

Mysticism in the Machine Age: Jane Heap and The Little Review

Introduction

*We ne
to find*

With
topic,
illustr
modern
exactl
modern
magaz
move
contri
its late

When
The L
years
her na
she fir
histor
years
later. I
garde

This a
Review
integr
1920s.
just-en
endeav
moder

The Li
during
atmos
ideas
with o
summ
exhibi
magaz
politic
Nietzs
writer

We need fights, discussion—hot and impolite, jeering and insulting, to knit the thing together, to find and bring out a definite creative harshness in this pulp of art in America.

Jane Heap in *The Little Review*

he d iew

Introduction

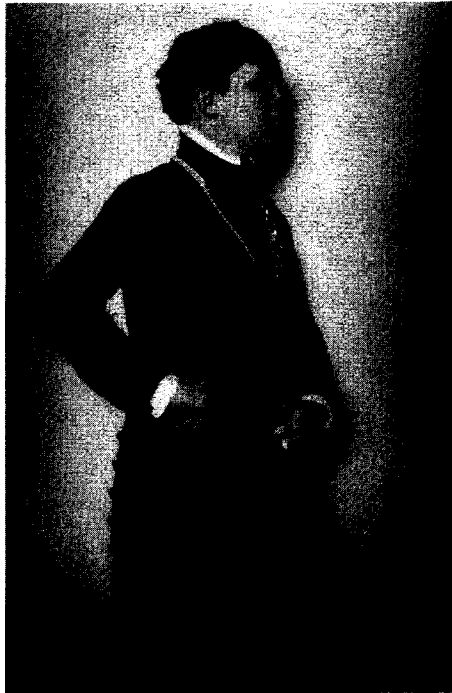
With the current abundance of lavishly illustrated periodicals on every conceivable topic, we can only imagine eagerly awaiting each issue of one small, poorly illustrated, cheaply printed magazine. Yet, during the early years of American modernism, many experimental writers and artists regarded *The Little Review* with exactly that attitude. *The Little Review* played a crucial role in disseminating modernist writing, theory, and art to the avant-garde intellectual community. The magazine was founded in 1914 by Margaret Anderson (1886-1973). In 1917 Anderson moved her periodical from its original home in Chicago to New York, where it continued to appear until 1927. A single farewell issue materialized in 1929. During its later New York years, Jane Heap (1885?-1964) emerged as the dominant editor.

Whereas Anderson wrote several autobiographies and is familiar in the context of *The Little Review*, Heap's career has barely been acknowledged. Except in the last years of the magazine, she herself strove to be almost invisible; even when she signed her name, she generally did so in lower-case initials, until the Spring 1925 issue when she finally used her full name in the masthead of the magazine. She has been lost to history even further because scholarship has focused on the publication's middle years when Ezra Pound was an editor, whereas Heap's most significant activity came later. In these last years of *The Little Review*, she was also involved with the avant-garde visual arts. In later life, mystical practice shrouded her personality.¹

This article focuses on Jane Heap as a central figure in the history of *The Little Review*. It reconstructs her background, insofar as it can currently be outlined, and integrates her activities with the larger avant-garde and feminist environment of the 1920s. It also demonstrates how Heap created a unique wedding of mysticism to the just-emerging theory and art of the Machine Age. Her enigmatic and difficult endeavor provides a new perspective on a complex period in the history of modernism.

The Little Review went through three distinct phases. It first emerged in Chicago during that city's short-lived renaissance of culture known as the Liberation. An atmosphere of change and experimentation inspired Margaret Anderson, an idealistic young book reviewer recently arrived from Indiana, to found a magazine with only the slightest financial backing. She announced *The Little Review* in the summer of 1913, not long after the Art Institute of Chicago showed the Armory exhibition of postimpressionist painting. Starting in March 1914, the monthly magazine presented young Chicago writers along with energetic articles on the political and philosophical issues of the day, such as feminism, anarchism, and Nietzscheanism. In this first phase, it featured contributions of such later famous writers as Sherwood Anderson and Edgar Lee Masters.²

In 1917 *The Little Review* moved to New York. There it was dominated by Ezra Pound as foreign editor in London and was financially sponsored by Pound's friend, the New York lawyer John Quinn. During this second, famous chapter of the magazine's history, it published excerpts from James Joyce's masterpiece-in-progress *Ulysses*, as well as writing by T. S. Eliot, Wyndham Lewis, and Pound himself. Explicitly sexual references in *Ulysses* sparked clashes with the United States Post



◀◀
Jane Heap, c. 1917.
Photograph by E.O. Hopper.
Courtesy of The Little
Review Archives, University
of Wisconsin-Milwaukee.

◀
Margaret Anderson.
Courtesy of The Little
Review Archives, University
of Wisconsin-Milwaukee.

Office and the legal system: the magazine was accused by the Society for the Suppression of Vice of publishing obscenity, and the editors were brought to trial and found guilty in the spring of 1921.³ Later, in its third phase, an engagement with the international avant-garde in the visual arts gave *The Little Review* a new distinction. This chapter of great importance to the history of the early twentieth-century avant-garde in America has been glossed over by scholars of the period.

The central figure in the connection between the avant-garde visual artists and *The Little Review* is Heap.⁴ While Anderson remained on the title page and Pound provided the initial contacts, Heap was the driving force behind the increased commitment of the magazine to stage design, architecture, painting, and sculpture. Particularly after 1924, when Pound moved to Italy and Anderson settled in Europe, Heap worked almost alone to produce the magazine as a quarterly. From 1924 to 1927 she also ran an art gallery under the aegis of *The Little Review*.

As editor of *The Little Review*, Heap proceeded along two distinct lines. First, she was a key liaison between the European avant-garde, particularly those artists concerned with the Machine Age, and the small but influential American audience that avidly followed the magazine. Second, she linked the Machine Age to the mystical teachings of George Ivanovitch Gurdjieff, an Armenian mystic. Gurdjieff surfaced in

New York
Heap to
commit
sometin

By befr
Europe
Laszlo M
Constan
and Fern
Heap re
El Lissit
Szymon
music th
of Igor S
included

During
Review v
mechani
function
plastics
images, a

Their pr
nearly m
however
Thus, ar
inform d
The resu
both fina
even art
the Unit
also refle
accessibl
some of I
support s

In the se
are with
contact v
merly an
of the ne
for the ui
processes
order to e
of coming
employec

re it was dominated by Ezra
lly sponsored by Pound's friend,
ond, famous chapter of the
s Joyce's masterpiece-in-progress
Lewis, and Pound himself.
es with the United States Post



◀◀
Jane Heap, c. 1917.
Photograph by E.O. Hoppi
Courtesy of The Little
Review Archives, Universi
of Wisconsin-Milwaukee.

◀
Margaret Anderson.
Courtesy of The Little
Review Archives, Universi
of Wisconsin-Milwaukee.

sed by the Society for the
e editors were brought to trial an
phase, an engagement with the
Little Review a new distinction.
he early twentieth-century
holars of the period.

avant-garde visual artists and
ed on the title page and Pound
force behind the increased
ecture, painting, and sculpture.
and Anderson settled in Europe
e as a quarterly. From 1924 to 1927
Little Review.

g two distinct lines. First, she wa
rticularly those artists concerned
l American audience that avidly
hine Age to the mystical
nian mystic. Gurdjieff surfaced in

New York, via Moscow, Constantinople, London, and Paris, just at the time that
Heap took full responsibility for *The Little Review* in 1923-24. Heap's dual
commitment to art and mysticism is crucial to understanding her unique and
sometimes problematic activities.

By befriending artists directly, Heap was able to make *The Little Review* a conduit for
European modernism. She published work by Francis Picabia, Theo van Doesburg,
Laszlo Moholy-Nagy, and Tristan Tzara and collaborated with Frederick Kiesler,
Constantin Brancusi, Jacques Lipchitz, Naum Gabo, Anton Pevsner, Ossip Zadkine,
and Fernand Léger sent their work and writing to her. Through such direct contacts,
Heap received material from an even broader range of the avant-garde, among them
El Lissitzky in Russia, Kurt Schwitters in Germany, Josef Peeters in Belgium, and
Szymon and Helen Syrkus in Poland. Heap's interests also encompassed avant-garde
music through her friendship with George Antheil and her knowledge of the work
of Igor Stravinsky, Edgar Varèse, and the emerging group known as the Six that
included Darius Milhaud.

During and after World War I, many of the artists who contributed to *The Little
Review* were particularly concerned with the relationship of art and the machine. As
mechanization increasingly entered daily life, the efficiency, simplicity, and
functionalism of the machine influenced esthetics. Machine-made materials such as
plastics were popular. Many artists also experimented in their art with machines as
images, as objects, and as processes.

Their preoccupation with the machine led foreign artists to endow America with
nearly mythical stature. Except for the handful of artists who visited New York,
however, their main knowledge of American machines came from American films.
Thus, artists were highly receptive to Heap as an American editor who could both
inform them on American art and machines and publicize their work in New York.
The resulting activities would have been inconceivable only a few years later, for
both financial and political reasons. In some cases, the photographs, literature, and
even art sent to Heap became the only documents published on or by those artists in
the United States for many decades.⁵ The direct transmission to *The Little Review*
also reflected the informal character of the art world, when artists were still
accessible as individuals; galleries, dealers, and museums played a minor role. Indeed,
some of Heap's difficulties could have been ameliorated had a more sophisticated
support system been available to her and the artists.

In the second aspect of her activities, Heap combined admiration for the machine in
art with pursuit of mysticism as a means of enhancing life. In early 1924 she came in
contact with the teachings of Gurdjieff and his disciple Alfred Richard Orage, for-
merly an influential London editor. They profoundly affected Heap with a message
of the necessity for spiritual renewal. The basic issue of Gurdjieff's teaching was that
for the unenlightened, life functioned mechanistically, based on laws and natural
processes. It was necessary to acknowledge and understand those mechanisms in
order to evolve a more developed level of self-awareness and spirituality. The means
of coming to this understanding was mystical, not rational, although Gurdjieff
employed practical exercises that ranged from ritual dances to manual labor.⁶

Beginning in 1924 Heap indirectly promoted these ideas through her activities at *The Little Review*. She connected the new art and Gurdjieffian principles through the idea of the machine: just as the machine was transforming art, likewise understanding the mechanical principles at work in our own lives would transform us spiritually. For three years Heap worked with this unusual and difficult alliance of ideas, but by 1927 a sense of frustration with the art world, as well as an increased allegiance to Gurdjieff, led her to abandon the international artistic avant-garde. Only for a few years in the mid-1920s were Heap's artistic and spiritual concerns mutually reinforcing. Her activities in the arena of modern art, intersecting with her pursuit of mysticism, led to an extraordinary effort to bring the art of the Machine Age to New York. That particular conjunction is the climax of her career at *The Little Review*, her unique contribution to the understanding of modernism in America, and the central concern of this article.

Early career

Heap's early career does not forecast her dramatic activities of the 1920s. As a result of her decision, after making a full commitment to Gurdjieff, to be as anonymous as possible, her first thirty years are difficult to document. A few facts emerge, however. Heap was the daughter of an English father and a Norwegian mother, the granddaughter of a Lapp whose relatives lived near the Arctic Circle.⁷ She grew up in Topeka, Kansas, where her father was a supervisor at an insane asylum. Coming to Chicago at the turn of the century, she attended art school, apparently inspired to creativity by the example of Sarah Bernhardt.⁸ Initially enrolling in a Saturday morning art education class, she eventually graduated from the Art Institute in 1905 after having achieved some distinction in the academic mode taught there. She is once again documented as attending the Art Institute as an evening student in 1909 and 1911.⁹ Sometime after 1912, she participated in Maurice and Ellen Browne's avant-garde theater group known as the Little Theater, then went to Europe to study art in Germany.¹⁰ No other information has yet come to light concerning Heap's activities prior to her appearance at *The Little Review* in early 1916.

When Margaret Anderson met Jane Heap, she immediately became infatuated with her. As many of the writers and artists who had given the magazine its first support dispersed, Anderson was feeling a need for fresh inspiration. She was overwhelmed by Heap's brilliant conversation, as well as her imposing personal demeanor. The two women became lovers, a radical act of overt lesbianism for that time. After an intense spring and summer, Anderson convinced Heap to write for the magazine.¹¹ Their close personal and professional relationship sustained the magazine for six years, and the two women remained friends throughout their lives.

Even within the orbit of *The Little Review* in the late teens and twenties, Heap's style was unique. One writer referred to her as having a "personal magnetism that was almost visible."¹² The best-known photograph of Heap, taken by Berenice Abbott in Paris in the early 1920s, shows her dressed in tuxedo jacket and bow tie. She apparently wore this with a long black skirt, a popular garb of lesbians of that era.¹³ As one writer commented, she "had the most stimulating and penetrating mind of any American woman I have ever met and like all people with strong positive vibrations, her negative ones were equally strong. She could be quite ruthless, regardless of near friend or old foe, when she wanted something. She had a strong



masculine side.”¹⁴ One friend of Anderson’s described Heap in terms that may characterize her as she was seen by other women:

That Jane exists in the way she does fills people with strength and new realizations in those parts of their beings which sometimes shrivel emotionally. She is always staunchly herself, and her humor, always flickering, delights one. Though she is overwhelmed with work, and fatigue,

◀ Jane Heap, Paris, 1925.
Photograph by Berenice
Abbott. Courtesy of
Berenice Abbott/Commerce
Graphics.



and illness, she endures it all with the utmost fortitude. When one is under great strain, for which no words can be found she always finds the right way to prove that she has understood through all one’s incoherence. She becomes a kind of benign wizard, warm and with a mysterious kindness and affection. She is like a “home” in herself full of a loving security which banishes tensions, so that one becomes momentarily, a new being.”¹⁵

Heap and Anderson belonged to an informal network of brilliant, predominantly lesbian women who congregated in Paris and London in the teens and twenties. Many of these women, including Gertrude Stein, Djuna Barnes, Hilda Doolittle, and Mary Butts, also contributed to and were celebrated by *The Little Review*. Although they produced an extraordinary outpouring of literature and art in the 1920s, their careers are, for the most part, only now being documented, analyzed, and interpreted. Despite their appeal to feminist scholars today, most did not make feminism a major issue in their careers. Anderson and Heap, for example, were more engaged with running a magazine and publishing high-quality writing and art than with creating a publication by and for women. They chose lesbian lifestyles, but also interacted with the entire avant-garde community.

With her artistic background, Heap immediately transformed the appearance of *The*

Little Review in 1916. Instead of drab brown covers, the magazine now carried a brilliant pink or deep blue jacket. More art appeared, although initially it was rather tame. Heap's first contribution to the magazine was a series of cartoons showing Anderson and herself enjoying a playful summer in California. These cartoons followed sixteen blank pages, Anderson's "want ad" for more exciting material to put in the magazine.

20/1

Heap's writing first appeared in *The Little Review* in late 1916, primarily in brief comments signed with her initials in lower case. Her first major article celebrated Mary Garden, the eccentric dancer whose performance in 1910 had been halted by the police. The article, accompanied by the first tipped-in illustration to be used in the magazine, made a strong statement concerning the role of the artist in society: "Many long for a share in that which the artists are making in the silence for their soul. But who is there except the artist who is willing to feel in this thing the imminence of something beyond life and personality?" The same article provided an unusual autobiographical summary that puts her uncompromising and strongly felt opinions into perspective: "When I was a child I lived in a great asylum for the insane. It was a world outside of the world, where realities had to be imagined and where, even through those excursions in illusions and hallucinations, there ran a strange loneliness. . . . There was no one to ask about anything. There was no way to make a connection to 'life.' . . . Very early, I had given up on everyone except the Insane. The others knew nothing about anything or knew only uninteresting facts. From the Insane I could get everything."¹⁶ She likened the insane to creative artists in their "adventures in illusions and hallucinations." The perspective she reveals here led to her skepticism and impatience with traditional thinking and attitudes.

Another major statement from the spring of 1917 focused on James Joyce's first book, *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*: "His story is told the way a person in a sick room sharply remembers all the over-felt impressions and experiences of a time of fever; until the story itself catches the fever and becomes a thing of more definite, closer-known, keener-felt consciousness—and of a restless oblivion of self-consciousness."¹⁷ These striking perceptions, couched in a subtly shaped metaphor, demonstrate Heap's importance to the intellectual caliber of *The Little Review* and foretell her later ability to establish rapport with sophisticated European artists. By contrast, Anderson appears naively enthusiastic when she writes of the same book as "the most beautiful piece of writing . . . to be seen on the horizon."¹⁸ Heap brought to Anderson's initial enthusiasm for the idea of renewal in the arts an astute, critical mind that never hesitated to inveigh against the mediocrity of much American culture.

Most of Heap's writings in the late teens responded to readers' letters that objected to the magazine's modern work: "What do you mean by Beauty?—the idea that education puts upon the minds of people, meaning lovely, pleasing to the senses and the emotions? That isn't Art; it is not necessarily a feature but may be an 'instrument' of Art. What of real Beauty, which surpasses the spirit of joy or tragedy? . . . The artist does not falsify or interpret life; he creates with joy!—even if the joy in the creating is the surplus of his agony."¹⁹ Not yet seen in Heap's early writing is the celebration of the machine and avant-garde visual art that would become so important for *The Little Review* in the 1920s. Indeed, scattered references suggest a

negative attitude to the machine.²⁰

The *Ulysses* phase

During the magazine's middle phase, from 1917 to 1921, it was dominated by Ezra Pound, his contributions from London, and the hectic pressures of publishing chapters from *Ulysses*. Heap continued to write initialed comments in response to letters until her outrage over the suppression of Joyce's novel motivated her to move to the front of the magazine: "The heavy farce and sad futility of trying a creative work in a court of law appalls me. Was there ever a judge qualified to judge even the simplest psychic outburst? How then a work of Art? Has any man not a nincompoop ever been heard by a jury of his peers?"²¹

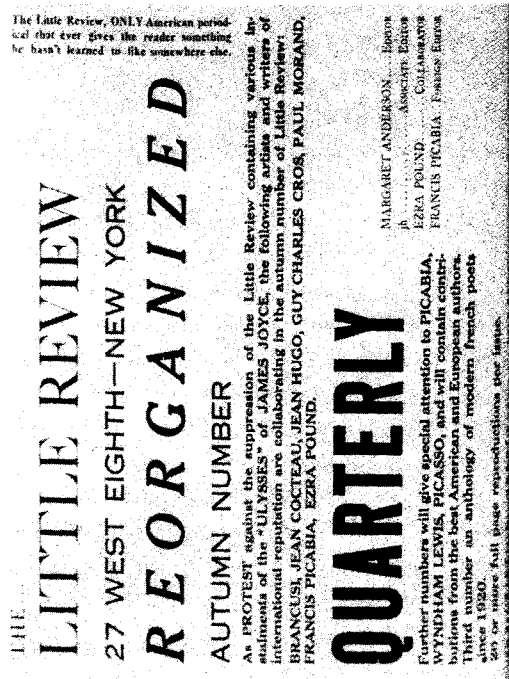
The crisis of the trial and the related stress of losing her youthful illusions in the cause of truth and beauty soon led Anderson to a nervous breakdown. In its wake, she initiated an emotional relationship with Georgette Le Blanc, singer and former wife of Maurice Maeterlinck, and moved to Bernardsville, New Jersey.²² As a result of these circumstances, and the breakdown of the editors' personal relationship, Anderson proposed terminating *The Little Review*. Heap was adamantly opposed.²³

Meanwhile, through Pound, the avant-garde in Paris began to embrace the magazine. Pound sent a dada manifesto from a "Contra Marinetti" demonstration in Paris. Appropriately, it appeared in the same issue as Anderson's article on the trial.²⁴ Pound also asked Francis Picabia to be the foreign editor: "But I have a present for you in the form of Picabia, who doesn't contribute to reviews, but was interested in my statement that you wd. [sic] go the whole hog. . . . I believe he will give some live stuff; at any rate he and Cocteau are intelligent, which a damn'd large number of Parisians aren't. I don't know when you are going to 'resume'; but it ought t [sic] be with a swish when it does occur."²⁵ Pound sent Jean Cocteau's poem "The Cape of Good Hope," newly translated by Jean Hugo, and photographs of Brancusi's sculpture taken by the artist himself: "N.B. that Brancusi (photos, posted today) has just refused 'L'amour de l'Art,' L'Esprit Nouveau and a 'Lumur' of Prague, all of which noted art reviews want to pub. photos of his stuff. So/ that you are free to consider this lot as both a scoop and an honour."²⁶

The photographs of Brancusi's sculpture and the Cocteau poem created a stunning image for the Autumn 1921 issue, which proclaimed, "As PROTEST against the suppression of the Little Review containing various installments of the 'ULYSSES' of JAMES JOYCE, the following artists and writers of international reputation are collaborating in the autumn number of the Little Review: BRANCUSI, JEAN COCTEAU, JEAN HUGO, GUY CHARLES CROS, PAUL MORAND, FRANCIS PICABIA, EZRA POUND."²⁷ Both the Brancusi sculpture, in its simplicity and finished surfaces, and the poem by Cocteau, a homage to his friend the aviator Roland Garros, directly reflected the fascination with the machine, machine technology, and machine-related esthetics then raging in Paris. Cocteau's poem played with images from American movies and machines in such passages as:

very smooth Underwood
typewriter
detective
in the saddle

and (a good shot with the
pistol)
the telephone girl of Los Angeles
revives
the old gallop
the Indians on their poneys²⁸



◀
Masthead of
The Little Review, Autumn
1921 issue.

These contributions brought *The Little Review* up to date with regard to both the visual arts and the next generation of the Parisian literary avant-garde. The issue had a magnificence, both visually and conceptually, that did create a “swish” and a fitting response to “the dung of ignoble animals,” as Pound referred to the New York legal system.²⁹ Hamilton Easter Field, editor and critic of *The Arts*, leading art magazine of that time, commented: “The Brancusi reproductions (twenty-four in number) are well worth the price of the issue and you get Ezra Pound, Picabia, Jean Cocteau, and Kenneth Burke thrown in. You also get a cover page which ought to make those responsible for the cover of *The Arts* blush for shame.”³⁰

As the magazine moved beyond the *Ulysses* trauma, it increasingly featured visual art. The entire Spring 1922 issue was produced by new foreign editor Francis Picabia. It featured numerous reproductions of his mechanomorphic art as well as several essays, including one in celebration and support of *The Little Review*: “‘Little Review’ is certainly the only magazine which at the present moment desires to give the public the work of men whose new quests are the aim in art — whether in painting, music, sculpture or literature.”³¹ Picabia went on to reflect the Parisian avant-garde’s impatience with traditional art and ideas. He used different arguments than Heap had but pointed to the same issues: “There is sometimes more art in knowing how to drink a cocktail than in knowing how to mix blue or vermilion with white, more art

in designing the practical side of an automobile than in imitating the buttocks of an Italian model of the Place Pigalle, more art in constructing a motor than in copying a poilu with this twenty kilos of imbecility on his back, more art in making a watering pot than in making the portrait of an apple."³²

In the late fall of 1922, with Heap now taking the main responsibility, *The Little Review* began to engage the New York art scene as well as the Parisian, with an issue featuring the art of American Futurist Joseph Stella, along with the first installment from Guillaume Apollinaire's *Aesthetic Meditations* in translation and numerous reproductions of cubist painting and sculpture. The appearance of Stella and Apollinaire reflects contact with New York's Société Anonyme, an organization created in 1920 by Katherine Dreier in collaboration with Man Ray and Marcel Duchamp. Its activities encompassed a broad spectrum of the avant-garde, mixing American, French, and German art.³³ Yet, despite the fact that both Dreier and Heap were supporters of the European avant-garde in America, interaction between Dreier and *The Little Review* was erratic.

Heap, in one of her first independent moves following the *Ulysses* trial, and apparently in response to a suggestion from Pound,³⁴ contacted Dreier and invited her to advertise in *The Little Review*.³⁵ While this letter is the only direct communication between them that survives from this time, the interaction apparently led to the Apollinaire/Stella issue of the following fall. Since Dreier did not have a regular publication of her own, *The Little Review* could well have appealed to her. In the winter of 1922 *The Little Review* continued the collaboration by publishing photographs of the machine-influenced sculpture of John Storrs, who was having an exhibition at the Société Anonyme.³⁶ However, by 1924, following a year abroad, Dreier was distancing herself from Heap, saying she did not have time for Heap's projects.³⁷ Dreier withdrew because she was uncomfortable with Heap's manner of operation in her promotion of modernism.

Heap's experience with *The Little Review* up to the early 1920s had always been in tandem with Anderson and with the support of Pound. As she began to make her own way in the New York art world, she lacked organization and support. Though Dreier and Heap shared interests and promoted many of the same artists, their personal and intellectual styles were diametrically opposed. Dreier, a native New Yorker from an intellectual German family, was at ease in New York. Moreover, she was a recognized abstract painter, with a firsthand knowledge of Kandinsky and his theories. She was an experienced and orderly administrator of her organization, concerned about educating the public and systematic in her activities. Heap, on the other hand, took pride in making "no compromise with the public taste."³⁸ Despite her established reputation with writers, Heap was new to the New York visual art scene. She had given up painting to become a critic, and had no experience with art administration. When she began working with art, rather than just literature, her haphazard organization incurred the wrath of many artists. She particularly appalled the systematic and conscientious Dreier.

Thus, when Heap sought Dreier's support in a new community called Inter Arts, A Guest House for Work and Play, she was rejected. The brochure that Heap sent to

◀
Masthead of
The Little Review, Autumn
1921 issue.

20/1

Dreier proclaimed a "Society" with "painters, poets, scientists, engineers, musicians, actresses, opera-stars and enthusiasts." Each sponsor was asked for \$5,000. The project never developed, except in the guise of the Little Review Gallery, but its definition already suggested the direction that Heap would take as she made her own place in the avant-garde scene. Around this same time, in the Winter 1922 issue, she declared:

The american [*sic*] artist is in a bad way. He has never established his social function in the minds of the public. In Europe groups of artists have revolted against the existing state of consciousness; they have ceased to act as the medium and have become masters of the spiritual situation. Many artists in this country . . . whine about the terror of the "mechanistic age." What belief in the power and function of art, to be terrorized by the power of plumbing systems and engines. . . .

The artist . . . must establish [his] social function. . . . He must affiliate with the creative arts in the other arts, and with the constructive men of his epoch; engineers and scientists etc. Until this is established a great spiritual waste is going on through the dispersed unrecognized or unattained energy of the true artist. The *Little Review* has long been working on a plan to promote this idea, and to bring the artist into personal contact with the consumer and the appreciator.³⁹

This polemical statement, like the Inter Arts guest house project, promotes Heap's new connection of the artist and the engineer, the theme that would be so important to her subsequent activities for *The Little Review*. The writing of Picabia, Cocteau, and other contributors to the magazine who frequently referred to machines as superior to traditional art, along with the appearance of mechanical elements in satirical art of the World War I period, must have reinforced Heap's long-standing and deep-seated disgust with any form of tradition.

**Mysticism and the
Machine Age**

Along with the outspoken editorial quoted above, the reproduction of Vladimir Tatlin's radical and extraordinary *Monument to the Third International* in the same Winter 1922 issue further signaled Heap's independence from Pound, Anderson, and even Dreier, in terms of her awareness of avant-garde concerns. Tatlin's *Monument* joined engineering and art in a building that was to have been the heart of both the new Soviet government and the communication system for a new society. *The Little Review* may have acquired the photograph through its friends in the literary sphere, for a diagram of the *Monument* appeared around the same time in another American periodical, *Broom*.⁴⁰ It was also in the winter of 1922 that Tatlin and the Russian constructivists first emerged in Western Europe. Heap's Tatlin reproduction therefore marks her awareness of the mid-twenties cutting edge.

From spring until late fall of 1923 Heap, along with both Anderson and Le Blanc, visited Paris for the first time. The trip was a major turning point in Heap's life for two reasons. First, Anderson decided to stay in Europe as piano accompanist for Le Blanc's concerts and therefore turned the primary editing of the magazine over to Heap. While Anderson did return to New York often during the 1920s, and even was involved with Heap's endeavors at *The Little Review*, particularly with respect to Gurdjieff, her attention was on Le Blanc and Europe.⁴¹ Second, the trip to Paris was important because Heap directly engaged the European avant-garde scene. She and

Anderson met their former European editor, Ezra Pound, and through him the artists he admired: Léger, Brancusi, Cocteau, and Picabia. Yet, Heap and Anderson also quickly became acquainted with a broader spectrum of people than they could meet through Pound (whose status in the clannish Parisian art scene was problematic).⁴² Through Brancusi and Gertrude Stein, as well as others, they met most of the Parisian avant-garde artists and writers, including the just emerging surrealists and, of particular importance to the later history of the magazine, the major promoter of dada, Tristan Tzara.⁴³

Starting in the fall of 1923, Tzara provided Heap with manuscripts, photographs, and contacts that included van Doesburg and de Stijl.⁴⁴ Publicist that he was, Tzara saw an opportunity for bringing himself and his artists before an American audience, a possibility he was apparently thinking about as the dada movement in Paris was going through its last rites.⁴⁵ Even before Tzara began contributing, however, Heap celebrated machine principles with her pioneer publication of Fernand Léger's important essay "The Esthetics of the Machine" in the first issues of *The Little Review* after her return from Paris.⁴⁶ That essay proclaimed the new Machine Age esthetics that celebrated engineering principles as more vital than traditional painting. Heap's publication of Léger's statement, a major and much quoted essay of the early Machine Age, demonstrates how current were Heap's concerns for the revitalization of art through the machine.

Mysticism and the Machine Age

Just after the publication of the Léger articles, in the winter of 1923-24, Heap became involved in Gurdjieff's mystical teachings. His ideas provided the backbone for her increasingly self-assured work in the mid-1920s. Heap's first documented contact with Gurdjieff's teachings came through the intermediary of Alfred Richard Orage in late December 1923. Orage had played a central role first in the Theosophical Society in England, then as pioneering editor of *The New Age* magazine from 1907 until 1922. As one writer has put it, "*The New Age* and its circle became the most articulate section of Progressive idealism in Britain."⁴⁷ Orage's publication, like *The Little Review* on a less powerful level, pioneered in areas ranging from politics to esthetics.⁴⁸ While Orage had always been interested in spiritual and occult ideas, contact with the ideas of Gurdjieff in London during February 1922 led him to abandon *The New Age* and become a follower.⁴⁹ When he decided to bring the Gurdjieff teachings to America, he turned to *The Little Review* editors as supporters.

On Orage's arrival in the United States, "he went straight from the boat to the office of *The Little Review* on east Eleventh Street near Fifth Avenue, where Anderson and Heap awaited him."⁵⁰ For Orage, "his hopes as well as his drive was for a new, as yet unimagined, development of skills the machine age would make possible."⁵¹ As a well-known editor of an avant-garde publication, Orage appealed to New York intellectuals and created receptivity to Gurdjieff when the teacher himself arrived in February 1924. Gurdjieff's teachings synthesized the physical sciences, Christianity, and Eastern mysticism. What attracted Heap initially was the notion that the mechanical aspect of life might be understood as a source of transformation.

Gurdjieff saw the human body as mechanical⁵² and human beings as therefore limited. However, he also believed that by acknowledging the mechanical, transfor-

mation to a higher level of consciousness would be possible. Since he emphasized the mechanistic aspect of life, he also emphasized the mechanistic aspect of art:

Q. Is mathematics the basis of all art?

A. All Eastern ancient art.

Q. Then could anyone who knew the formula build a perfect form like a cathedral, producing the same emotion?

A. Yes, and get the same reactions too.

Q. Man has an octave inside him; but what about higher possibilities?

A. This is the aim of all religions to find how to do. It cannot be done unconsciously, but is taught by a system. . . .

Q. With mathematical law could everyone be developed to a higher degree?

A. The body when born is the result of many things and is just an empty possibility. Man is born without a soul, but it is possible to make one. . . . I must be a slave of either science or religion. In either case man is a slave of this objective law. It is impossible to free oneself from it. Only he is free who stands in the middle.⁵³

Gurdjieff supported the idea of understanding and utilizing the mathematical and scientific laws of the universe as a means of creating both art and, more profoundly, a soul. His emphasis on science and its laws appealed to Heap. In supporting the machine as a new creative force, she sought to "stand in the middle" between science and religion, or in her case, science and art, and thus to create the possibility of transformation. Through these teachings she saw the machine as "a mysterious and necessary part of our evolution."⁵⁴ Extolling the machine dovetailed with Léger's theory of the importance of the clean, impersonal esthetics of the machine and the exciting role of the engineer in modern society. For Léger, however, as for the Russian constructivists, Machine Age art was divorced from mysticism.⁵⁵ Thus, Heap created her own unique wedding of the machine and mysticism.

In the spring of 1924 Heap provided meeting space for study groups led by Gorham Munson, an important literary figure and follower of Gurdjieff.⁵⁶ That summer Heap visited Gurdjieff's Institute for the Harmonious Development of Man in a chateau near Fontainebleau, and in the summer of 1925 she returned to study there.⁵⁷ The following fall, Munson proposed that an entire issue of *The Little Review* be written by Orage:

Here in better shape than I put it last night, is the germ of an idea for a special number of the *Little Review* devoted to Programs, or the problem of engineering a renaissance.

Such a number, to my mind should contain

- a. Trotsky's concept of proletarian art
- b. The humanistic classical program of such men as Irving Babbitt
- d. The religious-romantic program of Middleton Murry, D. H. Lawrence, etc. . . .
- c. The neo-classical program of such men as T. S. Eliot
- e. The mystical-naturalistic program of Waldo Frank
- f. The program of *Surrealisme*. . . .
- g. The program of Orage
- h. I almost omitted W. C. Williams's contact program (nationalism.) . . .

Of course, Orage should write the whole issue.⁵⁸

Little Review
and related
files

The Little Review Gallery and related activities

By the time Munson wrote, Heap had already turned in a different and more difficult direction than Munson suggested in order to "engineer a renaissance." Instead of emphasizing the literary figures who were directly involved with Gurdjieff, she expanded her art coverage. In the spring 1924 issue of *The Little Review*, immediately after her first contacts with Gurdjieff, Heap increased exposure of machine-related art by including illustrations of Russian constructivist work by Lissitzky, Gabo, and Pevsner,⁵⁹ along with Edgar Varèse's score for *America*, his homage to New York, which incorporated sirens and other mechanical sounds. In addition, she launched her view of the machine as a religious expression, thereby directly promoting her Gurdjieffian ideas: "Today there are artists who are creating forms and beings which are the conscious expression of the unvarying and universal laws. These forms do not copy the organizations of Nature, but have a life of their own and extend Nature. Something very interesting could be written about the Machine as a religious expression as great if not greater than the great cathedrals. . . . I have thought of doing it."⁶⁰ At this early stage of her spiritual study, Heap slightly manipulated Gurdjieff's ideas to her own purpose: she made the machine the counterpart of the cathedral as a manifestation of a religious consciousness, whereas Gurdjieff stressed the underlying principles of the machine as a process of transformation.

In the next issue, which she assembled in the autumn of 1924, Heap included machine-inspired art works in an issue dedicated to Juan Gris. A statement and score by Léger for his avant-garde film "Ballet Mécanique," an article by Antheil on his machine-influenced music, and Prampolini's powerful statement on the "Esthetic of the Machine and Mechanical Introspection in Art" together created a dynamic impact both visually and verbally.⁶¹

For the spring 1925 issue Heap went even further: she announced plans for a major "Machine Age Exposition" that would feature the engineer:

There is a great new race of men in America: The Engineer. He has created a new mechanical world, he is segregated from men in other activities. . . . It is inevitable and important to the civilization of today that he make a union with the artist.

. . . A great many people cry out at the Machine as the incubus that is threatening our "spiritual" life. The aims of this race have bred an incomplete man. . . . His outer life is too full, his inner life empty. His religion is either dead or seems a hopeless misfit for life today. The world is restless with a need to express its emotions. The desire for beauty has become a necessity.⁶²

Under the impetus of Gurdjieff, Heap had developed within one year from an acerbic commentator into an active and public figure with a positive agenda for revitalizing art and life by uniting the dynamic, new engineer of the machine and the world's need for nontraditional religion. In this issue Heap published van Doesburg's major statements "The Evolution of Modern Architecture in Holland" and "Literature of the Advance Guard in Holland," essays that Tzara had sent her the year before.⁶³ The articles introduced principles of de Stijl architecture to America and were the magazine's first major plunge into modern architecture, a logical step given Heap's new perspective. De Stijl, as articulated by van Doesburg, emphasized the functional

principles of the new architecture in terms of form, ideas that corresponded to the Machine Age principles that Heap promoted.

Around this time Heap launched the Little Review Gallery and exhibition program. Active from 1925 to 1927, the Little Review Gallery remains the least documented dimension of Heap's activities. Heap founded the gallery at 66 Fifth Avenue as an adjunct to the magazine and a gathering place for intellectuals. Financial backing was even more sporadic than for her magazine, and she apparently had no assistance. Consequently, the exhibitions and the logistics associated with them were often a nightmare for the artists involved. Although she promised exhibitions to many artists, most of the shows were miscellaneous groups of works by European modernists. For that reason, and because they were barely publicized even in the pages of *The Little Review*, the exhibitions were not reviewed in the art press. Despite its slightly recorded history, by early 1926 Hart Crane, in a letter to Heap, called the gallery "a rendezvous of talent, a galaxy of wit,"⁶⁴ a comment that suggests the gallery was more important as a place of discussion, probably Gurdjieffian discussion, than as a center for art.

In general, Heap's preserved correspondence about the gallery begins around 1925 in a cordial, friendly tone, and ends two years later in anger, frustration, and even open hostility. The endeavor started with the new-found inspiration of Heap's excitement with the Machine Age, ended as she increasingly disengaged from the art world and devoted herself to Gurdjieff.

Initially, European artists were flattered by her offer of an exhibition in New York. They thirsted for contact with and information about America. They even returned the invitation by asking Heap to write on American modern art for European publications. For example, Szymon Syrkus, Polish architect and editor of the periodical *Pressens*, wrote, "American modernism could not find a better representative than yourself, Madame, and we hope you are willing to send us, as soon as possible, not only the material on America that you had the kindness to promise, but also an article by you, treating modern art in America."⁶⁵ Moholy-Nagy asked her to contribute an entire book on "The New World" for the Bauhaus series.⁶⁶

Léger, Moholy-Nagy, Pevsner, Gabo, Lipchitz, van Doesburg, Schwitters, and others all sent recent work to New York.⁶⁷ That Heap sometimes displayed machinery along with the art is documented in her comment that "in conjunction with these chemical paintings by Man Ray, we are exposing temperature regulators, chemical apparatuses, self-aligning ball-bearings and other 'ready-made' objects."⁶⁸ Schwitters, Hannah Hoch, Jean Arp, Pevsner, and Gabo all had significant shows accompanied by comments, of which the following brief statement is representative: "Kurt Schwitters lives in Hanover. He lives in a house papered with newspaper and tramway tickets. He is young and has the wit and mockery and poetry of a Dadaist writer, painter, sculptor and the editor of *Merz*. The Little Review has just closed an exposition of his pasted paper pictures." Other artists appearing in group exhibitions and illustrated in *The Little Review* included Ossip Zadkine, Lett Haines, Cedric Morris, Nicolai Granovsky, Pavel Tchelietcheff, and a few American artists: Storrs, Charles Demuth, and Henry McFee.⁶⁹

at corresponded to the

and exhibition program.
s the least documented
66 Fifth Avenue as an
als. Financial backing was
tly had no assistance.
ith them were often a
exhibitions to many
ks by European
ublicized even in the
ed in the art press.
ne, in a letter to Heap,
+ a comment that
sion, probably

ery begins around 1925 in
ustration, and even open
ion of Heap's excitement
d from the art world and

exhibition in New York.
rica. They even returned
n art for European
and editor of the
find a better representa-
o send us, as soon as
kindness to promise, but
oholy-Nagy asked her to
hausa series.⁶⁶

rg, Schwitters, and others
displayed machinery
conjunction with these
are regulators, chemical
de' objects."⁶⁸ Schwitters,
nt shows accompanied
representative: "Kurt
th newspaper and
and poetry of a Dadaist
Review has just closed an
ring in group exhibitions
Lett Haines, Cedric
American artists: Storrs,

The correspondence with Moholy-Nagy records the largest fiasco of Heap's career. In December 1926 Moholy-Nagy sent her virtually his entire production up to that time. He accompanied his work with lengthy statements and letters, in which he explained to Heap in detail his mechanical technique and philosophy, most of which was as yet unpublished. This large shipment was sent on the basis of two meetings, one in Paris in 1925, when plans were laid for a Bauhaus exhibition in New York, and the second in 1926 at Dessau, when Heap visited Moholy-Nagy and his wife, apparently stimulating a profound respect and rapport.

In September Moholy-Nagy explained to Heap that a Bauhaus exhibition could not take place because other Bauhaus artists were concerned about not getting their work back from America (a well-founded concern, as it turned out), so he sent his own work for a one-person exhibition. By August 1927 he was horrified to discover that this work was still tied up at the harbor in New York. This astonishing situation apparently resulted from Heap's lack of funds, her illness (she suffered from diabetes), her increasing distraction with other activities (including Gurdjieff and the "Machine Age Exposition"), and her problems with customs over the importation of the works as art. Moholy-Nagy frantically corresponded with Heap throughout the fall to take care of the situation and finally acknowledged the return of his art in January 1928. His work never appeared in the Little Review Gallery.⁷⁰

Although the Moholy-Nagy story was by far the most disastrous, other artists who sent their work for exhibition at Heap's gallery suffered similar anxieties. One of Gabo's constructions was broken in shipment. Zadkine, whose works were detained in a crate with those of Lipchitz, angrily wrote, "I warn you everybody is furious against you, and if you do not take any energetic steps to get our work out of this situation you will be [?] in the opinion of the Paris artists—a matter which is very serious."⁷¹ Since this letter was received at the same time as the Moholy-Nagy letters, and those of several other artists, when Heap had already returned to France to study with Gurdjieff, she had to work long distance from Paris to extricate the work from customs in New York. Apparently, all the art works were finally returned to the artists, although their varied reactions to the problems and delays is in itself a study in personalities.⁷² Even Moholy-Nagy later forgave Heap and sent her some photograms and an essay for the final issue of *The Little Review* in 1929.⁷³

In the midst of organizing small exhibitions at her gallery, Heap also played an important, although controversial, part in "The International Theatre Exposition/New York 1926." Created by the de Stijl-affiliated designer Frederick Kiesler, "The International Theatre Exhibition" was the decade's largest and most comprehensive exhibition of stage design based on mechanical principles. Heap stated in *The Little Review* that Tzara had suggested, while she was attending the 1925 "Exposition Internationale des Arts Décoratifs et Industriels Modernes" in Paris, that she invite Kiesler to organize an exhibition in New York. Kiesler's display at the Paris exposition included a stunning futuristic urban design called "City in Space," a plan for a city suspended above the ground on steel girders.⁷⁴ Heap must have responded deeply to this utopian, Machine Age vision, for it corresponded exactly to her hopes for a union of the engineer and the artist. Although she obtained support from other backers, such as the Theater Guild, to bring Kiesler and his

exhibition to New York,⁷⁵ it was Heap (apparently along with Margaret Anderson) who greeted him in New York when he arrived with the many crates for the exhibition.⁷⁶

The grandiose Kiesler and the idealistic, inexperienced Heap were a poor combination. Kiesler created an exhibition much larger than Heap's gallery could accommodate. To make matters worse, the backing for Kiesler fell through, leading to much embarrassment for *The Little Review*.⁷⁷ Yet, finally a coalition of support was gathered, and the exhibition opened in Steinway Exposition Hall on 27 February 1926 with 1,541 exhibitions of stage design from fifteen countries including Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Romania, Hungary, Sweden, Poland, and the U.S.S.R., as well as France, Holland, Germany, Belgium, and the United States.⁷⁸ Kiesler used radical installation methods that placed the exhibits on trestles in circles and spirals. Extensive press coverage orchestrated by the theater and art critic Sheldon Cheney made Machine Age stage design and constructivism familiar concepts in America.⁷⁹

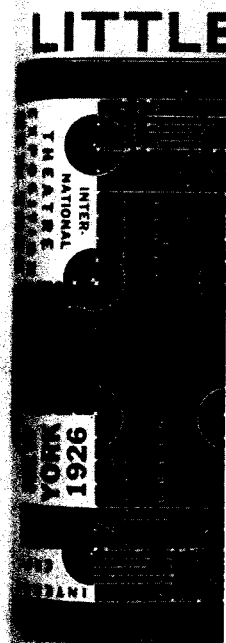
Heap herself publicized the exhibition by publishing a revised version of the exhibition catalogue as an issue of *The Little Review*. She retained Kiesler's radical format, including typography that presented text in different directions and sizes, and reprinted provocative articles by Hans Richter, Léger, Prampolini, and Kiesler. Other material on constructivist principles in the U.S.S.R. and Poland informed New Yorkers, practically for the first time, about the Eastern European avant-garde. Heap added to these original essays an article by her partner in Gurdjieffian pursuits, Alfred Richard Orage, who connected theater design to Gurdjieffian ideas.⁸⁰

Kiesler's use of technology to reshape the stage combined the mechanical and the human. He called for "the vitality of life itself, a vitality which has the force and the tempo of the age."⁸¹ Likewise Heap declared: "We will endeavor to show that there exists a parallel development and a balancing element in contemporary art. The men who hold first rank in the plastic arts today are the men who are organizing and transforming the realities of our age into dynamic beauty. They recognize [the machine] as one of the realities."⁸²

Kiesler and Heap had a compatible sense of mission in their desire for change. By developing the mechanized stage and radically reshaping space, Kiesler completely altered the traditional theatrical experience. He provided Heap with a tangible example for the use of machines as a means of transformation of spiritual as well as material life.

The "Machine Age Exposition"

Partially inspired by Kiesler's elaborate scale of operation, Heap finally realized her own "Machine Age Exposition" in the spring of 1927. Held in a large warehouse space, adjacent to where Kiesler's exhibition had been, it presented Heap's version of a radical installation with "the unpainted white plaster finish of the walls, columns, beams, girders, and floor slabs of an unpartitioned office floor of a common type of building erected for commercial renting. An amusing touch was the use of ordinary tin pails inverted as reflectors in place of lighting fixtures."⁸³



h Margaret Anderson)
ny crates for the

were a poor
Heap's gallery could
fell through, leading
coalition of support was
Fall on 27 February
ries including
and, and the U.S.S.R., as
tates.⁷⁸ Kiesler used
s in circles and spirals.
critic Sheldon Cheney
concepts in America.⁷⁹

version of the
ed Kiesler's radical
directions and sizes,
mpolini, and Kiesler.
Poland informed New
ean avant-garde. Heap
ljeffian pursuits, Alfred
ideas.⁸⁰

mechanical and the
i has the force and the
or to show that there
emporary art. The men
re organizing and
y recognize [the

sire for change. By
e, Kiesler completely
o with a tangible
of spiritual as well as

p finally realized her
a large warehouse
nted Heap's version of
f the walls, columns,
f a common type of
as the use of ordinary

Combining models, photographs, and art, and sometimes called an architectural exhibition in press releases, Heap's show was officially titled "Machine Age Exposition" only near the end of the preparations. As one review detailed, it comprised "radio sets, valves, gears, propellers, metal cupboards, ventilators, aeroplanes, diving apparatus, rifles and machine guns, slicing machines, harvesting implements, scales, gas manufacture, piano frames, motor car designs and electric light bulbs" as



◀ Cover of The Little Review's "International Theatre Exposition" issue, with floorplan by Frederick Kiesler, Winter 1926.

examples of manufacturing. Photographs of "broadcasting stations, grain elevators, power plants, airports, garages, warehouses and factories" accompanied the machines. The exposition also featured engineering techniques such as "day lighting, ventilation, and transportation."⁸⁴ The exhibition borrowed a double-ended coffee mill from International Business Machines, a model of an electric farm from International Harvester, and machine guns from the United States Army.

In juxtaposition with the manufactured objects, Heap included painting and sculpture that suggested a Machine Age esthetic in their imagery, materials, or handling. Much of the visual art was drawn from artists who had shown in her gallery, including Demuth, Man Ray, Alexander Archipenko, Storrs, Gabo, Pevsner, van Doesburg, Zadkine, Lipchitz, and Arp. The painting and sculpture from Europe, which constituted most of the art, was probably still on hand because of Heap's disorder in returning work; many of the sculptures were the subject of the controversy over return shipments outlined above.

Architecture was the most historically significant and innovative aspect of the "Machine Age Exposition." In line with Heap's goal, she juxtaposed photographs of raw sulfur storage plants in Germany, a church in Poland, and the new Bauhaus architecture. She also introduced a broad spectrum of modern architecture to New

20/1

York. In some cases, as with Le Corbusier and the Bauhaus, this was almost the first American documentation of work that would soon become internationally renowned. Fritz Hoeger's Chile House in Hamburg is still used as an example of an early highrise in Europe, while the garden built from the model for a terraced garden by Gabriel Guevrekian now appears as an example of landscape architecture in the *Encyclopedia of World Art*.⁸⁵ From America, the exposition featured Hugh Ferriss's model for a glass skyscraper and a model of three stages of development in the Radiator Building by Raymond Hood. Other Americans included Arthur Loomis Harmon (architect of the Shelton Hotel), William Lescaze, and Eliel Saarinen.

Heap also included less-known European modern architects such as the Germans Hans and Wassili Luckhardt; the Poles Bohdan Lachert, Josef Szanajka, and Barbara and Stanislaw Brucki; and the Belgians Louis van der Swaelmen, Jean Eggericx, and Victor Bourgeois. For these important architects of the 1920s, the 1927 exhibition of their work in New York can now be seen as a poignant event at the end of that hopeful and heroic era of early modernism. These artists were not numbered among the architects of the influential International Style as defined by the Museum of Modern Art in 1932, and they were unable to work later in the 1930s and 1940s because of the Nazis and World War II.

As the publicity poster emphasized, the mixture of architecture, technology, and fine art was collected under the impetus of the "inter-relation-inter-influence of architecture, engineering, industrial arts, and modern art." The effort to include such diverse expressions made the exhibition unique. Moreover, the timing was sensational: the "Machine Age Exposition" appeared in New York as transatlantic airplane flights were constantly in the news. Halfway through the exhibition, on 22 May 1927, Charles Lindbergh successfully completed his flight over the Atlantic Ocean, an event seen as the ultimate wedding of humanity and technology, and an appropriate accompaniment to the goals of the exhibition.⁸⁶

In the press release, Heap explained her attitude toward the show: "The modern architect is giving a new aspect to the world. . . . The automotive, mechanical, electrical, chemical, and civil engineers have replaced the Seven Wonders of the World with their Wonders. In the machine we have a new plastic-mystery which is influencing and energizing all the Arts."⁸⁷ The reference to mystery suggested the larger philosophical underpinning for the exhibition. Heap celebrated a positive development in the evolution of the human mind, which had in the past been aided in its development by contact with art. By bringing together the engineer and the artist, she encouraged the artist to "transform the realities of our age into a dynamic beauty." She believed that the exhibition demonstrated the wedding of beauty and utility, achieving what she termed, in a catalogue essay phrase borrowed from the Italian Futurist Prampolini, a "plastic-mechanical analogy."⁸⁸

The catalogue for the "Machine Age Exposition" brought together various aspects of mid-1920s theory and provided something of a retrospective of Heap's concerns between 1925 and 1927. It demonstrated her support for current thinking on the machine and modern architecture and her unique understanding of the art theory as it combined with her mysticism. First, and forming an important record, are the



this was almost the first internationally used as an example of an model for a terraced garden scape architecture in the matured Hugh Ferriss's development in the included Arthur Loomis and Eliel Saarinen.

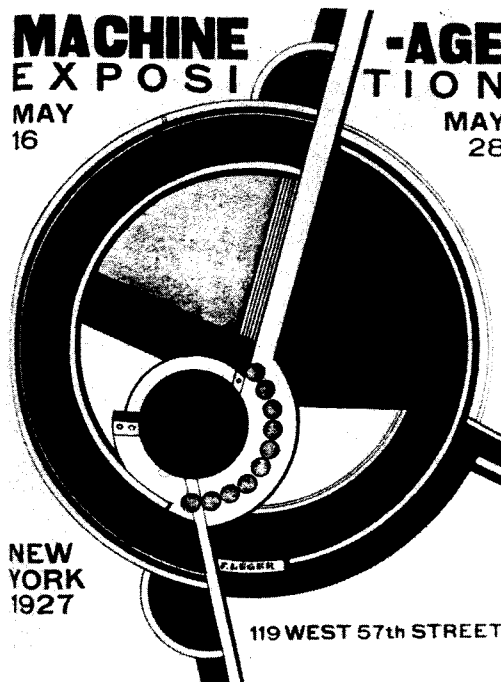
s such as the Germans of Szanajka, and Barbara aelmen, Jean Eggericx, 1920s, the 1927 poignant event at the se artists were not onal Style as defined by to work later in the 1930s

ture, technology, and fin ter-influence of The effort to include such the timing was ew York as transatlantic ough the exhibition, on 22 ght over the Atlantic and technology, and an

show: "The modern motive, mechanical, even Wonders of the plastic-mystery which is mystery suggested the celebrated a positive ad in the past been aided er the engineer and the of our age into a dynamic wedding of beauty and ase borrowed from the

together various aspects ive of Heap's concerns rent thinking on the nding of the art theory at portant record, are the

catalogue essays that defined modern architectural thinking before the formularization of modernism. André Lurçat, a leader of a group characterized as "young French architects" that included Le Corbusier and Mallet-Stevens, spoke of the importance of "unity of appearance and simplicity of expression" in buildings that also "avoid the dangers of the machine-attitude." Syrkus from Poland spoke of the destruction of volume and "new technical possibilities and new experiences."⁸⁹ Significantly, the



◀◀
Hugh Ferriss, model for a glass skyscraper, illustration from *The Little Review's* catalogue for the "Machine Age Exposition," 1927.

◀
Fernand Léger, cover of *The Little Review's* catalogue for the "Machine Age Exposition," 1927.

first essay in the catalogue, "Architecture of this Age" by Ferriss, an American Gurdjieffian, spoke of leaving "the pleasant security of forms . . . matured by others," because "another stream is already beginning to flow."⁹⁰ The idea of the watershed experience of spiritual renewal is just below the surface in Ferriss's metaphors.

Heap republished Prampolini's "The Aesthetic of the Machine and Mechanical Introspection in Art," which had already appeared in *The Little Review*: "Is not the machine today the most exuberant of the mystery of human creation? Is it not the new mythical deity which weaves the legends and histories of the contemporary drama? . . . We today . . . see now the outlines of the new aesthetic of the Machine appearing on the horizon like a fly wheel all fiery from Eternal Motion."⁹¹ For futurists such as Prampolini, the esthetic of the machine had the religious dimensions of a new deity. Of all the European artists who celebrated the machine, the Futurists came closest to Heap's own perspective by incorporating a mystical dimension in their writings.

In addition to discussions of contemporary architecture and Futurism, Heap included Louis Lozowick's "The Americanization of Art," an essay that spoke of the trend toward order and standardization in industry that was affecting the "whole of mankind."⁹² Significantly missing from the catalogue were essays by Léger and the

Bauhaus artists, although illustrations of Bauhaus architecture appeared. Léger's essay of 1923, "The Esthetic of the Machine," which had provided a beginning point for Heap's celebration of the engineer, along with Moholy-Nagy's ideas on the mechanical production of painting, as he had sent them to her in 1925, would have been important additions to her summary of Machine Age ideas in 1927.

20/1

But Heap did not intend for her endeavor to be a systematic overview of Machine Age theory. For her, the issue was above all spiritual, inextricably linked to her understanding of the teachings of Gurdjieff. More than synthesizing the ideas of constructivism, Futurism, de Stijl, l'Esprit Nouveau (as she knew it from Léger), and the Bauhaus artists, she placed all their art and theory in the context of a spiritual enlightenment. Heap believed, as she interpreted Gurdjieff, that "great cathedrals were built with a *conscious purpose*—to elevate for a moment the vibrations of people. This was a conscious attempt to leaven the masses."⁹³ The modern counterpart of the cathedral was the machine. The evolution of civilization depended, thus, on understanding the mathematical (mechanical) laws that constitute the underpinning for all of life. By studying the workings of these laws, individuals could discern that "ideas are a pattern of thinking—a great machine. At the base of things there is not just a mystery. The nature of things lies together in harmony. The real world is the evolution of an idea. Man's obligation is to co-operate with the laws which operate the universe. The realization of the workings of certain laws is the kingdom of heaven."⁹⁴

Thus, the machine was both a manifestation of the structure of the universe and the next step in its spiritual evolution. By understanding the workings of the machine, the artist could utilize that structure to create a meaningful art for the new spiritual age. In the catalogue for the "Machine Age Exposition," Heap's commitment to spiritual evolution appeared not only in her own essay but also particularly in those of other Gurdjieffians: Hugh Ferriss, the visionary architect cited previously, and Mark Turbyfill, a Chicago poet. Heap commented that the "extension of the human mind as evidenced in this invention of Machines, must be a mysterious and necessary part of our evolution."⁹⁵ Turbyfill spoke of the "Poetry of Forces." He celebrated the scientist as providing "symbols for our work." The work was to "turn perception in a direction where it no longer views the evolution of ages, but where it beholds the instantaneous manifestation of forces."⁹⁶

Conclusions

The "Machine Age Exposition" apparently satisfied Heap's desire to bring together the artist and the engineer. In the summer of 1927, by returning to Fontainebleau, she shifted her focus from promotion of Machine Age art to her spiritual studies. The next and last issue of *The Little Review* appeared two years later, in May 1929. Its content was based on a questionnaire that reflected a Gurdjieffian orientation, although no one not engaged with mystical practices would have recognized that from the questions.⁹⁷ Responses to the questionnaire came from writers and artists who spanned the history of *The Little Review* from its earliest years in Chicago. Most of them were already of major stature by 1929. Their willingness to write personal statements for the magazine reflected the important place of *The Little Review* in their careers and personal affections. Gertrude Stein summed that up in her own way in a tribute to Heap: "Jane was her name and Jane her station and Jane her nation

are appeared. Léger's provided a beginning point. Nagy's ideas on the matter in 1925, would have ideas in 1927.

an overview of Machine art, closely linked to her synthesizing the ideas of Cubism (she knew it from Léger), and in the context of a spiritual quest that "great cathedrals" were the vibrations of people. The modern counterpart of this depended, thus, on the machine. To constitute the underpinning of the machine, individuals could discern that the machine of things there is not a machine. The real world is the machine. The laws which operate in the machine is the kingdom of the machine.

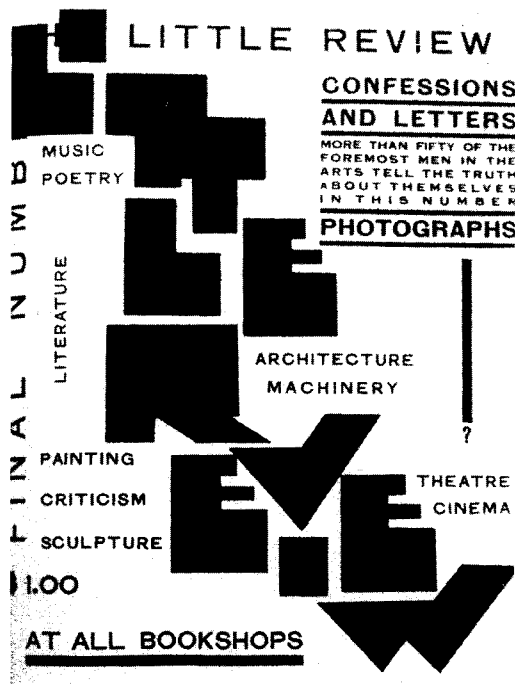
of the universe and the workings of the machine, art for the new spiritual machine. Heap's commitment to the machine was also particularly in those cited previously, and an extension of the human machine. "The mysterious and poetry of Forces." He said. The work was to "turn the machine of ages, but where it

Conclusions

desire to bring together the machine to Fontainebleau, she was a spiritual studies. The machine, in May 1929. Its machine orientation, have recognized that the machine writers and artists in Chicago. Most machine to write personal machine. *The Little Review* in machine that up in her own way machine and Jane her nation

and Jane her situation. Thank you for thinking of how do you do how do you like your two percent. Thank you for thinking how do you do thank you Jane thank you too thank you for thinking thank you for thank you."⁹⁸

Heap's own statement of disillusionment, "Lost: A Renaissance," declared, undoubtedly based on her new spiritual perceptions of the unenlightened state of



Cover of
The Little Review's final issue,
May 1929.

humanity: "I do not believe that the conditions of our life can produce men who can give us master-pieces. . . . If there is confusion of life there will be confusion of art."⁹⁹ In order to try to clarify some of the "confusion of life," Heap spent the rest of her life as one of Gurdjieff's leading disciples and teachers, mostly organizing study groups from among select women intellectuals of the Left Bank.¹⁰⁰

Heap's activities in the mid-1920s had a significant legacy. One visitor to the "Machine Age Exposition" was Alfred H. Barr, then a young art history professor at Wellesley College. He also followed other activities of *The Little Review*, for he recommended that his students visit the Little Review Gallery as a place to find "always something interesting."¹⁰¹ When Barr became the first director of the Museum of Modern Art only two years later, the imprint of the exhibitions of *The Little Review* appeared in several of his projects for the museum. During the first five years of the Museum of Modern Art, it showed modern architecture in 1932,¹⁰² a display of theater art in 1934, and a "Machine Art" exhibition the same year. In the catalogue for the latter, Barr made a specific reference to Heap's 1927 exhibition with a description that suggested he was impressed by it, although he saw it as an example of "the romantic attitude toward the machine."¹⁰³

However, the Museum of Modern Art pared down Heap's visionary, wide-ranging

effort. It promoted instead an austere, modern form that derived primarily from the Bauhaus. This formalist, puritanical, and ascetic canon stripped modernism of all references to social, religious, or political ideals. The Museum of Modern Art's "Machine Art" exhibition, for example, presented only pristine objects that avoided any sense of complexity or multiplicity of styles. As one scholar has described them, they were "clean machines."¹⁰⁴

20/1

Heap presented a more accurate vision of a society transformed by the machine and the mechanized. In the mid-1920s *The Little Review* as well as its gallery expositions reminded New York that "it was twenty years behind the times instead of twenty years ahead."¹⁰⁵ These important shows accompanied by the documentation in *The Little Review* form the only record of Heap's significant contribution to dissemination of information on the European avant-garde of the 1920s in America.

Never again did Heap make public statements, wide-ranging contacts with the European avant-garde, or daring plans for international exhibitions. The only record of the last thirty-seven years of her life is Margaret Anderson's book on Gurdjieff based on Heap's teachings. Heap's heroic effort of the 1920s had been motivated by a spiritual mission, which would ultimately become the end, rather than her means; but for a few short years it inspired her to provide New York with an extraordinary exposure to the most recent ideas and art of the Machine Age. Her spiritual mission, arising out of the trauma of the obscenity trial of *Ulysses*, provided a bridge for her personally and for New York in general from provincialism to a more sophisticated grasp of the avant-garde. It would be another decade before America would seize the cultural initiative, but without Heap's efforts, it might have been even longer.

Heap belonged to that generation of intellectuals of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries who sought to break art out of its esthetic isolation. Groups such as the Futurists and constructivists sought to bring art in touch with the world.¹⁰⁶ In that pursuit they created an art that was interdisciplinary, international, political, and even spiritual. That was the art Heap presented in the pages of *The Little Review* and in her exhibitions. Tragically, these avant-garde hopes were not enough to counter the Machine Age's destructive potential when it got the upper hand in the mid-1930s. Had the wedding that Heap sought of the engineer, the artist, and the mystic experience been more permanently realized, history might have taken a more enlightened path.

rived primarily from the
oped modernism of all
um of Modern Art's
stine objects that avoided
holar has described them,

med by the machine and
as its gallery expositions
times instead of twenty
e documentation in *The*
tribution to dissemination
America.

ig contacts with the
ibitions. The only record
on's book on Gurdjieff
had been motivated by a
rather than her means;
k with an extraordinary
ge. Her spiritual mission,
ovided a bridge for her
to a more sophisticated
America would seize the
been even longer.

nineteenth and early
tic isolation. Groups such
ich with the world.¹⁰⁶ In
ternational, political, and
s of *The Little Review* and
not enough to counter
per hand in the mid-
ne artist, and the mystic
have taken a more

1) Unless otherwise designated, the archival sources for this article are *The Little Review* Archives at the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee. That archive contains many letters to Jane Heap; however, they are sometimes difficult to locate because they are catalogued under the writer's name. For this reason, as well as the focus by scholars on Ezra Pound, the extent of the material on Jane Heap has long been underestimated.

2) This phase of the magazine is treated in my forthcoming article "The Little Review and the Early Avant-Garde in Chicago," in press, based on a lecture of the same title (Art Institute of Chicago/Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, March 1988). Part of the research for both of the *Little Review* articles was supported by a Postdoctoral Fellowship at the Smithsonian Institution and a Faculty Travel Grant from Washington State University. I have presented selections of the material in two other talks: "The Role of *The Little Review* in the Introduction of Modernism to New York in the 1920s," (Toronto: College Art Association, 1984) and "Jane Heap, Katherine Dreier and Gertrude Vanderbilt Whitney: Three Supporters of Modern Art" (Seattle: National Women's Studies Association, 1985). See also my *Modernism in the 1920s: Interpretations of Modern Art in New York from Expressionism to Constructivism* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1985), 11-12. I am grateful to William Camfield, Rice University; Linda Henderson, University of Texas at Austin; and Susan Armitage, Washington State University, for their reading and discussion of my research on *The Little Review*.

3) For an important study of the roles of Margaret Anderson and Ezra Pound at the magazine, see Jackson Bryer, "A Trial-Track for Racers: Margaret Anderson and the 'Little Review'" (Ph.D. diss., University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1965). Although the bulk of his study is devoted to the Pound phase, Bryer provides a reconstruction of the early years. Part of the title of Bryer's dissertation is taken from Jane Heap's editorial in the last issue of *The Little Review* ("Lost: A Renaissance," *The Little Review* 12, no. 2 [May 1929]: 5-6). See also Jackson Bryer, "Joyce, 'Ulysses' and 'The Little Review,'" *South Atlantic Quarterly* 66 (1967): 148-64. Other works that illuminate this early era are Frederick J. Hoffman, *The Little Magazine, A History and a Bibliography* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1946), 52-66; Abby Ann Arthur Johnson, "The Personal Magazine: Margaret C. Anderson and *The Little Review*, 1914-1929," *South Atlantic Quarterly* 75 (1976): 351-63; and most recently, Thomas Scott, "The Letters of Ezra Pound to Margaret Anderson," (Ph.D. diss., University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, 1986), which is forthcoming from New Directions Press.

4) In a subsequent article, I plan to analyze Heap's published and unpublished statements from the early years of the magazine as a study of her development as an art critic.

5) Two subjects covered by *The Little Review* that have been neglected until recently are women writers and Eastern European architects. Feminist scholars have rediscovered and published monographs on many of the major women writers from this era. For a compilation of this bibliography, see Shari Benstock, *Women of the Left Bank, Paris 1900-1940* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1986).

6) James Webb, *The Harmonious Circle, The Lives and Work of G. I. Gurdjieff, P. D. Ouspensky and Their Followers* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1980) provides an important overview of Gurdjieff's career. For a brief summary of Gurdjieff's teachings by a follower, see J. G. Bennett, *Is There "Life" on Earth, an Introduction to Gurdjieff* (New York: Stonehill, 1973). For a study of various aspects of spirituality and mysticism in the twentieth century, see Maurice Tuchman, et al., *The Spiritual in Art, Abstract Painting 1890-1985* (Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1987); and Linda Henderson, "Mysticism as the 'Tie That Binds': The Case of Edward

Carpenter and Modernism," *Art Journal* 40, no. 1 (Spring 1980): 29-37. This entire issue of *Art Journal* addresses "Mysticism and Occultism in Modern Art." A forthcoming book by Linda Henderson examines the impact of mysticism and occultism on art and theory in France, the United States, and England in the early twentieth century.

7) Webb, *Harmonious Circle*, 277-78.

8) j[ane]h[cap], "Mary Garden," *The Little Review* 3, no. 9 (March 1917): 5-6. Subsequent references to articles by Jane Heap signed with her initials will be designated "jh."

9) Mary McIsaac, Archivist, School of the Art Institute of Chicago, to author, 22 June 1987.

10) Dale Kramer, *Chicago Renaissance, The Literary Life in the Midwest 1900-1930* (New York: Appleton-Century, 1966), 315-16. Heap's suggested year of birth in this article is based on Kramer's statement that she was thirty-one years old when she met Margaret Anderson.

11) Margaret Anderson, *My Thirty Years' War* (New York: Covici, Friede, 1930), 107-8.

12) Webb, *Harmonious Circle*, 432.

13) Benstock, *Women of the Left Bank*, 177-84 treats the complex issues of dress among lesbians in this era.

14) Webb, *Harmonious Circle*, 279. Comment is by C. H. Nott.

15) Margaret Anderson, *The Strange Necessity* (New York: Horizon Press, 1970), 23-24. Comment is by Elspeth Champcommunal. Few letters between Jane Heap and the women of the Left Bank have survived, so Heap's exact relationships with these women are difficult to establish. Margaret Anderson's is the only documented intimate relationship, but Heap also certainly had a strong rapport with Gertrude Stein and they had a lengthy correspondence (Gertrude Stein Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University). Djuna Barnes had a crush on her in the 1910s and early 1920s. Benstock, *Women of the Left Bank*, 232, 239; Andrew Field, *Djuna, The Formidable Miss Barnes* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1983), 102.

16) jh, "Mary Garden," 5-6.

17) jh, "James Joyce," *The Little Review* 3, no. 10 (April 1917): 8-9.

18) Margaret Anderson, "James Joyce," *The Little Review* 3, no. 10 (April 1917): 9.

19) jh, "Growing Pains," *The Little Review* 3, no. 8 (January 1917): 25.

20) jh, "Push-Face," *The Little Review* 4, no. 2 (June 1917): 4-5.

21) jh, "Art and the Law," *The Little Review* 7, no. 3 (September-December 1920): 5. Heap's wrath even led her to sign the article at the beginning and to use a larger typeface for her initials.

22) Margaret Anderson, *My Thirty Years' War*, 218-26, 231. Anderson's memoirs are often vague and inaccurate in their details, but they clearly reflect her spirit during these years. Her disillusionment is also reflected in "'Ulysses' in Court," *The Little Review* 7, no. 4 (January-March 1921): 22-25.

23) Anderson, *My Thirty Years' War*, 230-32. See also jh, "Gardening with Brains," *The Little Review* 9, no. 3 (Autumn 1922): 33; and Margaret Anderson, "Dialogue," *The Little Review* 9, no. 2 (Winter 1922): 24-25 for indications of stress between the editors.

- 24) Ezra Pound to Margaret Anderson, c. 17 January 1921 [dates inscribed on letters by another hand are designated with "c."]; "Dada soulève tout," *The Little Review* 7, no. 4 (January-March 1921): 62-63.
- 25) Ezra Pound to Margaret Anderson, c. 20 April 1921.
- 26) Ezra Pound to Margaret Anderson, c. 7 April-2 May 1921.
- 27) *The Little Review* 7, no. 1 (Autumn 1921): 2.
- 28) Jean Cocteau, "The Cape of Good Hope," *The Little Review* 7, no. 1 (Autumn 1921): 76-77.
- 29) Ezra Pound to Margaret Anderson, c. 22 April 1921.
- 30) Hamilton Easter Field, "Comments," *The Arts* 6 (December 1921): 186.
- 31) Francis Picabia, "Anti-coq," *The Little Review* 8, no. 2 (Spring 1922): 42.
- 32) *Ibid.*, 43.
- 33) Stella Number, *The Little Review* 9, no. 3 (Autumn 1922). The Société Anonyme sponsored the translation of the Apollinaire book. The Stella issue of *The Little Review* coincided with a Société Anonyme exhibition of his work which was publicized in the magazine.
- 34) Ezra Pound to Margaret Anderson, c. 1 April-2 May 1921.
- 35) Jane Heap to Katherine Dreier, undated, Société Anonyme Archives, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.
- 36) Ezra Pound to Margaret Anderson, 28 December 1922; John Storrs to Margaret Anderson, 27 December 1922. He sent his photographs, chosen by Pound, as a request for publicity in conjunction with his exhibition at the Société Anonyme.
- 37) Katherine Dreier to Jane Heap, 9 January 1924, Société Anonyme Archives, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.
- 38) This slogan by Ezra Pound appeared on the cover of *The Little Review* for several years.
- 39) jh, "Independents, etc.," *The Little Review* 9, no. 2 (Winter 1922): 22. In 1922, the Winter issue followed Spring and Fall, as a result of post office regulations.
- 40) *Broom* 3, no. 3 (October 1922): 234. This issue of *Broom* also published Enrico Prampolini, "The Aesthetic of the Machine and Mechanical Introspection in Art," 235-37, an essay that would appear in *The Little Review* 10, no. 2 (Autumn-Winter 1924-25): 49-51 and again in the catalogue for the "Machine Age Exposition." *Machine Age Exposition* (New York: *The Little Review*, 1927). Another possible source for the Tatlin photograph is Louis Lozowick, who was already writing occasionally for both *The Little Review* and *Broom* by 1922. *Broom* 5, no. 1 (August 1923) declared "The Age of the Machine" as an age of "spiritual change" in an advertisement in the back of the magazine.
- 41) Anderson, *My Thirty Years' War*, 265.
- 42) Tristan Tzara to Jane Heap, undated, saying that Satie and Brancusi did not like Léger and Pound, but they promised to send something if Pound's and Léger's influence was at an end. "If you can certify that, Satie will give you an article made just for you."
- 43) Anderson, *My Thirty Years' War*, 252-64.
- 44) See for example Tristan Tzara to Jane Heap, 23 November 1923, with a long list of works enclosed.
- 45) Henry McBride, "Modern Art," *The Dial* 125, no. 6 (December 1923): 619-21.
- 46) Fernand Léger, "The Esthetics of the Machine," *The Little Review* 9, no. 3 (Spring 1923): 45-49; 9, no. 4 (Autumn-Winter 1923-24): 55-58. Although the first issue is dated Spring 1923, internal evidence indicates that it was published after the trip. The essay was dedicated to Ezra Pound. It is not known whether Heap received it directly from Léger or from Pound while she was in Paris, but this is the first recorded publication of the essay based on Léger's lecture to the Collège de France in the spring of 1923.
- 47) Webb, *Harmonious Circle*, 208.
- 48) Of a slightly older generation than Pound, Orage supported the younger writer but critiqued his work and that of Joyce as they appeared in *The Little Review*. Wallace Martin, ed., *Orage as Critic* (London and Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1974), 151-56. Orage also contributed "Henry James and the Ghostly," *The Little Review* 5, no. 4 (June 1918): 41-43. Tom Gibbons outlines Orage's early activities in *Rooms in the Darwin Hotel* (Nedlands: University of Western Australia, 1973), chapter 4.
- 49) Orage had already been inspired by P. D. Ouspensky's teachings in London from August 1921. Both the personal and intellectual connections between Gurdjieff and Ouspensky are complex. See Webb, *Harmonious Circle*, 218-26 for a discussion of this intermediate stage in Orage's spiritual quest.
- 50) Louise Welch, *Orage with Gurdjieff in America* (Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1982), 1; since Welch specifically mentions Anderson as also present, this is one instance of her continued involvement with Heap's activities at *The Little Review*. No correspondence with Orage on this meeting survives in *The Little Review* Archive.
- 51) Welch, *Orage with Gurdjieff in America*, 9.
- 52) G. I. Gurdjieff, *Views from the Real World* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1973), 119; Gurdjieff's teaching also included sacred dances with mechanical movements such as stop motions. Welch, *Orage with Gurdjieff in America*, 5. Webb, *Harmonious Circle*, 540-41 analyzes the complex sources of Gurdjieff's teachings, ranging from Buddhism and Sufism to Gnosticism, Neoplatonism, and Rosicrucianism, and points out the parallels in Gurdjieff's thought to Theosophy. He also makes a comparison with respect to the mechanical references in Gurdjieff to behaviorism, p. 436.
- 53) Gurdjieff, *Views from the Real World*, 185, 190, 191, 199.
- 54) jh, "Machine Age Exposition," *Machine Age Exposition* (New York: *The Little Review*, 1927), 36.
- 55) Gurdjieff's mysticism had its roots, in part, in the spiritualism of the upper classes of Russia and Armenia; rejection of that type of mysticism was an important dimension of the new art of the constructivists after the Russian Revolution. I am grateful to Linda Henderson for pointing out this sociological dimension of the practice of mysticism.
- 56) Welch, *Orage with Gurdjieff in America*, 41. Munson was editor of *Secession*, another little magazine; it lasted only from 1922 until 1924. Hoffman, *The Little Magazine*, 93-101. Dickran Tashjian outlines the battle of spirituality and the Machine Age in another context that also included Munson. *Skyscraper Primitives* (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 1975), 110-42. Waldo Frank deplored the dehumanizing effects of

prototype for Disneyland.

79) The Kiesler Archives (Archives of American Art) preserve much of the publicity for his exposition, indicating that he managed to achieve a good deal of attention. Most of the criticism was positive.

80) A. R. Orage, "The Theatrical Theatre," *The Little Review* 11, no. 2 (Winter 1926): 33-36.

81) Frederick Kiesler, "Debate of the Modern Theatre," *The Little Review* 11, no. 2 (Winter 1926): 67.

82) jh, "Machine Age Exposition," *Machine Age Exposition*, 36. In bringing Kiesler to New York, Heap had also helped him to realize his own hopes: according to some Paris newspapers, he had been planning to go to New York in order to obtain the engineering expertise he needed for his projects. "Mr. Kiesler must next go to America to confer with experts on the means of constructing a city in space..." (unidentified clipping, Kiesler Archives, microfilm roll 147). Another article stated that "Kiesler expects to visit the United States in connection with his work on a huge model of his city built in space. He will confer with American experts on traffic problems" ("Artist Plans City in Air...", Kiesler Archives, microfilm roll 147). Heap apparently also lost a good deal of money as a result of the endeavor (J. O'H. Cosgrove to Jane Heap, undated). Cosgrove, also a Gurdjieffian, encouraged Heap to proceed with her plans for her own exhibition, despite her financial setbacks.

83) Herbert Lippman, "The Machine Age Exposition," *The Arts* 12, no. 6 (June 1927): 324.

84) *Ibid.*, 324.

85) The Chile House is reproduced in Vittorio Magnago Lampugnani, ed., *The Thames and Hudson Encyclopedia of 20th Century Architecture* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1983), 94; a photograph of the completed garden by Guevrekian appears in the *Encyclopedia of World Art* (New York and London: McGraw Hill, 1958), 7: plate 450.

86) "Lindbergh Does It! To Paris in 33 1/2 hours. Flies 1000 Miles Through Snow and Sleet; Cheering French Carry Him off Field. ... Ate Only One and a Half of His Five Sandwiches," *New York Times*, 22 May 1927, 1. Such a headline underlines the interaction of the human and the technical. Almost the entire first section of the paper was devoted to Lindbergh, who actually was only one of many fliers engaged in the transatlantic flying endeavors of that time. His solo success stole the headlines, however.

87) Regrettably, the New York papers virtually entirely ignored the exhibition, perhaps because of their preoccupation with Lindbergh.

88) jh, "Machine Age Exposition," *Machine Age Exposition*, 36.

89) André Lurçat, "French Architecture," *Machine Age Exposition* (New York: *The Little Review*, 1927), 22-23; [Szymon] Syrkus, "Architecture Opens Up Volume," 30.

90) Hugh Ferriss, "Architecture of This Age," *Machine Age*

Exposition (New York: *The Little Review*, 1927), 5-6.

91) Enrico Prampolini, "The Aesthetic of the Machine and Mechanical Introspection in Art," *Machine Age Exposition* (New York: *The Little Review*, 1927), 9-10. Henry Adams had long since been among the first to suggest a negative response to the idea of the machine as a new divinity. Henry Adams, "The Dynamo and the Virgin," *The Education of Henry Adams, An Autobiography* (Chicago and New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1918), 379-90.

92) Louis Lozowick, "The Americanization of Art," *Machine Age Exposition* (New York: *The Little Review*, 1927), 18-19. Louis Lozowick, *Modern Russian Art* (New York: Société Anonyme, 1925) demonstrated that Lozowick had a more accurate grasp of Russian ideas than most writers. See also Louis Lozowick, "A Note on Modern Russian Art," *Broom* 4, no. 3 (February 1934): 202.

93) Anderson, *Unknowable Gurdjieff*, 51. Anderson states that her formulations are based on Heap's teachings of Gurdjieff's principles.

94) *Ibid.*, 23.

95) jh, "Machine Age Exposition," *Machine Age Exposition*, 36.

96) Hugh Ferriss, "Architecture of This Age," *Machine Age Exposition* (New York: *The Little Review*, 1927), 5-6; Mark Turbyfill, "The Poetry of Forces," 38.

97) Webb, *Harmonious Circle*, 351.

98) Gertrude Stein, "J. H. Jane Heap Fairly Well/An Appreciation of Jane," *The Little Review* 12, no. 2 (May 1929): 10.

99) jh, "Lost: A Renaissance," 5.

100) Webb, *Harmonious Circle*, 431, 476.

101) Rona Roob, "Alfred H. Barr, Jr.: A Chronicle of the Years 1902-1929," *New Criterion*, special issue (Summer 1987): 13.

102) Henry-Russell Hitchcock and Philip Johnson, *The International Style* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1932).

103) A[lfred]. H[amilton]. B[art], Jr., "Foreword," *Machine Art* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1934), unpaginated.

104) Sydney Lawrence, "Clean Machines at the Modern," *Art in America*, 72, no. 2 (February 1984): 127-68. An even greater contrast to Heap's exhibition was seen in a recent exhibition that presented the Machine Age with an Art Deco interpretation. Richard Wilson, et al., *The Machine Age in America 1918-1941* (New York: Abrams, 1986).

105) McBride, "... Art of Two Constructionists," 9.

106) Peter Burger, *Theory of the Avant Garde* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984).

Susan Noyes Platt teaches art history at the University of North Texas at Denton. She is the author of *Modernism in the 1920s: Interpretations of Modern Art in New York from Expressionism to Constructivism*. Her historical and critical articles have appeared in the *Art Journal*, *Art Criticism*, the *Archives of American Art Journal*, *Artweek*, and *Artforum*. She is working on a book about American art and politics in the thirties.

Des

DesignIssues pro
and debate of ir
theory, and criti
which focuses
intended for sci

Opinionated, as
the range of dis
field from many
the practitioner,
each find some

DesignIssues pul
worldwide netw
include "Design
and "Designing

DesignIssues is c