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# Lincoln Kirstein: An American Influence: The Photographs of Walker Evans & Henri Cartier-Bresson at the New York City Ballet

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**LINCOLN KIRSTEIN: AN AMERICAN INFLUENCE**  
**The Photographs of Walker Evans & Henri Cartier-Bresson at the**  
**New York City Ballet**

by  
Jessica Murphy  
BA Honors, University of Western Ontario, London, 2008

A thesis  
presented to Ryerson University, the Art Gallery of Ontario, and the George Eastman House,  
International Museum of Photography and Film

in partial fulfillment of the  
requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts  
in the Program of  
Photographic Preservation and Collections Management  
Toronto, Ontario, Canada, 2012



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## ABSTRACT

*Lincoln Kirstein: An American Influence. The Photographs of Walker Evans & Henri Cartier-Bresson at the New York City Ballet*

Master of Arts

2012

Jessica Murphy

Photographic Preservation and Collections Management

Ryerson University, the Art Gallery of Ontario, and the George Eastman House

This thesis explores the work of Walker Evans (1903–1975) and Henri Cartier-Bresson (1908–2004) in relation to the New York City Ballet (NYCB) and its co-founder, Lincoln Kirstein (1907–1996). Kirstein, a respected author and critic, supported numerous creative mediums, artists, and photographers. However, despite his friendship and sponsorship of Evans and Cartier-Bresson, their photographs of Kirstein's dance company have remained relatively unknown. This lacuna invites a reexamination of their work at the NYCB, with an emphasis on Kirstein's influential relationship with each photographer.

In addition to supplementing scholarship on Evans and Cartier-Bresson, this thesis is accompanied by an illustrated catalogue containing all known images related to the NYCB by both photographers, reproducing the majority of this work for the first time. This thesis thus aims to produce a significant contribution to not only our knowledge of Evans and Cartier-Bresson's oeuvres, but also twentieth-century American art and culture.

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

The following abbreviations are used throughout the text and section endnotes.

FHCB	Fondation Henri Cartier-Bresson
MET	The Metropolitan Museum of Art
MoMA	The Museum of Modern Art
NYCB	New York City Ballet
NYCBA	New York City Ballet Archives
NYPLPA	New York Public Library for the Performing Arts
SAB	School of American Ballet
WEA	Walker Evans Archive, The Metropolitan Museum of Art

## LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

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- Walker Evans, [Ballet Theatre Dancer Anton Dolin Adjusting Alicia Markova's Costume], October 1945, commissioned by *Fortune* magazine for "The Boom in Ballet," December 1945, gelatin silver contact sheet of 4 x 5 in. film negative, NYCBA 117
- Walker Evans, [Ballet Theatre Dancer During Rehearsal Break in the Rehearsal Hall of the Metropolitan Opera House, New York; Tutus in Costume Room; Ballet Theatre Dancers Rehearsing in the Rehearsal Hall of the Metropolitan Opera House, New York], October 1945, commissioned by *Fortune* magazine for "The Boom in Ballet," December 1945, gelatin silver contact sheet of four 4 x 5 in. film negatives, NYCBA 118
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- Walker Evans, [Dancers Rehearsing; Ballet Theatre Dancers Reading Newspaper in the Rehearsal Hall of the Metropolitan Opera House, New York; Ballet Theatre Dancers Rehearsing in the Rehearsal Hall of the Metropolitan Opera House, New York; Ballet Theatre Dancers Alicia Markova and Anton Dolin Rehearsing *Giselle* in the Rehearsal Hall of the Metropolitan Opera House, New York], October 1945, commissioned by *Fortune* magazine for "The Boom in Ballet," December 1945, gelatin silver contact sheet of four 4 x 5 in. film negatives, NYCBA 123
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## INTRODUCTION

In 1984 photographer Jerry L. Thompson was commissioned by Lincoln Kirstein (1907–1996) to make photographs for a book on his personal collection. Referring to Kirstein's objects, Thompson stated, "They are the chance residue of decades of vigorous activity. They are properly understood as mementoes of serious involvements, projects small and large inspired, subsidized, commissioned, produced, interpreted, in some cases resurrected from oblivion by Lincoln Kirstein."<sup>1</sup>

Although he maintained that his walls afforded little room for framed photographs, Kirstein hung those he admired, including photographs by Walker Evans (1903–1975) and Henri Cartier-Bresson (1908–2004).<sup>2</sup> Walker Evans and Henri Cartier-Bresson represent two of the most prominent figures in twentieth-century photographic history. Both came to photography around 1930 after previous attempts at painting.<sup>3</sup> Evans is perhaps best known for implementing his "documentary style"<sup>4</sup> to depict and ultimately define the 1930s Depression era in America. Cartier-Bresson's work has become synonymous with "the decisive moment,"<sup>5</sup> as he captured moments in time within his diverse photojournalistic practice. Both photographers were also deeply linked to the American impresario Lincoln Kirstein. Kirstein, an influential figure in his own right, was instrumental in bringing renowned choreographer George Balanchine (1904–1983) to New York, and creating a ballet school and company in America, known today as the School of American Ballet (SAB) and the New York City Ballet (NYCB). A true patron of the arts, Kirstein also supported numerous creative mediums, artists and photographers, and avidly promoted photography as a legitimized art form.

During Evans' early stages as a photographer, Kirstein tirelessly promoted his work, mounting the 1933 exhibition "Walker Evans' Photographs of Victorian Architecture" at The Museum of Modern Art (MoMA). In 1938 he organized yet another exhibition at MoMA, "Walker Evans: American Photographs," and its accompanying catalogue for which he wrote the seminal essay, "Photographs of America: Walker Evans."<sup>6</sup> Kirstein also praised the work of Cartier-Bresson, writing the major essay, "Henri Cartier-Bresson: Documentary Humanist" for the exhibition catalogue, *The Photographs of Henri Cartier-Bresson* to accompany the photographer's 1947 exhibition at MoMA.<sup>7</sup> Kirstein published several other supportive essays on both photographers, spoke in great detail of his relationship with Evans in his diaries, and corresponded with Cartier-Bresson over a period of thirty-five years, all which aid in establishing his involvement in both photographers' lives.

It is therefore surprising, that despite this friendship and sponsorship, Evans and Cartier-Bresson's photographs of Kirstein's dance company have remained relatively unknown. While Kirstein was establishing an American ballet tradition in the 1930s, Evans and Cartier-Bresson made several



Figure 1:  
 [Ballet Russe de Monte Carlo Dancers Rehearsing *Danses Concertantes*, Choreographed by George Balanchine], October 1945  
 “The Boom in Ballet,” *Fortune* magazine, December 1945  
 By Walker Evans



Figure 2:  
 [George Balanchine Directing the School of American Ballet], 1959  
 By Henri Cartier-Bresson

photographs in relation to the NYCB.<sup>8</sup> Evans made early photographs of Kirstein, Balanchine rehearsing dancers (figure 1), and the School of American Ballet; Cartier-Bresson’s first photographs date to 1946, soon after the creation of Kirstein’s dance company, Ballet Society (now the NYCB). The photographer continued to document the School of American Ballet (figure 2), Kirstein, and Balanchine in the years following. At a time when ballet was only just beginning in America, Evans and Cartier-Bresson used the photographic medium to capture the art of movement and assist in visually defining ballet in America, a documentary tradition that still persists today. This thesis thus focuses on Evans and Cartier-Bresson’s photographs of the New York City Ballet, which further function as documentation of both photographers’ relationship with company co-founder, Lincoln Kirstein.

This largely unknown body of work, scattered between several archives, consists of original photographic materials—negatives, contact sheets, and gelatin silver prints, as well as reproductions in publications, in instances where no original negative or photographic print exists. Evans’ work related to the NYCB includes early portraits of Kirstein from the 1930s, reproductions in a 1937/1938 Ballet Caravan dance souvenir program, as well as numerous images of Kirstein, Balanchine and dancers taken for the December 1945 portfolio, “The Boom in Ballet,” produced during Evans’ employment at *Fortune*

magazine. The photographs by Cartier-Bresson include reproductions of dancers in *Harper's Bazaar* for the November 1946 article "The Year of the Ballet," portraits of the photographer's first wife, Javanese dancer Ratna Mohini (1904–1988) and her fellow dancers in 1947, Kirstein and Balanchine at the School of American Ballet in 1959, and rehearsal photographs and portraits of Balanchine throughout the 1970s.

Much recent literature on Evans and Cartier-Bresson aims to reexamine their work, highlighting known, but also rare and unseen images.<sup>9</sup> However, reviews of even these sources indicate that the NYCB photographs have received little critical attention in recent publications, catalogues, and monographs on both Evans and Cartier-Bresson, and that the majority of these works have similarly remained unknown and unpublished. Furthermore, Kirstein's involvement with both photographers indicates important relationships not yet explored in connection to the ballet photographs. These omissions thus invite a reexamination of both Evans and Cartier-Bresson's work at the NYCB.

The contents of this thesis are drawn from published literature and interviews, as well as unpublished correspondence and photographic materials. This thesis does not attempt to cover both photographers' careers in their entirety, but instead focuses on their personal and professional relationship with Kirstein. It therefore acts as a starting point to understanding the NYCB photographs and to a greater extent, assists in further contextualizing Evans and Cartier-Bresson's already established oeuvres. The body of the thesis is preceded by a literature review, which demonstrates the lack of scholarship on both photographers' work at the NYCB. This is followed by a chapter summarizing Kirstein's many achievements and contributions to the arts in America and then by a discussion of Walker Evans—his early involvement with Kirstein and related ballet photographs. Succeeding this is a chapter on Cartier-Bresson and Kirstein, once again focusing on their under-studied relationship and the photographer's work at the NYCB. The methodology and a synopsis of the New York City Ballet Archives are located in the Appendix. In addition to supplementing scholarship on both photographers, this thesis is accompanied by an illustrated catalogue containing all known and accessible images related to the NYCB by Evans and Cartier-Bresson. This not only reproduces the majority of this work for the first time, but also functions as visual documentation in support of the text. In this way, this thesis aims to produce a significant contribution to not only to our knowledge of Evans and Cartier-Bresson's bodies of work, but also twentieth-century American art and culture.

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1 Jerry L. Thompson, "Notes on the Photographs," in Lincoln Kirstein, *Quarry: A Collection in Lieu of Memoirs*, photographs and afterword by Jerry L. Thompson (Pasadena, Calif.: Twelvetimes Press, 1986), n.p.

2 Kirstein, *Quarry: A Collection in Lieu of Memoirs*, 57.

3 James R. Mellow, *Walker Evans* (New York: Basic Books, 1999), 241.

4 Paul Cummings, "Oral History Interview with Walker Evans," *Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution*, (October 13–December 23, 1971), <http://www.aaa.si.edu/collections/interviews/oral-history-interview-walker-evans-11721>.

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5 Henri Cartier-Bresson, *The Decisive Moment* (New York: Simon and Schuster; Paris: Éditions Verve, 1952). This is the term used in the title of the English publication. The French book was titled slightly differently as *Images à la sauvette*.

6 Lincoln Kirstein, "Photographs of America: Walker Evans," in *Walker Evans: American Photographs*, essay by Lincoln Kirstein (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1938), 189–98.

7 Lincoln Kirstein, "Henri Cartier-Bresson: Documentary Humanist" in *The Photographs of Henri Cartier-Bresson*, essays by Lincoln Kirstein and Beaumont Newhall (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1947), 7–11.

8 For the purposes of this thesis, all photographs of other contemporaneous ballet companies in America, including the Ballet Theatre and the Ballet Russe de Monte Carlo made by Evans and Cartier-Bresson are considered as part of their work at the NYCB. During this time, choreographers, choreography, and dancers were quite transient and often shifted between companies. These companies were therefore very interrelated and Kirstein was involved with each to varying degrees.

9 These include: Lesley Baier, *Walker Evans at Fortune, 1945–1965* (Wellesley, Massachusetts: Wellesley College Museum, 1977); *Walker Evans, First and Last* (New York: Harper & Row, 1978); Jeff L. Rosenheim and Douglas Eklund, *Unclassified: A Walker Evans Anthology*, introduction by Maria Morris Hambourg, edited by Jeff L. Rosenheim in collaboration with Alexis Schwarzenbach (Zurich, Switzerland: Scalo; The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2000); Maria Morris Hambourg et al., *Walker Evans* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art; Princeton University Press, 2000); Belinda Rathbone and Clark Worswick, *Walker Evans: The Lost Work* (Santa Fe, New Mexico: Arena Editions, 2000); Philippe Arbaïzar, et al., *Henri Cartier-Bresson: The Man, the Image and the World*, a Retrospective (New York: Thames & Hudson, 2003); James Crump, *Walker Evans: Decade by Decade* (Ostfildern: Hatje Cantz; Cincinnati Art Museum, 2010); Peter Galassi, ed., *Henri Cartier-Bresson: The Modern Century* (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 2010).

## LITERATURE REVIEW

This literature review examines the extensive writing on the life and work of both Walker Evans and Cartier-Bresson, and is therefore separated into two principal sections addressing each photographer. Each section includes an analysis of histories of photography and published literature on the photographer, with particular attention to his relationship to the New York City Ballet, as well as a section on primary sources and texts by Lincoln Kirstein.

### I. Literature on Walker Evans and his Work

Walker Evans' work is included in numerous general histories of photography, including those by Beaumont Newhall,<sup>1</sup> Helmut and Alison Gernsheim,<sup>2</sup> Michel Frizot,<sup>3</sup> and Mary Warner Marien.<sup>4</sup> Most focus on his work for the Farm Security Administration (FSA) and while they do mention his work at *Fortune* magazine, it is generally in relation to Evans' 1936 assignment with James Agee (1909–1955) documenting Southern tenant farmers, which culminated in the definitive book, *Let Us Now Praise Famous Men*.<sup>5</sup> Evans' later photographs of the New York City Ballet, those made for *Fortune's* 1945 portfolio, "The Boom in Ballet," and his relationship with Lincoln Kirstein are not discussed. More specialized literature on Evans attempts to reveal and reexamine his work by publishing unknown photographs and images from private collections, including books and catalogues by Belinda Rathbone and Clark Worswick,<sup>6</sup> Maria Morris Hambourg et al.,<sup>7</sup> and Jeff L. Rosenheim and Douglas Eklund,<sup>8</sup> however, these also fail to highlight Evans' ballet photographs.

There are exceptions, however; John Szarkowski's introductory essay to his 1971 *Walker Evans* catalogue mentions that small assignments and the interest of friends made it possible for Evans to work and travel.<sup>9</sup> Szarkowski outlines several such assignments, including an undated commission by Kirstein to photograph the School of American Ballet.<sup>10</sup> Another notable source is the 1977 catalogue, *Walker Evans at Fortune, 1945–1965* by Lesley Baier.<sup>11</sup> Dedicated solely to the photographer's work at *Fortune* magazine, which had previously received minimal attention and evaluation, Baier reproduces images from Evans' portfolios spanning his twenty-year career as a full time staff photographer from 1945–1965. The author explains that during his early years at *Fortune*, Evans "produced a portfolio of photographs of the New York City Ballet," and the catalogue includes two reproductions of this work.<sup>12</sup> *Walker Evans: The Hungry Eye*, 1993, by Gilles Mora and John T. Hill expands on this, stating that although Evans' work at *Fortune* is uneven, the portfolios he made between 1945 and 1955 belong with his best work.<sup>13</sup> The two authors separately mention Kirstein's early influence on Evans' work and career, citing a list of articles that Evans contributed to, including Kirstein's quarterly, *Hound & Horn*, and his periodical *Dance Index*.<sup>14</sup> Divided into chapters, the book includes an image from the ballet portfolio; however, it is

taken out of its *Fortune* context and is instead placed in association with a chapter titled “Signs and Graffiti.”<sup>15</sup> Similarly, two biographies on Evans by Belinda Rathbone in 1995<sup>16</sup> and James R. Mellow in 1999<sup>17</sup> also acknowledge Kirstein’s involvement in Evans’ career, yet only briefly discuss the photographer’s *Fortune* portfolio of the NYCB. Rathbone notes that one of Evans’ first assignments at the magazine provided him with an opportunity to visit old friends, and required him to “expand on ‘The Boom in Ballet,’ which included a portrait session with ballet’s foremost American impresario, Lincoln Kirstein, as well as informal photographs in the rehearsal halls of Kirstein’s New York ballet school.”<sup>18</sup> Mellow explains that the portfolio “acknowledged the surge in interest in the ballet, due in part to the promotion skills of his [Evans’] friend Lincoln Kirstein.”<sup>19</sup>

James Crump’s recent catalogue *Walker Evans: Decade by Decade*, 2010 provides more detailed information on both topics.<sup>20</sup> Using photographs drawn from a private collection, the book aims to readjust our understanding of Evans by showing a larger selection of his work, especially during his time at *Fortune*. In the chapter “Early Work: New York,” there are three photographs of Kirstein from the early 1930s.<sup>21</sup> A subsequent chapter, “The *Fortune* Years and Beyond,” includes five images made for “The Boom in Ballet” portfolio.<sup>22</sup> Throughout the text are multiple references to Kirstein’s avid involvement with Evans, beginning with the early reproduction of his work in *Hound & Horn* in 1930, the exhibition of Evans’ work at the Harvard Society for Contemporary Art, also co-founded by Kirstein, and Kirstein’s contribution to several publications and exhibitions on Evans. Although extensive, the catalogue fails to connect the influence of Kirstein with the NYCB portfolio, suggesting a need for further research.

An analysis of literature on the New York City Ballet results in few references to Evans. *Tributes: Celebrating Fifty Years of New York City Ballet*, edited by Christopher Ramsey in 1998, includes Evans’ portrait of George Balanchine from 1945 with no accompanying text.<sup>23</sup> Published in 1999, *Dance for a City: Fifty Years of the New York City Ballet*, edited by Lynn Garafola and Eric Foner, however, makes note of Kirstein’s interest in Evans’ documentary style of photography, comparing his work to other photographers of dance such as George Platt Lynes (1907–1955).<sup>24</sup>

### Lincoln Kirstein’s Texts on Walker Evans and Primary Sources

Kirstein published several influential texts on Evans’ work, including “Walker Evans’ Photographs of Victorian Architecture,” in the *Museum of Modern Art Bulletin*, 1933.<sup>25</sup> This essay accompanied an exhibition at MoMA, its first solo show dedicated to photography. Kirstein explained the process by which Evans photographed, stating, “Walker Evans’ photographs are such perfect documents that their excellence is not assertive.”<sup>26</sup> Kirstein was also involved with Evan’s 1938 exhibition at MoMA, “Walker Evans: American Photographs” and its catalogue for which he wrote the essay, “Photographs of

America: Walker Evans.”<sup>27</sup> Here, Kirstein stated, “The photographic eye of Walker Evans represents much that is best in the world of photography’s past and in its American present. His eye can be called, with that of his young French colleague Cartier-Bresson, anti-graphic, or at least anti-art-photographic.”<sup>28</sup> Kirstein acknowledges the work of both photographers, praising the aesthetic of Evans’ photographs. Later, Kirstein included Evans’ photographs, originally made for “The Boom in Ballet,” in his own journal *Dance Index* in 1946. Kirstein admired the photographs, writing, “Evans is one of the finest of American artist-photographers.”<sup>29</sup> Kirstein’s support of Evans is further illustrated by interviews, as well as correspondence between both men held at the Walker Evans Archive at The Metropolitan Museum of Art. In addition, the Archive holds Evans’ numerous negatives related to the NYCB, providing the opportunity for a reexamination of his work at the ballet company in relation to his association with Kirstein.

## II. Literature on Henri Cartier-Bresson and his Work

Similar to Evans, the work of Henri Cartier-Bresson is mentioned in numerous general histories of photography. Although helpful in contextualizing Cartier-Bresson’s work within a specific time period or genre of photography, none of these texts refer to Cartier-Bresson’s work at the NYCB, his connection with Lincoln Kirstein, or reproduce related images. Additionally, this link only sometimes appears in monographs on Cartier-Bresson such as *Henri Cartier-Bresson: The Man, the Image and the World*, 2003 by Philippe Arbaizar et al., which reexamines Cartier-Bresson’s entire body of work by reproducing six hundred photographs including many unknown images.<sup>30</sup> Adding to the photographer’s known oeuvre, the book includes a portrait of Kirstein at the NYCB, 1959, by Cartier-Bresson.<sup>31</sup> However, the photograph is not referenced in the text, nor is Cartier-Bresson’s other work at the company mentioned. Similarly, Pierre Assouline’s biography, *Henri Cartier-Bresson: A Biography*, 2005, while providing great insight into the life and work of the photographer, only briefly mentions Kirstein and Cartier-Bresson’s friendship.<sup>32</sup> Expanding on this is the 2009 book *Henri Cartier-Bresson, Walker Evans: Photographing America 1929–1947*, which draws a parallel between the work of both men in America, although does not compare their work on American ballet.<sup>33</sup> Jean-François Chevrier discusses a review by Walker Evans of Cartier-Bresson’s 1952 publication *The Decisive Moment* titled, “Cartier-Bresson, a True Man of the Eye,” in which Evans states that Cartier-Bresson was “discovered by this and that local esthete of influence.”<sup>34</sup> Chevrier explains that this statement refers to powerful figures such as Lincoln Kirstein,<sup>35</sup> therefore documenting the photographer’s link to both Evans and the influential Kirstein.

Supplementing and consolidating previous literature is the comprehensive publication *Henri Cartier-Bresson: The Modern Century*, edited by Peter Galassi in 2010. The exhibition catalogue makes general note of Cartier-Bresson’s “lifelong friendship” with Kirstein and his supporting role in Cartier-

Bresson's career.<sup>36</sup> The catalogue also includes a detailed chronology of Cartier-Bresson's travels and commissions, including his first wife, Ratna Mohini's, 1947 Javanese performance with Ballet Society (now the NYCB) and several photographic reportages related to the ballet and the NYCB. It additionally states that Cartier-Bresson photographed George Balanchine on multiple occasions,<sup>37</sup> demonstrating the photographer's ongoing relationship with Kirstein's company. Galassi also explains that the majority of Cartier-Bresson's books are "inadequate to the range, depth and quality of his [Cartier-Bresson's] work,"<sup>38</sup> thus arguing for the importance of reexamining specific bodies of work such as his NYCB photographs.

A small number of publications dedicated to dance and George Balanchine reproduce a limited number of Cartier-Bresson's NYCB photographs.<sup>39</sup> However, they do not provide contextual information, nor do they expand on Kirstein and Cartier-Bresson's relationship. Contrasting this is *Tributes: Celebrating Fifty Years of New York City Ballet*, edited by Christopher Ramsey in 1998, which takes a non-linear approach to the history of the company by pairing the art of dance and other art forms, including photography and photographers.<sup>40</sup> The book includes Cartier-Bresson's portrait of Kirstein from 1959, accompanied by the essay "Lincoln Kirstein" by Susan Sontag, and also reproduces the photographer's portrait of Balanchine taken that same year.<sup>41</sup> The accompanying caption states, "Disliking stylized 'salon' photography, Cartier-Bresson's only shots of NYCB were unposed, like this one of Balanchine teaching class."<sup>42</sup> An acknowledgement of Cartier-Bresson's photographs at the NYCB, this further demonstrates the link between the photographer's work and the company.

### Lincoln Kirstein's Texts on Henri Cartier-Bresson and Primary Sources

Similar to his writings on Evans, Kirstein also published highly influential texts on Cartier-Bresson's work. He wrote the 1947 essay, "Henri Cartier-Bresson: Documentary Humanist" for the exhibition catalogue, *The Photographs of Henri Cartier-Bresson* to accompany the photographer's first exhibition at The Museum of Modern Art.<sup>43</sup> Here, Kirstein provides a general introduction to the life and work of Cartier-Bresson, praising his aesthetic ability to capture a moment in time. Interestingly, Kirstein explained, "It is also noteworthy that several of our best documentary humanists were also trained as painters. Cartier-Bresson and the American Walker Evans (who has quite a different style) have both painted."<sup>44</sup> However Kirstein also maintained that "Cartier-Bresson's best shots could not have been drawn or painted, but only photographed."<sup>45</sup> Kirstein once again acknowledges the two photographers, indicating his continued involvement with them both. Kirstein's 1963 text, "Henri Cartier-Bresson," in *Photographs by Cartier-Bresson*, similarly acknowledges the quality of Cartier-Bresson's work, explaining in detail his idea of the "decisive moment."<sup>46</sup> Kirstein additionally published the photographer's work in *Dance Index*,<sup>47</sup> and supported him in articles for the *New York Times*,<sup>48</sup> *Portfolio*:



*The Annual of the Graphic Arts*,<sup>49</sup> and the *Nation*, for which Kirstein wrote the 1971 article “Metaphors of Motion,” commenting on the success of the book, *Cartier-Bresson’s France*.<sup>50</sup> This selection of writings highlights Kirstein’s involvement with Cartier-Bresson’s career and to a greater extent, Kirstein’s influence in the photographic medium. The relationship is further illustrated by several letters between both men held at the New York Public Library for the Performing Arts and the Fondation Henri Cartier-Bresson. These primary sources provide evidential support of the connection between Kirstein, Cartier-Bresson and by extension his photographs of the NYCB, an important relationship omitted in most recent scholarly literature.

To conclude, both Walker Evans and Henri Cartier-Bresson’s inclusion in multiple photographic histories, in addition to the extensive literature dedicated to their lives and work, signifies their position as prominent figures in photography. Their photographs at the NYCB, however, have received little critical attention, especially in relation to NYCB co-founder and influential cultural figure Lincoln Kirstein. As the literature survey demonstrates, Evans’ relationship with Kirstein is well documented within most recent literature and through Kirstein’s texts on Evans’ photographs. Although several publications discuss his work at *Fortune*, few reproduce images from his NYCB portfolio or expand on the relationship between this work and Kirstein. The entirety of Cartier-Bresson’s work at the NYCB is similarly recognized through only a few select photographs; however, the majority of texts on the photographer fail to discuss or reproduce these images. Evidence of his connection to Kirstein is rarely mentioned in recent publications; but the multiple supportive essays written on Cartier-Bresson by Kirstein, spanning twenty-five years, in conjunction with correspondence and Cartier-Bresson’s NYCB photographs, indicate a deeper, unexplored relationship. This thesis therefore aims to address these discrepancies. This will not only provide deeper insight into both photographers’ involvement with ballet in America and with Lincoln Kirstein, but may also instigate a change in our understanding of their respective oeuvres.

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1 Beaumont Newhall, *The History of Photography: From 1839 to the Present Day* (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1964).

2 Helmut and Alison Gernsheim, *A Concise History of Photography* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1965).

3 Mary Warner Marien, *Photography: A Cultural History* (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson Prentice Hall, 2010).

4 Michel Frizot, ed., *A New History of Photography* (Köln: Könemann, 1998).

5 James Agee and Walker Evans, *Let Us Now Praise Famous Men: Three Tenant Families* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1941).

6 Rathbone and Worswick, *Walker Evans: The Lost Work*.

7 Maria Morris Hambourg et al., *Walker Evans*.

8 Rosenheim and Eklund. *Unclassified: A Walker Evans Anthology*.

9 John Szarkowski, *Walker Evans* (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1971), 14.

10 Ibid.

11 Baier, *Walker Evans at Fortune*. Robert J. Vanderlan states that this issue still persists today, and attempts to provide a greater understanding of Evans’ *Fortune* work in his essay “Walker Evans at *Fortune*,” *Raritan*, 28, no. 3 (Winter 2009): 81–104, 158. Vanderlan does not mention

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- “The Boom in Ballet” portfolio, but states that Evans’ *Fortune* work “continued to mine the richest veins of his artistic conscious,” however also states that his first few assignments were “perfunctory.”
- 12 Baier, *Walker Evans at Fortune*, 17. The two reproductions are on pages 26–27.
- 13 Gilles Mora and John T. Hill, *Walker Evans: The Hungry Eye* (New York: H.N. Abrams, 1993), 258.
- 14 Ibid., 363.
- 15 Ibid., 317.
- 16 Belinda Rathbone, *Walker Evans: A Biography* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1995).
- 17 Mellow, *Walker Evans*.
- 18 Rathbone, *Walker Evans: A Biography*, 199.
- 19 Mellow, *Walker Evans*, 489.
- 20 Crump, *Walker Evans: Decade by Decade*.
- 21 Ibid., 56–57.
- 22 Ibid., 160–63.
- 23 Christopher Ramsey, ed., *Tributes: Celebrating Fifty Years of New York City Ballet* (New York: W. Morrow, 1998).
- 24 Lynn Garafola and Eric Foner, eds., *Dance for a City: Fifty Years of the New York City Ballet* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), 133.
- 25 Lincoln Kirstein, “Walker Evans’ Photographs of Victorian Architecture,” *Museum of Modern Art Bulletin* 1, no. 4 (Dec. 1933): 4.
- 26 Ibid.
- 27 Kirstein, “Photographs of America: Walker Evans,” 189–98.
- 28 Ibid., 192.
- 29 Lincoln Kirstein, “Comment,” in Marian Eames, Donald Windham and Lincoln Kirstein, eds., “The Criticism of Edwin Denby,” *Dance Index*, 5, no. 2 (February 1946): 27.
- 30 Arbaïzar et al., *Henri Cartier-Bresson: The Man, the Image and the World*.
- 31 Ibid., 175.
- 32 Pierre Assouline, *Henri Cartier-Bresson: A Biography* (New York: Thames & Hudson, 2005), 147.
- 33 Agnès Sire and Jean-François Chevrier, *Henri Cartier-Bresson, Walker Evans: Photographing America 1929–1947* (New York: Thames & Hudson, 2009).
- 34 Walker Evans, “Cartier-Bresson, a True Man of the Eye,” *New York Times*, October 19, 1952, 1.
- 35 Jean-François Chevrier, “A Dialogue?” in Sire and Chevrier, *Henri Cartier-Bresson, Walker Evans*, 36. Chevrier also cites Julien Levy as one of these figures. Levy’s involvement with modern photography is discussed later in this thesis.
- 36 Galassi, *Henri Cartier-Bresson: The Modern Century*, 26.
- 37 Ibid., 314, 319.
- 38 Ibid., 280.
- 39 Bernard Taper’s book, *George Balanchine: A Biography* (New York : Harper & Row, 1st ed., 1963) includes four NYCB photographs by Cartier-Bresson. He does not include image sources, and removes the photographs from the 1984 (and all subsequent) publications of the biography. *Portrait of Mr. B: Photographs of George Balanchine* (New York: Viking Press, 1984), produced by Ballet Society with an essay by Lincoln Kirstein also includes one image from Cartier-Bresson’s 1959 series of the company. Neither publication references Cartier-Bresson and Kirstein’s friendship.
- 40 Ramsey, *Tributes: Celebrating Fifty Years*.
- 41 Ibid., 2–5; 31
- 42 Ibid., 30.
- 43 Kirstein, “Henri Cartier-Bresson: Documentary Humanist,” 7–11.
- 44 Ibid., 8.
- 45 Ibid., 11.

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- 46 Lincoln Kirstein, "Henri Cartier-Bresson" in *Photographs by Cartier-Bresson*, essays by Lincoln Kirstein and Beaumont Newhall (New York: Grossman, 1963), n.p.
- 47 Marian Eames and Lincoln Kirstein, eds., "Strawinsky in the Théâtre, a Symposium Prepared by Minna Lederman," *Dance Index* 6, no. 10–12 (October–December 1947), October issue.
- 48 Lincoln Kirstein, "Artist with a Camera," *New York Times*, February 2, 1947, 12–13.
- 49 Lincoln Kirstein, "Cartier-Bresson in the Orient: Thirteen Photographs," *Portfolio: The Annual of the Graphic Arts* 1, no. 3 (1951): n.p. (17 pages).
- 50 Lincoln Kirstein, "Metaphors of Motion," review of *Cartier-Bresson's France: 285 Photographs by Henri Cartier-Bresson*, text by François Nourissier, *Nation*, March 15, 1971, 345–346.



## LINCOLN KIRSTEIN (1907–1996)

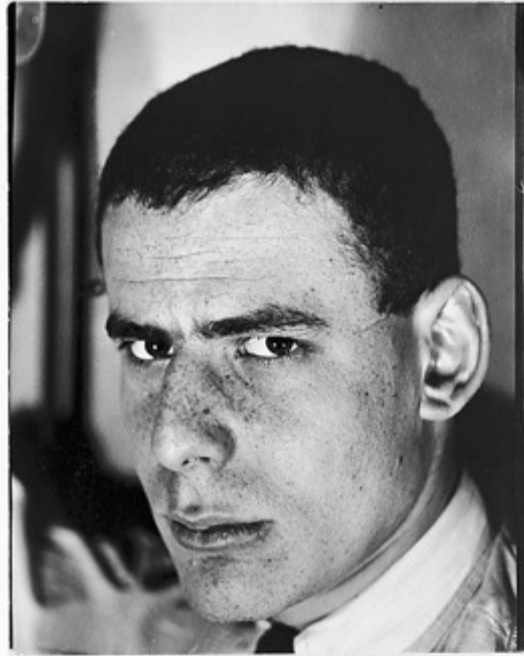


Figure 3:  
*Lincoln Kirstein, 1929–1931*  
By Walker Evans

Recalling his childhood, Lincoln Kirstein wrote, “Commentary by a lens began for me eighty years ago in Rochester, New York. A box Brownie glossed my family. My father knew George Eastman; a partnership was proposed, but father could not imagine cameras as more than luxury items. But he prized their product.” Referring to his own interests in photography Kirstein added, “What I prize most are vivid footnotes to history.”<sup>1</sup>

Recognized today as one of the most influential figures in twentieth-century American culture, Lincoln Edward Kirstein (figure 3) was born on May 4, 1907 in Rochester, New York. He was raised in Boston where his father, a partner of the successful Filene’s department store, instilled in Kirstein a strong knowledge of art and history.<sup>2</sup> Over the decades that followed, Kirstein’s countless achievements would solidify his reputation as a dedicated advocate of the arts—supporting dance, film, music, painting, literature, sculpture, architecture, and photography.

Once described as a “dark, saturnine, shaved headed, six-foot youth,” Kirstein had “energy, determination, a streak of genius, and a touch of bravura.”<sup>3</sup> He was educated at Harvard University in Cambridge, Massachusetts, where he earned his bachelor’s degree in 1929 and master’s degree in 1930.<sup>4</sup> While a student in his sophomore year, with classmate Varian Fry, Kirstein founded *Hound & Horn*, an influential literary magazine dedicated to modernism, art, photography, and literature. Kirstein later wrote, “I started the magazine as a ‘Harvard Miscellany,’ intending it to be a kind of historical or

archeological survey of a site, its buildings, traditions, and the men who made them. That it developed more broadly was not, at first, foreseen by me.”<sup>5</sup> Through its run until 1934, its contributors included T.S. Eliot, Ezra Pound, James Agee, John Cheever, Katherine Anne Porter, Gertrude Stein, and Edmund Wilson.<sup>6</sup> Funded by Kirstein’s father, *Hound & Horn* established itself as one of the most significant “little magazines” of its time. During his time at Harvard, Kirstein was also the driving force behind the creation of The Harvard Society for Contemporary Art, along with classmates John Walker III and Edward M. M. Warburg, in 1928. The Society organized groundbreaking exhibitions of early modernist painting, sculpture and photography, and aimed to show controversial and experimental work that was not being exhibited in established museums. The Society’s mission functioned as a conceptual precursor to that of The Museum of Modern Art, which opened the following year, and its exhibition program prefigured those later mounted at MoMA.<sup>7</sup> Kirstein’s Harvard advisors, Alfred H. Barr, Jr. and Jere Abbott, were appointed joint founding directors of the museum and following his graduation in 1930, Kirstein was invited to join the museum’s Junior Advisory Committee.<sup>8</sup> He moved, along with *Hound & Horn*, to Manhattan soon after. Chaired by Nelson A. Rockefeller, alongside fellow Harvard associates Warburg, James Johnson Sweeney, and Philip Johnson, Kirstein created many of the committee’s early policies and supported Barr’s inclusion of photography in MoMA’s programs. While at the museum, Kirstein contributed to publications and even organized exhibitions, curating MoMA’s first two exhibitions to feature photography.<sup>9</sup>

Concurrent with these endeavors was Kirstein’s growing interest in the world of dance. Kirstein’s exposure to the art form began early when he attended live performances by Anna Pavlova in Boston during 1920. Throughout his college years Kirstein spent his summers in Europe and continued to attend performances, expanding his knowledge of classical dance.<sup>10</sup> After viewing several ballets by choreographer George Balanchine, including *La Chatte* in 1927, *Prodigal Son* in London, 1929, and in 1933, Balanchine’s company Les Ballets 1933 in Paris, Kirstein’s focus and finances increasingly turned to ballet.<sup>11</sup> Aiming to provide America with both a ballet school and company fit to rival those already established in Europe, Kirstein met and soon recruited renowned choreographer George Balanchine in 1933 to help fulfill his dream. On July 8<sup>th</sup> of that year, following a performance by Les Ballets 1933 at London’s Savoy Theater, Kirstein was briefly introduced to Balanchine by Romola Nijinsky, widow of the famous Russian dancer, Vaslav Nijinsky, on whom Kirstein was collaborating to complete a biography. Three days later on July 11<sup>th</sup>, they met again during a post-performance cocktail party at the residence of Kirk Askew, an art dealer and Harvard friend of Kirstein’s. This conversation instigated a series of long discussions, culminating in Kirstein inviting Balanchine to move to the United States to assist in establishing a ballet school and performing company.<sup>12</sup> Balanchine arrived in New York on October 17, 1933.<sup>13</sup> In 1934, with financial support from Kirstein’s friend Warburg, both men

collaborated to found the School of American Ballet (SAB),<sup>14</sup> and over the following years, created and dissolved several dance companies. Kirstein and Balanchine first established the American Ballet Company in 1935, which toured the United States and was the resident ballet company at the Metropolitan (MET) Opera in a partnership lasting three years.<sup>15</sup> In 1936, Kirstein independently founded the Ballet Caravan as a touring company focused on producing ballets created by American composers, dancers, and choreographers. Dedicated to American themes and modernist ideas, it acted as a means of joining traditional ballet with emerging avant-garde forms; however, it soon exhausted its limited human resources. Both companies were succeeded by the American Ballet Caravan in 1941, for which Kirstein and Balanchine pooled their choreographic repertoires. Nelson A. Rockefeller, Kirstein's former MoMA associate, a strong supporter of SAB, and the coordinator of Inter-American Affairs at the State Department, sponsored the company's four-month tour of South America, intended to promote America's culture. The tour was only moderately successful and the American Ballet Caravan disbanded soon after.<sup>16</sup>

Kirstein and Balanchine's ambitions were interrupted when Kirstein enlisted in the United States Army in 1943. He was first stationed in Fort Belvoir with the Corps of Engineers before going to Europe, acting as a chauffeur for General George S. Patton. He was later transferred to the Monuments, Fine Arts and Archives section of the Third United States Army alongside Captain Robert K. Posey, where he supervised the recovery of artworks looted by the Nazis, before his honorable discharge in 1945.<sup>17</sup> Returning directly to the ballet, Kirstein and Balanchine worked together again to successfully found the Ballet Society as a performing company in 1946. Primarily funded by Kirstein, the company operated on a subscription-only basis.<sup>18</sup> Rehearsals were held at SAB and performances at rented venues, including Hunter College, the High School of Needle Trades, and the City Center of Music and Drama. Following a 1948 performance of *Orpheus* at City Center, Morton Baum, Chairman of the Center's Financial Committee, invited the company to join the theater as the resident ballet company.<sup>19</sup> Changing its name to the New York City Ballet on October 11, 1948,<sup>20</sup> Kirstein became the General Director of the company, and Balanchine the Artistic Director.<sup>21</sup> In 1964, the New York City Ballet moved to The New York State Theater for the Performing Arts, now the David H. Koch Theater, which was designed by architect (and Kirstein's former Harvard classmate and MoMA colleague) Philip Johnson at the Lincoln Center for the Performing Arts.<sup>22</sup> Kirstein additionally sponsored and founded the country's first dance collection, the Dance Archives of The Museum of Modern Art in 1940, which now forms the basis of the Dance Collection at the New York Public Library for the Performing Arts. Following his 1941 marriage to Fidelma Cadmus, sister of the painter Paul Cadmus, Kirstein established the journal *Dance Index* with Baird Hastings and Paul Magriel in 1942. Functioning as a compilation of dance forms and traditions, Kirstein was its editor and primary contributor until the end of its run in 1948.<sup>23</sup>

Although it is perhaps for his authority on dance that Kirstein is now best known, he also continually supported and influenced numerous widely recognized artists and photographers, promoting modernist art and the acceptance of photography as an art form.<sup>24</sup> He contributed enormously to these efforts, producing a breadth of writing on the arts. He has authored over 500 books, articles, criticisms, poems, monographs, and autobiographical works.<sup>25</sup> Walker Evans and Henri Cartier-Bresson, who are the focus of this essay, were two such figures supported through Kirstein's commitment to photography.

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1 Kirstein, *Quarry: A Collection in Lieu of Memoirs*, 57.

2 Rathbone, *Walker Evans: A Biography*, 59.

3 Description by John Walker III of Kirstein during the late 1920s in relation to the Harvard Society for Contemporary Art, as quoted in Nicholas Jenkins, introduction to Lincoln Kirstein, *By With To & From: A Lincoln Kirstein Reader*, ed. Nicholas Jenkins (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1991), xv.

4 "Lincoln Kirstein: 1907–1996," *New York City Ballet*, <http://www.nycballet.com/company/history/kirstein.html>.

5 Kirstein, *By With To & From*, 21.

6 Ibid., xv.

7 Douglas R. Nickel, "American Photographs Revisited," *American Art* 6, no. 2 (Spring 2002): 89.

8 Kirstein, *Quarry: A Collection in Lieu of Memoirs*, 10. Other literature notes that Abbott was Barr's associate director. In 1932, Abbott left MoMA and accepted a position as the Director of Smith College Museum of Art, Northampton, Massachusetts.

9 Maria Morris Hambourg "From 291 to the Museum of Modern Art, 1910-37," in Maria Morris Hambourg and Christopher Phillips, *The New Vision: Photography Between the Wars, Ford Motor Company Collection at the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1989), 55. The two exhibitions were: "Murals by American Painters and Photographers," 1932, and "Walker Evans: Photographs of 19th Century Houses," 1933.

10 "Lincoln Kirstein: 1907–1996," *New York City Ballet*.

11 Jenkins, introduction to *By With To & From*, xvi.

12 Jennifer Dunning, "But First a School": *The First Fifty Years of the School of American Ballet* (New York: Viking, 1985), 15–16; Lincoln Kirstein, *Mosaic: Memoirs* (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1994), 242–43; Martin B. Duberman, *The Worlds of Lincoln Kirstein* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2007), 174–75.

13 Dunning, "But First a School," 43.

14 SAB operates today in training students for acceptance to both national and international dance companies.

15 "Brief History," *New York City Ballet*, <http://www.nycballet.com/company/history.html>. In 1938, the partnership ended, as there was little allowance for ballet independent of the Opera. Jenkins, introduction to *By With To & From*, xvii.

16 Dunning, "But First a School," 87.

17 "Lincoln Kirstein: The Published Writings," *Eakins Press Foundation/Ballet Society, Inc.*, [www.lincolnkirstein.org/about](http://www.lincolnkirstein.org/about).

18 Garafola and Foner, *Dance for a City*, 5.

19 Ibid.

20 "Brief History," *New York City Ballet*.

21 Jenkins, introduction to *By With To & From*, xix.

22 "Brief History," *New York City Ballet*.

23 "Lincoln Kirstein: The Published Writings," *Eakins Press Foundation/Ballet Society, Inc.*

24 Kate Taylor, "Spotlight on Lincoln Kirstein," *The New York Sun*, January 23, 2007, <http://www.nysun.com/arts/spotlight-on-lincoln-kirstein/47190>.

25 "Lincoln Kirstein: 1907–1996," *New York City Ballet*.



## KIRSTEIN & EVANS: AN EARLY INFLUENCE

Describing his early relationship with Lincoln Kirstein, Walker Evans later said:

Oddly enough, what happened was that this undergraduate was *teaching* me something about what I was doing—it was a typical Kirstein switcheroo, all permeated with tremendous spirit, flash, dash, and a kind of seeming high jinks that covered a really penetrating intelligence about and articulation of all esthetic matters and their contemporary applications. It's hard to believe, but as I say the man was essentially explaining to me what I was doing in my work. It was immensely helpful and hilariously audacious. Professor Kirstein.<sup>1</sup>

It was in a midtown Manhattan bookstore in the late 1920s that Walker Evans unknowingly met Lincoln Kirstein. Evans, who was employed by the shop, had arranged a display of French literature that had caught the attention of the then Harvard undergraduate.<sup>2</sup> Soon after, Evans submitted a selection of his photographs to Kirstein's *Hound & Horn*, and four of Evans' New York images were published in the 1930 October/December issue titled "New York City."<sup>3</sup> Of his time at the magazine, Kirstein recalled, "We discovered Walker Evans as well, and soon documentary photographs began to supplant book illustration in my pictorial gloss on history."<sup>4</sup> Kirstein's keen interest and promotion of the photographer's work continued to develop, proving to be a monumental influence on Evans' future career. Of Kirstein's conviction and commitment, Evans explained that he "was an aggressive, quite unrestrained young man....He invaded you; you either had to throw him out or listen to him."<sup>5</sup>

Kirstein has been credited with introducing Evans to the American documentary tradition of Matthew Brady and Lewis Hine,<sup>6</sup> projecting upon Evans his own fascination with vernacular art and architecture.<sup>7</sup> Kirstein included Evans' early work in the Harvard Society for Contemporary Art's 1930 exhibition titled "International Photography." Opening on November 7<sup>th</sup> and focused on modern photography, the show was revolutionary for its time. It included ten of Evans' New York scenes taken between 1928 and 1930 and featured, among other photographers, Berenice Abbott, Eugène Atget, Ralph Steiner, Edward Weston, Alfred Stieglitz, and Paul Strand.<sup>8</sup>

By the early 1930s, Kirstein and Evans were spending a great deal of time together, lunching and attending parties at Muriel Draper's salon.<sup>9</sup> Their friendship grew, and in Evans' New York apartment at 92 Fifth Avenue, several photographs were made of the young Kirstein (figures 4 and 5). Evans first posed Kirstein as a convict and a gangster; Kirstein described the event stating, "Then as the afternoon progressed we got crazier and crazier." He continued, "The fun of doing it was probably more fun, that is, better than the photographs will be."<sup>10</sup> Referring to the portrait session, Kirstein recalled his past attraction to painting and the new possibilities of the photographic medium:



Figure 4:  
[Lincoln Kirstein Cutting Rubber Funnel with Scissors],  
1930–1931  
By Walker Evans



Figure 5:  
[Lincoln Kirstein in Bowler Hat with Cigarette in  
Mouth], 1930–1931  
By Walker Evans

As for any intentions toward my ambition as a portrait painter, Walker Evans administered one more *coup de grâce*. I had struggled with my own “phiz” as a stationary model, but because my unattainable ideals were Dürer, Holbein, Corneille de Lyon, Ingres, and Degas, I couldn’t advance far. Walker’s camera clicked and—*presto!*—I became a *cap-à-pied* look-alike for Jim Cagney or T.E. Lawrence.<sup>11</sup>

By 1931, Kirstein suggested Evans join him and his good friend, former Boston mentor, and architectural historian John Brooks Wheelwright on a tour of Boston and its suburbs to document Victorian architecture. The photographs were to illustrate Wheelwright’s future book on the subject, accompanied by a potential exhibition on industrial and Victorian architecture mounted at the Harvard Society for Contemporary Art.<sup>12</sup> Executed in April, the initial portion of the project lasted five days. Kirstein wrote:

The process technically was rather complicated even from the actual sighting, clicking etc. of the camera itself. The sun had to be just right and more often than not we would have to go back to the same place two or even three times for the sun to be hard and bright. I felt like a surgeon’s assistant to Walker, cleaning up neatly after him, and he a surgeon operating on the fluid body of time.<sup>13</sup>

The differing aesthetic views of Evans and Kirstein, however, caused tension and would predict future complications in their relationship. Kirstein noted in his diary, “Walker Evans I find a considerable

disappointment insomuch that he has to be constantly amused: he seems perennially bored, thin-blooded, too easily tired. I find it impossible not to bully him by rushing him or telling him just what to do. His feelings that he is only a paid photographer, etc.”<sup>14</sup> Recalling the project, however, Evans later said:

You know, that’s something I wouldn’t have done myself. It was interesting chiefly because of Kirstein and it was a perfectly respectable thing to do, that is, documenting architecture. And it taught me a lot. In fact, it introduced me to a knowledge of how to appreciate and love and respond to various kinds of architecture and architectural styles. I had had a natural attraction to architecture but no experience. And this gave me a certain sophistication.<sup>15</sup>

Evans also stated that it was much more than just a learning experience. To him “it meant something else much more important, which was meeting and getting to know Kirstein, a wonderful mind, a very stimulating boy.”<sup>16</sup>

Kirstein continued to promote Evans’ work. That same year, Evans was included in the exhibition “Photographs by Three Americans,” alongside Margaret Bourke-White and Ralph Steiner at the John Becker Gallery in New York. Like Kirstein, Becker was a Harvard graduate dedicated to the promotion of modern art in America.<sup>17</sup> The gallery’s Assistant Director, Thomas D. Mabry Jr., was also a close friend of Kirstein’s who would later become the Executive Director at MoMA.<sup>18</sup> Through an introduction by Kirstein,<sup>19</sup> Julien Levy, another member within Kirstein’s circle of Harvard graduates, mounted several exhibitions of modern photography at his gallery and included Evans in “Walker Evans and George Platt Lynes” and “Photographs of New York by New York Photographers, both in 1932.”<sup>20</sup> Also in 1932, Evans was shown in the group exhibition, “Modern Photography: At Home and Abroad,” February 7–25, at the Albright Art Gallery in Buffalo. Linked to the earlier 1930 exhibition at the Harvard Society for Contemporary Art, the seven Evans photographs were all lent by *Hound & Horn*, indicating Kirstein’s involvement with the exhibition once again.<sup>21</sup> Evans was additionally included in the Brooklyn Museum’s “International Photographers,” March 8–31, 1932.<sup>22</sup> These numerous exhibitions signify that Evans had indeed made the right connections by this early stage in his career.<sup>23</sup>

When Wheelwright’s book did not materialize, Kirstein made efforts to promote Evans’ work to friends and colleagues. A member of MoMA’s Junior Advisory Committee and close friends with the museum’s co-directors Alfred H. Barr Jr. and Jere Abbott, Kirstein’s position allowed him to instigate early support of Evans.<sup>24</sup> By 1930 he had influenced the museum’s first acquisition of a photograph, an image of a Wilhelm Lehmbruck sculpture by Evans.<sup>25</sup> Building upon this, Kirstein donated approximately one hundred photographs from the Victorian Houses venture to MoMA in an attempt to have them mount an exhibition of the work. Kirstein was able to use his influence at the museum to eventually launch and direct the show in 1933. On November 16, “Walker Evans: Photographs of 19<sup>th</sup> Century Houses” opened; containing thirty-nine works, it was the first one-man photographic exhibition mounted by a major

museum in the United States.<sup>26</sup> Kirstein, of course, wrote the text “Walker Evans’ Photographs of Victorian Architecture,” published in the *Museum of Modern Art Bulletin*, in December of that year.

Kirstein’s numerous early efforts on Evans’s behalf encouraged MoMA’s continued support of the photographer in the future. In April 1935, Barr commissioned Evans to create a photographic portfolio of sculptures displayed in the groundbreaking “African Negro Art” exhibition organized by James Johnson Sweeney, then on view at MoMA. Seventeen portfolios were created, each containing 477 photographs, which were distributed to museums, libraries, and universities.<sup>27</sup> The project was announced in a MoMA press release, promoting Evans as a “successful photographer of sculpture” and explaining that he is “more widely known for...his photographic record of 19<sup>th</sup> Century American houses, of which the Museum has a collection.”<sup>28</sup> Seventy-five images were also selected and specifically printed for the museum’s travelling exhibition, “Photographs of African Negro Art by Walker Evans,” 1935–1936, which toured sixteen venues throughout the United States, specifically to colleges with African-American students.<sup>29</sup> MoMA’s support, however, is nowhere more evident than in a copy of a museum press release addressed specifically to Evans regarding an upcoming radio broadcast of their new series, “Art in America,” produced in cooperation with The American Federation of Arts. The broadcast, which was the fifteenth in the series, was given in dialogue with material prepared by Kirstein on the subject of “Photography in the United States,” discussing the development of the medium from the Civil War to the present through the work of, among others, Matthew B. Brady, Alfred Stieglitz, Edward Steichen, Edward Weston, Berenice Abbott, and Walker Evans.<sup>30</sup> The radio series was, in fact, broadcasted in conjunction with the creation of a book titled *Art in America in Modern Times* within which Kirstein published an essay by the same title, using Evans’ *South Street*, 1932, as the final illustration.<sup>31</sup> The press release was amusingly signed, “Love & kisses, / Museum of Modern Art.”

By this time, Kirstein’s other ambitious efforts in the arts and his growing investment in the world of dance had culminated in inviting Russian choreographer George Balanchine to assist him in developing a ballet school and company in America, which would later become the School of American Ballet and the New York City Ballet respectively. Upon the choreographer’s arrival, Kirstein apparently showed Balanchine Evans’ photographs of Victorian architecture in order to help familiarize him with the country.<sup>32</sup> This would not be the last time Evans figured into Kirstein’s dance ventures. As discussed in the previous chapter, by 1936 Kirstein had created a touring dance company, Ballet Caravan, to present works by young American choreographers and dancers. Between the company’s inception and the production of its 1937/1938 souvenir program,<sup>33</sup> Evans made a series of photographs depicting Ballet Caravan dancers rehearsing at the School of American Ballet (figure 6). The corresponding negatives and resulting prints seem to no longer exist, thus making the printed program the only surviving

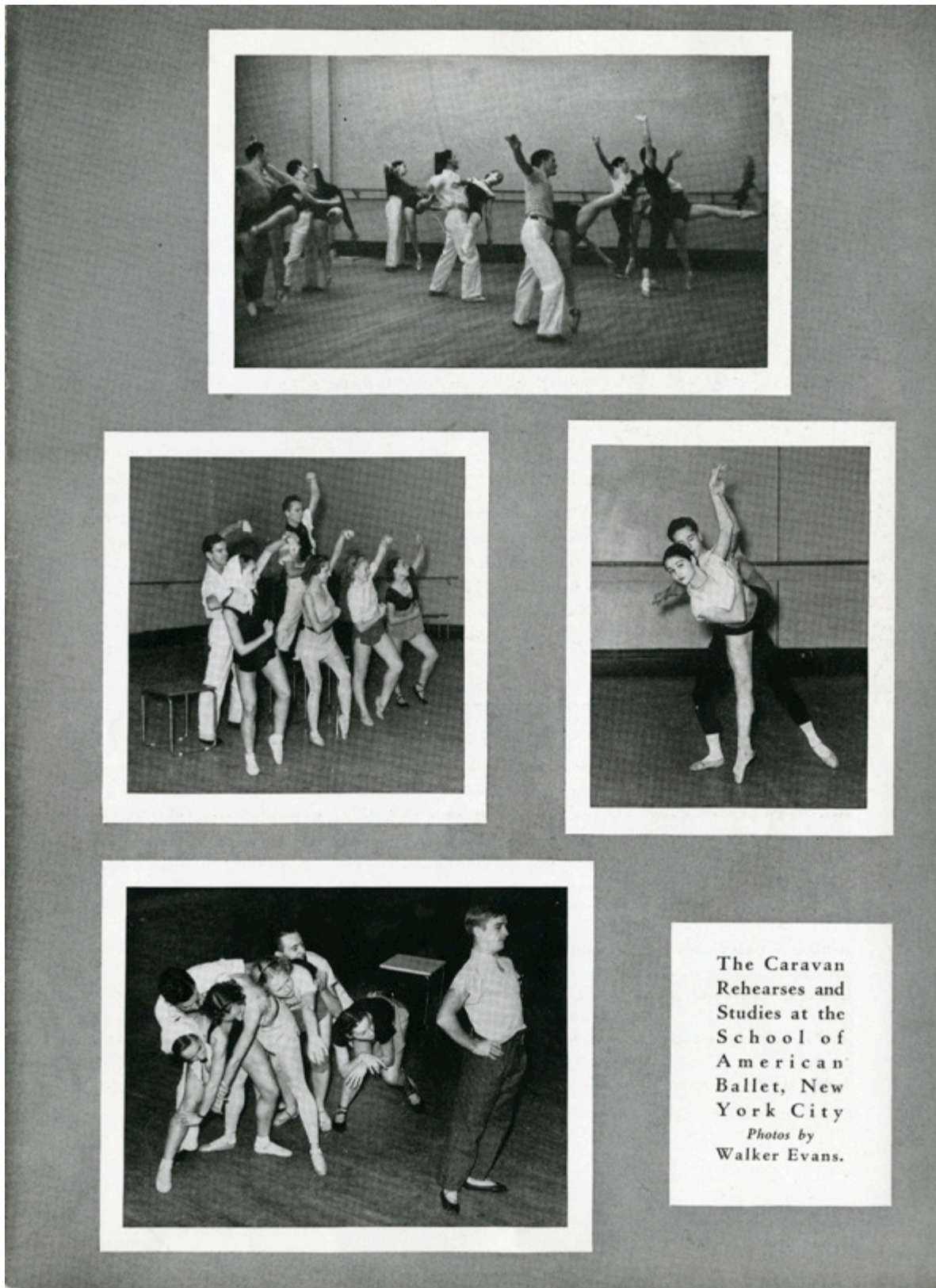


Figure 6:

Spread from the Ballet Caravan 1937/1938 Souvenir Program  
Photographs by Walker Evans

documentation of Evans' work. While little contextual information is available, Kirstein was the driving force behind the creation of the majority of the souvenir books at the time, indicating he was involved in Evans' commission.<sup>34</sup> Additionally, John Szarkowski's introductory essay in his 1971 *Walker Evans* catalogue outlined several of Evans' small assignments, including an undated commission by Kirstein to photograph the School of American Ballet—quite probably referring to this series of photographs used in the Ballet Caravan program.<sup>35</sup> Although devoted to establishing an American ballet tradition, Kirstein clearly remained a strong advocate of Evans' photography.

Evans' career continued to evolve as further commissions, assignments, and exhibitions followed. In 1936, he took a break from his position as a photographer for the Resettlement Agency (RA), later known as the Farm Security Administration (FSA),<sup>36</sup> to carry out an assignment for *Fortune* magazine. Along with writer James Agee, Evans documented the lives of three cotton-farming tenant families during the Depression. When *Fortune* refused to use the material, Agee and Evans independently published the work as *Let Us Now Praise Famous Men* in 1941.<sup>37</sup> Kirstein had been Agee's roommate at Harvard, published him in *Hound & Horn*, and introduced him to Evans' work. It is therefore likely that Kirstein first introduced Agee and Evans, as Agee shared Kirstein's early interest in the photographer's work.<sup>38</sup> Unsurprised by the collaboration, Kirstein wrote, "It is no chance that, after Crane, Walker Evans should have worked with James Agee...whose verse...is our purest diction since Eliot. Walker Evans's eye is a poet's eye. It finds corroboration in the poet's voice."<sup>39</sup>

Two years later, Kirstein again advised and assisted in the development of the major MoMA exhibition, "Walker Evans: American Photographs" in 1938. The show consisted of 100 photographs and was accompanied by a catalogue of the same name. Mabry was in full support of the exhibition, writing to Kirstein, "You know much more about Walker's work than I do,"<sup>40</sup> and Beaumont Newhall (1908–1993), who in 1935 had become the director of the museum's photographic department, was meant to organize it.<sup>41</sup> Evans, however, demanded to be left alone, and he and Kirstein independently selected the photographs and hung the exhibition. They also worked together to design the catalogue, including the image selection and sequencing.<sup>42</sup> Kirstein wrote the essay, "Photographs of America: Walker Evans," which has since become a seminal text in the history of the medium. Kirstein praised Evans' work, aligning him with the innovators of photography's past:

Looked at in a sequence they are overwhelming in their exhaustiveness of detail, their poetry of contrast, and for those who wish to see it, their moral implication. Walker Evans is giving us the contemporary civilization of Eastern America and its dependencies as Atget gave us Paris before the war and as Brady gave us the War between the States.<sup>43</sup>

Drafts of Kirstein's essay housed at the Walker Evans Archive contain annotations by Frances Lindley, Evans and A. Hyatt Mayor, a former editor at Kirstein's *Hound & Horn* who also held a position in the Department of Prints at The Metropolitan Museum of Art at the time.<sup>44</sup> The associated correspondence

from Mayor to Kirstein indicates the essay's importance. Mayor stated, "You are courageous to tackle the question of photography as an art" ending the letter with, "My very best to Walker Evans when you see him."<sup>45</sup> Evans too admired the essay, stating, "Chiefly I think Kirstein's essay to the book was in essence a catalogue itself. That essay was a very bright piece of art criticism. And that's history-making too I think."<sup>46</sup> Kirstein's dedication to Evans was critical in establishing and defining his reputation. His promotion of photography was also important.<sup>47</sup> As Evans later recalled:

In my time, let's say, in the thirties or when I was moving into this thing, it so happened that very few men of taste, education, or even just general sophistication, or any kind of educated mind, ever touched photography....We don't often talk about how damn few superior minds were ever in it. Also it was disdained medium.<sup>48</sup>

### ***FORTUNE: The Early Years***

During Kirstein's time in the United States Army he wrote Evans a letter, once again indicative of their complicated relationship.<sup>49</sup> Evans was working at *Time* magazine reviewing books, art and cinema<sup>50</sup> when he received the note in 1944. Addressed to "Walker Evans/ Art, or Something Editor," the letter referred to differing published opinions of artist David Alfaro Siqueiros. It also illustrates Kirstein's continued communication with Evans throughout his career. The latter portion of the letter is more personal: "Also you are quite a little sob on your own for not making a poor soldier the two fotos [*sic*] he wanted in the service of his country while you lie and snipe in the easy etc, Dont [*sic*] bother now, I have some alright ones I got from Underwood and Underwood." Kirstein concludes by stating, "Consider this the end of a beautiful friendship."<sup>51</sup>

Regardless of these differences, Kirstein continued his friendship with Evans and to support his work. Shifting from *Time* to *Fortune* magazine, Evans became *Fortune's* first full time staff photographer in 1945. In a position lasting twenty years, Evans published 372 photographs in forty-three portfolios.<sup>52</sup> Although the *Fortune* portfolios represent the most extensive body of work by Evans, they have lacked critical evaluation in the past. Lesley Baier addressed this issue in her 1977 catalogue *Walker Evans at Fortune, 1945–1965*;<sup>53</sup> however, more recent literature maintains that this problem still persists today. Robert Vanderlan, for example, argues that this is due to the limited exposure of Evans' *Fortune* portfolios in exhibitions and literature, as curators and academic historians tend to favor his earlier, iconic pre-1940s work. This explanation is further supported by the fact that many of the *Fortune* images exist only in the form of negatives.<sup>54</sup> In 1971, Szarkowski stated that the pictures "exhibit the clarity and intelligence that are the essence of Evans' style. It must also be said that they often lack the sense of fierce conviction that often identifies his best work."<sup>55</sup> More importantly, there has been a focus on specific *Fortune* portfolios as limited, differing opinions surround his early work at the magazine. Gilles



Mora and John T. Hill, on the one hand, maintain that although “the quality of the portfolios made for *Fortune* is uneven, some of them, notably those from 1945 to 1955, belong with Evans’ best work.”<sup>56</sup> Vanderlan, on the other hand, believes that the two earliest articles Evans illustrated are misleading in regards to entirety of his work at the magazine<sup>57</sup> and that overall these portfolios “lacked the guiding presence of an Agee or a Kirstein.”<sup>58</sup>

Evans’ early work at *Fortune*, however, did in fact involve Kirstein. Evans’ second assignment as a staff photographer was to make photographs for the December 1945 article, “The Boom in Ballet,” which addressed the rising interest in ballet in America and noted Kirstein’s related involvement (figures 7–9). Undertaking a wide variety of portfolio subject matter early in his *Fortune* career, Evans intended to prove he could do a better job than any photojournalist.<sup>59</sup> There has also been a consensus that Evans had great freedom at the magazine and that by 1945, he attended staff meetings, suggested themes,<sup>60</sup> and was established enough to pursue his own projects.<sup>61</sup> Since an article on the ballet market was perhaps not what one would expect from a business magazine at the time,<sup>62</sup> it seems no accident that the subject of the portfolio coincided with Evans’ personal relationship with impresario Kirstein.



Figure 7: Spread from “The Boom in Ballet,” *Fortune* magazine, December 1945, pages 180–81  
Photographs by Walker Evans





Figures 8 (top) and 9 (bottom):  
 Spreads from "The Boom in Ballet," *Fortune* magazine, December 1945, pages 182–85  
 Photographs by Walker Evans

A section in “The Boom in Ballet” article explaining Evans’ fourteen published photographs reads:

Artists—and small wonder—have usually been hypnotized by the ballet as the one of the most glinting, prismatic spectacles the world affords. Even when Edgar Degas went backstage he rendered poetic essences of the ballet scene rather than its perspiration. The photographs by Walker Evans on the following pages are thus unusual not only in their quality but also as illustrations of the fact that ballet is, after all, a stage illusion involving arduous years of training, persistent hours of rehearsal, the will to reach that perfection in which bodies seem impossibly buoyant and the laws of gravity suspended. Here you see the working preparation of the illusion, Markova and Danilova without their makeup, the corps de ballet in its assorted rehearsal gear, the professional aspect of the art. The romantic sweep of the scene on page 184 is a wholly natural occurrence of backstage life; the scene was not posed but was part of the preparations for an opening.<sup>63</sup>

Evans shot the story using various films, 35mm, 120mm and 4 x 5 inch, a method he frequently employed in his photographic practice.<sup>64</sup> The photographs included images of American ballet directors and enthusiasts, including Lincoln Kirstein, Sergei Denham, Lucia Chase, and Sol Hurok, as well as audiences at the theatre box office, scenery backstage, and dancers applying makeup. Evans also captured dancers including Alexandra Danilova, Frederic Franklin, Alicia Markova, and Anton Dolin rehearsing the ballet *Giselle* and Balanchine’s *Dances Concertantes* both off and on-stage.

The following year in 1946, Kirstein, in clear support of the *Fortune* portfolio, reproduced the images in his magazine *Dance Index* (figures 10 and 11). These were accompanied by several critiques on dance, titled “The Criticism of Edwin Denby.”<sup>65</sup> Perhaps in an effort to further promote Evans’ work, Kirstein reproduced ten photographs from the *Fortune* series alongside the text. Only two images overlap with the *Fortune* article reproductions, allowing for a greater extent of the work to be published. Kirstein instead included several distanced rehearsal shots, two taken from the stage wings. He also added, as the issue cover, a photograph of graffiti on the rehearsal hall doors, emphasizing Evans’s continued interest in the American vernacular forms established earlier in his career. Additionally, Kirstein wrote a preface about Evans and the images stating:

The photographs of Walker Evans share with the dance criticism of Edwin Denby, the qualities of intimacy and precision. It is the human essence which [*sic*] interests both artists....

Walker Evans’ photographs are...attentive and affectionate. Those reproduced here are occupied with preparation for performance, rather than with what the audience sees. But the technical enthusiast knows, from hanging around rehearsal—and classrooms, that sometimes the clearest expression of a dancer’s intention is lost on stage, through various uncontrollable forces or limitations....

Evans is one of the finest of American artist-photographers. What has appealed to his eye...are fixed fragments of trial and retrial which build up or let down such performances as Denby describes. None of his pictures is posed, but they are all composed. The dancers are not aware of the photographer, being preoccupied or relaxed.<sup>66</sup>



# A CASE OF RATIONAL MEANING IN DANCING

Doris Humphrey's new "Inquest" is a dance that leaves no doubts as to its story or its point. The story is clearly told by a speaker, who reads a newspaper report of an inquest held in 1865 in a London slum. We hear of a destitute family, father, mother and son, who lived in a squalid room. The son began to go blind; finally the father died of starvation. As we listen to the words we also watch the scenes they tell us of, they are acted out in quiet pantomime upstairs, in a small space like a room. When in between the pantomime scenes a number of persons pass in files across the darkened stage it is easy to think of them as neighbors passing along the streets. When the story has been told and the neighbors begin a rushing dance sequence to music it is clear that this dance is their emotional reaction to the story.

But the story has made a further specific point. By quoting sentences spoken by the two survivors at the inquest, the scene account has shown us the devotion of the three central characters to one another and to their home. In the pantomime scenes, Miss Humphrey, Mr. Waidson and Mr. Hamilton, who portray the three, give the sense of the dignity of a united family very strikingly. They make us realize that the theme of the piece is the destruction of a home. And so when the movement, which during the story portion was slow and repressed, then bursts into rushing violence in the dance sequence, with stunts and clenched fists, we are quite ready to accept it as expressing our own anger and grief. And at the end, when it grows calm and sustained, we take it as expressing a firm and valid reproach. The piece has pointed out that poverty destroys humane values we all believe in. We applaud it as a

sincere and eloquent sermon on the theme of the freedom from want.

If a dancer feels like preaching he has as good a right to do it as any other citizen, and the theater has always liked a sermon now and then. "Inquest" is a piece that appeals to our moral sensibility, it aims to be clear and its esthetic appeal is secondary. The audience approved of it very much indeed. For my part, I was also interested in something that has often struck me in dances with an excellent propaganda purpose: the difference in speed between getting the ideas and following the dances. One grasps the moral implications quickly and agrees with them. But the full rhetorical exposition of these ideas in dance form takes a good deal longer. The result is that one's response is complete before the dance is finished; and at "Inquest," too, I was ready for a new idea while, for the sake of emphasis, the dancers were still dwelling on the old one. As the secondary purely esthetic appeal was slight, there was a gap in the interest.

Intellectually speaking, an interesting dance is a continuous discovery. The ideas it presents do not precede it, they are formed after one has perceived the movement. And because an interesting dance creates new ideas it is often not at all easy to understand nor in accord with what one would reasonably expect. This, of course, does not do for propaganda.

"Inquest" is concerned with reminding us of an idea we all approve and urging us to act on it—and that it does rationally, with complete clarity. It begs the question of how a dance creates its own novel meaning as it goes along.

M. Y. Revell Tribune, March 12, 1944

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BALLET THEATRE DANCERS IN THE REHEARSAL HALL OF THE METROPOLITAN OPERA HOUSE, NEW YORK, DURING AN INTERVAL, FALL 1941 (Walker Evans)



DANCER, IN FIRST POSITION, PREPARING TO DO BAKKE EXERCISES DURING A REHEARSAL INTERVAL, BALLET THEATRE, FALL SEASON 1941, METROPOLITAN OPERA HOUSE (Walker Evans)

he hunch infantlike. The symphony begins to un-wrap him, but with a profile vigor before they are done he makes a ballet preparation and whoosh! spins himself free. Free, he makes a grandly clumsy and babylike thrust and career or two and the prologue is over.

When the lights come on again, he is grown to boyhood and alone. The symphony brings him a long-necked lute and he tries to make it sing. But his solitary attempts, first entangled, then lyrical, then determined, look inconclusive. Three young Maers appear and the four of them dance together. They dance charmingly and a little stiffly, reminding you of the inexpressive seriousness and shy, naive fancy of children. But as they end, the boy gives the three girls each a magic gift, a wail of verse to one, a theater mask to the second, a lyre to the third. And holding these emblems of poetry, each seems to be inspired beyond her years. The first girl dances flowingly with an airy and lyric deftness; the second bounds with dramatic speed, with sudden reversals of direction as if in midleap; not at the end one hand that has seemed all through to be holding a mask before her face seems to sweep the mask away, and she is herself again and frightened. The third, Maers, Terpsichore, invents the most adroitly brilliant dance of all, boldly cutting her motions in startling divisions, as if isolating the elements of her art, without in these diamond-clear steps breaking the cumulative drive. She combines suspense with calm. And as she ends Apollo gruffly touches her bright head. But, the dance over, she ducks away like a child and runs off.

Then Apollo, his strength awakened, dances by himself, leaping in complex virtuoso sequences, in a grandly sustained recovery of rushing motion. It is no show-off number, it is a masculine surge of full dance mastery. Terpsichore returns just as he ends and together they invent a series of adagio surprises, extremes of balance and extension, boldly large in line, boldly intimate in line-

gery, and ending with a tender and lovely "winning loose" that he gives her. And now all three Maers dance together in daring harmony and dance inspired by poetry's power, owing from Apollo like birds, curving loose his body like a cluster of flowers, driven by him like an ardent charioteer; and ending, when immortal Zeus has called through the air, in three grand screens of involution. Then calmly and solemnly, in Indian file, all four ascend the rock of the island and a chariot comes through the sky down toward them as the curtains fall. They will go to Perseus where they will live ever after.

You see as "Apollo" proceeds how from a kind of pantomime opening, it becomes more and more a purely classic dance ballet. More and more it offers the eye an interplay of lines and rhythms, of changing architectural balances the edge of which becomes looser and looser. In this sense "Apollo" conveys an image of increasing discipline, of increasing clarity of definition. It grows more and more civilized. But the rhythmic vitality of the dance, the abundance of vigor increases simultaneously, so that you feel as if the heightening of discipline led to a heightening of power, to a freer, bolder range of imagination. Since the piece is about the gods of poetry, and how they learned their art, it seems, too, to be describing concretely the development of the creative imagination.

And as the dance images grow more disciplined, more large and more vigorous they also grow grander in their serene concentration. As Apollo and the little Maers grow up, the intimate contact between them seems to develop from an innocent childlike play to the firm audacity and tender inventiveness of maturity. Suggested in no sense mimically but purely by dance architecture, the range and richness of "Apollo's" sensuous imagery is marvelous; and because of this consistent honest but unselfconscious seriousness the "abstract" classicism is at no point disman-

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Figures 10 (top) and 11 (bottom):

Spreads from "The Criticism of Edwin Denby," *Dance Index*, February 1946, pages 32-33; 54-55

Photographs by Walker Evans

Critics have been quick to dismiss Evans' early *Fortune* work based on a perceived lack of quality; however, in viewing the large number of negatives associated with "The Boom in Ballet" portfolio, many still display a style reminiscent of Evans' documentary aesthetic. Posed portraits of Kirstein at the School of American Ballet accompany a variety of unposed, backstage, and rehearsal shots. Images of graffiti, posters, and a series depicting costume racks provide further representations atypical of ballet photography, and more in line with Evans' vernacular interests. "The Boom in Ballet" portfolio also figures into the larger Evans-Kirstein relationship established earlier in Evans' career, and Kirstein's reproduction of the photographs in *Dance Index* further emphasizes his support of Evans. This illustrates the importance of revisiting these portfolios, as their analysis allows deeper connections to be drawn. Baier explained as early as 1977 that it is impossible to understand Evans without considering his work at *Fortune*,<sup>67</sup> and the argument still stands strong today. Stronger yet is the fact that we cannot fully understand Walker Evans without considering the overwhelming influence of Lincoln Kirstein.

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1 Leslie Katz, "Interview with Walker Evans," *Art in America* 59 (March–April, 1971): 83.

2 Rathbone, *Walker Evans: A Biography*, 58.

3 Mellow, *Walker Evans*, 120. Evans' other contributions to *Hound & Horn* included: "The Reappearance of Photography," October/December 1931, 125–128 (article) and "Cuba Libre," July/September 1934, 586–587 (photographs).

4 Lincoln Kirstein, *Mosaic Memoirs*, 109.

5 Katz, "Interview with Walker Evans," 83.

6 Mora and Hill, *Walker Evans: The Hungry Eye*, 15.

7 Ibid.

8 Mellow, *Walker Evans*, 121.

9 Another admirer of Evans's, Draper was a "writer and saloniste of intelligence, wit and discrimination" as quoted in Szarkowski, *Walker Evans*, 12.

10 Lincoln Kirstein, Unpublished diaries, November 12, 1931, NYPLPA, as quoted in Mellow, *Walker Evans*, 127.

11 Kirstein, *Mosaic: Memoirs*, 109.

12 Mellow, *Walker Evans*, 132.

13 Lincoln Kirstein. Unpublished diaries, April 1931, as quoted in Szarkowski, *Walker Evans*, 12.

14 Lincoln Kirstein, Unpublished diaries, p. 265, as quoted in Mellow, *Walker Evans*, 138.

15 Cummings, "Oral History Interview." It has been said that it was Kirstein who suggested Evans make one of his most important images from this series, taken through an open window of the street below following a rainstorm in Saratoga Springs, NY. Melissa Rachleff, "Scavenging the Landscape: Walker Evans and American Life," *Afterimage* 23, no. 4 (January–February 1996), <http://www.americansuburbx.com/2011/02/theory-walker-evans-and-american-life.html>.

16 Cummings, "Oral History Interview with Walker Evans."

17 Hambourg, "From 291 to the Museum of Modern Art," 47. Becker was also a colleague of Kirstein's as well as those involved in *Hound & Horn* and the Harvard Society for Contemporary Art.

18 Mellow, *Walker Evans*, 241. The exhibition ran from April 18 to May 8. Mabry was later let go from MoMA along with Frances Collins following her creation of 'bogus' invitations to the Museum's 1939 "Art in Our Time" exhibition, which ran from May 10 to September 30. The exhibition celebrated MoMA's tenth anniversary and the reopening at its new location on West 53rd Street and Newhall curated the photography section titled "Seven American Photographers," which included seven photographs by Evans. Collins' position as Manager of Publications was succeeded by Kirstein's good friend Monroe Wheeler. Mellow, *Walker Evans*, 418–19.

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- 19 Agnès Sire, "The Story" in Agnès Sire et al., *Documentary & Anti-graphic: Photographs by Cartier-Bresson, Walker Evans & Alvarez Bravo* (Göttingen: Steidl, 2004), 33.
- 20 Katherine Ware and Peter Barberie, *Dreaming in Black and White: Photography at the Julien Levy Gallery* (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art, Yale University Press, 2006), 320. "Walker Evans and George Platt Lynes," ran from February 1 to 19, 1932. Lynes photographed George Balanchine's choreography beginning in the mid 1930s with American Ballet and the Ballet Caravan. He did not aim to record dance movement, but instead used studio lights and posed his subjects to resemble actual performances, a style very different from Evans' documentary aesthetic. Regardless, Kirstein praised Lynes' work in his publication, *Blast at Ballet*, 1937. "Photographs of New York by New York Photographers" ran from May 2 to June 11, 1932. Evans would later also be included in Julien Levy's 1935 exhibition, "Documentary and Anti-Graphic: Photographs by Henri Cartier-Bresson, Walker Evans, and Alvarez Bravo," April 23–May 7. See the recent catalogue: Sire et al., *Documentary & Anti-graphic* (cited in full on page 29).
- 21 Mellow, *Walker Evans*, 166. A. Conger Goodyear is perhaps another connection, as he was the former President of the Albright Art Gallery and current President of MoMA at the time. The acting director of the gallery, Gordon Washburn, was also a Harvard colleague of Kirstein's. Hambourg, "From 291 to the Museum of Modern Art," 52.
- 22 Ibid. 166.
- 23 Ibid., 167.
- 24 Duberman, *The Worlds of Lincoln Kirstein*, 90.
- 25 Crump, *Walker Evans: Decade by Decade*, 16.
- 26 Duberman, *The Worlds of Lincoln Kirstein*, 90. Kirstein allegedly proposed the exhibition to Barr only one week prior to its opening. Lincoln Kirstein, Unpublished diaries, November 9, 1933, NYPLPA, as quoted in Mellow, *Walker Evans*, 213.
- 27 Judith Keller, *Walker Evans: The Getty Museum Collection* (Malibu, Calif.: J. Paul Getty Museum, 1995), 104.
- 28 The Museum of Modern Art, "MoMA Receives Grant to Make Record of African Exhibit," Press Release, April 24, 1935. [http://www.moma.org/docs/press\\_archives/236/releases/MOMA\\_1934-35\\_0051\\_1935-04-24\\_14-4-2435.pdf?2010](http://www.moma.org/docs/press_archives/236/releases/MOMA_1934-35_0051_1935-04-24_14-4-2435.pdf?2010).
- 29 Virginia-Lee Webb, *Perfect Documents: Walker Evans and African Art, 1935* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2000), 40–41. This catalogue was published to accompany an exhibition mounted at the MET in relation to the original 1935 project titled, "Perfect Documents: Walker Evans and African Art, 1935." The exhibition ran from February 1 to September 1, 2000.
- 30 The Museum of Modern Art to Walker Evans, January 6, 1935, WEA. Also refer to The Museum of Modern Art, "Fifteenth in Series 'Art In America In Modern Times,'" Press Release, Early January, 1935, [http://www.moma.org/docs/press\\_archives/221/releases/MOMA\\_1934-35\\_0036.pdf?2010](http://www.moma.org/docs/press_archives/221/releases/MOMA_1934-35_0036.pdf?2010). The series ran from October 6, 1934 to January 26, 1935.
- 31 Lincoln Kirstein, "Photography in the United States," in *Art in America in Modern Times*, ed. Holger Cahill and Alfred H. Barr, Jr. (New York: Reynal & Hitchcock, 1934), 84–90. Also refer to The Museum of Modern Art, "'Art in America in Modern Times' to be Published in Conjunction with Radio Program Art in America," Press Release, Late September, 1934, [http://www.moma.org/docs/press\\_archives/193/releases/MOMA\\_1934-35\\_0008.pdf?2010](http://www.moma.org/docs/press_archives/193/releases/MOMA_1934-35_0008.pdf?2010).
- 32 Duberman, *The Worlds of Lincoln Kirstein*, 180. Kirstein also showed Balanchine MoMA catalogues of American painting and pointed out noteworthy locations on a map of the United States.
- 33 Held at the NYCBA and NYPLPA.
- 34 NYCB Communications and Special Projects Department, e-mail to author, May 16, 2012.
- 35 Szarkowski, *Walker Evans*, 14. The author mentioned that small assignments and the interest of friends made it possible for Evans to work and travel and also stated that "more often than not, what seemed small opportunities were made the occasion for important works."
- 36 "The Exacting Eye of Walker Evans," *Florence Griswold Museum*, <http://walkerevans.florencegriswoldmuseum.org/timeline>. The project was directed by Roy Stryker. Photographers including Dorothea Lange and Ben Shahn were assigned to document rural communities to illustrate the improvements implemented by the federal government during the Depression. Evans was employed by the FSA from 1935 to 1937.
- 37 Ibid.; Agee and Evans, *Let Us Now Praise Famous Men*.
- 38 Hugh Davis, *The Making of James Agee* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2008), 250.
- 39 Kirstein, "Photographs of America: Walker Evans," 194.

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- 40 Thomas Mabry to Lincoln Kirstein, late April 1938, as quoted in Keller, *Walker Evans: The Getty Museum Collection*, 129. Mabry wrote to Kirstein reminding him about the essay he had agreed to write on Evans' work, and offered suggestions for the text.
- 41 Mora and Hill, *Walker Evans: The Hungry Eye*, 160.
- 42 Nickel, "American Photographs Revisited," 92. The author notes that Kirstein stated the layout of the catalogue was very "conscious."
- 43 Kirstein, "Photographs of America: Walker Evans," 193.
- 44 Mayor was hired by William Ivins, Jr. to "learn the Print Department business," and later succeeded Ivins as Curator of the department. Mayor recalled that he first met Kirstein in his rooms at Harvard. The two remained lifelong friends. Mayor once said: "He's an astonishing man....He has lived up to his promise. And that takes a lot of doing, especially when you promise to innovate. The most difficult thing is to keep really running in the front of things. Oh, yes, I admire Lincoln very much." Mayor also stated that Kirstein was "very generous to the Museum [MET], very generous indeed." Cummings, "Oral history Interview with A. Hyatt Mayor," *Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution* (March 21–May 5, 1969), <http://www.aaa.si.edu/collections/interviews/oral-history-interview-hyatt-mayor-13146>.
- 45 Hyatt Mayor to Lincoln Kirstein, 1938, WEA.
- 46 Cummings, "Oral History Interview."
- 47 Besides Kirstein, there were several other individuals involved in championing and advancing photography at this time. These included, among others, Alfred Stieglitz, Beaumont Newhall, Julien Levy, and William Ivins. Refer to Hambourg "From 291 to the Museum of Modern Art, 1910-37," 3–63 (cited in full on page 16), which provides an overview. Also see Ware and Barberie, *Dreaming in Black and White: Photography at the Julien Levy Gallery* (cited in full on page 29).
- 48 Cummings, "Oral History Interview."
- 49 "Lincoln Kirstein: 1907–1996," *New York City Ballet*. Kirstein served from 1943 to 1945.
- 50 Mellow, *Walker Evans*, 626. He began the position in 1943.
- 51 Lincoln Kirstein to Walker Evans, April 1, 1944, WEA.
- 52 Mora and Hill, *Walker Evans: The Hungry Eye*, 258. Evans was commissioned as a freelance photographer between 1934 and 1941 by *Fortune*, and forty-four of his photographs were published during this time.
- 53 Baier, *Walker Evans at Fortune*.
- 54 Vanderlan, "Walker Evans at *Fortune*," 83. The author mentions that this issue also evolved from Evans' own lack of confidence in the importance of the *Fortune* portfolios and his subsequent disassociation with the work.
- 55 Szarkowski, *Walker Evans*, 18.
- 56 Mora and Hill, *Walker Evans: The Hungry Eye*, 258.
- 57 Mellow, *Walker Evans*, 489. The two *Fortune* portfolios were "The Small Shop" November 1945, 158–161 and "The Boom in Ballet," December 1945, 180–88, 220.
- 58 Vanderlan, "Walker Evans at *Fortune*," 88. The author argued that Evans worked best when he collaborated with friends.
- 59 Walker Evans, interview with Cervin Robinson, as quoted in Baier, *Walker Evans at Fortune*, 17.
- 60 Mellow, *Walker Evans*, 489.
- 61 Rathbone and Worswick, *Walker Evans: The Lost Work*, 250. The publication, *Walker Evans* by Maria Morris Hambourg et al. mentions that Evans did not choose his first few projects, however several other publications differ in opinion.
- 62 Mellow, *Walker Evans*, 490.
- 63 "The Boom in Ballet," *Fortune*, December 1945, 182.
- 64 Walker Evans, *Walker Evans at Work: 745 Photographs Together with Documents Selected from Letters, Memoranda, Interviews, Notes*, essay by Jerry L. Thompson (New York: Harper & Row, 1982), 10.
- 65 Eames, Windham and Kirstein, "The Criticism of Edwin Denby," 25–36.
- 66 Lincoln Kirstein, "Comment," 27.
- 67 Baier, *Walker Evans at Fortune*, 25.

## KIRSTEIN & CARTIER-BRESSON: AN ENDURING FRIENDSHIP

As with Walker Evans, Lincoln Kirstein also showed a serious and sustained interest in the work of Henri Cartier-Bresson. Cartier-Bresson's photographs had been exhibited in New York in 1933 at the Julien Levy Gallery, where Kirstein was probably first exposed to his work.<sup>1</sup> It is likely that the two men later met in 1935, however, while both in New York for the photographer's inclusion in "Documentary and Anti-Graphic: Photographs by Cartier-Bresson, Walker Evans, and Manuel Alvarez Bravo," once again at the Julien Levy Gallery.<sup>2</sup> Besides Levy, Kirstein was an early friend and promoter of the photographer, who, in the opinion of Cartier-Bresson's recent biographer, Pierre Assouline, was deemed fortunate to be recognized by "these brilliant and highly influential people."<sup>3</sup> Kirstein wrote numerous important essays on the photographer, spanning a period of almost thirty years; however, the men also shared a deep friendship. This is substantiated by correspondence between Cartier-Bresson and Kirstein, and by Cartier-Bresson's photographs of Kirstein's New York City Ballet, illustrating an important relationship omitted in most recent literature on the photographer.

Cartier-Bresson returned to America on May 15<sup>th</sup>, 1946 upon learning of his own "posthumous" retrospective at The Museum of Modern Art. The museum had been an early supporter of Cartier-Bresson's work, and many personnel were convinced that he had either died in prison camp or had been shot while attempting to escape, as they could not locate him after the Liberation.<sup>4</sup> Nancy Newhall, who was Acting Curator of Photography at MoMA throughout Beaumont Newhall's absence during the war, had thus proposed a retrospective of the photographer's work. She was eventually able to contact Cartier-Bresson through photographer David 'Chim' Seymour and inform him of the upcoming show.<sup>5</sup> The exhibition, which was originally intended to open that autumn, did not occur until February 5, 1947,<sup>6</sup> and Cartier-Bresson's time in America allowed him to become better acquainted with Kirstein, as indicated by their numerous future correspondences. Kirstein promoted the exhibition, writing "Artist with a Camera," in the *New York Times* magazine. There he wrote:

The photographs of Henri Cartier-Bresson, which go on exhibition at the Museum of Modern Art this Tuesday, have a triple interest. Primarily, they are pictures of human incidents caught during a historical epoch (roughly the last decade), which are so intensely observed and masterfully photographed that they can serve among the chief pictorial symbols of their time. Secondly, they are beautiful pictures, artfully seized, composed with shrewd characterization—not only in the arrangement of faces, of light, or the balance of elements within a frame, but also within their entire technical formula. It is clear that a skillful, informed and highly intelligent eye first saw them. Finally, they stimulate, in their impersonal, disciplined integrity, a number of important considerations on the past, present and future uses of photography....

...As an artist working in our time, he has managed to be in the places where history was being made. He has taken pictures which [*sic*] are permanent records of this history, which help us to remember more vividly what has happened, to see more clearly what is happening.<sup>7</sup>



HENRI CARTIER-BRESSON



## THE YEAR OF THE BALLET



IGOR YOUSKEVITCH AT AN EARLY MORNING WORKOUT. HOME FROM THE NAVY, HE IS THE SENSATION OF THE BALLET THEATRE'S SEASON.

• Three major ballet companies are fanning out through America from New York: the Ballet Russe de Monte Carlo, the Ballet Theatre and the Original Ballet Russe. The newly-formed Ballet for America is also touring cross-country. • The Monte Carlo group introduced *The Bells*, Ruth Page's psychological interpretation of the Edgar Allen Poe poem, with music by Darius Milhaud. Miss Page's next ballet, in February, will be based on stories from the Bible, as the old revivalist, Billy Sunday, would have told them. • Ballet Theatre's clever triumvirate, Jerome Robbins, Leonard Bernstein and Oliver Smith, respectively choreographer, composer and designer of the sailor ballet, *Fancy Free*, presented a new tour de force, *Facsimile*, with Igor Youskevitch, one of the most exciting classical dancers of our time. After a two-year hiatus in the United States Navy, he has been giving brilliant performances in the *Black Swan*, *Les Sylphides*, *The Bluebird* and in *Giselle*, newly staged with blue-green sets by Eugene Berman. • The Original Ballet Russe held three premieres at the Metropolitan: *Cain and Abel* set to Richard Wagner's music; *Yara*, by the young Brazilian, Mignone, with décor and costumes by Brazil's leading painter, Candido Portinari; a world premiere of *Camille*, with music by Franz Schubert, choreography by John Taras, and lush gold and red velvet scenery and exquisite period costumes by the ubiquitous Cecil Beaton, who also did the décor for the Ballet Theatre's second new ballet, *Les Patineurs*. • Ballet for America's Edward Caton based his new ballet on the life of the famous Gold Rush beauty, Lola Montez, with Nana Gollner as "Lola." • Ballet Associates in America, an organization sponsoring original ballets, have commissioned Gian Carlo Menotti to write the music for a ballet, possibly to premiere in Paris in the spring, based on Marcel Proust's *Remembrance of Things Past*. • Valerie Bettis' first ballet, *The Unidentified Lady*, inspired by an American primitive, should lend itself to enchanting décor and costumes. • Balanchine and the young American composer, John Coleman, will contribute to Lincoln Kirstein's ballet, tentatively titled *The Favorite*, dealing with the life of a racehorse. It comes to New York with the New Year.

AN IMPRESSION OF THE BELLS, PAINTED FOR HARPER'S BAZAAR BY ISAO NOGUCHI, WHO DID THE DÉCOR FOR THIS NEW BALLET BASED ON POE'S POEM.

HARPER'S BAZAAR

Figure 12:

Spread from "The Year of the Ballet," *Harper's Bazaar*, November 1946, page 262  
Photographs by Henri Cartier-Bresson



Although Beaumont Newhall had already resigned from MoMA by the time the exhibition was installed, he had offered to unofficially help Cartier-Bresson with the show and was also asked by Monroe Wheeler, Director of Exhibitions and Publications, to write an essay for the exhibition catalogue.<sup>8</sup> With his ample knowledge of the photographic medium, Kirstein was invited to do the same, producing the influential essay, “Henri Cartier-Bresson: Documentary Humanist” in the exhibition catalogue *The Photographs of Henri Cartier-Bresson*.<sup>9</sup> Wheeler, who oversaw the exhibition, acknowledged the role and importance of Kirstein’s involvement in a letter to him:

I am delighted about your willingness to write an introduction to our little book on Cartier-Bresson. The photographs are magnificent and I think it will be one of the most popular photography books we have ever issued. You will recall that you wrote me about his new work from Paris two years ago so this show is really your baby anyway.<sup>10</sup>

Offered two hundred dollars for the completed text, Kirstein contributed this fee back to MoMA’s Theatre Arts Department for their acquisitions budget,<sup>11</sup> indicative of his continued dedication both to the museum and also dance.

This is further illustrated by Kirstein’s support of Cartier-Bresson’s first wife. Born in Batavia (later Jakarta) and educated in Surabaya, Java, Carolina Jeanne de Souza-Ijke was a poet and Javanese dancer who went by the stage name Ratna (or Retna) Mohini. She moved to Paris in 1936 where she met Cartier-Bresson, who called her Eli, and they were married May 18, 1937.<sup>12</sup> Shortly after the couple’s arrival in New York and undoubtedly through an introduction by Cartier-Bresson, Kirstein met and invited Mohini to practice at his ballet school.<sup>13</sup> In late 1946, speaking of dance and Kirstein’s catalogue text on Cartier-Bresson, Mohini wrote to Kirstein:

I am not sure if I will see you at the school, which is why I am writing. Lately, I have been working from home (Jav. dance)...also, for last Saturday, we were very busy. We missed you dearly, and Fido too. I am starting to work at your delightful school again, and I am very grateful to you for the opportunity. I so adored what you wrote about Henri. My, how you know him well!...

The reason we are as candid as we are with you, dear Lincoln, is because we consider you our confessor, our guiding spirit.<sup>14</sup>

Mohini’s letter illustrates Kirstein’s positive influence on Cartier-Bresson’s career but also provides insight into their personal relationship. That year also marked the beginning of Cartier-Bresson’s work at the NYCB. On assignment with *Harper’s Bazaar*, the photographer captured several dancers during rehearsal, including dancing sensation Igor Youskevitch, for the article “The Year of the Ballet” (figure 12).<sup>15</sup> Similar to *Fortune’s* “The Boom in Ballet” published only eight months prior and photographed by Evans, “The Year of the Ballet” outlined several rising dance companies, upcoming performances, and dance initiatives, including Balanchine’s contributions to “Lincoln Kirstein’s ballet.” The following year,



Figure 13:  
Cover of Ballet Society Program,  
1947



Figure 14:  
[Ratna Mohini and Raden Mas Waloejo, Javanese Dancers], 1947  
By Henri Cartier-Bresson

Mohini was asked to participate in a recital of Javanese dance with Ballet Society (figure 13), set to music by Colin McPhee at the Hunter College Playhouse.<sup>16</sup> On January 13, 1947, Cartier-Bresson made several photographs of her in costume, along with her fellow dancers, Raden Mas Waloejo, Soekaro, and Pamoedjo (figure 14).<sup>17</sup> Although set against cloth backdrops usually reserved for staged photographs, the dancers appear caught in action, seemingly unaware that they are having their picture taken. This is quite uncharacteristic of the staged ballet photographs produced by other contemporary photographers, including those by George Platt Lynes, and is instead more indicative of Cartier-Bresson's own style. Referring to this aesthetic and perhaps his "decisive moment" Cartier-Bresson once wrote:

I am more concerned with man as a being than as a builder: what he builds will remain with some degree of permanency, whereas the expression of his being can be caught or lost in the fraction of a second. To capture that fraction of a second is, I believe, the most significant function of photography.<sup>18</sup>

Kirstein had, in fact, written and published a text titled "Blast at Ballet" in 1937, commenting on ballet photographers at the time.<sup>19</sup> Predating Cartier-Bresson's documentation of the ballet, Kirstein wrote of his disdain for performance photographs taken with the candid camera, describing it as "the worst liar in the photographic family" as it "distorts, alters, and ultimately destroys the very dances it pretends to document."<sup>20</sup> Although he seemed to favor the non-candid, posed ballet photographs of May Ray and Lynes, Kirstein acknowledged several successful candid ballet photographs, demonstrating "that there is nothing the matter with the candid-camera itself, but only the ordinary uses to which it is put."<sup>21</sup> A dance program accompanied the Hunter College Playhouse performance; written by Kirstein, it explained the tradition of Javanese dance, outlined the concept of each dance, and included a brief biography on each

dancer. Mohini's biography of course noted her marriage to the French photographer Henri Cartier-Bresson.

The relationship between Kirstein and Cartier-Bresson continued through the 1940s. While working and traveling in Jaipur in 1948, Cartier-Bresson sent a postcard to Kirstein appealing to both Kirstein's love of dance and promotion of the photographer's work:

Why aren't you with us....As far as dancing goes these little dancing girls of the Maharajah don't know many tricks, the dancing girls of the Maharajah of Baroda where [*sic*] just as inefficient. We saw the dancing girls in the red light district of Bombay, next to the cage-girls, also insipid; we like the ballet school so much better....Many thanks for using my Stravinsky picture in the Dance Index. All our love.<sup>22</sup>

Cartier-Bresson is referring to the 1947 portrait of composer Igor Stravinsky (1882–1971) published for a symposium on “Stravinsky: in the Theatre,” which spanned three issues of Kirstein's *Dance Index*.<sup>23</sup> The photograph is the first image in the first issue, representing an entry point to the following texts, and functioning as an iconic depiction of the composer. Promoting the work of Cartier-Bresson and also that of Stravinsky, who composed many contemporary ballet scores including those for the NYCB,<sup>24</sup> the publication is reminiscent of Kirstein's inclusion of Walker Evans' photographs in the magazine only a few years earlier.<sup>25</sup> The image of Stravinsky was originally taken during Cartier-Bresson's tour across the United States with poet John Malcolm Brinnin (1916–1998). Cartier-Bresson initially considered a partnership with Kirstein; however, he decided against it, as Kirstein was foremost known as a critic rather than an author. Cartier-Bresson devised the project and he and Brinnin left shortly following the opening of his MoMA retrospective.<sup>26</sup> Cartier-Bresson arranged for *Harper's Bazaar* to fund the trip, providing payment for the portraits made along the way of cultural figures like Stravinsky. Cartier-Bresson intended to publish a book of the work with Brinnin, where the text and the photographs would have equal weight, quite similar to Walker Evans and James Agee's *Let Us Now Praise Famous Men*, but the book never came to fruition.<sup>27</sup> Additionally, it has been noted that shortly before leaving, Brinnin decided to bring Evans' *American Photographs*, leaving it face up in the backseat of the car.<sup>28</sup>

In fact, Cartier-Bresson had received his own copy of the iconic catalogue. In a 1938 letter to an unknown female correspondent, Cartier-Bresson explained how touched he was to receive the “lovely book of Walker Evans' photographs,” and that “in those images I [Cartier-Bresson] find both the America I love and Walker Evans' humanity. The intensity with which he captures people, and the places they inhabit, is truly moving.” Cartier-Bresson ended the letter by stating, “I would kindly ask that you let Evans know how much I enjoy his work,”<sup>29</sup> indicating that the book was sent by direction of Evans, possibly through MoMA. Although clearly influenced by Evans, both photographers in fact had a mutual respect for each other's work. They first met in 1935 during the preparation for their exhibition at the Julien Levy Gallery, and again at several other events in New York.<sup>30</sup> Evans admired Cartier-Bresson's

7 octobre 52

cher Lincoln

Excuse our long silence, but ... well you know how things are and I shall not make any false excuses, I'll just tell you that we think very often of you and wonder why you never come over pour te retremper ?

With us everything is the same, Eli as gay and mischivous and me rushing behind things with my camera before they dissappear.

There was though a long interruption while working with Terinde on the book. What interested me most was to sit down and think what our trade amounts to and put it down on paper. I felt it was a quite helthy thing to do this clarification for myself. I don't know what it will sound like to others ; I have a bad liver, as any Frenchman, but I have never been to Vichy, still I presume after going there one feels as I do about this text beeing written.

I asked Dick Simon to send you a copy from my part; please tell me when you will have redeived it because he has so much to do now as well as going to an hospital and still I want you to get a copy.

Enough spoken about all this ; I heard from frxiends about your work and all your succes-s , this was obvious; we hope you are happy about it. Eli calls you "la comète anxieuse" , you remember ?

How is dear Faide ? her painting ? We have finally a house in the country on the bank of the Loire, it is waiting for you .But when are you coming ???

For the rest we have too much to say to each others, compare our experiences, feelings, discuss painting etc... and all this does not hold in a letter , just do come .

This letter is just to send you two toutes nos amities

Henri

Figure 15:

Henri Cartier-Bresson to Lincoln Kirstein, October 7, 1952

skillful ability and use of the handheld Leica camera<sup>31</sup> and Cartier-Bresson has been quoted explaining that without the challenge of Evans' work, he may not have remained a photographer.<sup>32</sup> Evans also noted in his favorable review of Cartier-Bresson's 1952 publication *The Decisive Moment*, that Cartier-Bresson was "discovered by this and that local esthete of influence...The esthetes were right. Cartier-Bresson was and is a true man of the eye. More, he was one of the few innovators of photography."<sup>33</sup>

After several years without contact, Cartier-Bresson wrote to Kirstein from Paris in 1951:

Eli and I have never written you doing [*sic*] these 4 years, but I am sure you feel as we do that between us there is too much to say in a letter. When are you coming over? We miss you so much...Brodovitch has just written me that he is asking you to write something to go along with pictures of mine in Portfolio. I am so glad that you accepted.<sup>34</sup>

The piece by Kirstein titled "Cartier-Bresson in the Orient: Thirteen Photographs" appeared in *Portfolio: The Annual of the Graphic Arts* during spring of 1951. The text was accompanied by thirteen photographs by Cartier-Bresson and one uncredited photograph of Cartier-Bresson and Mohini.<sup>35</sup> Kirstein later responded to Cartier-Bresson's letter, praising the photographer's work; Kirstein discussed art, mutual friends, the ballet, George Balanchine, his wife, and Newhall's work at the "Kodak Museum in Rochester."<sup>36</sup> Replying once again, Cartier-Bresson expressed his appreciation to his friend, "I wanted to thank you for the excellent piece you wrote in Portfolio this forces me to take better pictures." He continued:

You know how very much I appreciate your judgment through your piercing eyes which are sharper than lenses, so I am most anxious to know what you think of the 71 pictures I sent to the Museum for the exhibition of French photographers starting on dec [*sic*] 18<sup>th</sup>—tell me with severity.<sup>37</sup>

Cartier-Bresson's respect for the opinion of his friend is evident. Their personal letters continue, Cartier-Bresson asking when Kirstein will come visit, explaining "with us everything is the same, Eli as gay and mischievous [*sic*] and me rushing behind things with my camera before they disappear"<sup>38</sup> (figure 15). However, their paths would cross again when Cartier-Bresson returned to New York. Operating outside the confines of an assignment, he photographed Kirstein and Balanchine at the School of American Ballet in 1959.<sup>39</sup> The images of Balanchine depict him instructing dancers during class (figure 16) and a portrait of Kirstein captures him watching a rehearsal (figure 17). Two images from this series have since become iconic portraits of the two men; however, they are featured to a greater extent within literature on the NYCB rather than in biographies and monographs on Cartier-Bresson's work. In *Tributes: Celebrating Fifty Years of New York City Ballet* edited by Christopher Ramsey, the portrait of Balanchine is accompanied by a caption reading, "Disliking stylized 'salon' photography, Cartier-Bresson's only shots of NYCB were unposed, like this one of Balanchine teaching class."<sup>40</sup> This is reminiscent of Cartier-Bresson's earlier shots of the company, and would also anticipate the style of his future ballet



photographs. In a letter sent to Kirstein later that year, Cartier-Bresson referenced the photographs: “I am sorry to have not sent the Balanchine pictures earlier, though I had not forgotten, they are not portraits but attitudes as a bullfighter acrobat. There was one copy for him and one for you of each print.”<sup>41</sup> The photographer continued by thanking Kirstein for his article in the *Nation*, which can only be deduced as the 1959 text “The Scope of Photography” within which Kirstein reviewed several photography books. He commented on the qualifications of a “master of photography,” stressing that photographs must be new and memorable—characteristics Kirstein believes exist in any photograph by Cartier-Bresson, Walker Evans or Eugene Smith.<sup>42</sup> Much later in 1969, Kirstein mentioned the 1959 SAB photographs in a letter to Cartier-Bresson. Clearly satisfied with the series, he wrote, “I was in London in April and saw the show at the Victoria and Albert and was so proud to have been included; some day you must give me a small print of my portrait.”<sup>43</sup>

In the 1963 update of the photographer’s 1947 exhibition catalogue, Kirstein again wrote the essay, titled “Henri Cartier-Bresson,” in *Photographs by Cartier-Bresson*.<sup>44</sup> Kirstein continued to support the photographer in his 1971 article “Metaphors of Motion,” commenting on the success of the book, *Cartier-Bresson’s France: 285 Photographs by Henri Cartier-Bresson*. Kirstein explained that “it contains many of the tenderest pictures by one of the most acute visual historians who ever lived.... Cartier-Bresson’s virtues are by now perfectly familiar. It is not by accident that he is our most famous

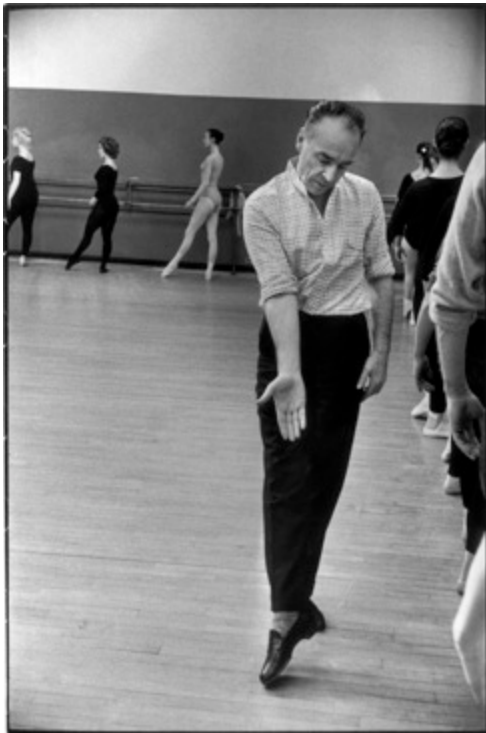


Figure 16:  
[George Balanchine Directing the School of  
American Ballet], 1959  
By Henri Cartier-Bresson



Figure 17:  
[Lincoln Kirstein at the School of American  
Ballet], 1959  
By Henri Cartier-Bresson



Figures 18 (top) and 19 (bottom):  
 Spreads from "Balanchine: le chorégraphe immortel," *Illustré* magazine, May 1983, pages 44-47  
 Photographs by Henri Cartier-Bresson and Ernst Haas

professional photographer....the strength of whose design calls halt at every flip of the page.”<sup>45</sup> Kirstein also separately wrote to Cartier-Bresson regarding the book: “As you can see, I loved your book. It is really marvelous; when will you do the same for our damned, doomed and delightful country?”<sup>46</sup> Referring to the letter and article, and perhaps Kirstein’s earlier request for a copy of his portrait, Cartier-Bresson responded, “Many thanks for your letter and the beautiful article, but you keep writing about me since we met—if not even before! I should take as many portraits of you as you wrote words about my work. I’d give you quantity against quality!”<sup>47</sup>

Cartier-Bresson was involved with Kirstein’s ballet company once again, documenting Balanchine during a Paris rehearsal of the ballet *Orpheus* composed by Stravinsky, at the Paris Opéra in 1972.<sup>48</sup> Although seemingly not made on commission, one image from the series was later reproduced, along with a 1959 portrait of Balanchine, in the magazine *Illustré* in 1983 (figures 18 and 19). The article, titled “Balanchine: le choregraphe immortel,” was produced following Balanchine’s death that year, and focused on celebrating his life and choreographic successes.<sup>49</sup> Once again, Cartier-Bresson’s photographs were used to represent a significant moment in dance history. A few years later in 1975, Cartier-Bresson photographed the choreographer again, producing a striking portrait (page 138). The following year, Cartier-Bresson wrote Kirstein in regard to the Swiss magazine *Camera*. The editor, Allan Porter, was producing a special issue including thirty-three of Cartier-Bresson’s photographs of America and they requested that Kirstein write the accompanying text, expressing his views on the country. Kirstein’s text appeared in the July issue of *Camera*, titled “The United States of Henri Cartier-Bresson.”<sup>50</sup> Allan Porter additionally stated in the issue’s “Editor’s Note” that Cartier-Bresson had planned to create an American book with Kirstein in 1945, but that the project was never realized.<sup>51</sup> Ironically, Cartier-Bresson finished the letter by asking, “Since how many years did we plan to do something together on America?”<sup>52</sup> Although their correspondence continues to extend well into the 1980s (figure 20), in a letter dated just a few months later, the photographer wrote:

How beautiful uniting our friendship in this State!

Your text is so superb—and embarrassing for a photographer, to a point of pushing him to work deeper.

Alan [*sic*] Porter also is delighted.

Martine [Franck; Cartier-Bresson’s second wife], whose first language is English, also loves your text.

The quotations are excellent.

We miss you.

Ps. Alan [*sic*] Porter is having special copies printed for you and me.<sup>53</sup>



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January 8, 1986

Mon très cher Henri:

The book of portraits is absolutely magnificent. The mise en page is superb; such discretion and delicacy. It is a wonderful marker for you very great gifts. What you have seen in our time, its men and women and the situations in which history has found them will be the illustrations for the story of your life and talent and of the whole world's. It is a marvelous achievement and I am deeply grateful for it.

I am surviving more or less; I no longer want justice; mercy will do quite well, thank you. After Balanchine's death there have been many discrepancies and awkwardness to accommodate. We have managed pretty well, but it is hardly the same thing, and lacking both Balanchine and Stravinsky, (to say nothing of Pavlik); well, one does the best one can.

Our school is very good and we have lots of very good future dancers; the new ballets have their modicum of interest; some are better than others, and there is promise, which is not the same thing as mastery. But one should be grateful for what we are given and I truly am.

As for "photography"; your portraits are the inspiration of some good young men, but their lack of a general, classical (Jesuite-Protestante) world-view tends towards a high technical and a low historico-psychologico-spiritual command.

With much love and gratitude,

*Lincoln*



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Figure 20:

Lincoln Kirstein to Henri Cartier-Bresson, January 8, 1986

In Peter Galassi's 1987 exhibition catalogue, *Henri Cartier-Bresson: The Early Work*, the photographer is compared to several painters, particularly Edgar Degas. Cartier-Bresson had initially studied painting, allowing him to apply that knowledge and technique to his later photographic practice. Galassi explains that Cartier-Bresson's small camera allowed him "access to previously unavailable subjects, but also fundamentally changed the way in which the subject was defined." He was able to capture pictures, moments in time, similar to those that Degas had carefully constructed in an attempt to obtain the same aesthetic.<sup>54</sup> It is interesting; this comparison with Degas, whose preoccupation with movement led him to dedicate the majority of his works to ballet, spanning a period of over forty years.<sup>55</sup> Degas' work would have been prominently featured in Paris museums at the time—perhaps inspiring the photographer, as many of Degas' paintings depict dancers backstage and at rehearsal, similar to Cartier-Bresson's photographs of the NYCB. Of course, the photographs also represent something deeper, a previously unexplored friendship between the photographer and influential cultural figure, Lincoln Kirstein. Cartier-Bresson once wrote, "Photography, as I understand it, is just another means of taking visual notes. Like all notes, photographic notes are necessarily incomplete in that they may not express the subject with all its angles and facets. The important thing is that each note touches upon the essence of the subject."<sup>56</sup> In this way, Cartier-Bresson's NYCB photographs represent just that, notes. Supplemented by Kirstein's published texts on the photographer and correspondence between the two men, a more complete account of the relationship can be observed—perhaps resulting in one of most significant and understudied facets of the photographer's career to date.

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1 The exhibition was titled, "Photographs by Henri Cartier-Bresson and an Exhibition of Anti-Graphic Photography" and was also shown at the Ateneo Club, Madrid, Spain. It was comprised of 31 photographs.

2 Refer to Sire et al., *Documentary & Anti-graphic* (cited in full on page 29). The exhibition ran from April 23 to May 7, 1935 and was comprised of 67 photographs. Also see Ware and Barberie, *Dreaming in Black and White*, for more information on Levy and his gallery (cited in full on page 29). Kirstein states in his *Quarry: A Collection in Lieu of Memoirs*, that he and Cartier-Bresson were introduced by composer Nicolas Nabokov in 1934; however, according to the chronology in Galassi's *Henri Cartier-Bresson: The Modern Century*, this seems unlikely as Cartier-Bresson was not in New York that year.

3 Assouline, *Henri Cartier-Bresson: A Biography*, 147.

4 Ibid., 146.

5 Beaumont Newhall, *Focus: Memoirs of a Life in Photography* (Boston, London, Toronto: Bulfinch Press, 1993), 156. Also refer to Galassi, *Henri Cartier-Bresson: The Modern Century*, 295.

6 Sire, "Introduction" in Sire and Chevrier, *Henri Cartier-Bresson, Walker Evans*, 9.

7 Kirstein, "Artist with a Camera," 12–13. The exhibition ran from February 5 to April 6, 1947.

8 Newhall, *Focus: Memoirs*, 145–58. Newhall resigned on March 7, 1946 and was succeeded by Edward Steichen. Wheeler had asked Newhall to write in Cartier-Bresson's exhibition catalogue as Kirstein's essay "did not discuss Cartier-Bresson's photographs," 153.

9 Kirstein, "Henri Cartier-Bresson: Documentary Humanist," 7–11.

10 Monroe Wheeler to Lincoln Kirstein, July 17, 1946, NYPLPA. This is interesting, as it indicates that Kirstein and Cartier-Bresson were in touch in Paris in 1945.

11 Ione Ulrich, assistant treasurer at MoMA, to Lincoln Kirstein, November 21, 1946, NYPLPA.

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- 12 Galassi, *Henri Cartier-Bresson: The Modern Century*, 297.
- 13 Helmi Kunang, "Ratna Cartier-Bresson: A Fragmented Portrait," *Archipel* 54 (1997): 266.
- 14 Ratna Mohini to Lincoln Kirstein, August 20, 1946, NYPLPA. Original in French, translation by Leanne Legault.
- 15 "The Year of the Ballet," *Harper's Bazaar*, November 1946, 262–63.
- 16 Kunang, "Ratna Cartier-Bresson," 266.
- 17 A similar image exists, as reproduced in Kunang, "Ratna Cartier-Bresson," 264, however no date or location is provided.
- 18 Henri Cartier-Bresson, *Coup d'œil Américain*, introduction by Lincoln Kirstein, ed. and afterword by Allan Porter, *Camera* 55, no. 7 (July 1976): 4.
- 19 Lincoln Kirstein, "Blast at Ballet: A Corrective for the American Audience," 1937, later published in Lincoln Kirstein's *Three Pamphlets Collected* (Brooklyn, NY: Dance Horizons Inc., 1967), 1–128.
- 20 Ibid., 68.
- 21 Ibid., 70.
- 22 Henri Cartier-Bresson to Lincoln Kirstein, June 5, 1948, NYPLPA. This letter was originally undated, however based on *Dance Index*'s years of operation, 1942–1948, in tandem with Cartier-Bresson's travels to Jaipur, as quoted in the chronology of Galassi's *Henri Cartier-Bresson: The Modern Century*, 298, a date was deduced by the author.
- 23 Eames and Kirstein, "Strawinsky: in the Theatre, a Symposium Prepared by Minna Lederman," n.p.
- 24 "Complete New York City Ballet Chronology," *New York City Ballet*, <http://www.nycballet.com/company/history/chronology/complete.html>. In fact, the NYCB organized a Stravinsky Festival in 1972, as a tribute to Stravinsky who had died in 1971. The company later held a Stravinsky Centennial Celebration in 1982 to once again honor the composer and his work.
- 25 Refer to Eames, Windham and Kirstein, "The Criticism of Edwin Denby," 25–56 (cited in full on page 10).
- 26 Assouline, *Henri Cartier-Bresson: A Biography*, 151. Refer to Galassi, *Henri Cartier-Bresson: The Modern Century*, 297 for details of the itinerary and portraits. Brinnin also wrote about this trip in "Just Like Java" in his *Sextet: T.S.Eliot & Truman Capote & Others* (New York: Delya/Seymour Lawrence, 1982), 99–162.
- 27 Ibid. Cartier-Bresson did eventually publish a book on America: *America in Passing*, introduction by Gilles Mora (Boston: Little Brown, 1991).
- 28 Sire, "Introduction," 21.
- 29 Henri Cartier-Bresson to unknown correspondent, October 30, 1938, WEA. Original in French, translation by Leanne Legault.
- 30 Sire, "Introduction," 24.
- 31 Peter Galassi, *Henri Cartier-Bresson: The Early Work* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1987), 17.
- 32 Ibid. This references a time in the early 1940s when Cartier-Bresson considered turning from photography to film-making.
- 33 Evans, "Cartier-Bresson, a True Man of the Eye," 1.
- 34 Henri Cartier-Bresson to Lincoln Kirstein, February 23, 1951, NYPLPA.
- 35 Kirstein, "Cartier-Bresson in the Orient: Thirteen Photographs" (cited in full on page 11). Refer to Galassi, *Henri Cartier-Bresson: The Modern Century*, 334.
- 36 Lincoln Kirstein to Henri Cartier-Bresson, March 6, 1951, FHCB. Original in French, translated by Marie-Helene Hueber.
- 37 Henri Cartier-Bresson to Lincoln Kirstein, November 24, 1951, NYPLPA. The exhibition was held in 1951 at MoMA and also included works by Brassai, Willy Ronis, and Izis.
- 38 Henri Cartier-Bresson to Lincoln Kirstein, October 7, 1952, NYPLPA.
- 39 Cartier-Bresson made the photographs between January 1 and February 15, 1959. Galassi, *Henri Cartier-Bresson: The Modern Century*, 314 (film rolls 5148–254; datebook).
- 40 Ramsey, *Tributes: Celebrating Fifty Years*, 30. Cartier-Bresson also made other photographs of dancers, including those in Java and Bali Indonesia, 1949; dancers rehearsing at a ballet school and performing Swan Lake (by Tchaikowsky) at the Bolchoi Theater in Moscow, 1954; ballet dancers at the Palais Garnier in Paris, France, 1954; ballerina Svetlana Beriosova in London, England, 1961; portraits of Russian ballet dancer Rudolf Nureyev, 1963; and dancers training for a championship in Tallinn, Estonia, 1973. An analysis of these photographs, however, is beyond the scope of this thesis' focus on ballet in America.

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- 41 Henri Cartier-Bresson to Lincoln Kirstein, late 1959, NYPLPA.
- 42 Lincoln Kirstein, "The Scope of Photography," review of *Picture History of Photography*, by Peter Pollack; *Masters of Modern Photography*, ed. Beaumont and Nancy Newhall; U.S. Camera 1959, ed. Tom Maloney; Once upon a City, ed. Grace Mayer, *Nation*, April 18, 1959, 347–349.
- 43 Lincoln Kirstein to Henri Cartier-Bresson, June 6, 1969, FHCB. Kirstein was referencing the exhibition "Photographs by Henri Cartier-Bresson," which ran from March 18 to April 27, 1969, at the Victoria and Albert Museum, London. The show originated from MoMA where it was titled "Cartier-Bresson: Recent Photographs" and ran from June 25 to September 2, 1958. Refer to Galassi, *Henri Cartier-Bresson: The Modern Century*, 357. Within the correspondence, Kirstein also mentions Cartier-Bresson's book, *Man and Machine* (New York: Printed by Davis-Delaney-Arrow, 1969) commissioned by the IBM World Trade Corporation, New York, stating, "The IBM book is perfectly marvelous; it is, for me perhaps your most eloquent and coherent album."
- 44 Kirstein, "Henri Cartier-Bresson," n.p.
- 45 Kirstein, "Metaphors of Motion," 345.
- 46 Lincoln Kirstein to Henri Cartier-Bresson, March 17, 1971, FHCB.
- 47 Henri Cartier-Bresson to Lincoln Kirstein, March 24, 1971, FHCB.
- 48 Cartier-Bresson made the photographs between January 11 and February 4, 1972. Galassi, *Henri Cartier-Bresson: The Modern Century*, 324 (Film rolls 12656–91, datebook).
- 49 "Balanchine: le choregraphe immortel," *Illustré*, May 18, 1983, 44–47.
- 50 Lincoln Kirstein, "The United States of Henri Cartier-Bresson," in Cartier-Bresson, *Coup d'œil Américain*, 4–6.
- 51 Allan Porter, "Editor's Note," in Cartier-Bresson, *Coup d'œil Américain*, 46.
- 52 Henri Cartier-Bresson to Lincoln Kirstein, February 23, 1976, NYPLPA.
- 53 Henri Cartier-Bresson to Lincoln Kirstein, Paris, May 18, 1976, NYPLPA.
- 54 Galassi, *Henri Cartier-Bresson: The Early Work*, 29.
- 55 Laura Cumming, "Degas and the Ballet: Picturing Movement Review," *The Guardian*, September 2011, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/artanddesign/2011/sep/17/degas-ballet-picturing-movement-review>.
- 56 Cartier-Bresson, *Coup d'œil Américain*, 4. The photographer notes that the text was written for a 1947 book project that never materialized (possibly the project Porter was referring to in his "Editor's Note," page 40 of this thesis).

## CONCLUSION

Prior to the inception of the School of American Ballet, ballet dancers had few training alternatives. Organized lessons were scarce and were generally run by European teachers providing instruction in European choreography.<sup>1</sup> In 1934 however, Lincoln Kirstein succeeded in creating a truly American school for students, and later, a performing company. It was also in the early 1930s that he met both Walker Evans and Henri Cartier-Bresson. This was good fortune on their part, as Kirstein's prominent position among the city's intellectual circles provided him with plentiful connections, and it was Kirstein who so strongly advocated their work in the years that followed. As ballet in America gained ground, so too did the work of both photographers. Kirstein had always been preoccupied with American themes, which Evans soon adopted in his photographic aesthetic. Indeed, Kirstein wrote to Hyatt Mayor in 1931 of Evans' photographs, "God knows they are American."<sup>2</sup> Perhaps this was what Evans aimed to capture when he first photographed Kirstein's short-lived performing company, the Ballet Caravan—something newly and genuinely American. Similarly, prior to his 1946 arrival in New York, Cartier-Bresson's former colleague Lieutenant Richard Banks wrote to Nancy Newhall noting, "Henri Cartier-Bresson has usual resistance and dislike of assignments. He would like to do something he really feels on America while here."<sup>3</sup> The photographer did just that, documenting the country as well as Kirstein's School of American Ballet, just following the formation of his performing company Ballet Society in 1946. Both aiming to capture an aspect of America, the photographers chose to photograph the NYCB on several occasions, creating a visual representation of the early stages of an American ballet tradition, as well as its iconic co-founder and their friend, Lincoln Kirstein.

As the first chapter of this thesis demonstrated, there has been a lack of scholarship on Evans and Cartier-Bresson's NYCB photographs. The second chapter focused on Kirstein, a Harvard intellectual with a marked passion for the arts. This, paired with his various endeavors throughout college, ensured his place among the cultural elite upon his arrival in New York in 1930. His numerous essays on art, dance, and especially photography, cemented his reputation as a prolific writer and critic of the medium, supporting the work of both Evans and Cartier-Bresson. The subsequent chapter expanded on Kirstein's early advocacy of Evans, and how he used his connections at MoMA to further the photographer's recognition. It also addressed Evans' photographs of Kirstein, the Ballet Caravan, and later, Evans' important work at *Fortune* with "The Boom in Ballet" portfolio, highlighting the lack of attention the portfolio has received despite its clear relation to Kirstein. The final chapter overviewed Kirstein's connection with Cartier-Bresson, and highlighted the photographer's work at the School of American Ballet and Ballet Society. Additionally, this chapter illustrated the deep friendship between Kirstein and Cartier-Bresson, as demonstrated by the substantial correspondence between the two men. This

relationship, omitted in literature on the photographer, provides context and genesis of Cartier-Bresson's photographs of Kirstein's NYCB.

Kirstein exerted a significant influence on the lives and careers of Evans and Cartier-Bresson. Their photographs of the NYCB assist in further understanding these relationships, demonstrating a reciprocal connection. The following catalogue, which reproduces the majority of these photographs for the first time, acts as a complement to the thesis text, providing a method of illustrating Evans and Cartier-Bresson relationship with Kirstein in a manner not yet attempted in previous scholarship.

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1 Dunning, *"But First a School,"* 9.

2 Lincoln Kirstein to A. Hyatt Mayor, October 21, 1931 as quoted in Mitzi Berger Hamovitch, ed., *The Hound & Horn Letters* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1982), 96.

3 Lieutenant Richard Banks to Nancy Newhall, January 24, 1946 as quoted in Sire, "Introduction," 9.



## ILLUSTRATED CATALOGUE

### Introductory Note

The following catalogue reproduces all known and accessible negatives, photographic prints, and selected contact sheets (six out of seven from the MET and twenty-four out of thirty-three from the NYCBA) by Walker Evans and Henri Cartier-Bresson in relation to the New York City Ballet and Lincoln Kirstein. The catalogue begins with images by Walker Evans (beginning on page 49) followed by images by Henri Cartier-Bresson (beginning on page 126). Order has been established by the author and is roughly chronological. All images by Walker Evans are © Walker Evans Archive, The Metropolitan Museum of Art. All images by Henri Cartier-Bresson are © Henri Cartier-Bresson/Magnum Photos.

**Titles:** those in italics are those given by the photographer or established by scholars. Titles enclosed in square brackets are assigned by the author, and are derived from a combination of descriptive titles provided by the Walker Evans Archive, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The New York City Ballet Archives, Magnum Photos, *Fortune* magazine's "The Boom in Ballet," published December 1945, and *Dance Index*'s "The Criticism of Edwin Denby," published February 1946.

**Dates:** refer to negative dates, as determined by the author.

**Medium:** all negatives, contact sheets, and prints are gelatin silver. In cases where a print does not exist or was inaccessible, a positive of a scanned negative was used.

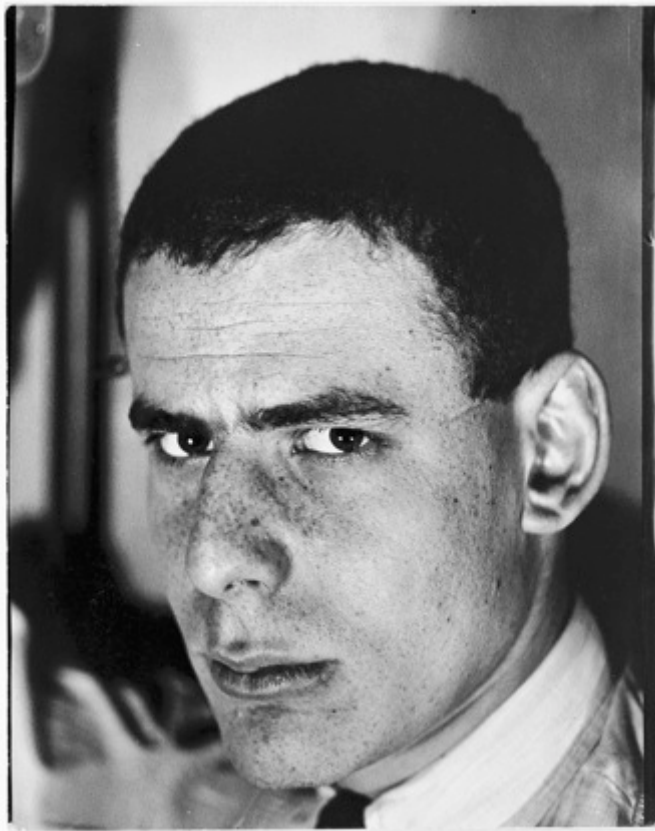
**Dimensions:** refer to either image or negative dimensions (35mm, 120mm, 4 x 5 inch).

**Institutional names:** refer to the institution that holds the negative, contact sheet, or print.

**Footnotes:** have been amended to some of the catalogue entries to provide additional information.



**WALKER EVANS**



Walker Evans

*Lincoln Kirstein*, 1929–1931

Gelatin silver print, 12.4 x 9.8 cm

Walker Evans Archive Collection, MET\*

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\* A variant cropping of this image is held at The Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland, Ohio

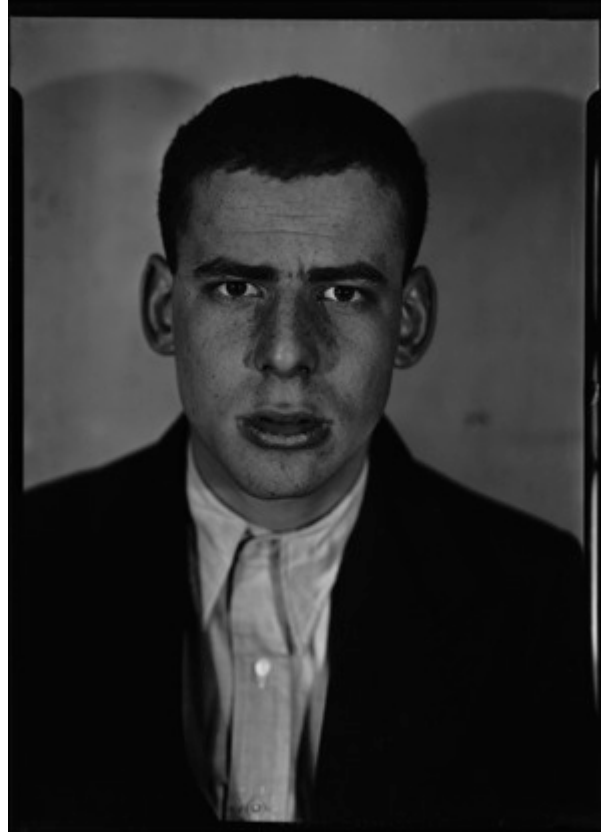


*Left:*  
Walker Evans  
*Lincoln Kirstein*, 1930  
Gelatin silver print, 16.1 x 11.4 cm  
Walker Evans Archive Collection, MET

*Right:*  
Walker Evans  
*Lincoln Kirstein*, 1930–1931  
Gelatin silver print, 12.9 x 9.8 cm  
Walker Evans Archive Collection, MET\*

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\* The negative for this print is held at The Metropolitan Museum of Art



*Left:*  
Walker Evans  
[Lincoln Kirstein], 1930–1931  
Positive from 5 x 7 in. film negative  
Walker Evans Archive Collection, MET

*Right:*  
Walker Evans  
[Lincoln Kirstein], 1930–1931  
Positive from 5 x 7 in. film negative  
Walker Evans Archive Collection, MET



Walker Evans  
[Double Exposure of Lincoln Kirstein, Left and Right Profiles], 1930–1931  
Positive from 5 x 7 in. film negative  
Walker Evans Archive Collection, MET



*Left:*

Walker Evans

[Lincoln Kirstein Cutting Rubber Funnel with Scissors], 1930–1931

Positive from 5 x 7 in. film negative

Walker Evans Archive Collection, MET

*Right:*

Walker Evans

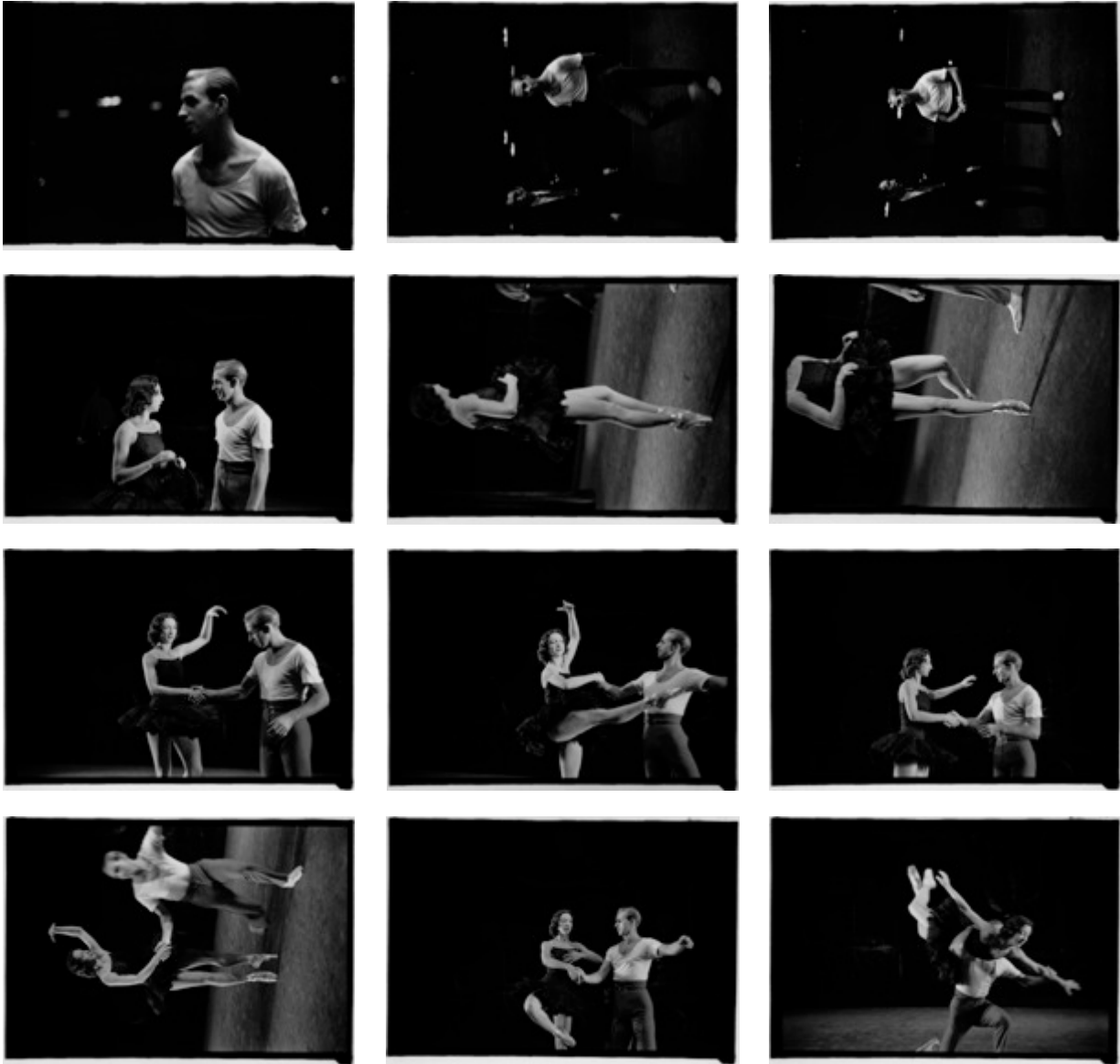
[Lincoln Kirstein Cutting Rubber Funnel with Scissors], 1930–1931

Positive from 5 x 7 in. film negative

Walker Evans Archive Collection, MET\*

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\* Another image exists that was probably part of this series, however it was inaccessible to the author



Walker Evans

[Ballet Russe de Monte Carlo Dancers Alexandra Danilova and Frederic Franklin Rehearsing at the Metropolitan Opera House, New York], October 1945

Commissioned by *Fortune* magazine for "The Boom in Ballet," published December 1945

Positives from twelve 35mm film negatives

Walker Evans Archive Collection, MET\*

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\* This is not a contact sheet



Walker Evans

[Ballet Russe de Monte Carlo Dancers Alexandra Danilova and Frederic Franklin Rehearsing at the Metropolitan Opera House, New York], October 1945

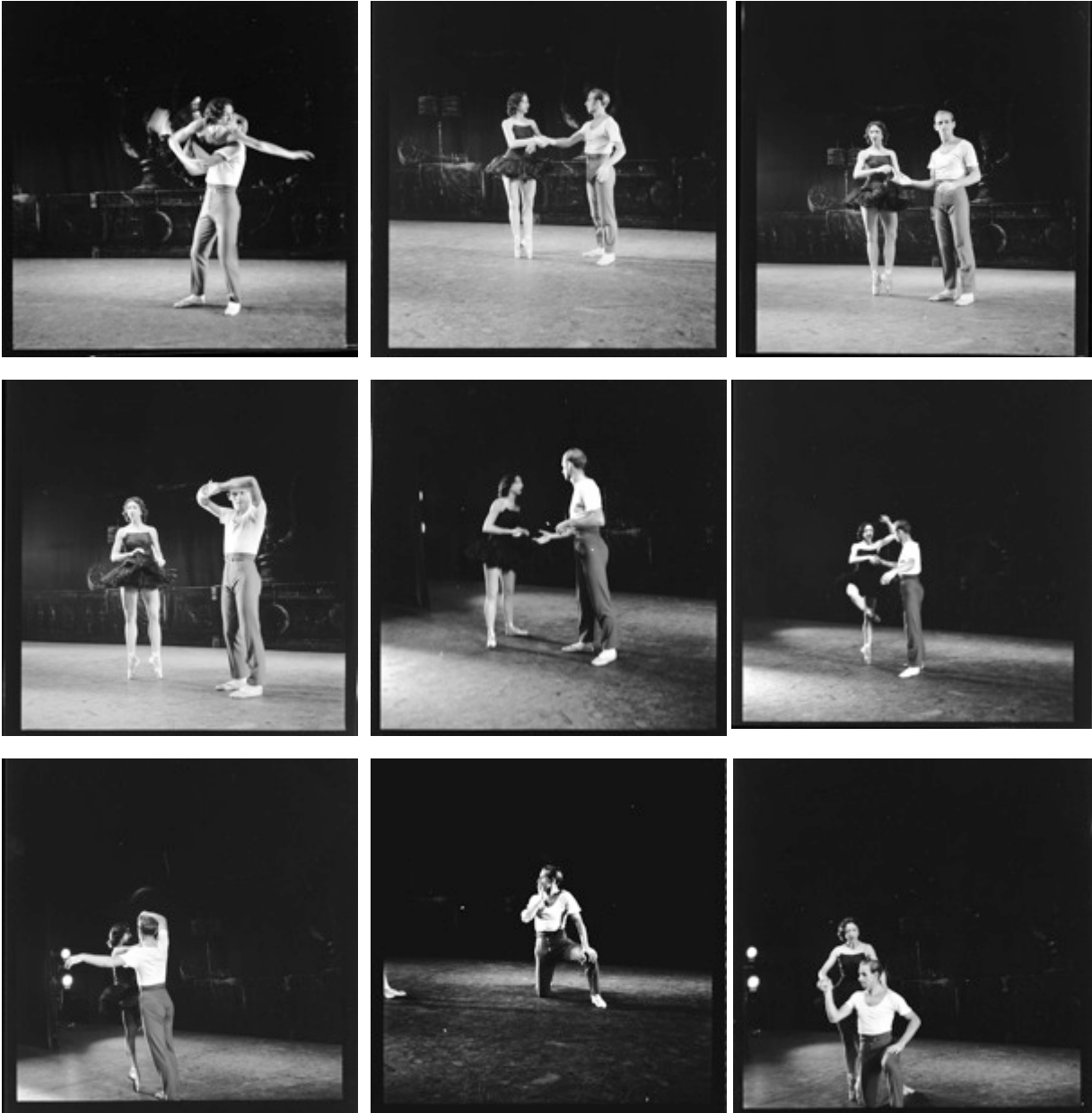
Commissioned by *Fortune* magazine for "The Boom in Ballet," published December 1945

Positives from nine 35mm film negatives

Walker Evans Archive Collection, MET\*

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\* This is not a contact sheet



Walker Evans

[Ballet Russe de Monte Carlo Dancers Alexandra Danilova and Frederic Franklin Rehearsing at the Metropolitan Opera House, New York], October 1945

Commissioned by *Fortune* magazine for "The Boom in Ballet," published December 1945

Positives from nine 120mm film negatives

Walker Evans Archive Collection, MET\*

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\* This is not a contact sheet. For related contact sheets, see pages 96–99





Walker Evans

[Ballet Russe de Monte Carlo Dancers Alexandra Danilova and Frederic Franklin Rehearsing at the Metropolitan Opera House, New York], October 1945

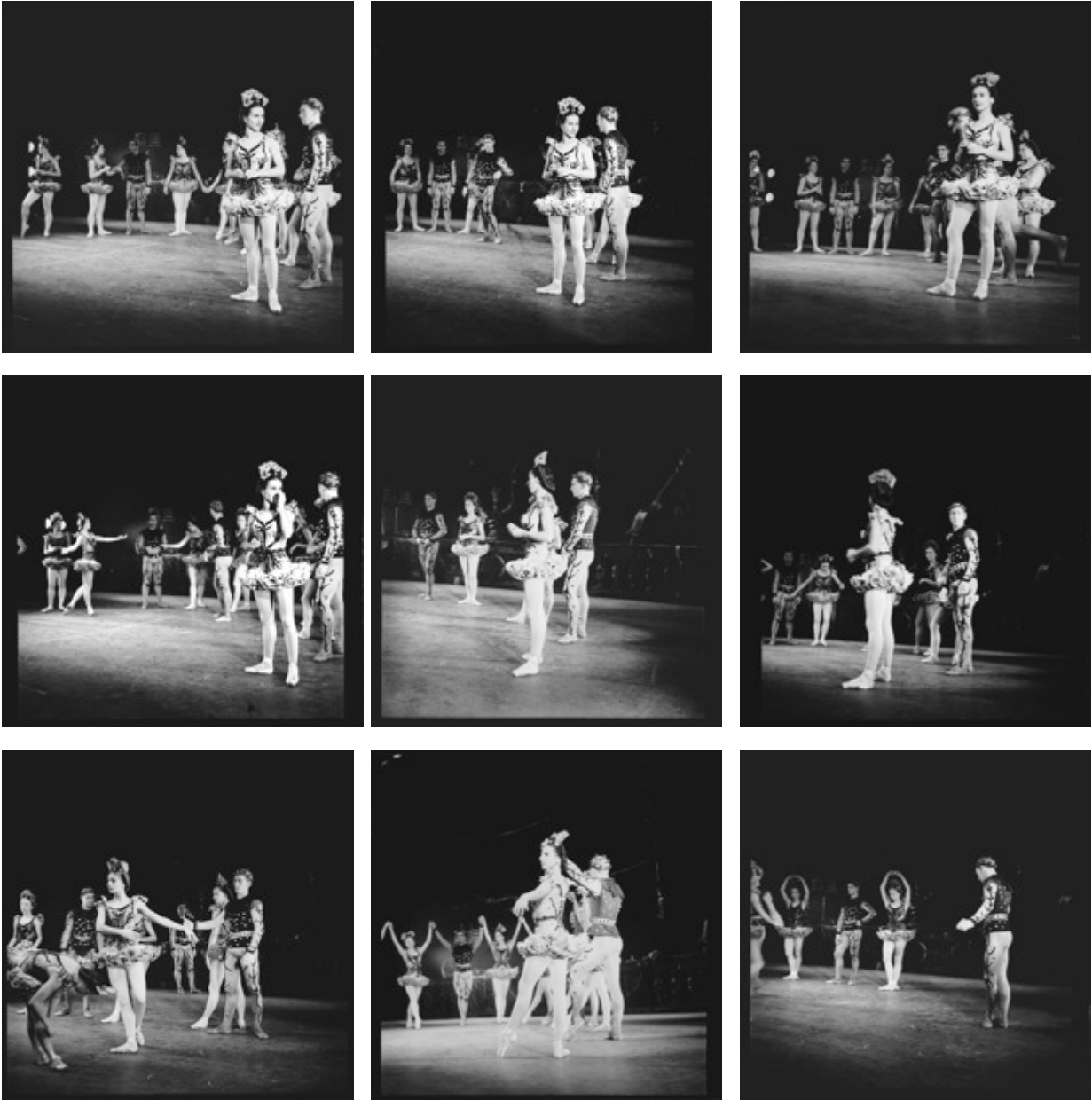
Commissioned by *Fortune* magazine for "The Boom in Ballet," published December 1945

Positives from three 120mm film negatives

Walker Evans Archive Collection, MET\*

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\* For related contact sheets, see pages 96, 98



Walker Evans

[Ballet Russe de Monte Carlo Dancers Rehearsing *Danses Concertantes*, Choreographed by George Balanchine], October 1945

Commissioned by *Fortune* magazine for "The Boom in Ballet," published December 1945

Positives from nine 120mm film negatives

Walker Evans Archive Collection, MET\*

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\* This is not a contact sheet. For related contact sheets, see pages 96–97, 99–100



Walker Evans

[Ballet Russe de Monte Carlo Dancers Rehearsing *Danses Concertantes*, Choreographed by George Balanchine], October 1945

Commissioned by *Fortune* magazine for "The Boom in Ballet," published December 1945

Positives from six 120mm film negatives

Walker Evans Archive Collection, MET\*

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\* This is not a contact sheet. For related contact sheets, see pages 96–97, 100



Walker Evans

[Ballet Russe de Monte Carlo Dancers Rehearsing *Danses Concertantes*, Choreographed by George Balanchine], October 1945

Commissioned by *Fortune* magazine for "The Boom in Ballet," published December 1945

Positives from seven 120mm film negatives

Walker Evans Archive Collection, MET\*

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\* This is not a contact sheet. For related contact sheets, see pages 98, 100



Walker Evans

[Ballet Russe de Monte Carlo Dancer Alexandra Danilova Wearing *Danses Concertantes* Costume, in Dressing Room], October 1945

Commissioned by *Fortune* magazine for "The Boom in Ballet," published December 1945

Positives from six 120mm film negatives

Walker Evans Archive Collection, MET\*

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\* This is not a contact sheet. For related contact sheets, see pages 98, 100



Walker Evans

[Dancers Applying Makeup in Dressing Room], October 1945

Commissioned by *Fortune* magazine for "The Boom in Ballet," published December 1945

Positives from two 120mm film negatives

Walker Evans Archive Collection, MET\*

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\* For related contact sheet, see page 99





Walker Evans

[Dancers Applying Makeup in Dressing Room], October 1945

Commissioned by *Fortune* magazine for "The Boom in Ballet," published December 1945

Positives from five 4 x 5 in. film negatives

Walker Evans Archive Collection, MET\*

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\* This is not a contact sheet. For related contact sheets, see pages 101, 103, 105, 121. A print of the top right negative is held at the National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa (accession no. 19438) and can be viewed on their website: <http://www.gallery.ca/en/see/collections/search.php>.



Walker Evans

[Dancers Applying Makeup in Dressing Room], October 1945

Commissioned by *Fortune* magazine for "The Boom in Ballet," published December 1945

Gelatin silver print, 30.6 x 22.8 cm

Walker Evans Archive Collection, MET





Walker Evans

[Ballet Russe de Monte Carlo Dancer Beatrice Tompkins Applying Makeup in Dressing Room, The New York City Center], October 1945

Commissioned by *Fortune* magazine for "The Boom in Ballet," published December 1945

Positives from two 4 x 5 in. film negatives

Walker Evans Archive Collection, MET\*

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\* For related contact sheets, see pages 101–102. A print of the left negative is held at the National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa (accession no. 19439) and can be viewed on their website: <http://www.gallery.ca/en/see/collections/search.php>.



Walker Evans

[Ballet Russe de Monte Carlo Dancer Alexandra Danilova Applying Makeup in Dressing Room],  
October 1945

Commissioned by *Fortune* magazine for "The Boom in Ballet," published December 1945

Positives from two 4 x 5 in. film negatives

Walker Evans Archive Collection, MET



*Left:*

Walker Evans

[Ballet Russe de Monte Carlo Dancer Alexandra Danilova Applying Makeup in Dressing Room],  
October 1945

Commissioned by *Fortune* magazine for "The Boom in Ballet," published December 1945

Gelatin silver print, 30.6 x 22.8 cm

Walker Evans Archive Collection, MET\*

*Right:*

Walker Evans

[Ballet Russe de Monte Carlo Dancer Alexandra Danilova Applying Makeup in Dressing Room],  
October 1945

Commissioned by *Fortune* magazine for "The Boom in Ballet," published December 1945

Gelatin silver print, 30.6 x 22.8 cm

Walker Evans Archive Collection, MET†

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\* The negative for this print is held at The Metropolitan Museum of Art

† The negative for this print is held at The Metropolitan Museum of Art



*Left:*

Walker Evans

[Ballet Russe de Monte Carlo Dancer Alexandra Danilova Applying Makeup in Dressing Room],  
October 1945

Commissioned by *Fortune* magazine for "The Boom in Ballet," published December 1945

Gelatin silver print, 30.6 x 22.8 cm

Walker Evans Archive Collection, MET\*

*Right:*

Walker Evans

[Ballet Russe de Monte Carlo Dancer Alexandra Danilova Applying Makeup in Dressing Room],  
October 1945

Commissioned by *Fortune* magazine for "The Boom in Ballet," published December 1945

Gelatin silver print, 30.6 x 22.8 cm

Walker Evans Archive Collection, MET†

---

\* The negative for this print is held at The Metropolitan Museum of Art

† The negative for this print is held at The Metropolitan Museum of Art





Walker Evans

[Ballet Russe de Monte Carlo Dancer Alexandra Danilova Applying Makeup in Dressing Room], October 1945

Commissioned by *Fortune* magazine for "The Boom in Ballet," published December 1945

Gelatin silver print, 30.6 x 22.8 cm

Walker Evans Archive Collection, MET\*

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\* The negative for this print is held at The Metropolitan Museum of Art



Walker Evans

[Sergei Denham in Office], October 1945

Commissioned by *Fortune* magazine for "The Boom in Ballet," published December 1945

Positives from three 4 x 5 in. film negatives

Walker Evans Archive Collection, MET\*

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\* For related contact sheet, see page 104



Walker Evans

[Lucia Chase on Box and at Stage Door], October 1945

Commissioned by *Fortune* magazine for "The Boom in Ballet," published December 1945

Positives from two 4 x 5 in. film negatives

Walker Evans Archive Collection, MET\*

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\* For related contact sheets, see pages 105–7



Walker Evans

[Sol Hurok Backstage, in Foyer, and in Office], October 1945

Commissioned by *Fortune* magazine for "The Boom in Ballet," published December 1945

Positives from five 4 x 5 in. film negatives

Walker Evans Archive Collection, MET\*

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\* This is not a contact sheet. For related contact sheets, see pages 108–10





Walker Evans

[Lincoln Kirstein at Desk at the School of American Ballet, New York, and in Bedroom with Paintings and a Bookcase], October 1945

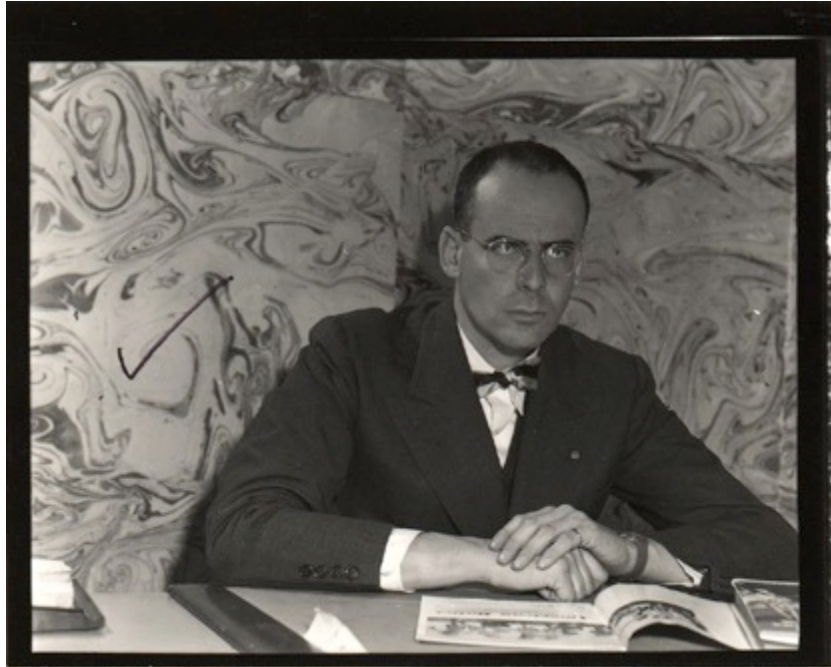
Commissioned by *Fortune* magazine for "The Boom in Ballet," published December 1945

Positives from six 4 x 5 in. film negatives

Walker Evans Archive Collection, MET\*

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\* This is not a contact sheet. For related contact sheets, see pages 112-14



Walker Evans

[Lincoln Kirstein at Desk at the School of American Ballet, New York], October 1945

Commissioned by *Fortune* magazine for "The Boom in Ballet," published December 1945

Gelatin silver print, 9.4 x 12 cm

Walker Evans Archive Collection, MET\*

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\* The negative for this print is held at The Metropolitan Museum of Art. For related contact sheet, see page 112



Walker Evans  
[George Balanchine at Rehearsal], October 1945  
Commissioned by *Fortune* magazine for "The Boom in Ballet," published December 1945  
Positives from four 4 x 5 in. film negatives  
Walker Evans Archive Collection, MET\*

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\* This is not a contact sheet. For related contact sheets, see pages 110–12



Walker Evans

[George Balanchine at Rehearsal], October 1945

Commissioned by *Fortune* magazine for "The Boom in Ballet," published December 1945

Gelatin silver print, 24.1 x 17.1 cm

Ballet Society Collection, NYCBA\*

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\* The negative for this print is held at The Metropolitan Museum of Art. For related contact sheet, see page 112





Walker Evans

[Box Office Crowd Inside, Outdoor Queue, and Poster Advertising Ballet Theatre Season October 7–November 6, 1945 at the Metropolitan Opera House, New York], October 1945

Commissioned by *Fortune* magazine for "The Boom in Ballet," published December 1945

Positives from five 4 x 5 in. film negatives

Walker Evans Archive Collection, MET\*

\* This is not a contact sheet. For related contact sheets, see pages 103–5, 107, 122



Walker Evans

[Auditorium with View of Orchestra], October 1945

Commissioned by *Fortune* magazine for "The Boom in Ballet," published December 1945

Positive from 4 x 5 in. film negative

Walker Evans Archive Collection, MET\*

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\* For related contact sheets, see pages 104, 106



Walker Evans

[Ballet Theatre Dancers Alicia Markova and Anton Dolin Rehearsing *Giselle* in the Rehearsal Hall of the Metropolitan Opera House, New York], October 1945

Commissioned by *Fortune* magazine for "The Boom in Ballet," published December 1945

Positives from six 4 x 5 in. film negatives

Walker Evans Archive Collection, MET\*

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\* This is not a contact sheet. For related contact sheets, see pages 102–103, 107, 122–23



Walker Evans

[Ballet Theatre Dancers Alicia Markova and Anton Dolin Rehearsing *Giselle* in the Rehearsal Hall of the Metropolitan Opera House, New York], October 1945

Commissioned by *Fortune* magazine for "The Boom in Ballet," published December 1945

Positives from three 4 x 5 in. film negatives

Walker Evans Archive Collection, MET\*

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\* For related contact sheets, see pages 103, 120





Walker Evans

[Ballet Theatre Dancer Anton Dolin Adjusting Alicia Markova's Costume and Sitting in Dressing Room], October 1945

Commissioned by *Fortune* magazine for "The Boom in Ballet," published December 1945

Positives from two 4 x 5 in. film negatives

Walker Evans Archive Collection, MET\*

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\* For related contact sheets, see pages 116–17



Walker Evans

[Ballet Theatre Dancers and Gentlemen Reading Newspaper in the Rehearsal Hall of the Metropolitan Opera House, New York], October 1945

Commissioned by *Fortune* magazine for "The Boom in Ballet," published December 1945

Positives from four 4 x 5 in. film negatives

Walker Evans Archive Collection, MET\*

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\* For related contact sheets, see pages 114–15, 123



Walker Evans

[Ballet Theatre Dancers During Rehearsal Break in the Rehearsal Hall of the Metropolitan Opera House, New York], October 1945

Commissioned by *Fortune* magazine for "The Boom in Ballet," published December 1945

Positives from three 4 x 5 in. film negatives

Walker Evans Archive Collection, MET\*

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\* For related contact sheets, see pages 102, 110, 122



Walker Evans

[Ballet Theatre Dancers During Rehearsal Break in the Rehearsal Hall of the Metropolitan Opera House, New York], October 1945

Commissioned by *Fortune* magazine for "The Boom in Ballet," published December 1945

Positives from five 4 x 5 in. film negatives

Walker Evans Archive Collection, MET\*

\* This is not a contact sheet. For related contact sheets, see pages 102, 104, 114, 116, 118, 124. A print of the bottom right negative is held at the National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa (accession no. 19442) and can be viewed on their website: <http://www.gallery.ca/en/see/collections/search.php>.



Walker Evans

[Ballet Theatre Dancer Melissa Hayden and Dancers Practicing Backstage], October 1945

Commissioned by *Fortune* magazine for "The Boom in Ballet," published December 1945

Positives from four 4 x 5 in. film negatives

Walker Evans Archive Collection, MET\*

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\* This is not a contact sheet. For related contact sheets, see pages 109, 120





Walker Evans

[Ballet Theatre Dancers Rehearsing in the Rehearsal Hall of the Metropolitan Opera House, New York],  
October 1945

Commissioned by *Fortune* magazine for "The Boom in Ballet," published December 1945

Positives from six 4 x 5 in. film negatives

Walker Evans Archive Collection, MET\*

\* This is not a contact sheet. For related contact sheets, see pages 109, 120, 124. A print of the bottom right negative is held at the National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa (accession no. 19443) and can be viewed on their website: <http://www.gallery.ca/en/see/collections/search.php>.



Walker Evans

[Ballet Theatre Dancers Rehearsing in the Rehearsal Hall of the Metropolitan Opera House, New York],  
October 1945

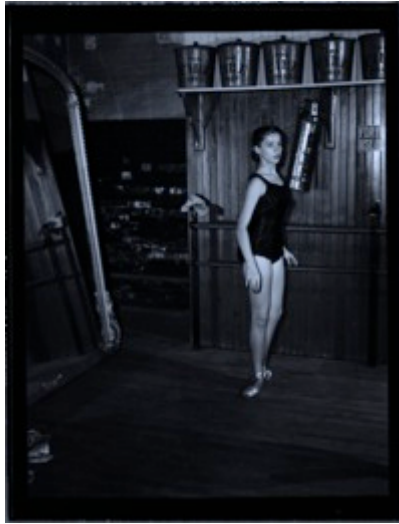
Commissioned by *Fortune* magazine for "The Boom in Ballet," published December 1945

Positives from six 4 x 5 in. film negatives

Walker Evans Archive Collection, MET\*

\* This is not a contact sheet. For related contact sheets, see pages 108–9, 111, 113, 121. A print of the top and bottom left negative is held at the National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa (accession no. 19441 and 20389 respectively) and can be viewed on their website:

<http://www.gallery.ca/en/see/collections/search.php>.



Walker Evans

[Ballet Theatre Dancers Rehearsing in the Rehearsal Hall of the Metropolitan Opera House, New York],  
October 1945

Commissioned by *Fortune* magazine for "The Boom in Ballet," published December 1945

Positives from five 4 x 5 in. film negatives

Walker Evans Archive Collection, MET\*

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\* For related contact sheets, see pages 118–19, 122–23





Walker Evans

[Dancers Rehearsing], October 1945

Commissioned by *Fortune* magazine for "The Boom in Ballet," published December 1945

Positives from six 4 x 5 in. film negatives

Walker Evans Archive Collection, MET\*

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\* This is not a contact sheet. For related contact sheets, see pages 121–23



Walker Evans

[Dancers Rehearsing], October 1945

Commissioned by *Fortune* magazine for "The Boom in Ballet," published December 1945

Positives from two 4 x 5 in. film negatives

Walker Evans Archive Collection, MET



Walker Evans

[Stagehands at Stage Door with Boxes Labeled Ballet Theatre: Peter and the Wolf and Helen of Troy],  
October 1945

Commissioned by *Fortune* magazine for "The Boom in Ballet," published December 1945

Positives from three 4 x 5 in. film negatives

Walker Evans Archive Collection, MET\*

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\* For related contact sheets, see pages 124–25



Walker Evans

[View of Scenery Backstage], October 1945

Commissioned by *Fortune* magazine for "The Boom in Ballet," published December 1945

Positives from four 4 x 5 in. film negatives

Walker Evans Archive Collection, MET\*

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\* For related contact sheet, see page 113



Walker Evans

[Capezio Display of Dancing Shoes], October 1945

Commissioned by *Fortune* magazine for "The Boom in Ballet," published December 1945

Positives from two 4 x 5 in. film negatives

Walker Evans Archive Collection, MET





Walker Evans

[Tutus in Costume Room and Dressing Room], October 1945

Commissioned by *Fortune* magazine for "The Boom in Ballet," published December 1945

Positives from five 4 x 5 in. film negatives

Walker Evans Archive Collection, MET\*

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\* This is not a contact sheet. For related contact sheets, see pages 105, 107, 118, 125



Walker Evans

[*Afternoon de la Faune*, Doors of Rehearsal Hall with Dancer's Graffiti at the Metropolitan Opera House, New York], October 1945

Commissioned by *Fortune* magazine for "The Boom in Ballet," published December 1945

Gelatin silver print, 23.9 x 30.5 cm

Walker Evans Archive Collection, MET\*

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\* The negative for this print is held at The Metropolitan Museum of Art. A variant print is held at the National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa (accession no. 19273) and can be viewed on their website: <http://www.gallery.ca/en/see/collections/search.php>.





Walker Evans

[Ballet Russe de Monte Carlo Dancers Rehearsing *Danses Concertantes*, Choreographed by George Balanchine; Ballet Russe de Monte Carlo Dancers Alexandra Danilova and Frederic Franklin Rehearsing at the Metropolitan Opera House, New York], October 1945

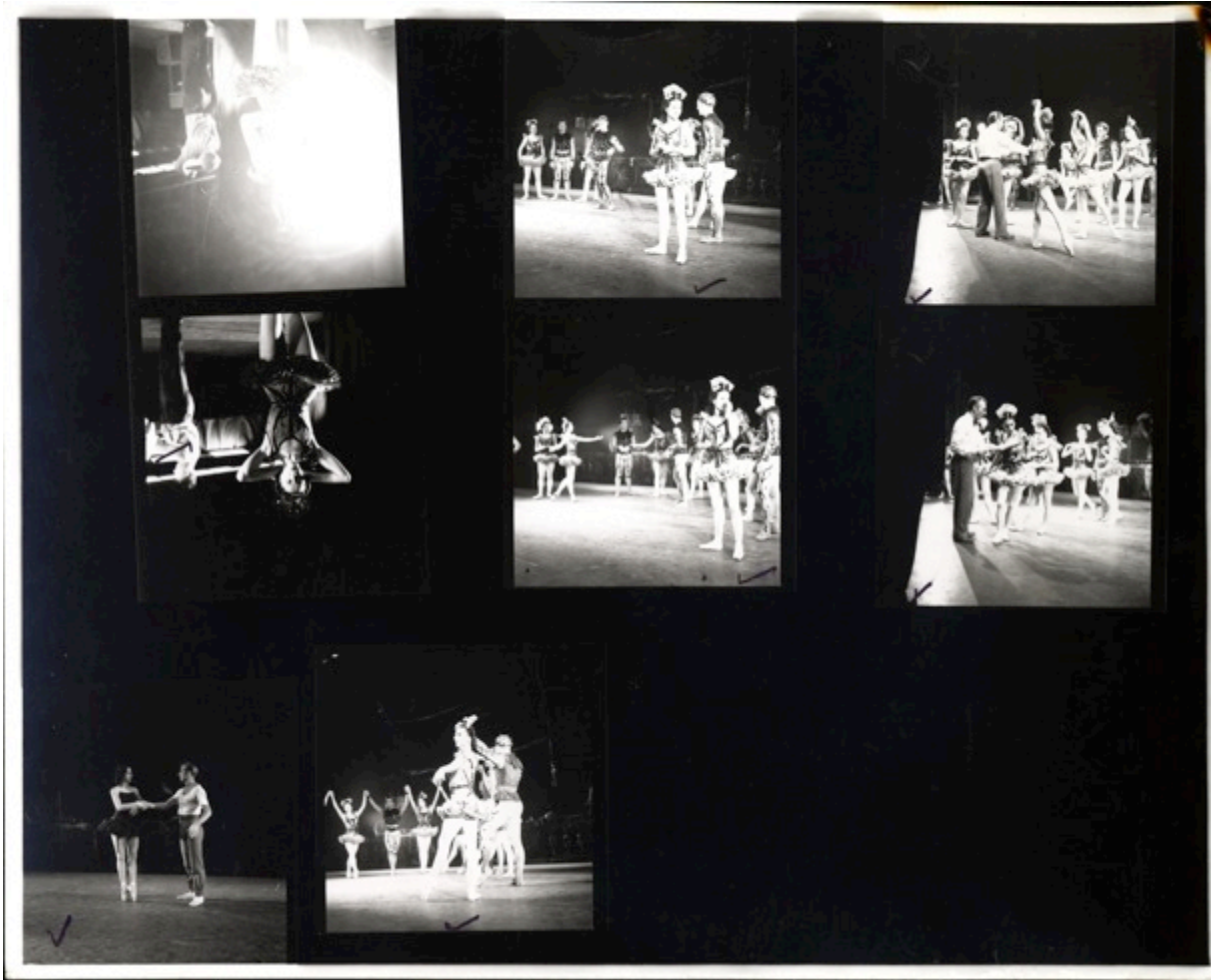
Commissioned by *Fortune* magazine for "The Boom in Ballet," December 1945

Gelatin silver contact sheet of twelve 120mm film negatives

Ballet Society Collection, NYCBA\*

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\* For related negatives, see pages 56–59



Walker Evans

[Ballet Russe de Monte Carlo Dancers Rehearsing *Danses Concertantes*, Choreographed by George Balanchine; Ballet Russe de Monte Carlo Dancers Alexandra Danilova and Frederic Franklin Rehearsing at the Metropolitan Opera House, New York], October 1945

Commissioned by *Fortune* magazine for "The Boom in Ballet," December 1945

Gelatin silver contact sheet of eight 120mm film negatives, annotated

Walker Evans Archive Collection, MET\*

\* For related negatives, see pages 56, 58–59



Walker Evans

[Ballet Russe de Monte Carlo Dancers Rehearsing *Danses Concertantes*, Choreographed by George Balanchine; Ballet Russe de Monte Carlo Dancers Alexandra Danilova and Frederic Franklin Rehearsing at the Metropolitan Opera House, New York; Ballet Russe de Monte Carlo Dancer Alexandra Danilova Wearing *Danses Concertantes* Costume, in Dressing Room], October 1945  
 Commissioned by *Fortune* magazine for "The Boom in Ballet," December 1945  
 Gelatin silver contact sheet of eleven 120mm film negatives  
 Ballet Society Collection, NYCBA\*

\* For related negatives, see pages 56–57, 60–61



Walker Evans

[Ballet Russe de Monte Carlo Dancers Rehearsing *Danses Concertantes*, Choreographed by George Balanchine; Ballet Russe de Monte Carlo Dancers Alexandra Danilova and Frederic Franklin Rehearsing at the Metropolitan Opera House, New York; Dancers Applying Makeup in Dressing Room], October 1945

Commissioned by *Fortune* magazine for "The Boom in Ballet," December 1945

Gelatin silver contact sheet of seven 120mm film negatives

Ballet Society Collection, NYCBA\*

\* For related negatives, see pages 56, 58, 62





Walker Evans

[Ballet Russe de Monte Carlo Dancers Rehearsing *Danses Concertantes*, Choreographed by George Balanchine; Ballet Russe de Monte Carlo Dancer Alexandra Danilova Wearing *Danses Concertantes* Costume, in Dressing Room], October 1945

Commissioned by *Fortune* magazine for "The Boom in Ballet," December 1945

Gelatin silver contact sheet of twelve 120mm film negatives

Ballet Society Collection, NYCBA\*

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\* For related negatives, see pages 58–61



Walker Evans

[Dancers Applying Makeup in Dressing; Ballet Russe de Monte Carlo Dancer Beatrice Tompkins Applying Makeup in Dressing Room, The New York City Center], October 1945

Commissioned by *Fortune* magazine for "The Boom in Ballet," December 1945

Gelatin silver contact sheet of two 4 x 5 in. film negatives

Walker Evans Archive Collection, MET\*

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\* For related negatives, see pages 63, 65



Walker Evans

[Ballet Russe de Monte Carlo Dancer Beatrice Tompkins Applying Makeup in Dressing Room, The New York City Center; Ballet Theatre Dancers Alicia Markova and Anton Dolin Rehearsing *Giselle* in the Rehearsal Hall of the Metropolitan Opera House, New York; Ballet Theatre Dancers During Rehearsal Break in the Rehearsal Hall of the Metropolitan Opera House, New York], October 1945  
 Commissioned by *Fortune* magazine for "The Boom in Ballet," December 1945  
 Gelatin silver contact sheet of four 4 x 5 in. film negatives  
 Ballet Society Collection, NYCBA\*

\* For related negatives, see pages 65, 79, 83–84





Walker Evans

[Dancer Applying Makeup in Dressing Room; Outdoor Queue at the Metropolitan Opera House, New York; Ballet Theatre Dancers Alicia Markova and Anton Dolin Rehearsing *Giselle* in the Rehearsal Hall of the Metropolitan Opera House, New York], October 1945

Commissioned by *Fortune* magazine for "The Boom in Ballet," December 1945

Gelatin silver contact sheet of four 4 x 5 in. film negatives

Ballet Society Collection, NYCBA\*

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\* For related negatives, see pages 63, 77, 79–80



Walker Evans

[Ballet Theatre Dancers During Rehearsal Break in the Rehearsal Hall of the Metropolitan Opera House, New York; Sergei Denham in Office; Auditorium with View of Orchestra; Box Office Crowd Inside the Metropolitan Opera House, New York], October 1945

Commissioned by *Fortune* magazine for "The Boom in Ballet," December 1945

Gelatin silver contact sheet of four 4 x 5 in. film negatives

Ballet Society Collection, NYCBA\*

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\* For related negatives, see pages 70, 77-78, 84



Walker Evans

[Lucia Chase on Box; Tutus in Costume Room; Poster Advertising Ballet Theatre Season October 7–November 6, 1945 at the Metropolitan Opera House, New York; Dancers Applying Makeup in Dressing Room], October 1945

Commissioned by *Fortune* magazine for "The Boom in Ballet," December 1945

Gelatin silver contact sheet of four 4 x 5 in. film negatives

Ballet Society Collection, NYCBA \*

\* For related negatives, see pages 63, 71, 77, 94





Walker Evans

[Auditorium with View of Orchestra; Box Office Crowd Inside the Metropolitan Opera House, New York; Lucia Chase on Box], October 1945

Commissioned by *Fortune* magazine for "The Boom in Ballet," December 1945

Gelatin silver contact sheet of two 4 x 5 in. film negatives

Walker Evans Archive Collection, MET\*

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\* For related negatives, see pages 71, 78



Walker Evans

[Box Office Crowd Inside the Metropolitan Opera House, New York; Ballet Theatre Dancers Alicia Markova and Anton Dolin Rehearsing *Giselle* in the Rehearsal Hall of the Metropolitan Opera House, New York; Lucia Chase at Stage Door; Tutus in Dressing Room], October 1945  
 Commissioned by *Fortune* magazine for "The Boom in Ballet," December 1945  
 Gelatin silver contact sheet of four 4 x 5 in. film negatives  
 Ballet Society Collection, NYCBA\*

\* For related negatives, see pages 71, 77, 79, 94



Walker Evans

[Sol Hurok in Foyer; Ballet Theatre Dancers Rehearsing in the Rehearsal Hall of the Metropolitan Opera House, New York], October 1945

Commissioned by *Fortune* magazine for "The Boom in Ballet," December 1945

Gelatin silver contact sheet of two 4 x 5 in. film negatives, annotated

Walker Evans Archive Collection, MET\*

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\* For related negatives, see pages 72, 87





Walker Evans

[Sol Hurok in Office; Ballet Theatre Dancer Melissa Hayden Practicing Backstage; Ballet Theatre Dancers Rehearsing in the Rehearsal Hall of the Metropolitan Opera House, New York], October 1945  
 Commissioned by *Fortune* magazine for "The Boom in Ballet," December 1945

Gelatin silver contact sheet of four 4 x 5 in. film negatives

Ballet Society Collection, NYCBA\*

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\* For related negatives, see pages 72, 85–87





Walker Evans

[George Balanchine at Rehearsal; Sol Hurok Backstage; Ballet Russe de Monte Carlo Dancer Beatrice Tompkins Applying Makeup in Dressing Room, The New York City Center; Ballet Theatre Dancers During Rehearsal Break in the Rehearsal Hall of the Metropolitan Opera House, New York], October 1945

Commissioned by *Fortune* magazine for "The Boom in Ballet," December 1945

Gelatin silver contact sheet of four 4 x 5 in. film negatives

Ballet Society Collection, NYCBA\*

\* For related negatives, see pages 65, 72, 75, 83



Walker Evans

[Ballet Theatre Dancers Rehearsing in the Rehearsal Hall of the Metropolitan Opera House, New York;  
George Balanchine in Rehearsal], October 1945

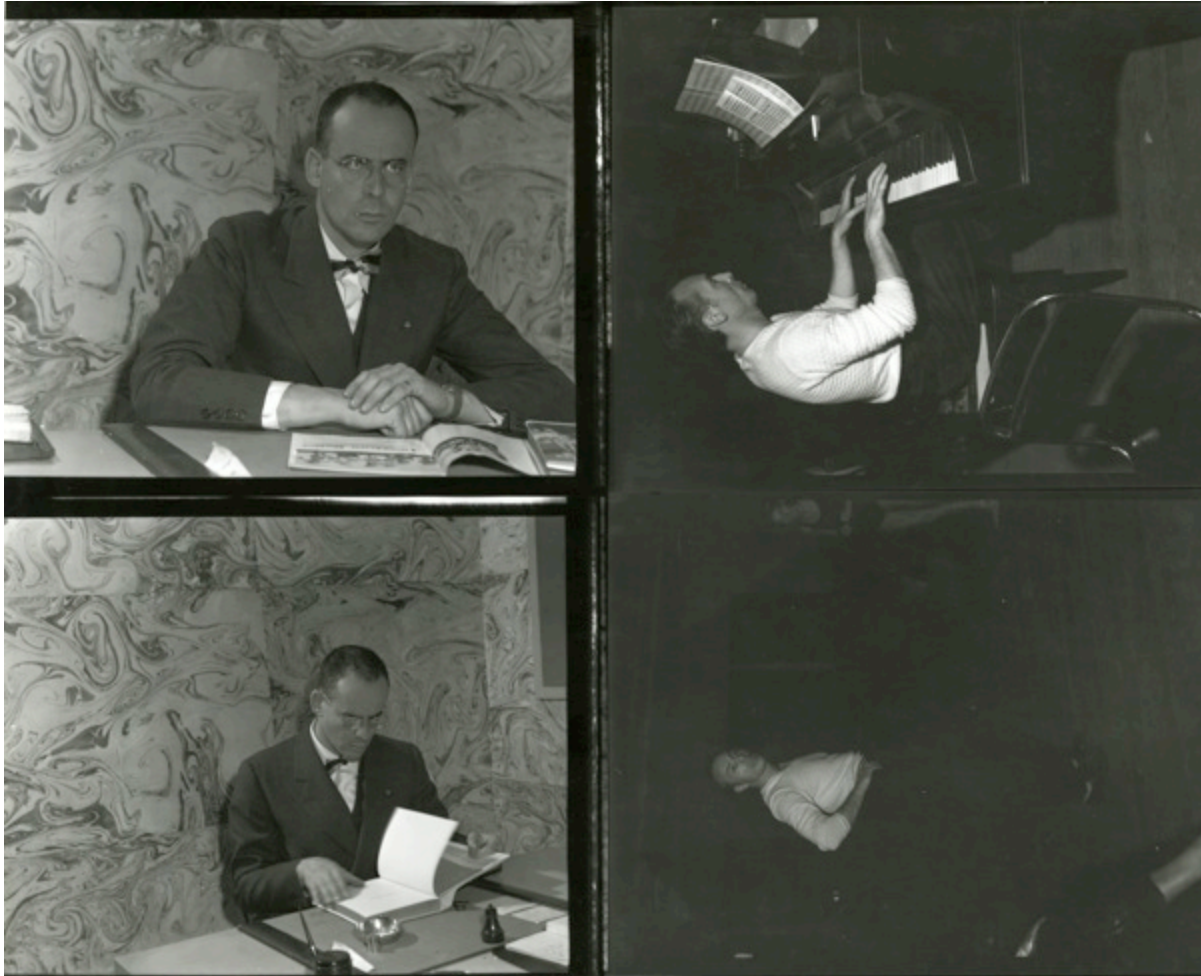
Commissioned by *Fortune* magazine for "The Boom in Ballet," December 1945

Gelatin silver contact sheet of two 4 x 5 in. film negatives

Ballet Society Collection, NYCBA\*

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\* For related negatives, see pages 75, 87



Walker Evans

[Lincoln Kirstein at Desk at the School of American Ballet, New York; George Balanchine at Rehearsal], October 1945

Commissioned by *Fortune* magazine for "The Boom in Ballet," December 1945

Gelatin silver contact sheet of four 4 x 5 in. film negatives

Ballet Society Collection, NYCBA\*

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\* For related negatives, see pages 73–74, 75–76





Walker Evans

[View of Scenery Backstage; Ballet Theatre Dancers Rehearsing in the Rehearsal Hall of the Metropolitan Opera House, New York; Lincoln Kirstein in Bedroom with Paintings and a Bookcase], October 1945

Commissioned by *Fortune* magazine for "The Boom in Ballet," December 1945

Gelatin silver contact sheet of three 4 x 5 in. film negatives

Ballet Society Collection, NYCBA\*

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\* For related negatives, see pages 73, 87, 92



Walker Evans

[Ballet Theatre Dancers During Rehearsal Break in the Rehearsal Hall of the Metropolitan Opera House, New York; Ballet Theatre Dancers Reading Newspaper in the Rehearsal Hall of the Metropolitan Opera House, New York; Lincoln Kirstein in Bedroom with Paintings and a Bookcase], October 1945

Commissioned by *Fortune* magazine for "The Boom in Ballet," December 1945

Gelatin silver contact sheet of four 4 x 5 in. film negatives

Ballet Society Collection, NYCBA\*

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\* For related negatives, see pages 73, 82, 84



Walker Evans

[Ballet Theatre Dancers Reading Newspaper in the Rehearsal Hall of the Metropolitan Opera House, New York], October 1945

Commissioned by *Fortune* magazine for "The Boom in Ballet," December 1945

Gelatin silver contact sheet of two 4 x 5 in. film negatives, annotated

Walker Evans Archive Collection, MET \*

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\* For related negatives, see page 82





Walker Evans

[Ballet Theatre Dancers During Rehearsal Break in the Rehearsal Hall of the Metropolitan Opera House, New York; Anton Dolin Sitting in Dressing Room], October 1945

Commissioned by *Fortune* magazine for "The Boom in Ballet," December 1945

Gelatin silver contact sheet of two 4 x 5 in. film negatives, annotated

Walker Evans Archive Collection, MET\*

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\* For related negatives, see pages 81, 84



Walker Evans

[Ballet Theatre Dancer Anton Dolin Adjusting Alicia Markova's Costume], October 1945

Commissioned by *Fortune* magazine for "The Boom in Ballet," December 1945

Gelatin silver contact sheet of 4 x 5 in. film negative

Ballet Society Collection, NYCBA<sup>\*</sup>

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<sup>\*</sup> For related negative, see page 81



Walker Evans

[Ballet Theatre Dancer During Rehearsal Break in the Rehearsal Hall of the Metropolitan Opera House, New York; Tutus in Costume Room; Ballet Theatre Dancers Rehearsing in the Rehearsal Hall of the Metropolitan Opera House, New York], October 1945

Commissioned by *Fortune* magazine for "The Boom in Ballet," December 1945

Gelatin silver contact sheet of four 4 x 5 in. film negatives

Ballet Society Collection, NYCBA\*

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\* For related negatives, see pages 84, 88, 94



Walker Evans

[Ballet Theatre Dancer Rehearsing in the Rehearsal Hall of the Metropolitan Opera House, New York],  
October 1945

Commissioned by *Fortune* magazine for "The Boom in Ballet," December 1945

Gelatin silver contact sheet of 4 x 5 in. film negative

Ballet Society Collection, NYCBA\*

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\* For related negative, see page 88





Walker Evans

[Outdoor Queue at the Metropolitan Opera House, New York; Ballet Theatre Dancer Melissa Hayden and Dancers Practicing Backstage; Ballet Theatre Dancers Rehearsing in the Rehearsal Hall of the Metropolitan Opera House, New York], October 1945

Commissioned by *Fortune* magazine for "The Boom in Ballet," December 1945

Gelatin silver contact sheet of four 4 x 5 in. film negatives

Ballet Society Collection, NYCBA\*

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\* For related negatives, see pages 77, 85–86



Walker Evans

[Dancers Rehearsing; Dancers Applying Makeup in Dressing Room; Ballet Theatre Dancers Rehearsing in the Rehearsal Hall of the Metropolitan Opera House, New York; Ballet Theatre Dancers Alicia Markova and Anton Dolin Rehearsing *Giselle* in the Rehearsal Hall of the Metropolitan Opera House, New York], October 1945

Commissioned by *Fortune* magazine for "The Boom in Ballet," December 1945

Gelatin silver contact sheet of four 4 x 5 in. film negatives

Ballet Society Collection, NYCBA\*

\* For related negatives, see pages 63, 80, 87, 89





Walker Evans

[Ballet Theatre Dancers Rehearsing in the Rehearsal Hall of the Metropolitan Opera House, New York; Dancers Rehearsing; Ballet Theatre Dancers Alicia Markova and Anton Dolin Rehearsing *Giselle* in the Rehearsal Hall of the Metropolitan Opera House, New York], October 1945

Commissioned by *Fortune* magazine for "The Boom in Ballet," December 1945

Gelatin silver contact sheet of four 4 x 5 in. film negatives

Ballet Society Collection, NYCBA\*

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\* For related negatives, see pages 79, 83, 88–89



Walker Evans

[Dancers Rehearsing; Ballet Theatre Dancers Reading Newspaper in the Rehearsal Hall of the Metropolitan Opera House, New York; Ballet Theatre Dancers Rehearsing in the Rehearsal Hall of the Metropolitan Opera House, New York; Ballet Theatre Dancers Alicia Markova and Anton Dolin Rehearsing *Giselle* in the Rehearsal Hall of the Metropolitan Opera House, New York], October 1945  
 Commissioned by *Fortune* magazine for "The Boom in Ballet," December 1945  
 Gelatin silver contact sheet of four 4 x 5 in. film negatives  
 Ballet Society Collection, NYCBA\*

\* For related negatives, see pages 79, 82, 88–89



Walker Evans

[Ballet Theatre Dancers Rehearsing in the Rehearsal Hall of the Metropolitan Opera House, New York; Stagehands at Stage Door with Boxes Labeled Ballet Theatre: Peter and the Wolf; Ballet Theatre Dancers During Rehearsal Break in the Rehearsal Hall of the Metropolitan Opera House, New York], October 1945

Commissioned by *Fortune* magazine for "The Boom in Ballet," December 1945

Gelatin silver contact sheet of four 4 x 5 in. film negatives

Ballet Society Collection, NYCBA \*

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\* For related negatives, see pages 84, 86, 91





Walker Evans

[Stagehands at Stage Door with Boxes Labeled Ballet Theatre: Peter and the Wolf and Helen of Troy; Dancers Applying Makeup in Dressing Room; Tutus in Costume Room], October 1945

Commissioned by *Fortune* magazine for "The Boom in Ballet," December 1945

Gelatin silver contact sheet of four 4 x 5 in. film negatives

Ballet Society Collection, NYCBA\*

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\* For related negatives, see pages 91, 94

**HENRI CARTIER-BRESSON**



Henri Cartier-Bresson  
[Ratna Mohini and Raden Mas Waloejo, Javanese Dancers], January 1947  
Gelatin silver print, 17.1 x 24.1 cm  
Ballet Society Collection, NYCBA

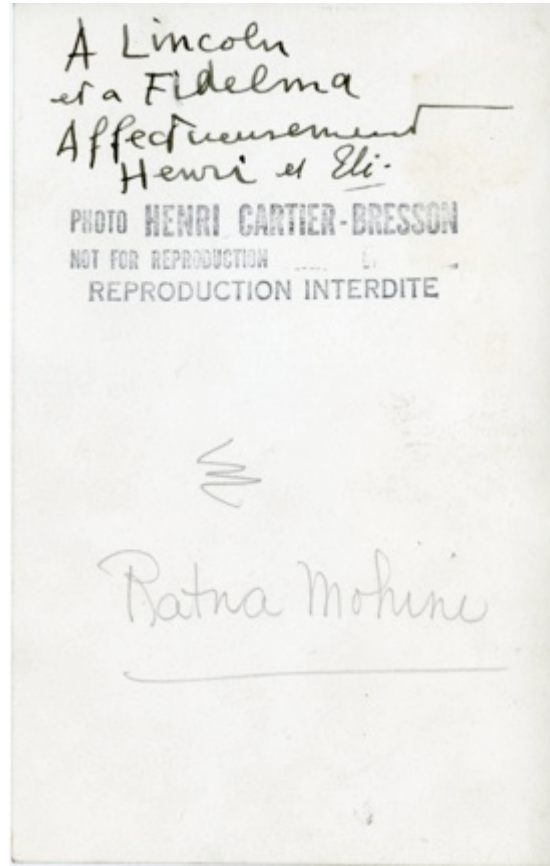


Henri Cartier-Bresson  
[Soekaro, and Pamoedjo with Fangs and Moustache], January 1947  
Gelatin silver print, 17.1 x 24.8 cm  
Ballet Society Collection, NYCBA





Henri Cartier-Bresson  
[Ratna Mohini, Javanese Dancer], January 1947  
Gelatin silver print, 22.9 x 16.2 cm  
Ballet Society Collection, NYCBA



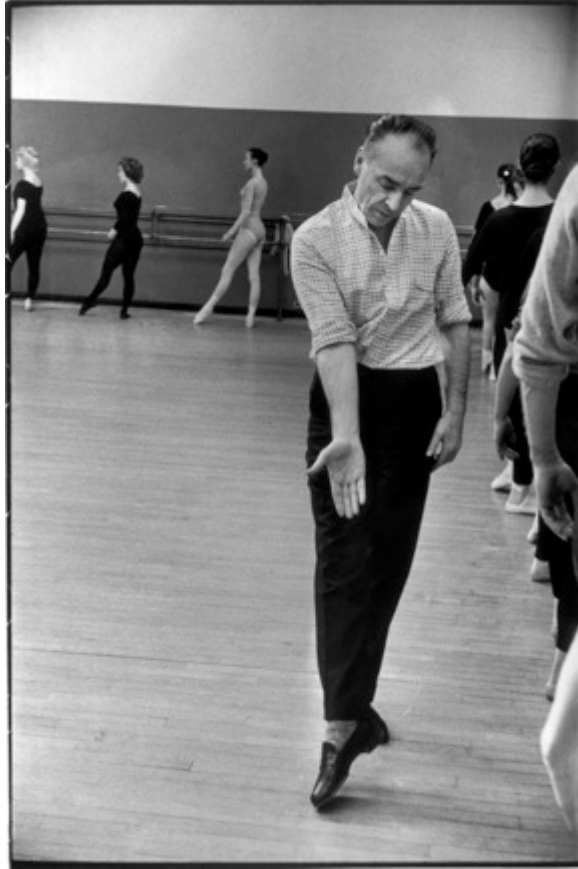
Henri Cartier-Bresson  
 [Ratna Mohini], n.d.  
 Gelatin silver print, recto and verso, 16.8 x 11.4 cm  
 Ballet Society Collection, NYCBA



Henri Cartier-Bresson  
[Lincoln Kirstein at the School of American Ballet], 1959  
Positive from 35mm film negative  
Fondation Henri Cartier-Bresson Collection



Henri Cartier-Bresson  
[George Balanchine Directing the School of American Ballet], 1959  
Positive from 35mm film negative  
Fondation Henri Cartier-Bresson Collection

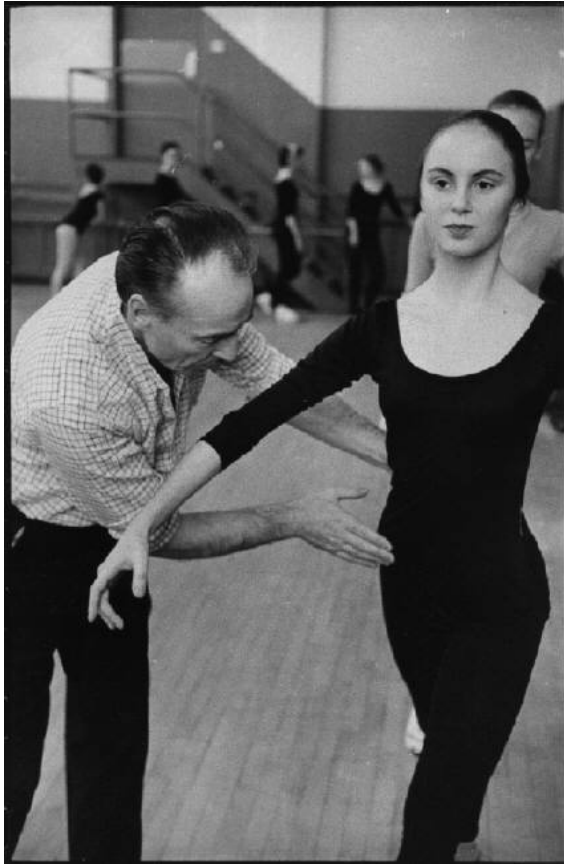


Henri Cartier-Bresson  
[George Balanchine Directing the School of American Ballet], 1959  
Positive from 35mm film negative  
Fondation Henri Cartier-Bresson Collection



Henri Cartier-Bresson  
[George Balanchine Directing the School of American Ballet], 1959  
Positive from 35mm film negative  
Fondation Henri Cartier-Bresson Collection





Henri Cartier-Bresson  
[George Balanchine Directing the School of American Ballet], 1959  
Positive from 35mm film negative  
Fondation Henri Cartier-Bresson Collection



Henri Cartier-Bresson  
[George Balanchine Directing the School of American Ballet], 1959  
Positive from 35mm film negative  
Fondation Henri Cartier-Bresson Collection



Henri Cartier-Bresson

[George Balanchine rehearsing *Orpheus* at the Palais Garnier (Opéra de Paris)], 1972

Gelatin silver print, 16.8 x 25.4 cm

Ballet Society Collection, NYCBA \*

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\* The negative for this print is held at the Fondation Henri Cartier-Bresson



Henri Cartier-Bresson  
[George Balanchine rehearsing *Orpheus* at the Palais Garnier (Opéra de Paris)], 1972  
Gelatin silver print, 17.1 x 25.7 cm  
Ballet Society Collection, NYCBA\*

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\* The negative for this print is held at the Fondation Henri Cartier-Bresson



Henri Cartier-Bresson  
[George Balanchine], 1975  
Gelatin silver print, 17.1 x 25.7 cm  
Ballet Society Collection, NYCBA\*

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\* The negative for this print is held at the Fondation Henri Cartier-Bresson

## APPENDICES

### I. Methodology

The focus of this thesis was originally conceived during my time as an intern at the New York City Ballet Archives in the summer of 2010.<sup>1</sup> While initially familiarizing myself with the photographic collection, specifically the folders dedicated to co-founder and choreographer George Balanchine, I discovered three photographs by Henri Cartier-Bresson, as well as a print by Walker Evans. This led to a further investigation of the Archives' Ballet Society Collection for related material. Archival boxes held within the Archives are predominantly organized by dance title, dancer or choreographer, rather than by photographer. I therefore carried out a physical and systematical investigation the collection, which revealed four more photographs by Cartier-Bresson, a souvenir program reproducing four images by Evans, and thirty-three contact sheets by Evans produced for the December 1945 article "The Boom in Ballet" published in *Fortune* magazine.

I then made contact with numerous institutions to locate all other related prints and negatives by Evans and Cartier-Bresson. These included the New York City Ballet Archives, the Walker Evans Archive [WEA] at The Metropolitan Museum of Art, the Fondation Henri Cartier-Bresson (HCB), the National Gallery of Canada, the Harry Ransom Center at The University of Texas at Austin, Magnum Photos, and the New York Public Library for the Performing Arts. As a result, the body of work used for this thesis has been drawn from the NYCB Archives, the Walker Evans Archive at The Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, and the Fondation HCB in Paris. Fondation HCB provided seven more related negatives (for which they hold corresponding prints) and the WEA supplemented the body of work with ten prints, 178 negatives, and seven pages of corresponding contact sheets. Simultaneously, published material was consulted to provide further contextualization, resulting in the discovery of contemporaneous literary connections between Evans and Cartier-Bresson with NYCB co-founder Lincoln Kirstein. Additionally, this relationship was supported in several recent catalogues, biographies and monographs on Evans, and, in a more limited way, on Cartier-Bresson.

I subsequently conducted research at the Walker Evans Archive by means of its detailed finding aid to view related images and correspondence. Kirstein's involvement with Evans is discussed in recent published literature, and key correspondence assisted in understanding the nature and extent of the relationship. In one instance, a letter discussing Kirstein's 1938 text for *American Photographs* from Hyatt Mayor to Kirstein read, "My very best to Walker Evans when you see him."<sup>2</sup> Another letter from Kirstein to Evans, mailed to the offices of *Time Inc.*, illustrates their complex relationship. Regarding a dispute over an article written on artist David Alfaro Siqueiros, Kirstein wrote to "Walker Evans/ Art, or Something Editor," ending the letter by stating, "Consider this the end of a beautiful friendship."<sup>3</sup>



In relation to Cartier-Bresson, a substantial amount of correspondence is located at the New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, specifically within the Lincoln Kirstein Collection. Further correspondence, provided by the Fondation HCB, was also translated and utilized in developing an understanding of the photographer's connection with Kirstein. Monroe Wheeler wrote to Kirstein, "I am delighted about your willingness to write an introduction to our little book on Cartier-Bresson," and in the same letter, "You will recall that you wrote me about his new work from Paris two years ago so this is really your baby anyway."<sup>4</sup> In a letter to Kirstein from Cartier-Bresson, the photographer revealed, "You know how very much I appreciate your judgment...so I am most anxious to know what you think of the 71 pictures I sent to the Museum for the exhibition of French photography starting on dec [*sic*] 18<sup>th</sup>—tell me with severity."<sup>5</sup>

Taken with the photographic documentation of both photographers' connection to Kirstein, this thesis thus aims to build a body of scholarship exploring this relationship, while also providing an accessible compiled catalogue of all known related images.

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1 Refer to Appendix II for more information on the NYCB Archives.

2 Hyatt Mayor to Lincoln Kirstein, 1938, WEA.

3 Lincoln Kirstein to Walker Evans, April 1, 1944, WEA.

4 Monroe Wheeler to Lincoln Kirstein, July 17, 1946, NYPLPA.

5 Henri Cartier-Bresson to Lincoln Kirstein, November 24, 1951, NYPLPA.

## II. The New York City Ballet Archives

Established in 1999, the New York City Ballet (NYCB) Archives is responsible for the preservation and organization of all works related to the NYCB, including photographs, films, documents, dance programs, posters and costumes. It also provides limited public access for researchers, students and professionals in the dance field.

The NYCB Archives holds multiple collections, each comprised of both documents and photographs with numerous objects housed in individual folders. These include the Ballet Society Collection (6,775 folders, of which approximately 1,693 contain photographs), New York City Ballet Collection (18,725 folders, of which approximately 4,681 contain photographs), School of American Ballet Collection (660 folders), George Balanchine Trust Collection (100 folders), John Taras Collection (668 folders, of which approximately 170 contain photographs), and Tanaquil Le Clerq Personal Archive (1048 folders, of which approximately 289 contain photographs). The earliest images in the archive date back to the inception of Ballet Society; however there are several older prints contained in the Tanaquil Le Clerq Archive. As Balanchine's last wife, this last collection includes personal family images preceding the company's formation. The photographic portion of the Archives is primarily composed of gelatin silver prints, negatives, and a few modern colour photographs, dating between the late 1940s and the present; however, the majority of prints are undated. In most cases, information describing the dance title, choreographer, dancer(s) and photographer is stamped on the back of each photograph to ensure proper identification. There are multiple photographers represented within the various collections including George Platt Lynes, Martha Swope, Steven Caras and Paul Kolnik. The Archives also contains a smaller number of prints by Carolyn George, Ernst Haas, and of course, Walker Evans and Henri Cartier-Bresson.

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