THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THOMAS MORAN
AS AN AMERICAN LANDSCAPE PAINTER

DISSERTATION
Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree Doctor of Philosophy in the
Graduate School of The Ohio State
University

By

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The Ohio State University
1955

Approved by:

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Adviser
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May 3, 1957

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The writer is particularly grateful to the following persons for invaluable help in the preparation of this dissertation: to Dr. Fritiof Fryxell, Augustana College, Rock Island, Illinois, a personal friend of the Moran family; to Dr. Carlton Palmer, Atlanta, Georgia, a dealer in Moran's works; to Mr. Robert G. McIntyre, Dorset, Vermont, and to Mr. Fred L. Tillotson, Bolton, England, both of whom knew the artist; to The Osborne Company, Clifton, New Jersey, and The Thomas D. Murphy Company, Red Oak, Iowa, who furnished the color plates; to the Knoedler and E. and A. Milch Galleries, New York, for kind permission to examine back files of Moran sales; and above all to Professors Frank Seiberling, Sidney Kaplan, and Ralph Fanning of The Ohio State University for material aid, encouragement, and generous portions of time spent in reading and correcting the manuscript.
FRONTISPIECE

Portrait of Thomas Moran (1881)

Painted by Hamilton Hamilton (1847-1912)
Collection of the National Academy of Design, New York
Photograph: The Frick Art Reference Library, New York
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PREFACE

During the latter half of the nineteenth century most American painters had not yet fully realized the possibilities of a type of art dealing with purely American subject matter. It was a rather curious fact that American artists were prone to seek both their training and subject matter in foreign countries, almost entirely excluding their own. This situation can be attributed, perhaps, to a combination of reasons. First of all, tradition was responsible for the exaggerated value placed on this type of art by both the artists and the public. Secondly, American painters of the time, particularly those in the field of landscape, were thoroughly convinced of the value of the rather limited pastoral subject as emphasized in the foreign schools. Even as late as the last quarter of the nineteenth century our own country's magnificent scenery was often neglected because of the opinion that grandeur in nature is not suitable to pictorial representation. Lastly, it was generally thought that to visit many of our more remote areas would involve more time, hardship, expense, and actual danger than most artists were willing to risk. Consequently, a common lack of individuality and nationalism prevailed at the time.

One of the few exceptions to this general attitude was Thomas Moran, a landscape painter who, although born in England, became a leader in the trend toward nationalism in American painting. Choosing the Far West as one of his principal themes, Moran created an interest not only in that type of landscape painting but in the western areas
themselves as natural scenic wonders. As a result, Moran became one of the most popular painters of his day. By means of his works in various media he was able to reveal to the American public a part of America known until then only by explorers, scientists, militarists, and the occasional "irresponsible" traveler. It is no exaggeration to say that the most famous of the western national parks owe their existence in a large part to the attention focused on those areas by the works of Thomas Moran. Although a popular painter in his day, he seems to have been largely forgotten by the twentieth century in its quest for daring innovations in visual representation.

Thomas Moran was an extremely prolific artist whose works are found in both public and private collections in Europe as well as in America. The present study undertakes a thorough investigation of the artist's life, the character of his work, the sources of his style, and his influence on American landscape painting. In addition, a complete and comprehensive catalogue of Moran's works in different mediums has been compiled for the first time from scattered and disintegrated collections, as well as from well known sources.

The only previous attempt made in the organization of the artist's works has been by Dr. Fritiof M. Fryxell of Augustana College, Rock Island, Illinois. Dr. Fryxell, a friend of the artist's family, has produced two privately reproduced volumes dealing with the Moran art collections located in the national parks of Yosemite, Yellowstone, and Grand Teton. These are little known and not generally available. The National Cyclopaedia of American Biography includes but the briefest account of the life of Thomas Moran, as well as that
of his artist wife, Mary Nimmo Moran. Although numerous articles have appeared in art periodicals, they are usually concerned only with limited aspects of his life or work and more often with reproductions alone. In addition, the failure of an attempted biography of her father by the late Ruth Bedford Moran points to the importance of this study.

It is not easy to formulate an opinion of the man as a personality. Every aspect of his life was subordinated to his work, and instances of written expression or communication are rare. While essentially a friendly individual and a devoted family man, he sometimes neglected family and friends, particularly during his periods of travel, because of his remarkable concentration on work and his distaste for writing. Any insight into the artist as an individual, then, must come from those who knew him and from what one is able to perceive from the works themselves. It is the hope of the author that out of this dissertation will emerge not only a clearer picture of Thomas Moran, the artist and individual, but a realization of the milieu in which he lived and worked and the importance of his career in the development of American art.
CHAPTER I

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF THOMAS MORAN

Born on January 12, 1837, in Bolton (Lancashire), England, Thomas Moran, the artist, was one of fourteen children of Thomas Moran, Sr., a native of Ireland, and Mary Higson Moran, an Englishwoman. The elder Moran, as his ancestors before him, was engaged as a handloom weaver and, indeed, it had been a custom in the family for the children of each generation to grow up in the factories, their lives interwoven with their work.

The family, beginning with the generation of Thomas, Jr., exhibited the artistic tendencies that have made them famous; but these tendencies seem to have begun rather suddenly and without a sign of family tradition. Although Thomas Moran was never known to comment on the origin of his own remarkable talent, his elder brother Edward (1821-1901), the leader and teacher of them all, "did not believe in heredity; he claimed it was all due to circumstances."¹

It is true that in Edward's case circumstances undoubtedly had considerable influence on his later career. He began to be a wage earner from the time he was able to reach the loom, as was the custom in his family. Almost at the same time the "circumstances," to which he attributes such importance, began to occur:

¹Benson, Frances M., Essays on American Art and Artists, p. 30. (Miss Benson's information was gathered in interviews with various members of the Moran family in 1896; there seems little doubt concerning the reliability of the facts.)
His first lesson in art was from a French neighbor who was famous in the country round for decorating the interiors of the modest homes with animals and sprawling vines, when he was not wheeling potatoes to support his family. He found time to teach the nine-year-old Edward to cut marvelous figures from paper, and afterward to draw the outlines of them on walls and fences. Boylike, Edward did not stop there, but was guilty of tracing them even on the white cloth in his loom. One day, when this piece of cloth came to the measurements by hooking, it was found that fifteen yards had been disfigured with charcoal sketches, and the graceless weaver, instead of being reprimanded as he probably deserved, was dismissed with the advice to drop the shuttle and take up the crayon altogether.

Soon after this the entire Moran family moved to America, searching for new fortune and perhaps for less crowded factories. This move was accomplished in the year 1814 when Edward was fifteen years of age and Thomas was only seven. This beginning of the new life in America is in striking disagreement with the story one reads in most Moran biographical accounts. The artist's daughter, Ruth B. Moran, objected strenuously to the prevailing misrepresentation of facts in a letter of 1926 to the American Magazine of Art. Most writers state that Edward, Thomas, and Peter Moran came to America alone, but their ages at the time of their arrival were fifteen, seven, and two respectively, somewhat young for such an undertaking. Ruth Moran emphasizes in her letter that "he, Thomas, came to this country with his father and mother and the rest of the family, including the eldest son, Edward Moran, who did not precede the family, as quoted. My grandfather had been in this country, making a home for his family, a year or more before returning and bringing his children over." They settled first somewhere in

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2 Ibid., p. 31.
Maryland, their exact location never having been recorded. Since they were engaged in the weaving industry, it is logical to suppose that they chose a metropolitan center such as Baltimore for their new place of residence. Here, as in England, Edward pursued his artistic interests, which were gradually making the weaving trade seem more and more distasteful to him. The prospect of a continual grind was too much for Edward. There would still be no opportunity to learn, nothing to study but machinery.

It was at this point that Edward took matters into his own hands, making a move which was soon to affect the entire family and which undoubtedly had as great an influence on the future career of the young Thomas as on his own, according to Benson:

He did up his belongings in one big red handkerchief, and, with twenty-five cents in his pocket, walked to Philadelphia, begging food as he could by the way. Then came the tug of war; with no money, no friends, no trade except the despised one of a factory hand, it was a prolonged struggle between starvation and the determination never to go back to the loom.4

Although life during this early Philadelphia period must have been a considerable struggle for this eldest of the Moran sons, he had a fierce desire and determination to be a painter, which must have tempered his hardships to some extent. The road to his goal was not an easy one and certainly not a direct one. He was employed at various trades in order to make a living for himself. First he was a cabinet-maker, then an assistant in a bronzing shop, and later he became a house painter. He was physically unable to stand the outdoor work of this latter job, so he returned to the cloth factory at a salary of six

4Benson, op. cit., p. 32.
dollars a week. Here he worked long hours but managed to draw a little on the side, sometimes using company time for this purpose. By chance, the proprietor of the factory saw some of Edward's drawings, recognized the undeniable talent, and gave him a letter of introduction to a Philadelphia artist by the name of James Hamilton (1819-1878). Hamilton was to exert considerable influence on the careers of the Moran brothers, including that of the young Thomas who was at this time, however, still at home with his family in Maryland. Hamilton was born in Ireland but came to America where he established himself first in commerce and later in art as an art instructor. Edward Moran received formal instruction in the Philadelphia studio of Hamilton, but Thomas merely took his early attempts to Hamilton for criticism. James Hamilton was considered a successful painter and was particularly prominent in Philadelphia. He painted several views of Niagara Falls which attracted much attention and, in what seems to have been the custom for artists in those days, made a trip to England from 1854 to 1856 to study at the National Gallery. Since his field of specialization was marine painting and landscape, it is not difficult to see where both Edward and Thomas Moran first became interested in their respective fields of emphasis.

Edward's career developed favorably from the time of his introduction to James Hamilton. Soon he opened a modest studio in quarters over a cigar store, and it was not long until he was getting small jobs working for artists and lithographers and even occasionally selling a painting. When the family in Maryland heard of Edward's good fortune they decided to move to Philadelphia so that the younger members of the
family might also have a chance.

One after another the younger Morans went into Edward's studio to take lessons from their big brother, and it is undoubtedly to this older brother that the credit goes for launching Thomas on his successful career. Edward's studio, incidentally, later became one of the most famous in Philadelphia:

It was in this studio that the celebrated 'Bohemian Council' met once a week. This class was composed of actors, literary men, and musicians, and after rehearsal on Wednesday afternoon such men as Joe Jefferson, Couldoch, Louis James, F. F. Mackey, and like celebrities visiting Philadelphia, formed a semicircle around the teacher, who for one hour did all the work and all the talking... Newspapermen reported the witty sayings of the 'Bohemian Council,' and if the minutes were in existence today, they would be eagerly pounced upon by publishers and readers.

As indicated above, Thomas Moran, like his brothers, received his first art training in Edward's Philadelphia studio. At the same time he was apprenticed for two years to the woodengraving firm of Scattergood and Telfer, and in his leisure time he took up the practice of watercolor and oil painting. It was at this time that he studied the marine paintings of James Hamilton as well as those of his brother Edward.

Moran's first important painting was "Among the Ruins There He Lingered," which was exhibited by the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts in 1858. Two years later, in 1860, he made a series of illustrations, a type of art which was to become a major part of his career. In 1862 he was married in Philadelphia to Mary Nimmo, an art pupil, and daughter of Archibald Nimmo of Strathaven, Scotland. After her mother's death

\[\text{Ibid., p. 33.}\]
she had come to America at the age of five and settled in Pennsylvania with her father and brother. Although eventually earning the reputation of an artist of the first rank, she did not become interested in art until after her marriage to Thomas Moran. They had three children: Paul, who also became an artist and who shared his father's New York studio; Mary, who became the wife of Wirt de Vivier Tassin and who resided in Washington, D. C.; and Ruth Bedford.

In this same year he went to England to study the masters in the National Gallery, and here he acquired a strong Turner influence which was to remain with him throughout his career. In 1866 he went abroad again, accompanied by his wife and son Paul, to travel and study in France, Italy, and Germany. In Paris he had a studio at 50 rue de L'Ouest, and it was while in France that he met Corot, whose fame was then well established. Corot received the American artist very cordially, was full of good humor, and told Moran about his own early struggles and lack of recognition; he told how his own painting had found no market at first and how his friends feared he would make them presents of his pictures so that they would out of politeness have to go to the expense of buying frames. In Italy Moran secured material for his long series of Venetian pictures, and while in Rome the Morans saw much of one F. O. C. Darley, another American painter, admired by both Mr. and Mrs. Moran.

He returned to the United States in 1871 when he joined the

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*A brief and somewhat fragmentary account of this European trip was written by the artist's daughter, Ruth Bedford Moran, and, in its original hand-written form, is now in the Moran material at the Free Library, East Hampton, Long Island.*
U. S. Geological expedition under Professor Ferdinand V. Hayden to the Yellowstone region. During this trip Moran made countless sketches, including many preparatory studies for his painting "The Grand Canyon of the Yellowstone," now hanging in the Department of Interior Building in Washington, D. C.

In 1872 Moran moved his family from Philadelphia to Newark, New Jersey. By this time the artist had become a popular illustrator for books and periodicals and in all probability Newark was chosen as his residence because of its proximity to New York City. At this time he was much in demand by *Scribner's Monthly Magazine* and worked in close association with other staff members of that publication. It was through friends in Newark that Moran was able to advance not only his reputation as an illustrator but also as a painter. A friend and neighbor, Mr. J. B. Gilder, illuminates this phase of the artist's career when, at the time of Moran's death, he writes to the *New York Times*:

> I first knew him in Newark, New Jersey, in the early seventies. My brother Richard had not yet become the editor of *Scribner's Monthly*, but he was associate editor with Dr. J. G. Holland. A. W. Drake, the art editor, and Moran, one of the illustrators, were friends and neighbors of ours. R. W. G. (Richard W. Glider) called the artist's two big pictures portraying the wonders of the Yellowstone and the Grand Canyon of the Colorado to the attention of Senator Frelinghuysen, then or later Secretary of State, and Mr. Frelinghuysen promptly procured their purchase by the Government.

*Scribner's Magazine*, in fact, was largely responsible for turning Moran's attention to America's Far West. In 1870 *Scribner's* wished to publish

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7Glider, J. B., letter to the Editor of the *New York Times*, September 1, 1926, col. 6, p. 22.
"Langford's Military Expedition to Yellowstone." The only illustrations they had were the very crude sketches made by a soldier of the party. It was decided that Moran was the man to make the sketches presentable. So developed the long series of pen and ink and wood engravings that appeared in Scribner's through the seventies.  

Soon, however, his illustration commissions became both more varied and more numerous, and it was probably with the view of establishing himself closer to the publishing offices that he moved his family from Newark to New York City in the year 1872. In this same year, accompanied by his wife, Moran made a trip to Utah and the Yosemite Valley. This trip to Yosemite was the first of his several trips to California. The following year, 1873, he accompanied Major John Wesley Powell, a government explorer, to southern Utah and Arizona. On this trip he made sketches for his painting "The Chasm of the Colorado." This painting, as its companion piece, "The Grand Canyon of the Yellowstone," now decorates the Conference Room of the Secretary of the Interior, Department of Interior Building, Washington, D.C. They were bought by the government for ten thousand dollars each, with money appropriated by Congress.

Professor Hayden invited Moran to accompany him on another expedition in 1874, this time into the heart of the Colorado Mountains to survey the Mount of the Holy Cross. Moran did a painting titled "Mountain of the Holy Cross" which won a gold medal at the Centennial

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8 All of Moran's Scribner's illustrations are chronologically listed in Appendix II, p. 185.
Exposition of 1876. The artist's name is also perpetuated in Mount Moran of the Teton Range in Wyoming (Yellowstone Canyon) and in a promontory called Moran Point in Arizona (Grand Canyon).

Thomas Moran traveled constantly all his life, sometimes with friends or government employees and at other times with various members of his family. "He was a traveler and a rugged one. He had the courage of a pioneer and trail blazer and the determination and hardihood of a surveyor of unknown lands. These were unusual characteristics for a painter." In 1879 and again in 1883 he went to Mexico, and it was while there that he did numerous sketches for periodical illustrations, sketches he was to develop later into some of his most admired oil paintings.

In 1884 he was elected a member of the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts, the Artists' Fund Society, American Watercolor Society, New York Etching Club; previously he had been elected to the Society of American Etchers and the National Academy of Design. It was also in 1884 that he built a summer studio at East Hampton, Long Island, where he subsequently spent much of his time.

Moran made a second trip to Italy in 1866. As his reputation as a painter grew he received numerous honors and prizes, among them being silver medals at the Columbian Exposition in Chicago (1893) and

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9 This medal, with three others honoring Moran, is now in the Free Library, East Hampton, Long Island.

10 Draper, Benjamin Poff, Art in America, p. 82.

the Pan-American Exposition (1901).

On September 25, 1899, Mrs. Moran died at East Hampton of a fever believed to have been contracted from the neighboring camp for malarial victims of the Spanish-American War established at Montauk Point. The artist continued to maintain his residence at East Hampton but had his studio at 24 West 22nd Street, New York City. In 1910 he moved his New York studio to 253 West 42nd Street. It was not until 1916 when, in order to avoid the rigors of the Long Island winters, he closed his East Hampton residence and moved to Santa Barbara, California, where he lived with his daughter, Ruth Bedford Moran.

He never lost his desire to travel, particularly in the West, and even as late as 1923, at the age of eighty-six, Moran again visited the Yosemite Valley. His death occurred at the age of eighty-nine on August 25, 1926, in his home at 1821 Anacapa Street, Santa Barbara, California.
CHAPTER II

CULTURAL CLIMATE OF MORAN'S ENGLAND

It is doubtful if Thomas Moran received directly any appreciable degree of artistic influence during his few years in England in his early childhood, but the town of his birth and the family's close associations here doubtless exercised considerable influence even if indirectly. The town of Bolton (sometimes called Bolton-le-Moors), located in Lancashire some eleven miles northwest of Manchester, is divided by the Croal River into Great and Little Bolton and surrounded by a high moorland. Although little more than a village at the time of Thomas Moran's birth in 1837, it was a site of early origin and at the beginning of its history was called Bodleton or sometimes Bothelton. As so many English towns, it began as a feudal manor, grew gradually into a town (having been incorporated for the first time in 1838, the year following Moran's birth), and became a county borough in 1888. The townsmen have always been proud of their Church of St. Peter, which Thomas Moran probably knew as a parish church since the present structure dates only from 1870.

The town was early famous for its woolen manufactures and it was in this work that the Moran family had been engaged for many years. In fact, Thomas himself was taught the art of weaving and loom repairing by his father, who practiced this work during his entire life.

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Bolton's weaving history began as far back as 1641 when the production of fustians, vermilions, and dimities was the principal output. Velvet was first manufactured here in 1756 and muslins and cotton quiltings in 1763. Even the inventors of the spinning machinery, Arkwright and Crompton, lived here, a fact of which the residents often boasted. Although by the late eighteenth century the town had been connected with Manchester by the construction of a canal and enlarged by the enclosure of the Bolton Moor, it remained exclusively a small textile center during the time of Moran's residence there. It was not until the late nineteenth century that large iron works grew up, making Bolton somewhat more important as a manufacturing center.

In the 1830's, the period of history in England likely to have exerted its influence on Moran and his subsequent artistic production, England was engaged in a period of reform which eventually would bring about a decidedly democratic state but which, in the 1830's, merely relieved the aristocracy of some of their power and gave it to the middle class. Reform was generally fought for at the time in all of the British Isles, and it was only after a long and bitter struggle that the Reform Acts of 1832 were passed by Parliament. The working class, in which the Moran family would necessarily be included, reaped little if any benefits from the reforms of this decade. Trevelyan sums up the prevailing situation by saying:

It is incorrect to say that the bill (1832) gave all power to the middle class. Power, which had previously resided in a privileged section of the landlords, was now divided between all the landlords on one side and a portion of the middle class on the other. It was because half the middle class were left without votes that they eventually
joined with the working-men to demand a further extension of the franchise under Bright and Gladstone. While the seeds of reform were sown in this period, it required subsequent reform bills in the latter part of the century before the working classes were permitted to participate in governmental affairs and enjoy the benefits thereof. One may well imagine that it was the discrimination against the workers, continuing through much of the nineteenth century, that brought about the decision of the Moran family to leave their native land in 1844 and begin a new life in America where the equality of rights was the accepted pattern.

Concurrent with political development, literature and art were likewise undergoing decided changes. These, it would seem, represented a reaction against the eighteenth century art of the upper classes and against the uncertainty and struggle of the early nineteenth century. The period was ripe for the development of romantic expression. Romanticists, in voicing their disapproval of existing conditions, turn either to the past or to nature; English writers and artists of this period seem to have chosen the latter. This particular romantic revival was tinged with an additional element:

Behind and beneath all this romantic revival, this return to Nature, lay a philosophy. This romantic movement, this revival, was after all but one of the crises in the closer and closer scrutiny of Nature which had been going on for some seven centuries. Through remote and unfamiliar places and times ranged the passionate, dreaming curiosity of romance. It peered into mysteries of Nature hitherto unrealized, into mysteries of man's life and mind, his intrinsic qualities, his primitive and elemental worth and beauty.3

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2 Trevelyan, George M., British History in the Nineteenth Century and After, p. 2140.

One can reasonably conclude that this spirit, combining the old and the new, came to Thomas Moran through his older brothers, Edward and John, who were artists themselves and who must have consciously instilled in Thomas a strong loyalty for his class as well as a curiosity about nature and its place in art.

This awareness of nature is evident in the works of the English Romantic writers, most of whom died in the first half of the nineteenth century and whose works had already become generally read at the time of Moran's childhood in England. The writing of Wordsworth (1770-1850) "makes us more sensitively aware of Nature and of humble life than before his day; it gives us more pleasure; our eyes and ears are trained to observe it and discern the beauty that lies in it, and the new power is one of the most precious gifts of our times."\(^4\) Much the same trend can be felt in the works of Coleridge (1772-1834), Charles Lamb (1775-1834), and in Scotland's Sir Walter Scott (1771-1832) who, even more than the others, seemed by his art to draw his country into his very fibre and being. Following these writers in style and generally contemporary with them were the Romantics Lord Byron (1788-1824), Shelley (1792-1822), and Leigh Hunt (1784-1859). They, too, took nature as their theme.

Among the artists working in England at this time were three who are most representative of the then-current innovations in painting and whose works undoubtedly inspired and influenced Moran both in his technique and subject matter. These are: John Sell Cotman (1782-1842), J. M. W. Turner (1775-1851) whose work will be treated later,

\[^4\text{Ibid., p. 402.}\]
and John Constable (1776-1837). Of the three, Turner exerted the most marked influence. Moran appreciated every aspect of Turner's work and adapted it to suit his own purposes. For Turner, as for Moran, watercolor came to hold no terrors and its essential liquidness and transparency made it a better vehicle than oil paint for the ethereal and transient effects that he perceived. His tinted light and air and his rich visions fascinated Moran.

Cotman, too, regarded nature like the true Romantic. He gives a deeper sense of immediate vision and of passionate emotion roused by things seen. He was a master at seascape and, like Moran, he instinctively saw significance and pregnancy in form and silhouette.

One hears less of a direct Constable influence in the work of Thomas Moran, but a comparison of the two will reveal striking similarities of feeling and even methods of working. This is particularly true if one considers Moran's watercolor sketches in relation to Constable's oil sketches. Robert Allerton Parker calls Moran's sketches "color notes which reveal the intimate Moran, an artist exquisite in sensibility and a veritable master in his analysis of the scattered heterogeneous elements of a vast expanse of wild nature into its essential elements, and the re-creation of these elements into a significant unit."  

Constable did much the same before Moran and, in his oil sketches, achieved a synthesis of the full disorder of the out-of-doors light and movement. Both Moran and Constable, however, fell somewhat short of the brilliancy and jewel-like effect of their...
sketches when they produced in their studios the great canvases worked with painstaking effort.
CHAPTER III

MORAN'S AMERICA: PHILADELPHIA

It was the plan of Thomas Moran, the elder, to bring his entire family to America, but not until he had selected a suitable location. This search occupied him for perhaps a year, ending, as it has already been stated, somewhere in Maryland. After a brief residence here the family migrated to Philadelphia, one or two at a time, until sometime in the late forties when they were all together again.

Having got his family safely to Philadelphia, the father established residence at the corner of Fourth and Master Streets, and evidently practiced the weaving trade at his residence.¹ In the 1840's Philadelphia was a fast-growing city with extensive commercial interests and an historic tradition.² Up to this time it had become the financial center of the country, but, to prevent too strong a growth in this inland city, the financial interests were moved to New York in 1837. In the first decades of the nineteenth century the city had grown so rapidly that certain social measures were necessarily neglected, but the 1840's ushered in a period of general reform. For example, the abolition of imprisonment for debt and the extension of property rights

¹McElroy's Philadelphia Directory, Edward and John Biddle, Publishers, Philadelphia, 1853, p. 294. The entry here is: Moran, Thomas, Weaver, 14th and Master.

for married women were much-needed reforms accomplished in this decade.

Improvements in general living conditions and in public transportation were also emphasized. The decade of the 'forties saw the development of an extensive car track system for public transportation, as well as the addition of many horse-drawn cars. It was at this same time that Philadelphia's first bathtubs began to appear.

Along with the physical improvement of the city the period saw a change of attitude and a growth of spirit which was desirable or intolerable in accordance with one's own personal viewpoint. Specifically, there arose a strong feeling of nationalism, that is, of native Americans against those of foreign birth and particularly against those of the Roman Catholic faith. Philadelphia, always a power in the country's politics, played host to Abraham Lincoln on his first visit there in 1847. And in this same year the city was chosen for the Whig national convention at which Zachary Taylor was nominated for the presidency. Nor was culture neglected in these formative years of the city's growth. In 1877 William Wagner founded the Wagner Free Institute of Science, and the following year saw the establishment of Girard College for orphan boys.

The 1850's paved the way for the future growth of the city, whose population in 1850 was estimated at 121,376. This did not include the suburbs which, when added, made a total of some 360,000.

In spite of its size during this period, Philadelphia had few organized art schools, as we think of them today. It is true that the

Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts had been founded in 1805 and incorporated the following year (the present building having been erected in 1876), but the usual course for one with artistic inclinations was to seek his training as an apprentice in a commercial engraving firm or in the studio of an established artist. Thomas Moran, tiring of school and deciding to become an artist, was placed as an apprentice in a commercial engraving firm by the name of Scattergood and Telfer, 57 South Third Street, in order that he might learn the art of engraving while earning his living at the same time. Such engraving firms were common in Philadelphia in the mid-nineteenth century because of an increase in engraving demands for well-executed bank notes and for magazine and book illustrations, which were becoming very popular at that time.

These early engravers were expert in their medium as well as versatile in the selection of subject matter. "The frequent occurrence of the names of English designers indicates, of course, that the engravings were copied from the English originals in the books for the American reprints for which they were prepared." Prominent among the English artists frequently copied were Sir Edward Landseer (1802-1873) and Peter de Wint (1784-1849). Nor were the works of contemporary American artists neglected. Many copies were made of the works of the portrait painter John Neagle who, in the 1850's, lived in Philadelphia at 9 Sansom Street and Thomas Sully, a resident at 11 South Fifth Street.

The 1840's saw technical advances in engraving, such as the use of box-wood in wood-engraving, and the apprentice was made cognizant of

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\[\text{Weitenkampf, Frank,} \text{American Graphic Art,} \text{Henry Holt and Co.,} \text{New York, 1912, p. 82.}\]
and perfected his skill in these innovations. Also, the growing popularity of the monthly magazine and its need for illustrations furnished an added incentive for the training of more and more engravers. The subjects most commonly used in magazine illustration were, in addition to copies of famous masterpieces, historical scenes, landscape, the urban aspects and the natural wonders of the growing country, and current events. Wood-engraving, the field in which Thomas Moran received instruction with the firm of Scattergood and Telfer, was the most popular of all types of engraved illustration. *Port Folio*, a Philadelphia publication, said in 1818: "Engravings on wood, when finely executed, are of great importance, as they are printed with the letter press, take off large numbers of impressions, and are afforded at a low price, but the talent and skill necessary in this useful branch of the arts is not perhaps at present sufficiently appreciated."\(^5\)

Once the illustrated magazine was started its popularity grew rapidly. In addition to *Port Folio*, already mentioned, there were perhaps two dozen such periodicals published in Philadelphia alone, including the *Southern and Western Journal* and the *New Monthly Home Visitor* whose offices were in the same building as the firm of Scattergood and Telfer. By the 1840's the *Saturday Evening Post* had become a well-established periodical, but one of the most popular publications of all was *Graham's Lady's and Gentleman's Magazine*.\(^6\) This was published in

\(^5\)Ibid., p. 141.

Philadelphia by George R. Graham and included among its contributors Edgar Allan Poe and John Sartain. The latter became famous for his mezzotints and engravings for periodical illustration. In fact, "...as early as 1860 or '61 John Sartain illustrated the process of etching, by practical demonstration, for Thomas Moran..."  

Moran's association with the firm of Scattergood and Telfer, at 57 South Third Street, continued for two years, when he left because of illness. "Upon his recovery, he went to work in the studio of his brother, Edward, which they shared equally."  

It was Edward who accompanied Thomas to London in 1861. Marine paintings were his specialty and he is chiefly remembered for a series of paintings depicting thirteen epochs in American marine history. It was he who was largely responsible for guiding Thomas' talents from the field of commercial illustration to that of the fine arts.  

Edward and Thomas Moran combined their talents in instructing a younger brother, Peter (1842-1914), whose chief interest became animal painting. He made a detailed study of the animal paintings of Troyon and Rosa Bonheur, as well as of animal anatomy. In 1863 he went to London to study the work of Landseer and others. Although receiving inspiration from the works of other animal painters, "he was never connected with any particular school of painting."  

\[\text{\small References:}\]

7 Weitenkampf, Frank, op. cit., p. 8.  
CHAPTER IV

PREPARATION FOR AN AMERICAN LANDSCAPE

The West

By the 1850's Thomas Moran had established himself in Philadelphía as an independent artist but one who had not as yet discovered the style or subject matter which was later to make him famous. A year after his previously-mentioned "Among the Ruins There He Lingered" he painted, in 1859, his "Childe Roland to the Dark Tower Came," 1 which was exhibited at the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts that same year. At this time Moran was forming his style by the production of paintings allegorical in nature and at the same time continuing his work as a commercial artist in the field of the graphic arts.

Even at this late date many artists went to Europe in search of the beauties of nature. Combined with this lack of interest in the American scene was the dearth of knowledge concerning many sections of America. For example, there was little interest in the West until the discovery of gold in California in 1848. And even after the western scenery became known to the artists of this country, it was regarded as secondary to the European scenes which had long been held as the epitome of beauty. Neuhaus describes the situation in this way:

Within a decade of this date (1848) government surveying expeditions invaded the far west; the artists Sanford R. Gifford (1823-1880), John Frederick Kensett (1816-1872), and Worthington

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1 Illustration for a poem of the same title by Robert Browning, included in "Dramatic Romances," first published in Men and Women in 1855.
Whittredge (1820-1910) joined some of the earliest of these expeditions in the 'sixties. They were later followed by others, who either remained in California or returned to their eastern homes .... in many cases the painters of the Rockies and the Sierra Nevada or the Andes unconsciously dragged into their canvases Alpine peaks and waterfalls and campfire scenes which, although often clever, were rather theatrical and unconvincing.

Fear of many of the western regions accounts for the slowness of artists in invading these areas. To the middle of the nineteenth century there were some places in the West which were avoided even by the Indians. The Yellowstone country, for example, was feared because of its densely wooded areas, extraordinary rock formations, and hot water geysers. But once the artists became acquainted with the American country, they wanted to make something big and spectacular of it. Most of them, however, failed to convey the immensity of the scale of these newly-known miracles of nature.

Two of the early artists of the American scene were Edwin Church (1826-1900) and Albert Bierstadt (1828-1902). Church was one of those who were intrigued by big subjects. He studied with Thomas Cole and was a member of the Hudson River school. His interests encompassed both North and South America; in 1853 he made his first trip to South America, followed by another in 1857. He made a detailed study of tropical scenes as well as of the Labrador icebergs, but one of his best known paintings is his "Niagara," now in the Corcoran Gallery in Washington. Although sensing the value of the big, spectacular subject and developing an atmospheric quality on the order of Turner, he is generally thought of as a painter with an inadequacy of technique.

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Like Church, another painter who pioneered in American landscape and who favored the spectacular was Albert Bierstadt, born in Germany of naturalized American parents. Although studying in Germany (Düsseldorf), Switzerland, and Italy, he came to America where, in 1858, he joined General Lander's expedition in the Rocky Mountains.\(^3\) He compared the western scenery to what he had seen in Europe and worked in widely scattered areas including California's Yosemite Valley and even as far north as Oregon. Bierstadt's paintings present the native landscape in terms of historical epochs relating to discoveries of portions of this country and are, therefore, to a certain extent dependent upon the imagination of the painter. Unlike the later Thomas Moran, Bierstadt recorded the western scenery rather faithfully, giving the spectator little idea of what he felt about it.

**England**

In 1861 Moran, accompanied by his brother Edward, went to England chiefly for the purpose of studying and copying the works of J.M.W. Turner in the National Gallery. This was ten years after Turner's death. Previous to this trip, while working in Philadelphia, he had familiarized himself with Turner's work, including the famous Liber Studiorum.\(^4\) Moran's debt to Turner is emphasized by the artist's

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\(^3\)General Lander (1821-1862) served from 1854 to 1858 as superintendent and chief engineer of the Northern Pacific Railroad's overland wagon road, conducting a survey to determine the feasibility of a projected railroad from Puget Sound to the Mississippi River and from the Mississippi to Salt Lake City. In 1858 General Lander's party of seventy were attacked by Piute Indians in a spirited engagement, and the Indians were repulsed.

\(^4\)A collection of drawings, etchings, and mezzotints conceived in Turner's irrepressible passion to conquer Claude Lorraine and his
Thomas Moran's real master was J.M.W. Turner. My father traded his pictures to an old bookseller for 'The Rivers of France' and 'Liber Studiorum,' and everything that contained the work of Turner, so that when he went to England about 1860, he knew his master perfectly in black and white, but was stunned by the radiance of color which he had not imagined but which he, himself, found literally glowing in the "Yellowstone" country, later on in his life. This was the manner of my father's beginnings.

Moran's friend and the painter of Moran's portrait, Howard Russell Butler, has this to say about the 1861 trip to England:

He did not see the works of Turner in color until he began his studies in England ten years after Turner's death December 19, 1851. Dazed by them at first, he gradually awoke to a realization of the underlying truth in the masterpieces of that great impressionist. His copies and interpretation of these attracted attention in England and he was given unusual advantages in their study. The watercolors especially to him were a great inspiration, the influence of which can long be traced in his work.

One sees numerous Turner characteristics in the work of Moran and these qualities are evident, to a greater or less extent, even in the artist's later work. Turner, of course, attempted to achieve the impossible and paint the sun. He, in turn, was inspired by the work of Claude Lorrain and, at the beginning of his career, aimed at rivaling the work of Claude. To attain his object, nothing was too difficult for him. "He placed himself amongst the followers of the painter of light par excellence; studied, analyzed, and copied Claude Lorrain; completely adopted his style, and painted pictures which threw Claude

Liber Veritatis. It was executed in the years of his fullest vigor and displayed the immense powers of Turner as a landscape artist.

5The American Magazine of Art, op. cit., p. 645.
into eclipse by their magnificence and luminous power of color." In working from Turner's paintings Moran inadvertently absorbed much of the light theory of Claude, and this knowledge of the luminous quality of landscape was later to manifest itself fully in his paintings of the mountains and canyons of western United States.

The handling of light was not the only quality which Thomas Moran sought in Turner. After exhausting the possibilities of Claude Lorrain, Turner busied himself with the atmospheric phenomena of the land of mist; Moran later made much use of this representation of light and its effect on the vaporous and misty atmosphere of the Rocky Mountains. For his purposes he could not have discovered a better inspiration than Turner's paintings. For Turner the world was "a land of sun where the reality of things vanishes, and the light shed between the eye and the objects of vision is the only thing that lives ....

As a solitary exception in English landscape he represented nature stately, terrible, stormy, glorious, mighty, grand, and sublime." Moran also stressed these moods in his landscapes. There are the qualities of grandeur and the glorious in such works as his huge painting "The Chasm of the Colorado" (1873), and one is impressed with the stormy mood of "A Summer Squall" (1889).

At first Turner's use of color may have dazzled Thomas Moran, but he soon began to appreciate and to admire it and spent considerable effort during this first London trip in absorbing as much of Turner's

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8 Ibid., p. 275.
color theories as possible. He adopted Turner's poetic revels of color and later on even resorted to Venice as a subject for a series of paintings, just as Turner had done. He particularly admired Turner's Venetian atmospheric effects of "sunrise and sunset on the quiet waters; bringing every brilliant color on his palette into use, to rival the marvelous tints displayed in sky and sea." Thomas Moran, however, is credited with more than the mere copying of Turner's works. He saw them, admired them, copied them as studies, absorbed their various qualities, then later interpreted them in his own works but always for his own purposes. Edward Alden Jewell, in a New York Times critique of Moran's work, says: "From Turner he no doubt derived much, although the spectacular dreams were his own, expressed by means of a highly developed brush technique." Elisabeth Luther Cary, also in the New York Times, says: "Moran's color seems to have colder and more stimulating depths than Turner's in his Venetian subjects. Seldom has a follower, often a candid imitator, come so near to the pace of his captain or managed to infuse so much of his own into work based upon another's."

Again, in an earlier New York Times criticism of Moran's work, his relationship to Turner is explained in this manner:

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In spite of the freely acknowledged influence of Turner in obvious characteristics of his painting, it hardly yet is fully recognized that this period of saturation in the study of that master gave him his clue to that quality that sets him apart from his contemporaries. With frequent divergences, as one or another problem occupied his mind, he moved slowly toward the great goal of impressionist painting. In studying Turner he grasped the essential of his interpretation of the outdoor world, and the beautiful luminous passages in his work flow with limpid directness from their source in Turner's sunlight.12

Following this particularly rewarding trip to England, Moran returned to Philadelphia in 1862, which was the same year as his marriage.

Shortly after his marriage, and accompanied by his bride, Moran sailed again for England to take up for the second time his study of Turner. He had not yet developed a style that could be called his own, but he had found in Turner those elements which he most admired in pictorial representation and which he was later to adapt to his own individual style. Turner's investigation of light and its effect on objects was one of Moran's chief delights. He liked the atmospheric moods and the impressionistic way Turner captured them, and it was his intense study of every aspect of Turner's work that was to contribute greatly to his own style as it later became crystallized. In regard to this 1862 trip to England, a feature article in the New York Times Magazine succinctly states the result of Moran's study:

It was in 1862, practically at the beginning of his career, that he went back to England to study Turner...the attenuation of shadow, the domination in a picture or drawing of light and atmosphere. He became as much an impressionist as it was possible for an American painter in those early years to be.13

Although the Turner influence is seen in varying degrees of modification and interpretation in much of Moran's work, it is undoubtedly displayed in its most startling aspect in the numerous paintings of his Venetian series. Because Moran chose, in many cases, Venetian scenes identical with those of Turner, the comparison here is most obvious. Both artists made a number of works simply titled "Venice" (Plate II), and both chose more specific but still identical titles such as "The Grand Canal" and "The Ducal Palace." One is able to see in these similar works of the two artists that both were interested first of all in nature and, secondly, in its effect on man. Both emphasize magnificence and splendor in a most dramatic manner, but underlying this is the common preoccupation with the more fundamental mood of the scene -- its desolation, calm, agitation, grandeur, etc. It was the light and melting transparency in Turner's Venetian paintings that impressed Moran the most, and it was this elusive quality that he was able to capture in his own works. Moran's series of Venetian works follow somewhat of a pattern since all of them are so similar in subject and all deal with the possibilities of luminous color. Considering his interest in light and atmosphere, he was naturally attracted to the city of Venice because "its expanse of meeting sky and water and incredibly picturesque buildings needed only a sunset or a moonrise to give them the evanescence of a mirage on a sea of light." 

Although occasionally referred to in his day as "the American

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Turner," Moran exhibits a different type of work from that of the English master. It is quite similar in many ways but done with more formality and less spontaneity than one sees in Turner. Rather, it is possible that he considered his Venetian paintings somewhat as exercises carried out for the purpose of acquiring proficiency in the handling of those elements which he greatly admired in Turner. One could almost regard Moran's Venetian series as a problem of preparation for that famous group of brilliant-hued western scenes which display the originality and the sureness of the artist's mature style. That he certainly had no intention of trying to compete with Turner, or even merely copy him, seems to be the general opinion of those who are acquainted with Moran's work. Just what effect Turner's work had on succeeding schools of painting and particularly on Thomas Moran, is well stated by Margaret Breuning who says:

Turner's influence on this young American was far different from his influence on the French impressionists for Moran did not become a plein air artist, he was obsessed by none of the intricate theories of color division, pointillisme or other scientific divagations that occupied the French impressionists. He became under Turner's influence a luminist, absorbed in rendering effects of light and color in much of the splendor and opulence of Turner's own style. Yet he was not an imitator. A latent delight in color was awakened by this contact with Turner's work, and gradually after the really awesome first impressions of the master's astonishing oeuvre, Moran was able to assimilate its principles and adapt them to his own expression.15

15 Ibid., p. 115.
CHAPTER V

MORAN'S AMERICA: THE YOUNG WEST

In order to obtain a first-hand knowledge of the scenery of the American West, Thomas Moran accepted the invitation of Dr. Ferdinand V. Hayden, a geologist, to accompany him on an exploratory expedition to the area which was later to become the Yellowstone National Park. This particular region had been visited on numerous occasions before but, as Cramton explains, the earlier trips were by small parties or even by individuals who took short trips into localized parts of the territory. Also, most of the earlier explorations were undertaken by residents of areas nearby, since travel at that time was difficult:

The territory of Montana had only recently (1864) been formed from a portion of the territory ceded to the United States by France. It was carved out of the territory of Idaho, which had been created in 1863. In 1868 the Territory of Wyoming, including most of the Yellowstone National Park region, was carved out of the Territory of Montana. Because of difficulty of access the early exploration of the Yellowstone Park region came from Montana.

The actual area with its unusual geological formations was relatively slow in being discovered. This is because it only became

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1Cramton, Louis C., The Early History of Yellowstone Park, United States Department of Interior Publication, United States Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., 1932. On page 69 Cramton lists all the trips to the Yellowstone area previous to Hayden's expedition of 1871. These earlier trips go back as far as 1807, continuing more or less irregularly up to Hayden's first official trip and are based on written accounts by the visitors themselves.

2Ibid., p. 20.
a part of the United States at a rather late date and because of the inaccessibility of the terrain. Chittenden credits the gold-seeker with the first discovery of the area:

And so it came about that it was the gold-seeker who finally revealed the well-kept secret of the Yellowstone. Itself destitute of mineral wealth, this region could not escape the ubiquitous prospector. It was not, indeed, by him that it was publicly proclaimed to the world. He cared little for any country that was destitute of "color" or "pay." But the hints he dropped put others on the track and opened the door to real discovery.3

There has been much speculation regarding the origin of the idea of making a state park of the area. Some say it originated during Hayden's official trip of 1871, but others credit it to an unofficial expedition undertaken the year previous by General Henry D. Washburn, a native of Clinton, Indiana. Actually this trip must have been semi-official since, in addition to the regular members of the group, there was a military escort under the direction of Lt. G. C. Doane. But it was financed by private individuals. Accompanying General Washburn was Nathaniel P. Langford who in 1872 was appointed the first superintendent of Yellowstone Park. Subsequent to this expedition Langford traveled extensively in the eastern part of the country giving lectures on his experiences in the West, and it is in these public talks that he is supposed to have emphasized the idea of making a public park of the Yellowstone area. Chittenden states that the first printed reference to a public park occurred in an article

of November 9, 1870, and published in the Helena, Montana, Herald.

Tracing the source back still further, he says:

The development of the project must have started from some source; it is of interest historically to determine what this source was. We find it to have been the Washburn expedition of 1870. The subject was discussed by the party at the first camp on September 19, 1870.\(^4\)

However, Hayden himself claims his 1871 expedition was responsible for originating the park idea. Gramton discusses Hayden's letter of February 21, 1878, to Secretary Schurz, published in House Executive Document number 75, Forty-fifth Congress, second session, in which he presents what he calls a "brief statement of the history of the National Park." He refers to the survey of 1871 and the great quantities of maps, sketches, photographic views, etc., and says that his trip aroused such great interest in Congress that it passed the park law. Gramton quotes Hayden as saying in this letter:

I beg permission to state here that, as far as I know I originated the idea of the park, prepared maps designating the boundaries and, in connection with Hon. W. H. Clagett, then Delegate from the Montana Territory, wrote the law as it now stands. During the pending of the bill, every effort was made by myself and other members of the survey to remove all objection to the bill, and the labor was constant and great. It is now acknowledged all over the civilized world that the existence of the National Park, by law, is due solely to my exertions, during the sessions of 1871 and 1872.

Gramton follows this with a quotation from an article in Scribners, February, 1872, in which Hayden says:

Why will not Congress at once pass a law setting it apart as a great public park for all time to come as has been done with that far inferior wonder, the Yosemite Valley?\(^5\)

\(^4\)Ibid., p. 74.
\(^5\)Gramton, op. cit., p. 31.
It is more likely that the idea for the park, as well as the necessary legislation, developed gradually from the enthusiasm and efforts of a number of people. Thomas Moran must be given a large share of the credit by arousing the interest of the public with his numerous sketches and paintings depicting the magnificent scenery of this newly-discovered part of America.

The actual Yellowstone Park bill was introduced into the House on December 18, 1871, some two months after Hayden's trip. It was put through by the efforts of Dr. Hayden, N. P. Langford, and Delegate William H. Clagett. The bill received President Ulysses S. Grant's signature on March 1, 1872, and Yellowstone National Park became a reality. The bill was evidently hurried through and "before settlers could establish a permanent foothold, the Park was created and all the vexatious obstacles, which might otherwise have defeated the project, were avoided." 6

The Hayden expedition of 1871 was a reconnaissance survey to locate the sources of the Missouri and Yellowstone Rivers. It was officially sent out by the United States Department of Interior and was under the leadership of Dr. Hayden, a geologist. In addition to Chief Officer Hayden, the party included James Stevenson, managing director; artists Henry W. Elliott and Thomas Moran (described by Dr. Hayden in the introduction of his official report as "a distinguished artist from Philadelphia"); photographers William H. Jackson and his assistant, George B. Dixon; C. S. Turnbull, physician; and nineteen

6Beal, Merrill D., The Story of Man in Yellowstone, the Caxton Printers, Ltd., Caldwell, Idaho, 1949, p. 84.
geological scientists. As a protection against hostile Indian tribes still existing in the Yellowstone region, the Government furnished the party with a military escort. On March 3, 1871, approximately three months before the start of the expedition, Congress appropriated $40,000 for its expenses. Under this appropriation Dr. Hayden was reappointed (May, 1871) United States Geologist from July 1, 1871, at a salary of $4,000 per year and permitted to select his own assistants.

On June seventh the party set out from Ogden, Utah, the assembly point. Accounts on the life of Thomas Moran leave some doubt as to the artist's exact status on this expedition, and one is even left unenlightened on this point by Dr. Hayden in his report to the Secretary of the Interior. Miss Ruth B. Moran, however, in a letter concerning her father, makes this point quite definite:

... the heads of the United States Geological Surveys allowed him to join their early surveys at his own expense, and untrammelled by government red tape. He was never a part of any "survey," as far as any government remuneration goes.7

The itinerary of this expedition (as stated in the introduction of Dr. Hayden's report8 was as follows:

1. Ogden, Utah, to Fort Hall, Idaho.
2. Fort Hall, Idaho, to Fort Ellis, Montana.
3. Fort Ellis, Montana, to the Yellowstone area as far as the First and Second Canyons, White Mountain, and the Hot Springs.
4. To the Grand Canyon, Yellowstone Falls, and Yellowstone Lake.
5. The return trip from Yellowstone to Fort Ellis and then to Fort Hall, and finally to Evanston by Union Pacific Railroad.

7The American Magazine of Art, op. cit., p. 645.

There was also another expedition in the Yellowstone region simultaneous with that of Dr. Hayden. This exploration was a military party led by Capt. J. W. Barlow and Capt. D. P. Heap, of the Engineer Corps of the Army. They were conducting a reconnaissance of the upper Yellowstone, and the two parties sometimes traveled together. Dr. Hayden's group left Ogden City on June 7, 1871, and ended officially in Evanston on October 2nd of that same year.

Dr. Hayden's report to the Secretary of the Interior is quite official and most scientifically written and, except for naming the personnel in his introduction, he seldom mentions individual members. One is able to judge Thomas Moran's part in this expedition by the numerous sketches which he produced. The artist's medium was entirely watercolor, no doubt to avoid transporting the clumsier supplies necessary to painting in oil. Stephen T. Mather, discussing Moran's part in this expedition, says:

Back in 1871, when Dr. F. V. Hayden conducted the United States Surveying Expedition into the Yellowstone region he followed his usual custom of inviting an artist to accompany the party, and at his personal invitation Moran first visited the area. At that time it was a trackless wilderness, shunned by neighboring Indians because of its weird steaming hot springs formation and spouting geysers. During this trip Moran devoted all his time to making watercolor sketches on which he later based some of his most superb paintings -- except when the lure of fishing would no longer be withstood, for, according to W. H. Jackson, the official photographer of the expedition, he was an ardent fisherman.

So great was the interest aroused in the Yellowstone region by the reports of the Washburn and Hayden expeditions that on March 1, 1872, the Yellowstone National Park was established. The following June Congress gave Thomas Moran a contract to make a painting of the Yellowstone Canyon for the Capitol.

The sketches of the Yellowstone Canyon which Moran made on this expedition were the basis for his famous painting "The Grand Canyon of the Yellowstone," now in the Department of Interior Building in Washington. This canyon must have been highly impressive to the members of Hayden's party as they came upon it for the first time. Hayden's description of this canyon in his official report represents one of the few occasions where he abandons his geologically scientific approach, as well as one of the rare occasions when he mentions other members of the party — in this case, Thomas Moran:

Standing near the margin of the Lower Falls, and looking down the Canyon, which looks like an immense chasm or cleft in the basalt, with its sides 1,200 to 1,500 feet high, and decorated with the most brilliant colors that the human eye ever saw, with the rocks weathered into an almost unlimited variety of forms, with here and there a pine sending its roots into the clefts on the sides as if struggling with a sort of uncertain success to maintain an existence -- the whole presents a picture that it would be difficult to surpass in nature. Mr. Thomas Moran, a celebrated artist, and noted for his skill as a colorist, exclaimed with a kind of regretful enthusiasm that these beautiful tints were beyond the reach of human art. It is not the depth alone that gives such an impression of grandeur to the mind, but it is also the picturesque forms and coloring. Mr. Moran is now engaged in transferring this remarkable picture to canvas, and by means of a skillful use of colors something like a conception of its beauty may be conveyed.10

The exact location from which Moran worked on this Canyon subject is described by Thomas D. Murphy:

Artist's Point, a mile beyond the Camp, was chosen by Thomas Moran as the spot from which to paint the great picture of the Yellowstone Canyon now hanging in the rotunda of our National Capitol, 1925. Mr. Moran himself considered this the best general viewpoint, since one stands almost directly above the writhing jade-green river a thousand feet below and looks...
up the vast varicolored gorge directly toward the dazzling column of the Lower Falls.\footnote{Murphy, Thomas D., Seven Wonderlands of the American West, L. C. Page and Co., Boston, 1925, p. 21. Although his chief interest was the American West at the time of the writing of this work, the author has included sixteen color reproductions of Thomas Moran's paintings, most of which were sketched during Moran's early western travels.}

Although an unofficial member of this expedition, Moran furnished his sketches for Dr. Hayden's use in the official report. Some sixteen of Moran's sketches were used in the report instead of the work done by the party's official photographers, partly because primitive methods of reproduction in those days made the use of photographs inadvisable but also partly, one suspects, because of the excellence of Moran's work. Since reproduction in 1872 was difficult as well as expensive, engraving was frequently resorted to. Consequently, the Moran illustrations included in the Hayden report have been done by engravers after Moran. This common practice is explained by Weitenkampf, in reference to another publication of 1872:

A noteworthy stimulus to good engraving was afforded by the publication of "Picturesque America" (Appleton: 1872-74), which stands out even by the very size of the undertaking. In those two profusely illustrated volumes, opportunity came to engravers such as John Tinkey, Morse, Harley, Filmer, Halliwell, J. A. Bogert, Langridge, Karst, N. Orr, J. H. Richardson, Anthony, Annin (whose Walls of the Grand Canyon, after Thomas Moran, is a particularly careful and fine example), P. O. Quartley, Slader, Henry Linton, Measom, Cranston, Robert Hoskin, Palmer, Alfred Harral, and W. J. Linton, the last eight Englishmen, some of whom, at least, became acclimated here. They reproduced the designs of Thomas Moran and other able draughtsmen.\footnote{Weitenkampf, Frank, op. cit., pp. 150-51.}

In addition to the works done during the geological expedition, Thomas Moran made a series of Yellowstone sketches which he completed
in the latter part of 1872 and on completion was exhibited at Coupil's Gallery in New York. These were done on commission from a Mr. William Blackmore, an Englishman. Mr. Blackmore and his wife had come over from Salisbury, England, and joined Dr. Hayden's expedition as guests and out of an interest in geology. During the trip Mrs. Blackmore had died and was buried at the foot of an unnamed mountain which later became Mt. Blackmore. Blackmore commissioned Moran to make the watercolor sketches as a remembrance of the expedition, and after their exhibition at Coupil's were sent to Mr. Blackmore in England. Speaking of this Blackmore series of sketches, Helen Comstock characterizes them as preserving a "simplicity of effect that accords with the grandeur of his subject." ¹³

Thomas Moran's contemporaries may well have devoted considerable time in speculation concerning just why the artist chose to join an exploratory expedition as arduous as the Hayden trip must have been. This 1871 trip was the first of a long series of western journeys which lasted to the very end of his life. Had he not believed in the compensation of this sort of travel it might have been his last. Harold McCracken, in a recent publication, offers a logical explanation for this when he says:

Those who stuck close to railroad tracks and civilization found it difficult to capture the true spirit of the Old West in their work. Others deliberately avoided the easy means of travel, and rode into the back country in the saddle and by stagecoach. One of these was Thomas Moran.¹⁴


Ruth Moran also sheds some light on her father's part in this difficult western travel with which he had had no previous experience. She emphasizes his rugged spirit and determination, which was belied by his appearance:

He was a frail appearing young man weighing but 110 pounds. He traveled unarmed with but two small pieces of baggage, one containing his painting materials, the other but a single change of clothes. Traveling by coach (Wells-Fargo) much of the way he was surrounded by rough, gun-toting individuals whom he greatly mystified in his unpretentious naivete.

He at last arrived at the Hayden camp which was deserted except for one individual suspicious of the guest. Report had come to Hayden that the young artist was traveling with two large Saratoga trunks. When he returned and found the artist with only his meagre luggage, he was very much relieved and impressed by the adaptability of Moran to the rigors of the explorer's life.15

Probably the person most closely connected with Thomas Moran for the duration of this particular expedition was W. H. Jackson, the official photographer for the Hayden party. It was he who traveled with Moran during the trip and, because of the similarity of their work, came to know the artist better than those other members of the party whose scientific investigations kept them occupied in other pursuits (Plate III). Jackson's son, Clarence S. Jackson, has written a rather complete account of his father's career and his association with Thomas Moran,16 but it is from the words of the elder Jackson himself that we get the most intimate picture of Moran:

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15 From random and fragmentary notes written in long hand by Ruth B. Moran and concerned with various aspects of her father's personality and career. At present they are contained in envelop files at the Free Library, East Hampton, L. I.

As the official photographer of the expedition my duties brought us much together during the trip -- the beginning of a life-long friendship and of many other outings, including the Yellowstone again, in Rocky Mountain regions. The memory of that first one, however, is the most precious and in the following pages I will relate, as well as my memory serves my purpose, the story of that memorable journey with him into the wilderness of the Northwest. I have very little material, I am sorry to say, for the details of daily travel and camp life. I was not a diarist at the time, nor was Moran, and while the main events of that period are still well remembered, the friendly gossip that goes on around the camp fire, with other familiar incidents of such an experience, have passed almost entirely out of my mind . . . .

He [Moran] was thirty-four years old, at this time, of slight and frail physique and did not seem to be of the kind to endure the strenuous life of the wilderness. But he was wiry and active in getting about and keenly enthusiastic about his participation in the work of the expedition. He had never camped out before except for a night's bivouac on the shore of Lake Superior ten years previous. This was his first experience in Rocky Mountain regions, coming out entirely unacquainted with his associates, or with the country itself and all that related to it. But he made the adventure with fine courage and quickly adapted himself to the new and unfamiliar conditions and, as it turned out later, none was more untiring on the trail, or less mindful of unaccustomed food or hard bed under a little shelter tent, than he was. At home, fastidious and careful of his diet, with a strong aversion to fats, he wrote in one of his letters about camp life, "You should see me bolt the bacon."

His personal equipment was simple, like that of everyone else, little attention being given to special outing costumes for the occasion. Flannel shirts and heavy boots, into which trousers were tucked, were the mainstay, with overcoat and blanket roll as a necessary adjunct. Moran had never ridden a horse before, and while getting accustomed to this experience, was quite abashed in using his camp pillow to protect his rather spare anatomy from the hard lines of a McClellan saddle. But, despite his lack of horsemanship, he made a picturesque appearance when mounted. The jaunty tilt of his sombrero, long yellowish beard and portfolio under his arm marked the artistic type, with something of local color imparted by a rifle hung from saddle horn.17

So went the expedition, with Moran sketching constantly the almost fantastic scenes that changed daily before his eyes as the party

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continued their path through the wilderness. He sketched nearly everything he saw, but always with the artist's eye, and did not spend too much time on those oddities of nature such as the amazingly strange displays of subterranean forces, sulphur springs, and mud geysers that would be of more interest to the scientist or the sensation-seeker. Such things interested Moran to a lesser degree, if one judges from his sketches, than the more picturesque valleys, lakes, grassy meadows, forests, and frequent views of snow-capped mountains.

As has been previously stated, Moran's works on this trip did much in creating interest in the Yellowstone area as a national park site. Jackson credits Moran's watercolors and, with an excusable lack of modesty, perhaps, his own photographs as being the most important influences placed before Congress when they were considering the merits of the area as a park site. In his article he quotes Chittenden's statement that "they--Jackson's photographs and Moran's watercolors--did a work which no other agency could do and doubtless convinced everyone who saw them that the regions where such wonders existed should be carefully preserved to the people forever."18

18 Ibid., p. 157.
Quietness of subject and restraint in painting technique seem to have been the primary requisites of American landscape painting during the first half of the nineteenth century. By the thirties these qualities had been crystalized in the work of a group of painters for whom the beauties of New York state exerted a special fascination. These men found a special charm in the Catskills and Hudson River regions and their paintings of these subjects reflect the abundance of these regions as well as their deep, rich beauty. The founders of this Hudson River school, as it came to be called, included such well-known landscape painters as Thomas Cole and Asher B. Durand. Their choice of this particular region undoubtedly lies in the natural beauty of the area as well as in the fact that its location was a convenient one. By 1830 methods of transportation and communication offered few problems in the eastern half of the nation; in fact, American frontiers were pushing westward, leaving the eastern areas with an air of stability and refinement lacking in the turbulence of the frontiers beyond the Mississippi River. One always feels more at ease with that which has become familiar to him, and the quiet grandeur of the picturesque Hudson River landscape doubtless appealed to most painters of the time because of their close acquaintance with it. There is nothing particularly spectacular nor theatrical in the works of these artists, but one is impressed with the beauties of the panoramic
views as well as with the solid craftsmanship with which they were executed.

As a natural course of events, the Hudson River and the Catskill Mountains lost their appeal to painters, and the subject matter of American landscape traveled gradually westward as those areas were opened up by the pioneers. It is not necessary to say that the methods employed to paint the quiet rusticity of the Hudson River and the pastoral Catskill valleys were unsuited to the wild and spectacular landscape that greeted the early artists in the West. Emphasis shifted not only in the matter of subject but also to methods of painting which would best capture the essence of these newly discovered and unfamiliar regions.

In the late sixties when Thomas Moran was just beginning to gain recognition as an artist, the Hudson River school was still a productive force in American landscape painting. Having been a recognized school for over three decades, however, it was already on the wane and it was not likely that Moran would have been overly impressed with it or that it could have served to inspire him to paint in a similar vein. In addition, it is unlikely that his contact with the school could have been a close one since, first of all, Moran was of a nature so independent that he never exhibited an interest in any other school or style of painting, with the exception of his experimental interest in Turner. Secondly, although he could not have escaped knowing the Hudson River artists and their work, his interest in landscape painting before 1870 was secondary to his career as an illustrator for commercial periodicals such as *Scribner's Monthly*. 
as well as for books and other publications. By the time he began to relinquish his commercial commitments around the year 1870 the Hudson River school was no longer representative of the trend, and it is safe to say that at no time in his career was Thomas Moran allied to this group.

While commercial illustration occupied the artist at first, he was certainly of a nature too sensitive to be content for long with this mode of expression. Since his magazine illustrations depended almost entirely on his observations of different types of landscape, he had begun, even before 1870, the long series of travels to various parts of the world - a procedure which he maintained to the very end of his life. Although even he may not have been aware of it at the time, it is likely that his earlier travels, particularly to Europe, were made in search of a type of landscape that would be exactly suitable as a vehicle for his own creative expression. Perhaps at first he had thought he found it in the work of Turner. At least he was sufficiently impressed to make a trip to Venice in 1867 for the purpose of seeing the actual scene that had inspired Turner and stayed to make numerous studies for his own Venetian series. Had not subsequent events changed the entire course of his career, one wonders if the Turneresque style and technique would have been sufficient to absorb Moran's interest during the remainder of his career. Certainly the popularity of the Venetian pictures at the time of their execution must at least temporarily have made him wonder if at last he had found that landscape for which he had been searching.

However satisfactory he may have found Venice as a subject,
there occurred, almost by pure chance, an opportunity that was to alter Moran's career radically and which was to lead him to a type of landscape heretofore entirely unknown to him and eventually to a crystallization of his own style of painting. This chance occurrence, of course, was the commission to travel to the western part of the United States to make illustrations for Scribner's Monthly, an opportunity which he evidently regarded as intriguing enough to accept. Ending his European work, he returned to America in 1871 and that same year set out on his first western trip with the Hayden party, as recounted in a previous chapter. He found the western scenery so magnificent that this trip became the first of a long series of western journeys for the artist. He joined two other government geological expeditions, with Major Powell in 1872 and again with Hayden in 1873. After the latter year he made similar trips but independent of the government expeditions and sometimes accompanied by members of his family. Such trips, occurring with great frequency, became a highly important part of his art for the remainder of his life.

Since most of his trips were of an individual nature, few of them are remembered at the present time as completely as the Hayden trip of 1871, when he was thirty-four years of age. Moran was seldom interested in keeping written accounts of his travels, preferring instead to use every effort in absorbing the scenes he saw and capturing them in a drawing or painting. Nevertheless, there is an exception to the usual pattern in his journey to the Teton Mountains in the year 1879, since Moran left a few fragmentary notations concerning this trip - scanty though they may be. These random notes, containing
occasional inaccuracies in dates and names, were recorded by the artist in a small notebook which was laid aside after the completion of the trip and remained undiscovered until some five or six years after his death when it was found by his daughter Ruth.¹ This notebook, as interesting as it may be, contributes little to a realization of the Teton scenery since it is concerned almost entirely with the vicissitudes of travel in the early West. On this trip Moran took his younger brother, Peter, the animal painter. Although they were accompanied by a military scouting party under the supervision of Captain Augustus Hudson Bainbridge (Company A, 11th U.S. Infantry), there was nothing really official about the trip and "...it is probable that the trip was arranged purely as an accommodation to the distinguished Moran brothers."² One of the inaccuracies referred to in connection with this trip is the fact that Moran himself was not certain of the exact location of the Teton range. This is understandable since at that time the boundaries of many of the western states were just in the process of being determined. In any case, he referred to these mountains in the titles of many of his sketches as "The Teton Range, Idaho," whereas actually all of the Teton peaks lie within the state of Wyoming. The Tetons, and Mount Moran³ in particular,

¹This little notebook, in the possession of Ruth B. Moran at the time of her death, was left to the Free Library, East Hampton, Long Island.


³Mount Moran is about 12,200 feet in height, surpassed in this respect by several other Teton peaks. But, according to Dr. Fryxell,
were singularly fascinating to the artist.

In addition to the western trips already mentioned, it is known that Moran made one in 1892 to the Devil's Tower in Wyoming. In fact, Moran himself published a brief account of this trip in the *Century Magazine.* Here again the artist was reticent to include information concerning his reaction to the scenery or its effect on his sketches, but confines his account to the experiences of the trip itself and the difficulties of travel. It is known that in 1904 and again in 1922 Mr. Moran returned to the Devil's Tower area to sketch, on each occasion being accompanied by his daughter Ruth.

Due to his frequent and widespread western travels one comes to associate the name Thomas Moran with many points of interest in the West including Colorado, Utah, the Tetons of Wyoming, the Yosemite Valley, and the Arizona desert and its Grand Canyon of the Colorado. During his lifetime, however, Moran's name was inseparably linked with the Yellowstone region because of his travels there and because of his many paintings of that subject. It finally came to the point where "his friends, amused by his obsession, dubbed him "Thomas Yellowstone Moran," cutting it eventually to an affectionate 'T.Y.'" In fact, it was a Yellowstone painting that first brought the artist to the attention of the public and established his fame as a painter of the

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while it is not the highest, it is "by far the broadest and most massive of the Tetons, measuring as it does no less than three miles in diameter at its base." *Ibid.,* p. 5.

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West. This is his famous "Grand Canyon of the Yellowstone," mentioned in the chapter on the Hayden expedition. In addition, there are numerous other Yellowstone paintings (Plates VI, VII, VIII), all of which depict the far West as it appeared to Thomas Moran.

One of the most typical is "The Canyon of the Yellowstone" (Plate VI). This is a panoramic view of the deep gorge of the canyon, including the Yellowstone Falls in the distance, a suggestion of the river as it follows its irregular course through the bottom of the canyon between sun-bathed cliffs, and isolated clumps of pine trees on the tops of the cliffs in the immediate foreground. Everything about the scene impressed the artist and he succeeds in creating an equal impression on those who observe the painting. The tops of the rugged, irregular, colorful walls of the canyon, illuminated by direct sunlight, provide a startling contrast with the shadowed lower regions and with the cliffs and pines of the foreground. Here again, as in most of the western paintings, one sees evidence of a Turnerian interest in atmosphere, used by Moran to create a particular kind of day and as an agent to unite the widely divergent elements of this great panorama. The sky is partly overcast, the sun breaking through only enough to illuminate the pinks, yellows, and violets of the canyon walls. The fine spray of the falls and the mists of the canyon rise to meet the hazy moisture of the sky and both are united by a fragment, a mere suggestion of a rainbow. As Moran intended, one is keenly aware not only of the unusual beauty of the scene but also of the moisture-filled air as it is penetrated by shafts of sunlight.

Not always did Moran choose to include so much of the Yellowstone
Canyon in his paintings of that subject. Occasionally, as in "The Wonderland of the Yellowstone" (Plate VII), we find a more limited subject. Here there is a limited view of the river and the pines in the foreground and a single mist-shrouded peak silhouetted against the startling orange of the setting sun. "In the Wonderland of the Yellowstone, among its towering mountains, age-old forests, rushing cataracts, and the splendors of the canyon walls, the young artist found himself. From that time he was the Painter of the Golden West."  

Considering the great number of canyon paintings by this artist, it is almost incredible that in spite of the similarity of the subject the pictures are all highly individual. This can be accounted for by the versatility and creative genius of Thomas Moran and his desire to depict this scene under all conditions, at different times of the day, and in all its varying moods. In "Grand Canyon, Arizona" (Plate IX), for example, late evening has settled over the area. The very last rays of a setting sun seep through the canyon peaks, coloring them in spots with rich, warm, subdued tones but leaving other areas hidden in dark browns, reds, and violets to forecast the approach of night. At other times the canyon is seen through the crisp, dry air of early morning (Plate X) and a bright sun darts about to pick out the distant canyon peaks and the peeling bark of the sturdy pines in the foreground. Snow-capped mountains, sandy wastelands, rushing torrents, and quiet, deep pools all play their parts in creating these

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6 From a descriptive paragraph, published by the Osborne Company, Clifton, N.J., which accompanied this color print when it was used as a calendar illustration.
Thomas Moran's oil paintings are studio pictures never painted on the spot. This can be explained partly, perhaps, by the fact that in order to reach the most remote and characteristic scenes a rigorous method of travel was necessary. Going by mule train or hiking over the precipitous ledges of the canyons would naturally not permit the carrying of elaborate equipment necessary for large finished paintings. Nor would there have been time to remain in one place long enough to complete a painting in the finished and meticulous manner on which Moran insisted. Instead, he carried with him only the materials necessary to record, by means of drawings, sketches, and diagrams, those ideas which he would later carry to completion in the conveniences of his studio. In many cases, the preliminary experiments are more revealing of an artist than the finished products, but this does not particularly apply to the work of Moran. His paintings seem to retain the freshness and spontaneity of his preparatory sketches and lose little in the transference from one medium to another.

In a study of Moran, however, a consideration of his many drawings and sketches is highly important. His innumerable western sketches, for example, show many things. First of all, they show us Moran's great interest in every aspect of the West - from the grander mountains, canyons, and clouds to the more insignificant shrubs, rocks, and tree trunks and branches. Probably one of the most complete collections of Moran's western drawings is that given in 1917 to the Cooper Union Museum of New York by the artist himself. This collection of over a hundred drawings in various stages of completion serves varied and limitless canyon scenes.
as a record of the artist's travels through Wyoming, Colorado, Utah, Yosemite, Yellowstone, and other western areas. Here one finds quick watercolor drawings (Plates XVII, XVIII, XIX, and XX) as well as the more complete ones. As a further proof that they are merely recorded impressions to be used later in finished paintings, one sees on nearly all of them quick notations written in pencil and concerning the colors, atmosphere, or any number of identifying characteristics. An example of this is the wash drawing, "Green River from the Ferry" (Plate XXIII). Here various mediums such as pencil, watercolor, and Chinese white have been combined on gray paper to record the impression of the moment. Across a rock cliff to the right is the color notation "salmon" and to the extreme left a spot marked "green grass." With his usual thoroughness the artist wrote the caption at the top, and at the lower left further instructions tell us that it was a "hazy morning" and that the horizon was "red, yellow, gray." In connection with this particular drawing it is interesting to note that Moran himself was not certain of the exact date when he did it. In the upper right hand corner, following the caption he has written in pencil "Sept. 11th, 79," but when the drawing was presented to the Cooper Union Museum in 1917 he initialed it at the lower left in ink and added the date 1880.

An occasional drawing in the Cooper Union Collection is nothing more than a diagrammatic sketch, done in the barest possible pencil outline and covered with notes. Sometimes one sees a sketch (done evidently in haste and while traveling) on the reverse side of a page already containing a drawing. The artist usually used gray paper for
the drawings of his western trips, but in the case of an emergency he used whatever was available, including lined notebook sheets, railroad stationery, and even a light brown wrapping paper. Nor was there always uniformity in size. Some few sketches are not much larger than postage stamps, while others exceed eighteen inches in height or width.

Judging by the number of western works, as well as by their creative conception, there is little doubt that this was the subject that pleased Moran the most. This was the scene to which he reacted most intensely and which he developed to the point of making it his master work. It is somewhat unfortunate that his western works were so highly prized as commercial calendar illustrations about the turn of the century. This, of course, is understandable when one remembers that at this time America was just becoming acquainted with this colorful region, and these brightly-hued western vistas served a decorative purpose as well as a reminder that America, too, had a colorfully exotic area that would attract visitors from all parts of the world.
CHAPTER VII

LONG ISLAND AND MEXICAN LANDSCAPES

Having considered both Thomas Moran's series of western works and his Turner-inspired series of Venetian scenes, there still remain a great number of landscapes which can be classified into groups according to the locations of the subjects; these in themselves can be regarded as minor series. These, as the great western and Venetian works, were done at times when the artist was traveling or was living more or less temporarily in various localities represented in the paintings. For this reason they may be considered a part of the record of the artist's constant travel and intense fascination for new places. Sometimes there is only a single picture or two to represent a certain locality; this is particularly true of cities or places where Moran would stop only briefly, perhaps never to return. Such isolated subjects would include the paintings listed in the catalogue under American and European scenes: Niagara Falls, New York City (Plate XXIV), Florida, Lake Superior, Boston, Philadelphia, and a scene or two of the Susquehanna River. In the case of Europe, there is: England, Wales, Scotland, Holland, and Italy. There are other groups of paintings, however, in which the works are numerous enough to enable us to regard them as series of great importance in the study of the career of Thomas Moran. These would include the Long Island and Mexican groups, as well as the seascapes, and it is these that will be of particular concern in this chapter.
Having established a studio at East Hampton, Long Island, in 1884 (Print XXV) from which at first he commuted to his New York studio, Moran had opportunity to familiarize himself thoroughly with the eastern Long Island scenery. One of his reasons for choosing East Hampton was its proximity to New York City, but it is probable that the type of landscape in that area was the primary reason for his choice. Moran’s tastes, as his technique of painting, varied greatly, never permitting him to settle into any set pattern. It is possible that the country around East Hampton appealed to him just because it offered such a complete contrast to the dramatic extravagances of the Far West. Unlike the West, it had a quiet simplicity and an unpretentious pastoral quality which must have offered a challenge to him. To paint a forceful and effective landscape in the West where extremes and contrasts abound was one thing, but achieving the same forcefulness from the quiet rusticity of Long Island was a goal which must have intrigued Moran to the utmost. Traveling from one extreme to the other, as he did throughout most of his life, must have been something like sharing at one time the friendship of a fiery, tempestuous, and theatrical personality on one hand and a calm, placid, down-to-earth one on the other.

The Long Island landscapes attained a great popularity as commercial illustrations, although perhaps secondary to that of the western scenes. Nevertheless, their restful pastoral beauty was greatly prized by both collectors and publishers alike. Very often these landscapes were given titles quite in conformity with the mood of the picture itself. "The Earth and the Fulness Thereof" (Plate
XXXVI) was one of the most popular of these. A commentary typical of the period is the following:

This lovely picture is a Psalm of life. It reflects all the beauty Moran loved. There has been a summer shower. Now the clouds are scudding before a fresh wind; the sun sparkles on wet grass and brimming stream; the air is opalescent. The wet earth exhales a pungent fragrance. The cows drink the cool water, crop the fresh-washed grass. The women enjoy the peace of the quiet afternoon as they wait for the milking hour. In the distance the little stream finds its way between sand-dunes to a larger water, where a sail on the horizon reminds us of a world of men beyond woodland and quiet valley.

The painter, like the scientist, is privileged to 'think God's thoughts after Him'—in humility, like the humility of the great kind, whose poem provides the title—

'The earth is the Lord's
And the fulness thereof,
The world, and they that dwell therein.'

This painting, as many of Moran's Long Island landscapes, employs a number of devices characteristic of the Dutch painter Jacob van Ruysdael of the seventeenth century. There is, of course, the unpretentious pastoral subject, usually with the low horizon line providing a great expanse of sky. The most striking similarity, however, is the artist's use of sunlight and shadow to create exaggerated passages of light and dark alternating from the foreground into the distance for the purpose of indicating depth. This method is not so obvious in the western landscapes where the topography itself changes so suddenly within short distances, nor in the Venetian paintings where sky, land, and water are fused by the atmosphere. In the case of the Long Island scenes, however, the unlimited views of comparatively uneventful landscapes provide a perfect opportunity for this device.

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1 From a brochure published by the Osborne Company, Clifton, New Jersey, which accompanied the color print when it was used as a calendar illustration.
Sometimes one is amazed by the artistic effects Moran achieved in landscape so devoid of unusual or startling natural elements. This is especially noticeable in the Long Island series as a whole and particularly in "Three-Mile Harbor, Long Island" (Plate XXVII). Here the effect is achieved merely by the great sweeping sky, the large expanse of water, and what in real life would appear to be a rather monotonous and uninteresting sandy beach. With these ordinary elements, relieved only by a small clump of trees, three tiny figures, and a distant ship or two, the artist achieves a scene of incomparable charm and beauty. This is just as true in "Autumn, Montauk Point" (Plate XXVIII), where almost nothing happens and in which there is hardly a sign of life. Here, too, by means of a meticulous workmanship and a deft handling of the formal aspects of beauty, Moran succeeds in infusing the scene with life, giving it a quality of excitement almost comparable to the canyon scenes.

The effect of vitality in all of Moran's landscapes, and especially those of the Long Island series, can best be explained by his expert handling of his medium, as well as by his infinite knowledge of nature. Gustave Buek emphasizes this point in his article on Moran:

Moran's knowledge of the forms of clouds and rocks and trees, of moving water and all their changing moods in sun and shade, is the wonder of his fellow craftsmen; and the technique of his work is the admiration of even those who differ widely with him in ideas of art. I have heard artists ranking among our foremost men claim that he had a secret method of applying the pigments to his canvas. On telling Moran of this, he simply smiled that quiet smile that those who know him know so well, and said: "My studio door is always open to those who wish to see me paint."2

The fact that Moran chose East Hampton for the location of his studio and that he produced such lyrical paintings of the area offers proof that he was charmed by Long Island itself, but it is unlikely that Mexico held the same sort of fascination for him. An examination of his Mexican scenes reveals that to him Mexico exemplified the exotic, providing an opportunity to paint scenes that were unusual and foreign. Moreover, his Mexican paintings were evidently done at a time when he was much under the influence of others, and the originality of most of his works is shown to a slightly lesser degree here. There is no doubt that his trips to Mexico in 1879 and 1883 were important to his career and helped in the formulation of his style, but what he saw in Mexico reminded him of what he had seen in 1862 when he went to England to study Turner as well as what he saw during his trip to Venice in 1866. His "Harbor at Vera Cruz" (Plate XXIX) could almost be a Venetian scene. Here are the same domed and towered buildings lining the shore and reflecting in the water of the harbor; the water is dotted with the same little fishing boats, the sky with seagulls that might have come right out of the scenes of Venice. Too, he must have been struck with the resemblance of the light, color, and atmosphere of Mexico to that of Venice. In the "Harbor at Vera Cruz" all the landscape elements are enveloped in the suffused light and moisture of the atmosphere, and everything melts into an unreal world of fantasy.

One of the few exceptions in this Mexican series is the painting titled "Sunset Over an Aztec Castle" (Plate XXX), done in 1896, some years after his visits to Mexico. Even it has a Turneresque
feeling of light and atmosphere and in the loneliness and desolation of the subject. The ruined and deserted castle stands on the edge of a promontory, high above the unending stretches of a wild and rocky plain. It is silhouetted against a stormy evening sky whose clouds break just enough to permit the penetration of an eerie glow from the setting sun. A lonely bird circles in the sky. It is powerful in its stark realism, but it is also reminiscent of a number of Turner landscapes depicting the desolate moors of England.

In 1866, thirteen years before his first Mexican trip, Moran had gone to Europe and while in France had met the French landscape painter Camille Corot. Corot's work had made a great impression on Moran, so much so that we see evidence of it later, particularly in the Mexican scenes. He employs several of Corot's characteristics in his inland scenes of Mexico. In "Fiesta, Cuernavaca, Mexico" (Plate XXXI) one sees the low horizon line separating a grassy meadow from a limitless sky. Silhouetted against the sky are two huge trees separated in the center of the picture by an area of sky. The trees are Corot's trees; they are decorative and lacy. Little spots of sky dot the masses of foliage, giving the trees a sparkling effect that is more characteristic of the French landscape painter than of Moran. To relieve the monotony of so much green landscape, a little group of tiny figures dance on the meadow. The Corot influence must be the result of a similarity between France's Barbizon Forest and the wooded areas Moran saw in Mexico. The strength of this influence is attested by the fact that this Cuernavaca scene was done as late as 1913.

The Moran seascapes, as a series, is a minor one compared with
the others. Moran was interested in water of different kinds and especially in its combination with mist, light, reflections, and various atmospheric effects. He depicted the rushing torrents or falls of the West (Plate XXXII), the pools of Long Island (Plate XXXII), the falls of Niagara, and the canals of Venice. In addition he made several paintings of the sea inspired by what he had seen during his ocean crossings. Here again it was the atmospheric mood that had enchanted him. Usually it was the half light of dawn or even moonlight that impressed him the most. More often than not one sees a choppy sea with high waves that look almost like the masses of mountain peaks. The moon or the light of dawn falls upon the glittering surface of the water, picking out the waves and blending them with the mist and clouds to produce an effect that is at once ethereal and realistic.

Moran was so keenly aware of every facet of nature that he could even blend something as elusive and intangible as water, moonlight, and mist to his will. One wonders, however, if these seascapes were not done as a tour-de-force because they offered a challenge to him but without holding his complete interest as a subject for a painting.

In the matter of the series of paintings discussed above, it has been brought out that the works of European artists such as Ruysdael, Corot, and Turner exerted a definite influence on these landscapes of Moran. This influence, as has been pointed out, is

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3According to Gustave Buek (The Mentor, Vol. 12, No. 7, August, 1921, p. 32) Moran was once offered $15,000 for "Shoshone Falls of Snake River, Idaho," if he would change the character of the sky. This he refused to do, feeling that he would lose the original locality of the scene; consequently, he lost the sale.
recognizable—but not to a degree where it becomes distracting. Rather, one can see Corot and the others only through the creative eyes of Thomas Moran. His paintings represent neither copies of the European masters nor literal transcripts of nature; they are instead creative idealizations that could have little identity with the work of others.
CHAPTER VIII

THOMAS MORAN AS A NINETEENTH CENTURY ETCHER

One thinks of Thomas Moran first as a painter and, indeed, there must be many who regard him solely as such. His handling of the oil medium in his presentations of landscape has established him as one of America's foremost painters and one whose reputation does not suffer in comparison with the great landscape painters of Europe. Versatility is one of the most noticeable qualities of Moran and it is evident in all aspects of his career. Just as he did not limit his landscapes to any single type, he did not confine himself entirely to a particular medium. Judged on output alone, his great number of oil paintings gives evidence of his principal interest in that medium. His versatile talent, however, led him into other fields and we see that his accomplishments in the field of the graphic arts establish him as more than a mere experimenter in this field.

Etching, engraving, lithography, and the woodcut were all familiar to the artist; but, again, if one is to judge on output alone, the art of etching fascinated him somewhat more than the other graphic arts. In fact, on the basis of his etchings alone, Moran's position in the world of art would probably remain secure. This art, however, seems to represent a phase of his career—a period when he was closely associated with illustrations and their reproduction and with the more commercial aspects of art. This is not to say that there is even the slightest tinge of the commercial about any of his work, but having
done a great number of illustrations for eventual commercial reproduc-
duction it reasonably follows that his interests would be directed to
an art which involves detail and reproduction. In addition, his
etchings, all produced before the turn of the century, represent a
period when this art enjoyed a popularity which in subsequent years
has not been maintained.

Moran began in his late teens to experiment with the art of
etching, producing his first finished plate in 1856 when he was only
nineteen years of age. This was a small plate (3 1/4" x 3 3/4")
etched after a woodcut by a little-known artist named Birket Foster
and titled simply "Landscape." Continuing this art in conjunction with
other mediums, he produced plates more or less irregularly to the year
1888 when he seems to have relinquished it entirely in favor of paint-
ing in oil and watercolor. Even before the year 1888 there are periods
of considerable length when Moran, busy with illustration, travel, and
painting, was to neglect etching almost entirely. If one examines the
Klackner catalogue of 1889, which contains a complete list of the
artist's etchings, one is struck by the fact that no etchings appeared
between the years 1860 and 1878.

Always curious concerning the possibilities of a medium, Thomas
Moran did not confine his technique merely to that of simple etching.
He tried a number of methods of obtaining effects and eventually
learned to combine the various techniques to achieve his aims. It was
the final effect of the etching that Thomas Moran sought. To achieve
his ends he not only learned the usual graphic arts such as engraving,
lithography, woodcutting, and mezzotint but experimented with a process
of etching on glass. This glass etching was not entirely original with Moran since two French artists, Corot and Daubigny, worked with a similar medium. Moran's particular version of this art (sometimes called the "glass cliché" or "photographic contact printing") was a relatively simple process. Covering a plate of glass with a thin film of collodion, he traced the design on it with a sharply-pointed stick. On placing the glass over a dark background, a very delicate etching became apparent and a photograph, for the purpose of preservation, completed the process. Only three examples of this experiment (as listed in Klackner's catalogue) remain in existence; one is called "The Last Arrow", the other two being untitled landscapes. In addition to this experiment he resorted to such aids as extra deep biting, the roulette, and even sandpaper to get the desired effects.

The exact source of Moran's interest in the art of etching is difficult to determine. Perhaps he discovered it independently as a result of his desire for detail and careful craftsmanship. It is known that he had at least some instruction in the art, since Frank Weitenkampf states that "as early as 1860 or '61, John Sartain illustrated the process of etching, by practical demonstration, for Thomas Moran and S. J. Ferris."¹ Whatever his source of interest, Moran represents a particularly enticing period in American etching. Compared with the total number of works in all mediums, his etchings are not numerous and now somewhat difficult to find.

One would be hard pressed to explain why Moran abandoned this

¹Weitenkampf, Frank, op. cit., p. 8.
medium in 1860 or why he resumed it again in 1878. The reason for his renewed interest at the later date may be due to a resurgence in the art's popularity or to the fact that during the preceding year the New York Etching Club was formed, with Moran one of the early members. Weitenkampf emphasizes the efforts of particular organizations who worked towards a renewed interest in etching in the late nineteenth century:

S. R. Koehler, editor of the short-lived and richly equipped magazine called *The American Art Review*, urged along the effort by publishing etchings by American artists with each of the monthly issues, and in 1881 an exhibition of American etchings was organized by him in Boston. Prints sent that year to the English Society of Painter-Etchers won international praise, and four years later, at an exhibition held in New York, fifty-three American etchers filled two galleries with their work.²

With characteristic independence, Thomas Moran seemed to prefer to work out his problems and to develop his style of etching in his own way. Certainly there were numerous other American etchers at the time with whose works he must have been familiar. There was Whistler, for example, who at this time had already become a controversial figure. Other etchers included Stephen Parrish, producer of delicately-handled landscapes; Henry Farrer, who produced careful etchings of the famous landmarks in and around New York City; and, of course, Mary Nimmo Moran, the artist's wife, who was one of America's foremost etchers.

It is probable that Mrs. Moran owed her success to the fact that she was her husband's pupil and also to the fact that Moran had

developed considerable skill in the art before his wife made her first plate in 1879. Unlike her husband, who often worked from his own drawings or paintings, Mrs. Moran always worked directly from nature onto the copper. The New York Etching Club accepted her first four plates for exhibition, and she was elected a member of that club in 1881. In this same year she became the first woman ever to be elected to the Royal Society of Painter-Etchers of London. One of her outstanding triumphs occurred in 1887 when she participated in an exhibit of works by women artists held at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts. Here she was ranked as the most skillful of the twenty-eight women etchers. In addition, in 1893 she was awarded a medal at the Columbian Exposition in Chicago. She continued the art of etching with great success up to the time of her death at East Hampton, Long Island, on September 25, 1899.

As is to be expected, there has been considerable comparison of the etchings of Thomas Moran and those of his wife. Which exhibited the better craftsmanship in this art is a difficult question to settle. It must be remembered, however, that, with few exceptions, etching was the only art practiced by Mary Nimmo Moran. On the other hand, it can be considered almost a minor art in the case of her husband. One of the most succinct and illuminating comparisons of the etching of Thomas and Mary Moran is offered in an article printed in the New York Times shortly after Moran's death in 1926:

Her work was considered more "virile" than his, and this was offered as a compliment. Certainly it has abruptness and spontaneity lacking in most of the work done by Thomas Moran, and the method of handling the point is eager and facile. It also has the merit of having in all instances been done directly
from nature. On the other hand it shows signs of depending rather too heavily upon nature and spontaneity, letting the material tumble out with too little organization, so that life is stifled by the landslide of rich substance. In the best plates this is not apparent. In the plates etched by Moran himself it never appeared.\(^3\)

Probably one of the most pleasing aspects about the etchings of Thomas Moran is the obvious evidence of a mastery of the etching technique. Once acquired, he used this technique to produce compositions of strength and clarity which do not rely on cleverness nor sophistication of technique for their effect. Again his versatility is singularly arresting. He saw the grandly picturesque in his Venetian etchings and in his sombre and dramatic lithograph "Solitude." In his etchings of the eastern United States, however, he quietly emphasizes the unobtrusive beauties of such scenes as the swampy stretches of New Jersey and the unassuming beauty of pastoral Long Island.

As to the artist's technique itself, he permitted himself almost any method as long as it achieved the effect he desired. In his etching "Harlech Castle" and the well-known lithograph "Solitude" dark, rich tones express a sombre air somewhat reminiscent of many of Turner's sketches in the Liber Studiorum. In other instances the opposite effect was used; a blond lightness would be obtained through the use of fine, delicate lines widely spaced. Always there is an economy of line without exaggerations or extravagances.

No particular subject matter seemed to be a favorite. One is likely to see such grandiose panoramas as a western canyon or a

\(^3\)Ibid., p. 15.
section of Venice, but just as common are the more intimate scenes of the grassy meadows of New Jersey or the orchards and ponds of Long Island. In fact, Moran had an undisguised enthusiasm for all aspects of nature. "Everything seemed to attract him: the swirl of clouds, towering cliffs, trees, the 'much resounding sea,' the rock-bound coast, sand dunes, water meadows...."¹ Even in etching, as in painting, Moran endeavored to capture an atmospheric mood. Form and color were as important to him in an etching as in painting. He tried to broaden and dissolve detail in the fusing glow of outdoor light. One of his most admired plates is that of "The Castle of San Juan d'Ulloa, Vera Cruz, Mexico" (1884) (Plate IV), done some twenty years after his study of the Turner works in England:

It holds incorruptibly the memory that must have swept back over his mind of radiant canvases. He filled the sky above the castle with light suffused clouds, he dipped the powerful walls in a warm and gentle beauty, he led the minor craft of the harbor, over a gleaming sea to the clustered sailboats at the shore line.

This was one of the plates sent to England for exhibition by the English Society of Painter-Etchers and the one which John Ruskin described as the best plate to come out of America.

In the preface to the Klackner catalogue of Moran's etchings, Mr. Alfred Trumble points out the great knowledge, the keen awareness, and the ease and assurance evident in every work by Moran:

...His is an eye that notes everything; a spirit to which difficulties are but a challenge, and the impossible a

¹"Moran Memorial Devoted to his Prints," New York Sun, January 30, 1937.

superstition to be defied; a resolution that admits of no opposition or defeat, and, above all, a hand schooled to the best lessons of art, tender as a woman's, sensitive as a poet's, and in its energy and will firm as a soldier's, clasping the brush or the pencil, instead of a sword.

CHAPTER IX

MORAN IN RELATION TO THE ART OF HIS TIME

By the nineteenth century landscape had been established in America as an independent art, having evolved from a European development of at least three centuries. Landscape was a comparatively late element in western art but it had become popular in Europe by the late sixteenth century through the accomplishments of such painters as the Brueghels in Flanders and Giorgione in Italy. The works of Ruysdael and Hobbema in the following century established landscape, in the strict sense of the word, as a completely independent form of art.

In America, before the nineteenth century, other forms of art had progressed. The portrait was functionally the first kind of painting to appear because it was a means of recording likeness and the individual had taken on great importance as a result of personal and often heroic accomplishments in the new country. But by the early 1800's civilization had advanced to the point where Americans could begin to enjoy a more subjective attitude toward landscape.

Thomas Moran's career spanned the latter half of the nineteenth century and, as we have seen, was rooted in the European tradition and influenced by contemporary developments of American landscape painting. His work is interesting in a study of American painting because he was intensely attracted by the native scene and, with the exception of his Venetian series, he usually limited his subject to America. Even though he traveled extensively in Europe few foreign subjects are
represented in the catalogue of his works. He was aware of the possibilities of native scenery and this is one of the few subjects on which he expressed himself verbally:

It has often occurred to me as a curious and anomalous fact, that American artists are prone to seek the subjects for their art in foreign lands, to the almost entire exclusion of their own.

This disposition is, perhaps, attributable to a prevailing idea that to reach and see the pictorial wealth of the far southwest, involves much time, hardship, expense, and above all, dangers that do not really exist; for it is easier in every way to visit this land of color, sunshine, and magnificent scenery than to go to Europe, and much more comfortable traveling.

Another reason alleged by many artists why our own great country has been neglected is, that the grand in nature is not paintable; that is, not suitable to pictorial representation.

This idea is, I think, due to the influence of foreign teaching, especially of the French School, where most of our American art students receive their training.

This school of painting, in landscape, has never aimed at anything beyond what might be called the pastoral; that is, a quiet, poplar-lined riverside, or a bit of swampy ground reflecting a few trees under the gray and colorless skies of their country.

This pastoral landscape seems to have satisfied the ambition of their best painters; and perhaps it could not be otherwise, as men will paint best that which they know best and are most in sympathy with.

Although he had a keen interest in the scenery of various parts of America, the West offered him the most inspiration for painting. He never tired of it throughout his long career and his enthusiasm was so great that he tried to interest others:

I have been led to these reflections through my familiarity with the scenery of our own unrivaled country from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean. There is no phase of landscape in which we are not richer, more varied and interesting than any country in the world.

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Of all places on earth the great canyon of Arizona is the most inspiring in its pictorial possibilities. My chief desire is to call the attention of American landscape painters to the unlimited field for the exercise of their talents to be found in this enchanting country flooded with color and picturesqueness, offering everything to inspire the artist, and stimulate him to the production of works of lasting interest and value.²

Moran was not the first American painter to choose the West. In fact, he was the third of the three great western painters of his day. Albert Bierstadt (1830-1902) visited the Rocky Mountain region as early as 1857, and Thomas Hill (1829-1908) was painting in California in the late 1860's. Moran's first western trip was not until 1871 when he accompanied Dr. Hayden on the geological expedition discussed in an earlier chapter. There were painters of the West even earlier. In 1832 George Catlin had traveled West principally to paint the Indians but he occasionally produced a landscape and, of course, his Indian scenes were in the western setting. His work is essentially garish in color but quite dramatic in concept. At about the same time Karl Bodner went even farther west to paint scenes of the Yellowstone River and the Rocky Mountains, the same area that Moran was to choose almost three decades later. In 1842 John Mix Stanley had gone west, more as a military draughtsman, although he produced a number of drawings and sketches of the western landscape. George Harvey also antedated Moran and, like Moran, he was an Englishman. He had come to America to do a number of frontier landscapes with an emphasis on the atmospheric qualities. But if Moran was not the first artist to visit the West, at least he did

²Moran, Thomas, op. cit., p. 87.
much to create a general interest in the area.

Whatever location he chose as his subject Moran tried to present the scene entirely from his own viewpoint. We have seen previously that he was a staunch individualist who consciously refrained from actively associating himself with any existing schools of art in nineteenth century America. This is a point in which he took great pride and which undoubtedly is the basis on which his daughter Ruth and others insisted on classifying him as an independent. An attempt to justify this classification has been made previously in Chapter III.

Although only three decades have passed since Moran's death, the passage of time has lent its customary perspective, enabling us to compare, to qualify, and to evolve a more critical approach to the artist's work. It becomes increasingly evident that Thomas Moran was more a product of his time than either he or previous critics would have us believe. The evidence is indisputable that the artist received considerable inspiration from painters of the past as well as from his contemporaries. We have seen that Moran was greatly indebted to the English artist Turner, that at first he followed Turner in both technique and subject matter, and that later he carried Turner's extreme color theories to an almost frenzied crescendo. This Turner influence was perhaps the result of a conscious striving on Moran's part to learn how to paint, since he had so little formal training. And there can be little doubt that he chose Turner as his guide because he was drawn to the English master through his use of color which seemed to Moran original and effective. Even Moran himself
probably did not regard his Venetian series as a contribution to creative American landscape painting.

If Moran's initial approach to Turner is explicable, even laudable, he can be criticized for the misuse of this accomplishment once it was learned. One can see by the catalogue accompanying this work that the artist's Turneresque Venetian scenes are numerous, and in this respect one might criticize his willingness to cater to a public who found such works highly fascinating. Nevertheless, even though the Venetian works begin to seem like an endless series of canals, gondolas, and domes, in actuality they are few compared to the great number of works produced by Moran during his long career.

We have seen in Chapter IV that the principal element of Turner's work to inspire Moran was color. This early study of Turner's color theories through his works provided Moran with a color basis which was to influence his career to the end. In fact, color seems to be that element of Moran's work which is subjected to the greatest amount of criticism and comment. Many of these criticisms, justifiable and otherwise, were made at a time when the modern color theories of such painters as Matisse were being widely discussed and revered by the avant garde. This put Moran in an unfavorable light due to the radical changes in color trends from the nineteenth to the twentieth century. An example of a less complimentary judgment is Eugen Neuhaus' statement that "but for...a certain saccharinity of color, Thomas Moran would have made one of our greatest artists."

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4 Neuhaus, Eugen, op. cit., p. 85.
There have been others, such as Frederick W. Morton, who have adopted a viewpoint which is exactly the opposite:

As a colorist Moran is a master. None of his canvases betrays a weakness in this regard. He uses strong pigments, but blends them with some consummate skill that what in a less skillful painter might approach dangerously near the garish is in him a rich harmony of color.⁵

With such opposite criticisms in mind one might consider as an example one of the artist's more "colorful" compositions, "The Lair of the Mountain Lion" (Plate XLI). It becomes evident at once that he was highly aware of not only nature's extravagant use of color but of man's reaction to it as well. Moran was truly startled and thrilled at the combinations of colors brought together by nature in the western canyons. The soft magentas, violets, and blue-greens of the distant peaks change suddenly to warm and intense hues in the middle plane, only to subdue themselves and soften into the rich, quiet tones of the shadowed foreground. In the opinion of the writer this painting, typical of many of his western scenes, is far from illustrative of an irresponsible use of color. Rather, it is the personal employment of color resulting from the acute perception of a painter highly aware of the romantic beauty of the particular scene. The individual colors here—rose, amethyst, blue—provide the setting. It is the early morning of a clear day. Tall rock walls rise into the clear air, casting shadows across other walls but never quite succeeding in entirely blocking the rays of the rising sun. William Turner himself might well have presented this scene in a similar manner—an

⁵Morton, Frederick W., "Thomas Moran, Painter-Etcher," Brush and Pencil, October, 1900, p. 11.
interpretation of nature as a color phenomenon, inviting a subjective reaction of an idealistic or emotional order.

One sees a great difference in the use of color if one compares this painting with a western scene by Albert Bierstadt. In Bierstadt's *Mount Corcoran* it is immediately apparent that the natural colors of the scene were the element that made the least impression on the artist. The whole work is conceived in a low color key so that mountains, clouds, and distant hills and trees all seem to be a fusion of variations of neutral grays over an area that is not too unlike the backdrop of a stage setting. Silhouetted against this background are landscape elements of a nearer plane that offer contrasts of light and dark but little in the way of color variation to relieve the monotony of the analogous browns, rusts, and olive greens. All of Bierstadt's colors appear to be highly mixed before they are applied to the canvas, resulting in large areas of neutrals that express lack of color variety. In contrast, in *The Lair of the Mountain Lion* Moran shows a startling use of a variety of pure colors. His mountains are masses of pure colors (cool to represent distance, warm to indicate nearness) which, except for a lack of broken brush work, remind one of the pure colors of the Impressionists. In the distant mountains he places intense violets, magentas, and blues side by side with rose and orange. This in itself seems to contradict his expressed opinion that Impressionism was only a whim. Unlike Bierstadt who covered large areas with a single color, Moran constantly fused small areas of color. Comparing a single stone in the lower foreground of each painting we see that Bierstadt's is of only two values—a light neutral and a contrasting
dark gray. Moran, on the other hand, painted a rock with a subtle fusion of warm and cool tones that express the warmth of the sun or the coolness of shadows.

The library of The Ohio State University's Orton Hall provides an excellent opportunity for a comparison of color as used by these two painters since a representative work by each hangs on opposite walls. Moran's is "The Petrified Forest" (Plate V) and the Bierstadt painting is "The Geyser." Both paintings are of interest from the geological aspect of their subjects, but they are also interesting from the standpoint of aesthetics. One notices first the appearance of freshness in the Moran work, as if the paint were only recently applied. Actually, it was done in 1904. The forest is represented by only a few petrified logs in the foreground, yet with this limited subject of logs, desert, and distant hills Moran has achieved a subtle harmony of soft pastel tones completely lacking in a few of his more stridently harmonized canyon scenes of a few years earlier. One is impressed by the color gradation beginning with the soft blue of the sky, the warm tones of the distant hills and desert, and ending with the rich shaded blues, violets, and neutrals in the foreground. On the other hand, Bierstadt's composition appears to have been conceived with a great feeling for the grandeur of the topography but executed with the minimum attention to color, resulting in tones that reasonably approximate those in nature but fail to reflect imagination. The basic colors are amber, olive green, and various others approaching neutrals. The effect is one of drabness. The surface is smooth and although neither painter uses paint of much thickness there is evidence of brushwork
in Moran's picture. Since both are well composed and meticulously painted, the comparison rests largely in the matter of color.

The preoccupation with color, a distinguishing feature in all of Moran's work, is a manifestation of the nineteenth century romanticism of French and English landscape painting. Moran's color is an expression of this type of romanticism alone and does not reflect German romanticism of the Düsseldorf school as the work of Bierstadt and others did.

In the discussion of Moran's Mexican paintings it has been shown that they were done at a time when he was greatly inspired by the French painter Corot. But an examination of other Moran works, principally his Long Island scenes, will reveal his debt to other members of the French Barbizon school. His choice of the tall, dramatic and isolated group of oak trees in his "Autumn, Montauk Point" (Plate XXVIII) suggests something of Théodore Rousseau's trees in paintings like "The Prairie" or "The Charcoal Burner's Hut." One can imagine from comparing the works of these two artists that the element which they shared and which accounts for their similarity was a profound love of nature. Moran's Oak trees make one feel that he, like Rousseau, felt such a passionate love for nature that he regarded each tree as an individual and wanted to present it in a setting that would reflect it in all its glory. The trees of these two artists are represented in great detail, Moran's perhaps a little less than Rousseau's, and they have the same qualities of individuality. It is true, nevertheless, that these men could look at nature from strikingly different attitudes. Rousseau's paintings often reveal that the
savage and bizarre aspects of nature interested him, while Moran regarded nature through a gentle and more lyrical personality. This is not to say that Rousseau did not have a gentleness of personality, too; when he reveals it, as he does in "Bosquet d'Arbes," he is indeed very close to Moran.

Moran's kinship to other Barbizon painters is also pronounced. His "Three-Mile Harbor" (Plate XXVII) has much in common with a painting such as "The Pool" by Charles-François Daubigny. The use of the low horizon line, the small clump of trees silhouetted against a wide expanse of sky, and the water and land in the foreground used by both painters is very similar. Both seem to represent a nature that gives a sense of well-being. One sees that there are also differences between the two. Daubigny's "The Pool" is an open composition suggesting a fragment of a scene viewed in passing. His undulating horizontal lines run out to the borders and suggest that there is more landscape outside of the borders of the picture. Moran has the same placid horizontal lines in "Three-Mile Harbor" but his composition is more contained and less fragmentary because he has darkened the tones of the areas near the borders and conveyed his lines in the direction of the center in order to maintain a point of interest.

Just how much Moran consciously borrowed from another Barbizon painter, Narcisse Diaz de la Peña, is difficult to say, but there is enough similarity in their work to warrant a comparison. What we see of Diaz in the paintings of Moran may again go back to Rousseau since Diaz followed Rousseau's style so closely. Unlike Rousseau, Diaz was possessed of a remarkable facility to compose in a pictorial manner
and with only a few simple elements of nature he could develop a composition that is magnificent in its pictorial qualities but at the same time serious in intent. Such a picture is his "Landscape Under Sunshine," principally a horizontal composition with the simple landscape elements of both sides united by the contrasting light clouds and the light reflections of the pool in the foreground. In Moran's "Down From the Great Divide" (Plate XLIII) there are also two elements on either side united by central light areas. But Moran makes the lines of the topography converge toward the geographical center of the picture, making the center of interest all the more obvious. The most striking similarity between the two, however, is the pictorial element. Both painters seem inclined to exaggerate the light, thereby emphasizing the contrasts and presenting a scene of nature from their own personal point of view. In this painting Moran is quite effective in the arrangement of his darks so that they travel diagonally from upper left to lower right and are set against the light triangular areas of the corners. Too, a counteracting diagonal of rocks and distant mountain suggests an effective "X" arrangement.

One of Moran's strongest points is his mastery of composition which is as evident in his working sketches as in his finished paintings. Although the selected framework which holds the work together may sometimes escape the casual spectator intrigued by color, it is always present. Moran put great emphasis on all aspects of craftsmanship, building a picture expertly on a sound base of space arrangement. It is true that this element in his paintings was not always identical, that it varied according to the scene, but there are certain
characteristics that appear frequently and are recognizable. Neuhaus speaks highly of Moran's composition. After paying him the doubtful compliment of being the "Bouguereau of landscape," he continues:

All of his work is superb in its draughtsmanship and finish...cleverness is the keynote of his work, and one rarely feels in it deeper reactions.

...It is undeniable that it is much more satisfactory to look at his work in black and white, where one is impressed by the imaginativeness of his designs. He was a master of composition, and the pictorial effectiveness of his work is beyond question.6

First of all, Moran frequently worked in the panoramic manner. This was the fashion in Moran's day and is quite commonly seen in the works of many of the Hudson River painters such as Thomas Cole and John Frederick Kensett. Moran, like the others, used the panoramic scene only when he thought it most suitable. For example, his Long Island paintings present only details of landscape, a small section of water and coast line, a few trees, or perhaps a small bridge or some other detail. Such limited subjects are more characteristic of the pastoral aspect of that locality. But the panoramic composition of colossal size lent itself admirably to the spectacular scenery of the West.

Wolfgang Bom describes Moran's huge western paintings as:

...a furious display of glowing mountain ranges, dizzy abysses, and thundering cataracts brushed on canvases so big that one thinks the next step would be a life size portrait of Pike's Peak.7

"The River and the Mountain of the Little Horn" (Plate XI) is typical of the artist's compositional methods. In many ways it

6Neuhaus, Eugen, op. cit., p. 85.
is suggestive of a stage setting. The landscape elements comprising the closest planes could be compared to the stage and the more distant areas to the backdrop. In this particular painting the lower half of the composition is filled with details of two mountains, the contours of which meet slightly to the left of the center where the river flows between them. Strong dark tones and great detail indicate that a shadow falls across a near plane. Contrasting with this is the mountain range in the distance, light and fragile in tone, almost ethereal, and suggesting unlimited distance. Usually a shaft of light penetrates the dark areas, as it does in the lower left in this painting, and illuminates a cliff, a clump of trees, or a similar detail. As in this painting, Moran more often chose a very distant viewpoint, so that the grandeur of the whole panorama becomes the point of interest.

Occasionally, however, Moran's foreground is done at a very close range, affording the painter an opportunity to capture the minute details of the objects nearest him. This is the case in "The Grand Canyon Through the Pines" (Plate X) in which the forest of pines forms the basis for the whole composition. Even though there is an ingenious arrangement of verticals and counteracting horizontals and diagonals the general pattern includes the familiar characteristics--the nearer area forming a shadowed stage through which one sees the far distant backdrop greatly illuminated for contrast. The practice of darkening the lower foreground to provide a frame for a lighter center of interest was a practice Moran shared with other of his contemporaries; Bierstadt does it in "Mount Corcoran" and again in "Mount Whitney," and Thomas Hill follows the same pattern in "El Capitan, Yosemite
Valley near Mirror Lake." Most of Moran's compositions, like those of the other nineteenth century painters in America, were the long horizontal type which of course would be more in harmony with the panoramic arrangement. Only occasionally in his finished paintings did he employ a vertical arrangement and then it was in scenes where the subject left him no choice. A work built almost entirely on tall, uninterrupted vertical lines and shapes is his painting of the California redwood trees, "The Work of an Almighty Hand" (Plate XLIV).

More often one sees the upright composition in his working sketches or finished drawings. It is almost as if the artist was intrigued by the arrangement but felt that the horizontal composition was more suitable to a finished painting. Examples of the vertical arrangement can be seen in Plates XVII, XVIII, and XIX. In general it can be said that Moran's methods of space arrangement result in solid, well balanced compositions exhibiting all of the qualities of good workmanship but lacking perhaps the quality of excitement. One almost wishes that at least occasionally he would have been less formal in this respect and had looked at nature through eyes less academically conditioned.

A characteristic seen in many Moran landscapes and one used by other American landscape painters is that of space projection achieved by the handling of alternating light and dark areas. This, of course, was an ingenious method of creating the illusion of depth and had been used as early as the seventeenth century by the Dutch painter Ruysdael. This compositional device, suggesting, as it does, depth, amounts almost to a combination of the western chiaroscuro and
the more two-dimensional oriental notan. This is well illustrated in Moran's "The Earth and the Fulness Thereof" (Plate XXVI). Stretching across the foreground is a shadow which darkens the nearest plane of the composition. Somewhat farther back a bright band of light bathes the center of the meadow and the nearest tree; due to its central location and to the figures placed here, this plane becomes the center of interest. Back of this is another shadow line which darkens the other trees and stretches across the composition to form another and more distant plane. Continuing this alternation of dark and light, the sky is light along the horizon and at the top of the painting, but separating these lights is a long dark area in the form of a graceful cloud bank.

Eleven years before "The Earth and the Fulness Thereof," which Moran painted in 1871, George Inness painted "Autumn Oaks," in which the alternating planes of light and dark serve the same purpose as in the Moran picture. This lends a solidity to the composition and provides unity and variety as well. Incidentally, there are other striking similarities between these two works, including the line of trees receding into the distance, cows standing in a small pool (in the lower left in both cases), large rocks to the right in the immediate foreground, and small human figures in the distance. Even the cloud formations are similarly arranged. The most pronounced difference between the two is the choice of colors; Moran has chosen a combination of analogous greens which offer a certain monotony in spite of the fact that the artist was evidently representing the lush foliage of early summer. Inness, in his similar composition, chose a soft
complementary harmony based on red and green and related colors which play against one another with great variation in representing the autumn scene.

Moran did not limit this use of light and dark to his pastoral scenes such as the one just discussed. It was equally helpful to him in his canyon paintings of the Southwest. In "Rock Towers of the Rio Virgin" (Plate XV) the alternating planes carry the spectator back into the distance from the detailed rocky cliffs and trees in the foreground across the brightly illuminated projections in the center to the towering peaks half lost in the low hanging clouds and the shadows of the distance. While this method was not original with Moran he used it with great effectiveness.

As for his actual technique of putting paint on canvas and his general methods of working, he again shares something with other American painters of the nineteenth century— at least up to a point. Careful workmanship is evident with most of the painters of the period. In fact, many of them were so exact and meticulous that the effect is rather tedious. Moran may be called a careful worker but not one who eliminated all evidence of brushstroke to achieve a smooth and photographic effect. Upon close inspection the evidence of his painting technique is there, although due to his careful blending of tones and a lack of excessive thickness of pigment the effect is lost from a distance. Color reproductions of details of two of his paintings will show this clearly. In "The Work of an Almighty Hand" (Plate XLIV) and "Mount Moran - Teton Range, Idaho" (Plate XLV) the artist's technique is evident. In the former he has utilized a somewhat
thicker pigment than usual in order to show more clearly the rough-
ness of the bark of the redwood trunks. One can also see here the use
of semi-transparent tones to achieve the effect of sunlight, high-
light, and shadow. That he did not always use paint of comparable
thickness is shown in Plate XLV where, even in the nearest planes, the
paint is thin enough that one can see the weave of the canvas in many
places—particularly in the rocks in the lower foreground.

However, the general effect in a Moran painting is one of more
unification of detail and less fussiness than one would find in a
landscape by Thomas Cole, to use an example. In a painting like Cole's
"Mountain Landscape with Waterfall" one's attention is called to the
great number of details used in the representation of each object. He
does not conceive of a tree as a single volume existing in light and
shade but rather as a clump of individual branches each with its own
treatment in chiaroscuro. When this is done, as it is in this picture,
even in the distant planes the spectator loses the sense of space
organization. In a Moran painting one is not overburdened with incon-
sequential detail even though the artist is still successful in bring-
ing out the distinguishing characteristics of an object by concen-
trating on its basic attributes. In spite of this difference the two
artists shared some things in common. For example, Cole was concerned
with the representation of atmosphere in his scenes of the Hudson
River area and he used such effects much in the way Moran did in the
West. In his painting "The Oxbow" the distant hills, the sky, the
clouds and the sunlight are all fused in a moist vapor and when shown
in actual streaks, as in the upper left, this vaporous air helps to
unite the different planes of this panoramic scene.

Moran did this sort of thing frequently. In Moran's case it probably can be traced back to the problems of atmosphere which he admired in Turner. In his "Canyon of the Yellowstone" (Plate VI) there is a heavy moisture laden sky resembling Cole's. The air, sunlight, and moisture mix together and fall in streaks; this centrally located vaporous passage again, as it does in Cole's painting, ties in the picture's various planes. Moran achieves an additional touch of interest by cutting the mist with just the fragment of a rainbow. The rainbow, evidently used for purposes of realism as well as color, is not unusual here. Moran has included it in several of his canyon scenes where mist is present. Cole and Moran both used many details in their works but the difference seems to lie in the fact that Cole had a desire to compete with the camera and consequently his profusion of minute details looks out of scale with large canvases. Moran used a great number of varied elements in his paintings, too, but generally they are well related and one is seldom distracted by an abundance of photographic details.

In keeping with the idea of the Hudson River artists one notices a comparative smoothness of texture in Moran's paintings. This disregard of textural differences characterizes the work of such painters as John P. Kensett and Frederick Edwin Church, two contemporaries of Moran, and probably originated in the idea that the aim of landscape painting was to record nature in detail. The tendency of most of the American landscape painters up to the 70's was to paint rather thinly in order not to interfere with the spectator's
understanding of the facts presented. If the art of painting thinly contributes to the detailed photographic aspect of landscape Kensett evidently regarded this accomplishment highly. Unlike Moran, Kensett more often chose to represent his scene from a very great distance; consequently everything has a flat, smooth appearance. Into these far distant views he has crowded many details which could only have been executed with a very small brush. This is very noticeable in his "Newport Harbor, Rhode Island." To get the most from a Kensett landscape one must examine it from close range. It is said that this emphasis on detail originated in Kensett's early training in engraving. This may be true but it is well to remember that Moran was also trained as an engraver during his early years in Philadelphia, and while he does not put great emphasis on textural differences in his works, neither does he encumber them with incidental factual details. Early training in engraving may have been responsible for Kensett's reliance on facts, but with Moran its only manifestation seems to be a smooth and glossy appearance that has a slight resemblance to a mechanical print.

A comparison between the works of Church and Moran might come to mind on a subject matter parallel since both were enterprising spirits in seeking new and big subjects for their paintings. Church was even more enterprising than Moran in this respect, making trips to South America for tropical subjects and to Labrador. The two painters also shared a common interest in capturing atmospheric effects and it is in works of this type that these two men are most closely related. A work such as Church's "Cotopaxi, Ecuador" provides an interesting comparison with one such as Moran's "Shoshone Falls of Snake River,"
Idaho" (Plate XXXII) because of the similar subject and the attempt to represent an atmospheric condition. In keeping with the ideas of the Hudson River group Church has shown his scene from a great distance, so that the canvas is an arrangement of comparatively small forms in relation to the proportions of the canvas. Moran has chosen to present Shoshone Falls from a very close range. Both works are well composed and with occult balance, but the reaction of the artist for the scene is different in both cases. Church chose to depict a calm scene where the only suggestion of movement is the small detail of water falling into the valley below the lake. His principal concern is depicting the atmosphere as it is affected by the water of the lake, the mist below the falls, and the storm clouds as they hang near the horizon and almost obscure the setting sun. There is a lack of form as everything blends together to suggest the atmosphere of this view seen at great distance.

One feels that Church was in the habit of making careful preliminary studies before painting the final work in his studio. We have seen that this was Moran's method of working, too, but his paintings suggest the spontaneity of having been done on the spot. Shoshone Falls go over the precipice with great force, throwing water and mist into the air to blend with the clouds and sunlight above. The effect is one of momentary action. In contrast to Church, Moran has blended both the definite and indefinite to produce a painting with great variety of form. Hazy, atmospheric distances seem perfectly compatible with the strong, sharp rocks and tree of the lower foreground.

The two artists are farther apart in their treatment of more
conventional landscape subjects and it is here that one sees Church's alliance to the Hudson River group and Moran's resemblance to the French Barbizon school. In Church's "The Unending Quest for Freedom" there is a delightful dexterity of treatment in all parts of the painting, but there are so many parts—all shown in photographic naturalism—that the effect is like a composite work. It is not possible to look at everything in nature at the same time, as the French Impressionists emphasized with their idea of momentary vision, but Church presents the scene as if one could. In "Landscape" (Plate XXXIV) Moran centers the attention on a distant town seen through an opening in the trees, an arrangement not too different from some by Corot, Rousseau, and Diaz. The nearby trees are shown in some detail to indicate their position, but instead of a restrained and meticulous technique in the foliage Moran shows spontaneity and great sensiveness. Like the Barbizon painters he uses light for compositional purposes, to illuminate spots in the dark foreground and to lighten the distant buildings. One feels a natural light here instead of the unnaturally diffused light in Church's painting. Moran subordinates everything to his center of interest and one's attention is constantly drawn to it instead of being allowed to wander about from one intricate detail to another. Church and Moran were both skillful and conscientious workers, but a comparison of their works reveals that Church, much more than Moran, labored under the tight methods of the Hudson River school and in this respect he more closely resembles the other painters of his time.

The works of two other painters, born only a few years before
Horan, also serve as an indication of the trends of the nineteenth century—Thomas Doughty (1793-1856) and Worthington Whittredge (1820-1910). Doughty shared with Moran the romantic outlook as well as a tendency to overlook the more awesome aspects of nature in order to present it with genteel charm. "The Raft" is an example of his delicate treatment and it is obvious in this painting that Doughty looked upon the world with the eyes of a romantic, visualizing it in all the unreality of a stage setting. Without the force and effectiveness of Claude Lorrain, he still manages to express the idealism of the seventeenth century French master. Moran was less idealistic, less feminine, and much more spontaneous than Doughty. Although Moran was sometimes genteel in his approach, especially in the case of his Long Island and Mexican scenes, he did realize that imperfections in nature exist and his trees, unlike Doughty's, never appear fantastic or theatrical.

Of the more prominent American painters of Moran's time, Worthington Whittredge seems to bear the least resemblance to the Hudson River group or to Moran. Unlike the others Whittredge was more flexible by nature and was able to assimilate visual ideas wherever he saw them. He is called a romanticist and a painter of landscape moods. For a time he worked with a tight technique somewhat reminiscent of the Hudson River school, but with a lyrical approach that might offer a comparison with Moran. But even in such works he was more interested in the problem of light and surpassed Moran in his attention to detail. Perhaps typical of Whittredge's work is "A Boating Party in Central Park" in which he almost approaches impression-
ism because of the emphasis on light and the reflections of water. Unlike Moran he did not share the enthusiasm for unusual scenes or for panoramic canvasses of great size.

There were other American painters of the latter half of the nineteenth century who, unlike Moran, permitted themselves to be strongly influenced by French Impressionism, and John H. Twachtman was one of these. His painting underwent a constant development which followed the French innovations of the time, and his later works were highly impressionistic. For this reason his style lacks the consistency of Moran's and the devotion to ideals which Moran valued very highly.

Throughout his long career Moran tried to remain aloof from innovations in painting that would materially influence the style which he had developed and which he considered his alone. He enjoyed a popularity and a following that few of his contemporaries could equal. Due to the spectacular nature of his subject and in no small part to his use of arresting color, Moran's paintings became known in homes all over America. His western works were the perfect accompaniment for the vigorous campaign of the late nineteenth century to acquaint the populace with a comparatively new section of the country. Better processes of color reproduction doubtless played a major role in Moran's favor by providing accurate copies of his paintings. Banks, railroads, travel agencies, periodicals, and other commercial enterprises eagerly sought Moran's art for use in their advertising ventures. By such widespread commercial reproduction it is not difficult to see how he became almost a household word, about the turn of the century.
There is little doubt that Moran, both directly and indirectly, was at least partly responsible for a trend in color prints for home direction. In this respect his influence on subsequent artists, even those of the more commercial sort, must have been tremendous. His colors in general and the almost bizarre effects he occasionally obtained were in all probability that which entranced the masses as well as those painters who, for commercial reasons, catered to the undeveloped tastes of the general public. Such a painter was Maxfield Parrish who in the early 1900's was riding the crest of a wave of popularity due to the widespread reproduction of his colorful works. This is not to compare Moran with Parrish in merit or in any manner, except in their common appeal through commercial reproduction. During the first quarter of the twentieth century almost everyone in America knew of Maxfield Parrish just as they had known of Thomas Moran a few years earlier. His paintings were endless variations of a theme based on a mountainous background, a pool, a tree or two, and a marble patio with balustrade in the foreground. Frequently the balustrade was surmounted by a Grecian urn or two and sometimes by a small and unreal figure in a diaphanous toga-like costume. He was especially noted for a smoothness of technique and for his color which never varied from a harmony based on intense blue and orange. It is by his use of color that we are reminded of certain of Moran's works, although by no means Moran's most typical ones. Moran's use of intense blues and violets combined with equally intense orange in a work such as "Grand Canyon Through the Pines" (Plate X) might have been the starting point for Maxfield Parrish who took the startling combination of colors and exploited it
commercially. (This cannot be regarded as a reflection on Moran but it does serve to illustrate that his influence in popular art was great.)

Thomas Moran came during a period of landscape painting when nature was considered highly important in the representation of a scene, but Moran did not confuse the spectator with an overly detailed rendition nor with revolutionary and unusual techniques. Instead, he preferred to remain close to that which he saw and represent it with a good, solid technique which he himself called "honest painting." In fact Moran defended this type of painting, "representing the leaves on a tree as a naturalist sees them and painting the Grand Canyon in such a way that one knew the sandstone from the limestone and the limestone from the slate." The dependence on nature did not prevent his being an original artist because he did not transcribe nature literally but idealized it. This is stated succinctly by Robert Allerton Parker:

Modernistic critics may scoff because Moran remained blandly unconscious of the technique of a Cezanne or a Renoir. But, fortunately, there are several ways in which a painter may be creative; and, despite the limitations of his method, Thomas Moran may be honestly acclaimed as a creative artist. As Marcel Proust has pointed out, each truly creative artist compels us to look at the world of nature anew for each spectator. The artist is, in a sense, says Proust, a sort of oculist who treats our eyes. The treatment is painful, until at last it is as though he exclaimed, 'now look!' and it is as though some geological upheaval had taken place. Such an artist reigns in our consciousness until a new one comes along to re-create nature again for us.°


Robert Allerton Parker, op. cit., p. 65.
Nature meant everything to Moran. He depended on it to such a great extent that innovating art movements such as Impressionism only served to annoy him because of their tendencies to defy nature. One receives the impression of a very opinionated and not too liberal critic from Moran's observations on artistic trends that did not coincide with his own. He was quite sure of himself and his art when he said:

I have no patience with any of the modern fads of painting. Most of them have been frauds falling in the hands of unprincipled men to fool people who never think for themselves and when they do not understand a thing, they pretend to do so because they are afraid to let people know. It is the same in literature and music—Debussy with his lack of melody—Strauss' strained effects—Wagner who tried to make music the expression of the intellectual. A program of Wagner music is always accompanied by written explanations as to its meaning.

It is evident from his works that he did look upon the new movements with scorn and that he attempted with great sincerity to produce an art that was basically his own. In accomplishing this he produced a type of work that bears resemblance to a number of other nineteenth century landscape painters, but this resemblance is outweighed by certain distinctive qualities. In certain phases of his work he is much like the Barbizon painters; this similarity is seen in his Long Island and Mexican series where the subject matter lacks the spectacular quality of his western paintings. We have seen his resemblance to various members of the Barbizon school but the comparison is only in evidence up to a point. He always retains the distinctive qualities that would enable one to distinguish his work if it were

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From a folio of roughly written longhand notes done on extremely fragile paper by Miss Ruth Moran and titled "Opinions and Sayings of Moran." This folio is located in the Free Library, East Hampton, Long Island.
included in an exhibition of paintings by the Barbizon masters. In
general, his works are of greater size, his colors are of a higher key
and his technique, though careful, is slightly less meticulous than
that usually associated with the Barbizon men. The Barbizon painters
were highly interested in the forms of nature which they saw in
Fontainebleau Forest; Moran shared this interest in natural forms but
he was not averse to sacrificing it in order to create atmospheric
effects. Whether Moran's subject was the pastoral landscape of the
East, the picturesque scene of Mexico, or the dramatic and spectacu­
lar West he always preferred to emphasize that quality of atmosphere
which early in his career had attracted him to the work of Turner.
For this reason he might be characterized as the Turner of the Bar­
bizon school.

The distinctive qualities that he retained set him apart from
the French painters as well as from the landscape painters in America
during the nineteenth century. His feeling for space, regardless of
subject, is one of his striking characteristics. He gives us the il­
lusión of greatly extended space whether he is looking at the flatness
of Long Island or down into the canyons of Arizona. His concept of
color and its contribution to the pictorial qualities of his work is
one of his most arresting qualities, and his sense of balance enables
him to integrate all aspects of a work into a satisfying whole. Moran
seldom emphasized the emotional aspects of his scenes; there are no
undercurrents, no underlying implications of importance. Unlike
Rousseau, he never cared to look at the savage, untamed aspects of
nature, preferring instead compactness and order. Perhaps the closest
Moran ever comes to including emotional content may be seen in "Sunset Over an Aztec Castle" (Plate XXX) where one feels the overpowering bleakness and desolation of the scene combined with a feeling of compassion for the civilization whose abandoned castle is silhouetted against the forbidding sky. In all probability this scene is not a real one and for this reason illustrates a flight of the imagination seldom seen in Moran. In most cases the surface qualities of the scene were sufficient to satisfy him, and this might be regarded as a shortcoming great enough to prevent his being classed as one of the most significant landscape painters. And yet, powerful enough to counteract almost any shortcoming is the lyrical beauty with which he endowed his works. A feeling of personal thrill is evident in the artist's works, a characteristic which distinguishes Moran's painting from that of many others.

A delicacy of touch is another characteristic that sets him apart from most of his contemporaries. This aspect, doubtless brought about through his personality, can be seen in the colors he chose, the technique of painting, the composition, and even in the subjects. He worked with such great delicacy that his paintings have an almost effeminate quality, but this appearance of fragility only emphasizes the charm of his works. One sees a light and ethereal quality in some of Turner's works as well as in the better known landscapes of Corot, but it is almost invariable with Moran. Even during his early western trips when he was experiencing some of the rigorous existence of a pioneer, he managed to produce delicately sensitive versions of a territory that was untamed and at times even fearsome. Contributing to
the quality of delicate charm is the fact that Moran seldom chose to represent signs of life, preferring instead to present a quiet and undisturbed land in which life would be unhurried and uneventful. Whenever he does choose to include people or animals they are so small that they appear to be almost overpowered by the vastness of their setting. In this respect there is again something of the Barbizon school, but there is also a similarity to Inness and other members of the Hudson River group. Incidentally, there is only one painting by Moran in which he subordinates the landscape to the figures. This is a Mexican scene titled "At the Well" showing three Mexican women posed rather stiffly before a well. Since these figures are flat, lacking in form, and generally not well done it is evident that Moran had no interest in representing the human figure.

Moran might be thought of as the artist of the middle class since his work was so highly prized by commercial organizations for purposes of reproduction. This is understandable when one realizes the direct and immediate appeal brought about by the almost complete lack of psychological or intellectual overtones in his work and the inclusion of an uncomplicated lyric idealism. These qualities might prevent the acceptance of Moran as a great artist but at the height of his career it did not interfere with his widespread appeal for the masses. Because of the great number of revolutionary art movements today, Moran's work does not retain its former popularity. However, since he built his career on works of great popularity which, in the formal sense of the word, were also works of solid craftsmanship he may again be on the ascendancy at some future time.
Four months after his death a memorial exhibition of his work was held in the New York Gallery of E. and A. Milch, the principal outlet for Moran's works. The catalogue for this exhibition included an appropriate memoriam for this great American artist:

From the beginning to the end of his long life, Thomas Moran was a dreamer and a painter of dreams, not a realist but he made himself a master of paint. His knowledge of and love for the intricate in nature, he never lost.

Rarely does the art world see such definite purpose and devotion to an ideal. He pursued his own way uninfluenced by fads and upheavals in art.

Wrapped in the mantle of his own aloofness, he had the independence dear to genius. He was a lover of nature and a lover of solitude. His art today stands alone, belonging to no school, but is Thomas Moran.

A prophet of the Old Testament wrote these lines, 'And their young men shall see visions, and their old men shall dream dreams.' It came true in Thomas Moran. Seeing, he dreamed and painted his visioning.11

CHAPTER X

THE ARTIST AS A PERSONALITY

To arrive at an accurate estimation of the value of an artist's work and his place not only in relation to his contemporaries but to artists of all time, it is necessary to know something of his personality, his appearance, and what he was like as an individual. Even Thomas Moran himself was aware of the value of personality in art when he said, "An artist must typify his own personality---taste, opinions, everything." Because of a somewhat aloof and reticent quality in his make-up, it is difficult, if not impossible, to find those who are qualified to contribute to a picture of the physical appearance of the artist. Mr. Fred L. Tillotson of Bolton, England, mentions in a letter a visit of Mr. and Mrs. Moran with his family in Bolton "in the late eighties." Although Mr. Tillotson was a small boy at the time of the visit, he remembers the Morans as "a handsome pair." Moran's handsome appearance is quite evident in a number of portraits and photographs still in existence (Plates XXXVI, XXXVII, XXXVIII, and XXXIX). One of the best evidences of this is the National Academy portrait by Hamilton Hamilton (Frontispiece) which shows Moran in 1881, at the age of forty-four, a figure of great character as well as personal charm. The artist is seen at a somewhat later period in his life in a portrait bust by Jonathan Scott Hartley, also in the National

Academy of Design, New York (Plate XXXIX). Here are the same almost classic features and the air of dignity and poise.

Without doubt the best description of the artist is that by Gustave Buek, a contemporary and friend of Moran:

Thomas Moran's whole figure was romantic; perhaps the more so because of the utter lack of self-consciousness—the eyes not dreamy but clear and far-seeing, shining like a child's eyes. Always they have had, and still have the look of seeing, and remembering, wonders. His mouth was delicate for a man's, but practically hidden by his beard and moustache of fair hair—his nose was delicate and sensitive. He used always to wear, in winter, a round beaver fur cap, set rather jauntily on his very small, compact head. Nearly five feet, seven inches in height, thin, wiry, and quick and firm on his feet, with perfect balance—he wore his cap and cape coat rather gallantly. Yes, he was a romantic figure, in a not very romantic period. He was quick-witted, full of humor, kind and very generous; but quick tempered, also, and a good fighter for any cause that he might take up.  

Moran was almost completely dedicated to his art. He seemed to have few other interests and very little time for anything that might interfere with his work. There is no doubt that this extreme concentration explains his artistic accomplishments in both quality and quantity. The idea that his work almost inordinately took possession of him is strengthened by a reminiscence by his daughter, Ruth B. Moran, who says:

He loved music, playing the violin by ear only, but playing with spirit; and as I first remember him, always singing with a good, sweet tenor voice. Loving his children, but forgetting them so completely when at work—which was practically always—that I have no recollection of ever asking, or depending on him for anything.

We never disturbed the complete concentration which isolated Thomas Moran from everyone he most loved—even his beloved wife, who was almost a part of himself.

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He was never at any time really interested in making money, and always was the worst possible salesman for his pictures; almost anyone could get a picture cheapened in price, if he would only stay long enough in the studio, for my father was always aching to get back to work, to get to his easel and get rid of the buyer.

His concentration on his art, his utter lack of introspection, and his lack of interest in people as a whole, have made him personally and intimately known to very few, but his friendships have been great friendships, full of trust, and sincerity and love.³

As a personality he was almost always calm and even-tempered; self-contained might be a better term with which to describe Moran, because his calmness and failure to display emotion could never be mistaken for lethargy or indifference. In fact, in his working methods, the general opinion is that he worked with a feverish haste. All of this is not to say that he was an uninteresting personality to those who came into contact with him. He had likes and dislikes and little personal idiosyncracies that made him warm and human:

Another perennial weakness was buying strange odds and ends. In Europe he acquired a 40-foot gondola carved elaborately enough for a Medici. The empty hull still lies on the side lawn at East Hampton, some of its carving and chairs help furnish the studio.

Nothing pleased him so much as building into his own home a window or mantelpiece taken from a dismantled New York house. The studio's front door, a quaint affair of heavy green glass and leaded panes, bears the number 938. A wrecking crew had cast it off in demolishing a Broadway mansion.⁴

It is unlikely that Moran was ever the least bit concerned with personal gain. It has already been pointed out that he was quite indifferent to money matters. Likewise, he was not particularly in-


terested in the personal fame that his work brought him, because he believed that any work of art he turned out should have been better and that he was not deserving of any reward. This aspect of his personality is also brought out by his daughter Ruth:

According to his daughter, Ruth B. Moran: 'Father is not introspective nor self-centered. In fact, so little does he think of himself that he has never kept a diary or any record whatever of his most interesting life. Indeed, he has only an imperfect record of his pictures. He is only interested in the conception of a subject and the execution of the work. Once finished, and left the studio, he never follows the fortunes of his brain child on its journey through the world. My father is as simple and direct in thought and action as a child. He is absolutely without conceit. This is accounted for by the fact he believes everyone should do all he can in the world without looking for reward. The personal equation, in his opinion, counts for very little. It is sincerity of purpose, love of work plus the knowledge gained by application that counts. In other words, it is honesty of purpose and belief in one's ideals that really matters. To feel pride in accomplishment is futile since one always falls short of perfection.'

In spite of his aloofness and general indifference to people, the artist enjoyed a great measure of fame as an artist and certainly some as an interesting individual. He was a member of a great number of art organizations, both here and abroad, which have been listed in the biographical chapter. In addition to these he belonged to at least one social club, the exclusive Century Association of New York City. This club, still in existence, has always counted among its members the outstanding personalities of New York—those who are famous for their contributions in numerous and varied specialized fields. Essentially, however, it has always been a distinguished

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social club, and during the time he spent in the East, Moran was a prominent and popular member. It was his custom to gather regularly with the other members for an enjoyable social evening, Saturday evenings being the time when the greatest number of members were together. A painting by Charles Yardley Turner, done in 1881, depicts such a gathering. Its title is "Saturday Evening at the Century Club" (Plate XL) and shows the elegant club rooms filled with a crowd of members who gather casually in groups for informal conversations. Through an opening one sees a well-lighted room in the center of which is a group of men around a table intently examining a sheaf of papers. Slightly to the left of the table and just behind the group of seated figures stands Thomas Moran, evidently quite interested in the proceedings and unmistakable in his distinguished bearing and the characteristic moustache and full beard.
CATALOGUE OF WORKS

Works are grouped by medium, with oil paintings classified by subject matter. Each classification is chronologically arranged and followed by undated works in alphabetical order.
WESTERN SUBJECTS

1. "Winter in the Rockies"
   1867

2. "The Last Arrow"
   \[51'' \times 78\frac{1}{4}''\]
   1867
   Location: Berkshire Museum, Pittsfield, Massachusetts

3. "Mountain Landscape"
   \[30\frac{1}{2}'' \times 45\frac{1}{2}''\]
   1869
   Lower left: "Thos. Moran, 1869"

4. "Spirit of the Indian" (Formerly called "Rocky Mountain Allegory" and Indian Legend)
   \[32'' \times 48\frac{1}{2}''\]
   1869
   Signed and dated: "Thomas Moran, 1869"
   Location: Philbrook Art Center, Tulsa, Oklahoma (Gift of Mrs. Laura A. Clubb, 1947)

5. "The Tower Falls"
   1872
   Lower left: "T. Moran, 1872"

6. "Grand Canyon of the Yellowstone"
   \[11\frac{1}{2}'' \times 17\frac{1}{2}''\]
   1872
   Lower left: "Thos. Moran, 1872"
   Location: Department of the Interior (Conference Room of the Secretary of the Interior), Washington, D.C.

7. "Chasm of the Colorado"
   \[11\frac{1}{4}'' \times 17\frac{1}{4}''\]
   1873-74
   Lower right: "T. Moran, 1873-74"
   Location: Department of the Interior (Conference Room of the Secretary of the Interior), Washington, D.C.

8. "The Mount of the Holy Cross"
   \[8\frac{1}{4}'' \times 60''\]
   1874
   Location: Collection of Mrs. W. A. Bell, Bletchingsley, Surrey, England
   1875

10. "Rock Towers of the Colorado"
    52" x 40"
    1875

11. "On Barnard’s Towers"
    1877
    Location: Collection of Mr. Thomas Gilcrease, Tulsa, Oklahoma

12. "Mountain Scene"
    15" x 39"
    1878
    Lower right: "T. Moran, 1878"

13. "Lower Falls, Yellowstone Park"
    14 1/2" x 38"
    1878
    Lower right: "T. Moran, 1878"
    Location: Collection of Mr. Thomas Gilcrease, Tulsa, Oklahoma

14. "Sunset, Pueblo Del Walpe, Arizona"
    25" x 21"
    1880
    Location: Museum and Art Gallery, Bolton, Lancashire, England

15. "In the Teton Range"
    1881
    Lower right: "T. Moran, 1881"

16. "Cliffs of the Upper Colorado River, Wyoming Territory"
    15 1/2" x 23 1/2"
    1882
    Lower right: "T. Moran, 1882" (In pencil on stretcher: "Cliffs
    of the Upper Colorado River, Wyoming Territory, U.S.A.,
    T. Moran)
    Location: National Collection of Fine Arts, Smithsonian
    Institution, Washington, D.C.

17. "Mount Tamalpais"
    31 1/2" x 23 1/2"
    1883
    Lower left: "T. Moran, 1883"

18. "The Devil’s Slide of the Grand Tetons of the Colorado Rockies"
    (Also called "In the Colorado Rockies")
    46 1/2" x 35"
    1887
    Lower left: "T. Moran, 1887"
19. "Grand Canyon of the Colorado"
   53" x 94"
   1892-1908
   Lower right: "T. Moran, 1892-1908" (Signature and 1892 are black, 1908 is red)
   Location: Collection of Mr. Graeme Lorimer, Paoli, Pennsylvania

20. "Mist in Kanab Canyon, Utah"
   52" x 38"
   1893
   Lower right: "T. Moran, 1893"
   Location: National Collection of Fine Arts, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. (Bequest of Mrs. Bessie B. Croffut, 1942)

21. "Yosemite"
   40 1/4" x 60"
   1893
   Lower right: "T. Moran, 1893"

22. "Grand Canyon of the Yellowstone"
   96" x 163"
   1893-1901
   Lower right: "T. Moran, 1893-1901"
   Location: National Collection of Fine Arts, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. (Gift of George D. Pratt, 1928)

23. "Yellowstone Falls"
   40 1/4" x 60"
   1893
   Lower right: "T. Moran, 1893"

24. "Great Hot Springs, Yellowstone"
   20" x 30"
   1893
   Lower right: "T. Moran, 1893"
   Location: Collection of Mr. Thomas Gilcrease, Tulsa, Oklahoma

25. "Jupiter and Minerva Spring, Yellowstone"
   20" x 30"
   1893
   Lower left: "T. Moran, 1893"

26. "Golden Gate to the Yellowstone"
   1893
   Lower left: "T.M., 1893"
   Lower right: "T. Moran, 1893"

27. "The Three Tetons"
   30" x 40"
   1895
110

Lower left: "T. Moran, 1895"
Location: Paramount Theatre, Times Square, New York

28. "Adobe Village"
   8 3/4" x 7 3/4"
   1895
   Lower right: "T.M., 1895"

29. "The Teton Range, Idaho"
   30" x 45"
   1897
   Lower right: "T. Moran, 1897"
   Location: Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

30. "Grand Canyon of the Yellowstone"
   1898
   Lower right: "T. Moran, N.A., 1898"

31. "Cataract Canyon, Arizona"
   1898
   Lower left: "T. Moran, 1898"

32. "In the Teton Range, Rocky Mountains"
   42" x 30"
   1899
   Lower left: "T. Moran, N.A., 1899"

33. "In the Teton Range, Idaho"
   20" x 30"
   1899
   Lower right: "T. Moran, 1899"

34. "Grand Canyon of the Yellowstone"
   21" x 32 1/2"
   1899
   Lower right: "T. Moran, 1899"

35. "Shoshone Falls of Snake River, Idaho"
   71" x 132"
   1900
   Location: Collection of Mr. Thomas Gilcrease, Tulsa, Oklahoma

36. "Green River, Wyoming"
   15 1/2" x 25"
   1901
   Lower right: "T. Moran, 1901"
   Location: Collection of Mr. W. E. Wrather, Washington, D.C.

37. "Pueblo"
   20" x 30"
   1901
   Lower left: "T. Moran, 1901"
38. "A Canyon"
   16 1/4" x 10 1/2"
   1902
   Lower left: "T. Moran, 1902"
   Location: Collection of Mr. Chester J. Robertson, Jr., Pelham Manor, New York

39. "Red Rock, Arizona"
   1902

40. "Passing Shower in the Yellowstone Canyon"
   1903
   Lower right: "T. Moran, 1903"
   Location: Collection of Mr. and Mrs. Frank Buttram, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

41. "Mount Moran, Teton Range, Idaho"
   40" x 30"
   1903
   Lower right: "Mt. Moran, Teton Range, Idaho, T. Moran, 1903"
   Location: Collection of Mr. George B. Harrington, Chicago, Illinois

42. "The River and the Mountain of the Little Horn"
   20" x 30"
   1904
   Lower left: "T. Moran, 1904"
   Location: Knoedler Galleries, New York

43. "Grand Canyon"
   20" x 30"
   1904
   Lower left: "T. Moran, 1904"

44. "Rainbow Falls, Yosemite Valley"
   1904
   Lower left: "T. Moran, 1904"

45. "Bright Angel Trail, Grand Canyon, Arizona"
   1904
   Lower right: "T. Moran, 1904"

46. "The Petrified Forest"
   30" x 60"
   1904
   Lower left: "T. Moran, N.A., 1904"
   Location: Orton Hall Library, The Ohio State University

47. "Acoma"
   23" x 36 1/4"
   1904
48. "A Side Canyon from the North Rim"
   Location: Collection of Mr. Thomas Gilcrease, Tulsa, Oklahoma
   1905
   Lower left: "T. Moran, 1905"

49. "Bridal Veil Falls, Yosemite Valley"
   30 3/4" x 21"
   1905
   Signed: "T. Moran, 1905"

50. "Cascade Falls, Yosemite Park"
   30 1/4" x 20 1/4"
   1905
   Lower right: "T. Moran, 1905"

51. "Feudal Tower"
   30" x 45"
   1905
   Lower left: "T. Moran, 1905"

52. "A Water Pocket, Northern Arizona"
   20" x 30"
   1907
   Lower left: "T. Moran, 1907"

53. "Indians Burning Pottery, Laguna, New Mexico"
   1907
   Lower right: T. Moran, 1907, Laguna, N.M.

54. "The Sentinel, Yosemite Valley"
   20 1/4" x 30 1/2"
   1908
   Lower right: "T. Moran, 1908"

55. "Sentinel Rock through the Pines, Yosemite"
   22" x 31 1/2"
   1908
   Signed: "T. Moran, 1908"

56. "Mists in the Yellowstone"
   30" x 45"
   1908
   Lower right: "T. Moran, 1908"
   Location: Collection of Mr. Thomas Gilcrease, Tulsa, Oklahoma

57. "Rock Towers of the Rio Virgin"
   20" x 30"
   1908
   Lower right: "T. Moran, 1908"
   Location: Collection of Mr. F. Edgar Rice, Bartlesville, Oklahoma
58. "Green River Cliffs, Wyoming"
   20" x 30"
   1909
   Lower right: "Copyright by T. Moran, 1909"

59. "Grand Canyon of Arizona at Sunset"
   30" x 40"
   1909
   Lower left: "T. Moran, 1909"
   Location: Collection of Mr. Cloyd H. Marvin, President, George Washington University, Washington, D.C.

60. "Morning in the High Sierras"
    20" x 30"
    1910
    Lower right: "T. Moran, 1910"

61. "Grand Canyon of Arizona at Sunrise"
    16" x 20"
    1910
    Lower right: "T. Moran, 1910"
    Location: Collection of Mr. F. Edgar Rice, Bartlesville, Oklahoma

62. "Inner Gorge, Grand Canyon, Arizona"
    36" x 30"
    1910
    Lower right: "T. Moran, 1910"

63. "Early Morning, Grand Canyon"
    1911
    Lower left: "T. Moran, 1911"

64. "Vista: Yellowstone Park"
    30" x 25"
    1911
    Lower left: "T. Moran, 1911"

65. "An Indian Paradise, Green River, Wyoming"
    30" x 40"
    1911
    Lower right: "T. Moran, 1911"
    Location: The Dallas Museum of Fine Arts, Dallas, Texas

66. "Cathedral Peaks on Green River"
    29" x 38"
    1911
    Signed: "T. Moran, 1911"

    1912
    Lower left: "T. Moran, 1912"
    Location: Collection of Mrs. George H. Hazen, New York
68. "Cypress Point, Monterey, California"
   20" x 30"
   1912
   Lower right: "T. Moran, 1912"

69. "Point Lobos, Monterey"
   30" x 40"
   1912
   Location: Collection of Mr. Thomas G. Plant, New York

70. "A Glimpse of the Grand Canyon of Arizona from the New Hermit Rim Road"
   1912
   Lower left: "T. Moran, 1912"

71. "Vernal Falls, Yosemite"
   20" x 30"
   1913
   Signed: "T. Moran, 1913"
   Location: Collection of Mr. F. Edgar Rice, Bartlesville, Oklahoma

72. "Yellowstone Canyon - A Showery Day"
   1913

73. "Yellowstone Canyon"
   30" x 40"
   1913
   Lower right: "T. Moran, 1913"

74. "Castle Rock, Green River"
   20" x 25"
   1913
   Lower left: "T. Moran, 1913"

75. "The Grand Canyon of Arizona"
   1913

76. "The Quarries of the Gods"
   1913
   Lower right: "T. Moran, 1913"

77. "Beyond Gallup, New Mexico"
   19" x 36"
   1913
   Lower left: "T. Moran, 1913"
   Location: Collection of Mr. A. M. Buley, Los Angeles, California

78. "Red Rock Trail, South Utah"
   20" x 30"
   1913
   Lower right: "T. Moran, 1913" Caption
   Location: Collection of Mr. Thomas Gilcrease, Tulsa, Oklahoma
79. "The Lair of the Mountain Lion"
   30" x 20"
   1914
   Lower left: "T. Moran, 1914"

80. "Zion Valley, Utah"
   22" x 14 1/2"
   1914
   Lower right: "T. Moran, 1914"
   Location: Collection of Mr. Thomas G. Plant, New York

81. "The Hermit Mission"
   16" x 20"
   1916
   Lower right: "T. Moran, 1916"
   Location: Knoedler Galleries, New York

82. "The Wonderland of the Yellowstone"
   1917
   Lower right: "1917" and the artist's thumbprint

83. "Grand Canyon, Arizona"
   16" x 25"
   1917
   Lower left: "T. Moran, 1917"
   Location: Collection of Mrs. George P. Cammann, New York

84. "The Narrows - Virgin River"
   1917
   Lower right: "T. Moran, 1917"

85. "Tower Creek"
   11 1/2" x 20"
   1917
   Lower left: "T. Moran, 1917"

86. "The Castle, Green River - Moonrise"
   21" x 19"
   1919
   Lower right: "T. Moran, 1919" and the artist's thumbprint
   Location: Estate of Mr. C. R. Morley, Mentor, Ohio

87. "The Stronghold"
   15" x 30"
   1920
   Lower right: "T. Moran, 1920" and the artist's thumbprint

88. "Rocky Landscape"
   30" x 40"
   1920
   Lower left: "T. Moran, 1920"
   Location: Estate of Mr. C. R. Morley, Mentor, Ohio
UNDATED WESTERN SUBJECTS

89.  "The Canyon of the Yellowstone"

90.  "Coconino Forest, Arizona"
    30" x 40"
    Location: Collection of Mr. Thomas C. Murphy, Los Angeles, California, and Red Oak, Iowa

91.  "Down from the Great Divide"
    Lower right: "T. Moran"

92.  "Encampment"
    8" x 12"
    Lower right: "T. Moran"

93.  "Falls at Toltec Gorge - In the Rockies"

94.  "The Fire Canoe"
    Location: Collection of Mr. Thomas Gilcrease, Tulsa, Oklahoma

95.  "Glacier on Mount Moran"

96.  "A Glimpse of the Grand Canyon"

97.  "Grand Canyon"
    30" x 40 1/2"
    Location: Philbrook Art Center, Tulsa, Oklahoma
    (Laura A. Clubb Collection)

98.  "The Grand Canyon through the Pines"

99.  "Grand Canyon, Arizona"

100.  "Grand Canyon, Colorado"
     4 3/4" x 8"
     Lower right: "T.M."

101.  "Grand Canyon of the Colorado"
      20" x 30"
      Location: Huntington Fine Arts Building, Huntington, Long Island

102.  "Grand Canyon, Yellowstone National Park"

103.  "Green River Buttes"

104.  "The Groves were God's First Temples"

105.  "Hetch Hetchy Valley, California"
      10" x 13"
      Lower right: "T.M."
      Location: Estate of Mr. C. R. Morley, Mentor, Ohio
106. "Hopi Village in Arizona"
   20" x 30"
   Location: Huntington Fine Arts Building, Huntington, Long Island

107. "In the Green River Country"
   20 1/4" x 30"
   Lower center: "T. Moran"
   Location: Newhouse Galleries, New York

108. "Indian Legend"

109. "The Indian Pueblo of Laguna, New Mexico"
   20" x 30"
   Location: Collection of Mrs. H. S. Griffin, Wichita Falls, Texas

110. "The Inner Gorge, Grand Canyon"

111. "Laguna Pueblo"
   Location: Collection of Mr. Thomas Gilcrease, Tulsa, Oklahoma

112. "Landscape with Snowcapped Mountains"
   Location: Collection of Mr. Thomas Gilcrease, Tulsa, Oklahoma

113. "Lower Falls of the Yellowstone"
   16 1/2" x 21"
   Signature: "T. Moran, N.A."
   Location: Yellowstone National Park Collection

114. "Mist After Rain, Grand Canyon"

115. "On the Lookout"
   12 1/4" x 7 1/2"

116. "Rooster Rock, Columbia River"
   30" x 48"
   Back of canvas: "T.M." and caption

117. "San Francisco Mountains"

118. "Sunrise on Lake Monona"
   Destroyed by fire at the University of Wisconsin in 1884

119. "Sunrise on Lake Mendota"
   Destroyed by fire at the University of Wisconsin in 1884

120. "Sunrise on the Great Salt Lake, Utah"
   Location: Collection of Mr. Thomas Gilcrease, Tulsa, Oklahoma

121. "The Three Tetons"
   Location: Collection of Mr. Thomas Gilcrease, Tulsa, Oklahoma

122. "Tower Creek - Sunset, Yellowstone"
123. "Tower Falls, Yellowstone Park"
   16" x 20"
   Location: Collection of Yosemite Park, California

124. "The Work of an Almighty Hand"

125. "Yosemite Valley"
   6 3/4" x 9 1/2" (Academy board)
   Lower right: "T. Moran, N.A."

LONG ISLAND SUBJECTS

126. "At East Hampton, Long Island"
   10" x 11"
   1883
   Lower left: "T. Moran, 1883"
   Exhibited in 1891 at the Philadelphia Academy of Fine Arts in
   the Thomas B. Clarke Collection of American Pictures

127. "Three-Mile Harbor, Long Island"
   1884
   Lower right: "T. Moran, 1884"
   Location: National Academy of Design, New York

128. "East Hampton, Long Island" (windmill scene)
   30" x 25"
   1884
   Lower right: "T. Moran, 1884"

129. "A Misty Morning, Appaquoque, Long Island"
   16" x 24"
   1885
   Lower left: "T. Moran, 1885"

130. "Five-Mile River, Long Island"
   19 1/2" x 29 1/2"
   1888
   Lower right: "T. Moran, 1888"

131. "Fresh Ponds, East Hampton, Long Island"
   30" x 25"
   1888
   Lower left: "T. Moran, 1888"

132. "Gardner's Bay, East Hampton"
   20" x 30"
   1890
   Lower left: "T. Moran, 1890"

133. "The Earth and the Fulness Thereof"
   1891
   Commissioned by Charles B. Lawson, later purchased by Jacob
   Wertheim
134. "Near Southampton"
   30" x 40"
   1891
   Lower left: "T. Moran, 1891"
   Public sale, American-Anderson Galleries, New York, January 10, 1936

135. "Windy Hilltop on Gardner's Bay"
   20" x 30"
   1892
   Lower left: "T. Moran, 1892"

136. "The Goose Pond, East Hampton"
   20" x 30"
   1898
   Lower right: "T. Moran, '98"

137. "Sunset, Long Island"
   30" x 40 1/2"
   1900
   Lower left: "T. Moran, 1900"

138. "Long Island"
   14" x 20"
   1902
   Signed and dated: "T. Moran, 1902"
   Location: Collection of Mr. F. H. Folman, Bronxville, New York

139. "The Watering Place, East Hampton"
   20" x 30"
   1903
   Lower right: "T. Moran, 1903"

140. "Windy Autumn, Long Island"
   14" x 20"
   1904
   Lower left: "T. Moran, 1904"

141. "Autumn Winds, East Hampton, Long Island"
   14" x 20 1/4"
   1905
   Signed and dated: "T. Moran, 1905"
   Inscribed on back of canvas

142. "Sunset, Long Island Sound"
   31" x 41 1/2"
   1907
   Signed and dated: "T. Moran, 1907"
   Location: Lauren Rogers Library and Museum of Art, Laurel, Mississippi
UNDATED LONG ISLAND PAINTINGS

143. "Long Island Landscape - Sunset"
   14" x 20"
   1920
   Lower left: "T.M., 1920"
   Lower right: Thumbprint of the artist
   Location: Estate of C. R. Morley, Mentor, Ohio

MEXICAN SUBJECTS

146. "Old Mexico"
   25 1/2" x 30"
   1881
   Lower right: "T. Moran, 1881"

147. "Castle of San Juan D'Ulloa, Harbor at Vera Cruz"
   28 1/2" x 22 1/2"
   1883
   Lower left: "T. Moran, 1883"

148. "Harbor at Vera Cruz"
   20" x 30"
   1883
   Lower right: "T. Moran, 1883"

149. "Landscape"
   16" x 20"
   1883
   Lower left: "T. Moran, 1883"

150. "Tower of Cortez, Mexico"
   30" x 25"
   1883
   Lower right: "T. Moran, 1883"
   Location: Knoedler Galleries, New York City

151. "A Mexican Hacienda, Lake Cuitzeo"
   12" x 15"
   1885
   Lower right: "T. Moran, 1885"
152. "Sunset Over an Aztec Castle"
   19 1/2" x 24 1/2"
   1896
   Lower right: "T. Moran, 1896"
   Location: Eberstadt and Sons, Inc., New York City

153. "At the Well"
   20" x 30"
   1903
   Lower right: "T. Moran, 1903"
   Location: Collection of Mr. Theodore Girlish, Joliet, Illinois

154. "A Mexican Well, Cuernavaca"
   20" x 30 1/2"
   1906
   Lower left: "T. Moran, 1906"

155. "Fiesta: Cuernavaca, Mexico"
   20" x 30"
   1911

156. "The Bathing Pool, Cuernavaca"
   20" x 25"
   1913
   Lower right: "T. Moran, 1913"

157. "The Borda Gardens" (Cuernavaca, Mexico)
   26" x 20"
   1913
   Lower right: "T. Moran, 1913"

158. "Fiesta: Cuernavaca, Mexico"
   25" x 30"
   1913
   Lower right: "T. Moran, 1913"
   Location: Eberstadt and Sons, Inc., New York City

159. "A Fiesta in Old Mexico" (Also called Valley of Happy Days"
   1913
   Lower right: "T. Moran, 1913"

UNDATED MEXICAN PAINTINGS

160. "A Mexican Festival"

161. "Mexican Scene"
   13" x 16"
   Location: Collection of Mr. and Mrs. Lewis Kayton, San Antonio, Texas
**AMERICAN HISTORY**

162. "Ponce De Leon"
   63" x 116"
   1878

163. "Approach of the Santa Maria, San Salvador"
   23" x 45"
   1880
   Lower right: "T. Moran, 1880"
   Location: Collection of Mr. Thomas Gilcrease, Tulsa, Oklahoma

**OTHER AMERICAN SCENES**

164. "Boston Harbor Lights"
   24 1/2" x 36 1/4"
   1857
   Lower right: "T. Moran, Spit Light, Boston Harbor, 1857"

165. "Summer on the Susquehanna"
   24" x 20"
   1862
   Lower right: "T. Moran, 1862"

166. "Shores of Lake Superior"
   25" x 46"
   1866
   Lower left: "T. Moran, May, 1866"

167. "Fairmount Park, Philadelphia"
   32" x 46"
   1871
   Lower right: "T. Moran, 1871"
   Location: The First National Bank, Midland, Texas

168. "Bringing Home the Cattle, Coast of Florida"
   33 1/2" x 50"
   1879
   Lower right: "Thomas Moran, 1879"
   Location: Albright Art Gallery, The Buffalo Fine Arts Academy, Buffalo, New York

169. "Lower Manhattan from Communipaw, New Jersey"
   25 3/16" x 45 1/4"
   1880
   Lower left: "T. Moran, 1880"
   Location: Washington County Museum of Fine Arts, Hagerstown, Maryland
170. "The Coast of Florida"
9 1/2" x 13 1/2"
1882
Location: Museum and Art Gallery, Bolton, Lancashire, England

171. "Whirlpool Rapids, Niagara"
30 1/2" x 60"
1884
Lower left: "T. Moran, 1884"
Location: Collection of Mr. and Mrs. Drury W. Cooper, Montclair, New Jersey

172. "Rainbow Over the City"
27 1/2" x 40 1/4"
1893
Signed: "T. Moran, 1893"
Location: Collection of Mr. Bailie Vinson, Tulsa, Oklahoma

UNDATED AMERICAN SCENES

173. "Adirondacks"
12" x 20 1/4"
Lower right: "T. Moran"

174. "Fort George Island, Coast of Florida"
25 5/8" x 21 5/8"
Location: The Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland, Ohio
(The Hinman B. Hurlbut Collection)

VENETIAN SUBJECTS

175. "The Lagoon, Venice"
16" x 30"
1884
Lower left: "T. Moran, 1884"

176. "The Gates of Venice"
1886
Etching (No. 73) after this painting

177. "Glorious Venice"
1888
Lower left: "T. Moran, 1888"

178. "Fishermen, Venice"
21" x 31"
1891
Lower left: "T. Moran, 1891"
Location: Estate of Mr. C. R. Morley, Mentor, Ohio
179. "The Opal - Venice"
    1892
    Lower right: "T. Moran, 1892"
    Location: Collection of Mrs. George P. Camman, New York

180. "After the Shower: Venetian Scene with Rainbow"
    25" x 46"
    1893
    Lower right: "T. Moran, 1893"

181. "Entrance to the Grand Canal, Venice"
    30" x 45"
    1893
    Lower right: "T. Moran, 1893"
    Location: Collection of Mrs. William W. Hoppin, New York

182. "Venice"
    11" x 20"
    1894
    Lower right: "T. Moran, 1894"
    Location: Collection of Mr. J. E. Hart, Greenville, S. C.

183. "A View of Venice"
    15" x 21"
    1894
    Lower right: "T. Moran, 1894"
    Location: Collection of Mr. Robert G. Carr, San Angelo, Texas

184. "Venice"
    20" x 30"
    1895
    Lower left: "T. Moran, 1895"

185. "Venice"
    10" x 14"
    1896
    Lower right: "T. Moran, 1896"

186. "Venice"
    15" x 24"
    1897
    Signed: "T. Moran, 1897"
    Location: Collection of Mr. F. Edgar Rice, Bartlesville, Oklahoma

187. "Grand Canal, Venice"
    20" x 30"
    1898
    Signed: "T. Moran, 1898"
    Location: Collection of Mr. F. Edgar Rice, Bartlesville, Oklahoma
188. "A Venetian Fiesta"
   20" x 30"
   1899
   Lower left: "T. Moran, 1899"

189. "Venice"
   20" x 30"
   1901
   Lower right: "T. Moran, 1901"
   Location: E. and A. Milch Galleries, New York

190. "Sunset, Venice"
   19" x 29"
   1902
   Lower left: "T. Moran, 1902"
   Location: Newark Museum, Newark, New Jersey

191. "When Venice Ruled the Sea"
   1902
   Lower right: "T. Moran, 1902"

192. "The Island of Torcello, Venice"
   11/4" x 20"
   1903
   Lower right: "T. Moran, 1903"
   Location: Collection of Mr. F. Edgar Rice, Bartlesville, Oklahoma

193. "Venice"
   20" x 30"
   1903
   Lower right: "T. Moran, 1903"

194. "Venice"
   20" x 16 1/4"
   1903
   Lower right: "T. Moran, 1903"

195. "Venice"
   20 1/8" x 30 1/8"
   1904
   Lower right: "T. Moran, 1904"
   Location: The Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland, Ohio (Bequest of Mrs. Henry A. Everett for the Dorothy Everett Memorial Collection, 1938)

196. "Venice"
   3" x 6 1/2"
   1906
   Signed: "T.M., '06"
197. "Grand Canal, Venice"
   20" x 30"
   1906
   Lower left: "T. Moran, 1906"

198. "San Giorgio Maggiore, Venice"
   20" x 30 1/2"
   1907
   Lower left: "T. Moran, 1907"
   Location: Collection of Mr. Edwin D. Levinson, New York

199. "Venice - Sunset"
   20" x 30"
   1921
   Lower left: "T. Moran, 1921"

UNDATED VENETIAN PAINTINGS

200. "Venice"
     8" x 10"
     Location: Collection of Mrs. H. S. Griffin, Wichita Falls, Texas. Bought from the collection of Bishop Bromley Oxnam, through Carlton Palmer, dealer, Atlanta, Georgia.

201. "Venice"
     15" x 30"
     Location: Collection of Myrtle Frost, San Angelo, Texas

202. "Gala Day in Venice"
     11/8" x 72"

203. "Venice"
     25" x 30"
     Location: Huntington Fine Arts Building, Huntington, Long Island, N. Y.

204. "Venice"
     20" x 30"
     Lower right: "T. Moran"
     Location: Collection of the First National Bank, Midland, Texas

205. Untitled Venetian Landscape
     20 1/2" x 30"
     Unsigned
     Location: Lauren Rogers Library and Museum of Art, Laurel, Mississippi

206. "Venice"
     12" x 10"
     Location: Collection of Mr. Floyd Ard, Abilene, Texas
207. "Venice"
   12 1/2" x 20"
   Location: Collection of Mrs. H. S. Griffin, Wichita Falls, Texas

208. "The Pearl of Venice"
   25" x 15"
   Location: Findlay Galleries, Inc., Chicago, Illinois

OTHER EUROPEAN SCENES

209. "View of Windsor Castle"
   40" x 72"
   1863
   Lower right: "T. Moran, 1863"

210. "The Golden Hour" (Scotch cliff scene)
   9" x 13"
   1875

211. "A Gathering Storm on the Roman Campagna"
   11" x 20"
   1878
   Lower left: "T. Moran, 1878"

212. "The Windmill" (Dutch canal scene)
   13" x 19"
   1891
   Lower left: "T. Moran, 1891"

213. "Cockington Lane, Torquay, England"
   30" x 40"
   1910
   Lower right: "T. Moran, 1910"

214. "Conway Castle, North Wales"
   20" x 30"
   1910
   Lower left: "T. Moran, 1910"

SEASCAPES

215. "A Dream of the Orient"
   33" x 50"
   1876
   Lower left: "T. Moran, 1876"

216. "The Much Resounding Sea"
   25" x 68 1/8"
1884
Lower left: "T. Moran, 1884"

217. "Storm on the Coast"
1884
Lower right: "T. Moran, 1884"
Location: Collection of Mr. Warren G. Van Slyk

218. "Sunrise in Mid-Ocean"
30 1/8" x 40 1/4"
1904
Lower left: "T. Moran, 1904"
Location: The Walker Art Center, Minneapolis, Minnesota

219. "Seascape"
30 5/16" x 40 5/16"
1906
Lower left: "T. Moran, 1906"
Location: The Brooklyn Museum, Brooklyn, New York

220. "Moonlight and Icebergs, Mid-Atlantic"
1910
Lower right: "T. Moran, 1910"
Location: Collection of Mr. and Mrs. Charles T. Davies

221. "Mid-Atlantic, Moonlight"
30" x 40"
1920
Lower right: "T. Moran, 1920" and a thumbprint
Location: Estate of Mr. C. R. Morley, Mentor, Ohio

UNDATED SEASCAPES

222. "Coast Scene"

223. "Mid-Atlantic"
25" x 43"
Lower left: "T. Moran"

224. "Mid-Atlantic"
30" x 40"
Location: Philbrook Art Center, Tulsa, Oklahoma (Laura A. Clubb Collection)

225. "Spectures of the North"
7½" x 11 8"
Location: Collection of Mr. Thomas Gilcrease, Tulsa, Oklahoma

226. "Tantallon Castle"
ALLEGORICAL AND IMAGINATIVE

227. "The Slave Hunt"
     34" x 43 3/4"
     1864
     Lower left: "T. Moran"
     Location: Collection of Mr. John F. Braun, Merion, Pennsylvania

228. "Dreamland"
     30" x 45"
     1869
     Lower right: "Thos. Moran, 1869"

229. "Arabian Fishing Port"
     12" x 15"
     1885
     Lower right: "T. Moran, 1885"
     Location: The estate of Mr. C. R. Morley, Mentor, Ohio

230. "The Owls"
     36" x 30"
     1917
     Lower right: "T. Moran, 1917" and two thumbprints
     Location: Free Library, East Hampton, Long Island

231. "The Dream City"
     20" x 25"
     1919
     Lower right: "T. Moran, 1919"

UNDATED ALLEGORICAL AND IMAGINATIVE PAINTINGS

232. "Bluebeard's Castle"
     25" x 30"
     Location: Huntington Fine Arts Building, Huntington, Long Island

233. "Slaves Escaping Through the Swamp"
     32 1/2" x 43"
     Location: Philbrook Art Center, Tulsa, Oklahoma (Laura A. Clubb Collection)

BOOK ILLUSTRATION

234. "Among the Ruins There He Lingered"
     1858

235. "Childe Roland to the Dark Tower Came"
     23" x 50"
     1859
236. "Alastor" (Illustration for Shelley's poem)  
1860

237. "Arabian Nights: Story of the Third Sheikh"  
20" x 30"  
1897  
Lower left: "T. Moran, N.A. 1897"

238. "The Mountain of Loadstone" (Arabian Nights)  
20" x 30"  
1899  
Lower left: "T. Moran, 1899"

239. "Ulysses and the Sirens"  
30" x 45"  
1900  
Lower Left: "T. Moran, 1900"

MISCELLANEOUS

240. "Flight Into Egypt"  
27 1/4" x 45 1/2"  
1861  
Lower right: "T. Moran, 1861"

241. "Interior of Woods"  
16" x 20"  
1864  
Signed: "T. Moran, 1864"

242. "In the Forest"  
10 1/2" x 14"  
1878  
Lower right: "T. Moran, 1878"

243. "Clouds and Sunshine"  
30" x 25"  
1883  
Lower left: "T. Moran, 1883"

244. "Cows and Pool"  
12 1/2" x 14"  
1883  
Lower left: "T. Moran, '83"

245. "Landscape with Cattle"  
14" x 20"  
1883  
Lower left: "T. Moran, 1883"
246. "A Summer Squall"
   23 7/8" x 36"
   1889
   Location: The Walker Art Center, Minneapolis, Minnesota

247. "Sunset"
   29" x 41"
   1889
   Lower left: "T. Moran, 1889"

248. "Solitude"
   31/4" x 47"
   1896
   Lower right: "T. Moran, 1896"

249. "River of Life"
   1899
   Lower left: "T. Moran, 1899"

250. "Summer Storm"
   20" x 30"
   1901
   Lower left: "T. Moran, N.A., 1901"
   Location: Collection of Mrs. William W. Hoppin, New York

251. "Woodland Park"
   1913

MISCELLANEOUS UNDATED PAINTINGS

252. "Autumn"
   30" x 36"
   Location: Philbrook Art Center, Tulsa, Oklahoma (Laura A. Clubb Collection)

253. "Autumn Foliage"
   20" x 24"
   Location: Huntington Fine Arts Building, Huntington, Long Island

254. "The Children of the Mountain"

255. "A Cloudy Day"
   6" x 8"
   Location: Estate of Mr. C. R. Morley, Mentor, Ohio

256. "Garden Scene"
   10" x 12" (on redwood)
   Location: Collection of Mr. Thomas C. Murphy, Los Angeles, California, and Red Oak, Iowa
257. "The Remorse of Cain"

258. "The Ripening of the Leaf"

259. "Summer Drives Dull Care Away"
DRAWINGS

Including all mediums and types, such as: pencil, pen and ink, wash, charcoal, studies, diagrammatic sketches, and finished drawings and sketches. Arranged in chronological order with undated works at the end.

* * * *

1. "On the Delaware at Point Pleasant" (Pencil drawing)
   11" x 8 3/4"
   1857
   Lower left: "T. Moran, 1857"
   Location: The Brooklyn Museum, Brooklyn, New York

2. "St. Paul's from under Waterloo Bridge: Low Tide" (Drawing)
   8 1/2" x 11 1/4"
   1862
   Lower left: "Thomas Moran"
   Location: The Corcoran Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

3. "Cliffs of Ecclesbourne Near Hastings" (Drawing)
   Pencil and wash, with Chinese white
   8 1/2" x 10 7/16"
   1862
   Lower right: "T. M., July 13, 1862." Inscription
   Location: The Corcoran Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

4. "Evening" (Charcoal drawing)
   Photograph
   9" x 13 1/2"
   1865
   Lower left on mounting: "T. Moran, 1865"
   Lower right on photograph: "T. Moran, 1865"
   Location: Cooper Union Museum, New York

5. "On the Upper Delaware" (Charcoal drawing)
   Photograph
   9" x 13 1/2"
   1865
   Lower left on mounting: "T. Moran, 1865." Caption
   Location: Cooper Union Museum, New York

133
6. "Genzano-Nemi" (Drawing)  
Pencil and chalk on gray paper  
9 7/8" x 13 1/2"  
1867  
Upper right: "Genzano-Nemi, T. M. 1867"  
Location: Amherst College, Amherst, Mass.

7. "In the Italian Alps" (Study)  
Black crayon, black and white wash, and brown paper  
15" x 12"  
1867  
Lower left: "T. Moran, 1867" Inscription  
Location: Cooper Union Museum, New York

8. "Near Meadow Creek" (Sketch)  
Pencil, Brush, gray, black, white  
5" x 7 7/8"  
1871  
Upper right: "July 25th, 1871"  
Location: Cooper Union Museum

9. "Yellow Stone Lake" (Sketch)  
5" x 8"  
1871  
Location: Yosemite Park, California

10. "Mammoth Hot Springs, Yellowstone" (Sketch)  
6 1/4" x 10"  
1871  
Location: Yosemite Park, California

11. "Falls Back of Ellis" (Sketch)  
5" x 7 1/2"  
1871  
Location: Yosemite Park, California

12. "Liberty Cap, Yellowstone" (Sketch)  
6" x 9"  
1871  
Location: Yosemite Park, California

13. "Hot Spring on Gardner's River" (Sketch)  
Pencil, brush, gray, black  
5" x 7 5/8"  
1871  
Inscription  
Location: Cooper Union Museum, New York

14. "Above Tower Falls, Yellowstone" (Sketch)  
Pencil, Paper  
8 1/8" x 10 7/8"  
1871
15. "The Devil's Den, Yellowstone" (Sketch)
   Pencil, paper
   5" x 8"
   1871
   Location: Cooper Union Museum, New York

16. "The Devil's Den, Yellowstone" (Sketch)
   Pencil, paper
   5" x 8"
   1871
   Location: Cooper Union Museum, New York

17. "The Yellowstone Below the Falls" (Sketch)
   Pencil, brush, sepia; white and gray watercolor
   3 1/2" x 6 1/8"
   1871
   Location: Cooper Union Museum, New York

18. "Cliffs with Mudjekeewis, Ruler of the Winds of Heaven" (Sketch)
   Pencil, paper
   3 1/2" x 6 1/8"
   Location: Cooper Union Museum, New York

19. "Cliffs" (Sketch)
   Pencil, white wash, brownish paper
   8 1/8" x 10 7/8"
   1871
   Location: Cooper Union Museum, New York

20. "Green River, Wyoming" (Study)
   Pencil, black wash, paper
   5" x 7 1/4"
   1871
   Location: Cooper Union Museum, New York

21. "Yellowstone" (Sketch)
   Pencil, black and white wash, creamy paper
   5" x 3 3/4"
   1871
   Lower left: "Yellowstone, 1871"
   Location: Cooper Union Museum, New York

22. "In the Yellowstone Valley" (Wash)
   5 1/2" x 8 1/4"
   1871
   Location: Yosemite Park, California
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Medium</th>
<th>Size</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>&quot;Devil's Den, Yellowstone&quot; (Wash)</td>
<td></td>
<td>7&quot; x 10&quot;</td>
<td>1871</td>
<td>Yosemite Park, California</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>&quot;Tower Creek&quot; (Wash)</td>
<td></td>
<td>4 1/4&quot; x 6 1/2&quot;</td>
<td>1871</td>
<td>Yosemite Park, California</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>&quot;Tower Falls, Yellowstone&quot; (Wash)</td>
<td></td>
<td>3 1/4&quot; x 5 1/2&quot;</td>
<td>1871</td>
<td>Yosemite Park, California</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>&quot;Lower Entrance to Madison Canyon, Yellowstone&quot; (Watercolor drawing)</td>
<td></td>
<td>5 1/4&quot; x 8 1/4&quot;</td>
<td>1871</td>
<td>Yosemite Park, California</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>&quot;Yellowstone Lake&quot; (Watercolor Drawing)</td>
<td></td>
<td>5&quot; x 12&quot;</td>
<td>1871</td>
<td>Yosemite Park, California</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>&quot;Hot Springs of Gardiner's River, Yellowstone&quot; (Sketch)</td>
<td></td>
<td>6&quot; x 12 1/2&quot;</td>
<td>1871</td>
<td>Yosemite Park, California</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>&quot;Yellowstone Above Boettler's Ranch&quot; (Sketch)</td>
<td></td>
<td>7&quot; x 10&quot;</td>
<td>1871</td>
<td>Yosemite Park, California</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>&quot;The Yellowstone Lake&quot; (Sketch)</td>
<td></td>
<td>4 3/4&quot; x 9 3/4&quot;</td>
<td>1871</td>
<td>Yosemite Park, California</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>&quot;In the Canyon, Yellowstone&quot; (Sketch)</td>
<td></td>
<td>5&quot; x 7 3/4&quot;</td>
<td>1871</td>
<td>Yosemite Park, California</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>&quot;Tower Falls, Yellowstone&quot; (Sketch)</td>
<td></td>
<td>5&quot; x 8&quot;</td>
<td>1871</td>
<td>Yosemite Park, California</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>&quot;The Beehive Geyser, Yellowstone&quot; (Sketch)</td>
<td></td>
<td>6 1/2&quot; x 11 1/2&quot;</td>
<td>1871</td>
<td>Yosemite Park, California</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1871
Location: Yosemite Park, California

34. "Ravine in Madison Canyon, Yellowstone" (Sketch)
   10 1/4" x 14 1/2"
1871
Location: Yosemite Park, California

35. "Lower Yellowstone Valley" (Sketch)
   4" x 6 1/4"
1871
Location: Yosemite Park, California

36. "Yosemite Valley" (Sketch)
   10 3/4" x 15"
1872
Location: Yosemite Park, California

37. "Yosemite" (Sketch)
   10 3/4" x 15"
1872
Location: Yosemite Park, California

38. "Yosemite" (Sketch)
   7 3/4" x 9 3/4"
1872
Location: Yosemite Park, California

39. "Yosemite Falls" (Sketch)
   10 3/4" x 15"
1872
Location: Yosemite Park, California

40. "George Near Gentry's, Yosemite"
   9 3/4" x 12 3/4"
1872
Location: Yosemite Park, California

41. "From Point Moran — Near Glacier Point" (Sketch)
   10 3/4" x 15"
1872
Location: Yosemite Park, California

42. "Vernal Fall, Yosemite" (Sketch)
   1 1/2" x 6 1/2"
1872
Location: Yosemite Park, California

43. "The South Dome, Yosemite Valley" (Watercolor drawing)
   11 1/2" x 15"
1872
Location: Yosemite Park, California
44. "Cascades of Vernal Falls, Yosemite" (Wash)
   7 1/2" x 10 3/4"
   1872
   Location: Yosemite Park, California

45. "Sentinel and El Capitan, Yosemite" (Wash)
   7 1/2" x 10 3/4"
   1872
   Location: Yosemite Park, California

46. "North Dome, Yosemite" (Wash)
   10 3/4" x 15"
   1872
   Location: Yosemite Park, California

47. "The North Dome Yosemite" (Study)
   Pencil, black, white wash, creamy paper
   6 5/8" x 5 1/2"
   On Mounting: "T. Moran, 1872"
   Location: Cooper Union Museum, New York

48. "The South Dome, Yosemite" (Study)
   Pencil, black wash, creamy paper
   10 1/2" x 4 1/2"
   1872
   Lower Right: "South Dome, Yosemite, 1872"
   Location: Cooper Union Museum, New York

49. "In the Yosemite Valley" (Study)
   Pencil, black and white wash, creamy paper
   7 1/2" x 5 1/4"
   1872
   Lower left: "T. M., 1872"
   Location: Cooper Union Museum, New York

50. "Study: Falls of The Yosemite" (Sketch)
   Pencil, brush, brown, blue, and gray watercolor, Chinese black
   13 1/2" x 9 1/2"
   Lower left: "T. Moran, 1872". Inscription

51. "A Water-Hole in The Desert, Utah" (Sketch)
   Pencil, black and white wash, pen and ink, gray paper
   7" x 10"
   1873
   Upper right: "T. M. /Utah May, 1873"
   Location: Cooper Union Museum, New York

52. "Rio Virgin, South Utah" (Sketch)
   15" x 21 1/2"
   1873
   Location: Yosemite Park, California
53. "The Grand Canyon" (Sketch)  
   10 3/4" x 15"  
   1873  
   Location: Yosemite Park, California

54. "Valley of The Rio Virgin, South Utah" (Sketch)  
   10 3/4" x 15"  
   1873  
   Location: Yosemite Park, California

55. "Rio Virgin, Utah" (Sketch)  
   8 1/4" x 11 3/4"  
   1873  
   Location: Yosemite Park, California

56. "Valley of The Rio Virgin" (Sketch)  
   10 3/4" x 15"  
   1873  
   Location: Yosemite Park, California

57. "A Spur of Mt. Nebo, Utah" (Sketch)  
   4" x 6"  
   1873  
   Location: Yosemite Park, California

58. "Foot of Toro Weap" (Sketch)  
   10 3/4" x 15"  
   1873  
   Location: Yosemite Park, California

59. "The Grand Canyon" (Sketch)  
   10 3/4" x 15"  
   1873  
   Location: Yosemite Park, California

60. "The Cathedral, Rio Virgin, Utah" (Sketch)  
   10 3/4" x 15"  
   1873  
   Location: Yosemite Park, California

61. "The Gate of Little Zion Valley, Utah" (Sketch)  
   10 3/4" x 15"  
   1873  
   Location: Yosemite Park, California

62. "Looking Down the Canyon, Rio Virgin, Utah" (Sketch)  
   10 3/4" x 15"  
   1873  
   Location: Yosemite Park, California

63. "Rio Virgin" (Sketch)  
   9 3/4" x 12 3/4"
1873
Location: Yosemite Park, California

64. "Southern Utah" (Watercolor drawing)
5 3/16" x 9"
1873
Location: Yosemite Park, California

65. "In the Grand Canyon" (Wash)
8 1/4" x 10 1/2"
1873
Location: Yosemite Park, California

66. "Colburn's Butte, Utah" (Wash)
6" x 7 1/2"
1873
Location: Yosemite Park, California

67. "Monument Peak, Colorado Territory" (Wash)
13" x 9"
1873
Lower right: "T. Moran, 1873"
Location: Eberstadt and Sons, Inc., New York

68. "The Rio Virgin and Rock Formations" (Sketch)
Pencil, gray paper
10 3/4" x 15"
1873
Lower left: Inscription, notes, date (1873) and initials
Location: Cooper Union Museum, New York

69. "From Powell's Plateau" (Drawing)
Pencil, watercolor, and Chinese white
7 5/8" x 10 5/8"
1873
Lower left: "T. Moran, 1873"
Location: Cooper Union Museum, New York

70. "Rock Towers in Muav (Mohave?) Canyon" (Study)
Pencil, gray paper
15" x 10 3/4"
1873
Lower right: "T. M. Mauv Canyon, 1873"
Location: Cooper Union Museum, New York

71. "The Canyon of The Rio Virgin" (Study)
Pencil, gray paper
7 5/8" x 15"
1873
Lower left: "T. M. 1873". Many Notations
Location: Cooper Union Museum, New York
72. "The Grand Canyon in the Rain" (Diagrammatic Sketch)
   Pencil, gray paper
   10 7/8" x 15"
   1873
   Lower left: "T. M. 1873" Inscription
   Location: Cooper Union Museum, New York

73. "South Dome, Yosemite" (Watercolor drawing)
   Pencil watercolor, Chinese white on gray paper
   14 1/2" x 10 3/8"
   1873
   Lower left and right: Signatures, date (1873) and inscriptions
   Location: Cooper Union Museum, New York

74. "Canyon of the Rio Virgin, South Utah" (Drawing)
   11" x 9"
   1873
   Lower left: "T. M."
   Mounted on cardboard with caption and date (1873)
   Location: Cooper Union Museum, New York

75. "Cliffs of the Rio Virgin, Southern Utah" (Watercolor drawing)
   Pencil, watercolor, and Chinese white on paper
   8 3/4" x 13 7/8"
   1873
   Lower left: "T. M. 1873" Inscription
   Location: Cooper Union Museum, New York

76-81. Six Drawings on a single sheet (Sketches)
   Pencil on paper
   9 3/4" x 12 3/4"
   1873
   Titled as follows: (1) "Camp Colburn, Mt. Nebo, Utah, 1873,"
   (2) "From Nebo, Utah Lake,"
   (3) "Summit of Nebo, 1873,"
   (4) "Nebo,"
   (5) "From Nebo,"
   (6) Untitled.
   Location: Yosemite Park, California

82. "Camp Wexation, South Branch of the North Platte" (Sketch)
    7 1/4" x 10 3/4"
    1874 (August 12)
    Location: Yosemite Park, California

83. "Upper Twin Lakes, Colorado" (Sketch)
    10 3/4" x 15"
    1874
    Location: Yosemite Park, California

84. "Mt. Woods, Colorado" (Sketch)
    10 3/4" x 15"
85. "Delano Valley, Eagle River, Colorado" (Sketch)  
1874  
Location: Yosemite Park, California 
10 3/4" x 15"

86. "Camp No. 7 on the Upper Arkansas, Colorado" (Sketch)  
1874  
Location: Yosemite Park, California 
5 1/2" x 8"

87. "Holy Cross Creek, Colorado" (Sketch)  
1874  
Location: Yosemite Park, California 
9 3/4" x 15"

88. "Sketch Made on Mountain of the Holy Cross Trip, Colorado" (Sketch)  
1874  
Location: Yosemite Park, California 
5 1/2" x 8"

89. "Camp No. 5 in the Canyon Beyond Fairplay, Colorado" (Sketch)  
1874  
Location: Yosemite Park, California 
5 1/2" x 7 1/2"

90. "Camp of the Two Pines Colorado" (Sketch)  
1874  
Location: Yosemite Park, California 
7 1/2" x 10 3/4"

91. "Near Gentry's, Yosemite" (Sketch)  
1874  
Location: Yosemite Park, California 
10 3/4" x 15"

92. "Camp of the Evening Star on the Platte, Colorado" (Sketch)  
1874  
Location: Yosemite Park, California 
7 1/2" x 10 3/4"

93. "Nevada Fall, Yosemite" (Wash)  
1874  
Location: Yosemite Park, California 
10" x 13"

94. "North Dome, Yosemite" (Wash)  
1874  
Location: Yosemite Park, California 
9 1/2" x 13 1/2"
95. "View of the Tetons, Wyoming" (Study)
Pencil, black wash, gray paper
4 1/2" x 7"
1874
Location: Cooper Union Museum, New York

96. "Mount Holy Cross" (Study)
Pencil, bluish-gray paper
10 3/4" x 15"
1874
Lower left: "T. Moran, 1874"
Location: Cooper Union Museum, New York

97. "A Harbor" (Study)
Pen and ink, black wash on creamy paper
2 1/2" x 4 1/4"
1878
Lower left: "T. M. 1878"
Location: Cooper Union Museum, New York

98. "The Upper End of Little Cottonwood Canyon" (Study)
Black Crayon, brush, various watercolors, Chinese white,
grey paper
10" x 14 1/2"
1879
Upper left: Caption (in ink), "Aug. 13th, '79 (in pencil)
Location: Cooper Union Museum, New York

99. "In the Teton Canyon" (Pencil sketch)
10 3/4" x 14 1/2"
1879 (Aug. 27)
Location: Jackson Hole Museum Association, Grand Teton
National Park, Moose, Wyoming
Source: Gift of Miss Ruth B. Moran, 1932

100. "The Tetons, Shown from the Plain" (Sketch)
3" x 5 3/4"
1879
Upper right: "Tetons from Plains, Aug. 28th, '79"
Location: Cooper Union Museum, New York

101. "Green River from the Ferry" (Watercolor drawing)
Pencil, watercolor, & Chinese white on gray paper
8 5/8" x 14 1/4"
Upper right: "Sept. 11th, '79" Caption
Lower left: Inscription, Monogram, and date (1880)
Location: Cooper Union Museum, New York

102. "Upper End of Cottonwood Canyon, Wasatch Range, Utah" (Sketch)
12 3/4" x 19 1/2"
Date: 1879
Location: Yosemite Park, California
103. "Snake River, Above Taylor's Bridge, Idaho" (Sketch)
   8 1/4" x 12 1/2"
   Date: 1879
   Location: Yosemite Park, California

104. "Green River, Wyoming" (Sketch)
   8 1/2" x 14 1/2"
   1879
   Location: Yosemite Park, California

105. "Green River, Wyoming" (Watercolor Drawing)
   10" x 14 1/2"
   1879
   Location: Yosemite Park, California

106. "In Southern Utah" (Wash)
   12 1/2" x 17"
   1879
   Location: Yosemite Park, California

107. "Donner Lake" (Study)
   Pencil, brush, gray, bluish-gray, and black watercolors,
   Chinese white on thin, creamy paper
   6 1/8" x 5 1/2"
   1879
   Lower right: "Donner Lake, 1879"
   Unsigned
   Location: Cooper Union Museum, New York

108. "Communipaw" (pencil) Preliminary sketch for painting

109. "Lower Manhattan from Communipaw"
   Pencil on creamy paper
   3 1/4" x 10 1/8"
   1880
   Upper left: "T. Moran 1880"
   Lower right: "Communipaw, N. J."
   Source: Gift of Miss Ruth B. Moran, 1942
   Location: Washington County Museum of Fine Arts, Hagerstown, Md.

110. "Near San Francisco, Mexico"
   Pencil, watercolor, and chinese white on gray paper
   10" x 14"
   1883
   Mounted on cardboard with inscriptions, notes, caption, and
deate (March 1, 1883)
   Location: Cooper Union Museum, New York

111. "Tropaz Silver Mine"
   10" x 14 1/4"
   1883
   Lower left: "The Tropaz Silver Mine near Moravatio. T.M. 1883"
   Location: Knoedler and Sons Inc., New York
112. "The Needles" (Study)
Pencil, various watercolors, wash
4 1/2" x 7"
Upper right: "June 2, 1891-"
Lower right: "T. M."
Location: Cooper Union Museum, New York

113. "The South Dome, Yosemite" (Study)
Pencil gray, black, white, and rose wash, gray paper
12 3/4" x 9 3/4"
1891
Upper left: "Back of S. Dome"
Location: Cooper Union Museum, New York

114. "Summit of Mt. Nebo, Utah" (Study)
Pencil gray paper
13" x 9 3/4"
1891-1893
Upper right: The caption (as above title)
Location: Cooper Union Museum, New York

115. "The South Dome, Yosemite" (Study)
Pencil gray, black, white wash, gray paper
12 3/4" x 9 3/4"
1891
Upper left: The caption -- 1891
Location: Cooper Union Museum, New York

116. "Nesmith Fall, Colorado" (Study)
Pencil on paper
7 7/8" x 5"
Upper center: "June 18th 1892, T. M."
Inscription
Location: Cooper Union Museum, New York

117. "On the North Fork of Tongue River Big Horn, Wyoming" (Study)
5" x 7 3/4"
1892
Upper center: "July 7th, 1892, T. M." and Inscription
Location: Cooper Union Museum, New York

118. "South Fork of Clark's Fork, Wyoming" (Study)
Pencil on paper
5" x 7 3/4"
1892
Lower left: "July 15th, T. M."
Location: Cooper Union Museum, New York

119. "Peak on the Sunshine Fork, Wyoming" (Study)
Pencil on paper
5" x 7 3/4"
Upper right: "July 16th, 1892, T. M." and Inscription
Location: Cooper Union Museum, New York

120. "Index Peak, Wyoming" (Study)
    Pencil on paper
    7 7/8" x 5"
    1892
    Upper left: "July 18th, 1892, T. M."
    Location: Cooper Union Museum, New York

121. "West Wall of the Canyon, Yellowstone" (Sketch)
    Pencil on paper
    10" x 8"
    1892
    Lower left: "T. M., July 26th, 1892" Inscription
    Location: Cooper Union Museum, New York

122. "In the Yellowstone Park" (Sketch)
    Pencil on creamy paper
    4 3/8" x 7"
    1892
    Upper center: "July 28th, 1892, T. M."
    Location: Cooper Union Museum, New York

123. "In the Yellowstone Park" (Sketch)
    4 1/2" x 7"
    1892
    Upper right: "Excelsior Geyser / July 29th T. M."
    Location: Cooper Union Museum, New York

124. "Moran's Point, Yellowstone" (Study)
    Pencil on creamy paper
    9 3/4" x 12 3/4"
    1892
    Lower left: "July 31st, 1892, T. M."
    Location: Cooper Union Museum, New York

125. "The Bad Lands of Dakota" (Study)
    Pencil on paper
    7 7/8" x 9 7/8"
    1892
    Lower right: "August 4th, 1892"
    Unsigned
    Location: Cooper Union Museum, New York

126. "The Devil's Tower" (Sketch)
    4 1/2" x 7"
    1892
    Location: Yosemite Park, California

127. "The Devil's Tower Trip" (Sketch)
    4 1/2" x 7"
Two on one sheet:
(1.) "The Tower from Johnston's"
(2.) "The Storm Cloud"
1892
Location: Yosemite Park, California

128. "The Grand Canyon" (Sketch)
10 3/4" x 15"
1892
Location: Yosemite Park, California

129. "Cliff in Yellowstone Canyon, Moran's Point" (Sketch)
3 1/2" x 4 1/2"
1892
Location: Yosemite Park, California

130. "Looking West from Moran's Point, Grand Canyon" (Sketch)
5" x 8"
1892
Location: Yosemite Park, California

131. "Shiva's Temple, Grand Canyon" (Watercolor drawing)
5" x 8"
1892
Location: Yosemite Park, California

132. "The Devil's Tower from Johnson's" (Wash drawing)
Photographic copy
1892
Location: Yosemite Park, California

133. "The Rising Storm Cloud Near Devil's Tower" (Wash drawing)
8 1/2" x 10 1/4"
1892
Location: Yosemite Park, California

134. "Cliffs" (Sketch)
Pencil (Slightly sketched)
10" x 8"
1892
Location: Cooper Union Museum, New York

135. "Chama Below the Summit" (Study)
Pencil, brush, various watercolors on paper
8 5/8" x 12"
1892
Upper center: "Chama Below Summit, T. M., 1892"
Location: Cooper Union Museum, New York

136. "Hot Springs, Yellowstone" (Sketch)
Pencil, reddish, lilac wash on gray paper
9 7/8" x 12 3/4"
1892
Upper left: "T. M., Hot Springs, Y. 1892"
Location: Cooper Union Museum, New York

137. "Hot Springs, Yellowstone" (Study)
Black crayon, various watercolor washes on paper
9 1/2" x 12 1/2"
Lower right: "T. M., 1892"
Location: Cooper Union Museum, New York

138. "Index-Peak and Clark's Fork, Wyoming" (Study)
Pencil, brush, various watercolors, Chinese white on gray paper
9 5/8" x 12 3/4"
1892
Lower left: "T. M., 1892". Caption
Location: Cooper Union Museum, New York

139. "Toltec Gorge, Colorado" (Study)
Pencil, brush, various watercolors, Chinese white and black
12 1/2" x 9 1/4"
Lower right: "T. M."
Lower Margin of cardboard mounting: "D. & R.G.R.R., 1892"
Location: Cooper Union Museum, New York

140. "Glen Eyrie, Colorado" (Study)
Pencil, various watercolor washes, on paper
10 1/2" x 13 3/4"
1892
Upper left: "Glen Eyrie, Col., T. M."
Location: Cooper Union Museum, New York

141. "Lower Fire Hole, Geyser Basin, Yellowstone" (Study)
Pencil on brown paper
9 3/8" x 12"
1892
Upper left: "T. M., '92"
Location: Cooper Union Museum, New York

142. "The Teton Range" (Study of a view of distant ranges)
Pencil on gray paper
9 1/8" x 3 1/4"
1892
Lower right: "The Teton Range from the East"
Location: Cooper Union Museum, New York

143. "The Teton Range" (Close view) (Study)
Pencil on gray paper
9 1/8" x 3 1/4"
1892
Location: Cooper Union Museum, New York
144. "In the Yellowstone Park" (Diagrammatic sketch)
Pencil on creamy paper
4 1/2" x 7"
1892
Many notations
Location: Cooper Union Museum, New York

145. "The Great Geyser" (Sketch)
Pencil on creamy paper
4 1/2" x 7"
1892
Color Notations
Location: Cooper Union Museum, New York

146. "Glen Eyrie, Colorado" (Sketch)
Pencil on creamy paper
10 1/2" x 14"
1892
Lower left: "Gen. Palmer's House, Glen Eyrie, Col. / T. Moran"
Location: Cooper Union Museum, New York

147. "Toltec Gorge and Eva Cliff from the West, Denver, and Rio Grande Railroad"
Pencil, watercolor, white crayon on gray paper
12 1/2" x 9 1/4"
1892
Lower left and right: "T. M."
Upper left: Caption
Location: Cooper Union Museum, New York

148. "Lizard Head Colorado" (Study)
Pencil on stationary paper of the Denver and Rio Grande Railroad Company, Denver, Colorado
8 1/2" x 11"
1893
Upper left: "Lizard Head / Jan. 8th, 1893/ T. M."
Location: Cooper Union Museum, New York

149. "Lizard Head, Colorado" (Sketch)
Pencil - stationary paper of the Denver and Rio Grande Railroad Company, Denver, Colorado
8 1/2" x 11"
1893
Upper left: "Lizard Head Jan. 8th T. M. - 93"
Location: Cooper Union Museum, New York

150. "The Devil's Tower from Johnston's, Crook County, Wyoming" (Wash)
6 11/16" x 12 11/16"
1893
Lower right: "T. M. (monogram) 1893"
Source: Gift of the estate of John H. Maghee, 1937
Location: National collection of Fine Arts, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D. C.
151. "Hagar and Ishmael in the Desert" (Study for painting)
Pencil, brown, gray, black, white wash, gray paper
9 1/2" x 12 1/4"
1894
Lower left: Caption + "T. Moran May, 1894"
Location: Cooper Union Museum, New York

152. "Landscape" (Pen and ink drawing of a mountain scene)
1895
Lower left: "T. Moran, 1895"

153. "Blue Lake, Idaho"
10 3/4" x 15"
1900
Lower left: "Blue Lake Idaho T. Moran 1900"

154. "Acoma, N. M." (Sketch)
5 1/2" x 8 1/4"
1900
Location: Yosemite Park, California

155. "Mesa Encantada from Acoma, New Mexico" (Sketch)
8" x 10"
1900
Location: Yosemite Park, California

156. "Looking up the Trail at Bright Angel, Grand Canyon of Arizona" (Study)
Pencil, brush, various, partly gouache watercolors, grayish blue paper
15" x 10 3/4"
1901
Lower left: "T. Moran, May 1901." Caption

157. Untitled Sketch (Study)
Sketched slightly in pencil
15" x 10 3/4"
1901
Location: Cooper Union Museum, New York

158. "The Grand Canyon from Hava Supai Point" (Diagrammatic sketch)
Pencil, grayish blue paper
Lower left: Caption + "May 25th, 1901 Looking East"
Location: Cooper Union Museum, New York

159. "Laguna, New Mexico" (Study)
Pencil, gray wash, paper
10" x 14"
1901
Various notations, including: "June 1st, 1901, T. M."
Location: Cooper Union Museum, New York
160. "Spanish Peak, Colorado, in Rain" (Study)  
Pencil, gray wash, paper  
9 3/4" x 11"  
1901  
Top: "June 2, 1901, T. M."
Location: Cooper Union Museum, New York

161. "Ruxton, Colorado" (Wash)  
Pencil, gray wash on paper  
11" x 10"  
1901  
Lower left: Caption = "June 7th, 1901, T. M."
Location: Cooper Union Museum, New York

162. "On the Bright Angel Trail" (Sketch)  
10 3/4" x 15"  
1901  
Location: Yosemite Park, California

163. "Grand Canyon from Rowe’s Point" (Sketch)  
10" x 11"  
1901  
Location: Yosemite Park, California

164. "Maravatio, Mexico" (Charcoal)  
11" x 20"  
1903  
Lower right: "T. Moran, 1903"
Location: Knoedler’s Galleries, New York

165. "From Glacier Point, Yosemite Valley" (Sketch)  
10 3/4" x 15"  
1901  
Location: Yosemite Park, California

166. "Yosemite, North and South Dome" (Sketch)  
4 1/2" x 7"  
1904  
Location: Yosemite Park, California

167. "The Sentinel, Yosemite" (Wash)  
6 1/2" x 9 3/4"  
1904  
Location: Yosemite Park, California

168. "Navada Fall, Yosemite" (Wash)  
11" x 15 1/4"  
1904  
Location: Yosemite Park, California

169. "The South Dome, Yosemite" (Study)  
Pencil, white wash, blue paper
170. "Vernal Falls, Yosemite" (Study)
Pencil, black, whitewash, gray paper
13" x 9 3/4"
1904
Lower right: Caption = "T. Moran, 1904"
Location: Cooper Union Museum, New York

171. "The South Dome, Yosemite" (Study)
Pencil whitewash, gray paper
15" x 21 1/2"
1904
Lower right: T. M. 1904 The South Dome from Glacier Point Yosemite
Location: Cooper Union Museum, New York

172. "Index Peak" (Charcoal)
20" x 30"
1905
Location: Yellowstone National Park, Wyoming
Source: Gift of Miss Ruth B. Moran

173. "The Grand Canyon in the Rain" (Diagrammatic Sketch)
Pen, ink, creamy paper
6" x 9 1/2"
1908
Lower left: Rain in Canyon / July 12th, 1908, T. M.
Location: Cooper Union Museum, New York

174. "Two Cliffs in Grand Canyon" (Diagrammatic sketch)
Pen, ink, creamy paper
6" x 9 1/2"
1908
Upper right: Grand Canyon, July 12th, 1908, Arizona
Upper left: T. M.
Location: Cooper Union Museum, New York

UNDATED DRAWINGS

175. "The Grand Canyon" (Sketch)
9 1/4" x 14"
Location: Yosemite Park, California

176. "Across the Grand Canyon from Bass" (Sketch)
5" x 12"
Location: Yosemite Park, California
177. "The Grand Canyon" (Sketch)  
   10 3/4" x 15"  
   Location: Yosemite Park, California

178. "Orizaba, Mexico"  
   Location: Gilcrease Collection, Tulsa, Oklahoma

179. "Canal in City of Mexico" (Sketch)  
   Location: Gilcrease Collection, Tulsa, Oklahoma

180. "Chapultepec" (Sketch)  
   Location: Gilcrease Collection, Tulsa, Oklahoma

181. "Volcano of Toluca" (Sketch)  
   Location: Gilcrease Collection, Tulsa, Oklahoma

182. "Morelia, Mexico" (Sketch)  
   (3 watercolors with the same title)  
   Location: Gilcrease Collection, Tulsa, Oklahoma

183. "Between Sapeaque Beach and Amagansett" (Sketch)  
   Location: Gilcrease Collection, Tulsa, Oklahoma

184. "Hook Pond" (Sketch)  
   (Tracing for the Etching)  
   Location: Gilcrease Collection, Tulsa, Oklahoma

185. "The Fate of Chinemolla" (Sketch)  
   Location: Gilcrease Collection, Tulsa, Oklahoma

186. "The Arroyo at Saltillo" (Sketch)  
   Location: Gilcrease Collection, Tulsa, Oklahoma

187. "Mexico, from Montezuma Palace" (Sketch)  
   Location: Gilcrease Collection, Tulsa, Oklahoma

188. "Lake Cuitzeo" (Sketch)  
   Location: Gilcrease Collection, Tulsa, Oklahoma

189. "Tagus" (Sketch)  
   Location: Gilcrease Collection, Tulsa, Oklahoma

190. "Saltillo Sunday" (Sketch)  
   Location: Gilcrease Collection, Tulsa, Oklahoma

191. "Near Sapeaque" (Sketch)  
   Location: Gilcrease Collection, Tulsa, Oklahoma

192. "On the Metlock River" (Sketch)  
   Location: Gilcrease Collection, Tulsa, Oklahoma
193. "Orizaba" (Sketch)  
(2 watercolors with the same title)  
Location: Gilcrease Collection, Tulsa, Oklahoma

194. "Pay Day Beyond Maravatio" (Sketch)  
Location: Gilcrease Collection, Tulsa, Oklahoma

195. "The Alameda Celaya, Mexico" (Sketch)  
Location: Gilcrease Collection, Tulsa, Oklahoma

196. "Vera Cruz, Mexico" (Sketch)  
Location: Gilcrease Collection, Tulsa, Oklahoma

197. "For in De Los Americanos, Saltillo" (Sketch)  
Location: Gilcrease Collection, Tulsa, Oklahoma

198. "Washing Place" (Sketch)  
Location: Gilcrease Collection, Tulsa, Oklahoma

199. "The Peak of Juliacaan" (Sketch)  
Location: Gilcrease Collection, Tulsa, Oklahoma

200. "Salones Hidalgo" (Sketch)  
Location: Gilcrease Collection, Tulsa, Oklahoma

201. "St. Catharina Near Monterey" (Sketch)  
Location: Gilcrease Collection, Tulsa, Oklahoma

202. "Mt. Near Maravatio Mexico" (Sketch)  
Location: Gilcrease Collection, Tulsa, Oklahoma

203. "Mexico" (Sketch)  
Location: Gilcrease Collection, Tulsa, Oklahoma

204. "Outside of Mexico" (Sketch)  
Location: Gilcrease Collection, Tulsa, Oklahoma

205. "Quiro" (Sketch)  
Location: Gilcrease Collection, Tulsa, Oklahoma

206. "East Hampton" (Sketch)  
Location: Guild Hall, East Hampton, Long Island, New York

207. "A Mountain Lake" (Sketch)  
15" x 10 3/4"  
Location: Cooper Union Museum, New York

208. "A Mountain Lake" (Sketch)  
7 5/8" x 15"  
Slightly Sketched in pencil  
Location: Cooper Union Museum, New York
209. "Near Meadow Creek" (Sketch)
Pencil, greenish paper, pencil notes
5" x 7 7/8"
Location: Cooper Union Museum, New York

210. "Corinne, Utah" (Sketch)
Pencil, paper
5" x 7 5/8"
Inscription
Location: Cooper Union Museum, New York

211. "Mountain Range" (Sketch)
Pencil, paper
13 1/2" x 9 1/2"
Location: Cooper Union Museum, New York

212. "Two Peaks and Canyon Wall" (Sketch)
Pencil, paper (slightly sketched)
1 1/2" x 7"
Location: Cooper Union Museum, New York

213. "Landscape" (Sketch)
Pencil on paper
12 1/4" x 9 1/4"
Signature: "Toltec Gorge, Col., T. Moran"
Location: Cooper Union Museum, New York

214. "Mountainous Country" (Sketch)
3" x 5 3/4"
Location: Cooper Union Museum, New York

215. "Hiawatha Sees Hudjekeewis" (Sketch)
Black Crayon, pen, brown ink, gray and brown wash on paper
5 1/2" x 4 3/8"
Mounted on cardboard with inscriptions and notations
Location: Cooper Union Museum, New York

216. "In the Valley of the Chama, New Mexico" (Sketch)
Pencil on gray paper
9 5/8" x 12 1/2"
Upper left: "In the Valley of the Chama, New Mexico, T. M."
Location: Cooper Union Museum, New York

217. "Shoshone Falls, Idaho" (Sketch)
Pencil, bluish-gray paper
10 7/8" x 15"
Location: Cooper Union Museum, New York

218. "Idaho. Port Neuf Canyon" (Study)
Pencil, watercolor, lined notebook paper—on cardboard
mounting: "T. Moran"
Location: Cooper Union Museum, New York
219. "Sunshine Fork, Wyoming" (Study)  
Pencil on paper  
5" x 7 3/4"  
Lower right: "T. M."  
Location: Cooper Union Museum, New York

220. "Alpine Pass at Cascade Twin Lakes, Colorado" (Study)  
Pencil, various watercolors, white wash on gray paper  
Caption written across top  
Location: Cooper Union Museum, New York

221. "The Tetons, Idaho"  
Pencil and watercolor on gray paper  
10 5/8" x 11 1/2"  
Upper left: Title inscribed in pencil  
Location: Cooper Union Museum, New York

222. "Landscape" (Drawing on woodblock)  
6" x 5"  
Location: Carnegie Institute, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania  
Purchased from Mr. George H. Whittle, 1918

223. "The Teton Range" (From West) (Charcoal)  
20" x 30"  
Source: Gift of Miss Ruth B. Moran, 1932  
Location: Jackson Hole Museum Association, Grand Teton National Park, Moose, Wyoming

224. "Pueblo Town of Tewa" (Charcoal)  
20" x 30"  
Location: Yosemite Park, California

225. "Near the Rim of the Grand Canyon" (Charcoal)  
20" x 30"  
Location: Yosemite Park, California

226. "The Teton Range, Wyoming" (Wash)  
13 1/4" x 17 1/2"  
Location: Yosemite Park, California

227. "The Great White Throne, Utah" (Wash)  
5 3/4" x 8 1/4"  
Location: Yosemite Park, California

228. "The Witches Cauldron" (Wash)  
4 1/2" x 4 3/4"  
Location: Yosemite Park, California

229. "Mammoth Hot Springs, Yellowstone" (Wash)  
9" x 11"  
Lower left: "T. M."  
Hayden's Autographed Description on Reverse  
Location: Eberstadt and Sons Inc., New York
230. "Stormy Landscape" (Wash)
   5" x 6 3/4"
   Location: The Corcoran Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C.

231. "North Peak" (Wash)
   10" x 18"
   Signed: "T. Moran"
   Location: Carnegie Institute, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania
   Purchased from the Century Company, 1906

232. "Mirror Lake, Yosemite" (Watercolor drawing)
   Pencil, black wash, creamy paper
   15" x 10 3/4"
   Lower center: Caption, Inscription, and "T. Moran"
   Location: Cooper Union Museum, New York

233. "A Fantasy" (Pen - India ink)
   Location: Guild Hall, East Hampton, Long Island, New York

234. "After A Thaw" (Pen - India ink)
   Location: Guild Hall, East Hampton, Long Island, New York
WATERCOLORS

1. "Hunting on the Downs"
   2¼" x 31"
   1869
   Signed and dated: "T. Moran, 1869"
   Location: Collection of Mr. F. Edgar Rice, Bartlesville, Oklahoma

2. "River Scene"
   3" x 3 7/8"
   1870
   Lower left: "T. Moran, 1870"
   Location: Cooper Union Museum, New York

3. "Warm Springs"
   3 1¼" x 7"
   1871
   Lower left: "T. Moran, July 8th, 1871"
   Location: Yellowstone National Park, Wyoming

4. "In the Grand Canyon of the Yellowstone"
   5" x 8"
   1871
   Lower left: "T. Moran, July, 1871"
   Location: Yellowstone National Park, Wyoming

5. "Gardner River, July, 1871"
   5" x 7 3/4"
   1871
   Lower left: "T. Moran, 1871"
   Location: Yellowstone National Park, Wyoming

6. "The Great Blue Spring of the Lower Geyser Basin, Yellowstone"
   10" x 14"
   1871
   Lower right: "T. M."
   Upper right: Inscription and "Aug. 7th, 1871, T. M."

7. "Canyon Walls, Yellowstone"
   5" x 7 3/4"
   1871
   Lower left: "T. Moran, 1871"
   Location: Yellowstone National Park, Wyoming

8. "Great Springs of the Firehole"
   8" x 11"

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1871
Lower left: "T. Moran, 1871"
Location: Yellowstone National Park, Wyoming

9. "Cinnebar Mountain"
   13 1/2" x 10 1/2"
   1871
   Lower left: "T. Moran, 1871"
   Location: Yellowstone National Park, Wyoming

10. "The Yellowstone Range from Near Fort Ellis"
    10 1/4" x 13 3/4"
    1871
    Lower left: "T. Moran, 1871"
    Location: Yellowstone National Park, Wyoming

11. "Tower Creek, Yellowstone"
    7 3/4" x 10 1/2"
    1871
    Lower left: "T. M., 1871"
    Location: Yellowstone National Park, Wyoming

12. "The Devil's Slide, Yellowstone"
    7" x 10"
    1871
    Lower left: "The Devil's Slide, Yellowstone, T. Moran, 1871"
    Location: Yellowstone National Park, Wyoming

13. "Hot Springs of Gardner's River, Yellowstone"
    10 1/4" x 13 1/2"
    1871
    Lower left: "T. M."
    Location: Yellowstone National Park, Wyoming

14. "The Grand Canyon, Yellowstone"
    11" x 8"
    1871
    Lower right: "T. M."
    Location: Yellowstone National Park, Wyoming

15. "Yellowstone Canyon"
    11" x 10 1/2"
    1871
    Lower left: "T. Moran, 1871"
    Location: Yellowstone National Park, Wyoming

16. "Rocks at the Base of the Wet Slide Run to Black"
    10 1/4" x 8"
    1871
    Lower left: "T. Moran, 1871"
    Location: Yellowstone National Park, Wyoming
17. "Sand in the Canyon"
   5 3/4" x 9 1/2"
   1871
   Lower left: "T. Moran, 1871"
   Location: Yellowstone National Park, Wyoming

18. "Crystal Fall—Crystal Creek"
   11" x 8"
   1871
   Lower left: "T. Moran, 1871"
   Location: Yellowstone Park, Wyoming

19. "Warm Springs, Idaho"
    1871
   Lower left: "T. M."
   Lower right: "T. Moran"

20. "Lower Falls of the Yellowstone"
    5" x 7 3/4"
   1871
   Lower left: "T. Moran, 1871"
   Location: Yellowstone National Park, Wyoming

21. "Liberty Gap at the Mouth of Clematis Gulch"
    7" x 10"
   1871
   Lower left: "T. Moran, 1871"
   Location: Yellowstone National Park, Wyoming

22. "Springs on the Border of Yellowstone Lake"
    5" x 10 3/4"
   1871
   Lower left: "T. Moran, 1871"
   Location: Yellowstone National Park, Wyoming

23. "Extinct Craters — Gardner's River"
    5" x 9 1/2"
   1871
   Lower left: "T. Moran, 1871"
   Location: Yellowstone National Park, Wyoming

24-26. Three Untitled Watercolors (Subject: Yellowstone Park)
   Two: 2" x 3"
   One: 2 1/2" x 1"
   1871
   Location: Collection of Mr. Horace Albright, Wykagyl Gardens, New Rochelle, New York

27-29. Three Untitled Watercolors (Subject: The Tetons, Wyoming)
   Painted on lined notebook paper
1872
Location: Collection of Mr. Horace Albright, Wykagyl Gardens, New Rochelle, New York

30. "The Tower Falls"
   1872
   Lower left: "T. Moran, 1872"

31. "Colorado Landscape"
   10" x 14"
   1873
   Lower left: "T. Moran, 1873"
   Location: Knoedler's Gallery, New York

32. "Giant Blue Spring"
   13 1/2" x 19 1/2"
   1873
   Lower left: "T. Moran, 1873"
   Location: Knoedler's Gallery, New York

33. "Yellowstone Lake"
   1874
   Lower left: "T. M., 1874"
   Location: Collection of Mr. Thomas Gilcrease, Tulsa, Oklahoma

34. "Tower Falls and Sulphur Mountain, Yellowstone"
   1874
   Lower left: "T. M., 1874"

35. "Lower Yellowstone Range"
   1874
   Lower left: "T. Moran, 1874"

36. "Head of Yellowstone River"
   1874
   Lower left: "T. Moran, 1874"

37. "The Great Salt Lake of Utah"
   1874
   Lower right: "T. Moran, 1874"

38. "The Lookout"
   19 1/2" x 14"
   1875
   Lower left: "T. Moran"
   Inscribed on mounting: "To Mrs. Alma Calder Johnston from Mr. and Mrs. Thos. Moran, May 21st, 1875"
   Location: Knoedler's Gallery, New York

39. "Canyon of the Rio Virgin, Utah"
   1875
   Lower right: "T. M., 1875"
40. "The Mosquito Trail, Rocky Mountains of Colorado"
   1875
   Lower right: "T. M., 1875"

41. "Cherokee Rose" (Flower study)
   9" x 5 3/4"
   1876
   Lower left: "T. M., 1876"
   Lower right: "Cherokee Rose, Florida"
   Location: E. and A. Milch Galleries, New York

42. "In the Desert in Arizona"
   (Sepia and Chinese white)
   5 1/4" x 9"
   1878
   Lower right: "T. M., 1878"
   Location: Cooper Union Museum, New York

43. "The Ruby Range, Nevada"
   8 1/2" x 11 3/8"
   1879
   Lower left (in pencil): "The Ruby Range, Nevada, T. M., Aug. 8th, '79"
   Location: The Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland, Ohio

44. "Lake Tahoe"
   1879
   Lower left: "Tahoe, Aug. 9th, '79, T. Moran"

45. "Fort Hall, Idaho"
   7 1/2" x 11 1/2"
   1879
   Location: Jackson Hole Museum Association, Grand Teton National Park, Moose, Wyoming (Gift of Miss Ruth B. Moran, 1932)

46. "The Grand Canyon"
   (Sepia)
   2" x 2 7/8"
   1879
   Lower left: "T. M., 1879"
   Location: Cooper Union Museum, New York

47. "Cliffs of Green River, Wyoming"
   12 1/2" x 19 1/2"
   1879
   Lower left: "T. M., 1879, Green River"
   Location: Cooper Union Museum, New York

48. "The Three Tetons" (From southwest)
   13 1/2" x 20"
1897
Location: Jackson Hole Museum Association, Grand Teton National Park, Moose, Wyoming (Gift of Miss Ruth B. Moran, 1932)

49. "The Tetons"
   9 3/4" x 14"
   1879
   Lower left: "T. Moran, 1879"
   Location: Yellowstone National Park, Wyoming

50. "Orizaba, Mexico"
    1883
    Upper left: "Orizaba, Feb. 5th, 1883, T. Moran"

51. "Vera Cruz Harbor"
    1883
    Lower left: "Feb. 3rd, 1883, Vera Cruz, T. Moran"

52. "Sunday Morning, Maravatio"
    1883
    Upper left: "Sunday Morning, Maravatio, Feb. 11th, 1883, T.M."
    Lower right: "T. M., 1883"

53. "Tower of Cortez, Mexico"
    14" x 9 1/2"
    1883
    Lower right: "Tower of Cortez, Mexico, T. Moran"
    Lower left: "1883"
    Location: Amherst College, Amherst, Massachusetts

54. "View of Venice"
    10 1/2" x 15 1/2"
    1888
    Lower right: "T. Moran, 1888"
    Location: The Corcoran Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

55. "Grand Canyon of the Colorado"
    12 1/2" x 19 1/2"
    1892
    Lower left: "May 30th, 1892, T. Moran"
    Location: Eberstadt and Sons, Inc., New York

56. "Smelting Works at Denver"
    13 3/4" x 16 5/7"
    1892
    Lower left (in pencil): "T. M., T. Moran"
    Lower right (in pencil): "Smelting Works at Denver, June 12th, 1892, T. Moran"
    Location: Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland, Ohio
57. "Moran Point, Yellowstone Canyon"
   Upper left: "Moran Point, Yellowstone Canyon, July 31st, 1892, T.M."
   1892

58. "East Wall of the Canyon from Inspiration Point"
   12 1/2" x 9"
   1892
   Lower left: "T. Moran, 1892"
   Location: Yellowstone National Park, Wyoming

59. "The Hacienda of San Juan, Mexico"
   (Various watercolors, pen, red ink on gray paper)
   8 1/4" x 10 3/4"
   1892
   Lower left: "T. Moran, 1892"
   Location: Cooper Union Museum, New York

60. "Hot Spring, Yellowstone" (Main terrace, Mammoth Hot Springs)
    12 1/2" x 9 3/4"
    1892
    Lower right: "T. Moran, 1892"
    Location: Yellowstone National Park, Wyoming

61. "The Hail Storm"
    1893
    Lower right: "T. Moran, 1893"

62. "The Gathering Storm Cloud"
    1893
    Lower right: "T. M., '93"

63. "The Devil's Tower from Johnson's"
    1893
    Lower right: "T. M., 1893"

64. "The Devil's Tower on the Belle Fourche in Northern Wyoming"
    1893
    Lower right: "T. Moran, 1893"

65. "Chicago World's Fair"
    28 3/16" x 20 1/2"
    1894
    Lower left: "T. Moran, 1894"
    Location: The Brooklyn Museum, Brooklyn, New York

66. "Bacino di San Marco"
    11 15/16" x 18 15/16"
    1897
    Lower right: "T. Moran, 1897"
Location: The Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland, Ohio
(Bequest of Mrs. Henry A. Everett for the Dorothy Everett Memorial Collection)

67. "Venice"
   14" x 9 1/2"
   1897
   Lower right: "T. Moran, 1897"
   Location: Findlay Galleries, New York

68. "Southampton, Long Island" (River with treadmill)
   14" x 20"
   1901
   Lower left: "T. Moran, 1901"
   Location: Newhouse Galleries, Inc., New York

69. "Castle Butte, Green River, Wyoming"
   26" x 19 3/4"
   1902
   Lower right: "T. Moran, 1902"

70. "The Grand Canyon in Stormy Weather"
    3 1/4" x 4 3/4"
    1908
    Reverse: "Canyon of the Colorado, Arizona, T. Moran"
    Location: Cooper Union Museum, New York

UNDATED WATERCOLORS

71. "Tower of Tower Falls"
    Location: Collection of Mr. Thomas Gilcrease, Tulsa, Oklahoma

72. "Lower Falls, Yellowstone"
    Location: Collection of Mr. Thomas Gilcrease, Tulsa, Oklahoma

73. "Falls, Yellowstone River"
    Location: Collection of Mr. Thomas Gilcrease, Tulsa, Oklahoma

74. "The Castle Geyser"
    Location: Collection of Mr. Thomas Gilcrease, Tulsa, Oklahoma

75. "Devil's Den, Cascade Creek"
    Location: Collection of Mr. Thomas Gilcrease, Tulsa, Oklahoma

76. "Diana's Bath, on Gardner's River"
    Location: Collection of Mr. Thomas Gilcrease, Tulsa, Oklahoma

77. "The Grotto Geyser"
    Location: Collection of Mr. Thomas Gilcrease, Tulsa, Oklahoma
78. "The Great Hot Springs"
   Location: Collection of Mr. Thomas Gilcrease, Tulsa, Oklahoma

79. "Hot Springs, Gardner's River"
   Location: Collection of Mr. Thomas Gilcrease, Tulsa, Oklahoma

80. "Hot Springs of Gardner's River"
   Location: Collection of Mr. Thomas Gilcrease, Tulsa, Oklahoma

81. "Landscape"
   Location: Collection of Mr. Thomas Gilcrease, Tulsa, Oklahoma

82. "Yellowstone Falls"
   Location: Collection of Mr. Thomas Gilcrease, Tulsa, Oklahoma

83. "Yellowstone Range near Fort Ellis"
   Location: Collection of Mr. Thomas Gilcrease, Tulsa, Oklahoma

84. "Yellowstone River"
   Location: Collection of Mr. Thomas Gilcrease, Tulsa, Oklahoma

85. "Western Scene"
   9" x 12"
   Location: Collection of Mr. Horace Albright, Wykagyl Gardens,
            New Rochelle, New York (Gift of Miss Ruth B. Moran)

86. "Chioggia"
    Exhibited at Ferargil Galleries, New York

87. "Shin-Au-Av-Tu-Weap-God Land, Canyon of the Colorado, Utah"
    1 5/8" x 14 1/2"
    Lower left: "T. Moran"
    Location: National Collection of Fine Arts, Smithsonian Institution,
              Washington, D. C. (Gift of Dr. William H. Holmes, 1930)

88. "View in the Susquehanna Valley"
    12 7/8" x 13 3/4"
    Location: The Philadelphia Museum of Art, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
             (The W. P. Wilstach Collection)

89. "Upper Falls, Yellowstone"
    14" x 11"
    Location: Philbrook Art Center, Tulsa, Oklahoma (Gift of Mr. John Zink, Tulsa)

90. "The Bridge of Sighs, Venice"
    20 1/2" x 12 1/2"

91. "The Castle Geyser, Upper Geyser Basin, Yellowstone"
    Lower left: "T. M."
92. "The Great Falls of Snake River, Idaho Territory"
   Lower right: "T. M."

93. "The Mount of the Holy Cross"
   Lower right: "T. M."

94. "The Summit of the Sierras, Nevada"
   Lower left: "T. Moran"

95. "Valley of Babbling Waters, Southern Utah"
   Lower right: "T. M."
ETCHINGS

1. "A Landscape"
   \[3 \frac{1}{4} \text{"} \times 3 \frac{3}{4} \text{"}\]
   1856
   Etched after a woodcut by Birket Foster

2. "A Landscape"
   \[3 \frac{3}{4} \text{"} \times 5 \frac{1}{2} \text{"}\]
   1860
   A copy of a sketch by Muller

3. "Twilight"
   \[7 \frac{3}{4} \text{"} \times 11 \text{"}\]
   1878

4. "A Bazaar"
   \[4 \frac{3}{8} \text{"} \times 3 \frac{3}{8} \text{"}\]
   1878

5. "Bridge of Trees"
   \[8 \text{"} \times 4 \frac{1}{4} \text{"}\]
   1878

6. "A Shed - Newark Meadows"
   1878

7. "Ku-Ra-Tu, A Pai-Ute Girl"
   \[8 \frac{1}{4} \text{"} \times 5 \frac{3}{8} \text{"}\]
   1878
   From a sketch by the artist in Southern Utah

8. "The Head of the Yellowstone River"
   \[6 \frac{1}{4} \text{"} \times 8 \frac{1}{2} \text{"}\]
   1878

9. "In the Newark Meadows"
   \[5 \frac{1}{2} \text{"} \times 8 \frac{5}{8} \text{"}\]
   1879

10. "Conway Castle"
    \[16 \text{"} \times 20 \frac{7}{8} \text{"}\]
    1879
    After J. M. W. Turner

11. "The Lighthouse"
    \[10 \frac{1}{2} \text{"} \times 7 \frac{5}{8} \text{"}\]
    1879
12. "Study of Willows"
   3" x 6 3/4"
   1879

13. "A Rustic Bridge"
   5" x 7 3/8"
   1879

14. "The Empty Cradle"
   7 3/4" x 5 5/8"
   1880

15. "Looking Over the Sand Dunes, East Hampton"
   6" x 11 3/4"
   1880

16. "Three-Mile Harbor"
   4 1/4" x 5 7/8"
   1880

17. "The Rainbow"
   3 3/4" x 7 3/4"
   1880

18. "Montauk Ponds"
   3 3/4" x 7 1/2"
   1880

19. "Montauk Point"
   5 7/8" x 7 3/4"
   1880

20. "The Resounding Sea"
   5 3/4" x 11 1/2"
   1880

21. "A Southerly Wind"
   4 1/4" x 7"
   1880

22. "A Road Near the Sea - East Hampton"
   8" x 11 1/4"
   1880

23. "An East Hampton Fireplace"
   5 1/2" x 8 1/2"
   1880

24. "Tower Falls - Yellowstone Park"
   11" x 7 3/4"
   1880
25. "Tower Falls - Yosemite"
   6" x 3 1/2"
   1880

26. "On the Sandhills - East Hampton"
   5 3/8" x 6 7/8"
   1880

27. "The Coyote - Arizona"
   5 3/4" x 8 3/4"
   1880

28. "Church of San Juan - New Mexico"
   7 3/4" x 11 1/2"
   1881

29. "Bridges in the Pass of Glencoe, Scotland"
   9 1/4" x 11 1/2"
   1882

30. "Strathaven Castle - Scotland"
   5 3/4" x 7 3/4"
   1882

31. "Bridge in Pass of Glencoe"
   3 5/8" x 5 7/8"
   1882

32. "Port Madoc - Wales"
   8" x 12"
   1882

33. "Harlech Castle - Wales"
   7 1/4" x 11 3/8"
   1882

34. "An English River"
   5 7/8" x 11 3/4"
   1882

35. "Harlech Castle - Wales"
   7 1/4" x 11 3/8"
   1882
   Second state

36. "Gardner's Bay, Long Island Sound"
   22" x 28"
   September, 1883

37. "Tower of Cortes"
   11 1/2" x 9 1/2"
   1883
38. "An Apple Orchard - East Hampton"
   11 3/4" x 17 1/2"
   1883

39. "The Beach - Fresh Ponds, Long Island"
   12" x 18"
   1883

40. "Study of Buttonwood and Apple Trees"
   9 1/2" x 6 1/2"
   1883

41. "Sunrise - The Pond, East Hampton"
   11 1/4" x 7"
   1883

42. "Landscape"
   4 1/4" x 5 3/8"
   1883
   After John Linnell

43. "The Castle of San Juan d'Ulloa, Vera Cruz"
   11" x 9 1/2"
   1884

44. "Sugar Refineries, Communipaw, New Jersey"
   10" x 11 1/2"
   1884

45. "Coming to Anchor"
   11 1/4" x 26 5/8"
   1885
   After a painting by Harry Chase

46. "Niagara from the Canadian Side"
   8 1/2" x 17 1/2"
   1885

47. "The Much Resounding Sea"
   11 7/8" x 32 5/8"
   1886

48. "The Resounding Sea"
   4 1/4" x 8"
   Undated. Copyrighted 1886 by C. Klackner and printed by Kimmel and Voight

49. "Landscape"
   4 5/8" x 8 1/2"
   1886
   From a Rousseau painting then in the Morgan Collection
50. "Landscape"  
5 1/2" x 8 5/8"  
1886  
After Daubigny

51. "Landscape"  
4 5/8" x 8 1/2"  
1886  
After Daubigny

52. "A Wreck - Montauk"  
6" x 7 7/8"  
1886

53. "The Pass of Glencoe"  
5 7/8" x 7 3/4"  
1886  
From painting by the artist

54. "The Rapids Above Niagara"  
6" x 8"  
1886

55. "Green River, Wyoming Territory"  
5 1/4" x 7 3/4"  
1886

56. "The Harbor of Vera Cruz, Mexico"  
11 3/4" x 26 3/4"  
1886

57. "Morning"  
11" x 17"  
1886

58. "Lake George"  
5 3/4" x 8 1/2"  
1886  
After J. F. Kensett

59. "John's River, Florida"  
5 5/8" x 8 5/8"  
1886

60. "The End of the Month of May"  
5 1/2" x 8 5/8"  
1887  
After Daubigny

61. "Venice"  
8" x 23 1/4"
1887
After A. F. Bunner

62. "Dordrecht"
   8" x 23 1/4"
1887
After A. F. Bunner

63. "A Bit of Old Jersey"
   3 1/4" x 5 3/8"
1887

64. "The South Dome - Yosemite Valley"
   11 3/4" x 8 1/4"
1887

65. "Harlech Castle"
   7 1/4" x 11 3/8"
1888
Third state

66. "Twilight"
   7 3/4" x 11"
1888
Impression with mezzotint added

67. "The Gate of Venice"
   18" x 31 7/8"
1888

68. "The Mountain of the Holy Cross"
   18 1/2" x 26 1/2"
1888
From the oil painting by the artist

69. "Landscape"
   5 1/8" x 7 1/8"
1888
After George Inness

70. "A Turkish Ruin"
   4 7/8" x 7"
1888
After Diaz

71. "Woman Sewing"
   5" x 7"
1888
After J. F. Miller
72. "Cattle on the Coast"
   4 1/4" x 6 1/4"
   1888
   After C. Wiggins

73. "The Gates of Venice"
   3" x 6"
   1888
   From the oil painting by the artist

74. "The Pass of Glencoe"
   5 7/8" x 7 3/4"
   1888
   Same plate as no. 53 with mezzotint added

75. "A Wreck - Montauk"
   6" x 7 7/8"
   1888
   Same plate as no. 52 with mezzotint added

76. "Landscape"
   1888
   After Daubigny

UNDATED ETCHINGS

77. "Moorish Woman Dancing"
   6 3/8" x 4 5/8"
   From a painting by Henri Regnault

78. "Landscape"
   3" x 6 1/2"
   Used as the frontispiece to Klackner's catalogue

79. "The Last Arrow"
   8" x 6 1/4"
   Photographic contact printing

80. "Landscape with Owls"
   7 1/8" x 8 1/2"
   Photographic contact printing

81. "Landscape with Architectural Ruins"
   7 7/8" x 6 1/4"
   Photographic contact printing
WOOD ENGRAVINGS

1. "Alcove Bad Lands"
   3 1/2" x 5 1/2"

2. "Ascent of Mount Hayden, Wyoming"
   3 3/4" x 7 3/4"

3. "Boulder Canyon, Colorado"
   6" x 8"
   1874

4. "Bridal Veil Falls"
   3 1/2" x 4 1/2"

5. "Buttes, Green River, Wyoming"
   6 3/8" x 9 3/4"

6. "Camp Along Green River"
   3 3/4" x 6 1/4"

7. "Castle Rock, Echo Canyon, Utah"
   6 1/2" x 9"

8. "The Cathedral Towers"
   4 3/4" x 6 3/4"

9. "Cliffs in the Grand Canyon"
   8 1/2" x 9"

10. "Cliffs of Green River, Wyoming"
    9 1/4" x 6 1/4"

11. "Climbing the Grand Canyon"
    2 1/2" x 7 1/4"
    1875

12. "Colburn's Butte, in Kannarro Canyon"
    8" x 10 1/4"

13. "Devil's Gate, Weber Canyon, Utah"
    6 1/4" x 9"

    9" x 6 3/16"

15. "Distant View of Mu-Koon-Tu-Weap Valley"
    2 3/4" x 7 3/4"
    1875
16. "Donner Lake, California"
   6 1/4" x 9"
   1874

17. "El Capitan"
   2 1/2" x 1"

18. "Estes Park and Long's Peak"
   6" x 7 1/2"

19. "The Gate of Lodore"
   4 1/2" x 5 1/2"

20. "A Geyser Eruption"
   3 1/4" x 5"

21. "Giant's Gap, California"
   6 1/8" x 6 5/8"

22. "Gorge Along the Grand Canyon"
   2 1/2" x 7 3/4"

23. "Grand Canyon of the Colorado"
   5" x 7 1/2"

24. "The Great Canyon and Lower Falls of the Yellowstone"
   3 1/2" x 5"

25. "The Great Geyser Basin of the Upper Yellowstone"
   3 1/4" x 5 3/4"

26. "The Grizzly Giant, Yosemite Park"
   4" x 4 1/2"

27. "Half Dome, Yosemite"
   2 1/2" x 3"

28. "Half Dome, Yosemite"
   3 1/4" x 5"

29. "The High Sierras, The California Geysers"
   4" x 6"

30. "Hot Spring Pools, Yellowstone"
   3 1/2" x 4"

31. "Hot Springs on Gardner's River"
   6" x 7"

32. "In the Grand Canyon"
   3 1/4" x 5 1/2"
33. "Kanab Canyon"
   6 1/4" x 9 1/4"

34. "Lake Tahoe, California"
   9" x 6 1/4"

35. "Marble Canyon, Arizona"
   6 1/4" x 9"

36. "Marble Pinnacle in Kanab Canyon"
   3 1/2" x 5 1/2"

37. "Monument in Glen Canyon"
   2 1/2" x 5"

38. "Monument Rock, Echo Canyon, Utah"
   6 1/8" x 9"

39. "Mount Hayden and Mount Moran"
   (From an 1872 photograph by William H. Jackson)
   10 1/2" x 8"
   1876

40. "The Mountain of the Holy Cross, Colorado"
   4 1/2" x 7 1/2"

41. "The Mountain of the Holy Cross, Colorado"
   6 1/4" x 9"
   1874

42. "The Narrows, North Fork of the Rio Virgin, Utah"
   7 3/4" x 10 1/4"

43. "Palisade Canyon, Nevada"
   6 1/4" x 9"

44. "The Pioneer's Cabin: 'Room for Twelve Inside!'
   2 1/2" x 3 1/2"

45. "Plains of the Humboldt, Nevada"
   6 3/16" x 3 7/16"

46. "Pleasant Valley, Truckee River, Nevada"
   6 1/2" x 7 1/4"

47. "Rapids in the Grand Canyon"
   5 3/4" x 7 3/4"

48. "Red Buttes, Laramie Plains, Wyoming"
   7 1/2" x 3 1/4"
49. "Salt Lake, Utah"
   8 15/16" x 3 7/16"

50. "Scene in the Canyon of the Yellowstone"
   2 1/2" x 1 1/4"

51. "Scene in Southern Utah"
   3 3/4" x 5"

52. "Si-Chr-A-Vi and Te-Wa"
   3" x 5"

53. "Side Canyon in Glen Canyon"
   3" x 5 1/4"

54. "Side Canyon of Lodore"
   2 1/2" x 7 1/4"

55. "Side Gulch in Grand Canyon"
   3 3/4" x 6 3/4"

56. "Standing Rocks on Powell's Plateau"
   2 1/2" x 3 1/4"

57. "A Storm in Utah"
   8" x 10 1/4"

58. "The Strong Man"
   7 3/4" x 9 3/4"

59. "Summit of the Sierras"
   6 1/4" x 9"
   1874

60. "Temple of the Virgin, Mu-Koon-Tu-Weap Valley, Utah"
   7 3/4" x 10 1/4"

61. "Terres Mauvaises, Utah"
   6 1/11" x 9 1/11"
   1874

62. "The Teton Range" (From the southwest)
   9 1/11" x 13"

63. "Tower Creek, Yellowstone"
   8 3/11" x 12 3/11"

64. "Tower Falls and Column Mountain"
   14 3/11" x 6"
65. "Tower Falls, Yellowstone"
   3 1/4" x 5"

66. "Tower Falls, Yellowstone"
   5 1/4" x 6"

67. "Truckee River, Nevada"
   6 1/4" x 9"

68. "Upper Falls of the Yellowstone"
   5 1/4" x 8 1/2"

69. "Valley of the Babbling Waters, Utah"
   8 3/4" x 12 3/4"

70. "View from the North Rim of Grand Canyon"
   3" x 3 1/2"

71. "View from the North Rim of Grand Canyon"
   3 3/4" x 5 1/4"

72. "Weber River - Entrance to Echo Canyon, Utah"
   9 1/4" x 6 1/4"

73. "Winter Scene in the Sierras"
   4 1/2" x 6 1/2"

74. "Witches' Rocks, Weber Canyon, Utah"
   6 5/8" x 7 3/4"

75. "The Wreck at Disaster Falls, Grand Canyon"
   3 1/2" x 5 1/2"

76. "Yellowstone River and Mountains"
   6 3/4" x 9"

77. "The Yosemite Falls"
   3 3/4" x 4 3/4"

78. "Yosemite Valley"
   4 3/4" x 6"
LITHOGRAPHS

1. "Return to Port"
   8 3/8" x 11"
   1862
   Lower right: "Drawn on stone by Moran, after Eugene Isabey, 1862"

2. Untitled Tree Study
   11 1/4" x 9 1/2"
   1863
   Lower left: "T. Moran, 1863"

3. Untitled Fish Study
   9" x 7 1/4"
   1863

4. Untitled Landscape (Stream of water in mountains and boys in a rowboat)
   9 3/8" x 13 7/8"
   1864
   Lower left: "Thos. Moran, 1864"

5. "Beached Fishing Boat"
   9 1/2" x 13"
   1864
   Lower left: "T. Moran, 1864"

6. Untitled Fish Study
   10" x 8 3/8"
   1867
   Lower left: "T. Moran, Lith. 1867"

7. "A Forest Glen"
   12" x 8 5/8"
   1868

8. "Solitude"
   20 3/8" x 16"
   1868
   Upper center: "T. Moran, 1869" (in pencil)
   Lower right: "Jas. McGuigan, Printer, Phila."

9. "South Shore of Lake Superior"
   1869

10. "A Mountain Stream"
    12 3/4" x 9 1/2"
    1869
    Lower left, signed in reverse: "T. M., 1869"
11. "Baiae" (Baja, ancient city of Italy)
   4 1/2" x 10 1/2"
   1869
   Lower right: "Baiae, T. M., 1869"

12. "The Wissahickon"
   12 3/4" x 10 1/4"
   1869
   Lower right: "T. Moran, 1869"

13. Untitled Landscape (high ground, rocks and trees sloping down to water at right)
   5" x 10 1/2"
   1869
   Signed: "T. M., 1869"

14. "On the Tohickon" (on grayish paper)
   11" x 8 1/8"
   1869
   Lower right: "T. M., 1869"

APPENDICES
APPENDIX I

Thomas Moran, Sr.
Mary Higson Moran

Edward (1829-1901)  John (1831-1903)  Thomas (1837-1926)  Peter (1812-1914)  Elizabeth
Elizabeth McManes  Mary Nimmo  Mary Nimmo  Stephen  J. Ferris
Annette Parmentier

Horace Sidney

Percy (b.1862)  Leon (b.1864)  Ruth Bedford  Mary (Mrs. Wirt de Vivier Tassin)  Gerome Ferris (1863-1930)

Charles

Paul

DIAGRAM OF MEMBERS OF THE MORAN FAMILY WHO
WERE PROMINENT IN VARIOUS FIELDS OF ART
APPENDIX II

Book and periodical illustrations by Thomas Moran:

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- THE ELFIN'S WATER-POCKET p. 35


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- JACK'S NARROWS FROM MAPLETON p. 265
- IN JACK'S NARROWS p. 265
- AT MILL CREEK p. 266

- BELMONT GLEN p. 1
- GATHERING CHESTNUTS p. 2
- AUTUMN LEAVES p. 4
- FOREST ON THE WISSAHICKON p. 5

- THE MOUNTAINS p. 384


- GRAY'S ELEGY p. 112

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Pangborn, J. D. *Picturesque B and O, Historical and Descriptive*. Chicago: Knight and Leonard, 1883. Illustrated by Thomas Moran and others.


*Scribner's Monthly Magazine*

Vol. 1, No. 1, November, 1870, "The Hoosac Tunnel," by Washington Gladden, p. 143-59:

THE DEERFIELD DAM

Vol. 1, No. 3, January, 1871, "Fairmount Park," by Newton Crane, pp. 225-38:

LEMON HILL AND BOAT HOUSES
FOUNTAIN NEAR MINERAL SPRING
MONSTER PINES
VIEW FROM JUDGE PETERS'S FARM
TOMB OF NEAL, LAUREL HILL
ON THE WISSAHICKON DRIVE
HEMLOCK GLEN ON THE WISSAHICKON
BRIDGE OVER THE WISSAHICKON AT VALLEY GREEN
BRIDGE OVER THE WISSAHICKON AT MOUNT AIRY
A GLIMPSE OF THE WISSAHICKON
THE DEVIL'S POOL
PRO BONO PUEBLICO
WISSAHICKON AT CHESTNUT HILL


"Strausburg After the Surrender," by M. B. Riddle, pp. 311-19:

BEHIND THE WALL EAST OF THE STEINTHOR

Vol. 1, No. 5, March, 1871, "Life in the Cannibal Islands" by F. C. Bates, pp. 529-43:

RESERVOIR NEAR DUNEDIN
ACCLIMATIZATION OF GROUNDS, NEW ZEALAND

Vol. 1, No. 6, April, 1871, "Life in the Cannibal Islands," by F. C. Bates, pp. 577-96:

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Vol. 2, No. 1, May, 1871, "The Wonders of the Yellowstone," by N. P. Langford, pp. 1-17:

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Vol. 10, No. 4, August, 1875, "Old Jersey," by George E. Waring, pp. 401-418:
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Vol. 10, No. 5, September, 1875, "Chicago," by J. W. Sheahan, pp. 529-51:

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SCENE IN CENTRAL PARK p. 538
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"Guernsey and Sark," by George E. Waring, pp. 574-91:

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Vol. 10, No. 6, October, 1875, "An Overland Trip to the Grand Canyon," by Maj. J. W. Powell, pp. 659-78:

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"The Hills of Linganore," by Mrs. M. W. Hackelton,
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Vol. 14, No. 4, August, 1877, "A Railroad in the Clouds," by J. E. Montgomery, pp. 449-64:

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Vol. 14, No. 5, September, 1877, "An Island of the Sea," by Julia E. Dodge, pp. 652-61:

| Fort George Island |
| Edgewood Avenue, Fort George Island |
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Vol. 15, No. 1, November, 1877, "An Isle of June," by F. R. Stockton, pp. 13-31:

| Nassau Harbor from Frog Island |
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Vol. 16, No. 6, October, 1878, "A Trip with Lincoln," by E. L. Viele, pp. 813-22:
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Vol. 17, No. 6, April, 1879, "The Stickeen River and Its Glaciers," by W. H. Bell, pp. 805-15:
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Vol. 18, No. 6, October, 1879, "Rio de Janeiro," by H. H. Smith, pp. 890-903:
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  ROAD NEAR ENTRE RIOS
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Vols. 20 and 21, January, 1880, to September, 1881: No Moran illustrations.
Vol. 22, No. 5, September, 1881, "Coniferous Forests of the Sierra Nevada," by John Muir
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  p. 718
In November, 1881, Scribner's Monthly Magazine became the Century Magazine, after which there were no illustrations by Thomas Moran.

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  p. 422

APPENDIX III

MORANIANA

Free Library, East Hampton, Long Island

Four medals:
3. John Trumbull Award, American Art Union, 1894.

Collection of Mr. Thomas Gilcrease, Tulsa, Oklahoma:
1. Portrait of Thomas Moran by William Chase.

Jackson Hole Museum, Grand Teton National Park, Moose, Wyoming:
1. Photograph of Thomas Moran in 90th year
   Size: 13 1/4" x 10 1/2"
2. Photograph of "The Teton Range, Idaho," after the oil painting of the same title.
   Size: 9 1/2" x 11 1/4"
3. Photograph of Thomas Moran at the age of thirty-four, taken by Mr. William H. Jackson during the Yellowstone expedition of 1871, and subsequently retouched by Moran himself.
   Size: 6 1/2" x 9 1/4"

New York Public Library, New York City:
1. Scrapbook and clippings containing reproductions, personal and family data, photographs, newspaper and magazine clippings, reviews, sales records, exhibition catalogues, letters, and bibliographies.

National Collection of Fine Arts, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D. C.:
1. Signed palette and brushes of the artist.

Yosemite National Park, California:
1. Diary of Thomas Moran's 1871 trip to the Yellowstone region.
2. Thomas Moran's notebook of 1873.
3. Moran's sketchbook from the trip to the Yellowstone region of 1871.
4. Thomas Moran's sketchbook from the trip to the Yellowstone region of 1871. (A companion to his other 1871 sketchbook).
5. Biographical sketch of Thomas Moran (four pages) in Moran's own handwriting.
6. Spectacles and spectacle case.
7. Photostat copy of Thomas Moran's scrapbook.
8. Easel of Thomas Moran.
10. Thomas Moran's palette.
11. Thomas Moran's painting stand.
12. Six brushes used by Thomas Moran.
15. A leather wallet used in the later years of the artist's life.
16. A metal pocket flask carried by Moran on his early western trips.
17. Six shooter and holster carried by Moran on his early western expeditions.

Additional Moraniana:

2. A design for a Christmas card
   1880
   Lower left: "Christmas card, about 1880"
   Lower right: "A Merry Christmas, Thomas Moran"
BOOKS


Murphy, Thomas D. Seven Wonderlands of the American West. Boston: L. C. Page and Company, 1925. (Contains sixteen full-page color reproductions of paintings by Thomas Moran.)


MAGAZINES


Vol. 60, No. 12, December, 1951, p. 188. Reproduction: "Arabian Fantasy—Capri" by Thomas Moran.


Vol. 11, No. 9, February 1, 1937, p. 17. "Moran in Washington." (Notice of Thomas Moran Exhibition at the National Gallery)

Vol. 14, No. 6, December 15, 1939, p. 33. "Where is this Picture?"

Vol. 15, No. 1, November 15, 1940, p. 17. "Public Picks Moran."

Vol. 18, No. 20, September 1, 1944, p. 6. "New Britain Enriches Its Collection."
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December 21, 1953, p. 60, "Thomas Gilcrease Collection Transferred to Claremore, Oklahoma."

NEWSPAPER ARTICLES

Boston Saturday Evening Gazette, November 11, 1875, "The Mount of the Holy Cross."

Chicago Evening Post, September 11, 1928, "Famous Moran Given to the National Gallery."

Christian Science Monitor, August 14, 1925, "The Artistic Morans" by Harriet Sisson Gillespie.

The Daily Oklahoman, October 21, 1931, "Many Paintings by Thomas Moran Found in Oklahoma" by Nan Sheets.

The East Hampton Star, January 7, 1937, p. 1, "Memorial Exhibitions to Observe Centenary of Thomas Moran, Artist."


New York Sun, January 18, 1937, "Exhibition Marks Moran Centenary."

________, January 30, 1937, "Moran Memorial Devoted to His Prints."


________, September 1, 1926, p. 22, J. B. Glider: Letter to the editor.


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July 1, 1928, Section 8, p. 8, "Prints and Paintings" by Elisabeth Luther Cary (on Moran works at Ferargil Galleries)

August 19, 1931, "East Hampton's Gala Day" by Edward Alden Jewell.

August 20, 1931, p. 16, "Guild Hall Opens at East Hampton."


January 17, 1937, Section 10, p. 9, "Thomas Moran" (on The Newhouse Galleries' Centennial Exhibit)

February 7, 1937, Section 10, p. 10 (New York Public Library's Announcement of Moran Print Exhibition).

The Santa Barbara World, August 26, 1926, "Thomas Moran's Death."

Tulsa Daily World, February 11, 1951, "Moran Paintings in Tulsa Exhibit"

EXHIBITION AND SALES CATALOGUES


Catalogue of the Oils and Watercolors of Thomas Moran, N.A. (Illustrated with Etchings by the Artist and Mary Nimmo Moran from the most important works). Sold on Wednesday, February 21, 1886, under the management of the American Art Association, by Mr. Thomas E. Kirby, A.A.A. Galleries of Messrs. Ortgiess and Company, 847 Broadway, New York.

Catalogue of the Thomas B. Clark Collection of American Pictures. The
Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts, Philadelphia, October 15 to November 28, 1891.


The Gate of Venice. Copyright by C. Klackner, 5 East 17th Street, New York, undated. (Description of Thomas Moran's etching of the same title with letter of explanation from Thomas Moran to C. Klackner.)


Memorial Exhibition, Paintings and Etchings by Thomas Moran, N.A. July 18 to August 7, 1928. Clinton Academy, East Hampton, Long Island, N.Y.

Moran Memorial Exhibition. September 27 to October 17, 1937. Biltmore Salon, Los Angeles Biltmore, Los Angeles, California.


JOURNALS


ENCYCLOPEDIAS AND DICTIONARIES


MISCELLANEOUS


McIntyre, Robert. Two letters dated August 18, 1954, containing various information and reminiscences concerning Thomas Moran by Mr. McIntyre, friend and business associate of the artist.


I, James Benjamin Wilson, was born in Bloomington, Indiana, November 2, 1911. I received my secondary school education in the public schools of Bloomington and my undergraduate training was obtained at Indiana University, from which I received the degree Bachelor of Arts in 1933. I taught in the Art Department of Canterbury College, Danville, Indiana, both before and after three years of military service. In 1949 I received the degree of Master of Arts from The Ohio State University where I have continued graduate study, with the exception of the year 1950-51 when I attended Princeton University. At present I am Associate Professor of Art at Juniata College, Huntingdon, Pennsylvania, and completing the requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy.
THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THOMAS MORAN
AS AN AMERICAN LANDSCAPE PAINTER

DISSERTATION

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree Doctor of Philosophy in the
Graduate School of The Ohio State University

By

JAMES BENJAMIN WILSON, B. A., A. M.

The Ohio State University
1955

Approved by:

Adviser
Department of Fine Arts
ILLUSTRATIONS

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PLATE II

Venice (1904)

By Thomas Moran
The Cleveland Museum of
Art, Cleveland, Ohio
Photograph: The Cleveland
Museum

(Oil)
PLATE III

A. Photograph of Thomas Moran (1873)

B. Photograph of Thomas Moran (1873)

Original photographs by William H. Jackson, taken at start of trip to Grand Canyon region with Major Powell

Reproductions: American Magazine, January, 1913
PLATE IV

The Castle of San Juan d'Ulloa, Vera Cruz (1884)

By Thomas Moran
Collection of Amherst College, Amherst, Massachusetts
Photograph: Amherst College

(Etching)
PLATE V

The Petrified Forest (1904)

By Thomas Moran
Collection of Orton Hall Library,
The Ohio State University
Photograph: The Department of Photography, The Ohio State University

(Oil)
PLATE VI

The Canyon of the Yellowstone (Undated)

By Thomas Moran
Color print: The Thomas D. Murphy Company, Red Oak, Iowa

(Oil)
PLATE VII

Grand Canyon, Yellowstone National Park (Detail)

By Thomas Moran
Color print: Brown and Bigelow,
St. Paul, Minnesota

(Oil)
PLATE VIII

The Wonderland of the Yellowstone (1917)

By Thomas Moran

Color print: The Osborne Company,
Clifton, N. J.

(Oil)
PLATE IX

Grand Canyon, Arizona (Undated)

By Thomas Moran
Color print: The Thomas D. Murphy
Company, Red Oak, Iowa

(Oil)
PLATE X

The Grand Canyon Through the Pines (Undated)

By Thomas Moran
Color print: The Thomas D. Murphy Company, Red Oak, Iowa

(Oil)
PLATE XI

The River and the Mountain of the Little Horn (1904)

By Thomas Moran
Photograph: Knoedler Galleries, New York

(Oil)
PLATE XII

Cliffs of the Upper Colorado River, Wyoming Territory (1882)

By Thomas Moran

National Collection of Fine Arts, The Smithsonian Institution,
Washington, D. C.

Reproduction: The Smithsonian Institution

(Oil)
PLATE XIII

The Quarries of the Gods (1913)

By Thomas Moran

Color print: The Osborne Company,
Clifton, N. J.

(Oil)
PLATE XIV

Falls at Toltec Gorge - In the Rockies (Detail)

By Thomas Moran

Color print: The Osborne Company, Clifton, N.J.

(Oil)
PLATE XV

Rock Towers of the Rio Virgin (1908)

By Thomas Moran
Collection of Mr. F. Edgar Rice,
Bartlesville, Oklahoma
Color print: The Thomas D. Murphy
Company, Red Oak, Iowa

(Oil)
PLATE XVI

The Stronghold (1920) (Detail)

By Thomas Mann

Color print: The Osborne Company, Clifton, N. J.

(Oil)
PLATE XVII

Ruxton, Colorado (1901)

By Thomas Moran
Collection of The Cooper Union Museum, New York
Photograph: The Cooper Union Museum

(Wash Drawing)
PLATE XVIII

Mirror Lake, Yosemite (Undated)

By Thomas Moran
Collection of The Cooper Union Museum, New York
Photograph: The Cooper Union Museum

(Wash Drawing)
PLATE XIX

South Dome, Yosemite (1873)

By Thomas Moran
Collection of The Cooper Union
Museum, New York
Photograph: The Cooper Union
Museum

(Wash Drawing)
PLATE XX

Grand Canyon of the Colorado (1892)

By Thomas Moran
Collection of Edward Eberstadt and Sons, Inc., New York
Photograph: Eberstadt's, New York

(Wash Drawing)
PLATE XXI

Mammoth Hot Springs, Yellowstone (Undated)

By Thomas Moran
Collection of Edward Eberstadt and Sons, Inc., New York
Photograph: Eberstadts, New York

(Wash Drawing)
PLATE XXII

Cliffs of the Rio Virgin, Southern Utah (1873)

By Thomas Moran
Collection of The Cooper Union Museum, New York
Photograph: The Cooper Union Museum

(Watercolor)
PLATE XXIII

Green River from the Ferry (1879 or 1880)

By Thomas Moran
Collection of The Cooper Union Museum, New York
Photograph: The Cooper Union Museum

(Watercolor)
PLATE XXIV

Lower Manhattan from Communipaw, New Jersey (1880)

By Thomas Moran
Washington County Museum of Fine Arts, Hagerstown, Maryland
Photograph: Washington County Museum, Hagerstown

(Oil)
PLATE XXV

Studio of Thomas Moran, East Hampton, Long Island (1954)

Painted by Prof. Ralph Fanning
Photograph: Department of Photography,
            The Ohio State University

(Watercolor)
PLATE XXVI

The Earth and the Fulness Thereof (1891)

By Thomas Moran
Commissioned by Charles B. Lawson,
later purchased by Jacob Wertheim
Color print: The Osborne Company,
Clifton, N. J.

(Oil)
PLATE XXVII

Three-Mile Harbor, Long Island (1884)

By Thomas Moran
Collection of the National Academy
of Design, New York
Photograph: The Frick Art Reference Library, New York

(Oil)
Autumn, Montauk Point (Undated)

By Thomas Moran
Color print: The Thomas D. Murphy Company, Red Oak, Iowa

(Oil)
PLATE XXIX

Harbor at Vera Cruz (1883)

By Thomas Moran
Photograph: The Findlay Gallery,
New York

(Oil)
PLATE XXX

Sunset Over an Aztec Castle (1896)

By Thomas Moran
Collection of Edward Eberstadt and Sons, Inc., New York
Photograph: Eberstadt's, New York

(Oil)
PLATE XXXI

Fiesta, Cuernavaca, Mexico (1913)

By Thomas Moran
Collection of Edward Eberstadt and Sons, Inc., New York
Photograph: Eberstadt, New York

(Oil)
PLATE XXXII

Shoshone Falls of Snake River, Idaho (1900)

By Thomas Moran
Collection of Mr. Thomas Gilcrease,
Tulsa, Oklahoma
Photograph: The E. and A. Milch
Galleries, New York

(Oil)
PLATE XXXIII

Summer Drives Dull Care Away (Undated)

By Thomas Moran
Color print: The Thomas D. Murphy Company, Red Oak, Iowa

(Oil)
PLATE XXXIV

Landscape (1883)

By Thomas Moran
Photograph: Knoedler Galleries,
New York

(Oil)
PLATE XXXV

In the Forest (1878)

By Thomas Moran
Photograph: The Frick Art Reference Library, New York

(Oil)
PLATE XXXVI

Photograph of Thomas Moran (1882)

Photograph: From the original presented to the author by Mr. Fred L. Tillotson, Bolton, England
PLATE XXXVII

Photograph of Thomas Moran (1912)

Photograph: The American Magazine,
January, 1913
PLATE XXXVIII

Portrait of Thomas Moran (1922)

Painted by Howard Russell Butler (1856-1934)
Collection of the Guild Hall, East Hampton, Long Island
Photograph: The Mentor, August, 1924
PLATE XXXIX

Bust of Thomas Moran

By Jonathan Scott Hartley (1845-1912)
Collection of the National Academy of Design, New York
Photograph: The Frick Art Reference Library, New York
PLATE XL

A Saturday Evening at the Century Club (1884)

Painted by Charles Yardley Turner (1850-1919)
Collection of The Century Association, New York
Photograph: The Frick Art Reference Library, New York

(Oil)
PLATE XLI

The Lair of the Mountain Lion (1914) (Detail)

By Thomas Moran
Color print: The Osborne Company, Clifton, N. J.

(Oil)
PLATE XIII

Spectres of the North (Undated)

By Thomas Moran
Collection of Mr. Thomas Gilcrease,
Tulsa, Oklahoma
Photograph: The E. and A. Milch Gal-
leries, New York

(Oil)
PLATE XLIII

Down from the Great Divide (Undated)

By Thomas Moran
Color plate: The Osborne Company,
Clifton, N. J.

(Oil)
PLATE XLIV

The Work of an Almighty Hand (Detail)

By Thomas Moran
Color Print: The Osborne Company,
Clifton, N. J.

(Oil)
PLATE XLV

Mount Moran - Teton Range, Idaho (1903) (Detail)

By Thomas Moran
Collection of Mr. George B. Harrington, Chicago, Illinois
Color Print: The Osborne Company, Clifton, N. J.

(Oil)