

## **Marsden Hartley's *View from a Window* (*Adieu au Cheval*)**

Marsden Hartley's painting, *View from a Window (Adieu au Cheval)*, is not only a stunning visual feast but also intriguing in its subject matter. He used a scintillating palette that ranges from the deepest greens, blues, and reds to azure, rose pink, and tinges of mauve. Brilliant whites abound in richly textured impasto highlights. The genre is ostensibly still life, but as the title implies, it is also a view through a curtained window of a diagonal display of blue and red flowers bordered by green shrubbery, a lone sailboat, and expansive sea and sky. Prominent in the lower foreground is the single still life motif, a book with the title "Adieu au Cheval." Even more prominent and drawing our attention beyond the mundane objects is a triangular cloud formation haloing the figure of a rearing horse over whose head hovers an eight-pointed star.

In many Hartley works, the image and his unparalleled handling of paint and color initially attract and dazzle our eye. Often, however, the deeper meaning is not readily apparent and takes effort to decipher. Such is the case with *View from a Window (Adieu au Cheval)*, which, hereafter we will shorten to *Adieu au Cheval* to distinguish it from other paintings of the same genre. Abundant questions arise when one first encounters this puzzling work. As a still life it is atypical, a crossover variety that combines, in an unusual manner, ordinary objects (flowers and a book), a chromatically intense landscape, and a transcendent but enigmatic image of a horse in a cloud of glory.

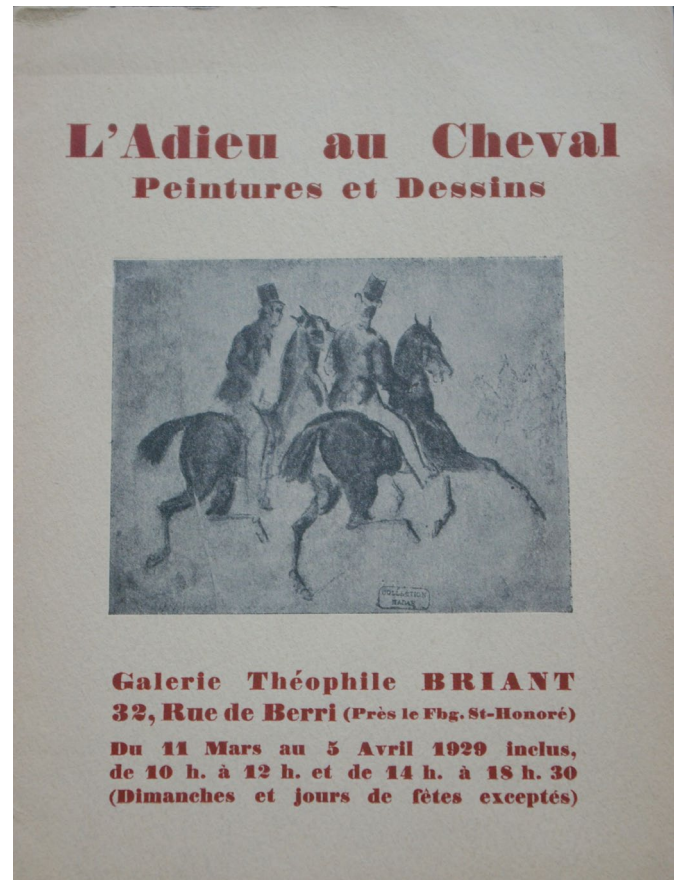
Still life paintings figured prominently throughout Hartley's career and represent some of his most exquisite, joyful, and unencumbered works.<sup>1</sup> Depending on his location, his mood

or mental state, objects at hand (shells, flowers, a dead bird, star fish, a piece of rope), people in this thoughts, or other circumstantial factors, Hartley's still lifes could be straightforward studies of objects on a table (like his many canvases of flowers in a vase); an escape from the landscape in his immediate environs that he found too boring to paint; a discipline to re-constitute himself as a painter; a remembrance or memorial; pure invention or even imaginative fantasy.

The view-through-the-window type of still life, consisting of objects on a windowsill or table with a view to a landscape or seascape in the distance, is, in Hartley's oeuvre, a fairly common sub-set of the still life genre. Over the course of his life he painted upwards of forty window still lifes, beginning in 1916-1917 with *Atlantic Window in the New England Character* (fig. 1) and *Atlantic Window in Semi Tropic Character* and ending with several radiant, nearly abstract examples executed during the last two years of his life (*Summer Sea Window, Red Curtain*, 1942). In both style and iconography, *Adieu au Cheval*, is entirely unique among these window still lifes; it is the only one that incorporates explicitly symbolic and mystical imagery.

At least five of the late window view paintings (all executed in or after 1935) include a book or books as one of the still life objects on the windowsill or foreground table, some with a visible title; others without (fig. 2, *Northern Summer Window*, 1936, University of Michigan Museum of Art, Ann Arbor). In the case of *Adieu au Cheval* the title of the book offers an important clue to the genesis and meaning of the painting. The book title stems directly from an exhibition that Hartley saw at the Galerie Théophile Briant in Paris in March 1929, *L'Adieu au Cheval: Peintures et Dessins*.<sup>2</sup> The exhibition included a small brochure (fig. 3) with an essay by art historian Claude Roger-Marx, which explained that the purpose of the show was "to reunite

under this title a collection of canvases and drawings in which to revive what the great and small masters have described, under intimate or glorious appearance, ‘the most noble conquest of man.’” Paintings and drawings by sixty-six wide-ranging artists comprised this memorial exhibition to the horse, including work by Barye, Daumier, Delacroix, de la Fresnaye, Gauguin, Gericault, Manet, Millet, Redon, Rodin, Seurat, Lautrec, Bonnard, Chirico, Chagall, Denis, Derain, Dufy, de Segonzac, Picasso, and Rouault.



We know for certain that Hartley saw and was impressed by the exhibition because some months later he wrote an essay titled, like the exhibition, “L’Adieu au Cheval.” This unpublished essay became part of a collection of prose pieces he eventually called *Varied Patterns*, which he had been working on throughout his extended sojourn in Europe from 1922-1930.<sup>3</sup> *Varied Patterns* consists largely of reflective pieces on past and present art and artists encountered by Hartley in the galleries and museums of Paris, as well as other regions of France, Italy, and Belgium, and also on subjects as incongruous as the Italian theater, Madame Tussaud’s Wax Works and the Christian mystic Saint Therese of Lisieux.

As with “L’Adieu au Cheval,” many of the *Varied Patterns* essays are not strictly art reviews or structured prose pieces, but rather, personal musings written in his idiosyncratic narrative style in response to a book he had just read, an opera or play he had seen, or an art exhibition that sparked an opinion, a thought, or an idea. He wrote, not as a professional critic but mainly for the pure expression of ideas. An accomplished, published, and prolific author, Hartley’s career as a writer paralleled that of his painting. In fact, there was hardly any time during his life when he was not working in both art forms. Often—including these months in 1929 when he was living in Paris—he found a satisfying balance in his daily routine by painting during the late morning, when the light was best, and writing in the afternoon.

The fact that Hartley both executed a painting and wrote an essay on the same subject—one that derived from an exhibition he saw and enjoyed—is of special interest, since it did not occur often in his dual career as painter and author.<sup>4</sup> The relationship between the painting, the exhibition, and his essay opens up a complex web of inter-connecting links in Hartley’s life circumstances, his psyche (anxieties and hopes), his extensive reading interests, his writing (essays and letters), and, of course, his painting—all of which factor into the dating, iconography, and significance of this exceptional painting.

To start with, Hartley did not, as we might expect of a quasi-review—write this essay immediately upon seeing the exhibition at Galerie Théophile Briant (March 11 – April 5, 1929). Rather, since he describes the exhibition as taking place “last year (1929),” he obviously began the essay sometime in 1930—probably before he returned to the United States in March. Despite that time lapse, the exhibition apparently remained of interest to him. Given that his essay enumerates the many artists included in the checklist, he must have kept on hand a copy

of the catalogue brochure, and his memory of it was excellent since his description of the show and work of various artists is vividly recounted.

While the date of the essay is clear, that of the painting is open to interpretation (more on that later). What is most revealing is that the imagery derives specifically from Claude Roger-Marx's catalogue essay. The essay is in French, which, as Hartley told a friend, "I read skippingly well for every third word is a hop skip and a jump for me - but I go right on and can tell what its [sic] all about perfectly and make my judgments therefrom. . ." <sup>5</sup> The opening phrase of the essay describes, in fact, Hartley's celestial horse: « Le cheval galopait dan l'azur, dans la mer. . . » ("The horse, galloping in the blue sky, in the sea. . .").

Waxing eloquent, Roger-Marx further reminisces about horsemen parading in grand public places, military parades, royalty in arms on magnificent steeds, and wars with cavalry that resembled medieval tournaments. No doubt the essay rekindled Hartley's memory of the years he spent in Germany before and during World War I (1913-1915) and his own love of the pomp and display of military men and horses. He was enthralled by the handsome uniformed Prussian officers mounted on chargers and marching daily on parade grounds and through the wide boulevards of Berlin in the months after his arrival there in 1913 and throughout 1914 until the war began. <sup>6</sup>

Hartley's interest in the horse was first inspired by his association with Franz Marc whose paintings of animals, specifically horses, were rendered with mystical overtones that characterized the Blaue Reiter artists (*Blue Horse*, 1911, oil on canvas, Stadtische Galerie im Lenbachhaus, Munich).<sup>7</sup> A precursor for the horse in *Adieu au Cheval* can be found in Hartley's 1913 painting *Forms Abstracted* (fig. 4), where the horse—enfolded in a triangular cloud-like

halo surrounded by eight-pointed stars—is imbued with iconic grandeur. In letters to Alfred Stieglitz from this time, Hartley claimed to see eight-pointed stars “everywhere in Berlin”—on the Kaiser’s uniform, on soldiers’ helmets, and even in votive images by Italian primitive painters.<sup>8</sup> In most of the pre-war military paintings (*The Warriors*, 1913, and *Berlin Ante-War*, 1914), the artist depicted mounted horses—soldiers on steeds prancing through an other-worldly empyrean, but the horse in *Adieu au Cheval* is rider-less, alone and ascending skyward in a mystical apotheosis.<sup>9</sup>

The question remains then: *when* did Hartley paint *Adieu au Cheval*? If, as it appears from his own essay that the 1929 *L’Adieu au Cheval* exhibition moved him enough to write about it, one would assume the painting would have emerged around the same time, that is, within a period of months. But stylistic and thematic affinities, physical evidence, and other indirect information suggest instead a date of 1935 or 1936, and thus we must trace a largely circumstantial path to more fully understand this enigmatic painting and the when and why of Hartley’s reasons for painting it.

For Hartley, the sea window motif was distinctly an Atlantic Ocean phenomenon—either the “tropic” windows or the “northern,” “New England” versions. As noted, Bermuda had inspired his first series of sea window canvases in 1916-1917. There are none from the 1920s when he was in Europe (he was rarely near the sea while there). But he took up the theme again in 1934—in New England (Gloucester)—and continued the series a year later when he returned to Bermuda for a second time. After returning to New York late in December 1935 and on into January and February of 1936, he finished the Bermuda sea view paintings and perhaps executed new ones from memory. During these months he lived in what was

probably a rooming house at 227 East 60<sup>th</sup> Street in Manhattan—a location he frequently used at various times during the 1930s. He liked the people and even occasionally stored his vagabond belongings there while he travelled elsewhere. Most of all he liked the room he always rented; it was light, large, and warm.<sup>10</sup> *Adieu au Cheval* was most likely painted or finished in this location because inscribed on the verso is this same address “227 E 60.”

The genre must have suited Hartley’s present needs. It offered a way to re-acquaint himself with his native region and re-charge his palette in brighter and vibrant color. Between 1934 and 1936 there are at least fourteen sea window still life paintings, which—except for the four examples that feature a sea view through the small window of a dark New England fish house—share the same bright but simple chromatic scale of pink and intense red, pale and sharp blues, deep green, and white as we find in *Adieu au Cheval*, which, without a doubt, belongs to this group of works.

The middle ground of flowers, trees and shrubs in *Adieu au Cheval* presses up against the foreground such that the flowers—large, round red ones, perhaps camellias, and a blue variety with a star-shaped center—nearly spill over onto the window sill. The diagonal line of vegetation extends from the middle right side to the lower left and is echoed by the angled orientation of the book on the window sill. Hartley used a similar diagonal compositional device in the two earliest sea window works from 1917-1919 mentioned earlier. Most of the sea window paintings from the 1930s (*Northern Summer Window* and *Sunday on the Reefs*), however, are rectilinear in format though there are exceptions. For example, *Red Flowers and Sailboat*, 1935-36 (fig. 5) is anomalous. The huge bouquet of flowers dominates the

composition, with a sliver view of sea and sky hugging the left side of the canvas in a curve that extends from the lower left to upper left.<sup>11</sup>

In *Atlantic Window in the New England Character* (fig. 1) and *Atlantic Window in Semi Tropic Character*, the diagonal curve serves to accentuate the elegant sweep of the beach and ocean. Likewise, in *Flowers and Sailboat* the function of the crescent lip of sea and sky on the left is to magnify the voluminous floral display. And in *Adieu au Cheval*, Hartley employs the diagonal thrust of the middle ground motif *and* the opposing diagonal of the sailboat (haloed in a darker shade of blue) to point our way upward to the central image: the horse ascending in a celestial cloud. It seems clear although Hartley started the series with two paintings that employ a diagonal framework, over all he preferred a straightforward view of the sea in these window pictures, and when he did use a diagonal, it played a specific role in focusing the viewer's attention.

In fact, in the last years of his life Hartley's sea view paintings became increasingly simple—even reductionist in composition. Diagonal lines, which imply action or movement, disappear altogether, replaced by simple rectangles that evoke stillness. There are no extraneous motifs—no books, side curtains, buildings or lobster traps outside, just flowers and perhaps a piece of fruit or vegetable. A few eloquent examples like *Vase of Flowers*, 1941, (fig. 7, Weber, p. 130) approach abstraction; even the table and window have become ephemeral. A square "window" rendered in the most exquisite shades of white and grey (anticipating a Rothko color field) frames a single vase of flowers resting on a square brown surface that morphs into a vertical border on the right edge of the canvas.

At this juncture in his career in 1936, Hartley was still trying to re-establish himself on the American art scene. He had not had an exhibition in America since 1932 (at the Downtown Gallery), and it had been five years since his last show with Alfred Stieglitz. With trepidation he wrote to Stieglitz on February 6, 1936, all but begging for an exhibition and assuring Stieglitz that he had at least forty paintings from which to choose and that would “add a fresh note to the idea at hand. . . . [A]ll the blackness is gone out of my pictures and this is victory enough for it typifies a comforting state of progression.”<sup>12</sup> Stieglitz, who must have had an open exhibition slot, quickly agreed because the show opened on March 22. As the title, “Marsden Hartley: First Exhibition in Four Years All Pictures Shown for the First Time Publicly,” suggests, this show was meant to place Hartley squarely back in the Stieglitz fold and into the center of the New York avant garde.

In preparing for this exhibition an interesting development occurred that pertains to our painting. *Adieu au Cheval*, like a similar painting from this series, *Sunday on the Reefs* (1935, Brooklyn Museum of Art), is painted on a type of canvas-board, canvas mounted on a fairly soft paperboard backing. It is of a type produced by Fredrix and available in the New York art market from approximately 1912 to 1925.<sup>13</sup> According to conservator Stephen Kornhauser, Hartley was quite curious about supports—to the extent that he once painted very similar compositions on three different types, perhaps to see the effect and test its durability against his vigorous brush work. For the most part, however, Hartley preferred rigid painting surfaces since he generally employed a vigorous paint stroke.<sup>14</sup>

Why he used a painting support that was relatively soft and that had, by 1935, been largely replaced by other types, such as masonite or Weber board (a type of academy board), is

puzzling. Perhaps he had not purchased the supports in New York but elsewhere, like Bermuda or Nova Scotia or had some from an earlier period available in his New York storage vault. Or perhaps, in his perpetual state of penury, he had come upon this older painting support at a bargain price or from another artist. In any case, he reported to Rebecca Strand on March 7, 1936, that with less than two weeks before his show would open, two paintings were not yet completed and that how he had “sweat over them – all because – not know the canvas on the panels was absorbent or semi – I had not prepared them, therefore they have drunk up the paint like a goldfish – all right in the end, but it takes forever to build them up.”<sup>15</sup> It could be that *Sunday on the Reef* and *Adieu au Cheval* are the two paintings that gave Hartley such trouble as the exhibition opening neared.

Of the forty canvases Hartley mentioned to Stieglitz, twenty-nine were chosen for the show. Not all pieces can be identified by specific title in the catalogue checklist; some were listed only under group headings.<sup>16</sup> It is possible, for instance, that *Adieu au Cheval* and the comparable paintings from Bermuda are among the four “Tropic Fantasies” (numbers 12-15 in the checklist); or they might have been one of the “Last of the New England series, Coast Views.” Most of the pictures in the exhibition were either flower still lifes, fish house sea views, sea windows, or landscapes (of Dogtown Common and alpine vistas from Germany in 1933-34). None of the reviews mention a painting with such distinctly mystical imagery as a horse in the sky, nor was it illustrated in the press, even though many critics remarked on Hartley’s arcane titles.<sup>17</sup>

Might we conclude then that *Adieu au Cheval* is one of the paintings *not* selected for this exhibition? Is it possible that Hartley himself, or taking his cue from Stieglitz, chose not to

include it because its subject was too oblique, too reminiscent of his earlier work in Europe, his German Officer paintings—just at the moment he was trying to be seen as more American? To answer these questions we must dig even deeper into the iconography of our painting, and for this we turn to the subject of Richard Rolle, the 14<sup>th</sup> century English hermit-mystic from Yorkshire, who appears frequently in Hartley's letters and other writings of the 1930s.

Rolle's ecstatic mysticism resonated with Hartley, and he further identified with the saintly hermit because his own family roots lay in Yorkshire and he was fond of citing his romantic "Wuthering Heights" origins.<sup>18</sup> Hartley's knowledge of Rolle deepened during the year he spent in Mexico on a Guggenheim Fellowship (1932-33). For part of that time he was in Cuernavaca where he had access to an extensive library of esoteric literature belonging to Eric and Mary Ostlund with whom he lived for a while. He thus re-immersed himself in the study of mysticism, including Rolle, and among the paintings that came forth as a result are two that incorporate symbols and motifs similar to those in *Adieu au Cheval*.

In *The Transference of Richard Rolle*, (1932, fig.6) the dominate image is a triangular pink cloud which, in turn, encompasses a golden triangle with the initials YR (standing for Yhesu Rolle). The distinctly shaped cloud embraces the name of Rolle in much the same way that the cloud in *Adieu au Cheval* enfolds the horse. From his earliest paintings (*Storm Clouds, Maine*, 1906-07) to his late masterworks (the Mt. Katahdin paintings or the storm-tossed *Northern Seascape* series), Hartley endowed his clouds with singular mystical or symbolic portent. Following the lead of his beloved Albert Pinkham Ryder, Hartley's cloud formations paradoxically have weight and physicality. The Rolle painting and *Adieu au Cheval* both follow that pattern. They suggest transference or apotheosis.

The other painting from Mexico that pertains to our study is *Tollman, Aztec Legend* (1933). As the title implies, it is a symbolic rendition of the Aztec myth of the white bird, Iztac Quixtli, which was pierced by an arrow. Dominate in the bird wing motif in the sky above the Aztec temple are the eight-pointed stars—reappearing (like the symbolic cloud formation) for the first time in twenty years. Three years later, in 1936, we again find the eight-pointed star in a cloud above the horse in *Adieu au Cheval*.

In his foreword for the 1936 exhibition catalogue, Hartley once again evokes the name of Richard Rolle. This statement, called “An Outline in Portraiture of Self” takes the form of a “Letter Never Sent” addressed to Aurelie Cheronne, a woman he had known twenty years earlier in France.<sup>19</sup> Hartley’s language in this essay is abstruse, and the portrait of “self” that emerges is veiled, but reading carefully we find his theme to be transformation of self. Recalling mutual acquaintances (but referring to himself, it would seem) he points to those who “take to themselves new face and feature and become quite something else, something more than even they had anticipated, receiving thereby praise from the clear principle of life which always hopes for increased scope and sudden blossoming in all of us.”

Towards the end of the essay he remarks on Yorkshire and Richard Rolle, again in a self-referential way. “And I began to think,” he writes, “of the White Horse Legend of Yorkshire, or was it more precisely Cheshire, that was tossed over to me on the salt-strewn rocks of New England, and of the same geographic heritage of Richard Rolle and his undying song-fervours to his beloved Yhesu . . .” “The White Horse Legend” he refers to is one of many traditional tales from Yorkshire. It tells of a spectral white horse that arises from the spray and mist around a

foaming cataract on the river Wharfe in Yorkshire—a premonition of the disappearance of three local maidens.<sup>20</sup>

Yorkshire, Rolle, the Brontes, then later Thoreau and Emerson, Hartley concludes, were “nudging [me] to consciousness. . . .” Poignantly, he brings the reader around to the present when he says, “All that is coming to the surface again, and if you could be aware of this present exhibition, life being a matter of successive and hopefully intelligent detours, foreground being the fruition of background, you would readily fill out the edges of this portrait for yourself, a life spent in plain beliefs, in despairs, understanding, and with more or less sudden vision accepting experience, made cautious with need of reasonableness, denying the importance of anything at all but the quality and principle of life itself.” Through his words to Aurelie Cheronne Hartley is telling us, his wider audience, that this exhibition represents a resurfacing of his true heritage, the inherently mystical nature that nudged him to consciousness in his youth.

Like the spectral White Horse of the Yorkshire tale who disappears into the cloudy mist, the white horse in *View from a Window (Adieu au Cheval)* could well represent Hartley’s own transformation. It is his farewell to an old portrait of himself and the “blossoming” of a new self-image that includes new clarification of his vision of “the principle of life itself” as the authentic and lasting basis for his art. As a painting with veiled meaning, not publicly seen for many years having been sequestered away in a private collection, *View from a Window (Adieu au Cheval)* is, therefore, a stunning revelation of Hartley’s measure of himself, of his desire and ability to transcend self, to move beyond past failures and his own limitations, and to embrace new possibilities.

By Gail R. Scott

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## End Notes

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<sup>1</sup> See especially, Bruce Weber, *The Heart of the Matter: The Still Lifes of Marsden Hartley* (Berry-Hill Galleries, 2003).

<sup>2</sup> We know from his writings that Hartley frequented the Galerie Théophile Briant when he was in Paris.

<sup>3</sup> “L’Adieu au Cheval,” along with the rest of the *Varied Patterns* essays and the majority of Hartley’s prose and poetry manuscripts, is in the Norma Berger/Marsden Harley archive, Yale Collection of American Literature, ZA Berger 20 (33), Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University (hereafter, YCAL). The essays in *Varied Patterns* appear to date from around 1926 to 1931. Most were written while he was in Europe and are on European topics, but he did add eight essays after 1930 when he returned to the United States, and after his friend, Rebecca Strand had typed the manuscript for him. Despite his vigorous efforts to find a publisher for *Varied Patterns* after his return to America, neither the essay, “L’Adieu au Cheval,” nor the collection as a whole ever came out in book form, although selections from it appeared later in *On Art by Marsden Hartley*. New York: Horizon Press, 1982, edited with an introduction by Gail R. Scott. Hartley showed the *Varied Patterns* manuscript or individual essays to a number of publishers in 1930 and 1931: Frank Crownshield (*Vanity Fair*); *Arts Magazine*; Forbes Watson; and Albert Boni, who had published Hartley’s first collection of essays, *Adventures in the Arts* in 1917—all to no avail due in part to the hard economic climate of the emerging Great Depression.

<sup>4</sup> The other striking example would be Hartley’s Nova Scotia portrait series and his prose-poem, *Cléophas and His Own*, all of which stemmed from the tragic deaths of the two sons in the Frances Mason family. There are also occasional late still life paintings with titles similar to specific poems (the painting *Sea Dove* and the poem, “Portrait of a Sea Dove—Dead.”

<sup>5</sup> Letter from Hartley to Rebecca Strand, November 19, 1929 from Aix-en-Provence (YCAL, Rebecca Salsbury James Papers). Hartley’s ability to read French might have been “skippingly” but it wasn’t light reading he tackled when he wrote this letter but rather philosophers like Miguel Unamuno.

<sup>6</sup> Hartley’s experience in Germany and the pre-war military paintings and German Officer series that he executed have been extensively documented in numerous exhibitions and scholarship. Studies of this period are too numerous to itemize, but the key scholars who have written significantly about it include Barbara Haskell’s landmark Hartley retrospective at the Whitney Museum of American Art (1980), Gail Levin in many articles, and Patricia McDonnell, *Dictated by Life* (Frederick R. Weisman Museum, Minneapolis, traveling exhibition 1995) and *Marsden Hartley: American Modern* (Frederick R. Weisman Museum, Minneapolis, traveling exhibition, 1997-2000).

<sup>7</sup> See Gail Levin, “Marsden Hartley, Kandinsky, and Der Blaue Reiter,” *Arts* (November 1977): 156-160 and “Marsden Hartley and Mysticism,” *Arts* 60 (November 1985): 18-21.

<sup>8</sup> Hartley, letter to Alfred Stieglitz, [August 1913], *My Dear Stieglitz: Letters of Marsden Hartley and Alfred Stieglitz, 1912-1915* (Columbia, SC, 2002), p. 97.

<sup>9</sup> The fact that the horse in *View from a Window* is rider-less also indicates that Hartley was not memorializing Karl von Freyburg, his German officer friend and lover, who died in one of the early battles of the war and was the implied subject of the great elegiac paintings comprising the German Officer series (1914-15).

<sup>10</sup> Letter to Louis Schapiro, January 2, 1935, Elizabeth McCausland Papers, Archives of American Art, microfilm 268; frames 517-520. Letters from Hartley show him to have lived at 227 E. 60<sup>th</sup> Street at various times in 1931, 1935, 1936, 1937, 1938, and 1939.

<sup>11</sup> A photograph of a painting in the Hartley artist’s file at the New York Public Library) illustrates another example of a window view still life from 1936 with a diagonal composition depicts a sea view with a shuttered house (typical of those in Bermuda) that runs from the upper left to the lower middle of the middle ground. The title and whereabouts of this work are unknown but it is stamped “with permission An American Place” indicating it was, at some point, in a show at Stieglitz’s gallery.

<sup>12</sup> Letter to Stieglitz, February 1, 1936 (YCAL).

<sup>13</sup> Based on information from the current owner of *Adieu au Cheval*.

<sup>14</sup> Email exchange, February 2009, with Kornhauser, conservator at the Hartford Athenaeum and co-author with Ulrich Birkmaier of “Marsden Hartley’s Materials and Working Methods” in the exhibition catalogue, *Marsden Hartley* (Hartford Athenaeum and Yale University Press: 2003).

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<sup>15</sup> Letter to Rebecca Strand, March 6, 1936, (YCAL).

<sup>16</sup> No gallery records remain to identify the works in this show, though some of them have inscriptions on the verso indicating they shown at An American Place in 1936, but not *Adieu au Cheval*.

<sup>17</sup> Howard Devree, for instance, found the titles “baffling.” “The Art Gallery Trail,” *New York Times*, March 29, 1936, Sect. 9, p. 9 and Ann H. Sayre found his “eccentricities” to have “the wasteful concentration of an escaping valve.” “Sea Gulls, Roses, Ikons, A Letter Never Sent,” *Art News* (March 28, 1936): 8.

<sup>18</sup> Among his numerous references to Wuthering Heights and his Yorkshire heritage, see, for instance, his letter to Alfred Stieglitz from Gloucester, August 12, 1931 (YCAL). Dogtown reminded Hartley of the Yorkshire moors: “. . . all very Wuthering Heights and gives me the feeling of the Yorkshire moors as I recall them from years ago as a boy when I went there with my father. All my people come from the Bronte country you know – or near it.”

<sup>19</sup> Hartley devised *Letters Never Sent* as an epistolary literary genre in which he could muse over art, philosophy, and other subjects informally, as in a letter to a friend. Like *Varied Patterns*, he worked on these “Letters” over a number of years, but they were never published in book form, although one of them, “Farewell, Charles,” was published in *The New Caravan*, ed. Alfred Kreyborg, Lewis Mumford, and Paul Rosenfeld (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., Inc., 1936).

<sup>20</sup> Yorkshire Legends and Traditions, as retold by the Rev. Thomas Parkinson. London: 1888.