Localized Glory: Marsden Hartley as New England Regionalist

Donna M. Cassidy

Since I went back to Maine and have drawn the power of
Maine's force and grandeur to me I have taken
another spurt and my glory has become localized which
delights me beyond words—as everyone knows
of me in Maine now and is so kind and welcoming—
the State of Maine itself having sent me a
letter of "official" recognition as Maine's #1 artist—
and I am so proud of all that.[1]

Marsden Hartley to Norma Berger, April 16, 1940

Marsden Hartley's return to his native state in 1937 signaled a new phase of his career and the formation of a fresh artistic identity as "the painter from Maine." He had begun this campaign to shed the label of expatriate and to publicize himself as a regional artist with his 1930 and 1931 painting trips to New Hampshire and Gloucester and his 1932 exhibition, *Pictures of New England by a New Englander,* organized by Edith Halpert for the Downtown Gallery in New York. This campaign was stepped up in the mid-1930s owing to the worsening Depression art market and heightened Americanist discourse in the arts. Hartley recognized that Henry McBride's praise of the New England paintings in his 1936 American Place exhibition helped promote him as a native artist, and he took this powerful critic's words to heart, vowing to have a "100% Yankee show next year."[2] While the paintings on view at his 1937 exhibition did not fulfill this promise, the catalogue essay, "On the Subject of Nativeness—A Tribute to Maine," served as Hartley's regionalist manifesto. After this exhibition, he was determined to have "an all Maine show" the following year "for purposes of publicity" and planned to paint "only Maine and put Maine really on the art map as is my right."[3] This agenda shaped much of Hartley's work from 1937 until his death in 1943.

Although often interpreted as being motivated by a personal quest for home, the last in his lifelong series of restless wanderings following the childhood break-up of his family, Hartley's Maine homecoming was not driven solely by individual pursuits but by broader cultural concerns of the 1930s, particularly a newfound regionalism. A widespread identification with region emerged as part of the conservative isolation after World War I and as a way of dealing with social and cultural upheavals—urbanization, industrialization, and standardized mass culture on the one hand, and the Depression and its dislocations on the other.[4] Like many Americans, artists and writers of diverse aesthetic and political persuasions left the cities to settle in rural areas, including those in New England. Having

Detail, Plate 48

Figure 1
Georgia O'Keeffe
Cow's Skull: Red, White, and Blue, 1931
Oil on canvas, 36 × 39⅛ in. (91.5 × 99.8 cm)
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
The Alfred Stieglitz Collection, 1952 (52.203)
Photograph © 1994
The Metropolitan Museum of Art
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moved to Vermont and New Hampshire respectively. Norman Rockwell and Robert Frost, for example, represented the northern rural outposts of the region as the heart of New England, the "authentic" New England, in their work. Hartley joined this migration to these northern climes in 1937 and contributed in his own fashion to this New England regionalism until his death. During this time he redefined the image of this locale in his paintings and adapted his expressionist style to subjects bound to the region, its history, and its image in the tourist culture and regional art and literature. These Maine paintings, especially those of the folk, were shaped not only by New England culture and regionalism in the United States, but by the folk cultures that Hartley experienced in both Nova Scotia and Germany as well.

In the visual arts, 1930s regionalism has long been epitomized by the American Midwest and the triumvirate Thomas Hart Benton, Grant Wood, and John Steuart Curry. The writings of these artists and their apologist Thomas Craven situated American culture's identity outside the modern and urban and in traditional rural societies.[5] Vociferously opposing modernism, they touted realism as *the* American style and one accessible to a wide audience. Midwestern regionalism, however, was more complex than its reductive rhetoric would lead us to believe.[6]

During the interwar decades, region played a critical role in the work of the Stieglitz circle, who embraced what art historian Wanda Corn has called a soil-and-spirit nationalism: an insistence upon an artist's mystical and deeply personal connection to an American place.[7] In *Port of New York: Essays on Fourteen American Moderns* (1924), for instance, the writer and critic Paul Rosenfeld figuratively located American art and the Stieglitz-circle artists in the native soil, describing Arthur Dove's "root-taking" and John Marin as "fast in American life like a tough and fibrous apple tree lodged and rooted in good ground."[8] For Rosenfeld, Hartley, who possessed an "instinctive refinement" typical of the New England temperament, needed to reconnect with the place of his birth to revitalize his art: "It is to this soil, so it would seem, that he must return."[9] Such metaphors were enlisted again as the battle between modernism and midwestern regionalism raged in the 1930s. Published as a tribute to Stieglitz on his seventieth birthday and challenging Craven's claim that Stieglitz was ill-equipped to guide the formation of an authentic American art,[10] *America and Alfred Stieglitz: A Collective Portrait* (1934) equated both the photographer and his artists with things American. Writing in this volume, critic Elizabeth McCausland argued that Dove, Marin, and Georgia O'Keeffe were continuing an American romantic tradition as they lived "under the American sun, sucking up strength from the American soil, rooted in the American earth."[11]

Indeed, in the post–World War I years, the Stieglitz-circle artists grounded themselves in native places, with Hartley making a short-lived attempt at this in New Mexico in 1918. All (with the exception of Hartley) abandoned European travel by the early 1920s and lived outside the city (at least for part of the year) in rural or natural settings. As Corn has pointed out, O'Keeffe, like the midwestern regionalists, advanced the idea that a modern American art could be created outside the urban Northeast, in her case by establishing ties to the American Southwest after her first trip to New Mexico in 1929 and building on both regional and national art traditions in such works as *Cow's Skull: Red, White, and Blue* (fig. 1).[12] Maine became identified with Marin and his art (fig. 2). Privately published for An American Place in 1931, *Letters of John Marin* portrayed the artist as both an American and a Mainer, and critics, particularly those reviewing his 1936 Museum of Modern Art retrospective, hailed him as a true Yankee (that is, a Mainer and New Englander) and heir to Winslow Homer.[13] This commentary did not go unnoticed by

Figure 2
John Marin
Phippsburg, Maine, 1933
Watercolor on paper, 15⅛ × 19⅝ in. (38.7 × 50.8 cm)
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
The Alfred Stieglitz Collection, 1949 (49.70.143)
Photograph © 1981
The Metropolitan Museum of Art
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Hartley, who resented Marin's acclaim as a regional painter as a result of this exhibition and grumbled to Stieglitz about not receiving due recognition himself as a New England artist: "Now I have the feeling everybody sees my Maine but me—and I kind of regret it—...well I don't know yet but a strong feeling comes over me of late to go up to Lewiston [Maine] and float some publicity on after all I am as far as I know the outstanding painter from Maine."[14] It is no coincidence that Hartley set out to play up his own Yankeeness, his own New England identity, the following year.[15]

Yankeeness had high value in the 1930s America as writers, artists, and critics sought to define the distinctiveness of New England and challenge the common perception of the region as bankrupt and in decline.[16] New England had a unique history that formed a distinctive character and that could prove edifying for Depression-era Americans. Post-1929 post office murals—Charles Anton Kaselau's *Battle at the Bridge* (1941, Concord, Massachusetts), for example, which illustrated the first skirmish of the American Revolution—reminded viewers of New England's key role in the founding of the nation,[17] while books like Lewis Mumford's *The Golden Day* (1926), Van Wyck Brooks's Pulitzer Prize–winning bestseller *The Flowering of New England* (1936), and F. O. Matthiessen's *American Renaissance* (1941) praised antebellum New England with its shipbuilding, trade, and literary achievements, especially transcendentalism, as the region's "golden age." For these authors, the region's literature—that of Ralph Waldo Emerson, Henry David Thoreau, Nathaniel Hawthorne, and Herman Melville—served as the height of New England and American literary expression. In the age of Emerson and Thoreau, as Brooks argued, the region had reached its zenith by exercising economic and cultural power and playing an important part in defining national identity: eminent Bostonians "were determined to carry out, in every sphere in which their interest lay, their duties as American citizens. They meant to make Boston a model town. They meant to make New England a model region."[18]

Transcendentalist Boston was not the only New England held forth as a model in the 1930s. For the critic Bernard DeVoto, New Englanders, especially those who lived in the inhospitable northern reaches, could instruct Americans about survival during tough times: this "almost-perfect" region, divorced from modernization and consumerism, was a society "founded on granite," and its Yankee inhabitants were "free, self-reliant," "unfrightened by the future," and masters of the "conditions of their life."[19]

In the popular and artistic imagination, the "real" New England was located "north of Boston," outside the ethnic diversity and elite Brahminism of urban centers and in rural Vermont, New Hampshire, and Maine.[20] Promoted as a pre-industrial arcadia akin to mid-nineteenth-century New England, this region of small towns, farm kitchens, covered bridges, schooners, steepled meetinghouses, traditional customs, and stone walls was pictured in the pages of *Yankee* magazine, photographs of the Farm Security Administration's Small Town Project (1938–43), and paintings by both traditional and avant-garde artists.[21] In 1939 Norman Rockwell and his new wife retreated from divorce and fear of the Depression to a farm in Arlington, Vermont, where he subsequently drew from the local community in his art.[22] Paul Sample pictured the rituals, customs, and pastoral flavor of Vermont country life in paintings such as *Beaver Meadow* (fig. 3), reminiscent of Grant Wood, while Charles Sheeler and Marguerite Zorach, in images like *Maine Landscape* (fig. 5), composed modernist visions of the bucolic, white-steepled New England village nestled in a valley surrounded by verdant hills. Pre-modern labor—fishing, lumbering, agriculture—performed by robust New Englanders took center stage in the region's post office murals, from Sample's *Apponaug Fishermen* (1942; Warwick, Rhode Island) to Waldo Peirce's *Woodmen in the Woods of Maine* (fig. 4).

A similar New England was imagined by writers like Robert Frost, who emerged as the region's mythic poet (fig. 6). With the publication of *North of Boston* (1915), Frost

Figure 3
Paul Starrett Sample
Beaver Meadow, 1939
Oil on canvas, 40 × 48¼ in. (101.6 × 122.6 cm)
Hood Museum of Art, Dartmouth College, Hanover, New Hampshire
P.943.126.1
Gift of the artist, Paul Sample, Class of 1920, in memory of his brother, Donald M. Sample, Class of 1921
© 2001 Trustees of Dartmouth College, Hanover, New Hampshire

Figure 4
Waldo Peirce
Woodmen in the Woods of Maine, 1937
Oil on canvas, 117 × 110 in. (297.2 × 279.4 cm)
Portland Museum of Art, Portland, Maine
Lent by the United States Postal Service, L185
Photograph by Melville D. McLean

Figure 5
Marguerite Zorach
Maine Landscape, date unknown
Oil on canvas, 25⅞ × 31¾ in. (65.9 × 81.1 cm)
Colby College Museum of Art, Waterville, Maine
Gift of the IBM Corporation

Figure 6
Paul Waitt
The Farmer-Poet at Stone Cottage, 1921
Blackington Collection
Courtesy of Yankee Publishing Inc., Dublin, N.H.

constructed himself as a "farmer-poet," a "Yankee bard," and he expertly advanced this identity in his public readings and lectures and in his poetry featuring stones walls, harsh landscapes, and the local speech of the laconic, down-to-earth, shrewd Yankees of rural northern New England. Frost's reputation flourished during the Depression and the accompanying rise of regional sentiments.[23] In his 1938 book *New Poetry of New England*, Robert P. Tristram Coffin (a writer himself and literary editor of *Yankee* magazine) described Frost and the Maine poet Edwin Arlington Robinson as leaders of a "whole new brood of New England poet."[24] Following their examples, many contemporary writers wielded their pens to craft stories and poems about the region and its exceptionality, as in *The Triad Anthology of New England Verse*, published in Portland, Maine, in 1938. This volume sought, in the words of the compiler, Louise Hall Littlefield, "to mirror New England's people, life, and landscape."[25]

Hartley contributed two poems to the volume—"The Berry House" and "She Went without Telling," which deal with the dark side of New England in the burning of an old square gray house and the quickly forgotten death of an elderly woman—and here and in his other writings and paintings participated in this New England regionalism. He was familiar with the Maine Works Progress Administration projects and regional painters like Peirce and Zorach, knew Coffin, avidly read New England literature, and often invoked the names of Frost and Robinson.[26] Frost may well have been Hartley's model as he tried to promote himself as a Maine painter. Contemporary histories of New England—Brooks's *The Flowering of New England* and Coffin's *Kennebec: Cradle of Americans* (1937), for example—inspired Hartley as he wrote his own commentaries on the region's traditions.[27]

Like Bernard DeVoto, these regionalist writers and others sought to remake the image of New England, to disrupt the association of the region with dour Puritans and deserted farms, and, instead, to tell the world about the "everlasting vigor" of the region and its inhabitants.[28] Similarly, Hartley's late paintings represented the region as potent, vibrant, pre-industrial, as DeVoto's society "founded on granite," through subjects like the manly folk, the rocky coast, and Mt. Katahdin painted in a bold, rugged style. They, moreover, show his desire to engage with the past as a way to define regional identity during the Depression years—a desire Hartley shared with contemporary artists, writers, and filmmakers across New England and the United States.

Upon his arrival in Georgetown, Maine, in 1937, Hartley planned to paint Edwin Arlington Robinson's birthplace along with the nearby church at Head Tide, the "amazing little white church which no one has done and is 'mine' really."[29] *Church at Head Tide No. 2* (plate 89) is constructed from thick, painterly brush strokes, and the perspective is flattened and distorted. With its blackened windows and shaky form, it represents less an ideal white-steepled New England and seems more an artifact of a bygone day. Such images have parallels in Hartley's own poems of the period, as in the abandoned houses in "Mansion" and "The Outcast City on the Kennebec," for example, and in the New England literature he admired, especially that of Robinson, which often described Mainers whose cultural glory as mariners and shipbuilders in the nineteenth century had long passed. His painting of this "little white church" reveals the strategies that he used for representing place at this time: he selected familiar, sometimes marketable, subjects and sites associated with the region and with regional art, literature, and history (in this case Robinson), and painted them in an expressionistic style that he considered to be of a mystical and imaginative New England art tradition associated with the painter Albert Pinkham Ryder.

Born in New Bedford, Massachusetts, a town known for its seafaring history, Ryder served as a powerful inspiration for Hartley throughout his career, but especially in the late 1930s. His portrait of Ryder (plate 71), painted in 1938–39 and based on a memory of seeing the artist in New York decades earlier, was part of Hartley's hero portrait series in which he created an artistic and intellectual family for himself. Its rough paint surface and dark tones emulate Ryder's style, and these qualities can also be seen in Hartley's late seascapes. In *Northern Seascape, Off the Banks* (plate 61) the impastoed white crust of the sea foam, waves crashing against the rocky coast, dark clouds with brightened edges, and small boats sailing on a vast, inhospitable ocean match features in Ryder's *Lord Ullin's Daughter* (fig. 7), which tells the tale of two drowned lovers—a fitting narrative source for Hartley's work dedicated to the Mason brothers and their cousin who drowned off the coast of Nova Scotia. This image of the minute, storm-tossed boat against the expansive dangerous sea recurred in Ryder's art, and Hartley associated him with this "profound spectacle of the soul's despair in conflict with wind and wave."[30]

In Hartley's estimation, Ryder's style was affiliated with both an Americanness and a New Englandness. Hartley challenged the midwestern regionalists' claim that realism was the national artistic mode by defining the dramatic mysticism of George Fuller, Homer Dodge Martin, Ralph Blakelock, and Ryder as a "possible and plausible basis for a genuine American art."[31] His two 1937 essays on the history of New England art—"The Six Greatest New England Painters" and "On the Subject of Nativeness—A Tribute to Maine"—argued Ryder's poetical and subjective manner as central to the New England art tradition.[32] The former claimed that Ryder, Fuller, and Winslow Homer did the most to establish a New England art, although Ryder, "the great mystic," was "the greatest of them all because he went deeper into the realities of the imaginative life of New England."[33]

Figure 7
Albert Pinkham Ryder
Lord Ullin's Daughter, before 1907
Oil on canvas mounted on panel, 20⅛ × 19⅝ in. (52.1 × 49.2 cm)
Smithsonian American Art Museum, Washington, D.C.; Gift of John Gellatly, 1929.6.101

Figure 8
Winslow Homer
Weatherbeaten, 1894
Oil on canvas, 28⅞ × 48⅛ in. (74.4 × 122.9 cm)
Portland Museum of Art, Portland, Maine
Bequest of Charles Shipman Payson, 1988.35.1

For Hartley, the introspective and spiritual defined the New England character, as these attributes were evident in writers like Ralph Waldo Emerson and Emily Dickinson. He foregrounded the mystical temperament as central to New England art too, claiming that "This quality of abstract yet definite reality appears in the realm of art in its strongest and most powerful degree in the paintings of Albert Ryder, who has said once and for all—all that will ever be known about that country."[34] By emulating Ryder, Hartley asserted his own identity as a New England artist. Written in the 1930s, his autobiography recalls his first viewing of a Ryder seascape as the most crucial moment in his early career, as it brought out all Hartley's "essential Yankee qualities," "stamped" him an American, and "converted him to the field of the imagination" into which he was born.[35] Such associations served to authenticate Hartley as a bona fide regional artist.

Hartley tied his seascapes not only to Ryder but to other New England artists and writers from the past. For him, the "dramatic entities" and "devilish treacheries" of Ryder's sea had an affinity with Herman Melville's novels like *Moby-Dick* (1851), an account of the New England whaling industry (the *Pequod* embarks from New Bedford) and a sea adventure story with storms, lightning, and the white whale overwhelming the vessels and crews (save Ishmael).[36] This power of the sea, which was so essential to Hartley's late seascapes (plates 96, 99), also referred to Homer's paintings of the Maine coast (fig. 8), as Bruce Robertson has shown.[37] Reviews of the Homer 1936 centennial exhibitions at the Whitney Museum of American Art, Knoedler's Galleries, and Macbeth Gallery stressed Homer's status as a Maine artist and his Prout's Neck works as the best of his career—an association that Hartley could not ignore.[38] In "On the Subject of Nativeness" he lists Homer along with Ryder as a foremost New England artist, a "fierce Yankee" who painted in Maine, and elsewhere argues his own bond with Homer: "I have always been proud as a yankee, that Homer's inspiration and his sense of dramatic nature were derived chiefly from my own native rocks, at Prout's Neck, Maine."[39]

Homeresque images of crashing waves along the Maine coast were plentiful in tourist literature as well, and such views were considered not only scenic but replete with historical significance. Tourists were reminded over and over again that the Maine coast was the setting of historical events, particularly during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries: "One would not be an American if he did not thrill to the historical significance of this region where once five nations vied for supremacy."[40] The coast had other connections with the region's history. Antebellum shipbuilding and trade along the north Atlantic seaboard were presented as the apex of the region's culture in Brooks's *The Flowering of New England* and Coffin's *Kennebec: Cradle of Americans*, and Hartley, impressed by these texts, recorded his own thoughts on this maritime history in his essay "This Country of Maine" (c. 1937–38). In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, New Englanders acquired wealth through shipping and lumbering, and with their money, Hartley points out, they built mansions from Salem, Massachusetts, to Eastport, Maine, "that still survive and keep up their aristocratic appearances as if times had not changed." But times had changed and these industries were in decline—a situation lamented by Hartley, who singled out the old sailing ships grounded and keeled over in Boothbay Harbor and Wiscasset as reminders of Maine's illustrious history (fig. 9). He thought it would be a "fine regional gesture . . . if someone for purposes of appearances and the grand picture these ships make in a harbour, would set them all up on their keels again."[41] Given his fascination with New England's maritime history, Hartley's paintings of ships from the late 1930s and 1940s can be understood as his attempts to recreate "grand pictures" from the past, albeit recast in a bold, modern style.

Figure 9
Grounded schooners in Boothbay Harbor
Federal Writers' Project of the Works Progress Administration for the State of Maine, *Maine, A Guide "Down East"* (Cambridge, Mass.: Riverside Press, 1937)

Figure 10
Marsden Hartley
Birds of the Bagaduce, 1939
Oil on board, 28 × 22 in. (71.1 × 55.9 cm)
The Butler Institute of American Art,
Youngstown, Ohio

Figure 11
Unknown Photographer
Ship pictures in the Marine Room, c. 1907
View of the East India Marine Museum,
Salem, Massachusetts, west side
Photograph courtesy of the Peabody
Essex Museum, Salem, Massachusetts

In *Birds of the Bagaduce* (fig. 10) he paints not the downed vessels of a bygone day but four schooners in full sail gliding on a sunlit day and under an expansive blue sky at a location (the Bagaduce River in Castine, Maine) known for its shipping, lumbering, and trade in the nineteenth century.[42] This work drew from Hartley's study of New England maritime art as well. On his frequent visits to the East India Marine Museum in Salem, Massachusetts (fig. 11), he admired the ship paintings, "all done with that touching sense of truth and fidelity to fact that gives them the right to be called good art."[43] While the schooners in *Birds of the Bagaduce* and the one adorning the wall in the 1940–41 *Fishermen's Last Supper* (plate 70) are missing the detailed descriptions of such paintings, they nonetheless make reference to this regional art tradition that Hartley and his contemporaries associated with the height of New England culture, the age of maritime supremacy.

Other sea relics and marine objects figured into Hartley's late still lifes like *Crab, Rope, Seashells* (fig. 12) and *Lobster on Black Background* (plate 101). The sea creatures and objects in these paintings seem timeless, suspended in ether, floating in the ocean's depths, not unlike the effect created by O'Keeffe in paintings like *Shell and Feather* (c. 1940; Colby

Figure 12
Marsden Hartley
Crab, Rope, Seashells, 1936
Oil on panel, 12 × 16 in (30.5 × 40.6 cm)
Private Collection
Courtesy of Babcock Galleries, New York

College Museum of Art). The intense focus on the abstract formal qualities of objects evident in these works was essential to the language of American early modernist art, as was the evocative power of these objects. Artifacts in Hartley's *Portrait of a German Officer* (plate 19) and *Insignia and Glove* (1936; private collection) functioned as stand-ins for Karl von Freyburg and the Mason brothers respectively, while those in *Crab, Rope, Seashells* and *Lobster on Black Background* operated as signs of the region. Hartley wrote about the "fragments of rope thrown overboard out on the Grand Banks by the fishermen or shells or other crustaceans driven in from their moorings among matted sea weed and rocks" in the "portraits of objects" in his 1937 exhibition as "representing the visible life of place."[44] Such objects represented place not only in the here and now but in the past. Shells were associated with other times, as Hartley sketched a direct line from these objects to ancient Native American culture in Maine in his poem "Arrowhead and Clamshell."[45]

The lobster was particularly associated with New England history and remains a Maine icon that, by the 1920s, was prevalent in state tourism. One 1939 brochure published by the Maine Development Commission sketched the history of the lobster and even spoke of its "discovery" as food in colonial times.[46] Photographs of visitors eating at lobster pounds were common in this promotional literature, as kettles for boiling live lobsters were set up for motorists along Maine's roadsides, especially Route 1 along the coast. Hartley could not help but be influenced by this visual culture of the tourist's Maine. The lobster in his own *Lobster on Black Background* sits boiled and ready to eat much like the one in the Warren's Lobster House billboard in Kittery, which greeted tourists to the state from 1941 on (fig. 13). The simple, bold form of this work even seems to replicate the billboard style of such popular images, which came to stand for regional identity.[47]

Figure 13
Donna Cassidy
Warren's Lobster House, Kittery, Maine, 2001
Photograph

Hartley often, though, engaged in anti-tourist rhetoric, claiming, for instance, in a 1931 essay that New England was "swinging on the trapeze of modern commerce" and that few spots remained that were "free from exploitation."[48] While in Maine in his late career, he lived largely in places outside the more populated tourist meccas, for example the small

fishing village of Cores. It might then seem ironic that Hartley produced a painting like *Lobster on Black Background* so closely allied with tourist iconography. But Hartley was not immune to the appeal of tourism in Maine. Cores is located only a short drive north of the resort area of Bar Harbor, and Hartley himself was drawn to the popular attractions Old Orchard Beach and Mt. Katahdin. Such sites, particularly the latter one, were as much identified with the region's past as with its tourist present.

In 1939, the year that Hartley trekked to Katahdin, the Bangor and Aroostook Railroad's promotional magazine, *In the Maine Woods*, published Myron H. Avery's essay "Katahdin: Its History," which addressed the mountain's many pasts—its place in Native American legends, the period of European explorations and survey mapping, the history of lumber operations, and the more recent establishment of sporting camps and Baxter State Park. The Katahdin landscape offered a picture, "as in a museum, of the most characteristic feature of the Maine Woods," with the ruined dams and decaying lumber camps a "memorial," "a tribute to a glorious past."[89] Katahdin's place in American artistic and literary history was a recurrent topic for commentators too. One article in the 1940 issue of *In the Maine Woods* reported on the visual artists who had ventured to Katahdin, the "great American Landscape School of the last century," including Frederic E. Church, the "master painter of Katahdin." Quoting from an article about Church's 1877 expedition, it speaks of his attraction to the view of the mountain from Katahdin Lake's southern shore and reproduces several of Church's paintings showing this vista.[90] Also frequently mentioned in such literature was Henry David Thoreau, the most famous literary chronicler of the area with *The Maine Woods* (1864), which recorded the author's trips to Katahdin and the Moosehead Lake region in 1846, 1853, and 1857.

This history of Katahdin shaped Hartley's perception of the mountain and its importance in regional identity. He recognized the Native American associations of this mountain. An admirer of the folklorist Fannie Hardy Eckstorm, he undoubtedly knew her *Katahdin Legends* (1924), a collection of the Katahdin myths based on oral histories of the Penobscot Indians, since the Pamola legend—Eckstorm's particular focus in this text—figured in Hartley's essay recounting the adventures of a boy lost on the mountain.[91] Thoreau

Figure 14
Frederic Edwin Church
Mt. Ktaadn, 1853
Oil on canvas, 36⅛ × 55⅞ in. (92.1 × 140.3 cm)
Yale University Art Gallery
Stanley B. Resor, B.A. 1901, Fund

Katahdin As Seen By Bangor Painter

This view of Mount Katahdin was painted by Marsden Hartley, American artist who was born in Lewiston, Maine, and who for the winter months is in Bangor as an instructor for the Bangor Society of Art.

Mr. Hartley, after years in Paris, Munich and New York has returned to his native state and is again painting mountain, shore and forest. He has made a wide reputation as an artist, and the Art society feels fortunate in having him this winter as an instructor in painting and sketch classes.

Mr. Hartley stands beside his canvas.

Figure 15
"Katahdin as Seen by Bangor Painter"
Bangor Daily News, February 8, 1940
Marsden Hartley Scrapbook
Yale Collection of American Literature
Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library
Yale University, New Haven

Figure 16
Marsden Hartley
Old Man in a Rocking Chair, 1908
Graphite on paper, mounted on cardboard, 12 × 8⅞ in. (30.5 × 22.7 cm)
Frederick R. Weisman Art Museum, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis
Bequest of Hudson Walker from the Ione and Hudson Walker Collection

Figure 17
Marsden Hartley
Old Maid Mending, c. 1908
Pencil on paper, 12 × 8½ in. (30.5 × 22.2 cm)
The Brooklyn Museum
Gift of John and Paul Herring in memory of Mr. and Mrs. H. Lawrence Herring

in Hartley's mind, was also tied to Katahdin. Because of *The Maine Woods*, he wrote, "the name of Ktaadn can of course never be spoken alone—because Henry has immortalized himself in relation to that mountain for all time."[51] While Hartley did not speak of Church in the same terms, he was probably aware of his predecessor's Katahdin paintings. Hartley claims his own role as Katahdin recorder by stating that no other artist had portrayed the mountain from the exact spot he had, from Cobb's Camp on the southern shore of Katahdin Lake, a vantage point that took in the dramatic view of Katahdin's pyramidal cone, even though it was similar to the one preferred by Church (fig. 14).[52] Hartley's Katahdin paintings like *Mount Katahdin, Autumn No. 2* (plate 91) compress and flatten the space and simplify the scene into horizontally layered forms—lake, woods, mountain, sky and clouds, with a tall Maine pine at the base. The silhouette of the mountain's granite top stands as a monument of sorts to the region—its ancient geology, Native American myths, Thoreau's great text—just as the boulders did in Hartley's Dogtown paintings (plate 46).

Hartley's Katahdin trip can be attributed to his lifelong attraction to mountains as sacred natural monuments, and, indeed, his pilgrimage was a deeply personal experience. But his Katahdin paintings, like his seascapes, were bound to regional art, literature, and history and, as such, can be understood as part of his campaign to promote himself as a Maine artist. Katahdin's wilds shaped perceptions of Maine; for many, it was Maine. *In the Maine Woods* often characterized Katahdin as the symbol and site of the Maine wilderness, a locale of "rugged beauty," "the mountain of the people of Maine."[54] Hartley saw it as "the great image of our native state" and the "very axis by which the whole of life turns in the north region which it dominates so majestically."[55] He sought to join his identity with the mountain: "I must put myself on record as having [painted Katahdin]…. I have elected myself official portrait painter…. I must get that Mt. for future reason of fame and success."[56] Katahdin was essential to Hartley's quest for a new reputation as a regional artist both in New York and in Maine, and he was photographed as a Maine woodsman in a flannel shirt next to one of his Katahdin paintings in the *Bangor Daily News* (fig. 15) to make it clear that, like Thoreau, he had "immortalized" himself in relation to this mountain.

In this photograph Hartley presents himself as a native to his fellow Mainers, as one of the Maine folk, a figure identified with the region and its past. The Maine folk were, in Hartley's words, an "all but vanished race," yet they offered a vision of the future, of a regenerated race and region, as well:

> *There is surface variation in types at this time, since foreigners have come in, the French coming down from Canada have assumed the new movements, there are many Finns and Swedes up and down the coast, some Portuguese, for all or nearly all of these people are of sea origin and so cling to any coast for natural reasons, and the fusion of Yankee with these various bloods produces a fine new type with viking appearances, and Yankee behaviors.*[57]

These new Yankees, pictured in works like *Down East Young Blades* (plate 85) and *Lobster Fishermen* (plate 88), were mostly male, often golden-haired and blue-eyed with suntanned bodies, expansive chests, and large hands signifying their labor. With their looming, blocky, physical forms, they sharply contrast with the feeble, effeminate types that stood for the region in Hartley's earlier figure drawings like *Old Man in a Rocking Chair* (fig. 16) and *Old Maid Mending* (fig. 17) and in his earlier poetic images of the spinster's "wiry hands" and the virginal male bookworm whose white hands were "not made for work" and "never redden[ed] with their own incision in the flesh of proud experience."[58] The rectangular torsos and arms, blunt lines, and chiseled features of the young blades

Figure 18
Unknown, Photographer
Peasant Theater, Partenkirchen, Bavaria
Bates College Museum of Art, Lewiston, Maine

create the effect that they are part of the granite, rockbound New England landscape. Such paintings of the Maine fisherfolk as masculine, as a new type or race, were shaped by numerous representations of the folk on both sides of the Atlantic and in both the United States and Canada. This subject shows that Hartley's regional imagery was not provincial but drew from sources and experiences both in Maine and beyond.

Ideas about the folk as manly and as the source of racial and national identity were common in early-twentieth-century German culture. In the context of rapid industrialization and rising nationalism in Wilhelmine Germany, the rural peasant was hailed as the embodiment of a traditional, pre-modern culture and of the German nation and race. Julius Langbehn's book *Rembrandt as Educator* (1890), for example, called for the recovery of so-called German virtues—simplicity, subjectivity, individuality—possessed by the *volk* and argued for a new German art grounded in the peasantry and modeled after Wilhelm Leibl's genre paintings.[59] This book was popular among the many artists who flocked to rural colonies throughout Germany, from Worpswede to Nidden, and its theories influenced Nazi politics and aesthetics in the 1930s and 1940s. For the Nazis, Germany had been corrupted by foreigners and their cultural products, and the peasant—genuine, simple, natural—was heralded as the opposite of these external contaminants and the source of racial purity and social regeneration.

Spending time in Germany throughout his career, Hartley encountered these *volkisch* ideas. An admirer of Langbehn's model painter, he saw the Leibl paintings whenever he visited the Hamburg Kunsthalle, and, for him, they had a refreshing wholeness, a conservatism, simplicity, frankness, and authenticity.[60] Hartley was also intrigued by the emergent Nazi culture during his visit to Germany in 1933–34 when the Party was already staging pageants that celebrated the German peasant as the ideal Aryan. Although he was not a Nazi ideologue or strident fascist supporter and later criticized the regime, Hartley's political naïveté along with certain intellectual predilections and discomforts about society—an uneasiness about modernity, an elitist anxiety about the urban lower classes, a concern about racial and national impurities, an admiration for occult mysticism and idealism, and a reverence for the folk—initially made this movement interesting to him.[61]

Based in Garmisch-Partenkirchen in the Bavarian Alps in the early 1930s, Hartley studied the cultural products of the German folk such as the violin-making museum of Mittenwald, the wooden religious shrines along Alpine walkways, the site of the Passion Play in Oberammergau, and the Peasant Theater in Partenkirchen (fig. 18). He worked with the German peasant as subject matter in at least one drawing (fig. 19) and wrote about the people as the primitive Other, as simple and natural.[62] As antimodern ideals, the folk moreover preserved traditional gender roles, and Hartley saw the German peasant in this way, as representing not only a Nordic ideal but an authentic masculinity, as in his description of a young Alpine peasant sitting on a bench in the sun:

Figure 19
Marsden Hartley
Untitled [Woman in German Peasant Costume], date unkown
Pen and black ink on paper, 5¾ × 3¾ in. (14.6 × 9.5 cm)
Marsden Hartley Memorial Collection
© Bates College Museum of Art, Lewiston, Maine
Photograph by Melville McLean

> *This young man is of magnificent build, . . . he might satisfy any nordic legend as to his overwhelming golden appearance. He is a champagne blonde, so that you would guess him to be Scandinavia [sic] or Finnish, save that he does not as in the latter have high-cheek bones.*
>
> *He is very wide and thick, . . . he is as brown as a guerrero indian where the sun has burned his creamy flesh and where the sun has not penetrated, the colour is almost girlishly fair.*
>
> *Being spread out like this on the bench, legs spread wide apart is of course narcissistic, and he wants the world to know of his masculinity.*[63]

Such portrayals of the German folk that eroticize the male body can be seen as expressions of Hartley's homosexuality, but they also helped him appraise his own native region and its inhabitants. While still in Germany, he compared the German and North Atlantic people: Canada had the "warmth of the Bavarian nature and character," and the "Hamburg type" with its "almost Anglo-Saxon style and look" was "quite like my own New England in its outer behavior."[64] In his eyes, Germany was "much the same latitude as that in which I was born, and the racial life of the place here is so much second nature to me that I hardly sense it. . . . But I am all for the North now as symbol and as actually [*sic*]."[65] Here and elsewhere in his letters and writings, Hartley described a link between the European northerners (Germans) and American northerners (Canadians, Mainers) as all belonging to the northern race.[66] His late paintings of the North Atlantic folk established these bonds too, as the central figure in *Down East Young Blades* wears an Alpine hat and Bavarian boiled wool jacket (not unlike the one in fig. 18) along with typical Maine fishing attire (blue jeans, boots).[67] That he made such connections is undoubtedly due to the fact that German representations of the folk resembled those in Nova Scotia and Maine.

The Nova Scotia folk, one of the major selling points of the province, were often pictured in tourist literature as having retained "the pleasing simplicity that marked the lives of their ancestors" and "many century-old customs."[68] As historian Ian McKay has demonstrated, by the 1930s, the fisherfolk were "unquestionably the key Nova Scotians in the tourist gaze."[69] Wallace MacAskill's photographs of physically vigorous fishermen were often reproduced in tourist brochures (fig. 20) and, through such pictures, the province came to be seen as a masculine domain. Early-twentieth-century regional literature advanced an identical image. In the 1928 novel *Rockbound* by Frank Parker Day, who wrote about the Lunenburg area close to where Hartley stayed in Nova Scotia in 1935 and 1936, the islanders are courageous, rugged individuals with a masculine power: the main character, David Jung, survives treacherous ocean storms, and Gershom Borg is described as a "blond Viking," a "blue-eyed giant."[70]

Figure 20
Wallace R. MacAskill
Son of the Sea, 1937
Out of Halifax: A Collection of Sea Pictures
(New York: Derrydale Press, 1937)

Louis Hémon's *Maria Chapdelaine: A Tale of the Lake St. John Country* (1921), a novel Hartley claimed he was never without, portrayed the rural French Canadians in that Québec region as hardy, simple, natural, religious, and in opposition to modern city dwellers, particularly those in the United States.[71] This novel also addressed the preservation of French-Canadian heritage: "So that, it may be, many centuries hence the world will look upon us and say:—These people are of a race that know not how to perish."[72] While western Canada was viewed at this time as an ethnic and racial melting pot, the eastern maritime provinces were considered a locale where the old stock survived and resisted change. Maine possessed similar racial qualities according to many commentators. As early as 1909, one writer for *In the Maine Woods* claimed the northern woods as the "dwelling place of the Anglo-Saxon race," while later publications argued that the state's isolation and resistance to modernity (considered positive qualities by disillusioned urbanites) produced a pure race and helped to retain its Yankee base—the vision of a Maine still dominated by the Yankees that Hartley shared.[73]

Hartley admired Charles C. West's *Sketches of Camp Life in the Wilds of the Aroostook Woods* (1892) and Fannie Hardy Eckstorm's *The Penobscot Man* (1904), both of which documented the lives of the northern Maine woodsmen and presented "real" Mainers like Joe Attien (Thoreau's Indian guide) and the lumberjack Larry Connor as rugged and manly. Eckstorm's book, in Hartley's estimation, had a "wealth of rich data pertaining to Maine life among the indian trappers and lumber folks," the "fine Maine types," who epitomized masculinity with their "stern granite obstinacy."[74] The hardy people who worked in the woods and lived close to the soil and sea were also the focus of the new school of Maine

Figure 21
William Harnden Foster
The Moose Hunter, 1921
L. L. Bean Catalogue cover, Fall 1925
Original painting in L.L. Bean, Inc., Corporate Collection

Figure 22
Winslow Homer
Winter Coast, 1890
Oil on canvas, 36⅛ × 51⅞ in. (91.8 × 80.5 cm)
Philadelphia Museum of Art
John G. Johnson Collection
Photograph by Eric Mitchell, 1986

writers in the 1930s—Kenneth Roberts, Gladys Hasty Carroll, Rachel Field, Mary Ellen Chase, Robert P. Tristram Coffin—with whom Hartley was familiar.[75] Like West, Eckstorm, and this new school, Hartley wrote about the northern woodsmen in his late essays and poems—"Wesley Adams—Maine Trapper," which describes the "tall and brawny," "broad-boned" woodsman whom Hartley knew when he stayed in the western Maine mountains in the first decade of the century, and "Maine Mountain Man," which imagines a woodsman "one size larger" than Hartley with trees and rock ledges as arms and legs.[76] This sturdy, blocky masculine type also appeared in Hartley's painting *Young Hunter Hearing Call to Arms* (Kornhauser fig. 19), and was featured in the tourist literature as well. Sinclair Lewis's 1922 novel *Babbitt* exemplified the way that the state was perceived in the eyes of outside visitors, in the character of George F. Babbitt, a real estate man, who vacationed in a Maine hunting camp because he wanted to "go off some place and be able to hear [him]self think . . . Maine . . . Wear old pants, and loaf, and cuss." He was able not only to escape the modern city in the woods but to recover his masculinity: sitting on a stump and watching his guide Joe Paradise prepare his breakfast, he "felt virile"; he was "free, in a man's world."[77] This manly Maine was aggressively marketed by state tourist agencies and spoke to a male audience, to the Babbitts of America. One brochure boasted that businessmen could return to rural life to escape the city, gain control of their lives and work, and be part of a community, while young college men with their "pioneer spirit" could move to the country "not as cogs in some great industrial enterprise, but as individuals expressing themselves in their own way."[78] L. L. Bean catalogue covers pitched the image of man-against-the-elements and presented Maine as a place for a man to test his mettle, as in William Harnden Foster's *The Moose Hunter*, which appeared on the 1925 catalogue (fig. 21).

The tourist image of the rugged Maine folk, from the manly guides, sportsmen, and woodsmen to the adventurous fishermen, was also pictured by the many artists who came to the state at the turn of the century and into the early decades of the twentieth century. Foremost among them was Winslow Homer, who promoted what Sarah Burns has called a "strenuous life" regionalism in his paintings of the Maine coast and the northern wilderness at the same time that this region was becoming a premier place for summer resorts (a process that Homer himself participated in). Prout's Neck, Maine, in *Winter Coast* (fig. 22), is transformed into a wilderness frontier, a primitive landscape of snow-covered rock ledge and twisted driftwood, inhabited by a lone hunter armed with a rifle and carrying the spoils of his excursion. In such works, Homer created a region of muscular power, vigorous health, and masculine energy that served an audience of urban businessmen in search of renewal.[79]

Following Homer to Maine, the New York realists, led by Robert Henri, translated their anthropological researches of the urban working-class to the rural working-class folk, especially the fishermen on Monhegan Island, who represented something that had been lost by the middle-class urban artists. Rockwell Kent described the Monhegan fishermen as "hardy," "horny-handed sons of toil"[80] and painted them in works like *The Seiners* (fig. 23) engaged in hard physical labor, not the so-called feminine work of the artist or city office workers. Another Henri student, Carl Sprinchorn, who was Hartley's long-time friend and who worked in Maine in the late 1930s and early 1940s, portrayed the Maine woodsmen in a similar manner. For him, lumberjacks on a river drive, with their parti-colored garments, slanted hats, and wet trousers (often slit up the sides for comfort), set "the woods aflame" with "lusty virility."[81] Echoing Babbitt's sentiments, Sprinchorn defined hunting as a male activity, "confined to a circle of 'good' fellows,"[82] and the men in his *Two Hunters* (fig. 24) show off not only their gleaming attire but their sturdy physiques.

Figure 23
Rockwell Kent
The Seiners, 1910–13
Oil on canvas, 34⅝ × 43⅝ in. (88 × 110.5 cm)
Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden
Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.
Gift of the Joseph H. Hirshhorn Foundation, 1966

Figure 24
Carl Sprinchorn
Two Hunters (Waiting at Ted Crommett's for Tote Team), c. 1941
Colored crayon on paper, 14⅛ × 9½ in. (36 × 24.1 cm)
Marsden Hartley Memorial Collection
© Bates College Museum of Art, Lewiston, Maine
Photograph by Melville McLean

Hartley's Maine fisherfolk, despite their distinctiveness, are part of this early-twentieth-century artistic lineage. In *Down East Young Blades* (plate 85), Hartley worked in a unique style, rough, sketchy, and expressive, and presented his figures with awkward proportions frontally and iconically, not laboring but holding signs of their labor. This bold technique itself was read as "virile," "all strength and sinew," with a "masculine, well-defined bluntness."[83] One critic explained that Hartley, like Homer before him, painted the "rigorous, relentless, and indomitable" Maine coast and "his idea of [its] formidable strength":

> *The huge granite monoliths which he piles one on top of the other in a mass towering against the sea, are so effectively painted in chalky whites and outlined in contrasting blacks that, were they taken from their particular pictorial content, they should still, by the character of their forms, express the inherent qualities of brutal force.*[84]

This masculine style with its force and strength was ideal for Hartley to use in painting the Maine folk—a subject imagined as manly at this time. The figures in *Down East Young Blades* and *Lobster Fishermen* (plate 88) bear a family resemblance to representations of the folk, both written and visual, in Germany, Canada, and Maine, from the manly male figures displaying their bodies in Sprinchorn's painting to the blue-eyed giants in Day's *Rockbound* and the suntanned, sensual German peasant. It was not just the visual qualities but the idea of the folk that Hartley drew from these varied sources. The cultural way of seeing the folk—as masculine, as a vital race—shaped the way that he viewed and represented the Maine fishermen. His Mainers were a "fine new type," a strong race, not the shriveled up Puritan spinsters and old men of an earlier New England. They were new Yankees.

By picturing these new Yankees, Hartley participated in New England regionalism and advanced its goal of recasting the region's image. His paintings of the manly folk, the rockbound coast, and Katahdin gave vision to a fresh regional identity, a vision of a society "founded on granite." It was a region not in decay (as earlier pictured) but vital and populated by those who embodied the physical qualities of place (rocky, rugged). These solid, hardy people were shaped by New England's harsh geography. As Hartley himself

wrote, "The opulent rigidity of this north country . . . produces a simple unaffected [illegible] and with it a kind of stark poetry exudes from their behaviours, that hardiness of [illegible] and frank earnestness of approach."[85] These people survived the trials of their environment but had also survived the trials of their past, and their history is a constant present in Hartley's late work. He did not deal with the region's history in a sentimental or anecdotal fashion but rather poetically evoked this past by selecting subjects and even a style filled with historical regional associations.

Hartley's paintings, moreover, combined both the regional and the modern. Writing in 1940 in the *Boston Globe*, Lucien Price noted this negotiation between the new style and common themes when he proclaimed Hartley a native, "one of our own Yankees painting in extremely modern style landscape and people familiar to us."[86] Indeed, Hartley achieved at the end of his career notoriety as a Yankee artist, a Maine painter—a localized glory within the state and in New York art circles as well. Even as late as 1952, his fame as a regional artist was heralded by *Life* magazine in a posthumous spread entitled "Marsden Hartley: Fame Finally Catches Up to Poet-Painter of Maine." The article emphasized Hartley's identity as a Maine artist, claiming that "his life began and ended [in Maine] and most of his time was devoted to painting and writing about its mountains, gulls, and stormy coastal regions."[87] It is this reputation that still survives among Maine art audiences today as Hartley's paintings of the coast, Katahdin, and the folk remain powerful images of regional identity and the glory of the local.

Notes

1 Hartley to Norma Berger, 16 April 1940, Beinecke/Yale.

2 Hartley to Norma Berger, 20 April 1936, Beinecke/Yale, and Hartley to Adelaide Kuntz, 28 April 1936, McCausland Papers, Archives/Smithsonian, roll X4.

3 Hartley to Norma Berger, 27 May and 31 August 1937, Beinecke/Yale. See Donna M. Cassidy "'On the Subject of Nativeness': Marsden Hartley and New England Regionalism," *Winterthur Portfolio* 29, no. 4 (1994): 225–45, for a discussion of Hartley and regionalism. It is ironic that Alfred Stieglitz, Hartley's longtime patron who had promoted "Americanness" in modern art for years and who had urged Hartley to ground himself in a native locale, no longer represented Hartley in the late 1930s.

4 On regionalism, see Robert L. Dorman, *The Revolt of the Provinces: The Regionalist Movement in America, 1920–1945* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993), and Michael C. Steiner, "Regionalism in the Great Depression," *Geographical Review* 73 (October 1983): 430–46.

5 See, for example, Thomas Craven, *Modern Art: The Men, The Movements, The Meaning* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1934).

6 James M. Dennis, *Renegade Regionalists: The Modern Independence of Grant Wood, Thomas Hart Benton, and John Steuart Curry* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1998), 173–96, and Erika Doss, *Benton, Pollock and the Politics of Modernism: From Regionalism to Abstract Expressionism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), 10–12, 98.

7 Wanda M. Corn, *The Great American Thing: Modern Art and National Identity, 1915–1935* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1999), 3–40. Also see Celeste Connor, *Democratic Visions: Art and Theory of the Stieglitz Circle, 1924–1934* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2001), 63, 97–105, on the Stieglitz circle, cultural nationalism, and region.

8 Paul Rosenfeld, *Port of New York: Essays on Fourteen American Moderns* (1924; reprint, Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1966), 168, 53. See Connor, *Democratic Visions*, 42–50, and Corn, *The Great American Thing*, 4–9, on the importance of this text for the Stieglitz circle.

9 Rosenfeld, *Port of New York*, 89, 100.

10 Craven, *Modern Art*, 312.

11 Elizabeth McCausland, "Stieglitz and the American Tradition," in *America and Alfred Stieglitz: A Collective Portrait*, ed. Waldo Frank, Lewis Mumford, Dorothy Norman, Paul Rosenfeld, and Harold Rugg (New York: Literary Guild, 1934), 229.

12 For a discussion of regionalism, place, and O'Keeffe's art, see Connor, *Democratic Visions*, 188–93; Corn, *The Great American Thing*, 78–81; and Sharyn Rohlfsen Udall, *Carr, O'Keeffe, Kahlo: Places of Their Own* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2000), 47–63.

13 See *Letters of John Marin*, ed. and intro. Herbert J. Seligmann (1931; reprint, Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1970), and "John Marin, American Artist," *Design* 38 (December 1936): 8 and Rosenfeld, *Port of New York*, 162, for example.

14 Hartley to Alfred Stieglitz, 11 November 1931, Beinecke/Yale. Also see Marsden Hartley, "A Note on John Marin, and His Ideas," in *John Marin: Watercolors, Oil Paintings, Etchings* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1936), 15–18.

15 "Yankee" has a fluid meaning, having variously been used to define Americans (especially in an international context), northerners (as during the Civil War), and New Englanders and, more specifically, northern New Englanders (as in the 1930s.

16 Bernard DeVoto, "New England: There She Stands," *Harper's*, March 1932; reprinted in

Bernard DeVoto, *Forays and Rebuttals* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1936), 138–39.

17 See Barbara Melosh, *Engendering Culture: Manhood and Womanhood in New Deal Public Art and Theater* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991), 237, 243–44, 247, 256, 258, and Marlene Park and Gerald E. Markowitz, *Democratic Vistas: Post Offices and Public Art in the New Deal* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1984), 69–73.

18 Van Wyck Brooks, *The Flowering of New England* (1936; New York: E. P. Dutton, 1952), 7.

19 DeVoto, "New England: There She Stands," 142, 145–46, 156.

20 On this idea of northern New England as the region's center, see Cassidy, "On the Subject of Nativeness," 232, and William H. Truettner, "Small-Town America," in *Picturing Old New England: Image and Memory*, ed. William H. Truettner and Roger B. Stein (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, and Washington, D.C.: National Museum of American Art, 1999), 111–41.

21 See Joseph A. Conforti, *Imagining New England: Exploration of Regional Identity from the Pilgrims to the Mid-Twentieth Century* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001), 287–309, on *Yankee* magazine, and William F. Robinson, *A Certain Slant of Light: The First Hundred Years of New England Photography* (Boston: New York Graphic Society, 1980), 186–91, and Truettner, "Small-Town America," 119–22, 129, 135–37, on the Farm Security Administration in New England.

22 See William Graebner, "Norman Rockwell and American Mass Culture: The Crisis of Representation in the Great Depression," *Prospects* 22 (1997): 323–56; Robert L. McGrath, *Paul Sample: Painter of the American Scene* (Hanover, N.H.: Hood Museum of Art, and University Press of New England, 1988); and Truettner, "Small-Town America," 111–41.

23 See Conforti, *Imagining New England*, 267–87, and John C. Kemp, *Robert Frost and New England: The Poet as Regionalist* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979).

24 Robert P. Tristram Coffin, *New Poetry of New England: Frost and Robinson* (1938; reprint, New York: Russell and Russell, 1964), 1.

25 *The Triad Anthology of New England Verse* (Portland, Maine: Falmouth Book House, 1938), 15.

26 See video tape of Dorothy Jenkins (former director of Maine WPA), University of Southern Maine, Gorham; for sample references to Robinson and Frost, see Hartley to Rebecca Strand, October 1928, McCausland Papers, Archives/Smithsonian, roll X3, and Marsden Hartley, "Nothing But Rain and Visitors—The Going Out of Edwin Arlington Robinson," n.d., Beinecke/Yale (Archives/Smithsonian, roll 1368, frames 1124–25); and for references to Coffin, see Hartley to Alfred Stieglitz, 25 July 1937, Stieglitz/O'Keeffe Archive, and Hartley to Norma Berger, 31 August 1937, Beinecke/Yale.

27 See Marsden Hartley, "New England Painting and Painters," c. 1936, Beinecke/Yale (Archives/Smithsonian, roll 1369, frame 1816).

28 Robert P. Tristram Coffin, *Kennebec: Cradle of Americans* (New York and Toronto: Farrar and Rinehart, 1937), 280.

29 Hartley to Rebecca Strand, 18 June 1937, and Hartley to Adelaide Kuntz, n.d. [1937], McCausland Papers, Archives/Smithsonian, roll X3 and roll X4.

30 *Adventures*, 38.

31 Marsden Hartley, "Eakins, Homer, Ryder [1930]," in *On Art*, 171–73.

32 Marsden Hartley, "The Six Greatest New England Painters," *Yankee* 3 (August 1937): 14–16; and idem, "On the Subject of Nativeness—A Tribute to Maine," in *Marsden Hartley: Exhibition of Recent Paintings, 1916* (New York: An American Place, 1937).

33 Hartley, "Six Greatest New England Painters," 15.

34 Ibid., 14–16.

35 Marsden Hartley, "Somehow a Past: Prologue to Imaginative Living," in *Autobiography*, 67.

36 See Marsden Hartley, "A. P. Ryder, 'The sight that never was,'" c. 1929, p. 3, Beinecke/Yale (Archives/Smithsonian, roll 1368, frame 789). Also see Marsden Hartley, "Melville," in *Sea Burial* (Portland, Maine: Leon Tebbetts Editions, 1941), 36. In *The Flowering of New England*, Brooks ranks Melville with Emerson, Thoreau, and Hawthorne as a leading New England author.

37 Bruce Robertson, *Reckoning with Winslow Homer: His Late Paintings and Their Influence* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, and Cleveland: Cleveland Museum of Art, 1990), 158–64.

38 See, for example, "Philadelphia Shows Homer, the Individualist," *Art Digest* 10 (1 June 1936): 37. There was also a show at Homer's Maine studio from 18 July to 2 August 1936.

39 Marsden Hartley, "New England Painting and Painters," Beinecke/Yale (Archives/Smithsonian, roll 1369, frame 1822).

40 *Maine: The Land of Remembered Vacations* (Augusta: Maine Development Commission, 1935), n.p.

41 Marsden Hartley, "This Country of Maine," c. 1937–38, Beinecke/Yale (Archives/Smithsonian, roll 1371, frame 3444). Also see the poems dedicated to these schooners: "From Wiscasset to Pemaquid," in Marsden Hartley, *Androscoggin* (Portland, Maine: Falmouth Publishing House, 1940), 26; "New Ruins," in *Collected Poems*, 192; and "Forsaken Ships," n.d., Beinecke/Yale (Archives/Smithsonian, roll 1371, frame 3983).

42 Hartley to Helen Stein, 10 September 1939, Stein Papers, Archives/Smithsonian.

43 Marsden Hartley, "New England Notations," after 1936, p. 6, Beinecke/Yale (Archives/Smithsonian, roll 1370, frame 2734). He earlier praised the art at the East India Marine Museum in "The Virtues of Amateur Painting," in *Adventures*, 136.

44 Hartley, "On the Subject of Nativeness," 5. He exhibited a work, *Young Lobster*, at An American Place in 1937. For a discussion of the lobster and regional identity, see George H. Lewis, "The Maine Lobster as Regional Icon: Competing Images over Time and Social Class," *Food and Foodways* 3 (1984): 303–16, and Kathleen Sheu, "Regionalism on the Roadside: The Evolution of Route 1, Kittery to Portland, 1919–1942" (M.A. thesis, American and New England Studies Program, University of Southern Maine, forthcoming).

45 Marsden Hartley, "Arrowhead and Chimehill," n.d., Beinecke/Yale (Archives/Smithsonian, roll 1371, frame 3830).

46 *Maine Sea Foods* (Augusta: Maine Development Commission, 1939).

47 See Michele H. Bogart, *Artists, Advertising, and the Borders of Art* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 137–43, on modernism and consumer images.

48 Marsden Hartley, "New England on the Trapeze," *Creative Art* 8 (February 1931): supp. 17.

49 Myron H. Avery, "Katahdin: Its History," *In the Maine Woods* (1939): 25.

50 Myron H. Avery, "Artists and Katahdin," *In the Maine Woods* (1940): 13, 18.

51 See Fannie Hardy Eckstorm, *The Indian Legends of Mount Katahdin* (Boston: Appalachian Mountain Club, 1924), copy in the Maine State Library, Augusta; and Marsden Hartley, "The Story of the Little Boy Lost on Ktaadn," c. late 1930s–early 1940s, Beinecke/Yale (Archives/Smithsonian, roll 1369, frame 2176).

52 Marsden Hartley, "Peter Doyle and the Whitman Group," n.d., Beinecke/Yale (Archives/Smithsonian, roll 1369, frame 2209). He refers to Thoreau's The Maine Woods in several essays—"Ktaadn, or the Love of a Mountain," n.d.; "Fanny [*sic*] Hardy Eckstorm, Penobscot Man," n.d.; and "Camp Life in the Aroostook Woods by Charles C. West," c. 1939, Beinecke/Yale (Archives/Smithsonian, roll 1369, frame 2211; roll 1371, frame 3750; and roll 1369, frames 1394–95). Thoreau's identity as an important New Englander and part of transcendentalism (considered the apex of both regional and national culture) was also advanced in period texts like Mumford's *The Golden Day*, Brooks's *The Flowering of New England*, and Matthiessen's *American Renaissance*.

53 Hartley wrote, for example: "It 'compares' beautifully, especially at the Ktaadn Lake end which is a picture made to order for the painter, and as far as I know I am the only painter who has ever painted it." See Marsden Hartley, "Be That as It May," 1941, Beinecke/Yale (Archives/Smithsonian, roll 1369, frame 2210). He also wrote: "Came out with four paintings of Ktaadn which I am now finishing—the first artist to paint the mountain there." See Hartley to Norma Berger, 6 January 1940, Beinecke/Yale.

54 Cecil Johnson, "The Joys of the Maine Woods," *In the Maine Woods* (1935): 116, and Wilfrid A. Hennessy, "Baxter Park at Mt. Katahdin," *In the Maine Woods* (1933): 34.

55 Hartley, "Be That as It May," Beinecke/Yale

(Archives/Smithsonian, roll 1368, frame 1080).

78 Hartley to Helen Stein, 19 September 1933, Stein Papers, Archives/Smithsonian.

79 Marsden Hartley, "This Little City," in Androscoggin, 22; and Hartley, "The Country of Maine," Beinecke/Yale (Archives/Smithsonian, roll 1371, frame 3247).

80 Marsden Hartley, *Painter-Poet Poetic Poetic* (Jonas Publishing Co., 1936), 36, 54. Hartley did not complete, abandon the New England version in addition to his late paintings and, for example, Mollusoid Sites Cards collection of Chris Huntington and *Ring and Rock*, Stained Vessels (1939–40, Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden). Both of these works are smaller in size than those of the latter group.

81 On Yellow Langholm, see Peter Richard Horn, *The Politics of Culture (Again): A Study in the Rise of the Germanic Ideology* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1968), 97–180, and, on the construct of the folk, see Ian McKay, *The Quest of the Folk: Antimodernism and Cultural Selection in Twentieth-Century Nova Scotia* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1994).

82 See Marsden Hartley, "Wilhelm Leibl," c. late 1930s, pp. 1–3, Beinecke/Yale (Archives/Smithsonian, roll 1368, frames 1080–31).

83 For a more extensive discussion of Hartley and Nazism, see Donna M. Cassidy, "Marsden Hartley's North Atlantic Folk: Constructing the Northern Race and the New American," in *Ceremonies and Spectacles: Performing American Culture*, ed. Teresa F. A. Alves, Teresa Cid, and Heinz Ickstadt (Amsterdam: VU University Press, 2000), 333–47; Ludington, 228–29; and Weinberg, 173–74.

84 See Hartley to Adelaide Kuntz, 17 and 22 July, 7 September, and 4 November 1933, McCausland Papers, Archives/Smithsonian, roll X4; Marsden Hartley, "The Sleeping Violins of Mittenwald," c. 1933–34, pp. 1–5, Beinecke/Yale (Archives/Smithsonian, roll 1371, frames 3411–15); idem, "The Peasant Theatre of Bavaria," c. 1933–34, Beinecke/Yale (Archives/Smithsonian, roll 1369, frames 1970–71); and idem, "Oberammergau Kept Its Promise Again," c. 1933–34, Beinecke/Yale (Archives/Smithsonian, roll 1369, frames 1618–19). On Hartley's description of the German folk as the primitive Other, see, for example, Hartley to Adelaide Kuntz, 12 and 22 July 1933, McCausland Papers, Archives/Smithsonian, roll X4.

85 Marsden Hartley, "The Eight Capucines," c. 1933–34, p. 3, Beinecke/Yale (Archives/Smithsonian, roll 1368, frame 89).

86 Hartley to Adelaide Kuntz, 19 July 1933, McCausland Papers, Archives/Smithsonian, roll X4, and Hartley to Edith Halpert, 12 July 1933, excerpted in Garnett McCoy, ed., "Letters from Germany, 1933–38," *Archives of American Art Journal* 25, nos. 1–2 (1985): 7–8.

87 Hartley to Adelaide Kuntz, 22–23 July 1933, McCausland Papers, Archives/Smithsonian, roll X4.

88 Hartley wrote, for example, of northerners in "On the Subject of Nativeness," 3.

89 Also see *Young Hunter Hearing Call to Arms* (1914, Carnegie Museum of Art) for this mixing of Maine and German folk dress. I want to thank Carol Doak Kvam (curator of costumes and textiles at the Wadsworth Atheneum) and Ingrid Lindh (curatorial assistant) for their help in reading the attire in these paintings.

90 Anne Scott, *Canada's Ocean Playground* (Halifax: Bureau of Information, Government of Nova Scotia, 1935), 3.

91 McKay, *Quest of the Folk*, 180.

92 Frank Parker Day, *Rockbound* (1928; reprint, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1989), 65, 85, 98.

93 Hartley called Louis Hémon's novel "one of the finest in any language" and claimed he was never without it; see Hartley to Adelaide Kuntz, 12 July 1933, McCausland Papers, Archives/Smithsonian, roll X4, and Marsden Hartley, "Marguerite Andoux and her Marie Claire," n.d., Beinecke/Yale (Archives/Smithsonian, roll 1369, frame 1984). Hartley was also familiar with the novels of his friend the Nova Scotian writer Frank Davison/Pierre Coalfleet, and he admired William Henry Drummond's poetry, which portrayed the people of rural Québec.

94 Louis Hémon, *Maria Chapdelaine: A Tale of the Lake St. John Country* (1921; reprint, New York: Modern Library, 1934), 282–83.

95 Dr. J. Madison Taylor, "The Maine Woods as a Health Resort," *In the Maine Woods* (1909): 35. Hartley's description of the "fine new types" in Maine included an admission of ethnic mixing, but it maintained that the Yankeeness (features and behaviors) dominated in the mixing process.

96 Marsden Hartley, "Camp Life in the Aroostook Woods—by Charles C. West," Beinecke/Yale (Archives/Smithsonian, roll 1369, frames 1393–94); Fannie Hardy Eckstorm, *The Penobscot Man* (1904; reprint, La Grosse, Wisc.: Juniper Press, 1978), xi–xii; and Hartley, "Fanny [*sic*] Hardy Eckstorm," Beinecke/Yale (Archives/Smithsonian, roll 1371, frame 3729).

97 Hartley wrote about this new school of Maine writers in his essays "On the Subject of Nativeness" and "This Country of Maine."

98 See Beinecke/Yale (Archives/Smithsonian, roll 1368, frames 1035–38, and roll 1369, frame 2194).

99 Sinclair Lewis, *Babbitt* (1922; New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1961), 64, 238, 241, 115, 121.

100 Thomas Dreier, "The Thunder of New Wings," in *The Transformation of a Maine Farm* (Augusta: Maine Development Commission, and Maine Department of Agriculture, 1934), 8–9.

101 See Sarah Burns, *Inventing the Modern Artist: Art and Culture in Gilded Age America* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1996), 187–217, and idem, "Revitalizing the 'Painted-Out' North: Winslow Homer, Manly Health, and New England Regionalism in Turn-of-the-Century America," *American Art* 9, no. 2 (summer 1995): 21–37. Hartley may well have been directly inspired by Homer's figural works as they were often reproduced in the late 1920s in the literature surrounding Homer's many centennial exhibitions in 1936. See, for example, the illustrations in "Philadelphia Shows Homer the Individualist," 37, and "Homer, Artist and Man, Revealed at Show in His Old Studio," *Art Digest* 10 (August 1936): 5.

102 Rockwell Kent, *It's Me O Lord: The Autobiography of Rockwell Kent* (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1955), 120.

103 Carl Sprinchorn, "Cold, Red Wine of Autumn (A Sawtelle Brook Fancy)," in Sprinchorn Papers, Archives/Smithsonian, roll 3014.

104 See Carl Sprinchorn, "Hunting with a Palette," 1939, Archives/Smithsonian, roll 3014.

105 [James] W. L[ane], "The Virile Paintings by Marsden Hartley," *Art News* 36 (26 March 1938): 9.

106 Martha Davidson, "The Climax of Hartley's Painting in Powerful Coastal Scenes," *Art News* 36 (26 March 1938): 21.

107 Hartley, "On the Subject of Nativeness," 1.

108 Lucien Price, "New England Art vs. Puritan Hangover," *Boston Globe*, 7 January 1940, clipping in Hartley's press review notebook, Beinecke/Yale.

109 "Marsden Hartley: Fame Finally Catches Up to Poet-Painter of Maine," *Life*, 18 June 1962, 82.