

NICKOLAS MURAY, ENVIRONMENTAL PORTRAITURE, *VANITY FAIR*

by

Corser du Pont

Bachelor of Arts, Art History, Portland State University, Portland, Oregon, 2007

A thesis

presented to **Ryerson University**, Toronto, Ontario, Canada and

George Eastman House International Museum of Photography and Film,

Rochester, New York, United States of America

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, 2010

© Corser du Pont 2010

AUTHOR'S DECLARATION

I hereby declare that I am the sole author of this thesis.

I authorize Ryerson University and George Eastman House International Museum of Photography and Film to lend this thesis to other institutions or individuals for the purpose of scholarly research.

Signed _____

I further authorize Ryerson University and George Eastman House International Museum of Photography and Film to reproduce this thesis by photocopying or by other means, in total or in part, at the request of other institutions or individuals for the purpose of scholarly research.

Signed _____

Abstract

Nickolas Muray, Environmental Portraiture, *Vanity Fair*

by Corser du Pont

Photographic Preservation and Collections Management, Master of Arts, 2010, Ryerson University, Toronto, Ontario, in coordination with George Eastman House International Museum of Photography and Film, Rochester, New York.

This thesis is a case study of five environmental portraits made in Europe by New York studio photographer Nickolas Muray (1892-1965) for a 1926 commission by *Vanity Fair* magazine (1913-1936). The thesis, in the form of a sixty-three page illustrated essay, describes the circumstances of his photographic production, and the magazine's subsequent use of his photographs. Muray produced environmental portraits by photographing his assigned subjects in their workplaces, homes, and gardens. He retouched, and then contact-printed the negatives; the prints he surrendered to *Vanity Fair*. The magazine cropped and otherwise manipulated the images in order to effectively place them in page layouts. From negatives, to prints, to offset-printed reproductions, the photographic materials bear aesthetically significant images of environmental portraiture that testify to Muray's versatility, technical control, and creative vision.

Acknowledgements

My first reader, Alison Nordström, Curator of Photographs at George Eastman House International Museum of Photography and Film, kept her office door open and me on track researching and writing and editing this paper. I am grateful for her guidance.

I would like to thank my second reader, Sophie Hackett, Assistant Curator of Photography at the Art Gallery of Ontario, for her objective appraisal and clarity.

At George Eastman House, Joe Struble, Archivist; Barbara Galasso, Photographer; Jamie Allen, Assistant Curator of Photographs; Jessica Johnston, Assistant Curator of Photographs; Mark Osterman, Process Historian; Rachel Stuhlman, Librarian; Susan Drexler, Librarian; Ryan Donahue, Manager of Information Systems; and Todd Gustavson, Technology Curator, each gave their undivided attention to my research questions.

At Ryerson University, my advisors Vid Ingelevics, Robert Burley; David Harris, Christopher Evans, Blake Fitzpatrick, Mike Robinson, Jennifer Parker and Denise Psaila-Furniotis; Peter Higdon, Mira Godard Study Centre; Beth Knazook, Ryerson University Library and Archives Special Collections; Dahlia Younan, PPCM Program Administrator; and Marta Braun, PPCM Program Director, each contributed their valuable time to my questions and concerns.

Dedications

To Ann Stratton du Pont, Land du Pont, and Hugh Rempel.

To the memory of Charles Joseph du Pont, and Joe and Louise Longerot.

Table of Contents

Abstract...	iii
Acknowledgements...	iv
Dedications...	v
List of Illustrations...	vii
List of Appendices...	x
Introduction...	1
Literature Survey...	8
Nickolas Muray's Portrait Sessions with...	
Jean Cocteau and Georges and Ludmilla Pitoëff, June 1926, Paris...	15
Claude Monet, June 1926, Giverny...	22
George Bernard Shaw, Friday 02 July 1926, London...	28
John Galsworthy, Saturday 03 July 1926, London...	40
Muray's Related Portraiture in <i>Vanity Fair</i> ...	49
Conclusion: 1926 Washington D.C. & 1929 Hollywood...	56
Appendices...	64-82.

List of Illustrations

George Eastman House Photography Collection accession numbers are formatted as “GEH” followed by the accession year, lot number, and object number. Lot numbers “GEH 1977:0189:” denote 8x10 inch nitrate cellulose negatives. Digital reproductions of George Eastman House photographs are by Staff Photographer Barbara Galasso. *Vanity Fair* reproductions are digital images of the 1966 photostatic facsimile edition, or are digital images of photostatic copies of the facsimile edition. Unless otherwise noted, all illustration images are by Nickolas Muray. All captions are descriptive titles given by the author for the purposes of illustrating this essay, as GEH titles generally refer to only the name of the portrait subject.

1. GEH 1977:0189:0459, Jean Cocteau, retouched.
2. GEH 1977:0189:0467, Jean Cocteau, unretouched.
3. GEH 1977:0188:0460, gelatin silver print, Georges Pitoëff.
4. Unidentified photographer, Georges and Ludmilla Pitoëff.
5. “Ludmilla Pitoëff,” in *Vanity Fair* 30, no. 2 (April 1928): 89, detail.
6. GEH 1977:0189:0462, Ludmilla Pitoëff, Jean Cocteau, Georges Pitoëff, Paris.
7. GEH 1977:0189:0466, Ludmilla Pitoëff, recto.
8. GEH 1977:0189:0466, Nickolas Muray’s retouching of Ludmilla Pitoëff’s face and hands, verso.
9. “We Nominate for the Hall of Fame,” in *Vanity Fair* 30, no. 2 (April 1928): 89.
10. GEH 1977:0189:2043, Nickolas Muray and unidentified companions, Giverny.

11. GEH 1977:0189:2042, Claude Monet and unidentified companions, Giverny.
12. GEH 1977:0189:2049, Muray, Claude Monet, Giverny.
13. GEH 1977:0663:0024, Monet's pond, signed, in turquoise ink "Claude Monet 1926," and in black ink "1926 Muray"
14. GEH 1977:0189:2045, Monet's hands, recto detail.
15. GEH 1977:0189:2045, Muray's retouching of Monet's hands, verso detail.
16. GEH 1977:0189:2028, Claude Monet.
17. "Claude Monet—The Last of the Old Masters," in *Vanity Fair* 27, no. 1 (September 1926): 64.
18. GEH 1977:0663:0025, George Bernard Shaw.
19. GEH 1977:0189:0373, Sir Thomas Henry Hall Caine.
20. GEH 1977:0189:2639, George Bernard Shaw.
21. GEH 1977:0189:2635, George Bernard Shaw.
22. GEH 1977:0189:2636, George Bernard Shaw.
23. GEH 1977:0189:2637, George Bernard Shaw.
24. GEH 1977:0189:2635, Muray's retouching of George Bernard Shaw's face and jacket, verso detail.
25. "George Bernard Shaw at Seventy," in *Vanity Fair* 27, no. 3 (November 1926): 50.
26. "G. B. Shaw Tells All," in *Vanity Fair* 31, no. 1 (September 1928): 38.
27. *Vanity Fair* 27, no. 1 (September 1926): cover and 47.
28. *Vanity Fair* 31, no. 1 (September 1928): cover and 37.
29. "Vanity Fair's Fancy Dress Ball," in *Vanity Fair* 43, no. 5 (January 1935): 19.
30. "George Bernard Shaw," in *Vanity Fair* 43, no. 5 (January 1935): 64.
31. GEH 1977:0189:1125, John Galsworthy, recto.
32. GEH 1977:0189:1125, Muray's retouching of John Galsworthy's face, verso detail.
33. GEH 1983:0361:0033, Nickolas Muray at John Galsworthy's residence.
34. GEH 1977:0189:1131, John Galsworthy.
35. GEH 1977:0188:1125A, John Galsworthy, verso inscriptions.

36. GEH 1971:0047:0032, John Galsworthy, verso inscriptions.
37. GEH 1977:0188:1125, John Galsworthy, verso applied printed label, transmitted light.
38. GEH 1971:0035:0087, verso, applied printed label, detail.
39. "John Galsworthy Writes His Last Play," in *Vanity Fair* 27, no. 5 (January 1927): 38.
40. GEH 1977:0189:0272, Pamela Bianco.
41. "Are Children People?" in *Vanity Fair* 27, no. 1 (September 1926): 61.
42. "Another Gentleman Who Prefers Blondes," in *Vanity Fair* 27, no. 1 (September 1926): 73.
43. "We Nominate for the Hall of Fame," in *Vanity Fair* 27, no. 3 (November 1926): 85.
44. GEH 1977:0663:0029, Frank Swinnerton.
45. GEH 1977:0663:0030, Frank Swinnerton, signed in black ink, "To Nickolas Muray / Frank Swinnerton".
46. GEH 1977:0189:0192, Tallulah Bankhead.
47. "And England Claims Them All," in *Vanity Fair* 27, no. 5 (January 1927): 51.
48. GEH 1977:0189:0194, Muray, unidentified, Bankhead, unidentified.
49. "Fantaisie Espagnole—Doris Niles," in *Vanity Fair* 30, no. 2 (April 1928): 61.
50. "Prohibition Cowardice," in *Vanity Fair* 31, no. 1 (September 1928): 53.
51. "The Retiring First Lady of the Land," in *Vanity Fair* 30, no. 4 (June 1928): 46.
52. "Myrna Loy—a new type for the screen," in *Vanity Fair* 33, no. 3 (November 1929): 82.
53. "Mr. and Mrs. Douglas Fairbanks, Jr.," in *Vanity Fair* 33, no. 3 (October 1929): 89.
54. "Mary and Douglas Fairbanks," in *Vanity Fair* 33, no. 4 (December 1929): 97.
55. "Norma Shearer," in *Vanity Fair* 33, no. 3 (November 1929): 95.
56. GEH 1974:0237:0273, Nickolas Muray, in one of his environments, n.d.

Appendices

Timeline, June and July 1926...64

Letters to Muray from his European portrait subjects...65

Nickolas Muray Notes on Celebrity Portraits, January 1966...68

Notes on photographs...72

Nickolas Muray portraits in *Vanity Fair*...76

Vanity Fair photographic portraits of Muray's 1926 European subjects...77

All page credits for *Vanity Fair* photographers 1925, 1926, and 1927...78

Vanity Fair captions...79

Bibliography...80.

Introduction

This thesis is a case study of five environmental portraits made in Europe by New York studio photographer Nickolas Muray (1892-1965) for a 1926 commission by *Vanity Fair* magazine.¹ The thesis, in the form of a sixty-three page illustrated essay, will describe the circumstances of production and subsequent use of the photographs in the magazine. The essay focuses on the intersection of Muray's photographic production and *Vanity Fair's* photomechanical reproduction, embodied in the five portraits. A distinctive feature of this approach is that the portraits exist in several iterations simultaneously: as three types of photographic objects and images: negative, print, and offset-printed reproduction.

During the commission, Muray photographed at least ten, and perhaps more than twelve portrait subjects. He exposed over one hundred negatives, then retouched most, selected several for printing, and sent an unknown number to *Vanity Fair*. The magazine reproduced five of the portraits. The materials considered central to this essay consist of the five portrait negatives, their nineteen prints, and seven reproductions. The negatives show retouching, and the mechanically-

¹ *Vanity Fair* magazine (September 1913-February 1936) published by Condé Nast, and edited by Frank Crowninshield.

reproduced images show cropping, reversals, reductions in scale, and other visual effects resulting from the situation of images with text in the magazine's page layouts. The nitrate negatives and their corresponding gelatin silver prints are held in the George Eastman House Photography Collection. Versions of the photomechanical-reproductions are available in a 1966 photostatic facsimile edition of *Vanity Fair's* entire initial run.

Nickolas Muray was born Miklós Mandl 15 February 1892 to Samu and Klára Mandl, in the town of Szeged, near Budapest, where his family soon moved after changing their name to Murai. His parents wanted him to study law, but Miklós studied photography and printing, and he set his sights on becoming a competitive fencer. He moved to Munich, and then Berlin to continue his studies at the National Technical School. He earned the International Engravers Certificate, and landed a position making photogravures. In his late teens, he travelled through France and England, taking photographs.²

Years later, from his office at 230 East 50th Street in Manhattan, Muray typed an autobiographical outline of his lengthy professional career:

BORN IN HUNGARY / GRADUATED GRAPHIC ARTS SCHOOL, BUDAPEST / THREE
YEARS IN BERLIN FOR FURTHER STUDIES IN COLOR PHOTO-ENGRAVING / ARRIVED

² Biographical information compiled from Paul Gallico, *The Revealing Eye: Personalities of the 1920's* (New York: Atheneum, 1967); Salomón Grimberg, "Chronology," in *I Will Never Forget You* (Munich: Schirmer/Mosel, 2004), 109-11; Marianne Fulton Margolis, introduction to *Muray's Celebrity Portraits of the Twenties and Thirties* (New York: Dover, 1978); Katherine Ursula Parrott, *Profile of Muray* (n.p., n.d.); and Robert A. Sobieszek, *Nickolas Muray* (Rochester, N.Y.: International Museum of Photography at George Eastman House, 1974).

NEW YORK 1913. CONTINUED IN COLOR PHOTOENGRAVING WITH CONDE NAST PUBLICATIONS UNTIL FIRST STUDIO OPENED ON MACDOUGAL STREET, N. Y. / PHOTOGRAPHED IN ALL AREAS FOR MANY YEARS— FASHIONS, PORTRAITS, STAGE PLAYS, INTERIORS, ILLUSTRATIONS, FOOD, ETC. / FIRST IMPORTANT CONTRACTS VOGUE, HARPER’S BAZAAR— CURTIS PUBLICATIONS IN 1930, AT WHICH TIME DID FIRST LIVE COLOR PHOTOGRAPH COVERS AND FASHION SPREADS IN COLOR, FOR LADIE’S [sic] HOME JOURNAL. / CONTRACT WITH MACCALL’S MAGAZINE FROM 1935 TO 1945, DOING FRONT COVERS, “HOMEMAKING” COVERS, AND FOOD PAGES / DELL PUBLICATIONS— MOVIE STARS FOR COVERS / COMMERCIAL ILLUSTRATIONS — ASSIGNMENTS TOO NUMEROUS TO MENTION TO LIST — INCLUDING MOST MAJOR AGENCIES AND PRODUCTS / REPRESENTED U.S. IN TWO OLYMPICS AS COMPETITOR (NATIONAL SABER CHAMPION TWICE) AND DIRECTOR-JUDGE MELBOURNE, ROME, TOKYO / LIVE [sic] MEMBER OF ART DIRECTORS CLUB SINCE 1956 (AFTER 25 YEARS REGULAR MEMBERSHIP).³

As Muray became more successful, he moved his studio uptown, in 1925 to East 48th Street, and then to two consecutive locations on East 50th.⁴ He produced over 10,000 portraits during the 1920s.⁵ He shifted production to colour advertising materials in the 1930s. In the 1940s, he taught colour photography at New York University. He died 2 November 1965, at the age of seventy-three, on the fencing court of the New York Athletic Club.

Muray’s involvement with *Vanity Fair* began in 1915, as a union worker at Condé

³ Nickolas Muray, from the *Nickolas Muray Papers*, accessible at the Archives of American Art, Washington D. C. <http://www.aaa.si.edu/collections/collection/muranick.htm>.

⁴ Evidenced by studio stamps on the verso of prints in the GEH collection, and the aforementioned biographical sources.

⁵ Grimberg, *I Will Never Forget You*, 111.

Nast Publications, making halftones and colour separation negatives.⁶ In 1920, he established a portrait studio in Greenwich Village, and his début as a *Vanity Fair* photographer came almost immediately with the publication of two portraits in the October issue.⁷ Over the next sixteen years, Muray received credit for over two hundred photographs.⁸ Generally, Muray photographed studio visitors, printed the portraits, and sent prints to *Vanity Fair* for reproduction.

Each month from 1913 to 1936, editor Frank Crowninshield's *Vanity Fair* aimed its content at sophisticated consumers. Page layouts consisted of advertisements, articles, cultural commentary, and portraits of the well-known. Starting in 1921, Nast printed his magazines in Greenwich, Connecticut.⁹ "The Condé Nast Press, (was) completely modernized to become one of the finest magazine manufacturing plants in the country."¹⁰ If Muray had stayed on as a printer, his job would have moved to Connecticut. It is an open question whether Muray's experience as a printer informed his approach to making photographs intended for photomechanical reproduction, but his career accelerated and the number of his reproduced portraits landed him in the number two spot behind

⁶ Gallico, *The Revealing Eye*, xv-xvi.

⁷ Dancers Alice Hegeman and Miss Fontaine, in *Vanity Fair* 15, no.2 (October 1920): 78.

⁸ See appendix "Nickolas Muray portraits in *Vanity Fair*" for a complete list compiled from the facsimile edition, and cross-referenced from the *Index*.

⁹ The former Arbor Press became The Condé Nast Press, which operated until 1964. A hotel now sits on the former site of the press. Hyatt Regency Greenwich, *Wall*, Facebook, 20 July, <http://www.facebook.com/pages/Old-Greenwich-CT/Hyatt-Regency-Greenwich/270114073156>.

¹⁰ Reference for Business, *The Condé Nast Publications, Inc. Company Profile, Information, Business Description, History, Background Information and The Condé Nast Publications Inc.*, Reference for Business: Company History Index, <http://www.referenceforbusiness.com/history2/54/The-Cond-Nast-Publications-Inc.html#ixzz0w82LFMF0>, 09 August 2010.

Vanity Fair's head photographer Edward Steichen.¹¹

In 1926, Crowninshield sent Muray on assignment to Europe to photograph celebrities. While away from the conventions and reliabilities of his studio setup, Muray undertook environmental portraiture. His subjects included Sir Hall Caine, Jean Cocteau, John Galsworthy, Ferenc Molnar, Claude Monet, Georges and Ludmilla Pitoëff, H. G. Wells, probably Frank Swinnerton, and possibly Tallulah Bankhead.¹² By environmental portraiture, I mean that he portrayed his assigned subjects, often with available light, in their workplaces, homes, and gardens. Evidence of the subject's habitat is included in Muray's compositions, as opposed to a neutral background. He also produced environmental portraits on trips to Washington D. C. and Hollywood.

A 1923 portrait of the playwright Eugene O'Neill is the only example of Muray's environmental portraiture in *Vanity Fair* prior to the 1926 commission.¹³ Until 1926, *Vanity Fair* reproduced Muray's studio portraits in page layouts with other photographers' work, and also as featured full-page portraits. After the 1926 travel commission, the magazine relegated his studio portraiture to pages shared with other photographers and reproduced Muray's environmental portraits as full-page features. Muray's photo credits had begun to dwindle in early 1929, and he

¹¹ See appendix "Photographers with most page credits."

¹² Other candidate sessions are those of Mr. and Mrs. H. de Vere Stacpoole, GEH 1977:0189:2725-2735, and an unidentified royal couple, GEH 1977:0189:1891-1897.

¹³ "Eugene O'Neill, On The Balcony of His Lighthouse at Provincetown," in *Vanity Fair* 21, no. 4 (December 1923): 51.

earned just three credits after 1931. The reasons for this decline are outside the scope of this thesis.

This shift in *Vanity Fair's* emphasis from studio to environmental portraits can be examined by considering the conditions for both Muray's production and the magazine's reproductions. It is conceivable that Muray and Crowninshield discussed stylistic concerns before Muray's departure for Europe. In any event, Muray chose to photograph his subjects with visible evidence of their surroundings. An examination of all of the Muray portrait sessions available at George Eastman House reveals only travel-related environmental portraiture. Photographers and photography studios operated in London and Paris, but the expense of sending a correspondent was consistent with *Vanity Fair's* promotion of luxury goods and services, and its celebration of extravagant gestures. Visible evidence of the photograph's location provided readers with proof of that expense, and portraying a European celebrity in a studio would have defeated the purpose of the exercise.

Many of Muray's portraits from the trip, including those of Caine, Cocteau, and Wells, did not make it into *Vanity Fair*. Muray may not have sent these portraits in, or did and they were neglected. The magazine's art directors worked with what Muray sent them, and in most cases reproduced environmental portraits full-page. The 1923 O'Neill environmental portrait was reproduced full-page,

implying that the selection criteria for full-page reproductions did not change with the increase of environmental portrait production, rather, the increased availability of environmental portraits allowed for an increased frequency of full-page reproduction. Generally, captions and photo credits for environmental portraits state foreign or non-New York locations, hinting at an otherwise-assumed Manhattan location for portraits.

My main line of enquiry is a close reading of the portrait materials and images in order to describe the circumstances of Muray's environmental portrait production, and then to determine *Vanity Fair's* use of the portraits. This environmental portraiture provides an opportunity to witness the photographer's versatility and technical control in unusual and challenging circumstances. The complex elements of his environmental portraits can be considered in each of their material iterations of negative, print, and offset-print reproduction. Muray's portraits can also be considered in terms of their aesthetic significance. This thesis will position the portraits within the context of his studio career in order to demonstrate that Muray's environmental portraiture is encouraged by travel. To support this argument, the conclusion of this essay briefly interrogates the two other *Vanity Fair* commissions undertaken by Muray in similar circumstances away from his studio. If travel encouraged a trend towards environmental portraiture, then this type of comparative analysis may assist in ascertaining whether a similar pattern existed in other photographers' work.

Literature Survey

The George Eastman House Photography Collection contains 400,000 photographs, and nearly 25,000 of these are from Muray's New York studio. The result of his professional commercial work, the photographs consist primarily of black and white nitrate negatives and gelatin silver prints from the 1920's and 30's, and a variety of colour materials from the 1930's onwards. The black and white photographs are almost all portraits; the colour materials were used to make both portraits and advertising work. In addition, the Richard and Ronay Menschel Library at George Eastman House holds Muray's mockup for his never-published "Great Tribes of Africa." The assemblage of colour photographs and typed textual materials illustrate his photographic production method as employed in a 1960s ethnographic context.

Historical surveys of photography scarcely mention Muray, and the few instances that exist are mainly in the context of his great friend and colleague, Condé Nast Head Photographer Edward Steichen. Helmut and Alison Gernsheim's *History of Photography*, 3rd ed. (New York, 1965), Mary Warner Marien's *Photography: A Cultural History*, 2nd ed. (Upper Saddle River, N.J., 2006), Beaumont Newhall's

History of Photography (New York, 1982), Miles Orvell's *American Photography* (New York, 2003), Martin W. Sandler's *The Story of American Photography* (Boston, 1979), and John Szarkowski's *Photography Until Now* (New York, 1989) do not mention Muray.

Michel Frizot's *A New History of Photography* (Köln, 1998), Robert Hirsch's *Seizing the Light: A Social History of Photography*, 2nd ed. (New York, 2009), Lemagny and Rouillé's *Histoire de la Photographie* (Paris, 1986), and Naomi Rosenblum's *A World History of Photography* (New York, 2007) each include an illustration and a paragraph or so on Muray. Passing mention is made of his 1920s portraiture, often as an introduction to his spectacular colour advertising work. *The George Eastman House Collection: A History of Photography, From 1839 to the Present* (Köln, 2005) concentrates on Muray's technical ability; his 1920's portraiture is discussed, as is his commercial colour work of the 1930s. According to Eskind's *Index to American Photographic Collections: Compiled at the International Museum of Photography and Film at George Eastman House*, 3rd enlarged ed. (New York, 1996), after the George Eastman House Muray collection, secondary institutional holdings include the National Museum of American History, Arizona State University, and the Centre for Creative Photography at the University of Arizona. As of this writing, an undetermined amount of material remains with Muray's daughter, Mimi Muray Levitt.¹⁴

¹⁴ Alison Nordström, conversation with author, George Eastman House International Museum of Photography and Film, Rochester, New York, 18 July 2010.

Two George Eastman House publications address Muray's photographs: the first thematically organises image subject and content, and the second explores physical aspects of photographic deterioration and image preservation. Robert A. Sobieszek's George Eastman House exhibition brochure for *Nickolas Muray* (Rochester, 1974) includes a checklist of the 181 exhibition objects thematically-organised as Portraits, Figure Studies, Fashion, Advertising, Cover and Packages, Still Lives, Miscellaneous, or Biographical. Portraits of three of Muray's 1926 European subjects are included in the exhibition. This theme-based approach provides an overview of Muray's career, but it does not examine production circumstances, nor the use of images in the 1920s. The *Image* journal article "Saving the Image: The Deterioration of Nitrate Negatives" (Hager 1983) examines Muray's deteriorating negatives and efforts by George Eastman House personnel to contact print them using a variety of photographic papers. A short biography of Muray is given, as well as a history of the nitrate negative, and an explanation of printing methods. The focus of the article is on the twenty-three colour reproductions that illustrate the preservation efforts.

Three monographs on Muray provide biographical information and anecdotes regarding his personal relationships with his subjects, along with representative sample surveys of his portraits. Use of his photographs is generally not discussed. Each book refers to the 1926 *Vanity Fair* commission, though few

specifics are given, and the portraits and portrait sessions are not made to relate to each other, or to their intended use as portraits for photomechanical reproduction in the magazine.

Salomón Grimberg, *I Will Never Forget You: Frida Kahlo to Nickolas Muray, Unpublished Photographs and Letters* (Munich, 2004) focuses on Muray's personal relationships in the 1930s. It contains a valuable "Chronology of Nickolas Muray" in which the entry for 1926 includes references to *Vanity Fair* portrait commissions including President Coolidge and Secretary of Commerce Hoover, as well as the European trip. Eight European subjects are named: Caine, Cocteau, Galsworthy, Molnar, Monet, Pogany, Shaw, and Wells. The entry for 1929 mentions another *Vanity Fair* travel assignment, this time to Hollywood, where his subjects included Douglas Fairbanks and Mary Pickford, Douglas Fairbanks, Jr. and Joan Crawford, Greta Garbo, and Jean Harlow.

Paul Gallico's *The Revealing Eye: Personalities of the 1920's, Photographs by Nickolas Muray and Words by Paul Gallico* (New York, 1967) mentions subjects Caine, Galsworthy, Molnar, and Shaw. Muray recollects that Shaw and Caine as having been photographed the same day. A conversation with Wells is included. Cain, Cocteau, Galsworthy, Molnar, Monet, Shaw and Wells are represented by image reproduction. A 1925 trip to Paris to photograph Yvette Guilbert is mentioned in this work and nowhere else (no image of Guilbert is published in

Vanity Fair after 1924). The monograph *Murray's Celebrity Portraits of the Twenties and Thirties: 135 Photographs by Nickolas Murray* (New York, 1978) begins with a remark by Monet marveling at Murray's photographic technology. The monograph mentions the 1926 commission as taking place in London, Paris and Berlin, and refers to Galsworthy, Monet, Shaw, and Wells. It includes reproductions of Cocteau, Galsworthy, Molnar, Monet, Shaw, and Wells.

In *Vanity Fair The Portraits: A Century of Iconic Images* (New York: Abrams, 2008), a short paragraph on Murray mentions his over 10,000 portraits, and specifically the 1926 assignment. It lists portrait subjects Galsworthy, Shaw, and Wells in London, and Monet in Paris, and reproduces a Monet portrait. The periodical's early 20th century context is framed and interpreted in essays by Terence Pepper and Christopher Hitchens. Diana Edkins Richardson's *Vanity Fair: Photographs of an Age, 1914-1936* (New York, 1982) reproduces a few of Murray's 1929 Hollywood portraits, but offers no biography or analysis.

A 1920 article "The New Art of Camera Painting" (Donnell, 1920) predates Murray's success, but includes a description of Murray's first Greenwich Village studio. This article is specific in its descriptions where most available sources provide only variations on the same broad account of Murray.

Several sources provide models for approaching a collection as vast as Muray's. David Harris' *Eugène Atget: Unknown Paris* (New York, 2003) reconstructs Atget's production methods by a close reading of his photographs. Essays in Elizabeth Edwards and Janice Hart's invaluable *Photographs Objects Histories: On the Materiality of Images* (New York, 2004) offer considerations of discrete bodies and types of photographic work in order to stress photographic materiality.

For examinations of photographic production and use, Glenn G. Willumson's *W. Eugene Smith and the Photographic Essay* (New York, 1992) tracks the photojournalist's assignments from production to publication. Thierry Gervais' *Études photographiques* journal article "De part et d'autre de la "garde-barrière": Les errances techniques dans l'usage de la photographie au sein du journal *L'Illustration* (1880-1900)" (2009) considers the hybridity of hand-painted photographic source material for nineteenth-century magazine reproductions. William A. Ewing and Todd Brandow's *Edward Steichen in High Fashion: The Condé Nast Years 1923-1937* (Minneapolis, 2008) touches briefly upon production and use, while Patricia Johnston's *Real Fantasies: Edward Steichen's Advertising Photography* (Berkeley, 1997) firmly connects Steichen's production to magazine reproduction by analyses of business contracts.

In addition to the objects themselves, this essay depends mostly upon two primary sources: Muray's personal papers and a facsimile edition of *Vanity Fair*

(Ann Arbor, MI., 1967). The Muray papers, available in microform from the Archives of American Art, consist, in part, of memoirs and correspondence with his portrait subjects. The 1967 photostatic facsimile of the entire run of *Vanity Fair*, from September 1913 to February 1936, includes an *Index*. This key, compiled under the able supervision of Louise Heinze, permitted the research and exploration of forty-five volumes of portraits and textual references.

Cross-referencing the *Vanity Fair* facsimile indexical references, conducting a page-by-page read of the facsimile editions, and then locating and comparing the reproductions with the matching George Eastman House collection objects revealed the patterns of use that I describe throughout this paper. Reconciling Muray's notes with the aforementioned sources' biographical entries, and then with the photographic objects and images themselves, made it possible to partially reconstruct Muray's 1926 European portrait sessions.

Jean Cocteau and Georges and Ludmilla Pitoëff in Paris, France, June 1926

Murray's "Notes on Celebrity Portraits" refers to his near-exact contemporary Jean Cocteau (1889-1963) only in passing, but significantly establishes the artist as one of his 1926 European portrait subjects.¹⁵ *Vanity Fair* reproduced five of the portraits that Murray made during four sessions with six primary subjects. Among Murray's papers are examples of correspondence with several of the European subjects, but letters to or from Cocteau are not among them. Also, *Vanity Fair* did not reproduce any Murray portraits of Cocteau.¹⁶ No available documents establish the time or place of the Cocteau portrait session.

The George Eastman House photography collection holds nine Murray portraits of Cocteau and two companions.¹⁷ Of the nine exposures, two are group portraits of the trio, one is a dual portrait of the unidentified couple, and the remainder is comprised of two individual portraits of each subject. (fig. 1, fig. 2.) Cocteau's

¹⁵ Nickolas Murray, *Notes on Celebrity Portraits* (New York: January 1966), 1.

¹⁶ Louise Heinze, comp., "Authors," in *An Index to Vanity Fair: September 1913–February 1936* (Ann Arbor, MI.: University Microfilms, 1967), 20.

¹⁷ There are nine negatives and five prints associated with Murray's 1926 portrait session with Jean Cocteau and Georges and Ludmilla Pitoëff in the GEH Photography Collection. Catalogue records in the GEH database TMS assign a date range of ca. 1922-1961 to all of the objects. Only Cocteau and Murray are identified as constituents. The Pitoëffs, unlisted as constituents in TMS, are listed as unidentified companions of Cocteau. One portrait of Georges had been mis-identified as Cocteau, though that mis-attribution has now been corrected.

companions, previously unidentified, are Georges and Ludmilla Pitoëff, as confirmed by comparison to their photographs elsewhere. (fig. 3, fig. 4, fig. 5)



Fig. 1. GEH 1977:0189:0459, Jean Cocteau, retouched. Fig. 2. GEH 1977:0189:0467, Jean Cocteau, unretouched. All negative images measure approximately 25 x 20 cm.

On 05 June 1926, Jean Cocteau's play *Orphée* premiered at the Théâtre des Arts, Paris, 17^e.¹⁸ Georges Pitoëff (1884-1939) staged the production and played the title role.¹⁹ His wife Ludmilla Pitoëff (1899-1951) played Eurydice.²⁰ The run of the theatrical production coincides with Muray's presence in Paris. The presence

¹⁸ Les Archives du Spectacle, "Orphée de Jean Cocteau," Les Archives du Spectacle, 2010, http://www.lesarchivesduspectacle.net/?IDX_Spectacle=11831. Costumes by Coco Chanel (1883-1971). The production reprised the next year, with Cocteau in the role of Heurtebise.

¹⁹ BnF catalogue général, "Notice de spectacle notice no. FRBNF39459334," *BnF catalogue général*, 2010, <http://catalogue.bnf.fr:80/servlet/RechercheEquation.jsessionid=C3C82494C1D484562D50D0FD F2322904?TexteCollection=HGARSTUVWXYZ1DIECBMJNQLOKP&TexteTypeDoc=DESNFPIB TMCJOV&Equation=IDP%3Dcb39459334n&FormatAffichage=0&host=catalogue>.

²⁰ Russi in Italia, "Ljudmila Jakovlevna Smanova, Ljudmila Pitoëff," www.russiinitalia.it, 2008, <http://www.russiinitalia.it/dettaglio.php?id=795>

of these three figures in a democratic allotment of negatives points to a session devoted, at the time, to all three figures equally, who likely appear together promoting their theatrical event.



Fig. 3. GEH 1977:0188:0460, gelatin silver print, Georges Pitoëff. Fig. 4. Unidentified photographer, [weheartit.com/tag/haunted](https://www.weheartit.com/tag/haunted), Georges and Ludmilla Pitoëff. Fig. 5. "Ludmilla Pitoëff," in *Vanity Fair* 30, no. 2 (April 1928): 89, detail.



Fig. 6. GEH 1977:0189:0462, Ludmilla Pitoëff, Jean Cocteau, and Georges Pitoëff, June 1926, Paris, France.

The genial group is portrayed seated at a small table, their backs to a large window. (fig. 6) The table is set with a white cloth, bowl of fruit, plates, and glasses. Digital reproduction and enlargement of the images clearly show spot lights reflected in the subjects' retinas, and shadows of the drinking glasses projecting back towards the window. This implies that the furnishings, including the cartoonish backdrop, are front-lit *Orphée* stage props. Muray photographed the subjects in the environment of their place of work. In two group portraits, the Pitoëffs flank Cocteau, and in their double portrait, they playfully respond to someone out of frame. In the two portraits of Ludmilla, she remains seated. In the first, she presents the bowl laden with pears, looking up to our right. In the second, her hands are clasped neatly on the tablecloth, and she looks demurely to our left. (fig. 7) This is the portrait reproduced in *Vanity Fair*.

Except for one example, (fig. 2) all of the session's negatives are retouched; all evidence suggests Muray retouched his own negatives, or supervised their retouching. Ludmilla Pitoëff's central negative is manipulated by short scratch marks along her hairline and on her face and throat, and a broad swirl of a brush stroke around her entire head. (fig. 8) The surface of an untreated nitrate cellulose negative is slick, resisting pencil marks. In order to allow for pencilled retouching, the surface must be given "tooth".²¹ A solution of gum mastic, oil of juniper or turpentine, and asphaltum lightly applied to the slick surface of the

²¹ Mark Osterman, "A Brief Explanation of Negative Retouching Methods and Results," George Eastman House, 14 July 2010.

negative provides a surface that accepts retouching marks. The gum mastic has the unintentional benefit of preserving the portion of image below, so that deterioration of these treated areas of the negatives may be delayed.²²



Fig. 7. GEH 1977:0189:0466, Ludmilla Pitoëff, recto. Fig. 8. GEH 1977:0189:0466, Nickolas Muray's retouching of Ludmilla Pitoëff's face and hands.

Vanity Fair reproduced the Pitoëff portrait in the 142-page April 1928 issue, nearly two years after the portrait session. (fig. 9) The April 1928 table of contents categories include "In and About the Theatre," "Concerning the Cinema," "The World of Art," "The World of Ideas," "Literary Hors d'Œuvres," "Satirical Sketches," and "Miscellaneous."²³ "Miscellaneous" lists the monthly feature "We Nominate for the Hall of Fame," on page eighty-nine.

²² *The British Journal Photographic Almanac 1928* (London: Henry Greenwood and Co., Ltd., Publishers, 1928): 391.

²³ Frank Crowninshield, ed., "In This Number," in *Vanity Fair* 30, no. 2 (April 1928): 47.

Representations of five personages make the cut: Parisian actress Pitoëff, in her only appearance in the magazine, U. S. Ambassador to Mexico Dwight Morrow, artist Pablo Picasso, German novelist Thomas Mann, and Irish poet George W. Russell (Æ). Biographical text underlies each of the photomechanical portrait reproductions. Three rectangularly-framed portraits, credited to photographers “MURAY,” “WIDE WORLD,” and “MAN RAY,” display subjects against light backgrounds; two uncredited octagonally-framed portraits display subjects against dark interior and exterior backgrounds.

To suit the arrangement of five portraits, the Muray image has been reduced, cropped, and reversed. The original image of Pitoëff’s face measured 8 cm. vertically, and the reproduction measures 3.8 cm., a reduction of approximately 50%. All the contextual elements are cropped out; the environmental portrait now resembles a studio portrait. Muray’s soft-focus portrait of the demure Pitoëff appears to be gazing at the confident Morrow, who once aimed his attention into Wide World’s sharply-focused camera lens. Man Ray’s epic Picasso, here the central portrait, appears to look beyond Pitoëff’s biographical text to the columns of text on the opposite page. Below and to the left of Picasso, Mann stares directly out at the viewer, his back to the gutter edge of the page. Russell, from the lower right corner of the page, looks directly over the Picasso biography and then on to Mann. The relational layout of portrait subject images creates a visual conversation. If the Pitoëff portrait had not been laterally reversed, four of the five

subjects would have been facing to the left, visually throwing greater emphasis onto Bernard Darwin's essay "The Golfer's Commandments" on the facing page.



Fig. 9. "We Nominate for the Hall of Fame," in *Vanity Fair* 30, no. 2 (April 1928): 89. All facsimile *Vanity Fair* pages, 31.7 x 23.3 cm. *Pitoëff*, 8.3 x 6.7 cm.

Under each of the nominated personages is a caption. For the actress:

LUDMILLA PITÖEFF [sic] / Because she is a Russian who, since the war, has become one of the first actresses of France; because she and her husband, the admirable Pitöeff [sic], are the Lunt and Fontanne of Paris; and finally because the Pitöeffs [sic] have made Paris accept with enthusiasm a modern and artistic theatre.²⁴

Vanity Fair reduces Muray's restrained environmental portrait of Pitoëff to a mere headshot; the caption explains the actress's import.

²⁴ "We Nominate for the Hall of Fame," in *Vanity Fair* 30, no. 2 (April 1928): 89.

Claude Monet, June 1926, Giverny, France

Of the subjects *Vanity Fair* asked Muray to contact in order to schedule their portrait sessions, responses came from all except Monet. In order to complete his assignment, Muray's unidentified contact in Paris drove him the seventy-some kilometers northwest to Monet's residence at Giverny. Upon arrival at Monet's compound, a nurse held the unannounced visitors at bay, answering the bell twice without admitting the photographer and his travelling companion. The pair cooled their heels on the street. During this wait, Muray took the opportunity to photograph himself, his friend, their driver, and their impressive car.²⁵ (fig. 10)



Fig. 10. GEH 1977:0189:2043, Nickolas Muray and unidentified companions, Giverny. Fig. 11. GEH 1977:0189:2042, Claude Monet and unidentified companions, Giverny.

²⁵ GEH 1977:0189:2043, Nickolas Muray and unidentified companions.

As Muray's "French was less than scant"²⁶ his guide continued to assail the nurse, who eventually relayed the message, and Monet allowed admittance. Muray's recollection of the day includes both an outline of the portrait session, including general locations, and a brief description of his working methods.

Although he did not look ill, he seemed tired. After greeting us, he sat down on a bench and I began to work quickly. After a bit he asked me when I would start taking the pictures. I explained that I already had taken half a dozen or so. He said this was impossible—I had not told him what to do or where to look, and besides, he had not heard any "click." I told him I had a "silent shutter," and showed him the bulb I'd been holding behind my back—when I pressed this, it opened and closed in fifth of a second exposures. He had noticed me fussing with changing film holders, but hadn't realized that exposures were being made. He laughed at what he said was a "great trick," and relaxed into complete friendliness. He took us down to his famous lily pond which he'd painted so often, and I took more pictures there, both of him and of the pond...²⁷

Five of Muray's twenty-four exposures,²⁸ which present the subject resting on a small bench, the camera at a respectful distance, support the photographer's

²⁶ Muray, *Notes on Celebrity Portraits*, 3.

²⁷ Muray, *Notes on Celebrity Portraits*, 4.

²⁸ There are twenty-four negatives and twenty-nine prints of Claude Monet and his garden in the GEH collection. TMS catalogue records assign a date range of ca. 1926 to all of the objects, and both Monet and Muray are identified as constituents.

claim that the initial shots capture a non-posing Monet.²⁹ A sixth exposure, in the same location, pairs subject and photographer, shutter release in hand. (fig. 12) Initially clad in a long coat, soon handed off to the nurse, (fig. 11) Monet's outfit includes a herringbone-patterned suit with white frilled shirtsleeves emerging from jacket cuffs. The painter sports a straw hat, worn at a slight angle, and small, round wire-rimmed spectacles. As Monet wears his beard long, the general effect projected is that of a private, protected person. Muray successfully engaged the artist, and continued further communication, as evidenced by further communication that eventually led to an exchange of signed prints. (fig. 13)



Fig. 12. GEH 1977:0189:2049, Muray, Claude Monet, Giverny. Fig. 13. GEH 1977:0663:0024, Monet's pond, signed, in turquoise ink "Claude Monet / 1926," and in black ink "1926 / Muray."

²⁹ GEH 1977:0189:2026, 2029, 2035, 2045, and 2047, Claude Monet.

After realizing Muray's covert portrait acquisition method, Monet stated "So now you will know me as I am and not as I would have tried to hide myself from you."³⁰ While previous literature employs this statement to comment on the portraits that Muray took unbeknownst to Monet, the statement may alternately imply a willingness to offer unguarded moments. Over the course of the sitting, Muray gradually moves the camera in closer, and, in three close-ups, Monet doffs his hat, and, in one pose, removes his glasses to reveal his damaged eyes.

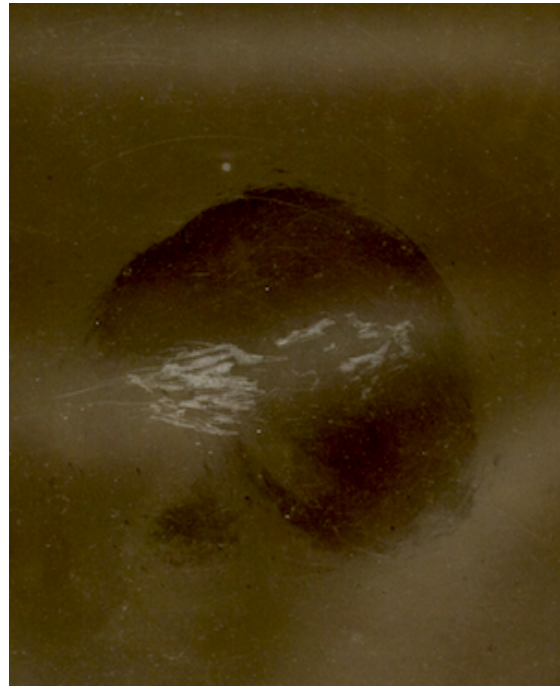


Fig 14. GEH 1977:0189:2045, Monet's hands, recto detail. Fig. 15. GEH 1977:0189:2045, Muray's retouching of Monet's hands, verso detail.

While the aging painter's eyes and hands bore testament to years of artistic production, Muray chose to minimize these attributes for the purposes of

³⁰ Nickolas Muray and Paul Gallico, *The Revealing Eye: Personalities of the 1920's in Photographs by Nickolas Muray and words by Paul Gallico* (New York: Atheneum, 1967), VI.

reproduction. Muray's marks follow along and fade facial wrinkles and the tendons and veins on the backs of hands. (fig. 14, fig. 15)

Muray sent *Vanity Fair* a print of a three-quarter length left profile for reproduction. The subject stands, hands in jacket pockets, hat brim low, eyes directed at the horizon, (fig. 16) a stance that supports the artist's monumental stature in Western culture. The sun-dappled foliage of the garden, Monet's attribute, supplies an evocative backdrop. Readers acquainted with the artist's work, and this being Monet's fourth appearance in *Vanity Fair*,³¹ could place the subject in his garden environment, which reads easily even in reproduction.

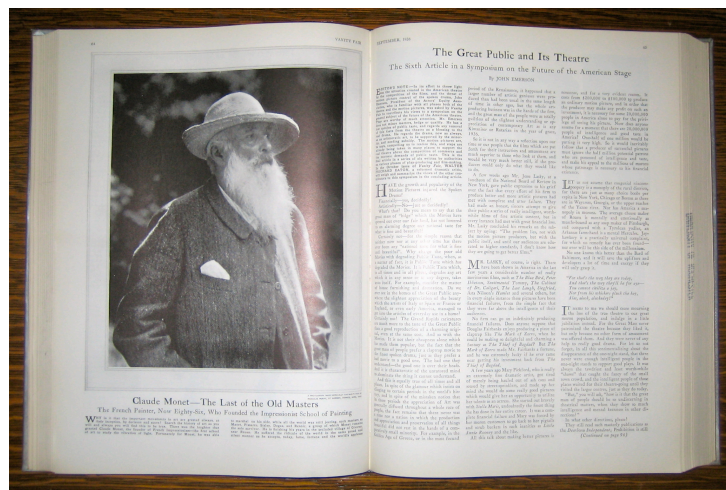


Fig. 16. GEH 1977:0189:2028, Claude Monet. Fig. 17. "Claude Monet—The Last of the Old Masters," in *Vanity Fair* 27, no. 1 (September 1926): 64. *Monet*, 21 x 16.8 cm.

The Muray portrait of Monet is reproduced on page sixty-four of the 142-page September 1926 issue of *Vanity Fair*. (fig. 17) Muray's image is uncropped,

³¹ *Vanity Fair* published uncredited portraits of Monet in March 1917, March 1921, and May 1924, before Muray's September 1926 credit.

reduced approximately 15%, and laterally reversed. Even a casual reader flipping through the magazine could spot the man's handkerchief, conventionally placed on the left, peeking out from a right breast pocket, but if not laterally reversed, Monet's image would have appeared to turn his back to the article on the facing page, thus directing attention to the left, or out of the magazine.

Five pale lines border the portrait entitled: "Claude Monet—The Last of the Old Masters". A two-column captioning paragraph provides the reader a casual appraisal of the artist's character and cultural contribution, further contextualizing the figure.³² The relatively substantial photo credit reads, "A PHOTOGRAPH MADE ESPECIALLY FOR VANITY FAIR BY NICKOLAS MURAY, AT GIVERNY, FRANCE, JUNE, 1926." This emphasis on location, as well as the date, places the well-known New York photographer out of his studio, working in the field. The photo credit explicitly states Muray's production circumstance. The assemblage of fonts, font sizes and formatted text serves as a pedestal for the portrait; the detailed caption coupled with the confident portrait composition resonate with authority and definitiveness.

³² Caption for "Claude Monet—The Last of the Old Masters," in *Vanity Fair* 27, no. 1 (September 1926): 64, in appendices.

George Bernard Shaw, Friday 02 July 1926, London, England

After photographing his French portrait subjects, Muray crossed the English Channel, arriving in London on or before Thursday 01 July. Of his two assignments booked for that Friday, first up was Shaw at 9.30, at his address in central London.³³

His home in Adelphi Terrace...was over the...shop which printed most of his books. The building was on an islet in a triangular area, approached by a bridge. When I rang the doorbell, Mr. Shaw himself came down and received me with enthusiasm. Seeing that I was overburdened with camera, film holders, etc., he offered to lend a hand with my equipment, and carried my wooden tripod as I followed him up to his study.³⁴

Already, the scenario shifted from the initially hostile, and then merely indifferent reception which Muray had first encountered at Monet's residence. Shaw, a photographer in his own right and a founder of the Royal Photographic Society, immediately engaged in friendly discussions with Muray about his camera and lighting, and then spoke of other arts. Author entertained photographer by playing

³³ GEH 1971:0047:0033, George Bernard Shaw, the verso includes the pencilled notation "G. B. Shaw, 1926, in London Apt."

³⁴ Muray, *Notes on Celebrity Portraits*, 1.

ballads on a harpsichord and singing folksongs; Muray admired Shaw's albums of photographs. Mrs. Shaw entered around eleven offering tea, Muray realised that the time of his one-thirty appointment with Caine was approaching, and so he moved to begin the portrait session.

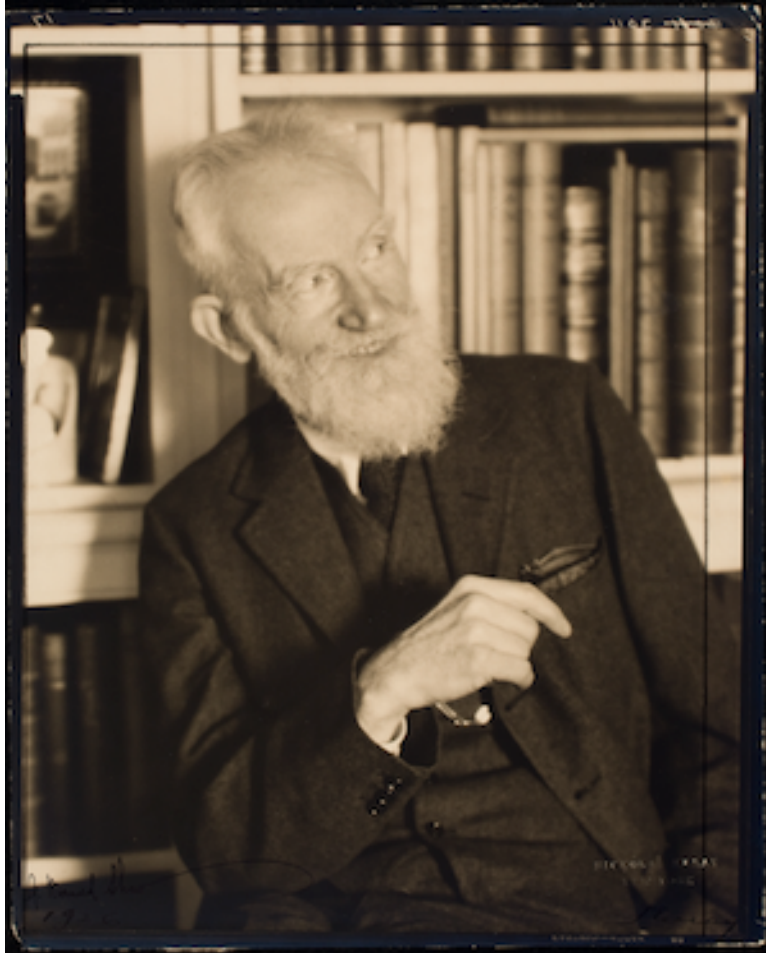


Fig. 18. GEH 1977:0663:0025, George Bernard Shaw, with crop lines, date, and signatures in black ink: "G. Bernard Shaw / 1926 / Muray".

Here, Muray's equipment list gets more specific: "We set up the camera in his study. There were no lights—in those days we used only available light. It was an 8x10 view camera with double extension bellows and an old Struss pictorial soft-

focus lens.”³⁵ He found in his subject an unself-conscious model, and in short order produced twenty-three negatives. After tea, the pair decided that proofs would be exchanged for Shaw’s reproduction approval. Muray eventually sent several prints to Shaw, of which he returned four with autographs. (fig. 18)

Reconciling Muray’s account of the session with available correspondence between Muray and Shaw’s secretary, Blanche Patch, clarifies the negotiations for setting up the portrait session, and the actual timing of the session itself. Patch’s typed letter of 24 June to Muray at his hotel in Paris prompts that Friday 02 July is “the only day between the 1st and the 8th on which [Shaw] is likely to be in London. Will you telephone here on the morning of that day about 10.30?”³⁶ Decades later, Muray recalled that the sitting had been agreed upon for 9.30.³⁷ Actual photography began in earnest at 11 o’clock, after equipment set up, the extended discussion of photography, and Shaw’s musical recital. These diverse activities conceivably took more than half an hour; the earlier start time of 9.30 appears probable. This earlier time slot implies further discussion by post or phone. The end result is that Muray worked quickly, producing the two dozen shots in under an hour and a half.³⁸

³⁵ Muray, *Notes*, 1.

³⁶ Shaw’s letter to Muray, London, 24 June 1926. Patch, in her position for three decades, later recalled that her employer “could be kind, when he remembered you were there.” From “Thirty Years with G.B.S., “Books: Candida,” *Time*, 09 April 1951, <http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,814654-1,00.html>

³⁷ Muray, *Notes*, 1.

³⁸ In the GEH photography collection, there are twenty-three negatives and twelve prints of George Bernard Shaw. TMS catalogue records assign a date range of ca. 1922-1961 to all of the objects, and both Shaw and Muray are identified as constituents.

Fortified by the “hectic and most exciting”³⁹ shoot and Mrs. Shaw’s tea, Muray made his way north through London to Caine’s residence at Hampstead Heath for the second session of the day. Photographer and subject first toured the house searching for appropriate locations, beginning in the bedroom office, or, rather, the bed/office, (fig. 19) and then on to the library. Although *Vanity Fair* chose not to reproduce the Caine portraits, Muray’s account of the session rounds out his workday.



Fig. 19. GEH 1977:0189:0373, Sir Thomas Henry Hall Caine, posing in his bed/office.

I didn’t hurry, and he was very patient, discussing and trying out various poses as we went along. Abruptly at 4 o’clock the maid came in with (tea) ...I took my leave, promising to send a few photographs...and asking if he would be kind enough to sign a couple for me, which he did.⁴⁰

³⁹ Muray, *Notes*, 2.

⁴⁰ Muray, *Notes*, 1.

Murray either did not mention, or did not grant photo approval to Caine. In any event, the day of photography resulted in the two Shaw portraits eventually reproduced on the pages of *Vanity Fair*.

Of the twenty-three Shaw portraits, ten incorporate a backdrop that appears to be a leather-upholstered folding screen, with metal brads visible running along one vertical edge.⁴¹ The textures and reflectivity of the screen's surfaces allows for visual interest without drawing attention away from the portrait subject. Both of the central portraits are taken from this series. (fig. 20, fig. 21) The thirteen remaining portraits stand Shaw in the middle of an art-filled room,⁴² in front of a bookcase, and at the harpsichord,⁴³ and then seated at two different windows.⁴⁴

The two central portraits share the same backdrop and subject, but the lighting effects, pose, and framing are dissimilar. The most visually complex of the two (fig. 20), hems in the angular pose of Shaw. He sits cross-legged, an open manuscript of musical notation in his lap steadied by his right hand, his left brought up to his temple. The near edge of the manuscript and the suit's sleeves and shoulder form a path for the eye to be continually drawn up to the subject's face. Vertical elements of the screen echo Shaw's jacket lapels and the arms of a wicker chair, contributing stability to the composition. The dark middle stretch of

⁴¹ GEH 1977:0189:2635--2639, 2644, 2650, 2653, 2655, and 2657, George Bernard Shaw.

⁴² GEH 1977:0189:2651, 2654, 2656, George Bernard Shaw.

⁴³ GEH 1977:0189:2641--3, and 2646, and 1977:0189:2652, George Bernard Shaw.

⁴⁴ GEH 1977:0189:2640, 2645, and 2647—2649, George Bernard Shaw.

backdrop visually launches the subject's visage towards us, but the raised hand connects the face to the lighter area of screen to the right, pulling these elements back into the picture plane.

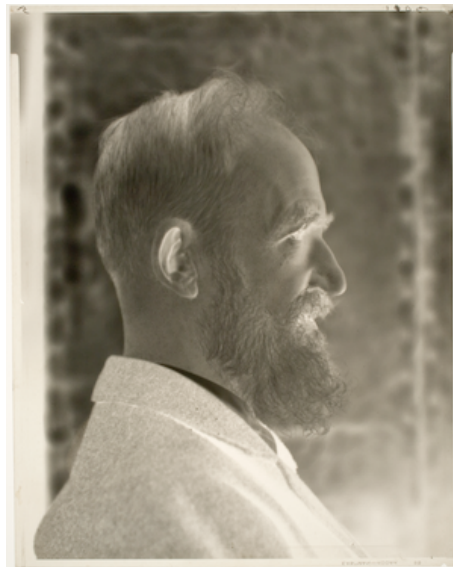
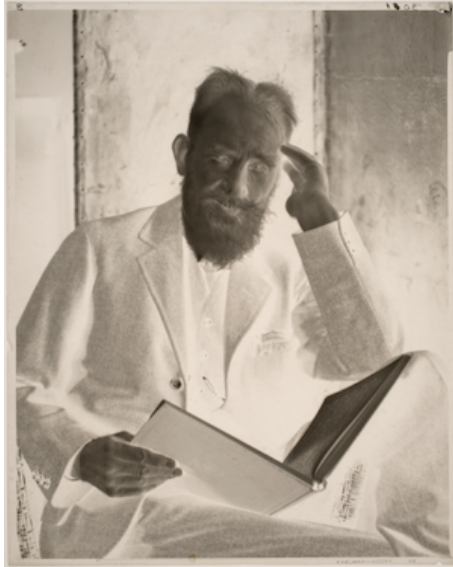


Fig. 20. GEH 1977:0189:2639, George Bernard Shaw. Fig. 21. GEH 1977:0189:2635, George Bernard Shaw.

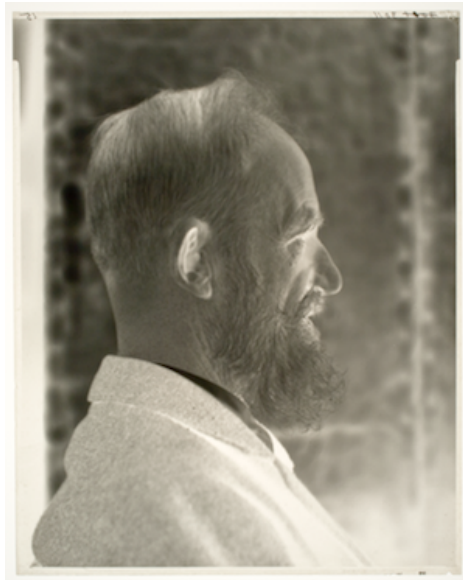


Fig. 22. GEH 1977:0189:2636, George Bernard Shaw. Fig. 23. GEH 1977:0189:2637, George Bernard Shaw.

The second central portrait negative initially appears to be a simple profile bust. (fig. 21) Two other profiles do not provide the controlled visual ingredients of the central profile portrait. In one, Shaw turned his face ever so slightly away from the camera. (fig. 22) In the other, the coat collar swallows up Shaw's neck, and Shaw turned his face towards the camera. (fig. 23) Finally, the interaction of patterns in the upholstered screen with Shaw's profile is more pronounced in the unchosen profiles than in the central profile portrait.



Fig. 24. GEH 1977:0189:2635, Muray's retouching of George Bernard Shaw's face and jacket, verso detail.

Murray conventionally retouched his negatives regardless of planned use, but retouched the Shaw examples to different levels of completion. The central portrait with manuscript bears minimal retouching; only Shaw's right eye has had work done. Retouching of the profile negatives reflects the exposures' relative

formal merits. A few casual scratch marks, here on the neck, there on the face, are visible on the unreproduced negatives. The central profile negative is retouched on the face, the neck, and the rumpled back of the jacket. (fig. 24)

The 174-page November 1926 issue features the Shaw portrait with manuscript on page fifty--the verso of the Table of Contents. The source image, reduced approximately ninety percent and cropped slightly on the top edge, contains an alteration: a dimming of the upholstered screen's left seam. While this removal begins to obscure the environmental nature of the portrait, the manuscript visually bolsters the sense that Shaw is at home with personal property. (fig. 25)



Fig. 25. "George Bernard Shaw at Seventy," in *Vanity Fair* 27, no. 3 (November 1926): 50. Shaw, 22.1 x 17.6 cm.

The captioning text reads: "George Bernard Shaw at Seventy: A Recent Study of the Famous Irish Playwright and Publicist Who Is Now Completing a Book In

Defense of Socialist Doctrines, to Be Followed Next Year by a New Play on a Historical Theme".⁴⁵ Across the gutter edge, Sherwood Anderson's memoir of blue-collar experience is formatted into the standard three columns of text. Pairing the portrait of the Socialist Shaw with the Anderson factory article effectively creates an implicit bridge of political content between the two pages.⁴⁶ The photo credit, "ESPECIALLY PHOTOGRAPHED FOR VANITY FAIR BY NICKOLAS MURAY" is less informational than the Monet caption, yet emphasizes Muray's production.

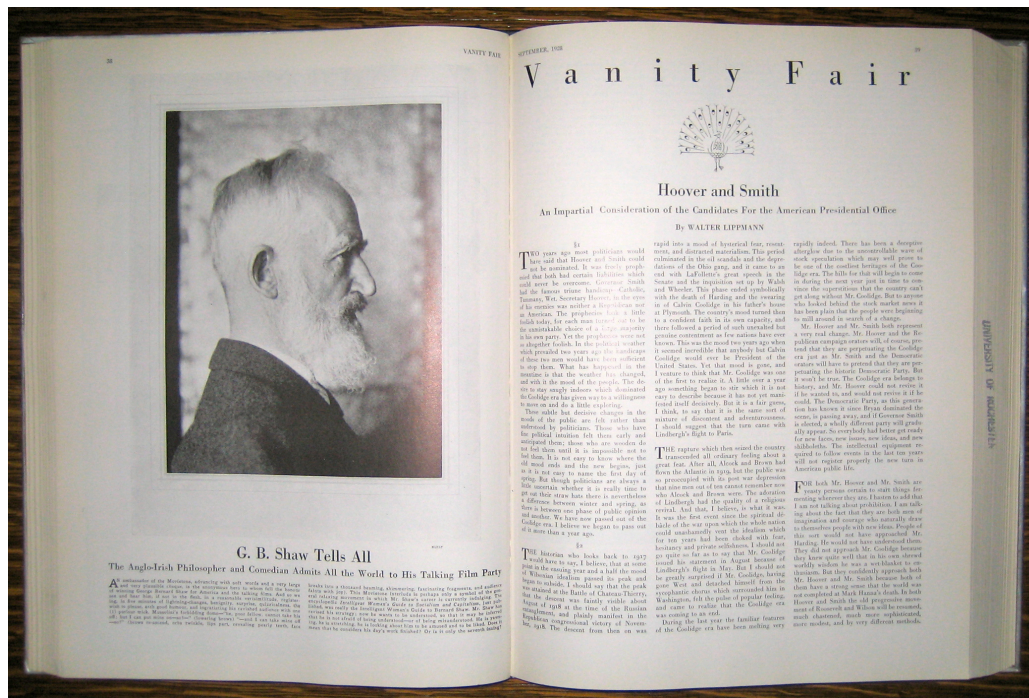


Fig. 26. "G. B. Shaw Tells All," in *Vanity Fair* 31, no. 1 (September 1928): 38. Shaw, 17.8 x 13.8 cm.

Twenty-six months after the portrait session and twenty-two months after the first portrait was published, *Vanity Fair* reproduced the second Shaw portrait. (fig. 26)

⁴⁵ "George Bernard Shaw at Seventy," in *Vanity Fair* 27, no. 3 (November 1926): 50.

⁴⁶ That Shaw is holding a large book of classical musical notation is irrelevant to the content of the page layout.

Reduced twenty-five percent, the portrait image is intact. Muray's use of available light to illuminate the leather upholstery in London two years prior here forms a shimmering field which envelopes Shaw's glowing countenance.

The 122-page September 1928 issue placed Shaw's full-page spread "G. B. Shaw Tells All" on the verso of the Table of Contents. Shaw's profile faces a political essay by Walter Lippmann on the facing page. As a sign of the cultural times, the contents page began listing "Concerning the Cinema" between publication of the first Muray portrait of Shaw and the second, and the caption for Shaw's portrait underscores this shift: "The Anglo-Irish Philosopher and Comedian Admits All the World to His Talking Film Party."⁴⁷ The two-column mini-article beneath the caption simultaneously promotes Shaw's five-minute Movietone reel and alludes to Shaw's political writings.⁴⁸ Simple, yet effective, the portrait and caption advertise new cinematic technology and the subject's work. Also, the photo credit is now a simple namecheck: "MURAY." The environmental aspect evident in the November 1926 reproduction is now virtually absent.

Heyworth Campbell (United States, 18?-1953), *Vanity Fair's* Art Director from 1910 until 1927,⁴⁹ designed three of the five *Vanity Fair* issues discussed in this essay: September and November 1926, and January 1927. After Campbell's

⁴⁷ "G. B. Shaw Tells All," in *Vanity Fair* 31, no. 1 (September 1928): 38.

⁴⁸ Caption for "G. B. Shaw Tells All," in *Vanity Fair* 31, no. 1 (September 1928): 38, in appendices.

⁴⁹ Art Directors Club, "1975 Hall of Fame: Heyworth Campbell," *Art Directors Club*, 2010, <http://www.adcglobal.org/archive/hof/1975/?id=283>.

departure, but before the next Art Director Mehemed Fehmy Agha implemented the use of sans serif, lower case fonts and asymmetrical page layouts, as seen late in the 1930's,⁵⁰ *Vanity Fair's* art direction languished. Campbell's layouts are graphic and witty. The enigmatic September 1926 cover illustration features a lithe, curiously-posed figure, probably Virgo, athletically rolling a hoop along a lawn. (fig. 27) The whimsically illustrated Table of Contents incorporates textual elements into the design. (fig. 28) Post-Campbell, September 1928's sentimental narrative scene of a coy young couple is paired with a drastically reduced Table of Contents. A standard layout restricts whimsy to thumbnail graphics and icons. A return to the second Shaw reproduction now sees a tentative presentation. (fig. 26) The image is smaller, allowing for breathing room, but a surplus of captioning text weighs heavily on the composition.



Fig. 27. *Vanity Fair* 27, no. 1 (September 1926): cover and 47. Fig. 28. *Vanity Fair* 31, no. 1 (September 1928): cover and 37.

⁵⁰ Carol Squires, "Edward Steichen at Condé Nast Publications," in *Edward Steichen in High Fashion: The Condé Nast Years 1923-1937* (Minneapolis: FEP, 2009), 110.

Photographic portraits of Shaw appear in nine issues of *Vanity Fair* between March 1914 and January 1935, virtually the entire run of the magazine.⁵¹ The 1935 issue includes a two-page spread of portraits of celebrities photocolled to appear as historical figures. The layout incorporates a barely-recognisable reworked version of the September 1926 Muray portrait of Shaw,⁵² a thumbnail reproduction of the unaltered image appears later in the issue.⁵³ (fig. 29, 30) Muray's portrait session with Shaw on Friday 2 July 1926 resulted in an eight and half year-long reproduction trail.



Fig. 29. "Vanity Fair's Fancy Dress Ball," in *Vanity Fair* 43, no. 5 (January 1935): 19. Shaw, 8.8 x 7.9 cm. Fig. 30. "George Bernard Shaw," in *Vanity Fair* 43, no. 5 (January 1935): 64. Shaw, 4.6 x 2.8 cm.

⁵¹ March 1914, June 1915, March 1916, August 1924, August 1925, Muray's portrait in November 1926, Muray's second portrait in September 1928, September 1931, December 1931, August 1932, and January 1935

⁵² "Vanity Fair's Fancy Dress Ball," in *Vanity Fair* 43, no. 5 (January 1935): 19.

⁵³ "George Bernard Shaw," in *Vanity Fair* 43, no. 5 (January 1935): 64.

John Galsworthy, Saturday 03 July 1926, London

On 23 June 1926, at his Hampstead address in London (near to Caine), John Galsworthy wrote to Muray: “Dear Mr. Muray, I could give you 12 midday on Saturday July 3, if you would not be taking more than half an hour. Very truly yours, John Galsworthy. Grove Lodge adjoining the tall white Admiral’s House in the Grove.”⁵⁴ The envelope bears a cancellation stamp of 1.30 pm 25 June and is addressed to Mr. Nickolas Muray at the Hotel Mirabeau, Paris. Written on a Wednesday, and mailed on Friday, the letter likely arrived in Paris after the weekend, alongside the Shaw and Caine appointment confirmations.

During the lunchtime session with Galsworthy, Muray exposed at least nine negatives.⁵⁵ The letter provides a reference to a strict time frame for one of Muray’s sessions. The minimum number of exposures is known and the portrait images are available for examination, so a partial reconstruction of the production is possible. Galsworthy’s requested half hour can serve as a hypothetical time constraint, though the actual duration of the event is unknown. Treating the

⁵⁴ Galsworthy to Muray, London, 23 June 1926.

⁵⁵ GEH 1977:0189:1125-1133, and 1983:0361:0033. There are ten negatives, and six prints, of John Galsworthy and his residence (1133 is an image of the writer’s desk.) Galsworthy is listed as a constituent in TMS. All of the objects are given a date range of 1922-1961.

portrait session as a discrete body of work contextualizes the central portrait.

Murray arrived with his equipment at Galsworthy's address at noon, entered, introduced himself, exchanged pleasantries, and then either located the optimal site for the portrait session, or asked for or was told his subject's preferred site.

Already, several precious minutes of the agreed-upon half hour had passed.

Murray accessed his equipment and, as evident in the negative images, situated the subject in four consecutively different lighting conditions. In each he directed or suggested that his subject sit, stand, look this way or that, fold his arms, cross his legs, or put his hands in his pockets. All the while, Murray manipulated his light meter, refocused his camera, and exposed and handled the large 8 x 10 negatives. Murray occasionally kept his tripod stationary as he framed several portraits exactly the same.⁵⁶ Finally, Murray determined that he had what he needed, said his goodbye, and then exited the building with his equipment. Manual dexterity, speed, and, one can imagine, social grace, allowed for this production. Each of the eight negatives provides a clear, usable portrait.

The central negative depicts Galsworthy standing in his library, his back to a dormer wall which angles inward to follow the roof structure.⁵⁷ (fig. 31) Visible in the background is an alcove bookshelf below a frame fastened to the inwardly-sloping wall. These soft focus angular elements do not distract from the subject;

⁵⁶ GEH 1977:0189:1128 and 1131, John Galsworthy.

⁵⁷ GEH 1977:0189:1125, John Galsworthy.

his neutral facial expression, mannered placement of both hands in pants pockets, and the soft folds of a three-piece suit provide a neutral ground for a medallion displayed prominently at the middle of his belted vest. The negative bears evidence of both retouching methods: the swirl of gum mastic over the subject's head, and hurried scratches on the subject's face and neck. (fig. 32)



Fig. 31. GEH 1977:0189:1125, John Galsworthy, recto. Fig. 32. GEH 1977:0189:1125, Murray's retouching of John Galsworthy's face, verso detail.

The remaining seven portraits consist of profile shots and less-compelling variants of the central portrait. Each of the negatives from the session is retouched. This may point to the portraits' uniform quality and equal potential for print reproduction.⁵⁸ In one image, Galsworthy sits with a manuscript in his lap.

⁵⁸ GEH collection contains four prints from the central negative, and a fifth print, 1977:0663:0020, from negative 1977:0189:1132. The image selected for reproduction is present in three prints 1977:0188:1125A, B, and C and the enlargement 1971:0047:0086.

Reminiscent of Shaw's November 1926 pose, the portrait is not selected for reproduction, but is printed, sent for an autograph, and returned.

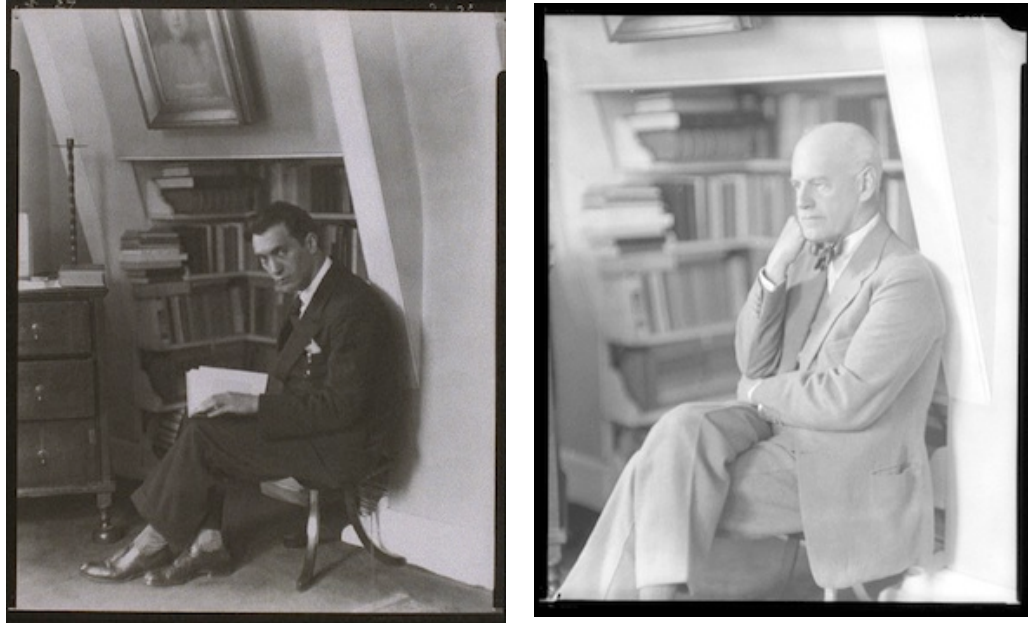


Fig. 33. GEH 1983:0361:0033, Nickolas Muray at John Galsworthy's residence. Fig. 34. GEH 1977:0189:1131, John Galsworthy. Negative images are digitally reversed to positive.

A self-portrait of Muray sitting in Galsworthy's dormer nook provides a mystery. He took time to set up the shot, and expose the film himself; the cable for shutter release is visible below him on the floor. (fig. 33) Is it a way for him to suggest a pose for Galsworthy? (fig. 34) Three Galsworthy poses approximate, but do not replicate, Muray's.⁵⁹ Muray biographer Paul Gallico remembers, "If the client was to occupy a chair, Muray would sit there first while chatting, assuming the attitude he wished from the sitter...In nine cases out of ten, (the sitter) would imitate Nick's posture and half the battle was won with never a word being spoken..."⁶⁰

⁵⁹ GEH 1977:0189:1127, 1128, and 1131, John Galsworthy.

⁶⁰ Gallico, *The Revealing Eye*, xv.

A question remains: did Muray take the shot with his silent shutter, or is the self-portrait an open demonstration of the equipment for Galsworthy's benefit?

Muray sent contact prints from his negatives to *Vanity Fair* for reproduction. This working method may have had to do with control of his images. Glenn G.

Willumson's analysis of W. Eugene Smith's involvement with *Life* magazine contains an explanation of Smith's exercising of "authorial prerogatives":

Doing his own printing enabled Smith to retain control over his negatives and to influence a second phase of photo-essay production: initial picture selection. At *Life*, when photographers turned their undeveloped negatives over to the *Life* photo lab, the rough selection of prints was made by *Life* staff members and the final selection by department editors. By developing and printing his own negatives, Smith assumed this control and made the first selection of his raw picture material.⁶¹

Muray prints associated with the 1926 commission provide information in two ways. First, Muray chose only a few images for print and magazine reproduction, and did not crop substantially, reduce, or reverse images, though on occasion he enlarged certain portraits to 11x17.⁶² Second, the prints provide information by way of autographs, (fig. 13, fig. 18) crop lines, (fig. 18) and inscriptions. These include studio stamps comprised of the ubiquitous "PHOTO BY MURAY" coupled

⁶¹ Glenn G. Willumson, *W. Eugene Smith and the Photographic Essay* (New York: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1992), 249.

⁶² GEH 1977:0043:0110, Jean Cocteau.

with one or more of the New York City studio addresses “18 East 48th Street,” “333 East 49th Street,” and “230 East 50th Street,” and in every case, a stamp for Mrs. Muray’s later address in New Jersey, presumably added after his death. (see appendix: “GEH Print Inscriptions”) This may represent efforts of his family to assert ownership of the Muray materials. A variety of photographic print materials coupled with multiple studio stamps point to serial printing, probably over decades. (fig. 35, 36)

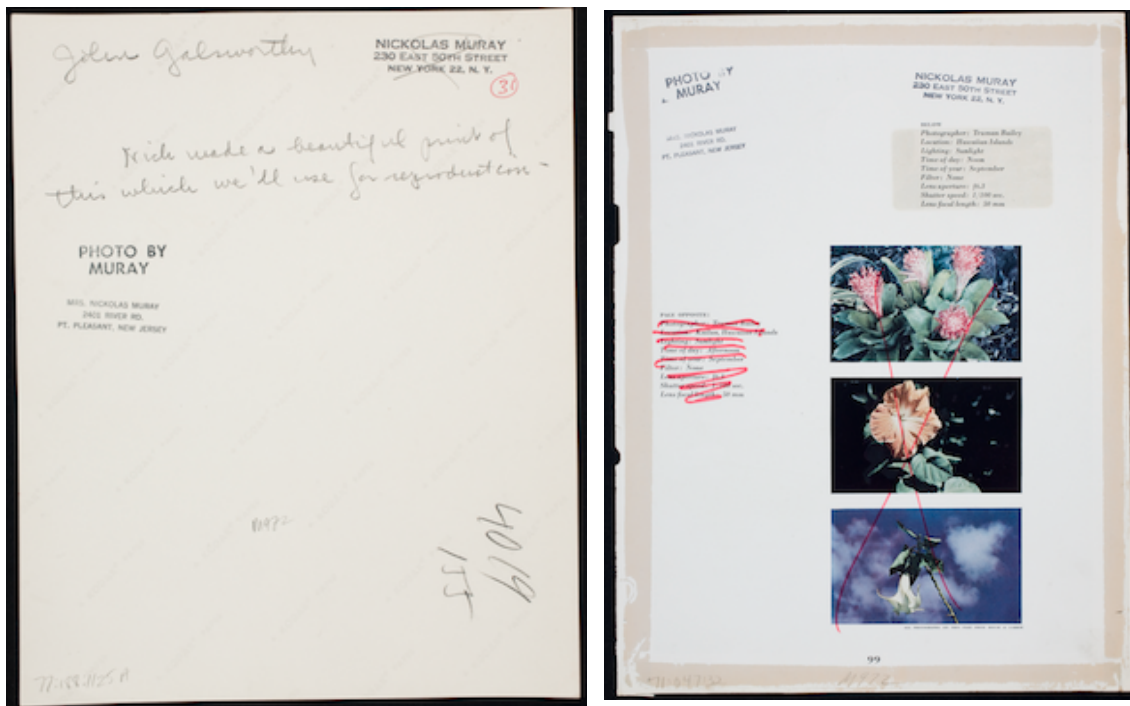


Fig. 35. GEH 1977:0188:1125A, John Galsworthy, verso inscriptions. Fig. 36. GEH 1971:0047:0032, John Galsworthy, verso inscriptions.

Besides the portrait subjects’ autographs from 1926, one applied printed label affixed to the verso of one Galsworthy, a contact print of the same negative reproduced in *Vanity Fair*, signals contemporaneous use. (fig. 37) “THIS PRINT WAS HUNG AT THE SCOTTISH INTERNATIONAL SALON OF PICTORIAL PHOTOGRAPHY PEOPLES

PALACE GLASGOW 1926 DEC-JAN 1927.” One other unrelated Muray print holds another exhibition label from Stockholm, 16-31 October 1926.⁶³ (fig. 38) These two examples, and their may be more, reflect Muray’s parallel involvement exhibiting works in the 1920s. The exhibition of Muray’s *Vanity Fair* portrait in a fine art context, and concurrently with publication, provides a clue as to Muray’s ambition and an example of his success in different realms of photography.

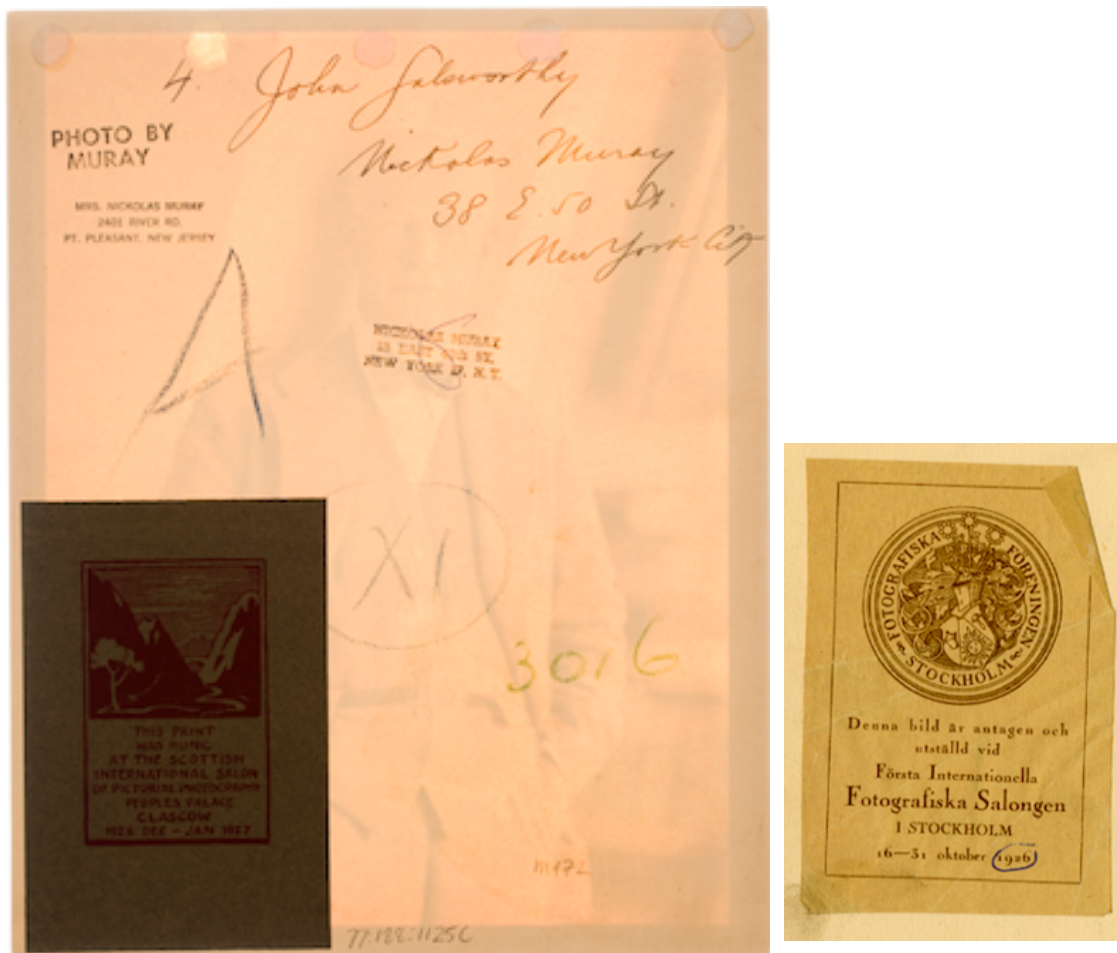


Fig. 37. GEH 1977:0188:1125, John Galsworthy, verso applied printed label, transmitted light.

Fig. 38. GEH 1971:0035:0087, verso, applied printed label, detail.

⁶³ GEH 1971:0035:0087, “Denna bild är antaen och utställd vid Första Internationella Fotografiska Salongen, 1 Stockholm, 16-31 oktober 1926,” roughly translated, “This picture is adopted for exhibition at the First International Photographic Salon.”

Vanity Fair included Muray's portrait of Galsworthy, the author's fourth appearance in the magazine,⁶⁴ in the 114-page January 1927 New Year's issue. On page thirty-eight, the verso of the Table of Contents page, the image is reduced approximately ten percent and slightly cropped on all sides. (fig. 39) A discrete border frames the reproduction, with credit given to "NICKOLAS MURAY" beneath the right edge. A title centered under the image reads, in whole: "John Galsworthy Writes His Last Play: The Famous English Novelist and Chronicler of the Forsytes Announces that "Escape," His Newest Drama Soon To Be Produced By Winthrop Ames, Completes His Work As A Dramatist."⁶⁵

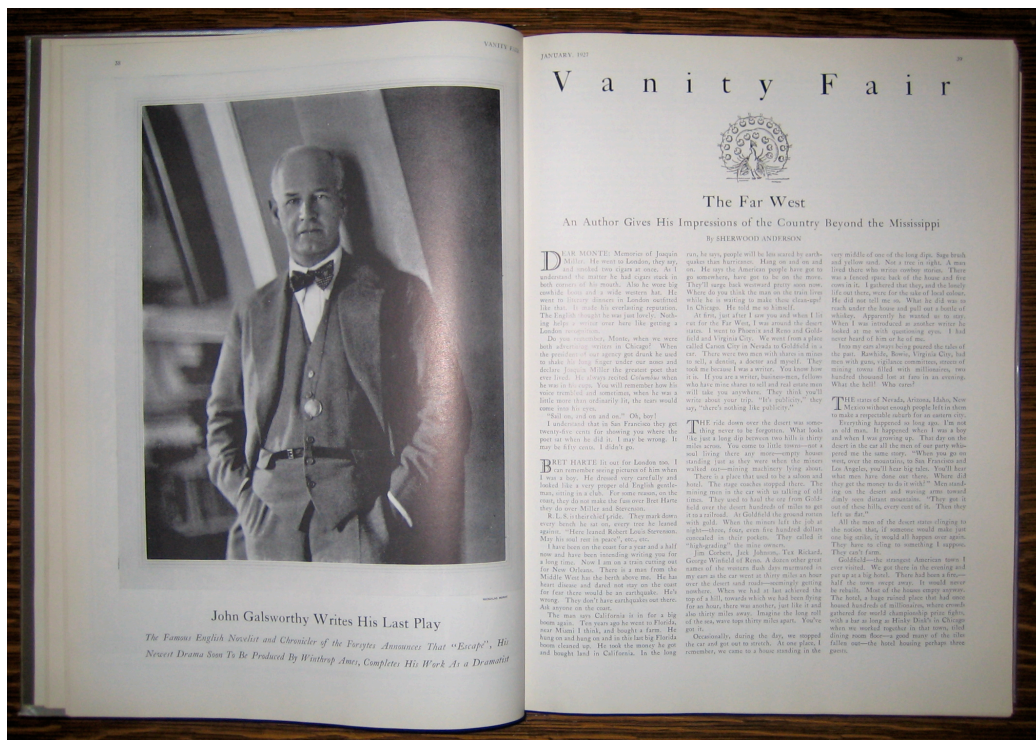


Fig. 39. "John Galsworthy Writes His Last Play," in *Vanity Fair* 27, no. 5 (January 1927): 38. Galsworthy, 21.3 x 17.2 cm.

⁶⁴ Four photographic portraits of Galsworthy appeared in *Vanity Fair*: in May 1920, January 1921, July 1924, and then Muray's portrait in January 1927.

⁶⁵ "John Galsworthy Writes His Last Play," in *Vanity Fair* 27, no. 5 (January 1927): 38.

The dramatist's gaze is directed at Muray's lens, and at the reader. The frontal pose holds its own against the wall of text on the facing page, frequent contributor Sherwood Anderson's "The Far West: An Author Gives His Impressions of the Country Beyond the Mississippi." Unlike the Monet and Shaw poses, Galsworthy's figure does not overtly connect the two pages, rather, the forthrightness of the figure and the symmetrical text block echo each other. The contextual elements of the portrait evoke a private library setting appropriate for an author, subtly reinforcing the literary content of the facing page. The private library environment made public encourages readers' empathy with subject, and integrates image and text.

Murray's Related Portraiture in *Vanity Fair*

The European portraits central to this thesis are reproduced in six issues of *Vanity Fair*. These same issues contain thirteen other Murray portraits and most reveal traces of having been produced in the studio.⁶⁶ The September 1926 issue features four portraits by Murray:⁶⁷ teenage illustrator Pamela Bianco,⁶⁸ Monet, Ziegfeld actress Greta Nissen, and President Calvin Coolidge, whose portrait will be discussed in the conclusion to this paper. The portraits of Monet and Coolidge are reproduced full-page.

Two strong light sources cast overlapping shadows of Bianco onto a mottled backdrop; the session dates from 1922. (fig. 40) The original three-quarter length portrait is reduced and cropped to a head-and-shoulders composition in reproduction. (fig. 41) Bianco's portrait is arranged with five other portraits on the page. Though they initially appear uniformly conventional, they do not share

⁶⁶ The subjects of eight portraits are identified as constituents in TMS. A significant number of Murray's subjects remain unidentified as constituents in GEH catalogue records, so the remaining five subjects' portrait materials are likely to appear with future examination of the collection.

⁶⁷ Coolidge is on page forty-eight, Bianco is on page sixty-one, and Nissen is on page seventy-three.

⁶⁸ The Bianco portrait issues from GEH negative 1977:0189:0272. Along with 0274 and 0275, the three negatives form a three-exposure portrait session. These are assigned a date of 1922 in TMS.

Murray's lighting effects or distinctive backdrop. Another Muray portrait of Bianco dated to 1926 shows the same mottled backdrop visible in the 1922 session.⁶⁹ If similar lighting conditions and the backdrop appear in other, unattributed portraits, then they may have been produced in Muray's studio.⁷⁰ In the same issue, Muray's Nissen is composed on a page with nine other portraits.⁷¹ (fig. 42) What appears to be a mix of studio and natural lighting casts shadows of Nissen's hands and sleeves onto her blouse, and cast a shadow of her hair onto a backdrop strikingly similar to the Bianco backdrop. Of the eight portraits reproduced with the Nissen, none have a backdrop similar to Muray's.



Fig. 40. GEH 1977:0189:0272, Pamela Bianco. Fig. 41. "Are Children People?" in *Vanity Fair* 27, no. 1 (September 1926): 61. *Bianco*, 6.4 x 4.7 cm. Fig. 42. "Another Gentleman Who Prefers Blondes," in *Vanity Fair* 27, no. 1 (September 1926): 73. *Nissen*, 10.3 cm oval.

The November 1926 issue features four portraits by Muray: Shaw, Metropolitan Opera singers Nina Morgana and Mario Chamlee, and British writer Frank

⁶⁹ Additional negatives 0276, assigned the standard date range of 1922-1961, and 0277, are dated to 1926.

⁷⁰ In 1925, Muray moved his studio from the MacDougal address uptown, but his methodology appears to have remained consistent.

⁷¹ Nissen is not identified as a constituent in TMS, though a search of the entire Muray collection may produce the appropriate negatives from the portrait session.

Swinnerton. The environmental portrait of Shaw is the only portrait to be reproduced full-page. The Morgana exhibits Muray's studio lighting and standard backdrop; the closely-cropped Chamlee is studio-lit.⁷² Muray's portrait of Frank Swinnerton appears at the top of a "We Nominate for the Hall of Fame" gallery on page eighty-five.⁷³ Muray's Swinnerton is illuminated by a diffused light source, and has no readily identifiable backdrop. (fig. 43)



Fig. 43. "We Nominate for the Hall of Fame," in *Vanity Fair* 27, no. 3 (November 1926): 85. Swinnerton, 7.7 cm oval. Fig. 44. GEH 1977:0663:0029, Frank Swinnerton. Fig. 45. GEH 1977:0663:0030, Frank Swinnerton, signed in black ink "To Nickolas Muray / Frank Swinnerton".

In January of 1966, Muray wrote about the 1926 commission, mentioning the oft-quoted "ten subjects" and then listing seven: Cain, Cocteau, Galsworthy, Molnar, Wells, Monet, and Shaw. He elaborated on the sessions with Shaw, Wells, Monet, and also Swinnerton. This implies that Swinnerton is either one of the previously un-named commissioned subjects, and therefore the sixth European environmental portrait, or an independently photographed subject. An undated

⁷² Morgana and Chamlee on page sixty-seven. The subjects are not listed as constituents in TMS.

⁷³ GEH negatives 1977:0189:2815-20 comprise the Swinnertons' portrait session.

letter from Swinnerton to Muray mentions a “little journey” to his cottage⁷⁴--this can imply that the portrait session took place at the author’s property in England. (fig. 44) Associated negatives from the portrait session include images of the author and his wife at an ivy-covered cottage. Muray on Swinnerton: “We hit it off immediately... Hours sped by, and when I left he presented me with one of his books, inscribed, “In memory of an afternoon which might have been an ordeal and which proved entirely delightful.”⁷⁵ As Caine, Galsworthy, Monet, and Shaw did, both Mr. and Mrs. Swinnerton autographed prints.⁷⁶ (fig. 45) The portrait shows ambient lighting similar to Muray’s other interior environmental portraits.

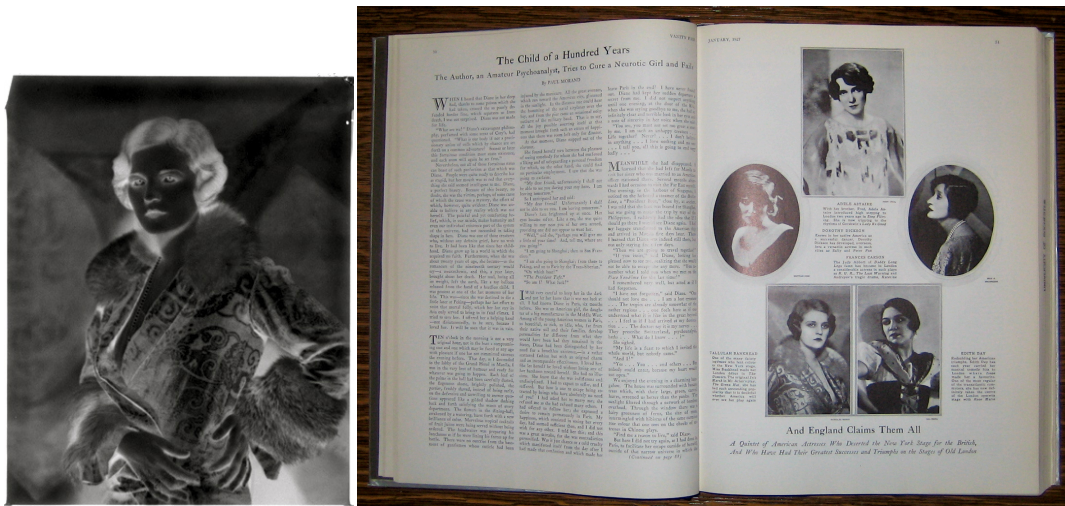


Fig. 46. GEH 1977:0189:0192, Tallulah Bankhead. Fig. 47. “And England Claims Them All,” in *Vanity Fair* 27, no. 5 (January 1927): 51. *Bankhead*, 8.6 x 5.5 cm.

The January 1927 issue features five portraits by Muray: Galsworthy, Tallulah Bankhead, and on one single page, Jacqueline Logan, Rudolph Schildkraut, and

⁷⁴ Swinnerton to Muray, Archives of American Art Muray Papers, n.d.

⁷⁵ Muray, *Notes On Celebrity Portraits*, 4.

⁷⁶ GEH 1977:0663:0030, Frank Swinnerton; GEH 1977:0663:0031, Mrs. Swinnerton.

Joseph Schildkraut.⁷⁷ Logan's image appears to be a studio portrait,⁷⁸ the Rudolph Schildkraut offers no clues to backdrop or location,⁷⁹ and the Joseph Schildkraut lighting cannot be read as either studio or environmental.⁸⁰ The environmental portrait of Galsworthy is the only one that is reproduced full-page.



Fig. 48. GEH 1977:0189:0194, Muray, unidentified, Bankhead, unidentified.

The Bankhead portrait, (fig. 46) reduced, cropped, and reversed in reproduction, (fig. 47) issues from a seven-exposure session.⁸¹ Backdrops and clothing articles are changed throughout, but the subject's hair remains unchanged. One group portrait seats Bankhead with her dear friend Muray crouched at her knee. The camera is stationed at a distance so that riggings for lighting and backdrop are

⁷⁷ Logan and the Schildkrauts are on page fifty-nine.

⁷⁸ Logan is absent from TMS and the session images unavailable.

⁷⁹ GEH 1977:0188:2596, Rudolph Schildkraut.

⁸⁰ GEH 1977:0188:2588B, 2590, and 2591, Joseph Schildkraut.

⁸¹ GEH 1977:0188:0187A, 1977:0189:0187, 0189-0193, Tallulah Bankhead.

evident, but the room furnishings suggest a slightly cramped residence rather than a more open studio location.⁸² (fig. 48) It is conceivable that Muray hired equipment and photographed Bankhead while on the 1926 trip. It could be argued that environmental portraits of stage and film actors would be appropriate if constructed from studio trappings. The *Vanity Fair* caption for the reproduction alludes to Bankhead's expatriate status: "A Quintet of American Actresses Who Deserted the New York Stage for the British, And Who Have Had Their Greatest Successes and Triumphs on the Stages of Old London".⁸³ Another portrait from the session is reproduced the following January, again as one of five on a page.

The April 1928 issue of *Vanity Fair* features four portraits by Muray:⁸⁴ American ballerina Doris Niles, Spanish guitarist Andrés Segovia, Nissen (making a repeat appearance), and then Pitoëff. The studio portrait of Niles is given the full-page treatment.⁸⁵ (fig. 49) Segovia is depicted with his acoustic guitar, and in both the reproduction and its matching negative,⁸⁶ studio lighting can be discerned.

Nissen reappears, this time reversed laterally for inclusion in a five-portrait spread. Muray's portraits in this issue are interesting in two primary ways, as the Pitoëff is the only one of the five central environmental portraits not reproduced full-page, and the Nissen is re-published and reversed, incidentally bringing the total of Muray portraits in these six issues to twenty-one.

⁸² GEH 1977:0189:0194, Nickolas Muray, Tallulah Bankhead, and unidentified companions.

⁸³ "And England Claims Them All," in *Vanity Fair* 27, no. 5 (January 1927): 51.

⁸⁴ Segovia is on page sixty-seven, Nissen is on page seventy-eight.

⁸⁵ GEH 1977:0188:2131A (the reproduced portrait), 2132 and 2133, Doris Niles.

⁸⁶ GEH 1977:0189:2610, (and the rest of the session 2611-2614), Andres Segovia.

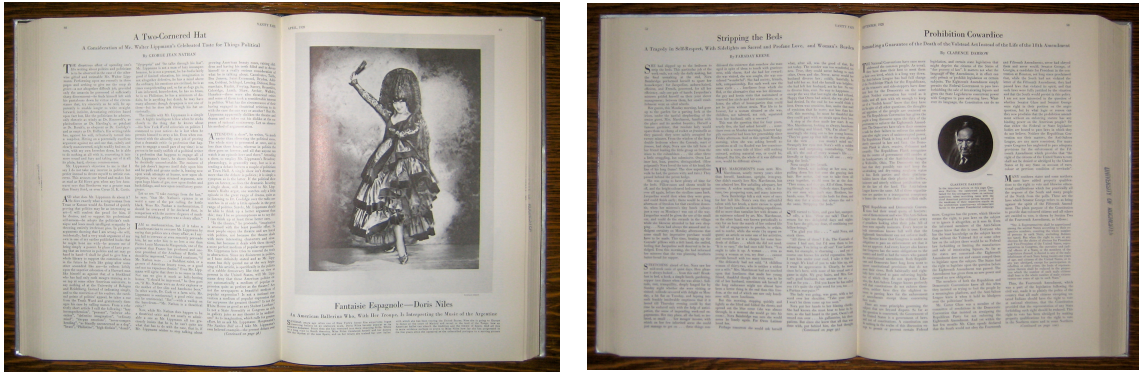


Fig. 49. “Fantaisie Espagnole—Doris Niles,” in *Vanity Fair* 30, no. 2 (April 1928): 61. *Niles*, 20.1 x 15.8 cm. Fig. 50. “Prohibition Cowardice,” in *Vanity Fair* 31, no. 1 (September 1928): 53. *Darrow*, 5.2 cm diameter.

The September 1928 issue of *Vanity Fair* features two portraits by Muray: Shaw, and Clarence Darrow. The three-quarter length, studio-lit Darrow found in Muray’s negative⁸⁷ is reduced and closely cropped. Embedded in his article “Prohibition Cowardice,” Darrow glowers out from a five-centimeter button, as opposed to the full-page environmental Shaw. (fig. 26)

Muray’s New York portraits are shot in the studio with standard lighting and backdrops. He frames his European subjects, now probably including Swinnerton, and possibly including Bankhead, in their workplaces, homes, and gardens. Of Muray’s portraits reproduced in six issues of *Vanity Fair*, four of seven European environmental portraits are reproduced full page, (and in the case of Shaw, repeated as cropped versions,) and one of thirteen New York studio portraits is reproduced full-page. *Vanity Fair* accords significantly more real estate to Muray’s environmental portraiture relative to his studio portraiture.

⁸⁷ GEH 1977:0189:0670, and 0672 is an unreproduced close-up.

Conclusion: 1926 Washington D. C., and 1929 Hollywood

This essay has clarified the nature of Muray's environmental portrait production and reproduction, and positioned Muray's environmental portraits within the context of his career, demonstrating that Muray's environmental portraiture is associated with his travel. This argument is further strengthened by briefly interrogating two of Muray's other major *Vanity Fair* major commissions: another 1926 trip, to Washington D.C. to photograph politicians,⁸⁸ and a 1929 trip to California to photograph Hollywood stars.

In Washington D. C., Muray photographed President Calvin Coolidge and the First Lady at the White House,⁸⁹ and Mr. and Mrs. Herbert Hoover at an unidentified location.⁹⁰ *Vanity Fair* made full-page reproductions of Muray's environmental portraits of the Hoovers, the President,⁹¹ and the First Lady,⁹² and then also one scaled-down "Hall of Fame" portrait of the First Lady.⁹³

⁸⁸ A survey of all Muray portraits assigned dates from 1925 to 1927 in TMS reveal predominately studio portraiture, except for the 1926 Washington and European subjects.

⁸⁹ GEH 1977:0189:0499-0504 and 1977:0695:0129-0130 Calvin Coolidge, and 0505-7, 0509-0517, Grace Goodhue Coolidge.

⁹⁰ GEH 1977:0189:1430-4, Herbert and Lou Henry Hoover.

⁹¹ "The President at the White House: A Recent Portrait of Calvin Coolidge Taken in Washington by Nickolas Muray," in *Vanity Fair* 27, no. 1 (September 1926): 48.

⁹² "The Retiring First Lady of the Land," in *Vanity Fair* 30, no. 4 (June 1928): 46.

⁹³ "We Nominate for the Hall of Fame," in *Vanity Fair* 28, no. 4 (June 1927): 75.

In both of her reproduced portraits, Grace Goodhue Coolidge is posed on the south porch of the White House. The first, for the June 1927 “Hall of Fame,” sees environmental cues cropped out; the plain backdrop is actually the surface of a White House porch column.⁹⁴ The second portrait, an uncropped full-length right profile,⁹⁵ is granted a full-page in the June 1928 issue. (fig. 51) Soon to be a former tenant, “Mrs. Calvin Coolidge Surveys Her Garden From The Vantage Point of a White House Balcony.” The First Lady looks to the horizon, her figure firmly inhabiting the architecture and landscape. Her simple sheath and woven flower basket contrasts with the base of another massive stone porch column, a black cloud of awning furled above. Muray’s adept integration of figure and ground in this environmental portrait anticipates the European sessions.

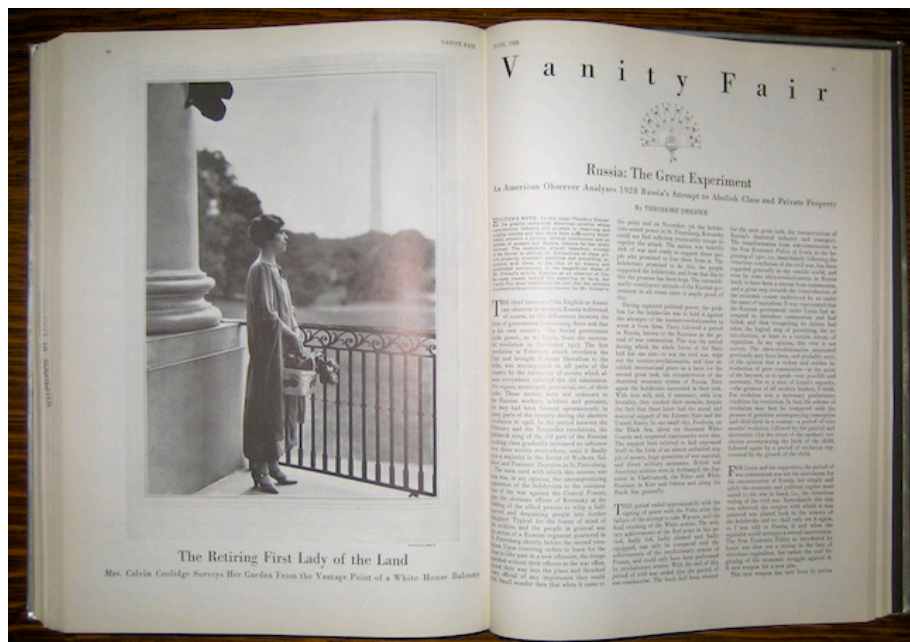


Fig. 51. “The Retiring First Lady of the Land,” in *Vanity Fair* 30, no. 4 (June 1928): 46. Coolidge, 21.7 x 15.2 cm.

⁹⁴ GEH 1977:0189:0517, Grace Goodhue Coolidge.

⁹⁵ GEH 1977:0189:0507, Grace Goodhue Coolidge.

Murray's portrait of President Coolidge frames the subject within a map of the United States of America, implicitly signaling presidential responsibility. Murray's dual portrait of then-potential presidential candidate Herbert Hoover and wife places the couple on a small porch with background foliage; the portrait could have been taken anywhere. A narrow porch column frames the future president's head, lending his appearance a modest solidity. In reproduction, the image is laterally reversed to draw readers' attention to the facing page.⁹⁶

The 1929 *Vanity Fair* Hollywood commission resulted in six published portraits. Three are situated on movie sets and one on a beach; two do not have sufficient contextual clues to identify sites. Environmental portrait locations for Hollywood actors include places of recreation or work, and these may include studio lights and backdrops, which, along with actors' poses, complicate an environmental designation for a portrait. A photograph of an actor appearing in character on set is conventionally categorized as a "scene still," and staged photographs of cast and crew backstage are categorized as "behind-the-scenes shots."⁹⁷ A photograph of an actor, or a politician for that matter, projecting a persona while located in a workplace may be categorized as an environmental portrait. If considered for the human subject and not the movie product, can behind-the-scenes shots also be categorized as environmental portraits?

⁹⁶ GEH 1977:0189:1430, Mr. and Mrs. Herbert Hoover, "Mr. and Mrs. Herbert Hoover," in *Vanity Fair* 30, no. 3 (May 1928): 54.

⁹⁷ Frances Cullen, *The Space Between Photography and Film: An Object Study from the Warner Bros.-First National Keybook Collection* (Toronto: Ryerson University and George Eastman House, 2008), 3.

Murray's portrait of Marilyn Miller, published full-page in October 1929,⁹⁸ spotlights the subject, foregrounded by the darkened silhouettes of observers seated in director's chairs. Murray's portrait of Myrna Loy, reproduced full-page and slightly cropped in the November 1929 issue,⁹⁹ (fig. 52) is less clearly located. Art Director Agha's use of lower-case sans serif fonts and asymmetrical layout explains that Loy starred in *Under a Texas Moon*, "a new talking picture made entirely in colours."¹⁰⁰ As evidenced by images from the entire portrait session, Murray trailed the ingénue around a realistic outdoor set. Miller and Loy are either in character or projecting personae, but on set and in costume.



Fig. 52. "Myrna Loy—a new type for the screen," in *Vanity Fair* 33, no. 3 (November 1929): 82. Loy, 24.2 x 14.5 cm.

⁹⁸ "Marilyn Miller," in *Vanity Fair* 33, no. 2 (October 1929): 79. Associated GEH negative unidentified.

⁹⁹ GEH 1977:0189:1866, from GEH 1977:0189:1861-1876, Myrna Loy.

¹⁰⁰ "Myrna Loy—a new type for the screen," in *Vanity Fair* 33, no. 3 (November 1929): 82.

The second two reproduced portraits are unmistakably environmental, yet employ the divergent locations of a beach and a movie set. The first dual portrait features Joan Crawford and Douglas Fairbanks Jr. swimsuited and on the beach. Published in October 1929,¹⁰¹ the image is intact except for the cropping out of its featureless sky.¹⁰² (fig. 53) In the second dual portrait, reproduced uncropped and full-page in the December 1929 issue, Mary and Douglas Fairbanks “...make their first appearance together in the talking film “The Taming of the Shrew.””¹⁰³ The pair poses with spotlights and set rigging in costume, but out of character.¹⁰⁴ (fig. 54) These portraits initially appear to be of different types, yet both place the costumed subjects in readily recognizable Hollywood locations.

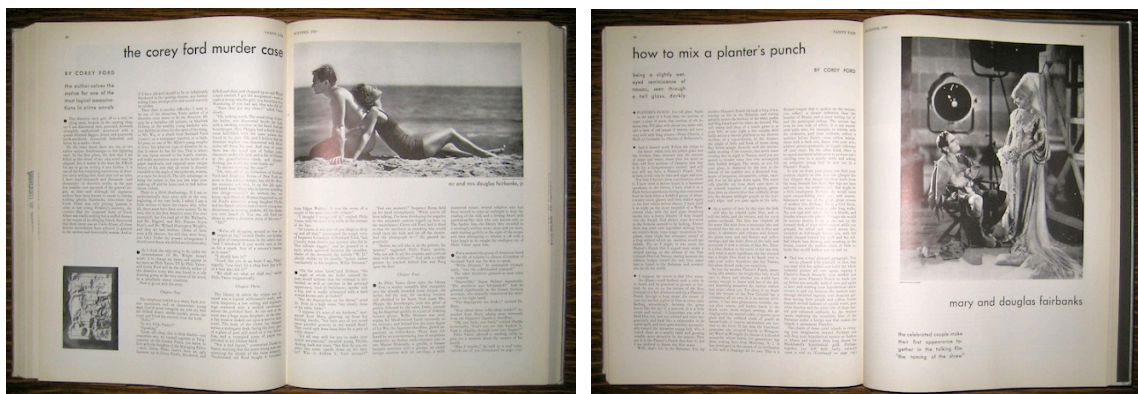


Fig. 53. “Mr. and Mrs. Douglas Fairbanks, Jr.,” in *Vanity Fair* 33, no. 3 (October 1929): 89. *Fairbanks, Jr.*, 11.7 x 20 cm. Fig. 54. “Mary and Douglas Fairbanks,” in *Vanity Fair* 33, no. 4 (December 1929): 97. *Fairbanks*, 20.4 x 16.1 cm.

Murray’s last two Hollywood portraits in reproduction, a full-page layout of Canadian Norma Shearer in November 1929 (fig. 55) and a full-page triple

¹⁰¹ “Mr. and Mrs. Douglas Fairbanks, Jr.,” in *Vanity Fair* 33, no. 3 (November 1929): 89.

¹⁰² GEH 1977:0189:0635, Douglas Fairbanks, Jr. and Joan Crawford.

¹⁰³ “Mary and Douglas Fairbanks,” in *Vanity Fair* 33, no. 4 (December 1929): 97.

¹⁰⁴ GEH 1977:0189:0981, Douglas Fairbanks and Mary Pickford.

portrait of sisters Loretta Young, Polly Ann Young, and Sally Blaine in May 1931 (and again in a scaled-down and radically cropped version in July 1931)¹⁰⁵ bear no overt suggestion of environmental portraiture. (fig. 56) The ambiguities do not necessarily point to studio portraiture, however, as the portraits may have been taken on set, but closely-framed.¹⁰⁶ Shearer appears wearing a large crucifix.

The caption for the portrait reads, “Miss Shearer, whose fame has grown with the advent of talking films, plays a modern Juliet in her new picture, “Their Own Desires.”¹⁰⁷ Shearer’s crucifix and the caption both imply the actor posed in costume, and in her environment.



Fig. 55. “Norma Shearer,” in *Vanity Fair* 33, no. 3 (November 1929): 95. *Shearer*, 19.3 x 15.6 cm.

¹⁰⁵ “Three Young Things,” in *Vanity Fair* 36, no. 3 (May 1931): 29.

¹⁰⁶ “The Young Sisters,” in *Vanity Fair* 36, no. 5 (July 1931): 95

¹⁰⁷ “Norma Shearer,” in *Vanity Fair* 33, no. 3 (November 1929): 95.

This essay shows that Muray, who in the 1920s produced studio portraiture in New York City, produced environmental portraiture when on travel commissions for *Vanity Fair*, and even at the time of production exhibited his works in a fine art context. In most cases, the magazine reproduced the environmental portraits intact and full-page. In the few instances where the portraits are reduced in size and placed with other photographers' portraits in page layouts, the environmental cues are in every case cropped out. After 1925, Muray's studio portraits are generally reduced and composed in page layouts with other portraits. Thus it appears that Muray's environmental portraiture came to hold greater stature than his studio portraiture at *Vanity Fair*.

On travel commission, Muray solved the problem of not having a studio, and consistently produced useful and aesthetically significant portraits in widely different circumstances. A close examination of the complete trajectory of his portraits from negative, to print, and then to publication underscores his great versatility, technical control, and creative vision. Moreover, it is the methodology of looking at the negative, print, and reproduction that reveals these insights.



Fig. 56. GEH 1974:0237:0273, Nicholas Muray in one of his environments, n.d.

Appendices

Timeline, 1926 June and July

June 18 Fri.
19 Sat.
20 Sun.
21 Mon.
22 Tue.
23 Wed. Galsworthy writes a letter, to Muray in Paris
24 Thu. Shaw writes a letter, to Muray in Paris
25 Fri.
26 Sat.
27 Sun. Caine writes a letter, to Muray in Paris
28 Mon.
29 Tue. Last possible date for Pitoëff / Cocteau portrait session
30 Wed. Last possible date for Monet portrait session
July 01 Thu.
02 Fri. Shaw and Caine portrait sessions
03 Sat. Galsworthy portrait session
04 Sun.
05 Mon.

Dates for Pitoëff and Monet sessions are prior to 01 July.

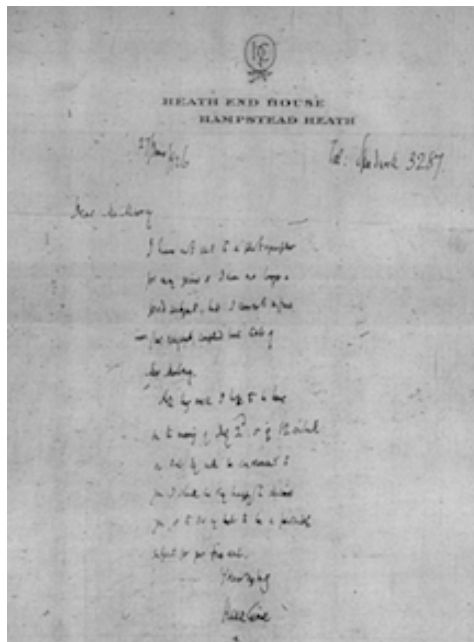
Dates for Bankhead, Molnar, Swinnerton, and Wells are unidentified.

Letters to Muray from his European portrait subjects

The following reproductions, upon which my transcriptions depend, are printed from the microformed Muray papers held in the Archives of American Art.

Caine: (printed): HEATH END HOUSE / HAMPSTEAD HEATH

(black ink): 27 / June / 1926 / Tel: [illegible] 3287 / Dear Mr. Muray / I have not sat for a photographer for many years and I am no longer a good subject, but I commit before I regret, [illegible] / All being well I hope to be here on the morning of July 2nd, or if 12 o'clock [illegible] be convenient for you I shall be very happy to receive you, and I'll do my best to be a passable subject for your fine art. / Yours truly / Hall Caine



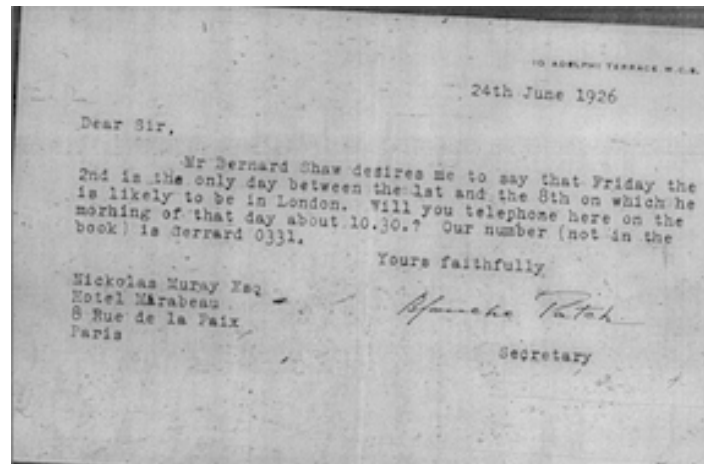
Galsworthy: (printed): Grove Lodge, The Grove, Hampstead, London, N.W.3 / (black ink): June 23, 1926 / Dear Mr. Muray, I could give you 12 midday on Saturday July 3rd, if you would not be taking more than half an hour. / Very truly yours, John Galsworthy / Grove Lodge adjoining the tall white Admiral's House in the Grove, J.G.

Grove Lodge,
The Grove, Hampstead,
London, N.W.3.
June 23, 1926
Dear Mr. Muray
I could give you
12 midday on Saturday
July 3, if you would
not be taking more than
half an hour.
Very truly yours
John Galsworthy
Grove Lodge, The Grove, Hampstead, London, N.W.3.

Monet: Giverny par Vernon, Eure / Merci pour vos belles photographies. voici [...ce...que vous...] demandez je signe / Claude Monet
Translation from partially legible script: Thank you for your beautiful photographs. Here [are the photographs which you requested] I sign. Claude Monet

GIVERNY PAR VERNON, EURE
Merci pour vos
belles photographies
voici ce que vous
demandez je signe
Claude Monet

Shaw: (printed): 10 ADELPHI TERRACE W. C. 2. / (typed): 24th June 1926 / Dear Sir, / Mr. Bernard Shaw desires me to say that Friday the 2nd is the only day between the 1st and the 8th on which he is likely to be in London. Will you telephone here on the morning of that day about 10.30? Our number (not in the book) is Gerrard 0331. / Yours faithfully / (signed): Blanche Patch / (typed): Secretary / Nickolas Muray Esq. / Hotel Mirabeau / 8 Rue de la Paix / Paris



Swinnerton: (No reproduction is currently available)
(typed): [...] you may finally decide not to make this irritating little journey. As a set-off to this, perhaps I may suggest that while I don't regard myself as worthy of your art, this cottage, which dates from the year 1600, seems to me to be rather a beauty in its own way. / Yours faithfully, Frank Swinnerton / Mr. Nickolas Muray

Nickolas Muray Notes on Celebrity Portraits, January 1966

The following transcriptions depend upon the microformed Muray papers held in the Archives of American Art. In this section of his remembrances, Muray recalls his European portrait subjects.

(typed): NICKOLAS MURAY / 230 E. 50th Street / New York 22, N.Y. / January 1966
NICKOLAS MURAY NOTES ON CELEBRITY PORTRAITS

In 1926 Mr. Frank Crowninshield and Mr. Conde Nast sent me to Europe to photograph ten famous people for VANITY FAIR. The assignments included Sir Hall Caine, Jean Cocteau, John Galsworthy, Ferenc Molnar, H.G. Wells, Claude Monet (the painter,) and George Bernard Shaw. Each, except for Monet, selected a convenient date within a two week period. Each sent a letter in reply, except Mr. Shaw, who sent a postcard with a date—June 25th, 1926 signed “GBS”.

GEORGE BERNARD SHAW

Mr. Shaw had set the sitting for 9.30 A.M. His home in Adelphi Terrace in London was over the printing shop which printed most of his books. The building was on an islet in a triangular area, approached by a bridge. When I rang the doorbell, Mr. Shaw himself came down and received me with enthusiasm. Seeing that I was overburdened with camera, film holders, etc., he offered to lend a hand with my equipment, and carried my wooden tripod as I followed him up to his study. Here I was introduced to Mrs. Shaw, a lovely middle-aged lady with a charming smile, who said / “You two boys have a lot in common. I’ll leave you to proceed with your mutual interests.” /

Mr. Shaw was one of the founders of the Royal Photographic Society, and was very much interested in photography, in more than an amateur way. He processed his own films and made his own prints. We set up the camera in his study. There were no lights—in those days we used only available light. It was an 8x10 view camera with double extension bellows and an old Struss pictorial soft-focus lens. We discussed the pro’s and con’s and pictorial qualities of the camera at length. /

There were a number of large and medium-sized pianos and piano-type instruments in the study — a spinnet and harpsichord among them. I had forgotten that in his youth Shaw had been a music critic, before he started his “serious” writing. I asked if he knew how to play all these instruments. Thereupon he sat down at the harpsichord and began to play ballads. He sang well, in not too bad a voice, and seemingly knew endless verses of the old folksongs. / He then showed me his albums of photographs he had made with obvious loving care. They were all well above amateur standards, and I was happy to praise

them quite truthfully. Mrs. Shaw came in – it was then about 11 o'clock – and asked if we would like to have tea. I realized then how fast the time had passed. I was never very good at watching the clock, but reluctantly suggested that we really should take a few pictures before having tea. We only had an hour or so left, since I had a 1:30 appointment with Sir Hall Caine. /

And so we proceeded with the picture taking, discussing the lighting and other photographic technicalities as we worked. Shaw was a terrific model. No matter what he did, he was graceful. Almost every picture was interesting, with different expressions, without any self-consciousness. I shot about 18 or 20 negatives before calling it a day. We then sat down to tea and crumpets, which Mrs. Shaw provided. I promised to send him all the proofs in case he wanted any eliminated before I submitted them to VANITY FAIR, and later did so. He returned them all “okayed,” but indicated his personal preference among them, asking if I would make a few prints for him. He was also kind enough to sign four prints from the sitting for me, which I now have in my collection.

SIR THOMAS HALL CAINE

This was my second appointment in London on the 1926 location trip. I just made the deadline, arriving at his home after the hectic and most exciting sitting with George Bernard Shaw. A petite, very attractive blonde woman opened the door at my ring, and I told her I had a date with Sir Hall Caine. She said “Come in – my husband is waiting for you upstairs.” /

Unfamiliar with the stringent formalities of British nobility, I addressed her as “Lady Hall” as I thanked her. She angrily pointed to the stairway and disappeared, seeming very upset. Later I found out why – she should be addressed as “Lady Caine.” Sir Hall explained this when I found him upstairs and introduced myself. He expressed some wonder at my wandering about the house alone, and burst out laughing when I told him that “Lady Hall” had shoo'd me up and vanished. If I made further blunders of this kind in England, I never found out about them. I learn quickly, and did not repeat this one. /

Sir Hall took me through the house to look for a location I might find interesting for a background. He asked if I'd like to see where he worked, and took me to his bedroom. There I found a king-sized bed, almost covered with papers, magazines, and books. Sir Hall climbed into the middle, burying his legs among the papers and propping himself against the pillows. I thought it was an amusing way to work on dreaming up plots of the detective stories for which he was famous at the time. He was the rage of the theatre and movie colonies in England for his melodramatic novels. (THE SHADOW OF A CRIME, THE DEEMSTER, THE MANXMAN, THE CHRISTIAN, THE ETERNAL CITY, THE PRODIGAL SON, etc.) /

I took a few shots of this situation and then proceeded in the library, with other interesting backgrounds. We exchanged many points of view, and I found him particularly interested in movies and Hollywood. Until then, most Hollywood pictures had been shot with “available” light – just as I worked with the still camera. Recently, however, a “new” technique of shooting indoor scenes had

become popular, and Sir Hall wanted to know all about it. I did my best, dredging up everything I could remember from my Hollywood visits. /

I didn't hurry, and he was very patient, discussing and trying out various poses as we went along. We also talked about Burne-Jones and other painters in vogue at the time. Picasso [sic] had not yet been heard of. His interest in art was one I shared, and I think we both enjoyed the exchange of views. /

Abruptly at 4 o'clock the maid came in with a tray of cookies and tea. Lady Caine joined us a few moments later. I tried to make up with a few anecdotes and jokes for my unintentional disrespect toward Lady Caine, and we became friends. Said she: "Oh please, don't give it a thought. We English are used to American informalities, though we love our traditions at the same time." /

I took my leave, promising to send a few photographs to Sir Hall, and asking if he would be kind enough to sign a couple for me, which he did.

H. G. WELLS

Long before I met Mr. Wells, I had become one of his devoted admirers. At the 1926 sitting it didn't hurt a bit that I could almost quote him, chapter and verse. I'd been a fan of Jules Verne in my youth, and guess I was just a natural for anyone who attempted to probe the unknown—a truly educated fore-runner of what we now call science or space fiction. Almost always I was nervously talkative in the early stages of a sitting with a stranger, unless, of course, the sitter took and held the stage immediately. Mr. Wells greeted me with reserve and dignity, and I fell back on my old habit of trying to get my subject to relax by talking about his work, surroundings, anything which would evoke easy, characteristic expressions. As often happens, one thing led to another, and Mr. Wells began questioning me about cameras and camera techniques. He was much interested in color photography, then in an experimental stage. It happened that I'd been fooling around with color, in Germany and in England, and so was able to tell him quite a bit about it. /

At one point in the sitting, a loose screw on my camera bothered me, and I pulled from my pocket a rather curious knife which had been given me by a gadgeteer friend. Among other oddities, the knife held a small screwdriver. Wells asked to examine the knife the conversation was entirely about crazy tools and Rube Goldberg type inventions. I knew Goldberg and tried to give Wells a verbal picture of that wonderful man. /

The sitting lasted far beyond the time allotted. We finally parted with a warm handshake and mutual promises to meet again soon.

CLAUDE MONET

The great Impressionist was the only one of my prospective sitters who had not responded to letters and wires requesting an appointment. He was then 86, and, as it turned out, was not to live out the year (1926). All photographers are persistent, however, and I was by no means the exception. Dining with a friend in

Paris, I mentioned my uncompleted assignment. It turned out that he owned a car. Despite his protests that this sort of thing simply “wasn’t done,” he drove me to Monet’s house in Giverny. /

A nurse answered the bell and told us Monet was ill and could not see us, let alone pose for us. My French was less than scant, so my friend took over in great Gallic style. He asked the nurse to tell Monet that I had come, following the letters and wires he must have received from me. She returned saying that Mr. Monet felt too ill to be disturbed. This time my friend went on and on at great length, explaining that I had come 3000 miles just to photograph the master; the sitting would take only a few minutes of his time; future generations would appreciate such an image of the great painter; etc. The poor woman, overwhelmed by the quantity as well as content of the harangue, trundled off again. This time she returned with Monet himself. / To me it was like meeting one of the gods on Olympus. I was always a worshipper of art, and the wonderful photogenic old man was the greatest living painter. / Although he did not look ill, he seemed tired. After greeting us, he sat down on a bench and I began to work quickly. After a bit he asked me when I would start taking the pictures. I explained that I already had taken half a dozen or so. He said this was impossible—I had not told him what to do or where to look, and besides, he had not heard any “click.” I told him I had a “silent shutter,” and showed him the bulb I’d been holding behind my back—when I pressed this, it opened and closed in a fifth of a second exposure. He had noticed me fussing with changing film holders, but hadn’t realised that exposures were being made. He laughed at what he said was a “great trick,” and relaxed into complete friendliness. He took us down to his famous lily pond which he’d painted so often, and I took more pictures there, both of him and of the pond. Once more my sitting was long over before the nurse finally came out with fire in her eyes to demand that Monet rest. He actually thanked me for what he said was a thoroughly enjoyable interlude.

FRANK SWINNERTON

Another popular and prolific English novelist of that time was Frank Swinnerton (THE CHASTE WIFE, SUMMER STORM, THE ELDER SISTER, NOCTURNE, etc.) We hit it off immediately. He was most articulate, and talked at length about his own work as well as that of his contemporaries. He analysed and critisized in depth, and what impressed me most was that his only disparaging remarks were directed against himself. Hours sped by, and when I left he presented me with one of his books, inscribed “In memory of an afternoon which might have been an ordeal and which proved entirely delightful.”

Notes on photographs

The following information is taken from George Eastman House photography collection materials. The condition of prints is generally excellent, unless otherwise noted. All are contact prints, unless otherwise noted.

Jean Cocteau

1. 1977:0188:0459

verso (pencil): Jean Cocteau / 76 / M972

(red ink): 19

(stamp): PHOTO BY / MURAY

(stamp): MRS. NICKOLAS MURAY / 2401 RIVER RD. / PT. PLEASANT, NEW JERSEY

2. 1977:0188:0460 copy print, KODAK PAPER

verso (pencil): Jean Cocteau / Nick's choice is much better that this shot—I'll send proof / 4019 / 76 / M972

(stamp): NICKOLAS MURAY / 230 EAST 50TH STREET / NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

(stamp): PHOTO BY / MURAY

(stamp): MRS. NICKOLAS MURAY / 2401 RIVER RD. / PT. PLEASANT, NEW JERSEY

3. 1971:0043:0110 enlargement, copy print

verso (blue ink): JEAN COCTEAU / WRITER

(stamp): MRS. NICKOLAS MURAY / 333 East 49 St. – 6R / New York 17, N. Y.

(stamp): MRS. NICKOLAS MURAY / 333 East 49 St. – 6R / New York 17, N. Y.

(stamp): PHOTO BY / MURAY

(stamp): MRS. NICKOLAS MURAY / 2401 RIVER RD. / PT. PLEASANT, NEW JERSEY

(stamp): MRS. NICKOLAS MURAY / 2401 RIVER RD. / PT. PLEASANT, NEW JERSEY

(pencil): Jean Cocteau / M972

4. 1971:0043:0109 enlargement, Agfa paper

verso (pencil): Jean Cocteau / M972

(blue ink): JEAN COCTEAU / WRITER

(stamp): MRS. NICKOLAS MURAY / 333 East 49 St. – 6R / New York 17, N. Y.

(stamp): PHOTO BY / MURAY

(stamp): MRS. NICKOLAS MURAY / 2401 RIVER RD. / PT. PLEASANT, NEW JERSEY

5. 1971:0043:0003 mounted to black board

recto (printed strip): JEAN COCTEAU...WRITER

(blind stamp): NICKOLAS MURAY / NEW YORK

verso (pencil): #22 / Jean Cocteau / 1926 / 26

(blue ink): JEAN COCTEAU / WRITER / Jean Cocteau

(stamp): NICKOLAS MURAY / 230 EAST 50TH STREET / NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

(stamp): PHOTO BY / MURAY / 230 EAST 50TH STREET / NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

(stamp): PHOTO BY / MURAY

(stamp): MRS. NICKOLAS MURAY / 2401 RIVER RD. / PT. PLEASANT, NEW JERSEY

(blue pencil): 30 / 64%

John Galsworthy

1. 1977:0188:1125A, copy print, KODAK PAPER, overall: 25.5 x 20.7 cm.
verso (pencil): John Galsworthy / Nick made a beautiful print of / this which we'll
use for reproduction / 4019 / 155 / M972
(stamp): NICKOLAS MURAY / 230 EAST 50TH STREET / NEW YORK 22, N. Y.
(red ink): 31
(stamp): PHOTO BY / MURAY
(stamp): MRS. NICKOLAS MURAY / 2401 RIVER RD. / PT. PLEASANT, NEW JERSEY
2. 1977:0188:1125B, 26 x 20.2 cm.
recto (blind stamp): NICKOLAS MURAY / NEW YORK
verso (stamp): PHOTO BY / MURAY
(stamp): MRS. NICKOLAS MURAY / 2401 RIVER RD. / PT. PLEASANT, NEW JERSEY
(pencil): Galsworthy / M972
3. 1977:0188:1125C, 26 x 20.2 cm.
recto (blind stamp): NICKOLAS MURAY / NEW YORK
verso (stamp): PHOTO BY / MURAY
(stamp): MRS. NICKOLAS MURAY / 2401 RIVER RD. / PT. PLEASANT, NEW JERSEY
(stamp): NICKOLAS MURAY / 18 EAST 48TH ST. / NEW YORK 17, N. Y.
(black ink): 4. John Galsworthy / Nickolas Muray / 38 E. 50 St. / New York City
(blue pencil): A / XI
(green pencil): 3016
(pencil): M972
(applied printed label): THIS PRINT / WAS HUNG / AT THE SCOTTISH / INTERNATIONAL
SALON / OF PICTORIAL PHOTOGRAPHY / PEOPLES PALACE / GLASGOW / 1926 DEC-JAN
1927
4. 1971:0047:0086, image 34.2 x 26.6 cm., overall: 35.5 x 28 cm.
verso (blue ink): JOHN GALSWORTHY / WRITER
(stamp): PHOTO BY / MURAY
(stamp): MRS. NICKOLAS MURAY / 2401 RIVER RD. / PT. PLEASANT, NEW JERSEY
(pencil): John Galsworthy / M972

Claude Monet

1. 1977:0188:2028B
verso (pencil): CLAUDE MONET / M972
(stamp): PHOTO BY / MURAY
(stamp): NICKOLAS MURAY / 18 EAST 48TH ST. / NEW YORK 17, N. Y.
(stamp): MRS. NICKOLAS MURAY / 2401 RIVER RD. / PT. PLEASANT, NEW JERSEY
2. 1977:0188:2028D contact print
verso (pencil): CLAUDE MONET / M972
(stamp): PHOTO BY / MURAY
(stamp): MRS. NICKOLAS MURAY / 2401 RIVER RD. / PT. PLEASANT, NEW JERSEY
(red stamp): PHOTO BY NICKOLAS MURAY / 38 East 50th St., N. Y. C.
3. 1977:0288:2028A in redundant file

4. 1977:0288:2028C deaccessioned

George Bernard Shaw

1. 1971:0035:0018 image 34 x 26.5 cm., overall: 35.5 x 28 cm.

recto (white pencil): Muray

(letterstrip?): GEORGE BERNARD SHAW...WRITER

verso (PENCIL): #77

(blue ink): GEORGE BERNARD SHAW / WRITER

(stamp): NICKOLAS MURAY / 230 EAST 50TH STREET / NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

(stamp): PHOTO BY / MURAY / 230 EAST 50TH STREET / NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

(stamp): MRS. NICKOLAS MURAY / 2401 RIVER RD. / PT. PLEASANT, NEW JERSEY

(pencil): George Bernard Shaw / M972

2. 1971:0047:0007, image: 33.7 x 26.3 cm.

verso (blue ink): GEORGE BERNARD SHAW / WRITER

(stamp): PHOTO BY / MURAY

(stamp): MRS. NICKOLAS MURAY / 2401 RIVER RD. / PT. PLEASANT, NEW JERSEY

(blue ink): G. B. S.

(pencil): 11

3. 1971:0047:0025 copy print, image: 34.3 x 26.6 cm., overall: 35.4 x 27.8 cm.

verso (blue ink): GEORGE BERNARD SHAW / WRITER

(stamp): PHOTO BY / MURAY

(stamp): MRS. NICKOLAS MURAY / 2401 RIVER RD. / PT. PLEASANT, NEW JERSEY

(pencil): G. B. S.

4. 1971:0047:0033, image: 34.8 x 27.4 cm., overall: 35.5 x 28 cm.

verso (blue ink): GEORGE BERNARD SHAW / WRITER

(stamp): PHOTO BY / MURAY

(stamp): MRS. NICKOLAS MURAY / 2401 RIVER RD. / PT. PLEASANT, NEW JERSEY

(pencil): G. B. Shaw / 1926 in London / apt.

5. 1974:0237:1133, image: 34.2 x 26.8 cm., overall: 35.4 x 28 cm.

verso (pencil): G. B. Shaw

6. 1977:0188:2635A

recto (blind stamp): NICKOLAS MURAY / NEW YORK

verso (stamp): PHOTO BY / MURAY

(stamp): MRS. NICKOLAS MURAY / 2401 RIVER RD. / PT. PLEASANT, NEW JERSEY

(pencil): G. B. Shaw / 1926 / M972

7. 1977:0188:2635B

recto (blind stamp): NICKOLAS MURAY / NEW YORK

verso (pencil): G. B. Shaw 1926

(stamp): PHOTO BY / MURAY

(stamp): MRS. NICKOLAS MURAY / 2401 RIVER RD. / PT. PLEASANT, NEW JERSEY

(pencil): G. B. S. / M972

8. 1977:0188:2635C

verso (pencil): G. B. Shaw 1926

(stamp): PHOTO BY / MURAY

(stamp): MRS. NICKOLAS MURAY / 2401 RIVER RD. / PT. PLEASANT, NEW JERSEY
(pencil): M972

9. 1977:0188:2639A, overall 25.4 x 20.4 cm.

recto (blind stamp): NICKOLAS MURAY / NEW YORK

verso (stamp): PHOTO BY / MURAY

(stamp): NICKOLAS MURAY / 18 EAST 48TH ST. / NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

(stamp): MRS. NICKOLAS MURAY / 2401 RIVER RD. / PT. PLEASANT, NEW JERSEY

(pencil): G. B. Shaw / G. B. S. / M972

10. 1977:0188:2639B

recto (blind stamp): NICKOLAS MURAY / NEW YORK

verso (stamp): PHOTO BY / MURAY

(stamp): MRS. NICKOLAS MURAY / 2401 RIVER RD. / PT. PLEASANT, NEW JERSEY

(pencil): G. B. Shaw / G. B. S. / M972

11. 1977:0188:2639C

verso (pencil): G. B. Shaw / 1926 / 8 / m972

(stamp): PHOTO BY / MURAY

(stamp): MRS. NICKOLAS MURAY / 2401 RIVER RD. / PT. PLEASANT, NEW JERSEY

Four autographed prints

1. 1977:0663:0020

recto (black ink): To NICKOLAS MURAY / FROM HALL CAINE / HALL CAINE /
17 / May /1927. / 1926 / Muray

verso (pencil): SIR T. H. HALL CAINE / NOVELIST / M972

(stamp): PHOTO BY / MURAY

(stamp): MRS. NICKOLAS MURAY / 2401 RIVER RD. / PT. PLEASANT, NEW JERSEY

2. 1977:0663:0003

recto (black ink): John Galsworthy 1926 / 1926 / Muray

verso (pencil): JOHN GALSWORTHY / WRITER / M972

(stamp): PHOTO BY / MURAY

(stamp): MRS. NICKOLAS MURAY / 2401 RIVER RD. / PT. PLEASANT, NEW JERSEY

3. 1977:0663:0024

recto (turquoise ink): Claude Monet / 1926

(blind stamp): NICKOLAS MURAY / NEW YORK

verso (stamp): PHOTO BY / MURAY (stamp): MRS. NICKOLAS MURAY / 2401 RIVER RD. /
PT. PLEASANT, NEW JERSEY (pencil): CLAUDE MONET GARDEN / GIVERNY,
FRANCE / (PAINTER) / M972

(black ink): 1926 Muray

4. 1977:0663:0025

recto (blind stamp): NICKOLAS MURAY / NEW YORK

(black ink): G. Bernard Shaw / 1926 / Muray

(black ink): crop line

verso (stamp): PHOTO BY / MURAY

(stamp): MRS. NICKOLAS MURAY / 2401 RIVER RD. / PT. PLEASANT, NEW JERSEY

(pencil): GEO. BERNARD SHAW / WRITER / G. B. S.

Nickolas Muray portraits in *Vanity Fair*

Year	Credits	Month, Page, (Muray portraits / page total)	Full page
1913-19	0		
1920	4	Oct. 78 (2/5), Nov. 71 (2/5);	
1921	26	Jan. 56 (2/5), 62 (1/5), Feb. 37 (4/9), 43 (1), Mar. 39 (2/6), Apr. 42 (2/6), 45 (2/5), 56 (1/5), May 52 (1/5), Jun. 28 (1/5), 46 (1/5), 56 (1/4), Aug. 26 (1/6), 34 (1/4), 56 (1/3), Oct. 25 (1);	Mar. 40, Jun. 30, 55;
1922	27	Jan. 50 (1/7), Feb. 48 (2/9), 66 (1/6), Mar. 36 (1/6), Apr. 33 (1), Aug. 34 (3/7), 45 (4/4), Sep. 39 (1), Dec. 60 (3/4), 71 (1/3);	May 66, Jun. 38, 56, Aug. 36, 42, Nov. 45, 52, Dec. 54, 61;
1923	30	Jan. 48 (2/8), 54 (1/10), 56 (4/4), Feb. 50 (2/6), Mar. 46 (1), Apr. 66 (4/6), May 77 (2/2), Jun. 44 (3/4);	Jan. 40, 53, Feb. 32, 47, 62, Mar. 42, 49, Apr. 65, 69, May 68, Dec. 51* ;
1924	30	Jan. 32 (1/10), 48 (1), Feb. 28 (2/6), 41 (1/6), Mar. 30 (1/7), Apr. 75 (1/4), May 55 (2/2), 70 (2/8), Jun. 48 (1/6), 49 (1), 61 (1/4), Sep. 45 (1/9), Nov. 42 (2/5), 44 (2/5), 63 (1/5), Dec. 50 (2/6), 51 (2/6), 55 (1/5), 74 (1/5);	Apr. 73, Aug. 49, Sep. 40, Dec. 63;
1925	13	Jan. 37 (1), Feb. 33 (1/4), 41 (1/5), Apr. 66 (1/6), May 48 (3/7), 49 (1/8), 54 (1/6), 71 (1/5);	Jan. 24, Feb. 44, Nov. 46;
1926	24	Jan. 64 (1/7), Feb. 35 (1), Mar. 77 (1/5), Apr. 75 (1/7), 81 (1/5), May 49 (1), Jun. 70 (3/6), Aug. 64 (1/5), Sep. 61 (1/6), 73 (1/9), Oct. 69 (2/6), 85 (1/4), Nov. 67 (2/6), 85 (1/5), Dec. 74 (1), 95 (1/5), 99 (1);	Sep. 48, 64, Nov. 50;
1927	19	Jan. 51 (1/5), 59 (3/6), Feb. 56 (1/6), 74 (1/3), Mar. 81 (1/5), Apr. 65 (2/6), 81 (2/7), 85 (1/5), May 65 (1/6), Jun. 75 (1/4), Jul. 69 (1/5), Aug. 37 (1/5), 47 (1/6);	Jan. 38, Mar. 44 [facsimile page missing];
1928	24	Jan. 79 (1/5), Mar. 71 (2/5), Apr. 67 (1/5), 78 (1/5), 89 (1/5), May 75 (1/5), Jun. 73 (1/6), Jul. 67 (1/5), Aug. 48 (4/6), Sep. 53 (1), Oct. 78 (2/5), 87 (1/5), 95 (1/4);	Apr. 61, May 54, Jun. 46, 55*, Sep. 38, Oct. 82;
1929	12	Jan. 51 (1/6), Feb. 63 (3/3), Apr. 90 (1/5), May 72 (1/5), Oct. 89 (1);	Apr. 93, Oct. 79, Nov. 82, 95, Dec. 97;
1930	7	Jan. 58 (1/5), May 57 (1/4), Sep. 38 (2/7), Oct. 73 (1/4), Dec. 56 (1/5);	Mar. 46;
1931	10	Feb. 44 (1/5), May 48 (1/4), 72 (1/6), Jul. 17 (1/2), 28 (1/4), Sep. 48 (1/7), Nov. 29 (1/3), Dec. 42 (2/8);	May 52.
1932-33	0		
1934	1	May 50;	
1935	2	Jan. 19, 64.	
1936	0		
Totals	228	8 of 180	14 of 48

Bolded page numbers denote 1926 European and Washington and 1929 Hollywood portraits; asterisks denote other environmental portraits.

***Vanity Fair* photographic portraits of Muray's 1926 European subjects**

Year	Bankhead	Cain	Cocteau	Galsworthy	Molnar	Monet	Pitoëff, G.	Pitoëff, L.	Shaw	Swinerton	Wells
1913											
1914			1								
1915										1	
1916										1	1
1917							1				
1918											
1919											1
1920					1						1
1921		1			1		1				1
1922		3									
1923		1									
1924					1		1			1	1
1925										1	
1926		1					1			1	1
1927		1			1						1
1928		1 of 2							1	1	
1929		1				1					
1930		1									
1931		3								2	
1932		2					1			1	1
1933		1									
1934		1									
1935		1		1						2	1
1936											
Totals		19	1	1	4	1	5	0	1	12	8

Muray's portraits denoted by boxes.

All page credits for *Vanity Fair* photographers for 1925, 1926, and 1927

	1925	1926	1927	Totals	Rank
James Abbe	4			4	
Arnold Genthe	7	8		15	
Maurice Goldberg	5		7	12	
Alfred Cheney Johnston	13	6		19	5
Nickolas Muray	10	19	14	43	2
Man Ray	3			3	
Charles Sheeler		22	10	32	4
Edward Steichen	56	40	72	168	1
Florence Vandamm	17	16	7	40	3
White	5		5	10	
Wide World		6		6	
Three photographers		9 + 12		21	
Five photographers			15	15	
Nine photographers			18	18	
Ten photographers	20			20	
Twelve photographers		24		24	
Thirty-two photographers		32		32	
Thirty-eight photographers	38			38	
Forty-eight photographers			48	48	
Totals	178	194	196	568	

Also: Alvin Langdon Coburn 1915 one, 1917 one; Alfred Stieglitz 1915 two, 1922 three, 1923 two, 1924 three, 1928 one, 1935 one; Berenice Abbott 1929 four; Cecil Beaton 1929 five; Tina Modotti 1930 one.

Muray actually received fifty-six individual photo credits for the years 1925 to 1927, so the actual number of individual photo credits for the photographers listed here may be extrapolated.

***Vanity Fair* captions for...**

“Claude Monet—The Last of the Old Masters,” in *Vanity Fair* 27, no. 1 (September 1926): 64.

The French Painter, Now Eighty-Six, Who Founded the Impressionist School of Painting. Why is it that the important movements in art are greeted always, at their inception, by derision and scorn? Search the history of art as you will and always you will find this to be true. There was the laughter that greeted Claude Monet, the founder of French Impressionism—the first school of art to study the vibration of light. Fortunately for Monet, he was able to marshal on his side, while all the world was still jeering, such masters as Manet, Pissarro, Sisley, Degas, and Renoir, a group of which Monet remains the sole survivor. He is finishing his years in the secluded village of Giverny, near Rouen. He suffered the ridicule of the world in the same proud manner as he accepts, today, fame, fortune and the world's applause.

“G. B. Shaw Tells All,” in *Vanity Fair* 31, no. 1 (September 1928): 38.

G. B. Shaw Tells All: The Anglo-Irish Philosopher and Comedian Admits All the World to His Talking Film Party. / An ambassador of the Movietone, advancing with soft words and a very large and very plausible cheque, is the anonymous hero to whom fell the honour of winning George Bernard Shaw for America and talking films. And so we see and hear him, if not in the flesh, in a reasonable verisimilitude, registering, in five minutes of lightning-changes, benignity, surprise, quizzicalness, the wish to please, arch good humour, and ingratiating his ravished audience with one (1) parlour trick, Mussolini's forbidden dome—“he, poor fellow, cannot take his off; but I can put mine on—so!” (lowering brows) “—and I can take mine off—so!” (brows re-ascend, orbs twinkle, lips part, revealing pearly teeth, face breaks into a thousand beaming, shimmering, fascinating fragments, and audience faints with joy). This Movietone interlude is perhaps only a symbol of the general relaxing movement in which Shaw's career is currently indulging. The encyclopedic *Woman's Guide to Socialism and Capitalism*, just published, was really the Intelligent Woman's Guide to Bernard Shaw. Mr. Shaw has revised his strategy; now he wants to be understood, so that it may be inferred that he is not afraid of being understood—or of being misunderstood. He is yawning, he is stretching, he is looking about him to be amused and to be liked. Does it mean that he considers his day's work finished? Or is it only the seventh inning?

Bibliography

- Baxandall, Michael. *Patterns of Intention: On the Historical Explanation of Pictures*. New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1985.
- Behr, Edward. *Prohibition: Thirteen Years That Changed America*. New York: Arcade, 1996.
- Brand, Stewart. *How Buildings Learn: What Happens After They're Built*. New York: Penguin Books, 1995.
- Carter, Graydon. *Vanity Fair The Portraits: A Century of Iconic Images*. New York: Abrams, 2008.
- Crowninshield, Frank, ed. *Vanity Fair 1, no. 1-45, no.6 March 1914-February 1936*. Ann Arbor, Mich.: University Microfilms, 1967.
- Cullen, Frances. *The Space Between Photography and Film: An Object Study from the Warner Bros.-First National Keybook Collection*. Toronto: Ryerson University and George Eastman House, 2008.
- Donnell, Dorothy. "The New Art of Camera Painting." *Shadowland: The Magazine of Magazines* 2, no. 11 (July 1920): 15, 72, 74, 81.
- Edwards, Elizabeth and Janice Hart, eds. *Photographs Objects Histories*. New York: Routledge, 2006.
- Ewing, William A. and Todd Brandow. *Edward Steichen in High Fashion: The Condé Nast Years 1923-1937*. Minneapolis, FEP, 2008.
- Gallico, Paul. *The Revealing Eye: Personalities of the 1920's, Photographs by Nickolas Muray and Words by Paul Gallico*. New York: Atheneum, 1967.
- Galsworthy, John. *Justice and Other Plays*. Leipzig, Bernard Tauchnitz, n.d.

- Gervais, Thierry. "De part et d'autre de la "garde-barrière": Les errances techniques dans l'usage de la photographie au sein du journal *L'Illustration* (1880-1900)." *Études photographiques* no. 23 (2009): 30-50.
- Grimberg, Salomón. *I Will Never Forget You: Frida Kahlo to Nickolas Muray, Unpublished Photographs and Letters*. Munich: Schirmer/Mosel, 2004.
- Gruneir, Jessica Rachel Bakst. *Urban Decay: A Case Study of the Negatives in the Toronto Telegram Fonds, Clara Thomas Archives and Special Collections, York University*. Toronto: Ryerson University and George Eastman House, 2007.
- Hager, Michael. "Saving the Image: The Deterioration of Nitrate Negatives." *Image* 26, no. 4 (1983): 1-19.
- Harris, David. *Eugène Atget: Unknown Paris*. New York: The New Press, 2003.
- Heinze, Louise, comp. *An Index to Vanity Fair*. Ann Arbor, Mich.: University Microfilms, 1967.
- Johnston, Patricia A. *Real Fantasies: Edward Steichen's Advertising Photography*. Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1997.
- Kaplan, Daile. *Lewis Hine in Europe: The Lost Photographs*. New York: Abbeville, 1988.
- Kopytoff, Igor. "The Cultural Biography of Things: Commoditization as Process." In *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*. New York: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2009.
- Leibold, Cheryl and Thomas Eakins. "Thomas Eakins in the Badlands." *Archives of American Art Journal* 28, no. 2 (1988): 2-15.
- Mayer, Robert A. "Photographing the American Presidency." *Image* 27, no. 3 (September 1984): 1-36.
- Mulligan, Therese. "Edward Steichen Hollywood Portraits." *Image* 41, nos. 1-2 (1997): 18-25.
- Mulligan, Therese and David Wooters, eds. *The George Eastman House Collection: A History of Photography From 1839 to the Present*. Cologne, Taschen, 2005.

- Murray, Nickolas. *Murray's Celebrity Portraits of the Twenties and Thirties: 135 Photographs by Nickolas Murray*. New York: Dover and George Eastman House, 1978.
- Parrott, Katherine Ursula. *Profile of Murray*. N.p., n.d.
- Richardson, Diana Edkins, ed. *Vanity Fair: Photographs of an Age, 1914-1936*. New York: Clarkson N. Potter, Inc., 1982.
- Shaw, Bernard. *Translations and Tomfooleries*. New York, Brentano's, 1926.
- Sobieszek, Robert A. *Nickolas Murray*. exh. cat. Rochester, N.Y.: International Museum of Photography at George Eastman House, 1974.
- Sontag, Susan. "Fascinating Fascism." In *Under the Sign of Saturn*. New York: Farrar, Straus, Giroux, 1980.
- Wiebe, Robert H. *The Search for Order 1877-1920*. New York: Hill and Wang, 1967.
- Willumson, Glenn G. *W. Eugene Smith and the Photographic Essay*. New York: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1992.