Marsden Hartley and Mysticism

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Marsden Hartley's interest in occult beliefs or esoteric religion was a shaping force in his development.

While many diverse American artists have pursued their own private search for spiritual truth with various forms of mysticism, Marsden Hartley's interest in occult beliefs or esoteric religion was a shaping force in his development. He began by reading the usual native sources of mysticism, including Ralph Waldo Emerson's Essays (first published volume in 1841) and Walt Whitman's Leaves of Grass (first edition, 1855). He followed these texts with William James' The Varieties of Religious Experience (1902) and Canadian psychiatrist Richard Maurice Bucke's Cosmic Consciousness: A Study in the Evolution of the Human Mind (first published in 1901). Hartley was also naturally attracted to the work of artists like William Blake and Albert Pinkham Ryder whose mystical visions made their paintings outstanding. Hartley saw a relationship between these two artists, noting that Ryder "was a still companion of Blake in that realm of the beyond..."

Hartley's first intense encounter with followers of mystical thinking took place in pastoral Eliot, Maine, when he met an impressionable young man, at the beginning of his artistic career, he visited Green Acre in the summer and autumn of 1907. Green Acre, founded by Sarah Farmer as a rural retreat for those pursuing mystical ideas, eventually became a center for the Bahai World Faith. In his youthful involvement with Farmer, the daughter of New England Transcendentalists and social activists, Hartley followed Arthur Dow, who later became the teacher of his contemporaries, Max Weber and Georgia O'Keeffe. Dow had known Farmer at the time when Madame Blavatsky and other diverse spiritual swelling were alternately worshipped at Green Acre. Some years later, in 1918, it was also at Green Acre that the young Mark Tobey was introduced to the Bahai religion which he followed for the rest of his life. Predictably, when Tobey and Hartley eventually met, they found each other similarly, sharing a fascination with mystical experiences and mystical interests.

Hartley was already predisposed toward mysticism in 1907 when he arrived at Green Acre where he had a job setting up tents. He had previously been introduced to Emerson's Essays in 1898 by Nina Waldock, his teacher at the Cleveland School of Art, who gave him a copy of the volume he treasured. He had also come to admire Whitman, whose Camden, New Jersey house he had painted about 1905, and had become close friends with the late poet's champion, Horace Traubel. In the fall of 1907, Hartley wrote from Green Acre a letter of introduction to Traubel for Harlan Ober whom he described as "intensely spiritual but walking with his feet square on the ground," an admirable lover of humanity, and "by faith a teacher of the Baha'i religion."

Hartley's mystical interests reveal themselves quite early in his paintings and they recur with a particular intensity during the 1930s. He titled his Neo-Impressionist landscape of 1908-09 Cosmos (Fig. 1), no doubt reflecting the impact of the summer he had spent at Green Acre. Hartley was painting Maine, the land he knew and loved best, his orderly, harmonious universe to which he would often return. He may also have been referring to Whitman's cosmos in his "Song of Myself":

Walt Whitman am I, a Kosmos, of mighty Manhattan the son,
Turbulent, fleshy and sensual, eating, drinking and breathing.

Hartley, who was searching for his identity, found comfort in Whitman's poetry and other such mystical ideas. Emerson reportedly once confided to a friend that Whitman's Leaves of Grass reminded him at once of the Bhagavad-Gita and the New York Herald. The incongruous mystical effusions and prosaic banalities of both of these texts appealed to Hartley. Given his own forceful swings in mood, he could easily respond to Whitman's verse:

The pleasures of heaven are with me, and the pains of hell are with me;
The first I grasp and increase upon myself—the latter I translate
into a new tongue.

It was not until 1912, when Hartley went to Europe for the first time, that he focused on still other mystical strains, particularly the teachings of Madame H.P. Blavatsky who founded the Theosophical Society in the United States in 1875, and attracted much attention with her book, Isis Unveiled (1877), which sought to establish India as the one source of all the wisdom of the past. Blavatsky combined Eastern philosophies, including Buddhist and Hindu doctrine, with Christian morality and European occult traditions.

Madame Blavatsky and Theosophy came to Hartley's attention as a result of his reading Uber das Geistige in der Kunst, Wassily Kandinsky's treatise, originally translated into English as The Spiritual in Art (when Alfred Stieglitz published excerpts in Camera Work in July 1912), then as The Art of Spiritual Harmony (in 1914). Kandinsky identified Madame Blavatsky as:

...the first person, after a life of many years in India, to see a connection between these "savages" and our "civilization." In that moment rose one of the most important spiritual movements, one which numbers a great many people today, and has assumed a material form in the Theosophical Society. This society consists of groups who seek to approach the problem of the spirit by way of inner knowledge.

In December of 1912, Hartley wrote to Stieglitz in New York, telling him of his new style of "subliminal or cosmic cubism." He claimed that this style resulted from his "spiritual illuminations," which, in turn, he admitted, came from "the new suggestion of Kandinsky's book Spiritual in Art," about which he commented: "the mere title opened up the sensation for me and from this I proceeded." Hartley also claimed that he was the first artist to express pure mysticism in the modern manner.

Hartley's "cosmic cubism" is perhaps most apparent in his Oriental Symphony of 1912-13 (Fig. 2) which combines motifs taken from Eastern and Christian religious images. In the upper right corner, beneath an erotic arch, a Buddha sits in a lotus position. Hartley owned two...
was perhaps experiencing his own spiritual regeneration in the freedom of Berlin society.

In another canvas, a previously unpublished Pre-war Pageant (Fig. 7), which was among the paintings referred to as "Intuitive Abstractions" that Hartley showed to Kandinsky, Marc, Gabriele Munter, and Albert Bloch at the Galerie Goetz in May 1913 on his way to Berlin from Paris, there appears to be a symbolism around groups of three images. Three round medallions grouped in the center of the canvas are surrounded by an intensely luminous aureole in red, orange-yellow, and green. Within the medallions are triangular forms that might already represent the Indian teepes that emerge in Hartley's "Amerika" series of 1914. Connected by three arrow-like lines, these three medallions may symbolize a spiritual synthesis for Hartley, merging the spirit of the Native American, Oriental mysticism, and the Christian Trinity.

Kandinsky had written specifically about the triangle in his treatise: "Form alone, even though abstract and geometrical, has its internal resonance, a spiritual entity whose properties are identical with the form. A triangle ... is such an entity, with its particular spiritual perfume." "Paris Days, Pre-war" (Fig. 8), a previously unpublished abstract composition, painted before the declaration of war in August 1914, is one of the closest of Hartley's personal interpretation of geometric forms as spiritual entities under the influence of Kandinsky's treatise. This "Pre-war Pageant" features a large triangle at its center, the apex of which touches a smaller yellow inverted triangle above. Inside the yellow triangle is a smaller blue triangle. Several eight-pointed stars are also found in this composition.

After his first meeting in Munich with Kandinsky in January 1913, Hartley wrote to Steiglitz, listing some of the sources he credited with finding his own personal meaning of expression: William James' pragmatism, Henri Bergson, and, more directly, "the fragments of mysticism" that he found in Jacob Boehme, Meister Eckhart, Johann Tauler, Heinrich Suso, John Ruysbroeck, and the Bhagavad-Gita. Hartley was understandably enthralled with the Bhagavad-Gita, known as the Song of the Lord in Hindu mysticism, an ancient (circa 100 B.C.) anonymous Sanskrit text which seeks to reconcile antithetical forms of the religious consciousness by viewing root conceptions of religion as eternal. In the section of the Bhagavad-Gita entitled "Worship of the Personal Lord and of the Absolute" is found the following statement that might have appealed to Hartley:

He who holds equal blame and praise, who is silent (restrained in speech), content with anything (that comes), who has no fixed abode and is firm in mind, that man who is devoted is dear to Me.

This passage refers to someone who does not exist for a family or social group, but moves along "wherever their inspiration takes them. They are not chained to one place or confined to one community." This sounds so much like Hartley's peripatetic existence. He was a restless soul who rarely stayed anywhere for very long. Born in Lewiston, Maine, Hartley lived in many different places from Maine to Cleveland, Ohio, New York, Berlin, Hamburg, and Garmisch-Partenkirchen in Germany, Pueblocentw and Gloucester in Massachusetts, Bermuda, Taos and Santa Fe in New Mexico, Paris, Vence and Aix-en-Provence in the south of France, Nova Scotia, and Mexico.

Hartley's interest in Jacob Boehme (1575-1624), one of the most profound of German mystics, is in keeping with his fondness for German culture and people, whom he compared to the Frenchman's tedious "nervosité." Hartley acquired his copy of Boehme's The Super-sensual Life in Paris in 1912 and saved it all his life. In this text, the Disciple asks the Master:

How shall I arrive at this Heavenly Understanding ... at this pure and naked knowledge which is abstracted from the senses ... For, alas, I am touched every Moment by the Things which are about me; and over come by the Clouds and Fumes which rise up out of the Earth.

This interest in Boehme also places Hartley in the same intellectual sphere as his European contemporaries, such as Hans Arp who evidently read Boehme continually from his childhood. Boehme's stress on eternal life, and that everything comes from eternity and must return to it, must have appealed to the insecure Hartley. He would also have appreciated the mystic's insistence on the necessity of reconciling the existence of evil with God.

Hartley's interest in Boehme extended to texts by some of those who had influenced him, including Meister Eckhart, the founder, before
his death in 1327, of the Rhineland school of mysticism, who was involved in speculations about the nature of God’s relation to the world. Several of Eckhart’s younger contemporaries also interested Hartley, such as writings by Johann Tauler (c. 1300-1361) and Heinrich Suso (c. 1295-1365). Hartley became fascinated by another mystic indebted to Eckhart, John Ruysbroeck (1293–1381), who was a priest in Brussels before living as a recluse in a forest during his old age.

Hartley’s regard for William James must have developed in Paris through discussions with his friend Gertrude Stein who had studied with James at Harvard. In his book, *The Varieties of Religious Experience*, James explained mysticism, mentioned Jacob Boehme (spelled Behmen), and cited the works of Whitman and Dr. Richard Maurice Bucke, two of Hartley’s other enthusiasms. James dismissed the work of Madame Blavatsky as being ‘little more than musical composition,’ perhaps providing Hartley with a reason for diverting from Kandinsky’s enthusiasm.

In late May of 1913, Hartley wrote to Stieglitz from Berlin that he expected to meet Dr. Rudolph Steiner and Eduard Schure whom he described as “occults,” but he stressed that his own mystical outlook was personal and that he was ignorant of their ideas. Hartley certainly would have read about Steiner in Kandinsky’s treatise. By August 1913, Hartley revealed to Stieglitz that the Czech artist François [Franz] Kupka, whom he called another theorist of the Kandinsky type, and Walter Rummel, a musician well versed in “occult things,” had once visited his studio in Paris, but he denied knowing anything about these matters. Kupka has recorded in his diary that he discovered Kandinsky’s *The Spiritual in Art* through Rummel in July 1913. This suggests that Rummel might have discussed Kandinsky and the occult with both Kupka and Hartley.

By October 1913, Hartley wrote to Stieglitz about reading [Richard] Maurice Bucke’s *Cosmic Consciousness* and mentioned again reading William James, this time citing James’ *The Varieties of Religious Experience* specifically. Bucke treated Boehme, Emerson, Whitman, and even Hartley’s close friend, Horace Traubel. Bucke quotes Traubel’s lengthy explanation of his spiritual awakening and how he understood that “Whitman’s notion of immortality is not one of logic but is pictorial. He does not believe in immortality. He sees it.” Traubel concluded: “Once I felt that religions were all of them religions of despair; now I saw that no religion despair—that all religion before it becomes and as soon as it ceases to be an affair of institutions resolves itself essentially into light and immortality.”

Until a depression in 1920 led him to turn inward in search of consolation, Hartley had put his interest in mysticism aside to pursue other directions in art. Once again he read Meister Eckhart, Jacob Boehme, and John Ruysbroeck. To these, Hartley added *The Confessions of St. Augustine* as well as writings by Plotinus and George Santayana’s *Plotinus and the Spiritual Life.* By 1922, Hartley had
became intensely interested in Richard Rolle of Hampole (c. 1300-1349), the early English mystic, and Paracelsus (1493-1541) who practiced alchemy, the occult science for transforming base metal into gold, and who contributed to the development of contemporary medicine.

Having won a Guggenheim Foundation fellowship, Hartley went to spend a year in Mexico, beginning in the spring of 1932. He spent his first two months studying Mayan and Aztec cultures in the national anthropological museum in Mexico City and then went to live in Cuenca. He found a collection of mystical writings in the personal library of a friend, May Ostlund. Reading Ruysbroeck again and Richard Rolle, Hartley noted "how much of a science introspection can be."

He identified Rolle as "the first English mystic and turned all his heart and soul into singing and would listen to no theologies and no philosophies." He also wrote about his ancestors from Yorkshire, "where Richard Rolle, the first English mystic was born, where he lived in the caves, prayed to and wrote songs for his divine Jhessu—and
these symbols are not fictions because they create the first substances of my background." Hartley's friend Adele Kuntz gave him the book *The Life of Richard Rolle* by Frances M.M. Comper which he both read and recommended.

Hartley's painting, *The Transference of Richard Rolle* (1932-33), reveals a return to the symbolism of his earlier works of 1913-14. This canvas (Fig. 9), which contains a floating triangle with the letter R repeated on the cloud around it and in the monogram in the center of the triangle, is reminiscent of Hartley's *Portrait of Berlin*, where the triangle contained the mystical number 8. Such clouds were found in the votive paintings and Bavarian glass paintings reproduced in *Der Blaue Reiter.* In this same volume, Hartley had seen a floating triangle containing an eye and representing the Holy Spirit (Fig. 10). This parallels the text of Richard Rolle who wrote: "The soul goes up into this height while (soaring by excess) it is taken above itself, and heaven being open to the eye of the mind, it offers privy things to be beheld."54

In *Yiaster* (Paracelsus) of 1932 (Fig. 11), Hartley referred to the Swiss physician and neo-Platonist whose experiments with healing emphasizing the spiritual life are said to have anticipated Mesmer and hypnosis. Contrary to what has been written of this intensely colored painting, it is anything but a traditional landscape. The halo-like discs in the sky send down the divine healing beam of light, filling the canon of the mountain. Paracelsus wrote that "the things which heal a wound in Nature heal the same sort of wound in man."55 This concept must have appealed to Hartley who sought his own spiritual healing at this time.

Hartley's *Morgenrot* of 1932 (Fig. 12) depicts a large emblematic red hand against a dark ground, rising up amid discs floating about it. Despite his presence in Mexico at the time he painted this image, Hartley chose a German title meaning dawn, suggesting that this image is in some way linked to the German mystics he had been reading. In the catalogue of his exhibition in Mexico City in 1933, Hartley offered the following description in Spanish: "La mano de la manana sale de la noche trunfante," meaning that the hand of morning is born of the night. This hand appears to sign a sign and is reminiscent of the raised hands giving the abhayag mudra in *Oriental Symphony* and *Portrait Arrangement No. 2* of 1912-1913. Hartley had been studying Aztec art and history and surely referred here to their belief in the solar deity to whom all sacrifices were addressed.

While in Mexico, Hartley spent some time with the poet Hart Crane whom he had known before in New York and had seen in the south of France. Then in a tormented state, Crane depended on Hartley even to the point of borrowing money from him. They discussed painting and poetry and walked across the local lava-crusted hills which Hartley painted in works like *Earth Warning* (Fig. 13). Since his youth when he tried painting, Crane had made close friendships with visual artists. During the early 1920s in Cleveland, William Sommer, one of his painter friends, introduced him to the *Shaggy-Headed-Gits* and to P.D. Ouspenksy's *Tertium Organum: A Key to the Enigmas of the World,* which quotes extensively from Bucke's *Cosmic Consciousness.* Thus Crane was probably a sympathetic audience for Hartley's renewed investigation into mystical ideas.

When Hartley learned of Crane's suicide at sea off the coast of Cuba in April 1932, he was moved so deeply that he painted *Eight Bells, Folly: Memorial for Hart Crane* (Fig. 14) the following winter. He explained that the symbols were quite specific:

*It has a very mad look as I wish it to have—there is a ship foundering—a sun, a moon, two triangular clouds—a bell with 'S' on it—symbolizing eight bells—or noon when he jumped off—and around the bell are a lot of men's eyes—that look up from below to see who the new lodger is to be—on one cloud will be the number 33—Hart's age—and according to some occult beliefs is the dangerous age of a man—for if he survives 33—he lives on—Christ was supposed to be 33...*

Hartley not only used the numerical symbolism of his earlier cosmic cubist works, but he also incorporated the same eight-pointed stars alluding to Crane's spiritual regeneration. The poet and the painter live forever through their art.

Hartley's theme, *Eight Bells, Folly: Memorial for Hart Crane,* must have been suggested in part by a book of poetry that he owned, John Cabbage's *S Bells,* published in 1932.50 This volume contains poems inspired by sea chanteys, including one called "Down Deep at the Bottom of the Sea" and another called "Bury me not in a Pauper's Grave" which includes the lines:

-Cast me out to the raving, wild Sea.  
-Let her waves be my lonely grave,  
-For I was in life free as the Sea.  
-So when I die, anchor my soul in the Sea.  

Considering Crane's tragic death at sea, this poem must have been particularly moving to Hartley. One wonders if Hartley had this volume before Crane's death and if the latter ever read it.

During the spring and fall of 1932, Hartley also saw fellow painter Mark Tobey, who while visiting in Mexico was able to support Hartley's current preoccupation with mysticism. During the previous year, Hartley had written an introduction for the catalogue of Tobey's exhibition at the Contemporary Arts Gallery in New York. Tobey's own intense spirituality, grounded in his belief in the Bahai World Faith, must have appealed to Hartley who called him "a thinker and a mystic" and wrote:

-Mark Tobey is a man who lives every moment, and by living is meant not only acting so much himself as letting life act every moment upon him. He visualizes every sensation plastically and gives the plastic sense of his encounter; and he is not troubled as to how exactly alike his pictures are for he is not a repetitionist, and this is likely to vary. I have seen abstracted, objective emotion and deep mystical interventions.56

Hartley categorized Tobey as "a searcher and a revealer of the inner condition." At the time, Tobey was painting some experimental abstractions with biomorphic shapes such as *Before Form* (1929), but he had not fully renounced representation, as can be seen in other works of the same year such as *Middle West* which depicts buildings and a highway crossing flat fields.

Tobey's Bahai faith, which he found at Green Acre in 1918, influenced all of his painting from that time forward. The Bahai religion, begun in Persia in 1844, teaches that all religions are manifestations along the route to one unified world faith. Although there is no official Bahai art, Tobey did immediately paint works specifically based on religious themes. One such picture of about 1918, still figurative and related to symbolist art, depicts the *Conflict of the Satanic and Celestial Egos.* Later paintings also reflect Tobey's religious beliefs, but in a less illustrative manner. Tobey once explained how he saw the influence of the Bahai religion on his art:

-The root of all religions, from the Bahai point of view, is based on the theory that man will gradually come to understand the unity of the world and the oneness of mankind. It teaches that all the prophets are one—that science and religion are the two great powers which must be balanced if man is to become nature. I feel my work has been influenced by these beliefs. I've tried to decentralize and interpenetrate so that all parts of a painting are of related value. Perhaps I've hoped even to penetrate perspective and bring the far near.57

Tobey recalled that by 1919, "he 'felt keenly that space should be freer. As I remember, I really wanted to smash form, to melt it in a more moving and dynamic way.'"

It was probably in 1931 that Tobey produced the small tempera painting called *The Desert of Friendship* (Fig. 15) which he gave Hartley who made his own interpretation of this painting in a poem he wrote of the same title. A token of their friendship, this composition features a large-headed cat emerging from the landscape which Hartley described:

-From out of the center, with a feline leer  
-upon its labradorian disguise  
a sinister, premonitory warning of distress  
lies  
openly upon its sneer, upon its queer  
unfriendly brow

A skull at the bottom center suggested:

-Grot esques disposed in humanist design  
like objects in a spiritist examine;  
A yellow flame exudes, if pale,  
above a crimson-flooded interval  
where death in trivial mask endures  
in silent hardihood  
its old, accustomed mood.
Just beyond a beehive-like tower, Hartley described two male figures magnetically merging or emerging on the right:
flow humanly to the right
we come
for any sense of home,
upon two lovers, bright
with mystic interference,
one, whose side is light
and one, the man is physically brown.

There is a prominent face on the upper left between two moons:
Upon these two the stern
eeliptical visages look down
as if to register a comic frown.

During his stay in Mexico, Tobey painted works like Mexican Ritual
Some and, though he eventually became an abstract painter, he never
fully renounced representation.

With his friend Tobey gone by the time of his exhibition in Mexico
City in April 1933, Hartley complained in a letter to his niece, Norma
Berger: "Almost no one understood my pictures as they are a mystical
nature—in fact only one person really understood because she is or
was a student of ancient lore—and it was from her remarkable collection
of priceless and rare books in Cuernavaca that I gained the actual
knowledge of the mystics." The woman he praised was May Oslund who liked his
Mexican paintings which he admitted just left others mystified. He
insisted: "I have given up painting nature for me see so much beyond
the physical appearances of nature that I can't be any longer interested
in surface appearances." 47

Although Hartley continued to read mystical literature, particularly
Plotinus and Ruysbroek, after he left for Germany in April 1933, he
began to paint more descriptively again. In October 1933, Hartley wrote
to his niece, an avid Christian Scientist, explaining what he thought
of mysticism:

I have read the Christian mystics quite thoroughly and the history of
mysticism and while I can never go all the way with them—they
are the most intriguing romancers imaginable . . . but I could
never (and it interests me to hear you say the same)—get myself
to form an image of God as a person and I still can't—it isn't
that I don't want to—but just won't come out that way—but
it comes by way of Plotinus as "supreme intellect" as yours
comes to you as Divine Mind. . . . 48

Hartley also praised the "superb study of mysticism by one Evelyn
Underhill—a very fine English scholar and she has done a glorious
piece of work—in outlining the meaning of the idea and complete
histories of all the famous mystics from the middle ages to Blake." 49
He announced that his favorite mystic was "Ruysbroeck on one side
and Richard Rolle on the other." 50 Hartley was the first to admit that
these readings had enriched his life and surely meant to have their
influence recognized in his art.

1. This article is part of the author's ongoing project to produce a catalogue raisonné of
Hartley's paintings and drawings, in conjunction with Sandler-O'Reilly Galleries, 22 East
25th Street, New York 10016. Any notification of the whereabouts of Hartley's work will
be greatly appreciated. I also wish to thank Kathryn Hargrove, Curator of the Trent Gallery,
Bates College, and David Schoenmeyer, Curator of American Literature, B'nai B'rith
Library, Yale University, who provided invaluable assistance.

2. See, for example, Hartley's letter to Plotinus, "Adventures in the Arts

3. Ibid., p. 41.

4. See Lawrence W. Chisholm, Fenollosa: The Far East and American Culture (New Haven:

5. For evidence of this friendship and mention of Hartley's deep admiration for Whitman,
see William Innes Homer, ed., Heart's Gate: Letters Between Marston Hartley and Horace

6. Ibid., p. 52, undated letter from Hartley to Traubel, postmarked September 18, 1907,
Bost., Maine.

7. "Song of Myself," reprinted in Mark Van Doren, The Portable Walt Whitman (New York:

1962), p. 89.


10. Wallys Kardinsky, Concerning the Spiritual in Art (New York: George Wittenborn,
Inc., 1942), p. 33. This volume is based on the Sädele translation of 1914 with retransliteration
by Francis Golling, Michael Harrison, and Ferdinand Ostertag. Subsequent quotations are
from this edition.

11. Hartley to Alfred Stieglitz, letter of December 12, 1912, The Alfred Stieglitz Archives,
Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University. (Hereafter cited as Yale)
For a more complete discussion of Kardinsky's impact on Hartley and other American
artists, see the author's doctoral dissertation, Sandra Gail Levin, "Wassily Kandinsky and the

12. Hartley to Norma Berger, letter of June 12, 1924, Yale. Indicates that he has
seen the Buddha given him by Mabel Dodge to his niece. This Buddha is now in the
Hartley Memorial Collection, Bates College, Lewiston, Maine. In a letter of December
31, 1933, Hartley commented on his two Buddhas and how he got them when he was
in Paris.

13. Hartley to Alfred Stieglitz, letter of August 1913, Yale. The subsequent reference
is also to this letter.


15. For a discussion of Hartley's use of image and motifs from American Indian art

16. Kandinsky, Concerning the Spiritual in Art, p. 47.


19. Hartley to Alfred Stieglitz, postcard, February 1, 1913, Yale.

20. Quote from p. 13 of Hartley's copy of Jacob Boehme, The Supermundane Life or the
Life Which is Above Sense Being Two Dialogues Between a Scholar or Disciple and His
Master (London: H.R. Allenson, Ltd.), inscribed "Marston Hartley, Paris 1912," in the
Bates College Library, Lewiston, Maine.


22. Ibid., p. 412.

23. Kandinsky, Concerning the Spiritual in Art, p. 42.

24. Hartley to Alfred Stieglitz, letter of August 19, 1913, Yale. An earlier reference
to Cupka occurs in Hartley's letter to Stieglitz of April 1913, also Yale.


28. Ibid., p. 288.


31. Hartley to Norma Berger, letter of October 14, 1933.


34. See quoted in Ralph Losh, Occultists & Mystics of All Ages (Secaucus, New Jersey: The

35. For information on Crane and Hartley, see John Unterrecker, Voyager: A Life of Hart
Crane (New York: Pariscy, Strano, and Groves, 1949), pp. 742-743.

36. For information about William Sommer (1867-1949), see Hunter Inglis, "The Several

37. Hartley to Adelaide Kunz, December 5, 1902, Archives of American Art.

38. John Cabbage, 8 Bells (New York: Parusa Press, 1925). This is one of the volumes
from Hartley's library preserved at Bates College.


40. Hartley to Norma Berger, letter of April 9, 1933, Yale.

41. The author is preparing an article on Hartley's Mexican paintings which have not
yet been properly understood.

42. Hartley to Norma Berger, April 9, 1933.

43. Hartley to Norma Berger, letter of October 14, 1933, Yale.

44. This manuscript is in the Hartley Memorial Collection, Bates College, Lewiston, Maine.

45. Hartley to Norma Berger, April 9, 1933.