



"Portrait of Berlin": Marsden Hartley and Urban Modernity in Expressionist Berlin

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*I like Berlin extremely.... For me artistically it is
stimulating strange to say. I find it full of mystical
ideas + colors + I have begun to paint them—.*¹

Marsden Hartley, 1913

At the age of thirty-five, in April 1912, Marsden Hartley set out for Europe. His motives for going abroad were clear—he wanted “an artist’s education,” as he called it.² As critic Van Wyck Brooks wryly noted of his and Hartley’s generation, “it was understood in the world I knew that a voyage to Europe was the panacea for every known illness and discontent.”³ Hartley initially settled in Paris and quickly entered the lively international mix of artists, writers, and performers living there. In his short ten months in France from spring 1912 to early 1913, he penetrated the scene and visited the studios of Pablo Picasso, Robert Delaunay, Frantisek Kupka, and Gertrude Stein. All but Picasso returned the compliment and came to see Hartley’s paintings. Working assiduously to explore Europe and its art capitals, he made a trip to Berlin in January 1913 with German friends he had made in Paris. Immediately upon returning to Paris that winter, he was fevered with plans to get back to Berlin just as soon as he could manage. Berlin was, he wrote buoyantly, “without question the finest modern city in Europe.”⁴ Its “great activity of life” convinced him that “it is in Germany that I find my creative conditions—and it is there that I must go—” (fig. 1).⁵

Hartley lived in the imperial German capital from May 1913 to December 1915, a two-and-a-half year stretch that extended deep into World War I. Discussions of his Berlin paintings have overwhelmingly focused on the artist’s War Motif series, twelve masterful canvases begun in late 1914 as a memorial to Hartley’s friend and possible lover, the German lieutenant Karl von Freyburg, who died in early campaigns on the western front. The emphasis on these paintings is warranted, because they are widely thought to be the best in Hartley’s entire career.⁶ Further, they place Hartley—and through him American modernism—tongue in cheek with the most advanced painting of any country at that date. With the War Motif paintings in mind, art critic Robert Hughes ranked Hartley as “the most brilliantly gifted of the early generation of American modernists.”⁷

In comparison, little focused scholarship has addressed the pictorial and conceptual advances in Hartley’s German paintings in 1913 and 1914—that is, before he began the War Motif oils in November 1914.⁸ Not a prescribed series, the strong body of work that grew from Hartley’s initial time in the imperial capital attempted something quite new in his career—he made paintings that characterize, abstractly and imaginatively, the tenor of modern Berlin.



Figure 1
Lee Simonson
Hartley Adopts Germany, 1913
Watercolor on paper
Yale Collection of American Literature
Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library
Yale University, New Haven

These early German canvases are forceful city paintings or *Grossstadtbilder*. And the degree to which they function as art registering the kaleidoscope of modern life has been obscured by the fact that they are such unconventional and, as a consequence, daring city paintings.

Hartley did not take imposing architecture as his subject matter—the skyscrapers, towers, or bridges newly arrayed in city centers thanks to technological advances. The hyperstimulus of outward sensations in the metropolis encouraged him, instead, to look inward to his subjective responses. As he explained to his friend the writer Gertrude Stein in the fall of 1913, his art “express[ed] a fresh consciousness of what I see + feel around me—taken directly out of life + from no theorist formulas as prevails so much today.”⁹ The 1913 *Military* (plate 12) might have been on the easel as Hartley penned this conviction. In it, as in related early Berlin paintings, a complex matrix of forms, motifs, and numbers animate the canvas. The whole is a jumble of bold colors and disconnected parts, made even livelier by quickly applied muscular paint. Areas of color are not modeled with shading, the result of which is a forceful two-dimensionality that presses the image flush against the picture plane. Upon seeing many Berlin paintings by Hartley in modest-size galleries, Georgia O’Keeffe aptly commented years later that “it was like a brass band in a small closet.”¹⁰ *Military* and its companions are clamorous, blaring tributes to modern city experience—appropriately, they knit frenetic disjunctiveness with a moving pictorial inventiveness.

In turning to the modern metropolis, Hartley aligned his art with a tradition of modernism quite well established by the second decade of the twentieth century. French critic and poet Charles Baudelaire was the first to call persuasively for “the painter of modern life,” the title of his famous 1863 essay.¹¹ He encouraged artists to abandon the tired pictorial formulas and historical subjects of the academy and to create work that explored contemporary experience. The hustle of crowded streets, the character of city living, was what he meant by “painting modern life.”¹² French impressionism of the late nineteenth century creatively chronicled the vast changes then under way with increasing industrialization and urbanization. Scenes of urban transport, bustling boulevards, city parks and cafés, and bourgeois leisure activities filled their canvases. Their pictorial arsenal also changed—from the mannered polish and precision of academic art to more disorderly, often improvisational, systems of visual representation. Explaining the new approach decades later, the Paris-based sculptor Jacques Lipchitz quipped, “One cannot live on a visual diet of skyscrapers and produce the same sort of art as one who fed visually on the Acropolis.”¹³

A host of critics and sociologists worked to formulate a framework for the “new,” for modernity as it was lived in recently industrialized cities. Baudelaire and George Simmel, Walter Benjamin, and Sigfried Kracauer after him, all agreed that “the ephemeral, the fugitive, [and] the contingent” defined the essential contours of the new, urban conditions.¹⁴ The idea that human experience and perception operated in a rationally ordered continuum was jettisoned for the notion that perception was fleeting, mutable, and arbitrary. Life experience in the industrial city was and is governed by a persistent barrage of temporal, fragmentary stimuli. George Simmel, the eminent sociologist who lived in Berlin and based his trenchant essays on it, famously characterized the jarring urban scene in 1903 as “the rapid crowding of changing images, the sharp discontinuity in the grasp of a single glance, and the unexpectedness of onrushing impressions.”¹⁵ By the 1900s, the experience of cities—Simmel’s “intensification of nervous stimulation”—was seen as paradigmatic of the new century.¹⁶ As historian Jonathan Crary intelligently demonstrated, a unifying system of visual representation that presented reality as an illusory but graspable whole within a single view no longer squared with lived experience. Nonetheless, illusory realism continued to dominate pictorial representation. In assessing the changed understanding



Figure 2
Alfred Stieglitz
Old and New New York, 1910
Photogravure on Japanese tissue
mounted on paperboard
The Art Institute of Chicago
Alfred Stieglitz Collection, 1949.3.311
Photograph © 2002, The Art Institute of Chicago,
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of visual perception, Crary focused on the modern observer, the city dweller who encounters a virtual minefield of sensory stimuli when navigating the metropolis.¹⁷

Disjunction, in a word, conditioned the daily interchange in modern cities. Over time, creative responses to the new urban circumstances developed, and whole new literary, musical, and pictorial vocabularies emerged to evoke its fragmentary, discontinuous verve. In the distinguished scholarship on the changing metropolis and its cultural impact, some historians propose that modern art as a whole arose from the basic characteristics of urban modernity and modernization.¹⁸ That overstates the case, unfortunately, and leaves too many fascinating artists unaccounted for even though the experience of cities could be profoundly alluring in this era.

Hartley had a wealth of models close at hand inspiring him to consider the city and take it up in his art. On both sides of the Atlantic, forward-looking artists were making city paintings. In New York, Ashcan school artists drew attention to their progressive work that chronicled the urban scenes and behaviors entirely new in the early twentieth century—vaudeville shows, teeming immigrant tenements, window shopping, elevated commuter rail transit, and skyscraper construction sites filled their canvases. The work of Robert Henri, John Sloan, William Glackens, Everett Shinn, and others represented a leading form of rebellious modernism in the States in these years, and only now are the intelligence and daring of these artists and their portrayals of city life coming to be understood.¹⁹ Although Ashcan art did not directly inspire Hartley in Berlin, he could scarcely forget its importance within the New York art world.

In his own circle of friends and colleagues in Manhattan, Hartley would have been familiar with the experiments with city pictures made by Alfred Stieglitz and John Marin. Hartley's mentor and dealer, the photographer Stieglitz turned to the subject of the city in the 1890s. His initial pictures of New York, abreast of trends at the time, were pictorialist and presented a soft-focus romanticized view of the metropolis. Even the titles for these photographs make clear that they acted as metaphoric celebrations of the city—for example *The Hand of Man* (1902), a railyard obscured by billowing steam. The pictorial rhetoric drew from late-nineteenth-century conventions "to describe what was novel by using terms that were timeworn and familiar," as art historian Wanda Corn put it.²⁰ By roughly 1910, however, the vocabulary of Stieglitz's city images had changed. In the intervening years, he had exhibited and embraced prime adherents of the European avant-garde—Paul Cézanne, August Rodin, Henri Matisse, and Pablo Picasso. Coming to terms with Picasso and cubism, in particular, photography historian Sarah Greenough maintains, fostered a new direction in Stieglitz's understanding and art; it inspired his move from pictorialism to radical modernism.²¹ He developed a greater concern with compositional structures and formal devices. He adopted straight photography with crisp focus and sharp detail to throw each component into high relief. *Old and New New York* (fig. 2) represents this new body of work well. The city view is a web of graphic shapes and lines that resist quick comprehension. The impact of cubism's abstraction is clear in this photograph, wherein an agitated knot of architectural elements stands as the important content, and not the street scene itself. And Stieglitz offered pointed commentary on the "new" in this image by juxtaposing the rising scaffolding of a Manhattan skyscraper under construction with the nineteenth-century brownstones at the fore—the old and new in his title. The comparison signals the celebratory nature of the image. His photography grew increasingly abstract—cropping elements from view, zooming in on sparer compositions, creating sharply two-dimensional effects by compressing the pictorial space. Although Stieglitz did not exhibit his city pictures in his New York gallery until February/March 1913 when Hartley, as an intimate of the Stieglitz circle, was already in Europe, Hartley would have been well aware of his developing eye.



Figure 3
John Marin
Movement, Fifth Avenue, 1912
Watercolor, with traces of black crayon,
over charcoal, on off-white watercolor paper,
16 7/8 x 13 1/4 in. (42.8 x 34.8 cm)
The Art Institute of Chicago
Alfred Stieglitz Collection, 1949.554
Photograph by Kathleen Culbert-Aguilar, Chicago
Photograph © 2002, The Art Institute of Chicago,
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Society (ARS), New York

John Marin, too, in the first years of the second decade was at work innovating new ways to capture the energy and frenetic dimension of city experience. With many artists of the era, Marin depicted the obvious icons of New York's growing modernity. His art includes repeated views of the Brooklyn Bridge, the Woolworth Building (tallest building in the world from 1913 to 1930), and Fifth Avenue shopping. Formally, his metropolitan watercolors are an advance from turn-of-the-century models. The quick dash of his brush, the wobbling buildings, the heaving sidewalks all convey the animated energy of the city streets. Although these images do considerably deconstruct conventional modes of representation, they still present vistas and viewpoints that offer a full, not fragmentary, scene and, thus, a totalizing, illusory vision of the city. As Corn correctly analyzed, Marin's city pictures retain traces of the picturesque (fig. 3).²²

Robert Delaunay and his well-known paeans to the modernity of Paris would have been the next body of city paintings Hartley encountered at close hand. In Paris, Hartley met Delaunay one evening at the salon of writer Gertrude Stein.²³ At the time, Delaunay was midstream with an extended cycle of evolving paintings on Paris. Hartley might have seen *The City of Paris* (fig. 4) on view at the spring 1912 Salon des Indépendants. In a cubist fracture, it combines the Eiffel Tower, three classical graces, and lower-lying buildings of old Paris along the Seine. On the one hand, Delaunay portrayed the modernity of Paris through its signal engineering achievement. On the other, he also looked to the city's illustrious past. About a year later, Hartley visited Delaunay at his studio with his German friend the sculptor Arnold Rönnebeck. In a letter recounting the gathering to Stieglitz, Hartley clearly described Delaunay's *The Cardiff Team* (fig. 5), a painting that combined pictorial motifs in a more haphazard fashion than *The City of Paris*.²⁴ We know from letters that Delaunay rubbed Hartley the wrong way. To Hartley's mind, he seemed both arrogant and overly interested in conceptual constructs for his art.²⁵ Nonetheless, there are compelling reasons why Hartley would have paid close attention to the French painter.

Hartley was often beset with doubts regarding how things would turn out for him, but he rarely doubted his own importance as an artist. In his many letters home, he made it clear that he longed to make a name for himself in Europe, something he set about with determined purpose. Delaunay, in the years approaching World War I, was admired



Figure 4
Robert Delaunay
La Ville de Paris (The City of Paris), 1910-12
Oil on canvas
Musée National d'Art Moderne,
Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris
© L & M Services B.V., Amsterdam 20020510
CNAC/MNAM/Dist. Réunion des Musées
Nationaux/Art Resource, N.Y.

Figure 5
Robert Delaunay
L'Équipe de Cardiff (The Cardiff Team), 1912–13
Oil on canvas
Musée d'Art Moderne, Paris
© L & M Services B.V. Amsterdam 20020510
© Photothèque des Musées de la Ville
de Paris (ou PMVP)/Cliché: Joffre



Figure 6
Franz Marc
Zinnobergruss, 1913
Postcard from Franz Marc to Wassily Kandinsky, 19
April 1913. Marc wrote to arrange a meeting between
himself and Kandinsky, Gabriele Münter, and Hartley
© Stadtische Galerie im Lenbachhaus, Munich



exhibited, and collected in precisely the settings where Hartley also settled or had significant contacts—Paris, Munich, and Berlin. Hartley routed his travels to Berlin through Bavaria to examine the scene in Munich. There he met many of the expressionist Blaue Reiter artists and was taken under the wing of Franz Marc (fig. 6) and Wassily Kandinsky, the primary leaders of the group. Marc in particular corresponded regularly and helped Hartley to find exhibition opportunities in Germany.²⁶ Delaunay was already well established with this group and popular with their patrons. When Delaunay showed with the first Blaue Reiter exhibition in Munich in December 1911, three of his four paintings sold.²⁷ Delaunay was also well integrated in Berlin. During Hartley's initial visit to Berlin in January 1913,

Figure 7
Robert Delaunay
Soleil, Tour, Avionplane (Sun, Tower, Airplane), 1913
Oil on canvas, 52 x 51 1/2 in. (132.1 x 131.1 cm)
Collection Albright-Knox Art Gallery,
Buffalo, New York
A. Conger Goodyear Fund, 1964
© I. & M. Services B.V., Amsterdam 20020910



Delaunay's solo exhibition was on at Der Sturm. Led by impresario and one-time concert pianist and composer Herwarth Walden (born Georg Lewin), Der Sturm was Berlin's center for the most daring art.²⁸ In the fall of 1913, Walden organized a landmark exhibition that surveyed Europe's leading avant-garde art at the time, the Erster Deutscher Herbstsalon (First German Fall Salon). To accommodate the 366 works, additional gallery space was rented on Potsdamerstrasse. Through Marc's and Kandinsky's intercession, Hartley exhibited in the Herbstsalon. He was tremendously pleased to be included, represented in his first showing ever in Europe by four paintings. By contrast, Robert Delaunay had twenty-one paintings on display, second only to the special memorial tribute to the recently deceased French painter Henri Rousseau.²⁹

The Cardiff Team was exhibited at the Erster Deutscher Herbstsalon as well as *Sun, Tower, Airplane* (fig. 7). Parisian architectural motifs appear again, notably the striking Eiffel Tower. But the web of purely pictorial construction gradually erases the conspicuous city imagery. Color in patches of forceful unmodulated hue can be seen moving the representational elements off the canvas. Fragmented remnants of a green Eiffel Tower are still in evidence at the right.³⁰ A prop plane also appears in spare outline in the upper right corner, yet its colors blend so well with the adjacent hues that it is hard to decipher immediately as a representational motif. Delaunay's demonstration would have been important for Hartley. In the course of a year, Delaunay effectively turned from symbolic, representational images—their clear modernity notwithstanding—to a far more innovative form of pictorial expression. The visual drama of color contrasts and a swirling arabesque of shifting prismatic forms now evoked the dynamism of the city.

At least one other painting caught Hartley's eye at the Erster Deutscher Herbstsalon, although his enthusiasm for the project revealed in his letters suggests that many others did as well. Earlier in that year, French artist Francis Picabia had traveled to New York to see the Armory show, another massive exhibition of more than one thousand works demonstrating international artistic trends, a first on American shores. Picabia responded enthusiastically to the throbbing crowds and looming towers of Manhattan, and he began a series of exceptional watercolors that abstractly translated his sensations of the city. Alfred Stieglitz, convinced by that time that abstraction was "a new medium expression—the true medium," appreciated the symbolic equation between Picabia's pulsing shapes and excited city haste.³¹ Ten works by Picabia on the theme of New York City went on display at Stieglitz's gallery from March 17 through April 5, 1913.³² Of course, Hartley missed the show. But he was able to see one of these watercolors, because Walden included it in the Herbstsalon. *New York* (fig. 8) achieves what remains a direction in Delaunay's city paintings—clear-cut references to the cityscape or urban scenes have been jettisoned. Picabia's *New York* tightly knits geometrical blocks with looser, undulating forms. The compression of small parts merged together and then set against sweeping vertical lines vaguely recalls the city's physical architectural setting—a grid of smaller buildings that stand in relief against one of the newer vast highrises. Yet usual cues to this kind of reading don't exist. The compacted composition evokes the jostling of rush hour or the dense thicket of city structures.

The Italian futurists exhibited at the Erster Deutscher Herbstsalon too, and Hartley wrote that he had also seen examples of their work in Paris. A core theme for futurist art was the passionate, hectic pace of city life. The futurists invented "lines of force" that convey both movement and energy and applied this pictorial device to individual objects, humans, and entire cityscapes. Such city pictures at Der Sturm's Herbstsalon must have struck Hartley.

Living in Berlin, Hartley also made his own survey of the scene, his research aided by Arnold Rönnebeck, the Berliner whom Hartley initially befriended in Paris.³³ Beyond Der Sturm, he visited the progressive galleries of Paul Cassirer and Hans Gurlitt, where more German modernism would have been on view. As a whole, the German expressionists were

Figure 8
Francis Picabia
New York, 1913
Watercolor and gouache
Musée National d'Art Moderne,
Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris
© 2002 Artists Rights Society (ARS),
New York/ADAGP, Paris
CNAC/MNAM/Dist. Réunion des Musées
Nationaux/Art Resource, N.Y.





Figure 9
Ernst Ludwig Kirchner
Street, Berlin, 1913
Oil on canvas, 47% x 35% in. (120.7 x 91.1 cm)
The Museum of Modern Art, New York
Purchase
Digital File © 2002
The Museum of Modern Art, New York



Figure 10
Max Beckmann
Strasse bei Nacht (Street at Night), 1913
Oil on canvas
Private Collection
Photograph by Hans Joachim Bartsch, Berlin

keenly interested in the metropolis in which they lived. A generation before them, the German impressionists had depicted the sites of leisurely pleasure in Berlin, when they represented it in their work at all.³⁴ Beginning especially around 1910, the expressionists eagerly turned to their burgeoning new *Weltstadt*.³⁵ Ernst Ludwig Kirchner's *Street, Berlin* (fig. 9), Ludwig Meidner's *Apocalyptic Landscape (Near the Halensee Railroad Station)* (fig. 11), Heinrich Richter-Berlin's *Our Dear Lady of Tauentzien Street* (fig. 12), or Max Beckmann's *Street at Night* (fig. 10) exemplifies the range of *Grossstadtbilder* these Berlin modernists formulated. Like the New York Ashcan artists, in investigating city experience, they examined new and evolving forms of social exchange and urban activities. Kirchner made a series of paintings creatively depicting the showy presence of prostitutes along Berlin's bustling shopping corridors. Richter-Berlin's *Tauentzienstrasse* shows a busy boulevard flanked by the swankiest Berlin department stores and leading to the Kaiser Wilhelm Memorial Church. These and other expressionist images offer a fevered language of slashing strokes, jarring colors, and heavy, gestural paint that imbue their canvases with the clamor of the streets. For Hartley, it would have been quite important that the metropolis attracted such artistic interest by many of Germany's leading new talents. Yet Hartley wanted to make an original contribution and to be known. When he adopted city painting, his art would necessarily take a different tack.

What was it about Berlin that first caused Hartley to adopt the metropolis as the subject of his art when he moved there from New York, perhaps the only other city whose pace of growth and change outstripped all other major urban centers in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries? Why hadn't he taken up this subject in Manhattan? The answer involves many factors, but is tied especially to timing, context, and the artist's drive. As the foregoing suggests, many within Europe's leading avant-garde were active with city painting. It wasn't enough for Hartley that progressive artists stateside looked to the metropolis as an avenue to make their art modern. But when this subject became widespread and a source of innovation for Europeans, Hartley wanted to be counted in their league. In addition, from his correspondence, it is clear that Berlin mesmerized Hartley. The Wilhelmine capital was not a city of skyscrapers like New York. But as an industrial power, it visibly paraded its modernization in ways that Paris or London did not in this period. Observing other key artists abroad and at home wrestle with creative representations of city experience, Hartley decided in Berlin to paint the place and its phenomena that newly fascinated him.

Berlin was a tremendously exciting city in the early decades of the twentieth century. A blossoming of culture, industry, technology, and politics made the city unique. Berlin was the brand new capital city of the German Reich. The principalities of Germany united to form a collective nation only in 1871, following the German victory in the Franco-Prussian War, and Berlin was designated its new center. As the former nucleus of Prussia, Berlin had been a formidable industrial strength for some time by 1871. The German companies that remain familiar business names to this day—including Agfa, Borsig, Schering, and Siemens—were founded in Berlin before 1870.³⁶ Berlin was Germany's center for the iron and coal manufacturing characteristic of the first industrial revolution. After 1870 Berlin, like New York, led the managerial and technical developments that enabled the transmission and distribution of electrical power so necessary for ongoing modernization of all kinds.³⁷ Electrical engineering, chemical production, and the creation of technical infrastructure characterized the second industrial revolution, in which Berlin and New York excelled.

One measure of the pace of continual industrial expansion in turn-of-the-century Berlin lies in the city's population statistics, as workers were attracted to factory jobs. In 1849 Berlin had 412,000 inhabitants. A little more than twenty years later, in 1871 after the



Figure 11
Heinrich Richter-Berlin
Unsere liebe Frau von der Tauentzienstrasse
(Our Dear Lady of Tauentzien Street), 1913
Oil on canvas, 58 1/2 x 31 1/2 in. (149 x 79.5 cm)
Berlinische Galerie, Landesmuseum für Moderne
Kunst, Photographie und Architektur, Berlin



Figure 12
Ludwig Meidner
Apocalyptic Landscape (Near the Halensee Railroad Station), c. 1913
Oil on canvas, 37 1/2 x 31 1/2 in. (95.3 x 80.3 cm)
Los Angeles County Museum of Art
Gift of Clifford Odets
© 2002 Museum Associates/LACMA. All Rights Reserved

city became the German capital, that figure doubled to 826,000. In 1877 the city hit the one million mark; in 1905 it had two million; by 1914 the count grew to four million city dwellers.³⁸ The incorporation of Grossberlin in 1920, drawing adjacent municipalities together, made the city the third largest metropolis after London and New York.³⁹ Berliner street slang dubbed the place a *Buddelstadt*, or sand box city, after the continuous construction to accommodate this rapid growth.⁴⁰ In 1910 the city's leading art critic wrote a book about Berlin in which he claimed that it was "damned always to perpetual becoming, never to being."⁴¹ Transitory or fleeting experiences in Berlin happened any day on the street, yet "transitory" is also a word that aptly described the ever-evolving cityscape of buildings.

To enable city dwellers to move from home to work to play, networks of commuter transit grew around the city. Horse-drawn streetcars were introduced in 1865 and replaced by electric ones in 1895. A city railway began operation in 1882 and was supplemented by the first subway line in 1902. A large city of people bustling to and fro was part of the *Schnellebigkeit* (fast living) that became both actual fact and the preferred mythos of the city (fig. 13).

In Berlin, movement about town was also conditioned by the imperial presence. Wilhelm II, Germany's monarch from 1888 to 1918 and a man of highly conservative tastes, demanded an ostentatious show of his rule. Accordingly, imperial guards and military units paraded through town and escorted aristocracy and court officials from palace to court to Potsdam, the Kaiser's country residence and main garrison for troops. As historians Sabine

Figure 13
 Berlin. Unter den Linden, Ecke Friedrichstrasse,
 Kranzler Ecke
 Postcard from Marsden Hartley to Alfred Stieglitz,
 postmarked July 19, 1914
 Yale Collection of American Literature
 Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library
 Yale University, New Haven



Hollburg and Gottfried Korff explained: "One talked about the 'metropolis in guard uniform' during the Kaiser's rule and thereby underscored that social life in Berlin was intoxicated with the spirit and color of the military as no other European capital."⁴² Hartley simply loved this pomp and circumstance and said in 1913, "it stimulates my child's love for the public spectacle."⁴³ In his autobiography, he nostalgically recalled:

*The military life provided the key and clue to everything then—... Of course in the Kaiser time there was always a parade of some kind coming down the Unter den Linden—... there was always the changing of the watch before the castle in Berlin every morning between ten thirty and eleven—... I had arrived in Berlin at the right time to get the richness of the pageantry idea. There was a sense of magic in seeing royalty pass—.*⁴⁴

Hartley also arrived at the right time to enjoy Berlin's dramatic urban spectacle, confirming that "there was so much to regale the eye with" in this city.⁴⁵ In recent years, urban scholars and cultural historians have examined the transition of cities into fantastic consumer showcases from roughly 1890 to 1920. A heightened emphasis on visual sensation developed that had the power to intoxicate urbanites by its voltage and newness. Electrical lighting brightened the night sky and enticed people to "go out" in new numbers, an activity chronicled by Beckmann in *Street at Night* (fig. 10). In the eerie palette, Beckmann conveys the intense, garish glow of the first electrical arc lamps. Novel urban amusements—music halls and moving picture shows—offered visual delights and quick-tempoed variety acts.⁴⁶ The invention and manufacture of plate glass in the 1890s enabled stores to display their wares attractively in vast gleaming windows while lighting them dramatically for the first time with electricity. Major department stores appeared that presented a sumptuous encyclopedia of consumer goods, often in opulent architectural settings. The main shopping boulevards were always overcrowded, and "just shopping" became a definitive urban pastime.⁴⁷ In 1910 noisy protest finally extinguished a Berlin ordinance that required store windows to be shuttered on Sundays, and thereafter window shoppers were free to browse leisurely seven days a week.⁴⁸ Advertising markedly changed the look of cities when newly invented inexpensive printing methods and electrical lighting made provocative posters, bills, and signs ubiquitous. Coincidentally, the street-corner column to which people affix a changing

array of bills was invented in Berlin. In German, they are called *Litfasssäulen* after Ernst Litfass, the savvy printer who first installed them.⁴⁹ In the urban milieu, ever more, ever larger, and ever bolder advertising signage competed for the passerby's attention. Speeding elevated or subterranean streetcars also offered exhilarating vistas onto the city's commotion. This potpourri of city experience increasingly intensified visual stimuli, and recent studies have emphasized that a new mode of exaggerated visual experience—"an unabashed display of visibility," according to scholar Miriam Hansen—arose in this era.⁵⁰ "Alles 'fürs Auge'" (everything for the eye) were the words Berlin critic and politician Walther Rathenau used to characterize the changed dimension of his city in 1902.⁵¹

Artists were not immune to the appeals of this vibrant new visual culture. Beyond the caffeinated pace of modern city life, visual artists appreciated its new level of spectacle. The very fact that Hartley began painting the city in Berlin indicates that he too saw and valued the extraordinary showcase it had become. "Berlin is helping me much," he wrote shortly after settling in Germany. "I am getting a something from the German life impulse which is most excellent for me. It gives a new crescendo to my sensations—."⁵²

Hartley was a new convert to abstraction when he arrived in Berlin. While in Paris, he had begun a series of works initially devoted to a creative visual transcription of music to canvas. *Musical Theme (Oriental Symphony)* (plate 8) of 1912–13 includes musical notation in a tapestry of exotic motifs and emblems. Steeped in reading mystical literature at the time, Hartley inserted a seated Buddha at the upper right and the Indian sign *abhaya mudra* (have no fear) of three raised hands at the top center. He executed these paintings, he explained, "in the style of automatic writing."⁵³ In shifting his residence to Berlin in 1913, Hartley initially maintained a similar pictorial vocabulary, but the drama of the Berlin streets replaced his musical reveries as subject matter.

Portrait of Berlin (plate 10) is likely Hartley's first Berlin city painting, for it is a key transitional work building on his development in Paris. The work orchestrates a complex of recognizable motifs, numerals, and abstract forms within an energized image. Pictorial elements press against one another, crowding every inch of the tightly compacted canvas to convey an animated force. Drawing from recent precedents in Paris, Hartley inserted a Buddha figure (to the left of center), and he retained his basic color scheme of bold primary yellow, red, blue, and green punctuating a luminous field of white. In addition to circles, stars, and triangles, Hartley peppered the canvas with German guards mounted on horseback. The plume-helmeted soldier on his red steed is easily recognized in the circle at the canvas's lower right corner. Strewn across the canvas, however, Hartley also included similar military guards viewed from behind that are less immediately identifiable.

Though an uncommon likeness for its subject, Hartley titled the painting *Portrait of Berlin*. Assimilating the dynamic spectacle of the imperial capital, he sorted his perceptions and offered them back in a pictorial language abstracted from the street. Hartley explained that "Berlin is packed with that live-wire feeling—."⁵⁴ He later remembered that "the whole scene was fairly bursting with organized energy and the tension was terrific and somehow most voluptuous in the feeling of power—a sexual immensity even in it."⁵⁵ Hartley translated his enthusiasm for the pace and spirit of Berlin onto his canvases. He confirmed as much by writing to Gertrude Stein that "there is an interesting source of material here—numbers + shapes + colors that make one wonder—and admire—It is essentially mural this German way of living—big lines + and large masses—always a sense of pageantry of living. I like it."⁵⁶ And he began to paint the so-called pageantry of living.

The most direct explication Hartley provided for his Berlin paintings centers on *The Warriors* (plate 11). In his autobiography, he described the scene, writing:

those huge cuirassiers of the Kaiser's special guard—all in white—white leather breeches skin tight—high plain enamel boots—those gleaming blinding medieval breast plates of silver and brass—... There were the inspiring helmets with the imperial eagle and the white manes hanging down—there was six foot of youth under all this garniture—everyone on a horse—and every horse white—that is how I got it—and it went into an abstract picture of soldiers riding into the sun—⁵⁷



Figure 14
Parade, Fahnenkompanie, 1913
Postcard from Marsden Hartley to Gertrude Stein,
postmarked September 5, 1913
Yale Collection of American Literature
Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library
Yale University, New Haven

The large expanse of canvas depicts the impressive German imperial cuirassiers on parade, white manes and flags flying. The quotation makes clear the homoerotic appeal for Hartley of these stunning German soldiers with skin-tight breeches (fig. 14).

As Hartley continued to formulate and refine his artistic vocabulary, he also deepened his conceptual approach. His friendship with Gertrude Stein, an author whose concrete writing captured the spirit of her ostensible subjects but never approached conventional description of them, encouraged Hartley toward more radical painting. She lent him a book by the philosopher William James, the novelist's brother.⁵⁸ The reading and discussions with Stein about James inspired Hartley. James argued for the undeniable value and consequence of one's subjective experience, bold claims when he articulated them in the years before Sigmund Freud published his ideas and they were popularized. The authority of Stein and James and the timing of Hartley's acquaintance with their beliefs propelled him toward key conceptual advances in his own art. His claim in 1913 that "I do not think first but after" signals the shift he undertook to develop a deeper sensitivity to his subjective side and use it to fuel his art.⁵⁹ In Germany, he emphasized repeatedly that his



Figure 15
Marsden Hartley
Movements, c. 1915
Oil on canvas, 47 1/2 x 47 1/2 in. (119.7 x 120 cm)
The Art Institute of Chicago
Alfred Stieglitz Collection, 1949.544
Photograph © 2002, The Art Institute of Chicago,
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Figure 16
Marsden Hartley
Pre-War Pageant, 1914
Oil on canvas, 40 × 32 in. (101.6 × 81.3 cm)
Columbus Museum of Art, Ohio
Gift of Ferdinand Howald, 1931.175

painting arose from concrete experiences and that his intuitive perception was paramount. "Everything I do is attached at once + directly to personal experiences," Hartley affirmed. "It is dictated by life itself."⁶⁰ This approach prompted Hartley to focus on Berlin, and yet to use the city as a foil and enable his own sensitive perceptions of stimulating urban experiences to stand as the true content of his painting.

Consequently, *Movements* (fig. 15) and *Pre-War Pageant* (fig. 16) along with the 1913 *Military* (plate 12) are unusual city paintings. They capture with great originality and pictorial power that quality of Berlin that Hartley called "the intense flame-like quality of life."⁶¹ Their bold color, writhing forms, and gestural, active paint condense the vigor and cacophony of the metropolis. They concentrate and reformulate the artist's sensations from this sensually provocative milieu.

German expressionist artist Ludwig Meidner was simultaneously engaged in making *Grossstadtbilder* in Wilhelmine Berlin. In 1911 he wrote a passionate essay on the topic and called for "a deeper insight into reality," one defined in modern times by "a bombardment of whizzing rows of windows, of screeching lights between vehicles of all kinds and a thousand jumping spheres, scraps of human beings, advertising signs, and shapeless colors."⁶² Paintings like *Movements* achieve what Meidner encouraged and on a level that Meidner himself, whose work remained conventionally representational, did not. Scholar Philip Fisher formulated a useful distinction, in an essay about modern literary expression of the city, between city mind and city matter. More daring creations move beyond direct mimesis, he suggested; they are *of* the city rather than *about* the city and recast human perception of urban experiences, not its physical settings. Hartley's Berlin paintings were clearly *of* the city, not directly representational, conveying what Fisher termed its "structure of consciousness."⁶³

Hartley enjoyed the appeal of Berlin and wrote about it in letters home. One especially poignant moment is his mention of a zeppelin passing overhead in 1914. One can imagine him seated at one of the city's sidewalk cafés. Hartley interrupts his line of thought and then returns to his letter and writes, "The Luftschiiff L.V. has just passed over us here as I write—a fascinating thing which transports me somehow every time one sees any of them—."⁶⁴ Because Hartley dedicated himself to recording his experiences of the modern city, it isn't a stretch to suggest that *The Aero* (plate 15) is a work that arose from this or similar moments. Whether an airplane or airship, Hartley's *The Aero* offers a contemplation of one of modernization's more amazing inventions. The pictorial language that Hartley uses is jubilant. Flag patterns—flowing stripes and checkerboards—and graphic color juxtapositions spread across the canvas, the center of which depicts the fireburst of a flying machine's engine.

Himmel (plate 13) is a later addition to Hartley's city paintings.⁶⁵ It returns to the layered matrix of motif, emblems, and shapes first started in *Portrait of Berlin*. Hartley had made a quick trip back to the States in 1914 to hold an exhibition and raise more money for living expenses. On his return he made four paintings on the theme of Amerika, with Germanized spelling and Native American imagery (discussed in the essay by Wanda Corn).⁶⁶ Those paintings used a hieratic compartmentalization of the image, strongly geometric following the vivid patterns of American Indian art. The pictorial structure of the Amerika series informed other work Hartley made simultaneously in 1914, and his interest in Indian design elements encouraged him to include more recognizable imagery again in his city paintings.

The military figure on horseback reappeared in Hartley's treatment of Berlin. A statue of a German officer in *Himmel* and the idealized cuirassier in other 1914 paintings are signature elements. Abstracted solar orbs, flower bursts, flag patterns, eight-pointed stars,

Figure 17
 Marsden Hartley
Painting No. 5, 1914–15
 Oil on canvas, 39 1/2 x 31 1/2 in. (100.3 x 80.6 cm)
 Whitney Museum of American Art, New York
 Gift of an anonymous donor (58.65)
 Photograph © 1997: Whitney Museum
 of American Art, New York
 Photograph by Sheldon C. Collins, N.J.



an equestrian's spur, abstracted insignia—these elements jostle for space in the compacted image and replicate the disjunctive but invigorating experience of the urban environment.

In describing his latest paintings for his New York show in January 1914, Hartley wrote: "A picture is but a given space where things of moment which happen to the painter occur.... The present exhibition is the work of one who sees—who believes in what is seen—and to whom every picture is as a portrait of that something seen."⁶⁷ For Hartley, *seeing* meant more than simple sight, and his paintings involved more than literal transcription. *Seeing* symbolized the requisite creative powers to assimilate intense sensual stimuli. His clear artistic mission was to discover a language that could convey such sensations. His resulting work needed to be compelling, unfettered from convention, and free from effected mannerism. He told German expressionist painter Franz Marc, "I am by nature a visionary," and his project at this point was certainly influenced by a resolute belief in subjectivity.⁶⁸ Nonetheless, he emphasized again and again—in his art and writings—that his direct encounters with the world around him provided his creative source. For his 1915 show at the Haas-Haye Galerie, prominently located in Berlin just steps away from the Brandenburg Gate, he said of his paintings, "they are characterizations of the 'Moment,'"

everyday pictures of every day, every hour."⁶⁹ The abstract, agitated forms and vibrant colors transform Hartley's experience of exhilaration in Berlin's teeming metropolis into groundbreaking art. They offer subjective, perceptual snapshots of the electric but chaotic and disjunctive environment of "the finest modern city in Europe."

There is one other essential way that these paintings speak of Berlin. The persistent depiction of the German military during these years covertly points to a defining aspect of Hartley's and Berlin's identity. Hartley was a gay man, and Berlin supported a thriving homosexual subculture. Historically, the city had been tolerant of homosexuals and a pioneering force for gay culture the world over. In Germany and Europe, its homosexual subculture became a magnet and haven. The first studies of, petitions to legalize, and journals that served homosexual men and culture all started in Berlin.⁷⁰ When Hartley wrote that he felt so at home in Berlin, in significant ways that feeling had to do with the welcoming community he found himself in.⁷¹ He wrote Stieglitz that "I have lived rather gayly in the Berlin fashion—with all that implies."⁷² The phrase "with all that implies" clues us to the fact that Hartley was satisfying his sexual needs, even if we cannot be certain about the specific meaning of the word "gay" in 1915.

During the time that Hartley lived in Berlin, the German military symbolized homosexuality. It was a deeply rooted trope on the street as well as in the popular press and international journalism. A considerable contingent of Berlin's gay male population lived as part of the German military. Starting in 1909, an international scandal involving the Kaiser's closest friends erupted and brought that fact in graphic detail to the public. The headlines and comics of the mainstream media, at the time of the affair and long after, cemented the equation between the German soldier and homosexuality.⁷³ Hartley had friends in the military, especially Lieutenant Karl von Freyburg. He lamented to artist friend Charles Demuth, a man who also was gay and spent time in Berlin, that he could no longer go out to Potsdam, garrison for the troops, since World War I began. There was simply "too much there to remember."⁷⁴ In short, Hartley handled imagery with loaded meaning in prewar Berlin. By adding the German military to his artistic repertoire, Hartley covertly acknowledged an essential piece of his milieu and identity. This reading was lost to recent audiences, but the commonplace association would have been glaringly apparent to Wilhelmine Berliners.

While the flair of the military pervaded the imperial city, militarism as a whole went into high gear with the war. For several months at least, Hartley did not paint after the Guns of August began. Emotional disaster struck when Karl von Freyburg was killed on October 7, 1914. Von Freyburg's cousin Arnold Rönnebeck returned injured from the front. Hartley wrote long, lamenting letters back home to Stieglitz and, in them, made clear that his grasp of the world events and politics whirling around him was uninformed. Finally, in November, he went back to the easel. "I am working out some war motifs which people praise highly," he wrote in early November 1914, and the title of Hartley's famous series, the War Motifs, derives from this line.⁷⁵

Portrait of a German Officer (plate 19) is considered the first of this remarkable series. The paintings began as a memorial to von Freyburg, for he is abstractly pictured in this unconventional portrait. The knot of pictorial elements congeals in a vertical alignment that suggests the presence of a human torso. Further, many of the military insignia and patterns contain associations to von Freyburg. The initials "Kv.F" at lower left are his, and at lower right, the number 24 gives his age at death. The spur just below the 24 alludes to his equestrian unit. The Iron Cross medal for bravery bestowed posthumously on von Freyburg is depicted in the upper center of the painting. The blue and white flag pattern



Figure 18
Marsden Hartley
Military, 1914-15
Oil on canvas, 23 1/4 x 19 1/8 in. (60.3 x 49.4 cm)
© 2002 The Cleveland Museum of Art
Gift of Professor Nelson Goodman, 1981.83

stems from Bavaria, the German region of von Freyburg's origin. Numerous other clues of this kind exist to build an accumulative though cryptic system that points to Hartley's friend.⁷⁶ Over time, the pictorial elements loosened—they spread across the entire canvas, and they lost their specific association to von Freyburg. *Painting No. 5* (fig. 17) and *Military* (fig. 18) clearly demonstrate these changes. As this occurred, Hartley's use of the vibrant designs of the German military continued, but the distinct cachet of eulogy waned.

The War Motif paintings build upon Hartley's earlier city paintings in many ways. Formally, the progression is easy to see as the amalgam of motifs from *Portrait of Berlin* or the 1913 *Military* finds a fresh arrangement and restricted design source in a work like *Painting No. 5*. The graphic matrix and bold hues of 1913 mature to yield a unique style that achieves a subtle, sophisticated tension between two and three dimensions in 1915. The War Motif paintings also richly develop the conceptual premise of Hartley's art. In Paris when he first ventured into abstract painting, he said that he operated "in the style of automatic writing." To pursue more fully the range of his subjective perceptions and give them voice in his art, he suspended his analytic reasoning skills and abandoned representational realism. As he continued on this course, he talked of his art as "portraits of moments" in 1914 and as "characterizations of the 'Moment'" in late 1915. Hartley's profound enthusiasm for the Berlin metropolis first led him to make his subconscious response to the city the focus of his art. With the war, he shifted to concentrate on the vocabulary of the military uniform. This, too, he argued, was based first and foremost on his direct perceptual experiences. The greater militarism of a country at war and on the offensive coupled with the painful reality of so many lives lost now conditioned Hartley's sense of the world about him. "The forms are only those which I have observed casually from day to day.... I have expressed only what I have seen," he emphasized about his later paintings from Berlin.⁷⁷ These claims follow the sure conceptual path Hartley charted for himself while abroad. He worked persistently to formulate a visual language that captured, distilled, and translated onto canvas his intuitive impressions. He explained this most succinctly in 1913 when he wrote, "There are sensations in the human consciousness beyond reason—and painters are learning to trust these sensations and make them authentic on canvas. This is what I am working for."⁷⁸

Like all artists, Hartley defined the parameters of an artistic challenge and worked assiduously to realize it. His experiments sometimes stumbled, and the swerves and changes in Hartley's art during his time abroad before the Great War show him trying very hard to discover what he would contribute. In this effort, Berlin and the drama of its noisy, stimulating, jarring modernity fueled his creativity. His experiences of its chaotic energy became the subject matter and content of his art. Hartley's city paintings and his War Motif series draw from Berlin, and they collectively demonstrate why this artist is so admired. Hartley rarely settled for the usual choices, intending to set himself apart. So in picturing the city, he shunned the obvious. His city paintings don't depict Potsdamerplatz or the Brandenburg Gate. They don't address the architectural vocabulary of the city or street at all. Further, they avoid the social dimension of prostitutes, shoppers, or tenement dwellers. Instead, the impressive formal power of these canvases translates the modern city's heightened emphasis on the visual into artistic scripts. His syntax of starbursts, vivid patterning, chance numerals, intense hues, flowing lines, and surging forms calls forth a symbolic and abstracted equivalent for Simmel's "intensification of nervous stimulation."

Hartley knew that he accomplished something significant in these German paintings. His achievement in expressionist Berlin finds more praise as every year passes. Nonetheless, he was hard pressed to find an audience for these pictures. When he could no longer receive cables of money as an American in wartime Berlin, Hartley was forced to leave the city in

December 1915. He left reluctantly. He returned to New York expecting a hero's welcome, he was so confident in his art. Yet his timing could not have been worse. Sentiment in the United States, though the country did not officially enter the war until April 1917, had sharply turned against Germany. A strong xenophobia gripped the land. Hartley's artistic imagery relied on the military uniform of "the enemy." He sold few paintings and received tepid critical reviews.

The immense tragedy of Hartley's German paintings is that the artist had to abandon them even though he knew well that they were a signal achievement, works that presented a commanding and original voice within the international avant-garde. In 1916 Hartley returned to representational landscape and still-life painting, taking a sharp turn from the work that now is applauded. Hartley's city paintings from expressionist Berlin captured the pulse of distinctly new experiences. They did so through an evocative pictorial language that consciously, rigorously pursued what it meant to be modern. Today we are able to see the paintings Hartley made in 1913 and 1914 as he intended—as portraits of Berlin.

Notes

- ¹ Hartley to Alfred Stieglitz, August 1913, Beinecke/Yale.
- ² *Autobiography*, 66.
- ³ Van Wyck Brooks, *Scenes and Portraits* (New York: Dutton, 1954), 81.
- ⁴ Hartley to Alfred Stieglitz, 1 February 1913, Beinecke/Yale.
- ⁵ Hartley to Alfred Stieglitz, February 1913, Beinecke/Yale.
- ⁶ See Patricia McDonnell, *Dictated by Life: Marsden Hartley's German Paintings and Robert Indiana's Hartley Elegies* (Minneapolis: Frederick R. Weisman Art Museum in association with D.A.P., 1995).
- ⁷ Robert Hughes, "American Visions," *Time*, special issue (spring 1997): 74.
- ⁸ See Thomas W. Gaetgens, "Paris-München-Berlin: Marsden Hartley und die europäische Avantgarde," in *Kunst um die Folgen, Werner Hofmann zu Ehren* (Munich: Prestel Verlag, 1988), 367–82. See also Gail Levin, "Wassily Kandinsky and the American Avant-Garde, 1912–1950" (Ph.D. dissertation, Rutgers University, 1976).
- ⁹ Hartley to Gertrude Stein, 18 October 1913, Beinecke/Yale.
- ¹⁰ Calvin Tompkins interview with the artist, 24 September 1973, quoted in Roxana Robinson, *Georgia O'Keeffe: A Life* (New York: Harper & Row, 1989), 136.
- ¹¹ Charles Baudelaire, "The Painter of Modern Life," in *The Painter of Modern Life and Other Essays*, trans. and ed. Jonathan Mayne (London: Phaidon Press, 1964), 1–40.
- ¹² Michele Hannoosh, "Painters of Modern Life: Baudelaire and the Impressionists," in *Visions of the Modern City: Essays in History, Art, and Literature*, ed. William Sharpe and Leonard Wallock (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987), 168–88.
- ¹³ Jacques Lipchitz quoted in George H. Roeder, Jr., "What Have Modernists Looked At? Experiential Roots of Twentieth-Century American Painting," *American Quarterly* 39, no. 1 (spring 1987): 56.
- ¹⁴ Baudelaire, "The Painter of Modern Life," 13. For analysis of these authors' shifting definitions of modernity, see David Frisby, "Modernité," in *Fragments of Modernity: Theories of Modernity in the Work of Simmel, Kracauer, and Benjamin* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1986), 11–37.
- ¹⁵ George Simmel, "The Metropolis and the Mental Life," in *Classic Essays on the Culture of Cities*, ed. Richard Sennett (New York: Appleton, Century, Crofts, 1969), 48.
- ¹⁶ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁷ Jonathan Crary, *Techniques of the Observer: On Vision and Modernity in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1990). See also his *Suspensions of Perception: Attention, Spectacle, and Modern Culture* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1999).
- ¹⁸ Raymond Williams, "Metropolitan Perceptions and the Emergence of Modernism," in *The Politics of Modernism* (London and New York: Verso, 1989), 37–48. William Sharpe and Leonard Wallock, "From 'Great Town' to 'Nonplace Urban Realm': Reading the Modern City," in *Visions of the Modern City*, 5.
- ¹⁹ See especially Rebecca Zurier, Robert W. Snyder, and Virginia Mecklenburg, *Metropolitan Lives: The Ashcan Artists and Their New York* (Washington, D.C.: National Museum of American Art in association with W. W. Norton, 1995); Rebecca Zurier, *Picturing the Urban City: Urban Vision and Representation in the Art of the Ashcan School* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, forthcoming).
- ²⁰ Wanda M. Corn, "The Artist's New York, 1900–1930," in *Budapest and New York: Studies in Metropolitan Transformation, 1870–1930*, ed. Thomas Bender and Carl E. Schorske (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1994), 284. See also Patricia Hills, "The Art World in New York, 1900–1919," in *Berlin–New York, Like and Unlike: Essays on Architecture and Art from 1870 to the Present*, ed. Josef Paul Kleihues and Christina Rathgeber (New York: Rizzoli, 1993), 194–209; Elizabeth Sussman, *City of Ambition: Artists and New York, 1900–1960* (New York: Whitney Museum of American Art in association with Flammarion, 1996).

- 21 Sarah Greenough, "Alfred Stieglitz and 'Ideas' Photography," in *Alfred Stieglitz: Photographs and Writing* (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1983), 12–32. My thanks to Sarah Greenough for reminding me that Stieglitz illustrated his city photographs with Picasso's drawing in *Camera Work*, no. 36 (October 1911). See also Joel Smith, "How Stieglitz Came to Photograph Cityscapes," *History of Photography* 20, no. 4 (winter 1996): 320–31.
- 22 Wanda M. Corn, *The Great American Thing: Modern Art and National Identity, 1915–1935* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1999), 175.
- 23 Ludington, 79; *Autobiography*, 82–83.
- 24 Hartley to Alfred Stieglitz, 13 March 1913, Beinecke/Yale.
- 25 "Delaunay spends most of his time talking about Delaunay and his gifts," Hartley to Alfred Stieglitz, 13 March 1913, Beinecke/Yale.
- 26 For information on Hartley's exchanges with Blaue Reiter artists, see Patricia McDonnell, "American Artists in Expressionist Berlin: Ideological Crosscurrents in the Early Modernism of America and Germany, 1905–1915," (Ph.D. dissertation, Brown University, 1991), 177–214. See also idem, "Marsden Hartley's Letters to Franz Marc and Wassily Kandinsky, 1913–1914," *Archives of American Art Journal* 29, nos. 1–2 (1980): 35–44. Marc characterized Hartley to Kandinsky as "not mature but nonetheless fine." Marc to Kandinsky, 23 July 1913, in Wassily Kandinsky, *Franz Marc Briefwechsel*, ed. Klaus Lankheit (Munich: Piper, 1983), 235.
- 27 Peter-Klaus Schuster, *Delaunay und Deutschland* (Cologne: DuMont Buchverlag, 1985), 30. Paintings were purchased by Berlin businessman and collector Bernhard Koehler and Munich artists Adolf Erbslöh and Alexej von Jawlensky. Delaunay made a gift of the fourth work to Wassily Kandinsky.
- 28 The scholarship on Walden and Der Sturm is vast. For a recent study of Der Sturm in the second decade of the century, see Barbara Alms and Wiebke Steinmetz, eds., *Der Sturm: Chagall, Feininger, Jawlensky, Kandinsky, Klee, Kokoschka, Macke, Marc, Schwitters, und viele andere im Berlin in der zehner Jahre* (Delmenhorst: Städtische Galerie Delmenhorst Haus Coburg, 2000).
- 29 *Erster Deutscher Herbstsalon* (Berlin: Der Sturm, 1913). See also Mario-Andreas von Lüttichau, "Erster Deutscher Herbstsalon, Berlin 1913," in *Stationen der Moderne: Die bedeutenden Kunstausstellungen des 20. Jahrhunderts in Deutschland* (Berlin: Berlinische Galerie, 1988), 130–53. Peter Selz, "Emergence of the Avant-Garde: Erster Deutscher Herbstsalon of 1913," in Peter Selz, *Beyond the Mainstream: Essays on Modern and Contemporary Art* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 43–54.
- 30 Green was a rash, arbitrary color choice for the Eiffel Tower. It was originally painted graduating shades of orange and yellow, deeper hues at the base and lighter ones at the spire to redouble the effect of its imposing height. In other Delaunay paintings, this original color scheme is represented. See Mark Roskill, *Visions of Paris: Robert Delaunay's Series* (New York: Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, 1997).
- 31 Alfred Stieglitz to Heinrich Kühn, 14 October 1912, quoted in *Stieglitz: Photographs and Writings*, 194.
- 32 See Charles Brock, "The Armory Show, 1913: A Diabolical Test," in Greenough, 127–43.
- 33 See Betsy Fahlman, *Arnold Rönnebeck, 1885–1947* (New York: Conner-Rosenkranz Gallery, 1998).
- 34 See Charles W. Haxthausen, "A New Beauty": Ernst Ludwig Kirchner's Images of Berlin," in *Berlin: Culture and Metropolis*, ed. Charles W. Haxthausen and Heidrun Suhr (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1991), 58–93; Katharina Henkel and Roland März, *Der Potsdamer Platz: Ernst Ludwig Kirchner und der Untergang Preussens* (Berlin: Nationalgalerie, 2001).
- 35 See Christoph Brockhaus, "Die ambivalente Faszination der Grossstadterfahrung in der deutschen Kunst des Expressionismus," in *Expressionismus, Sozialer Wandel und Künstlerische Erfahrung* (Munich: W. Fink Verlag, 1982), 89–106; Dominik Bartmann, "Das Grossstadtbild Berlins in der Weltsicht der Expressionisten," in *Stadtbilder: Berlin in der Malerei vom 17. Jahrhundert bis zur Gegenwart* (Berlin: Berlin Museum, 1987), 243–59; Bernhard Schulz, "Natursehnsucht und Grossstadtheftik: Der deutsche Expressionismus zwischen 'Brücke' und Berlin," in *Ich und die Stadt: Mensch und Grossstadt in der deutschen Kunst des 20. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Eberhard Roters and Bernhard Schulz (Berlin: Berlinische Galerie, 1987), 15–34; Charles W. Haxthausen, "Images of Berlin in the Art of the Secession and Expressionism," in *Art in Berlin, 1815–1989* (Atlanta: High Museum of Art, 1989), 61–82.
- 36 Hans-Christian Täubrich, "Industrielandsort Berlin," in *Berlin, Berlin: Die Ausstellung zur Geschichte der Stadt* (Berlin: Nicolai, 1987), 157–70.
- 37 Thomas P. Hughes, "The City as Creator and Creation," in *Berlin—New York*, 13–31.
- 38 Reinhard Rürup, "Berlin—Umriss der Stadtgeschichte," in *Berlin, Berlin*, 39; Sabine Hollburg and Gottfried Korff, "Metropole in Gardeuniform," in *Berlin, Berlin*, 255.
- 39 Peter Hielscher, "Gross-Berlin: Entwürfe und Probleme," in *Berlin, Berlin*, 365–86.
- 40 John Czaplicka, "Pictures of a City at Work, Berlin, circa 1890–1930: Visual Reflections on Social Structures and Technology in the Modern Urban Construct," in *Berlin: Culture and Metropolis*, 31.
- 41 Karl Scheffler, *Berlin: Ein Stadtschicksal* (Berlin: Reiss, 1910), 267; as translated in Peter Jelavich, "Berlin's Path to Modernity," in *Art in Berlin*, 23.
- 42 "Berlin war die Bühne für ein pracht- und wirkvolles Ineinander von imperialer Selbstbestätigung, Behauptung des Weltgestus, aristokrater Traditionspflege, und der Demonstration nationalen Ehrgeizes. Dabei war das Erscheinungsbild der Stadt wesentlich vom Parade-, Manöver-, und Soldatenspiel in visuelle-zeremonieller Form bestimmt.... Man sprach in der Kaiserzeit von der 'Metropole in gesellschaftliche Leben in Berlin wie in keiner anderen der europäischen Hauptstädte vom Geist und von der Couleur des Militärs durchtränkt war.'" Hollburg and Korff, "Metropole in Gardeuniform," in *Berlin, Berlin*, 256.
- 43 Hartley to Rockwell Kent, March 1913, Kent Papers, Archives/Smithsonian, quoted in Ludington 1992, 97.
- 44 *Autobiography*, 86–87.
- 45 *Ibid.*, 87.
- 46 See Peter Jelavich, *Berlin Cabaret* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993).
- 47 See Peter Stürzebecher, *Das Berliner Warenhaus* (Berlin: Archibook, 1979); Siegfried Gerlach, *Das Warenhaus in Deutschland* (Stuttgart: Steiner Verlag, 1988). See also William Leach, *Land of Desire: Merchants, Power, and the Rise of a New American Culture* (New York: Pantheon, 1993).
- 48 Peter Fritzsche, "The City as Spectacle," in *Reading Berlin 1900* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1996), 155.
- 49 *Ibid.*, 149–50.
- 50 Miriam Hansen, *Babel and Babylon: Spectatorship in American Silent Film* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1991), 45.
- 51 Walther Rathenau quoted in Lothar Müller, "Modernität, Nervosität, und Sachlichkeit: Das Berlin der Jahrhundertwende als Hauptstadt der 'neuen Zeit,'" in *Mythos Berlin: Zur Wahrnehmungsgeschichte einer industriellen Metropole* (Berlin: Ästhetik und Kommunikation, 1987), 80.
- 52 Hartley to Alfred Stieglitz, August 1913, Beinecke/Yale.
- 53 *Autobiography*, 83.
- 54 Hartley to Gertrude Stein, 9 May 1913, Beinecke/Yale.
- 55 *Autobiography*, 87.
- 56 Hartley to Gertrude Stein, 7 August 1913, Beinecke/Yale.
- 57 *Autobiography*, 90.
- 58 William James, *The Varieties of Religious Experience* (1902). For the impact of Stein and James on Hartley's development, see McDonnell, *Dictated by Life*. For a discussion of James's relevance to the artist, see Gail R. Scott's Introduction to *On Art*, 19–57.
- 59 Hartley to Alfred Stieglitz, May or June 1913, Stieglitz/O'Keefe Archive, Beinecke/Yale.
- 60 Hartley to Alfred Stieglitz, August 1913, Beinecke/Yale.
- 61 *Autobiography*, 86.
- 62 Ludwig Meidner, "An Introduction to Painting Big Cities," in *Voices of German Expressionism*, ed. Victor H. Miesel (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1970), 111.
- 63 Philip Fisher, "City Matters: City Minds," in *The Worlds of Victorian Fiction* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1975), 377.

- ⁶⁴ Hartley to Alfred Stieglitz, June 1914. Beinecke/Yale.
- ⁶⁵ See David Cateforis, "Marsden Hartley's *Himmel*," in *American Paintings to 1945 at the Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art* (Kansas City: Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, forthcoming).
- ⁶⁶ See Patricia McDonnell, "Marsden Hartley's Myth of Amerika in Expressionist Berlin," *North Carolina Museum of Art Bulletin* 16 (1993): 50-64.
- ⁶⁷ Marsden Hartley, "Foreword," *Camera Work*, no. 45 (dated January 1914, published June 1914): 17; quoted in *On Art*, 62-63.
- ⁶⁸ Hartley to Franz Marc, 13 May 1913, quoted in McDonnell, "Marsden Hartley's Letters to Franz Marc and Wassily Kandinsky," 38.
- ⁶⁹ Hartley quoted in "American Artist Astounds Germans," *New York Times*, 19 December 1913, sec. 6, p. 4.
- ⁷⁰ For landmark studies of Berlin's gay culture, see James Steakley, *The Homosexual Emancipation Movement in Germany* (New York: Arno Press, 1975); Michael Bolle and Rolf Bothe, eds., *El Dorado: Homosexuelle Frauen und Männer in Berlin, 1850-1950* (Berlin: Frölich und Kaufman, 1984); Andreas Sternweiler and Hans Gerhard Hannesen, eds., *Goodbye to Berlin? 100 Jahre Schwulbewegung* (Berlin: Verlag rosa Winkel, 1997). For a key study of Hartley's experience in Germany, see also Weinberg.
- ⁷¹ "I have every sense of being at home among the German + I like the life color of Berlin." Hartley to Alfred Stieglitz, May or June 1913. Beinecke/Yale.
- ⁷² Hartley to Alfred Stieglitz, 15 March 1915. Beinecke/Yale.
- ⁷³ James Steakley, "Iconography of a Scandal: Political Cartoons and the Eulenburg Affair in Wilhelmine Germany," in *Hidden from History: Reclaiming the Gay and Lesbian Past* (New York: New American Library, 1989), 233-63; Isabel Hull, "Kaiser Wilhelm and the 'Liebenberg Circle,'" in *Kaiser Wilhelm II: New Interpretations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 193-220; John C. G. Röhl, "Phillipp Eulenburg, the Kaiser's Best Friend" in *The Kaiser and His Court: Wilhelm II and the Government of Germany* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 28-69. See also Patricia McDonnell, "El Dorado: Marsden Hartley in Imperial Berlin," in *Dictated by Life*, 14-55.
- ⁷⁴ Hartley to Charles Demuth, n.d. [1915]. Beinecke/Yale.
- ⁷⁵ Hartley to Alfred Stieglitz, 3 November 1914. Beinecke/Yale.
- ⁷⁶ For iconographic analysis of the series, see Roxana Barry, "The Age of Blood and Iron: Marsden Hartley in Berlin," *Arts Magazine* 54, no. 2 (October 1979): 166-71; Gail Levin, "Hidden Symbolism in Marsden Hartley's Military Pictures," *Arts Magazine* 54, no. 2 (October 1979): 154-58; and William H. Robinson, "Marsden Hartley's Military," *Bulletin of The Cleveland Museum of Art* 76, no. 1 (January 1989): 1-26.
- ⁷⁷ Marsden Hartley, "Foreword, Paintings by Marsden Hartley," *Camera Work*, no. 48 (October 1916): 13; quoted in *On Art*, 67. We shouldn't take this quotation by Hartley entirely at face value, however. Robert K. Martin was the first to point out that this disavowal of any deeper content may have been Hartley's attempt to ward off revelations of the artist's homosexuality via this art. See his "Reclaiming Our Lives," *Christopher Street* 4 (June 1980): 34.
- ⁷⁸ Hartley to Alfred Stieglitz, 28 September 1913. Beinecke/Yale.