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THE NATURAL PARADISE
PAINTING IN AMERICA 1800-1950
THE MUSEUM OF MODERN ART, NEW YORK



October 1–November 30, 1976

*An exhibition celebrating
the Bicentennial of the United States of America
and made possible through the generous support of the
National Endowment for the Arts in Washington, D.C.*

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

IT HAS BEEN a privilege to bring together these masterpieces of nineteenth- and twentieth-century American art from public and private collections in celebration of the Bicentennial. On behalf of the Trustees of The Museum of Modern Art, I wish to acknowledge a great debt of gratitude to all of the lenders who have graciously consented to share their works on this occasion. Their cooperation and enthusiasm have been an immeasurable source of encouragement. The preparation of this exhibition represents a complex undertaking. To all who have given unstintingly of their advice and time, I am profoundly grateful.

Kynaston McShine

Curator, Department of Painting and Sculpture

LENDERS TO THE EXHIBITION

His Majesty, the King of Sweden; Lee B. Anderson; John Astor; Mr. and Mrs. James Biddle; Mr. and Mrs. Edmund J. Bowen; Mr. and Mrs. Warren Brandt; Doris Bry; Carter Burden; The Century Association; Clark Equipment Company; The Dietrich Corporation; Mr. and Mrs. Frank Duveneck; Iowa State Education Association; Mr. and Mrs. Samuel H. Lindenbaum; Mr. and Mrs. Clay Lockett; Lisa Marie Marin; Mr. and Mrs. Charles Mayer; Menil Foundation Inc.; Annalee Newman; Roy R. Neuberger; Georgia O'Keeffe; Lee Krasner Pollock; Mr. and Mrs. Meyer P. Potamkin; Ernest Rosenfeld; Estate of Mrs. Mark Rothko; David Rust; Mr. and Mrs. Benno C. Schmidt; Mrs. John H. Storer; "21" Club; Peter Kriendler, President; United States Department of the Interior; The Warner Collection of Gulf States Paper Corporation; Mr. and Mrs. Erving Wolf; Five Anonymous Collectors.

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Hirschl and Adler Galleries, New York; M. Knoedler & Co., Inc., New York; Washburn Gallery, New York.



CHECKLIST OF THE EXHIBITION

DATES enclosed in parentheses do not appear on the works themselves. Dimensions are given in inches and centimeters, height preceding width. Watercolors and drawings are works on paper, for which sheet sizes are given.

ALLSTON, Washington. 1779-1843

1. *Landscape with a Lake*. 1804. Oil on canvas, 38 x 51 1/4 in. (96.5 x 130.2 cm). Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. M. and M. Karolik Collection

AVERY, Milton. 1893-1965

2. *Gaspé-Pink Sky*. (1940). Oil on canvas, 32 x 44 in. (81.3 x 111.8 cm). Collection Mr. and Mrs. Samuel H. Lindenbaum, New York
3. *White Sea*. 1947. Oil on canvas, 30 x 40 in. (76.2 x 101.6 cm). Collection Mr. and Mrs. Warren Brandt, New York

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BAZIOTES, William. 1912-1963

4. *Primeval Landscape*. 1953. Oil on canvas, 60 x 72 in. (152.4 x 182.9 cm). Samuel S. Fleisher Art Memorial, courtesy Philadelphia Museum of Art

BELLOWS, George. 1882-1925

5. *The Sea*. (1911). Oil on canvas, 34 x 44 1/8 in. (86.3 x 111.9 cm). Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

BIERSTADT, Albert. 1830-1902

6. *The Blue Grotto, Capri*. (c. 1857-58). Oil on card-board, 6 7/8 x 8 3/4 in. (17.4 x 22.2 cm). Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore
7. *Sunset in the Yosemite Valley*. 1868. Oil on canvas, 35 1/2 x 51 1/2 in. (90.2 x 130.8 cm). Pioneer Museum and Haggin Galleries, Stockton, California
8. *Cloud Study: Sunset*. (c. 1870-90). Oil on paper mounted on board, 13 3/8 x 18 7/8 in. (34 x 48 cm). The Detroit Institute of Arts. Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Harold O. Love
9. *Beach Scene*. (c. 1871-73). Oil on paper mounted on fiberboard, 13 1/4 x 18 1/2 in. (33.7 x 47 cm). Seattle Art Museum. Gift of Mrs. John McCone in memory of Ada E. Pigott
10. *The Great Trees, Mariposa Grove, California*. (c. 1875). Oil on canvas, 118 3/8 x 59 1/4 in. (300.5 x 150.5 cm). Hirschl and Adler Galleries, New York

BINGHAM, George Caleb. 1811-1879

11. *The Storm*. (c. 1850). Oil on canvas, 25 1/8 x 30 1/8 in. (63.8 x 76.5 cm). Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford. Gift of Henry E. Schnakenberg

BLAKELOCK, Ralph Albert. 1847-1919

12. *The Poetry of Moonlight*. (c. 1880-90). Oil on canvas, 30 x 25 1/4 in. (76.2 x 64.1 cm). Heckscher Museum, Huntington, New York. August Heckscher Collection

BRADFORD, William. 1823-1892

13. *An Arctic Summer, Boring through the Pack Ice in Melville Bay*. 1871. Oil on canvas, 51 3/4 x 78 in. (131.5 x 198.2 cm). Collection Mr. and Mrs. Erving Wolf, Houston

BRICHER, Alfred Thompson. 1837-1908

14. *Indian Rock, Narragansett Bay*. 1871. Oil on canvas, 27 x 50 1/4 in. (68.6 x 127.7 cm). Private collection
15. *Morning at Grand Manan*. 1878. Oil on canvas, 25 x 50 in. (63.5 x 127 cm). Indianapolis Museum of Art. Martha Delzell Memorial Fund

BURCHFIELD, Charles. 1893-1967

16. *House and Tree by Arc Light*. 1916. Watercolor, 20 x 13 7/8 in. (50.8 x 35.3 cm). Munson-Williams-Proctor Institute, Utica, New York. Edward W. Root Bequest
17. *Church Bells Ringing, Rainy Winter Night*. 1917. Watercolor, 30 x 19 in. (76.2 x 48.3 cm). The Cleveland Museum of Art. Gift of Mrs. Louise M. Dunn, in memory of Henry G. Keller
18. *The First Hepaticas*. 1917-18. Watercolor, 21 1/2 x 27 1/2 in. (54.6 x 69.9 cm). The Museum of Modern Art, New York. Gift of Abby Aldrich Rockefeller
19. *The Night Wind*. 1918. Watercolor and gouache, 21 1/2 x 21 7/8 in. (54.6 x 55.6 cm). The Museum of Modern Art, New York. Gift of A. Conger Goodyear

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CATLIN, George. 1796-1872

20. Landscape background for *An Indian Council, Sioux*. (c. 1846-48). Oil on canvas, 19¼ x 26⅞ in. (48.9 x 67.8 cm). National Collection of Fine Arts, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.
21. Landscape background for *Elk and Buffalo Grazing among Flowers*. (c. 1846-48). Oil on canvas, 19½ x 27⅞ in. (49.5 x 70.2 cm). National Collection of Fine Arts, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

CHURCH, Frederic Edwin. 1826-1900

22. *Niagara*. (c. 1856-57). Oil on paper, 12 x 35 in. (31 x 88.9 cm). Private collection
23. *Niagara Falls*. 1857. Oil on canvas, 42½ x 90½ in. (108 x 229.9 cm). Corcoran Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.
24. Three studies of Icebergs. 1859. Oil on cardboard, 5 x 11⅞ in. (12.7 x 28.3 cm), 4⅝ x 11⅞ in. (11.8 x 29.6 cm), 5⅝ x 13⅞ in. (13.7 x 35.2 cm). Cooper-Hewitt Museum of Design, Smithsonian Institution, New York
25. Three studies of Icebergs. 1859. Pencil and white gouache on colored paper, 4½ x 8 in. (11.5 x 20.3 cm), 4½ x 8¼ in. (11.5 x 20.9 cm), 4½ x 8¼ in. (11.5 x 20.9 cm). Cooper-Hewitt Museum of Design, Smithsonian Institution, New York
26. *Iceberg*. 1859. Oil on cardboard, 12 x 20⅞ in. (30.5 x 51 cm). Cooper-Hewitt Museum of Design, Smithsonian Institution, New York
27. *Iceberg*. (1859). Pencil and oil on cardboard, 12 x 20⅞ in. (30.5 x 51.1 cm). Cooper-Hewitt Museum of Design, Smithsonian Institution, New York
28. *Our Banner in the Sky*. (c. 1860-69). Chromolithograph, 7⅞ x 11¼ in. (18.7 x 28.6 cm). Olana State Historic Site, Hudson on Hudson, New York. New York State Office of Parks & Recreation

29. *Cotopaxi*. 1862. Oil on canvas, 48 x 85 in. (121.9 x 215.9 cm). Collection John Astor, Miami
30. *The Icebergs (The North)*. 1863. Chromolithograph by C. Risdon after a lost painting of 1861, 20¾ x 35½ in. (52.7 x 90.2 cm). Olana State Historic Site, Hudson on Hudson, New York. New York State Office of Parks & Recreation
31. *Rainy Season in the Tropics*. 1866. Oil on canvas, 56¼ x 84¼ in. (142.9 x 214 cm). The Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, California Palace of the Legion of Honor. Mildred Anna Williams Collection

COLE, Thomas. 1801-1848

32. *Landscape (Landscape with Tree Trunks)*. 1825. Oil on canvas, 26½ x 32½ in. (67.3 x 82.6 cm). Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design, Providence. Walter H. Kimball Fund
33. *Kaaterskill Falls*. 1826. Oil on canvas, 43 x 36 in. (109.2 x 91.4 cm). The Warner Collection of Gulf States Paper Corporation, Tuscaloosa, Alabama
34. *Expulsion from the Garden of Eden*. (c. 1827-28). Oil on canvas, 39 x 54 in. (99.1 x 137.2 cm). Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. M. and M. Karolik Collection
35. Sketch for *Manhood*. (c. 1839). Oil on canvas, 11 x 16¾ in. (27.9 x 42.5 cm). Munson-Williams-Proctor Institute, Utica, New York
36. *Mount Etna from Taormina*. 1844. Oil on canvas, 32¼ x 48 in. (81.9 x 121.9 cm). Lyman Allyn Museum, New London, Connecticut

CROPSEY, Jasper Francis. 1823-1900

37. *Indian Summer Morning in the White Mountains*. 1857. Oil on canvas, 39¼ x 61¼ in. (99.7 x 155.6 cm). The Currier Gallery of Art, Manchester, New Hampshire

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DAVIES, Arthur B. 1862-1928

38. *Unicorns*. 1906. Oil on canvas, 18¼ x 40¼ in. (46.4 x 102.3 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Bequest of Lillie P. Bliss, 1931
39. *Emerald Bay*. (c. 1914). Oil on panel, 5½ x 9¾ in. (13 x 23.8 cm). The Oakland Museum, Oakland, California. Gift of Concours d'Antiques, Art Guild, Oakland Museum Association
40. *Lake Tahoe*. (c. 1914). Oil on panel, 5¾ x 9¾ in. (13.7 x 23.8 cm). The Oakland Museum, Oakland, California. Gift of Concours d'Antiques, Art Guild, Oakland Museum Association
41. *Mt. Diablo, California*. (c. 1914). Oil on panel, 5¾ x 8¾ in. (14.6 x 22.2 cm). The Oakland Museum, Oakland, California. Gift of Concours d'Antiques, Art Guild, Oakland Museum Association
42. *Mt. Tamalpais*. (c. 1914). Oil on panel, 5¼ x 9¾ in. (13.3 x 23.8 cm). The Oakland Museum, Oakland, California. Gift of Concours d'Antiques, Art Guild, Oakland Museum Association
43. *The Umbrian Mountains*. 1925. Oil on canvas, 25⅞ x 39⅞ in. (65.7 x 101.3 cm). Corcoran Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

DEWING, Thomas Wilmer. 1851-1938

44. *The White Birch*. (c. 1896-99). Oil on canvas, 42 x 54 in. (106.7 x 137.2 cm). Washington University Gallery of Art, St. Louis

DICKINSON, Edwin. Born 1891

45. *Stranded Brig*. 1934. Oil on canvas, 40 x 50 in. (101.6 x 127 cm). Museum of Fine Arts, Springfield, Massachusetts. Government Collection

DIXON, Maynard. 1875-1946

46. *Cloud World*. 1925. Oil on canvas, 34 x 62 in. (86.4 x 157.5 cm). Collection Mr. and Mrs. Clay Lockett, Tucson, Arizona

DOUGHTY, Thomas. 1793-1856

47. *Untitled Landscape (Rowing on a Mountain Lake)*. (c. 1835). Oil on canvas, 17 x 14 in. (43.2 x 35.6 cm). Dartmouth College Museum and Galleries, Hanover, New Hampshire. Whittier Fund

DOVE, Arthur G. 1880-1946

48. *Sunrise III*. 1937. Wax emulsion on canvas, 24⅞ x 35⅞ in. (63.2 x 89.2 cm). Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven, Connecticut. Gift of Katherine S. Dreier to the Collection Société Anonyme
49. *Holbrook's Bridge to the Northwest*. 1938. Wax emulsion on canvas, 25 x 35 in. (63.5 x 88.9 cm). Collection Roy R. Neuberger, New York
50. *Willows*. (1940). Oil on gesso on canvas, 25 x 35 in. (63.5 x 88.9 cm). The Museum of Modern Art, New York. Gift of Duncan Phillips

DUNCANSON, Robert S. 1817-1872

51. *Land of the Lotos-Eaters*. 1861. Oil on canvas, 52¾ x 88⅞ in. (134 x 225 cm). His Majesty, the King of Sweden

DURAND, Asher B. 1796-1886

52. *Early Morning at Cold Spring*. 1850. Oil on canvas, 59 x 47½ in. (149.9 x 120.6 cm). Montclair Art Museum, Montclair, New Jersey. Lang Acquisition Fund, 1945

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53. *In the Woods*. 1855. Oil on canvas, 60 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 48 in. (154.3 x 121.9 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Gift in memory of Jonathan Sturges by his children, 1895

DUVENECK, Frank. 1848-1919

54. *Opbelia*. (c. 1885-90). Oil on canvas, 21 $\frac{1}{4}$ x 30 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (54 x 76.8 cm). Collection Mr. and Mrs. Frank Duveneck, Los Altos, California

EAKINS, Thomas. 1844-1916

55. *The Meadows, Gloucester, N.J.* (c. 1882). Oil on canvas, 32 $\frac{1}{4}$ x 45 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (81.9 x 114.9 cm). Philadelphia Museum of Art. The Thomas Eakins Collection

EILSHEMIUS, Louis Michel. 1864-1941

56. *Surf at Easthampton*. 1889. Oil on canvas, 14 $\frac{1}{4}$ x 20 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (36.2 x 52.1 cm). Collection Mr. and Mrs. Meyer P. Potamkin
57. *The Flying Dutchman*. 1908. Oil on composition board, 23 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 25 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (59.7 x 64.8 cm). Whitney Museum of American Art, New York

GIFFORD, Sanford R. 1823-1880

58. *Kaaterskill Falls*. 1862. Oil on canvas, 48 x 39 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (121.9 x 101.4 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Bequest of Maria De Witt Jesup, 1915

GORKY, Arshile. 1904-1948

59. *Water of the Flowery Mill*. 1944. Oil on canvas, 42 $\frac{1}{4}$ x 48 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (107.4 x 123.8 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. George A. Hearn Fund, 1956

60. *The Plough and the Song*. 1947. Oil on canvas, 50 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 62 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (128.9 x 159.4 cm). Allen Memorial Art Museum, Oberlin College, Oberlin, Ohio

GOTTlieb, Adolph. 1903-1974

61. *Flotsam at Noon (Imaginary Landscape)*. 1952. Oil on canvas, 36 $\frac{1}{8}$ x 48 in. (91.7 x 121.9 cm). The Museum of Modern Art, New York. Gift of Samuel A. Berger

GRAVES, Morris. Born 1910

62. *Snake and Moon*. (1938-39). Gouache and watercolor, 25 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 30 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (64.8 x 76.8 cm). The Museum of Modern Art, New York. Purchase
63. *Little-Known Bird of the Inner Eye*. (1941). Gouache, 20 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 36 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (52.7 x 93.1 cm), irreg. The Museum of Modern Art, New York. Purchase
64. *Joyous Young Pine*. (1944). Watercolor and gouache, 53 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 27 in. (136.2 x 68.6 cm). The Museum of Modern Art, New York. Purchase (by exchange)

HAMILTON, James. 1819-1878

65. *Burning Oil Well at Night, near Titusville, Pa.* (c. 1859). Oil on canvas, 20 x 14 in. (50.8 x 35.5 cm). Collection Lee B. Anderson, New York
66. *Foundering*. 1863. Oil on canvas, 59 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 48 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (151.8 x 122.6 cm). The Brooklyn Museum, New York. Dick S. Ramsay Fund

HARTLEY, Marsden. 1877-1943

67. *Landscape, New Mexico*. (c. 1918). Oil on canvas, 28 x 36 in. (71.1 x 91.4 cm). Washburn Gallery, New York
68. *Off to the Banks*. 1936. Oil on composition board, 18 x 24 in. (46.4 x 61 cm). Private collection

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69. *Northern Seascape—Off the Banks*. (1936–37). Oil on composition board, 18¼ x 24 in. (46.4 x 61 cm). Milwaukee Art Center. Bequest of Max E. Friedman
70. *Evening Storm, Schoodic, Maine*. 1942. Oil on composition board, 30 x 40 in. (76.2 x 101.6 cm). The Museum of Modern Art, New York. Acquired through the Lillie P. Bliss Bequest

HEADE, Martin Johnson. 1819–1904

71. *Twilight, Salt Marshes*. (c. 1860–69). Charcoal and colored chalks, 11 x 21½ in. (27.9 x 54.1 cm). Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. M. and M. Karolik Collection
72. *Sunset: A Scene in Brazil*. (c. 1864–65). Oil on canvas, 19¼ x 34 in. (48.9 x 86.4 cm). Collection Mr. and Mrs. Edmund J. Bowen, Delray Beach, Florida
73. *Newburyport Marshes: Passing Storm*. (c. 1865–70). Oil on canvas, 15 x 30 in. (38.1 x 76.2 cm). Bowdoin College Museum of Art, Brunswick, Maine
74. *Thunderstorm over Narragansett Bay*. 1868. Oil on canvas, 32½ x 54¾ in. (81.5 x 139.1 cm). Collection Ernest Rosenfeld, New York
75. *Yellow Orchid and Two Hummingbirds*. (c. 1870–79). Oil on canvas, 14 x 22 in. (35.6 x 55.8 cm). Collection David Rust
76. *Giant Magnolias on a Blue Velvet Cloth*. (c. 1885–95). Oil on canvas, 15 x 24 in. (38.1 x 60.9 cm). Private collection

HITCHCOCK, David Howard. 1861–1943

77. *Hawaiian Volcano*. 1896. Oil on canvas, 30 x 48½ in. (76.2 x 123.2 cm). Mills College Art Gallery, Oakland, California. Gift of the family of Mr. and Mrs. Edward M. Walsh

HOMER, Winslow. 1836–1910

78. *Prout's Neck, Breaking Wave*. 1887. Watercolor, 15¼ x 21½ in. (38.5 x 54.7 cm). The Art Institute of Chicago. Mr. and Mrs. Martin A. Ryerson Collection, 1933
79. *Winter Coast*. 1890. Oil on canvas, 36 x 31½ in. (91.9 x 80.3 cm). John G. Johnson Collection, Philadelphia
80. *The Wrecked Schooner*. (c. 1910). Watercolor, 15 x 21½ in. (38.1 x 54.6 cm). The St. Louis Art Museum

HOPPER, Edward. 1882–1967

81. *Railroad Sunset*. 1929. Oil on canvas, 28¼ x 47¾ in. (71.8 x 121.3 cm). Whitney Museum of American Art, New York. Bequest of Josephine N. Hopper

INNESS, George. 1825–1894

82. *The Home of the Heron*. 1893. Oil on canvas, 30 x 45 in. (76.2 x 104.3 cm). The Art Institute of Chicago. Edward B. Butler Collection
83. *Niagara*. 1893. Oil on canvas, 45¼ x 70½ in. (114.9 x 177.9 cm). Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

JOHNSON, Eastman. 1824–1906

84. *A Ride for Liberty—The Fugitive Slaves*. (c. 1862). Oil on composition board, 22 x 26¼ in. (55.9 x 66.7 cm). The Brooklyn Museum, New York. Gift of Miss Gwendolyn O. L. Conkling

KENSETT, John Frederick. 1816–1872

85. *Whirlpool, Niagara*. (c. 1851). Oil on canvas, 13½ x 22 in. (34.3 x 55.9 cm). Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. M. and M. Karolik Collection.

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86. *Autumn Afternoon on Lake George*. 1864. Oil on canvas, 48 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 72 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (123.9 x 184.2 cm). Corcoran Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

87. *Coast Scene with Figures*. 1869. Oil on canvas, 36 $\frac{1}{4}$ x 60 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (92.1 x 153 cm). Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford. The Ella Gallup Sumner and Mary Catlin Sumner Collection

LA FARGE, John. 1835-1910

88. *Clouds over Sea: From Paradise Rocks, Newport*. (1863). Oil on canvas, 10 x 14 in. (25.4 x 35.6 cm). Collection Mrs. John H. Storer, New York

89. *Berkeley's, or Hanging Rock, Paradise, Newport, North Wind, Autumn*. (1869). Oil on panel, 10 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 9 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (27.3 x 23.5 cm). Wellesley College Museum, Wellesley, Massachusetts. Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Stanley Feldberg

LANE, Fitz Hugh. 1804-1865

90. *Christmas Cove, Maine*. 1859. Oil on canvas, 15 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 24 in. (39.4 x 61 cm). Private collection

91. *Owl's Head, Penobscot Bay, Maine*. 1862. Oil on canvas, 16 x 26 in. (40.6 x 66.1 cm). Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. M. and M. Karolik Collection

92. *Brace's Rock, Eastern Point, Gloucester*. (1863). Oil on canvas, 10 x 15 in. (25.4 x 38.1 cm). Private collection

LIE, Jonas. 1880-1940

93. *The Conquerors (Culebra Cut), Panama Canal*. 1913. Oil on canvas, 59 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 49 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (151.8 x 126.7 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. George A. Hearn Fund, 1914

MARIN, John. 1872-1953

94. *Study of the Sea*. 1917. Watercolor, 16 x 19 in. (40.6 x 48.2 cm). Columbus Gallery of Fine Arts, Columbus, Ohio. Gift of Ferdinand Howald

95. *Palisades, Hudson River*. (1917). Watercolor, 16 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 19 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (41.6 x 49.5 cm). Collection Lisa Marie Marin, courtesy Marlborough Gallery, New York

96. *Camden Mountain across the Bay*. 1922. Watercolor, 17 $\frac{1}{4}$ x 20 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (43.8 x 52.1 cm). The Museum of Modern Art, New York. Gift of Abby Aldrich Rockefeller (by exchange)

97. *Off York Island*. 1922. Watercolor, 17 $\frac{1}{4}$ x 20 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (43.8 x 51 cm). Columbus Gallery of Fine Arts, Columbus, Ohio. Gift of Ferdinand Howald

98. *Palisades No. 1*. 1922. Watercolor, 16 x 19 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (40.7 x 48.6 cm). Columbus Gallery of Fine Arts, Columbus, Ohio. Gift of Ferdinand Howald

99. *Buoy, Maine*. 1931. Watercolor, 14 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 19 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (37.5 x 48.9 cm). The Museum of Modern Art, New York. Gift of Philip L. Goodwin

MARTIN, Homer Dodge. 1836-1897

100. *Lake Sanford*. 1870. Oil on canvas, 24 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 39 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (62.2 x 100.4 cm). The Century Association, New York

MORAN, Thomas. 1837-1926

101. *Slaves Escaping through the Swamp*. 1863. Oil on canvas, 34 x 44 in. (86.4 x 111.8 cm). Philbrook Art Center, Tulsa, Oklahoma. Laura A. Clubb Collection

102. *Great Blue Spring of the Lower Geyser Basin, Fire Hole River, Yellowstone*. 1872. Watercolor, 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 13 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (24.2 x 34.9 cm). Collection Mr. and Mrs. James Biddle, Washington, D.C.

103. *Great Blue Spring of the Lower Geyser Basin, Fire Hole River, Yellowstone*. 1872. Watercolor, 9 x 16 in. (22.9 x 40.6 cm). The Dietrich Corporation, Reading, Pennsylvania

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104. *Cliffs of the Rio Virgin*. 1873. Watercolor, 8 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 14 in. (21.9 x 35.6 cm). Cooper-Hewitt Museum of Design, Smithsonian Institution, New York
105. *The Chasm of the Colorado*. 1873-74. Oil on canvas, 84 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 144 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (214.4 x 367.7 cm). United States Department of the Interior, Washington, D.C.

NEWMAN, Barnett. 1905-1970

106. *Pagan Void*. 1946. Oil on canvas, 33 x 38 in. (83.8 x 96.6 cm). Collection Annalee Newman, New York
107. *Onement I*. 1948. Oil on canvas, 27 x 16 in. (68.6 x 40.7 cm). Collection Annalee Newman, New York
108. *The Voice*. (1950). Egg tempera and enamel on canvas, 96 $\frac{1}{8}$ x 105 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (244.1 x 268 cm). The Museum of Modern Art, New York. The Sidney and Harriet Janis Collection

O'KEEFFE, Georgia. Born 1887

109. *Evening Star III*. (1917). Watercolor, 9 x 11 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (22.9 x 30.2 cm). The Museum of Modern Art, New York. Mr. and Mrs. Donald B. Straus Fund
110. *Orange and Red Streak*. (1919). Oil on canvas, 27 $\frac{1}{4}$ x 23 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (69.2 x 59.1 cm). Collection Doris Bry, New York, for Georgia O'Keeffe
111. *Black Cross, New Mexico*. (1929). Oil on canvas, 39 x 30 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (99.1 x 76.5 cm). The Art Institute of Chicago. Art Institute Purchase Fund
112. *Summer Days*. (1936). Oil on canvas, 36 x 30 in. (91.4 x 77.2 cm). Collection Doris Bry, New York, for Georgia O'Keeffe
113. *Hills and Mesa to the West*. (1945). Oil on canvas, 19 x 36 in. (48.2 x 91.4 cm). Private collection

PARRISH, Maxfield. 1870-1966

114. *The Spirit of Transportation*. 1920. Oil on board, 35 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 27 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (90.2 x 69.9 cm). Clark Equipment Company, Buchanan, Michigan
115. *Village School House*. 1937. Oil on composition board, 31 x 25 in. (78.8 x 63.5 cm). Everson Museum of Art of Syracuse and Onondaga County, Syracuse, N.Y. Extended loan from the Pratt-Northam Foundation

PIAZZONI, Gottardo. 1872-1945

116. *Silence*. (c. 1910-13). Oil on panel, 26 $\frac{1}{8}$ x 32 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (66.4 x 81.9 cm). On loan to The Oakland Museum, Oakland, California, from the M. H. de Young Memorial Museum, San Francisco. Gift of the Skae Fund Legacy
117. *Decoration for over the Mantel*. (c. 1926-27). Oil on canvas, 30 $\frac{1}{4}$ x 46 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (76.8 x 117.5 cm). San Francisco Museum of Modern Art. Albert M. Bender Collection

POLLOCK, Jackson. 1912-1956

118. *Seascape*. 1934. Oil on canvas, 12 x 16 in. (30.4 x 40.6 cm). Collection Lee Krasner Pollock
119. *The Flame*. (c. 1934-38). Oil on the smooth side of masonite, 20 x 30 in. (50.8 x 76.2 cm). Collection Lee Krasner Pollock
120. *Summertime (Number 9A, 1948)*. 1948. Oil and enamel on canvas, 33 $\frac{1}{4}$ x 218 in. (84.5 x 553.6 cm). Collection Lee Krasner Pollock
121. *The Deep*. 1953. Oil and enamel on canvas, 86 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 59 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (220.3 x 150.2 cm). Centre National d'Art et de Culture Georges Pompidou, Musée National d'Art Moderne, Paris. Given in memory of John de Menil by his children, the Menil Foundation and Samuel J. Wagstaff, Jr.

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REMINGTON, Frederic. 1861-1909

122. *How Order No. 6 Went Through (The Vision)*. 1899. Oil on canvas, 26 x 39 in. (66 x 99 cm). "21" Club, New York. Peter Kriendler, President

RICHARDS, William Trost. 1833-1905

123. *Landscape*. 1860. Oil on canvas, 17 x 23 1/4 in. (43.1 x 58.7 cm). Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven, Connecticut. Gift of Mrs. Nigel Cholmeley-Jones

ROTHKO, Mark. 1903-1970

124. *Slow Swirl by the Edge of the Sea*. 1944. Oil on canvas, 75 x 84 1/2 in. (190.5 x 214.6 cm). Estate of Mrs. Mark Rothko
125. *Magenta, Black, Green on Orange*. 1949. Oil on canvas, 85 1/2 x 64 3/4 in. (217.1 x 164.5 cm). Estate of Mrs. Mark Rothko
126. *Number 22*. 1949. Oil on canvas, 117 x 107 1/8 in. (297.2 x 272.1 cm). The Museum of Modern Art, New York. Gift of the artist

RYDER, Albert Pinkham. 1847-1917

127. *Toilers of the Sea*. (c. 1880-84). Oil on wood, 11 1/2 x 12 in. (29.2 x 30.5 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. George A. Hearn Fund, 1915
128. *Weir's Orchard*. (c. 1885-90). Oil on canvas, 17 1/8 x 21 in. (43.5 x 53.3 cm). Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford. The Ella Gallup Sumner and Mary Catlin Sumner Collection
129. *Macbeth and the Witches*. (1890-1908). Oil on canvas, 28 1/4 x 35 3/4 in. (71.8 x 90.9 cm). The Phillips Collection, Washington, D.C.

130. *Diana*. (1900). Oil on leather, 29 1/8 x 20 in. (74 x 50.8 cm). Chrysler Museum at Norfolk, Virginia. Gift of Walter P. Chrysler, Jr.

SALMON, Robert. c. 1775-c. 1851

131. *Moonlight Coastal Scene*. 1836. Oil on panel, 16 5/8 x 24 1/4 in. (42.3 x 61.6 cm). The St. Louis Art Museum. Purchase, and funds given by Mr. and Mrs. Duncan C. Dobson, contributions made in memory of Henry B. Pflager and Eliza K. McMillan Fund

SARGENT, John Singer. 1856-1925

132. *Mountain Fire*. (c. 1903-08). Watercolor, 13 3/4 x 19 3/4 in. (39.4 x 50.1 cm). The Brooklyn Museum, New York. Purchased by Special Subscription
133. *Val d'Aosta (A Stream over Rocks)*. (c. 1910). Oil on canvas, 22 1/8 x 28 1/8 in. (55.9 x 71.2 cm). The Brooklyn Museum, New York. A. Augustus Healy Fund

SONNTAG, William Louis. 1822-1900

134. *Misty Rocky Mountains*. 1868. Oil on canvas, 34 1/2 x 36 1/2 in. (87.6 x 92.8 cm). M. Knoedler & Co., Inc., New York

STAMOS, Theodoros. Born 1922

135. *The Fallen Fig*. 1949. Oil on composition board, 48 x 25 7/8 in. (121.9 x 65.7 cm). The Museum of Modern Art, New York. Given anonymously

STELLA, Joseph. 1879-1946

136. *Tree of My Life*. 1919. Oil on canvas, 83 1/2 x 75 1/2 in. (212.1 x 191.8 cm). Iowa State Education Association, Des Moines
137. *Tropical Sonata*. 1920-21. Oil on canvas, 48 x 29 in. (121.9 x 50.8 cm). Whitney Museum of American Art, New York

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STILL, Clyfford. Born 1904

138. 1949-F. 1949. Oil on canvas, 80 x 65 in. (203.2 x 165.1 cm). Collection Carter Burden, New York
139. 1954. 1954. Oil on canvas, 113½ x 156 in. (288.3 x 396.2 cm). Albright-Knox Art Gallery, Buffalo. Gift of Seymour H. Knox

TACK, Augustus Vincent. 1870-1949

140. *Canyon*. (c. 1924). Oil on canvas, 29 x 40 in. (73.6 x 101.6 cm). The Phillips Collection, Washington, D.C.
141. *Aspiration*. (c. 1931). Oil on canvas, 76½ x 135½ in. (194.3 x 344.2 cm). The Phillips Collection, Washington, D.C.
142. *Night, Amargosa Desert*. (1937). Oil on canvas mounted on composition board, 71½ x 35 in. (181.6 x 88.9 cm). The Phillips Collection, Washington, D.C.

TANNER, Henry Ossawa. 1859-1937

143. *Abraham's Oak*. (c. 1897). Oil on canvas, 21¼ x 28¾ in. (54 x 72 cm). Frederick Douglass Institute, Museum of African Art, Washington, D.C.

THAYER, Abbott Handerson. 1849-1921

144. *Cornish Headlands*. 1898. Oil on canvas, 30½ x 40½ in. (76.5 x 101.9 cm). National Collection of Fine Arts, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. Gift of John Gellatly

TOBEY, Mark. 1890-1976

145. *Edge of August*. 1953. Casein on composition board, 48 x 28 in. (121.9 x 71.1 cm). The Museum of Modern Art, New York. Purchase

VANDERLYN, John. 1775-1852

146. *Double-View Oil Study of Niagara Falls*. (c. 1827). Oil on canvas, 18¾ x 26½ in. (48 x 67.4 cm). Senate House State Historic Site, Kingston, New York. New York State Office of Parks & Recreation

WHISTLER, James Abbott McNeill. 1834-1903

147. *Beach at Selsey Bill* (c. 1865). Oil on canvas, 24 x 18¾ in. (61 x 47.7 cm). New Britain Museum of American Art, New Britain, Connecticut
148. *Nocturne: Westminster*. (1875-79). Oil on canvas, 12¼ x 20¼ in. (31.1 x 51.4 cm). John G. Johnson Collection, Philadelphia
149. *Nocturne in Black and Gold: Entrance to Southampton Waters*. 1876-77. Oil on canvas, 20 x 30 in. (50.8 x 76.2 cm). The Art Institute of Chicago. Stickney Fund

WHITTREDGE, Thomas Worthington. 1820-1910

150. *The Old Hunting Grounds*. 1864. Oil on canvas, 36 x 27 in. (91.4 x 68.6 cm). Reynolda House, Inc., Winston-Salem, North Carolina

WYETH, Andrew. Born 1917

151. *Winter Fields*. 1942. Tempera, 17¾ x 41 in. (44.1 x 104.1 cm). Collection Mr. and Mrs. Benno C. Schmidt, New York
152. *Spring Beauty*. 1943. Dry brush and ink, 20 x 30 in. (50.8 x 76.2 cm). University of Nebraska Art Galleries, Lincoln. F. M. Hall Collection
153. *Hoffman's Slough*. 1947. Tempera, 29¾ x 55 in. (75.5 x 139.8 cm). Collection Mr. and Mrs. Charles Mayer, New York

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THE NATURAL PARADISE: preliminary research -- General

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19th and 20th Century
American Paintings from the Gallery Collection

tnp
prelim
research

The Museum of Modern Art

To KYNASTON McSHINE
From Judith Di Meo
Date 29 January 1975
Re Romantic show

Dear Kynaston,

Would it be worth while for you, Nancy Karumba and myself to meet with Bill Rubin before your departure to discuss in some detail the work load for your Romantic show...? In thinking over the amount of material you seem to expect me to complete in your absence in Bogota, it seems overwhelming and endlessly time consuming, involving not only an extensive amount of reading about and searching for statements by a large number group of artists, but also the matter of finding biographical information, 19th century pictorial documentation, catalogues of "lesser" known collections, plus making visits to certain galleries to find out the contents of their back-rooms, not to mention the considerable amount of xeroxing that will be involved...

In a way, unless you have something very specific you want me to do, I feel that my role is not to be tied down exclusively to any one project requiring unlimited amounts of work, but that I am really researcher at large (perhaps this could be clarified with Bill Rubin) and therefore now would be the stage when the curatorial assistant takes over...

Sometimes it is necessary to define the limits of research...

Let me know what you think.

Thank you.

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WCA 3

WCA 3

CA 86

CA 86

A 900

RS 68

00261

A 898

A 943

A 346

A 831

CA 801

A 867

Memorandum

To R.

From J.

Date

Re

This was
a list for
of Kassel
holdings.

Nancy:
for the files

CROPSEY, Jasper

MORSE, Samuel F. B.

ISHER, Alvin

"Old Home, Warwick,
New York"

"Portrait of Mrs.
William Alston"

"The Tired Hunter"

Mrs Parkinson
Kynston

"Dec. '74

When you get ready I have some
G.B. Davies. I would like to show you.

Eliza

TNP: Patem
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The Museum of Modern Art Archives, NY	Collection:	Series/Folder:
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TNP. Pattern
Research

- WCA 3920 1...
- WCA 3815 2.
- CA 8609 3.
- CA 8612 4.
- A 9001 5.
- RS 68973 6.
- 002619 7.
- A 8984 8.
- A 9436 9.
- A 3461 10.
- A 8316 11.
- CA 8018 12.
- A 8679 13.
- AT 9490 14.
- A 9504 15.
- A 9465 16.
- A 9500 17.
- A 5554 18.
- A 8443 19.
- AT 9471 20.
- A 8444 21.
- A 5575 22.

Memorandum
 To K.
 From J.
 Date
 Re
 This was attached to
 a list from Tourcade
 of Kreschler's Dochamp
 Holdings!!
 Nancy:
 for the files

- allery Collection
- tudy for Roberto"
- aves of the Sea"
- ropical Composition"
- lue Flower"
- aterfall"
- ew Hampshire
lls"
- ooftops, Paris"
- ortrait"
- rooping American
ag"
- ilacs No. 2"
- andscape"
- oastal Scene"
- "View of Pegvawket
and Chocorua Peak,
N. H. 1868"
- "Gibraltar"
- "Hawk's Nest"
- "Dragoons on the
Trail"
- "The Roman Campagna"
- "Landscape"
- "Portrait of Col.
William Alston"
- "Old Home, Warwick,
New York"
- "Portrait of Mrs.
William Alston"
- "The Tired Hunter"

Thompson

SMITH, Russell

COLMAN, Samuel

WHITTREDGE, T. W.

FISHER, Alvin

GIFFORD, S. R.

ALLSTON, William

MORSE, Samuel F. B.

CROPSEY, Jasper

MORSE, Samuel F. B.

FISHER, Alvin

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TNP. Problem.
Research

19th and 20th Century
American Paintings from the Gallery Collection

WCA 3920	1. . .	KUHN, Walt	"Study for Roberto"
WCA 3815	2.	WYETH, Andrew	"Waves of the Sea"
CA 8609	3.	STELLA, Joseph	"Tropical Composition"
CA 8612	4.	O'KEEFE, Georgia	"Blue Flower"
A 9001	5.	PRENDERGAST, Maurice	"Waterfall"
RS 68973	6.	LAWSON, Ernest	"New Hampshire Hills"
002619	7.	HASSAM, Childe	"Rooftops, Paris"
A 8984	8.	PRENDERGAST, Maurice	"Portrait"
A 9436	9.	DUBOIS, Guy Pene	"Drooping American Flag"
A 3461	10.	BURCHFIELD, Charles	"Lilacs No. 2"
A 8316	11.	KENSETT, John Frederick	"Landscape"
CA 8018	12.	BRICHER, Alfred Thompson	"Coastal Scene"
A 8679	13.	SMITH, Russell	"View of Pegvawket and Chocorua Peak, N. H. 1868"
AT 9490	14.	COLMAN, Samuel	"Gibraltar"
A 9504	15.	WHITTREDGE, T. W.	"Hawk's Nest"
A 9465	16.	FISHER, Alvin	"Dragoons on the Trail"
A 9500	17.	GIFFORD, S. R.	"The Roman Campagna"
A 5554	18.	ALLSTON, William	"Landscape"
A 8443	19.	MORSE, Samuel F. B.	"Portrait of Col. William Alston"
AT 9471	20.	CROPSEY, Jasper	"Old Home, Warwick, New York"
A 8444	21.	MORSE, Samuel F. B.	"Portrait of Mrs. William Alston"
A 5575	22.	FISHER, Alvin	"The Tired Hunter"

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The Museum of Modern Art Archives, NY	Collection:	Series.Folder:
	MoMA Exhs.	1148.12

A 9464	23.	BRADFORD, William	"Midnight Sun, Labrador"
AT 9481	24.	RAMSEY, Milne	"Still Life with Peaches and Bottle of Wine"
A 6046	25.	BROWERE, A. D. O.	"Peter Stuyvesant at the Recapture of Fort Casimir"
A 8819	26.	BOUTELLE, de Witt C.	"Hudson River Landscape"
A 6045	27.	BROWERE, A. D. O.	"Capture of Fort Casimir"
A 8630	28.	VEDDER, Elihu	"Japanese Still Life"
A 5590	29.	CATLIN, George	"An Ostrich Hunt"
A 5558	30.	CATLIN, George	"A South American Village"
A 9268	31.	BROWERE, A. D. O.	"Foothills of the Sierras"
A 5586	32.	CATLIN, George	"Two Moose and a Doe"
A 5591	33.	CATLIN, George	"A Stag and a Doe"
A 9345	34.	HOMER, Winslow	"Zouave"
CA 4249	35.	DUVENECK, Frank	"Whistling Boy"
A 9249	36.	SLOAN, John	"Red Rocks, Gloucester"
A 9167	37.	BOUTELLE, de Witt C. (After Thomas Cole)	"The Voyage of Life" (Manhood)

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The Museum of Modern Art Archives, NY	Collection:	Series.Folder:
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Ralph Albert Blakelock	1847 - 1919
Albert Pinkham Ryder	1847 - 1917
Louis Michel Eilshemius	1864 - 1941
Augustus Vincent Tack	1870 - 1949
John Marin	1870 - 1953
Marsden Hartley	1877 - 1943
Joseph Stella	1877 - 1946
Arthur Dove	1880 - 1946
Edward Hopper	1882 - 1967
Morgan Russell	1886 - 1953
Georgia O'Keeffe	1887 -
Edwin Dickinson	1891 -
Charles Burchfield	1893 - 1967
Milton Avery	1893 - 1965
Joseph Cornell	1903 - 1972
Mark Rothko	1903 - 1970
Willem de Kooning	1904 -
Clyfford Still	1904 -
Barnett Newman	1905 - 1970
Franz Kline	1910 - 1962
Jackson Pollock	1912 - 1956

Prelim
reel

~~Blakelock~~
Burchfield

Burchfield
Hassam
Donald Wright

Dickinson
Arthur B. Davies
Kline

Louis Graves
Benton

Tobey

Evergood?
Gorky

Graves
Snake
1938

Gouache
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The Museum of Modern Art Archives, NY	Collection:	Series.Folder:
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Prelim
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Patrick Henry Bruce.

ert Blakelock. 1847 - 1919

inkham Ryder. 1847 - 1917

hel Eilshemius. 1864 - 1941

Vincent Tack... 1870 - 1949

a. 1870 - 1953

artley. 1877 - 1943

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ssell 1886 - 1953

'Keeffe. 1887 -

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ery 1893 - 1965

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so 1903 - 1970

Kooning 1904 -

Still 1904 -

et Newman 1905 - 1970 Collected in New York

ie 1910 - 1962

- Pollock 1912 - 1956

~~Blakelock~~
~~Graves~~

Brundage

Hansen

Macdonald-Wright

Dickinson

Arthur B. Davies

Kline

Morris Graves

Benton

Tobey

Evergood?

Siky.

Graves

Snake + Moon

1938 - 39

Gouache & Water

25 1/2 x 30 1/4

Bird of Inner Eye

Mime Gouache

Owl of Inner Eye

Mime Gouache

1938

Kline

Strait Dair

Graves

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The Museum of Modern Art Archives, NY	Collection:	Series/Folder:
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189.
~~✓~~ Milton Avery
~~✓~~ CHARLES
~~✓~~ Joseph Cornell
 Stuart Davis
~~✓~~ Edwin D
~~✓~~ Arthur Dove
~~✓~~ Louis Filsh
 ? Arshile Gori
~~✓~~ Marsden Hart
~~✓~~ Edward Hopper
 ? Franz Kline
~~✓~~ Willem de K
~~✓~~ John Marin
 BARNE
~~✓~~ Georgia O'K
~~✓~~ Jackson Pol
~~✓~~ Mark Rothko
~~✓~~ Morgan Russ
~~✓~~ Albert Ryder
~~✓~~ Charles She
~~✓~~ Joseph Stel
~~✓~~ Clyfford St
~~✓~~ Augustus VII

Ralph Albert Blakelock. 1847 - 1919
 Albert Pinkham Ryder. 1847 - 1917
 Louis Michel Eilshemius. 1864 - 1941
 Augustus Vincent Tack. 1870 - 1949
 John Marin. 1870 - 1953
 Marsden Hartley. 1877 - 1943
 Joseph Stella. 1877 - 1946
 Arthur Dove. 1880 - 1946
 Edward Hopper. 1882 - 1967
 Morgan Russell. 1886 - 1953
 Georgia O'Keeffe. 1887 -
 Edwin Dickinson. 1891 -
 Charles Burchfield. 1893 - 1967
 Milton Avery. 1893 - 1965
 Joseph Cornell. 1903 - 1972
 Mark Rothko. 1903 - 1970
 Willem de Kooning. 1904 -
 Clyfford Still. 1904 -
 Barnett Newman. 1905 - 1970
 Franz Kline. 1910 - 1962
 Jackson Pollock. 1912 - 1956

Blakelock
 Bruce
 Burchfield
 Hassam
 MacDonald
 Dickinson
 Arthur B. D
 Kline
 Morris
 Benton
 Tobey
 Evergood
 Gorky

Pollock -
 Seid - (A)
 and Enamel on
 Canvas
 Mr + Mrs F. Weisman
 C. L.

1904 -
 1905 - 1970 Cathedra + Vin Hovius
 1910 - 1962
 1912 - 1956

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The Museum of Modern Art Archives, NY	Collection:	Series.Folder:
	MoMA Exhs.	1148.12

- 1893-1965
- ✓ ~~Milton Avery~~ ~~Blahelock~~
 - ✓ ~~CHARLES BURCHFIELD~~ 1893-1967
 - ✓ ~~Joseph Cornell~~ 1903-1972
 - Stuart Davis ?
 - ✓ ~~Edwin Dickinson~~ 1891
 - ✓ ~~Arthur Dove~~ 1880-1946
 - ✓ ~~Louis Filshemius~~
 - ? Arshile Gorky
 - MORRIS GRAVES 1910 -
 - ✓ ~~Marsden Hartley~~ 1877-1943
 - ✓ ~~Edward Hopper~~ 1882-1967
 - ? Franz Kline 1910-1962 (New York Wall) Tom Kees
 - ✓ ~~Willem de Kooning~~ 1904-
 - ✓ ~~John Marin~~ 1870-1953
 - BARNETT NEWMAN (Blue one) 1905-1970
 - ✓ ~~Georgia O'Keefe~~ 1887-
 - ✓ Jackson Pollock 1912-1956
 - ✓ ~~Mark Rothko~~ 1903-1970
 - ✓ ~~Morgan Russell~~ 1886-1963
 - ✓ ~~Albert Ryder~~
 - ✓ ~~Charles Sheeler~~ 1883-
 - ✓ ~~Joseph Stella~~ 1877-1946
 - ✓ ~~Clyfford Still~~ 1904-
 - ✓ ~~Augustus Vincent Tack~~

Patrick Henry Bruce.

Cornell
Kline
Stuart Davis
Graves

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The Museum of Modern Art Archives, NY	Collection:	Series.Folder:
	MoMA Exhs.	1148.12

- ✓ Milton Avery
- ✓ ~~CHARLES BURCHFIELD~~
- ✓ Joseph Cornell
- Stuart Davis ?
- ✓ ~~Edwin Dickinson~~
- ✓ Arthur Dove
- ✓ Louis Eisler
- ? Arshile Gorky
- MORRIS GRAVES
- Marsden Hartley
- Edward Hopper
- ? Franz Kline (New Year's Wall)
Tom Kees
- ✓ Willem de Kooning ?
- ✓ John Marin
- BARNETT NEWMAN (Blue one)
- ✓ Georgia O'Keefe
- ✓ Jackson Pollock
- ✓ Mark Rothko
- ✓ Morgan Russell
- ✓ Albert Ryder
- ✓ Charles Sheeler
- ✓ Joseph Stella
- ✓ Clyfford Still
- ✓ Augustus Vincent Tack

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Josef Albers

? Patrick Henry Bruce

Charles Burchfield X

? Arthur Davies

Charles Demuth

Hans Hoffman

Jasper Johns

? Stanton Macdonald-Wright ?

Barnett Newman X

Robert Rauschenberg

AS Rauschenberg

John Graham

Horis Graves.

The Museum of Modern Art Archives, NY	Collection:	Series.Folder:
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(3)

Ralph Albert Blakelock 1847 - 1919
^{Pinkham}
 Albert Ryder 1847 - 1917

Arthur B. Davies 1862-1928

Charles Sheeler 1883-

Louis Michel Eilshemius 1864 - 1941

Augustus Vincent Tack 1870 - 1949

John Marin 1870 - 1953

Archibald Focky 1904-1948

Harold Hartley 1877 - 1943

~~John Marin~~ 1870 - 1953
 Joseph Stella 1877 - 1946

Arthur Dove 1880 - 1946

Edward Hopper 1882 - 1967

Jorgan Russell 1886 - 1953

Georgia O'Keeffe 1887 -

Edwin Dickinson 1891 -

Charles Burchfield 1893 - 1967

Milton Avery 1893 - 1965

Joseph Cornell 1903 - 1972

Mark Rothko 1903 - 1970

Willem de Kooning 1904 -

Clifford Still 1904 -

Franz Kline 1910 - 1962

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3/22/75

TNP: gulnson

Dear Kipaston - I failed to
remember that this show
was going to NYC and
is still on so if you
haven't already seen
it you can check out
the Churches.

American Painters of the Arctic

Reby

P.S. Guess you can get the catalogue at Coe Kerr.
Here are some other Arctic works of interest
by others, too, e.g. Thomas Moran, Bierstadt, Wm. Bradford

February 1 through March 2

MEAD ART GALLERY
AMHERST COLLEGE
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March 11 through April 5

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him as ship's surgeon was Isaac I. Hayes, M. D., who produced his own record of the trip in 1860: *An Arctic Boat Journey in the Autumn of 1854*. This text was not illustrated, unlike Hayes' later work *The Open Polar Sea* of 1867. This second book recounted the northern journey of the ship 'United States' in 1860. One of the many subscribers to Hayes' second expedition was Frederic Edwin Church, then at the apex of his artistic fame. Hayes was a pupil of Church and in gratitude for his teaching and support named an Arctic summit Church's Peak (cat. no. 21 fig. 3). Church was to use this 'farthest north' polar setting for his *Aurora Borealis* of 1865 (cat. no. 20).¹⁰

In 1859 Church, so enraptured with things Arctic or Northern, made his now-famous journey to Labrador and around Newfoundland.¹¹ He was accompanied by the Reverend Louis L. Noble, who wrote in his subsequent narrative:

'But after Icebergs is certainly a cool, if not novel, or perilous adventure. A few climb to the tops of the Andes; but after the ices of Greenland . . . is entirely another thing.'¹²

Noble's book illustrated with designs supplied by Church, who was the first of the great American painters to make the Northern journey himself. After his return Church worked on the large canvas, now lost, entitled *The Icebergs*, which is now known to us from the English chromolithograph by C. Risdon (cat. no. 19).¹³ When the painting was exhibited in New York in April, 1861, it was enthusiastically received. One reviewer noted that the idea of *The Icebergs* was magnificently poetical and could have occurred only to a mind eminently original and secure. The April 24, 1861 issue of the *Tribune* included a review in which Church's tropical masterpieces *The Heart of the Andes* and *The Icebergs* were indirectly compared. The writer observed 'no trace of animal or vegetable life, and, saving only one small boulder of earth, caught up in some grinding cake of ice, the scene is as if from that day of creation when the earth was without form and void . . .'. In part VII of a broadside published for the exhibition of the painting at the Boston Athenaeum, Church himself wrote: 'All things favoring, an iceberg, in itself alone, is a miracle of beauty and grandeur . . .'. Hence the picture presents the beholder with . . . only . . . grandeur with repose.' But examination of the Risdon chromolithograph reveals the presence of a derelict ship's mast, which was added

Figure 3



Figure 3. *The Icebergs*, by Frederic Edwin Church, drawn by H. Fenn after the sketch of Dr. Louis L. Noble (1859-1881). *The Shores of the Polar Sea* from *The Open Polar Sea*, p. 164.

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to the painting prior to its exhibition in England, perhaps as a tribute to Franklin. The picture has been interpreted as a revelation of the Apocalypse and the Creation, an ever-present duality in the Northern frontier.¹⁴ *The Icebergs* also embodies many of the dread qualities observed by Noble, who wrote of 'those imperial creations of nature that awaken powerful emotions, and illumine the imagination . . . how beautiful, how strong, how terrible . . .'¹⁵ Many of these same adjectives describe Church's later Arctic paintings, the *Aurora Borealis* and *The Iceberg* of 1891.¹⁶

It has been posited that Church's paintings of the North, suggestive as they are of the Creation, are optimistic. One feels though that there is always an awareness of the inherent threatening quality of the Arctic when viewing either the sketches or final pictures. Noble, who seems to share Church's own sentiments, constantly refers to the Northern sights in metaphors pregnant with overtones of mortality: 'the iceberg—that white sepulchre of the careless sailor,' or 'an age of ruin appeared to have passed over it,' [an iceberg].¹⁷ The North is not life-destroying in itself, but it is filled with perils for the unwary human. Here man is made aware of his proper scale in the cosmos, dwarfed by floating ice-castles.

Figure 4



WILLIAM BRADFORD (1823–1892) *The 'Panther' in Melville Bay*
The Royal Collections, London.

By far the best known of the early Arctic painters is William Bradford who, like his fellow New Bedford artist, R. Swain Gifford, was influenced by the 19th-century Dutch painter Albert van Beest.¹⁸ It is likely that Bradford saw Church's *The Icebergs* in Boston or New York and was exposed to the Kane-Hamilton collaborations. He had already indicated an interest in the North and became the second artist, after Church, to make the journey for artistic reasons. Beginning in the spring of 1861, he made the first of many trips to Arctic waters. His most ambitious voyage, in 1869, took him to Melville Bay.¹⁹ On his ship, *The Panther*, Bradford took several photographers in a company which included Dr. Isaac Hayes. Prints of these photographs were owned by Frederic Church (cat. nos. 29, 30, and 31). These images were used in Bradford's northern summa, *The Arctic Regions*, of 1873 (cat. no. 34). Like Church, Bradford found that his work was well received abroad. The sketch of *The Steamer Panther in Melville Bay* (cat. no. 28) was the basis of the painting purchased by Queen Victoria for the Royal Collections (figure 4). Bradford was well aware

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FREDERIC EDWIN CHURCH 1826-1900

4. *Newfoundland and Labrador*, June-July, 1859
Oil on cardboard, $9\frac{1}{8} \times 13$ inches.
Lent courtesy the Cooper-Hewitt Museum of Design, Smithsonian Institution.



5. *Floating Icebergs*, June-July, 1859
Pencil and oil on cardboard, $3\frac{1}{2} \times 11\frac{1}{8}$ and $2\frac{1}{4} \times 11\frac{1}{8}$ inches. Lent courtesy The Cooper-Hewitt Museum of Design, Smithsonian Institution.



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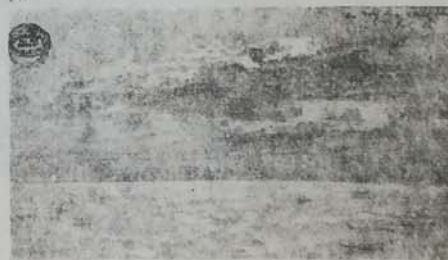
8. *Iceberg and Studies of Seascapes*,
Newfoundland, June 21, July 2 and July 6, 1859
Pencil heightened with white on brown paper,
 $4\frac{1}{2} \times 8\frac{1}{4}$ inches each.
Lent courtesy The Cooper-Hewitt Museum of Design, Smithsonian Institution.



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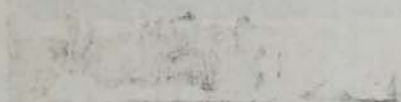


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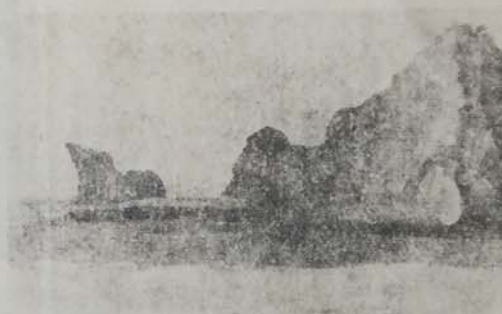
11. *Icebergs, Cape Johns and Gull Islands, July 4, 1859*
Pencil and white gouache on grey paper, 10 $\frac{1}{4}$ x 18 in.
Lent courtesy The Cooper-Hewitt Museum of Design, Smithsonian Institution.



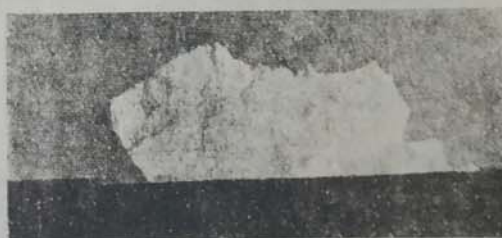
12. *Floating Icebergs, Tonilliguet, July 4, 1859*
Pencil and oil on cardboard, 12 x 18 $\frac{1}{4}$ inches.
Lent courtesy The Cooper-Hewitt Museum of Design, Smithsonian Institution.



13. *Midnight, Labrador, June or July, 1859*
Oil on cardboard, 12 x 20 inches.
Lent courtesy The Cooper-Hewitt Museum of Design, Smithsonian Institution.



14. *Floating Iceberg, June or July, 1859*
Pencil and oil on paper, 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ x 14 $\frac{1}{4}$ inches.
Lent courtesy The Cooper-Hewitt Museum of Design, Smithsonian Institution.



15. *Steamer in Northern Waters, 1859*
Oil on canvas, 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 14 $\frac{1}{4}$ inches.
Lent courtesy Olana Historic Site, New York State Division for Historic Preservation, Department of Parks and Recreation.



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16. *Landscape with Aurora*, possibly 1859
Oil on canvas, 9 x 14½ inches.
Lent courtesy Olana Historic Site,
New York State Division for Historic Preservation,
Department of Parks and Recreation.



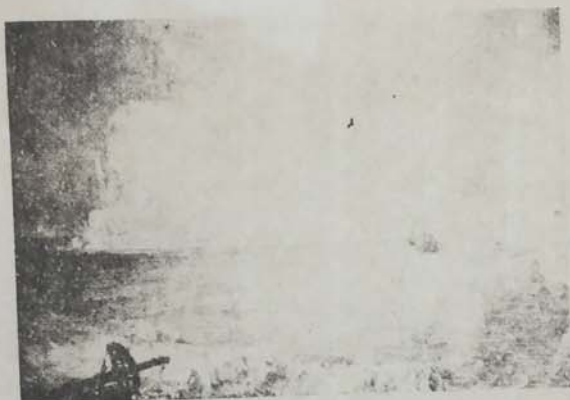
18. *Ossisnak*, not dated
Oil on canvas, 23 x 17 inches.
Courtesy an anonymous lender.



17. *Icebergs*, 1863
Oil on canvas, 11½ x 18½ inches.
Lent courtesy Mattatuck Museum,
Waterbury, Connecticut.



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19. *The Icebergs [The North]*, 1863.
(The painting upon which this print is based was
executed in 1861)
Chromolithograph, 20 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 35 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches.
Lent courtesy Olana Historic Site,
New York State Division for Historic Preservation,
Department of Parks and Recreation.

20. *The Aurora Borealis*, 1865.
Oil on canvas, 56 x 83 inches.
Lent courtesy The National Collection of Fine Arts,
Smithsonian Institution.



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Lyder

The Romantic America

The American Atmosphere

O'Keefe

(1)

Dove

(2)

Marin

(3)

Hopper?

Hansen

Max Weber?

Arthur Davies

(4)

Hartley

(5)

Prendergast

(6)

Joseph Stella

(7)

Demuth (8)

Sheeler (9)

Stuart Davis (10)

Avery (11)

Hopper (12)

Augustus Tack

Cornell (23) Cornell

Gorky (13)

Still (14)

Kline Pollock (15) (16)

Rothko (17)

de Koonin (18)

Niles Spencer

George Segal?

(19)

Kelly Frankenthal

(20) Rausche

(21) Louis

Land A



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np. research

Date: January 29
 From: Jane S. Tai
 To: Kynaston McShine
 Re:

AMERICAN PAI

EXHIBITION

- ✓ 1. John Sm (6) 731.
2. Robert
3. William Cr There may be changes in catalogue numbers 87 and 98--possibly one or two others. Steven
4. John He 22.206)
5. The Gan (6) 1732.
6. John Si (23.143)
- ✓ 7. John Si (4) ne. 1782.
- ✓ 8. Charles (22.153.1)
9. Charles (67.242)
10. Benjami the american federation of arts 309.2)
11. James Peale, 1749-1831. George Washington at Yorktown. c. 1780. (85.1)
- ✓ 12. Ralph Earl, 1751-1801. Mrs. Noah Smith and Her Children. 1798. (64.309.1)
13. Joseph Blackburn, 1754-1763(Active in America). Mary Sylvester. 1754. (16.82.2)
14. Gilbert Stuart, 1755-1828. Portrait of George Washington. 1803. (88.18)
- ✓ 15. Gilbert Stuart, 1755-1828. Portrait of James Monroe. 1818-1820. (29.89)
16. John Trumbull, 1756-1843. Alexander Hamilton (1757-1804). c.1804. (81.11)
17. Reuben Moulthrop, 1763-1814. Job Perit (1751-1794). 1790. (65.254.1)

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TDP. research

AMERICAN PAINTINGS/ THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART, A. F. A. EXHIBITION
FALL 1975 - FALL 1976

- ✓ 1. John Smibert, 1688-1751. Mrs. Francis Brinley and Son. 1731.
(62.79.2)
2. Robert Feke, 1705-1750. Tench Francis. 1746. (34.153)
3. William Williams, ca. 1710-ca. 1790. Portrait of Master Steven Crossfield. (65.34)
4. John Hesselius, 1728-1778. Mrs. Richard Galloway, Jr. (22.206)
5. The Gansevoort Limner, 1738-1815. Young Lady with a Rose. 1732.
(62.256.1)
6. John Singleton Copley, 1738-1815. Joseph Sherburne. 1767. (23.143)
- ✓ 7. John Singleton Copley, 1738-1815. Midshipman Augustus Brine. 1782.
(43.86.4)
- ✓ 8. Charles Wilson Peale, 1741-1827. Samuel Mifflin. c. 1780. (22.153.1)
9. Charles Wilson Peale, 1741-1827. Elie Williams. c. 1789. (67.242)
10. Benjamin West, 1744-1823. Sarah Ursula Rose. 1756. (64.309.2)
11. James Peale, 1749-1831. George Washington at Yorktown. c. 1780.
(85.1)
- ✓ 12. Ralph Earl, 1751-1801. Mrs. Noah Smith and Her Children. 1798.
(64.309.1)
13. Joseph Blackburn, 1754-1763(Active in America). Mary Sylvester. 1754.
(16.82.2)
14. Gilbert Stuart, 1755-1828. Portrait of George Washington. 1803.
(88.18)
- ✓ 15. Gilbert Stuart, 1755-1828. Portrait of James Monroe. 1818-1820.
(29.89)
16. John Trumbull, 1756-1843. Alexander Hamilton (1757-1804). c.1804.
(81.11)
17. Reuben Moulthrop, 1763-1814. Job Perit (1751-1794). 1790. (65.254.1)

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18. Reuben Moulthrop, 1763-1814. Sally Sanford Perit (1760-1829). 1790. (65.254.2)
19. John Durand, 1766-1782 (Active). Mary Bontecou Lathrop (1747-?). c. 1770. (62.256.6)
20. Rembrandt Peale, 1778-1860. George Washington. (54.15.1)
- ✓ 21. Washington Allston, 1779-1843. The Spanish Girl in Reverie. 1831. (01.7.2)
22. John Wesley Jarvis, 1780-1840. General Andrew Jackson. c.1819. (64.8)
23. Thomas Sully, 1783-1872. Mother and Son. 1840. (14.126.5)
24. Ammi Phillips, 1788-1865. (Attributed to). Philip Slade. 1818. (64.309.3)
- ✓ 25. Samuel Finley Breese Morse, 1791-1872. De Witt Clinton (1769-1828). 1826. (09.18)
26. Chester Harding, 1792-1866. Mrs. Thomas Brewster Coolidge. 1828-1830. (20.75)
27. Thomas Doughty, 1793-1856. Spring Landscape. (17.66)
- ✓ 28. Asher Brown Durand, 1796-1886. The Beeches. 1845. (15.30.59)
29. Asher Brown Durand, 1796-1886. Landscape - Scene from Thanatopsis. 1850. (11.156)
- ✓ 30. Thomas Cole, 1801-1848. The Mountain Ford. 1846. (15.30.63)
31. Thomas Cole, 1801-1848. A View Near Tivoli (Morning). 1832. (03.27).
32. John Quidor, 1801-1881. The Wall Street Gate. 1833. (61.79)
- ✓ 33. Fitz Hugh Lane, 1804-1865. Golden State Entering New York Harbor. 1850. (1974.33)
34. William Sidney Mount, 1807-1868. Long Island Farmhouses. 1854-1860. (28.104)
35. Severin Roesin, - died c. 1871. Still Life: Flowers. (67.111)
36. John Gadsby Chapman, 1808-1889. The Roman Campagna. 1864. (67.54)
37. Cephas Giovanni Thompson, 1809-1888. Spring. 1838. (1971.244)

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38. John Woodhouse Audubon. 1812-1862. Hudson's Bay Lemming. (63.200.5)
39. Jerome B. Thompson, 1814-1886. The Belated Party on Mansfield Mountain. 1859. (69.182)
40. David Gilmore Blythe, 1815-1865. Corn Husking. 1850-1855. (57.19)
- ✓ 41. John Frederick Kensett, 1816-1872. Passing off of the Storm. c. 1872. (74.27)
42. Charles C. Hofmann, 1820-1882. View of the Schuylkill County Almshouse Property. 1876. (66.242.26)
43. Worthington Whittredge, 1820-1910. The Trout Pool. (21.115.4)
44. Jasper F. Cropsey, 1823-1900. Wyoming Valley. Pennsylvania. 1862. (25.110.63)
45. Sanford Robinson Gifford, 1823-1880. Tivoli. 1879. (12.205.1)
46. William Morris Hunt, 1824-1879. Sandbank with Willows. 1877. (38.153)
- ✓ 47. Eastman Johnson, 1824-1906. The New Bonnet. 1876. (25.110.11)
48. George Inness, 1825-1894. Delaware Water Gap. 1861. (32.151)
49. George Inness, 1825-1894. Sunrise. 1887. (54.156)
50. Frederick E. Church, 1826-1900. The Parthenon. 1871. (15.30.67)
- ✓ 51. Erastus Salisbury Field, b. 1828. Ellen Tuttle Bangs. c. 1838-1840. (63.201.4)
52. Thomas Hill, 1829-1908. View of Yosemite Valley. 1885. (1971.245)
53. Albert Bierstadt, 1830-1902. Merced River. Yosemite Valley. 1866. (09.214.1)
54. John George Brown, 1831-1913. The Music Lesson. 1870. (21.115.3)
55. Samuel Colman, 1832-1920. Spanish Peaks, Southern Colorado. (93.21)
56. James Abbott McNeill Whistler, 1834-1903. Cremorne Gardens, No.2. (12.32)
- ✓ 57. John La Farge, 1835-1910. Bishop Berkeley's Rock, Newport. 1869. (49.76)
58. Homer Dodge Martin, 1836-1897. Harp of the Winds: A View on the Seine. 1895. (97.32)
59. Winslow Homer, 1836-1910. The Veteran in a New Field. 1865. (67.187.131)
- ✓ 60. Winslow Homer, 1836-1910. Snap the Whip. 1872. (50.41)

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61. Winslow Homer, 1836-1910. Moonlight - Wood's Island Light. 1894. (11.116.2)
62. Elihu Vedder, 1836-1923. Roman Girls on the Seashore. 1871. (58.28)
- ✓ 63. Thomas Moran, 1837-1926. The Teton Range. 1897. (39.47.2)
64. Thomas Eakins, 1844-1916. Signora Gomez d'Arza. 1902. (27.220)
- ✓ 65. Thomas Eakins, 1844-1916. Pushing for Rail. 1874. (16.65)
66. Thomas Eakins, 1844-1916. Arcadia. c. 1883. (67.187.125)
67. Mary Cassatt, 1845-1926. Young Mother Sewing (Jeune mère cousant) (29.100.48)
68. Ralph Albert Blakelock, 1847-1919. The Boulder and The Flume in the Franconia Notch, N.H. 1878. (1974.212)
69. William Michael Harnett, 1848-1892. Still Life. 1888. (67.155.1)
70. Frank Duveneck, 1848-1919. Lady with a Fan. 1873. (66.19)
- ✓ 71. William M. Chase, 1849-1916. The Hall at Shinnecock. (13.90)
72. William M. Chase, 1849-1916. James McNeill Whistler. 1885. (18.22.2)
73. Alexander Pope, 1849-1924. The Oak Door. 1887. (65.168)
74. Thomas Pollock Anshutz, 1851-1912. The Cabbage Patch. 1879. (40.40)
75. Julian Alden Weir, 1852-1919. The Red Bridge. (14.141).
76. Theodore Robinson, 1854-1896. Old Mill. c. 1892. (10.2)
77. John Frederick Peto, 1854-1907. Letter Rack. 1885. (55.176)
- ✓ 78. Cecilia Beaux, 1855-1942. Ernesta with Nurse. 1894. (65.49)
79. John Singer Sargent, 1856-1925. The Hermit. (11.31)
80. John Singer Sargent, 1856-1925. William M. Chase. 1902. (05.33)
81. Jefferson David Chalfant, 1856-1931. Violin and Bow. 1889. (66.169)
82. Maurice Prendergast, 1859-1924. Bathers by a Waterfall. (67.187.135)
83. Childe Hassam, 1859-1935. Isle of Shoals. 1901. (09.72.6)
84. Frederick Remington, 1861-1909. Calvary Charge on the Southern Plains. 1907. (11.192)

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85. Charles Schreyvogel, 1861-1912. My Bunkie. 1899.
(12.227)
- ✓86. Arthur B. Davies, 1862-1928. Unicorns. (31.67.12)
87. Louis Michel Eilshemius, 1864-1941. The Haunted House.
c. 1902. (37.41)
88. Robert Henri, 1865-1929. Dutch Girl in White. 1907.
(50.47)
89. George Luks, 1867-1933. The Old Duchess. 1905. (21.41.1)
90. Jerome Myers, 1867-1940. The Night Mission. 1906. (12.69)
- ✓91. John Sloan, 1871-1951. The Jitney. c. 1915. (50.122)
- ✓92. Charles Hawthorne, 1872-1930. The Trousseau. (11.78)
93. Ernest Lawson, 1873-1939. Winter. (15.44)
94. Frederick Carl Frieseke, 1874-1939. Summer. 1914. (66.171)
95. Everett Shinn, 1876-1953. Spanish Music Hall. 1902.
(67.187.139)
- ✓96. Rockwell Kent, b. 1882. Winter. (17.48.2)
- ✓97. George Bellows, 1882-1925. The Red Vine. 1916. (54.196.3)
98. George Bellows, 1882-1925. Padre. 1917. (41.81)
99. Jonas Lie, 1880-1940. The Conquerors (Culebra Cut),
Panama Canal. 1913. (14.18)
100. Guy Pene du Bois, 1884-1958. The Doll and the Monster.
1914. (24.147)

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ALAN WALLACH

Thomas Cole has always been acknowledged as an important figure in the history of American art. This is not to say he has always been appreciated. Jonas Mekas recently wrote that one might learn something about light from Cole's paintings; this despite the fact that Cole was "bad and stupid." Mekas' remarks are a fair measure of how far we have come in our appreciation of Cole's art—and also how far we may yet have to go before we can come to terms with it.

I am not convinced that Cole was either bad or stupid. Nor do I think anyone partial to Cole need apologize for the complexities of his oeuvre. That Cole's paintings have become increasingly popular over the last thirty years is some proof of their powers. Although they may lack the virtues that have endeared Constable and Turner (with whom Cole inevitably is compared) to modern audiences, they have virtues of their own. Of these we are just becoming aware.

It is perhaps too early to predict an overall revaluation of Cole's abilities. One can say, however, that the five month traveling exhibition of his work probably did much to further our understanding of Cole. It was a spectacular show (thanks mainly to the efforts of Professor Howard Merritt, the foremost student of Cole's art, who also was responsible for the informative catalog). It also was quite revealing. Besides a number of well-known works, including such standards as the *Voyage of Life* and the *Oxbow*, the exhibition brought together a selection of fine works ferreted out of private and college collections. And yet, even while this exhibition might have very much raised one's opinion of Cole's art, it also underlined some of the inherent dilemmas.

Cole was in no way a typically American artist. Born in England, he had, as the journalist William Stillman recalled, "a strongly individual English mind." With such a mind, Cole could found a "native" school; but he was not a nativist. In retrospect, his over-reaction (for that is what it was) to American scenery, his megalomaniacal fantasies and evangelical exercises follow as logical consequences of his youthful experience of industrialization and the horrors of poverty in Lancashire and Cheshire. In nature and in art Cole found an escape. His early landscapes, with their convulsed trees, storm-swept skies and precariously balanced rocks, carry an urgent message which no contemporary American-born artist could duplicate. They adumbrated a mood Americans were then just beginning to feel.

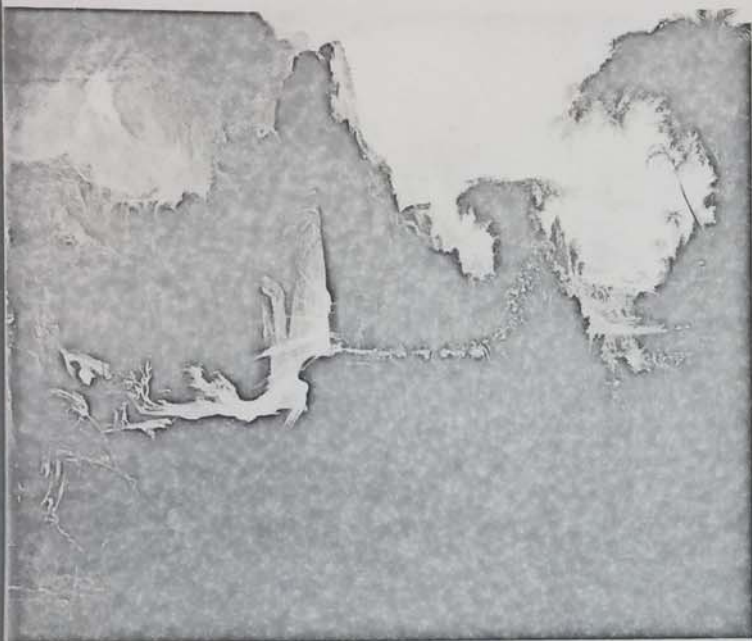
This in part accounts for Cole's early success. There were other reasons as well. In 1825, shortly after arriving in New York, Cole was discovered by Benjamin West's ancient pupil John Trumbull. What Trumbull recognized in Cole's first attempts was a realization of all that his British training had prepared him to see. For in America, without formal instruction but with a genius for drawing and (it must be said) for painstaking systematic

Thomas Cole, *The Oxbow*, o/c, 51 1/2 x 76", 1836. (Metropolitan Museum of Art)

THOMAS COLE: British Esthetics and American Sc

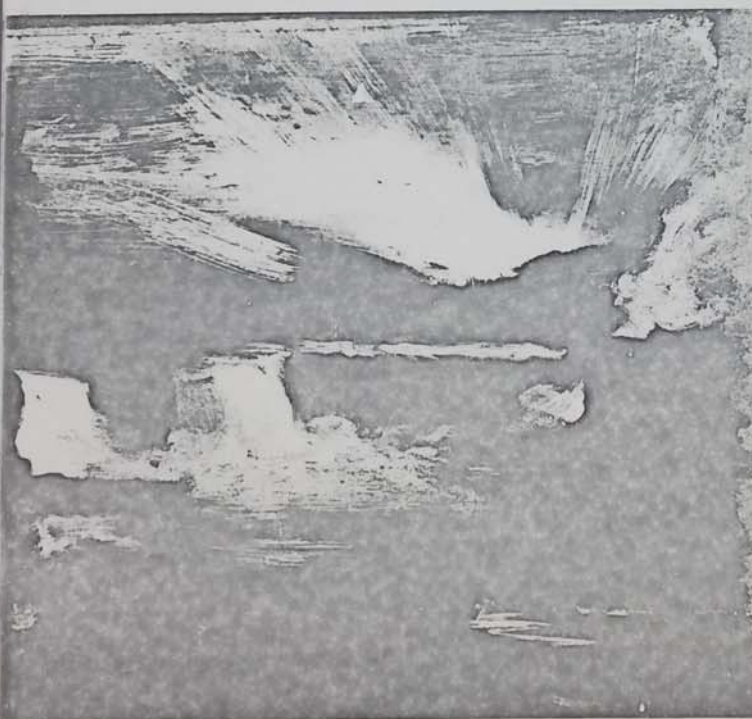
Thomas Cole, *Lake with Dead Tree*, oil on canvas, 1836. (Allen Memorial Art Museum, Oberlin College)

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Thomas Cole, *Expulsion from the Garden of Eden*, oil, 39 x 54", 1827-28. (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.)

from Thomas Cole, an exhibition organized by the Memorial University of Rochester, and shown at the Whitney Museum of Art from June 30 through September 1, 1969. Names of lenders appear



Thomas Cole, *Distant View of the Falls of Niagara*, oil on panel, 10 1/2 x 13 1/2", 1829. (Mr. George F. McMurray, Glendale, California.)

labor, Cole managed the singular feat of wedding British esthetics to American scenery. Theory tempered, to some extent, his romantic ardor, and provided a technical foundation for his art. Like many autodidacts, Cole was utterly convinced that painting could be deduced from rules. Yet without an academy to dictate their application, he was able in his landscapes to escape academicism. While he relied on compositional formulae derived from prints, he also relied upon the direct study of nature. It was this dialectic between theory and first-hand experience that drove his art forward. At a certain point, however—and this is the fundamental paradox of Cole's art—theory and study became divorced and were more or less left alone to go their separate ways. By the 1840s Cole was producing some of his most empirical works—and also some of his most contrived.

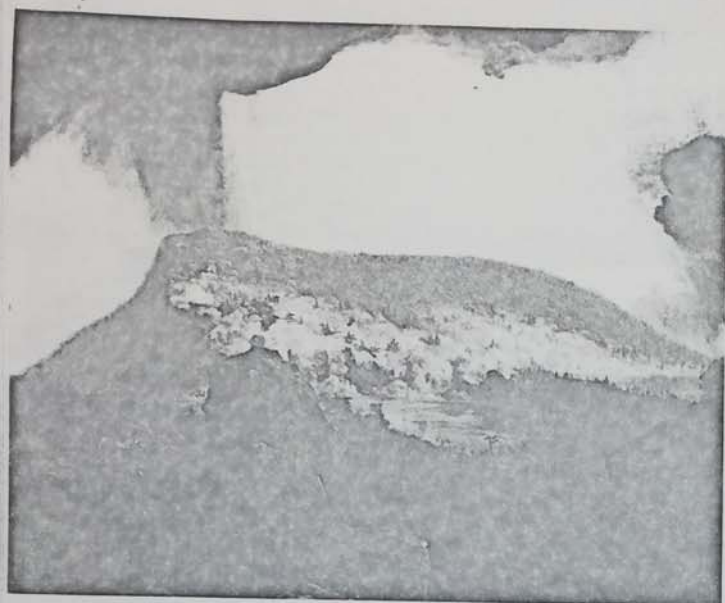
Initially, when theory dominated, nature was filtered through an elaborate matrix of preconceptions. Associationalist philosophy and its standardized categories of esthetic experience had led Cole to believe that truth to nature—the ideal "general nature" of British esthetics—could be arrived at only through eclecticism. Compositions, he wrote his patron Gilmor in a well-known letter of 1826, "... surpass in beauty and effect any picture painted from a single view." Theory granted him a license to exaggerate, and his early landscapes are brimming with hyperbolic metaphors of his own hysteria. Gnarled trees writhe in an agonized frenzy. Rocks teeter atop one another or are assembled into a fantastic architecture. Mountains and cliffs shoot skywards at impossibly steep angles. Gulfs are always bottomless and abysses untraversable. Often perspective is adjusted: not only did Cole employ, as Wolfgang Born noticed, a "shifting vanishing point" in the *Oxbow*; in some instances his panoramic views seem to divide into separated vistas which only converge in the foreground, as in the *Expulsion From the Garden of Eden*. Sometimes, although Cole probably was unconscious of it, the strain is directly translated into symbols of sexual frustration—cavern entrances, natural bridges, fountains, goblets, towers, giant upright cylindrical rocks.

Cole was not exempted from the obvious deficiencies of eclecticism. His method of drawing, as David Huntington has observed, was neoclassical, which is to say that he placed his subjects in a glaring analytical light, and drew by proceeding from outlines to tones. In his paintings, the clarity of individually studied elements could lead to harshness; and at times coloring might become confused with local color.

These difficulties should not be overstressed. Cole was, almost from the beginning, attentive to the overall effect of light, atmosphere and color. In a short period of time he developed a capacity to paint with remarkable fluidity. This is especially evident in his splendid oil sketches (*Distant View of the Falls of Niagara*), but the finished landscapes, although always more con-

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Thomas Cole, *Catskill Mountain House*, o/c, 29 x 36", 1843-44
(Mr. Calvin and Mrs. C. W. Stillman, New York, N.Y.)



Thomas Cole, *The Clove, Catskills*, o/c, 25"
(New Britain Museum of American Art, New Britain, Conn.)



Thomas Cole, *The Van Rensselaer Manor House*, o/c, 24 x 36", 1840.
(Albany Institute of History and Art, Albany, New York)

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trilled, sometimes display a similar vivaciousness of touch (*Catskill Mountain House*).

However, although he came close to it when, for example, he saw Turner's private collection of paintings, he never became involved in the enjoyment of light and color *per se*. Although he was a master of lighting effects, or could astutely place a startlingly red chair in the center of a green lawn (as in *The Van Rensselaer Manor House*), he believed that formal qualities were meant to have "the subservience of a vehicle." This he also had learned from books and the belief was reinforced by his puritanical inclinations as well as by his friends and patrons: they would have been repelled by the notion that a painting might be an occasion for pleasure. A painting's ultimate justification was its social utility: to improve the viewer by instructing him.

In this respect, as in many others, Cole adopted the philosophy of the conservative "establishment" to which Trumbull had introduced him. Or it might be more precise to say that he shared many of their aristocratic views from the beginning. Art provided the means for attaining a degree of gentility his lower middle class parents had aspired to but had never been able to afford. In

America he had become a gentleman (and during the 1820s and 1830s there was still a considerable distance between gentlemen and commoners). He even had gone so far as to join the sedate Episcopal Church despite his family's tradition of Dissent and his own highly emotional millennialism.

He had also accepted, up to a point, the traditional role of landscape artist, painting country seats, topographical views, sublime and picturesque scenery. His instinct for what was required had been so sure that on his first trip up the Hudson, besides searching for and, remarkably, finding ruins, he decided to paint two scenes of the area around the newly opened, expensive and popular Catskill Mountain House.

But there were complications. With the rise of Jacksonian Democracy, the old aristocracy's power declined (although a brief comeback was staged with the election of the Whig William Henry Harrison in 1840). Indeed the erosion of their position already had been signalled in 1816 with the demise of the Federalist Party. In a sense, by the time Cole appeared on the scene, they were a dying class. Their view of America, exemplified in Cooper's novels, now tended to be retrospective and tinged with nostalgia. In his paintings of

wild landscapes, sometimes populate Indians or furtive deer, Cole caught this mood by recreating an uncomely that had by then all but vanished. of rural bliss (see *Home in the Woods*—a similar although more subdued

If anything symbolized the end of the aristocracy's hegemony, it was the death of Stephen Van Rensselaer, last of the River Patroons. Afterwards his giant estate was broken up. When his family abandoned the archaic manor house, they had Cole's lingering backward glance.

It was the end of an epoch, and the aristocracy discovered that it was surrounded by a sea of moral and social decay: riots, a flux of foreign workingmen, manifestly democratic, Abolitionists, largely attributed to an excess of democratic energy, eventually was transubstantiated in the workings of the laws of history: the rose and fell; although strong doubt might indefinitely slow the process, the outcome was inevitable. Perhaps *The Ruins of Paestum* by his friend Henry Pickering, Cole adopted, in the cyclical theory. It very well suited his millennialism and later he would proclaim it the enthusiasm of a newly-born convert to the *Course of Empire* (1836).

It was upon this series and the *Course of Empire* that Cole staked his reputation. He misjudged his audience. During his *Course of Empire* was often and praised; his later series fared almost as well. One is hard pressed to say whether he had any other option. Everything he did in this direction: the estheticist claimed the superiority of history over other genres. So too had Trumbull. He knew of precedents, like Turner's series (which he very much admired) combining landscape and history for purposes. Finally—and this was the decisive factor—he was disinclined to play the role of landscapist.

Landscape had provided Cole with a refuge for his feelings. Still he was ambivalent because it also served, as he pointed out, to sharpen the contrast with himself. Probably he felt the need to do so and for this the moral lesson of the early landscapes and history paintings was sufficient. Given the circumstances, to preach was overwhelming.

Yet Cole sensed that somehow he had succeeded. Perhaps he was more than he realized of his position: occasionally he could find in which he found himself, painting for money had been a matter of the appraisal was shrewd, the solution—the creation of even larger dilemmas—only heightened his dilemma.



Thomas Cole, *Home in the Woods*, oil, 44 x 66", 1845-46. (Private Collection.)

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rica he had become a gentleman (and during the 1820s and 1830s there was still a considerable distance between gentlemen and commoners). He had gone so far as to join the sedate Episcopal Church despite his family's tradition of Dissent and his own highly emotional millennialism. He had also accepted, up to a point, the traditional role of landscape artist, painting country scenes, topographical views, sublime and picturesque scenery. His instinct for what was required had been so sure that on his first trip up the Hudson, besides searching for and, remarkably, finding ruins, he decided to paint two scenes of the area around the newly opened, expensive and popular Catskill Mountain House.

But there were complications. With the rise of Jacksonian Democracy, the old aristocracy's power was undermined (although a brief comeback was staged in the election of the Whig William Henry Harrison in 1840). Indeed the erosion of their position already had been signalled in 1816 with the rise of the Federalist Party. In a sense, by the time Cole appeared on the scene, they were a declining class. Their view of America, exemplified by Cooper's novels, now tended to be retrospective and tinged with nostalgia. In his paintings of

wild landscapes, sometimes populated by mythical Indians or furtive deer, Cole caught something of this mood by recreating an uncomplicated world that had by then all but vanished. His renditions of rural bliss (see *Home in the Woods*, 1846) exclude a similar although more subdued feeling.

If anything symbolized the end of the old aristocracy's hegemony, it was the death of General Stephen Van Rensselaer, last of the great Hudson River Patroons. Afterwards his giant estates were broken up. When his family abandoned the patriarchal manor house, they had Cole paint a last, lingering backward glance.

It was the end of an epoch, and the old aristocracy discovered that it was surrounded with signs of moral and social decay: riots, a dangerous influx of foreign workingmen, manipulative Jacksonian Democrats, Abolitionists, etc. This was largely attributed to an excess of democracy which eventually was transubstantiated into the inexorable workings of the laws of history. Civilizations rose and fell; although strong doses of morality might indefinitely slow the process, the final tragic outcome was inevitable. Perhaps after reading *The Ruins of Paestum* by his friend, the poet Henry Pickering, Cole adopted, in 1827 or 1828, the cyclical theory. It very well suited his pessimism and later he would proclaim it with the shrill enthusiasm of a newly-born convert in *The Course of Empire* (1836).

It was upon this series and the ones that followed that Cole staked his reputation. He did not misjudge his audience. During his lifetime *The Course of Empire* was often and extravagantly praised; his later series fared almost equally well. One is hard pressed to say whether or not Cole had any other option. Everything had impelled him in this direction: the estheticians he read proclaimed the superiority of history painting over other genres. So too had Trumbull and his friends. He knew of precedents, like Turner's Carthaginian series (which he very much admired), that justified combining landscape and history for didactic purposes. Finally—and this was probably the decisive factor—he was disinclined to accept forever the role of landscapist.

Landscape had provided Cole with an outlet for his feelings. Still he was ambivalent before nature because it also served, as Jerrold Lanes has pointed out, to sharpen the contradictions within himself. Probably he felt the need to justify himself and for this the moral lessons implicit in his early landscapes and history paintings were insufficient. Given the circumstances, the temptation to preach was overwhelming.

Yet Cole sensed that somehow he had not succeeded. Perhaps he was more than vaguely aware of his position: occasionally he commented on the bind in which he found himself, or thought that painting for money had been a mistake. Although the appraisal was shrewd, the solution he projected—the creation of even larger allegorical series—only heightened his dilemma. ■



Home in the Woods, oil on canvas, 44 x 66", 1845-46. (Private Collection.)

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THE ROMANTIC VISION IN AMERICA

Delacroix MoMA, 1971

The American vision has often been ingenuous. Our good artists have produced from impulses innocent but not naive. Behind the desire for wonder was realization that objects were built, not born. Success was more work than gift, more achieved than given. ¶ If the romantic artist is supposed to be as untroubled by calculation as the Mystic, neither will be understood. The only actuality of an artist lies in his ability for concretion. In this, American artists, whether romantic or classicist (neither of which exists unalloyed), are no different from European or Chinese. Delacroix and Berlioz were work horses with orderly intellects which demanded their control over inspiration. Their greatness past any of their American contemporaries was a difference in quality and circumstance, not kind. One falsifies Allston, Cole, or Ryder if any one of them is presented as creating by giving form to naked impulse, or by transferring undigested intuition into image. ¶ Presentation of ideas is always a betrayal by simplification. The isolation of the concept "romantic" is no exception. But it does have the labelling value of any descriptive term, as a signal that a consistent group of qualities has been recognized that isolates for identification an attitude and its bearer. ¶ As is the case with all too many words which are intended to typify, the words "romantic" and "romanticism" have arrived through extended overuse at a state of almost meaningless generalization. What one must salvage are the several historically justified uses of these words. This, then, brings into focus the fact that there are several types of romanticism and virtually as many kinds of romantic as there are producers of works we call romantic. Finally, it is obvious but often ignored that no attitude can exist in life in its pure form. One will not find an utterly unalloyed romanticism or a romantic who does not possess some qualities which, isolated, are in some way non-romantic. This distinction can be most easily seen, perhaps, in the great French romantics Chateaubriand, Delacroix, and Berlioz, each of whom had an inner clarity of logical structure and an equal outward clarity of verbal expression that, taken in isolation, would have placed him well toward the classicist side. ¶ American romanticism was both more eclectic and less closely knit

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than European. Distance, less structured education, and unavoidable provincialism were responsible. But it would be wrong to view American romanticism either as existing in a vacuum or as altogether naive and muddled. Through both personal contacts and books, Americans were early aware of German and English romanticism, if less so of French. Allston knew Coleridge, and corresponded with him, and Coleridge was a major bridge in bringing the German romanticism of Schelling and Friedrich Schlegel to the English-speaking world. Coleridge's *Aids to Reflection* was published in this country in 1829 and was familiar reading of the New England transcendentalists. The even earlier, mid-18th century English romanticization of nature, given voice in the poetry of Warton and Thomson, was well known and was imitated here by writers such as James K. Paulding and Thomas Campbell, whose *Gertrude of Wyoming* (1809) provided the inspiration for a Heade painting in the present exhibition (no. 36). ¶ During a naive or an optimistic era, romanticism can inject into its believers a dynamo-like drive and a faith that ideals are attainable. In a cynically realistic age, romanticism tends to become a refuge, a haven outside the assaults of actuality, and in these circumstances induces in its believers a dreamlike lassitude and an easy melancholy that coat the bitterness of the foreordained failure of any ideal. ¶ Most of the artists being considered here possessed by circumstance of birth and temperament, if with varying volatility, the first kind of romanticism. Allston's being in practice if not in expressed language the second, is in part the result of personality and in part of unresponsive environment. Ryder's nostalgic melancholy is a more direct reaction from his contact with deep changes in American mass psychology that came with realization of the triumph of a series of non-idealistic realities over earlier 19th century optimism. ¶ A key word in all writing by, of, and about the romantic is "nature". Men today, concreted and steeled against nature, think of and use the word simply and with limited implications. This was hardly the case in English any time between the 17th and the late 19th centuries. Nature was a central word in discussions not just of esthetics, but was used on the

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broadest philosophical plane, encompassing ethics, politics, and morals. So varied were the meanings of "nature", in fact, that the word was used with equal passion and sincerity by widely separated schools of thought. Nature was the empirical model for Reynolds, a generic, Platonic ideal for others, and then flowed on through meaning a norm or average, to end up as the "antithesis to man and his works"; unspoiled nature (Lovejoy 1948, pp. 69-77). Nature, as word and as concept, thus came to the romantic with multiple reverberations of which he was sensitively aware. ¶ In actual representations the authority of nature in one of its multiple fluid meanings could support equally restriction to generalized, idealized types or the opposite attempt to encompass the greatest possible "diversity and richness of contrasts" *ibid.*, within a work which mixed and overlapped genres. On a more subjective level, truth to nature could justify equally the precise imitation of realism or the interpretative liberties of subjectivity. Thus, both the romantics and the neo-classicists against whom they were revolting claimed with equal honesty to be followers of nature. Because of sharing so basic a concept, it was inevitable that many romantic uses of terms and materials were as much extensions and developments of neo-classic ideas and images as new attitudes, with the expansivist ideals toward an art which would body forth a boundlessness and variety like that of primeval nature being the most wholly new to romanticism. Further ramifications of this latter attitude led to strong expression of the subjectivity of the artist and to the cult of originality and novelty. ¶ A major difference between neo-classic and romantic art was the latter's turning away from the simplified, generic abstraction of the former. All the richness of what the eye saw and the heart knew was to be the matter of romantic art. The problem became one not of generalizing a single dominant theme, but one of how to give comprehensible form to subjects which sought to reveal the infinitely expandable wholeness of things. This dominant drive of the romantic artist has been well summarized by Arthur O. Lovejoy in his characterization of romantic art as: "...an art more enamored of life than of beauty; content to take nothing less than everything for its province; resolved

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to possess and to express the entire range of human experience; more interested in the individual variant than in the generic type; sensible that the abundance and infinite interconnectedness of Nature are incompatible with any sharp cleavage of things from one another, and not more afraid of 'confusion' than Nature is; aware that the distinctiveness, the idiosyncrasy, of the individual artist's vision is one of the elements in this abundance of Nature, and ought therefore not to be suppressed in art; and mindful that the task which it thus sets before itself is endless, and that no stage reached in the progress of it can be definitive (Lovejoy 1948, p. 202). ¶ In facing this task, the visual artist who is also a romantic has this advantage over either the verbal or the musical artist whose vision is romantic: he can, at least seemingly, deny the dissipating effect of time on ecstatic impact. A visual image isolates itself from sequence, demobilizing time. Action can be bent back upon itself in artificial simultaneity. When the vision which is to be seized is grandiose, this artificial stasis allows the illusion of structure. The visual artist can collect his visionary components and hold them in arrest for whoever is to receive his message. There is not the necessity to follow word after word while actual time passes, nor to listen to each isolated tonal cluster of a structure of sound which to achieve its coherence as image must rely on memory's retention and blood's playback. In both, the physical reality of time experienced works against the romantic need to overwhelm by a multiplicity of experience laminated into an entity vast but intricately detailed, simple but infinitely expansive. But, the visual image can project the illusion of this multiplicity in simultaneity. ¶ In his concern for collecting within his work, whether literary, musical, or visual, as much significant detail as possible, the romantic artist is basically a realist. His effort is toward an inclusiveness that recognizes as potential material for his art not only all that the eye can see and the hand touch, but, equally important, the reality also of the emotions in reaction to these things, and the intangible but valid reality of dream and fantasy to the individual whose experience of either or both is vivid enough. This explains the almost unclassifiable variety of the finished work of the romantic, whether of seven

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men as here, or of the hundreds of romantic artists in every medium. "Being inclusively realistic, romanticism has no typical works, in the sense that to read one is to read them all. It has typical genres, just like classicism, but covering an immensely greater range" (Barzun 1961, p. 61). The botanic attention to foreground of Church, the poet's response to light of Heade, and the fantasy becalmed world of Ryder show this very range present among America's visual romantics. ¶ One key to the receptivity with which paintings representing the landscape of their own country were met by the 19th century American public may be found in the widely held feeling that the United States, as the westernmost point of a continuous expansion westward from the Biblical ancient world, was fated to culminate man's state-building achievements. This sense of mission, given the name Manifest Destiny, was a driving force in the growth of American nationalism, and one which held the implication of a close connection between the fate of the nation and the very physical qualities of the land itself. ¶ As early as 1784, Thomas Hutchins, in his *Historical Narrative and Topographical Description of Louisiana, and West Florida*, presented the idea of worldwide expansion related to a progressively grander series of world empires, of which the new one on the North American continent was to be the culminating power. For a while the concept of an American Empire was embodied in two forms, one based on commerce on the seas, the other on the full exploitation of the continental interior, the latter dependent on an agriculturalist vision of the future as opposed to the mercantilist basis of the former. Both ideals presupposed "American expansion westward to the Pacific" (Smith 1970, p. 12). The second, agrarian ideal was more closely related to the concerns of American visual artists in their interest in presenting to the world the beauties of their native landscape. This development of the American Interior and West, which Henry Nash Smith characterizes as the theme of the Garden of the World, was in partial conflict with the artists' vision of the American landscape as the unspoiled, primeval revelation of the Creator's pattern and intent. ¶ But one can turn to the sections of Cole's "Essay on American Scenery" cited below

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and see that Cole was aware of American nature as both primeval force and Edenic garden. His paintings, similarly, reflect both these facets of his virtually pantheist response to nature: *View in the White Mountains, New Hampshire* (no. 8) shows the Garden, while *Gelynn* (no. 7) presents man dwarfed by a nature elemental in its dramatic power. With Church, the landscape image was turned toward a visual equivalent of Manifest Destiny (Huntington 1966b). Church developed a panoramic presentation in which sweeping effects suggested a kind of religion-saturated limitlessness of goal and carefully finished details within the great view gave a materiality which made the implied quest seem possible. Even though Church ranged outside the continental United States for his subjects, his most typical heroic compositions are drawn still from the western hemisphere. The Andes, where visible space can seem to have no limit, gave Church his most successful visual symbol for the grandiose openness of nature as a goal toward which man might aim. The fires and waters of *Colopaxi* (no. 24) still overwhelm an elemental world in which man is almost unnoticed, but these forces are presented as magnetic in their attraction rather than as forbidding in their awesomeness. Church was creating visual equivalents for ideas which found parallel political and literary expression, and he was doing this in part under shared inspiration, the works of the great German geographer-philosopher Alexander von Humboldt. Church had almost certainly gone to South America first in 1853 on the impetus of his reading of Humboldt, whose writings were also to provide support for expansionist writing. William Gilpin, a disciple of Missouri's westering senator, Thomas Hart Benton, and author of *The Mission of the North American People* (1873), followed Humboldt's ideas as presented in his works of physical geography, letting Humboldt's theory provide "a scientific basis for the old idea of the westward course of empire. . . . The cosmopolitan Humboldt's doctrine could be made to nourish American nationalism and Western sectionalism in yet another way. If the earth is the final arbiter of human destinies, then the student of society should direct his gaze toward nature rather than to history" (Smith 1970, pp. 39-40). In this idea

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is implied a fusion perfectly suited to please the deepest hopes of artists laboring to overcome prejudices, still lingering from the 18th century, against landscape painting in favor of history painting as the supreme genre: if nature is a more telling model for humanity's shaping of its destiny than history, then landscape, the painting of nature idealized and glorified, gains categorical supremacy as the form of visual art best suited as a moral guide to man. ¶ The public which flocked to each showing of a new major effort by "Mr. Church" had not submitted itself to any such painful analysis as that above. But through journalism, political oratory, and the general mid-19th century atmosphere of limitless possibility of progress, it had become understood that the very nature of the land itself had somehow changed; pregnant with the good life, its every detail suddenly became filled with moral implication and lessons for individual and national enlightenment. ¶ In this connection one should hold in mind that these paintings were intended to be studied, not scanned. The viewer was expected, and himself desired, to project himself into the representation. With the landscapes especially, the intent was to pull the viewer into the world which the painting presented. The overall impression, the governing mood, were conceived as an overture to the full orchestration of detail and varied atmospheric effect which revealed itself on longer inspection. Broadsides announcing the showing of a new painting by Church actually suggested that the spectator bring his binoculars so that he could travel vicariously through the varied parts of the panorama presented. While it was expected that a successful painting create a striking initial impression, that was only a limited part of the fuller wealth of nature which it must reveal on longer looking. ¶ A number of the paintings included in the exhibition are studies. These vary in character. The two *Dido and Anna* compositions give an insight into Allston's transitional nature, both personally and in the development of American painting. The smaller color study (no. 5), freely brushed and exuberant, reveals Allston the enthusiast. The unfinished, larger painting (no. 6), however, shows Allston working with a more systematic, rationalist approach. The two together

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demonstrate one reason for Allston's frequent inability to bring work to completion: they embody the indecision in formal approach which recurred throughout Allston's life, whether to succumb to his natural sympathy for Venetian colorism or to hold back under a Reynoldsian discipline. ¶ Thomas Cole is represented by studies specifically related to finished paintings. In one instance, the view of Boston painted for Joshua Bates, both study and finished painting may be seen together (nos. 12-13). The other group, the four oil sketches of *The Voyage of Life* (nos. 14-17), shows an important stage in the most famous of Cole's allegorical series. All these studies, when compared to the final paintings, show how much Cole tightened up his execution, how his concern for meeting contemporary criteria of "finish" inhibited and cooled his hand and, one too often feels in later works, his interest too. ¶ Church and Bierstadt present a virtual reversal of Cole. There is a dryness of touch and at times a photographic neutrality of viewpoint in the studies of both which was warmed and given an overflow of romantic feeling by incorporation into the orchestration of impressions out of which their finished compositions are built. Both artists were in the habit of making painted notations of specific bits of nature (Bierstadt, nos. 51-52), which might be put to use over a period of years in several large compositions, and both also made small, rapidly brushed trials of overall compositions (Church, nos. 23, 26). ¶ Turning more specifically to the individual artists, each, as a complex individual, is an amalgam of attitudes and characteristics not all of which should be expected to be components of that elusive quality, the romantic. In their life, thought, feelings, and work some are more cohesive than others, and the balance differs in each. In the space available one cannot do more than set in motion a few ideas about each, with the hope that what is said individually will produce an interaction that will aid in illuminating all. ¶ Not just his paintings but his words as well betray in Washington Allston a large residue of the enlightenment. Not seeming to have experienced any such dramatic revelation as transformed almost instantaneously some first generation European romantics from their former cool, close rationalism, Allston's gradual

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elision from a strongly enlightenment education (superimposed upon what was always an impetuously romantic personality – but so also was that of many 18th century men of sentiment) toward a romantic and visionary persona, means that he had no compulsion to cast off the balanced habits of phrase and formal preference which gave substance to what he had been taught was the better, higher part of his being. And what was true of Allston in these ways and in such further implications as the continuing importance of 18th century art theory (epitomized both in mind and practice by Reynolds) remained true in his American artistic successors far into the 19th century. Cole's prose more than his art moves to echoes at least of 18th century cadences, and certainly his and even later artists' and writers' at times strained optimism was as much provincially sluggish belief in the natural process toward perfectability of man as it was new, romantic energy to seize and to remake in order to gain the ideal. Washington Allston is among those artists whose promise was greater than their achievement. All his contemporaries agree in portraying Allston as a man who projected an aura of genius. In his own writing, whether formal lectures or personal letters, Allston expressed himself as a person of intelligence and remarkable insight. When one turns to the paintings themselves, however, the effect is ambiguous. Such works as *Classical Landscape* (no. 4) and *Landscape with a Lake* (no. 1) have an irresistible, Arcadian magic that causes one to overlook such awkwardnesses as the figure in the latter. And a painting such as *Coast Scene on the Mediterranean* (no. 3) is an extraordinary work for its time and place, and certainly proves Allston's mastery in realizing limpid, open effects of atmosphere different from those in the other two paintings mentioned, which are Claudian with echoes of Venice. But all these works are still more derivative than original. They are more European than American in feel; their muted orderliness is that of the Old World. For Allston's successor artists, however, the image he painted was less important than the example he presented. Allston chose to return to America to live at a moment when London seemed about to offer him real success, and from that point on he never ceased

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to encourage by word and example the development of a native American art that should strive to free itself from the shadow of Europe as he had been unable to do. ¶ Thomas Cole was, as had been Allston, fond of verbal as well as pictorial artistic expression. His prose style is less even than Allston's, but it does at its best break the skin of pious affirmations of received opinion and preserve some of the joy and love Cole felt for his art and for its sources in nature. In his "Essay on American Scenery" Cole was consciously proselytizing, but he allowed himself also passages of deeply sincere and open expression of some of the motivations of his own art. Since these words seem also to speak in part for successor 19th century landscapists, lengthy quotation may adumbrate the eyes and minds behind many of the paintings in the exhibition. ¶ Poetry and Painting sublime and purify thought, by grasping the past, the present, and the future—they give the mind a foretaste of its immortality, and thus prepare it for performing an exalted part amid the realities of life. And rural nature is full of the same quickening spirit—it is, in fact, the exhaustless mine from which the poet and the painter have brought such wondrous treasures... ¶ There is in the human mind an almost inseparable connection between the beautiful and the good, so that if we contemplate the one the other seems present... ¶ I will now speak of (a) component of scenery, without which every landscape is defective—it is water. Like the eye in the human countenance, it is a most expressive feature: in the unrippled lake, which mirrors all surrounding objects, we have the expression of tranquility and peace—in the rapid stream, the headlong cataract, that of turbulence and impetuosity... ¶ And now I must turn to another of the beautifiers of the earth—the Waterfall; which in the same object at once presents to the mind the beautiful, but apparently incongruous idea, of fixedness and motion—a single existence in which we perceive unceasing change and everlasting duration. The waterfall may be called the voice of the landscape, for, unlike the rocks and woods which utter sounds as the passive instruments played on by the elements, the waterfall strikes its own chords, and rocks and mountains re-echo in unison... ¶ In the Forest scenery of the United States we have that which occupies the greatest space, and

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is not the least remarkable; being primitive, it differs widely from the European. In the American forest we find trees in every stage of vegetable life and decay—the slender sapling rises in the shadow of the lofty tree, and the giant in his prime stands by the hoary patriarch of the wood—on the ground lie prostrate decaying ranks that once waved their verdant heads in the sun and wind. These are circumstances productive of great variety and picturesqueness—green umbrageous masses—lofty and scathed trunks—contorted branches thrust athwart the sky—the mouldering dead below, shrouded in moss of every hue and texture, form richer combinations than can be found in the trimmed and planted grove... Trees are like men, differing widely in character; in sheltered spots, or under the influence of culture, they show few contrasting points; peculiarities are pruned and trained away, until there is a general resemblance. But in exposed situations, wild and uncultivated, battling with the elements and with one another for the possession of a morsel of soil, or a favoring rock to which they may cling—they exhibit striking peculiarities, and sometimes grand originality... ¶ The sky will next demand our attention. The soul of all scenery, in it are the fountains of light, and shade, and color. Whatever expression the sky takes, the features of the landscape are affected in unison, whether it be the serenity of the summer's blue, or the dark tumult of the storm. It is the sky that makes the earth so lovely at sunrise, and so splendid at sunset... ¶ We have many a spot as umbrageous as Vallombrosa, and as picturesque as the solitudes of Vaucluse; but Milton and Petrarch have not hallowed them by their footsteps and immortal verse. He who stands on Mont Albano and looks down on ancient Rome, has his mind peopled with the gigantic associations of the storied past; but he who stands on the mounds of the West, the most venerable remains of American antiquity, may experience the emotion of the sublime, but it is the sublimity of a shoreless ocean un-islanded by the recorded deeds of man. ¶ Yet American scenes are not destitute of historical and legendary associations—the great struggle for freedom has sanctified many a spot, and many a mountain, stream and rock has its legend, worthy of poet's pen or the painter's pencil. But American associations are not so much of the past as of the present and the future. Seated on a pleasant knoll, look down into the bosom of

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that secluded valley, begirt with wooded hills—through those enamelled meadows and wide waving fields of grain; a silver stream winds lingeringly along—here, seeking the green shade of trees—there, glancing in the sunshine: on its banks are rural dwellings shaded by elms and garlanded by flowers—from yonder dark mass of foliage the village spire beams like a star. You see no ruined tower to tell of outrage—no gorgeous temple to speak of ostentation; but freedom's offspring—peace, security, and happiness, dwell there, the spirits of the scene. On the margin of that gentle river the village girls may ramble unmolested—and the glad school-boy, with hook and line, pass his bright holiday—those neat dwellings, unpretending to magnificence, are the abodes of plenty, virtue, and refinement. And in looking over the yet uncultivated scene, the mind's eye may see far into futurity. Where the wolf roams, the plough shall glisten; on the gray crag shall rise temple and tower—mighty deed shall be done in the now pathless wilderness; and poets yet unborn shall sanctify the soil... We are still in Eden; the wall that shuts us out of the garden is our own ignorance and folly. Cole's own work falls into two principal groupings, presentations of the American scenery about which he wrote so lovingly, and allegorical compositions, often done in series, of which the best known are *The Course of Empire* and *The Voyage of Life*. While the latter, as casting the artist in the role of idealist moral instructor, were more important to Cole himself, the former were more popular with the public, and seem usually the more successful as paintings. The calm, direct honesty and clarity of *View in the White Mountains, New Hampshire* (no. 8) gives form to an open, unselfconscious vision that announces a major quality of the new American school of painting upon which Cole was a seminal, founding influence. The studies for *The Voyage of Life* (nos. 14-17), while they are less awkwardly enamellike than the completed paintings, still have a certain lack of integration between idea and form that is equally apparent in the two finished allegorical paintings in the exhibition, *The Departure* and *The Return* (nos. 9-10). Still, in these two works, perhaps because the landscape is the dominant element, there is a more successful wedding of mood, form, and painterliness than Cole sometimes achieved in his

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allegories, which did represent, after all, an extraordinarily ambitious genre that had given trouble to many strong painters. ¶ Frederic E. Church, a devoted pupil of Cole's, and Albert Bierstadt, more wholly European trained than most of his contemporaries, were painters with at times similar aspirations. Both favored, in their most public-conscious works, the grand panorama, a visual synthesis which sought to present nature in microcosm. The differing ways in which Church and Bierstadt achieved this for each viewer today seem, unfortunately, tied more than for many artists to subjective reactions about artistic sincerity. One can only present what his own eye directs to his mind. There does seem to be a greater consistency in the work of Church in such elements as compositional interest and variety and paint quality. Bierstadt had a more set compositional formula (as in the similarities of composition among nos. 47, 48, and 49, which could be extended to a number of other Western landscapes) and his actual use of paint often takes on a dryness suggestive of a rather mechanical disinterest. There are moments, however, when in both touch and composition Bierstadt comes alive and weaves a magical curtain of light and atmospheric effects, as in *Island in Princess Louisa Inlet, British Columbia* (no. 50). Here Bierstadt has achieved a similar solidity of composition as Church has in *The Aegean Sea* (no. 27), though more by closing in his space rather than, as Church almost always preferred, opening it to vast distances. ¶ Church has been called, with derogatory intent, a theatrical painter; yet this is limiting the meaning of theatrical and misunderstanding Church's goals. His paintings are theatrical in the sense of operatic pageantry, in which a certain degree of overstatement is agreeable if largeness of concept will support it. Certainly in *Cotopaxi* (no. 24) Church has achieved resonances which could hardly have come from more modest and less declamatory form and color. Here Church with exuberance weds the kind of all-encompassing variety of natural detail which was so frequent a romantic aim with heroic effects of lighting and space which give form to the infinitude of possibility which was a complementary romantic goal. That such balance could lapse is evident in *The Aurora Borealis*

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(no. 25), where in straining color to fill the void left by lack of foreground detail, the composition is left too vacant for its size. A more successful use of the experience of Church's Arctic voyage occurs in *The Iceberg* (no. 28), a late painting in which one senses a change in the artist toward a mood of introspection which found form on a smaller scale and with a more delicate touch. ¶ George Caleb Bingham is one of the more interesting phenomena in American art. Growing up in Missouri when it was still a part of the frontier which became the subject of his best paintings, Bingham's early artistic development occurred in almost complete isolation. While still in his formative years Bingham did finally have a brief stay in Philadelphia and New York, but it is unlikely that much that he saw there could have helped him in developing the subtle mastery of atmospheric effect and the morning freshness of viewpoint which are remarkable qualities of both the early paintings in the exhibition, *The Mill Boy* (no. 29) and *The Concealed Enemy* (no. 30). While in later works Bingham achieved increased variety of touch and a greater mastery of color, both paintings are unusually mature in their overall consistency. This consistency throughout the entire picture surface, with no flagging of involvement in any corner, gives Bingham's paintings a solidity of substance that continues to satisfy on repeated viewing. This reverberative quality is one of the things which makes a work of visual art lasting. Among the present group of artists, Bingham and Ryder, followed less evenly by Allston and Heade, most frequently instilled this, which can only be called a visual realization of intellection, into their paintings. ¶ Around 1850 Bingham reached full stride. *The Storm* (no. 32) and *Canvassing for a Vote* (no. 34) are at the two poles of his imaginative vision, yet they share much as well. In both Bingham employs an almost limitless nuance of tonal transition into which he breaks with a few strikingly abrupt light-dark juxtapositions which electrify the whole. Solidity of substance now vibrates with controlled but present feeling, openly in *The Storm*, peripherally in *Canvassing for a Vote*. But in overall mood the two paintings are far apart. The effect of *The Storm* is one of unalloyed romanticism. *Canvassing for a Vote* is more

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complex. In this painting, one of his so-called genre works (they transcend what is usually meant by the term), Bingham reveals another of the virtually inexplicable elements of his artistic vision. This is the effect of Frenchness in form, color, and touch about which Arthur Pope wrote tellingly over thirty years ago. And it is in this that Bingham can be seen to be as much classicist as romanticist, a balancing within the person which was itself more frequent among French romantic artists than any others. ¶ This combination of classicist and romanticist is present in much of the work of Bingham's middle years. In *Mississippi Fisherman* (no. 31) the classical side of Bingham gives to the romantic subject an unusual feeling of arrest and timelessness. While this same control pervades much of *Canvassing for a Vote*, it in a sense here fuses with the romantic: with the exception of the distant landscape, in which the late afternoon sky is a romantic release, the rest of the composition, in both structure and lighting, gives the effect of players in a stage set lit by the soft lights of a pre-electrical era. This muted theatricalism infuses the classicist control of modeling and color transition with a pervasive romantic aura. ¶ As an artistic personality Martin Johnson Heade offers certain parallels with Bingham. Although he lived and worked in America's artistic centers, and formed a long-term friendship with Church, Heade remained aloof from real influence by the art around him and developed a pastoral personal style dependent on the unifying quality of precisely controlled light. This preoccupation with the effect of light on objects otherwise palpably material has been isolated as the luminist style in American painting. In Heade's work luminism can range from the controlled but preternatural glow of the light in *Lake George* (no. 38) to the suffused but light-drenched mists of *Two Fighting Hummingbirds* and *Two Orchids* (no. 41) and *Hazy Sunrise at Sea* (no. 39). Heade's possession of what Theodore Stebbins cites as "what Kenneth Clark has called 'the landscape painter's greatest gift: an emotional response to light'" enabled him to repeat certain subjects in numerous variations without their falling into dead repetition (Stebbins 1969). The three variants of one of Heade's favored subjects, the coastal salt marsh

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(nos. 42-44), share an almost visionary transformation of a potentially pedestrian theme through Heade's intense involvement with light. As in so much of Heade's painting one finds in these simple horizontal scenes the seeming paradox of dramatic stillness. ¶ Just as Allston stands somewhat apart from his time at the beginning of the romantic era, Albert Pinkham Ryder is outside the currents of change which closed this first major phase of American romanticism. Again with Allston, Ryder's choice of themes for his paintings was largely literary, often drawn from two great sources of romantic art, Shakespeare and the Bible. In this Ryder was less like his American predecessors and contemporaries than like his European equivalents. But Ryder's treatment of subject was not only as individualistic as any in the history of Western art, it also revealed a kind of willful rejection of formal precedent which is very American. The nearest equivalent to Ryder's characteristic organic compartmenting of shapes is El Greco, and yet the two are still worlds apart. ¶ With Ryder one must, unfortunately, look through the effects of time and decay, for his willfulness extended to a disregard for craftsmanship which has had disastrous results. But even with changed color *The Forest of Arden* (no. 55) and *The Temple of the Mind* (no. 54) project a potent poetry of dreamlike illusion. And in the physically tiny but formally immense *Marine* (no. 57) Ryder has pared his few forms to a highpoint of balanced, elemental grandeur. This small painting is splendidly fitting as one of the last great romantic statements of the 19th century American vision. It is at once firm and evanescent, believable and visionary, personal and universal. The successful union of these seemingly contradictory qualities, with the implications of precision within universality which such a union carries, runs like a continuous thread through the varied forms of the romantic vision in America.

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great extent upon the large number of wall paintings excavated at Pompeii. Color mixing and juxtaposition reached a zenith there in an illusionistic, impressionistic style.

See also GREEK PAINTING (USE OF COLORS).

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ROMAN SCHOOL. Strictly speaking, no Roman school of painting exists, for throughout Rome's long history of artistic activity very few of the painters who are usually associated with Rome were born there. Instead, they brought with them styles based upon the regional schools of their training. In the 15th century, Botticelli and Ghirlandajo were called from Florence to work in Rome. The tradition of bringing artists to Rome continued into the 16th century, with Raphael from Umbria and Michelangelo from Florence. In Giulio Romano, however, Rome had a native artist of great importance, and around his personality grew the school of Roman mannerists. The baroque age again brought to Rome artists from the major centers of Italy as well as from all of Europe. Despite the varied origins of most major Roman painters, Rome, in all periods, exercised a unifying force in art, inspiring her immigrants to monumentality through the grandeur of her patronage and the cosmopolitanism of her culture. See ROMANO, GIULIO.

BIBLIOGRAPHY. L. Bruhns, *Die Kunst der Stadt Rom, ihre Geschichte von den frühesten Anfängen bis in die Zeit der Romantik*, 2 vols., Vienna, 1951.

ROMANS OF THE DECADENCE. Oil painting by Couture, in the Louvre Museum, Paris. See COUTURE, THOMAS.

ROMANTICISM. Derived from the term "romance-like," in which sense it was used during the 17th and 18th centuries, romanticism in its specific historical application refers to a movement in European art from about 1800 to 1850. It had its roots in the preromantic concepts of the second part of the 18th century, as expressed in Jean-Jacques Rousseau's writings and in the cult of the "genius," the "original," and the "characteristic." Neo-Gothicism, Sturm und Drang ("storm and stress") in German literature, and sentimentalism prepared the ground for the romanticism of the 19th century.

Romanticism did not produce a unified style but expressed itself in central and northern Europe in terms of the somewhat earlier linear neoclassicism. Only in French painting did romanticism develop a new, spontaneous, subjective, and painterly language in contrast to the deliberate, objective, linear style of the neoclassical masters. Paralleling the philosophical and literary cult of nature and the natural, it reintroduced landscape painting and reflected the newly awakened sense for history, in historical paintings, and for religious-metaphysical speculations, in its revival of Christian art.

In architecture romanticism expressed itself in a new medievalism, especially in church architecture, and in a search for scenic mood in the placing of buildings. Nineteenth-century historicism in architecture is an outgrowth of romanticism. Von Schinkel in Germany, Viollet-le-Duc in France, and Pugin and Sir George Scott in England may be considered typical exponents of the romantic cur-

rent in architecture. See PUGIN, AUGUSTUS WELBY NORTHMORE; SCHINKEL, KARL FRIEDRICH VON; SCOTT, SIR GEORGE GILBERT; VIOUET-LE-DUC, EUGENE-EMANUEL.

In sculpture romanticism did not create a new style. The innumerable monuments to men of merit and to the commemoration of historical events are, however, an outgrowth of the modern spirit of nationalism, in itself to some extent a child of the romantic spirit. The dramatic animal sculptures of Barye come closest to the rendition of demonic ferocity in the animal paintings of Géricault and Delacroix. See BARYE, ANTOINE LOUIS; DELACROIX, EUGENE; GERICAUT, THEODORE.

In Germany the painters Runge and Friedrich created a new landscape art that saw in nature a symbol of the divine spirit. Christian symbolism was related to the cosmic infinite; historical religion, to the seasons and the hours of the day. The rise of American landscape painting in the works of Allston, Cole, and the members of the Hudson River school in general also points to a stimulation through English and German romantic painting. See ALLSTON, WASHINGTON; COLE, THOMAS; FRIEDRICH, CASPAR DAVID; HUDSON RIVER SCHOOL; RUNGE, PHILIPP OTTO.

The Nazarene group in Rome, led by Overbeck and Cornelius, contributed to the proliferation of religious and historical compositions and exerted some influence on Flandrin and on the English Pre-Raphaelites. In the work of Von Schwind, A. L. Richter, and Spitzweg romanticism turned from the religious spirit to quiet contemplation and friendly story-telling, reflecting the growing tendency to conceive of art as an entertainment. See CORNELIUS, PETER; FLANDRIN, HIPPOLYTE; NAZARENES; OVERBECK, JOHANN FRIEDRICH; PRE-RAPHAELITE MOVEMENT; RICHTER, ADRIAN LUDWIG; SCHWIND, MORITZ VON; SPITZWEG, KARL.

In France the heroic age of the Revolution and of Napoleon's empire gave the romantic spirit a tendency toward the contemporary. The actual, the sensational, the unusual, and the exalted prevailed. A new use of broad color application, in which artists were guided by the study of Rubens, expressed the ideal of passionate involvement. Géricault and Delacroix were the leading exponents of romantic painting. The creators of novel themes and a free, painterly style, they also laid the ground for subsequent naturalistic painting in France with their daring rendition of natural phenomena and their spontaneous brushwork. The landscape painting of the Barbizon school, represented by Corot, Théodore Rousseau, Daubigny, and Millet, combined romantic emotion and naturalistic, atmospheric observation. See BARBIZON SCHOOL; COROT, JEAN-BAPTISTE-CAMILLE; DAUBIGNY, CHARLES-FRANCOIS; MILLET, JEAN-FRANCOIS; ROUSSEAU, PIERRE-ETIENNE-THÉODORE.

In England the romantic spirit expressed itself in the poetry of Turner's landscapes and, after 1849, in the pictures of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood under the leadership of Rossetti and including William Holman Hunt, Burne-Jones, Millais, and William Morris. Medieval stylization and extreme realism combine in their work, which became a base for design reform in the applied arts. See BURNE-JONES, SIR EDWARD COLEY; HUNT, WILLIAM HOLMAN; MILLAIS, JOHN EVERETT; MORRIS, WILLIAM; ROSSETTI, DANTE GABRIEL; TURNER, JOSEPH MALLORD WILLIAM.

In the United States romanticism brought about a flower-

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ing of landscape painting and the rise of a new story-telling art, which is at its most original in the Mississippi River scenes of Bingham. See BINGHAM, GEORGE CALEB.

Romanticism was more the expression of a literary movement, reflected in an emotional subjectivism, than a stylistic phenomenon of line, color, and design.

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ALFRED NEUMEYER

ROMBOUTS, GILLES (Jilles), Dutch painter of landscape and interiors (b. Haarlem, 1630; d. there, before 1672). Little is known of the early training and activity of this Haarlem painter. In 1652 he was a member of the Haarlem Guild of St. Luke, and is recorded in that city until 1663. He seems to have been influenced by Claes Molenaer and Salomon van Ruysdael (*Forest Landscape*, versions in Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum; Leipzig, Museum of Fine Arts). He was probably the brother of the Haarlem painter Salomon Rombouts.

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ROMBOUTS, SALOMON, Dutch landscape painter (fl. Haarlem, 1652-60; d. before 1702). Nothing is known of the early activity and training of this rare landscape painter. He is said to have been in Florence in 1690. His few extant works show him to be an imitator and follower of Salomon van Ruysdael. He painted a few winter land-

scapes (Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum) and a somewhat crisp, overcrowded beach scene (*Beach at Scheveningen*, Leipzig, Museum of Fine Arts). He was probably the brother of the Haarlem painter Gilles Rombouts.

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ROMBOUTS, THEODOOR, Flemish painter of historical, genre, and religious subjects (b. Antwerp, 1597; d. there, 1637). He was presumably a pupil of Abraham Janssens. Rombouts went to Italy in 1616 and by 1625 had returned to Antwerp, where he became a master. He is one of the outstanding Caravaggists, and produced a number of half-length figure scenes close in treatment to the work of Bartolommeo Manfredi and Moïse Le Valentin, among others. *The Deposition* (Ghent, St. Bavon) illustrates a classicist trend. During his later years, after about 1630, Rombouts attempted to emulate Rubens. His palette veered toward a warm color scheme, and his conception changed in an effort to suit current taste (for example, *The Marriage of St. Catherine*, 1634; Antwerp, St. Jacob). He was also an engraver.

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ROME, Capital of Italy. Rome lies on both sides of the Tiber River in a plain that stretches from the sub-Apennine Sabine hills to the sea. The center of the city, contained within the Servian walls (4th cent. B.C.), is focused on the famous seven hills. To the south are the Caelian and Aventine hills; to the north, the Esquiline, Viminal, and Quirinal hills. Between are the Capitoline and Palatine hills, forming two sides of the Roman Forum. Another important part of the city is the Campus Martius, a flat area to the northwest where the Pantheon, the Ara Pacis, the Column of Marcus Aurelius, and other important monuments stand. Areas outside the 3d-century Aurelian walls, including the Villa Borghese, the Villa Doria Pamphili, and industrial and suburban sections, have been part of Rome since the 19th century.

The city was founded in the 8th century B.C. by Latin tribes. Since the 1st century B.C. Rome has held an important, if not a fundamental, place in the story of Western and Mediterranean art and architecture. The ancient city was created in response to the needs of an imperially minded people and their government; in the 16th and 17th centuries the baroque city arose as a result of the stimulus of the Counter Reformation. The modern city combines the remains of these two great epochs with the monuments of a national capital that is at the same time a magnificent museum of the past. The intervening periods were often of equal importance in artistic development, but they were rarely as productive and therefore contribute less to the city as a visual experience.

At first Rome was a simple walled village, centering upon an open meeting place or forum flanked by a rude temple, but under the influence of the Etruscans and later of the Greeks the city developed a greater sensitivity to the forms and décor of its monuments. It achieved the true status of a capital when it combined Hellenistic surfaces and materials with indigenous plans and shapes: this proc-

Theodoor Rombouts, *The Marriage of St. Catherine*, St. Jacob, Antwerp.



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Chapelle in Paris, a building that seems to have been designed for just this triumph of the glass painter's art. In the 14th century a new fashion for monochrome grisaille windows ousted the richly colored style. Later techniques were more varied; the artists developed a new type of silver-stain work, and damascening and plating were introduced. The realistic perspectival windows of the late Middle Ages announce the decadence of the art. See **STAINED GLASS**.

As the great windows took up more and more of the wall surface in Gothic buildings, wall painting dwindled in significance. Important wall paintings are found mainly in Italy, but the painters there followed the lead of Giotto in minimizing the influence of Gothic art. In fact, the only field where Gothic painting in opaque colors can be followed from beginning to end is book illumination. Early masterpieces such as the *Psalter of Queen Ingeburga* were succeeded in the reign of Louis IX by a highly sophisticated style of International Gothic painting, which ultimately reached its culmination in the second quarter of the 14th century in manuscripts illuminated by Jean Pucelle and his school. At the end of the 14th century illumination became one of the principal means of spreading the International Style. The fantastic pages painted by the Limbourg brothers for their patron, Jean, duc de Berry, are the high point of this phase. In the middle of the 15th century Gothic illumination had a last blaze of glory in the work of Jean Fouquet, who had traveled in Italy and was able to integrate some features of the early Renaissance into his style. See **FOUQUET, JEAN**; **INTERNATIONAL GOTHIC PAINTING**; **LIMBOURG BROTHERS**; **PUCELLE, JEAN**.

Illuminations formed the essential background for the emergence of panel painting as a great art in 15th-century Flanders. The greatest realizations of this school were the many-leaved altarpieces, such as the *Ghent Altarpiece* by Hubert and Jan van Eyck. Rogier van der Weyden evolved a severe devotional mode in the middle of the 15th century; he was followed by Memling and Hugo van der Goes, whose work marks the end of Flemish Gothic painting. See **GOES, HUGO VAN DER**; **MEMLING, HANS**; **VAN EYCK, HUBERT**; **VAN EYCK, JAN**; **WEYDEN, ROGIER VAN DER**.

Gothic artists excelled in the minor arts, of which perhaps the most typical branches are enamel work and ivories. The development of such subtle techniques as the use of translucent enamel attests the virtuosity of Gothic metalworkers. The religious ivory carvings, conceived as an intimate substitute for large-scale sculpture, were supplemented by secular ivories illustrating the *chansons de geste*. See also **FURNITURE (MIDDLE AGES: ROMANESQUE AND GOTHIC)**; **IVORY**.

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WAYNE DYNES

GOTHIC REVIVAL. Term referring to the revival of interest in Gothic decoration and architectural forms as part of a deliberate romanticism. It was begun by Horace Walpole in his pseudo-Gothic villa, Strawberry Hill (ca. 1755),

and was repeated by many landowners in artificial Gothic "ruins" placed in their parks. Whereas these 18th-century Gothic revivals were mainly domestic buildings, those of the 19th century were primarily churches, built between 1830 and 1875, and also public buildings (town halls, hospitals, prisons, and railroad stations) as well as residences. Among the leading exponents of this style were Pugin in England, Viollet-le-Duc in France, and Cram and Goodhue in the United States. See **CRAM, RALPH ADAMS**; **GOODHUE, BERTRAM GROSVENOR**; **PUGIN, AUGUSTUS WELBY NORTHMORE**; **STRAWBERRY HILL**; **VIOLLET-LE-DUC, EUGENE-EMANUEL**.

GOTHIC SCRIPT. General term for a variety of lettered hands used from the end of the 12th century until the invention of printing. It is characterized by an extreme angularity that evolved into a script that was very regular in appearance, with few strokes ascending or descending beyond the mean level. The thickness of its letters contrasts with the lighter, more differentiated strokes of antique script. Gothic script was never used in documents.

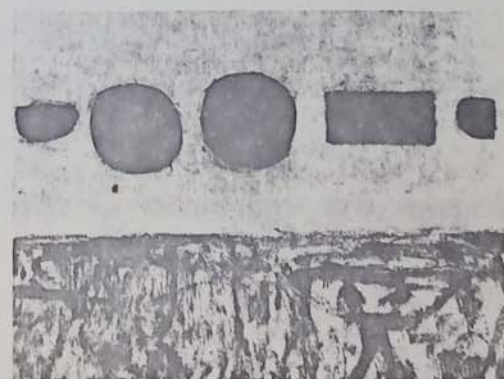
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GOTHO-SARMATIAN STYLE, see **VISIGOTHIC ART**.

GOTTLIEB, ADOLPH. American painter (1903-). Born in New York, he studied at the Art Students League from 1919 to 1921 with Robert Henri and John Sloan and at the Parsons School of Design in 1923. Gottlieb's first one-man show was at the Dudensing Galleries, New York, in 1930. In 1947 and in the 1950s he had one-man shows at the Kootz Gallery. He has also been represented in many important annuals and international exhibitions, including the Whitney Museum of American Art's "The New Decade," 1955, and the Tokyo International of that year; the 1958 and the 1961 Carnegie International, in which he took a prize; the 1961 Whitney Museum Annual; and the 1963 São Paulo Bienal, at which he won a grand prize.

Gottlieb at first worked in an essentially naturalistic style. In the early 1940s he developed his pictographic semiabstract method with compartmented silhouettes and

Adolph Gottlieb, *The Frozen Sounds*. Whitney Museum of American Art, New York.



GOTTLIEB, ADOLPH 549

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Chapter VIII

Rosenthal

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Book

From Friedrich and Turner through Kandinsky and Mondrian, the Northern artists we have considered have all been confronted with the same dilemma: how to find, in a secular world, a convincing means of expressing those religious experiences that, before the Romantics, had been channeled into the traditional themes of Christian art. For the Romantics themselves, the solutions could range from the creation of a whole new language of private religious symbols, as in Blake's and Runge's complex iconographic systems, to the evocation, through such observable Christian phenomena as Gothic architecture, crucifixes, monks, or pious peasants, of a nostalgia for a longlost world concerned with transcendental values. Or even more often, this pursuit of the supernatural could be channeled into the observation of nature itself, whose every manifestation, from the most common wildflower to the most uncommon mountain summit, could provide a glimpse of divinity. Indeed, it is a telling fact that many Northern Romantic landscape painters, whether major or minor, blurred the distinction between a natural and a supernatural subject, so that Turner, for example, could permit an angel or the Biblical Deluge itself to congeal from his images of molten, glowing light, or the American Thomas Cole could paint mountains, cataracts, blasted trees scrupulously observed in the Catskill Mountains and then, on occasions, populate these sublime vistas with such Biblical motifs as the Expulsion of Adam and Eve or St. John in the Wilderness.

But this search for a new means of conveying religious impulses in which nature alone, even without overt religious motifs, could convey a transcendental mystery, hardly expired with the Romantics. For many late 19th century artists, too,

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especially those of Protestant origins in Northern Europe or America, the rechanneling of religious experience outside the traditions of Christian art was a constant goal. Van Gogh, Hodler, Munch all explored, in different ways, the sense of divinity in landscape, whether through the miraculous energies of sun, stars, and moon or the awesome voids viewed from mountain heights, virgin meadows, or desolate shores; and they all, too, attempted to recreate a more specifically religious art, whether by resurrecting, as in Van Gogh's case, old-master Christian paintings experienced with a new intensity gleaned from landscape, or by inventing, as in Munch's and Hodler's case new symbolic themes that related man to the cyclical destinies of nature's forces. Similarly, an American master of this late 19th century generation, Albert Pinkham Ryder, could also paint the phenomena of sea, sky, and moonlight with such awareness of their supernatural potential that it was easy for him to convince us, as in his Jonah, that a Biblical miracle could take place within the magical environment he usually created in terms of landscape alone.

VIII

This capacity to blur the distinctions between landscape and religious painting, between the natural and the supernatural, continued even beyond these late 19th century survivals and revivals of Romantic traditions, and in fact, flourished well into the 20th century. Masters like Marc and Nolde studied the natural world - flowers, landscapes, animals - but could also translate these motifs into pictures of overtly religious symbolism, as in Marc's Tirol, with its mountain-top vision of the Madonna and Child, or Nolde's Good Gardener, with its folklike image of God nurturing terrestrial flowers. And in the case of masters like Kandinsky

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and Mondrian, not to mention such minor pioneers of abstract painting as [✓]Ciurlionis and Kupka, a whole new world of esoteric religious iconography culled from such occult sources as theosophy and spiritualism provided, together with landscape imagery, the matrix for a totally abstract pictorial language that was meant to create what were virtually spiritual icons for new, mystical religions.

These impulses emerged yet again in the United States in the years directly following another historical event of apocalyptic dimensions and implications, the Second World War. Indeed, in the work of many, ^{though} but hardly all of that diverse group of American artists who, for want of a better name, are loosely classified together as "Abstract Expressionists," the Romantic search for an art that could convey sensations of ^{overpowering} awesome mystery was vigorously resurrected, at times, as in the case of Mark Rothko and Barnett Newman, with explicit religious associations.

Although the new power and communal energy of artists like Still, Pollock, Rothko, and Newman persuaded many spectators that their forms and emotions were unprecedented in the history of Western painting, in retrospect their art often reveals not only deep roots in Romantic traditions in general, but in American traditions in particular. A revealing case in point is the work of Augustus Vincent Tack, an artist who was admired, collected, and exhibited by Duncan Phillips in the period between the two World Wars. Although Tack's work could always be seen in the Phillips Gallery in Washington, it somehow elicited not even passing comment in histories of 20th century American art. But thanks to a circulating exhibition in 1972, Tack's work has suddenly commanded

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fresh attention as a connecting link between the generation of Abstract Expressionists which emerged after 1945 and some earlier traditions of American painting. In fact, Tack's work also seems to perpetuate on American soil any number of forms and intentions we have been tracing in the Romantic traditions. Already in the 1920's Tack painted sublime landscapes that, like those of Kandinsky and Mondrian, were not only mystical in implication but could even translate the awesome configurations of the natural world into vehicles for approaching the supernatural. Tack himself, visiting the Rocky Mountains, spoke of "a valley . . . walled in by an amphitheater of mountains as ^{logical as} to seem an adequate setting for the Last Judgment," and found, in paintings like Voice of Many Waters of 1924, a means of reducing these ragged, geological configurations into patterns that hovered between total abstraction and an awesome icon that might invoke the religious experiences he himself ^{inherited as a Roman Catholic but had then expanded to universal dimensions} had explored in his investigations not only of Catholicism but ^{in his exploration of Oriental religions and perhaps even Theosophy.} of occult sects like theosophy. It was easy for Tack to translate these transcendental experiences of nature into images that could support supernatural content, such as Christmas Night, of 1932, where, as in Marc's Tirol, heaven and earth join forces to evoke a Christian mystery. Within a golden oval border that suggests the mandorla of a Byzantine mosaic of the Virgin, Tack describes the fusion of a celestial blue sky with the brown earth below, as if the coming of Christ could be conveyed through landscape imagery alone. Tack's most enthusiastic supporter, Duncan Phillips, described exactly this quality of divinity in nature when, in 1928, he commented on Tack's painting, Storm: "We behold the majesty of omnipotent purpose emerging in awe-inspiring symmetry

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out of thundering chaos... It is a symbol of a new world in the making, of turbulence stilled after tempest by a universal God." ³✓

It is a statement that touches on many of the major questions and solutions inherited from Northern Romantic Art, expressing as it does the search for some deity in the most ^{overwhelming} ~~awesome~~ phenomena of nature, and pinpointing two of the visual extremes so common to the Romantic tradition, "thundering chaos" and "awe-inspiring symmetry," extremes that could often define the structural and emotional polarities of the landscape painting of Turner and Friedrich, of Van Gogh and Hodler, of Kandinsky and Mondrian. Tack himself could move, in his art, from the sublime chaos of Storm to the equally sublime symmetry of an explicitly religious painting, an All Souls triptych, whose shadowy and diminutive Christian personages almost dissolve within a celestial blue void. The structure of this work is daringly elementary - a small centralized Christ hovers in a sea of blue that is shaped only by the tripartite, golden frame, so redolent of traditional religious triptychs.

The structural duality between ^{such} a work, with its object-less hazy void of silent, stunning symmetry, and Tack's other quasi-abstract visions of storms and landscapes, with their craggy, unpredictable shapes that meander into infinite expanses, is exactly that which one finds at the extremes of the vocabulary of those Abstract Expressionists whose art seems predicated upon the imagery of landscape. On the one hand, there is the fearful symmetry of Rothko's luminous voids; on the other, the no less immaterial images of a kind of primeval chaos - swirling vortices of pure energy or equally organic images of slowly changing shapes that evolve slowly, like stalactites, in an elemental universe. The latter kind of configuration suggests not only those quasi-

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abstract landscapes and skylscapes of Tack that were inspired by
 the sublime storms and mountains of the American West, but also the
 art of Clyfford Still, who, in fact, acknowledged his awareness of
 Tack's work. [✓] Indeed, a characteristic Still of the 1950's has its
 closest visual and emotional precedent in such works by Tack of the
 1940's as his Spirit of Creation (or Time and Timelessness), a
 painting which, especially when aggrandized to the size of a
 theater ^{fine} curtain ^{in the Lunar Auditorium, at} at George Washington University for which it was
 designed, could expand its abstractly conceived and painted message
 of the first moments of a universal genesis into the ^{heroic} ~~heric~~ dimensions
 of Still's own art. These irregular patterns, abstracted ^{from} ~~from~~ the
 shapes of such incommensurable elements of nature as clouds and
 mountains, provide in Still's work, as they do more literally in
 Tack's Spirit of Creation, a metaphor of some ^{primeval} ~~primeval~~ chaos in
 which no human presence ^{will} ~~or~~ has yet intruded. It is an image
 which, in its form and its cosmological evocations, is a deeply
 ingrained one in the Romantic tradition, especially in American
 painting. It not only recalls Tack's earlier and more geographically
 specific views of such desolate, uninhabited sites as the Amargosa
 Desert, but the works of other American artists who, like Tack,
 came to maturity between the two World Wars. Georgia O'Keeffe,
 for one, often painted the same sublime sites in the American West,
 describing those ^{breath-taking} ~~awesome~~ infinities of unspoiled nature, where
 the absence of human beings prevents us from determining whether we
 are looking at mountains or mole hills. At times, as in Red Hills
 and Bones of 1941, she includes in this uninhabited desert landscape,
 remote from man, his history, and his works, the bleached and dried
 remnants of an animal skeleton, a fossil fragment that affirms the
 metaphor of a prehistoric landscape and that perpetuates, in its

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ambiguous size (is it much larger or much smaller than a man?), that characteristic Romantic sense of scale which leaps from the microcosm ^{to} and the macrocosm, ^{from} the infinitely large to the infinitely small.

Although O'Keeffe's vistas of a primeval nature were inspired, like many of Tack's, by specific sites in the American West, their ~~breath-taking sense of~~ vast, uncharted spaces are reflected in Still's own awesome expanses of paint that translate the experience of a sublime, desolate landscape into the language of pure abstraction. His tar-like surfaces whose ragged edges seem to spread unpredictably evoke associations of organic change in trees, rocks, or sky; and it is worth noting that Still himself claimed that the fluid and flamelike vertical shapes in his abstract paintings were influenced by the shapes of the Dakota plains, ^{where} where he was born, ^{and} and that he had actually painted landscapes of the American West in the 1930's. ^{As} As such, even his abstract paintings are understandably ^{marked} marked by the particular feeling of almost primeval immensity and openness common to much of the landscape in the American West, a sublime landscape that not only provided a direct stimulus to Tack, O'Keeffe, and others of their generation, but also to a rich late 19th century tradition in American painting that perpetuated uninterruptedly earlier 19th century landscapes of the sublime. Of the many examples of this native tradition, which includes masters like Albert Bierstadt, Thoman Moran, and Frederick E. Church, one - Bierstadt's view of Lake Tahoe in California (1868) - may characterize the genre: a forest ^{primeval} primeval, where infinite, immeasurable distances of pure lakes and craggily silhouetted mountains dwarf the spectator to Lilliputian scale and place him before the unfathomable majesty

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of untamed nature.

The American landscape, with its abundance of sublimities, was particularly conducive to the later flourishing of this Romantic tradition that would continue from Bierstadt and his late 19th century contemporaries down to masters like O'Keeffe and Tack, and ultimately, to Still; but the tradition, of course, was born of European Romanticism. Indeed, in terms of its sheer enormity of size, numbing scale, wildly irregular silhouettes, and abrupt luminary contrasts, it is James Ward's depiction of the Yorkshire sublimity, Gordale Scar, that comes closest to Still's vast abstractions of the 1950's, whose very dimensions frequently approximate those of Ward's gargantuan canvas, i.e., about 11 by 14 feet.

The genealogical table that can be constructed for the awesome configurations and scale of Still's paintings would seem to lead back through the history of Romantic landscape painting. The situation is also the same for much of the work of Jackson Pollock, whose images, like Still's, may be abstract but nevertheless elicit metaphors within a range of natural, organic phenomena rather than evoking the rational constructions of the intellect. Indeed, the classic Pollock of the late 1940's and early 1950's almost becomes a spectacle of nature, a whirlwind vortex of sheer energy that may take us to the cosmological extremes of microscopic and telescopic vision - glimpses of some galactic or atomic explosion, or in more terrestrial terms, the overpowering forces of nature's most impalpable elements, air, fire, and water. These metaphors are borne out not only by Pollock's occasional titles with their suggestions of natural phenomena - Full Fathom Five, Ocean Greyness, The Deep, Autumn Rhythm - but, as in the case of Still, by the

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fact that his earlier, pre-abstract work often attempted to grasp in paint on canvas the ungraspable forces of nature. Thus, even before 1947, when, with his famous technique of dripping rather than brushing paint on canvas, he succeeded in dematerializing even further the skeins of agitated energy and shimmering color that obsessed his imagination, he often chose subjects in nature that offered a maximum of elemental force and impalpability.

VIII, 11 Such was the case in the Flame, of c. 1937, a small oil painting that attempts, clumsily but powerfully, to create a metaphor of fiery, molten energy, as close to primal chaos as the earthquake landscapes of the early Kandinsky. Still earlier, one finds small, intense oil like Seascape of 1934, which, in its sense of a storm-tossed drama, where moonlight and streaked skies are confounded with a tiny sailboat and a tempestuous, white-capped sea, reminds one of the fact that at the time, Pollock admired most, of his American pictorial ancestors, Albert Pinkham Ryder. Indeed, Ryder's art, even within its literally small format, often seizes the immensities of elemental forces in a manner prophetic of Pollock's own search for a structure and a technical means that would convey the overpowering energies and velocities of nature.

VIII, 12 In the Flying Dutchman, inspired by Wagner's opera, Ryder strains oil paint to a point of veil-like impalpability that confounds the distinction between waves, wind, masts, and sails in a ghostly fusion appropriate to the phantom subject. And the churning, vortical tempests of wind and water also prefigure Pollock's structures of endlessly gyrating rhythms that become the metaphors of some primal force. Once again, the ultimate source for this configuration in the traditions of modern painting lies within

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the domain of Northern Romantic landscape painting, especially in the work of those British Romantics like John Martin, Francis Danby, and Turner who were haunted by visions of apocalyptic catastrophes that turned matter and ^ethw works of man into swirling cosmic upheavals. Turner, in particular, offers close analogies to Pollock in the way he strove throughout his life to achieve a pictorial means that would transcend the relatively literal description of unleashed, destructive nature in his early scenes of avalanches or snowstorms and create finally, as in his late works of the 1840's, a vision of vortical energy so torrential and so immaterial that it becomes possible to bridge the imaginative gulf between the depiction of a specific storm at sea and the Biblical Deluge. No artist before Pollock had ever succeeded so forcefully in conveying through paint on canvas the sense of a primal force and velocity that can evoke the ultimates of creation or of apocalypse, and that can transform palpable paint into shimmering whirlwinds of impalpable, organic energy. Turner, like Pollock, metamorphosed matter into some ultimate, insubstantial element of nature, an overwhelming power that evokes mythic, cosmological archetypes.

Such a search for primal myth and nature characterized many of the Abstract Expressionists, as it had, indeed, many of the Northern Romantics. Like the typical, signature painting of Pollock or Still, that of Adolph Gottlieb seems to distill some elemental phenomenon of nature, in his case what appears to be a celestial body - sun, moon, distant planet - that has just taken form from the kind of explosive energies that characterize the more shapeless burst below. In the 1940's, Gottlieb, like Pollock and Still, among others, had searched for more literally mythic images,

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whether in American Indian pictographs, Jungian archetypes, elemental Greek myths, or more private cosmogonies, but soon, this search for pure, unspoiled origins, so like, that of the Romantic exploration of esoteric, exotic, primitive, or personal mythologies, was even further reduced to the more overtly abstract images that evoke far less specifically a moment in the Book of Genesis. Gottlieb's fascination for heavenly orbs, glowing with mysterious color and, in their atmospheric halos and imprecise contours, still in the process of being formed from some molten substance, is in some ways the abstract translation of that pagan sun and moon worship so ubiquitous among Northern Romantic landscape painters as well as among their heirs in late 19th and 20th century art. Typically, Gottlieb's unidentifiable planets from a mythic universe take their places in the top center of a vertical format, a structure that imposes an irreducible, heraldic centrality as appropriate here to the mythic content as it is in many Romantic cosmogonies. The specific sense in Gottlieb's work of an almost religious translation of the natural phenomenon of a celestial body into a starkly simplified icon is one that has many parallels in earlier European art, but it is worth noting, too, that as in the case of Still's analogies with American painters of an earlier 20th century generation, Gottlieb may also be related to more native American traditions. In particular, many of the lunar fantasies of Arthur Dove, for all their relatively diminutive size by comparison with the typically imposing dimensions of American abstract painting of the 1950's, provide a prototype for Gottlieb's own luminous orbs. In Dove's many pictorial hymns to the pagan mysteries of the moon, this silvery disc is seen as a glowing, molten light in the heavens, hovering above a landscape of primal,

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mythical simplicity; and often, a tree reaches up to embrace, like a worshipper, its impalpable luminosity within its own branches. 7 ✓

Döve's reductions of an already elemental nature result in shapes so abstracted from literal landscape description that they verge, like Gottlieb's, on the symbolic, as if nature's primary forces - earth, sky, moon - had been transformed into the icon of a new nature religion. The same may be said of ^{same} ~~some~~ of Georgia O'Keeffe's transformations of primary phenomena in nature into almost heraldic patterns. In such a watercolor as Evening Star, III of 1917, she, too, distills the polarity of the earth below and a luminous heavenly body above into a simplified emblem that evokes nature in some primeval state, where liquid light and color have not yet congealed into matter and discrete objects.

But Gottlieb's iconic orbs, presiding over an un^Sspoiled, primitive landscape, find their echoes not only in an American tradition that goes back through Dove and O'Keeffe to Ryder's own moonlit visions, but also in a thoroughly international tradition. One thinks in the 20th century not only of the frozen discs that dominate Ernst's extra-terrestrial forests, but of the molten ones that animate the alternately serene or turbulent landscapes of the early Mondrian and the early Kandinsky. And in this ancestral table, one would also find the enrapt visions of sun and moon that control the life on Van Gogh's ^{earth} and Munch's ^{sea coasts} ~~earth and sea~~, and finally, the archetypes of this pagan deity in the enchanted landscapes of the Romantics, in ^{the} ~~the~~ moons and suns that, in Palmer, take on the role of fertility goddesses in a pastoral of mythic bounty or that, in Friedrich, illuminate dimly the distant realms of spirit that lie beyond this terrestrial world.

Gottlieb's pursuit and capture of an elemental image that

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evokes a primary phenomenon in nature was typical of the quest of his American contemporaries in the 1940's who were constantly searching for a universal symbol that could grasp an irreducible truth. Like so many Romantics, they wished to start from scratch. Indeed, Still's sense of an oppressive, moribund tradition of Western art ("We all bear the burden of this tradition on our backs but I cannot hold it a privilege to be a pallbearer of my spirit in its name.")⁸ virtually duplicates that of Runge in his own wish to reject the baggage of history. In effect, what was sought by these "Myth Makers" (as Rothko was to refer to Still and this group in 1946)⁹ was virtually a new pictorial cosmogony and a new, elemental style that could come to terms with the need for, in Rothko's words, "tragic-religious drama."¹⁰ And in the years just before and after the apocalyptic conclusion of the Second World War, this need for purification and regression must have been as acute as it was for artists like Marc and Kandinsky on the eve of the First World War.

So total a regeneration of form and content was nowhere demonstrated more fervently than in the work of Barnett Newman. Beginning about 1946, that is, in the aftermath of Hiroshima, Newman explored a world of new cosmogonies that recall, in many ways, William Blake's own passionate efforts, at a time of Revolutionary hope and despair, to reconstruct a new, quasi-religious imagery of primal creative force. In 1946, Newman drew and painted a series of variations on circular forms that, even without such^{such} titles as Genesis - The Break (1946), The Beginning (1946) or Genetic Moment (1947), convey an image of mythic origins, the beginnings of life or the emergence of the universe from chaos. These circular

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forms seem to be seized in the process of becoming, a primal shape that is being distilled from boundless, inchoate energies, as if we were witnessing the first day of creation, before the distinction between solid and void, the formed and the unformed had been made. The intrusion of a divine, shaping force in this environment of awesome infinities began to be made more explicit in works like The Command of 1946, where a shaft of piercing white light rents asunder two differentiated areas of what seem like mythic elements - a symbolic translation of water or earth, air or fire. The searing beam that cuts through these fields of primordial stuff may well be inspired, as Thomas Hess has suggested, by a metaphor in the Kabbalah - "with a gleam of His ray he encompasses the sky and His splendor radiates from the heights,"¹¹ - but again, even without such a precise verbal reference, one senses here an image of primal creative force. In both its effort to provide a visual metaphor for divine creation and in its passionate insistence on projecting spaces of boundless sublimity, Newman's Command bears comparison with Blake's Ancient of Days, who emerges from fearful chaos and, with his piercing compasses - more shafts of light than palpable matter - imposes a shaping will upon the universe's shapeless beginnings.

II 1

Tellingly, both Blake and Newman - for all the seeming structural lucidity of their work - rebelled against the idea of geometry, for it represented to them a rational system that narrowed form and experience into the finite and the commensurable. Blake's Ancient of Days, like his Newton of 1795, is, in effect, an evil force, imposing trivial clarity in a sublime universe.

For Newman, too, geometric form was anathema. He not only disliked

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Mondrian, undoubtedly confusing the master's influence on American disciples, who propagated geometric abstraction, with the profoundly anti-geometric character of Mondrian's ^{abstract} own art, but he painted what were virtually symbolic manifestos against the principles of geometry in art, the Euclidean Abyss (1946-7) and the Death of Euclid (1947). Tidy pictorial structures of rectangles, aligned in parallel and perpendicular relations, appeared to Newman as a petty abstract art that stood in opposition to the unlimited apaces, the vertical forces without beginning or end that he began to use to evoke sensations of sublimity. In 1948, Newman published an essay, "The ^u Syblime is Now," in The Tiger's Eye,¹² which had organized a symposium on the topic of the Sublime, and his exploration of this aesthetic category that went back to Edmund Burke and Longinus bore out the experience he had earlier evoked that year in his Onement, I, a painting that dared the kind of "fearful symmetry" which Blake himself had named and illustrated and that provided a compositional system for many other artists in ^{the} Northern Romantic tradition - Blake, Runge, and Friedrich, Hodler and Munch; the early Mondrian - who were similarly concerned with the expression of some ultimate, indivisible mystery in nature. Newman's Onement, I of 1948, the first of a series by this title, indeed conveys, in surprisingly small dimensions, the effect of sublimity that Newman would explore and aggrandize until the end of his life. The stark bisection of a colored field with vibrant vertical shaft of glowing, fiery light suggests again the domain of primal creation, and it has even been suggested that the imagery conveyed by the title is related to Kabbalistic texts describing the first creation of man.¹³ At the very least, Newman's painting is as drastic an image and structure as Friedrich's own vision of

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I, 2) the beginning of the universe, a drawing in which the field is bisected horizontally and the disc of the rising sun conveys the coming of order into chaos. Such cosmic visions of a void suddenly energized by a primordial force or will were conveyed most potently by the radical simplicity of Friedrich's symmetrical structure, just as in Newman, the centralized vertical "zip," as he called it, created an image of indivisible strength; a single line of energy that cuts across a void, as abstract recreation of genesis. It must be stressed that the symmetry of the Onement series is distinct from the ^{Euclidean} ~~Euclidean~~ geometry Newman, and, for that matter, Blake detested; for its clarity is of a sublime character. None of the forms or spaces is bounded. By implication, the vertical zip extends infinitely above and below the canvas, just as the monochromatic field expands in all directions beyond the canvas edges. The linear axis and the shapeless void are endless, unlimited by the predictable systems of geometry. Matter and objects are as thoroughly excluded from this visionary sphere as they are from the work of Mondrian, who shares with Newman not only the sense of infinite radiance but also the triumphant annihilation of matter whereby both the ^{open ground} ~~colored~~ planes and the lines that cross them seem thoroughly impalpable, fields of spirit and paths of energy rather than earthly substances.

The symmetry of Newman's Onement series is overt, but as Thomas Hess has proposed, even his overtly asymmetrical paintings may be dominated by a "secret symmetry," that is, a covert structural system that may be perceived as a magnetic force of primal, centralized order beneath the asymmetry of the surface. Inevitably, the starkness of Newman's pictorial vocabulary produces, as in the case of Mondrian's, so elementary and so potent an

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effect that we feel that each variation of this primal theme is only one degree removed from a rockbottom statement of absolute indivisibility. As in Mondrian's Pier and Ocean series, where the surface variations seem to adumbrate a covert cruciform structure, Newman's variations of vertical linear energy against an open field imply the primal statement of the theme, which he himself reiterated in the overt symmetry of the Onement series.

Like Blake, Newman sought by mystical inspiration in a variety of religious sources that transcended the confines of a particular sect. Indeed, like many Romantics, Newman found the doctrine of any individual religion too limiting for his universal ambitions, and explored, in his quest for new cosmogonies, not only the question of mythmaking among primitive peoples and among the Greeks, but a wide range of literature from the Judeo-Christian tradition, from the Kabbalah and the Old Testament to the story of the Passion as represented in the traditional narrative sequence of the Stations of the Cross. Within this domain of comparative religion, however, Newman always pursued the sublime and the visionary, dealing with the ultimate mysteries of creation, of divinity, of death and resurrection, just as the landscape references in his titles - Horizon Light, Tundra - pertain to those experiences of unbounded elemental nature that, for the Romantics, too, became metaphors of supernatural mysteries.

Working within an abstract vocabulary that was to evoke these spiritual territories, Newman could of course only suggest, by association, the particular texts that inspired him; but knowledge of his titles and their sources can often enrich the abstract metaphor. In Cathedra, for example, the title refers to a passage in Isaiah (VI,1) - "I saw also the Lord sitting upon a throne,

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high and lifted up, and the train of His mantle filled the Temple" ¹⁵ - and if only by its sheer dimensions (about 8 by 18 feet), the painting virtually immerses the spectator in a sea of celestial blue that, like the pervasive blues in the Romantic tradition, from Friedrich and Carus down to the masters of the Blue Rider, evokes a boundless spiritual domain where an invisible divinity might reside. In the Stations of the Cross series, ¹⁶ Christian narrative replaces Jewish symbolism. Here the ultimates pertain to death, and resurrection, evoked by the primal duality of black and white, and of taut linear forces that, like paths of feeling, quiver and strain against a field of raw canvas, translating the sequence of Christ's martyrdom into irreducible, abstract, metaphors, and totally transforming the corporeal Passion into a spiritual one.

That Newman himself was Jewish, may in part account for his desire and capacity to present such religious themes in incorporeal terms; ¹⁷ for the Jewish tradition of proscribing graven images would have supported, unlike Catholic traditions of religious art, the possibility of Newman's creating totally incorporeal images of the Lord, of Adam or Eve, of Abraham or Christ. The sense of divinity in boundless voids, where figures, objects, and finally matter itself are excluded, belongs to a Romantic tradition primarily sustained by non-Catholic artists - Protestants, Jews, or by members of such modern spiritualist sects as Theosophy - for the iconoclastic attitudes of these religions were conducive to the presentation of transcendental experience through immaterial images, whether the impalpable infinities of horizon, sea, or sky or their abstract equivalents in the immeasurable voids of Mondrian or Newman.

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Mark Rothko, who, like Newman, was Jewish, also belongs fully to this tradition, carrying as he does the annihilation of matter and the evocation of an imprecise yet mystical content to an extreme that parallels Newman's. Like Newman, and, in fact, like Pollock, Gottlieb, and Still, Rothko evolved the archetypal statement of his abstract painting - those hovering tiers of dense, atmospheric color or darkness - from a landscape imagery of mythic, cosmological character; but he was also attracted to what he was later to describe as "... pictures of a single human figure - alone in a moment of utter immobility," a description that, tellingly, could apply to many paintings by Friedrich himself.

VIII, 22 By 1950, Rothko had reached that stark format he was to explore, with variations, for the remaining two decades of his life, an image that, like Newman's, locates the beholder at the brink of a resonant void where any palpable form is banned. Instead, there are metaphorical suggestions of an elemental nature - horizontal divisions evoking the primordial separation of earth or sea from cloud and sky, and luminous fields of dense, quietly lambent color that seem to generate the primal energies of natural light. Rothko's pursuit of the most irreducible image pertains not only to his rejection of matter in favor of a totally impalpable void that hovers, imaginatively, between the extremes of an awesome, mysterious presence or its complete negation, but also to his equally elementary structure, which, as is often the case in Newman, is of a numbing symmetry that fixes these luminous expanses in an emblem of iconic permanence. As drastic as these reductions may seem, they again find many precedents in artists working within those Romantic traditions that would extract supernatural mysteries from the phenomena of landscape. Even within earlier 20th century

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 American art, Rothko's awesome symmetry and luminous emptiness find precedents in Georgia O'Keefe, who, both in large late paintings like Red Hills and Sky of 1945 or early small watercolors like Light Coming on the Plains, III of 1917, distilled the components of a primitive landscape experience to an almost abstract image. And in more international terms, one thinks back not only to such other 20th century views of primal nature that place us on the brink of a symmetrical abyss - many of Mondrian's dunescapes, for example - but also to Hodler's and Munch's sublime and symmetrical views of sun, sea, or sky, beheld from the edge of a coast or a mountain top. And ultimately, the primal configuration of Rothko's abstract paintings finds its source in the great Romantics - in Turner, who similarly achieved the dissolution of all matter into a silent, mystical luminosity; in Friedrich, who also placed the spectator before an abyss that provoked ultimate questions whose answers, without traditional religious faith and imagery, remained as uncertain as the questions. 13 ✓

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 The visual richness of Rothko's paintings has often fostered the idea that they are exclusively objects of aesthetic delectation, where an Epicurean sensibility to color and formal paradoxes of the fixed versus the amorphous may be savored. Yet their somber, mysterious presence should be sufficient to convince the spectator that they belong to a sphere of experience profoundly different from the French art-for-art's sake ambiance of a Matisse, whose expansive fields of color may nevertheless have provided the necessary pictorial support for Rothko's own achievement (much as Parisian Cubism provided the means for Mondrian's own anti-Cubist, mystical ends). But even without the emotional testimony of the pictures themselves, there is Rothko's own statement of a

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passionately anti-formalist and anti-hedonist position: "I am not interested," he once said, "in relationships of color or form or anything else ... I am interested only in expressing the basic human emotions - tragedy, ecstasy, doom, and so on - and the fact that lots of people break down and cry when confronted with my pictures shows that I communicate with those basic human emotions. The people who weep before my pictures are having the same religious experience I had when I painted them. And if you, as you say, are moved only by their color relationships, then you miss the point!" ¹²⁹

Fortunately, the implicit "religious experience" of Rothko's art - to use his own phrase - was, on one occasion ^{at the} ~~at the~~ end of his life, made magnificently explicit in the project envisioned and then realized by private patrons, Mr. and Mrs. John de Menil. ²¹

Already recognizing in Rothko's art the expression of experiences that lay beyond the aesthetic and then seeing, in 1964, the dark and somber paintings that the artist justifiably found to be inappropriate solutions to his commission for decorative work at an elegant New York restaurant, the Four Seasons, the de Menils conceived the idea of a separate chapel, to be built in Houston, Texas, where a group of Rothko's paintings might function in a quasi-religious way. There Rothko's art could inspire the kind of meditation which was elicited less and less in the 20th century by conventional religious imagery and conventional religious rites. That Rothko's paintings - or for that matter, Newman's - could not properly function within the ritualistic traditions and iconographic needs of a conventional church or synagogue is both a tribute to their originality in the expression of spiritual experiences and a reflection of the dilemma that riddled the work of so many artists

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since the Romantics who tried to convey a sense of the supernatural without recourse to inherited religious imagery.

It was appropriate, then, to the unspecified religious character of Rothko's work that the paintings commissioned by the de Menils would finally have to be contained within a secular rather than a conventionally sacred shrine, just as the quasi-religious landscapes of a Friedrich, a Van Gogh, or a Mondrian could never have been accepted by the church, even though their evocation of ultimate mysteries might be far more persuasive than ^{those} in orthodox modern Christian art. And it was appropriate, too, that at the opening of the so-called "Rothko Chapel," which is, in fact, a part of a philanthropic organization, the Institute of Religion and Human Development, there was a wide, ecumenical range of religious leaders from both Western and Eastern faiths. There, ^{on} at the dedication ceremony on 27 February 1971, were present the chairman of the Central Conference of Rabbis, an Imam who represented Islam, Protestant Bishops, a Bishop from the Greek Orthodox Church, and, as personal ambassador of the Pope, a Roman Catholic Cardinal. And, in less official terms, subsequent visitors of a Zen Buddhist persuasion could find the uncanny silence and mystery of the chapel conducive to the practice of Yoga meditation.

The idea of a chapel in the modern world that was to convey some kind of universal religious experience without subscribing to a specific faith was, in fact, a dream that originated with the Romantics. Runge himself, after all, had planned his Tageszeiten series as a sequence of new religious icons that were to be housed in a specially designed chapel with specially composed music; and Friedrich's own Tetschen Altar, while alluding to more traditional Christian iconography, would still have been too heretic in its

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personal interpretation of the Crucifixion to be acceptable anywhere but in a private chapel. More generally speaking, the most passionate religious art of the Northern Romantics - Blake or Palmer, Friedrich or Runge - was usually so unconventional in its efforts to embody a universal religion outside the confines of Catholic or Protestant orthodoxy - that it could only be housed in chapels of the artist's own dreams or in a site provided by a private patron. And this problem generated by the Romantics is no less acute in the later 20th century. What Catholic Church would hang Newman's Stations of the Cross, but what art museum seems sufficiently sanctified to house them?

The Rothko Chapel itself perpetuates these Romantic difficulties of conveying an authentic religious experience in a modern world of doubt. In both architectural and pictorial terms it does so by allusion to essentially moribund religious traditions. The octagonal plan of the building - first projected by Philip Johnson but then altered by Howard Barnstone and Eugene Aubry - evokes the form of a Catholic baptistery, such as the 11th century baptistery at Torcello which actually inspired it. And the paintings, too, evoke a traditional religious format, the triptych, a format that Tack himself had almost emptied of its Christian subject in his All Souls triptych, whose deep blue voids prefigure Rothko's own dark and resonant spaces. On three of the chapel's eight walls - the central, apse-like wall, and the facing side walls - Rothko provided variations on the triptych shape, with the central panel alternately raised or level with the side panels. Yet these triptychs, in turn, are set into apposition with single panels, which are first seen as occupying a lesser role in the four angle walls but which then rise to the major role of finality and resolution in the fifth single panel, which, different in color, tone, and

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proportions, occupies the entrance wall, facing, as if in response, the triptych in the apse. It is as if the entire content of Western religious art were finally devoid of its narrative complexities and corporeal imagery, leaving us with these dark, compelling presences that pose an ultimate choice between everything and nothing. But the ^{very} fact that they create their own hierarchy of mood, shape, and sequence, of uniqueness and duplication, of increasingly dark and somber variations of plum, maroon, and black, suggests the presence here of some new religious ritual of indefinable, yet universal dimensions. And in our secularized world, inherited from the Romantics, a world where orthodox religious ritual was so unsatisfying to so many, the very lack of overt religious content here may make Rothko's surrogate icons and altarpieces, experienced in a non-denominational chapel, all the more potent in their evocation ^{of} the transcendental.

With this in mind, one may again raise the question with which this book began: are the analogies of form and feeling between Friedrich's Monk by the Sea and a painting by Rothko merely accidental, or do they imply an historical continuity that joins them? To which, perhaps, another question might be posed: could it not be said that the work of Rothko and its fulfillment in the Houston Chapel are only the most recent responses to the dilemma faced by Friedrich and the Northern Romantics almost two centuries ago? Like the troubled and troubling works of artists we have traced through the 19th and 20th centuries, Rothko's paintings seek the sacred in ^{a modern} the world of the secular.

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✓ Augustus Vincent Tack, 1870-1949: Twenty-Six Paintings from The Phillips Collection, University Art Museum, The University of Texas at Austin, 1972. For a useful checklist of Tack's work, his exhibition record, etc., see also Augustus Vincent Tack, 1870-1949, The American Studies Group, Deerfield Academy, Deerfield, Mass., 1968.

✓ Quoted by Eleanor Green in her excellent introductory essay to the University of Texas catalogue, vol. 16. The essay is conveniently reprinted in Artforum, XI, Oct. 1972, pp. 56-63.

✓ Tri-Unit Exhibition of Painting and Sculpture, Phillips Memorial Gallery, Washington, D.C., Oct. 1928-Jan. 1929, p. 16; reprinted in Duncan Phillips, The Artist Sees Differently, New York, 1931, p. 96.

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✓ ^{unsigned} See the ~~anonymous~~ statement about Still in Magazine of Art, XLI, March 1948, p. 96.

✓ See Irving Sandler, The Triumph of American Painting: a History of Abstract Expressionism, New York, 1970, p. 162.

✓ Pollock's statement of 1944, "The only American master who interests me is Ryder," is quoted in Bryan Robertson, Jackson Pollock, New York, 1960, p. 193.

✓ On this and other solar and lunar paintings by Dove, see Frederick S. Wight, Arthur G. Dove, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1958, pp. 66ff.

✓ In Still's catalogue statement for Fifteen Americans, New York, The Museum of Modern Art, 1952, p. 21.

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✓² Quoted in Sandler, op. cit., p. 167.

✓³ ibid.

✓⁴ See Thomas B. Hess, Barnett Newman, New York, The Museum of Modern Art, 1971, p. 52.

✓⁵ Vol. I, no. 6, Dec. 15, 1948, pp. 51-53.

✓⁶ Hess, op. cit., p. 56.

✓⁷ ibid., pp. 59ff.

✓⁸ ibid., pp. 82-83.

✓⁹ On the Stations of the Cross, see the important essay by Lawrence Alloway in the exhibition catalogue, Barnett Newman: The Stations of the Cross, Lena Sabachthani, New York, The Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, 1966.

✓¹⁰ The relationship between ~~the~~ Jewish abstract artists and the traditions of Jewish iconoclasm was suggested briefly but provocatively in George H. Hamilton, "Painting in Contemporary America," Burlington Magazine, CII, May 1960, p. 193.

✓¹¹ IH "The Romantics were Prompted," Possibilities 1, no. 1, Winter 1947-8, p. 84: quoted in Sandler, op. cit., p. 175.

✓¹² For many perceptive comments on Rothko and Romantic traditions, including ~~xxx~~ analogies with Friedrich, see Brian O'Doherty, "Rothko," Art International, XIV, 20 Oct. 1970, pp. 30-44.

✓¹³ In Selden Rodman, Conversations with Artists, New York, 1957, pp. 93-4. This important statement was called to recent critical attention in William Seitz, "Mondrian and the Issue of Relationships," Artforum, X, Feb. 1972, p. 74, note 3.

✓¹⁴ For some useful accounts of the chapel and its history, see D. de Ménéil, "Rothko Chapel, Institute of Religion and Human Development, Houston, Texas," Art Journal, XXX, Spring 1971, pp. 249-51; David Snell, "Rothko Chapel - the Painter's Final ~~xxxx~~ Testament," Smithsonian, ^{II} April 1971, pp. 46-54; J. P. Marandel, "Une chapelle oécuménique au Texas," L'Oeil, no. 197, May 1971, pp. 16-19.

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²²For a general consideration of the triptych as an expressive format, tracing its evolution from figurative to abstract examples (such as that of 1957-58 by Heinz Kreutz), see Klaus Lankheit, Das Triptychon als Pathos-formel (Abhandlungen der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, no. 4), Heidelberg, 1959.