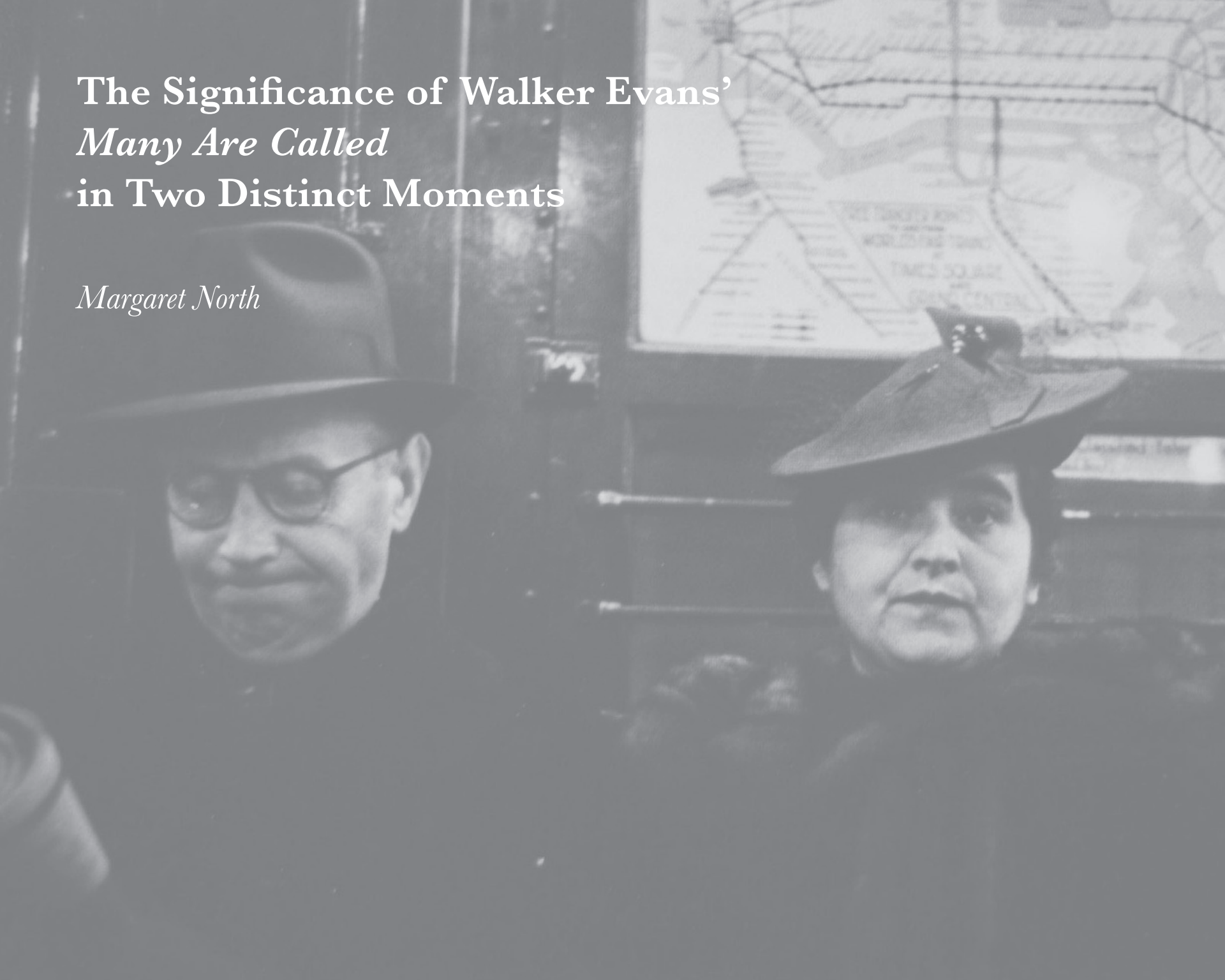


The Significance of Walker Evans'
Many Are Called
in Two Distinct Moments

Margaret North



She looks straight ahead, tight jaw and distance in her eyes. The man to her right may be disgruntled but unsurprised as he glosses over today's headlines. In the subway, nobody pokes or pries or stares. Unseeing, she gazes on as her neighbor tilts his head down another notch and the train jostles along. In this public yet unsocial subway car, most passengers retreat into their own interior world (Figure 1). There's a constant coming and going, a procession of sitting and standing that proves this place is not meant for permanence. With a cord slipped down his sleeve and attached to a hidden shutter release, photographer Walker Evans must have been thrilled to preserve a momentary snapshot of an unknowing private life.

Evans first ventured into the depths of New York City's underground subway in 1938 with a small-format Contax camera hidden beneath his coat. For the next three years, he continued to photograph subway scenes, fascinated by the "naked repose" that he found on anonymous passengers' faces.¹ Intrigued by the distant psychological states, the absolute mystery and variety that he saw in his subjects, Evans explored what he later called his idea of "what a portrait ought to be [...] a straightforward picture of mankind."² The final product is a set of portraits that are often crooked and blurred at their edges, but each face seems to transcend its frame, allowing the viewer the privilege to stare and question. The tone and technique that Evans employed was ahead of his time; Robert Frank and others would not popularize this kind of candid photography until the 1950s. Despite its groundbreaking potential, the project finished quietly and the influence of Evans' new methodology was not felt. In fact, Evans' subway photographs were not to be exhibited until *Many Are Called* was published in 1966.³

In an exhibition press release from the Museum of Modern Art on October 5th, 1966, Evans gave what seemed to be a straightforward explanation for the long delay: "The rude and impudent invasion involved has been carefully softened and partially mitigated by a planned passage of time."⁴ However, James Agee's 1940 introduction to the series and Evans' 1941 Guggenheim Fellowship renewal letter that described his plans for a book of "semi-automatic record of photography of people" point to an initial intent to publish and call this *planned* passage into question.⁵ From the late 1930s on, there was a great deal of anxiety surrounding espionage and national security that made the role of spy-photographer especially devious and potentially unethical. In 1942, the Port Authority actually outlawed photography without a permit on bridges, tunnels, and "other public places" in New York.⁶ Therefore, concerns about legality and ethics certainly would have made Evans hesitant to publish right away, but the stylistic newness of the photographs presented theoretical challenges as well. As visual history would have it, *Many Are Called* would bear more resemblance to the photography of the 1960s than 1930s and '40s. Given these factors, Evans' claim to the "*planned* passage of time" may well have been an after-the-fact-excuse that glossed over the difficulty of publishing the series at the time of its creation.

Although Mia Fineman, Jeff L. Rosenheim and Sara Greenough have treated the subway photographs in some depth, scholarship on the series today pales in comparison to that of Evans' better-known work. A multifaceted consideration of its radical technique and unusual timeline is still needed. In order to complete the story, this mysterious gap must be considered not only as the years from 1941 to 1966, but in terms of two distinct moments: creation and publication. The central question of this delay is really

two questions: *why not 1941?* and *why 1966?* This series is differentiated from Evans' other works to such an extent that it must have been ill-fitting as a photo documentary series in 1941. By 1966, biographical and social changes finally allowed for *Many Are Called* to be published. Through an investigation of these factors, the significance of the series in its moment—indeed, its two moments—can be more fully revealed.

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In order to reassess the importance of *Many Are Called* in its moment of creation, a narrow biographical account is necessary, along with recognition that this series was very different in its intention and the nature of its creation than Evans' better-known FSA-sponsored photography. The subway photographs were taken almost immediately after Evans' most widely-known work had concluded, the documentary-style photographs of the American south taken during the Great Depression that culminated with a publication titled *Let Us Now Praise Famous Men*. While solemn faces stare back at the viewer from each set of images, the two series are clearly differentiated with respect to subject, technique, patronage, formal structure, and publication. After a formative year of depression-era work for the Farm Security Administration and a brief period of time in New York, Evans traveled south with writer and friend James Agee.⁷ With Evans on loan from the government, the two took on an assignment from *Fortune Magazine*.⁸ Agee describes the well-defined mission in the preface to *Let Us Now Praise Famous Men*:

It was our business to prepare, for a New York magazine, an article on cotton tenantry in the United States, in the form of a photographic and verbal record of the daily living and environment of an average white family of tenant farmers.⁹

Evans and Agee did their best to share in the pain of the tenant farmers who were their hosts and subjects. The goal was a non-intrusive, transparent portrayal of people and place.¹⁰ This work helped Evans to establish his photographic philosophy and prefigured an interest in realism that would carry through to his subway experiment. In Alabama, however, realism was a prescribed condition of a sponsored assignment. The literary and photographic project that emerged was *Let Us Now Praise Famous Men*, a thick book filled with prose and prefaced with photographs. Together but separately, text and images document the wretched suffering of the poor tenant farmers in Alabama.

Although Evans and Agee both made it clear that they did not want their work to be intentionally 'propagandistic or journalistic' like work like that was found in some New York Business Magazines of the time, their creation succeeded in communicating poverty that was simply present.¹¹ One photograph of the Fields Family, taken in 1936 (Figure 2) illustrates this poverty. The family has gathered together in a room that suggests survival rather than "living." They are centered in the frame, look directly at the camera and strike their own pose. With a sense of shameless formality, the signs of their degradation are on display in the glass box of Evans' frame. Belinda Rathbone, in her biography of Walker Evans, comments on a Fields portrait, saying that despite "tangled hair, soiled bedclothes, sore feet [...] Evans conveyed the stately proportion and pride of a family worth of the Old Masters of royal portrait painting."¹² In this portrait empathy and dignity coincide. Even if the images are not a critique, their visual poignancy evokes sorrow and the context of their assignment naturally bears a social burden, which is shifted to the viewer. To this day, these photos of farmers and their homes present a harsh, raw truth and therefore serve to advocate for the tenant families.

In a recent article called “Documentary Photography and Social Welfare History,” Peter Stzo concludes that even if a photograph can function like a pure document, its context informs and assigns meaning.¹³ In order to demonstrate that even simply revealing a social truth is a project of welfare advocacy, he quotes the Walker Evans Project: “If I could tell the story in words, I wouldn’t need to lug a camera.”

The storytelling came to an end in 1937, when Evans was told that the government no longer needed him. *Let Us Now Praise Famous Men* would be compiled and published in the next few years.¹⁴ Evans was ready for something independent and different: *Many Are Called* was the answer, a project of love and freedom for Evans. It makes sense then, that these photographs lacked clarity and a sense of social purpose that was fundamental to the patronage—and ultimately to the success—of the previous project. Instead, the experimental, anonymous nature of this project bestows the images in *Many Are Called* with an intriguing sense of displacement: an ability to communicate without spatial or temporal immediacy, things that are not here and now.¹⁵ While this element of displacement is found in modern art, it was not commonly found in successful documentary photography of the late 1930s.

Visual clues and the technology through which Evans communicates them are also central to the dichotomy that separates *Let Us Now Praise Famous Men* from *Many Are Called*. After developing an interest in portraiture in Alabama, Walker Evans explored candid portraits by taking advantage of brand new technology that encouraged mobility and secrecy: a compact and quiet 35mm.¹⁶ Unlike a large format, it was operated indirectly from a switch in Evans’ pocket that actually prohibited the artist from fiddling with the frame of the photo. His choice of a 35mm enabled him to

remove most of the obligatory subjectivity and that physical adjustments to the 8x10 required. With a large format, meticulous set up means that most “editing” is done as the photograph is taken.¹⁷ If Evans had focused on architecture or interiors, a different sense of disengagement via the 8x10’s clarity could have been achieved, but the 35mm was required to capture a *person* unaware, unengaged.¹⁸ Such a clear-cut rejection of the artist eye’s participation in his photographs had also much to do with Evans’ distaste for the ultra-aesthetic salon photography that Alfred Stieglitz had made so popular in the 1920s and beforehand.¹⁹ While Stieglitz stressed craftsmanship, Evans believed in staying out of his art and his 35mm contraption came close to making total disengagement with human subjects possible.²⁰

In contrast, the photograph of the Fields family and others were arranged and posed by Evans, who was also known to reorganize furniture and adjust lighting.²¹ Centered and knowing, the Fields family addresses the camera and the hooded man behind it. A formal deconstruction of compositional choices and visual signs like carried objects or tattered clothing links the Fields Family to traditional portraiture and a traditional subject-artist relationship. In *Many Are Called*, however, people appear off center, at different altitudes within their frame. While passengers like in Figure 3 look towards the camera, others gaze into the distance as in Figure 4, but none seem to address the photographer, and thereby the viewer, in the way that the families in *Let Us Now Praise Famous Men* do. With no consent from the *Many*, the relationship between the artist and subject transforms into a non-relationship in the subway and any “old masters” employment of iconological meaning or semiotic understanding becomes mere guesswork. The faces of the *Many* are disengaged, unidentified, and for all we know, unwilling.

Major dissimilarities become evident in this comparison and serve as a testament to the radical newness of the subway series, making *Many Are Called* difficult to assess in relation to *Let us Now Praise Famous Men*. Contexts and impacts stand in opposition. The divergent nature of patronage, technique, subject-artist relationship and correlation with traditional portraiture help us make sense of Evans and his oeuvre up until this point. *Many Are Called* was a departure for Evans and highly unusual for photography in the late 1930s and early 1940s, a point that ties back to the central question of “the gap” between creation and publication. Rather than attaching the people represented to a specific place and time, the faces of *Many Are Called* are diverse, anonymous, and transient. Experimental, unhindered by information, and displaced in time, these faces and the psychological states they convey transcend their surroundings rather than define their era.

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In 1941, there was simply no market for this type of transient experiment. Rather, the 1930s were familiar with a tradition of “artsy” salon photographers and were welcoming another circle of photographers who participated in more serious documentary work that set out to spread awareness about some social fact. Lewis W. Hine’s images of immigrants and child labor, Dorothea Lange’s photos of personal devastation caused by the Great Depression, and even the photographs from *Let Us Now Praise Famous Men* are deemed documentary.²² For example, the iconic face of Allie Mae Burroughs in *Let Us Now Praise Famous Men* is now still recognizable as a picture of poverty in the Great Depression (Figure 5). These documentary works are bound to the 1930s social and economic conditions in which they were made, but historical attachment fails to impress a similar time-and-place-stamp on the images in *Many Are Called*. Even though Evans draws attention to the anonymous individuals on the

subway by taking their photograph, he forbids them from telling their story. Mystery and transcendence then, have everything to do with the photographer’s concealment. The series better fits into the story of American Photography with the emergence of candid and stealth photography.

To understand what motivated Evans to put down his 8x10 and take interest in the subway in 1938, it is helpful to consider his sources of inspiration. When asked about the subway series in interviews, he frequently cited two influences. The first of these is Honoré Daumier’s *Third Class Railway Carriage*, circa 1860-62 (Figure 6).²³ The connection is easy to make, as both are sketches of commuters sitting at eye level, facing the artist. It is clear that European Realism offered a precedent for a new American Social Realism.²⁴ While the subway is not exactly a “third class carriage,” both Daumier and Evans draw attention to a common, commuting population; one that Evans calls “ladies and gentleman of the jury.”²⁵ The second notable influence is *Blind* (Figure 7) by Paul Strand, an image that Evans may have encountered the image while working at the New York Public Library as a young adult. In a 1974 interview, Evans recalled that Strand’s image of a blind woman excited him because it was “shocking” and “brutal.”²⁶ This radically unsentimental approach was, like Daumier’s example, charged with a strong dose of reality and spiced with anonymity.

As with Walker Evans’ own work, his sources of inspiration to capture a transparent, unglamorous reality. An interest in realism is one common thread can be traced through *Let Us Now Praise Famous Men* and *Many Are Called*. Transparency, a totally sly technique, and the most transient of settings allowed Evans to generate the impression of something new—an unknown and unattached moment, but an honest one that is recognizable enough to be intriguing.

Stealth photography, which mimics this type of instant as it is unknowingly captured, or the “snapshot aesthetic” as it was also called by Mary Warner Marien, came into its own in the 1950s and 1960s.²⁷ Marien pointed to the year 1966, the same year that *Many Are Called* was published as a year for “the appearance of a new photographic trend, indifferent to social reform but acutely focused on the qualities of camera vision.”²⁸ While Marien could well have been talking about Evans’ subway experiment, which came first, she instead looked to an exhibition at Brandeis University of *Twelve Photographers of the American Social Landscape* that also put the snapshot aesthetic to use. Lee Friedlander and Gary Winogrand would also turn away from aesthetics and towards social fact and transparency around this time.²⁹ Evans, then an editor at Fortune Magazine and preparing to take a professorship at Yale University, would have recognized that he’d been doing this back in 1938.³⁰ His senior status in the field at that time likely helped to eliminate some initial concerns about stealth photography that would have existed when the photographs were taken.

One series that is truly indebted to *Many Are Called* is Robert Frank’s *The Americans*, a 1958 series that paid homage to the underbelly of America, as seen on a road trip, rather than in the tunnels below NYC. Frank offered captivating sometimes telling, glimpses into daily life that were true snapshots: couples in their cars, drive thru windows and gas stations. Frank, who knew Evans well, even publicly credited Evans’ other work with tremendous influence on his *The Americans*. Naturally, scholar Leslie Baier investigates the Evans-Frank connection by starting with Evans’ 1938 *American Photographs*, but unlike most she delves deeper. Knowing that Frank would have had access to the subway photographs, Baier has also endorsed *Many Are Called*’s major thematic influence on *The Americans*. Although her treatment

of the *Many Are Called* is not central to “Visions of Fascination and Despair: The Relationship between Walker Evans and Robert Frank,” Baier did suggest that *Many Are Called* must have laid groundwork for Frank’s portrayal of two dominant motifs: transcendence and alienation.³¹ Baier has struck a chord here, but her article still stands as the exception that proves the rule. *Many are Called* still remains under-recognized and while this technical and thematic connection between Evans and Frank is essential, a more wide-reaching appreciation is also required. *Many Are Called* makes an impressive contribution to the whole of candid, covert photographs that force the viewer to consider the average or unfamiliar faces of America. Street photography, stealth photography, and portable photography were unimaginable and too new 1941, but in the 1960s, Frank and others had generated interest in and market for transient images of the average person and lifestyle.

We find, amongst these candid snapshots of America, a more appropriate stylistic and thematic trend that continues today. In a recent article, Daniel Palmer discusses with contemporary artists Evans’ interest in a “naked” psychological state. Most notably, Philip-Lorca diCorcia’s *Heads* (1999-2001) are portraits of unaware individuals and bear theoretical and formal resemblance to *Many Are Called*.³² By making contemporary connections, Palmer shows the current relevance of the ethics of spectatorship and anonymous photographs.³³

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Shifting focus from style, technique, and themes to subject matter of the series discloses a final element of the displacement that characterizes *Many Are Called*: the topic of diversity. Diversity, and a “melting pot” vision of New York City was long described in literature and even performing arts, but rarely featured in the visual arts or material

culture imagery in 1941. Surely, Evans was influenced and intrigued New York's mixed population, and there is connection between Evans' attempt at objectivity and the unfiltered community that converges in the subway. James Agee's 1940 introduction to *Many Are Called* reverberates with a celebratory view of the diverse people that are found in this setting:

Those who use the New York subways are several millions. The facts about them are so commonplace that they have become almost meaningless, as impossible to realize as death and war. [...] They are members of every race and nation of the earth. They are of all ages, of all temperaments, of all classes, of almost every imaginable occupation. Each is incorporate in such an intense and various concentration of human beings as the world has ever known before. Each also, is an individual essence, as matchless as a thumbprint or a snowflake.³⁴

The subway demographic was not bounded by the words found in the preface for the *Let Us Now Praise Famous Men*, like "three," "white," or "tenant farmers." Instead, the space within the train is a non-discriminating, even if it is subject to the locations along the line where certain populations enter and leave. Among the eighty-nine images, children and adults, young and old, wealthy and poor are represented. A nun, one young woman who is disabled, two presumably black individuals, and single man of Asian descent can be picked out of *Many Are Called*. Whether or not Evans' selection of photographs is an absolutely accurate representation of New York City's population should be called into question in a thorough examination of this issue, but simply the fact that an attempt was made to portray diversity is helpful in explaining *why 1966?*

A bold acknowledgment of the diversity issue may have been admirable for Evans, but the definition of diversity was constantly changing in 20th-century America. Once again, a historical assessment of the two distinct moments: 1941 and 1966, provides us with one more way to speculate on the creation-publication gap. With the civil rights movement in full swing, America was finally coming to head with its ethnic diversity in 1966, when *Many Are Called* was published. However, in 1939 "the melting pot" usually described the mix of European immigrants in New York City at the time. An article in the July 1939 issue of *Fortune* celebrated the World's Fair this type of melting pot, entirely leaving African Americans out of the picture.³⁵ The fact that there are only two black people among *Many Are Called's* eighty-nine photographs could be a lingering mark of the 1930s definition of diversity since the issue of race as it pertains to our contemporary view of diversity only became central in the 1960s with the civil rights movement.

The subway photographs provide some clues about the subway line on which the photographs were taken that help to more thoroughly analyze Evans' intent in relation to the diversity he portrays. For example, plates 84 and 59 show lettering that reads part or all of "Lex. Ave Local."³⁶ At the outset of his subway photography, Evans had been living at 441 East 92nd Street, a building that would become home to other photographers and artist-types like his old friend James Agee.³⁷ In late 1939 he relocated to 1681 York Avenue, just a few blocks down.³⁸ The Lexington Avenue Line's proximity makes it unlikely that Evans traveled far out of his way to find a line that captured some abnormally diverse population sample (Figure 8). Surely, demographic differs by line, train, or day, but the Lexington Avenue Line, while diverse in some respects, did not travel to Haarlem or the outer boroughs. If Evans edited his selection of faces

based on a desire to capture “every race and nation of the earth,” it is more likely that he did so after the fact, when he chose which photographs to publish.³⁹

This leads to a second factor that further complicates Agee’s description of the series in terms of such wide-reaching diversity: the fact that Evans had to make a selection. Relatively cheap 35mm film and rapid succession capability allowed Evans to take over six hundred photographs in the subway.⁴⁰ Of these hundreds, eighty-nine were chosen for publication. Evans’ power to assort faces that he published certainly further complicates the project’s unbiased pretense. In Evans’ defense, he believed that his selection could claim “some kind of chance average.”⁴¹ However, Agee’s text does more to evoke a sense of the city’s concentrated and varied humanity than the photographs do. In a 1991 article on *Many Are Called*, Charles Hagen at the New York Times seemed unconvinced about the objectivity of the series. Hagen reviewed records of Evans’ many preliminary croppings and alternative arrangements that preceded the final 1966 format of *Many Are Called*, concluding that if Evans let his eye in, he did so after the photographs were taken.⁴² Hagen doesn’t dwell on the topic, but summarizes: “most of the passengers are white and represent a range of social classes.”⁴³ At the end of the day, Evans was nearly able to omit subjectivity from his process, but not his product. If many are called, the argument can be made that few were chosen.

If a discussion of *the many* involves a discussion of diversity, as the preface implies, this leads to a consideration of Evans’ title. *Many Are Called* is a biblical reference: although many are called to the Kingdom of God in the final hours, the few who have received Christ “are chosen (Matthew 22:14).” Like the series as a whole, the title is far less clearly

egalitarian when contextualized. In fact, it is indicative of the overwhelming tension that permeates the topic of diversity in *Many Are Called*. While the topic may have seemed like a push forward in 1941, the European American “melting pot” definition was outdated by 1966: it lacked the crucial consideration of race that the Civil Rights Movement had made paramount by that time. In this respect, the series was unsuccessful in producing a satisfactory representation of *the many* even then. So, whether the images celebrate or stifle whatever demographic was truly present on this subway in 1938-1941 is difficult to be sure of, but the title *Many Are Called* gives the issue special importance. Admittedly, placing the series in this framework brings up questions that are speculative, but also deeply compelling. Even without certainty about every detail that the issues of demographics and diversity present, the questions surrounding diversity root *Many Are Called* in both 1941 and in 1966, a placement that experiences a simultaneous push and pull between moments.

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A detailed analysis of Evan’s work, changes in American photography, and socio-economic realities that surrounded the series proves that Evans’ explanation for the delayed publication of *Many Are Called*—his “planned passage of time”—does not tell the whole story. Although Evans and America were better prepared to receive the series in the 1960s, neither the climate of 1941 nor 1966 perfectly frames *Many Are Called*. The result is a series that transcends its creation date, attaches a sense of displacement to its publication date and points forward to the legacy of candid and stealth photography in America. Understanding the delayed publication is necessary to appreciating the significance and integrity of this series, but is also crucial to our understanding of America’s changing identity politics and its documentation through photographs. On a

personal level, too, the investigation grounds the shockingly modern way that a viewer connects with these images. If we feel ourselves being drawn in by the anonymous faces of the many, yet held back by the lack of information they provide, there is a reason for this. Like the subway itself, the individuals aren't tethered to a departure point or a destination; the series can be better explained by the themes and questions that surround its dates of creation *and* publication. The gap between the two explains a sense of transcendent, unhindered existence in Walker Evans' *Many Are Called*, complicates Evans' identity as a documentary photographer, accounts for tension, and finally gives this significant series due credit.

Endnotes

- ¹ Jeff L. Rosenheim, Afterword to *Many Are Called*, by Walker Evans (New Haven: Yale University Press in Association with The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2004), 198.
- ² Walker Evans, interview by Paul Cummings, *Archives of American Art* (Smithsonian Institution), October 13 and Dec. 23, 1971.
- ³ Before the series was published in 1966, Evans had mocked up several maquettes and organized the series in several different formats. Suggested titles for the arrangements include *The Unposed Portrait*, *A Season in the Subway*, *The Passengers*, *Lexington Avenue Local*. More on this evolution can be found both in Sara Greenough's *Subways and Streets* as well as Jeff L. Rosenheim's Afterword to the 2004 edition of *Many Are Called*. It is also important to say that between 1956 and 1962, two magazine articles did make use of a total of fourteen of Evans' subway photographs. Since the photographs were seen in such limited contexts, the publication of *Many Are Called* still marks the true release of the series and project.
- ⁴ Department of Public Information, "Walker Evans' Subway." Museum of Modern Art Press Release (October 5, 1966).
- ⁵ Rosenheim, Afterword, 201.
- ⁶ Tracy Fitzpatrick, *Art and the Subway: New York Underground* (New Brunswick: Rutgers UP, 2009), 125.
- ⁷ Jeff L. Rosenheim, "'The Cruel Radiance of What Is': Walker Evans and the South," in *Walker Evans* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art in Association with Princeton UP, Princeton, 2000), 86.
- ⁸ *Ibid.*
- ⁹ James Agee, Introduction to *Let us now praise famous men; three tenant families*, by James Agee and Walker Evans (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1960), xiii.
- ¹⁰ Belinda Rathbone, *Walker Evans: A Biography* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1995), 120.
- ¹¹ Rosenheim, "'The Cruel Radiance of What Is': Walker Evans and the South," 87.
- ¹² Rathbone, *Walker Evans: A Biography*, 134.
- ¹³ Peter Szto, "Documentary Photography in Social Welfare History," *Journal of Sociology & Social Welfare* XXXV.2 (2008): 108.
- ¹⁴ Rosenheim, "'The Cruel Radiance of What Is': Walker Evans and the South," 87.
- ¹⁵ In linguistics, "displacement" refers to a characteristic of language that allows humans to communicate that which is not necessary immediate or present. This linguistic definition of the term most closely matches its meaning in this paper, as it accurately describes the way that the photographs in *Many Are Called* communicate with their viewer. More on the linguistic use of this term can be found in C.F. Hockett "The Origin of Speech." *Scientific American*, 203 (1960): 88-96.
- ¹⁶ Beaumont Newhall, *The History of Photography: From 1839 to the Present* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1982), 220.
- ¹⁷ Mia Fineman. "Notes from Underground: The Subway Portraits" in *Walker Evans* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art in Association with Princeton UP, Princeton, 2000), 91.
- ¹⁸ Photographers like Stephen Shore, who turned to the large format camera for its clarity, were also were able to produce a feeling of disengagement in their photographs. For example Shore presents his viewer with such true, transparent, stagnant scenes that it is possible to forget that the camera lens has even mediated our view. This, of course, differs from Evans' technical disengagement of his eye from the lens.
- ¹⁹ Rathbone, *Walker Evans: A Biography*, 39.
- ²⁰ Sarah Greenough, *Walker Evans: Subways and Streets* (Washington, D.C: National Gallery of Art, 1991), 13.
- ²¹ Rosenheim, "'The Cruel Radiance of What Is': Walker Evans and the South," 91.
- ²² Newhall, *The History of Photography: From 1839 to the Present*, 235-244.
- ²³ Fineman, "Notes from Underground: The Subway Portraits," 110.
- ²⁴ James G. Todd Jr, "Social Realism." *Grove Art Online* (Oxford University Press, 2009).
- ²⁵ Fineman, "Notes from Underground: The Subway Portraits," 110. Fineman traces this quote back to "Walker Evans: Forty Years," exh. cat., Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven, Connecticut, December 9, 1971 – January 16, 1972.

- ²⁶ Evans, interview by Paul Cummings, 1971.
- ²⁷ Mary Warner Marien, *Photography: A Cultural History* (Upper River Saddle, NJ: Prentice Hall, 2002), 347.
- ²⁸ Ibid, 349.
- ²⁹ Ibid, 350. Also pointed out in a *New York Times* Review from 1991.
- ³⁰ Fineman, “Notes from Underground: The Subway Portraits,” 117.
- ³¹ Leslie Baier, “Visions Of Fascination And Despair: The Relationship Between Walker Evans And Robert Frank,” *Art Journal* 41.1 (1981): 55.
- ³² Daniel Palmer, “In Naked Repose: The Face of Candid Portrait Photography,” *ANGELAKI Journal of the Theoretical Humanities* 16.1 (2011): 115.
- ³³ “In Naked Repose” by Daniel Palmer is an excellent article that further explores modern interest in candid, stealth photography as this interest relates to *Many Are Called* and its themes. Issues of privacy, ownership, and the ethical underpinnings of this type of work are, here, addressed in a modern context.
- ³⁴ Agee, Introduction to *Many Are Called*, 15.
- ³⁵ Fitzpatrick, *Art and the Subway: New York Underground*, 107.
- ³⁶ Evans, *Many Are Called*.
- ³⁷ Rathbone, *Walker Evans: A Biography*, 178.
- ³⁸ Ibid, 184.
- ³⁹ James Agee and Walker Evans. *Let us now praise famous men; three tenant families*, xiii.
- ⁴⁰ Rosenheim, afterward, 197.
- ⁴¹ Greenough, *Walker Evans: Subways and Streets*, 27. Greenough traces this footnote back to a draft of introductory text for Evans’ “Subway” printed in *Evans at Work* 1982, 161.
- ⁴² Charles Hagen, “Review/Photography: What Walker Evans Saw on His Subway Rides,” *New York Times*, December 1, 1991.”
- ⁴³ Hagen, “Review/Photography: What Walker Evans Saw on His Subway Rides.”

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Figure 1 Walker Evans. Plate 81 from *Many Are Called*. January 26, 1941.

Figure 2 Walker Evans. “Fields Family” from *Let Us Now Praise Famous Men*. 1936.

Figure 3 Walker Evans. Plate 66 from *Many Are Called*. 1941.

Figure 4 Walker Evans. Plate 87 from *Many Are Called*. 1941.

Figure 5 Walker Evans. “Allie Mae Burroughs, Wife of a Cotton Sharecropper, Hale County, Alabama”
from *Let Us Now Praise Famous Men*. 1936.

Figure 6 Honore Daumier. *Third Class Railway Carriage*. Oil on Canvas. 1864.

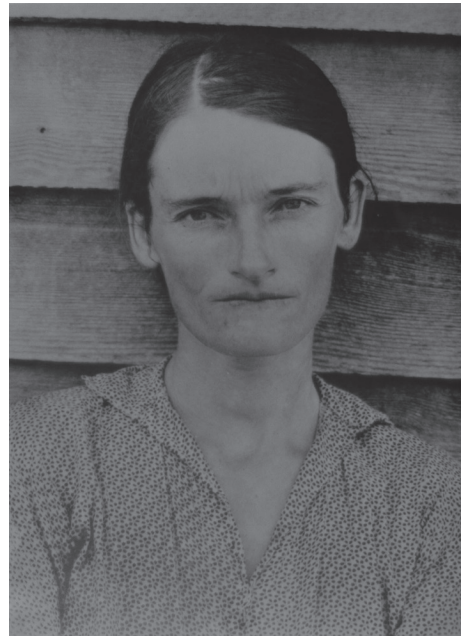
Figure 7 Paul Strand. *Blind*. Platinum Print. 1916.

Figure 8 1939 Rapid Transit Map of Greater New York. Cropped and marked with Evans’ residence at 441 East 92nd Street.

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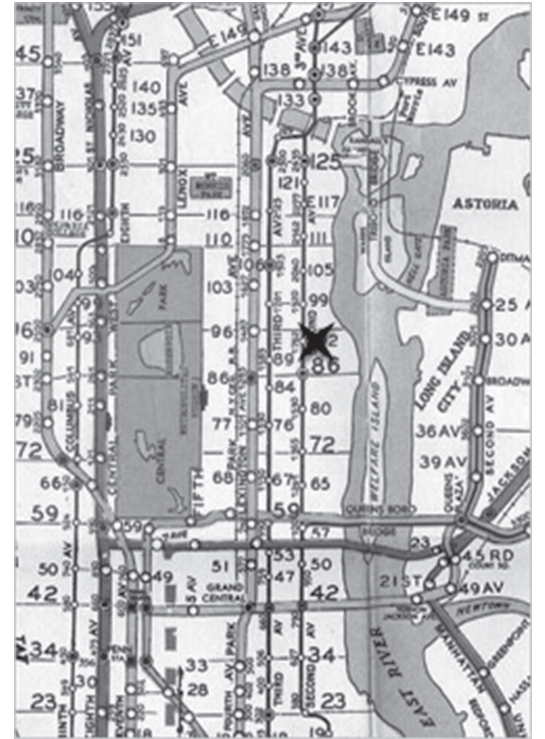
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