TRIXIE
Marsden Hartley

"The Great Provincetown Summer": The Impact of Eugene O'Neill on Marsden Hartley

Amy Ellis

Marsden Hartley spent the summer of 1916 in Provincetown, Massachusetts. It was a stay that he documented in a short piece called "The Great Provincetown Summer" written as part of his autobiography, *Somehow a Past*. In it he recalled the summer as "that period in the history of Provincetown which has made more history than any other," saying that "more of real consequence was taking place," and crediting the Provincetown Players' theater with that. Hartley wrote about those who were there: Charles Demuth, John Reed, Louise Bryant, Susan Glaspell, George Cram Cook (founder of the Provincetown Players), Hutchins and Neith Hapgood, and, best known of the group today, Eugene O'Neill. When the fledgling playwright O'Neill arrived in Provincetown in the summer of 1916, he came with a group of one-act plays. During the summer the Players performed O'Neill's *Bound East for Cardiff* and *Thirst* at the Wharf Theatre. Both plays were set at sea, and death played a central part, two themes that were later conjoined in some of Hartley's most powerful paintings, *Eight Bells Folly* (plate 54) and the portraits of the Masons from the 1930s (plates 66–69).

Hartley arrived in Provincetown in July 1916, staying in John Reed's house, and then, at the end of the summer, moving with Demuth to other rent-free quarters. They remained in Provincetown through October. Declared the "biggest art colony in the world" by the *Boston Globe* on August 27, 1916, Provincetown drew artists, writers, and theater people who sought to recreate something of the intellectual atmosphere enjoyed in Europe.[1] In this lively milieu, Hartley painted the quietest works of his career, the ironically titled Movement series.

The Provincetown Movement paintings include such pictures as *Movement No. 1 (Provincetown)* (fig. 1) and *Provincetown Abstraction* (fig. 2). *Movement No. 1*, with its curving, flame-like sail atop a bull's-eye hull, exhibits more "movement" than others in the series, and yet the thin and controlled, almost texture-free, application of paint starkly contrasts with Hartley's earlier paintings, particularly one like *Musical Theme (Oriental Symphony)* (plate 8), inspired by Kandinsky's work.[2]

In November 1916 Hartley and Demuth left Provincetown for Bermuda. From there, Hartley wrote to his friend, fellow artist Carl Sprinchorn: "I know they [the paintings] will look fairly well for they are all subdued, and of the same quietude and intensity, which is gratifying to me, for I want my work in both writing and painting to have that special coolness, for I weary of emotional excitement in art, weary of episode, of legend and of special histories, which most painters occupy themselves with."[3] At the same time, Hartley was looking forward to O'Neill's arrival on the island. He wrote to Stieglitz: "Eugene O'Neill, the son of the actor [James O'Neill] who was with us in Provincetown last year is on the next boat, and so we will have a little life of our own."[4]

Detail, Plate 29

Figure 1
Marsden Hartley
Movement No. 1 (Provincetown), 1916
Oil on composition board, 20 × 15⅞ in.
(50.8 × 40.3 cm)
Philadelphia Museum of Art
The Alfred Stieglitz Collection

Figure 2
Marsden Hartley
Provincetown Abstraction, 1916
Oil on composition board, 19⅞ × 15⅞ in.
(50.5 × 40.3 cm)
Amon Carter Museum, Fort Worth, Texas
1983.169

Hartley continued with the Movement series in Bermuda, though moving away from the most abstract of the first Movement paintings. *Trixie* (plate 29) employs a more colorful palette, using a warm reddish orange tone with yellow, and an arrangement of forms that make up the hull, sails, and pennant in such a way as unmistakably to suggest a boat. Compared with *Movement No. 1, Trixie* is far less abstract. Hartley's brushwork in *Trixie* is more varied and more discernible but continues to show the restraint of the Provincetown Movement paintings. Despite the changes, there is still a "coolness" to this painting and the other Bermuda works that makes them stand apart from the rest of Hartley's artistic career, before and after.

Scholars have criticized Hartley's work from 1916 and 1917 in Provincetown and Bermuda as being a retreat from the boldness of his Berlin paintings and, as a group, derivative of the work of the French cubists. As a result, scant attention has been paid to the artist's time there. And indeed, Hartley's paintings from this period are characterized by their reliance on synthetic cubism and a comparatively muted palette, primarily of grays, pinks, browns, and blacks. Within most of these abstract paintings have been identified the various ships that came into the Provincetown and Bermuda harbors, but some among them have fewer recognizable shapes and references than even the Berlin paintings before them (plates 11 and 13, for example, and see the essay by Patricia McDonnell).[5]

Certainly, the bad press that Hartley received for the poorly timed 291 exhibition in 1916 of his German paintings may have spurred him to turn from the emotional, expressionist style of those works to cubism, an intellectual style, perhaps less legible for an American audience but tied to Paris rather than Berlin. Upon his return to New York, he painted three works with specifically French allusions: *Handsome Drinks* (plate 24), *A Nice Time* (plate 25), and *One Portrait of One Woman* (plate 26, and see the essay by Jonathan Weinberg).[6]

Figure 3
Marsden Hartley
Movement No. 5, Provincetown Houses, 1916
Oil on composition board, 20 × 16 in. (50.8 × 40.6 cm)
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
The Alfred Stieglitz Collection, 1949 (49.70.43)
Photograph © 1986 The Metropolitan Museum of Art

While in Provincetown, Hartley vacillated between representational and abstract work, finally returning to figurative work after leaving Cape Cod, never to revisit pure abstraction in his painting in any sustained way. While some of the paintings in his Movement series painted in Provincetown in 1916 are clearly representational (although not realistic), such as *Movement No. 5, Provincetown Houses* (fig. 3), they share ascetic and, despite the series title, primarily static qualities with those that are abstract. They lack the emotional verve and activity of the Berlin paintings and of even the early Maine landscapes. After leaving Provincetown for Bermuda in December, where he and Demuth lived until May 1917, Hartley began incorporating the names of the ships into his compositions (see, for example, *Elsa*, plate 28), and he painted still lifes and window paintings, such as *Atlantic Window* (plate 30).[7]

Bruce Robertson has attributed the core of Hartley's Provincetown abstract subject matter—ships and related instruments, such as sextants—to the artist's sexual attraction to sailors. But O'Neill also had a strong affinity for the sea.[8] O'Neill's play *Bound East for Cardiff*, for example, was based in part on the playwright's experience as a seaman on a variety of ships, including in 1910 the Norwegian barque *Charles Racine* and in 1911 the British

freighter *Ikala*, and the people he met at sea.[9] And yet, the emotion that Hartley revealed in *Eight Bells Folly* (plate 54) or in *Northern Seascape, Off the Banks* (plate 61), for example, is not yet evident in the Provincetown works.

Hartley's marked stylistic shift after arriving in Provincetown was in part due to his introduction to the uncompromising emotional realism of O'Neill's early plays and the work of the Provincetown Players. Hartley continued to follow O'Neill's career and, later in the 1930s in particular, drew on O'Neill's work—both the early works and the later, expressionist plays. The motivating force behind Hartley's most compelling works is tragedy, just as it was for Eugene O'Neill's.

Characteristically evasive, Hartley in "The Great Provincetown Summer" seemed to dismiss the importance of the theater for his own work and experience. He wrote:

> *Having little or no feeling for the theatre and no huge respect outside of the strictly amusement field, I did not become involved in the theatrical project which has since become so well known, but the air was full of it then, and it was amazing in all truth what this group accomplished in not more than twelve or fifteen feet of space for the stage, and not much more for the benches arranged in circus fashion, but the idea caught on, and the outcome of it all is now a matter of general amazement.*[10]

Despite his dismissive tone, Hartley indirectly acknowledged the influence of the Provincetown Players in this quote. While Hartley did not get as involved as some artists—including Demuth and the Zorachs—in the Players' theatrical activities, he did participate in modest ways and was, as always, a part of social events (fig. 4). Hartley was involved enough with the group to design a stock-market ticker for the set of a play by John Reed called *The Eternal Quadrangle*.[11] Although he claimed a lack of feeling and respect for serious theater, in the 1930s Hartley singled out *Bound East for Cardiff* and *Moon of the Caribees* (which was actually produced in 1918) as two of Eugene O'Neill's one-act plays dating from that summer. And in an earlier and broader version of "The Great Provincetown Summer" called "Summer Art Colonies," Hartley devoted paragraphs to descriptions of rehearsals; an appearance of Eugene's father, the actor James O'Neill; and the activities of the Players. He wrote, "I used to hang on the edges of the McDougall playhouse [the Players' winter quarters] because I knew everybody connected with it, and since you never can tell what you may get out of an idea."[12] Finally, in 1935 Hartley published "Farewell, Charles," dedicated to Demuth, who had just died, in which he recounted their time in Provincetown:

Charles, like so many of us, became a part of a certain epoch in phase of art history in America, beginning with that remarkable and never repeated summer at Provincetown where the "Provincetowns" began their first memorable attempt at little theatre movement which was to produce one famous playwright, Eugene O'Neill.[13]

What distinguished O'Neill's work—and that of the Players in general—was a rejection of commercial theater (which they deemed romantic, shallow, and trite) and an attempt to explore psychological and emotional reality, inspired by tragedy.[14] The early plays featured dialogue that was blunt and direct in a way that had not been seen before on the American stage. Although these aspects of O'Neill's work seem not to have affected Hartley's work immediately, in the 1930s they helped Hartley tackle subjects that were supremely emotional for him.

An experimenter like Hartley, O'Neill first used the mask in *The Hairy Ape* (1921) but in 1926 reintroduced masks in his play *The Great God Brown*, which ran for eight months in New York. He continued to use masks in different ways in a variety of plays. He reserved them not for his blue-collar characters, but for the bourgeoisie and the aristocracy. It was members of these classes that O'Neill found most hypocritical and most detached from their true emotions.

In 1932–33 O'Neill published three short essays in the *American Spectator*—"Memoranda on Masks," "Second Thoughts," and "A Dramatist's Notebook"—outlining his theories concerning the use of masks in theatrical productions. In "Memoranda on Masks," he stated that he saw the "idea of mask as a symbol of inner reality," and as "a necessary, dramatically revealing, new convention," and not as a "'stunty' resurrection of archaic props." Using the mask was a way in which to "express those profound hidden conflicts of the mind which the probings of psychology continue to disclose to us."[15]

In 1932 or 1933 Hartley finished a painting titled *Masks* (fig. 5).[16] *Masks* is composed of six "floating" masks, three arranged vertically with one at the left and two to the right. Three of the masks have round, staring eyes; the eyes are cut out from the other three. One of the masks without eyes, at the top of the vertical three, is full face, with two round spots for cheeks looking like clown make-up. The other two cover the eye and nose region only. One of these resembles the masks Demuth used in his portrait of O'Neill, *Longhi on Broadway* (fig. 6).[17]

Hartley's palette in *Masks*, in contrast with his other 1930s paintings, is of muted grays, blues, blacks, browns, whites, and pinks, and so resembles his work from 1916–17. In addition, the composition—masks arranged vertically and asymmetrically against a background of patches of color—compares with some of the more abstract Provincetown paintings (see plate 27, for example). All of this suggests that Hartley was alluding to the source of his inspiration, his time in Provincetown, and by extension O'Neill, through color and composition in *Masks*.

Furthermore, the single pink mask at the left, with the eyes cut out to reveal the blue of the background, in conjunction with the mask at the top, with its striking features, foreshadows a self-portrait Hartley painted in 1939, *Sustained Comedy* (plate 72, and see the essay by Bruce Robertson). In this work, Hartley simultaneously masks and reveals his own identity through a combination of symbols. The figure is pink, recalling the single pink mask in the earlier painting, and features Hartley's piercing blue eyes, which are framed by the pink mask in the earlier painting. The make-up on the face of the figure in *Sustained Comedy* compares with the uppermost mask in its accentuation of the facial features. Hartley masked his identity as a gay man and frequently masked his identity in his self-portraits. He never made a painting that he titled unambiguously "Self-Portrait."

Figure 5
Marsden Hartley
Movita, 1931–32
Oil on Masonite, 36 x 30 x ⅛ in.
(91.4 x 10.8 x 0.3 cm)
Walker Art Center, Minneapolis
Gift of Mrs. Joshua B. Cahn, New York, 1875

In turn, O'Neill may have incorporated Hartley into his own work. Others have noted that O'Neill's Pulitzer Prize–winning *Strange Interlude* (1928) features a character named Charles Marsden, a novelist, who is said to be a composite of Demuth and Hartley. Marsden is described in the stage directions as follows:

> *He is a tall thin man of thirty-five, meticulously well-dressed in tweeds of distinctly English tailoring, his appearance that of an Anglicized New England gentleman. His face is too long for its width, his nose is high and narrow, his forehead broad, his mild blue eyes those of a dreamy self-analyst, his thin lips ironical and a bit sad. There is an indefinable feminine quality about him, but it is nothing apparent in appearance or act. His manner is cool and poised. He speaks with a careful ease as one who listens to his own conversation. He has long fragile hands, and the stoop to his shoulders of a man weak muscularly, who has never liked athletics and has always been regarded as of delicate constitution. The main point about his personality is a quiet charm, a quality of appealing, inquisitive friendliness, always willing to listen, eager to sympathize, to like and to be liked.*[18]

Figure 6
Charles Demuth
Longhi on Broadway, 1928
Oil on ½-inch thick pulp-board, 34 × 27 in. (86.4 × 68.6 cm)
The Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
Gift of the William H. Lane Foundation, 1990.397

Figure 7
Eugene O'Neill
Drawing of Mannon House
From the Eugene O'Neill Papers
Yale Collection of American Literature
Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library
Yale University, New Haven

Marsden suffers from an unresolved Oedipal complex and so is unable to pursue sexual relations, leading Louis Sheaffer, one of O'Neill's biographers, to speculate that the character is meant to be homosexual, as both Demuth and Hartley were.[19] Significantly, perhaps, in a letter to Isabel Lachaise in 1928, Hartley referred to his time in Europe as a "strange interlude." He had just returned to New York in January, after a three-year stint abroad.[20]

In the last decade of his life and career Hartley made a group of figurative works related to an event that affected him profoundly. These are the memory portraits of the Masons, painted after the deaths in 1936 of the two sons and a cousin at sea. The Masons were a working-class family in Nova Scotia—primarily involved with fishing and building boats—with whom Hartley boarded in the summers of 1935 and 1936. He claimed he had never felt more comfortable in his life than with the Masons, writing to his friend Adelaide Kuntz, "The experience has been so rich.... I do have such a sense of home and relatedness—true relatedness—as perhaps never experienced before—save in earlier Germany, perhaps."[21]

Hartley not only painted the Mason family, he wrote a lament for them called "Cleophas and His Own: A North Atlantic Tragedy." Divided into sections devoted to the various members of the family, this elegy is comprised of a series of prose portraits, for the most part, lyrical and literarily sophisticated, in contrast to their realistic and stoic painted counterparts.[22] Hartley gave each family member a symbolic name—identified by the artist as French-Canadian, but having other resonances as well—in order to mask their true identities.[23]

After the Masons' deaths, Hartley wrote to Adelaide Kuntz:

> *I have been working on my last efforts—two wild ducks which I so wanted & d were brought me thoughtfully by one of the couriers and I am working on them in the blacksmith's shop because it is now particularly so quiet—no hammers, no anvil tones, no blustering boys, no rich thick flavors of manly energy in labour there which made last year such a social delight and privilege. I wondered if I could endure the vacant space, but like the lady in Morning [sic] Becomes Electra, who on deciding to leave everything, stands in the outer steps and declares, "Now I can live here. I can live with the dead"—or almost those words, I decided I could work there, and if every plane and hammer, the anvil, the forge, the tool chest, and the general debris of such labours—all but shouted at me, I decided I could live with it all and make them ring true again. And so after going in one day alone to test myself, the first shock being a little painful I decided I could make everything now so silent have life through associations of memory, and so I have managed to work there not too disturbed.*[24]

The play Hartley cites, O'Neill's *Mourning Becomes Electra* (1931), loosely based on Aeschylus's *Oresteia* and set in Civil War–era United States, would seem an odd analogy for him to employ. The words Hartley remembered incorrectly are Lavinia Mannon's in the play, spoken after her mother and brother have committed suicide:

> *Don't be afraid. I'm not going the way Mother and Orin went. That's escaping punishment. And there's no one left to punish me. I'm the last Mannon. I've got to punish myself!... I'll live alone with the dead, and keep their secrets, and let them hound me, until the curse is paid out and the last Mannon is let die!*[25]

In the play, O'Neill uses the mask[26] to signal a level of deceit, a superficial layer covering the "hidden life forces" beneath.[27] Even the house wears one: "The temple portico is like an incongruous white mask fixed on the house to hide its somber gray ugliness" (fig. 7).[28] In his stage directions, O'Neill describes the gardener as having "a gaunt face that in repose gives one the strange impression of a life-like mask. It is set in a grim expression,

But his small, sharp eyes still peer at life with a shrewd prying avidity and his loose mouth has a strong suggestion of ribald humor."[30] O'Neill describes Lavinia as follows:

> *She is twenty-three but looks considerably older. Tall like her mother, her body is thin, flat-breasted and angular, and its unattractiveness is accentuated by her plain black dress. Her movements are stiff and she carries herself with a wooden, square-shouldered, military bearing. . . . Above all, one is struck by the same strange, life-like mask impression her face gives in repose.*[31]

For his own grief over the Mason tragedy as well as for his depictions of the victims and the surviving family members, Hartley found the mask a useful tool. He assigned the mask the positive value of stoicism, and did not see it having the destructive qualities that O'Neill perceived. He painted the Masons with mask-like faces—almost expressionless, except for tears that roll down the cheeks of the figure of the mother in *Marie Ste. Esprit* (plate 67). Before the deaths of the Masons, Hartley expressed his admiration for their emotional restraint. He wrote to Kuntz, "I fell in love with the most amazing family of men & women the like of which I have never in my life seen—veritable rocks of Gibraltar in appearance the very salt of salt—how I would love to paint a series of them all."[32]

Hartley painted Alty Mason (plate 66) with a mask-like expression similar to the others. The artist's description of his subject is at variance with the image he created. In "Alphonse Adelard," the section of "Cleophas" that Hartley devotes to Alty, he writes: "What a spectacle is Adelard, if I hadn't known he was a human being, I should have thought him some devouring beast from the caverns and the caves, all of his thoughts emotionalized and dramatized by magnificent, opulent, voluminous body action."[33] Alty, in Hartley's prose description, seems to approximate the level of emotion one sees in O'Neill's early plays in particular. The language Hartley uses—"emotionalized and dramatized"—necessarily recalls O'Neill's theater. In addition, Hartley's splitting of Alty's character between his public stoicism as shown in the painting and his private side, as revealed in the prose poem, bears direct correlation to the manner in which O'Neill originally intended to represent the central character in *The Great God Brown*. In that play, the character Dion Anthony was both Dionysos and Saint Anthony, or excess and asceticism. In the final version, the mask served to suggest the alter ego.[35]

Hartley described the Masons—plain, working-class people—as "archaic" and used the same term for his portraits of them. Archaic for Hartley meant simple and direct, positive qualities, and he evoked these qualities in his portraits through thick outlines, heavy paint application, and stiff poses.[34] The characters in O'Neill's early plays—many of them working class—rage and express their emotions. They too are simple and direct, but there is a rawness that is exposed. They don't wear masks. In O'Neill's mid-career *Mourning Becomes Electra*, the mask is used to hide the emotions; the rawness is still there, but it is not always visible. In the end, it is the mask—the refusal to deal directly with what lies beneath—that brings the downfall of the Mannons. In Hartley's portraits of the Masons, the mask represents control and a stoicism that the artist admired. Rather than a curse, it is an asset and protects the wearer from emotional destruction. And yet, like O'Neill's mask-wearing Mannons, the Masons seem to be in repose. Only Alice in *The Lost Felice* (plate 69) appears to have active hands; the others' are all crossed at the wrist and resting in their laps. The figures stare blankly at or just past us, revealing little of the agony of grief in death.

It is not surprising that O'Neill's work would have seemed particularly relevant to Hartley in the 1930s. As other scholars have noted, tragedy in the form of death was the impetus for some of Hartley's best work, and this was also true for O'Neill. Hartley's

powerful German officer paintings were the result of his reaction to the news of Karl von Freyburg's death. Similarly, the deaths of the Mason brothers and cousin galvanized Hartley to paint his archaic portraits of the Mason family—as well as seascapes and still lifes that reflect his mourning.[11]

Notes

I would like to thank Carol Troyen, Betsy Kornhauser, and Ken McDaniel for their critical readings of this essay.

1. See Tony Vevers, "75 Years Ago Marsden Hartley in Provincetown," *Provincetown Arts* (1991), 111. I am grateful to Stephen Borkowski for bringing this article and contemporary photographs of Provincetown to my attention.
2. Michael R. Taylor's discussion of the Provincetown and Bermuda paintings is the most complete to date. Taylor, assistant curator of modern and contemporary art at the Philadelphia Museum of Art, delivered a paper at the University of Pennsylvania on 7 December 2000 titled "Marsden Hartley: The 'Movement' Series." In this paper, Taylor discusses the iconography of the Provincetown and related Bermuda paintings in great detail. I thank him for sharing his work with me prior to publication by the Philadelphia Museum of Art.
3. Hartley to Carl Sprinchorn, winter 1917, excerpted in McCausland Papers, Archives/Smithsonian, roll D267.
4. Hartley to Alfred Stieglitz, 8 February 1917, partial transcript in McCausland Papers, Archives/Smithsonian, roll D267.
5. See Taylor, "Marsden Hartley."
6. *One Portrait of One Woman* is interesting for its own connection to theater. This painting, a portrait of Gertrude Stein, is said to be the counterpart to Stein's incorporation of a portrait of Hartley into her play *IIIIIIIII*. See catalogue entry for *One Portrait of One Woman* in *American Paintings and Sculpture in the University Art Museum Collection* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 1986), 162. See also Robertson, 69.
7. See Taylor, "Marsden Hartley," for a detailed discussion of these paintings.
8. Robertson, 72.
9. See Louis Sheaffer, *O'Neill: Son and Playwright* (Boston and Toronto: Little, Brown, 1968), 185–87.
10. Marsden Hartley, "The Great Provincetown Summer," Beinecke/Yale. A version of this piece also appears in *Autobiography*, 94–96.
11. Leona Rust Egan, *Provincetown as a Stage: Provincetown, The Provincetown Players, and the Discovery of Eugene O'Neill* (Orleans, Mass.: Parnassus Imprints, 1994), 174. Furthermore, Hartley had a long personal history of involvement with the theater. See Ludington 1998, 46 and 47, for example.
12. Marsden Hartley, "Summer Art Colonies," from Hartley Papers—Writings and Poems, Archives/Smithsonian, roll 1370, frame 2745.
13. Marsden Hartley, "Farewell, Charles," reprinted in *On Art*, 95.
14. See Joel Pfister, *Staging Depth: Eugene O'Neill and the Politics of Psychological Discourse* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995), for a context for O'Neill's work.
15. Eugene O'Neill, "Memoranda on Masks," *American Spectator* (November 1932): 3; reprinted in Oscar Cargill, N. Bryllion Fagin, and William J. Fisher, eds., *O'Neill and His Plays: Four Decades of Criticism* (New York: New York University Press, 1961), 116–18.
16. There is some question about the dating of this painting. Elizabeth McCausland saw the work in Adelaide Kuntz's storage and noted that Kuntz dated it 1933 and said it was painted in Mexico. McCausland also noted that Kuntz "found a carton containing the masks used for this painting in storage the day we were there," and that Kuntz acquired the painting directly from Hartley. See McCausland Papers. Photos of Marsden Hartley Work 1933, Archives/Smithsonian, roll D269. The Walker Art Center, which now owns the painting, dates the work to 1931–32, based on a letter from Kuntz to Georgette Passedoit of the Passedoit Gallery (which handled the painting at one point), reading: "I can absolutely authenticate it as being an original work of Marsden Hartley painted in Mexico during 1931–32 when he was there on a Guggenheim Fellowship." My thanks to Betsy Carpenter, Walker Art Museum, for this information. Hartley received the fellowship in 1931, but did not go to Mexico until March 1932. He remained in the country until April 1933, when he returned to Germany, so I am inclined to date the painting 1932 or 1933.
17. See Robin Jaffee Frank, *Charles Demuth: Poster Portraits, 1923–1929* (New Haven: Yale University Art Gallery, 1994), 90–100, for an excellent discussion of Demuth's portrait of O'Neill. See also Timothy Anglin Burgard, "Charles Demuth's 'Longhi on Broadway: Homage to Eugene O'Neill,'" *Arts Magazine* 58 (January 1984): 110–13. Demuth also used a similar mask in *Love, Love, Love (Homage to Gertrude Stein)*, 1929. Stein wrote a play called *IIIIIIIII* (1922, in *Geography and Plays*) in which Hartley appears as "M—H—." See Frank, 101–6.
18. Eugene O'Neill, *Strange Interlude*, in O'Neill, *Complete Plays, 1920–1931* (New York: Library of America, 1984), 633–34.
19. See Doris Alexander, *Eugene O'Neill's Creative Struggle: The Decisive Decade, 1924–1933* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1992), 108, for this analysis of O'Neill's character Charles Marsden. However, Alexander does not believe that Charles Marsden is a composite of Demuth and Hartley; nor does she believe that O'Neill intended the character Charles Marsden to be homosexual, as O'Neill's biographer Louis Sheaffer did. See Alexander, 265, and Sheaffer, *O'Neill: Son and Artist*, 242.
20. Hartley to Isabel Lachaise, 29 August 1928, quoted in Ludington 1998, 186.
21. Hartley to Adelaide Kuntz, quoted in Ferguson, 53.
22. See Gail R. Scott, "Cleophas and His Own: The Making of a Narrative," in Ferguson, 55–73.
23. Robertson, 112. Cleophas, for example, was husband to one of the Marys who stood at the foot of the Cross at the Crucifixion.
24. Hartley to Adelaide Kuntz, 30 October 1938, quoted in Ferguson, 52.
25. From Act 4 of O'Neill's *Mourning Becomes Electra*, reprinted in Eugene O'Neill, *Three Plays: Desire Under the Elms, Strange Interlude, and Mourning Becomes Electra* (New York: Vintage Books, 1995), 423.
26. In a letter to George Jean Nathan, O'Neill writes that "the mask idea has also gone by the board.... All that is left of it is the masklike quality of the Mannon faces in repose, an effect that can be gained by acting and makeup." See Nancy L. Roberts and Arthur W. Roberts, eds., *"As Ever, Gene": The Letters of Eugene O'Neill to George Jean Nathan* (Rutherford, N.J.: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1987), 121.

[27] Alexander, *Eugene O'Neill's Creative Struggle*, 151.
[28] O'Neill, *Mourning Becomes Electra*, 263.
[29] Ibid., 264.
[30] Ibid., 267.
[31] Hartley to Adelaide Kuntz, quoted in Ludington 1998, 244.
[32] Ibid., 98.
[33] Stephen A. Black, *Eugene O'Neill: Beyond Mourning and Tragedy* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1999), 322–27.
[34] Ibid., 191.
[35] Hartley himself made the connection between the death of the Masons and that of von Freyburg, writing: "I haven't felt anything like it since the death of Karl von F." Hartley, quoted in Haskell, 101.

PLATES 24–37