscurity and separated from the viewer's known world. Journalistic reports adopted rotogravures because they offered a less expensive way to reproduce photographs and the circulation of wartime images were regularly featured to astonish and shock viewers.[85] Similarly, Cunningham pushed the accepted decorum of her photographs by capturing the reality of Partridge's nude body and surroundings, as well as abandoning her allegorical titles for the images' location label.

Additionally, the position of Cunningham's lens shifted between her 1915 and 1918 series. In *On Mount Rainier,* the compositions are typically split into thirds horizontally with equal parts of sky and ground. *Roi on the Dipsea Trail* comparatively presents a cropped composition with little to no horizon, enclosing the landscape of a military trench. Although there is a lack of archival material suggesting Cunningham was artistically interpreting journalistic rotogravures in her *Roi on the Dipsea Trail* series, many of the American modernists she studied, like Georgia O'Keeffe, took inspiration from trench warfare photography. For example, Anne Classen Knutson has likened O'Keeffe's *No. 13—Special* (Fig. 33) to the "American Troops Digging In" rotogravure published in a 1918 edition of *Woman's Weekly* (Fig. 34).[86] O'Keeffe artistically reduces the helmeted soldiers to a line of abstracted spheres enclosed

[84] Sigismund Blumann, "The Nude in Photography," *Camera Craft 24*, no. 4 (April 1917): 149, quoted in Cutshaw, "Framing the Familial," 82.
[85] Knutson, "Hidden in Plain Sight," 61-63.
[86] Ibid., 62.

vertically between a jagged, geometric line and repeating organic lines. Using the same rotogravure as an archetype of trench images, the high banks, winding path, and foreshortened horizon of *Roi on the Dipsea Trail*, especially number *3* and *5* (Figs. 3 and 5), may cause the viewer to recall the bleak landscape of war and dug trenches used by soldiers during the Great War. The subject of war does not directly or overtly appear in *Roi on the Dipsea Trail.* Nevertheless, the sharpness, photographic printing material, and print manipulation of her 1918 series signify a shift in Cunningham's career that mirrors her surrounding cultural environment and her fellow contemporaries.

V. Diverting from the Typical Strong Man

The United States army participated in only sixth months of serious combat causing many American civilians to discredit the impact the Great War had on the nation. Nearly 4.7 million men (aged fifteen to forty-nine) were mobilized and over half were sent to Europe to fight for the Allied powers. In the short time the United States engaged in battle, more than 116,516 or .4 percent of American males were killed in battle and another 200,000 were wounded by the events of World War I.[87] The United States Army also engaged in the second deadliest battle in American history, the Meuse-Argonne Offensive, which lasted forty-seven days and was proportional in deaths to the Battle of Somme or Verdun.[88] The truth of the war was often downplayed in the United States because of tight military censorship and "enthusiastic silence" surrounding the death toll.[89] Civilians had to be persuaded of World War I's importance through the use of posters, parades, and national initiatives, while the mobilized American

[87] David Reynolds, "America's 'Forgotten War' and the Long Twentieth Century," in Cozzolino, Classen, and and Lubin, eds., *World War I and American Art,* 21.
[88] Kimberly J. Lamay Licursi, *Remembering World War I in America,* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 2018), xii.
[89] Reynolds, "America's 'Forgotten War,'" 21.

soldiers were sent to test their mortality in combat and an even more unforgiving enemy—the Spanish Flu.

With high body counts in France and Germany, the United States presented an image of the able-bodied, strong man who could take on the challenges of war. The dissemination of propaganda was more intense in America than anywhere else, and visual culture promoted the strong male who could defend his nation from opposing powers. According to Carden-Coyne, the First World War placed unprecedented attention on the male body through portrayals of the hyper-masculine man.[90] Visual representations of men during World War I, such as Howard Chandler Christy's *Clear the Way!! Buy Bonds—Fourth Liberty Loan* (1918), preyed on male fears of sexual inadequacy and lack of masculinity (Fig. 35). Christy's poster displays bare-chested and clothed sailors loading a seemingly phallic weapon under the protection of an oversexualized woman wrapped in an American flag. The sailors are shown shoeless, likening them to antique depictions of war heroes and giving the strong man an aura of divinity. Art historian David Lubin posits that the posters from the First World War "put young men in a double bind," offering them an idealized standard of manhood to identify with but also reminding them they will never achieve this caliber of masculinity.[91] The dichotomy presented in war posters forced spectators to reconsider their accepted perception of masculinity and posed male viewers with the introspective question: Are you a true man?

Preceding the Great War, the exemplary male body rose to favor during the fin de siècle era with the stardom of bodybuilder Eugen Sandow. Upon his retirement in 1903, the name

[90] Carden-Coyne, *Reconstructing the Body*, 161.
[91] David Lubin, *Grand Illusions: American Art and the First World War*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016), 68.

Sandow became synonymous for strength and health.[92] According to art historian Ellery Foutch, Sandow garnered popularity because he was able to transform his image "from a living, breathing man who was susceptible to aging, disease, and the ravages of time" into a timeless depiction of modern health.[93] Bodybuilders, wrestlers, and hyper-masculine males believed they could conquer all physical limitations, that was before they faced their most vigorous opponent—the Spanish flu. A 1918 edition of *The San Francisco Examiner* summarized boxer Wild Willie Webb's concerns of the pandemic, claiming "that he doesn't mind flying gloves which bring the blood a-tall because he can see what he's getting, but he is very much opposed to the secret goings and comings of the influenza germ."[94] Wild Willie's outlook on the Spanish Flu represents the body's boundaries of power against virus, even for the strongest, healthiest man.

Propaganda posters and war imagery played on the public's interest in physical strength and the bodybuilding craze brought to light by Sandow's photographs and postcards, where he regularly adopted classical poses like that of the *Farnese Hercules* or *The Dying Gaul* (Fig. 36). Cunningham understood the ideal strong male type well as she earned a living at the beginning of the war photographing officers of the army and navy decorated in their uniforms and frontally confronting the viewer.[95] Susan Kloman suggests that the positions showcased in the *On Mount Rainier* series adopt the pageantry of the muscular body made popular by Sandow, but the poses

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[92] Dominic G. Morais, "Branding Iron: Eugen Sandow's "Modern" Marketing Strategies 1887-1925," *Journal of Sport History* 40, no. 2 (Summer 2013), 193.
[93] Ellery Foutch, "Arresting Beauty: The Perfectionist Impulse of Peale's Butterflies, Heade's Hummingbirds, Blaschka's Flower, and Sandow's Body" (Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 2011), 168, quoted in Morais, "Branding Iron," 194.
[94] "Wild Willie Distrustful of the 'Flu,'" *The San Francisco Examiner*, (Saturday, October 19, 1918), 9.
[95] When Cunningham moved to San Francisco, she destroyed many of her glass negatives because they were too heavy to travel. We no longer have examples of the commercial photographs she took of military personnel during World War I. Cunningham confirms she was photographing militaristic men in Cunningham, Karlstrom and Louise Katzman. "Oral History Interview with Imogen Cunningham- June 9th, 1975," 6.

chosen by Cunningham for Partridge in *Roi on the Dipsea Trail* are typically effeminate.[96] Cunningham abandons the poses and physicality associated with the body builder and instead presents Partridge as a passive, unsteady body susceptible to the conditions of his surroundings.

The introspective male, highlighted in *Roi on the Dipsea Trail 1, 2,* and *6,* became a symbol for weak masculinity, critiquing the men separated from the reality of the War and unwilling to serve their country. Laura Brey's *Enlist—On Which Side of the Window Are You?* (1917) denotes such a symbolic absorbed male with his pensive, shadow-sculpted face isolated from the doughboys marching beneath the American flag (Fig. 37).[97] The main figure in Brey's poster assumes influence from the nineteenth century aesthete or dandy type made popular in works of art, like Thomas Eakins's *The Thinker: Portrait of Louis N. Keaton* (1900; Metropolitan Museum of Art) and James Abbott McNeill Whistler's self-portrait, *Brown and Gold* (1895-1900; National Gallery of Art). In reality, Partridge did align more with the artistic, contemplative man presented in Brey's poster, and Cunningham captured this artistic identity in *Roi Partridge, Etcher* (1915), where her husband posed before his etching *La Petite Reine* (Fig. 38). Yet, Partridge acknowledged her as the sole creator of *Roi on the Dipsea Trail,* leaving Cunningham with the authority to separate her husband from his typical persona.[98] Cornell proposes that by photographing Partridge without his sketching materials, which was the purpose of the couple's trip along the Dipsea Trail, Cunningham removes more than her husband clothes—she is stripping him of his reality as an artist.[99] Like Brey's figure, Partridge becomes

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[96] Kloman, "Imogen Cunningham's *On Mount Rainier* series," 82.
[97] Lubin, *Grand Illusions*, 63.
[98] Partridge's detailed his experience modeling for Cunningham during the *On Mount Rainier* series, stating: "…I had been up at Mount Rainier sketching, and Imogen came up to visit me. She was photographing wherever she was, so she suggested I take my clothes off and pose for her. So there I was, sitting on a cake of ice and getting photographed in the buff. Luckily she was using soft focus lenses in those days, so the identification wasn't very exact." Partridge's recollection of the series suggest that Cunningham proposed the idea for the photographs and convinced her husband to pose nude. Dater, *Imogen Cunningham: A Portrait*, 29.
[99] Cornell, "Embodying Gender," 130.

detached from his ability to participate in the action, whether that be the process of making art or defending his nation. Further, Cunningham relieves Partridge from the male-defined role as an active participant in the curation of his identity as culture-maker (Fig. 39).[100]

The fascination and circulation of the powerful male nude did not survive World War I, but instead was replaced by bodies with less overt signifiers of strength.[101] Artists returned to the aesthetics of Classicism as a way to cleanse their visual memory of war. The muscular ideal rooted in patriotic heroism, militarism, and physical abilities were exchanged for the male body similar to Partridge's smooth, stark white, and slim physique.[102] By reverting to classical poses in *Roi on the Dipsea Trail* series, Cunningham aligns with the contemporary artistic trends at the end of World War I. Depicting the male nude body with the symmetry and unity of classical ideals reminded the world that men's bodies could be restored to wholeness whether through time, medical procedures, or the birth of future generations.[103] Cunningham implements classical associations in her posing of Partridge, but continues to critique the ability of the male body through his vulnerability to the surrounding wilderness.

America was not the only country to embrace classical trends towards the end of the First World War in hopes to cleanse their mental palette of the fragmented bodies torn apart in combat. Hungarian photographer André Kertész, like Cunningham, captured images of the male nude in classical, introspective poses during World War I. As a soldier for the Austro-Hungarian army, Kertész experienced firsthand his mortality as he contracted typhoid fever and sustained a

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[100] Figure 39, photographed in 1927, illustrates that Cunningham would later capture Partridge as culture-maker and sketching while on their excursions. She realigns Partridge with his artistic agency as he sits above the terrain with his sketch book in his lap.
[101] Edward Lucie-Smith, "Kitsch and Classicism: The Male Nude in the Twentieth Century," *Paragraph* 26, no. ½ (March/July 2003), 45.
[102] Kenneth Dutton, *The Perfectible Body: The Western Ideal of Male Physical Development* (New York: Continuum, 1995), 212, quoted in Hiles, "On Mount Rainier," 47.
[103] Carden-Coyne, *Reconstructing the Body*, 163-4.

gunshot wound to his left arm, temporarily paralyzing it, and leaving him to spend several months in a veteran's convalescent home. Kertész adopted a career-long engrossment with photographing weak, vulnerable bodies after being around the victimized bodies of his fellow soldiers. There is no record that Kertész and Cunningham knew of one another during the Great War, but they both photographed their male family members while nude and adopted similar views of the body.[104] On May 30th, 1920, Kertész captured his brother, Jeno, seated nude on a rock along the Hungarian countryside following the trope of the sensitive, introspective type previously discussed in association with the Brey's *Enlist—On Which Side of the Window Are You?*.[105] Like Cunningham's *Roi on the Dipsea Trail 2*, *Jeno Kertész* celebrates the wholeness of the body following the brutal destruction of World War I, but also considers man's integration with nature (Fig. 40).[106] Both *Jeno Kertész* and *Roi on the Dipsea Trail* conform to the widespread interest in classical antiquity and the favored smooth, slim physique that rose to popularity towards the end of the Great War.

Cunningham's *Roi on the Dipsea Trail* both imitates the artistic representation of masculinity at the end of World War I and challenges the longstanding virile male body made dominant throughout history. The opposition of aesthetics witnessed in Cunningham's photographs of her husband account for why the subject matter can be understood as appropriate for the contemporary period, but also why viewers might have been unreceptive to the decorum of the images. By keeping the *Roi on the Dipsea Trail* series within the familial sphere, Cunningham was presented with the opportunity to challenge, conform, and question the

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[104] I owe thanks to Dr. Janice Simon for suggesting the similarities between Cunningham's *Roi on the Dipsea Trail* and Kertész's *Jeno Kertész*.
[105] In a similar fashion to Cunningham's *On Mount Rainier* series, Kertész also photographed Jeno as an active participate jumping and moving through the landscape (1919-1925). Jeno served as a prop and model for Kertész to convey abstract ideas and concepts, such as a scherzo or an airborne Icarus. Robert Gurbo, *André Kertész: The Early Years*, (New York and London: W.W. Norton & Company, 2005), 21.
[106] Gurbo, *André Kertész: The Early Years*, 21.

accepted depiction of masculinity brought to popularity during the Great War without the fear of criticism or backlash.

VI. Conclusion

With a career-long fascination of the nude body, Cunningham's *Roi on the Dipsea Trail* serves as a transitionary series between the photographer's early Pictorialist work towards her floral studies (1920s), Precisionist compositions (late 1920s), and documentary-style images (beginning in the 1930s). While this paper does not attempt to argue that *Roi on the Dipsea Trail* embodies Cunningham's explicit reaction to the Great War, it does present an investigation into the series' cultural environment and potential influences. Considered as a whole, *Roi on the Dipsea Trail* offers a juxtaposition to the widely accepted and praised strong military man. Though these photographs were not published or exhibited, they reflect Cunningham's assimilation and study of varying contemporary standards by adopting aspects of classical and allegorical traditions, Pictorialism, straight photography, and popular artistic trends.

Cunningham revisited the nude body throughout her career, yet her subsequent series bear little resemblance to *Roi on the Dipsea Trail.* Prior to their divorce in 1934, Cunningham photographed Partridge nude in an image titled *Roi in the Alabamas* (1923) (Fig. 41). Unlike the smooth, pale body highlighted in *Roi on the Dipsea Trail,* Partridge now presents dark, tanned arms and showcases his masculine strength while seemingly trying to lift a nearby boulder. She also reconsidered the male nude in a final series, *On Oregon Beach* (1967), with an unknown model (Fig. 42). After joining the f/64 group in 1932, Cunningham exclusively used a sharp-focused lens to capture her photographs, which can be seen in the cropped visions of the male body in her final series. Instead of capturing her later male nudes as the classical and unassertive

body, Cunningham displays their manliness and active participation within the landscape similar to the depictions of body builders and Eugen Sandow. Still, she continues to refrain from photographing frontal male nudity. A further investigation of Cunningham's male nudes is still required, as there is a lapse in scholarship considering the connection between the female nudes that occupied the photographer's later career and her early male nudes.

Characterized as an opinionated and acidic person, Cunningham interjected her view of the world into her later photographic compositions. *Roi on the Dipsea Trail* fails to translate Cunningham's overt reactions to the Great War, but her "stolen pictures" and surrealist inspired compositions made during World War II and the Vietnam War inextricably display the photographer's opinion on violence. As the nation directed attention to the war effort during World War II, Cunningham turned to photographing poised and confident images of military men on leave in California, exemplified in *Sailor, Montgomery Street* (1945) (Fig. 43). These images diverge from Cunningham's standard portrayal of male gender and her photographs presenting the vulnerable male nude, the introspective artist-type, or the innocent young boy. Instead, the young naval police officer exhibited in *Sailor, Montgomery Street* places his hands under his belt creating an inverted triangle pointing towards his genital region and signaling his masculinity. Her photographs made amid the Vietnam War more markedly encompass Cunningham's outlook on the brutality of war. Lorenz analyzes Cunningham's *Doll with Head between Legs* (1970) as "connoting the horrors of warfare" through the removals of the doll's head and mutilation of the limbs (Fig. 44).[107] The doll still-lifes contemplate how combat and the new weapons of war, such as napalm, plagued the bodies of innocent bystanders and soldiers. Her compositions of mutilated dolls are reminiscent of European Inter-War photography,

[107] Lorenz, *Imogen Cunningham: Ideas Without End*, 55.

specifically Hans Bellmer's Surrealist visions of life-size dolls and Man Ray's photographs documenting the mannequins at the 1938 International Surrealism Exhibition in Paris. The same year (1970), she called for the halt of the Vietnam War in her photograph *Warning* (Fig. 45) depicting a man, possibly Louis Roedel, with an ominous facial expression and gesturing a "stop" signal with his hand.[108] The image of the male figure is overlaid on abstracted views of the gun emplacements from Point Reyes, California. The photographs' double exposure provides a poignant reminder of the violence caused by weapons of mass destruction and cautions the viewer to abstain from participating in the acts of war. While *Roi on the Dipsea Trail* cannot be viewed as an explicit reaction to World War I, Cunningham's later photographs indicate her thoughtful consideration of her cultural milieu, allowing us to retroactively evaluate her 1918 series.

Cunningham was a pioneer in the photographic field as one of the first women to objectively capture the male nude body. *Roi on the Dipsea Trail* challenges the accepted conventions of representing the male nude, reconsiders the discourse of Pictorialism, and reflects the shifting perception of gendered identity. By examining the visual language and historical context of *Roi on the Dipsea Trail,* the series can be understood as a precursor and investigation into the themes continually explored throughout Cunningham's oeuvre.

[108] Richard Lorenz cites the male figure in *Warning* as Louis Roedel in *Imogen Cunningham: Ideas Without End,* 55. However, the identification of the male in Cunningham's *Warning* remains inconsistent among scholarship.

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Figures

Figure 1. Imogen Cunningham, *Roi on the Dipsea Trail,* 1918. Gelatin Silver Print. Imogen Cunningham Trust, Lopez Island, Washington.

Figure 2. Imogen Cunningham, *Roi on the Dipsea Trail 2,* 1918. Gelatin Silver Print. Imogen Cunningham Trust, Lopez Island, Washington.

Figure 3. Imogen Cunningham, *Roi on the Dipsea Trail 3,* 1918. Gelatin Silver Print. Imogen Cunningham Trust, Lopez Island, Washington.

Figure 4. Imogen Cunningham, *Roi on the Dipsea Trail 4,* 1918. Gelatin Silver Print. Imogen Cunningham Trust, Lopez Island, Washington.

Figure 5. Imogen Cunningham, *Roi on the Dipsea Trail 5,* 1918. Gelatin Silver Print. Imogen Cunningham Trust, Lopez Island, Washington.

Figure 6. Imogen Cunningham, *Roi on the Dipsea Trail 6,* 1918. Gelatin Silver Print. Imogen Cunningham Trust, Lopez Island, Washington.

Figure 7. Imogen Cunningham, *Roi on the Dipsea Trail 7,* 1918. Gelatin Silver Print. Imogen Cunningham Trust, Lopez Island, Washington.

Figure 8. Imogen Cunningham, *Roi on the Dipsea Trail 8,* 1918. Gelatin Silver Print. Imogen Cunningham Trust, Lopez Island, Washington.

Figure 9. Imogen Cunningham, *On Mount Rainier 1*, 1915. Gelatin Silver Print. Imogen Cunningham Trust, Lopez Island, Washington.

Figure 10. Imogen Cunningham, *On Mount Rainier 2*, 1915. Gelatin Silver Print. Imogen Cunningham Trust, Lopez Island, Washington.

Figure 11. Imogen Cunningham, *On Mount Rainier 4*, 1915. Gelatin Silver Print. Imogen Cunningham Trust, Lopez Island, Washington.

Figure 12. Imogen Cunningham, *The Bather* (On Mount Rainier,) 1915. Gelatin Silver Print. Imogen Cunningham Trust, Lopez Island, Washington.

Figure 13. Imogen Cunningham, *Marsh at Dawn*, 1901, negative; print, 1908. Platinum Print. 8 9/16 x 7 ¼ in. Imogen Cunningham Trust, Lopez Island, Washington.

Figure 14. Gertrude Käsebier, *Blessed Art Thou among Women*, 1899. Platinum print, 9 1/16 x 5 3/16 in., The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Alfred Stieglitz Collection.

Figure 15. Imogen Cunningham, *Mrs. Herbert Coe, Seattle,* 1910. Platinum Print. Imogen Cunningham Trust, Lopez Island, Washington.

Figure 16. Imogen Cunningham, *Sun and Wind,* 1910. Gelatin Silver Print. Imogen Cunningham Trust, Lopez Island, Washington.

Figure 17. Imogen Cunningham, *The Wood Beyond the World,* 1910. 6.3 x 4.8 in. Gelatin Silver Print. Imogen Cunningham Trust, Lopez Island, Washington.

Figure 18. Imogen Cunningham, *Self Portrait,* 1906. Platinum Print. 4 ½ x 6 5/16 in. Imogen Cunningham Trust, Lopez Island, Washington.

Figure 19. Imogen Cunningham, *Eve Repentant*, 1910. Gelatin Silver Print. 10 3/16 × 7 1/8 in. Imogen Cunningham Trust, Lopez Island, Washington.

Figure 20. Imogen Cunningham, *The Supplicant*, 1910. Gelatin Silver Print. 13.6 x 10.6 in. Imogen Cunningham Trust, Lopez Island, Washington.

Figure 21. Frank Eugene, *Adam and Eve,* 1900s, Printed in 1909. Photogravure, 7 x 5 1/16 in. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

Figure 22. Anne Brigman, *The Dryad*, 1905. Gelatin Silver Print, 9 7/16 x 5 15/16 in. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

Figure 23. Anne Brigman, *The Bubble,* 1905. Chlorobromide print, 6 1/4 x 9 1/8 in. Princeton University Art Museum, New Jersey.

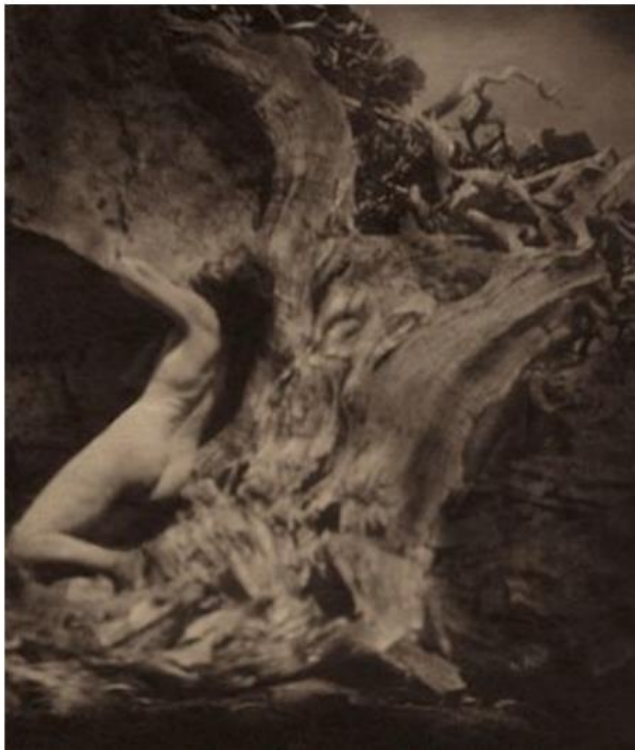

Figure 24. Anne Brigman, *Via Dolorosa,* 1911. Gelatin Silver Print, 5 x 4 in. negative. George Eastman Museum, New York.

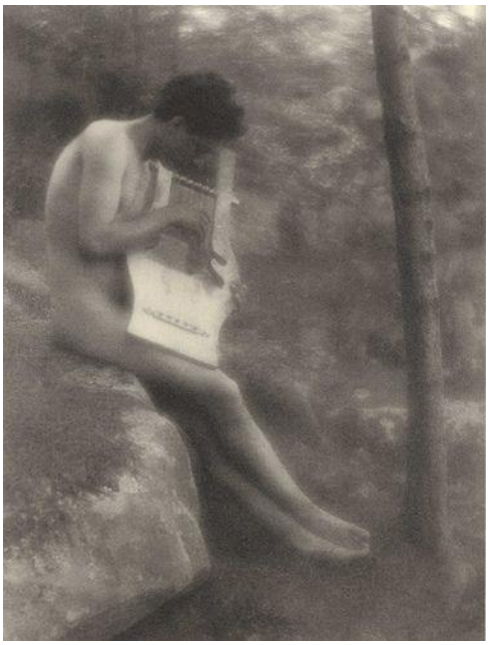

Figure 25. F. Holland Day, *Nude Youth with Lyre*, 1907. Platinum Print. 9 x 12 in. The Royal Photographic Society, London. Acquired from Frederick H. Evans, 1937.

Figure 26. F. Holland Day, *The Vision (Orpheus Scene)*, 1907. Platinum Print. 9 5/8 x 7 ¼ in. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

Figure 27. Caravaggio, *Narcissus,* 1597-1599. Oil on Canvas. 44.6 x 37 in. Barberini Palace, Rome.

Figure 28. Luigi Schiavonetti, After Michelangelo Buonarroti, *The Battle of Cascina (The Cartoon of Pisa),* 1808. Engraving. 10.8 x 15.6 in. The British Museum, London.

Figure 29. Thomas Eakins, *Swimming,* 1885. Oil on Canvas. 36 3/8 x 27 3/8 in. Amon Carter Museum of American Art, Texas.

Figure 30. Leochares, *Apollo Belvedere*, c. 350-325 BCE, 2nd Century AD marble copy. Vatican Museum, Vatican City.


ATOMS IN THE GREAT WHIRLPOOL

AMERICAN AVIATORS AT THE FRONT WITH THE FRENCH ARMY

VERNON CASTLE

THE LAST LINE

FERDINAND OF BULGARIA

Figure 31. "Atoms in the Great Whirlpool." *Vanity Fair*, (August 1916): 50.

Figure 31 (detail). "The Last Line," in "Atoms in the Great Whirlpool." *Vanity Fair* (August 1916): 50.

Figure 32. "The Tribune Graphic." Rotogravure. *New York Tribune* (July 22, 1917). Library of Congress.

Figure 32 (detail.) "Aerial view of the German trenches at the Battle of Somme," in "The Tribune Graphic." Rotogravure. *New York Tribune* (July 22, 1917). Library of Congress.

Figure 33. Georgia O'Keeffe, *No. 13—Special,* 1915. Charcoal on Paper. 24 3/8 x 18 ½ in. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

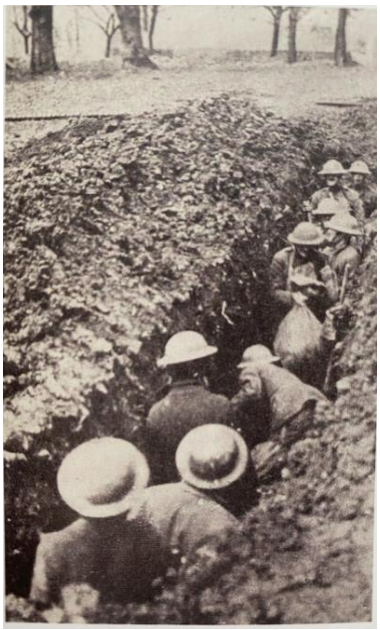

Figure 34. U & U British Official Photographer, *American Troops Digging In*, n.d. Photograph. In "Liberty's Victorious Conflict: A Photographic History of the World War." *Woman's Weekly* (Chicago: 1918): 97.

Figure 35. Howard Chandler Christy, *Clear the Way!! Buy Bonds, Fourth Liberty Loan*, 1917. Poster. 29 ¾ x 19 ¾ in. The Library Company of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

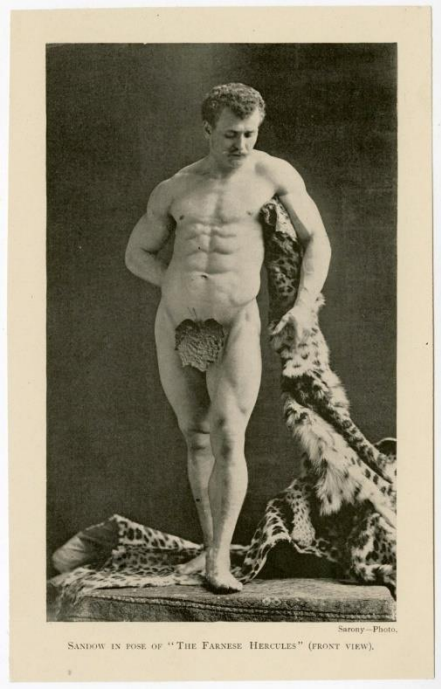

Figure 36. Napoleon Sarony, *Sandow in Pose of "The Farnese Hercules" (Front View)*, 1893. Albumen Print. University of California, San Diego.

Figure 37. Laura Brey, *Enlist—On Which Side of the Window Are You?*, 1917. Poster. 39 x 26 in. The New York Historical Society, New York.

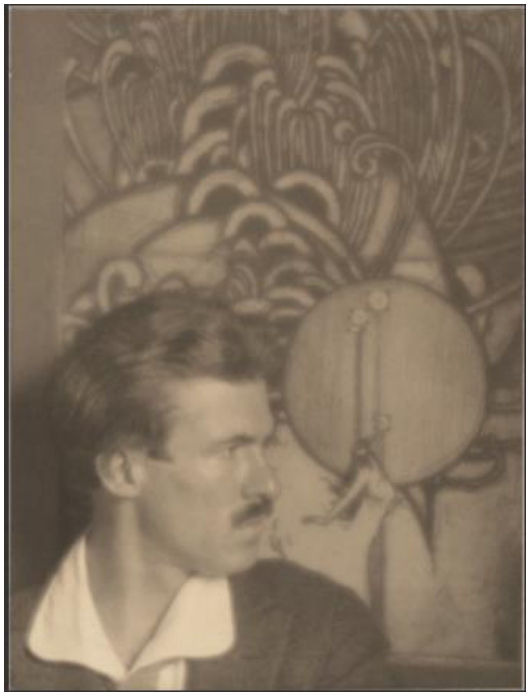

Figure 38. Imogen Cunningham, *Roi Partridge, Etcher*, 1915. Platinum Print. 8 1/8 x 6 1/8 in. Imogen Cunningham Trust, Lopez Island, Washington.

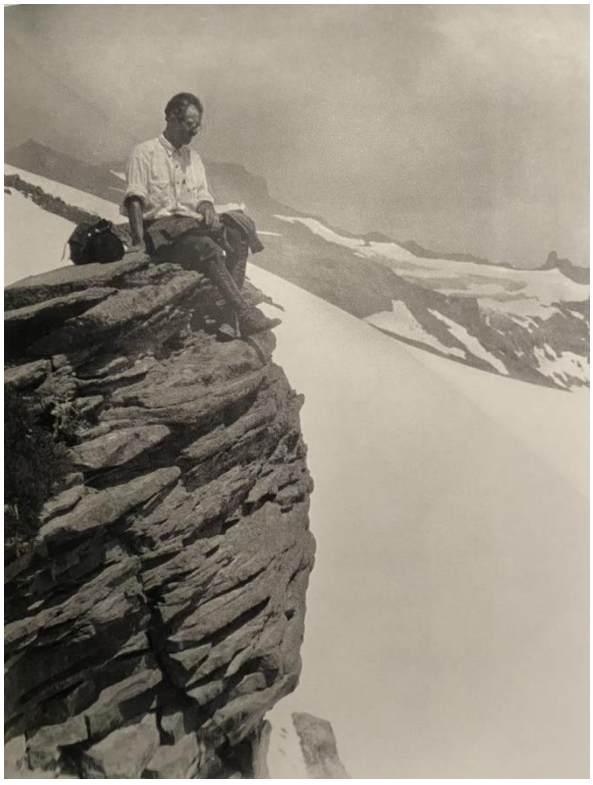

Figure 39. Imogen Cunningham, *Roi Partridge Sketching on Mount Rainier 2*, 1927. Gelatin Silver Print. Imogen Cunningham Trust, Lopez Island, Washington.

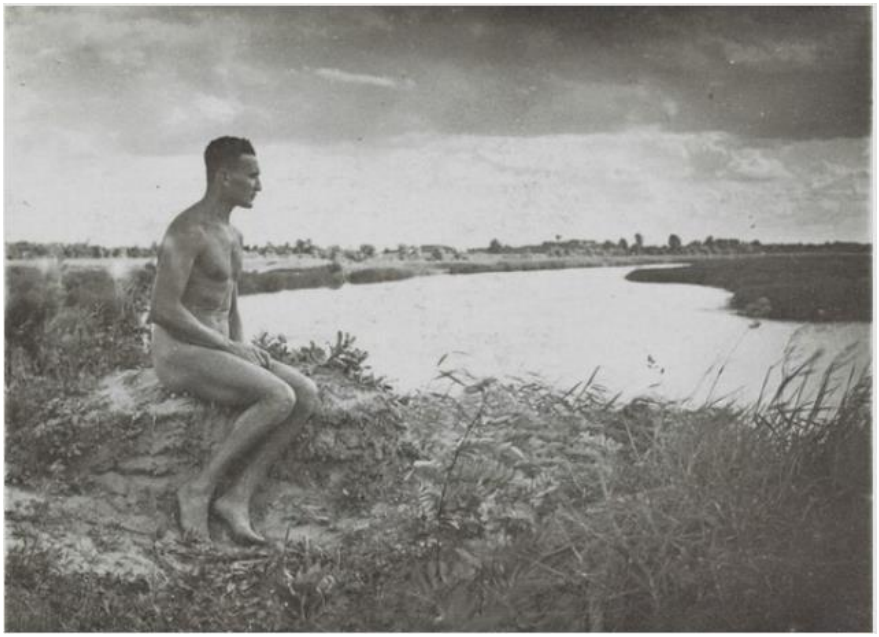

Figure 40. André Kertész, *Jeno Kertész, May 30, 1920.* Gelatin Silver Print. 1 1/2 x 2 in. The National Gallery of Art, Washington D.C.

Figure 41. Imogen Cunningham, *Roi in the Alabamas,* 1923. Gelatin Silver Print. Imogen Cunningham Trust, Lopez Island, Washington.

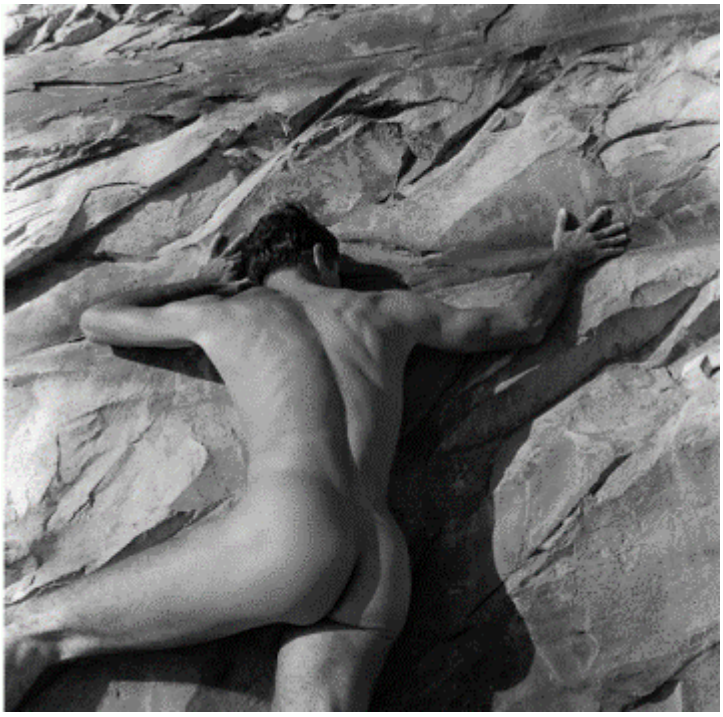

Figure 42. Imogen Cunningham, *On Oregon Beach,* 1967. Gelatin Silver Print. Imogen Cunningham Trust, Lopez Island, Washington.

Figure 43. Imogen Cunningham, *Sailor, Montgomery Street*, 1944. Gelatin Silver Print. 8 1/18 x 7 in. Imogen Cunningham Trust, Lopez Island, Washington.

Figure 44. Imogen Cunningham, *Doll with Head between Legs,* about 1970. Gelatin Silver Print. Imogen Cunningham Trust, Lopez Island, Washington.

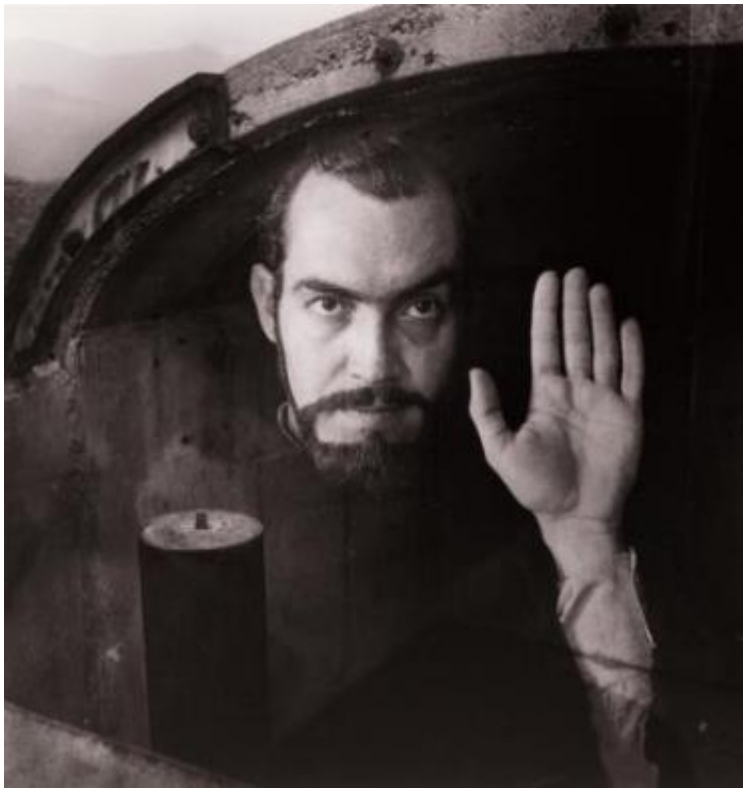

Figure 45. Imogen Cunningham, *Warning*, 1970. Gelatin Silver Print. 8 x 7 5/8 in. Imogen Cunningham Trust, Lopez Island, Washington.