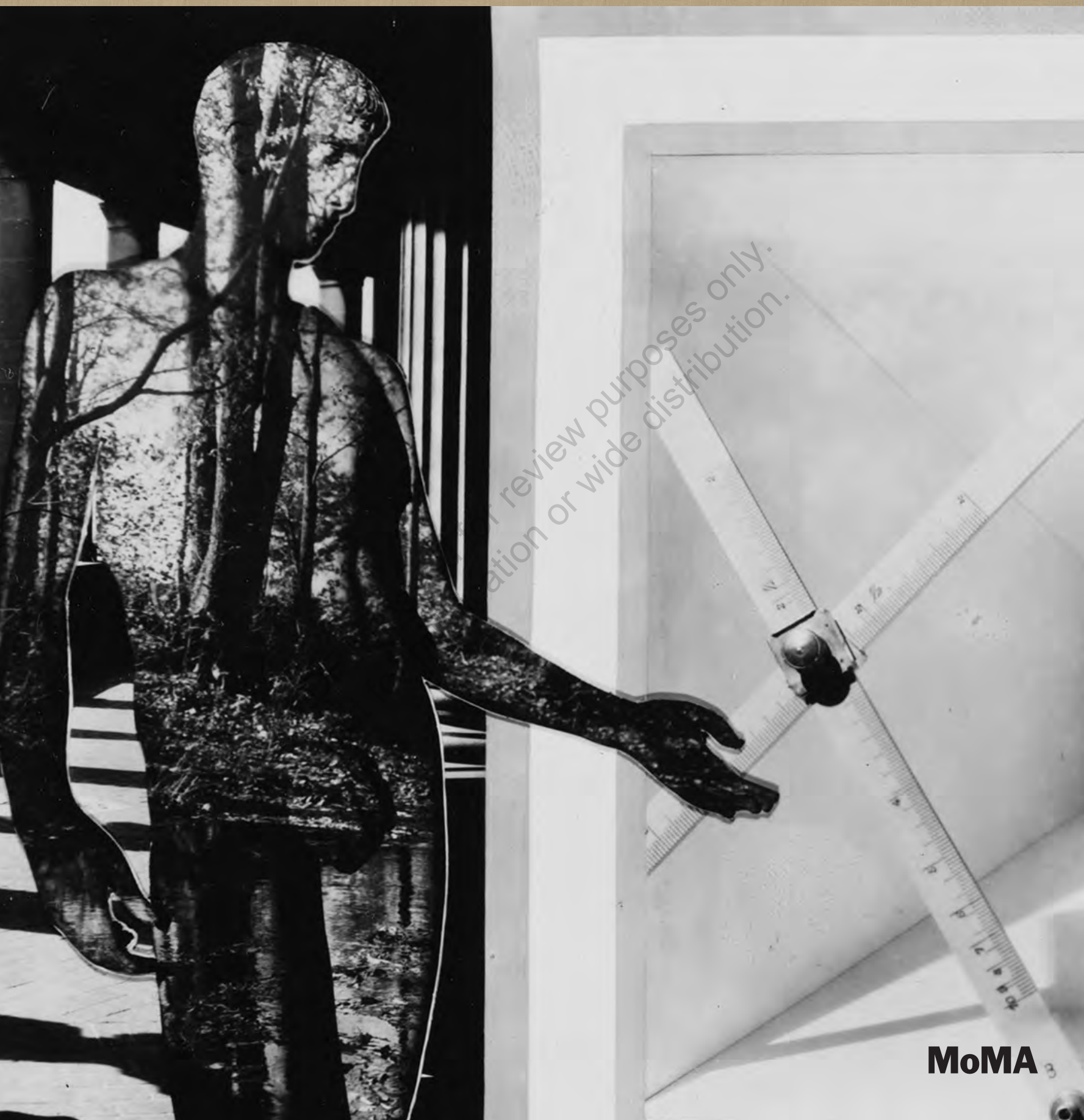


Lincoln Kirstein's Modern





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Samantha Friedman
Jodi Hauptman

with contributions by
Samantha Friedman, Lynn Garafola,
Michele Greet, Michelle Harvey,
Richard Meyer, and Kevin Moore

The Museum of Modern Art
New York



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Introduction

Lincoln Kirstein’s datebook for the week of April 20, 1942, reveals a typical agenda for the busy polymath (fig. 1). Names penned in ink—one struck through for rescheduling, two annotated with the hour—provide a map of the reach of this key connector and indefatigable catalyst who shaped and supported American artists and institutions in the 1930s and ’40s.

Starting off the week was a meeting with George Root, who had welcomed Kirstein’s American Ballet Caravan to the University of Oregon’s “greater artist series” in October 1939.¹ Several figures associated with American Ballet Caravan and the other fledgling companies Kirstein spearheaded in advance of founding the New York City Ballet with George Balanchine in 1948, also make appearances on the week’s itinerary. On Tuesday, Kirstein saw Eugene Loring, the dancer and choreographer with whom he had collaborated on ballets such as *Harlequin for President* (1936) (plate 66), *Yankee Clipper* (1936) (plates 64, 65), and *Billy the Kid* (1938) (plates 54–57). Perhaps they were discussing *Jinx*, the ballet Kirstein would attend on Friday, April 24, presented by the Dance Players, the “all-American company offering dance plays on American themes,”² of which Loring was now director. The same Tuesday, Kirstein was due to meet Ann Barzel, the Chicago-based dance writer who (according to *New York Times* dance critic John Martin) was “generally to be found wherever there is choreography afoot even if it takes her half-way across the continent.”³ Indeed, Barzel had joined Kirstein’s itinerant Ballet Caravan, another of those fledgling companies, on the road, making films that captured performances of ballets like *Harlequin*, *Billy the Kid*, and *Filling Station* (1937) (plates 39–48, see checklist pp. 203–4). The composer of *Filling Station*, Virgil Thomson, was on the calendar for Thursday, April 23—about a month after he was arrested in an FBI raid on a gay brothel in Brooklyn, and just when tabloids were starting to cover the incident.⁴ Over a decade later, the critic B. H. Haggin (struck from both Tuesday and Friday, but apparently on for Thursday) would call *Filling Station* “one of the classics of American ballet.”⁵ But in this particular week in 1942, he and Kirstein were likely discussing Haggin’s forthcoming article on Balanchine for the July 1942 issue of *Dance Index*—one of three journals Kirstein established over the course of his career.⁶



Figure 1
Lincoln Kirstein’s datebook, week of April 20, 1942. Lincoln Kirstein Papers, series 123, box 6, folder 27, Jerome Robbins Dance Division, The New York Public Library for the Performing Arts

In the piece, Haggin cites Kirstein contrasting Balanchine’s use of musicality to that of the choreographer Léonide Massine, who rose to prominence creating works for the Ballets Russes. (In many ways, Kirstein fashioned himself after that celebrated company’s founder, the impresario Serge Diaghilev.) Massine, now making ballets in America for Ballet Theatre—a rival to Kirstein’s own enterprises—is on the docket for Thursday at six; if Kirstein’s annotation “Domingo” is an indication, the topic at hand was to be *Don Domingo de Don Blas*, the ballet Massine would premiere in Mexico City the following September.

Kirstein had launched the literary journal *Hound & Horn* as a Harvard undergraduate; the poet Norman Macleod (also slated for Thursday April 23) was a contributor.⁷ Others from Kirstein’s Harvard years were penned in for this week’s schedule: Agnes Mongan (an intern at the university’s Fogg Art Museum when Kirstein met her, and later the first woman curator and director there), along with Jere Abbott, and Alfred H. Barr, Jr. Abbott and Barr would go on to be the founding associate director and the founding director, respectively, of The Museum of Modern Art,

Note: Unless otherwise indicated, all items are housed at The Museum of Modern Art Archives.

1 “Large Crowd Out to Hear Tibbet,” *Eugene Register Guard* (October 21, 1939): n.p. (front page).

2 George Amberg, *Ballet in America* (New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1949), p. 165.

3 John Martin, “The Dance: Holiday’s End,” *New York Times*, September 1, 1940.

4 See Anthony Tommasini, *Virgil Thomson: Composer on the Aisle* (New York: Norton, 1997), pp. 355–61.

5 B. H. Haggin, “Music,” *The Nation* (June 6, 1953): 489.

6 B. H. Haggin, “Balanchine: Musician-Choreographer,” *Dance Index* 1, no. 7 (July 1942): 111–13.

7 Macleod contributed two poems: “Turquoise Chant, a poem,” *Hound & Horn* 4, no. 2 (January–March 1931): 255; and “A Russian Letter,” *Hound & Horn* 7, no. 2 (Winter 1934): pp. 273–77.

where Kirstein attended the opening of the *Wartime Housing* exhibition that Tuesday. Appearing on the show’s entrance wall, and demonstrating its nexus of art and politics, was the text of a January 6, 1942, war production speech by President Franklin D. Roosevelt. Kirstein’s Friday appointment was Roosevelt’s advisor David Niles—consultant with the Works Progress Administration, civil rights advocate, and, like Kirstein, a Jewish man from Massachusetts.⁸

Wartime Housing was one of two exhibitions Kirstein saw that Tuesday; the other was Pavel (“Pavlik”) Tchelitchew’s show at the Julien Levy Gallery. An issue of the journal *View* (founded by Tchelitchew’s partner, Charles Henri Ford), to which Kirstein had contributed an essay, served as the exhibition’s catalogue (fig. 2).⁹ As the diminutive nickname implies, Tchelitchew was an intimate of Kirstein’s, a member of a circle of predominantly queer artists and aesthetes, dancers and designers, whose connections can be seen in a series of portraits, both drawn and—thanks largely to George Platt Lynes, whom Kirstein saw that Thursday at 5:30—photographed (plates 12–26). Many of the artists in this cohort worked in the manner of magic realism, an artistic mode combining fantastic content and precise form that Kirstein championed, whether under that name or as the related “Symbolic Realism.” Kirstein would use the latter term in the titles of shows he organized at Edwin Hewitt’s gallery and at the Institute of Contemporary Art in London in 1950. Among the featured artists in those exhibitions was Bernard Perlin, who, with Hewitt, rounded out Kirstein’s week, appearing in his datebook entry for Saturday.¹⁰

The swirl of associations that emerges from this calendar page is dizzying, yet there is nothing remarkable about this particular week in Kirstein’s life. Any number of other spreads in his datebooks, or entries from his densely scrawled journals,¹¹ would present an equally intricate waltz of figures from the myriad worlds in which he circulated (ballet, visual arts, film, literature, patronage, politics) and would reflect the compound identities (American, Jewish, married, queer) that shaped his pursuits. Yet Kirstein remains surprisingly behind the scenes of history for someone who has been called “the closest thing to a Renaissance man of culture that twentieth-century America has produced.”¹² Those who know of him



Figure 2
View 2, no. 2, May 1942, “Tchelitchew/Tanguy.”
The Museum of Modern Art Library, New York

tend to associate him with whichever distinct context most closely matches their interests. But as this peek into a typical week’s activities demonstrates, Kirstein’s innumerable roles—writer, critic, curator, editor, librettist, impresario, tastemaker, patron, institution builder—were never discrete, but always overlapping, more simultaneous than successive.

If Kirstein’s datebooks serve as a cultural who’s who of mid-twentieth-century America, the inverse is also true: that Kirstein (as his literary executor Nicholas Jenkins explains) is “a denizen of countless memoirs and chronicles.”¹³ Indeed, our man’s appearances—whether central roles or cameos—in the reflections of a diverse network of individuals have inspired some vivid locutions. There are the references to his appearance—“a giant sequoia,”¹⁴ or “a Roman senator in a black suit”¹⁵—which call out his imposing stature, his closely cropped hair, and his habitual attire. There are the testimonials that, in the same breath, convey the intensity of his energy and the authority of his expertise. “He invaded you; you either had to throw him out or listen to

8 See Collection Description of David K. Niles Papers, held in Harry S. Truman Presidential Library & Museum (<https://www.trumanlibrary.org/hstpape/niles.htm>).

9 Lincoln Kirstein, “The Position of Pavel Tchelitchew,” *View* 2, no. 2 (May 1942): n.p.

10 *Symbolic Realism*, April 3–22, 1950, Edwin Hewitt Gallery, New York; and *Symbolic Realism in American Painting, 1940–1950*, July 18–August 18, 1950, Institute of Contemporary Art, London.

11 Both are housed in the Lincoln Kirstein Papers, Jerome Robbins Dance Division, New York Public Library for the Performing Arts (hereafter cited as “NYPL”).

12 Nancy Reynolds, “Diaghilev and Kirstein,” in Lynn Garafola and Nancy Van Norman Baer, eds., *The Ballets Russes and Its World* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), p. 311.

13 Nicholas Jenkins, ed., *By With To & From: A Lincoln Kirstein Reader* (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1991), p. xi.

14 Arlene Croce, “Century’s Son,” *New Yorker* (January 22, 1996): 54.

15 David Leddick, *Intimate Companions: A Triography of George Platt Lynes, Paul Cadmus, Lincoln Kirstein, and Their Circle* (New York: St. Martin’s, 2000), pp. 79–80.

16 Walker Evans, in Leslie Katz, ed., *Walker Evans: Incognito* (New York: Eakins Press Foundation, 1995), p. 10.

17 Jacques d’Amboise, *I Was a Dancer: A Memoir* (New York: Knopf, 2011), pp. 111 and 344.

18 Oral history interview with Edward M. M. Warburg, May 13, 1971. Archives of American Art.

19 Alfred H. Barr, Jr., letter to Lincoln Kirstein, June 29, 1945. Alfred H. Barr, Jr. Papers (hereafter “AHB”) I.A.189.

20 Barr, letter to Richard Griffith, January 23, 1963. AHB I.A.374.

21 Invitation to participate in the exhibition *Murals by American Painters and Photographers*, 16.5.

22 “New York Museum Honors Students,” *Harvard Crimson* (May 1, 1930): 1. Harvard Society for Contemporary Art Scrapbooks, vol. 1.

him,” the photographer Walker Evans remembered, describing “a typical Kirstein switcheroo, all permeated with tremendous spirit, flash, dash and a kind of seeming high jinks that covered a really penetrating intelligence about an articulation of all esthetic matters and their contemporary applications” (fig. 3).¹⁶ The dancer Jacques d’Amboise’s characterizations reveal the extent to which Kirstein’s ambition and his anguish were two sides of the same coin: he was “a flawed genius who aspired to be the supreme arbiter of all the arts in the twentieth century” and “a wounded giant full of holes in his soul.”¹⁷ That double disposition led to Kirstein’s ultimately breaking almost as many friendships and associations as he established—never for lack of commitment on his part, but on principle. “With Lincoln—well, you know, there are the signers of the Declaration of Independence?” Edward M. M. Warburg, Kirstein’s Harvard classmate and fellow patron, quipped, “well, Lincoln is a re-signer; he likes to resign from things.”¹⁸

All these characteristics colored Kirstein’s sustained engagement with The Museum of Modern Art: a complex relationship that is the subject of *Lincoln Kirstein’s Modern*. Over the course of Kirstein’s association with MoMA, Alfred Barr acknowledged him in ways that ranged from heartfelt admiration—“I never get over wondering at your prodigiousness”¹⁹—to the euphemistic dig. Writing to Richard Griffith, curator of the Museum’s Film Library, in 1963, Barr cautions that “Lincoln is an enthusiast, as you know,” before going on to concede that his idea—a Sergei Eisenstein exhibition—“would be of very great interest to people concerned with movies, the theatre and Russian art.”²⁰ That tenor—admiration tinged with a jab—is characteristic of Kirstein’s fruitful yet fraught relations not only with Barr, but with the Museum, where the ostensibly limited nature of his official roles, from 1930 until the late 1940s, belies the expansiveness of his involvement.

Kirstein’s first official MoMA post was as a member of the Junior Advisory Committee, established in 1930 (four months after the Museum’s opening), and “composed for the most part of younger people, organized to serve in an advisory capacity to the trustees, to assist in spreading the influence of the Museum, etc.”²¹ An article in the *Harvard Crimson* touted that among the “21 young persons” on the committee were “four Harvard



Figure 3
Walker Evans. *Lincoln Kirstein*. c. 1931. Gelatin silver print, 6 3/8 × 4 1/2 in. (16.2 × 11.4 cm).
The Museum of Modern Art, New York. Gift of the artist

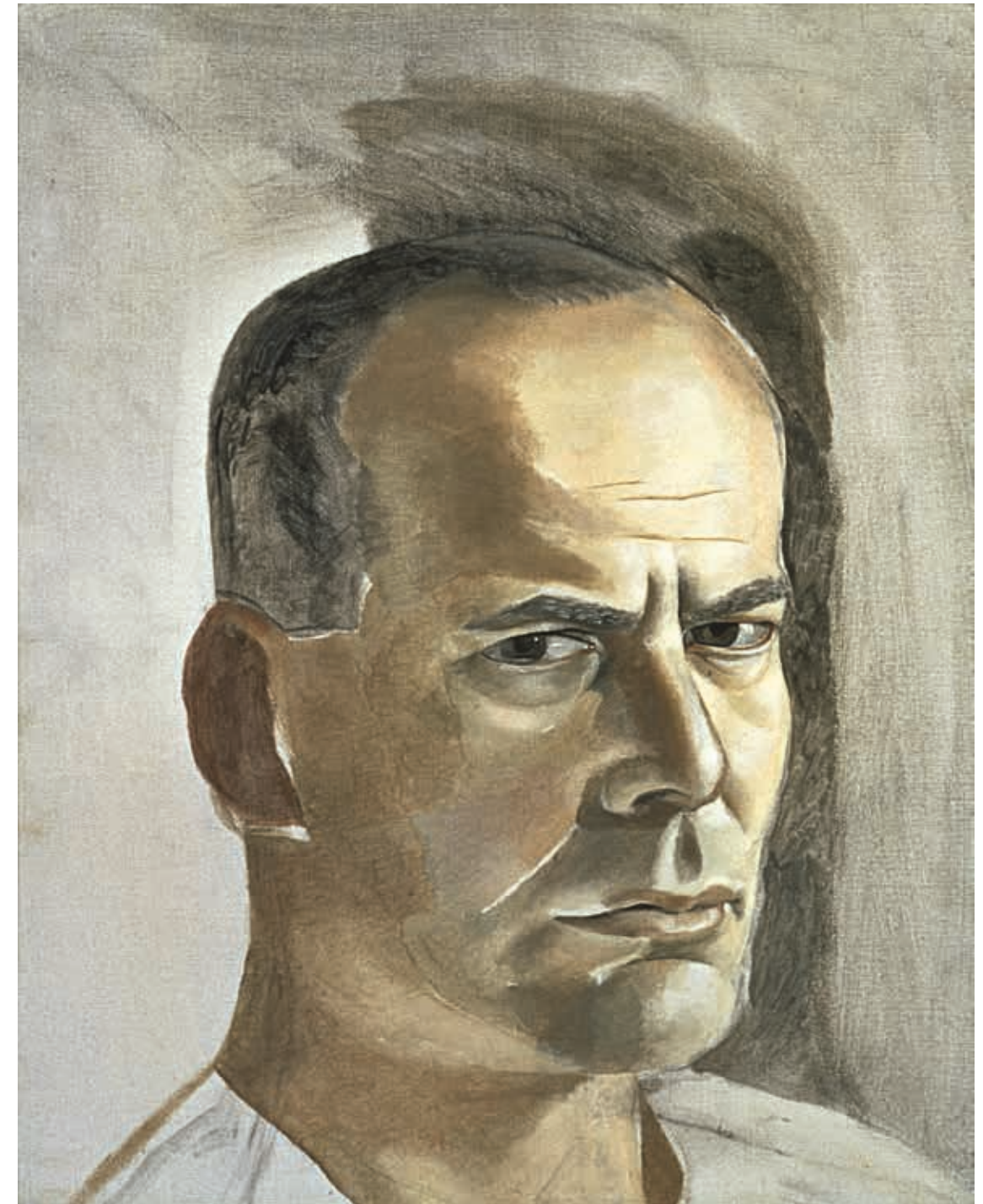
undergraduates, three of whom were founders of the Harvard Society of Contemporary Art,”²² the ambitious exhibiting body founded by Kirstein, Warburg, and John Walker III that provided a crucial interdisciplinary model for MoMA’s own activities (fig. 4; see plates 3–11 for a selection of the kind of works they showed). Despite numerous engagements over the next twelve

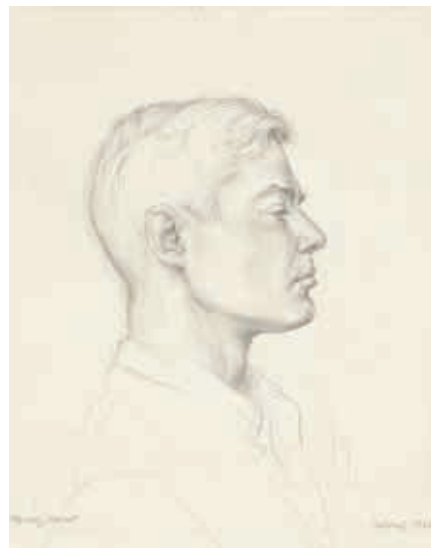


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Philip Johnson
1. *The Lincoln Kirstein Tower*, New Canaan, Connecticut. c. 1984–85. Rigid polyurethane foam and Remco action figures with alkyd enamel, 23 ¾ × 7 ¼ × 7 ¼ in. (60.3 × 18.4 × 18.4 cm)

Lucian Freud
2. *Portrait of Lincoln Kirstein*. 1950. Oil on canvas, 19 ¾ × 15 ½ in. (50.2 × 39.4 cm)





This page, left to right,
top to bottom:
Paul Cadmus
20. *Katherine Anne Porter*.
1942. Pencil on paper,
12 × 9 ½ in. (30.6 × 24 cm)

George Platt Lynes
21. *Glenway Wescott*. c. 1941.
Gelatin silver print,
9 ½ × 7 ½ in. (24.1 × 19.1 cm)

George Platt Lynes
22. Untitled (self-portrait).
c. 1952. Gelatin silver print,
9 7/8 × 8 in. (25.1 × 20.4 cm)

Paul Cadmus
23. *Monroe Wheeler*. 1943.
Pencil on paper, 10 × 7 ½ in.
(25.4 × 19 cm)

Paul Cadmus
24. *Glenway Wescott*. 1943.
Pencil on paper mounted
on board, 8 ½ × 7 ¾ in.
(21.6 × 18.8 cm)

George Platt Lynes
25. *Paul Cadmus*. c. 1941.
Gelatin silver print,
9 ¼ × 7 ½ in. (23.5 × 19 cm)

Opposite:
George Platt Lynes
26. *Lincoln Kirstein*. c. 1948.
Gelatin silver print,
9 ½ × 7 ¾ in. (24.2 × 19.6 cm)



Emulsion Society: Lincoln Kirstein and Photography

Lincoln Kirstein offers a surprising definition of taste in his 1986 book *Quarry: A Collection in Lieu of Memoirs*. “This noun,” he writes, going on to cite the verb form, “derives (from Old Fr.) *tâter*, to touch, feel, savor, finger, handle. Its Italian cognate means grope, arrange, assay.” Taste, Kirstein emphasizes, starts as something physical, tactile, and even—judging by the double entendres—sexual. “Side-effects tag after,” he adds, “including aesthetics, connoisseurship, art-history programs, patronage, public and private collections, museums and auction-houses.”¹ By the next paragraph, Kirstein is referencing Igor Stravinsky, Philip Johnson, and the Bishop of Hippo, figures obeying a credo of *laborare est orare*: “to work is to pray.” Kirstein, here as elsewhere, flaunts his range, dazzling readers with showy erudition and a vocabulary so dense with vagueness, esoterica, and innuendo it is hard to know exactly what he means to convey. What is clear, however, is that he intends to impress and also to suggest, proffering thoughts and opinions that might mean one thing or might mean another—or both at once. The effect is a destabilizing awareness of both a vaunted official narrative and an off-color drift. Taste, for Kirstein, if we track him on dual circuits, is a calling for hard-won sacred knowledge as well as an urge to just grab something.

Kirstein’s taste in photography—as it came to be expressed across the 1930s, his most active period of involvement with the medium—operated as much in the verb form as the noun. While the polymath impresario made several serious and well-placed pronouncements on the medium, wielding impressive amounts of photographic history in each case, his support for specific projects and artists was driven not by a simple recognition of talent, but rather by an impulse to shape and promote talent through the creation of showcases for talent. He *invested* in talent by building entire arenas for it, which he often populated with his friends. And he was strategic, identifying the fields where the opportunities lay, such as photography, ballet, and, more generally, American art.

Kirstein’s arena building began in earnest when he was a student at Harvard University, where, in 1927, at the age of twenty, he and classmate Varian Fry created the literary journal *Hound & Horn*. The journal published the writings of T. S. Eliot, Gertrude Stein, and Katherine Anne Porter, as well as an early essay



Figure 1
Pamphlet for the exhibition *Photography 1930*, Harvard Society for Contemporary Art, Cambridge, Massachusetts. Harvard Society for Contemporary Art Scrapbooks, vol. 2 (Autumn 1930–1933), The Museum of Modern Art Archives, New York

and photographs by Walker Evans. A year later, Kirstein founded the Harvard Society for Contemporary Art with fellow young people, John Walker III and Edward M. M. Warburg.² Among the Society’s earliest shows was *Photography 1930*, which included works representing both the American and the European avant-gardes (fig. 1).

This set the stage for Kirstein’s biggest visual arts arena, The Museum of Modern Art, where he became a founding member of the Junior Advisory Committee in 1930. There he joined ranks with other Harvard men, many of them openly homosexual or at least sexually open-minded, seizing opportunities to support—through donation, curation, diplomacy, and sheer enthusiasm—some of the first important museum exhibitions of photography in the United States. Kirstein solicited and often acquired work he found compelling, donated it to the Museum, curated the related

1 Lincoln Kirstein, *Quarry: A Collection in Lieu of Memoirs* (Pasadena, CA: Twelvvetrees, 1986), p. 14.
2 David Leddick, *Intimate Companions: A Triography of George Platt Lynes, Paul Cadmus, Lincoln Kirstein, and Their Circle* (New York: St. Martin's, 2000), p. 57.



Figure 2
George Platt Lynes. Likely installation view of *Walker Evans and George Lynes: Modern Photographs* at Julien Levy Gallery, New York. 1932. Gelatin silver print, 6 1/8 x 10 1/2 in. (15.6 x 26.7 cm). The Museum of Modern Art, New York. Gift of Russell Lynes, 1973



Figure 3
Installation view of *Murals by American Painters and Photographers* at The Museum of Modern Art, New York, 1932. Photographic Archive, The Museum of Modern Art Archives, New York

exhibition, and wrote the catalogue. While this may seem bafflingly overreaching today, it is worth remembering that the 1930s was a period of widespread invention—for institutions such as MoMA, for art photography, for modernism, as well as for new social-sexual identities. Kirstein was lucky to have been born in this all-hands-on-deck moment, which he in turn shaped considerably through his actions and personality.

A major social and emotional locus for the young Kirstein was Muriel Draper, a free-spirited socialite who hosted a salon on Manhattan’s East 40th Street. Draper specialized in “molding young men . . . particularly homosexual young men,”³ and her salon served as a private club offering exclusivity and discretion for both gay and straight attendees.⁴ Here Kirstein encountered many of the people who would come to play significant roles in his professional life, including A. Everett “Chick” Austin, Alfred Barr, Hart Crane, Walker Evans, Philip Johnson, and the photographer George Platt Lynes, among many others.

Kirstein had known Lynes in prep school but thought poorly of him at the time.⁵ They became reacquainted, partly through Draper’s salon, and found that they now had several things in common: Paris, where they had both had cultural rites of passage in the 1920s; art, particularly figurative art; and the gallerist Julien Levy, whom Lynes had met on the ship to France in 1931 and Kirstein knew through Harvard circles.⁶ Lynes had just turned to photography that year—in France he made portraits of acquaintances such as Gertrude Stein, Jean Cocteau, and René Crevel—and was experimenting with abstraction. Levy was to become a champion of both Surrealism and photography in the United States, through his New York gallery, which he opened in 1931, and as a commissioned agent for art museums (a role similar to Kirstein’s).⁷ In early 1932 Levy’s gallery presented an improbable pairing of Lynes and Walker Evans, photographers with little in common except what Levy at the time saw in both bodies of work: a Surrealist-tinged objectivity (fig. 2). Reviews were favorable, hailing Evans as a “New York Atget” and complimenting particularly his “torn and soiled fragments of circus and moving pictures posters,” while Lynes was acknowledged for his “wider scope,” involving portraiture and figure studies, and for his color prints of Greek statues.⁸ The work in the exhibition presaged

things to come—for Evans, rural America under the nationalizing forces of capitalism and, for Lynes, the human figure, in particular the erotic male nude, often shown in images of dance. Kirstein would champion both artists on their divergent paths.

Kirstein suffered an early career setback involving a 1932 mural exhibition, organized for MoMA and conceived as a quasi-competition for struggling painters vis-à-vis the then-under-construction Rockefeller Center,⁹ whose forthcoming cavernous spaces seemed to cry out for art.¹⁰ At a late point in the organization process, it was decided that photography would be added to the exhibition. Kirstein tapped Levy to head that component because of his gallery representation of current photographers. *Murals by American Painters and Photographers* seemed from the start to be marked for trouble. Many of the artists approached declined.¹¹ Moreover, problems erupted among MoMA’s trustees, who were outraged by the “Communist” political content of some of the work—Ben Shahn’s *Passion of Sacco and Vanzetti* in particular (see plate 146 for a related work).¹² But the show and catalogue elicited scathing reviews on their own. Reviewers reacted to the political content, as was to be expected—“communism does some screaming,” “lurid and melodramatic protests in paint”—but also hammered the works for their aesthetic deficiencies, calling them “big sloppy easel paintings.”¹³

The photography section of the show, however, garnered kinder words, in part because the photo-murals were less sermonizing than the paintings, celebrating modern architecture and industry instead of condemning the exploitation of laborers (fig. 3). An exception was Lynes’s work, placed at the entrance of the installation, featuring a symmetrical arrangement of nude male Greek statues with outstretched arms, both fig-leafed and camouflaged by an overlay of imagery: Nature on the left, Industry on the right (plate 132). One perceptive critic acknowledged the “surréaliste” attraction of that work but went on to dismiss its “superficial novelty.”¹⁴ Paradoxically, the murals showing the most fantasy—in the form of bald manipulation—gained the most praise: Abbott’s montage of urban vignettes, framed by crisscrossing steel girders (plate 140), and Thurman Rotan’s “vertiginous mosaic”¹⁵ of stacked skyscrapers

3 Steven Watson, quoted in *ibid.*, p. 59.

4 See Elspeth H. Brown, “Queering Glamour in Interwar Fashion Photography: The ‘Amorous Regard’ of George Platt Lynes,” *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies* 23, no. 3 (2017): 305–6.

5 Martin Duberman, *The Worlds of Lincoln Kirstein* (New York: Knopf, 2007), pp. 21–22.

6 See Katherine Ware and Peter Barberie, *Dreaming in Black and White: Photography at the Julien Levy Gallery* (Philadelphia and New Haven: Philadelphia Museum of Art/Yale University Press, 2006), p. 15.

7 Lynes’s work debuted in a 1931 group exhibition titled *Newer Super-Realism* at the Wadsworth Atheneum in Hartford, Connecticut. The show was co-organized by Levy and Atheneum curator “Chick” Austin, another Harvard man.

8 K. G. Sterne, “Photographs That Interest,” *New York Times*, February 4, 1932; and Helen Appleton Read, “The New Photography,” *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, February 7, 1936.

9 Kirstein was included in internal planning meetings with Nelson Rockefeller and his architects about the decoration of what Kirstein referred to as both “Rockefeller City” and “Radio City.”

10 Fears that ultra-popular Mexican muralist Diego Rivera would be hired over American artists fueled concerns. See Anna Indych-López, “Mural Gambits: Mexican Muralism in the United States and the ‘Portable’ Fresco,” *Art Bulletin* 89, no. 2 (June 2007): 287–305.

11 “Exhibition of Mural Paintings by American Artists Announced by Museum of Modern Art,” press release (unnumbered), February 1, 1932. On the photography side, refusals came from Walker Evans, Alfred Stieglitz, Paul Strand, Ralph Steiner, and Edward Weston, among others. The declines from both painters and photographers are cheerily reported in “Photographic Murals,” press release (unnumbered), March 24, 1932. Both press releases in The Museum of Modern Art Archives, New York (hereafter cited as “MoMA Archives”).

12 See Duberman, *The Worlds of Lincoln Kirstein*, pp. 111–17.



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George Platt Lynes
This page, left:
115. Untitled (Herbert Bliss).
March 18, 1950. Gelatin
silver print, 9 1/4 x 7 1/2 in.
(23.5 x 19 cm)
Right:
116. Untitled. January 31, 1936.
Gelatin silver print, 9 3/8 x 7 in.
(24 x 17.8 cm)
Bottom:
117. Untitled (Tex Smutney
and Buddy Stanley). 1941.
Gelatin silver print,
7 5/8 x 9 5/8 in. (19.2 x 24.4 cm)
Opposite:
118. Untitled. c. 1935-40.
Gelatin silver print, 10 x 8 in.
(25.3 x 20.5 cm)





Pavel Tchelitchew

Top left:

167. *Leaf Children* (study for *Hide-and-Seek*). 1939. Gouache and pencil on paper, 25 ¼ × 19 ¾ in. (64.1 × 50.3 cm)

Top right:

168. *Head of Autumn* (study for *Hide-and-Seek*). 1941. Watercolor and pencil on paper, 12 ⅞ × 14 ¾ in. (32.9 × 37.7 cm)

Bottom left:

169. *Leaf Children*. 1940. Oil on canvas, 16 ½ × 14 ½ in. (41.7 × 36.7 cm)

Middle right:

170. *Tree into Hand and Foot* (study for *Hide-and-Seek*). 1939. Watercolor, ink, and gouache on colored paper, 13 ⅞ × 9 ¾ in. (35.5 × 24.7 cm)

Opposite:

171. *Hide-and-Seek* (*Cache-cache*). June 1940–June 1942. Oil on canvas, 6 ft. 6 ½ in. × 7 ft. ¾ in. (199.3 × 215.3 cm)





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Elie Nadelman
183. *Standing Female Nude*.
c. 1940. Papier-mâché,
12 1/8 x 5 3/4 x 4 1/2 in.
(31 x 14.7 x 11.3 cm)
184. *Standing Female Nude*.
c. 1909. Bronze,
21 3/4 x 8 5/8 x 7 1/4 in.
(55.2 x 22 x 8.4 cm)





This page, left to right:
Sergei Eisenstein
 211. *Eisenstein's Mexican Film: Episodes for Study* (still). 1955, from footage of 1930–32. 35mm film (black and white, silent)

Oswaldo Guayasamín
 212. Untitled (study for *Mother and Child*). 1942. Ink on paper, 7 5/8 × 8 3/8 in. (19.4 × 21.3 cm)

Opposite:
Diógenes Paredes
 213. *Threshers (Segadores)*. 1942. Tempera on board, 20 1/2 × 19 5/8 in. (52.1 × 49.9 cm)





Pedro Figari
 223. *Creole Dance*. c. 1925.
 Oil on board, 20 ½ × 32 in.
 (52.1 × 81.3 cm)

Mario Urteaga
 224. *Burial of an Illustrious Man (Entierro del patriota)*.
 1936. Oil on canvas,
 23 × 32 ½ in. (58.4 × 82.5 cm)



Checklist of the Exhibition

The following checklist of the exhibition *Lincoln Kirstein’s Modern* is arranged alphabetically by names of artists or artists’ group; multiple works by a single artist are arranged chronologically. Unless otherwise indicated, all works are in the collection of The Museum of Modern Art.

For dimensions of works, height precedes width, and both precede depth for three-dimensional objects.

Foreign-language titles of works are provided only when they are known to be the artists’ original titles.

Credit lines followed by an asterisk (*) indicate works that came to the Museum at the date noted, but became part of the collection officially only after the Dance Archives was made a curatorial department in 1944. Works that bear the credit line “Inter-American Fund” were acquired by Lincoln Kirstein for the Museum.

Those works that are illustrated as plates or figures in the present volume are indicated with corresponding plate or page numbers at the end of their respective entries. Plates 132–43 represent archival materials related to the 1932 exhibition *Murals by American Painters and Photographers*, and not the actual photographic works that were exhibited. Walker Evans’s photographs from his Victorian Houses series are designated with the plate numbers as “VH,” while those photographs (though not necessarily those prints) that were included in *American Photographs* (either the book or the exhibition) are designated as “AP.”

Berenice Abbott (American, 1898–1991)	Gonzalo Ariza (Colombian, 1912–1995)
<i>Hands of Jean Cocteau</i> 1927 Gelatin silver print 6 ½ × 8 1¼ in. (16.5 × 22 cm) Purchase, 1946 Plate 10	<i>Savanna</i> 1942 Oil on canvas 19 ¾ × 19 ¼ in. (49.2 × 48.9 cm) Inter-American Fund, 1942 Plate 207
<i>New York</i> . Design for the exhibition <i>Murals by American Painters and Photographers</i> 1932 Gelatin silver print 4 ¼ × 8 ½ in. (10.8 × 20.6 cm) Photography Departmental Collection. Purchase, 1932 Plate 140	John Atherton (American, 1900–1952)
	<i>Construction</i> 1942 Waxed gouache on board 9 × 11 ⅞ in. (22.9 × 30.2 cm) Abby Aldrich Rockefeller Fund, 1942 Plate 154
Ivan LeLorraine Albright (American, 1897–1983)	Edith Behring (Brazilian, 1916–1996)
<i>Woman</i> 1928 Oil on canvas 33 × 22 in. (83.8 × 55.9 cm) Given anonymously, 1948 Plate 172	Untitled (boy) 1938 Pencil on paper 18 × 13 ½ in. (45.7 × 34.3 cm) Inter-American Fund, 1942 Plate 196

Antonio Berni (Argentine, 1905–1981)	Horacio A. Butler (Argentine, 1897–1983)
<i>New Chicago Athletic Club (Club atlético Nueva Chicago)</i> 1937 Oil on canvas 6 ft. ¾ in. × 9 ft. 10 ¼ in. (184.8 × 300.4 cm) Inter-American Fund, 1942 Plate 190	Designs for the ballet <i>Estancia</i> 1941 Extended loan, 1942
Peter Blume (American, 1906–1992)	For an American Ballet Caravan production (unrealized) Choreography by George Balanchine Music by Alberto E. Ginastera Ginastera’s score was used in 2010 for a new version of <i>Estancia</i> , with choreography by Christopher Wheeldon for the New York City Ballet (premiere David H. Koch Theater, New York, May 29, 2010)
<i>Landscape with Poppies</i> 1939 Oil on canvas 18 × 25 ⅙ in. (45.7 × 63.8 cm) Gift of Abby Aldrich Rockefeller, 1941 Plate 164	<i>Backdrop (Toile de fond)</i> Watercolor, ink, and pencil on card 12 × 23 ½ in. (30.5 × 59.7 cm) Plate 216
Norah Borges de Torre (Argentine, 1901–1998)	Design (birds) Cut, folded, and pasted colored paper with pasted thread Each approx. 3 ⅙ × 5 in. (7.9 × 12.7 cm) Plate 221
<i>Children (Niñas españolas)</i> 1933 Tempera on paper 18 ⅞ × 19 in. (47.9 × 48.3 cm) Inter-American Fund, 1942 Plate 191	Design (carriage) Cut card with gouache, watercolor, and pencil with metal fasteners, string, and hair 6 ⅞ × 9 ¾ in. (17.5 × 24.8 cm) Plate 222
Maurice Bratter (American, 1905–1986)	Design (cow) Cut-and-pasted card with gouache, watercolor, pencil, and hair 5 ⅞ × 6 in. (14.9 × 15.2 cm) Plate 220
<i>Three Newspaper Services: Sports; Financial; Advertising.</i> Design for the exhibition <i>Murals by American Painters and Photographers</i> 1932 Gelatin silver print 4 ⅞ × 9 ⅝ in. (12.4 × 24.4 cm) Photography Departmental Collection. Purchase, 1932 Plate 133	<i>Details for Female Costumes (Détails des costumes des femmes)</i> Colored ink on paper 14 ⅙ × 9 ⅞ in. (35.9 × 25.1 cm) Plate 214 (Not in exhibition)

<i>Details for Male Costumes (Détails des costumes des hommes)</i> Colored ink on paper 14 × 9 ⅝ in. (35.6 × 24.4 cm) Plate 215	<i>Herd Cut in Silhouette on Wheels (Troupeau découpé en silhouette sur des roulettes)</i> Cut card with gouache, pencil, and ink 3 ⅜ × 10 ⅝ in. (8.6 × 27 cm) Plate 219
<i>Second Left Curtain (2e Rideau de gauche)</i> Gouache, watercolor, and pencil on card 18 ⅙ × 5 ¾ in. (46 × 14.6 cm) Plate 218	<i>Worker 3 (Péon 3)</i> Gouache, colored ink, and pencil on paper 13 ⅞ × 9 ⅙ in. (35.2 × 23.2 cm) Plate 217
Paul Cadmus (American, 1904–1999)	<i>The Fleet’s In!</i> 1934 Etching Plate: 7 ⅞ × 14 ⅙ in. (18.9 × 35.7 cm); sheet: 11 ⅞ × 15 1⅝ in. (29 × 40.5 cm) Publisher and printer: unknown Edition: 50 Gift of Mrs. Stanley Resor, 1954 Plate 157
<i>Greenwich Village Cafeteria</i> 1934 Oil on canvas 28 × 40 in. (71.1 × 101.6 cm) Extended loan from the United States WPA Art Program. Fine Arts Collection, Public Buildings Service, General Services Administration, 1934 Plate 159	
<i>Ray</i> Gouache, pencil, and ink on card 11 × 7 ⅞ in. (27.9 × 20 cm) Plate 42	<i>Rich Boy</i> Gouache, pencil, and ink on card 11 ½ × 7 in. (29.2 × 17.8 cm) Plate 46
<i>Rich Girl</i> Gouache, watercolor, and pencil on paper 12 ⅙ × 10 ¼ in. (30.8 × 26 cm) Plate 47	

Designs for the ballet *Filling Station*
1937
Gifts of Lincoln Kirstein, 1941*

For the Ballet Caravan production (premiere Avery Memorial Theater, Hartford, Connecticut, January 6, 1938)
Choreography by Lew Christensen
Music by Virgil Thomson
Scenario by Lincoln Kirstein

The Gangster
Gouache, watercolor, pencil, and pinned and stapled fabric on paper
13 × 9 ¼ in. (33 × 23.5 cm)
Plate 44

Mac, the Filling Station Attendant
Gouache, pencil, and watercolor on card
11 × 6 ⅞ in. (27.9 × 17.5 cm)
Plate 40

Mac, the Filling Station Attendant
Gouache, watercolor, and pencil on card
10 ⅙ × 13 ¼ in. (25.7 × 33.7 cm)
Plate 39

The Motorist
Gouache, watercolor, pencil, and pinned fabric on paper
11 ⅙ × 10 in. (28.3 × 25.4 cm)
Plate 43

The Motorist’s Daughter
Gouache and pencil on card
12 × 10 ⅙ in. (30.5 × 25.7 cm)
Plate 48

Ray
Gouache, pencil, and ink on card
11 × 7 ⅞ in. (27.9 × 20 cm)
Plate 42

Rich Boy
Gouache, pencil, and ink on card
11 ½ × 7 in. (29.2 × 17.8 cm)
Plate 46

Rich Girl
Gouache, watercolor, and pencil on paper
12 ⅙ × 10 ¼ in. (30.8 × 26 cm)
Plate 47

Roy
Gouache, pencil, and watercolor on card
12 ¼ × 7 ¾ in. (31.1 × 19.7 cm)
Plate 45

Set design
Cut-and-pasted paper, gouache, watercolor, and pencil on paper
8 × 10 ⅞ in. (20.3 × 27.6 cm)
Plate 41 and page 4

Ballet Positions
Drawings for *Ballet Alphabet: A Primer for Laymen*
1939
Ink, pencil, colored ink, and gouache on paper
Gifts of Lincoln Kirstein, 1942*

Plate 1
13 × 8 ½ in. (33 × 21.6 cm)
Plate 29

Plate 2
13 ½ × 9 in. (34.3 × 22.9 cm)
Plate 30

Plate 3
13 ¼ × 8 ¼ in. (33.7 × 21 cm)
Plate 32

Plate 4
14 ½ × 10 ½ in. (36.8 × 26.7 cm)
Plate 33

Untitled
14 ¼ × 10 ⅞ in. (36.2 × 27.6 cm)
Plate 31

Poster design for American Ballet c. 1941
Gouache and pencil on colored paper-faced board
25 × 18 ¾ in. (63.5 × 47.6 cm)
Gift of Lincoln Kirstein, 1943*
Plate 27

Youth with Kite
1941
Etching
Plate: 10 ¾ × 5 ⅜ in. (26.3 × 13.7 cm); sheet: 15 1⅞ × 10 ¼ in. (39.8 × 26 cm)
Publisher and printer: unknown
Edition: 75
Gift of Abby Aldrich Rockefeller (by exchange), 1954
Plate 158

Katherine Anne Porter
1942
Pencil on paper
12 × 9 ½ in. (30.6 × 24 cm)
Gift of Monroe Wheeler, 1960
Plate 20

Glenway Wescott
1943
Pencil on paper mounted on board
8 ½ × 7 ⅜ in. (21.6 × 18.8 cm)
Gift of Monroe Wheeler, 1978
Plate 24

Monroe Wheeler
1943
Pencil on paper
10 × 7 ½ in. (25.4 × 19 cm)
Gift of Monroe Wheeler, 1978
Plate 23

Feathers, Shells, and Bones
1946
Crayon on colored paper
8 ¾ × 9 ½ in. (22.3 × 24.1 cm)
Gift of Monroe Wheeler, 1968
Plate 161

Gluttony
1949
Pencil, gouache, and watercolor on colored paper
25 ⅝ × 14 ⅞ in. (65.2 × 37.7 cm)
The Joan and Lester Avnet Collection, 1978
Plate 160

Corrado Cagli
(Italian, 1910–1976)

Troubadours
1946
Ink on colored paper
12 ⅙ × 9 in. (31.1 × 22.8 cm)
Gift of Lincoln Kirstein, 1947
Plate 162

José Bernardo Cardoso, Jr.
(Brazilian, 1861–1947)

Still Life with View of the Bay of Guanabara
1937
Oil and pencil on paper
21 ¼ × 29 ½ in. (54 × 74.9 cm)
Inter-American Fund, 1942
Plate 202

Henri Cartier-Bresson
(French, 1908–2004)

Lincoln Kirstein
1964
Gelatin silver print, printed 1968
15 ⅙ × 10 ⅙ in. (38.6 × 25.9 cm)
Gift of the artist, 1985
Back endpaper

For the Ballet Caravan production (premiere Lancaster, Pennsylvania, October 17, 1939)
Choreography by Lew Christensen
Music by Stephen Foster and Louis Gottstalk, arranged by Tracy Wittman
Scenario by Lincoln Kirstein

Jean Charlot
(American, born France, 1898–1979)

Mestizas
1929
Lithograph
Composition: 14 ⅙ × 10 ½ in. (35.8 × 26.7 cm); sheet: 15 ⅞ × 11 ¼ in. (40.3 × 28.5 cm)
Publisher: unknown
Printer: George C. Miller, New York
Edition: 50
Gift of Abby Aldrich Rockefeller, 1940
Plate 8

Jean Cocteau
(French, 1889–1963)

Glenway Wescott
1926
Ink on paper
10 ¾ × 7 ⅞ in. (26.1 × 20 cm)
Gift of Monroe Wheeler, 1968
Plate 12

Monroe Wheeler
1927
Ink on paper
10 ¾ × 8 ¼ in. (27 × 20.9 cm)
Gift of Monroe Wheeler, 1969
Plate 13

Alvin Colt
(American, 1916–2008)

Costume design for the ballet *Charade, or The Debutante*
1939
Gouache, stapled fabric, pencil, and stamped colored ink on colored card
20 ⅙ × 13 ¼ in. (51.1 × 33.7 cm)
Gift of Lincoln Kirstein, 1942*
Plate 59

Percy Deane
(Brazilian, 1921–1994)

The Lovers
1941
Pencil on paper
12 ¾ × 9 ¼ in. (32.4 × 23.5 cm)
Inter-American Fund, 1942
Plate 197

Hendrick V. Duryea
(American, 1900–1976)
Robert E. Locher
(American, 1888–1956)

Metal, Glass, and Cork. Design for the exhibition *Murals by American Painters and Photographers*
1932
Gelatin silver print
4 ¼ × 9 ⅜ in. (10.8 × 23.8 cm)
Photography Departmental Collection. Purchase, 1932
Plate 136

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Published in conjunction with the exhibition *Lincoln Kirstein’s Modern*, at The Museum of Modern Art, New York, March 17–June 15, 2019. Organized by Jodi Hauptman, Senior Curator, and Samantha Friedman, Associate Curator, Department of Drawings and Prints at The Museum of Modern Art, New York

The exhibition is supported by the Annual Exhibition Fund with major contributions from the Estate of Ralph L. Riehle, Alice and Tom Tisch, Mimi and Peter Haas Fund, Brett and Daniel Sundheim, Karen and Gary Winnick, The Marella and Giovanni Agnelli Fund for Exhibitions, and Oya and Bülent Eczacıbaşı.

MoMA Audio is supported by Bloomberg Philanthropies.

This publication is made possible by the Nancy Lee and Perry Bass Publications Endowment Fund.

Major support is provided by The Museum of Modern Art’s Research and Scholarly Publications endowment established through the generosity of The Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, the Edward John Noble Foundation, Mr. and Mrs. Perry R. Bass, and the National Endowment for the Humanities’ Challenge Grant Program.

Produced by the Department of Publications, The Museum of Modern Art, New York

Christopher Hudson, Publisher
Hannah Kim, Business and Marketing Director
Don McMahon, Editorial Director
Marc Sapir, Production Director

Edited by Diana C. Stoll
Designed by IN-F.O.CO
Production by Marc Sapir
Prepress by t’ink, Brussels, Belgium
Printed and bound by Graphius-New Goff, Ghent, Belgium

This book is typeset in Mier and Arnhem
The paper is 150gsm Creator Silk

Published by The Museum of Modern Art
11 West 53 Street
New York, NY 10019-5497
www.moma.org

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Library of Congress Control Number: 2019931806
ISBN: 978-1-63345-082-0

Distributed in the United States and Canada by
ARTBOOK | D.A.P.
75 Broad Street
Suite 360
New York, NY 10004
www.artbook.com

Distributed outside the United States and Canada by
Thames & Hudson Ltd.
181A High Holborn
London WC1V 7QX
www.thamesandhudson.com

Printed and bound in Belgium

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Back cover, left: Pavel Tchelitchew. *Nervous System*. Design for the ballet *The Cave of Sleep*. 1941. (See plate 76.) Right: Walker Evans. *Lincoln Kirstein*. c. 1931. (See page 13, fig. 3)

Frontispiece: Jay Leyda. *Lincoln Kirstein*. c. 1930. Gelatin silver print. 3 1⁄16 × 4 ¾ in. (9.4 × 12 cm). The Museum of Modern Art, New York. Gift of the artist, 1986

Page 4: Paul Cadmus. Set design for the ballet *Filling Station* (detail). 1937. (See plate 41)

Endpaper, front: Selection of Lincoln Kirstein’s institutional letterhead from The Museum of Modern Art Archives, New York. Endpaper, back: Henri Cartier-Bresson. *Lincoln Kirstein*. 1964. Gelatin silver print, printed 1968. 15 ½ × 10 ½ in. (38.6 × 25.9 cm). The Museum of Modern Art, New York. Gift of the artist, 1985

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