Thomas Hart Benton: A Vernacular Mythic Modernist, Too

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To modernists, Thomas Hart Benton's position in the history of American, if not world, art was popularly described as reactionary.[i] His art uses the traditional elements of the Renaissance representational style – three-dimensional space, sculptural form, and narrative imagery --- with what was most often thought to be reportage or "documentation" of the everyday events of the American scene. These features were most often presented as antithetical to the works of more adventurous artists known as the modernists. Benton himself, of course, was largely responsible for this view. His tirades against modern painting in the 1930s were some of the sharpest statements about, if not distortions of, modern art in a decade full of distortions from the left and right. Benton dismissed modern art as hermetic, elitist, and merely subjective, as the studio works of neurotics.

This position, however, hid from view a much more complex relationship to modern culture and art – one that was interactive, combining a rejection of the obvious elements of modern art and thought with more subtle accommodations, absorptions, and transformations. Benton blended modern elements with an aggressive "Americanization" to produce an art of national, cultural and modern forms and concepts. His reach was larger than he or his critics. Allowed. Recently, his formal

modernism has begun to be recognized, [ii] but regrettably, his moments of thematic modernism remains largely unacknowledged.

At first glance, this seems to be an unlikely proposition, yet it is case from at least the late 1930s onward, as work that initially seems to be nothing more than the worst of Benton indicates.

Again of 1941 (fig. 1) is one of a series of paintings known as *The Year of Peril e*xecuted in response to the beginning of American participation in the Second World War. They have seldom been seen since.

For Benton, *The Year of Peril* series was initially a big success. The paintings were circulated around the country and reproduced innumerable times, and they helped alert Americans to the dangers of the Axis. They can be considered some of the best propaganda art of the

Second World War although they suffered from bathos, as did much art that directly addressed the war and were quickly forgotten afterwards.

The paintings seem to be typical of Benton's approach. As did others in the 1930s, Benton often argued that contemporary art should revive Renaissance forms, and *again* demonstrates how. *Again* is a representational painting with the formal elements of the style discussed above. It even uses an Old Master image of suffering – the crucifixion of Christ. Though the image is not the American scene, like most of Benton's work, it does relate to the American historical experience.

There is more here, however, than initially meets the eye. Rather than representing only a slight change in Benton's style, *again* is a subtle transformation of it. The painting is a mythic ritualistic, symbolic work that approaches the most formally innovative art of the era, Abstract Expressionism. Mainstream Abstract Expressionism is a mythic, ritualistic recasting of immediate history and of historical and evolutionary process itself. Benton's work participates in that recasting, but he holds it to a more representational and seemingly "Americanist" or nativist core.

The accommodation with modern art evident in *Again* emerged in the early 1940s when cataclysmic events preyed on everyone's mind. Benton, for example, wrote:

> By the late autumn of 1941 my mind was so much on the international situation that I found it difficult to concentrate on painting. The American scene which had furnished the content and motivations of my work for some twenty years was outweighed by the world one. As I had no pictorial ideas applicable to this new scene, I was almost completely frustrated.[iii]

An art such as Benton's Regionalism of the 1930s, which addressed local behavior, social evolution and American history partially in response to a Depression, now seemed inadequate when faced with monumental international tensions. Benton searched for an appropriate artistic response and, like the Abstract Expressionists, found it in an art of darkness and primeval instinct, an art of disturbance and even the horrific – surrealism.[iv]

In 1941 Benton attended a retrospective of the work of Salvador Dali at The Museum of Modern Art in New York.[v] Dali's art was from the more conservative branch of surreal called Verist or Illusionist surrealism. Like Regionalism, it revived the Old Master representational style with three-dimensional space and solid figures and forms. Dali used these, however, not to fix reality but to subvert it by making the real unreal or, as Freud put it, by revealing the psychopathology of everyday life. Dali had influenced Benton in the 1930s and his viewing of the retrospective was one subtle ways of moving with the times.

Originally, Dali had been the key representative of surrealism in America. His hyper realistic style attracted artists and helped founded a quiet surrealist movement, particularly on the West Coast, and led to Walt Disney's negotiation with him. That negotiation produced Daliesque backgrounds in Hollywood films such as "Spellbound." The increased criticism of Dali in avant-garde circles by figures such as Andre Breton and the impact of the exhibition "Fantastic Art, Dada, Surrealism," of 1936 at The Museum of Modern Art in New York tarnished Dali's reputation and led to emergence of the importance of the more abstract branch of the surrealists. Those artists such as Max Ernest and Joan Mire, of course, became sources for the Americans in the 1940s. Nevertheless, Dali remained a player as the retrospective at MoMA indicated. His influence on Benton in the 1930s can be seen in the hyperreal, virtually three-dimensional cloud formations and large, often empty space of many works.

However, in the early 1940s, it was not the intensification of everyday reality that attracted Benton as before, but the fact that at the beginning of the war, Dali, and indeed, surrealism itself, was taken to represent how nonmilitary and seemingly nonpolitical art could reflect the state of the modern "soul" at the time of crisis. In the catalogue to the Dali show, Monroe Wheeler described Dali's art as an unconscious revelation of the spirit of the day and age.[vi] Wheeler compared Dali's subject matter and temper to the representation of earlier calamities –

the era between Hieronymus Bosch and Jacques Callot. In that period, Rome was sacked, Vienna besieged by Turks, Jews were herded from country to country, and the Spanish savaged the Netherlands. In the same catalogue, James Thrall Soby wrote that Dali painted his culture's emotion and heritage of cruelty and fantasy.[vii] Dali seemed to represent the psychological profile of the era, an era of "immense neuroticism and hidden psychosis," which Wheeler lamented, desperately need a "spiritual regeneration."

Dali's images of disturbed mental life were thus taken to exemplify contemporary history. With his use of Old Master forms and representational surfaces, he was a perfect bridge to a new language for Benton. *Again* reflects Dali's forms and associations. Its platform-like, super real space and twisting almost, biomorphic smoke parallel shapes and space of such works *as Soft Construction with Boiled Beans: Premonition of Civil W*ar of 1936 (fig. 2)

and *Family of Marsupial Centaurs* of 1941 (fig. 3), exhibited in MoMA˘ *Again* is a hallucinatory realism substantially different, despite its Old Master stylistic devices, from Benton's folk epics of the 1930s yet is a work of historicized, modernist imagination.

Besides the surrealization of his representational style, *Again* contains another substantial change from Benton's earlier work, It uses a combination of biblical form and symbol to represent contemporary

history. To be sure, as with many in the 1930s, Benton had used fold story and legend such as the story of "Frankie and Johnnie" of *A Social History of Missouri* earlier. And to be sure, at the end of the 1930s, He had begun exploring the relevance of attempted universalizing, mythic images to modern life. In *Susannah and the Elders* of 1938 and

Persephone of 1938-39 (fig. 4), he related biblical and mythical scenes and stories to American types and prurient behaviors. However, he was not unique. The use of myth to represent history was a growing tendency of any at this time in American art. More than few former WPA representational artists used mythic and ritual images to represent World War II. High modernist artists used them as well.

Central to Abstract Expressionism, which, of course, began around 1938-40, was the belief and use of myth to represent the order or

disorder of history and human behavior. Abstract Expressionist works such as Adolph Gottlieb's Oceanic *The Spectre* of 1946 or Africanist *Vigil* of 1948 (fig. 5)

and Mark Rothko's *Sacrifice* paintings make oblique references to the atmosphere of danger, waste, and sacrifice characteristic of the war years. Rothko's *The Sacrifice of Iphigenia* of 1942, for example, (fig. 6)

presents an ancient ritual altar and grasping hands for the daughter of Agamemnon and Clytemnestra, offered to the winds of war in this

classical tale, while his *Sacrifice* of 1943 contains a crowned ionic column made into a beast presiding over an elliptical bier next to a haloed small figure. So, too, Rothko's biblical entombment series also referees war with surrealist forms. [viii]

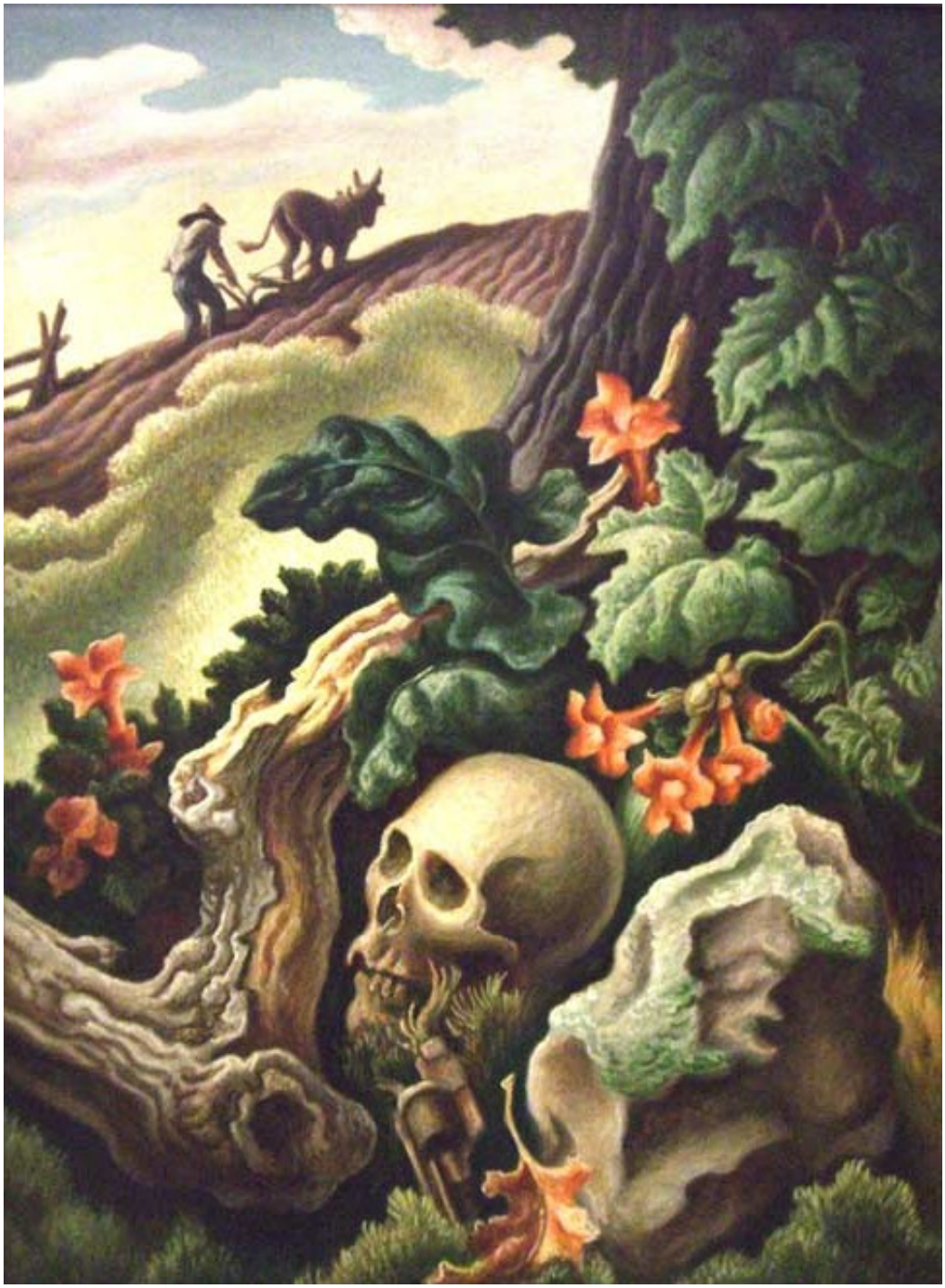
Benton's *Again* with its combination of hyperreal biblical and war images thus resolves the artist's crisis of representation in a way that not against but absolutely with the newer tendencies. And Benton has mythicized the war in *The Year of Peril* series such as *The Sowers* (fig. 7)

and *The Harvest*, which also draw on Old Testament concepts. For all its seemingly realist style, Benton' work adjusted the merging anti-realist feeling of the 1940s. Again marks Benton as not simply an "Americanist" propaganda artist, but a mythic artist, too.

And he would remain so. Benton would allude to mythic themes repeatedly. While his work seems to be still "Americanist" in subject and theme, he often subtly imbues with mythic complexity.

July Hay and *After Many Springs* of 1943 seem at first to return to American Scene topics, but they carry a message. Much like the "Persephone" culture Rothko declared dominant in much art in the early 1940s and found in his Entombment series, they symbolize not only suffering and death but also rebirth. Indeed, again like much Abstract Expressionist art, they expand and spin the cycle into an endless, natural pattern.[ix]

In *After Many Springs* (fig. 8), a gun and skull have been uncovered during the spring plowing of a field.

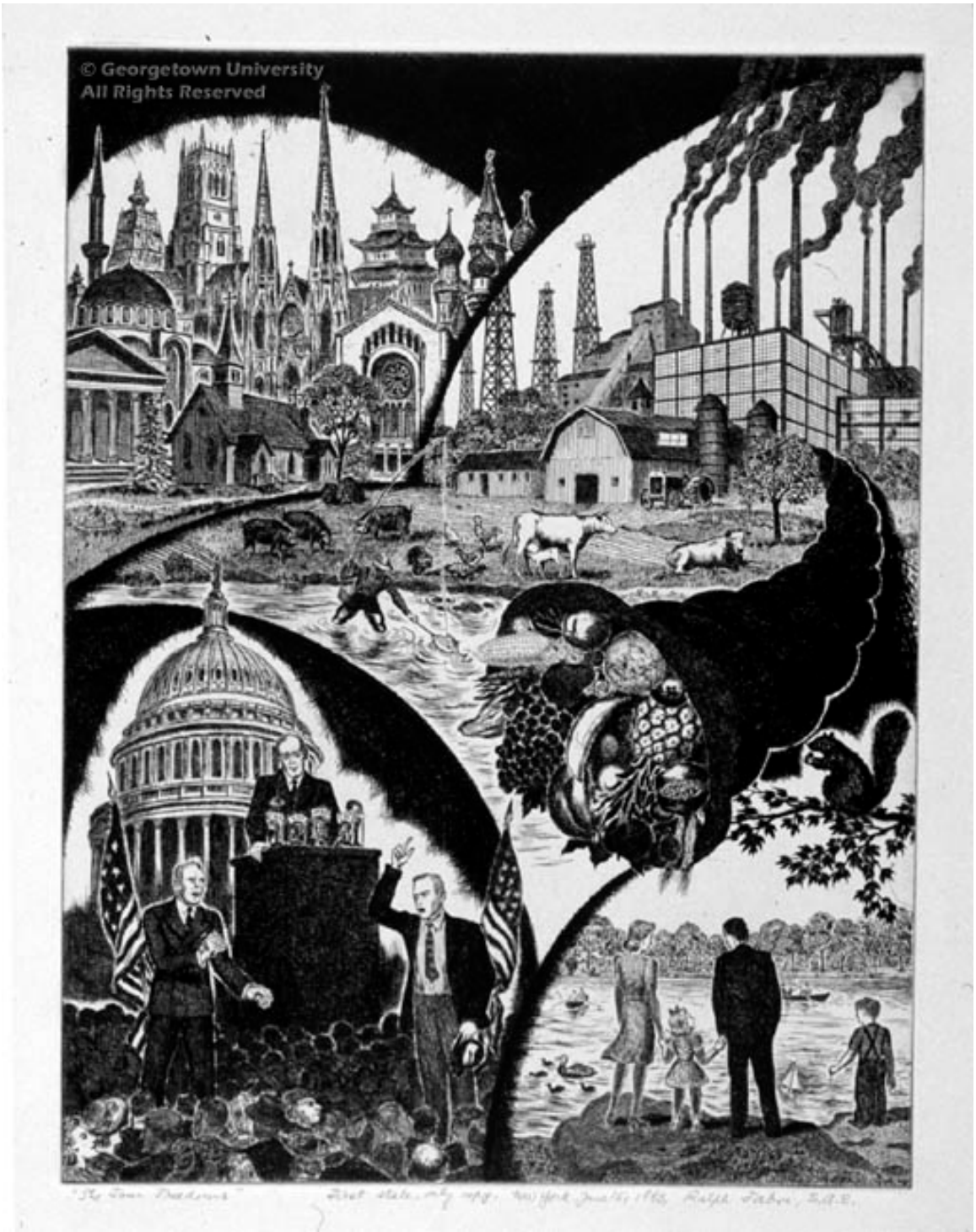


A dark secret has been revealed during the annual rite. This unexpected revelation of some murderous event or potential hidden below the surface of the world parallels themes in Abstract Expressionist art, as in, say, Gottlieb's *Recurrent Apparition* of

1946 (fig. 9).

Like most of Gottlieb's and other Abstract Expressionist work, the latter painting is about the darkness and the fearful that is hidden in the unconscious and in man.

July Hay (fig. 10) is in much the same hyperreal style as *After Many Springs.* Indeed, it is so intense that painting evokes the style of magical realism, an exhibition of which took place at The Museum of Modern Art in New York in the early 1940s that may have contributed to this growing tendency in Benton's work. The subject of *July Hay,* however, is not death but fecundity – the fullness and goodness of the earth. This rich landscape is an "Americanist" and mythic statement of life and growth, the dialectic opposite of the darkness in the world and the heart of man in the 1940s. In this context, fecund growth alludes to the coming of new life -– rebirth after war, as we see in Ralph Fabri's image of cornucopia in an etching *The Four Freedoms* of 1943 (fig. 11).



This idea and image appears in Abstract Expressionist work – as a horn of plenty in Richard Pousette-Dart's mixed media drawing *Opaque Harmony* of 1941-43, and in Lee Krasner's semiabstract

Cornucopia of 1958, a mature Abstract Expressionist work (fig. 12).

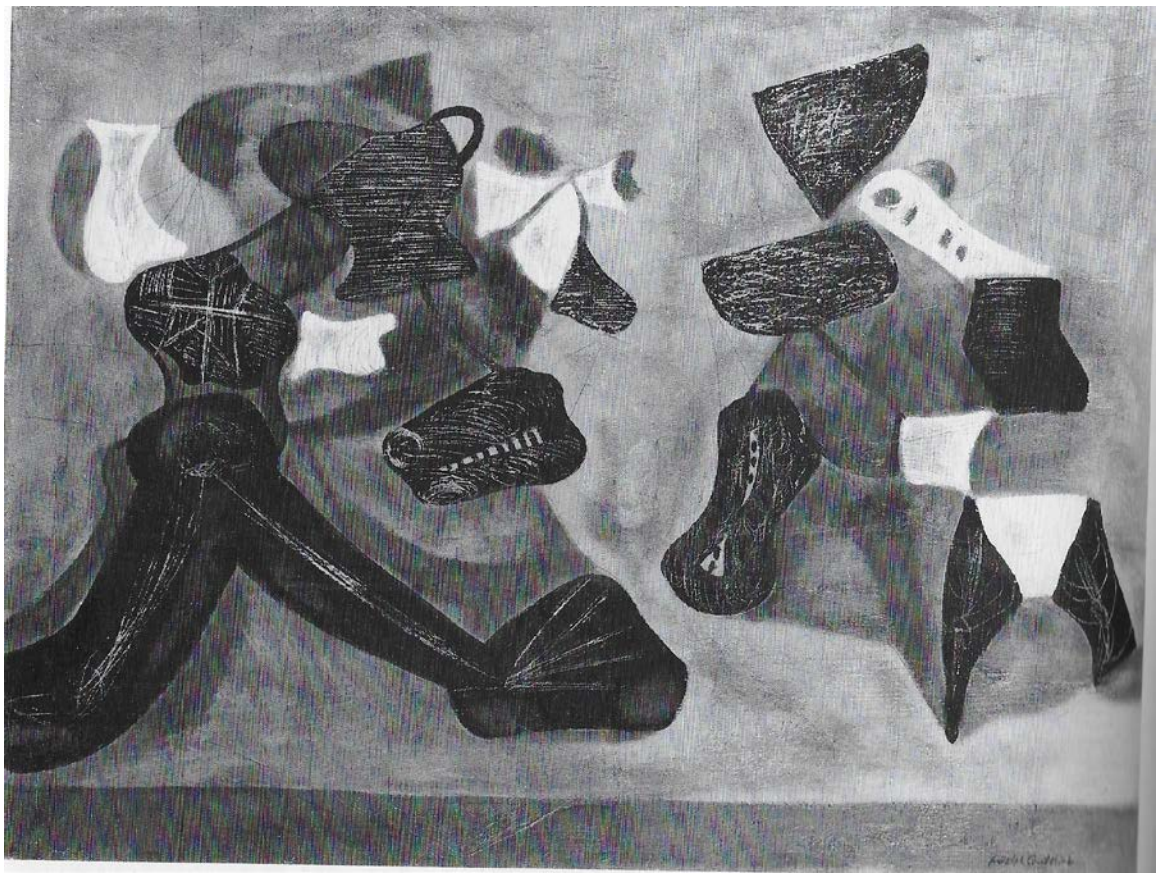
It also appears in Hans Hofmann's *Coming into Life* of 1946.All of these artists thus drew on the Persephone theme that had bee first developed in America in the 1930 to address the need for a renewal of Western life. As Thomas Wolfe in his popular novel *You Can't Go Home Again* of 1934 writes in discussing the earth as the place of cyclic and repeated new growth: "there will be something growing like a flower, something bursting from the earth again, forever deathless, faithful, coming into life again like April.[x]

Benton repeated the dialectic pattern of life and death in other paintings, sometimes in a single painting as *Silver Stump* of 1943 where broken branches represent death while fresh leaves represent new life.[xi] But perhaps *Achelous and Hercules* of 1946-47 (fig. 13) is the most fitting statement of this history-inspired image.

This large painting is a Greek mythic work in Benton's superreal style. Achelous, in the form of a bull, represents a river god who periodically overflows his bank. The bull fights with Hercules, who tears off one of its horns, releasing a cornucopia of bounty and female fecundity at the right of the painting. (John Dewey, a hero of Benton and many others of the period, had called for such a "growing bounty, a widespread plenty" after the war.[xii]

Benton wrote that his version of the story was taken from *Bullfinch's Mythology* and suggested that the painting has to do with the Missouri river,[xiii] but that is a regionalization of the allegorical theme of death and rebirth – here repeated as struggle and conflict leading to new life – that referred to both Depression America and the world in the wake of World War II. Gottlieb's *Nocturne*

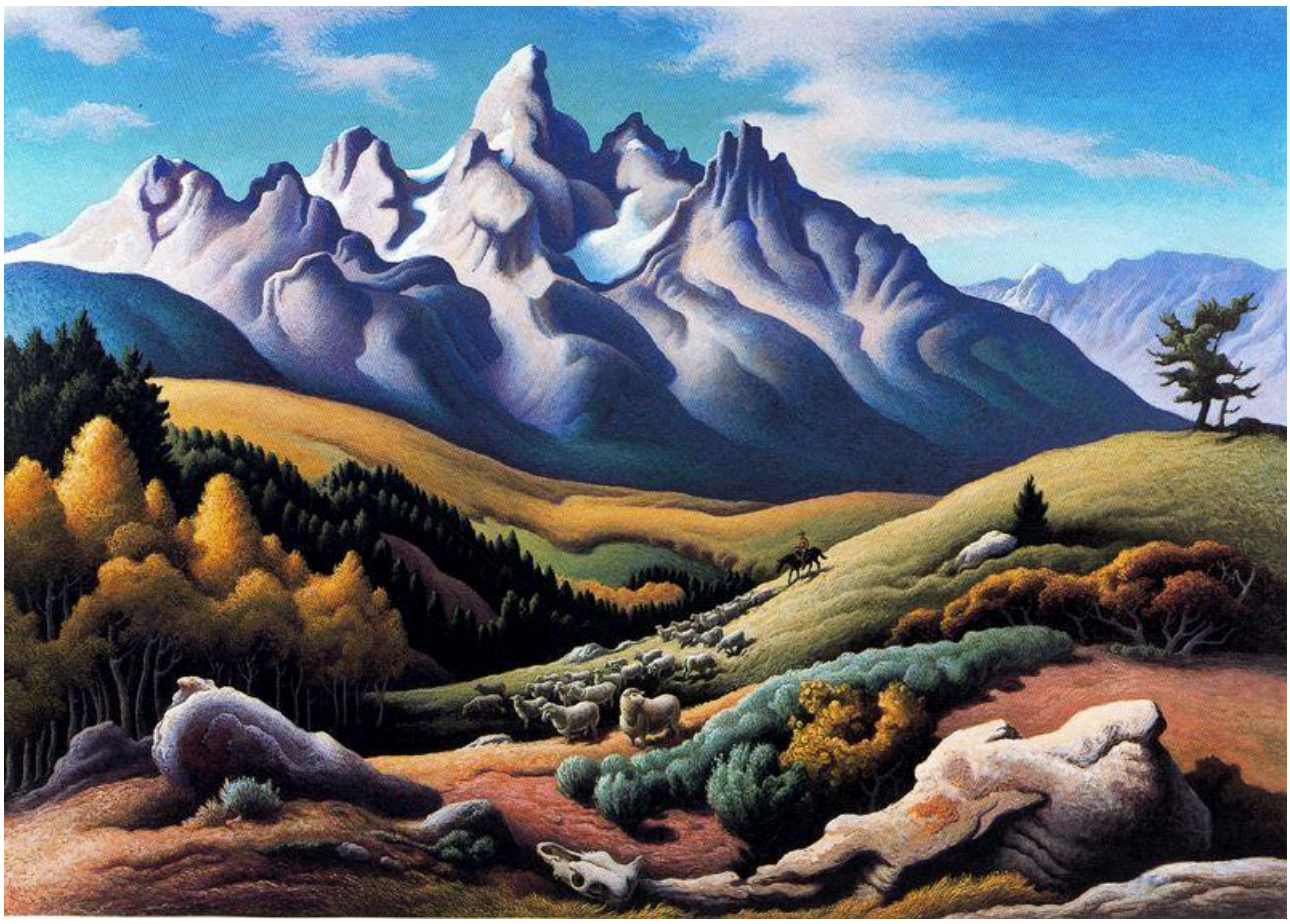
of 1945 (fig. 14), with its mythic struggle of Theseus and the Minotaur,



and *Omens of Spring* of 1950 bestrides the same theme in Abstract Expressionist terms.

In his later work, Benton would often carry on the mythic theme of death and rebirth, much as the Abstract Expressionists did in their later metaphoric abstractions. It may often be disguised as landscape as in

The Sheepherder of 1955-60 (fig. 15).



The painting seeks to represent the grandeur and lushness of the American West and nature, but such lushness is threatened by the inevitable presence, like a *memento mori* from some Dutch still life of death in the form a skull in the foreground. Benton intentionally placed the skull as though it were the head of a ribbed rock: a curving stone or bone to its right completes the scenario. Here Benton seems to suggest that death is part of a natural rhythm involving all of nature, both animal and mineral. Death and life make up a diverse but unified process.

The theme of death and rebirth may also be disguised as a contrast between sunny nature and the effects of modern civilization. Benton may have been the first artist to paint a modern garbage heap in his *The Arts of Life in America: Arts of the South* of 1933. The heap returned to threaten the beauty of unspoiled nature in *Butterfly Chaser* of 1951 (fig. 16) where the artist's daughter Jessie chases a butterfly on a summer's day in a verdant meadow near the sea, probably on Martha's Vineyard,

Benton's summer home. Jessie plays not far from modern refuse in the form of a rusted can, old shoe, dead leaves, and a broken tree limb. Benton updated the cycle of life and earth and anticipated the

environmental movement (while also drawing on a familiar theme of nineteenth century American landscape painting decrying the pollution of the American wilderness by encroaching industry).

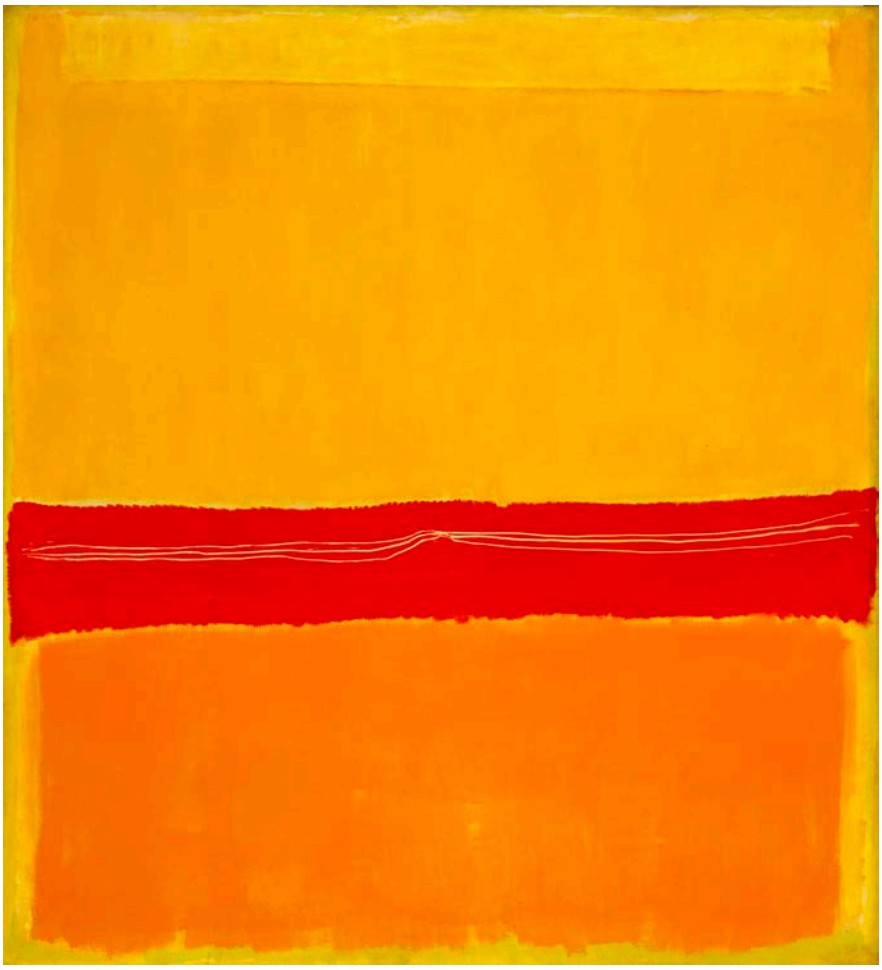
A last and perhaps strongest statement of Benton's mythic themes can be found in *Wheat* of 1967 (fig. 17), a few years before he died.

At first the painting seems to represent merely the success of the American farmer, and many observers would dismiss it as just another Benton statement of American nationalism, echoing John Steuart

Curry's *Kansas Cornfield* of 1933. As Elizabeth Broun has noted, however, Benton rooted the cycle of death and rebirth through the life cycle of wheat:

> Neat rows of heat move backward into infinity – an endless army of stalks emblematic of the democratic masses, recalling perhaps Whitman's "leaves of grass." In the foreground, two rows have been harvested, while peeking through the stubble, green shoots announce the next season's growth. Already the next ripe stalks bend under the weight of their heavy heads of grain. One broken stem falls dramatically across the standing verticals, a gesture of sacrifice borrowed from some pieta or deposition.[xiv]

With *Wheat* Benton created yet another Americanist vernacular version of mythic process. As such, *Wheat* indicates he kept pace in theme and for a moment in style with the finest of the new American painting. Creating natural images of mythic process parallels many Abstract Expressionists including the work of Rothko, with its rows of turbulent, forming, maturing, dying, turbulent color rectangles, in other words a perpetual, flowing, metamorphosis of expansion and contraction, stabilization and dissolution (fig. 18).



Though often treated as though they were formal or sublime images for their own sake, Rothko's works, through their pictorial action and movement, represent, as he said, "mythic action."[xv] He defined that action as "life, dissolution, and death."[xvi] Even Benton's broken stems of sacrifice echo Rothko's *Sacrifice* or *Entombment* paintings. Many Benton and Rothko's mature works, then, in their own idioms, portray and reenact the archetypal mythic process of life and death.

Benton thus cannot be limited to his prominent profile as an antimodernist realist artist painting only local American Regionalist

topics, as modernist would have it. He is much more complex than that. And with his early modernist dynamic Synchronism work, his politics of the "little" man in control of technological and industrial utopianism of his thirties murals, his folk epics, his modernist instruction of Jackson Pollock, and his later biblical, landscape, and vernacular mythic work, he is a figure who cannot be reduced to one movement and one style of work and thought, however prominent and convenient that moment is for textbook surveys and explanations of modern art. He is an American artist of diverse and rich achievement, capable of visualizing modern themes on his own terms.

Illustrations

Fig. 1. Thomas Hart Benton, *Again,* 1941. Egg Tempera and Oil on canvas mounted on panel, 47 x 56 in. The State Historical Society of Missouri, Columbia.

Fig. 2. Salvador Dali, *Soft Construction with Boiled Beans: Premonition of Civil War*, 1936. Oil on canvas. Philadelphia Museum of Art, 39 5/16 x 39 3/8 in. The Louise and Walter Arensberg Collection.

Fig. 3. Thomas Hart Benton*, Persephone*, 1938-9. Oil and tempera on linen over panel, 78 x 52 ½ in., Nelson-Atkins Museum.

Fig. 5. Mark Rothko, *Sacrifice of Iphigenia*, 1942. Oil on canvas, 50 x 37 in., National Gallery of Art, Washington, Collection Christopher Rothko.

Fig. 6. Thomas Hart Benton, *The Sowers*, 1942. Egg tempera and oil mounted on panel, 96 x 72 in., The State Historical Society of Missouri, Columbia.

Fig. 7. Thomas Hart Benton, *After Many Springs,* 1945. Egg tempera and oil on masonite., 30 x 21 ½ in., Nelsen-Atkins Museum.

Fig. 8. Adolph Gottlieb, *Recurrent Apparition*, 1946. 36 x 54 in. Elvehjem Museum of Art, University of Wisconsin-Madison.

Fig. 9. Thomas Hart Benton, *July Hay*, 1943. Egg Tempera and Oil on Masonite, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 38 x 26 ¾ in. George A. Hearn Fund.

Fig. 10. Ralph Fabri, *The Four Freedoms*, 1943. Etching. Georgetown University Library.

Fig. 11. Lee Krasner, *Cornucopia*, 1958. Oil on canvas, 90 5/8 x 70 in., University of Michigan, University Art Museum, Gordon F. Hampton Collection.

Fig. 12. Thomas Hart Benton, *Achelous and Hercules*, 1946-7. Egg tempera and oil canvas mounted on panel, 7 x 24 ft., National Museum of American Art.

Fig. 13. Adolph Gottlieb, *Nocturne,* 1945. Oil on canvas, 26 x 34 in., Adolph and Esther Gottlieb Foundation.

Fig. 14. Thomas Hart Benton, *The Sheepherder*, 1955-1960. Oil on canvas, 48 x 66 in, Nelson Atkins Museum of Art.

Fig. 15.. Thomas Hart Benton, *Butterfly Chaser*, 1951. Egg tempera and oil on canvas mounted on panel, 40 x 30 in. Collection Jesse Benton.

Fig. 16. Thomas Hart Benton, *Wheat*, 1967. Oil on panel, 19 ¼ x 21 in., National Museum of American Art.

Fig. 17. Mark Rothko, *Number 22*, 1949. Oil on canvas, 117 x 107 1/8 in., The Museum of Modern Art.

Endnotes

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[i] The original version of this essay was delivered as a paper at a symposium on Thomas Hart Benton on February 7, 1990 at the Whitney Museum of American Art.

[ii] See, among others, Matthew Baigell, Thomas Hart Benton *Synchromist Paintings 1915-1920 From a Private Collection,* December 2, 1981 to January 30, 1982 (New York: Salander-O' Reilly Galleries, Inc.); Stephen Polcari, "Jackson Pollock and Thomas Hart Benton" *Arts Magazine* (March 1979): 120-124; and Henry Adams, *Thomas Hart Benton An American Original* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1989).

[iii] *Thomas Hart Benton, An Artist in America,* 3rd ed., rev. (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1968), 297.

[iv] In a book with many fine parts but insupportable central thesis, Erika Doss's *Benton, Pollock, and the Politics of Modernism,* steps gingerly around this explanation by Benton of his reconsideration of Regionalism's adequacy to visualize the new world of world war. Doss does use some words of Benton's explanation but avoids citing in it in full, e.g. p. 282. However, Benton's repeated explanation raises serious questions about her book's thesis that Benton gave up reformist hopes because of a co-option by corporate America to substantiate its authority in the 1940s. The thesis is a cliché of postmodernism – corporate America failed because it was frustrated by the usual suspects of liberal

democratic life and capitalism -- militarism, imperialism, and big business. Doss drew this trope not only from postmodernism but also from her principle ideal, Serge Guilbaut's meretricious *How New York Stole the Idea of Modern Art* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983), of whom she became defendant. Since Doss cannot use Guilbault's clichés of war-mongering cold war, repressive America frustrating revolutionary desires, as he did for the Abstract Expressionists, for Benton in the later 1930s and 1940s, when isolationist America virtually had no army, she uses the next best one, "corporate liberalism" and capitalism, that is, big bad business.

In her desire to paint a picture of a frustrated reformist Benton in the 1940s, Ms. Doss seems unaware of the implications of a mythic, universalist address of reform issues that Benton and the Abstract Expressionists expounded, although she does mention some mythic paintings. (Benton's thirties' idealism consisting of a seeming desire for a yeoman-like worker in control of his work – a frequent ideal of the common man in the thirties – was obviously a pipe dream in an increasingly mass industrial society. It is not that Benton's complete dream of fulfilling work that failed but that part was already passé by the 1940s. To say that "corporate liberalism," a deliberate elision of the different mass society, industrialism, big business, and corporations of various sizes, defeated Benton's pie-in-the sky hope does not convince.)

Doss dismisses Benton's subsequent mythic paintings and others of the late 1930s and early1940s as mere irrelevant fantasies and retreat to the trivial because of his failure. But this dismissal fails to notice the similar social concerns of Benton's "men at war" art (see Jean Williams-Sherrill, *World War II Through the Eyes of Thomas Hart Benton,* December 7, 1991 to Aprii 5, 1992, Marion Koogler McNay Art Museum, San Antonio) in which the common man yet again fights the next crisis together, the war, as he did the previous decade. It also fails to note Benton's continued representation of the success of rural America -- his newly permanent home, and the work and control of the common man upon it. The latter takes advantage of the theme in America of the late 1930s that the environment and specifically the land are the origin and source of fructifying life. As this article indicates, while Benton had few opportunities during and after the war for elaborate murals, he never changed his hopes for the support and recognition for a full life possible In America, much of which was realized the boom years of the forties even without "worker" control. He just use mythic and landscape terms.

Doss's repetition of the formula of the frustration of reformist hopes, now psychological rather than just economic, for the therapeutic Pollock in the late 1940s is equally unsupportable. One must just note the often recognized "triumph of the therapeutic" in America in the last half of the twentieth century and the emergence of "psychological man" as the dominant social type of America replacing the nineteenth

century's "religious" man." The reforming of American society by means of the weapon of psychological heath is a commonplace in the last half of the twentieth century. For example, witness the social policy supported by the U.S. government, of helping children and chosen race, sex, and class groups reach proper "self-esteem" today.

[v] Doss, "The Year of Peril: Thomas Hart Benton and Surrealism," Paper delivered at the College Art Association, Philadelphia, February 18, 1983, and Doss, ibid.

[vi] In the foreword to James Thrall Soby, *Salvador Dali* (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1941), 7.

[vii] Soby, in ibid, 9.

[viii] Some observers may be startle by the easy change from non-Western to classical to biblical images among artists at this time. The equivalence of these mythic forms was a common the first half of the twentieth century. Sir James Frazer's book, *The Golden Bough*, for example, one of the most influential works of the twentieth century, discussed the evolution of humankind in the terms that equated biblical, classical, and so-called primitive rituals and myths. Similar comparative mythic conflations can be found from the work of Eliot, Pound, Joyce, and Lawrence to Orozco and Rivera, from Freud to Jung, among many cultural figures at this time. Such conflations asserted the equality of these cultures in contrast to the nineteenth century, and once

established, of course, the present generation is now confident to reassert differences.

[ix] In an introduction to the work of Clyfford Still in 1946 at Peggy Guggenheim's Art of This Century Gallery, Rothko declared Still's work an "extension" of the familiar Persephone myth, symbolizing a cyclic process of natural and seasonal transformation – repeated death followed by repeated, periodic rebirth that was prevalent among artistic "myth-makers" at the time. (Still objected to his inclusion in this and any group reprimanded Rothko, although he himself declared his work in general to represent "of Earth, the Damned and of the Recreated.") Benton's *Persephone* reveals his adoption of this mythic, cyclic approach by the late 1930s although the painting of a voyeuristic man peering at the fresh, fertile, voluptuous (perhaps indicative of his parents relationship) complicates the painting and nearly derails its theme.

[x] Thomas Wolfe, *You Can't Go Home Again* (New York: Harper Perennial, 1989), 40.

[xi] Elizabeth Broun, "The Thomas Hart Benton/ A Politician in Art," *Smithsonian Studies in American Art* I (Spring 1987): 70-71. Broun's essay is an excellent discussion of Benton's politics of the 1930s and its relationship to his mythic work. It is interesting that an artist that Benton admired and who profoundly influenced his work, Diego Rivera (Symposium, Cleveland Museum of Art, December 1998), claimed that

"The revolutionary artist is a soldier of the revolution whose work feeds the struggle. Art is as nourishing as wheat." That Benton may be identifying with the generative nature of art was perhaps thus inspired partly by Rivera's metaphor.

[xii] John Dewey, "The Future of the People Will Be "Up To The People," *Life* Magazine (September 7, 1942)

[xiii] Cited In Broun, "Thomas Hart Benton,'" 73.

[xiv] Ibid, 75.

[xv] Quoted in Werner Haftman, *Mark Rothko* (Zurich: Kunsthaus, and New York: Marlborough Gallery, 1971) ix.

[xvi] Quoted in Dore Ashton, "The Rothko Chapel in Houston," *Studio International* 181 (June 1971): 274.