

Frederic Remington

THE COLOR OF NIGHT



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## THE COLOR OF NIGHT

Nancy K. Anderson

WITH CONTRIBUTIONS BY

William C. Sharpe

Alexander Nemerov

National Gallery of Art, Washington

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*Sharpe essay*

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*Nocturnes: catalogue*

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## DIRECTOR'S FOREWORD

FREDERIC REMINGTON HAS LONG BEEN celebrated as one of the most gifted interpreters of the American West. His paintings, sculpture, and published works have only grown in importance and influence since his premature death in 1909 at age forty-eight. In recent years, scholars of both American art and history have reexamined Remington's career and the cultural milieu in which he worked. From such studies an artist of complexity and contradiction has emerged, and works once viewed as "traditional" and "documentary" are now often seen as experimental and imaginative. Among the paintings that have drawn particular attention during this period of reevaluation are the more than seventy nocturnes Remington created during the last decade of his life.

Shortly after the turn of the century, Remington began to explore the technical and aesthetic difficulties of painting darkness. In a series of works that took as their subject the color of night, Remington sought to capture the elusive silver tones of moonlight, the hot flame of firelight, and the charged interaction of both. Technically dazzling, the late nocturnes are also richly metaphoric, for they were created just as electricity began to alter the character of night. They were also completed after Remington had returned from the Spanish-American War haunted by his experience of combat and violent death. The late nocturnes thus reflect both the external beauty of night and the internal threat of darkness.

The National Gallery of Art in association with the Gilcrease Museum is pleased to present the first exhibition focused entirely on Remington's late nocturnes and, on the same occasion, to publish the first in-depth study of these important paintings. The organizers of the exhibition are enormously grateful to the private and institutional lenders who generously allowed us to borrow the works featured in the exhibition. We have made every effort to exhibit the nocturnes as we believe Remington would have wished. To that end we owe additional thanks to the lenders who joined with us in arranging for paintings to be cleaned and allowed us to exhibit the nocturnes in the black frames Remington is known to have preferred.

The exhibition and catalogue have been organized by Nancy K. Anderson, associate curator of American and British paintings at the National Gallery of Art. Anne Morand, curator of art collections at the Gilcrease Museum, has generously assisted at all stages of development, as have a host of scholars, collectors, and dealers.

We wish to thank Target Stores for its generous sponsorship of the exhibition. Target Stores' commitment to arts and education has enabled us to exhibit Remington's extraordinary images of night in specially designed galleries and to offer our visitors a broad range of related cultural and educational programs.

Several works in this exhibition are privately owned and have not been seen publicly since first exhibited by Remington early in the twentieth century. Other works appear through the extraordinary generosity of institutions for whom Remington's nocturnes represent key components of their collections. Recognizing the sacrifice of both private and public lenders, we express our deep gratitude for the generous cooperation that made this, the first exhibition of Remington's nocturnes, possible.

Earl A. Powell III

NATIONAL GALLERY OF ART



## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

IN 1997 THE NATIONAL GALLERY OF ART and the Gilcrease Museum collaborated on the first retrospective exhibition of works by American landscape painter Thomas Moran. That joint effort proved so fruitful that both institutions were eager to work together again on a second project of scholarly importance. The exhibition *Frederic Remington: The Color of Night* and the accompanying catalogue are the result of that shared wish.

Anne Morand, curator of art collections at the Gilcrease, first proposed considering Frederic Remington's late nocturnes as the subject of a special exhibition. Her expertise and enthusiasm have been critical to the success of the project at every stage. Anne's efforts have been ably supported by Hilary Kitz, formerly director of the Gilcrease, Gary Moore, assistant director, Dan Swan, senior curator, Sarah Erwin, curator of archival collections, Deborah Burke, curator of education, and Joan Thomas, registrar.

At the National Gallery Earl A. Powell III, director, and Alan Shestack, deputy director, have been enthusiastic about the project from the outset. D. Dodge Thompson, chief of exhibitions, and his staff, especially Naomi Remes, aided by Abbie Sprague, Tamara Wilson, and Jonathan Walz, skillfully coordinated the organization and administration of the exhibition. In the department of American and British paintings, Franklin Kelly, senior curator, Deborah Chotner, assistant curator, Heidi Applegate and Abbie Sprague, staff assistants, and Anna Kamplain and Stacey Uradomo, interns, offered their considerable expertise and assistance throughout the project. Ross Merrill, head of conservation, Michael Palmer, conservation scientist, Suzanne Lomax, organic chemist, and Lisha Glinsman, conservation scientist, provided critical analysis of Remington's painting materials and technique. Additional conservation assistance was provided by Sarah Fisher, head of painting conservation, Ann Hoenigswald, conservator, and Michael Swicklik, conservator. Steve Wilcox, frame conservator, Hugh Phibbs, coordinator of matting-framing services, and James Grady, carpenter, worked over an extended period of time to insure that Remington's nocturnes were framed in accordance with the artist's known preference. Mark Leithauser, chief of design, Gordon Anson, head of exhi-

bition production, Mari Forsell, design coordinator, Nathan Peek, production coordinator, and Barbara Keyes, head of silkscreen, prepared the exhibition space with close attention to the special requirements of Remington's nocturnes.

The coordinated efforts of several additional divisions within the Gallery insured the success of the exhibition. Chris Myers, chief corporate relations officer, assisted by Anne Lottmann, corporate relations associate, worked with colleagues at the Gilcrease to secure critical funding; Bob Potter, deputy corporate relations officer, served as liaison. Sally Freitag, chief registrar, Merv Richards, head of loans and exhibitions conservation, and Jesse Clark, art services specialist, arranged for the packing and shipping of the paintings. James E. Duff, treasurer, assisted by Nancy Hoffmann, arranged for insurance. Elizabeth A. Croog, secretary and general counsel, and Isabelle Raval, assistant general counsel, prepared all contracts. Neal Turtell, executive librarian, Lamia Doumato, head of reader services, Frances Lederer, reference librarian, Ted Dalziel, reference assistant, Thomas McGill, Jr., interlibrary loan assistant, Maria Sampang, interlibrary loan technician, Roberta Geier, vertical file librarian, Anna Rachwald, technical services librarian, Susan Clay, acquisitions assistant, Gregory Most, chief slide librarian, and Thomas O'Callaghan, associate slide librarian, offered indispensable assistance in procuring books, articles, and slides. The photographic challenges posed by Remington's nocturnes were ably met by Bob Grove, digital imaging services coordinator, Deborah Adenan, Christina Moore, and Allison Needle, all visual information specialists, as well as Lorene Emerson and James Locke, photographers, and Sara Sanders-Buell, permissions coordinator. The handsome catalogue was thoughtfully edited by Julie Warnement, assisted by Nancy Eickel, and imaginatively designed by Chris Vogel, production manager in the editors office. Judy Metro, editor in chief, skillfully managed the publication process. Educational materials and programs were prepared and organized by Susan Arensberg, head of exhibition programs, Faya Causey, head of academic programs, Donna Mann, production manager of education publications, and Margaret Parson, head of film programs. Stephen Ackert, music specialist, assisted with numerous

reference questions and arranged for two special musical performances during the exhibition. Deborah Ziska, head of the information office, assisted by Mary Jane McKinven, oversaw publicity and responded to press inquiries. Special events associated with the exhibition were expertly arranged by Genevra Higginson, assistant to the director for special events.

At the Denver Art Museum, the third venue of the exhibition, the organizers wish to acknowledge the assistance of Lewis I. Sharp, director, David Kennedy, manager of exhibitions, Joan Carpenter Troccoli, director of the Institute of Western American Art, Ann Daley, associate curator, Mindy Besaw, curatorial assistant, and Bill O'Connor, photographer.

We are much indebted as well to numerous scholars and conservators who shared their research with us and also recommended additional areas of inquiry. We owe particular thanks to William C. Sharpe, professor of English, Barnard College, and Alexander Nemerov, professor of art history, Yale University, who contributed thoughtful and provocative essays to the catalogue. We are similarly indebted to Norman E. Muller, Princeton University Art Museum, Thomas J. Branchick, Williamstown Regional Conservation Center, and Perry Huston, Jill Whitten, and Robert G. Proctor, Jr., independent conservators, who examined and conserved paintings for the exhibition and also contributed to the conservation section of the catalogue. All the catalogue contributors are indebted to Merl M. Moore, Jr., tireless volunteer, who cheerfully and meticulously scanned countless rolls of microfilm and tracked numerous obscure references.

We wish to acknowledge as well the invaluable assistance we received from Remington scholars who guided our studies and spoke with collectors on our behalf. We are deeply indebted to Peter Hassrick and Melissa Webster, authors of the splendid Remington catalogue raisonné, and to Laura Foster, curator at the Frederic Remington Art Museum in Ogdensburg, New York. We owe thanks as well to Emily Ballew Neff, curator at the Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, and to Brian W. Dippie, professor at the University of British Columbia, Canada, for insights contained in their recent publications on Remington.

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To all of those who have helped bring our project to its successful conclusion, we extend our deepest gratitude.

Nancy K. Anderson



# Introduction

Nancy K. Anderson



## I have landed among the painters and well up too.

Frederic Remington, diary entry, 12 December 1908

IN FEBRUARY 1910, just a few weeks after Frederic Remington's sudden death, *Scribner's Magazine* published a thoughtful appreciation of the artist by the well-known critic Royal Cortissoz. In tracing the course of what he described as a remarkable career, Cortissoz noted that Remington had begun as a "black-and-white man"—in other words, as an illustrator.<sup>1</sup>

Many years earlier, the first images attributed to Remington under his own name had indeed appeared as black-and-white illustrations in popular journals. Scores of such images, widely reproduced over a ten year period, had allowed Remington to establish himself as the premier illustrator of western life while still a very young man. As he matured, however, Remington's aspirations changed and he began to explore the complexities of painting in color.

In 1896, on the eve of a trip west, a less-than-confident Remington wrote to his friend Owen Wister, "I have to find out once and for all if I can paint."<sup>2</sup> Four years later, at the turn of the twentieth century, Remington became adamant in his wish to leave his career as an illustrator behind in order to pursue success as a "fine artist." Critics, however, resisted his effort at transformation, finding fault, in particular, with his color. In December 1901, for example, an unidentified critic for the *New York Commercial Advertiser* visited an exhibition of Remington's work at Clausen's Gallery and wrote, "We are not claiming that Mr. Remington yet displays any genuine mastery of or subtle feeling for color and we doubt from what we have seen if this may ever be expected."<sup>3</sup> Another critic, having visited the same exhibition, declared, "seldom are the colors coordinated into any pictorial ensemble, and the brush work is tame and intrinsically uninteresting."<sup>4</sup> Despite such harsh words, both critics found one painting worthy of praise—a nocturne titled *The Night Herd* (unlocated).

If Remington was looking for guidance (either consciously or unconsciously) as he set out on a new artistic path, he may have found it in the closing lines of a review published in the *New York Sun*, also in December 1901. Although generally critical of Remington's color, the writer joined his colleagues in praising *The Night Herd*, which he described as "a picture distinctly beautiful in color, reasonably complete in values and full of a strong, earnest sense of the mystery of night."<sup>5</sup> The

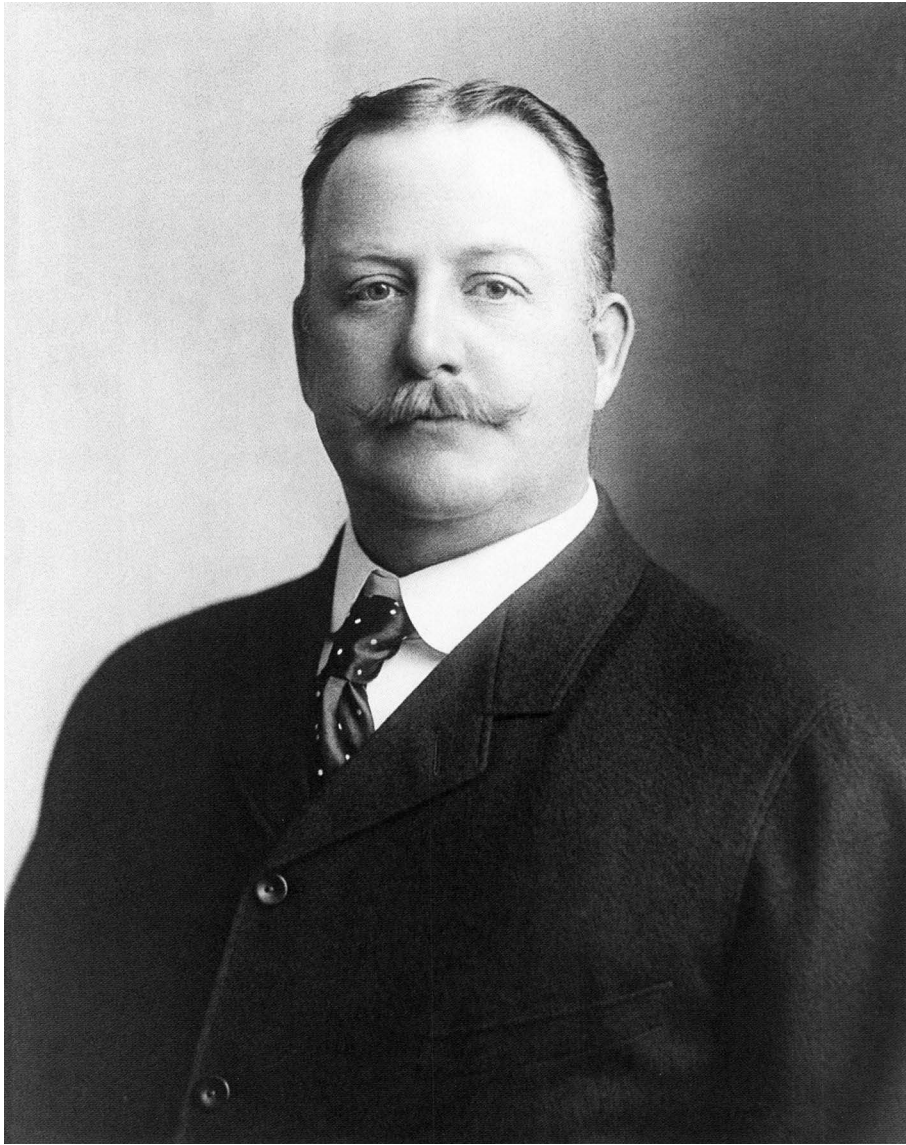
unknown critic concluded, "It proves what Mr. Remington can do when he takes off his illustration-thinking cap and views his problem seriously and solely from the painter's point of view."<sup>6</sup>

During the eight years that remained before his premature death in 1909, Remington explored, with great seriousness, the "problem" of painting in color. He may have achieved his greatest success in the more than seventy nocturnes he completed during the last years of his life. Though skillfully composed and beautifully crafted, the paintings did not come easily. As late as 1905 Remington expressed to a friend his frustration with the learning process: "I've been trying to get color in my things and still I don't get it. Why why why can't I get it. The only reason I can find is that I've worked too long in black and white. I know fine color when I see it but I just don't get it and it's maddening. I'm going to if I only live long enough."<sup>7</sup>

Despite his own misgivings, Remington had made remarkable progress in his use of color by 1905. Several of his most accomplished nocturnes, including *The Old Stage-Coach of the Plains*, 1901 (pl. 6), *A Reconnaissance*, 1902 (pl. 10), and *The Scout: Friends or Foes?*, 1902–1905 (pl. 11), had garnered praise.<sup>8</sup> Nevertheless, Remington remained dissatisfied and thus continued to experiment with both the materials he employed and the subjects he addressed.

In the fall of 1905 Knoedler Galleries in New York offered Remington a contract for an annual exhibition of his latest work. The first of these exhibitions opened to positive reviews in December of the following year. A critic for the *Globe and Commercial Advertiser*, for example, declared that Remington had "advanced," was using pigment with "greater discretion," and "must be taken very seriously as a painter."<sup>9</sup> A reviewer for *American Art News* wrote that the paintings on view at Knoedler's prove that Remington "is now a painter and not an illustrator solely."<sup>10</sup> Both commentators described *Taint on the Wind* (pl. 37), a mysterious and haunting nocturne, as the most "important" painting in the exhibition.

Several weeks after the conclusion of Remington's exhibition at Knoedler's, a critic for *The Craftsman* wrote that he detected "a new color note" in the artist's work. Expanding



Frederic Remington (1861–1909),  
Frederic Remington Art Museum,  
Ogdensburg, New York

upon his point, he declared that Remington had always “caught the real thing” in terms of western subject matter, but his color had not risen to the same level. However, in the paintings exhibited at Knoedler’s, the critic reported, “not a trace of this old color scheme remains. Mr. Remington has a new palette, his own, and the real West’s.”<sup>11</sup>

In December 1907 Remington’s second one-man exhibition opened in New York at Knoedler’s. Again, critics applauded what they perceived to be changes in his palette. Recalling earlier exhibitions, a reviewer for the *Globe and Commercial Advertiser* wrote, “Time was when his pictures possessed little beyond the illustrator’s quality of the pictorial, when the color was a more or less perfunctory affair put on to save the monotony of black and white.”<sup>12</sup> Noting that Remington now displayed a feeling for color and tone “hitherto unsuspected,” the unidentified critic went on to praise the moonlight and starlight of the nocturnes: “Mr. Remington has caught the

sentiment of the hour, caught truthfully the color feeling, with mysterious shadows, weird whites, and disappearing outlines.”<sup>13</sup>

In the *New York Daily Tribune*, Royal Cortissoz offered Remington congratulations for his “great stride forward” — most notably in his nocturnes: “It is not simply that he has changed his key. Study of the moonlight appears to have reacted upon the very grain of his art, so that all along the line, in drawing, in brush work, in color, in atmosphere, he has achieved greater freedom and breadth.”<sup>14</sup>

Cortissoz’ words were echoed by the critic for the *New York Times*, who also singled out the nocturnes: “In these night scenes there is a marked forward stride in the rendering of atmosphere, the color is more expressive . . . the brush work is looser, even the drawing is better, and the whole has a breadth and freedom of execution that may presage great things for Mr. Remington.”<sup>15</sup>

Not all the reviews were positive, however. One critic who found much to praise in the nocturnes described other paintings as “rather crudely colored.”<sup>16</sup> Remington, too, remained unsatisfied, as is evident from diary entries from the following year. In January 1908 Remington wrote of “wonderful moonlight nights” during which he “tried to distinguish color” in sketches done out-of-doors. Unfortunately, he noted, the light was “too subtle” and the sketches were unsatisfactory.<sup>17</sup> Two months later he wrote, “Those moonlights are elusive and require a world of monkeying.”<sup>18</sup> On 12 April he recorded, “Wonderful moonlight night — studying — it has not yet been painted but I think I am getting nearer all the time.”<sup>19</sup> Finally, on 22 June, he sounded a triumphant note, declaring that at last he had discovered “how to do the silver sheen of moonlight.”<sup>20</sup>

Six months later, in December 1908, the third of Remington’s annual exhibitions at Knoedler’s opened to very favorable reviews. Before the second week of the exhibition had concluded, the *New York Sun* reported that Remington’s paintings had “attracted throngs.”<sup>21</sup> On 12 December Remington wrote in his diary that his show had been “a triumph” and then added, “I have landed among the painters and well up too.”<sup>22</sup>

Remington’s 1908 Knoedler exhibition included nineteen paintings. Of these, nine were nocturnes.<sup>23</sup> Within this extraordinary group of works were several that offered clear evidence that Remington had indeed mastered the difficulties of capturing “the silver sheen of moonlight.” Acknowledging his achievement, the *New-York Tribune* declared that “it would be difficult to congratulate Mr. Remington too warmly” for his “night scenes.” The *Tribune* critic then concluded that “even more exhilarating” was “the spectacle of Mr. Remington’s adroitness, his swift and judicious handling of pigment, his boldness and his simplicity.”<sup>24</sup>



Frederic Remington, Sketch for  
*The Craftsman* (March 1909), 670

The chorus of praise continued well after the exhibition closed. In January 1909, for example, *The Craftsman* reported on Remington's exhibition at Knoedler's:

The many people sincerely interested in Mr. Remington's work have, for the past few years, felt that he was making rapid strides in the development of a variety of new and interesting methods of expressing what he had to say. He is either forgetting or purposely putting aside the recollection and influence of the color and technique employed by his first art heroes, de Neuville and Detaille, and is achieving a manner that has been evolved out of the subjects which he paints, so that his color is more and more inevitably related to his ideas, as if Nature herself had spread his palette. He has grown to think through his paint so freely and fluently that in some of his more recent work he seems to have used his medium unconsciously, as a great musician does his piano and score.<sup>25</sup>

Remington's diary entries suggest that his use of paint—of color—was far from unconscious. The “rapid strides” noted by his contemporaries resulted from constant study of the natural world and extensive experimentation with the painting materials available to him.

In November 1909, the last of Remington's solo exhibitions opened at Knoedler's. Remington lived long enough to enjoy what he characterized in his diary as “splendid notices.”<sup>26</sup> On 26 December, however, he died unexpectedly of peritonitis following an emergency appendectomy. He was forty-eight years old.

With admirable singleness of purpose, Remington spent the last decade of his life—the first of the twentieth century—reinventing himself. During that period he struggled with a series of increasingly difficult aesthetic problems. The most challenging of these involved the visual representation of light—especially moonlight and firelight. Though initially uncertain of his own abilities, Remington quickly became an extraordinary technician. Nowhere is his achievement more evident than in the more than seventy nocturnes he created

between 1900 and 1909. Dazzling in color, spare in composition, the nocturnes are also enormously complex works of art. Filled with uncertainty and threatened violence, they reflect Remington's personal disquiet as well as that of a newly modern world.

Intended to serve as a reference source for Remington's nocturnes, this book offers three interpretive essays. The first, by William C. Sharpe, professor of English at Barnard College, examines the history of the nocturne as an art form as well as Remington's place within that tradition. The second, by Nancy K. Anderson, associate curator of American and British paintings at the National Gallery of Art, considers the impact of Remington's experience of the Spanish-American War on his art and, in particular, the reflection of that experience in his nocturnes. The third essay, by Alexander Nemerov, professor of the history of art at Yale University, explores the influence of photographic innovations on Remington's paintings of night.

The volume also features a fully illustrated “catalogue raisonné” of the nocturnes, which includes references to individual paintings from Remington's letters and diaries as well as contemporary commentary. Finally, a conservators' appendix provides analysis concerning Remington's materials and painting technique. This information, gleaned from conservation work done on several of Remington's nocturnes in preparation for the exhibition *Frederic Remington: The Color of Night*, may prove helpful to other conservators as they care for these important paintings.

The authors hope that this publication will provide the initial groundwork necessary for others to explore in even greater depth the compelling and provocative paintings of night that Remington completed during the last decade of his life, when he emerged as one of the most gifted colorists of his generation.

## Notes

1. Royal Cortissoz, "Frederic Remington: A Painter of American Life," *Scribner's* 47 (February 1910): 184.
2. Allen P. and Marilyn D. Splete, eds., *Frederic Remington—Selected Letters* (New York, 1988), 280.
3. "The Art World," *New York Commercial Advertiser*, 10 December 1901, 7.
4. "Paintings, Pastels and Drawings by Frederic Remington," *New York Sun*, 11 December 1901, 6.
5. "Paintings, Pastels and Drawings" 1901, 6.
6. "Paintings, Pastels and Drawings" 1901, 6.
7. Peggy and Harold Samuels, *Frederic Remington: A Biography* (Austin, 1982), 363.
8. See, for example, "Remington's West," *New York Times*, 7 April 1903, 9.
9. "Art and Artists. Remington's Indian Pictures at Knoedler's—Notes," *New York Globe and Commercial Advertiser*, 19 December 1906, 10.
10. "Exhibitions Now On," *American Art News* (22 December 1906): 6.
11. "Notes," *The Craftsman* (February 1907): 635–636.
12. "Art and Artists. Remington's Western Pictures," *New York Globe and Commercial Advertiser*, 3 December 1907, 8.
13. "Art and Artists. Remington's Western Pictures" 1907, 8.
14. "Art Exhibitions," *New York Daily Tribune*, 4 December 1907, 7.
15. "New Remington Paintings," *New York Times*, 5 December 1907, 8.
16. "New Remington Paintings" 1907, 8.
17. Remington diary, entry for 19 January 1908.
18. Remington diary, entry for 17 March 1908.
19. Remington diary, entry for 12 April 1908.
20. Remington diary, entry for 22 June 1908.
21. "Around the Galleries," *New York Sun*, 11 December 1908, 6.
22. Remington diary, entry for 12 December 1908.
23. As listed in Knoedler's catalogue for the exhibition, the nocturnes were "(1) *Night Halt of Cavalry*, (2) *Apache Scouts Listening*, (4) *The Stranger*, (5) *The Stampede*, (6) *Shot-gun Hospitality*, (7) *The Call for Help*, (8) *The Grass Fire*, (10) *Scare in a Pack-train*, (12) *In from the Night Herd*."
24. Royal Cortissoz, "American Art," *New-York Tribune*, 6 December 1908, sec. 2, pp. 2–3.
25. "Music: Drama: Art: Reviews," *The Craftsman*, 15 (January 1909): 501–502.
26. Remington diary, entry for 9 December 1909.





# What's Out There?

FREDERIC REMINGTON'S ART OF DARKNESS

William C. Sharpe



Cut down and out—do your hardest work outside the picture and let  
your audience take away something to think about—to imagine.

Frederic Remington, 1903

WHAT'S OUT THERE? This is perhaps the fundamental question posed by Frederic Remington's work.<sup>1</sup> "To him the meaning of an episode was not inside like a kernel but outside in the unseen," as Joseph Conrad says of the narrator in *Heart of Darkness*.<sup>2</sup> What is beyond the frame of Remington's canvas? First of all, it is danger. In *Fired On* (pl. 42), an army party emerges from darkness into bright moonlight by a ford. Bullets from unseen antagonists hit the ground and spray the water in front of them. The leading white horse pulls up short in fear; men reach for their pistols; another horse rears in fright, threatening to throw its rider; a man in back raises his arm to signal a frantic halt. In *Apache Scouts Listening* (pl. 50), white soldiers and Apaches stand stock still in the moonlight. All eyes are turned to their left. The Apaches crouch low to the ground, while the whites remain upright and tense, one with his hand cupping his ear. An ominous shadow in the foreground, echoing the dark woods out of which they have come, blocks their path much like the dark water in *Fired On*.<sup>3</sup>

The danger invoked is not only a physical threat but also the sign of the "Other." These "savages," as Remington and his culture called them, included the guerilla warrior and Apache leader Geronimo, whom the army, using Apache scouts, tracked in the Southwest in the 1880s; or Sitting Bull, who defeated General George Custer; or the Sioux people, who sporadically resisted efforts to destroy them until the fateful massacre at Wounded Knee ended the Indian Wars in 1890. In Remington's daytime action pictures, the difference between the races appears in the coolness-under-fire of the white soldiers, dead or sure to die, in the foreground, while the more numerous foe, implied rather than visible, circle in the background. The one is triumphant in heroic death, the other is a lethal, implacable enemy. At night, however, the contest equalizes: otherness becomes implicit, more complex. Whites cannot trust whites in *The Stranger* (pl. 59), in which a cowboy cautiously approaches a firelit wagon, while in *The Scout: Friends or Foes?* (pl. 11), the Indian reconnoiterer (for whose side?) cannot be sure of his findings as he peers, rifle in hand, at indistinct lights in the snowy distance.<sup>4</sup>

Remington's interest in the volatile West began early, when he was smitten with the idea of going "out there" at the

age of fourteen after the battle of Little Bighorn in 1876. He did not actually make the journey until 1881 as a young man of twenty-one. Told when he arrived that "there is no more West," Remington decided, as he later said, "to record some facts around me."<sup>5</sup> He managed to ride with the army in a peripheral way at the time of the search for Geronimo and again during the final war with the Sioux. Through a combination of imaginative conviction and careful observation, he was able to satisfy the public that his view was the authentic one.<sup>6</sup>

For Remington's audience, the question of what's "out there," that is, "out west," loomed large. They relied (and still rely) on Remington to depict it truthfully. The moonlit army officers who look over a snowy hill in *A Reconnaissance* (pl. 10) in a sense represent the artist. Remington, through his figures, takes the measure of some object, invisible from the point of view of the man who waits in the foreground, tending the horses. We, like the uninformed eastern viewer, wait for the artist to hint at or reveal what lies on the other side of the obscure woods.

Remington's library contained mostly reference books about American Indian and western costumes and customs. His pictures present themselves as a collection of facts, paralleling his friend Theodore Roosevelt's work in helping to stock the Museum of Natural History in New York. It was, however, an image of the West made in the East: "I sometimes feel that I am trying to do the impossible in my pictures in not having a chance to work direct but as there are no people such as I paint its 'studio' or nothing."<sup>7</sup>

Apart from his own private search for the West, Remington was driven by market forces and the needs of a national psyche. The journalist Emerson Hough took Remington, among others, to task in an article called "Wild West Faking." "After all, we are all in the picture, you and I, East and West. What grimacing and contorted image we see in our national mirror is only the grimacing and contorted image of ourselves."<sup>8</sup> Remington's contortions involved absolute fidelity, grounded in authentic detail of dress and setting, to an image of the West now lived only on his canvases. In 1900 Remington wrote to his wife from New Mexico that he might never

return to the West: “It is all brick buildings—derby hats and blue overhauls—it spoils my early illusions—and they are my capital.”<sup>9</sup>

What’s “out there” thus became “us” or “U.S.” in several ways. Not only was civilization encroaching, but in reaching back into a more unspoiled or imagined past, Remington was also speaking for his own eastern culture’s psychological need to find a “truer” America than the one emerging from the immigrant-swollen cities and the railroad-ridden, telegraph-tangled plains. He was afraid he was “writing an obituary,” but if he could not save the reality, he did his best to keep the dream alive.<sup>10</sup> Thus he presents a situation, an imaginative structure, that demands we viewers fill it with our own narrative.<sup>11</sup> We stand at the source of the flying bullets in *Fired On*. What’s out there is us. Remington’s late and powerful *Moonlight, Wolf* (pl. 66) stares out with burning eyes, eyes that echo the stars burning in the night sky above. Perhaps the prowling wolf menaces us, but more likely, as in *Fired On*, we stand in the position of the dark, unseen thing that is dangerous. In our quest to know, explore, and exploit the West, we have hunted down the wolf, cornered it. In Remington’s enigmatic stopped narrative of the night, we dare not kill it, for we recognize in it something that is necessary to us: an essential representation of ourselves.<sup>12</sup>

For what’s “out there” is in here—the modern artist looking into himself. As Henry David Thoreau asks in *Walden*, linking colonialism and conquest to inner exploration, “What does Africa, what does the West, stand for?” Not pausing for the answer, Thoreau demands rhetorically, “Is not our own interior white on the chart? black though it must prove, like the coast, when discovered.”<sup>13</sup> Remington began painting night scenes of the West at the time when Joseph Conrad in *Heart of Darkness* (1899) and Sigmund Freud in *The Interpretation of Dreams* (1900) began their own explorations of inner darkness. In Remington’s work, in obvious and in subtle ways, it is the artist who is “out there,” facing and creating figures, putting paint on and around them, standing in the place of the viewer, setting up the danger and embodying it. “These transcript from nature fellows who are so clever cannot compare with the imaginative men in long run,” Remington predicted in his diary.<sup>14</sup> His night paintings pose deep questions of the imagination. Why *are* we out there? What symbolic quest have we undertaken? What does the West stand for? The answers are, as the title of one of his late works puts it, seen “in the eye of the mind.” Just as the American Indians in that scene try to read the shapes in the clouds, Remington’s audience tries to read the meaning of the shapes on the canvas.

For those who admire Remington’s work, these reflections are linked to one other search for what’s “out there.” What influences, ideas, and personal or social factors caused the

artist to paint as he did? It was clear to critics even at the time that the nocturnal canvases were a turning point in making Remington a “real” painter.<sup>15</sup> The great critical success he enjoyed at the Knoedler Galleries in New York in 1908 and 1909 was linked directly to his night scenes.<sup>16</sup> After Remington’s death, the art critic Royal Cortissoz recalled noting this shift much earlier: “I have seen paintings of his which were hard as nails. But then came a change,” beginning with the “originality and freshness” of his night scenes, where “the mark of the illustrator disappeared and that of the painter took its place.”<sup>17</sup>

“Then came a change”—but from what sources? Remington downplayed any help he received from other painters, living or dead. In his diary he noted that “the old fellows did nothing of interest to modern artists.”<sup>18</sup> When his self-confidence wavered he complained about both high art and the masses—“I feel like a ‘discard’ and I hate Old Masters and New Americans. Much! Much!”<sup>19</sup>—but he had in fact learned from the French painters Jean-Baptiste Edouard Detaille and Ernest Meissonier how to do military figures and battle scenes.<sup>20</sup> The free brushwork of his later pictures, too, owed much to his contact with European-trained friends. Reviewing Remington’s *Cow-Puncher’s Lullaby* (pl. 31) and his other night pictures, a writer in the *New York Times* remarked, “All these pictures have more or less atmosphere, more or less tenderness, in the brushwork. Would they have it if the wizards of the brush in Europe had not fought against the hard academic style?”<sup>21</sup>

Certainly a vibrant tradition of night painting with plenty of modern practitioners was already in play. And in an electrically lit industrial era, the reality of night itself was changing. In Remington’s time, night was not only an aesthetic challenge, one of the most important “modern subjects”; it was also a raging frontier. In the new urban world, packed with more lights, activities, and entertainments than ever before, night was a space to be conquered and colonized, whether for art or for commerce. For lovers of moonlight, the peaceful, restorative nights of yore seemed to have become an endangered species. In Remington’s New York milieu, the romance of the West, the growth of the city, the rapid rise of photography to the status of fine art, and the evolving nature of aesthetic fashion and influence (from James McNeill Whistler through tonalism to American impressionism and on to the Ash Can School) created a nighttime image of unprecedented complexity. Painted entirely in the twentieth century, Remington’s nocturnal canvases were the product—and in many ways a culmination—of the nineteenth century’s fascination with the night.

### "Solemn Voices of the Night"

The originality of Remington's nocturnes can be best appreciated by considering their relation to the extraordinary fascination with night that occurred in art and literature during the nineteenth century. As a painter of night, Remington was hardly a lone pioneer. Despite his independence, he was a participant in the larger artistic current of his time. Although images of the night have a centuries-long history, from 1800 to about 1910 nocturnal painting evolved rapidly as a creative, challenging form through which painters and writers took major steps toward developing the aesthetics of modernism. More than anyone else it was Whistler, another American renegade, who brought nocturnal imagery to the center of the debate about modernity in art. His nocturnes were both radical and influential in ways that Remington, despite his dislike of Whistler, could not escape. Yet a look at the nocturnal context also reveals the degree to which Remington boldly staked out his own territory.

For as long as artists have been creating night scenes, viewers have been ridiculing them. An engraving from 1771, *A Connoisseur Admiring a Dark Night Piece*, shows a frowning

gentleman with a lens peering at a pitch-black canvas (fig. 1). The nature of the joke—that one can see nothing in the dark—speaks directly to the problem facing artists who wanted to record the nocturnal world. What was out there? Since the artist endeavored to reveal his subject and skill as fully as possible, most European painters illuminated their night scenes almost as brightly as if they were seen by day, often revealing colors and fine detail. Without the sun, however, artists had to devise alternative light sources. At first, the radiance streamed from heaven above, with the moon or stars serving as a means of illumination. The earliest night scenes in the Western tradition are biblical, depicting the Flight into Egypt, the Nativity, or the angels' annunciation to the shepherds watching their flocks by night. Early secular landscapes, such as *Landscape by Moonlight* (fig. 2) by Peter Paul Rubens, feature moonlight, starlight, and what was to become the almost inevitable complement to the full moon: a body of reflective water in the foreground.<sup>22</sup> The near universality of the moonlight-on-water motif may be explained in practical terms: one can scarcely—if at all—see colors or such detail even in the brightest moonlight, but a full and reflected moon provides the utmost in illumination and verisimilitude.<sup>23</sup> The double light source (often augmented by a third one, a fire on shore) also increases the visual interest of the scene.<sup>24</sup>

By the eighteenth century, most night scenes were moonlit landscapes where the restorative calm of darkened nature enfolds the world. They almost always depict a full moon surrounded or partially hidden by clouds, a moon whose brightness is augmented by a pond, lake, river, or sea. A classic example is *Night, A Port in Moonlight* by the eighteenth-century French artist Claude-Joseph Vernet (fig. 3). The focal point of the large canvas is a full moon encircled by clouds whose silvery blue light shimmers on the water of a quiet harbor that holds two ships and small groups of fishermen. The cool moonlight and the masculine activities on the left are balanced on the lower right by the warm red tones of a blazing fire around which a group of women gather to tend a cooking pot.

In the late eighteenth century, British artist J. M. W. Turner began his career as something of a specialist in night pictures. He enjoyed his earliest success at the Royal Academy with a night scene, *Fishermen at Sea* (1796, Tate Gallery, London). Turner supplements the illumination of the moonlight with the lantern on a fishing boat, the stars above, and a few distant lights on shore. The artist created a number of Thames scenes, including *Moonlight, a Study at Millbank* (1797, Tate Gallery, London), in which a darkened London gleams in the background. In this area he found himself in competition with the Pethers, a whole family that specialized almost exclusively in moonlit scenes. The careers of Abraham

1. Henry Bunbury, *A Connoisseur Admiring a Dark Night Piece*, 1771, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, Abby Aldrich Rockefeller Folk Art Museum, Williamsburg, Virginia





2. Peter Paul Rubens, *Landscape by Moonlight*, 1637–1640, The Courtauld Institute Gallery, Somerset House, London



3. Claude-Joseph Vernet, *Night, A Port in Moonlight*, 1772, Musée du Louvre, Paris

Pether and his son Sebastian flourished at the start of the nineteenth century, and they were succeeded by Sebastian's son Henry, who managed to include the requisite bit of reflective water in *Trafalgar Square by Moonlight* (c. 1861, Museum of London) by having the moonlight shimmer in a fountain in the foreground. On the continent, Johan Barthold Jongkind produced moonlit landscapes of the Dutch countryside, building on the work of his seventeenth-century countryman Aert van der Neer. An intimate of the Parisian art scene, Jongkind also produced numerous moonlight views of the Seine in the 1850s, such as *Clair de lune sur la Seine* (1855, Musée Municipal, The Hague), that would have been familiar to Whistler.<sup>25</sup>

For many artists, moonlight was as much the subject of the picture as it was the source of its illumination. Since “moonlights” are by convention dedicated to a reflective mood—literalized in the reflecting water that is almost universally present—tranquil moonlights are usually devoid of strident action, and the blanketing of detail by darkness helps reduce narrative or mimetic content, as well as the mundane associations of day and its cares. Representing a time, tone, and scene conducive to thought, dream, and artistic self-questioning, moonlit images are among the most central expressions of the Romantic fascination with imagination and creativity. In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, moonlight explorations took on an important role for European explorers of the inner world. William Blake's friend Samuel Palmer painted glowing, thickly textured pastoral scenes, such as *Coming from Evening Church* (1830, Tate Gallery, London) and *The Harvest Moon* (c. 1831–1832, Tate Gallery, London). The English poets William Wordsworth and Percy Shelley both wrote poems called “To the Moon,” and Ludwig von Beethoven composed his “Moonlight Sonata” in 1801. The attraction of introspective nighttime evocations in an industrializing, urbanizing world is underscored by the great popularity of the music of Frédéric Chopin, who from 1827 to 1846 composed twenty-one nocturnes for the piano.

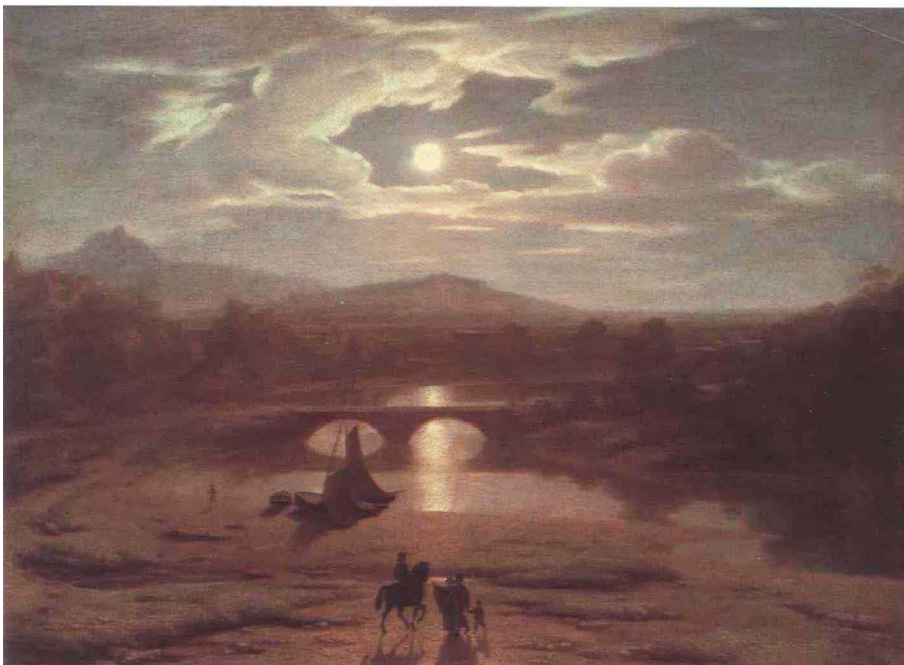
Perhaps the most compelling Romantic night stalker is Caspar David Friedrich. In such works as *Man and Woman Contemplating the Moon* (fig. 4), *Moonrise over the Sea* (1822, Nationalgalerie, Berlin), and *Moonlit Landscape* (c. 1830–1835, The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York), he establishes an eerie rapport between his cloaked spectators, with their backs turned to the viewer, and the moonlit landscape before them. Friedrich's figures not only stand in for the audience outside the canvas, but they also show us how to behave in the presence of moonlight, that is, with awe and reverence. It is a mystical communion.<sup>26</sup>

Similar emotions can be found in American artistic and literary traditions.<sup>27</sup> In the United States, numerous artists shared the idea that the natural landscape serves as a vehicle



4. Caspar David Friedrich, *Man and Woman Contemplating the Moon*, 1824, Staatliches Museen zu Berlin – Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Nationalgalerie

5. Washington Allston, *Moonlight Landscape*, 1819, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, William Sturgis Bigelow Collection



for inner exploration. Among them were some of the most prominent American painters of the nineteenth century, including Washington Allston, Thomas Cole, Fitz Hugh Lane, Martin Johnson Heade, Ralph Blakelock, and Albert Pinkham Ryder. Thoreau's observation that "the world is but a canvas to our imaginations" suggests that one might figuratively paint one's ideas on the landscape with either word or brush.<sup>28</sup> One of the most memorable of all American night scenes is Washington Allston's imaginary *Moonlight Landscape* (fig. 5). Circled by clouds, a full moon casts its glow on a still body of water.

Together the two light sources—one radiant, the other reflective—illuminate a family group greeting a horseman on the shore in the foreground. Behind them a beached sailboat and a double-arched bridge share the center of the canvas with the brightest patch of water, while a slumbering town and misty mountains lie off in the distance. A mysterious romantic tranquility permeates the scene, which may be a fantasy rendition of Allston's return home to Boston from Europe in 1818. Equally important are the symbolic values of the moon and water. The moonlight represents poetic imagination, the mind in the act of transforming the world into a correlative of its own perception, its own emotion. Reflective water implies the less dramatic but no less active process of mental reflection or meditation, the mind engaged in dialogue with the scene before it. Of his entrance into Boston Harbor, Allston recalled, "The moon looked down on us as a living thing, as if to bid us welcome."<sup>29</sup> The moonlit landscape thus plays a double role, stimulating us to look within, to find ourselves somehow reflected in the scene before us, while also registering the external brilliance of the nocturnal forces that, through the artist's eye, radiate a divine vision that informs the landscape as a whole.

In Martin Johnson Heade's *Point Judith, Rhode Island* (c. 1867–1868, Cleveland Museum of Art), the veiled moon that glows through the clouds, across glassy water, and onto small waves and rocks along the shore again seems especially receptive to the viewer's imaginings. Unlike most daytime scenes where the source of illumination is invisible (the sun is too bright to paint directly), most moonlights center viewers directly before the full moon, permitting them to look head-on into the source of the light, be it physical or spiritual.<sup>30</sup> And yet, because moonlight is already reflected light, a "moonlight" is a metaphor for painting itself. Like the moon, the painting is both reflection and reflector, a reflection of what the artist saw, as well as a mirror inviting spectators to explore their own thoughts within the scene.

The impulses of Romanticism were tied to the advent of the industrial era. As the reality of industrial urban America overtook the agricultural Jeffersonian ideal, images of the unspoiled countryside and wilderness became icons of the spiritual and sacred, the restorative and enlightening. The night provided a special access to nature and made the blessings of the country available even in city streets. In Henry Wadsworth Longfellow's first popular volume of poetry, *Voices of the Night* (1839), the poet begins by asserting, "Even in the city's throng / I feel the freshness of the streams." Soon Nature instructs him that if he looks within he will find that the secrets of night and the human heart are interchangeable: "All forms of sorrow and delight / All solemn Voices of the Night / That can soothe thee or affright."<sup>31</sup> For the American

city dweller, as for country-based philosophers and poets such as Thoreau and Ralph Waldo Emerson, Longfellow and William Cullen Bryant, the nocturnal landscape provided a passport into nature and the self, a way to reach the divine essence of moonlight that the advancing city lights were making harder and harder to see. In nineteenth-century Europe, sensing what was coming, the Romantic German poet Heinrich Heine commented that “gaslight’s stench destroys the fragrant moon light.”<sup>32</sup> According to the curators of a recent exhibition on the interaction of lighting technology and art, “Between 1820 and 1850 there were more autonomous night scenes painted than in any other given period. By autonomous we mean a night scene not connected to a dramatic nocturnal event, such as the captivity of Christ. The painter’s true subject is night itself.” They conclude that “the nocturne expresses the modern urbanized observer’s nostalgic sense of a lost past.”<sup>33</sup>

Nonetheless, in some quarters pastoral moonlit scenes gave way to spectacularly illuminated cityscapes and industrial sites as artists embraced the opportunity to record a new nocturnal world. Of course, fires and festivities had always been important nocturnal subjects. Celebrations with fireworks and bonfires had been recorded from the Renaissance on, as had great conflagrations. Pierre Antoine DeMachy, a key figure in eighteenth-century French urban night painting, recorded both fires and fireworks, as in *The Foire St. Germain on Fire* (1763, Musée Carnavalet, Paris) and *Fireworks on the Place Louis XV* (1782, Musée Carnavalet, Paris). Painters such as Joseph Wright of Derby and P. J. de Louthembourg were headed toward a confluence of fire, city, and eruption—all leading to what one could call the “infernal urban sublime.” One of the most remarkable paintings is Wright’s *An Iron Forge Viewed from Without* (1773, Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg), which reverses the lighting and mood effects of Vernet’s *Night, A Port in Moonlight*. Bathed in the orange glow of the forge, luridly lit foreground figures steal the eye away from the silvery moonlight, which is now relegated to a corner of the picture. Similarly, de Louthembourg’s *Coalbrookdale by Night* (1801, Science Museum, London) depicts factory blast furnaces flaring in a devastated landscape, the natural illumination of moonlight and stars marginalized on the right of the canvas.

New technologies were causing unprecedented change, particularly in nocturnal sights and activities. Although painters and poets were slow to produce extended descriptions of the newly gaslit city after nightfall, they frequently used nocturnal settings to depict the industrial city as a place of darkness and fire, an infernal urban landscape, an apocalyptic site of sin, judgment, and retribution. Representations of night and the powers of darkness thus occupied a crucial posi-

tion as artists and writers adapted the idea of the sublime to artificial, urban landscapes. Edmund Burke had anticipated this development in his *Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful* (1757) when he observed, “Night [is] more sublime and solemn than day.”<sup>34</sup> Turner capped the whole genre with his incendiary and apocalyptic scene, *The Burning of the Houses of Lords and Commons, 16th October, 1834* (1835, Cleveland Museum of Art). It is as if the fabric of the British government has caught fire; even the water takes flame.

Besides these evolving forms of pastoral and urban night painting, Remington’s contemporaries would also have encountered two other kinds of image when they looked at a night scene. One was the classical, even allegorical, evocation of nocturnal repose, such as *The Sleep of Endymion* (1790–1791, Musée du Louvre, Paris) by Anne-Louis Girodet<sup>35</sup> or *A Summer Night* (c. 1890, Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool) by Albert Moore, who was at one time a close associate of Whistler. The other was inspirational and placed even more emphasis on minute detail, vibrant color, and careful drawing, as seen in the immensely popular *The Light of the World* (1851–1853, Keble College, Oxford, England) by William Holman Hunt, who in true Pre-Raphaelite fashion worked from 9 p.m. to 5 a.m. during full moons in the English winter to capture the exact effect of moonlight and lamplight on ivy.

We have only to turn from Hunt to Whistler to begin to appreciate the effect Whistler exerted on an audience accustomed to hard edges, brilliant colors, and well-defined settings with patent emotional content. In contrast to the Pre-Raphaelite vision, a work such as Whistler’s first night painting, *Nocturne—Blue and Gold—Valparaiso* (1866, Freer Gallery of Art, Washington), seemed to Victorian viewers slapdash, murky, and devoid of human interest. It heralded a new approach: an exploration of darkness for its own sake. Can we be more precise about what distinguishes a nocturne from an ordinary night scene or a “moonlight”? And why did the nocturne become an important form at this particular time?

#### “I Can’t Thank You Too Much for the Name ‘Nocturne’”

Originally a term for a dreamy musical composition, the “nocturne” rapidly developed into an elastic but useful category within the larger designation “representation of night.” The chief characteristic of the nocturne is its reflective, atmospheric quality, a pensive beauty specific to the whispering shadows of the night. Born in the nineteenth century, the nocturne became a challenging resource for artists of all kinds who sought to convey (while occasionally undercutting) this mood as they explored their subject in a location that might at first seem antithetical to nocturnal repose—the modern



city. Although they bespeak moonlight on gently rippling water in the still night, nocturnes were an urban phenomenon. Well before Frederic Remington found his nocturnal inspiration in and around New York City, the Irish composer John Field wrote the first musical nocturne in Moscow in 1814. Chopin began his series of nocturnes in Paris in 1827, where they proved a sensation with concertgoers. Within a few decades poets and painters applied the word to atmospheric night scenes, often of rivers flowing through the midst of darkened cities.

Perhaps because of Chopin's influence, Paris proved central to the development of the nocturne. French poets such as Théophile Gautier, Charles Baudelaire, Tristan Corbière, and Paul Verlaine elaborated a *nocturne parisien*, which described the effect of mist and lights on the Seine.<sup>36</sup> The prose poems of Baudelaire's *Le Spleen de Paris* were first titled *Poèmes nocturnes*. French artist Odilon Redon's undated *Nocturne* and his etchings of night owe much to the symbolist poets. Poet Arthur Rimbaud was sufficiently aware of the form to wish to challenge it in his "Nocturne vulgaire" (1886). Broadening out from the "clair de lune" or "moonlight" subjects popular in both poetry and painting for more than a century, the nocturne emerged after 1860 as a lyric mode of expression that allowed highly subjective meditations on the states of perception intensified by darkness. This nocturnal weaving of lines of influence among major and minor figures of the fin de siècle produced an important and progressive strand in the fabrication of modernism.

The very imprecision of the form was part of its attraction, as the nocturne became one of the foremost expressions of the movement toward synaesthesia in the arts. In 1852 Théophile Gautier published his poem "Symphonie en blanc majeur," and two years later Franz Liszt coined the musical term "symphonic poem." In 1867 Whistler first gave a musical title to one of his canvases, *Symphony in White, No. 3* (Barber Institute of Fine Arts, University of Birmingham, U.K.). When Claude Debussy applied the title "nocturnes" to one of his symphonic poems a few decades later, he was thinking neither of music nor of literature but of Whistler's art. Poets and painters exploring the shadowy areas between the abstract, aural, temporal nature of music and the representational, visual, spatial nature of art discovered that they could readily enter this aesthetic frontier by taking darkness itself as their subject. Thus, after about 1875, those who called their works "nocturnes" could imagine themselves participating in a literary, musical, or artistic tradition, and perhaps all three at once. The flexibility of the term suggests the fluidity of artistic boundaries that most of these poets and artists strove to reexamine.

Thanks to the work of Whistler, the idea of the nocturne as an evocative, atmospheric artistic form arrived in England, and it was largely through his influence that harmonious and nuanced interpretations of nocturnal urban beauty achieved popularity in France toward the end of the century. Having studied in Paris in the 1850s, Whistler imported the aesthetic of *l'art pour l'art*, or "art for art's sake," to London when he moved there in 1859. Along with this aesthetic came a belief in the interpenetration of poetry, painting, and music. Always au courant with the Parisian literary scene, Whistler substituted the Thames for the Seine and took his musical titles from poets rather than musicians. It was not until the early 1870s, however, that he began calling his night pieces "nocturnes." In an 1872 letter to his patron Frederick Leyland, who suggested the term to him, Whistler responded, "I can't thank you too much for the name 'Nocturne' as the title for my Moonlights . . . [It] does so poetically say all I want to say and no more than I wish."<sup>37</sup>

From the start, the nocturne's "poetic" quality, as well as its reticence, held a great attraction for Whistler. The wording of the title displaces content as the main concern and stresses atmosphere and darkness. The subject itself is only of secondary interest, a sort of footnote for the curious. As Whistler declared, the word nocturne "is meant to divest the picture from any outside anecdotal interest."<sup>38</sup> Or as he remarked of his *Nocturne in Grey and Gold: Chelsea Snow* (1875–1876, Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University), which shows a small figure before a lighted tavern, "I care nothing for the past, present, or future of the black figure, placed there because the black was wanted at that spot."<sup>39</sup> Whistler refused anecdote as he refused detail, because "subject matter has nothing to do with the harmony of sound or of colour."<sup>40</sup>

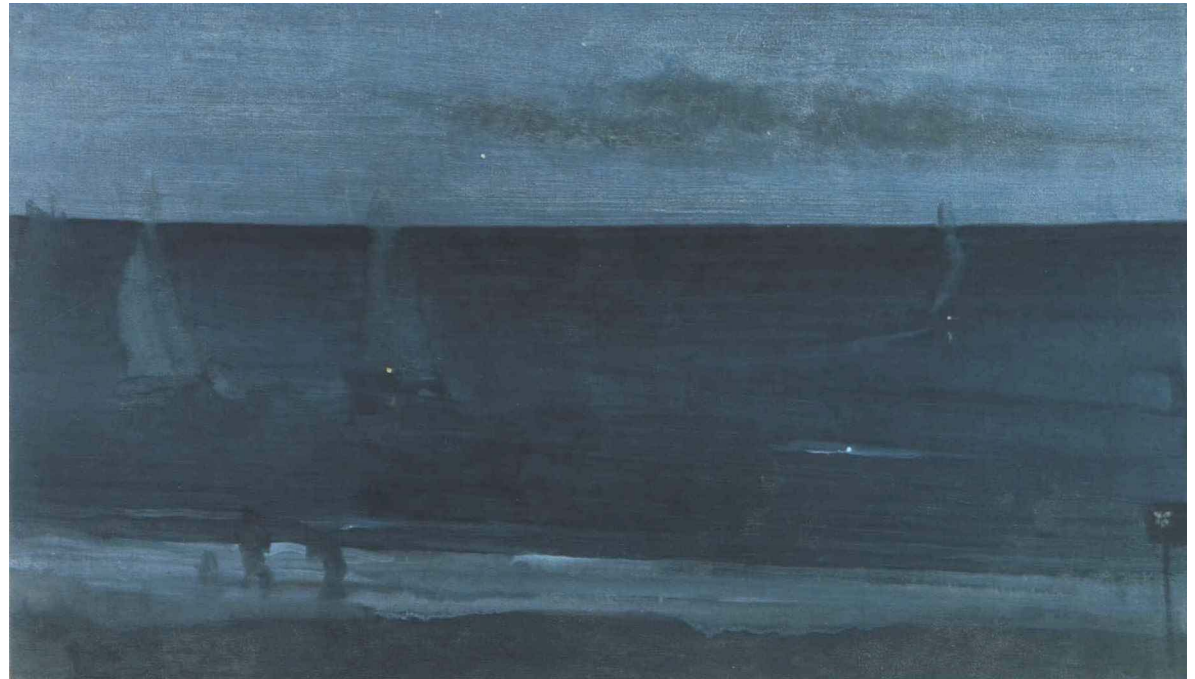
Much of the interest of Whistler's work came instead from the process of transformation. The nocturne is the exemplary transitional form between Victorian and modernist art precisely because of its emphasis on metamorphosis, particularly of the modern urban landscape.<sup>41</sup> As night transformed the city, so the nocturne altered expectations about the sorts of truths art should reveal, subversively posing its delicate balance of romantic mystery and abstract form against the mainstream preoccupation with narrative and hard-edged mimeticism.<sup>42</sup>

There was another side to the nocturne, however, one not so much meditative as abrasive. Whistler's musical terminology and the title "nocturne" drew ridicule, while the paintings themselves provoked amusement, antipathy, and ire. The first instance when the *Oxford English Dictionary* cites the term being applied to painting is this anti-Whistlerian warning to artists: "Don't be bothered with symphonies and nocturnes."<sup>43</sup>



6. James McNeill Whistler, *Nocturne in Black and Gold: The Falling Rocket*, c. 1875, The Detroit Institute of Arts, Gift of Dexter M. Ferry, Jr.

7. James McNeill Whistler, *Nocturne: Blue and Silver—Bognor*, 1871–1876, Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, Gift of Charles Lang Freer



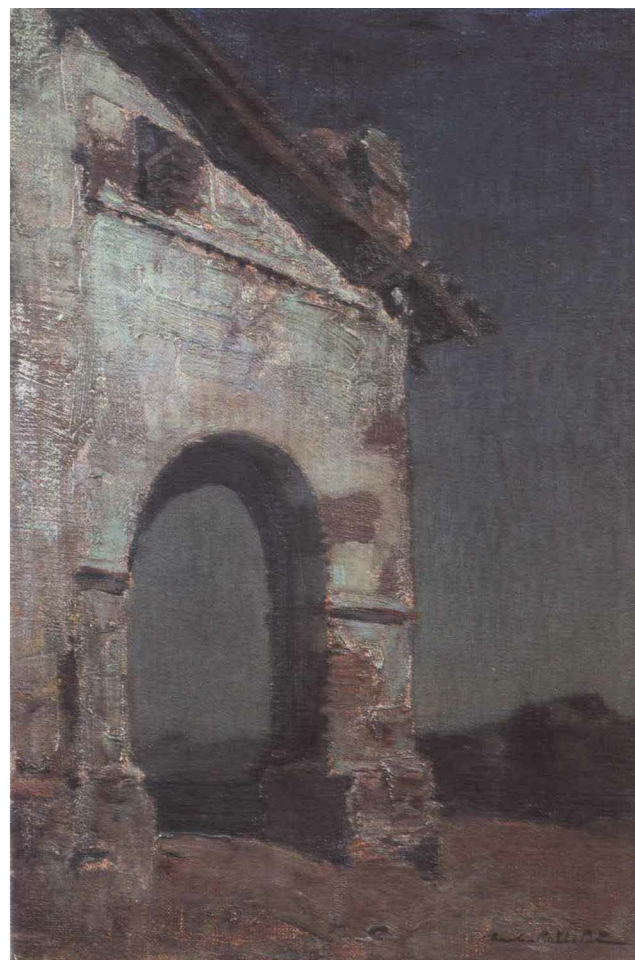
So it was that the artist E. J. Poynter wrote to Whistler in 1871 on one of the first occasions that a nocturne was shown publicly: “One of your [paintings] is perfectly placed, but the other, the ‘moon-light,’ seems to have riled the hangers for they have placed it badly.”<sup>44</sup> On viewing Whistler’s *Nocturne in Black and Gold: The Falling Rocket* (fig. 6), based on a fireworks display Whistler had witnessed at the Cremorne Gardens amusement park in London, the art critic John Ruskin accused the artist of “flinging a pot of paint in the public’s face.”<sup>45</sup> Whistler sued for libel. At the Whistler-Ruskin trial in 1878, the nocturnes called in as exhibits were repeatedly held upside down, introducing what would become a popular pastime among readers who wrote in to newspapers to announce that they had bought a Whistler but were uncertain of which way to hang it. Whistler’s brilliant presentation of his concepts helped him win his suit, and the notorious *Falling Rocket* was eventually bought by an American collector, who frequently exhibited it in New York, where Remington would likely have seen it, along with other Whistlers, such as *Nocturne: Blue and Silver—Bognor* (fig. 7), between 1901 and 1904.<sup>46</sup> With its fiery sparks drifting down against a blue-black sky, *Falling Rocket* combines the moonlit tints of the pastoral nocturnal tradition with the urban glare of artificial light.

While Whistler was shifting the emphasis of urban art from topography to atmosphere, the influence of his nocturnes as a new kind of subject matter—and art—amounted almost to a craze. Beginning in the 1870s, the artistic potential of misty urban river views or deserted back streets attracted many British artists. Under the spell of Whistler and the

8. Childe Hassam, *Fifth Avenue Nocturne*, c. 1895, The Cleveland Museum of Art, Anonymous Gift



9. Charles Rollo Peters, *San Fernando Mission*, not dated, Crocker Art Museum, Sacramento, California, Gift of William C. Wright



French writers whom he championed, English poets including Oscar Wilde, Arthur Symons, William Ernest Henley, and Alfred Douglas made the London nocturne one of the most characteristic expressions of the aesthetic movement of the 1880s and 1890s. Moody and evocative, aspiring to a musical freedom from denotation even as it claimed mimetic accuracy, the nocturne in England undermined the intense particularity and self-consciousness of high Victorian poetry and painting, becoming a bridge to imagism and abstraction.<sup>47</sup> In America, the etcher Joseph Pennell and his wife Elizabeth (devotees of Whistler who published his definitive biography in 1908) helped spread “The Master’s” gospel, especially in New York. But well before then, many American painters were producing pictures they called “nocturnes,” among them Remington’s friend Childe Hassam, who created *A Paris Nocturne* (Manoogian Collection) in 1890 and *Fifth Avenue Nocturne* (fig. 8) in c. 1895. Indeed, Whistler’s prints and paintings were exhibited frequently in and around New York from 1895 onward.<sup>48</sup>

### Who Goes There?

#### Remington, Whistler, the Tonalists, and The Ten

If Whistler was “in the air,” Remington made it clear that he was holding his nose. Even after a decade of painting night scenes, he refused to admit that there was anything to learn from Whistler. Remington noted in his diary for 24 March 1909, perhaps after reading his copy of the Pennells’ biography of the expatriate artist, “Whistler’s talk was light as air and the bottom of a cook stove was like his painting.”<sup>49</sup> Remington never called his night pictures “nocturnes,” though others, in the wake of Whistler, did. It is usually said that Remington began night painting in earnest after seeing the work of Charles Rollo Peters in New York in 1899. Peters, a California artist, painted deep blue starry skies above rugged moonlit western landscapes, often with a light glowing in the window of an isolated adobe dwelling (fig. 9). Yet having studied in Paris, Peters was directly influenced by Whistler, whom he attempted to meet. Whistler is even reputed to have praised his nocturnes.<sup>50</sup> The influence is perhaps double: in Remington’s *The Desert Prospector* (pl. 41), for example, the brushwork and brightly moonlit foreground resembles Peters’

style, but the background stars are so thickly sown that they seem like the descending sparks of fireworks in Whistler's *Falling Rocket*.

Remington protested too much against Whistler, as he did against American impressionism, from whose techniques in fact he profited and whose practitioners were among his closest friends, such as Hassam and J. Alden Weir. One could justly compare the blue-green tones of Remington's *Night Halt of Cavalry* (pl. 55) to those of Whistler's Thames paintings, such as *Nocturne: Blue and Silver—Bognor*, which Remington could have seen in several exhibitions. In both paintings the mood is subdued and calm, the boats in Whistler's mid-ground paralleling the resting soldiers in Remington's picture. Structurally, a great many of Remington's paintings follow a simple three-part horizontal division of space that Whistler also preferred, with the sky occupying the top third, lighter in value and uncluttered, like the foreground or bottom third. The center third is the area of action for Remington, with his figures, even if they suggest diagonal movement, usually arranged in a friezelike manner across the space.

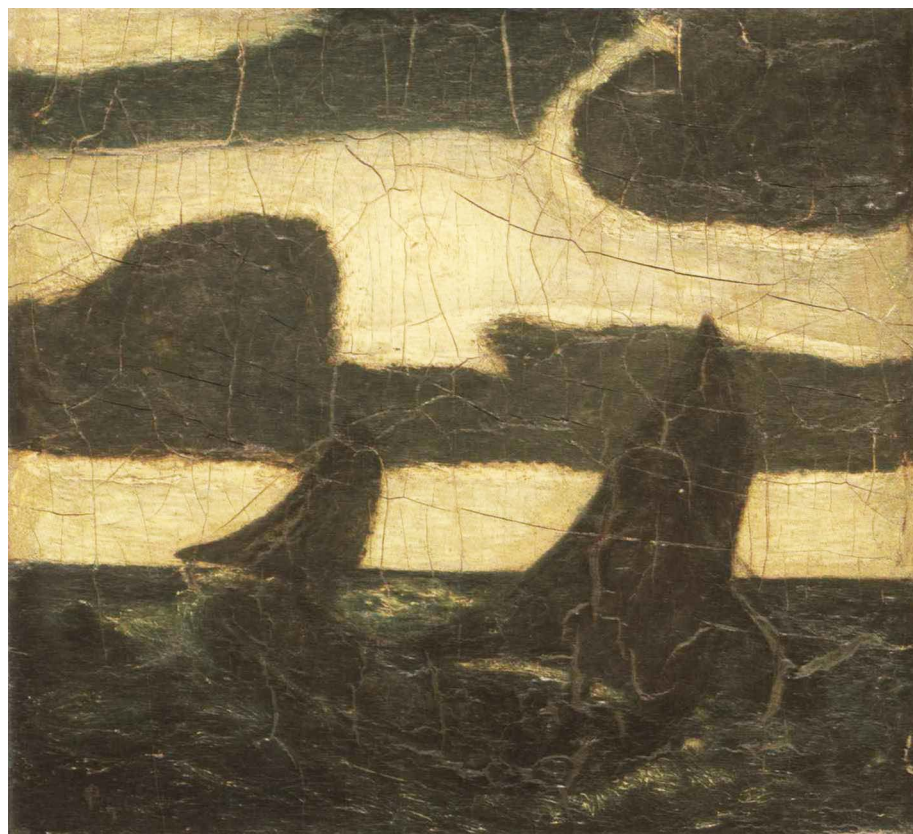
True to his own advice, Remington works "outside the picture." Like Whistler, and unlike most earlier painters of night, he keeps his light source off-canvas. His "moonlights" rarely, if ever, contain a moon.<sup>51</sup> And again like Whistler, Remington based his night scenes on careful observation. Whistler chose

to imprint a nocturnal scene on his memory and then re-create its mood and basic formal structure the next day in the studio. Remington worked hard for several years to capture "western" moonlight by doing outdoor studies at his houses in New Rochelle and Inglewood in upstate New York, similarly applying his insights the next day. Painting *The Sentinel* (pl. 45), he noted in his diary, "Worked on moonlight from my observations of last night."<sup>52</sup> It was clearly a continuing process: "Wonderful moonlight night. . . it has not yet been painted but I think I am getting nearer all the time," he wrote on 12 April 1908.<sup>53</sup> "I have now discovered for first time how to do the *silver sheen* of moonlight," he wrote in June 1908.<sup>54</sup> And on 7 December of that year he added, "Brilliant moonlight night—Sandy [his dog] and I studying it."<sup>55</sup> Like Whistler, Remington cared a great deal about his frames, gradually developing black ones to set off his night pictures to maximum advantage.

Moreover, the influence of Whistler, mingled with that of the French impressionists, was diffused in the United States by two groups of artists, the "tonalists" and "The Ten." Among the tonalists, a loosely and retrospectively defined group of landscapists who emphasized mood, mystery, and reverie keyed around a prevailing emotional or color tone, were George Inness, Thomas Wilmer Dewing, Ralph Blakelock, Dwight Tryon, Albert Pinkham Ryder, and Whistler.<sup>56</sup> The Ten was a cosmopolitan group that exhibited together from 1898 to 1918. They were open to the influence of the French impressionists as well as to that of Whistler and the American tonalists, who were mostly a generation older. Remington had many friends among The Ten, including Hassam, Weir, Robert Reid, John Twachtman, and Willard L. Metcalf, whom Remington dubbed "the boss of the landscape painters." Metcalf won a medal for his *May Night* (1906, Corcoran Gallery of Art, Washington), a softly shimmering image of a white-gowned woman approaching a classically styled building whose columns glow in the moonlight.<sup>57</sup> Night was in the air. As exhibition records indicate, an unprecedented amount of night painting was going on in the United States at the time, with nocturnal works by Inness, Ryder, Winslow Homer, Arthur Wesley Dow, and Edward Steichen topping the list.<sup>58</sup> Ryder, Blakelock, and The Ten actually received much more press for their nocturnal scenes than Peters ever did.

Like Whistler, Ryder played an important role in "modernizing" both moonlight and painting in general, linking nocturnal landscape, a suggestive, subjective atmosphere, and an almost musical abstraction of color and form. Among his many night scenes are *With Sloping Mast and Dipping Prow* (c. 1883, Smithsonian American Art Museum, Washington), *Moonlight* (c. 1887, Smithsonian American Art Museum, Washington), *Moonlight Marine* (fig. 10), and *Constance* (1896,

10. Albert Pinkham Ryder, *Moonlight Marine*, probably 1870s or 1880s, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Samuel D. Lee Fund



Museum of Fine Arts, Boston).<sup>59</sup> Ryder recalled a visionary formative moment: “There was no detail to vex the eye,” only “three solid masses . . . bathed in an atmosphere of golden luminosity . . . It was better than nature,” Ryder said, “for it was vibrating with the thrill of a new creation.”<sup>60</sup> Thus, while the intense mystery of his dark boats pitching on silvery seas seems to connect Ryder to the school of Friedrich—with the moon symbolizing God—the autonomous way in which Ryder carved out his elemental structures (“better than nature”) looks forward to symbolism and abstraction. Using the moon to explore the subjective spirituality of color and form, Ryder did not accept the real lesson of Whistler, who (like Remington after him) turned away from the moon altogether and toward the urban and human darkness that spoke much more strongly to him.

The shift inward is also visible in the obsessive work of Blakelock, who from the 1870s until about 1900 painted dozens of nocturnal landscapes, such as *Brook by Moonlight* (c. 1888–1890, Toledo Museum of Art), *Moonlit Landscape* (undated, Vassar College Art Gallery), *A Waterfall, Moonlight* (before 1886, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York), *Moonlight Sonata* (1892, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston), and *Moonrise* (c. 1883–1898, Wadsworth Athenaeum, Hartford). His murky, ever-more introspective scenes, featuring moons peeping through trees, their glow just barely reflected on the edges of heavily wooded ponds and brooks below, provide a vision that is almost all self and very little nature. A Ryderish mysticism pervades these heavily worked tangles of light and leaf. Although individually the paintings seem to be dreamy reveries, the cumulative effect is compulsive, anxious, and claustrophobic, as if the artist were struggling to free his moon, whose reflection appears to drown in the water, from the heavy impasto of dark trees and bushes. Blakelock, who began to go insane in the 1890s and who spent the last twenty years of his life in mental hospitals, gives a literal resonance to the word “lunatic.”<sup>61</sup>

Admittedly an extreme case, Blakelock nonetheless exemplifies one of the most constant features of nocturnal expression: its self-preoccupied turning away from anecdotal content and its exclusion of almost any trace of modern urban life. Like Remington and many of the nation’s foremost landscape painters, Blakelock lived near New York City and often had business there, and like them he preferred to eliminate from his paintings references to civilization and its incursion into the pastoral world. Nary a train, steamboat, road, factory, suburb, or settlement disturbs the numinous, timeless calm of American tonalist landscape painting. With the completion of the transcontinental railroad and steady westward migration, American nature had begun to seem more precious than perilous to urban artists and their audiences.<sup>62</sup> Nocturnal art

defused the threat of encroaching civilization by giving special attention to a time of day when human activity had not only ceased but its handiwork was also obscured by darkness.

The artist closest to Remington in spirit, despite all their differences, is probably Winslow Homer, who painted many night pictures. His works range from romantic figures dancing by a rocky shore in *A Summer Night* (fig. 11) to the scenic *Moonlight: Wood’s Island Light* (1894, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York) and the rustic *Camp Fire* (1886, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York), where the artist and his brother are illuminated only by the firelight. They also include the moonlit genre scene *The Sleigh Ride* (1893, Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, Williamstown) and the deadly struggle between man and nature observed in *Kissing the Moon* (1904, Addison Gallery of American Art, Andover), in which three fishermen regard a full moon rising over the top of a wave that threatens to swamp their small rowboat. In his widely exhibited night scenes, Homer refused to prettify moonlight. He used strong forms to convey the power of nature, and he often focused on one theme Remington never touched: the unending turbulence of the sea. In Homer’s maritime work, the courage that Remington’s figures display under fire comes through in understated ways, as in *The Herding Net* (fig. 12), where moonlit fishermen, their features hidden in their sou’westers, struggle to pull their net into a small rowboat in a big swell, a long way from any aid. Remington knew Homer,<sup>63</sup> and both had a fondness for painting the northern woods, but Remington chose not to make his landscapes a serious part of his work intended for exhibition. His feeling for nature seems inescapably bound up with human conflict, adventure, and exploration. Unlike Homer, he does not let nature speak for itself.

Remington, who publicly denounced most developments in the contemporary art world,<sup>64</sup> was glad to work through these movements on his own terms with the help of his friends. In his diary and letters he admired exhibitions by The Ten in 1907 and 1908, and in 1909 he even admitted—or claimed—the influence of Monet.<sup>65</sup> “I am frankly of the opinion that painting is now in its infancy,” he noted in his diary, stating that the best painting ever done was happening in America at the present moment.<sup>66</sup> Nevertheless, Remington was resolutely different from Whistler, Ryder, Homer, and other “moonlighters” in many ways. While some of his finest later pictures, such as *Evening on a Canadian Lake* (pl. 20) and *Sunset on the Plains* (pl. 28), employ reflective water to stunning effect, few of his moonlight scenes feature water.<sup>67</sup> In his paintings Remington uses only “natural” light, that of moon, stars, or a campfire, as compared to Whistler, who from his very first nocturne, *Nocturne—Blue and Gold—Valparaiso*, made the falling sparks of fireworks, *feux d’artifice*,



11. Winslow Homer, *A Summer Night*, 1890, Musée d'Orsay, Paris



12. Winslow Homer, *The Herring Net*, 1885, The Art Institute of Chicago, Mr. and Mrs. Martin A. Ryerson Collection

his trademark. Whistler's darkest canvases feature fireworks at Cremorne Gardens, while Remington's darkest works include campfires on the western plains. Remington did not like to be identified with the monochromatic effect of the tonalists, complaining in his diary about the reviews of his exhibition in Boston. "They call my moonlights 'monochromes.' No Sales. I fear Boston will never [be] crying Freddie again."<sup>68</sup> Moreover, with their decorative effects and introspective searching for a spiritualized understanding of form and color, the tonalists placed themselves apart from the public and mass appreciation.<sup>69</sup> Remington was the reverse: though he avidly sought critical success, he would not sacrifice his popularity nor the subjects that made his name. Even while he was refining his approach, destroying earlier work that he felt showed too strongly his years as an illustrator, and rapidly absorbing lessons from the most advanced artists of his era, he held onto the West.<sup>70</sup>

What Remington really adds to the history of night images is an implicit narrative, the very element that Whistler had tried definitively to suppress through his emphasis on a painting being merely an arrangement of colors on a flat surface. Even in Remington's *Night Halt of Cavalry* (see pages 16–17; pl. 55), which at first glance looks still and calm, the crouched soldier with his left hand on his rifle suggests that something outside our ken has caught his attention. Our discovery emulates that of the attentive cavalryman. What's out there? As viewers we are standing in a place of menace—dangerous to the soldiers and dangerous to ourselves—in the position of Apaches or Sioux.<sup>71</sup> In his later works Remington creates a unified tonalist blue-green or blue-silver setting that envelops his figures, harmonizing them with the background and projecting an initial mood of nocturnal beauty and calm.<sup>72</sup> Against that he poses the drama of his figures. With their drawn guns and searching gazes, they uneasily inhabit the tonal reverie with which Remington has saddled them like an unshakable dream.

Like Conrad's narrator Marlowe in *Heart of Darkness*, Remington tells a story whose meaning lies "outside in the unseen, enveloping the tale which brought it out only as a glow brings out a haze, in the likeness of one of those misty halos that, sometimes, are made visible by the spectral illumination of moonshine."<sup>73</sup> In the misty halo of moonlight, Remington's characters strain to grasp whom they are facing and what is going to happen to them. With some exceptions, pre-Whistler nocturnes convey emotional and lighting effects in a scenic way. The minimal narrative is "this is what one might see on a moonlit night." Human motives and agency, a sense of a plot unfolding, do not enter into it. Tonalist pictures, beautifully rendered though their effects may be, are deliberately non-events. Remington, however, *suggests* a story, a spe-

cific situation, distinctive characters. He does not illustrate a scene from an actual story—Whistler abhorred the literariness of Victorian painting<sup>74</sup>—but rather his narrative is a story of how art and audience interact.<sup>75</sup> Viewers provide the meaning from (quite literally) their own perspective. It is not a question of decoding what's *in* the picture but rather of exploring all the troubling, anxious possibilities of what's *outside* the picture.

*Who Comes There?* (pl. 39) of 1906 points the question boldly. A white scout in buckskins riding side by side with a group of American Indian scouts, rifles handy, pulls up his horse in the moonlight. He demands to know the identity of unseen people facing him. Remington himself is the scout; he is the one who deemed it necessary to send out a “moonlight scouting party.” Together they warily confront other night prowlers of uncertain reliability: tonalists, impressionists, easterners trying to draw a bead on the magic of the moonlight.

### “Consider the Moonlight, So Civil, yet So Savage!”

While learning from others, Remington was also going his own way with night painting. Yet what had moonlight come to mean, both for him and in American culture at large? In staking a claim to the night, both the anglicized Whistler and the westernized Remington were anticipated by a rustic easterner, Henry David Thoreau. In the early 1850s Thoreau took a series of long nocturnal walks in the countryside near Walden, mapping out lectures on night and moonlight.<sup>76</sup> “I shall be a benefactor,” he wrote, “if I conquer some realms from the night, if I report to the gazettes anything transpiring about us at that season worthy of their attention,—if I can show men that there is some beauty awake while they are asleep,—if I add to the domains of poetry.”<sup>77</sup>

A double strain marks Thoreau's ambition, for his exploration of the night leads in directions both aesthetic and imperial. His desire to conquer darkness in the name of poetry forms part of the larger nineteenth-century effort to colonize unknown territory. For him, the night is like Africa or the West, a region to be explored, and all three serve as analogues to investigating the uncharted areas of the human mind and soul. This double perception of the night as an arena of art and empire is encapsulated in a phrase near the end of Thoreau's essay “Night and Moonlight,” when the philosopher suddenly exclaims, “Consider the moonlight, so civil, yet so savage!”<sup>78</sup>

If the contemplative nocturnal scenes of domesticated or urbanized landscapes that had evolved into a near-abstract form in Whistler's nocturnes could be considered “civil” or civilized, a certain amount of “savage” moonlight still remained to be explored. Writing of a rural nocturnal world

that had changed little in thousands of years, Thoreau gives no hint that artificial lighting and rapidly evolving attitudes toward nighttime activity were already beginning to render his slumbering landscape an object of nostalgia to city dwellers. By the 1850s the silvery dreamland that Thoreau wanders while his neighbors sleep would have already seemed to many Americans as remote as the terra incognita to which he compares it.

Is not the midnight like Central Africa to most of us? Are we not tempted to explore it,—to penetrate to the shores of its lake Tchad and discover the source of its Nile, perchance the Mountains of the Moon? Who knows what fertility and beauty, moral and natural, are there to be found?<sup>79</sup>

Benevolently and altruistically framed, Thoreau's concerns are nonetheless couched in the treasure-hunting rhetoric of the era. Imagining himself a Dr. David Livingstone of the uncharted night world, he links nocturnal exploration to the perennial fantasy of virgin territory waiting to be claimed.<sup>80</sup> Unself-consciously employing the language of Western imperialism to legitimate his own artistic enterprise, Thoreau the rustic democrat expresses his longing to participate in one of the great exploits of the industrializing world: the “colonization” of the night.<sup>81</sup>

Throughout the nineteenth century new technologies and business interests were steadily encroaching on the apparently impregnable realms of moonlight. Beginning with the introduction of gas lighting around 1810, the once-quiet hours surrounding midnight in London and New York were progressively invaded with the same triumphal fanfare and commercial rapacity that Europeans applied to “enlightening” darkest Africa. In a culture that equated light, Christianity, civilization, and progress, pitting them against darkness, paganism, savagery, and regression, the appropriateness of the analogy between American nights and African geography went unquestioned. The American night seemed to have all the attributes of a frontier ready to be explored, mapped, settled, and made productive like the West.

The work of colonization proceeded similarly in both city streets and overseas outposts. Once the desire to discover new realms for monetary or moral reward proved strong enough to motivate questors and sponsors, empire-builders dedicated themselves to traversing and documenting exotic landscapes, appropriating natural and human resources, cataloguing and pacifying strange peoples, and generally reshaping the contours of darkness to suit the politics and economics of the conquering culture. In the United States, the major waves of western settlement in the middle decades of the nineteenth century (1830–1880) coincided with the installation of gas-

light in the major towns and cities of the East and Midwest. Just as the vanishing of the culturally formative land frontier in the 1890s gave impetus to American imperial aspirations abroad, so the changeover to brighter electric lighting at that time stimulated renewed efforts to subjugate the domain of darkness to human control. In his book *Night as Frontier: Colonizing the World after Dark*, the sociologist Murray Melbin makes an extended analysis of the comparison, concluding that “the night’s frontier is neither metaphor nor analogy.”<sup>82</sup> As Melbin notes, “During the era that land settlements were being completed, there began—into the night—a large-scale migration of wakeful activity that continues to spread over the world.”<sup>83</sup>

In rapidly modernizing America, night fared not so much as Thoreau had imagined but as political and commercial interests demanded. Even in the wilderness the advance rays of a light-hungry civilization were parting the sea of darkness. In *Life on the Mississippi* (1883), Mark Twain wrote that facing snags and turns in the darkness was no longer a peril for the riverboat pilot, or even much fun.

For now the national government has turned the Mississippi into a sort of two-thousand-mile-torch-light procession. In the head of every crossing, and in the foot of every crossing, the government has set up a clear-burning lamp. You are never entirely in the dark. . . . But this thing has knocked the romance out of piloting, to a large extent.<sup>84</sup>

The blank areas on the map were undergoing the scrutiny of the searchlight, and as American nature was progressively tamed, artificial lighting, first at exhibitions, then in cities, and eventually throughout the country, was increasingly used in place of natural illumination, deferring the sundown and regulating the hours of day and night to suit human convenience. It was a far more aggressive conquest, no doubt, than Thoreau had envisioned, for it seemed likely to annihilate the poetic realms it had gained.

Once we are aware of it, the frontier function of night melds with imperialist discourse in Thoreau’s essay, displacing onto Africa the invasion of American Indian “darkness” being undertaken by evangelists, homesteaders, and the army in the western territories of the United States. The taming of the once-“savage” moonlight involved a series of parallels to the colonial enterprise. This was particularly true in regard to how civic leaders went about illuminating the areas where darkness prevailed, both literally and metaphorically, in an attempt to reduce the perceived danger from uncouth denizens of the night. If, to the eastern view, the western frontier was a den of heathenism into which politically legitimated force boldly carried the torch of civilization, the spontaneous,

unauthorized violence of the urban night was a pesky draft that kept causing that flame to sputter. Nocturnal uprisings sporadically turned the city into an infernal battlefield, the blasphemous site of hooliganism, riot, and even civic rebellion.

Seemingly worlds apart, Indian wars and urban class conflicts were conceptually intertwined by an ideology that regarded the Anglo-Saxon “race” as being destined and indeed duty bound to rule, educate, and enlighten the “benighted” tribes, ethnicities, and classes inhabiting the murkier corners of the continent and the metropolis. Thus, the term “savages” could be applied not only to Indians but also to blacks and “primitive” subgroups among whites who were resistant to Anglo-Saxon civilization (particularly the Irish). In *The Fatal Environment*, which examines the role of frontier mythology in industrializing America, Richard Slotkin shows how the press “made these beliefs mutually reinforcing by systematically associating stories of Reconstruction disorder with Indian outbreaks, Indian outbreaks with urban crime.”<sup>85</sup> The *New York World* spun out this web of assumptions explicitly for its readers in 1874 in a series of articles arising from a riot in Tompkins Square, where mounted police officers brutally charged a peaceable demonstration of laborers. Praising the police action, the newspaper drew an analogy between the dispersal of “communist” urban hordes and Custer’s taming of the Sioux in the Black Hills.<sup>86</sup> “Reds” and “redskins” alike warranted repression as common enemies of free trade and Christian civilization.<sup>87</sup>

As urban geographer Neil Smith comments, the press projected the frontier as “an extreme version of events in the city, a magnifying mirror to the most ungodly depravity of the urban masses.” Because eastern cities generally appeared in this mirror as a “paradigm of unity and social harmony in the face of external threat,” the promulgators of urban conflict “invited comparison with the external enemy, the ‘Other.’”<sup>88</sup> As on the frontier, hostilities in the city reaffirmed the need for the ruling classes to discipline and control, educate and convert their inferiors. As with Indians, any large gathering was regarded as seriously as an armed threat, and police and landlords conspired to constrict the mobility and to contain the residences of the poor, placing them in effect on “reservations” away from well-lit commercial districts in such neighborhoods as “Little Africa,” the Lower East Side, and Hell’s Kitchen. Cordoned off in crowded slums, black, Irish, Jewish, and other immigrant “tribes” sought their amusements and conducted their skirmishes with the colonizer on a temporal frontier, under the more hospitable cover of the night.

Electricity and electric light were used to attack and “pacify” savages in Africa, an idea that some thought might be useful in the American West. In the Sudan in 1884, British



forces used electric lights mounted on towers to repel a night attack of the Mahdi's soldiers. "The long beams of dazzling white light shot out suddenly upon the howling, rushing mass of Arabs, and in a few seconds the attack had by this means been turned into one of the strangest routs imaginable."<sup>89</sup> The African explorer Henry Stanley apparently used a concealed battery to give shocks to tribal leaders with whom he shook hands, with the idea of signaling the greater power of his civilization. An electrical engineer named C. J. H. Woodbury defended Stanley's practice in an 1891 article called "The Savage and the Circuit." Woodbury went on to speak of a Plains Indian who was electrocuted while chopping down a telegraph wire with his tomahawk at the exact moment when the wire was hit by lightning. "It is much better to use a savage to complete a circuit, than to make him serve as a target for projectiles, and the objection to this application of science for conquest is more nice than wise."<sup>90</sup>

In the imagined West, Remington could avoid this sort of technological treachery. During the 1890s, when Remington's illustrations had made his name a household word and his masculine, heroic view of western conquest became the predominant one, he witnessed two of imperial America's luminous moments. They seemed to confirm him in his original path rather than suggest new directions. At the World's Columbian Exposition, held in Chicago in 1893, Frederic Jackson Turner presented his now-famous thesis "The Significance of the Frontier in American History" at the neoclassical "White City" constructed for the fair. It was radiant by day and dazzlingly lit by night. A short space away American Indians huddled with other nomadic peoples at the far end of "the Midway," an ethnographic avenue where exhibits of the peoples of the earth were arranged according to current theories of evolutionary status, from the lowly Eskimo to the exalted Anglo-Saxon. Remington attended the fair in the summer of 1893, making illustrations of riding-related entertainments for

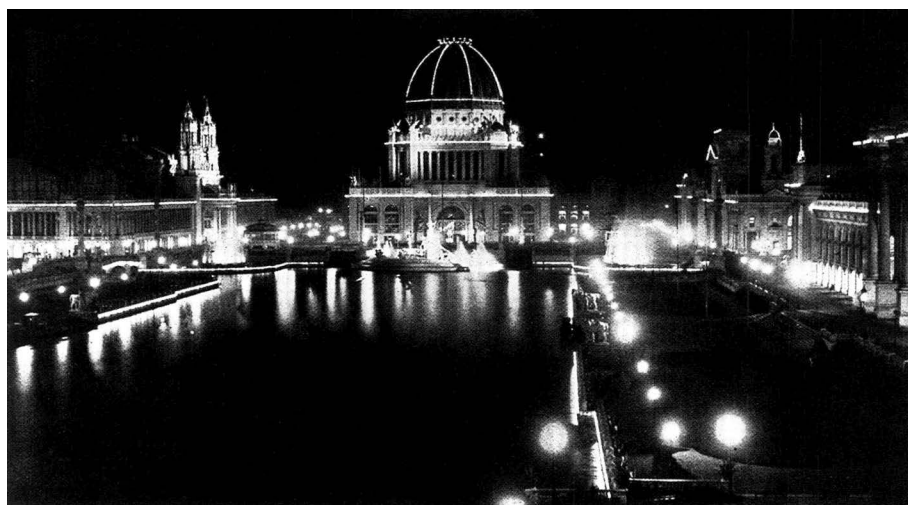
*Harper's Magazine* and penning a short article, "A Gallop through the Midway." He also showed fifteen drawings there but apparently failed to realize the opportunity that the painting exhibition would have offered him. (Winslow Homer won a gold medal.)<sup>91</sup> The electrical nighttime illuminations of the Court of Honor (fig. 13) spectacularly impressed on audiences the greatness of American civilization, its sense of itself as a modern-day democratic Rome, but Remington did not comment on them.

If the success of the fair as a technological showplace confirmed America's imperial self-image on the cultural front, it was the Spanish-American War that confirmed its imperial aspirations on the international stage. An excited Remington went to Cuba to see "the greatest thing which men are called upon to do."<sup>92</sup> The United States was precipitated into the war when the battleship *Maine* blew up in Havana Harbor one night in February 1898, resulting in a loss of 266 sailors. Darkness of a literal and metaphorical nature surrounded the event, the source of the explosion never being fully determined. A possible photograph of the catastrophe has just been discovered; it looks for all the world like a Whistler nocturne.<sup>93</sup> In Cuba as in Chicago, however, electric lights were key. Searchlights played an important role in the naval conflict, as blockading American ships used them to prevent Spanish vessels from attempting to flee the port by night. Remington produced an illustration for *Harper's Weekly* of American sailors watching the big searchlights in Havana (page 83) from further offshore.<sup>94</sup> Winslow Homer later painted *Searchlight on Harbor Entrance, Santiago de Cuba* (fig. 14) from the perspective of the silent cannons in the moonlit Spanish fort. Like the moon, the unmanned cannons have lost their power in the face of American technology.

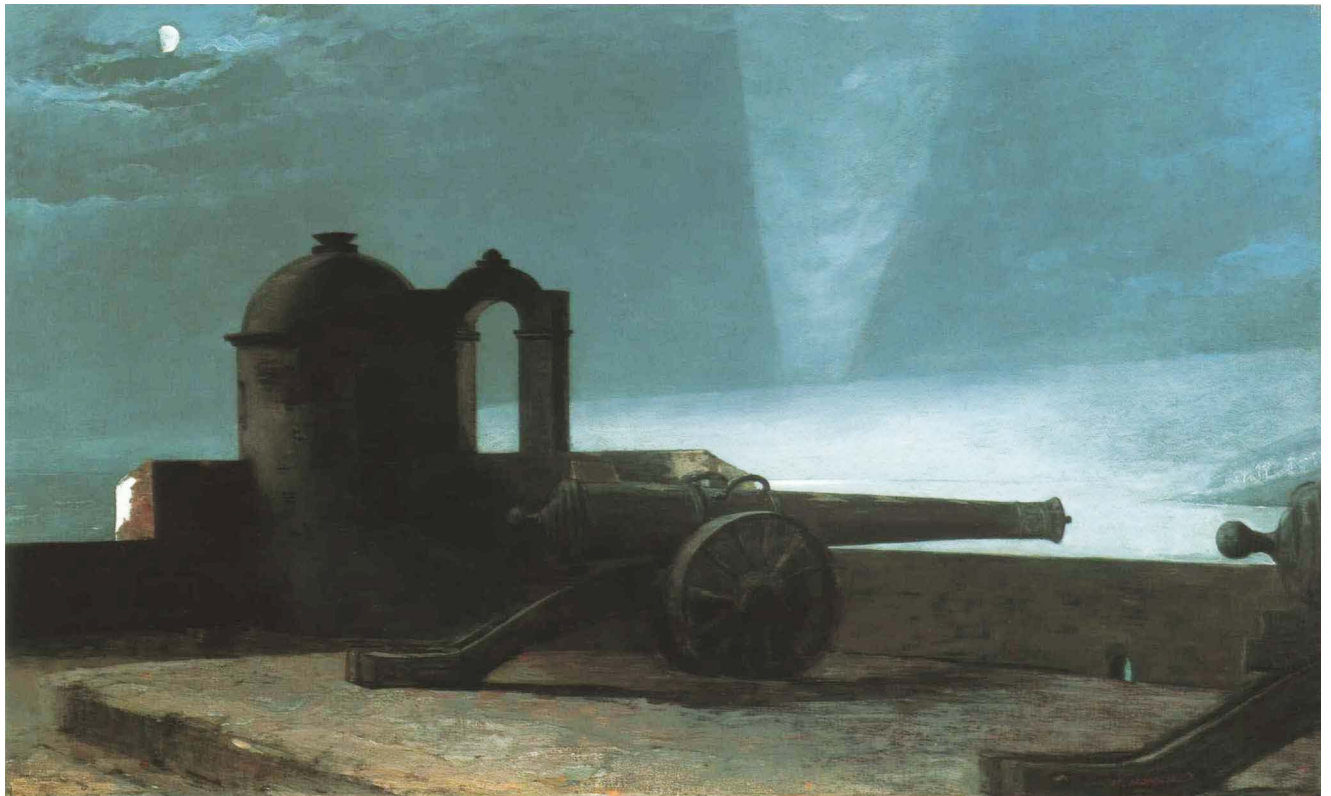
Remington, however, remained focused primarily on natural light. In April 1898, before heading south, he wrote in a combination of western nocturnal nostalgia and military enthusiasm, "I want to kiss the dewy grass, to see a sentry pace in the moonlight, and to talk the language of my tribe."<sup>95</sup> The overweight and underfed Remington soon discovered he was not ready for a modern war. He could not get near the action at sea, and he found he was ill-equipped to handle the hardship and danger, the sweltering heat and anonymous bullets, when he landed on shore. At night, instead of the romantic sentry pacing, he saw corpses lying flat in the dirt. "I could not get the white bodies which lay in the moonlight, with the dark spots on them, out of my mind."<sup>96</sup>

Back home, Remington tried to put the Cuba experience behind him. "As Miss Columbia said to Uncle Sam 'That was my war,'" he wrote to his friend Owen Wister, "that cleaning up of the West—that is the war I am going to put the rest of my time at."<sup>97</sup> In the West he could synthesize his ideas about

13. *The Court of Honor by Night, World's Columbian Exposition, 1893*, from J.P. Barrett, *Electricity at the Columbian Exposition* (Chicago, 1894)



14. Winslow Homer, *Searchlight on Harbor Entrance, Santiago de Cuba*, 1901, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Gift of George A. Hearn



heroism, duty, and death and make of the nighttime something romantically beautiful yet dangerous and psychologically modern. He had already done this in the last paragraph of his report for *Harper's* on "The Sioux Outbreak in South Dakota," which concerns the cleanup after the killing at Wounded Knee in December 1890. It unites the moonlit sentry to battlefield death in a spare prose that predates the cool naturalism of Stephen Crane by a few years and the emotional minimalism of Ernest Hemingway by another twenty.

The ambulance went off down the road, and the burial party came back. The dead were for the time forgotten, and the wounded were left to fight their own battles with stitches and fevers and suppuration. The living toiled in the trenches or stood out their long term on the pickets, where the moon looked down on the frosty landscape, and the cold wind from the north searched for the crevices in their blankets.<sup>98</sup>

#### Moonlight Reservation

"Then came a change. . . ." <sup>99</sup> Remington's shift from "brittle" daytime pictures toward the color-saturated nocturnal images that the critic Royal Cortissoz noted probably owed much to the artist's self-discovery that he was less a "real man" of war than an artist of the vanishing warlike West. If in 1899, the

year he began to work on night painting seriously, Remington had finally gained clarity about "his war," it was not clear from his paintings which side he was on.<sup>100</sup> At this moment at the turn of the twentieth century, we can read painted moonlights as a reservation to which the broader culture had consigned sympathy with the night and its denizens. Artistically avant-garde, the nocturne is politically a marginalized, aestheticized "safe" outlet for the forces of darkness. It serves as a conceptual corral, an unthreatening location in which romantics, Indian lovers, and Indians (now safely dispersed or dead) can roam. Remington's colleague at *Harper's*, Richard Harding Davis, went right to the heart of darkness' attraction in an article on the Columbian Exposition called "The Last Days of the Fair." He describes the impressive illumination of the Court of Honor by comparing it to the beauty of the Egyptian Sphinx as seen by night.

Not as one sees it by day, with tourists and photographers and donkey boys making it cheap and familiar, but at night, when the tourists had gone to bed, and the donkey boys had been paid to keep out of sight, and the moonlight threw the great negro face and the pyramids back of it into masses of black and silver, and the yellow desert stretched away on either side so empty and silent that one thought he was alone and back two thousand years in the past, discovering these great monuments for the first time.<sup>101</sup>

This is Remington's West. With tourists, women, and railroad workers gone home for the night, the beauty can be rediscovered, the fight renewed, the virtues that define manliness put back into play<sup>102</sup>—but with a difference: the battle is now uncertain, the enemy unseen, the action projected outward into the dark where the viewer stands.

To the degree that night images participate in the rhetoric of light-as-civilization, they are implicated in the colonial work that Thoreau apparently invokes so innocently. As Thoreau remarked, “No one sees the stars now,”<sup>103</sup> meaning that he felt it his duty to recover the value of things nocturnal for his readers. Darkness became Remington's friend not only because it helped him to chart a new artistic path, but also because it let his allegiances slip in the direction of people who lived away from the lights of civilization. In *The Scout: Friends or Foes?* (pl. 11) a mounted Indian looks toward the distant lights of a camp or settlement. What's out there is unclear. If the settlement is permanent, then the friend-or-enemy question would have been decided long ago—or would it? The title poses a larger question about the friendliness of civilization. *The Intruders* (1900, private collection) shows four cowboys, flanked by wounded horses and a dead companion, firing rifles at encircling Indians. There is no determining who are the “intruders.” As Remington wrote, “You want to get away from everything civilized. White man spoils nature by trying to improve on it.”<sup>104</sup> As noted earlier, no artificial light taints Remington's nighttime vision.<sup>105</sup>

For Remington, night was of a piece with the Indian—dangerous, seductive, threatening, but on the verge of extinction. It held a dangerous beauty and an invigorating terror. In painting the night he was dealing with artistic modernity and the disappearing primordial past at the same time. While retaining the mystery of a silvery blue or green setting, Remington took the repose out of rural night scenes. His works are thus only partly “nocturnes” in the conventional sense; the rest is fraught with psychological tension, a kind of brooding intensity. Remington added a new layer to nocturnal painting: he allied himself and the viewer with and in the darkness. It is not the aestheticized urban darkness that Whistler embraced but an ideological frontier. It is a primal darkness, like that of Conrad, darkest off the edges of the canvas or outside the glow of the fire, where one cannot see, in the eye-straining obscurity at the juncture of civilization and savagery, white and black, one race and another. There is something dark in Remington that would have been intrigued by and even drawn to the mind of Conrad's Mr. Kurtz, the ivory collector “gone native,” with his surrender to savagery and his dying vision of “the horror! the horror!”<sup>106</sup> In 1909 Remington painted *The Sundance* (pl. 70), transferring the Blackfoot tribe's daytime ritual of self-torture into the stark, eerie realm of blazing

campfires and deep shadows. Surveying the warriors hanging, in the lurid glow, from rawhide thongs skewered through their chests and backs, the viewer is placed complicitously in the shadowy ring of stern Blackfoot observers near the fire. As he worked on it, Remington noted in his diary, “have a good thing in ‘Sun Dance’—a horror but a great thing—the biggest thing most significant of the western indians.” He was certain it would not sell, but he felt he had to continue: “It will give everyone the horrors. It is in my system and its got to come out.”<sup>107</sup>

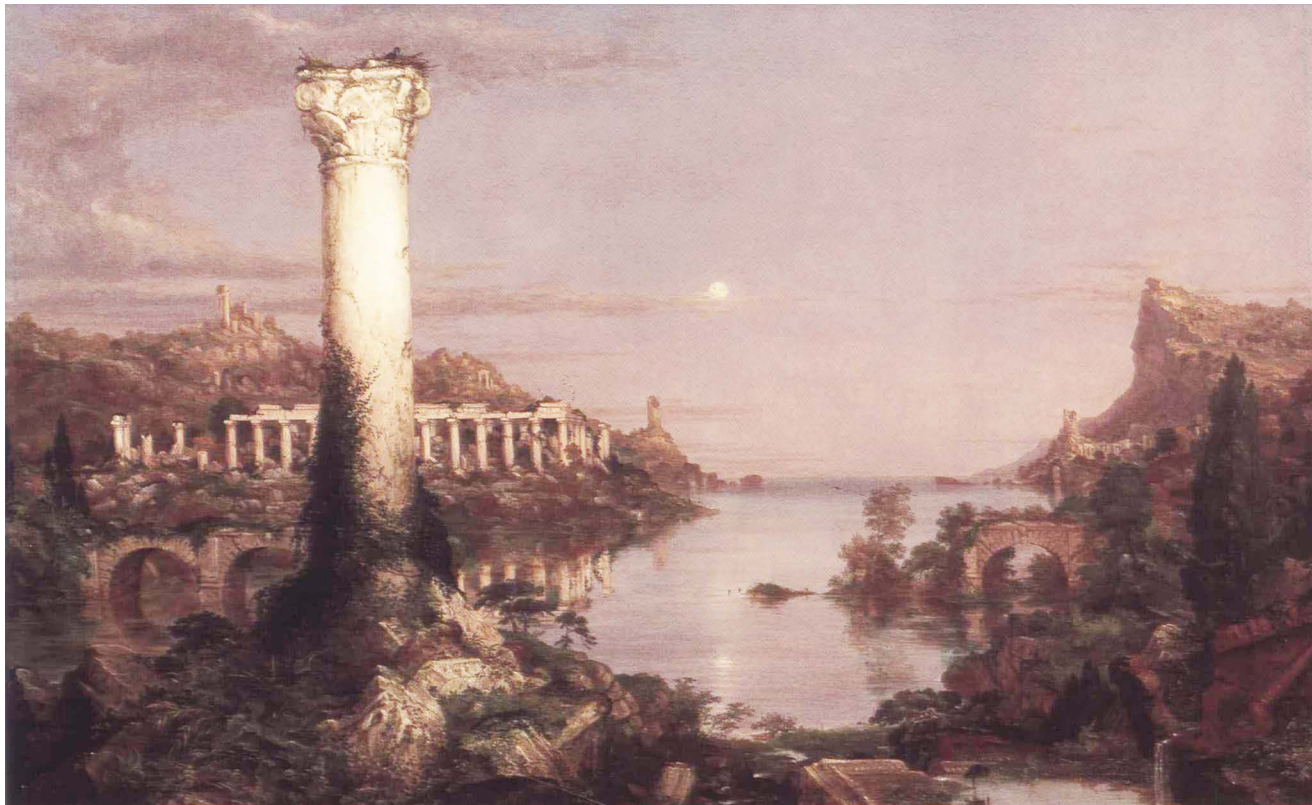
Near the end of his life, Remington eventually sold his house in New Rochelle because he felt engulfed by a rising tide of immigrants and urbanites. He complained in his diary, “N.Y. Herald Art Supplement has my ‘Fired On’ in with a trivial reference. . . . A Yank has a hell of a bad background in America. It is best to be some weird sort of a foreigner with a hurdle of a name.”<sup>108</sup> Instead of embracing Europe, endangered Anglo-Saxon as he perceived himself to be, he often identified with his old but worthy antagonist, the American Indian. Like his friend Theodore Roosevelt, he spoke jokingly of “my tribe” and sometimes presented his doings in Indian terms. He enjoyed “heap talk,”<sup>109</sup> and he and his guests wore Indian costumes at their New Year's Eve party in New Rochelle in 1898. In his own life he was anticipating that immensely ironic moment in Edith Wharton's *The Custom of the Country* (1913) when the protagonist, born of an old New York family, imagines that it is *his* “tribe” that will soon suffer genocide at the hand of immigrant upstarts.

Ralph sometimes called his mother and grandfather the Aborigines, and likened them to those vanishing denizens of the American continent doomed to rapid extinction with the advance of the invading race. He was fond of describing Washington Square as the “Reservation,” and of prophesying that before long its inhabitants would be exhibited at ethnological shows, pathetically engaged in the exercise of their primitive industries.<sup>110</sup>

If Remington's West was dead, so was his East. In his pictures he came to sympathize more and more with those now called Native Americans, a term that in Remington's day meant well-bred descendants of good stock, white men just like him.

Thus, Remington's attraction to the darkness, like Thoreau's, was a complex mixture of conquest and resistance: “I shall be a benefactor if I conquer some realms from the night. . . if I can show men that there is some beauty awake while they are asleep,—if I add to the domains of poetry.”<sup>111</sup> This could describe Remington's project as well. If night and its once-timeless imagery now functioned as only a temporary, even fragile, refuge from the ravages of day—the immigrant East, the settled West—it was possible to hope or dread that

15. Thomas Cole, *The Course of Empire: Desolation*, 1836, Collection of The New-York Historical Society



in the long term the imperiled moonlight would eventually triumph. The antiurban thrust underlying so much nocturnal representation comes clearly to the fore in a painting that Remington would have known. Thomas Cole's *The Course of Empire: Desolation* offers a moonlit warning not just about the inevitable decline of pagan empire but also about the heedless domination of nature (fig. 15). The final canvas of a five-part series, *Desolation* caps a narrative ranging from the dawn of an allegorical but clearly American civilization—Indian teepees poke through the morning mists—to its neoclassical noonday consummation and on to its cataclysmic self-destruction at sunset. Of the final scene, with moonlit ruins overgrown by vines, Cole wrote, “No human figure—a solitary bird perhaps: a calm and silent effect . . . the funeral knell.”<sup>112</sup>

The stern message of *The Course of Empire* makes it easy to imagine Cole taking moral issue with the mighty canvases, still to be painted later in the nineteenth century, whose glorification of nature's grandeur served to legitimate the noonday expansion of the American empire. Night and moonlight are great levelers, as Thoreau saw, bringing past and present together, completing a circuit between antiquity and futurity, and evoking the ages of repose that both precede and succeed the moment of empire: “New and old things are confounded. I know not if I am sitting on the ruins of a wall, or on the material which is to compose a new one.”<sup>113</sup> In Cole's series it is the moonlight, finally, that is civil, and civilization savage.

Its light serves as an ephemeral human moonshine reflected on the shimmering lagoon around which the empire and the series of paintings are built. When human efforts are selfishly, immorally misguided, Cole contends, it is no longer a question of conquering some realms from the night but of how soon night will reconquer human realms for itself.<sup>114</sup> With Remington's desire to recapture the struggle for the Old West, and his gradual relocation of dusty daytime heroics and threatening Apache or Sioux into the beautifully ambivalent tones of moonlight, it was no longer sure who was the enemy or what the darkness meant. Like the firelit figures in Remington's *Shotgun Hospitality* (pl. 57), the empire of light and the empire of night hold each other uneasily at bay.

#### New York Nocturne

New York was another story. When Remington settled in New York in 1885 as a professional illustrator, the gaslit city was already becoming electrified. In 1881, New York had put its first central power station into service, illuminating a section of lower Manhattan. By 1898 the city boasted 859 incandescent lights per 1,000 people, and more than 5,000 arc lights brightened public places.<sup>115</sup> The electric lights that were associated with progress and policing were also important elements in nocturnal entertainment. Broadway took its name as “the Great White Way” at this time.<sup>116</sup> The first electric

16. A Night Scene from Metropolitan Tower during the Hudson-Fulton Celebration, 1909, from *Thirty Years of New York 1882–1912: Being a History of Electrical Development in Manhattan and the Bronx* (New York, 1913)



signs appeared there in the mid-1890s, advertising the resorts of Manhattan Beach and the fantasy land of Coney Island amusement park, where one could also indulge in “electric bathing” under arc lights on the shore. A realm of profit-oriented exoticism, Coney Island was Thoreau’s poetic conquest of night with a vengeance, and it was part of the Wild West, too. “Coney Island is the Tom-Tom of America. Every nation has, and needs—and loves—its Tom-Tom. It has its needs of orgiastic escape from respectability. . . .”<sup>117</sup> Meanwhile, proving that Karl Marx was right when he said that history was repeated as farce, an exhibit at the New York Electrical Show of 1898 used electric current to reenact the blowing up of the battleship *Maine*, an act that proved so popular it was “exploded regularly, four or five times a day.”<sup>118</sup> The next year the triumphant arrival in New York Harbor of Admiral George Dewey’s fleet, which had revenged the *Maine* in the taking of Manila, was celebrated by a huge illumination, with “Welcome Dewey” glowing in thirty-six-foot-high electric letters on the Brooklyn Bridge.<sup>119</sup> The majestic lighting of the Dewey Arch, built specially for the occasion, was undercut by the flashing of an immense Heinz pickle sign not too far away.<sup>120</sup> The mixed image was apt: if imperialism animated Remington’s career, it was the commercialism behind the empire-building that sustained it.

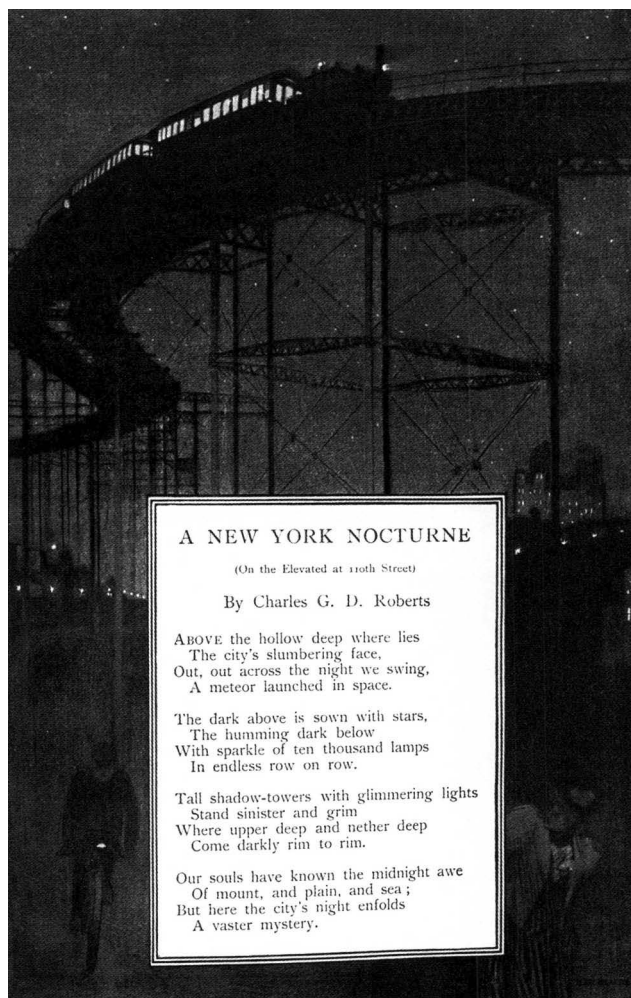
Yet Remington was having, or seeing, none of it. While he enjoyed staying up late swapping stories with friends, bright lights were not for him. He apparently did not attend the Dewey celebrations, and in 1909 he deliberately avoided the spectacular Hudson-Fulton celebrations featuring 7,000 arc lights and 1.2 million incandescents (fig. 16).<sup>121</sup> The artist

became a suburbanite in 1890, moving onto a three-acre property in New Rochelle, New York, for which, he said proudly, “estate is the proper term.”<sup>122</sup> Apart from sketching trips, Remington divided his time largely between daytime business trips to the city (“in town,” as he called it) and work in his country studios in New Rochelle and farther upstate at his summer home Ingleueuk on the St. Lawrence River.

Although Remington had ample opportunity to get to know the visual territory of New York at night, his response was mostly to avoid it, in life as in art. He would have understood the conclusion but not the insight of a character in an O. Henry story, who in 1906 revealed a new theory of nighttime aesthetics, as yet too bold to be tested on the mass market. “When ye came upon me I was in contemplation of the elevated road in conjunction with the chief luminary of the night. The rapid transit is poetry and art: the moon but a tedious, dry body, moving by rote. But these are private opinions, for, in the business of literature, the conditions are reversed.”<sup>123</sup> It was likewise in the business of art—for Remington, the moon still mattered more than an elevated train car. However, just in the period that he was producing his western moonlights, “the rapid transit” had started to eclipse the moon in paintings and photographs of New York.

Many wats away from the misty Thames, the new urban night sights were being filtered through Whistler and then Manhattanized. In October 1898, *Scribner’s Magazine* published a poem called “A New York Nocturne (On the Elevated at 110th Street)” by Charles G. D. Roberts (fig. 17). Set against a photograph of the sparkling city, with an elevated train roaring by above, the poem asserted through its Whistlerian title

17. "A New York Nocturne," from *Scribner's Magazine* 24, no. 4 (October 1898), 469



18. J. Alden Weir, *The Bridge: Nocturne* (*Nocturne: Queensboro Bridge*), 1910, Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, Gift of Joseph H. Hirshhorn



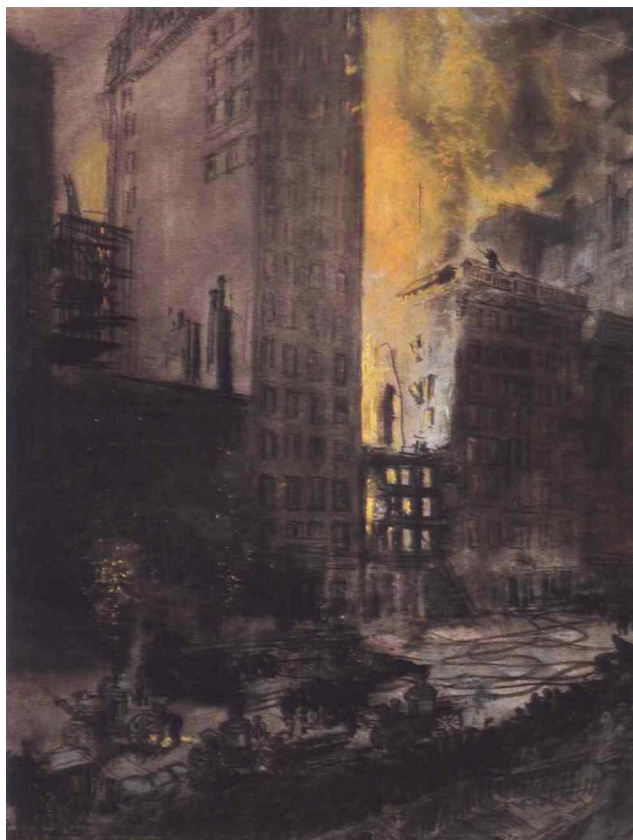
and sentiments that the most important nocturnal landscape was now urban. "Our souls have known the midnight awe / Of mount, and plain, and sea; / But here the city's night unfolds / A vaster mystery."<sup>124</sup> In 1900, Remington's own chief showcase, *Harper's Weekly*, published an illustrated feature on "The Streets of New York at Night," and the next year a lengthy article on the dimly glowing after-hours beauty of "New York at Night" appeared in *Scribner's Magazine*.<sup>125</sup> And in an urban version of the "moonlight scouting party," a *Harper's Weekly* correspondent journeyed to upper Broadway to report on "A Night Scene on the Boulevard—New York's Great Bicycle Thoroughfare," commenting that "the lanterns of thousands of bicycles make of the Boulevard a marvelous spectacle."<sup>126</sup> In consequence of all this nocturnal interest, Remington would have been able to read an article that begins, "It can no longer be denied that New York streets have obtained a vogue for picturesqueness." This 1908 essay describes how Birge Harrison, a leading spokesman for the tonalists, had adapted his art to the new reality in such paintings as *The Flatiron Building on a Rainy Night* (unlocated) and *Christmas Eve on Washington Square* (unlocated).<sup>127</sup> Childe Hassam, who had already ventured east (*A Paris Nocturne*, 1890) and west (*Nocturne—Railway Crossing, Chicago*, 1893, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston), focused on a favorite topic in *Fifth Avenue Nocturne*: the sexually charged quality of an encounter in the misty street (fig. 8). A distant man approaches the dark figure of a woman in the foreground, the space between them lit by glowing street lamps reflected on the glistening pavement beneath a deep blue sky.<sup>128</sup> Just after Remington died, his other close friend among The Ten, J. Alden Weir, produced *Nocturne: Queensboro Bridge* (fig. 18) and *Nocturne: The Plaza* (1911, Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden, Washington).<sup>129</sup>

The nocturnal context of Remington's work went beyond the tasteful, color-coordinated city of tonalist painting or the fashionable people and locales of the American impressionists. It also included a ragged metropolis of unceasing activity, the city of the Ash Can School. In *The Coffee Line* (1905, Carnegie Museum of Art, Pittsburgh) and *The Haymarket* (1907, Brooklyn Museum of Art, New York), John Sloan captured not only the fatigue of the poor as they huddle in the snow waiting for a hot drink but also the racy scene of unescorted women entering a concert saloon. Sloan's *Election Night* (fig. 19) surges with the energy of a dense crowd gaily cavorting beneath the elevated tracks. In his jagged oils and pastels Everett Shinn reported from the wild frontier of urban life, with late night scenes such as *The Lunch Wagon, Madison Square* (1904, private collection) and *Sixth Avenue Elevated after Midnight* (1899, private collection). In his *Park Row, Morning Papers* (undated, private collection), the dark street



19. John Sloan, *Election Night*, 1907, Memorial Art Gallery of the University of Rochester, New York, Marion Stratton Gould Fund

20. Everett Shinn, *Fire on Twenty-Fourth Street*, 1907, Cheekwood Museum of Art, Nashville, Tennessee



is filled to daytime capacity with the throng of newsboys stacking, dividing, and selling the papers in the lamplight before dawn. In *Night Life—Accident* (1908, private collection), a man lies bleeding on the pavement beneath a streetlight after apparently having been hit by a cab. A crowd stands over him, curious but disengaged. And in Shinn's *Fire on Twenty-Fourth Street*, a building gutted by fire seems ready to collapse under the weight of firemen and their hoses, while their comrades working the steam-powered pump engines are covered in showers of coal sparks (fig. 20).<sup>130</sup>

While Remington was going to bed early in the suburbs, the city was brawling under the glare of gas and electric lights. In part, he had good reason to renounce all this. The mystery and threat that play such a role in his night scenes were ever more eroded by the ascendancy of light. A headline read: “1,477 Big New Lights for Central Park: Lovers’ Lanes Will Be Illuminated and Also the Danger Spots.”<sup>131</sup> Yet at the same time he was also missing a drama equivalent in many ways to that on the Great Plains. In George Bellows’ *Excavation at Night*, the raw, massive hole that will become Pennsylvania Station is partially lit by arc lamps, partially plunged into a deep darkness punctuated by a raging fire around which huddle minute workers in the bottom of the pit (fig. 21). Like a battlefield at night, the scene suggests a terrible and costly struggle. It is by turns garish, gloomy, infernal. *Excavation by Night* purports to show the start of something grand, but Cole’s *Desolation* could not be bleaker. An uneven row of tenements, windows gaping, trails off into darkness on the far side of the excavation. In an interview Bellows said, “Those tenement houses behind the excavation always give me the creeps. They’re just ordinary houses—but there is something about them that gets me.”<sup>132</sup>

What is frightening in Bellows’ world is scale and the human attrition it implies. The size of modern New York was truly staggering, as was the size of the immigrant population enlisted to erect it. More than a million foreigners arrived every year. Modeled on the Roman Baths of Caracalla, Penn Station was built in imperial style. It required “an army of Italian earth-diggers” to prepare the site, and the excavation was so vast that the newspapers compared it to “the open expanses of the ‘Western frontier.’”<sup>133</sup> Set next to Bellows’ Penn Station, Remington’s *Fight for the Water Hole* (1903, The Museum of Fine Arts, Houston), another painting of imperial digging in on the frontier, seems quite intimate. In both works people labor heroically, ready to die for their livelihoods, for economic expansion, and for the larger needs and glory of American civilization, but Remington’s story has a human scale. His sparsely scattered and clearly outnumbered cowboys use their rifles to pick off circling Indians, while the sky blue water hole sits quietly, like a helpless maiden in the center of the conflict.



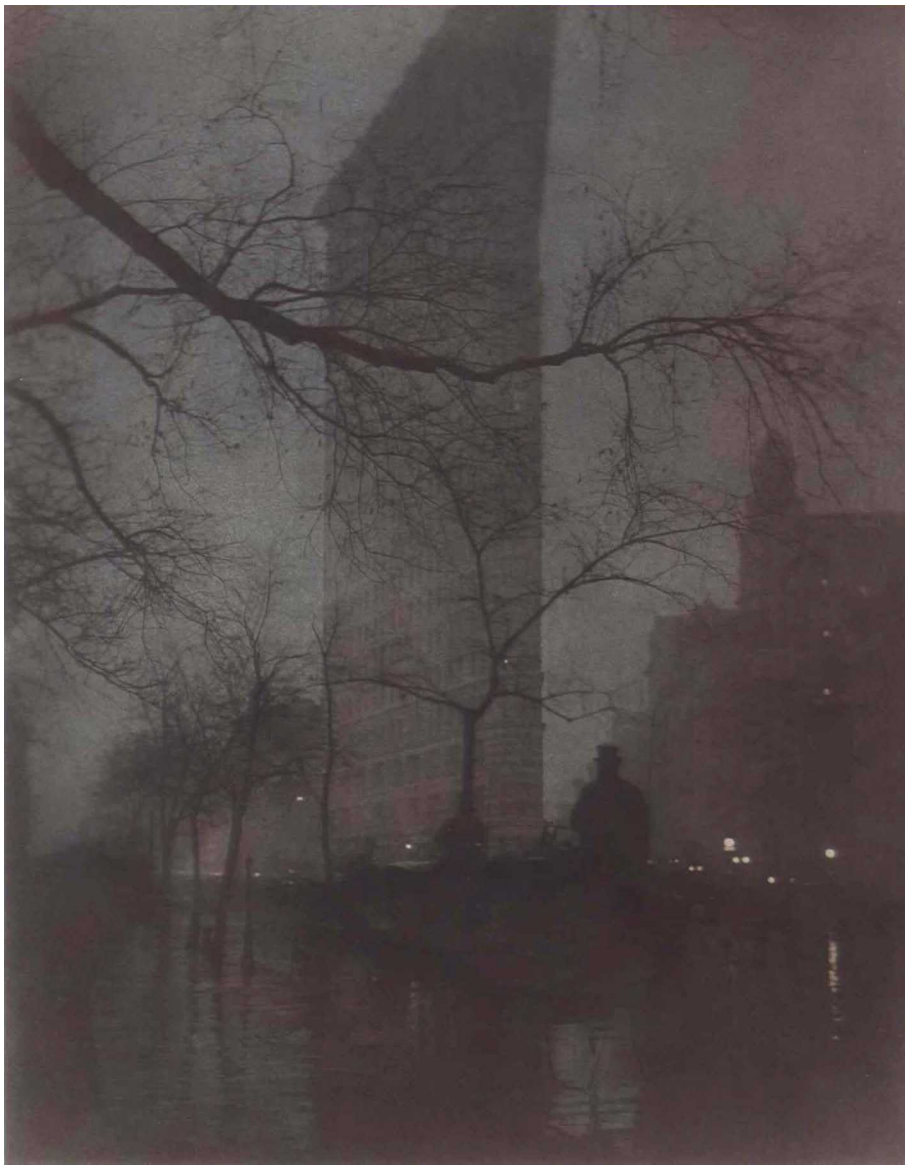
In Bellows' picture people are all but invisible. They have been swallowed by the immense voracity of "Job," as the Italian-American laborer and novelist Pietro di Donato called such lethal construction sites.<sup>134</sup>

In Bellows' painting we look deep into the city's depths and far into its Manichean streets. In comparison to it, and to the endless deserted vistas of receding streetlights in so many nocturnal photographs from this time, Remington's night is a private affair. The viewer does not see very far into it. *A Reconnaissance* (pl. 10), *A Taint on the Wind* (pl. 37), *Fired On* (pl. 42), *Trail of the Shod Horse* (pl. 47), *The Grass Fire* (pl. 54), *Apache Scouts Listening* (pl. 50), *Apache Medicine Song* (pl. 49), *Who Comes There?* (pl. 39), *Shotgun Hospitality* (pl. 57): all block off the background fairly close to the viewer, who is situated only a few feet from the figures that fill Remington's foregrounds. In the nocturnal city at the turn of the century, life amid the great buildings and long streets often seemed desolate and disconnected. One might as well be alone on a prairie.

Yet the night photography of New York may still have held value for Remington. An industrious shutterbug when he was

researching western people and places, Remington worked with photographs throughout his career. The stiffness of many of his human poses originates in photographic sources, but so does the lifelike hurtling of his horses, with all four legs off the ground. This is partly due to the stop-frame animal locomotion studies done by Eadweard Muybridge.<sup>135</sup> While he was never what could be called a photo-realist, Remington prided himself on giving his audience the impression of live action and photographic accuracy. In 1907 a journalist claimed that Remington was "the most conscientious of historians; he has never 'faked' an episode. His own eye has been the lens of his artistic camera, his brain the sensitive plate whereon the image of his subjects has been impressed, his brush the developer of the composition confronting him."<sup>136</sup> Photography, however, was deeply bound up in "fakery." Even photographer Jacob Riis—a Remington-style hero of the inner city, who with his daring flash photography in the slums presented himself as leading a band of "night raiders"—actually posed many of his apparently spontaneous shots, including the ominous view of apparent thugs glaring at the camera in *Bandit's Roost* (1890, Museum of the City of New York). Night photographs





22. Edward Steichen, *The Flatiron*, 1909 print from 1904 negative, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Alfred Stieglitz Collection

were even less “conscientious.” First, “moonlight” photographs were faked outright from the mid-nineteenth century until more light-sensitive processes were developed in the late 1890s.<sup>137</sup> Second, photographers used soft-focus lenses, put gauze or petroleum jelly over the lens, and even kicked the tripod during a time exposure in order to produce a desired atmospheric effect.<sup>138</sup>

Whistler’s influence on urban night photography was pervasive,<sup>139</sup> and gifted devotees such as Edward Steichen and Alvin Langdon Coburn managed to translate his vision of the foggy Thames into the rain-washed streets of New York and London. Even in the so-called straight photography of Alfred Stieglitz, such as *An Icy Night, New York* (1897), the background lights glow like Whistler’s gaslights on the far shore of the Thames. Black-and-white photography was in one sense perfectly suited to capture moonlight effects, owing to the

near absence of color at night. As Thoreau had noted, “By moonlight all is simple. Objects are for the most part robbed of their colors even, and tried by truer tests.”<sup>140</sup> Photographers sought more than silvery tones, pursuing as Remington and Whistler did the deep blues and greens of enveloping darkness. Certain photographic processes, such as gum bichromate, lent themselves to manipulation, including brushing color on the negative. What is possibly Steichen’s masterpiece, *The Flatiron*, is best known in its colored 1909 state (with blue-green pigment and gum bichromate applied over a platinum print), which was made from a 1904 black-and-white negative (fig. 22). It was published as a three-color halftone in the April 1906 issue of *Camera Work*. Steichen, who as a painter produced tonalist rural scenes of moonlight that are closely related to nocturnal photos such as *Pastoral—Moonlight* (1907) and *The Pond: Moonrise* (1903, toned with yellow and blue-green), created a photographic *Self-Portrait with Brush and Palette* (1901, pigment print) that in its heavily worked surface paid tribute to his artistry as both painter and photographer. He had several successful shows of his work in New York in the decade after 1900, and his work was made familiar to a wider audience through the publication of his images in *Camera Work* and elsewhere. Although he even took moonlight photographs of the West in 1906, including some that were admired in the *Times* for “the tenderness and mystery of the twilight,”<sup>141</sup> Steichen does not seem to have registered in any way with Remington—or Remington with him.

Had Remington been curious, the atmospheric soft-focus photography of the pictorialists would have shown him the same thing that he learned from the tonalists: how to create a harmoniously tuned atmosphere in a mysterious, muted range of colors. Pictorialist photography curiously features situations almost comically analogous to Remington’s use of the Indian, as seen in symbolist explorations of “man in the state of nature” communing with trees, rocks, and water, or subjects like the naked *Archer in the Woods* (1905) by F. Holland Day (and another of the same title, nudity, and year by Clarence White). While far in spirit from Remington’s action-oriented night scenes, these works share an underlying impulse—to investigate the deepest mystic bonds between humans and their world.

Yet tonalist aesthetics, along with a technical glitch, meant that the night photographers could not help Remington with what he saw as the essence of his art: the human content for which the color had to be pursued. Insufficient light meant that nocturnal city photographs, despite the help of street-lighting, could not capture human action, even if Whistler-influenced photographers like Steichen had wanted to do so. Human inaction, however, was possible. Stieglitz claimed that in *Savoy Hotel, New York*, one of a series of images he took in

23. Alfred Stieglitz, *The Terminal*, 1893, National Gallery of Art, Washington, Alfred Stieglitz Collection



24. Alfred Stieglitz, *Savoy Hotel*, New York, 1897, National Gallery of Art, Washington, Alfred Stieglitz Collection



January 1897, he had made “the First Night Photograph with animated life” (fig. 24).<sup>142</sup> Deep in the background, across a sidewalk sea of shimmering reflections worthy of Turner or Vernet, we can just barely make out a few horse-drawn cabs and their cabbies waiting for customers in front of the Savoy Hotel. One of the most striking things about early night photographs, apart from atmosphere, is the near absence of human figures—precisely what gives a work by Remington (or an Ash Can painting) much of its interest. Close-ups of men and horses are what animate Remington’s work, and in some cases, such as *The Terminal*, are what inspired the daytime Stieglitz too (fig. 23).<sup>143</sup>

What Remington usually requires of a night scene is that it project a sense of confrontation or menace. His figures must face a challenge even as we are facing them. The inhuman vertical scale of the urban landscape and the difficulty of drawing the night snugly in around people on the lighted street cause the city to resist that kind of tension. Even so, a provocative, dark, tonally rich interaction among men, horses, and the city exists in Steichen’s *The Flatiron*. As in Bellows’ *Excavation at Night*, it is the disproportionate scale between man and animal, on the one hand, and a building on the other that makes the image so powerful. Three cabmen sit stock-still with their horses beneath the enormous prow of the Flatiron Building, at that brief moment the world’s tallest

building and one of its most distinctive. In Remington's *Shotgun Hospitality* (pl. 57) a confrontation of a different but essentially related nature takes place. A cowboy seated with his back to his wagon rubs his chin as he looks across his campfire toward three blanket-robed Indians who have materialized before him, their rifles as handy as the shotgun that lies across his knees. The ambassador of white civilization is surrounded but still wary, powerful, hardly at bay. In Remington's painting, the outgunned cowboy wonders what his visitors will do, but in Steichen's photograph, the overshadowed white men know they have been defeated by the very same capitalist forces that sent the cowboy out on the range. The three cabmen, they and their horses subservient to their lowly function, may wonder at the building, but their essential passiveness is a foregone conclusion. They have even less of an immediate future than the three Indians: the building and its business interests dominate, the sodden cabmen scrounge at the base for fares and tips. In William Butler Yeats' phrase, "a terrible beauty is born."<sup>144</sup> Remington's personal code dictated that he represent beauty of a more noble kind, one in which the contest appeared to be more evenly matched.

Remington's gradual triumph as an artist in the last years of his life was due mostly to his night scenes. In his rise from the nether world of illustration into the exclusive club of "real artists," his career as a nocturnal artist paralleled almost exactly the advent of night photography and the rise of photography from the status of a mechanical illustrator itself to that of an accepted art form. Both battled to overcome the stigma that was attached to their illustrative capabilities and their ostensible subject matter: the merely mundane for the photographers, the fancifully western for Remington.<sup>145</sup> Although Remington had a painter's prejudice against the snapshots he took as records to help him draw,<sup>146</sup> he must have had some sympathy with those photographers who labored long to escape the fate of being considered mere technicians. Using adjectives that might have applied to Remington—"active, vivid, useful, new, Western"—a reviewer named Giles Edgerton wrote in 1909 that "photography. . . has up to the present had a hard time getting 'into society'—as represented by the so-called fine arts."<sup>147</sup> Like Remington, the pictorialists found that the exploration of night and dreamlike images, with their suppression of detail and more direct access to stronger, simplified forms and subjective expression, was helping them gain artistic respect.<sup>148</sup> Citing Steichen's "spiritual insight into the last poetical beauty of Nature and such mastery of light and shade!" as one example of how photography was indeed arriving as an art, Edgerton asserted that the International Exhibition of Pictorial Photography held in New York City in 1909 did indeed prove photography's value.

Not only was it an art, but an American, Remingtonian art, "closely and intimately related to American civilization—revealing as it does imagination, vividness, sincerity, audacity, the pioneer spirit."<sup>149</sup> In December 1910, the widely discussed and much applauded International Exhibition of Pictorial Photography was held in Buffalo, New York. It marked the victorious end of pictorialism's fight for acceptance, and with it, the end of the photo-secession movement. In an eastern city with a western name, nighttime photography "joined the club" of authentic art. Almost a year to the day after Remington saw his efforts validated and his role as mere illustrator relegated to a thing of the past, photography underwent a similar vindication and elevation. Darkness had done its job.

### What Redeems It Is an Idea Only

In December 1909, Remington wrote proudly in his diary, "The art critics have all 'come down.' They ungrudgingly give me high place as a 'mere painter.' I have been on their trail a long while and they never surrendered while they had a leg to stand on."<sup>150</sup> Presenting himself as a western tracker and describing his critics as if they were the doomed heroes in his Custer-evoking *Last Stand* (1890, Woolaroc Museum, Bartlesville, Oklahoma), Remington seems to side with the Indians in the war for the West. Chasing down the critics involved further ironies, for it meant beating them on their own, Whistlerian, ground. A reviewer for the *Times* in 1907 called Remington's daytime pictures "blatant, glaringly crude" in comparison to his night scenes, which were so full of promise.<sup>151</sup> This is the opposition of day and night that Whistler first proposed in his "Ten O'Clock Lecture" in 1888: "Seldom does Nature succeed in producing a picture. The sun blares, the wind blows from the east, the sky is bereft of cloud, and without, all is of iron. . . . The holiday-maker rejoices in the glorious day, and the painter turns aside to shut his eyes," only to open them after darkness has fallen.<sup>152</sup> For Remington to have won over the critics meant that he had satisfied their European-oriented criteria. He seemed to have gone east, not west, for his inspiration. In a review of the artist's 1906 exhibition at the Knoedler Galleries, the critic for the *Times* wrote:

It is a softened and harmonized Remington we find this year, his pictures having atmosphere and looking for all the world as if he had been abroad, studying the delicate aerial niceties we find in Corot and Mauve, Pissaro [sic] and Le Sidanier. He takes the shades of night to help him to those tones of mystery which most of his previous pictures lacked.<sup>153</sup>

For his critics, Remington could arrive as an artist of the West only by mastering European form and feeling. While rejecting

Whistler as a painter, Remington was judged and validated by those who had absorbed the aesthetics of Whistler and who now had become so influential that they set the standard by which the art establishment made its evaluations of high art.<sup>154</sup> Whose last stand was it?

And yet, for all the influences it shows, Remington's work is unique. From the ethnographic detail of his early pictures to the symbolist shapes and shadows of later works, such as *Sunset on the Plains* (pl. 28) and *The Grass Fire* (pl. 54), Remington created an art that a European vocabulary could not fully describe. We should be impressed not so much that Remington absorbed all he did from Whistler, the tonalists, and the impressionists, but that he quite literally stuck to his guns. He labored long and hard to make his night paintings work *artistically*, and he was unwilling to sacrifice subject matter that seemed then, as now, "colorful" but almost intractably unartistic, more suited to illustration than fine art. While, like the photographers, he fought an uphill battle to win acceptance, he achieved success or "modernity" without ever resorting to modern subject matter. The campfire in *The Sundance* (pl. 70) that casts an eerie light on the underside of the Black-foot bodies and faces as they participate in their agonizing ritual has analogies with the garish footlights that flicker on the faces of Edgar Degas' singers and musicians in the orchestra pit. Remington, however, wanted less to make connections than to break them, restating avant-garde ideas in his own "language of the tribe."

In place of a shimmery, reflective, melodic eastern or European nocturne, he offered his audience an *Apache Medicine Song* (pl. 49), a combination of Whistler's aesthetic ideas and his own genius for psychological and "savage" content. In March 1908, Remington saw a painting by Whistler "as black as the inside of a jug,"<sup>155</sup> and later that year he painted *Apache Medicine Song* with a black-shadowed open jug in the foreground. The painting and jug could be said to contain Remington's own potent creative "medicine." The firelit figure who squats facing the viewer is tipped at the same angle as the pot. His black mouth opens in the same shape as the shadow inside the pot's rim. While he may be an Apache "Other," he is also a figure for the artist through whom, as Whistler says, Nature sings in tune. What words he sings out there by the fire remain a mystery. His curative song may be directed at the enigmatic lighted hut in the background, which might contain a sick warrior or, more likely given the prominent pot, a woman, wife, or mother. The painting sums up Remington's reworking of and resistance to the aestheticized night of Whistler, the colonized night of the savage, the artificial glare of New York at night (the figures are "fired on" rather than electrically lit), and finally his own search as an

obsessive interpreter of this silent nocturnal song. He is the filler of the night's dark jug.<sup>156</sup>

What Remington adds to the history of the nocturne is not only western subject matter but also narrative suspense. The narrative element that Whistler tried once and for all to remove comes back with a vengeance (or at least a loaded gun) in Remington's late work. The composer Franz Liszt once remarked of Chopin's music something that could not have been said about Whistler's art: "In his poetic Nocturnes, [he] sang not only the harmonies which are the source of our most ineffable delights, but likewise the restless, agitating bewilderment to which they often give rise."<sup>157</sup> Like Chopin, Remington built a sense of night around the tension between the almost palpable beauty of darkness and moonlight, and the imminence of danger, death, and psychological disturbance. They contain both night's mystery and the troubled response to that mystery. While Whistler insisted that painting was above all else a matter of form, Remington declared, "I stand for the proposition of 'subjects.'"<sup>158</sup> His subject is the stories we tell ourselves in the dark.

In October 1907, Remington told an interviewer, "My West passed utterly out of existence so long ago as to make it merely a dream."<sup>159</sup> In its multiple images of darkness and empire, exploiting the beauty, terror, and fragility of the night, Remington's dream was as rich as those in Conrad and Freud, with their complex tangle of wish fulfillment, desire, anxiety, fear of death, and the coincidence of cultural and personal quests. Conrad's Marlowe remarks, "We live as we dream, alone," but as Freud spells out in "Creative Writers and Day-Dreaming" (1908), writers, like painters, dream in public, to the fascination of others.<sup>160</sup> The Freudian story that Remington's dream told was of civilization and its discontents, a rugged journey into darkness, as in *The Old Stage-Coach of the Plains* (pl. 6). Here, in one of Remington's most daring compositions, the horses and stagecoach, barely under control, spill down the canvas toward the viewer. Similarly in *A Taint on the Wind* (pl. 37), stage horses rear in fright at the smell of an unseen something in the dark. In a conscious way, Remington the artist responds to the old joke that a black canvas represents a dark horse on a moonless night, and he gives center stage to his gleaming and crisply rendered white horses. In an unconscious way, Remington the man relates what he knows about darkness and death by painting terrified or headless white horses caught on the borderline of moonlight and shadow, as seen in *Fired On* (pl. 42) or *In From the Night Herd* (pl. 43). He evokes Ryder's *Death on a Pale Horse* (c. 1896, Cleveland Museum of Art), named after a verse in the book of Revelation. His daytime pictures show manly men, steady and courageous under pressure, but at night they

are tested by what they cannot see. Anxiety mounts, and we are drawn into the drama. We witness Remington's ambivalence about heroism, war, and his own courage, about the value of adopting the West as a form of self-revelation. As an early reviewer said of *Fired On*, "The men are actually in danger and you would somehow like them to retreat—or advance—or do something that would bring matters to a head."<sup>161</sup>

Like Joseph Conrad, Remington had gone out into the purportedly conquered yet still wild places, but there was a limit to what he dared to see. He was careful of his scalp and also of his stomach for horror. Through "natural prudence" he declined to accompany the Wounded Knee burial party the day after the massacre.<sup>162</sup> In *Heart of Darkness*, Conrad's narrator Marlowe puts a finger on one of the key truths about imperialism: "The conquest of the earth, which mostly means the taking it away from those who have a different complexion or slightly flatter noses than ourselves, is not a pretty thing when you look into it too much." Yet beyond the atrocity was the glimmer of justification. Marlowe continues: "What redeems it is the idea only. An idea at the back of it . . . and an unselfish belief in the idea—something you can set up, and bow down before, and offer a sacrifice to . . ." <sup>163</sup> A worshiper of gods he had set up in boyhood, Remington was much more sold on "the idea" than Conrad. Indeed, he helped sell it to millions of others.<sup>164</sup> In his work, white men die for a cause; Indian bodies are almost never seen. In his night paintings, however, he let other aspects of the idea emerge by hinting at uncertainties and voicing doubts about what was out there and who were one's allies.

The nocturne served painters and photographers as a bridge to modernism, to a new kind of art, to a more subjective exploration of the self as bound up in and expressed through the indistinct shapes looming around it. Yet like the settlement of the West by frontier fighters, it was a bridge that ensured its own passing. By 1910 and the end of Remington's and photography's nocturnal decade, as the Old West conclusively vanished into myth, the bright lights and fractured forms of a still more radical modernism decisively electrified the painting of the night. Remington's personal bridge crossed through western darkness to his own interior, eastern, Anglo-Saxon "white on the chart," as Thoreau put it, though proving "black . . . when discovered."<sup>165</sup> At the end of *Walden*, Thoreau asks would-be explorers, "Is it the source of the Nile, or the Niger, or the Mississippi, or a Northwest Passage around this continent, that we would find? Are these the problems that most concern mankind?"<sup>166</sup> Thoreau's advice was something Remington applied instinctively from the start, although it took years and a conclusive shift from illustration to painting to make his direction explicit: "Be rather . . . the Lewis and

Clark . . . of your own streams and oceans."<sup>167</sup> In his late work Remington moves from the romanticized imperialism of the West "out there" beyond the eastern cities, to the psychological modernism of darkness in the heart. By the end of his life, disdaining western adventures "to gather material," he would have agreed with Robert Frost: "I have it in me so much nearer home / To scare myself with my own desert places."<sup>168</sup>

### Coda

Remington did not live to do his last sculptural project, one that would have surpassed in size his monumental bronze, *The Cowboy* (1908, Fairmount Park, Philadelphia). At a dinner given in honor of "Buffalo Bill" Cody in New York City on 12 May 1909, he joined in the enthusiastic talk about his creating "a colossal statue of the North American Indian at the mouth of the Hudson in New York Harbor."<sup>169</sup> Whether it commemorated the lost West or the Anglo-Saxon values that had killed the inhabitants of the land, the statue would have confirmed for arriving immigrants and returning Americans their stereotypes of the West, stereotypes stamped with the name of Remington. It would likely have indicated that both groups of "native" Americans—Anglo-Saxons and Indians—were a proud breed on whose passing we could only look with regret. Remington's friend Homer Davenport called it "the one necessary statue of the whole country."<sup>170</sup> In its own way, it would have been a work as allegorical as Frédéric-Auguste Bartholdi's Statue of Liberty, first illuminated at night by electricity in 1892—but would it have been as welcoming? It would have been necessary to illuminate the giant Indian with something simulating moonlight, if only to prevent shipping accidents. What a sight that would have been: a colossal nocturnal Indian bestriding the waters, his significance ever changing according to what's out there "in the unseen." His meaning, like that of Remington's night paintings, would have lain forever off the urban canvas, somewhere in the western darkness stretching far behind him.

## Notes

1. My epigraph is taken from Edwin Wildman, "Frederic Remington, the Man," *Outing* 46, no. 6 (March 1903): 715–716. The rest of the quotation reveals how Remington thought his technique of working outside the canvas applied not only to himself but also to the impressionists. "What you want to do is just create the thought—materialize the spirit of a thing, and the small bronze—or the impressionist's picture—does that; then your audience discovers the thing you held back, and that's skill." See Wildman 1903, 715–716. I want to thank Nancy Anderson and Anna Kamplain for their generous assistance in the conceptualizing and researching of this essay.

2. Joseph Conrad, *Heart of Darkness*, Robert Kimbrough, ed., 3d ed. (New York, 1988), 9. This quotation is drawn from Conrad's original manuscript of 1899.

3. Alexander Nemerov reads the shadow as a sign of the artist's presence. See his discussion of the painting in *Frederic Remington and Turn-of-the-Century America* (New Haven, 1995), 200–201.

4. The question of enemy, friend, and the audience's relation to them is further complicated by the fact that the United States Army in the West used American Indian scouts. The conflicts that Remington depicts are in some sense civil wars, as some Indians threw in their lot with the advancing white race and others decided to resist to the end, while many alternately accepted then broke away from the reservations to which they were consigned. The lone Indians in his pictures are agents, but for whom?

5. *Collier's Weekly* 34, no. 25 (18 March 1905): 16. The entire issue, "The Remington Number," is devoted to the artist.

6. On Remington's shaping of American perception of the West see William Coffin, "American Illustration of Today," *Scribner's*

*Magazine* (March 1892): 348. "It is a fact that admits of no question that Eastern people have formed their conceptions of what the Far-Western life is like, more from what they have seen from Mr. Remington's pictures than from any other source, and if they went to the West. . . they would expect to see men and places looking exactly as Mr. Remington has drawn them. Those who have been there are authority for saying that they would not be disappointed." Cited in James K. Ballinger, *Frederic Remington* (New York, 1989), 65. Because Remington believed in his vision, he made others believe it, too. He was praised for reporting faithfully on what he was actually creating. See Brian Dippie, "The Visual West," in *Oxford History of the American West*, Clyde A. Milner III, Carol A. O'Connor, and Martha A. Sandweiss, eds. (New York, 1994), 691.

7. From Frederic Remington's diary, entry for 15 January 1908. Frederic Remington Art Museum (FRAM), Ogdensburg, New York.

8. *Collier's Weekly* 42, no. 13 (19 December 1908): 22.

9. Peggy Samuels and Harold Samuels, *Frederic Remington: A Biography* (Austin, 1982), 307.

10. See Remington's diary, entry for 8 March 1908: "What is America done with its forests gone and the scum of Europe in its place. It may be someone else's America but it isn't mine. I guess mine is about dead anyway and I seem to be doing an obituary."

11. An early reviewer commented on an almost unbearable tension in *Fired On*. "The figures. . . are really in serious trouble. Every attitude is of meaning. It is obvious the men are actually in danger and you would somehow like them to retreat—or advance—or do something that would bring matters to a head." See "Art and Artists. Remington's Western

Pictures—Portraits by Miss Heustis—Notes," *New York Globe and Commercial Advertiser*, 3 December 1907, 8.

12. Writing about *The Sentinel*, a night picture from 1907, Dippie points out that Remington's figures "do not know what is 'out there.'" He continues: "The viewer, in effect, is the cause of the reaction, and thus that cause exists entirely in the viewer's imagination." See Brian W. Dippie, *The Frederic Remington Art Museum Collection* (New York, 2001), 182.

13. Henry David Thoreau, *Walden* (1854); rpt. in *The Portable Thoreau*, Carl Bode, ed. (New York, 1964), 560.

14. Remington diary, entry for 15 January 1908; quoted in Ballinger 1989, 138.

15. "Mr. Remington has painted a number of night scenes, and in these he has made a great stride forward. It is not simply that he has changed his key. Study of moonlight appears to have reacted upon the very grain of his art." See "Art Exhibitions. A Collection of Pictures by Mr. John LaFarge," *New York Daily Tribune*, 4 December 1907, 7. The anonymous critic commented of *The Sentinel*, "the very spirit of night is in this painting."

16. For example, "It is in the night scenes. . . that as mere art lovers we find the most satisfaction" (review pasted in Remington's diary near the entry for 8 December 1909).

17. Royal Cortissoz, "Frederic Remington: A Painter of American Life," *Scribner's Magazine* 47 (February 1910): 186–187.

18. Remington diary, entry for 13 April 1909.

19. Remington diary, entry for 10 November 1909.

20. Remington was indebted to Jean-Baptiste Edouard Detaille and Alphonse de Neuville, as well as Ernest Meissonier and the Russian Vasilii Vereshchagin, all

of whose works were known and sometimes exhibited in the United States. All of these influences synthesized in one of Remington's most important early pictures, *A Dash for the Timber* (1889). When it was exhibited at the National Academy, it was the most popular work in the show. See Ballinger 1989, 42–47. See also Dippie 2001, 56: "The influence of Detaille and de Neuville on Remington is undeniable. To walk through the Salle Chanzy of the Musée de l'Armée in Paris is to leave all doubt behind."

21. "Paintings of Western Life by Frederic Remington, Indians, Cowboys, and Trappers," *New York Times*, 23 December 1906; cited in Dippie 2001, 172.

22. Rembrandt van Rijn was unusual in that his etchings of biblical subjects seem more concerned with darkness than light. See *The Flight of the Holy Family into Egypt* (1651, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam), lit primarily by lantern light, and *Descent from the Cross by Torchlight* (1654, University of Michigan Museum of Art). The oil study of *Flight into Egypt* (Musée des Beaux Arts, Tours; attribution disputed), however, is more conventionally lighted by an off-canvas moon above and to the left of the Holy Family.

23. For all the color in his night paintings, which he strove for years to perfect, Remington may have been conveying a mood more than a visual reality. "Wonderful moonlight nights," he wrote in his diary 19 January 1908. "Tried to distinguish color in some sketches I took out of doors but it is too subtle a light and does not differentiate." An entry for 17 March 1908 is perhaps in the same vein: "Those moonlights are elusive and require a world of monkeying."

24. On the early history (Renaissance through the eighteenth century) of night painting in the Western tradition see A. Everett Austin, Jr., *Night Scenes* [exh. cat., Wadsworth Atheneum] (Hartford, Conn., 1940), 1–4.

25. For more on the history of night painting, especially its fanciful and erotic side, see *Die Nacht* [exh. cat., Haus der Kunst Munchen] (Munich, 1998). Other examples of moonlights include *Moonrise on the Yare* (c. 1811–1814, Tate Gallery, London) by John Crome and many by George Price Boyce: *The Thames by Night from the Adelphi* (1866, Tate Gallery, London), *Night Sketch of the Thames Near Hungerford Bridge* (1860–1862, Tate Gallery, London), and *Blackfriars Bridge: Moonlight Sketch* (1863, Tate Gallery, London). The nineteenth-century German artist Adolph Menzel did many scenes by moonlight, torchlight, and lamp-light, treating modern subjects to a realistic yet romantic rendering, as in *The Anhalter Railway Station by Moonlight* (1846, Oskar Reinhart Foundation, Winterthur, Switzerland).
26. On Friedrich and the nocturnal tradition see Sabine Rewald, “Moonwatchers,” in *Caspar David Friedrich: Moonwatchers* (New York, 2001), 9–22. Rewald associates Friedrich’s mysterious nocturnal lighting with Romanticism itself, quoting the poet Novalis: “By giving the commonplace higher meaning—the familiar an enigmatic look, the finite the appearance of the infinite—I make it *Romantic*” (Rewald 2001, 11).
27. For a brief overview of nocturnal styles and themes in American painting see *Night Lights: Nineteenth and Twentieth Century American Nocturne Paintings* [exh. cat., Taft Museum, Cincinnati] (Cincinnati, 1985), with an introductory essay by Heather Hallenberg. One theme not mentioned is the relation between night and the fantastic or preternatural, as well as the clandestine. In this regard see John Quidor’s *Ichabod Crane Flying from the Headless Horseman* (1828, Smithsonian American Art Museum, Washington) and *The Money Diggers* (1832, Brooklyn Museum, New York). Genre scenes are also absent; see, for example, David Gilmore Blythe, *Corn Husking* (c. 1856–1865, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York), and Albert Bierstadt, *The Trapper’s Camp* (1861, Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven).
28. See Henry David Thoreau, *A Week on the Concord and Merrimack Rivers* (1849), in *Walden and Other Writings* (New York, 1981), 399.
29. See Barbarba Novak, *American Painting of the Nineteenth Century: Realism, Idealism, and the American Experience* (New York, 1969), 53–54.
30. See Henry David Thoreau, *The Moon*, ed. F. H. Allen (Boston, 1927), 36: “The moon is a mediator. She is a lightgiver that does not dazzle me. I can look her in the face. I am sobered by her light and bethink myself.”
31. William Wordsworth Longfellow, “Prelude,” *Voices of the Night* (1839).
32. Heinrich Heine, *Sämtliche Werke*, Oskar Walzel, ed. (Leipzig, 1910–1915), vol. 10 (1915), 255; translated and cited in Rewald 2001, 21.
33. See Andreas Blühm and Louise Lippincott, *Light! The Industrial Age 1750–1900: Art and Science, Technology and Society* [exh. cat., Carnegie Museum of Art] (Pittsburgh, 2000), 25.
34. James T. Boulton, ed., *An Enquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful* (Notre Dame, 1958), 82. Burke’s own ideas of the sublime were influenced by John Milton’s *Paradise Lost*, so that an urban sublime based on the “darkness visible” of Milton’s hell actually informs his original conception. As if in response to Burke, many late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century painters depicted the struggle between the power of the gloom and that of light. Vernet produced a moonlight, shown at the salon of 1763, that led Diderot to remark, “Il a rendu en couleur les ténèbres visibles et palpables de Milton” (He had rendered in color the darkness visible—even palpable—of Milton). See Diderot, *Oeuvres Esthétiques* (Paris, 1959), 574.
35. Girodet is also the first artist on record to have painted by artificial light, with his *Pygmalion* (1813–1819). See Blühm and Lippincott 2000, 108.
36. See William Sharpe, “The Nocturne in Fin-de-Siècle Paris,” in *Modernity and Revolution in Late Nineteenth-Century France*, Barbara T. Cooper and Mary Donaldson-Evans, eds. (Newark, 1992), 108–125.
37. Hilary Taylor, *James McNeill Whistler* (London, 1978), 65.
38. Linda Merrill, *A Pot of Paint: Aesthetics on Trial in Whistler v. Ruskin* (Washington, 1992), 31. The practical impossibility of repressing content in Victorian England is clear from an incident at the Whistler-Ruskin trial. When the *Nocturne in Blue and Gold: Old Battersea Bridge* (1872–1875, Tate Gallery, London) was called in as evidence, Ruskin’s attorney asked which part of the work was the bridge, and if it was indeed a bridge and those were people on it, how were they to get off? See Merrill 1992, 167.
39. James McNeill Whistler, *The Gentle Art of Making Enemies* (London, 1892), 126.
40. Whistler 1892, 127.
41. Works such as *Nocturne in Blue and Gold: Old Battersea Bridge* (1872–1875) taught Whistler’s viewers to see the urban landscape in a new way. He enhanced it with rain and mist, but he did not disguise its bold, distinctive architectural forms. Whistler paradoxically used darkness as a veil that *reveals* rather than covers, one that discloses to the artist’s eye both the unheralded beauties and the abstract forms that are hidden in the garish light of common day. As one can see in *Nocturne: Grey and Silver: Chelsea Embankment, Winter* (1879, Freer Gallery of Art, Washington), Whistler’s images manage to be illusionistic mirrors of nature, capturing atmospheric effects while at the same time they announce themselves as nearly abstract arrangements of form and color. A contemporary critic wrote in the *Athenaeum* in 1882 that Whistler’s *Nocturne in Blue and Silver: Cremorne Lights* (1872, Tate Gallery, London) showed “with exquisite gradations and perfect truth one of those lovely effects of dimly illuminated morning mists on the Thames which nature evidently intended Mr. Whistler to paint.” See David Piper, *Artists’ London* (London, 1982), 12, 93.
42. In his “Ten O’Clock” lecture (1885), Whistler described his vision of the night. “When the evening mist clothes the riverside with poetry, as with a veil, and the poor buildings lose themselves in the dim sky, and the tall chimneys become campanili, and the warehouses are palaces in the night, and the whole city hangs in the heavens, and fairy-land is before us—then the wayfarer hastens home. . . and Nature, who, for once, has sung in tune, sings her exquisite song to the artist alone. . .” (Whistler 1892, 144). In his move from the pastoral world of moonlight to the urban world of gaslight, Whistler was also privileging Japanese compositional devices over Western mimesis and perspective. Whistler owed much to Japanese prints, and especially to those of Hiroshige, such as *Kyoto Bridge by Moonlight* (c. 1855). This foreign-influenced flattening of the picture plane was one more factor contributing to the notoriety of the nocturnes.
43. R. Turwhitt, *Sketch Club* (London, 1874), 300.
44. Hunterian Collection, Glasgow University, Rev 1955 P/1.
45. Merrill 1992, 47.

46. Andrew McLaren Young, Margaret MacDonald, and Robin Spencer, eds., *The Paintings of James McNeill Whistler: Text* (New Haven, 1980), 97.
47. With the help of new printing technologies, the nocturne soon made its debut in illustrated magazines and books, as in William Hyde's *The Embankment at Night*, from a book called *London Impressions of 1898*. Claude Monet and Henri Le Sidanier were influenced by Whistler's Thames scenes, as were many other artists. Even the decadent illustrator Aubrey Beardsley drew a nocturne. Similarly, poets sought to convey the beauties of dark masses and scattered lights, reflective water and silent streets. Wilde acknowledged Whistler's influence in "Impression du Matin" (1880); Henley paid him homage in "To James McNeill Whistler" (1889); and in the 1890s, in poems such as "Nocturne," "April Midnight," "The Abandoned," and others, Symons devoted more attention than anyone to nocturnal city scenes. Other artists influenced by Whistler include George Henry, John Duncan Fergusson, James Lavery, William Stott of Oldham, Ambrose McEvoy, Wilfred Jenkins, Jerome Hamilton Hay, W. L. Wyllie, Théodore Roussel, Joseph Pennell, Paul Maitland, Mortimer Menpes, Walter Greaves, and Thomas R. Way. In the United States, Whistler's friend John La Farge produced *A Nocturne* (c. 1885), as did John Humphreys-Johnston, a specialist in nocturnal seascapes (*Nocturne*, 1898).
48. Cynthia H. Prebus, "Transitions in American Art and Criticism: The Formative Years of Early American Modernism, 1895–1905" (Ph.D. diss., Rutgers University, 1994), 553–601.
49. Dippie quotes Remington as remarking that Whistler was "lacking in . . . imagination" (Remington diary, entry for 18 July 1908), but as Dippie notes, "Since night color had become Remington's own obsession in his late forties, Whistler's influence was unavoidable" (Dippie 2001, 214). On 16 January 1908 Remington noted in his diary that he "saw some 'punk' Whistlers [at the Macbeth Gallery in New York] and how people can see anything in them I do not know." The same day he also noted, "There is a Whistler at Met Museum as black as the inside of a jug" (Samuels and Samuels 1982, 403). See also Nemerov 1995, 46–48. Nemerov connects the darkness of the jug with Ruskin's "pot of paint" insult to Whistler and with the dark pot in the foreground of Remington's *Apache Medicine Song* of 1908.
50. Peters, like Remington, was a member of New York's Players Club. He showed his work at the Union League Club in 1899. Peters also exhibited several other times in New York between 1901 and 1904, and twice exhibited with Remington outside the city. For a detailed discussion of the Whistler/Peters/Remington triangle see Melissa Webster, "Nocturne Paintings of Frederic Remington," in *Remington: The Years of Critical Acclaim* [exh. cat., Gerald Peters Art Gallery] (Santa Fe, 1998), 3–6. See also Samuels and Samuels 1982, 292, and Ballinger 1989, 98. On Peters and Whistler see Wanda Corn, *The Color of Mood: American Tonalism 1880–1910* (San Francisco, 1972), 11.
51. Only *The Outlier* (1909) has a moon (evident only by looking at the preliminary version in the Frederic Remington Art Museum), but Nemerov 1995, 205, and Ballinger 1989, 142, identify it as a setting sun. Dippie 2001, 222, says the final picture's lighter silvery blue tone is very much like the work of Metcalf and Hassam, who called it Remington's best painting.
52. Remington diary, entry for 26 June 1907; cited in Dippie 2001, 182.
53. Remington diary, entry for 12 April 1908.
54. Remington diary, entry for 22 June 1908.
55. Remington diary, entry for 7 December 1908.
56. See Corn 1972, 1–12. Remington's debt to the tonalists has been much analyzed. For a good overview see Ballinger 1989, 41–42 and 129–135. See also Dippie 2001, 162–163, and Peter H. Hassrick, "Remington: The Painter," in Michael Edward Shapiro and Peter H. Hassrick, *Frederic Remington: The Masterworks* (New York, 1988), 126–169. Joan Carpenter, in "Was Frederic Remington an Impressionist?" *Gilcrease* 10 (January 1988): 1–19, suggests a relationship with Monet and Degas as well as with symbolism in the late nocturnes. After those of Whistler, Ryder, and Blakelock, the most widely known tonalist night scenes would be those of Inness, among them *Moonlight* (1885, Weisman Art Museum, University of Minnesota), *The Moon at Night* (1890, Art Institute of Chicago), *Harvest Moon* (1891, Corcoran Gallery of Art, Washington), *Moonrise* (1891, Art Institute of Chicago), and *Early Moonrise, Florida* (1893, Memorial Art Gallery, University of Rochester, New York). Remington's determination to follow his friends toward artistic success is revealed in a diary entry about Robert Reid's paintings: "Saw Bobbie Reid's new work—splendid—a good long stride. By gad a fellow has got to race to keep up now days—the pace is fast" (Remington diary, entry for 16 January 1908).
57. Dippie 2001, 188.
58. See Prebus 1994, 553–601.
59. While Ryder himself grew ever more reclusive, between 1895 and 1905 his paintings were shown at least eighteen times in New York, and he was the subject of dozens of articles. He also enjoyed visits to his studio by Remington's friends Hassam and Weir. See Prebus 1994, 608–609, and Corn 1972, 41.
60. Albert Pinkham Ryder, "Paragraphs from the Studio of a Recluse," *Broadway Magazine* 14 (September 1905): 10–11. As quoted in Elizabeth Brown, *Albert Pinkham Ryder* (Washington, 1989), 20–21.
61. See Abraham A. Davidson, "Art and Insanity, One Case: Blakelock at Middletown," *Smithsonian Studies in American Art* 3, no. 3 (summer 1989): 55–71.
62. Indeed, it has been argued that "most, or perhaps all of the art of this complex period in fact seems distinctly nostalgic in mood." See Theodore E. Stebbins, Jr., "Luminism in Context: A New View," in John Wilmerding, ed., *American Light: The Luminist Movement, 1850–1875* (Washington, 1989), 218. The fashion for tropical moonlight views among such painters as Mingot, Heade, and Church may also have been a nostalgic reaction to conditions similar to those in the West. Overexposure made even wondrous and exotic landscapes seem ordinary, and moonlight appeared to restore the freshness and mystery of aging Edens fading in the light of day. See Katherine Mantorpe, *Tropical Renaissance: North American Artists Exploring Latin America, 1839–1879* (Washington, 1989), 170–171.
63. Samuels and Samuels 1982, illustration 40, shows Remington seated next to Winslow Homer, possibly playing cards, at the studio of M. J. Burns about 1896.
64. Remington diary, entry for 26 March 1909, clipping from *Everybody's Magazine* wherein Remington says of some impressionist works, "I've got two maiden aunts in New Rochelle that can knit better pictures than those!"
65. Dippie 2001, 197. *The Snow Trail* (1908) is very impressionistic, according to Dippie 2001, 202.



66. Samuels and Samuels 1982, 404. See also Samuels and Samuels 1982, 407, citing Remington as saying, "Better pictures are being painted in America today than any before—but it will take another generation to discover it."
67. One exception to the no-water rule is *Fired On*, where the river that the soldiers are about to ford is darker in value than the land, and thus serves as a barrier and register of near-miss bullets. Another is *Moonlight, Wolf*, which is very close in composition to *Fired On*. In this, the wolf and stars are doubled in the still lake.
68. Remington diary, entry for 14 January 1909.
69. See Corn 1972, 20.
70. His summer landscapes were a testing ground for new ideas, but because of his insistence on content rather than sheer aesthetics, he could not fully commit to them. He noted in his diary on 1 July 1908, "I made a study of white birches. . . very difficult but managed fairly well. The trouble with my landscapes is that they are merely pretty. I love the work tho."
71. No simple or safe pleasure to be taken: compare the murky beauties of Whistler's *Falling Rocket* to Remington's *Scream of Shrapnel at San Juan Hill, Cuba* (1898), which shows men unceremoniously diving for cover from an invisible shell. Whistler's fireworks are shot off for aesthetic pleasure; Remington depicts men anticipating a lethal wound.
72. See Nemerov 1995, 149. "The moonlights, with their all-over green hues, relate to the work of such tonalist painters and photographers as Willard Metcalf and Edward Steichen," in effect "portraying the world not as it exists out there but as it is created within the mind itself."
73. Conrad 1988, 9.
74. "Art should be independent of all claptrap—should stand alone, and appeal to the artistic sense of eye or ear, without confounding this with emotions entirely foreign to it, as devotion, pity, love, patriotism, and the like. All these have no kind of concern with it, and that is why I insist on calling my works 'arrangements' and 'harmonies'" (Whistler 1892, 127–128).
75. "I stand for the proposition of 'subjects'—painting something worth while as against painting *nothing well*—merely paint." Letter to Al Brolley, 8 December 1909, reprinted in Allen Splete and Marilyn Splete, eds., *Frederic Remington—Selected Letters* (New York, 1988), 435.
76. See Robert D. Richardson, Jr., *Henry Thoreau: A Life of the Mind* (Berkeley, 1986), 324–325, and Henry David Thoreau, "Walking by Night," in Laurence Stapleton, ed., *H. D. Thoreau: A Writer's Journal* (New York, 1960), 41–80.
77. Henry David Thoreau, "Night and Moonlight," *Excursions* (1863), reprinted in Leo Marx, ed., *Excursions* (Gloucester, Mass., 1975), 307–308. "Night and Moonlight" (1854?) was first published in the *Atlantic Monthly* (November 1863). On the murky history of the text see William L. Howarth, "Successor to Walden? Thoreau's 'Moonlight'—An Intended Course of Lectures," *Proof 2* (1972): 89–115.
78. Thoreau 1975, 318.
79. Thoreau 1975, 307.
80. On the cultural discourse of light and darkness that facilitated European colonization of Africa see Patrick Brantlinger, *Rule of Darkness: British Literature and Imperialism, 1830–1914* (Ithaca, 1988), particularly chapter 6, "The Genealogy of the 'Dark Continent,'" 173–197. The missionary and explorer David Livingstone was one of the chief promulgators of light/dark symbolism. In the absence of commerce and Christianity, he avowed, "the prospects for these dark regions are not bright" (Brantlinger 1988, 181).
81. See also William Sharpe, "Colonizing the Night: Art, Imperialism, and Textual Power in Nocturnal New York," in *États de New York*, Antoine Capet, Philippe Romanski, and Aissatou Sy-Wonyu, eds. (Rouen, France, 2000), 125–136. On the history of lighting technology see Wolfgang Schivelbusch, *Disenchanted Night: The Industrialization of Light in the Nineteenth Century*, Angela Davies, trans. (New York, 1988).
82. Murray Melbin, *Night as Frontier: Colonizing the World after Dark* (New York, 1987), 51. For Melbin, time, like space, is a container that can be filled with people and activity. Night's frontier functions as both a safety valve and an economic resource for people who find themselves constrained by the limits of daytime life. Among the chief features of both frontier and night life are uneven stages of advance, isolated settlements, a wider range of tolerated behavior, novel hardships, lawlessness and peril, helpfulness and sociability among the settlers, fewer status distinctions, and a decentralization of authority. Most important are the sense of escape and opportunity (Melbin 1987, 29–52).
83. Melbin 1987, 52.
84. Mark Twain, *Life on the Mississippi* (1883; rpt. New York, 1984), 203–204.
85. See Richard Slotkin, *The Fatal Environment: The Myth of the Frontier in the Age of Industrialization, 1800–1890* (New York, 1985), 336.
86. See Neil Smith, "New City, New Frontier: The Lower East Side as Wild, Wild, West," in Michael Sorkin, ed., *Variations on a Theme Park: The New American City and the End of Public Space* (New York, 1992), 67–69. Smith builds on Slotkin's analysis of the frontier myth and his extensive consideration of the cultural context in which Custer's campaigns were reported. See Slotkin 1985, 325–370.
87. Summarizing the *World's* position, Slotkin writes: "Workers are 'worthy producers,' models for the Indian; but they are also Indians themselves, savage in their propensity for violence and evasion of toil, using strikes and mobs to block access to businesses and public squares, just as Indians use violence to block railroad access to the West." See Slotkin 1985, 342.
88. Smith 1992, 74.
89. "Science against Superstition," *Electrical World* (2 August 1884): 33, cited in Carolyn Marvin, *When Old Technologies Were New: Thinking about Electric Communication in the Late Nineteenth Century* (New York, 1988), 36.
90. C. J. H. Woodbury, "The Savage and the Circuit," *Electrical Review* (16 May 1891): 160; cited in Marvin 1988, 36. As Marvin remarks: "In the United States, professional electrical literature cast American Indians and Negroes as virtual members of a criminal class. . ." (37). See also page 62: "Styling themselves as defenders of Western civilization, electrical experts" used "deception and coercion [as] accepted sanctions against those who refused to recognize the authority of electrical expertise. The amount of deception considered proper was proportionate to the cultural strangeness of those against whom it was directed," including "non-Europeans, Indians, blacks, women, criminals, and the poor."
91. See Ballinger 1989, 67–68.
92. Samuels and Samuels 1982, 269.
93. See Patrick McSherry, "The Explosion on the Maine," in Spanish-American War Centennial Website, <http://www.spanamwar.com/maineexplodes.htm>.
94. *Harper's Weekly* (14 May 1898): 305.
95. Samuels and Samuels 1982, 265.

96. Samuels and Samuels 1982, 283, 1 July 1898.
97. Ben Merchant Vorpahl, *My Dear Wister—: The Frederic Remington-Owen Wister Letters* (Palo Alto, 1972), 279.
98. Harold McCracken, ed., *Remington's Own West* (New York, 1960), 254. When Stephen Crane died, his widow wrote to Remington, asking if he would finish one of the author's manuscripts. Remington declined. See Samuels and Samuels 1982, 309.
99. Cortissoz 1910, 186.
100. "It may be useful to remind ourselves that Remington was much nearer the hostilities than we are, and that the army he so admired did not, after all, start the war. He probably would have agreed with General George Crook, an early veteran of frontier service, who when asked what he found hardest in the Indian wars, said this: 'The hardest thing is to fight against those whom you know are right.' The soldiers he paints here are of course dogged and tired, the ones who are still standing. But there's a stunned look to them as well. And there's something in their eyes—and therefore in the artist's mind—asking 'What are we doing?' and 'What have we done?'" See Louis Chapin, *Great Masterpieces by Frederic Remington* (New York, 1979).
101. *Harper's Weekly* (21 October 1893): 1002.
102. See Dippie 1994, 692. "Remington turned to nocturnes in which dark shadows cloaked a West become mundane, restoring its mystery and allure."
103. Allen 1927, 23.
104. Wildman 1903, 716.
105. Or at least it did not last long. In 1905 Remington painted *An Old Story in a New Way*, which was later published in color in *Collier's Weekly* (13 May 1905). It showed a moonlit couple wooing in a motorboat, the lights of houses visible behind them on the dark shore. Remington burned it in 1908. See Dippie 2001, 176.
106. Conrad 1988, 68.
107. Diary entries, 2 March 1909 and 28 February 1909; see Dippie 2001, 224–226.
108. Remington diary, entry for 20 June 1909. Remington was probably thinking of the German-trained Charles Schreyvogel, whose undeservedly (to Remington's mind) popular western pictures had aroused his ire.
109. Wildman 1903, 712.
110. Edith Wharton, *The Custom of the Country* (1913; rpt., New York, 1984), 44–45.
111. Thoreau 1975, 307.
112. See Cole's letter of 18 September 1833 to Luman Reed, who commissioned the series. Cited in Ellwood C. Parry III, "Thomas Cole's 'The Course of Empire': A Study in Serial Imagery" (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1970), 143–145.
113. Thoreau 1975, 318.
114. Cole's work prompts reconsideration of the political side of aestheticism. One could read Whistler's original *Nocturne—Blue and Gold—Valparaiso* (1866) as an anti-imperial statement, depicting as it does the Chilean capital holding out against shelling by the blockading Spanish fleet. New evidence suggests that Whistler, "a West Point man," as he reminded friends, was engaged in smuggling torpedoes to the rebels. See Simon Grant, "Whistler's Call to Arms," *Art News* 100, no. 8 (September 2001): 76.
115. Marvin 1988, 164. On the electrification of New York and the aesthetic response to it see David E. Nye, *Electrifying America: Social Meanings of a New Technology* (Cambridge, Mass., 1990), 50–84, and David E. Nye, *American Technological Sublime* (Cambridge, Mass., 1994), 173–198.
116. Art was subject to artificial light, too. The Metropolitan Museum was lit by electricity for the first time in January 1890, and in 1900 a reviewer in the *Sun* (12 January 1900), 6 complained he could not adequately judge the quality of *A Moonlight Night* by Ben Foster at the Union League Club because "the pernicious American fashion of building picture galleries without skylights and of turning on a blaze of electricity whenever and wherever opportunity offers."
117. Richard Le Gallienne, "Human Need of Coney Island," 1905; reprinted in Frank Oppel, ed., *Tales of Gaslight New York* (Secaucus, N.J., 1985), 307.
118. See Nye 1990, 391.
119. See Marvin 1988, 183.
120. See Nye 1994, 188.
121. On the festivities see Nye 1994, 153–163. Diary entries: 7 April 1909, "I wouldn't go again to town in the night for anybody and anything. My sense of proportion is too good to allow me to travel 30 miles of an evening for any fun offered"; 23 September 1909, "Everyone is going to New York to Fulton celebration but me and Kid"; 26 September 1909, "many people in New York for Fulton Celebration, no one with us and I so love to be alone."
122. Samuels and Samuels 1982, 130.
123. "Tobin's Palm," *Collected Stories by O. Henry* (New York, 1991), 417.
124. *Scribner's Magazine* 24, no. 4 (October 1898): 469.
125. "The Streets of New York at Night," *Harper's Weekly* (9 February 1901): 141; James B. Carrington, "New York at Night," *Scribner's Magazine* 27 (March 1900): 326–336. *Harper's* later published "Manhattan Lights" by Edward S. Martin, which lauded the poetry of the city lights. The article included numerous night photographs. See *Harper's Monthly*, no. 681 (February 1907): 359–367.
126. *Harper's Weekly* (28 August 1897): 864.
127. "The Picturesqueness of New York Streets: Illustrated in the Paintings of Birge Harrison," *Craftsman* (January 1908): 397–399.
128. One wonders how useful the trained urban eye was to Remington. In 1906 Hassam gives Remington high-level professional advice: "The only thing to say in criticism is your stars look 'stuck on.'" Cited in Nemerov 1995, 191.
129. For a survey of tonalist and impressionist New York see William H. Gerdtz, *Impressionist New York* (New York, 1994). On Ash Can New York see Rebecca Zurier, Robert W. Snyder, and Virginia M. Mecklenburg, *Metropolitan Lives: The Ashcan Artists and Their New York* (Washington, 1995).
130. These pictures may have been intended for a book Shinn apparently hoped to do called *New York by Night*, focusing on the unsleeping aspect of the nocturnal city. See Zurier, Snyder, Mecklenburg 1995, 73. Shinn also provided some of the illustrations for an article called "The Cross Streets of New York," *Scribner's Magazine* 28 (November 1900), which contains night photos and views.
131. *New York Globe and Commercial Advertiser*, 11 November 1909, 1.
132. "Began Art Career as Illustrator on Makio," *Lantern*, undated clipping in Bellows' papers. Cited in Marianne Doezema, *George Bellows and Urban America* (New Haven, 1992), 44.
133. *New York Herald*, 29 October 1905. See Doezema 1992, 20, 26.
134. Pietro di Donato, *Christ in Concrete* (New York, 1937), 23–124.
135. See Dippie 2001, 60, 68; see also Peter H. Hassrick, *Frederic Remington: Paintings, Drawings, and Sculpture in the Amon Carter*

- Museum and the Sid W. Richardson Foundation Collections* (New York, 1973), 30, and Estelle Jussim, *Frederic Remington, the Camera, and the Old West* (Fort Worth, 1983). For Remington's own view of his relation to photography and Muybridge see Perriton Maxwell, "Frederic Remington—Most Typical of American Artists," *Pearson's* 18 (October 1907): 403.
136. Maxwell 1907, 399.
137. The popularity of night scenes can partly be measured by the efforts photographers made to imitate them. Seneca Ray Stodard, whose daytime lacustrine scenes echo those of Land and Heade, did stereoptic views of *Moonlight on Lake George* (c. 1875–1880). The earliest "photograph in America that addressed itself to the primary subject of light and atmosphere" is John P. Soule's *Marine Study by Moonlight* (1863), and others include G. E. Curtis' stereograph of *Horse Shoe Fall, Moonlight* (1870) and Henry Rand's *Moonlight on the Upper Saranac* (c. 1897). See Weston Naef, "New Eyes: Luminism and Photography," in Wilmerding 1989, 279–287. The problem was that photographers had to fake their results. They soon discovered what painters had known all along: that the light actually shed by the full moon was insufficient to illuminate a canvas or a photographic plate up to acceptable levels. Photographers resorted to using filters and superimposing several negatives in order to make their sunlight pictures look nocturnal. While the public was generally ignorant of these frauds, it created a market for manufactured moonshine. See Naef in Wilmerding 1989, 282, 287. Naef also mentions Gustave LeGray's *Brig upon the Water* (1856–1857), "a monumental work in the history of photography that was faked to give the moonlight effect" (287).
138. See William Sharpe, "New York, Night, and Cultural Myth-Making: The Nocturne in Photography, 1900–1925," *Smithsonian Studies in American Art* 2, no. 3 (1988): 3–21. On the manipulation of photo images with color pigments and brushes see Corn 1972, 16.
139. In Montreal, Harold Mortimer Lamb produced many night views close in feeling to those of Steichen and Stieglitz, and he began an article on "Pictorial Possibilities of Night Photography" by quoting Whistler. See *Amateur Photographer* (5 November 1907): 440–442, and Ariane Isler-de-Jongh, "The Night Photography of Harold Mortimer Lamb," *History of Photography* 20, no. 2 (summer 1996): 157–159.
140. Thoreau, *The Moon*, in Allen 1927, 37.
141. See Penelope Niven, *Steichen: A Biography* (New York, 1977), 279. Remington and Steichen both spent a lot of time mastering the representation of night and moonlight, and both gained their reputations from it. Remington was detail- and action-oriented, although he gradually explored softer tones and deep shadows. Steichen's work was soft-edged and symbolist, bringing a twilight palette of colors into photography. He photographed not only the West (1906) but also Theodore Roosevelt (1908), and his famous shots of Rodin's statue of Balzac by moonlight in France (1908) weirdly evoke Remington's blanketed braves standing solemnly on the western plains, as in *Captured* (1899) and *Shotgun Hospitality* (1908). The mythic genius of the European artist and the mythic savagery of the Indian seem to merge in the moonlight.
142. This claim—inscribed by Stieglitz on the back of a print of this photograph—may well be applied to several other views that Stieglitz almost certainly took the same night. See Sarah Greenough, *Alfred Stieglitz: The Key Set* (Washington, 2002), 1: 148–151, nos. 251–256.
143. Remington's *The End of the Day* (c. 1904), depicting horses being unhitched as the evening snow falls, parallels Stieglitz's *The Terminal*. The point of view is different yet the subject and title are fairly close. It is a rare excursion into atmosphere for Remington, and rare in lack of drama, but Dippie finds antecedents in Remington's own earlier work. See Dippie 2001, 154.
144. William Butler Yeats, "Easter 1916," in *The Collected Poems of W. B. Yeats* (New York, 1956), 178.
145. In its 50 issues and 559 photographs, *Camera Work* (1903–1917), the magazine most responsible for photography being acknowledged in America as an art form, published many pastoral and "exotic" images but only one "western" subject, *The Red Man* (1903) by Gertrude Käsebier, and that was in its first issue. Although photographic images of American Indians by Käsebier, Edward S. Curtis, and others were in wide circulation in many American magazines, they seem to have been filtered out of the European-oriented, art-for-art's-sake vision of Stieglitz and Steichen. Käsebier's photographs of Indians were reproduced in *Camera Notes* in April 1899, in *Photographic Times* in May 1900, and in *Everybody's Magazine* in 1901. The first exhibition of the photo-secession in March 1902 included Käsebier's *Red Man* as well. Additionally, Curtis showed his Indian images in New York in 1905 and 1906, and reproductions of his photographs appear in *Scribner's* and *Collier's* (1905, 1906, 1909). Thanks to Anna Kamplain for this information.
146. See Remington diary, entry for 27 August 1909: "my Canada Kodac [sic] came, they are insignificant like all photographs."
147. Giles Edgerton, "The Place of Photography among the Arts: Its Progress as Revealed in the Recent International Exhibition," *Craftsman* 16 (1909): 32.
148. By 1906 there was a "Night" category in the Third American Salon of Photography. Albert R. Benedict won the prize for his *Waiting* (1906), a view of receding streetlamps and their light reflected on the wet pavement. See Keith F. Davis, *An American Century of Photography: From Dry Plate to Digital* (New York, 1999), 64.
149. Edgerton 1909, 32.
150. Remington diary, entry for 9 December 1909.
151. "New Remington Paintings," *New York Times*, 5 December 1907, 8.
152. Whistler 1892, 143–144.
153. "Paintings of Western Life by Frederic Remington, Indians, Cowboys, and Trappers," *New York Times*, 23 December 1906, 4.
154. It is the same today: "Just as he wished, Remington did become a master of color in his late nocturnal paintings. . . . [H]is colorism is based. . . on smoothly painted areas of a single subtly modulated hue, of dark blue, silvery green, or pale glowing yellow. Composed around a few notes and the harmonious transitions between them, Remington's nocturnal color is musical" (Carpenter 1988, 18).
155. Remington diary, entry for 16 January 1908.
156. For another reading of this painting's revision of Whistler, see Nemerov 1995, 7–9, 28, 43–47. The pot shows up earlier, in the left foreground of *The Apaches!* (1904), where it signals in a domestic context, like the buffalo skull in Remington's pictures of the plains, a way of life that is passing. See Dippie 2001, 48.
157. Franz Liszt, *Gesammelte Schriften* (Leipzig, 1899).
158. Nemerov 1995, 45.
159. Maxwell 1907, 407. See also Maxwell 1907, 399: "I am now painting the things which I saw as a boy or things which I heard about from men who took active part in the stir of the early West."

160. Conrad 1988, 30. Sigmund Freud, "Creative Writers and Day-Dreaming," (1908), in Charles Kaplan and William Anderson, eds., *Criticism: Major Statements*, 3d ed. (New York, 1991), 427–428.
161. "Art and Artists. Remington's Western Pictures—Portraits by Miss Heustis—Notes," *New York Globe and Commercial Advertiser*, vol. 8, 3 December 1907, 4, 5.
162. "Why did I not follow them? Well, my natural prudence had been considerably strengthened," Remington wrote about an incident that had occurred a few days earlier, when he was surrounded by Sioux. "To briefly end the matter, the burial party was fired on, and my confidence in my own good judgment was vindicated to my own satisfaction." See "The Sioux Outbreak in South Dakota," in Harold McCracken, ed., *Frederic Remington's Own West* (New York, 1960), 251.
163. Conrad 1988, 10. Final ellipses are in the original.
164. See the conclusion to Maxwell's hagiographic article: "It is a matter for self-congratulation that in ringing down the final curtain on the great Wild-West drama, the relentless course of empire has left to us at least one auditor with skill and enthusiasm and courage enough to perpetuate on canvas and in enduring bronze the most inspiring phases of its colorful existence." See Maxwell 1907, 407.
165. Thoreau, *Walden*, in Bode 1964, 560.
166. Thoreau, *Walden*, in Bode 1964, 560.
167. Thoreau, *Walden*, in Bode 1964, 560.
168. On the futility of "gathering material" on the vanished West see Maxwell 1907, 405. See Robert Frost, "Desert Places" (1936), in *Collected Poems of Robert Frost* (Cutchogue, N.Y., 1986), 386.
169. Samuels and Samuels 1982, 426.
170. Homer Davenport, letter to Eva Remington, 15 May 1909, (FRAM), quoted in Nemerov 1995, 101.





# Dark Disquiet

REMYN'TON'S LATE NOCTURNES

Nancy K. Anderson

At night in a wilderness and against skillful foes half-seen, one does not  
trouble to ask if it is also Death.

Stephen Crane, *Wounds in the Rain*, 1900

IN THE FALL OF 1892, Samuel Untermyer, an American lawyer and collector, purchased in London the most famous nocturne of the nineteenth century, James McNeill Whistler's *Nocturne in Black and Gold: The Falling Rocket* (page 25). Fifteen years earlier, the same work of art had sparked the courtroom drama that afforded Whistler a public forum in which to define a new aesthetic of painting. Rebutting critic John Ruskin's improvident remark that he had "flung a pot of paint in the public's face" by asking two hundred guineas for his nocturne, Whistler declared that his painting was "an arrangement of line, form, and color first."<sup>1</sup> It was, in other words, a painting about art. Free of anecdote, it offered no narrative, no moral lesson. Whistler's eloquent defense of "art for art's sake" won him only a farthing in judgment, but it quickly became the powerful opening salvo of a new aesthetic debate.

Upon his return to America, Untermyer installed *Falling Rocket* in his New York home. For more than a decade the painting was rarely seen, but shortly after the turn of the century the picture appeared in several public exhibitions in New York. The largest and most important of these was the Annual Exhibition of the Society of American Artists in the spring of 1902. It is possible, though far from certain, that Frederic Remington saw *Falling Rocket* at that time.<sup>2</sup> Although he railed against Whistler in his diary years later, Remington may have taken special note, in 1902, of Whistler's famous painting, for a short time earlier he had begun to experiment with his own nocturnal images.

At first glance, it may seem difficult to conjure two artists, indeed two men, more opposed in demeanor and philosophy than James McNeill Whistler and Frederic Sackrider Remington. Urbane, witty, and rakishly stylish, Whistler stood in near-perfect opposition to the rotund, blunt, eastern cowboy Remington presented to the world. In at least one respect, however, Whistler and Remington had much in common, for both men had carefully crafted and skillfully displayed the distinctive and enduring images we have of each.<sup>3</sup>

Whistler's aggressive assault on the conventions of Victorian painting—especially its storytelling literalness—placed him, during the 1870s and 1880s, in stubborn opposition to

most of his contemporaries. His chief foes were academic tradition and popular expectations.

At the turn of the century, Remington was similarly engaged in a battle against expectations, but ironically, the fray was much of his own making. During the 1880s and 1890s Remington had so skillfully packaged himself as a documentary reporter of life in the Far West that when he consciously, and very deliberately, attempted to change course, he found the going rough. Remington's battle, unlike that of Whistler, was fought not against an outmoded artistic tradition but rather against his own stunning early success.

#### Man to See for the West

Frederic Remington's early years in Canton, and later in Ogdensburg, New York, his less-than-stellar prep career at Vermont Episcopal Institute and Highland Military Academy, and his subsequent double-major period (art and football) at Yale have been recounted many times.<sup>4</sup> Equally well reported are his early brushes with boredom (as a government clerk in Albany) and financial failure (as a sheep rancher and saloon owner in Kansas).

Of greater importance, perhaps, in the context of his late work is the rapidity with which he succeeded in establishing himself as a "truthful" reporter of life in the Far West once Harper Brothers began accepting his first tentative sketches in the mid-1880s.<sup>5</sup> Within a surprisingly short period of time, Remington became the illustrator of choice when the subject was western. By 1887 his reputation for "authenticity" was so well established that when the young Theodore Roosevelt needed illustrations for his book *Ranch Life and the Hunting Trail*, Remington was hired.<sup>6</sup> Soon Remington himself became a well-recognized author as *Harper's*, *Century*, and *Outing* magazines began to publish articles both written and illustrated by the artist. In 1894 at least eleven such articles were published during the calendar year.<sup>7</sup> Four years later the number had risen to eighteen.<sup>8</sup>

For more than a decade Remington worked at a frenetic pace, producing an astonishing number of images for the

popular press. Soon the sheer volume of his work, coupled with his own marketing skills, allowed him undisputed claim to the premier position among western illustrators. Such prominence brought Remington financial security, domestic stability, and a measure of fame that he clearly enjoyed.

Although Remington spent much of his time, during the late 1880s and 1890s, producing work for hire, he was, during the same period, a serious student of painting. In the spring of 1886 he enrolled, briefly, at the Art Students League in New York.<sup>9</sup> It was the first formal instruction that he had pursued since his disappointing stint before plaster casts at Yale in 1878. He was impatient with academic instruction, however, and his classroom tenure was brief. Instead, Remington set out on a course of self-instruction, studying carefully not only his own chosen subject, but also the work of others, in books, journals, galleries, and museums.<sup>10</sup> His breakthrough painting, *A Dash for Timber*, appeared in 1889. Commissioned by industrialist Edward Cogswell Converse, the action-packed canvas won critical acclaim when it was shown at the National Academy of Design in the fall of the same year. Two years later Remington was elected an associate of the Academy, the first step toward full membership.<sup>11</sup>

During the following decade, Remington's compositions became more sophisticated and his technique more assured, but the response of critics remained narrowly focused on the "documentary" value of his work. By 1896 the early promise of acceptance by academicians had faded. In 1899 he submitted his last painting for exhibition at the Academy, essentially abandoning his hope for full membership.<sup>12</sup> Frustrated by his inability to break into the ranks of painters treated seriously by critics (his success as an illustrator likely worked against him), Remington found new applications for his prodigious energy, principally the publication of books and his experimentation with sculpture. His first collection of stories, *Pony Tracks*, appeared in 1895, as did his first sculpture, the hugely popular *Broncho Buster*.<sup>13</sup> By the end of the decade he had also published *Crooked Trails* (1898) and completed three additional sculptures, *The Wounded Bunkie* (1896), *The Wicked Pony* (1898), and *The Scalp* (1898).<sup>14</sup>

It was, however, an assignment unrelated to his western experience that changed both his life and the character of his art.

### The Splendid Little War

In the spring of 1898 Remington set out to observe, as he wrote, "the greatest thing which men are called on to do" — engage in military combat.<sup>15</sup> The Spanish-American War had broken out in Cuba, and Remington had signed on as a

war correspondent. For years he had actively pursued an up-close look at armed warfare.<sup>16</sup> When he got his wish, the sight was searing.

As the only son of a distinguished Civil War veteran, Remington was, predictably, fascinated with military operations. Seth Pierre Remington, the artist's father, had enrolled in a volunteer cavalry unit just a few weeks after his son was born in the fall of 1861.<sup>17</sup> In the summer of 1863 Captain Remington, leading two companies of the Eleventh New York Cavalry, stumbled upon an advance column of Confederate soldiers on their way to join Robert E. Lee near Gettysburg.<sup>18</sup> Remington had eighty-six men at his command. The opposing force numbered approximately eighteen hundred. Only eighteen members of Remington's unit lived to tell the tale. The commanding officer who met the survivors when they arrived in Washington later praised Remington and his men for their "valor, coolness, and determination."<sup>19</sup>

The following year Major Remington faced even more daunting odds at Doyal's Plantation in Louisiana. In command of a regiment badly depleted by illness, Remington refused to surrender when his camp was surrounded by rebel forces. Declaring that he had not come to Louisiana to surrender his command, he quickly organized his men into a single column that forced its way through the Confederate line. Later, joined by reinforcements, Remington and his troops retook the camp under cover of darkness.<sup>20</sup>

Much beloved by the soldiers he had led, Major Remington was subsequently accorded the courtesy title of "colonel" and shown the deference due a "hero."<sup>21</sup> Young Frederic Remington grew to maturity in a community that revered his father and celebrated his gallantry in war. Like many a son of such a father, Remington was drawn to all things military.<sup>22</sup>

In 1898 Remington's ardor to experience war firsthand was more than satisfied when the long-festering dispute between Spain and Cuba erupted in Havana Harbor.<sup>23</sup> The battleship *Maine*, sent by President William McKinley in an attempt to cool escalating tension, exploded on the evening of 15 February. Remington quickly requested war correspondent credentials.<sup>24</sup> By mid-April he had arrived in Florida, hoping to accompany departing troops to Cuba. He would not, however, set foot on Cuban soil until late in June.<sup>25</sup>

Although eager to witness a grand military spectacle, Remington was ill prepared for the confusion, incompetence, and bungling he witnessed on the road to Santiago. He was also physically unfit for the rigors of tropical warfare. Overweight and accustomed to generous supplies of food, alcohol, and tobacco, Remington did not adapt well to the deprivations and discomforts of camp life.<sup>26</sup> Weakened by fever and lack of sleep, the once-ardent correspondent soon became dis-



illusioned by what he termed “modern” warfare. Opposing the army regulars he so admired was an enemy of guerrilla fighters—elusive, unseen, and well armed.

Remington left Cuba shortly after the Battle of San Juan Hill. Theodore Roosevelt and his Rough Riders rode into myth that day, their story burnished, in part, by Remington.<sup>27</sup> Although he was traveling with units drawn into heavy fire near San Juan Hill, Remington had wisely taken cover at the rear and thus did not observe the famous “charge.” Much closer to the action was twenty-seven-year-old Stephen Crane, the most gifted of the war correspondents gathered in Cuba. Reckless with his own life, Crane consistently defied sharpshooters’ bullets in his pursuit of the soldiers’ story. His justly admired dispatches were published upon receipt by the *New York World*.<sup>28</sup> Crane’s best writing on the war, however, appeared later in a series of short stories published collectively as *Wounds in the Rain*. These violent, stark, grim stories were published in June 1900, shortly after Crane’s premature death.<sup>29</sup>

Remington’s Cuban experience has often been linked with that of Roosevelt, whose Rough Riders presented him with a cast of the artist’s *Broncho Buster* at the conclusion of the war, but Roosevelt’s Cuban experience was not that of Remington. No hero’s welcome awaited the artist. He returned sick and shaken. Ironically, it is Crane’s fictional transformation of the Cuban campaign in *Wounds in the Rain*, rather than Roosevelt’s more famous Rough Rider saga, that may offer the more telling insight into what happened to Remington when he went to see that grand thing that men do.

#### “Terrible Intimacy with This War”

Like Remington, Stephen Crane was born into a family that revered military achievement and, like Remington, he was already famous when he arrived in Cuba. *The Red Badge of Courage*, Crane’s classic Civil War novel, had appeared in the fall of 1895.<sup>30</sup> Almost immediately the book was hailed as a radical and important departure from the sentimental fiction that had dominated the postwar period. Rather than offer another paean to gallant heroes, Crane declared that his Civil War novel was intended to present “a psychological portrayal of fear.”<sup>31</sup>

Crane had written *The Red Badge of Courage* without witnessing actual combat. In 1898 the explosion of hostilities in Cuba offered him the opportunity to observe armed warfare firsthand. Crane was as eager as Remington to actually see what he had so vividly imagined.

The defining battle of the Cuban campaign took place on 1 July 1898. On that morning Crane and Remington were reportedly together when an observation balloon intended to aid American troops actually gave away their position before

it was shot down by the Spaniards.<sup>32</sup> Gunfire and exploding shrapnel from an enemy that could not be seen delayed troop advancement and sent Crane, Remington, and other correspondents scurrying for cover. Roosevelt’s famous assault came later in the day, but by then heavy casualties had already been inflicted and a dressing station had been set up on a riverbank that would come to be called “Bloody Ford.” Both Remington and Crane passed by the makeshift hospital, and both were appalled by what they saw.

Crane recognized one of the wounded as a former college classmate, a corporal with the Seventy-first New York Volunteers. Recalling the scene later, Crane wrote:

... the apparition of Reuben McNab, the schoolmate lying there in the mud with a hole through his lung, awed me into stutterings, set me trembling with a sense of terrible intimacy with this war which heretofore I could have believed was a dream—almost. Twenty shot men rolled their eyes and looked at me. Only one man paid no heed. He was dying, he had no time.<sup>33</sup>

Remington recalled a similar scene at Bloody Ford in “With the Fifth Corps,” his finest essay on the Cuban campaign:

One beautiful boy was brought in by two tough stringy, hairy old soldiers, his head hanging down behind. His shirt was off, and a big red spot shone brilliantly against his marblelike skin. They laid him down, and the surgeon stooped over him. His breath came in gasps. The doctor laid his arms across his breast, and shaking his head, turned to a man who held a wounded foot up to him, dumbly imploring aid, as a dog might. It made my nerves jump, looking at that grewsome [sic] hospital, sand-covered, with bleeding men.<sup>34</sup>

Both Crane and Remington escaped injury on the day the Rough Riders fought near San Juan Hill, but both were seriously ill with fever and soon were “invalided” home. Crane’s was the more desperate case, for he was also infected with tuberculosis. Both men, however, bore other wounds (fig. 1).

Crane began writing the stories that would become *Wounds in the Rain* while he was still in Cuba. In most of the tales fictional characters serve as the protagonists, but in the longest of the pieces, “War Memories,” Crane dropped the veil of fiction, wrote in the first person, and spoke openly of his own fear.

“War Memories” is episodic in nature, its vignettes or “memories” linked by a single refrain: “I was afraid.” Crane’s candid admission destroyed the distance he had placed between himself and his story in his earlier psychological study of fear, *The Red Badge of Courage*. In “War Memories,” Crane marveled at the courage of others as he registered disappointment at his own “trembling.”

1. Stephen Crane, Spanish-American War correspondent for the *New York World*, Cuba, 1898, Yale Collection of American Literature, New Haven, Connecticut, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library

Crane displayed his fear most vividly when he recounted his own participation in a mission to destroy a well that had become the enemy's water source. He reported that when asked by an officer if he wished to accompany the soldiers on their mission, he accepted with "glee." He quickly confessed, however, that "all that night I was afraid. Bitterly afraid."<sup>35</sup> When the troops set out and gunfire erupted, Crane's first instinct was "to run away home," but because he "cared for the opinion of others" and because he "was afraid to be left behind," he remained close to the soldiers. Crane's summary of the rest of the expedition is also marked by a recurring chorus of fear: "I was afraid of being shot. . . . I was afraid to look. . . . my heart was in my boots."<sup>36</sup> And then Crane stepped away from his narrative to address the reader directly:

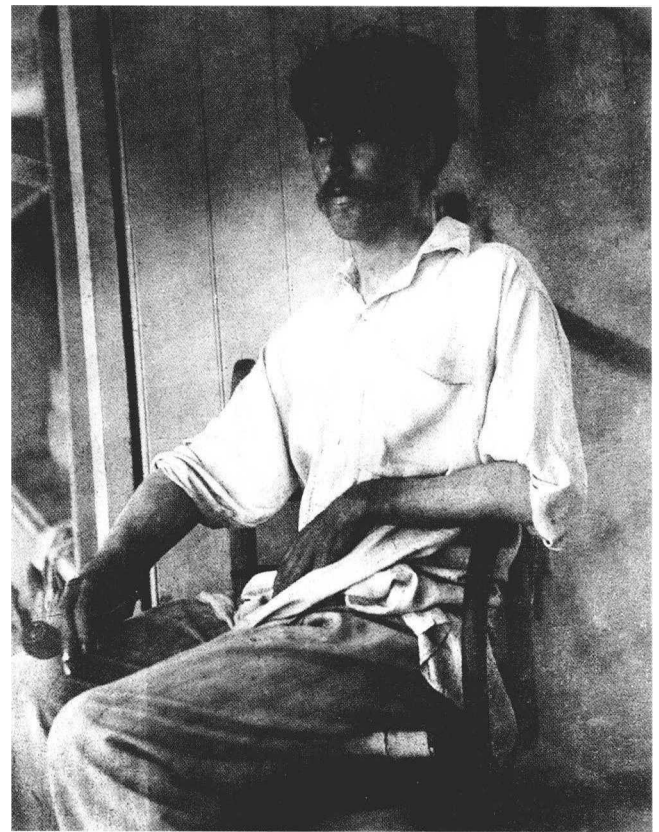
I mention to you that I was afraid, because there were about me that day many men who did not seem to be afraid at all, men with quiet, composed faces who went about this business as if they proceeded from a sense of habit. They were not old soldiers; they were mainly recruits, but many of them betrayed all the emotion and merely the emotion that one sees in the face of a man earnestly at work.<sup>37</sup>

Unlike these men, Crane "betrayed" a great deal of emotion when he recast his Cuban experience in the stories of *Wounds in the Rain*. Horrified by the chaos, waste, and suffering of war, Crane clearly measured his own emotional response against that of the stoic recruits.

In another of the collected stories, Crane described the courage of four signalmen who willingly made targets of themselves in order to relay messages to an American ship in Guantanamo Bay. Waving lanterns at night, the men stood amidst fierce rifle fire to do their work. Crane declared that "of all the actions of the war, none were so hard on the nerves, none strained courage so near the panic point" as those nights with the signalmen:<sup>38</sup>

The noise; the impenetrable darkness; the knowledge from the sound of the bullets that the enemy was on three sides of the camp; the infrequent bloody stumbling and death of some man with whom, perhaps, one had messed two hours previous; the weariness of the body, and the more terrible weariness of the mind, at the endlessness of the thing, made it wonderful that at least some of the men did not come out of it with their nerves hopelessly in shreds.<sup>39</sup>

Shredded nerves were much on Remington's mind as well when he reported on the Cuban campaign of the Fifth Army Corps. By Remington's account, however, the frayed nerves belonged to the correspondents covering the war rather than the soldiers:



It is well to bear in mind the difference in the point of view of an artist or a correspondent, and a soldier. One has his duties, his responsibilities, or his gun, and he is on the firing-line under great excitement, with his reputation at stake. The other stalks through the middle distance, seeing the fight and its immediate results, the wounded; lying down by a dead body, mayhap, when the bullets come quickly; he will share no glory; he has only the responsibility of seeing clearly what he must tell; and he must keep his nerve. I think the soldier sleeps better nights.<sup>40</sup>

Like Crane, Remington had trouble keeping his nerve when confronted with the uncertainty and horror of war. For someone who had pursued the experience so eagerly, his summary comment near the end of his essay is remarkable. "All the broken spirits, bloody bodies, hopeless, helpless suffering which drags its length to the rear, are so much more appalling than anything else in the world that words won't mean anything to one who has not seen it."<sup>41</sup>

Remington had signed on as a correspondent in order to satisfy his desire to see war but also, from a more practical point of view, to serve his art. Thus he was dismayed to learn that the United States Cavalry had been ordered to dismount and to proceed against the enemy on foot. In declaring this an egregious misuse of "Uncle Sam's finest institution," Remington added, "Besides, the interest of my own art required a cavalry charge."<sup>42</sup>



2. Frederic Remington, *Scream of Shrapnel at San Juan Hill, Cuba*, 1898, Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven, Connecticut

There would be no cavalry charge of the kind Remington had imagined. In place of the splendidly clad, handsomely mounted warriors of his father's day was an enemy whose guerrilla fighters were rarely seen. Equipped with smokeless rifles and undaunted by the tropical terrain, these silent killers struck without warning. This too was not what Remington had imagined. He had wanted, as he wrote, "the roar of battle."<sup>43</sup> Instead, he found the unnerving "scream of shrapnel" coming from an unknown direction and from an unseen enemy: "All our soldiers of San Juan were for the most part a day under fire, subject to wounds and death, before they had even a chance to know where the enemy was whom they were opposing."<sup>44</sup> Stephen Crane had described the sound of shrapnel that haunted Remington as having the "ominous quality of secret assassination."<sup>45</sup>

The random, terrifying, and deadly effects of shrapnel lingered long in Remington's mind. During the short period between his return from Cuba in July 1898 and the publication of "With the Fifth Corps" in November, Remington completed several striking images of soldiers caught in shrapnel fire. The first, *Shrapnel Coming Down the Road*, appeared in the *New York Journal and Advertiser* a month after his return. *Before the Warning Scream of the Shrapnel* was published as

an illustration for "With the Fifth Corps," as were four additional images that documented the grim consequences of the deadly weapon.<sup>46</sup>

Remington turned to the subject again in *Scream of Shrapnel at San Juan Hill, Cuba* (fig. 2), a large painting he completed before the end of the year.<sup>47</sup> The image is both unusual and compelling. No enemy is visible, yet armed soldiers fall to the ground, seeking cover from the shrapnel neither they nor the viewer can see. Caught on a bare road in full sun, the advancing troops have become easy targets. Remington's soldiers look in all directions for the source of the shrapnel, hearing only the "scream" that signals an attack. Though armed with rifles, the soldiers appear defenseless against a guerrilla enemy with a deadly and invisible weapon. This was not the war Remington expected to see.

*Scream of Shrapnel at San Juan Hill, Cuba* is a painting flooded with light. By Remington's own account, however, the "scream" became even more unnerving at night, in darkness. Night, Remington confessed, was also the time when the gruesome recollection of those grievously wounded by shrapnel and other fire would not allow him to sleep: "I could not get the white bodies which lay in the moonlight, with the dark spots on them, out of my mind."<sup>48</sup>

Even after he left Cuba and returned home, Remington had difficult nights. Like Crane, he was haunted by his experience in Cuba, and like Crane, he continued to explore its ramifications in his art.<sup>49</sup> Most obvious, of course, are the Cuban images intended as illustrations for articles by Remington and others after the war concluded. More intriguing, however, are the paintings that Remington began to produce shortly after the turn of the century. Nocturnal in character, these works are often filled with danger, threatened violence, and menacing silence.

### “War Memories”

In June 1900, in a letter to a friend, Remington wrote, “I didn’t get over Santiago for a year.”<sup>50</sup> Physically, he recovered in a few weeks, although friends reported that his weight ballooned and his drinking was, at times, excessive. The more lingering issues, however, involved making sense of human suffering that seemed not only senseless but also horrific and, perhaps even more difficult, reconciling the military heroics of his father with his own less-than-heroic conduct.<sup>51</sup>

The same issues were examined, most famously, by Ernest Hemingway two decades later after his own up-close look at war. Physically injured and psychologically traumatized, Hemingway recast the experience—first in the harrowing stories of *In Our Time*, and later in a series of novels with “wounded” protagonists seeking a separate peace.<sup>52</sup> Remington too had wounds to bind, and if they healed it may have taken more than the year he admitted.

Under contract to *Collier’s Weekly*, Remington returned to Cuba as a special correspondent early in 1899. He was to report on the military occupation of the island and the continuing responsibilities of the United States Army. The images he produced during this postwar visit were markedly different from those he had created to accompany “With the Fifth Corps,” published just a few months earlier. Gone were the dead and the wounded.

In the months following his return trip to Cuba, Remington met his contractual obligations and produced an impressive number of illustrations for books and periodicals. He also left his home in New Rochelle and traveled west, where he spent two months in Montana and Wyoming. Upon his return, refreshed and apparently determined to put Cuba behind him, Remington wrote to his friend Owen Wister, “As Miss Columbia said to Uncle Sam ‘That was my War’—that old cleaning up of the West—that is the war I am going to put in the rest of my time at.”<sup>53</sup> Disenchanted with modern warfare (and much of modern life), Remington found his sanctuary in a past that could be imagined and in the “illusions” he would later call his “capital.”<sup>54</sup>

It was at this juncture that Remington attempted to change—quite radically—the course of his career. He would return to “his” subject—the West—but he would approach that subject differently, for the prize he sought was recognition as a serious artist rather than as a celebrated illustrator. It would not be an easy path. Rebuffed by the National Academy, insecure in his own ability, and consistently labeled a “mere” illustrator by critics, Remington would need a decade to achieve his goal.<sup>55</sup>

The key to his eventual success came from an unlikely source. According to his friend Augustus Thomas, Remington’s interest in nocturnes, the paintings that eventually won him critical applause, was sparked by an exhibition of works by a young California artist, Charles Rollo Peters.<sup>56</sup>

In November 1899 the Union League Club in New York had departed from tradition and turned over its exhibition space to the work of a single artist. On that occasion, Peters had exhibited twenty-four works, sixteen of which were nocturnes. The exhibition received considerable attention from the New York press, including an article in the *Times* that concluded, “Few men new to the New York art world have evinced so much promise in a first display.”<sup>57</sup> The *New York Sun* also praised the exhibition but added, “It is no new thing to make pictures of moonlight” and Peters’ canvases “illustrate no new point in art.”<sup>58</sup>

If it is true, as Thomas wrote, that Remington was particularly intrigued by Peters’ nocturnes and was thus spurred to experiment on his own, it is also true that he quickly moved beyond Peters’ example, investing his own nocturnes with a complexity that was both aesthetically compelling and deeply personal.

### Transition

In the spring of 1900, Remington purchased a small island called Ingleueuk in the St. Lawrence River, just north of his boyhood home in Ogdensburg, New York. It was there that he reportedly spent moonlit evenings in a skiff, “floating and sketching,” and it was there that he likely began (and perhaps completed) the two nocturnes that may be seen as the transitional link between the illustrator Remington had been and the painter he aspired to be.<sup>59</sup>

The paintings were intended to illustrate his second novel, *The Way of an Indian*, which the artist began during the summer of 1900, his first at Ingleueuk. Remington sold the novel and the sixteen paintings he had created to illustrate it to his friend R. H. Russell, who had planned to serialize the tale in a new magazine about to be launched by publisher William Randolph Hearst.<sup>60</sup> When Hearst abandoned his plans, Remington’s novel and the accompanying paintings languished.

Five years later, *The Way of an Indian* was finally published in another periodical, *The Cosmopolitan*, which Hearst had purchased.<sup>61</sup>

Among the sixteen paintings Remington had created for *The Way of an Indian* were two nocturnes. Both carried titles drawn from the text of the novel: *The Wolves Sniffed Along the Trail, but Came No Nearer* (fig. 3) and “*Pretty Mother of the Night—White Otter is No Longer a Boy*” (fig. 4). Although striking in color and composition, the works were entirely dependent upon text for their full meaning.

*The Way of an Indian*, a coming-of-age tale, begins with the protagonist, White Otter, setting out on a journey in search of his “medicine,” or spiritual guardian. The passage illustrated by the first of Remington’s nocturnes begins:

Across the gray-greens of the moonlit plains bobbed and flitted the dim form of the seeker of God’s help. Now among the dark shadows of the pines, now in the gray sage-brush, lost in the coulees, but ceaselessly on and on, wound this figure of the night. The wolves sniffed long the trail, but came no nearer.<sup>62</sup>

Black, white, and shades of gray had been the “colors” Remington had employed in producing the majority of his earlier illustrations. Here, however, he was clearly thinking and writing in color. The “gray-greens of the moonlit plains” translated literally into “gray-green” pigment.

In the second of the nocturnes, White Otter, accompanied by his friend Red Arrow, addresses the moon after successfully passing a test of manhood: “*Pretty Mother of the Night—time of the little brown bat’s flight—see what I have done. White Otter is no longer a boy.*”<sup>63</sup>

Although both these early nocturnes were conceived to amplify text, Remington had clearly begun experimenting with color and composition in a manner not required of illustration. Only slight remnants of his earlier concern with defining detail remained—a bit of stitchery on the sheaths of knives, a touch of red on the quivers. Detail was so reduced, in fact, that the quivers on the backs of White Otter and Red Arrow seem to hang without any visible means of support.

Remington had also begun to experiment with the surface of his canvases, using directional strokes to distinguish the broad sweep of the distant horizon from the vertical growth of the sagebrush in the foreground. Close attention to the visible trail of the brush had not, traditionally, been the concern of an illustrator, for the process of reproduction inevitably flattened images. The character of individual strokes was, however, very much a concern for a painter seeking to control not only the light within the painting but also the effect of external light upon the painting. Nowhere is Remington’s grasp of this issue more evident than in a work he completed just two years later, *Indian Scouts in the Moonlight* (fig. 6).

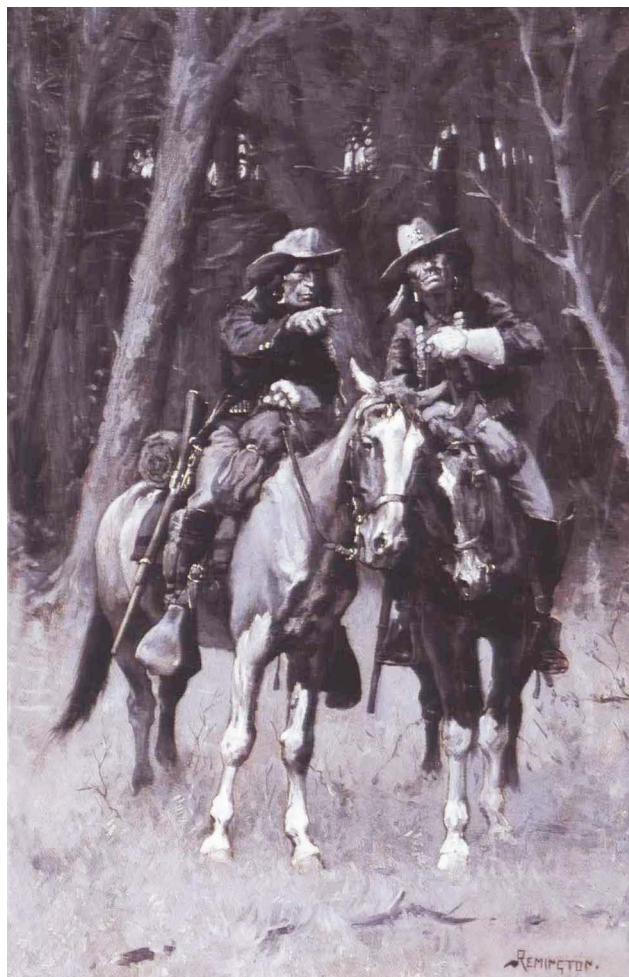


3. Frederic Remington, *The Wolves Sniffed Along the Trail, but Came No Nearer*, c. 1900, Bellas Artes Nevada, LLC (pl. 2)

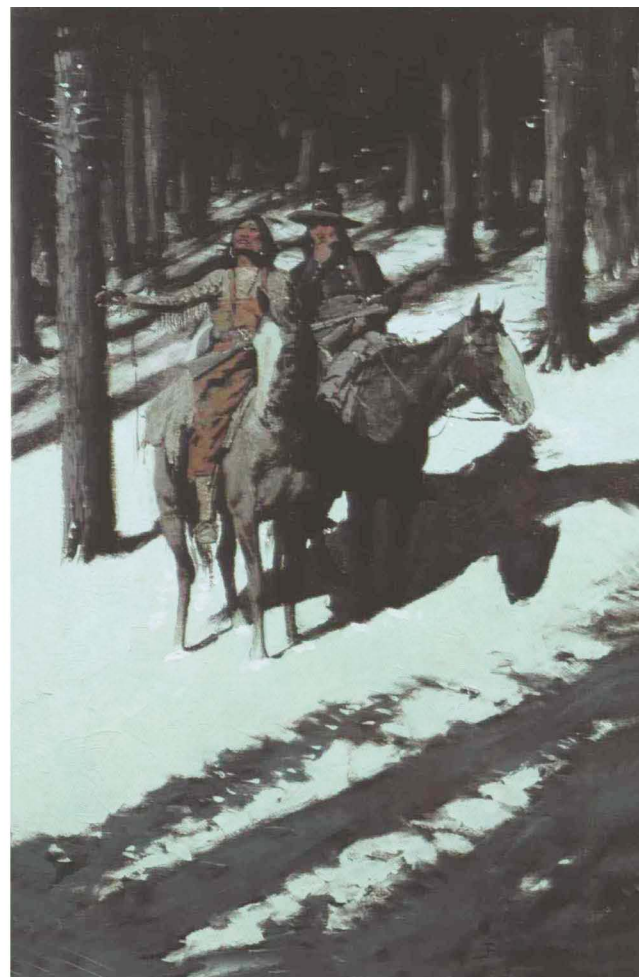


4. Frederic Remington, “*Pretty Mother of the Night—White Otter is No Longer a Boy*,” c. 1900, Bellas Artes Nevada, LLC (pl. 1)

5. Frederic Remington, *Cheyenne Scouts Patrolling the Big Timber of the North Canadian, Oklahoma*, Private Collection



6. Frederic Remington, *Indian Scouts in the Moonlight*, c. 1902, Private Collection (pl. 8)



The lush and varied surface of *Indian Scouts in the Moonlight* offers clear testimony to Remington's increasing technical sophistication. Heavily laden strokes simulate foreground snow while spare, flat bands of pigment form shadows. Rich globules of paint at the horses' hooves define the depth of the snow and mark the path that the scouts have taken. In contrast, the shadows cast by the Indians, their horses, and the trees contain little texture or elevation. Thus, when properly lit, the snow in Remington's painting glistens and the shadows recede.

*Indian Scouts in the Moonlight* is a pivotal painting in several respects. Remington's manipulation of the surface is dazzling, but so is his reconfiguration of an earlier composition. Many years before, in *Harper's Weekly*, Remington had published a remarkably similar image, *Cheyenne Scouts Patrolling the Big Timber of the North Canadian, Oklahoma* (fig. 5). The illustration had accompanied a short article on the much-anticipated Oklahoma land rush.<sup>64</sup> Charged with preventing premature land grabbing, scouts had been ordered to patrol the perimeter. Remington's black-and-white illustration included two mounted Indians in government uniforms fac-

ing the viewer. The Indians and their mounts stand on flat grassland against a heavily wooded background. One of the scouts points at an unidentified person or sound outside the space of the image. Approximately twelve years later, in *Indian Scouts in the Moonlight*, Remington recast the composition incorporating several important changes.

In the later work, Remington placed his scouts in the middle distance of what appears to be an elevated landscape. Diagonal shadows from invisible trees fill the foreground. Parallel rows of background trees provide substantial depth and cast additional shadows that echo those across the foreground. Only one of the scouts wears a government uniform. The other is clad in a fringed garment that provides important color contrast. Both costumes, however, are much simplified from Remington's earlier composition. Stripped of extraneous detail and freed from all reference to text, *Indian Scouts in the Moonlight* displays a complexity of structure that signals a major departure from the earlier image.

Also present are the qualities that will come to distinguish the mature nocturnes: incomplete narrative, unseen danger, ominous silence, and threatening darkness. Rather than

7. Frederic Remington, *The Scout: Friends or Foes?* 1902–1905, Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, Williamstown, Massachusetts (pl. 11)



8. Frederic Remington, *A Reconnaissance*, 1902, Curtis Galleries, Minneapolis (pl. 10)

answer questions (as Remington's illustrations often did), the late nocturnes pose questions. Who are the Indian scouts? What are they looking for? Why are they in the forest at night? What have they heard or seen? Remington's beautifully crafted painting answers none of the questions it poses.

In two other paintings from approximately the same period, Remington again placed scouts at the center of his compositions. However, in both *The Scout: Friends or Foes?* (fig. 7) and *A Reconnaissance* (fig. 8), the central figures (and their horses) are seen from the rear. The gaze of the viewer, like that of the scouts, is directed toward the distant horizon. In *A Reconnaissance*, the viewer, like the mounted soldier at the center of the painting, cannot see what the two figures on the elevated bluff appear to have detected. Remington's narrative is incomplete. Again, questions are posed, but no answers are given.

Six years later, in 1908, Remington returned to the subject of nocturnal reconnaissance in a painting titled *Apache Scouts Listening* (fig. 9). In this work the compositional complexity of *Indian Scouts in the Moonlight* is joined with the psychological disquiet characteristic of Remington's finest late nocturnes.

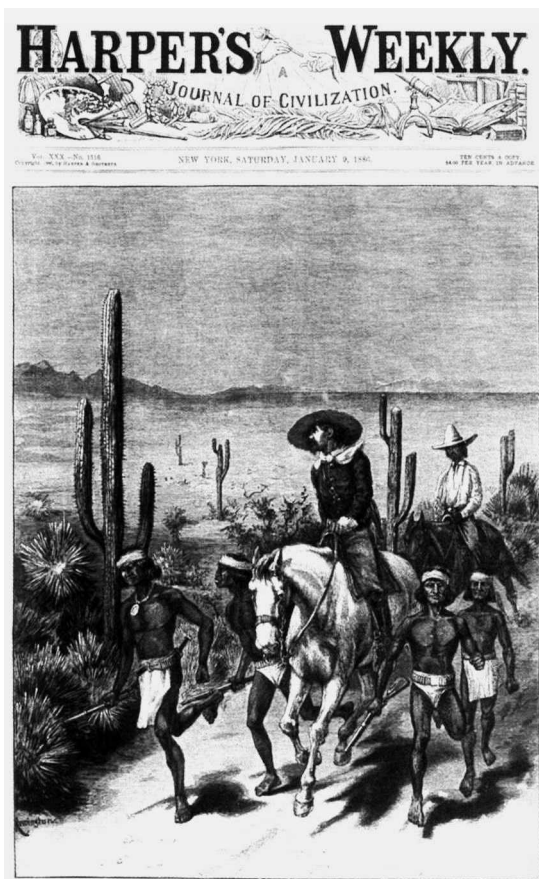
Once again, Remington returned to a subject he had explored many years earlier. Apache scouts had been the focus of his earliest cover image for *Harper's Weekly* in January 1886.<sup>65</sup> One need only compare that image (*The Apache War—Indian Scouts on Geronimo's Trail*; fig. 10) with *Apache Scouts Listening* to appreciate the level of technical expertise Remington had achieved by 1908.<sup>66</sup> Such a comparison also confirms how far Remington had moved away from illustration.

In *Apache Scouts Listening*, as in *Indian Scouts in the Moonlight*, Remington utilized opposing diagonals of shadows

9. Frederic Remington, *Apache Scouts Listening*, 1908, Private Collection (pl. 50)



10. Frederic Remington, *The Apache War—Indian Scouts on Geronimo's Trail*, from *Harper's Weekly* (9 January 1886)



and trees to structure his composition. Unseen trees in the viewer's space cast shadows across moonlit grass. In the distance, tree trunks—some dark, some illuminated—offer vertical counterpoint. Crouching near the center are the scouts, intent upon an unidentified sound outside the picture plane. A trooper, standing beside his mount, has placed his hand at his ear. Even the horses have cocked their ears. The entire painting is structured to pose questions. What do the scouts hear? What danger does the sound signal?

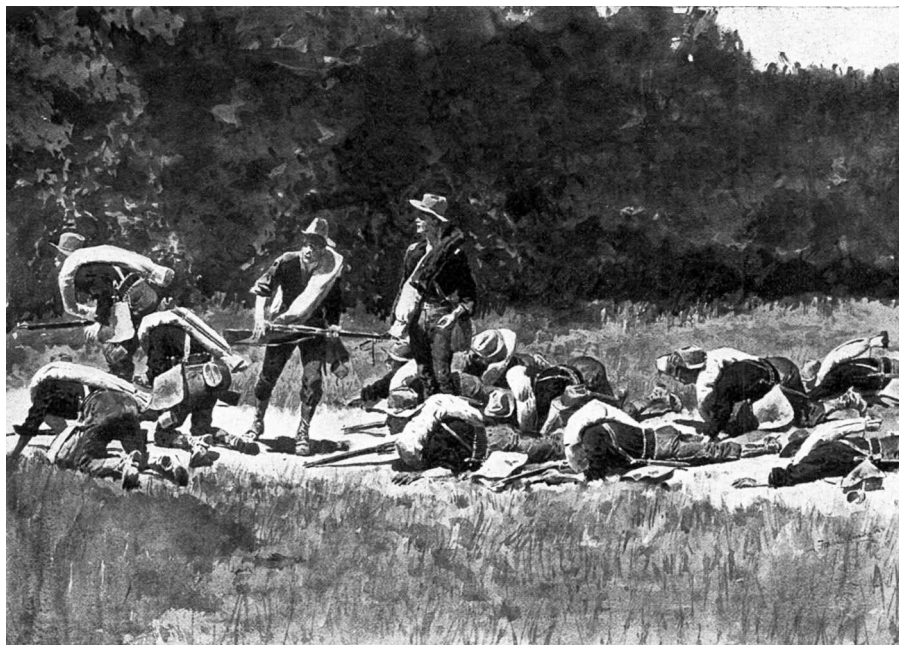
*Apache Scouts Listening* is a summary painting, for it offers clear evidence that Remington had looked closely at contemporary works by other artists. In addition to the nocturnes of Charles Rollo Peters, works by the American impressionists—his luncheon companions at the Players Club—are often cited by Remington scholars as being influential.<sup>67</sup> Remington's own diaries and letters indicate that he was a frequent visitor to galleries and museums and an admirer of works by several European as well as American contemporaries.<sup>68</sup> Yet there are no paintings—no nocturnes—among the works of Remington's colleagues, so ominous in tone, so subtly filled with the threat of violence as those produced by Remington during the last decade of his life. Then again, few artists had experienced what Remington had experienced in the tropical war zone of Cuba.





11. Frederic Remington, *At the Bloody Ford of the San Juan*, from *Harper's Monthly* (November 1898)

12. Frederic Remington, *Before the Warning Scream of the Shrapnel*, from *Harper's Monthly* (November 1898)



It is interesting to note, for example, that two of the illustrations that accompanied Remington's Cuban essay "With the Fifth Corps" are structured much like *Apache Scouts Listening*. In both *At the Bloody Ford of the San Juan* (fig. 11) and *Before the Warning Scream of the Shrapnel* (fig. 12), a standing figure anchors the composition at the center as others crouch or fall to the ground. In each image figures look outside the picture plane for the source of danger. In each image the enemy is invisible, and as in *Apache Scouts Listening*, the harbinger of danger is an alarming sound.

Once again, the most telling analogy may come from Stephen Crane's *Wounds in the Rain*. In a story titled "The Sergeant's Private Madhouse," a young soldier with "too many nerves" had been placed on sentry duty at night.<sup>69</sup> Terrified

and delusional, the soldier-gone-mad fired his rifle at a sound in the dark. Speaking in the narrator's voice, Crane explained, "At night in a wilderness and against skilful foes half-seen, one does not trouble to ask if it is also Death."<sup>70</sup>

In December 1909, Remington affixed a newspaper clipping to a page of his diary.<sup>71</sup> Written by an unidentified reviewer, the article noted that an exhibition of Remington's paintings at Knoedler Galleries in New York City had drawn large crowds. Reporting that no American artist interested people more than Remington, the author continued his review by focusing on several paintings in which men and animals faced what he described as the "menace of death."<sup>72</sup> Believing this theme pervasive in Remington's work, the reviewer continued:

Indeed, in all of Remington's pictures the shadow of death seems not far away. If the actors in his vivid scenes are not threatened by death in terrible combat, they are menaced by it in the form of famine, thirst or cold. One sees the death's-head through the skin of the lean faces of his Indians, cowboys and soldiers; his figures are clothed and desperately active skeletons, and even about his animals there is a strong suggestion of the nearness of the moment when their bones will lie bleaching on the desert.<sup>73</sup>

The paintings that prompted these comments were identified by title in the review, and not surprisingly, all were nocturnes.<sup>74</sup> Of course, death's "shadow" had been the subject of nocturnal images for generations and certainly must be acknowledged as a critical element of Remington's nocturnal works as well, but Remington's late nocturnes are focused less on the fact of death—a certainty—than on the uncertainty of the moment—the anxiety, the fear that "death's head" might appear. *Apache Scouts Listening* is just such a painting—a frozen moment of uncertainty—dangerous uncertainty.

By the time Remington began *Apache Scouts Listening* in the summer of 1908, he had spent considerable time in Apache country. In an article for *Century*, completed after his return from one early trip, Remington described the Apaches as "the most dangerous of all the Indians of the Western country," capable of moving about the desert "with the stealth of coyotes."<sup>75</sup> They could, in Remington's words, "usurp the prerogatives of ghosts."<sup>76</sup>

In *Apache Scouts Listening*, Remington cast his Indians in an eerie green moonlight. They are lean, sinewy, and armed. Like the troopers they serve, they inhabit a dangerous country, and though supremely skilled, they are caught, in Remington's painting, in a moment of perilous uncertainty. Does the sound they hear carry the threat of death?

Almost a decade before he began *Apache Scouts Listening*, Remington had written an article for *Collier's Weekly* about a



13. Frederic Remington, *The Call for Help*, c. 1908, The Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, Texas (pl. 51)

young Army scout, Jack Stilwell, who had exhibited extraordinary courage crossing through Indian lines at night to relay an important message. In recounting the story, Remington noted that Indian dogs were Stilwell's "constant fear," for their barking would have revealed his presence and resulted in certain death.<sup>77</sup>

In his ledger book, Remington used several descriptive phrases to identify the painting he would eventually title *Apache Scouts Listening*. Remington's ledger entry read: "Apache scouts. listening to the dogs bark. moonlight."<sup>78</sup> It is entirely possible that Remington conceived *Apache Scouts Listening* with just such a situation in mind. The sound that the scouts and troopers hear may indeed be that of dogs barking. If so, their presence has been revealed and their situation has become perilous.

What is most interesting, however, in light of Remington's ledger book entry is the fact that the artist chose not to include the reference to barking dogs in the title he gave the painting when it was first exhibited in 1908. He deliberately reduced, in other words, the narrative information conveyed by the title

and thus multiplied the questions the image posed. In doing so, he heightened the level of uncertainty and alarm.

The critic who described Remington's paintings as haunted by the "shadow of death" concluded his review by declaring,

The presence, in Mr. Remington's characteristic work, of a great central motive like this, derived from the actual conditions of that vast, hungry region whose jewel and symbol is the dry skull reposing on the desert's breast, is an indication of power, and the ability to express the motive in a hundred vivid forms is proof of genius.<sup>79</sup>

Genius or not, it is certainly true that the threat of death is the specter that shadows many of the late nocturnes.

### Dangerous Country

It has been said that Rudyard Kipling, whose work Remington knew and admired, made his India one of the enduring "places" of the literary imagination.<sup>80</sup> It may be argued that Remington did the same—visually—for the American West. He was not the first, certainly, to depict Indians, cowboys, or even cavalry troops. Pride of place on that score belongs to artists of an earlier generation—George Catlin, Alfred Jacob Miller, Karl Bodmer, John Mix Stanley—but Remington's enormous body of work, including illustrations, novels, articles, sculpture, and paintings, prompted one contemporary critic to declare that most Americans got their view of the West from Remington.<sup>81</sup> If so, Remington bequeathed the collective imagination a West filled with primal danger. Repeatedly, the protagonists of Remington's late paintings are simply the hunter, the hunted, and death.

Remington began one such painting, *The Call for Help* (fig. 13), in the spring of 1908. By that time he had been struggling with the difficulty of painting moonlight for nearly a decade. Still frustrated by what he perceived as his inability to get the color "right," Remington noted in his diary, several months after he had begun the painting, that *The Call for Help* was "too green" and that he was "looking to try and fix it up."<sup>82</sup> Still later he wrote that he had "retouched" the painting before placing it on exhibition at Knoedler's. In fact, Remington may have underestimated his own achievement, for *The Call for Help* is an elegantly composed and beautifully painted study of elemental fear.

Stalked by two lean wolves, three frightened horses push against the rails of a corral fence. Two of the horses cower behind the third, whose full flank is exposed to the wolves and whose wide eyes are filled with terror. On the other side of the fence is a cabin. The bright orange in the window suggests that it is occupied. Again, Remington has frozen a moment of profound uncertainty, and again, the active element is sound.

Will the occupants of the cabin hear the cries of the horses? Will the wolves attack? Wily, hungry, and dangerous, they are the agents of death.

Two years earlier Remington had completed another painting with hungry, stalking wolves titled *Last March* (pl. 36).<sup>83</sup> In this work a saddled but riderless horse is trailed by three open-mouthed wolves ready to strike. Presumably death has already claimed the missing rider. Is it just a matter of time before his mount falls victim as well?

Remington's use of the wolf as death's agent was timely. In 1903 Jack London had published *The Call of the Wild*, a hugely popular book about a dog that reverted to savagery after it joined a wolf pack in the wilderness of the Far North. In 1906, at the time Remington was working on *Last March*, *White Fang*, the "companion" volume to *The Call of the Wild*, was published. In a plot often described as the reverse of the earlier book, a killer wolf is transformed into a domestic animal.

Reviews of London's books shared newspaper columns with reports of actual wolf hunts in the Far West. Among the most ardent hunters was Theodore Roosevelt, whose pursuit of the strenuous life frequently took him west on hunting trips (fig. 14). As early as 1893, in a publication titled *The Wilderness Hunter*, Roosevelt described how the fierce and cunning wolf that had once stalked the great buffalo herds of the plains had since become the chief predator of cattle and sheep and thus had also become fair game for hunters.

14. Alexander Lambert, photograph, 1905, from Theodore Roosevelt, *Outdoor Pastimes of an American Hunter* (1905)



Roosevelt's hunting tales were reprinted in 1899 and again in 1907.<sup>84</sup> It is likely, though unconfirmed, that Remington read *The Wilderness Hunter*, including its graphic account of a horse attacked by a wolf. In his essay, Roosevelt described "the call for help" we cannot hear but can imagine in Remington's painting.<sup>85</sup>

Reporting that the story had been relayed to him by a witness, Roosevelt wrote that when attacked the horse uttered an "appalling scream, unlike and more dreadful than any other sound, which a horse only utters in extreme fright or agony." The horse screamed again, the witness reported, when the wolf attacked once more:

The poor animal had been bitten terribly in its haunches and was cowering upon them, while the wolf stood and looked at it a few paces off. In a moment or two the horse partially recovered and made a desperate bound forward, starting at full gallop. Immediately the wolf was after it, overhauled it in three or four jumps, and then seized it by the hock, while its legs were extended, with such violence as to bring it to its haunches. It again screamed piteously; and this time with a few savage snaps the wolf hamstrung and partially disemboweled it, and it fell over, having made no attempt to defend itself.<sup>86</sup>

In *The Call for Help*, Remington's panicked horses cluster at the center of the composition. One lifts its head above the fence rail and toward the cabin, sounding a terrified alarm that the viewer cannot hear. Even the wolves look toward the cabin. The same question is posed by the hunters and the hunted. Will someone intervene? Will the violence about to erupt in the corral be averted?

The most startling of Remington's paintings of wolves, however, was likely completed during the last year of the artist's life. Titled *Moonlight, Wolf* (fig. 15), the painting has the remarkable effect of turning the viewer into potential prey.<sup>87</sup> Isolated at the center of the canvas, a lone wolf stares with narrowed eyes into the viewer's space. Frozen in its tracks, the wolf appears to have heard an alarming sound. Except for the glowing yellow of the stars, reflected in the water and repeated in the piercing eyes of the wolf, the entire painting is executed in tonal variants of green.

In this, the last of Remington's wolf paintings, the narrative element has been reduced to an absolute minimum. There is no agent within the painting for the wolf to act upon. Instead, the fixated eyes of Remington's wolf engage the viewer and cast that individual as either the source of the animal's alarm or the object of its attack. Remington's wolf is a killer. The eyes that engage the viewer are those of death.

15. Frederic Remington, *Moonlight, Wolf*, c. 1909, Addison Gallery of American Art, Phillips Academy, Andover, Massachusetts (pl. 66)



### Painting Ideas

In March 1907, Remington wrote in his diary that he was trying to paint ideas, but he also noted that he was tired and the ideas would not come.<sup>88</sup> A month later, following a trip west, he repeated the remark, noting again that he wanted “to paint ideas.”<sup>89</sup> The following year, still frustrated and dissatisfied, he wrote that he was “tired of the whole game of art” and that if he went to Oregon and settled on a fruit ranch he could “chuck the whole thing” and try “to reach the public through it’s belly instead of its brain.”<sup>90</sup> At the time Remington facetiously contemplated a change of career, he was working on a painting titled *The Stranger* (fig. 16). If taken at his word, Remington conceived *The Stranger* when he was attempting to paint “ideas” and trying to reach the public through its “brain.”

The subject was not entirely new, as many years before Remington had produced an illustration addressing a similar theme. Ironically, he had composed the image to accompany a story by Stephen Crane published in *Century* in February

1897. Crane had written the story, published as “A Man and Some Others,” following a trip to Mexico two years earlier.

Initially, Crane’s tale seems to concern a sheepherder in southwestern Texas who is about to be run off his range by a brutal gang of Mexican rivals. Remington’s illustration, “*Hello, Jose!*” (fig. 17), captures the moment when a gang member has approached the sheepherder’s camp to warn him that he will be killed if he does not abandon the range. Bill, the sheepherder, has already exhausted every other option life has presented and thus stoically prepares for the inevitable. Before this drama can play out, however, a young “stranger” arrives and asks if he may share Bill’s camp for the night. When told of the recent death threat, the stranger naively suggests that Bill summon the sheriff. With no sheriff to call, the violence begins, and by morning Bill and five of the Mexicans are dead. The stranger (the innocent), stunned by his encounter with the violent brutality of an indifferent world, learns the lesson of Crane’s (and later Hemingway’s) code: the responsibility of personal courage in an absurdly unjust world.



In Remington's illustration for Crane's story, the shepherd occupies the foreground. Engaged in preparing a meal, he stands, frying pan in hand, addressing the figure who has just appeared out of the brush: "Being unexpected and also silent, he had something of the quality of an apparition . . ." <sup>91</sup>

Remington's illustration is a daylight view. The violent action of the story, however, takes place at night:

Finally, when the great moon climbed the heavens and cast its ghastly radiance upon the bushes, it made a new and more brilliant crimson of the camp-fire, where the flames capered merrily through its mesquite branches, filling the silence with the fire chorus, an ancient melody which surely bears a message of the inconsequence of individual tragedy. . . . <sup>92</sup>

When the Mexicans began to encircle the camp ("black things that moved like monster lizards"), no sound was heard, for death approached "with the finesse of the escaping serpent." <sup>93</sup> Impossibly outnumbered and resigned to his fate, the shepherd offered the stranger a lesson in last-stand resistance and unassuming courage.

When Remington returned to the subject of the "stranger" more than a decade later, he reversed his earlier composition, opened the pictorial space, and cast the scene in moonlight. In the later work, the stranger and his supply pony occupy the foreground near the center of the composition. In the distance, near a wagon, several figures are gathered around a fire. Two bands of color, one for the night sky and another for the featureless plain, constitute the whole of Remington's landscape. Distant firelight serves as the focal point for both the stranger and the viewer.

When *The Stranger* was reproduced in *Collier's Weekly* in December 1908, the image was accompanied by a short explanatory paragraph that read: "In the old days when Indians and marauding white men were common on the plain, it was considered good judgment when approaching a camp at night to announce oneself, as a stealthy approach was apt to invite an investigating bullet." <sup>94</sup>

The caption paragraph may or may not have been written by Remington, but like the earlier ledger entry for *Apache Scouts Listening*, it conveys much more narrative information than does the spare title that the artist chose for the actual painting. Remington's "stranger" appears to have placed his hand near his face and thus indeed may be "announcing himself" to those gathered around the campfire. If so, the critical element of the incomplete narrative is, again, sound—a sound that the viewer cannot hear.

Stripped of *Collier's* text, however, the narrative resolution of Remington's image is less clear. Danger is implicit in such an encounter, especially at night, but who is in danger? Who is the stranger? Does he pose a threat to those near the fire? Is



16. Frederic Remington, *The Stranger*, 1908, Collection of Thomas A. Petrie (pl. 59)

17. Frederic Remington, "Hello, Jose!" Private Collection

this lone, shadowed figure a western incarnation of the biblical “Death on a pale horse”?<sup>95</sup> The answers to these questions are subjective and ultimately less important than the fact that in his late nocturnes Remington consistently constructed images that left such questions unresolved.

#### “Mere Painter”

On 5 December 1909, following the opening of what had become an annual exhibition of his work at Knoedler Galleries, Remington scanned New York’s newspapers for what he called “notices.” Disappointed, he wrote in his diary, “No mention of my show in Times or Herald.”<sup>96</sup> The following day he was similarly disappointed. “No notices of my show in Herald or Times . . . The papers are certainly not good to me.”<sup>97</sup> Later in the week, however, Remington entered in his diary the words of the review he had been waiting a decade to read:

It must be extremely trying for those commentators on pictorial art who always insisted this distinguished artist was “only an illustrator” and decried his ability to paint, to visit such an exhibition as the present one. For by this time they must be impressed with the facts that Remington’s work is at once splendid in its technique, epic in its imaginative qualities, and historically important . . .<sup>98</sup>

On 9 December an exuberant Remington wrote, “I have belated but splendid notices from all the papers. They ungrudgingly give me a high place as a ‘mere painter.’ . . . The ‘Illustrator’ phase has become background.”<sup>99</sup>

The illustrator/artist debate that Remington clearly acknowledged in his remark, and that he worked so diligently to resolve, continued well past his death and indeed remains a topic in nearly all commentary on the artist. Remington was, in fact, both an illustrator and a painter. He was also a journalist, a novelist, and a sculptor. Behind the bonhomie of the New York club man and the bombast of a reluctant citizen of twentieth-century America was a serious, disciplined, and complicated individual who made several important decisions about how he wanted to be judged. He stated openly that he wished to be acknowledged as an artist and by dramatically editing his own work (that is, by burning paintings), he attempted to control the art upon which judgment would be rendered.<sup>100</sup> It now seems clear, however, that Remington was his own toughest critic.

It is indeed a fact that Remington began his artistic career in New York as an illustrator. Having failed as a sheep rancher and saloon keeper, Remington was eager, in the fall of 1885, to sell Harper Brothers any drawings they wished to buy. Technically crude but perceived as authentic, such works became

Remington’s bread and butter.<sup>101</sup> They were also on-the-job training. Like Stephen Crane before him and Ernest Hemingway later, Remington began his creative apprenticeship with factual observation and literal reporting.

Less than a decade after *Harper’s* had begun to publish his images, Remington had so successfully established himself as a truthful reporter that an unidentified writer for the *New York Times* declared, “Even when his work was crude and he had not developed his present ability, his pictures were always valued as being correct. The cavalryman’s accoutrements, the horse’s trappings, the Indian’s ‘make-up,’ the costumes of the cowboys and prospectors—all these details were such as Remington had seen and copied on the plains and in the Bad Lands.”<sup>102</sup> So convincing were Remington’s surfaces, so “objective” and “authentic,” that surface was often all that was seen or discussed.

Several decades later the young Hemingway would suffer the same fate. In perhaps the most famous of his youthful short stories, “Big Two-Hearted River,” Hemingway’s protagonist returns to Michigan from war in Europe to fish in the river he had known as a child. Scarred by the horror of war, young Nick Adams slowly and deliberately focuses on each detail of his fishing expedition in an attempt to control his mind and to ward off the trauma of his psychic wounds. For many readers, “Big Two-Hearted River” seemed a story without plot or resolution. For others, it became the harbinger of Hemingway’s famous iceberg analogy in which the author equated the surface detail of a story with the fraction of an iceberg visible above water and the much larger submerged portion with the less visible, often ominous, subtext.<sup>103</sup>

When Remington set out, in his words, to turn the illustrator phase of his career into “background,” he sharply reduced the surface detail of his images and thus significantly curtailed their documentary authority. What had been concrete and specific in his early work often became abstract and symbolic in the late paintings. Visually, his dark images may be linked to the nocturnal fantasies of nineteenth-century artists Ralph Blakelock and Albert Pinkham Ryder. Metaphorically, however, the late paintings are more closely aligned with the works of America’s nocturnal writers—those who explored interior darkness: Hawthorne, Melville, Crane, and their twentieth-century heir, Hemingway.

It was Hemingway who built his earliest collection of stories around an “innocent” (Nick Adams), who returned from war in Europe wounded by shrapnel and traumatized by combat. In a private attempt to bind his wounds, Nick returned to the river where he had fished as a boy—but his was a search for a paradise lost.

Remington’s experience of war was a similarly sobering event. And like Hemingway’s fictional character, Remington



18. Frederic Remington, *The Luckless Hunter*, 1909, Sid Richardson Collection of Western Art, Fort Worth, Texas (pl. 65)

returned to the West to find his prewar paradise vanishing—“all brick buildings—derby hats and blue overalls.”<sup>104</sup> Remington continued to make the “lost West” claim for years, telling one interviewer, “My West passed utterly out of existence so long ago as to make it merely a dream. It put on its hat, took up its blankets and marched off the board; the curtain came down and a new act was in progress.”<sup>105</sup>

Remington’s lament was convenient, for it allowed him to imagine and create a West of his own, all the while claiming the authority of memory. In conjuring a West more often imagined than observed, however, Remington revealed himself to be an artist far more “modern” in his approach than he would have admitted, or perhaps even recognized. The late nocturnes are both literally and conceptually twentieth-century paintings.

By 1903, for example, Remington was already far more interested in engaging his viewer intellectually than in instructing him didactically. In a well-known interview he described “big art” (by which he meant important art) as “a process of elimination.”<sup>106</sup> Speaking to a friend who later reported his remarks, Remington declared, “Cut down and out—do your hardest work outside the picture, and let your audience take away something to think about—to imagine.”<sup>107</sup> Just as Hemingway’s spare prose and minimalist structure

would later make substantial demands on readers, Remington’s pared images required considerable viewer engagement. The incomplete narratives and unresolved questions of the late nocturnes, in particular, denied both resolution and comfort. Remington’s dark and dangerous night was haunted by uncertainty and anxiety. In these qualities the paintings reflected both the age in which they were created and the disillusion of an artist who had tried to protect his illusions.

Matured by war, Remington set aside his boyish enthusiasm for military pageantry and storybook heroics, accepting instead the realities of suffering, isolation, and death. From such life experience came deeply layered paintings, including *The Luckless Hunter* (fig. 18), completed during the last months of the artist’s life.

As was often the case with the late paintings, *The Luckless Hunter* had deep roots in a story published years earlier. In June 1899, not long after his return from Cuba, Remington’s Indian tale “The Story of the Dry Leaves” appeared in *Harper’s Monthly*. Exceedingly grim, the narrative begins with a massacre and concludes with starvation. Though young and strong, the story’s Ojibbeway hero is undone by the realities of a hostile world indifferent to his survival. Foreshadowing the outcome, Remington’s prose includes words that hint at the subtext of *The Luckless Hunter*, which was completed ten years later. “He was not wise, like the wolves and the old Indians, who follow ceaselessly, knowing that to stop is to die of hunger.”<sup>108</sup>

Hunger and starvation are the subjects of *The Luckless Hunter*—death the menace that lurks close by. At the center of the composition a lone figure, huddled against the cold, rides a small Indian pony across an empty, snow-blown plain. A frigid wind whips the hunter’s blanket and the pony’s tail. In the distance, snow-covered mountains and an expanse of deeply shadowed plain form parallel bands of color beneath a starry sky. Isolated, hungry, cold, Remington’s horse and rider move “ceaselessly” across the forbidding landscape, for to stop, as the artist had written in his earlier story, was “to die of hunger.” Accepted as metaphor, Remington’s *Luckless Hunter* proffers a less-than-comforting view of the human condition.

If it is true that Stephen Crane’s Cuban fiction may be said to mirror Remington’s personal experience of war, it may also be true that the most telling commentary about Remington’s postwar paintings comes from Hemingway, Crane’s twentieth-century successor in the exploration of war, wounding, and interior darkness. In 1964 Hemingway’s memoir of his early years in Paris, *A Moveable Feast*, was published posthumously. Looking back over several decades and recalling the period when he was learning to write fiction (while supporting his family as a newspaper reporter), Hemingway wrote that

“Big Two-Hearted River,” perhaps the best of his early stories, “was about coming back from the war but there was no mention of the war in it.”<sup>109</sup>

All of Remington’s mature nocturnes were produced after his own up-close look at armed conflict and many are informed by that experience. Like Hemingway’s “Big Two-Hearted River,” Remington’s late nocturnes are often “about coming back from the war.” Remington did, literally, come back from the war, and he did go back to fish in his “river,” the geographic and imaginative “West,” his prewar landscape. Yet in “coming back from war,” the “innocent,” stripped of his innocence, must assimilate experience. Isolation, uncertainty, anxiety, suffering, and the possibility of sudden death are the lessons of war; they also form the subtext of many of Remington’s nocturnes.

On 8 December 1907 in the *New York Press*, critic W. B. McCormack praised Remington’s exhibition at Knoedler Galleries, noting in his review that the artist “suffers more from a lack of real appreciation among writers on art than any other native painter.” Refuting the notion that Remington was simply an illustrator, McCormack described the artist as a “pictorial historian.”<sup>110</sup> Following publication of the review, Remington wrote McCormack an appreciative letter in which he declared:

You see, there is a wide fundamental split between myself and the school which holds that subject matter is of no importance. I believe it is. I was born wanting to do certain phases of life and I am going to die doing them. This school ought to forgive me for wanting to do man and horses and landscapes of the West. If I were condemned to do fret-work, knit or crochet second growth timber and babbling brooks, I should cease to paint. I simply disagree with them in toto—and I am perfectly willing to be judged by posterity; it doesn’t matter what we think now. I shall die fighting in this faith.<sup>111</sup>

This manifesto has often been interpreted as Remington’s defense of his western subject matter—and indeed it is—but such an interpretation is narrowly restrictive. Is Remington simply defending the human beings (cowboys, Indians, soldiers), animals (horses, wolves, buffalo), and landscapes (deserts, plains, forests) that form the key elements of his art, or is he defending compositions filled with conflict and uncertainty that counter the “art for art’s sake” school he so opposed?

Remington’s western images are now so much a part of American cultural currency that it is difficult to see them afresh. The effort, however, should be made. In the late works, and particularly in the spare, beautifully composed nocturnes, Remington’s subject is as much about the human condition in the modern world as it is about the past.

After Cuba, Remington retreated into an imagined West that looked historical to his contemporaries and to many others since. The images, however, were carefully constructed—often pared to essential elements—and, in the case of the nocturnes, filled with dark disquiet. Remington studied the night sky and attempted to reproduce the effects of moonlight on his canvases, but the scenes he composed were born of imagination. There is, therefore, a deliberateness, a seriousness, and a complexity to these paintings that has nothing to do with the documentary value of detail, or the recording of historical fact. Remington used western subject matter to craft images that posed unsettling questions, and in so doing he created paintings as much about a state of mind as about a scout, a wolf, or a luckless hunter.



## Notes

1. Linda Merrill, *A Pot of Paint: Aesthetics on Trial in Whistler v. Ruskin* (Washington, 1992), 144. Whistler's testimony begins on 141. Ruskin's remarks are quoted on 47.
2. The Twenty-fourth Annual Exhibition of the Society of American Artists opened 28 March and closed 4 May 1902. *Nocturne in Black and Gold: The Falling Rocket* was listed as no. 241. During the period of the exhibition, Remington was traveling frequently from his home in New Rochelle to New York City and to Brooklyn, where he was working on his model for the sculptural group *Coming Through the Rye* at Roman Bronze Works (Peggy Samuels and Harold Samuels, *Frederic Remington: A Biography* [Austin, 1982], 325–326). At the time of the exhibition the *New York Sun* (30 March 1902), a newspaper Remington was known to have read, described Whistler's *Falling Rocket* as "a burst of yellow and rose fireworks against a deep blue sky. . . quick with the modernity of Whistler's own original spirit; a vindication of the abstract appeal of painting, divorced as far as possible from any idea conveyable in words." During the decade preceding his death in 1909, Remington would have had numerous opportunities to view additional nocturnes by Whistler. *Nocturne: Blue and Silver—Bognor*, for example, was purchased by American industrialist Charles Lang Freer and exhibited several times in New York. In 1904 the painting hung with *Falling Rocket* in the Comparative Exhibition of Native and Foreign Painting at the American Fine Arts Society.
3. On 25 November 1908, in a review of an exhibition of Remington's paintings, Arthur Hoeber, art critic for the *New York Globe and Commercial Advertiser*, wrote, "None of our painters possess a more distinct personality. . . . He knows his Indian, his cowboy, and his soldier. . . ."
4. The standard biography is Samuels and Samuels 1982. Additional biographical information is included in Brian Dippie's recent publication on the Remington Art Museum Collection. See Brian W. Dippie, *The Frederic Remington Art Museum Collection* (Ogdensburg, N.Y., 2001).
5. An illustration based on a sketch by Remington but redrawn by W. A. Rogers was published in *Harper's Weekly* on 25 February 1882. Illustrations by and credited to Remington began to appear in January 1886.
6. Samuels and Samuels 1982, 92. Roosevelt reportedly had admired illustrations by Remington published in *Outing*. The Century Company, which serialized *Ranch Life and the Hunting Trail* in *Century* magazine (1888) prior to its publication as a book, contacted Remington.
7. The articles appeared in *Harper's Weekly* and *Harper's Monthly* and are reprinted in Peggy Samuels and Harold Samuels, *The Collected Writings of Frederic Remington* (Garden City, N.Y., 1979), 124–168. See also "Remington's Fame Was Won Quickly," *New York Herald*, 14 January 1894, 13.
8. The articles appeared in *Harper's Weekly*, *Harper's Monthly*, and *Collier's Weekly* and are reprinted in Samuels and Samuels 1979, 277–354.
9. Remington enrolled for the spring term, March–May 1886.
10. Remington's letters record some of his gallery and museum visits as do his diaries (Frederic Remington Art Museum [FRAM], Ogdensburg, New York, available only for the last three years of the artist's life). A catalogue of Remington's library (FRAM), as well as a series of scrapbooks assembled by the artist (FRAM), confirm the breadth of his reading and suggest the extent to which he "mined" publications for images.
11. Samuels and Samuels 1982, 158. Remington was elected an associate in June 1891. He was twenty-nine and had been exhibiting at the Academy for five years.
12. Remington exhibited *Missing*, now owned by the Gilcrease Museum, Tulsa, Oklahoma.
13. *Pony Tracks* was a collection of articles and illustrations that had been previously published in *Harper's Monthly*. For the genesis of the *Broncho Buster* see Michael D. Greenbaum, *Icons of the West: Frederic Remington's Sculpture* (Ogdensburg, N.Y., 1996), 51–64.
14. *Crooked Trails* contained articles and illustrations previously published in *Harper's Monthly*. See Greenbaum 1996 for information about *The Wounded Bunkie* (65–69), *The Wicked Pony* (70–75), and *The Scalp* (76–83).
15. Remington, "With the Fifth Corps," appeared first in *Harper's Monthly* in November 1898. It is reprinted in Samuels and Samuels 1979, 338–348.
16. Remington's eagerness to witness armed conflict is documented in his personal letters. See Allen P. Splete and Marilyn D. Splete, *Frederic Remington—Selected Letters* (New York, 1988), including early remarks made to Lt. Powhatan Clarke in 1891 (117): "Well get up the bloody old war which is so long in coming—you ought to see it and I will start immediately. Wouldn't it be lovely. . . real blood letting and everyone willing to have the thing go on." Also see his letter to Lt. Clarke dated 8 September 1891 (122): "Well—tell me if there is going to be a war in Europe pretty soon or if not When! I want to be in on the ground floor when she 'goes up.' . . ."
17. Samuels and Samuels 1982, 8. Seth Pierre Remington enrolled in Scott's 900, United States Volunteer Cavalry.
18. Samuels and Samuels 1982, 9.
19. Samuels and Samuels 1982, 10.
20. Samuels and Samuels 1982, 10–11.
21. Samuels and Samuels 1982, 8–11. Seth Pierre Remington initially served as a recruiter. In March 1862 he was mustered in as captain of what would become Company D of Scott's 900, Eleventh New York Cavalry. Two years later he was commissioned a major. When he was cited for gallantry following the war, it was as a brevet colonel, meaning he had the field rank of colonel, but he remained officially a major.
22. In an article published in *Pearson's Magazine* in October 1907, Remington is quoted as saying, "I wanted to go to West Point. I thought soldiering was a pretty fine profession" (404). In a later article Remington's friend, Augustus Thomas, recalled, "He adored the memory of his father, who had been a soldier. . . ." ("Recollections of Frederic Remington," *Century* [July 1913], 354). In 1907 Remington had his father's body (and headstone) moved from its original location in Canton's cemetery to another plot that Remington had purchased for his family.
23. A useful and concise account of the war may be found in Frank Freidel, *The Splendid Little War* (Boston, 1958; reissued Short Hills, N.J., 2002).
24. Remington entered into agreements to report/illustrate the war for *Harper's Weekly* and *Harper's Monthly* as well as the *New York Journal* and *Chicago Tribune*. See Samuels and Samuels 1982, 262–264.
25. For an account of Remington's efforts to observe frontline action see Samuels and Samuels 1982, 262–284.
26. Samuels and Samuels 1982, 275–284. See also Stephen Bonsal, *The Fight for Santiago: The Story of the Soldier in the Cuban Campaign from Tampa to the Surrender* (New York, 1899), for another account. Bonsal, a correspondent who also covered the Cuban campaign, included refer-

ences so unflattering to Remington that he was advised to use a pseudonym ("Smith") when referring to the artist.

27. Remington's painting *Charge of the Rough Riders at San Juan Hill* was used as an illustration accompanying Roosevelt's own account of the battle near Santiago. See "The Rough Riders: The Cavalry at Santiago," *Scribner's* 25 (April 1899): 420–440. Additionally, Remington's "With the Fifth Corps" included praise for the entire American force that fought near Santiago. "No other troops on the earth would have even thought they could take San Juan heights, let alone doing it" (Samuels and Samuels 1979, 346).

28. Crane's war dispatches have been reprinted in Fredson Bowers, ed., *Stephen Crane: Reports of War* (Charlottesville, 1971).

29. *Wounds in the Rain* was published in 1900 in London by Methuen and Company and in New York by Frederick A. Stokes Company. Books for Libraries Press, Freeport, New York, published a reprint in 1972.

30. *The Red Badge of Courage* was published on 27 September 1895. The Norton Critical Edition, which includes background and source material as well as critical essays, is especially useful. See Sculley Bradley, Richmond Croom Beatty, and E. Hudson Long, eds., *The Red Badge of Courage* (New York, 1962).

31. In the *New Review*, January 1896, quoted in Bradley, Beatty, Long 1962, 131.

32. A photograph of the balloon is included in Freidel 2002, 114. See also 116–117. Crane's account of the balloon episode is included in "War Memories," in Crane 1900, 273. A general account of Crane's experience on 1 July 1898 may be found in Linda H. Davis, *Badge of Courage: The Life of Stephen Crane* (Boston, 1998), 262–266.

33. Crane, "War Memories," in Crane 1900, 278.

34. Remington, "With the Fifth Corps," in Samuels and Samuels 1979, 346.

35. Crane, "War Memories," in Crane 1900, 240.

36. Crane, "War Memories," in Crane 1900, 243–245, 248.

37. Crane, "War Memories," in Crane 1900, 248–249.

38. Crane, "Marines Signalling Under Fire at Guantanamo," in Crane 1900, 178.

39. Crane, "Marines Signalling Under Fire at Guantanamo," in Crane 1900, 178–179.

40. Remington, "With the Fifth Corps," in Samuels and Samuels 1979, 348.

41. Remington, "With the Fifth Corps," in Samuels and Samuels 1979, 348.

42. Remington, "With the Fifth Corps," in Samuels and Samuels 1979, 338.

43. Remington, "With the Fifth Corps," in Samuels and Samuels 1979, 345.

44. Remington, "With the Fifth Corps," in Samuels and Samuels 1979, 345.

45. Crane, "The Price of the Harness," in Crane 1900, 6–7.

46. The additional illustrations were *At the Bloody Ford of the San Juan; The Temporary Hospital, Bloody Ford; The Wounded, Going to the Rear, Cheered the Ammunition; and In the Rear of the Battle—Wounded on the San Juan Road*.

47. Remington gave *Scream of Shrapnel at San Juan Hill, Cuba* to Yale University in 1900 at the time he was awarded a Bachelor of Fine Arts degree.

48. Remington, "With the Fifth Corps," in Samuels and Samuels 1979, 348.

49. It is interesting to note that following Stephen Crane's death at age twenty-nine in 1900, Cora Crane, the writer's common-law wife, asked Remington to com-

plete one of Crane's stories that had been left unfinished at his death. Remington declined, replying that he would do anything within reason for her, "from my regard for Mr. Crane," but that he "could not imitate Crane's style" and had a "very pronounced one" of his own. Remington, in a letter to Cora Crane, 26 February 1901, collection of Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Columbia University.

50. Samuels and Samuels 1979, 619.

51. It is interesting to note that when asked about the state of the army in 1907 (*Pearson's Magazine*, October 1907), Remington replied, "Frankly I know nothing about the army as it is right now. I have had nothing to do with soldiers since the war in Cuba. I only knew the soldier as a part of my West, and the West and the soldier closed together. The uniformed fighting man passed on and off my board a long time since."

52. Hemingway was injured on the Austro-Italian front in 1918 while serving as an ambulance driver. The reference to "a separate peace" appeared first in chapter six of *In Our Time* (following the wounding of the protagonist by shrapnel). The phrase was repeated by the lead character in *A Farewell to Arms*. *In Our Time* was published in 1925, *The Sun Also Rises* in 1926, and *A Farewell to Arms* in 1929.

53. Ben Merchant Vorpahl, *My Dear Wister—: The Frederic Remington-Owen Wister Letters* (Palo Alto, 1972), 279.

54. Remington, in a letter to Eva Remington, 6 November 1900, in Splete and Splete 1988, 318. For an insightful consideration of Remington's discomfort with several major social and political issues of his day see Alexander Nemerov, *Frederic Remington and Turn-of-the-Century America* (New Haven, 1995).

55. See, for example, *New York Times* (10 June 1899): "Some say that Remington, even in his most carefully thought-out pieces, is too illustrative, too photographic; less an artist than a reporter."

56. Augustus Thomas, "Recollections of Frederic Remington," *Century* 86 (July 1913): 361. Charles Rollo Peters (1862–1928) was born into a wealthy San Francisco family and studied initially with artists Virgil Williams, Chris Jorgensen, and Jules Tavernier in California before he traveled to Paris, where he spent several years studying at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts and the Academie Julian. While in Europe he was greatly influenced by the paintings of James McNeill Whistler. He later returned to California, where he spent most of his career. The exhibition of his nocturnes at several venues in 1899 brought positive reviews (see *New York Times*, 11 November 1899, and *New York Sun*, 10 November 1899) and an article by F. W. Ramsdell in *Brush and Pencil*, July 1899, 205–212.

57. *New York Times*, 11 November 1899.

58. *New York Sun*, 10 November 1899.

59. Samuels and Samuels 1982, 302. In an article in the *New York Herald* ("Along the Water Trail to Frederic Remington's Island Home," 28 August 1908), Remington's life at Inglenook is described in detail, including his canoe trips. "When the day's work in his studio is over he shoves his canoe off the ways and paddles around on the river, regardless of the weather, hours at a time. If there is a particularly fine sunset he remains out in its glow until nature has rung every change in the canvas. Sometimes he takes his brush along and preserves some specially fine bit of coloring."

60. Samuels and Samuels 1982, 297.

61. *The Way of an Indian* was serialized in *Cosmopolitan* beginning in November 1905 and published as a book in 1906. See Samuels and Samuels 1982, 297, 361.

62. Remington, *The Way of an Indian*, in Samuels and Samuels 1979, 556.

63. Remington, *The Way of an Indian*, in Samuels and Samuels 1979, 562.

64. "Cheyenne Scouts in Oklahoma," *Harper's Weekly*, 6 April 1889, 267.

65. The cover image for *Harper's Weekly* (9 January 1886) was the first by Remington not redrawn by others. It bore the caption, *The Apache War—Indian Scouts on Geronimo's Trail*.

66. When asked about this image many years later (*Pearson's Magazine*, October 1907), Remington said, "My first commission was from *Harper's Weekly*. I did a picture based on an incident of the Geronimo campaign. That was in the early eighties. But let the poor thing rest. It was a very bad drawing, of course. I should rather not have it dragged from its well-deserved obscurity."

67. On 18 March 1907 Remington noted in his diary that he "went up to Press view of Society of Ten painters." Several members of this group had been his luncheon companions for years at the Players Club, including Child Hassam, who became a close friend. Other club members included Robert Reid, John Henry Twachtman, Edmund Charles Tarbell, Thomas Wilmer Dewing, William Merritt Chase, and Willard Leroy Metcalf, whose work Remington especially admired. In the 1907 profile of Remington published in *Pearson's Magazine*, the artist was asked about influences. He responded: "I have tried to keep free from influences, as free as a man can. But de Neuville, Joseph Brant, Barye the animal sculptor, a few of the Polish painters and lately some of our American landscape artists—who are the best in

the world—have worked their spell over me and have to some extent influenced me, in so far as a figure painter can follow in their footsteps."

68. On 16 January 1908, for example, Remington noted in his diary that he had visited the Metropolitan Museum of Art and the American Art Association. The following month (3 February) he wrote that he had been to see works by Gari Melchers as well as an exhibition of "the Eight" at Macbeth Gallery. On 19 March he wrote that he had been to the National Academy "and had a good look at pictures." More revealing, perhaps, are references to other artists sprinkled throughout Remington's published works. In an article published in *Century* in July 1889, titled "On the Reservation," for example, Remington wrote, "The sun sinks behind the distant Sierras, and the beautiful quiet tones of the afterglow spread over the fields and the water. As I stand there watching the scene I can almost imagine that I see Millet's peasants . . ." (Samuels and Samuels 1979, 34). In the 31 January 1891 issue of *Harper's Weekly*, Remington contributed an article titled "Lieutenant Casey's Last Scout," in which he described the Bad Lands of South Dakota as "somewhat as Dore pictured hell." He added, "The painter's whole palette is in one bluff. A year's study of these colors by Mr. Bierstadt, Professor Marsh, and Mr. Notman might possibly convey to the Eastern mind an idea . . ." (Samuels and Samuels 1979, 72).

69. Crane, "The Sergeant's Private Madhouse," in Crane 1900, 139.

70. Crane, "The Sergeant's Private Madhouse," in Crane 1900, 145.

71. Remington diary. The clipping appears near the entry for 11 December 1909.

72. Remington diary, entry for 11 December 1909.

73. Remington diary, entry for 11 December 1909.

74. Remington diary, entry for 11 December 1909. The paintings identified by title were *The Love Call*, *The Luckless Hunter*, and *The Winter Campaign*.

75. Remington, "On the Indian Reservation," *Century* (July 1889), in Samuels and Samuels 1979, 31. Remington also illustrated Powhatan Clarke's article about pursuing Apaches, which was published in *Cosmopolitan* in October 1894, 706–716.

76. Remington, "On the Indian Reservations," *Century* (July 1889), in Samuels and Samuels 1979, 31.

77. Remington, "How Stilwell Sold Out," *Collier's Weekly* (16 December 1899), reprinted in Samuels and Samuels 1979, 397–400.

78. The entry is quoted in Peter H. Hassrick and Melissa J. Webster, *Frederic Remington: A Catalogue Raisonné of Paintings, Watercolors and Drawings* (Cody, Wyo., 1996), 2: 819.

79. Remington diary, entry for 11 December 1909. Similar words, perhaps written by the same unknown critic, appeared in an editorial published in the *New York Mail and Express* on 27 December 1909, the day after Remington died: "We have spoken of his central theme. What is that? Manifestly nothing more nor less than the near and menacing presence of death in the midst of intense life. If we look at any characteristic picture of Remington's, we see, first, a vivid and pulsating life. . . . And then, in a moment, we see death, standing near in the form of some great threatening danger. Commonly the death that threatens is the death that comes in fight. Often it is death by thirst or hunger on the desert, or the approach of wild creatures of prey. It may be only suggested by the presence of deadly weapons. And even when there are no weapons, it was a trait of Remington's genius to

draw the human face and body as a mere thin covering of flesh and skin stretched over a skull or a skeleton. Somehow the idea of death is always there."

80. Remington and Kipling were acquainted. In 1895 Remington illustrated Kipling's "The Maltese Cat" for the July issue of *Cosmopolitan*. A letter from Kipling to Remington regarding this project is reprinted in Splete and Splete 1988, 270–271. The two men are also reported to have engaged in spirited conversation on at least one occasion, as was reported in *Outlook* (8 January 1910, 53), shortly after Remington's death. "Many years ago, at a luncheon table in New York City at which Mr. Kipling and Mr. Remington were present, there was very frank talk about English and American relations which largely took the form of a duet between Remington and Kipling. The antagonists were well matched in audacity, frankness, and power of picturesque speech, and it is needless to say that the American side was sustained with an unconventionality, freshness, and force that quite matched Mr. Kipling at his best."

81. In 1892 William Coffin wrote, "It is a fact that admits of no question that Eastern people have formed their conceptions of what the Far-Western life is like, more from what they have seen in Mr. Remington's pictures than from any other source, and if they went to the West or to Mexico they would expect to see men and places looking exactly as Mr. Remington has drawn them. Those who have been there are authority for saying that they would not be disappointed." See "American Illustration of To-Day," *Scribner's* (March 1892): 348.

82. On 25 November 1908 Remington wrote in his diary that *The Call for Help* was "too green" and that he was "looking to try and fix it up." Two days later he wrote that he had "retouched" the painting. For an insightful reading of the painting and technical infor-

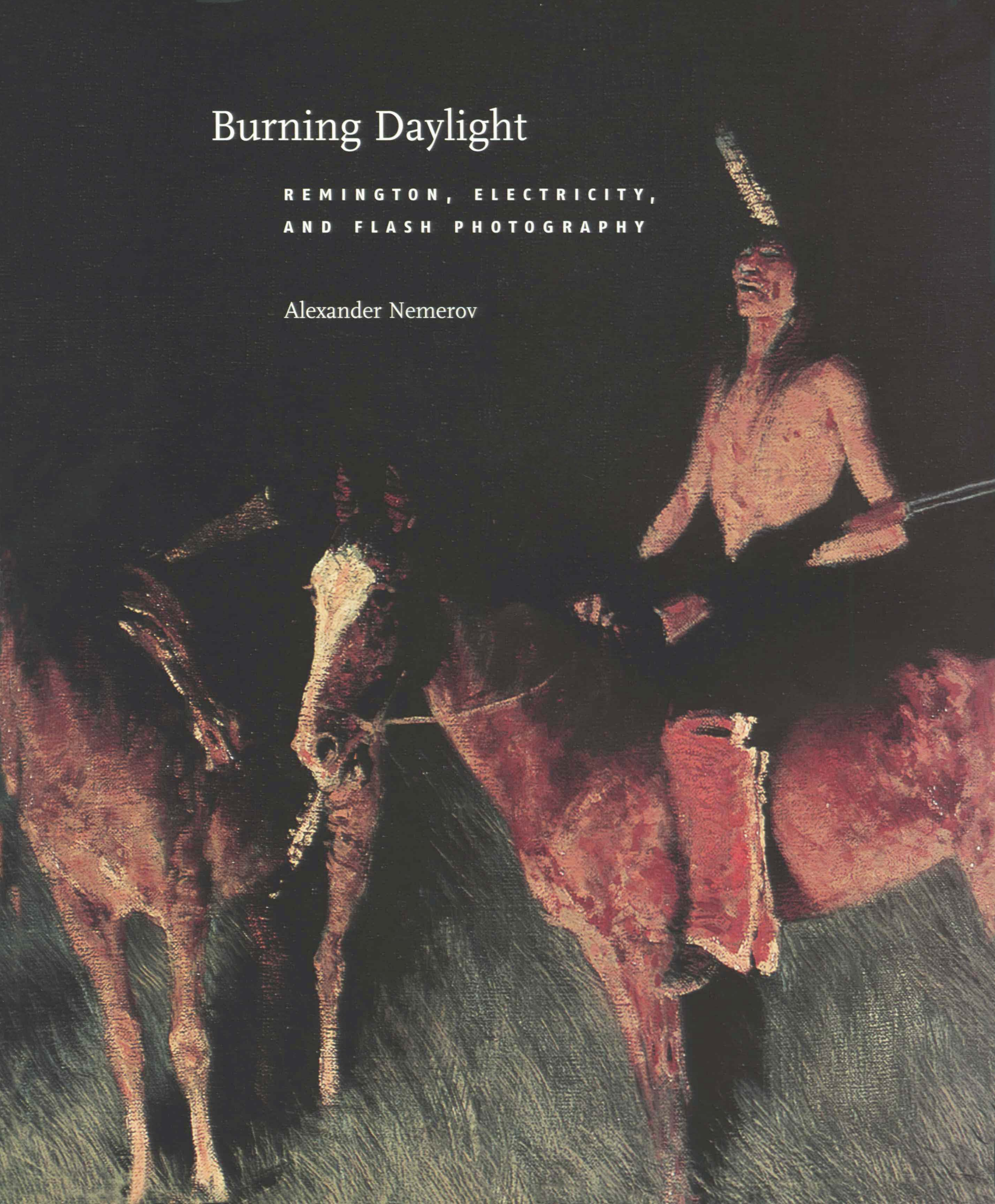
- mation about its structure see Emily Ballew Neff with Wynne H. Phelan, *Frederic Remington: The Hogg Brothers Collection of the Museum of Fine Arts, Houston* (Houston, 2000), 101–104, 124–126.
83. The degree to which Remington simplified the compositional elements of his late nocturnes is evident when *The Last March* is compared with a similar image titled *The Curse of the Wolves in the Northwest*, published in *Collier's Weekly* (27 January 1898). In place of the riderless horse is a steer, separated from a larger herd, attacked by wolves.
84. *The Wilderness Hunter* was published by G. P. Putnam and Sons, New York, in 1893. It appeared as the second part of *Big Game Hunting* in 1899 and as the second part of *Hunting Tales of the West* in 1907.
85. Though the sound is inaudible, viewers seem to have had no trouble imagining its force. A reviewer for the *New York Evening Mail* (2 December 1908), for example, wrote of the horses in *The Call for Help*, "One can see that they are raising that despairing shriek which a horse only utters in extreme despair, and which no one who has heard it will ever forget."
86. Theodore Roosevelt, "Wolves and Wolf-Hounds," in *The Wilderness Hunter, Works of Theodore Roosevelt* (New York, 1926), 311.
87. A thoughtful reading of the painting by Alexander Nemerov is included in Susan C. Faxon, Avis Berman, Jock Reynolds, et al., *Addison Gallery of American Art 65 Years: A Selective Catalogue* (Andover, Mass., 1996), 454–455.
88. Remington diary, entry for 27 March 1907.
89. Remington diary, entry for 23 April 1907.
90. Remington diary, entry for 14 July 1908.
91. Stephen Crane, "A Man and Some Others," *Century* 53 (February 1897): 601.
92. Crane 1897, 604.
93. Crane 1897, 604.
94. *Collier's Weekly* (12 December 1908): 20–21.
95. Paintings by Albert Pinkham Ryder, including *Death on the Race Track* (*Death on a Pale Horse*), were on exhibition in New York at Cottier and Company in December 1907, the same month Remington exhibited his latest paintings at Knoedler Galleries. *Death on a Pale Horse* was discussed at length in a review in the *New York Press* on 29 December. Identified as "the most important composition" in the exhibition, the painting was described as a parable with "the figure of Death mounted, and bearing his scythe, on a spectral horse." It is possible, perhaps likely, that Remington saw the Ryder exhibition, which included several nocturnes. Four months later, in April 1908, an appreciation of Ryder's work (including an illustration captioned "Death on the Pale Horse") by Roger E. Fry was published in *Burlington Magazine*.
96. Remington diary, entry for 5 December 1909.
97. Remington diary, entry for 6 December 1909.
98. Unidentified excerpt in Remington diary, entry for 7 December 1909.
99. Remington diary, entry for 9 December 1909.
100. In his diaries Remington recorded several fires. On 8 February 1907, for example, he wrote: "Burned every old canvas in house to day out in the snow. About 75." The following year (19 December 1908) he noted that he had burned a painting that did not please him, "together with other failures." A few months later (15 February 1909) he wrote, "burned up a lot of old canvasses [sic]."
101. In his article on Remington, Perriton Maxwell reported that the artist claimed the West he knew was gone and he was painting from imagination and memory rather than observation. Surprised at Remington's statement, Maxwell wrote that his audience had long accepted his images "as literal transcriptions from real life." See Perriton Maxwell, "Frederic Remington—Most Typical of American Artists," *Pearson's Magazine* 18 (October 1907): 407.
102. "Remington as a Painter," *New York Times* (1 January 1893). The same kind of statement was still being made years later. On 3 December 1908 Arthur Hoerber wrote in the *New York Globe and Commercial Advertiser*, "In short, it is an interesting collection Mr. Remington offers, one to attract a large public; while the pictures are artistic records that may not be repeated by others who shall succeed this painter, for he has seen with his own eyes, mingled with the people he portrays, lived in the camp, been on the march, rounded up his cattle, or trailed after game, and those days have, in the words of old Eccles., 'gone most like forever.' He has hiked with the soldier in his time as well, and it follows that such experiences give an authority not otherwise possible."
103. Hemingway, *Death in the Afternoon*, as quoted in Brian Way, "Hemingway the Intellectual: A Version of Modernism," in *Ernest Hemingway: New Critical Essays*, A. Robert Lee, ed. (London, 1983), 156–157.
104. Quoted in Samuels and Samuels 1982, 307.
105. Remington, as quoted in Maxwell 1907, 407.
106. Remington, as quoted in Edwin Wildman, "Frederic Remington, the Man," *Outing* (March 1903), 715.
107. Remington, as quoted in Wildman 1903, 715.
108. Remington, "The Story of the Dry Leaves," originally published in *Harper's Monthly* (June 1899), reprinted in Samuels and Samuels 1979, 370.
109. Ernest Hemingway, *A Moveable Feast* (New York, 1964), 76.
110. W. B. McCormack, "Art Notes," *New York Press* (8 December 1907).
111. W. B. McCormack, "Art Notes of the Week," *New York Press* (22 December 1907). The full letter is included in Splete and Splete 1988, 82, under the incorrect date "December 10 [1890]."



# Burning Daylight

REMINGTON, ELECTRICITY,  
AND FLASH PHOTOGRAPHY

Alexander Nemerov



Electric men got through at noon—and we have Electric Light . . .

We turned on all the electric lights at night. They make a blaze I  
can tell you . . .

Frederic Remington, diary entry, 11 June 1909, recording events at  
his new house in Ridgefield, Connecticut

IN 1908 FREDERIC REMINGTON painted *The Grass Fire*, an image showing Plains Indians poised before a fire burning brightly on a dark night (pages 76–77; pl. 54). The blaze runs to the left, out of the picture, leaving behind it at lower left a jagged char of burned prairie that lights up the warriors as they sit upon their horses and stand or kneel on the ground. The braves have set the fire—the kneeling man reaches down as if to kindle it anew—and they bask reverentially in its glow, in awe of its illumination: on their knees, in solemn stillness, chins raised, quiet, close to the flame.

*The Grass Fire*, painted the year before the artist's death, marks Remington's own reverence for firelit scenes. As early as 1887, when he was just starting as a commercial illustrator, he had made pictures of nighttime illumination—campfires, mostly—and he had continued painting them ever since. *The Grass Fire*, however, marks an intensified concentration on firelight in Remington's last few years. His December 1908 exhibition at Knoedler Galleries in Manhattan included not just this prairie-burning scene but two other ambitious firelights, *In From the Night Herd* (pl. 43), and *Shotgun Hospitality* (pl. 57), as well as a third picture, *The Stranger* (pl. 59), featuring a more distant but no less dramatic blaze. (Still a fourth firelight of that year, *Apache Medicine Song*, pl. 49, was not on display at Knoedler's.) In 1909, at his last Knoedler's exhibition, Remington exhibited three more fire scenes: *The Winter Campaign* (pl. 72), *The Sundance* (pl. 70), and *The Hunters' Supper* (pl. 63).

Why was Remington so preoccupied with fire at that time? Clearly, the subject challenged him. "Worked on my fire light pictures," he wrote on 27 March 1908 while painting both *The Grass Fire* and *Shotgun Hospitality*. "They are more difficult than I expected. Low tone in the darks are [sic] fugitive." And again on 4 April: "Worked on 'Grass Fire' and 'Shotgun Hospitality.' A new moon and I will soon get a chance at the latter picture. Firelight and moon—very difficult."<sup>1</sup> But why did he focus so intensely on this difficult subject in the first place?

One answer is that he made these late paintings at a time when electric illumination and flash photography had become newly pervasive facts of modern life. In the first decade of the

twentieth century, the night was more illuminated than it had ever been before. It was lit up in vaster arcs of a greater wattage and flashed into legibility in even the most obscure corners of city and wilderness. The era's writers and artists registered this omnipresence of illumination in many ways, and Remington was no exception. His late firelight paintings, though they represent an earlier era, do so unmistakably in terms of this new world of brilliant and sudden illuminations. The night of *The Grass Fire* is not just any night but one particular to the early twentieth century. Remington's attitude toward this luminosity, in turn, tells us much about how he viewed old and new Americas. Fascinated by the flash and willing to incorporate its stunning visual effects into his paintings, he yet drew back from its bleak and strange connotations, preferring instead the steady-state radiance of a more benign, progressive light.

### Flash to Glow

Flash photography was no sooner invented in 1887 than its practitioners began making startling images. Igniting a pan of magnesium powder at the moment the exposure was taken, the photographer created a burst of flame in which the darkest spaces appeared almost as clear as day. Among the less well known practitioners of the medium was C. G. Schillings, a German hunter and amateur photographer, whose book, *Flashlights in the Jungle* (1906), details his exploits in Africa and contains many flash photographs, such as *A Party of Impalas* and *Three Full-Grown Lionesses* (figs. 1, 2). Stationing himself near a water hole or a form of live or dead bait, Schillings would wait until he heard animals, then explode the powder and take the photograph. *A Party of Impalas* and *Three Full-Grown Lionesses* show the trademark effects of the flash: the shallow depth scalloped out of the darkness; the flattening of illuminated forms; and of course, the random array of surprised subjects, some (like the lioness at left) staring at the explosion.

*The Grass Fire* shows these same traits. The Indians occupy a narrow strip of grassy foreground. Within this shallow compass almost every blade of the prairie is brilliantly



1. C. G. Schillings, *A Party of Impalas*, from Schillings, *Flashlights in the Jungle* (New York, 1906), 501



2. C. G. Schillings, *Three Full-Grown Lionesses*, from Schillings, *Flashlights in the Jungle* (New York, 1906), 357

illuminated, but the near distance changes abruptly to pitch dark. Figures such as the pony at right are pasteboard thin. More than that, Remington's figures, even in the midst of a unified composition, present a ragged array of forms approximating the randomness of the flash photograph. Remington arranged the braves in a sideways triangle extending down from the near horseman's white feather to the kneeling man's left hand and back to the near horse's rear legs, but the figures still seem placed as though by chance. Dispersed across the canvas at irregular intervals, men and ponies lack a precise formation that bespeaks composition and thus artistic premeditation. As the art critic Royal Cortissoz put it, reviewing Remington's exhibition of 1909, "There is to-day nothing about a composition of his to suggest a carefully built-up scheme. He fills his space pictorially, with a due sense of balance, and so on; but he preserves an impression of spontaneity, of men and animals caught unawares."<sup>2</sup> In *The Grass Fire*, accordingly, the central pony faces the viewer as though caught by surprise, like the lioness in Schillings' flash photograph, and the composition reproduces an overall "impression of spontaneity" akin to the flash's random play of scattered forms.

Remington always made pictures with photography in mind. As a young illustrator in the Southwest in 1889, he began using the Kodak camera introduced that year. Making his own photographs and asking friends and army officials to send him theirs, he started incorporating photographic effects and verisimilitude into his painted work. Also in the late 1880s he began relying on the photographs found in Eadweard Muybridge's *Animal Locomotion* (1887), especially those of galloping horses. It was not surprising, then, that Remington made two illustrations depicting photographers in the field: a 1904 advertisement for Kodak, showing a dashing war correspondent at the front, camera near at hand (fig. 3); and a 1902 picture called *The Second Shot*, with a man photographing a dead moose.<sup>3</sup> By 1907 he claimed to be finished with photographs. "I do not employ photography at all now, though I once found it a great help," he told the interviewer Perriton Maxwell. "In a sense I've gotten all the good out of it I can get and now I want to work entirely away from it."<sup>4</sup> The look of *The Grass Fire*, however, suggests otherwise. How could a great painter of night *not* be aware of, and attempt to study, the era's most dramatic representations of darkness?

Whether Remington borrowed the philosophical connotations of flash photography is another question. The flash illuminates the darkness for only that instant, providing the stark, sudden, random image of whatever lies in its scope, before all becomes dark again. How different from steady-state illumination, this glimpse of a world instantly returned to obscurity. The flash is a light less about enlightenment—about



3. Frederic Remington, *The Correspondent*, from *Collier's Weekly* 32 (23 April 1904)



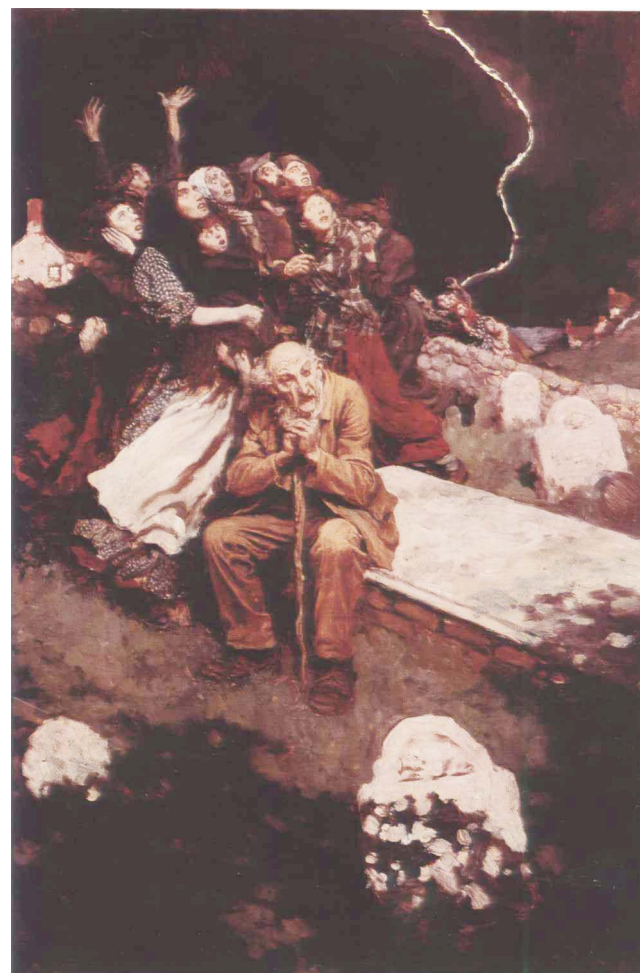
transmitting knowledge—than a form of illumination in league with the darkness it briefly displaces. Certainly one feels the discrepancy when Schillings describes his extraordinary photographs as “biological documents of the highest importance,” for to look at *A Party of Impalas*, with its flutter of creatures rendered momentarily out of the unknown, is to sense a world infinitely stranger than its own maker can account. Writing in *Collier's* in 1909 (four months after the same magazine published *The Grass Fire*), A. Radclyffe Dugmore, another flash photographer of African game, put it this way: “The scene was lighted as though by magic. Two photographs were made simultaneously, then darkness more intense than ever after the blinding flash.”<sup>5</sup> The flash made magical worlds lost in the very act of being found.

Joseph Conrad, that most famous expositor of African darkness, recognized this fact about the flash. *Almayer's Folly* (1895), his first novel, describes an approaching thunderstorm

in the jungle. “It came nearer and nearer, with loud thunderclaps and long flashes of vivid lightning, followed by short periods of appalling blackness. . . . [T]he incessant lightning disclosed a turmoil of leaping water, driving logs, and the big trees bending before a brutal and merciless force.”<sup>6</sup> Later Conrad recommences the thunderstorm, in part, one imagines, to capitalize on stunning visual effects conjuring those of the brand-new flash photograph. “[I]n the continuous play of blue lightning the woods and the river showed fitfully, with all the elusive distinctness of detail characteristic of such a scene.” And again: “Suddenly, in a vivid white flash, the low point of land with the bending trees on it and Almayer's house leaped into view, flickered and disappeared.”<sup>7</sup> It is no wonder that one of Conrad's characters in *Almayer's Folly*, Tom Lingard, captains a brig called *Flash*, a boat that would often “disappear quietly during the night,” piloted to places unknown.<sup>8</sup>

Beyond even this strangeness was the flash photograph's morbid conception of the past. Schillings' subjects appear vividly to us, some one hundred years after the moment in which they had been photographed. The flash, like all photographs, has the capacity to make the dead live—to show us the past with sudden and disturbing vivacity. As such, it affords a perfect metaphor for a critical model of history. Against a linear conception of historical progress, a streaming flow between past and present in which one feels on a continuum with a past that thus never seems unfamiliar or strange, the flash implies history is composed of lost fragments that can blast into present consciousness as so many risings of the dead. This view was put forth by the German philosopher Walter Benjamin, whose linkages of photography and history the cultural historian Eduardo Cadava has recently discussed.<sup>9</sup> For Benjamin, the photograph—and thus history itself—is a “collision of the ‘Then and Now.’” A bygone face or event, when it flashes forth, does not come from some reassuring time or space to which we feel connected. Instead, it emerges out of nowhere, out of the darkness of a true temporal obscurity. History is not, in this view, “the mere reproduction of a past” but something that comes to us, and at us, with uncanny force.<sup>10</sup>

Illustrators from Remington's era knew the flash's power to wake the dead—to place forgotten worlds suddenly before our eyes. Harvey Dunn's picture, *He Pressed the Button, Saw, and Screamed Aloud in Terror*, was made in 1910 to illustrate Jack London's story “When the World Was Young,” published in the *Saturday Evening Post*. In it a modern man points his flashlight at a prehistoric barbarian (fig. 4). This primitive man, according to London, “should have been dead and dust for thousands of years” but somehow lives as the alter ego of San Francisco businessman James Ward.<sup>11</sup> Dunn's illustration, so beholden to flash photography, shows the moment



4. Harvey Dunn, *He Pressed the Button, Saw, and Screamed Aloud in Terror*, from Jack London, "When the World Was Young," *Saturday Evening Post* 183 (10 September 1910): 16

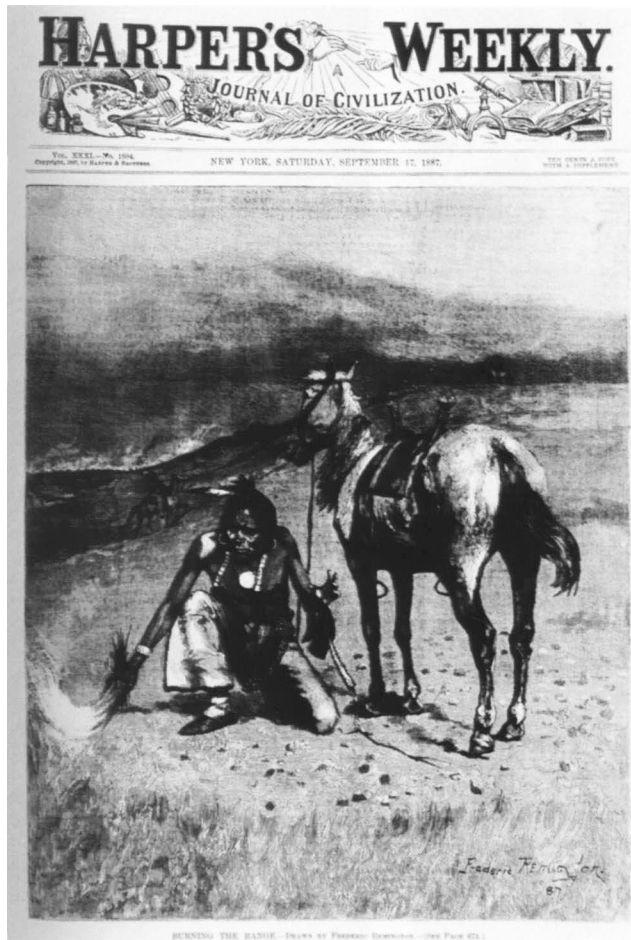
5. Howard Pyle, *They Stood Staring at the Violent Sky*, 1905, The Brandywine River Museum, Chadds Ford, Pennsylvania, Museum Purchase, 1979

when Dave Slotter, a thief trespassing on Ward's estate, stumbles upon the businessman's ancient double. Though Ward has been active in his primitive state long before the moment depicted, Dunn's illustration suggests that it is the flash itself that brings the dead to life. Slotter's shining light seems to stun the caveman into activity, just as the thief's footsteps have woken him from his sleep a moment before. Here, as elsewhere, the flash wakes the dead.

*They Stood Staring at the Violent Sky*, made in 1905 by Dunn's teacher, the great American illustrator Howard Pyle, also explores flash photography's morbid connotations (fig. 5). Pyle shows English villagers assembled in a churchyard, anxiously gazing upward as a rope of lightning at upper right vividly illuminates the scene. The villagers believe it is the end of the world. This is "An Amazing Belief," the title of the *Harper's* story Pyle was called upon to illustrate.<sup>12</sup> Accordingly, Pyle borrows from medieval and Renaissance sources for Last

Judgment scenes of the dead climbing from their tombs. He has rendered the upward-straining forms of the villagers as if they are emerging from the gravestones at their feet. Here again, as in Dunn's image, the waking of the dead occurs in a flash. Though no painted image can capture the uncanny truth-effects of a photograph, with its indexical relation to what it depicts, both Pyle's and Dunn's illustrations investigate flash photography's ability to bring dead figures suddenly, eerily, before our eyes.

*The Grass Fire*, like *They Stood Staring*, shows a group of superstitious people awed by a blaze of light. It also depicts figures clad in breechclouts and other animal-skin garments akin to the one worn by James Ward, that similarly illuminated figure in Dunn's illustration. And it does so, as we know, in a way that alludes to the flash photograph's shallow, sharp, random effects. Clearly these three pictures go together as artifacts that mark the novelty and freshness of nighttime



photography in those years—yet *The Grass Fire* mostly blunts the flash's dark energies. None of Remington's figures is caught moving; each poses in reverential stillness. Nothing like Dunn's and Pyle's exclamations of surprise—their shivers of fabric and extensions of fingers—is seen here. The picture's very quietude, in fact, reads as a deliberate effort to calm and ennoble what might otherwise seem too frenzied, too sudden. It attempts to annul, or smooth almost out of existence, the raw effects of the flash photography that seems to have been Remington's source. It would have been relatively easy to portray at least one figure in a pose of more acutely arrested movement. Instead of aiming to import the flash directly into his work, as Dunn and Pyle tried to do, Remington thus reduced its energies. Despite that shallow space and the weird stare of the central pony, the past does not burst eerily into view in *The Grass Fire*: it simply glows for us to see.

More than that, *The Grass Fire* takes a friendly—even celebratory—view of illumination. The Indians revere the fire. They have mastered this technology and use it for their benefit. Perhaps only a painting made early in the twentieth century could picture the past in such glowing terms. The prairie

fire, in such a culture, became a prototype for modernity's own extensive glow. *Burning the Range*, Remington's first image of prairie torching, was interpreted in just this way (fig. 6). Showing a kneeling brave firing the grass, the illustration appeared on the cover of the 17 September 1887 issue of *Harper's Weekly*. Elsewhere in that same issue, *Harper's* ran an engraving of *The Minneapolis Exposition Building at Night*, depicting the grounds of that city's recently opened industrial exposition ablaze in light.<sup>13</sup> The caption to Remington's picture, accordingly, notes that "Indians generally fire their ranges at sundown, and during the night the sky reflects the lurid flames of the burning prairie."<sup>14</sup> From one glow to another: Remington's lone brave, lighting the fire to assist in growing crops, is a progressive figure, an early adept of illumination. The braves of *The Grass Fire* likewise bask in a light anticipating artificial incandescence. Indeed, they contemplate their fire in much the same way that the naval officers in one of Remington's Spanish-American War scenes watch the big searchlights of Havana Harbor (fig. 7). In these two pictures, Remington imagines the history and present state of illumination, casting each stage as the subject of rapt contemplation.

Something else is striking about *The Grass Fire*. Made twenty-one years after *Burning the Range*, it substantially increases the wattage. This is the brightest, most extensive fire Remington ever painted. The change marks not just the advent of flash photography in the intervening years but also the newfound power and ubiquity of electric illumination by 1908. In New Rochelle, New York, where Remington lived from 1890 until 1909, the city went from a more scattershot system of illumination, one including "the naphtha lamp, with its individual 'knapsack' filled with fuel . . . commonly used at the turn of the century in districts where it was not economical to extend gas mains," to the brand-new Westchester Lighting Company, incorporated in 1900, which "absorbed the small [power] companies in New Rochelle and environs as well as many others throughout the county" and generated its own electricity out of its centralized Echo Avenue power plant.<sup>15</sup> This shift, not just in New Rochelle but in many places in the United States, changed the way one imagined the night during those years.

This was especially so in New York, the city in which *The Grass Fire* and so many of Remington's other late firelights were first exhibited. Manhattan, wrote Edward S. Martin in *Harper's* in 1907, was "a city which darkness invades only to a limited extent."<sup>16</sup> Traveling from New Rochelle to Manhattan in the evening, according to Martin, one saw a vast, steady stream of light: "Coming from the north or the east through Westchester County into New York, the last half-hour or

more of the journey is through a succession of suburban towns whose lights merge into a continuous illumination.”<sup>17</sup> Between this modern-day world and Remington’s old-time scenes was an odd synergy. *The Grass Fire*, with its great blaze, does not portray merely the prehistory of modern-day illumination but something like the glow of that modern illumination itself.

In the early twentieth century, Remington thus joined many artists and writers whose work became vividly “electrical.” Jack London’s novel *Burning Daylight* (1910) exemplifies the trend. The story concerns the relentlessly optimistic Klondike adventurer and businessman Elam Harnish, nicknamed “Burning Daylight” for his propensity not to waste a single moment during any day—or night. Waking sleepers with cries of “Burning daylight, you-all Stewart River hunchers! Burning daylight! Burning daylight! Burning daylight!” London’s manic character is what Martin, in his *Harper’s* arti-

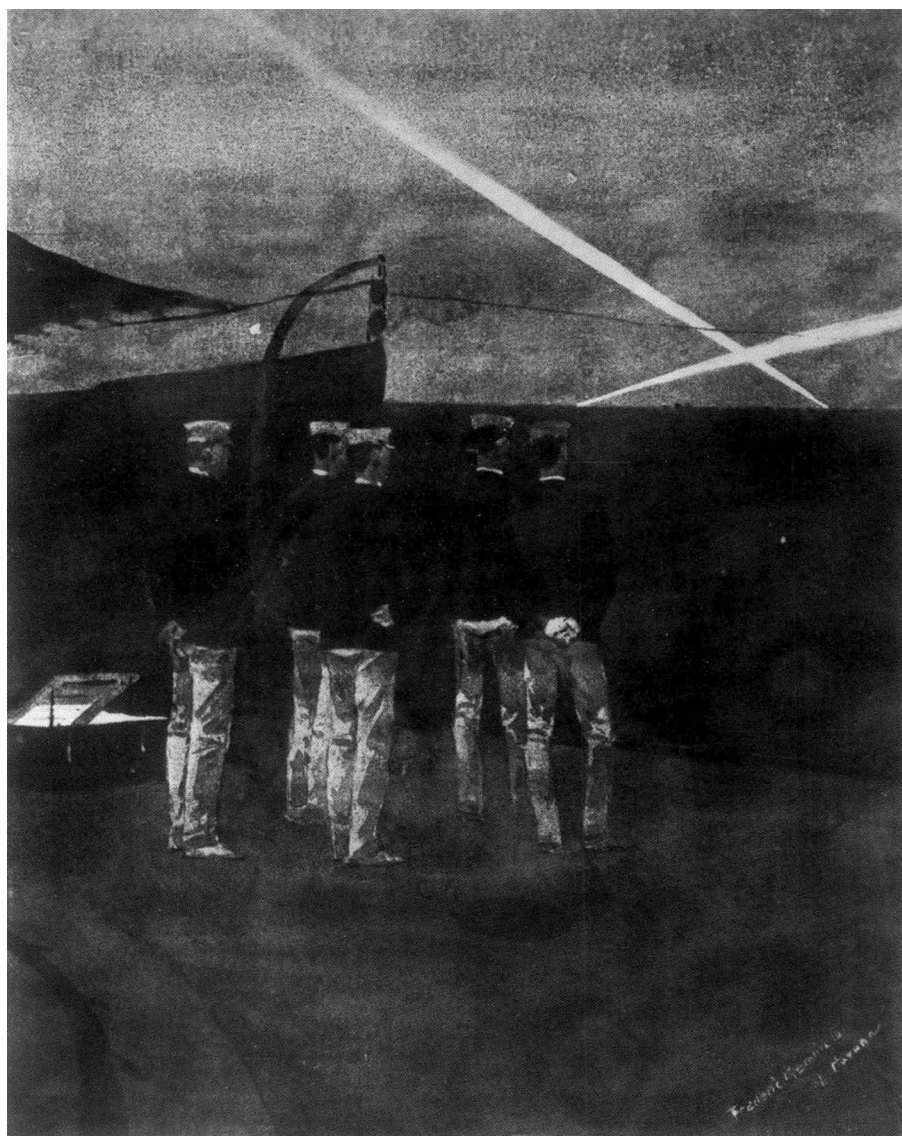
cle, called a “twenty-four-hour-day man.”<sup>18</sup> Sure enough, on the path to progress, becoming richer with each successful scheme, Burning Daylight extends his philosophy into the night. “Electric power plants were installed, and his workings were lighted as well as run by electricity.”<sup>19</sup> As he says, “You should have seen [it]—power plants, electric lights, and hundreds of men on the pay-roll, working night and day.”<sup>20</sup> Notes London, “It was Daylight’s night. . . . Daylight was inexhaustible.”<sup>21</sup>

Daylight meets men even more electrical than himself. The tycoon Nathaniel Letton personifies arc lighting on a grand scale. “He seemed a cold flame of a man, a man of a mysterious, chemic sort of flame, who, under a glacier-like exterior, conveyed, somehow, the impression of the ardent heat of a thousand suns.” His eyes “blazed out feverishly” during their midnight meeting. Letton, Daylight concludes, was “a man of power.”<sup>22</sup> No wonder that Daylight, Letton, and other wealthy men wait in their automobiles one dark night as “the lights of the motor-cars cut as sharply through the blackness as knives would cut through solid substance.”<sup>23</sup> Electricity, as Daylight understands, is a weapon, a rapier—a way not just to make millions but to conquer the night itself.

Dunn, the illustrator of London’s “When the World Was Young,” also loved to cut swaths in the night. “An enthusiastic autoist,” he drove a Pierce-Arrow touring car, which one night, on 17 May 1909, he took on a surprise visit to the rural home of fellow Pyle student N. C. Wyeth.<sup>24</sup> “We were startled by the long white flash of an automobile searchlight darting along the meadow below us,” wrote Wyeth, who was not amused. “It pierced the night with a merciless glare, painting the roadway, the fences, grass and trees with cold, glaring and unnatural colors. We watched the huge machine as it slid toward us swiftly and silently, its searing light boring its way through the darkness, until to our surprise and *consternation* the shaft of light swung its great arm into our driveway and slowly moved up the steep path.” Wyeth and his family then experienced the glare as James Ward would experience the blast of Dave Slotter’s flashlight in Dunn’s picture of the next year. “As it followed the curve toward the house, the blinding light was turned full upon us—we felt positively abashed, to be suddenly placed in that brazen glare which seemed to search out our very souls with microscopic minuteness.”<sup>25</sup>

Wyeth’s letter, for all its distaste for modern illumination, captures the vivid effects that must have exhilarated Dunn and many others, including Remington. On that same May night, about one hundred fifty miles north of Wyeth’s home, Remington and his wife Eva prepared to move into their new, custom-built house in Ridgefield, Connecticut, only to discover, upon arriving, that the house was still unfinished. That night,

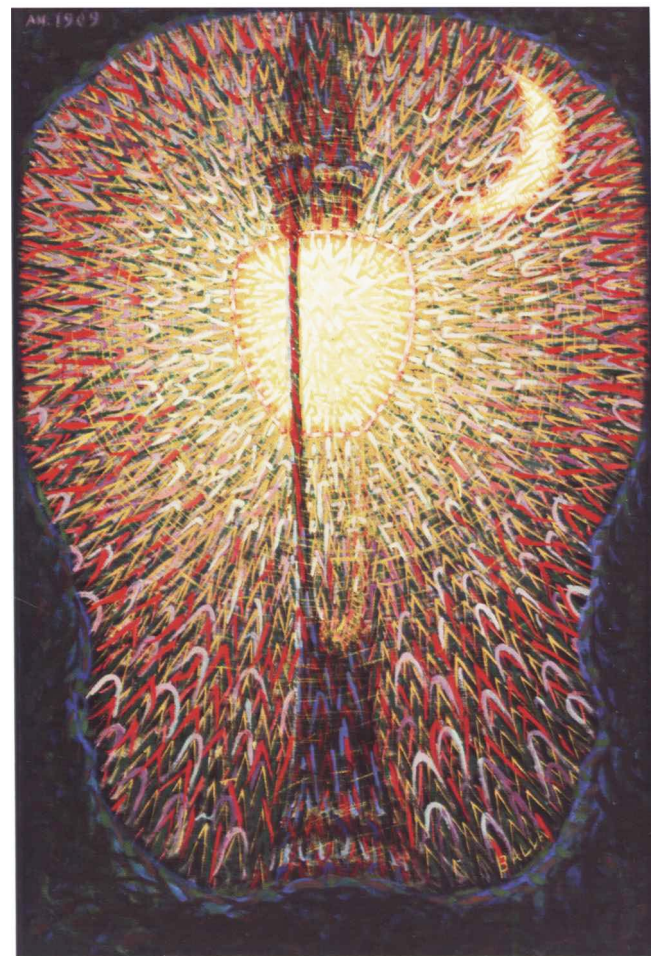
7. Frederic Remington, *Watching the Big Search-Lights in Havana*, from Remington, “Wigwags from the Blockade,” *Harper’s Weekly* (14 May 1898): 464





8. John Sloan, *Picture Window*, 1908, Newark Museum, Gift of Mrs. Felix Fuld, 1925

9. Giacomo Balla, *Street Light*, 1909, The Museum of Modern Art, New York



all was dark. “Got two servants beds from freight office—and the Kid [Eva] and I camped out in a guest chamber. . . . The first night in my new home was pioneering all right.” Three weeks later, however, all was well. “Electric men got through at noon—and we have Electric Light,” he reported on 11 June. “We turned on all the electric lights at night. They make a blaze I can tell you. . . .”<sup>26</sup>

Remington enjoyed the light, but the poetic temperament has long been associated with darkness. Wyeth put it clearly in his letter about Dunn. “The sudden change from silent, soulful reverie in the dark into that harsh, garish flame” was “revolting.”<sup>27</sup> Robert Louis Stevenson, one of Wyeth’s favorite authors, made the same point about electric arc lighting in the 1880s: “A new sort of urban star now shines out nightly, horrible, unearthly, obnoxious to the human eye.”<sup>28</sup> As more and more engineers and civic planners aimed to “disenchant the night,” to use the phrase of cultural historian Wolfgang

Schivelbusch, the darkness beloved of Stevenson and Wyeth became rarer.<sup>29</sup> In this context, Remington’s firelight nocturnes make every sign of relishing the new electricity. *The Grass Fire* displays that newfound illumination—the sheer pleasure of its brightness—with such force and conviction that, despite its old-time subject matter, it reads as the equivalent to another painting finished in the Manhattan area in 1908, namely, John Sloan’s self-consciously modern *Picture Window* (fig. 8). Between Sloan’s window gazers and Remington’s Indians is a world of difference, yet each painting shows figures raptly attentive in a disenchanting night.

Remington’s blaze is vivid enough, in fact, to make it the American equivalent to the most famous celebration of electric lighting painted in that or any other era: Giacomo Balla’s *Street Light* of 1909 (fig. 9). These vastly different pictures share a kindred exuberance. Both Balla and Remington are fascinated by cascading light. In view of such a comparison,

even the upward gazes of Remington's figures, with their heads tilted back in many cases, seem an inadvertent but telling homage to the elevated arc lamps that were newly common in New York and other cities. The night of *The Grass Fire* is thus exactly of the years around 1908. With its figures humble and rapt before their great blaze, Remington's painting likely could not have been made twenty years earlier, or for that matter twenty years later, when such frank reverence for illumination might have seemed a bit quaint.



10. Frederic Remington, *In From the Night Herd*, 1907, National Cowboy and Western Heritage Museum, Oklahoma City (pl. 43)

11. Anonymous, "Only Were to Be Seen the Policemen, Flashing Their Dark Lanterns into Doorways and Alleys," from Jack London, *The People of the Abyss* (New York, 1903), 114



### Exposé to Elegy

*The Grass Fire* borrows from flash photography, then, but only in order to transform its unsettling effects. In other firelight paintings, Remington tried to tame not just the philosophical but also the social connotations of the flash. *In From the Night Herd* (fig. 10), another of the works on view at the 1908 exhibition at Knoedler's, shows a cowboy preparing to wake one of three men sleeping around a campfire. The painting is somber and elegiac, yet in some respects it resembles a flash photograph that is very different in mood (fig. 11). That image of a policeman shining a flashlight on a sleeping homeless person appeared as an illustration in *The People of the Abyss* (1903). Jack London's exposé of life among the poor of Lon-

don's East End. The scene exemplifies the most infamous of flash photography's uses at the turn of the century, that is, as a tool of social exposé, as in the book that helped inspire London: Jacob Riis' *How the Other Half Lives* (1890). Remington's work could not differ more in feeling from the *Abyss* photograph, yet the two seem connected in important ways.

These connections are both clear and obscure. Each image strikingly shows a standing man, facing left, about to wake a man asleep in the open. Other connections are less obvious. The boot of Remington's cowboy, visible as he nudges the sleeper, calls to mind the raised boot of the policeman, oriented toward the sleeper. The cap worn by the *Abyss* sleeper seems to reappear in *Night Herd* as the highlighted portion of the leftmost sleeper's hat—that beretlike sliver of tawny brown. The "Truth" window finds a strange echo in the rectangular form of Remington's horse, its head eclipsed by the standing man's shadow. Even the two vertical bars of white in the *Abyss* photograph, one to either side of the large word "Truth," seem strangely transmuted into the white legs of the

horse. The cone of the policeman's flashlight beam (an effect clearly produced in the darkroom) finds an odd repetition in the cone of brightness, likely a nearby hill, at the upper left of Remington's painting. So too it is odd that Remington's painting includes a piece of metal—the cooking pot at extreme lower left—in the place where the *Abyss* photograph displays the iron grating on which the homeless man sleeps.

These are, however, just the faintest of emanations, and surely what is most striking in this comparison is the huge difference between Remington's work and the flash photograph. From a decisively social space—featuring grate, doorway, front steps, and other markers of a specific world—to an undifferentiated no-place of prairie; from unseemly social spectacle to quiet moment of camaraderie; from a headrest of stone and a bed of iron to the soft grass of the countryside; from dirty hands, crumpled kerchief, and smudged face of one lone man to the blanketed peace of three together; from the bald face of reportorial "Truth" to a quasi-religious mystery akin to Christ among the three sleeping disciples at Gethse-

12. Erwin E. Smith, *Waking a Night Rider, Three Block Range, New Mexico*, c. 1908–1909, Library of Congress, Washington, Erwin E. Smith Collection (on deposit at the Amon Carter Museum, Fort Worth, Texas)



mane (“the spirit is willing, but the flesh is weak”); from flimsy journalistic reproduction to exalted oil painting ten times the size; and from intrusive flash to warm glow: in all these ways, Remington transformed exposé into elegy.

Contrary to his 1907 statement, here again Remington likely used photography, but less as a direct source than as a mere starting point that would become transformed, and even distorted almost out of recognition, in the final product. Henry James, in his preface to the New York Edition of *The Spoils of Poynton*, published in 1908, advocated the same process of artistic creation. The writer, for James, upon hearing the “germ” of a good story, no sooner seizes the idea than he sets out “to reduce [it] almost to nought.” This formative idea, for him, is promising but also “a mere disjointed and lacerated lump of life” requiring artistic arrangement and invention. “Life being all inclusion and confusion,” he writes, art is all “discrimination and selection.” One had thus to use one’s source as just the merest hint of one’s story rather than its full elaboration. Otherwise there would be, in one’s work, nothing but the “fatal futility of fact.”<sup>30</sup> In Remington’s painting, accordingly, we go from the hard glare of “Truth” to the mysterious form of that white horse—a journey in which sordid social facts, not to mention photography itself, become all but lost to view.

This transformation tells us something important about Remington’s attitude toward flash photography. His late paintings gain their aesthetic power not by avoiding photography—far from it—but by defeating its effects. The brushwork at lower left in *Night Herd* gains its lushness, its luminosity, and in general its aura of being an extravagantly beautiful painterly surface precisely because it must erase the social space from which it originates. Without that origin to cancel—without that aggressively abject space to annul—Remington’s brushwork would lose its force and beauty. Having something to negate—in this case, a photographed social world to obliterate—did not therefore compromise Remington’s skills as a serious painter. On the contrary, this negation *produced* these skills. Having something to erase gives his brushwork the energy and gorgeousness it would not otherwise have. Only a tabloid world of sordid frowziness—a social space down to the last bar of the grate—could produce the energetically vivid *no-place*, the space of pure painting, seen, for example, at the lower left of *Night Herd*.<sup>31</sup>

Remington’s painting was such a successful obliteration of the social world that it could even be the basis for a photograph’s erasure of the *Abyss* image. *Waking a Night Rider* (fig. 12), a flashlight photograph made by Erwin E. Smith c. 1908–1909, shows the same western subject as *In From the Night Herd*, and indeed the art historian B. Byron Price suggests that Smith “almost certainly” borrowed from Remington’s

innately flashlike picture.<sup>32</sup> In Smith’s flashlight image, then, the *Abyss* photograph has become even more unrecognizable. Now just the waker and sleeper remain, acting a drama of Caravaggesque solemnity in a space of almost pure abstraction. A Navajo blanket, strewn artfully to one side, provides just the merest ornamental allusion to context. Otherwise, almost all is dark, and the blackness is the sign of a still more extreme aesthetic erasure than Remington’s: the replacement of social context, in all its clamor of detail, with “style.”

Yet there is always the tension—and in Remington’s art it is a productive tension—that the hidden social world will strangely show through even in the midst of its cancellation. The process is familiar in all manner of early twentieth-century works. The literary critic Fredric Jameson, writing about Conrad’s novel *Lord Jim* (1900), notes the way the social world reemerges even in one of Conrad’s “supremely self-conscious art sentence[s].”<sup>33</sup> Early in the novel, describing the scene on deck the *Patna*, Conrad writes:

Above the mass of sleepers, a faint and patient sigh at times floated, the exhalation of a troubled dream; and short metallic clangs bursting out suddenly in the depths of the ship, the harsh scrape of a shovel, the violent slam of a furnace-door, exploded brutally, as if the men handling the mysterious things below had their breasts full of fierce anger: while the slim high hull of the steamer went on evenly ahead, without a sway of her bare masts, cleaving continuously the great calm of the waters under the inaccessible serenity of the sky.<sup>34</sup>

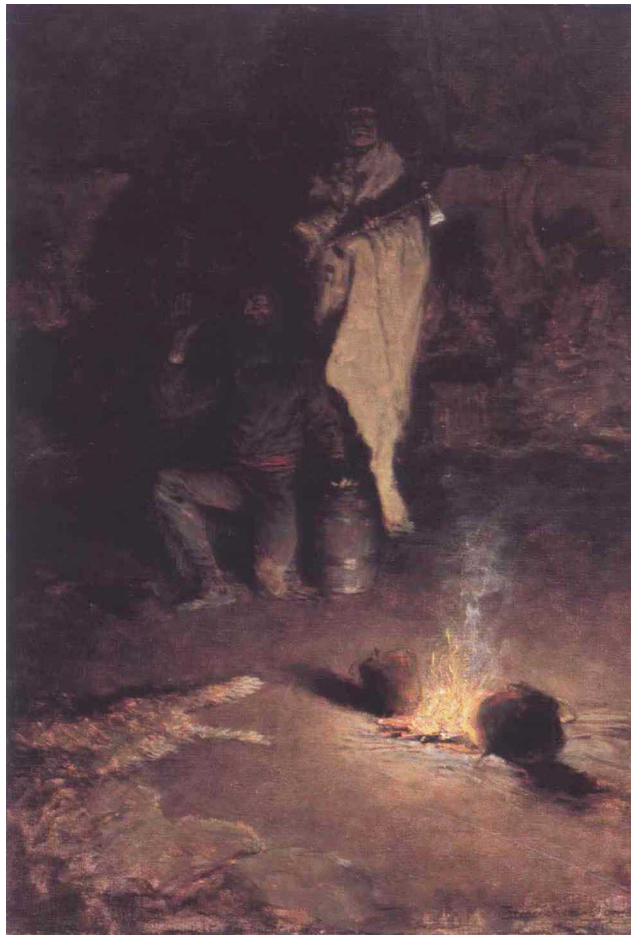
The ship itself, “cleaving continuously the great calm of the waters,” exemplifies modernism’s wish, writes Jameson, to transform “[social] content and make it available for consumption on some purely aesthetic level.”<sup>35</sup> Yet, as Jameson points out, operating below this vision—coming up from the depths of that same aestheticized ship, as though from repression—is manifold evidence of that very social world, a noisome and angry workaday place of scraping shovels and slamming furnace doors, that makes it impossible to enjoy the purely aestheticized image without also hearing this social space below. The stylization of social facts is incomplete in Conrad’s novel.

And so it is in Remington’s *Night Herd*. Out there on their prairie, Remington’s own sleepers occupy a no-place equivalent to Conrad’s “great calm of the waters” and “inaccessible serenity of the sky.” This is one of the very paintings, indeed, that led Remington’s critics to announce that he had arrived as a pure painter, a master of aesthetic impressions who had mostly abandoned the illustrator’s world of subject matter and social commentary. Yet through those washes of paint, emanating upward like Conrad’s brutal explosions from below decks, there emerges in Remington’s painting, the more we look at it, something like the muffled but distinct sounds of a



13. Frederic Remington, *The Guard of the Whisky Trader*, 1906, University of Arizona Museum of Art, Tucson, Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Samuel L. Kingan (pl. 33)

14. Jacob Riis, *A Black-and-Tan Dive in "Africa,"* from Riis, *How the Other Half Lives* (New York, 1890)



social world only incompletely buried. The metal can at lower left and the weird “beret” form of the leftmost sleeper’s cap—all the other strange echoes and “clangs” of the *Abyss* photograph, most notably the central action of waking the sleeper out in the open—tend to assert themselves as signs of a mean and degraded urban world, mostly but not entirely repressed, giving what should be such a calm and merely beautiful painting an aura of disquiet. Drear and toil permeate the reverie. *In From the Night Herd* is an elegy tinged with the sharp immediacy of exposé.<sup>36</sup>

In a slightly earlier firelight painting, however, Remington failed to submerge his flashlight source, and the result is a picture that reads more transparently as an image of urban squalor suddenly seen. *The Guard of the Whisky Trader* (pl. 33), painted in 1906 and Remington’s first attempt at an ambitious firelight scene, shows the trader on one knee, his right hand raised, his left hand on a keg of whiskey (fig. 13). Behind him stands his guard, an Indian wrapped in robes, clutching a tomahawk. Further back, other figures appear in the obscurity, including a man at far right, his mouth open, holding a stick in one raised hand as he apparently prepares to bang on a drum. The lodge in which the action takes place is close, crowded, rank—lit by a smoky fire that throws broad shadows on the wall.

Several factors, not just the bright firelight, make the painting very flashlike. The trader’s raised hand, though a premeditated gesture of calm, has a “sudden” quality, as though he raised it quickly to express surprise or to shield his eyes. (He prefigures Dunn’s picture of that other bearded figure of the firelight, James Ward.) Indeed, the trader’s overall pose conveys effects of suddenness and randomness. The left side of his body, as he faces us, is all angles—elbow, knee, and thumb—making a swastika shape of immediate legibility. The right side, conveying the other effect of the flash, fades into a baffling obscurity. (Where and how does his left leg disappear behind the whiskey keg?) Dissonant effects abound. The play between the trader’s right hand and the guard’s tomahawk blade, conducted along a diagonal of shaft and thumb, sends a mixed message as two glinting surfaces, one of peace, the other of war, cancel one another out. Just so, the trapper’s raised hand, in another odd visual echo, repeats the outstretched limbs of the animal hide on the ground—a non sequitur that raises more questions than it answers. The painting’s unsteady relation to the history of art strikes an equally dissonant note. The prototype for this kind of picture, with one figure down on one knee and a solemn weapon-bearing figure standing above, is a scene of Christian martyrdom. Here, however, the whisky trader is no saint, and the Indian is guard, not executioner. In all these ways, the painting never quite makes sense—and in this way it resembles,

15. Childe Hassam, *Afternoon Sky, Harney Desert*, 1908, Portland Art Museum, Oregon, Gift of August Berg, Henrietta E. Failing, Winslow B. Ayer, William D. Wheelwright, I. N. Fleischner, and the Estate of D. P. Thompson



more than any other firelight picture Remington made, the chaos and chance of the flash scene.

*The Guard of the Whisky Trader* is most flashlike in its portrayal of a social space. That squalid lodge is akin to the Manhattan dives Riis photographed and published in *How the Other Half Lives*, such as the one in *A Black-and-Tan Dive in "Africa"* (fig. 14). Here Riis shows, in his words, "the borderland where the white and black races meet in common debauch."<sup>37</sup> Remington's painting of another space of interracial squalor and alcoholism does not, it is true, much resemble the specifics of *A Black-and-Tan Dive*, even if we allow for the striking appearance of the whiskey keg in each, but its general atmosphere of dissolution, brilliantly lit in a degraded interior, seems drawn from only one general source: flash photography such as that practiced by Riis.<sup>38</sup> It would only be in slightly later firelights, such as *The Grass Fire* and *In From the Night Herd*, that Remington would more skillfully, if not completely, erase the social connotations of flash photography.<sup>39</sup>

#### Eyes Open, Eyes Closed

The flash had psychological connotations as well, and these also Remington had to tame. To see how this is so, we need first to look at another painting made and exhibited in Manhattan in 1908, this one by Remington's friend Childe Hassam. *Afternoon Sky, Harney Desert* (fig. 15), which Hassam painted on a trip to southern Oregon earlier in the year, was shown among several of his Oregon paintings at Montross Gallery at 372 Fifth Avenue in December, contemporaneously with Remington's exhibition at Knoedler's a few doors down at 356 Fifth Avenue. The contrast, for any critic or art viewer seeing both presentations, must have been intense. Certainly Remington felt this way. "Saw. . . Hassam's desert things—not so much," he wrote in his diary on 11 December 1908.<sup>40</sup> He went on with a few technical criticisms, but one could surmise that he disliked the works for another reason as well.

Hassam's painting, beautiful as it was, represented a world of no inwardness, no imagination. Here was the day—a day exuberantly shown, to be sure, full of "skies [that] breathe life and charm, fragrance, and osone [*sic*] of the purest sort," as the art critic Arthur Hoeber put it—yet it was also prosaic, literal, a vacant space spread gorgeously but monotonously before the viewer's eyes.<sup>41</sup> Although Hassam clearly revealed

in precisely these non-narrative qualities—seizing, one feels, the desert’s empty stage with great gusto, liberated by its absence of reference—Remington might well have been scandalized at such an avowedly unimaginative picture. His late paintings, after all, are based on memories, imaginings, mental phantoms. One needed to see “with the eye of the mind” (the title of one of his 1908 paintings) because, as he wrote in January of that year, “These transcript from nature fellows who are so clever cannot compare with the imaginative men in the long run.”<sup>42</sup>

The night pictures played a special role in this imaginative vision. Painted in increasing numbers in his last few years, they were often linked to the imagination, either Remington’s own or that of the viewer. “What we see in imagination when we call to mind a western scene,” is how the *New York Times* reviewer put it in 1908.<sup>43</sup> They were the pictures, Remington and his critics felt, that most overcame his reputation as a mere illustrator. Like the night or mist in early nineteenth-century romantic painting and poetry, like any other substance that obscures the “real” forms of things, Remington’s green atmospheric night evoked the mind’s subjective conjuration of the world.<sup>44</sup> Visitors to the two exhibitions might well have been struck by the decisive contrast: Hassam the observer, the painter of Day; and Remington the imaginer, the painter of Night.

The novelist Owen Wister, another of Remington’s friends, helps expand on this idea. Traveling in the West in 1911, Wister looked out his train window at the regions he had encountered many years before, as far back as 1885. These places were now sadly changed, shorn of romance and interest, and presented to the eye only so much empty, uninflected monotony. Then something happened. “My train was trundling over the plains,” Wister writes, “when magic was suddenly wrought”—the smell of sage wafted in through the train window—and then:

With closed eyes I saw . . . standing out there on the alkali, the antelope by scores and hundreds, only a little way off. . . . Eyes closed, I watched them, as in 1885 with open ones I beheld them first from the train . . . and through me passed the ghost of that first thrill at first seeing antelope. . . . [T]hen I opened my eyes; there was the train as it ought to look, there were the plains, the alkali, the dry gullies, the mounds, the flats, the enormous sunlight . . . but where were the antelope?

Wister concludes: “You must shut your eyes to see” the West as it was. “How many things we have to shut our eyes to see!”<sup>45</sup>

Eyes open, eyes closed: Hassam’s painting, in Wister’s sense, shows the West from the vantage of open eyes—open to behold that there is, in 1908, truly nothing to see. Hassam takes great pleasure in a landscape thus freed of narrative

associations. The very joy of life, his picture suggests, is to open our eyes as wide as possible to the world of “enormous sunlight”—but this emptiness is Wister’s lament. And it was Remington’s. The darkness of his nocturnes evoked an inward vision—a Night opposing Hassam’s Day; more precisely, a painterly simulation, à la Wister, of seeing with the eyes closed instead of open. Remington had indeed “seen with his own eyes” the West he portrayed, as his reviewers never tired of mentioning, but to be tagged with the illustrator’s gift of direct observation was, he well knew by 1908, faint praise.<sup>46</sup> It was time to fail to see, and the night paintings were his self-conscious images of this change.

The connection between Remington’s nocturnes and Wister’s closed eyes is more specific. In July 1908, as he worked to finish some of the night paintings he would exhibit that December, Remington read a Wister tale called “The Gift Horse” in the *Saturday Evening Post*. “Wister had [an] excellent story in Sat. E. Post on old days,” he wrote in his diary. “He really does the spirit of the thing with no fuss or exaggeration. He makes it live.”<sup>47</sup> The story’s leitmotif is closed and open eyes. “When he thought himself unwatched,” the horse thief McDonough, in excruciating pain, his leg broken, “shut his eyes; but kept them open and twinkling at any one’s approach.” The narrator continues: “They were singular, perplexed eyes, evidently very large, but deep-set, their lids screwed together.”<sup>48</sup> McDonough’s inscrutable eyes foreshadow the place he hides his stolen horses, a secret ravine, mysterious even to local cowboys, a “haunted legend of presence and absence” that some call “Blind Spring.”<sup>49</sup> Even when the narrator finally finds the secret spring, he arrives at dusk, seeing it only in “semi-obscurity.”<sup>50</sup> The Unknown—the place one cannot find or even see—is Wister’s theme, his way of making the past “live,” to use Remington’s word, precisely by keeping it hidden from direct view. No wonder the story’s very title concerns not looking—not looking a gift horse in the mouth. For Remington, working on his nocturnes during the very month he read Wister’s story, the lesson could hardly have been lost: show the West darkly, as if with eyes shut.

The very choice of paintings in Remington’s 1908 exhibition evoked Wister’s motif of open and closed eyes. Thirteen of the nineteen pictures displayed, including eight nocturnes, were western scenes imagined “with the eye of the mind,” but six others were dappled sunlight paintings akin to those by Hassam. Each was made, as it were, with eyes open, since all six prosaically depict the environs on and around Remington’s island in the St. Lawrence, where he kept his summer home. These pictures, such as *Pete’s Shanty* (fig. 16), which shows the shack of his island caretaker, had no direct relation to the western scenes, a fact mentioned by critics. The “frankness and simplicity” of the St. Lawrence paintings, noted the *New*



16. Frederic Remington, *Pete's Shanty*, 1908, Frederic Remington Art Museum, Ogdensburg, New York

*York Times* reviewer, is in “stark contrast to the note of strangeness in the pictures of the West.”<sup>51</sup>

This very dissonance, however, consciously or otherwise, implied a narrative of imaginative transformation—a way of making the daytime world into a richly imagined space. Remington’s friend Augustus Thomas noted that on their walks together, Remington would see “phantom soldiery” on the dull hillsides of New Rochelle. “Look there, Tommy, how that land lies,” Thomas recalled Remington saying as he surveyed a landscape. “I could put a company of men back of that stone wall and hold it against a thousand until they flanked me.”<sup>52</sup> Accordingly, pictures such as *Pete's Shanty* and *The Grass Fire*, viewed together, display not just a comparable array of vertical forms but a story of the same scene shown before and after an inward vision has performed its transformative work. That

central pair of birch trees, for example, becomes the knobby legs of the middle pony. The other trees, spread across the picture space, metamorphose into the legs of ponies and men, and even the shanty’s diagonals find new life in an equine architecture of sloping belly and slanted neck. The mind’s eye changed “frankness” into “strangeness,” the here and now to the then and there, altering everyday existence into a darkened world teeming with life, a space beheld first with eyes open and then with eyes closed.<sup>53</sup>

This shutting of the eyes was also another way of refusing to see the social world and of covering the abyss. In his lengthy review of the 1909 exhibition, Royal Cortissoz strikingly begins with an anecdote about eyes averted from poverty. “It has been told of Ingres that when, in the streets of Rome, he detected the approach of some crippled or otherwise repul-



17. C. G. Schillings, *Spotted Hyena Making off with the Body of an Ass*, from Schillings, *With Flashlight and Rifle* (New York, 1906), 415



18. A. G. Wallihan, *Deer Crossing the River at Night* (Flashlight No. 43), from Mr. and Mrs. A. G. Wallihan, *Camera Shots at Big Game* (New York, 1906)

sive mendicant, he would cover his eyes with his cloak, and sometimes, if his wife first saw the unwelcome apparition, she would endeavor with a swift movement of her shawl to save the artist from the sight of ugliness.”<sup>54</sup> Cortissoz goes on to say that Remington, for much of his career, has *not* been this type of painter—the type who, like Ingres, averts his eyes and prefers to see “visions and dream dreams.”<sup>55</sup> In the end, though, Cortissoz claims Remington could paint an Indian woman and child “with his eyes shut,” and indeed the anecdote about Ingres resonates with what we know of Remington’s nocturnes.<sup>56</sup> To borrow from the social world, as he did in *Night Herd*—to show those Riis-like spaces of the “crippled or otherwise repulsive mendicant”—was acceptable, provided one quickly drew the cloak over what one had seen.<sup>57</sup>

Yet, as we also know, visions of the social world have a way of showing up, after all, in Remington’s paintings. One’s eyes are closed—one sees inwardly, nocturnally—but light from the outside still flits through. “I saw light suddenly through my closed eyelids,” says Wister’s narrator in *The Virginian* (1902), describing how men holding a lantern had disrupted his attempted slumber.<sup>58</sup> No oblivion was secure enough to resist that “Burning daylight! Burning daylight! Burning daylight!” from outside. The tap of its boot, as it were, forever brought one back from the land of dreams. Wyeth, out there on his porch, found that out, and so did many of the era’s fictional characters, not just Wister’s. “She had a vision of herself lying on the black walnut bed,” writes Edith Wharton, describing Lily Bart in *The House of Mirth* (1905), “—and the darkness would frighten her, and if she left the light burning the dreary details of the room would brand themselves forever on her brain.”<sup>59</sup>

Beyond that, the very mind itself—that sanctum sanctorum of darkened interiority, that room with the shades drawn—came to be lit *from inside* by flash and electric light. In *The House of Mirth*, Wharton describes Lily’s feelings on the night she dies. “It was as though a great blaze of electric light had been turned on in her head, and her poor little anguished self shrank and cowered in it, without knowing where to take refuge.”<sup>60</sup> In “The Gift Horse,” Wister’s narrator tells of a horrible truth “penetrating the innermost recesses of my soul with a blinding glare.”<sup>61</sup> In his novel *Martin Eden* (1909), London describes all manner of mental flashes: “The thought flashed upon his brain”; “His sympathetic imagination was flashing upon his inner sight”; “The story worked it out in his mind in lightning flashes”; an object “shot a gleam of light into his darkened brain”; “His mind flashed . . . and again his mind flashed and dared . . .”<sup>62</sup> On the novel’s last page, as Eden suicidally swims deeper and deeper down into the ocean, preparing to meet his fate as Lily had hers, London writes, “Colors and radiances surrounded him and bathed

him and pervaded him. What was that? It seemed a lighthouse; but it was inside his brain—a flashing, bright white light. It flashed swifter and swifter.”<sup>63</sup>

Remington's nighttime paintings, as simulations of mind, are shot through with similar “colors and radiances.” The West is shown as an inward vision, lit by the lamp of the mind. Like his contemporaries, he inherited an older romantic imagery of the mind illuminated from within by a mechanical device: the brain as a “phantasmagoria,” or magic lantern show.<sup>64</sup> (“The phantasmagoria of his brain,” London writes in *Martin Eden*.)<sup>65</sup> Yet as the examples of London, Wharton, and Wister all show, by 1908 the imagination was made less of magic lanterns than of magnesium powder and arc lighting. And for London and Wharton, the connotations especially of the mental flash could be grim. They saw the way it led directly to darkness. On the night she dies, Lily’s “mind shrank from the glare of thought as instinctively as eyes contract in a blaze of light—darkness, darkness was what she must have at any cost.”<sup>66</sup> Eden, swimming down, his brain flashing, “fell into darkness. That much he knew. He had fallen into darkness.”<sup>67</sup> Remington's nighttime figures, by contrast, as visual analogues to these figures, may be melancholy, even mournful, but basking in their glow they lack the stark finality of London's and Wharton's tragic chiaroscuro.<sup>68</sup>

Remington painted dreams, not nightmares. He was not like Wharton, who described the “blaze of [Lily's] misery,” a drugged brain filled with monsters, demons, and “furies,” as Lily calls them, “the phantom crew.”<sup>69</sup> He was not like Schillings and other flash photographers of animals, who perhaps came closest among visual artists to portraying such mental phantoms (figs. 17, 18). Despite their modest aims, these amateurs made pictures unwittingly evoking the dark romanticism of artists such as Henry Fuseli and Francisco Goya. Their photographs, grim glimpses of irrational forces at work, are a sleep of reason: dark impulses, unbidden desires, strange streams of reflexive beings, operating mechanically, instinctively, unknown in the night. Remington, dreaming of the West, his eyes closed, lit on less terrifying things. “The scene is wild,” Cortissoz wrote of the nocturnes, “but it wakes no fear.”<sup>70</sup>

## Notes

1. Frederic Remington diary, entries for 27 March 1908 and 4 April 1908, Frederic Remington Art Museum (FRAM), Ogdensburg, New York. I express my thanks to Anna Kamplain, research assistant at the National Gallery of Art, for her help in the preparation of this essay.
2. Royal Cortissoz, "Frederic Remington: A Painter of American Life," *Scribner's* 47 (February 1910): 188.
3. Estelle Jussim, *Frederic Remington, the Camera & the Old West* (Fort Worth, 1983), 24, 43–49, 86–87, 90–91. Jussim also notes the intrinsic relation of Remington's early illustrations to the half-tone process of mechanical reproduction (21) and of the late color paintings to innovative "color phototechnologies" employed by *Collier's* (82) and other publications. Flash photography, however, receives no mention in Jussim's book.
4. Perriton Maxwell, "Frederic Remington—Most Typical of American Artists," *Pearson's Magazine* 18 (October 1907): 403.
5. A. Radclyffe Dugmore, "Lion Hunting by Flashlight," *Collier's* 43 (14 August 1909): 16.
6. Joseph Conrad, *Almayer's Folly* (New York, 1947), 13.
7. Conrad 1947, 62.
8. Conrad 1947, 4.
9. Eduardo Cadava, *Words of Light: Theses on the Photography of History* (Princeton, 1997) and "Lapsus Imaginis: The Image in Ruins," *October* 96 (spring 2001): 35–60. See also Jodi Hauptman, "FLASH! The Speed Graphic Camera," *Yale Journal of Criticism* 11 (1998): 134.
10. Cadava 2001, 53.
11. Jack London, "When the World Was Young," *Saturday Evening Post* 183 (10 September 1910): 16.
12. Mrs. Henry Dudeney, "An Amazing Belief," *Harper's Monthly* 110 (April 1905): 766–771.
13. *Harper's Weekly* 31 (17 September 1887): 665.
14. Anonymous, "Burning the Range," *Harper's Weekly* 31 (17 September 1887): 671. "Burning the Range" appears directly above a story called "Tunneling Under the Hudson," which describes a tunnel under construction between New York City and Jersey City. Each process—burning the range to increase crop yield and tunneling under the river—is presented as a progressive endeavor.
15. Robert Lucas Forbes, ed., *New Rochelle: Two Hundred and Fifty Years* (New Rochelle, N.Y., 1938), 40–41.
16. Edward S. Martin, "Manhattan Lights," *Harper's Monthly* 114 (February 1907): 359. See also William Sharpe, "New York, Night, and Cultural Mythmaking: The Nocturne in Photography, 1900–1925," *Smithsonian Studies in American Art* 2 (fall 1988): 3–21, especially 14, for an account of Martin's article and the nighttime photographs by Alfred Hewitt that accompanied it.
17. Martin 1907, 360. "The Wicked City," a story appearing in the issue of *Collier's* that features *The Grass Fire*, describes "a young fellow from the uncharted, negligible darkness that settles down upon the country just beyond commuting distance from New York." See Eugene Wood, "The Wicked City," *Collier's* 43 (3 April 1909), 16.
18. London, *Burning Daylight* (New York, 1910), 65; Martin 1907, 359.
19. London 1910, 119.
20. London 1910, 255. For another of Daylight's power plants see 298.
21. London 1910, 22.
22. London 1910, 132, 131. Another of the tycoons, "Leon Guggenhammer," owns a yacht called the *Electra* (134).
23. London 1910, 137.
24. David Michaelis, *N. C. Wyeth: A Biography* (New York, 1998), 180.
25. N. C. Wyeth, in a letter to Henrietta Wyeth, 17 May 1909; reprinted in Betsy James Wyeth, ed., *The Wyeths: The Letters of N. C. Wyeth, 1901–1945* (Boston, 1971), 307.
26. Remington diary, entries for 17 May 1909 and 11 June 1909.
27. Wyeth 1909, reprinted in Wyeth 1971, 307.
28. Robert Louis Stevenson, "A Plea for Gas Lamps," in *The Travels and Essays* (New York, 1917), 13: 168–169; quoted in Wolfgang Schivelbusch, *Disenchanted Night: The Industrialization of Light in the Nineteenth Century* (Berkeley, 1995), 134.
29. Schivelbusch 1995.
30. Henry James, *The Spoils of Poynton* (Harmondsworth, Middlesex, England, 1987), 23, 25. The novel was originally published in 1897.
31. The glowing prairie of *The Grass Fire* is another aestheticized "no-place." Made by dragging the brush on the canvas, the prairie is one of the most self-consciously painterly passages in all of Remington's art. In its intense, energetic beauty, it too feels like an erasure of some downtrodden social space. Were this essay about only *The Grass Fire*, I would explore its connection to flash photographs, such as the frontispiece of *People of the Abyss*, an image of homeless men asleep and awake on a London park bench. The progressive gleam of *The Grass Fire*, like that of *Night Herd*, represses not just the philosophical but also the social implications of the flash, transforming abjection into reverence and beauty.
32. B. Byron Price, *Imagining the Open Range: Erwin E. Smith, Cowboy Photographer* (Fort Worth, 1998), 88.
33. Fredric Jameson, *The Political Unconscious: Narrative as a Socially Symbolic Act* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1981), 214.
34. Joseph Conrad, *Lord Jim* (Harmondsworth, Middlesex, England, 1986), 56–57.
35. Jameson 1981, 214.
36. Dunn's illustration, *He Pressed the Button, Saw, and Screamed Aloud in Terror* (see fig. 4), not to mention London's story itself, presents another type of transformation—a sleight of hand more anxious than Remington's. Here the flashlight-wielding figure is a thief, not a policeman, and the vagrant—the ragged man sleeping out under the stars—is not a drunken cockney but a successful businessman. Read in this way, London's story (and Dunn's illustration) shows a social world not so much erased as turned upside down, with fortunes exchanged and roles reversed.
37. Jacob A. Riis, *How the Other Half Lives: Studies among the Tenements of New York* (New York, 1997), 119.
38. As such, *The Guard of the Whisky Trader* fits right into the *Collier's* issue of 22 September 1906, in which it was reproduced. Two stories in that issue contain prominent mentions of sudden nighttime illumination. An article on William Randolph Hearst begins, "The character of Hearst himself has been hidden in the shadows behind the searchlight whose rays he has so mercilessly directed against the affairs of other men" (Frederick Palmer, "Hearst and Hearstism," *Collier's* 37 [22 September 1906]: 19). Another article opens, "The September elections have given a flashlight photograph of the state of chaos now prevailing in American politics" (Samuel E. Moffett, ed., "Tumbling Political Fences," *Collier's* 37 [22 September 1906]:

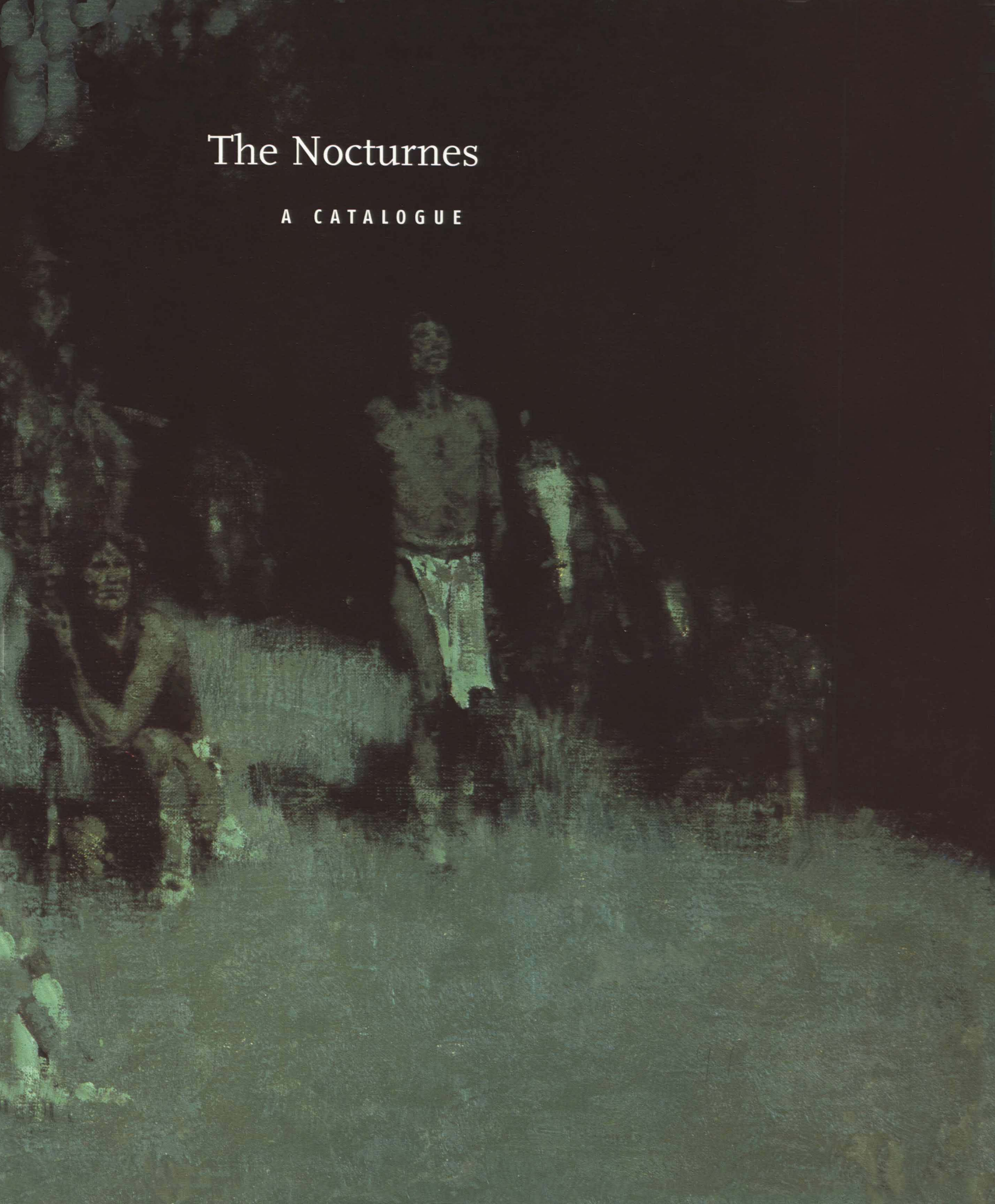
- 13). In this context, *The Guard of the Whisky Trader* was another “flashlight photograph” of another “state of chaos.”
39. Even so, one of the last paintings Remington made, *The Hunters’ Supper* of 1909, bears a weird relation to one of Riis’ most famous flash photographs, *Lodgers in a Crowded Bayard Street Tenement—“Five Cents a Spot.”* To be sure, in Remington’s painting the presence of Riis’ photograph is, in Jamesian fashion, “re-duce[d] almost to nought,” yet an aura of similarity remains. I am especially struck by the dark-complexioned figure framed against the white tent at the far right of *The Hunters’ Supper*. In him I see a haunting echo of the dark-skinned man, framed against a white wall and white sheets, at the far right of “*Five Cents a Spot.*” Even in his last elegies, Remington could never fully suppress the exposé.
40. Remington diary, entry for 11 December 1908.
41. Arthur Hoeber, “Art and Artists,” *New York Globe and Commercial Advertiser*, 14 December 1908, sec. 8, p. 5.
42. Remington diary, entry for 15 January 1908.
43. Anonymous, “Gallery Notes: Remington’s Paintings on View,” *New York Times*, 2 December 1908, 8.
44. “Gradually we become aware that the mist beneath the poet’s feet is another of the great Romantic emblems of imagination,” write Jonathan Wordsworth, Michael C. Jaye, and Robert Woof in describing “The Ascent of Snowdon,” the final episode of William Wordsworth’s *Prelude*. See Jonathan Wordsworth, Michael C. Jaye, and Robert Woof, *William Wordsworth and the Age of English Romanticism* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1987), 195).
45. Owen Wister, *Members of the Family* (New York, 1911), 7–9.
46. Arthur Hoeber, “Art and Artists,” *New York Globe and Commercial Advertiser*, 3 December 1908, sec. 10, p. 6.
47. Remington diary, entry for 19 July 1908.
48. Owen Wister, “The Gift Horse,” *Saturday Evening Post* 181 (18 July 1908): 3. Harvey Dunn illustrated the story.
49. Wister 1908, 3.
50. Wister 1908, 27. In his 1911 revision of “The Gift Horse,” included in *Members of the Family*, Wister accentuated his theme by adding a few sentences. “I closed my eyes,” the narrator says near the conclusion. “[I] could see McDonough as he stood by my horse, embarrassed, reaching out his hand . . .” When the narrator and a friend then encounter McDonough’s dead body hanging from a tree—the horse thief has been caught and punished—a wind blows the body so that it turns halfway around, revealing its open eyes to the narrator, who says, “I think we might close the eyes.” The deed done, the narrator’s friend replies, “That does look better” (Wister 1911, 205–206).
51. “Gallery Notes” 1908, 8.
52. Augustus Thomas, “Recollections of Frederic Remington,” *Century* 86 (July 1913): 361, 358.
53. It makes no difference that Remington painted the daylight scene *after* the nocturne, creating *Pete’s Shanty* on 26 June 1908, whereas he had completed *The Grass Fire* by 8 June (Remington diary, entries for 26 June 1908 and 8 June 1908). The effect is based on the artist’s *exhibition* of such dissonant works together, rather than the sequence in which he painted them. The effect, moreover, would apply to any of the St. Lawrence and Old West paintings seen in combination, whether or not one could determine such striking formal resemblances as those between *Pete’s Shanty* and *The Grass Fire*. In most cases, one cannot.
54. Cortissoz 1910, 181.
55. Cortissoz 1910, 182.
56. Cortissoz 1910, 194.
57. Hassam’s Oregon pictures, of course, for all their daylight, are an equivalent escape. As he put it, the solitary artist, practicing his profession “aloof from the rabble,” finds “what the saints sought for in the desert.” Childe Hassam, quoted in Donelson F. Hoopes, *Childe Hassam* (New York, 1979), title page.
58. Owen Wister, *The Virginian* (New York, 1988), 300.
59. Edith Wharton, *The House of Mirth* (New York, 1990), 118.
60. Wharton 1990, 250.
61. Wister 1911, 196.
62. Jack London, *Martin Eden* (New York, 1993), 423, 110, 379, 409, 130.
63. London 1993, 482.
64. Terry Castle, “Phantasmagoria and the Metaphorics of Modern Reverie,” in Terry Castle, *The Female Thermometer: 18th-Century Culture and the Invention of the Uncanny* (New York, 1995), 157.
65. London 1993, 35.
66. Wharton 1990, 250.
67. London 1993, 482.
68. The most powerful visual equivalent to London’s grim flashwork in *Martin Eden* is a sculpture, *Puma on Guard*, made c. 1907–1911 by London’s San Francisco contemporary, Arthur Putnam. See my article, “The Dark Cat: Arthur Putnam and a Fragment of Night,” *American Art* 16 (spring 2002): 37–59. Even London retreated from the grimness of the controversial *Martin Eden*. *Burning Daylight*, his next novel, changed Eden’s gloom into Daylight’s sunny optimism.
69. Wharton 1990, 129, 142, 131.
70. Cortissoz 1910, 192.





# The Nocturnes

A CATALOGUE



Listed here are the nocturnes Frederic Remington is known to have completed between 1900 and 1909, including works he destroyed. Each listing cites titles (and variant titles in parentheses), date, medium, measurements, inscriptions, illustration history, and location. Because much of this information is drawn from the Remington catalogue raisonné (Hassrick and Webster 1996), each entry includes the catalogue raisonné (CR) number. Also included, when available, are references to individual paintings from Remington's letters, diaries, and ledger book as well as commentary, both by the artist and others, published in contemporary newspapers and periodicals.

We are grateful to the staff at the Frederic Remington Art Museum for providing transcriptions of Remington's diaries.



I

**"Pretty Mother of the Night—  
White Otter is No Longer a Boy"**

c. 1900  
oil on canvas  
68.6 × 101.6 (27 × 40)  
Inscribed: Unsigned  
Bellas Artes Nevada, LLC

Illustrated: *The Cosmopolitan*  
(November 1905): cover and 45,  
color halftone  
CR 2517

## COMMENTARY

Filled with a great exultation, they trotted and loped along until the moon came up, when White Otter spoke for the first time, addressing it: "Pretty Mother of the Night—time of the little brown bat's flight—see what I have done. White Otter is no longer a boy." Then to his pony: "Go on quickly now, pretty little war-pony. You are strong to carry me. Do not lame yourself in the dog-holes.

Carry me back to the Chis-chis-chash, and I promise the Mother of the Night, now and here, where you can hear me speak, that you shall never carry any man but White Otter, and that only in war."

FREDERIC REMINGTON, "THE WAY OF AN INDIAN," *THE COSMOPOLITAN* (NOVEMBER 1905): 47



2

**The Wolves Sniffed Along the Trail,  
but Came No Nearer**

c. 1900

oil on canvas

68.6 × 101.6 (27 × 40)

Inscribed: Frederic Remington  
(lower left)

Bellas Artes Nevada, LLC

Illustrated: *The Cosmopolitan*  
(November 1905): 41, halftone  
CR 2518

COMMENTARY

Across the gray-greens of the moonlit plains bobbed and flitted the dim form of the seeker of God's help.

Now among the dark shadows of the pines, now in the gray sagebrush, lost in the coulees, but ceaselessly on and on, wound this figure of the night. The wolves sniffed along on the trail, but came no nearer.

All night long he pursued his way, his muscles playing tirelessly to the demands of a mind as taut as bowstring.

FREDERIC REMINGTON, "THE WAY OF AN INDIAN," *THE COSMOPOLITAN* (NOVEMBER 1905): 38



3

**"Calling the Moose"  
(The Call to Death)**

1901  
oil on canvas  
67.3 × 100.3 (26½ × 39½)  
Inscribed: Frederic  
Remington/Copyright, Colliers  
Weekly/1901 (lower left)  
The R. W. Norton Art Gallery,  
Shreveport, Louisiana

Illustrated: *Collier's Weekly*  
(12 October 1901): 8, halftone  
CR 2567

**COMMENTARY**

Moose "calling" is not an ideally sportsmanlike method of capturing the game, but is nevertheless practised [sic] by many. A horn is made of birch bark, about fifteen inches long, and shaped like a cornucopia. In the mating season the call can be employed to advantage by a skilful [sic] hunter. Great caution is imperative, for if a bull should be close at

hand he would certainly detect the ruse and be off as swiftly and silently as a shadow. It is, therefore, customary to call at half hour intervals, the first calls being very low, so that should a moose be near, he will not be frightened at the suddenness and closeness of the sound.

*COLLIER'S WEEKLY* (12 OCTOBER 1901): 8

4

### The Medicine Song

1901  
Last known location: 1901 Clausen's  
exhibition, New York, New York

No known image  
CR 2533

#### COMMENTARY

Amid a lot of paintings of this sort [strenuous and gruesome], the two night scenes come like oases in the hot deserts Mr. Remington so persistently paints. One of these night scenes is called "The Medicine Song," and in it are seen several Indians sitting in a circle about a little fire, singing their curious ode, with which a dog, head up, howls in unison. Tepees and a slight hill beyond come truly and with some artistic feeling against a deep-toned sky [*The Night Herd* was the other night scene].

"ART NEWS," *NEW YORK EVENING POST*,  
14 DECEMBER 1901, 19

5

### The Night Herd

1901  
oil on canvas  
68.6 × 101.6 (27 × 40)  
Last known location: 1901 Clausen's  
exhibition, New York, New York

No known image  
CR 2534

#### COMMENTARY

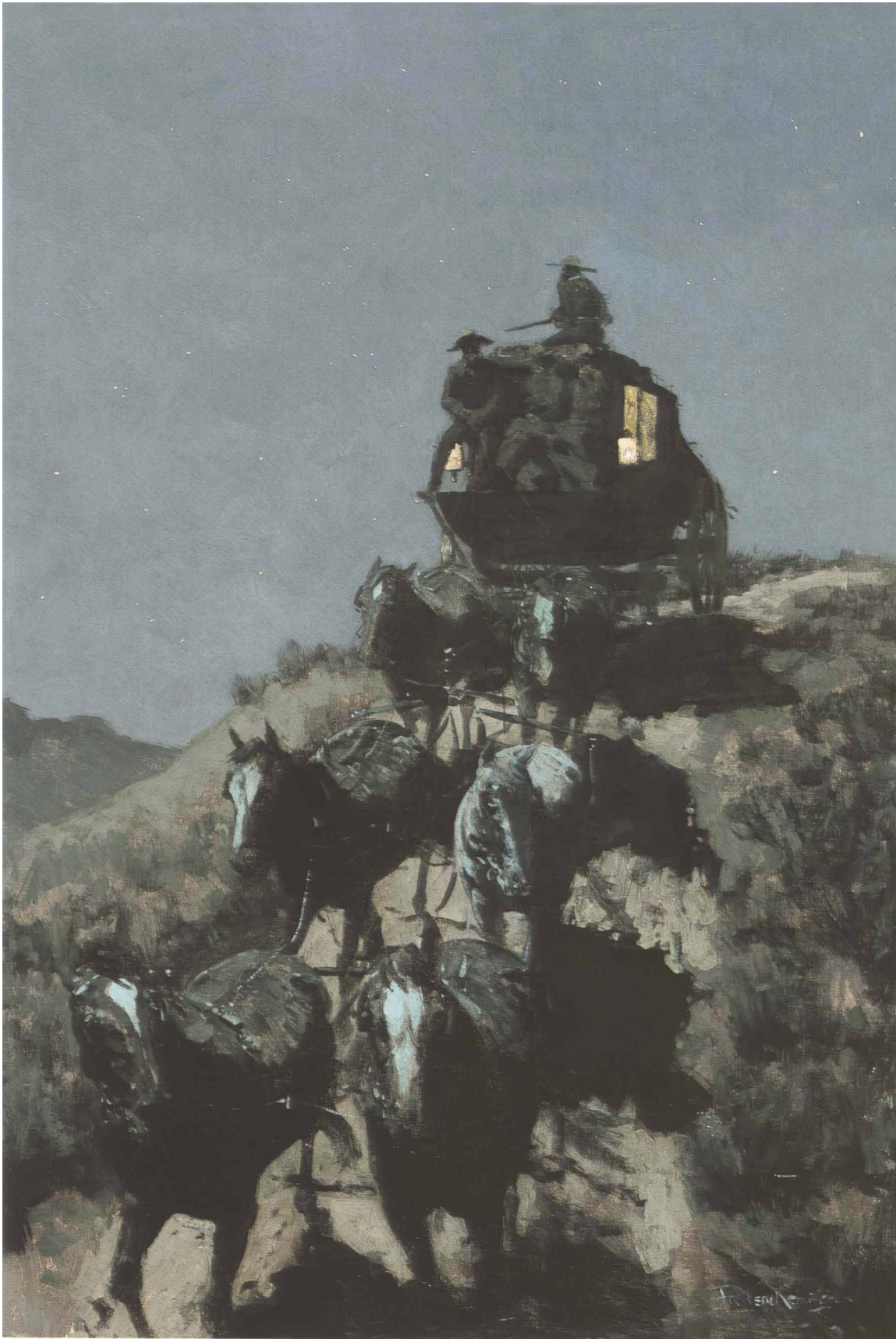
Depicting night the artist is more successful, and in a work like "The Night Herd" he secures considerable sentiment with his paint. "THE ART WORLD," *NEW YORK COMMERCIAL ADVERTISER*, 10 DECEMBER 1901, 7

... seldom are the colors coordinated into any pictorial ensemble, and the brush work is tame and intrinsically uninteresting. In one instance, however, a pictorial charm is reached. "The Night Herd," in which two horsemen are seen in the moonlight beside the slumbering cattle, is a picture distinctly beautiful in color, reasonably complete in values and full of a strong, earnest sense of the mystery of night. Here we have a glimpse of the sentiment of the Western life, the other pictures representing only its grosser aspects. It proves what Mr. Remington can do when he takes off his illustration-thinking cap and views his problem seriously and solely from the painter's point of view.

"PAINTINGS, PASTELS AND DRAWINGS BY  
FREDERIC REMINGTON," *NEW YORK SUN*,  
11 DECEMBER 1901, 6

Amid a lot of paintings of this sort [strenuous and gruesome], the two night scenes come like oases in the hot deserts Mr. Remington so persistently paints. . . . The other, representing two men on horseback, watching "The Night Herd" by moonlight, is still better. The herd in the distance is but vaguely seen, but the white light of the invisible moon falls full on the silent watchers, reined close beside each other in the foreground. Compared with the rest of the display, these two pictures [*The Night Herd* and *The Medicine Song*] seem decidedly artistic.

"ART NEWS," *NEW YORK EVENING POST*,  
14 DECEMBER 1901, 19



6

**The Old Stage-Coach of the Plains**

1901

oil on canvas

102.2 × 69.2 (40¼ × 27¼)

Inscribed: Frederic Remington  
(lower right)

Amon Carter Museum,  
Fort Worth, Texas

Illustrated: *Century Magazine*  
(January 1902): frontispiece, color  
half-tone

CR 2590





7

**The Cossack Post  
(U.S. Cavalryman; Cavalry Vidette;  
Soldier—Moonlight)**

c. 1902

oil

Inscribed: Frederic Remington  
(lower left)

Location unknown

Illustrated: *Scribner's Magazine*  
(October 1902): 411, halftone  
CR 2684

## COMMENTARY

The Cossack Post (Cavalryman)[:]  
A Picket of three men is technically called a "cossack post," and the moonlight of the picture uncovers a United States cavalryman on the Northern Plains in the almost fierce and certainly definite light of a country which has "no atmosphere," as painters phrase it. The cap and overcoat were issued for winter campaigns in that sullen cold.

FREDERIC REMINGTON, "WESTERN TYPES," *SCRIBNER'S MAGAZINE* 32  
(OCTOBER 1902): 411

Although Schreyvogel, Russell, and others have followed Frederic Remington in the picturing of Indian combats, of cowboys and soldiers, of trappers and bad men of the plains, this artist maintains a lead by the number and variety of his scenes from the vanished life of the Far West. . . . A desolate snowscape is seen in "Cavalry Vidette," the snow rather heavily painted.

"PAINTINGS BY REMINGTON. GRIM TRAGEDIES OF THE PLAINS TOLD IN STRONG COLORS," *NEW YORK TIMES*,  
15 MARCH 1904, 8



8

**Indian Scouts in the Moonlight  
(Indian Scouts in Moonlight)**

c. 1902

oil on canvas

76.2 × 50.8 (30 × 20)

Inscribed: Frederic Remington  
(lower right)

Private Collection

CR 2602



9

**Moonlight in the Western Desert**

c. 1902

Inscribed: Frederic Remington  
(lower right)

Location unknown

Illustrated: *Century Magazine*  
(April 1902): 812, halftone  
CR 2672



10

### A Reconnaissance

1902  
oil on canvas  
69.1 × 101.7 (27¼ × 40⅞)  
Inscribed: Frederic Remington/  
1902/copyright 1902 by Frederic  
Remington (lower right)  
Curtis Galleries, Minneapolis,  
Minnesota

Illustrated: *Collier's Weekly*  
(8 April 1905): 18–19, halftone  
CR 2692

### COMMENTARY

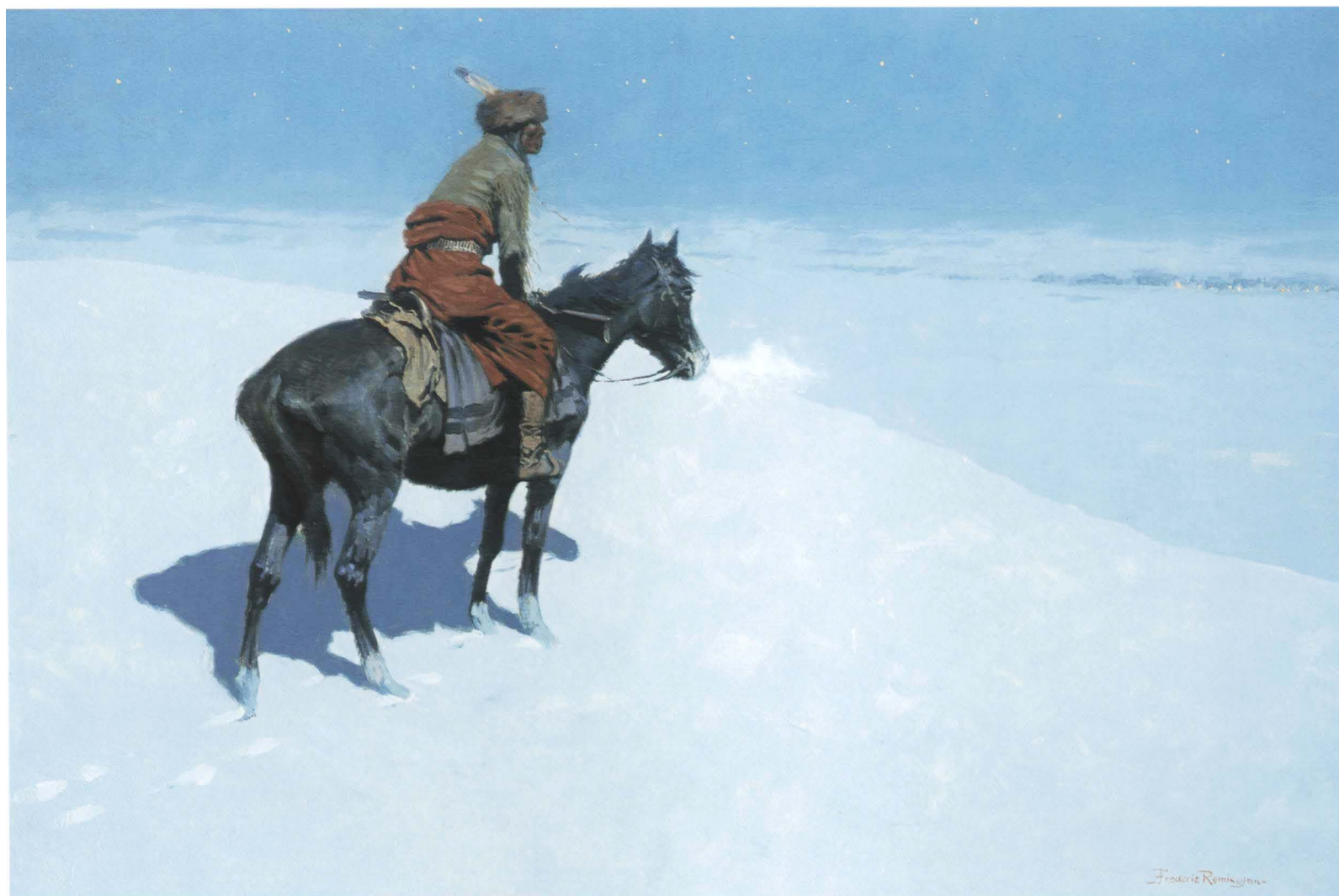
"A Reconnaissance in the Moonlight" is one of the best here [at Noé Galleries] in the way of composition. On a ridge crowned by dark woods three men have halted their horses in the snow; one holds the horses of the other two and the latter are cautiously walking toward the wooded crest in the moonlight. The scene suggests peril of some kind. A green sky pointed with stars is above, a pale greenish mantle of snow below.

One feels that the danger, if danger there be, lurks within or beyond the trees toward which the tracks of the two men in the smooth snow are pointing.

"REMINGTON'S WEST" *NEW YORK TIMES*, 7  
APRIL 1903, 9

A Reconnaissance[:] A cavalry officer with his white scout viewing hostile Indian country by moonlight from the protection of trees.

*COLLIER'S WEEKLY* (8 APRIL 1905): 18–19



## II

### **The Scout: Friends or Foes? (The Scout: Friends or Enemies?; Friends or Foes)**

1902–1905

oil on canvas

68.6 × 101.6 (27 × 40)

Inscribed: Frederic Remington  
(lower right)

Sterling and Francine Clark Art  
Institute, Williamstown,  
Massachusetts

CR 2603

#### COMMENTARY

Remington at his best [in *Friends or Foes*]. Effective composition. The horse and rider contrasting with the broad, empty spaces, giving a sense of the endless plains. Lent by J. Townsend Lansing, esq.

ALBANY INSTITUTE AND ALBANY HISTORICAL  
AND ART SOCIETY, *CATALOG OF PAINTINGS*,  
SPRING EXHIBIT (1–14 MARCH 1905),  
NO. 105

I2

**The Bell Mare  
(Pack Train in Moonlight;  
In the Enemy's Country)**

1903

oil on canvas

88.3 × 67.9 (34¾ × 26¾)

Inscribed: Frederic Remington/  
copyright 1903 by Frederic Remington  
(lower center)

Gilcrease Museum, Tulsa,  
Oklahoma

Illustrated: *Collier's Weekly* (13  
August 1904): 14–15, color halftone  
CR 2707

**COMMENTARY**

A government pack train of mules is always led by a horse which carries no burden and which therefore sets a good pace for its heavy-laden followers. The favorite leader for a train of this kind is a white or gray mare, wearing a bell at her neck which can be heard by every animal in the line. Once started on the trail over the mountains of Arizona or New Mexico, the bell mare will lead her charges along at a good pace, without any urging or direction from the mounted men who are convoying the government's property.

*COLLIER'S WEEKLY* (13 AUGUST 1904):  
14–15





I3

**Apache Fire Signal  
(Apache Signal Fire)**

c. 1904

oil on canvas

101.6 × 71.1 (40 × 28)

Inscribed: Frederic Remington  
(lower left)

Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza,  
Madrid

CR 2710



I4

**The End of the Day**

c. 1904

oil on canvas

67.3 × 101.6 (26½ × 40)

Inscribed: Frederic Remington  
(lower right)

Frederic Remington Art Museum,  
Ogdensburg, New York

Illustrated: *Collier's Weekly* (17  
December 1904): 14–15, color  
halftone  
CR 2736





I5

**A Night Attack on a Government  
Wagon Train**

c. 1904  
Destroyed by Remington

Illustrated: *Collier's Weekly* (11 June  
1904): 16–17, color halftone  
CR 2729

DIARY

Retouched “Winter night in coral” —  
“Where Sun goes” and struggled  
with “Attack on Wagon Train”  
WEDNESDAY, 22 JANUARY 1908

Have spoiled “Wagon Train” picture.  
THURSDAY, 23 JANUARY 1908

COMMENTARY

It was a frequent occurrence, in the  
early days when wagon trains were  
the only method of transportation in  
the Far West, for the Indians to  
attack the travelers—especially at  
night—hoping to demoralize the  
men and stampede the horses.  
Raids of this kind were not often  
successful, as the trains progressed  
under heavy escort.

*COLLIER'S WEEKLY* (11 JUNE 1904): 16–17



I6

**Passing a Rival Post by Night**

c. 1904

Inscribed: Frederic Remington  
(lower right)

Location unknown

Illustrated: *Century Magazine*  
(April 1904): 800, halftone  
CR 2723



I7

**An Argument with the  
Town Marshal**

c. 1905

oil on canvas

67.9 × 101.6 (26¾ × 40)

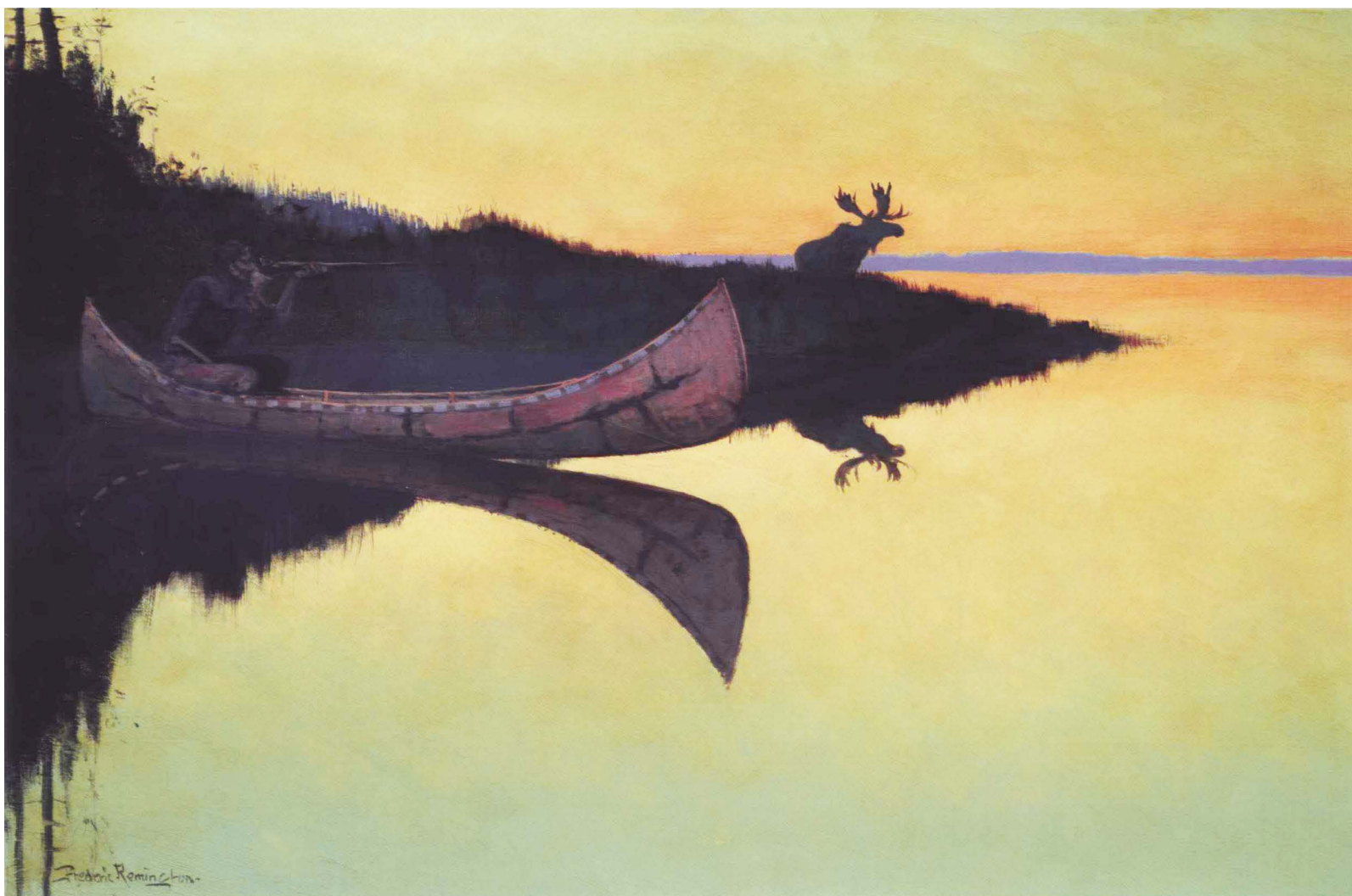
Inscribed: Frederic Remington  
(lower right)

Collection of William I. Koch,  
Palm Beach, Florida

Illustrated: *Collier's Weekly*

(11 February 1905): 18–19,  
color halftone

CR 2766



18

### Coming to the Call

c. 1905  
oil on canvas  
69.3 × 102.2 (27¼ × 40¼)  
Inscribed: Frederic Remington  
(lower left)  
Collection of William I. Koch,  
Palm Beach, Florida

Illustrated: *Collier's Weekly*  
(19 August 1905): 14–15,  
color halftone  
CR 2775

#### COMMENTARY

In the lower room [of the American Art Galleries] are hung some thirty characteristic paintings by Frederic [sic] Remington. Brightly colored, they are the scenes of life on the plains, Indians and soldiers, with which his illustrations have familiarized the public. One especially decorative shows the solitary figure of a moose on a projecting promontory, outlined against a brilliant sunset sky, reflected in the placid lake. In the shadows a hunter is taking aim. *AMERICAN ART NEWS* (4 NOVEMBER 1905): 4

That Mr. Remington can get away from his ochres and ambers and siennas, he shows in a gorgeous

sunset glow, in which a big moose at the edge of a lake is outlined against a resplendent sky.

"ART NEWS," *NEW YORK EVENING POST*,  
4 NOVEMBER 1905, 9

Beautiful outdoor pictures by Remington \$1.50 each[.] "Coming to the Call" and "An Evening on a Canadian Lake" are the two most beautiful and popular pictures ever drawn by Frederic Remington—the ablest out-of-doors artist of our time. They are full of rich deep color—size 22 × 28—handsomely mounted on a bristol board. Price \$1.50 each. Express prepaid. If not satisfied, return and money will be refunded. *COLLIER'S WEEKLY* (21 JULY 1906): 23

A painting ["Coming to Call"] as remarkable, in the original, for its simplicity as for its rich and haunting color-effect.

"FREDERIC REMINGTON—A PAINTER OF THE VANISHING WEST," *CURRENT LITERATURE* (NOVEMBER 1907): 524

Some of his best-known pictures are "Trailing Texas Cattle," "The Chief-tan," "Shadows at the Water Hole," "Coming to Call," and "Downing the Nigh Leader," the last of which Buffalo Bill carried to all parts of the world and made known.

"REMINGTON, PAINTER AND AUTHOR, DEAD," *NEW YORK TIMES*, 27 DECEMBER 1909, 1, 3



I9

**An Early Start for Market**

1905  
Inscribed: Frederic Remington/1905  
(lower right)  
Destroyed by Remington in 1908

Illustrated: *Collier's Weekly*  
(15 July 1905): 12-13, color halftone  
CR 2774

COMMENTARY

An Early Start for Market[:] Mexican ranchmen with a heavy-laden pack-train setting out on their weekly visit to the city.

*COLLIER'S WEEKLY* (15 JULY 1905): 12-13



20

**Evening on a Canadian Lake**

1905  
oil on canvas  
69.2 × 101.6 (27¼ × 40)  
Inscribed: Frederic Remington  
(upper right)  
Collection of William I. Koch,  
Palm Beach, Florida

Illustrated: *Collier's Weekly*  
(18 March 1905): 18–19,  
color halftone  
CR 2767

COMMENTARY

Beautiful outdoor pictures by Remington \$1.50 each[.] “Coming to the Call” and “An Evening on a Canadian Lake” are the two most beautiful and popular pictures ever drawn by Frederic Remington—the ablest out-of-doors artist of our time. They are full of rich deep color—size 22 × 28—handsomely mounted on a bristol board. Price \$1.50 each. Express prepaid. If not satisfied, return and money will be refunded.  
*COLLIER'S WEEKLY* (21 JULY 1906): 23



21

**A Halt in the Wilderness  
(Halt of a Cavalry Patrol to Warm)**

1905  
oil on canvas  
68.6 × 101.6 (27 × 40)  
Inscribed: Frederic Remington  
(lower right)  
Private Collection

Illustrated: *Collier's Weekly*  
(23 September 1905): 14–15,  
duotone  
CR 2776

COMMENTARY

Less successful [than “The Belated Traveler”] is the circle of whites and Indians round the fire in “Halt of a Cavalry Patrol to Warm.”

“INDIANS ON LAND AND WAVE. EXHIBITION OF PAINTINGS BY FREDERIC REMINGTON AT THE NOÉ GALLERY,” *NEW YORK TIMES*, 10 FEBRUARY 1906, 6

22

**Moonlight**

c. 1905

Last known location: 1905 Noé  
exhibition, New York, New York

No known image

CR 2756





23

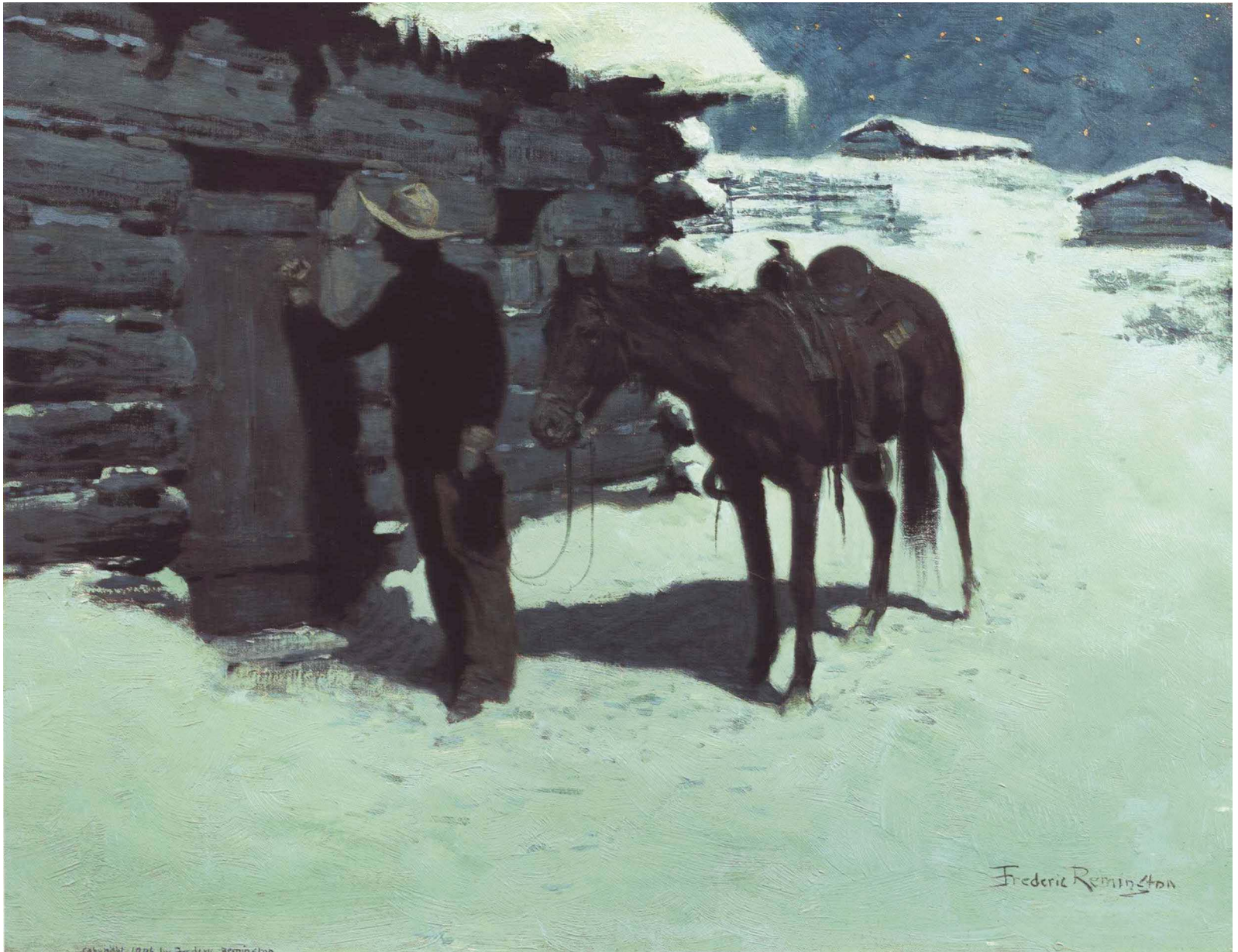
**The Old Story in a New Way  
(The Canoe Moonlight;  
Moonlight Canoe)**

c. 1905

Inscribed: Frederic Remington  
(lower right)

Destroyed by Remington in 1908

Illustrated: *Collier's Weekly*  
(13 May 1905): 16–17, color halftone  
CR 2771



24

**The Belated Traveler**

1905–1906

oil on canvas

50.8 × 66 (20 × 26)

Inscribed: Frederic Remington  
(lower right); copyright 1906 by  
Frederic Remington (lower left)  
Private Collection

CR 2742

**COMMENTARY**

Another good snowy nocturne is  
“The Belated Traveler,” a young  
white man in heavy riding togs  
knocking at a log cabin from which  
no light appears. The scattered cabins  
are seen under a bright moonlight.

“INDIANS ON LAND AND WAVE. EXHIBITION  
OF PAINTINGS BY FREDERIC REMINGTON  
AT THE NOÉ GALLERY,” *NEW YORK TIMES*,  
10 FEBRUARY 1906, 6

Also “The Belated Traveler,” at  
nightfall holding his horse by the  
rein while he waits for the answer  
to his knock at the ranch door,  
has both sentiment and painting  
quality. . . .

“ALS IK KAN: NOTES: REVIEWS,” *THE  
CRAFTSMAN* 10 (APRIL 1906): 122



25

**Evening in the Desert, Navajoes  
(Apaches Listening; Evening in  
the Desert)**

1905–1906  
oil on canvas

50.8 × 66 (20 × 26)

Inscribed: Frederic Remington  
(lower left)  
Frederic Remington Art Museum,  
Ogdensburg, New York

CR 2747

**DIARY**

Lazinsky got “Evening in Desert” of  
Knoedler for \$400—and called on  
me—he wouldn’t have got it if I had  
known who it was.

SATURDAY, 11 APRIL 1908

\$320 from Knoedler “Evening in  
Desert.”

SATURDAY, 25 APRIL 1908

**COMMENTARY**

“Hole in the Day” is a group of Indi-  
ans riding on the slope of a hill just  
where a patch of sunlight falls.

“Evening in the Desert—Navajoes”  
and “A Sunset on the Plains” are  
similar pictures with larger figures,  
more carefully wrought.

“INDIANS ON LAND AND WAVE. EXHIBITION  
OF PAINTINGS BY FREDERIC REMINGTON  
AT THE NOÉ GALLERY,” *NEW YORK TIMES*,  
10 FEBRUARY 1906, 6

... and one “effect,” —“Evening in  
the Desert,” a group of Navahoe  
Indians against a rose-gold sunset,  
is true and pleasing in color.

“ALS IK KAN: NOTES: REVIEWS,” *THE  
CRAFTSMAN* 10 (APRIL 1906): 122



26

**Ghost Stories**  
**(The Ghost Story)**

1905–1906

oil on canvas

50.8 × 66 (20 × 26)

Inscribed: Frederic Remington  
(lower right)

Private Collection

CR 2749

DIARY

“The Ghost Stories”

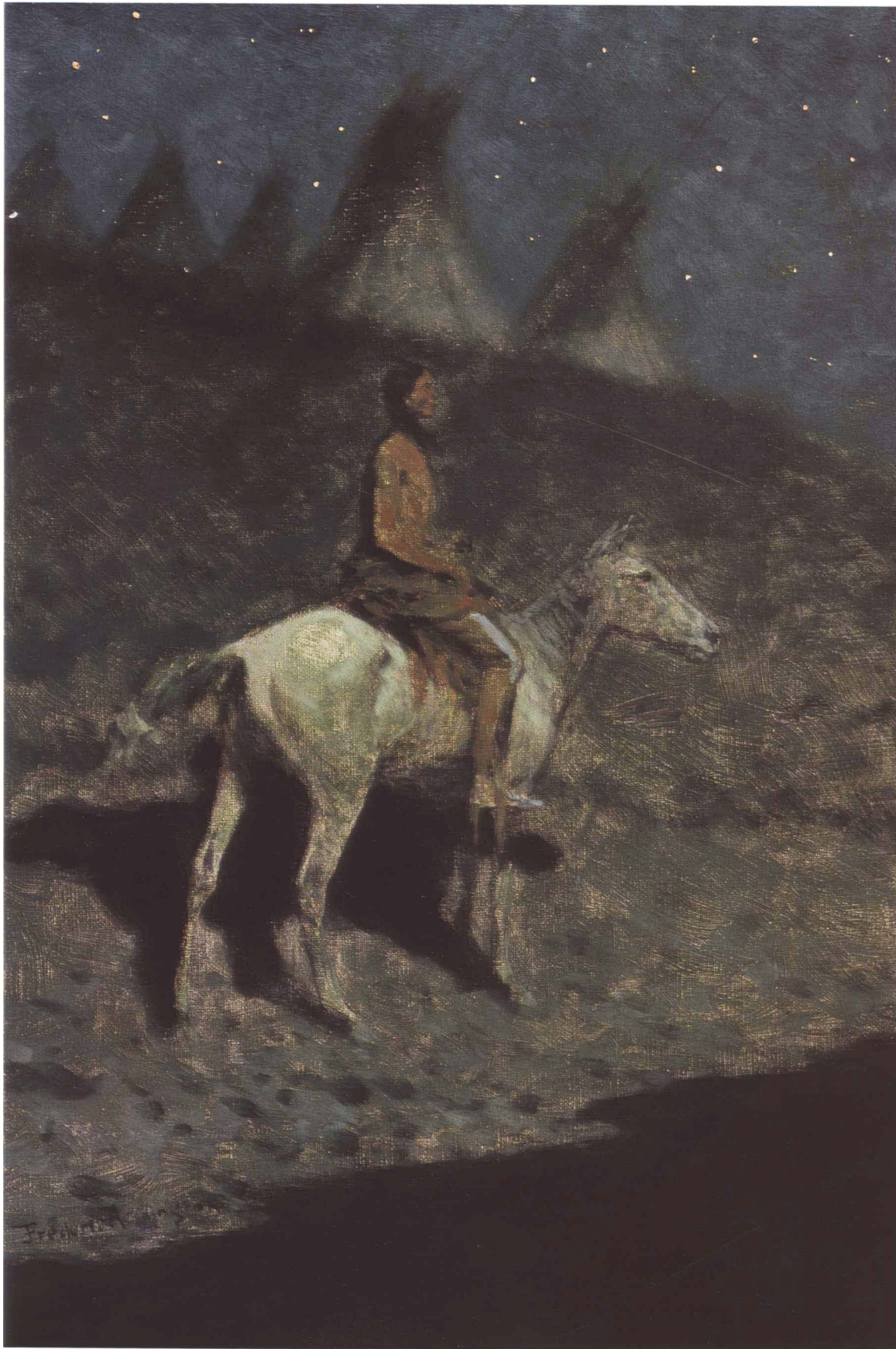
LISTED ON MEMO PAGE, 1907

COMMENTARY

Anecdotes brightly told are “Firing the Grass to Windward of a Camp,” in which the triumph of the hostile Indians is well depicted as they stand or ride near the line of flame, looking toward the quarter where they expect to cause a stampede;

and “Ghost Stories,” a lean, dark Indian squatted by the campfire with outstretched hand, curdling the blood of a lot of young Indians seated about; and “The Hungry Moon,” three Indians skinning and cutting up a buffalo, which lies stark on the snow under the moonlight.

“INDIANS ON LAND AND WAVE. EXHIBITION OF PAINTINGS BY FREDERIC REMINGTON AT THE NOÉ GALLERY,” *NEW YORK TIMES*, 10 FEBRUARY 1906, 6



27

**Indian in the Moonlight  
(The Night Rider)**

1905–1906  
oil on canvas

45.2 × 30.5 (18 × 12)

Inscribed: Frederic Remington  
(lower left)

Gilcrease Museum, Tulsa,  
Oklahoma

CR 2754



28

**Sunset on the Plains  
(Indian, Horse and Village)**

1905–1906  
oil on canvas  
50.8 × 66 (20 × 26)  
Inscribed: Frederic Remington  
(lower right)  
West Point Museum Collection,  
United States Military Academy

CR 2763

DIARY

“Sunset in the desert”  
LISTED ON MEMO PAGE, 1907

COMMENTARY

“Hole in the Day” is a group of Indians riding on the slope of a hill just where a patch of sunlight falls. “Evening in the Desert—Navajoes” and “A Sunset on the Plains” are similar pictures with larger figures, more carefully wrought. “INDIANS ON LAND AND WAVE. EXHIBITION OF PAINTINGS BY FREDERIC REMINGTON AT THE NOÉ GALLERY,” *NEW YORK TIMES*, 10 FEBRUARY 1906, 6



**Voice of the Hills**  
**(Voice from the Hills; Night Call)**

1905–1906  
 oil on canvas  
 45.7 × 30.5 (18 × 12)  
 Inscribed: Frederic Remington  
 (lower right)  
 Nemours Mansion and Gardens,  
 Wilmington, Delaware

CR 2765

DIARY

The Rochester Woman Mrs. Eaton who bought "Voice from the Hills" in studio.

SUNDAY, 28 JULY 1907

LETTERS

That grey wolf will continue to howl until someone gives \$500 to stop his noise.

REMINGTON TO LOUIS SHIPMAN,  
 23 NOVEMBER (1905–1906?)

COMMENTARY

Excellent, if a trifle hard wrought, are the pictures of wild beasts—a wolf howling at the moon in "A Voice from the Hills" and a fox "After the Bacon Rinds" stealing up to the embers of a deserted campfire.

"INDIANS ON LAND AND WAVE. EXHIBITION OF PAINTINGS BY FREDERIC REMINGTON AT THE NOÉ GALLERY," *NEW YORK TIMES*, 10 FEBRUARY 1906, 6

Nearly all of Mr. Remington's pictures suffer from the domination of the illustration habit; that is to say, he seems to feel always a self-imposed necessity to have his picture tell a story. Also his technique is often tight and his light effects theatrical. His drawing, however, is vigorous and there is a fine appreciation of the poetry of the people and their land in his Indian pictures. "A Voice from the Hills,"—a wolf with nose up baying in the moonlight, and the sunlight picture of a hungry wolf hovering about a deserted wagon are both interesting and appealing.

"ALS IK KAN: NOTES: REVIEWS," *THE CRAFTSMAN* 10 (APRIL 1906): 122





30

**Against the Sunset**

1906  
 oil on canvas  
 55.8 × 76.2 (22 × 30)  
 Inscribed: Frederic Remington  
 (lower right)  
 Private Collection

CR 2788

**DIARY**

Sold today "Scare in Pack Train"  
 three payments of \$500 each...  
 "With Eye of Mind" \$1000 "Against  
 the Sun Set" \$500.

FRIDAY, 4 DECEMBER 1908

Sold at Knoedlers to date... "Against  
 the Sun Set"

TUESDAY, 8 DECEMBER 1908



31

**Cow-Puncher's Lullaby  
(The Cowpuncher's Lullaby;  
Cowpuncher's Lullaby)**

1906

oil on canvas

76.2 × 53.5 (30 × 21)

Inscribed: Frederic Remington  
(lower right)

UCLA Hammer Museum, Los  
Angeles, Gift of the Armand  
Hammer Foundation

CR 2792

**COMMENTARY**

"The Cowpuncher's Lullaby" tells the story of the herd lying at rest under the stars, while a gaunt cowboy sings to them lest they lose their quiet and perhaps stampede away from his control.

"A CLOSED CHAPTER OF LIFE. PAINTINGS OF WESTERN LIFE BY FREDERIC REMINGTON, INDIANS, COWBOYS, AND TRAPPERS," *NEW YORK TIMES*, 23 DECEMBER 1906, 4

**A Dangerous Country**

c. 1906  
 oil on canvas  
 76.2 × 55.9 (30 × 22)  
 Inscribed: Frederic Remington  
 (lower right); Copyright 1906 by  
 Frederic Remington (lower center)  
 Private Collection

CR 2793

**DIARY**

Sold at Knoedlers to date . . . "Dangerous Country"

TUESDAY, 8 DECEMBER 1908

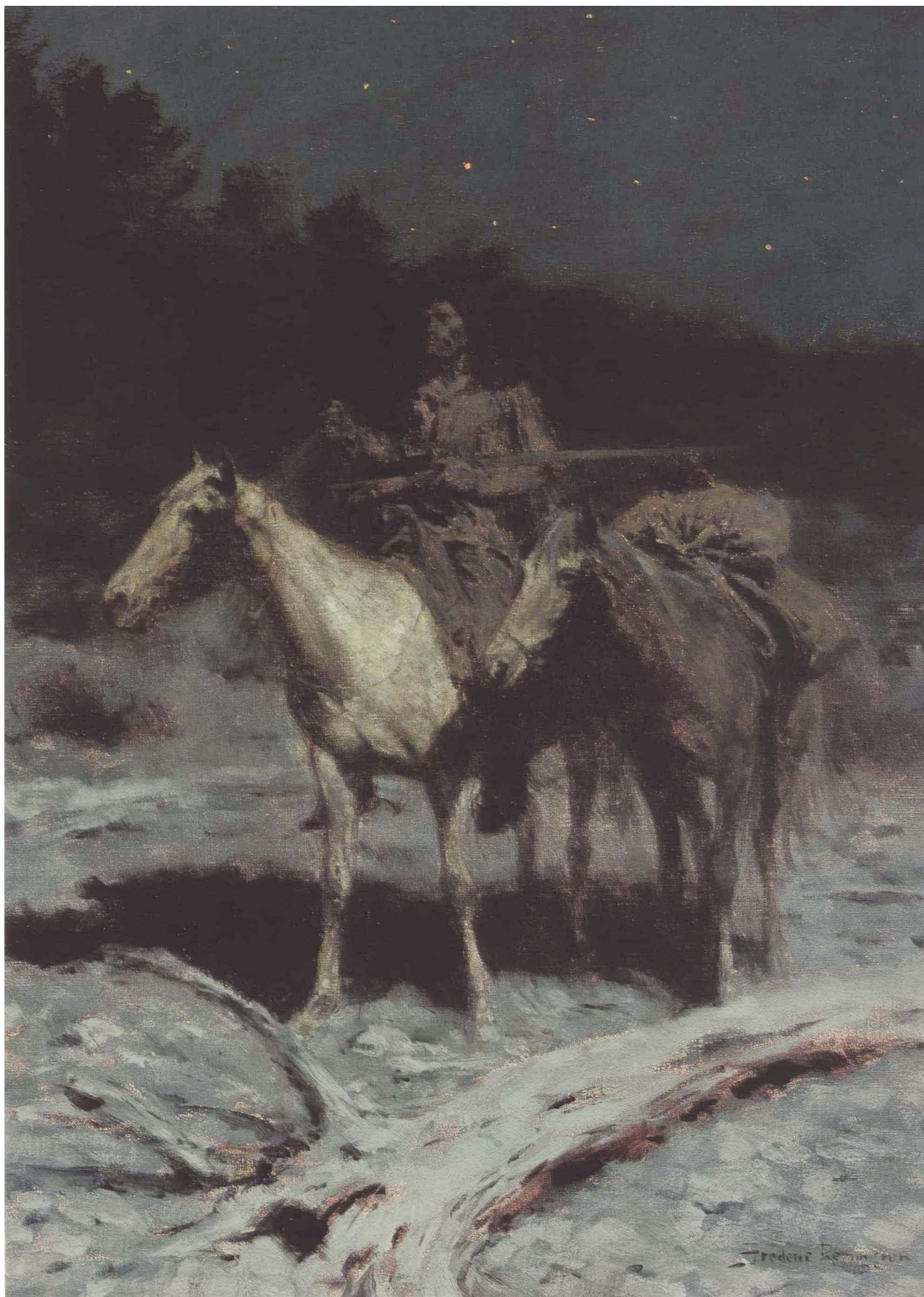
**COMMENTARY**

In two such canvases as "A Dangerous Country" and "The Prowler" there is again capital craftsmanship, and the good color is manifest, while, of course, the composition is all that could be asked. With Mr. Remington's natural intuition for composition and his years of experience as an illustrator, his senses in this direction have been trained, of course, to a high degree; but he has now come to a point where we pass the composition over because of the higher qualities of paint and sentiment, of the truth of subtle values, and the charm of facture.

"ART AND ARTISTS. REMINGTON'S INDIAN PICTURES AT KNOEDLER'S—NOTES," *NEW YORK GLOBE AND COMMERCIAL ADVERTISER*, 19 DECEMBER 1906, 10

It is a softened and harmonized Remington we find this year, his pictures having atmosphere and looking for all the world as if he had been abroad, studying the delicate aerial niceties we find in Corot and Mauve, Pissaro and Le Sidaner. It is true that he [Remington] takes the shades of night to help him to those tones of mystery which most of his previous pictures lacked. . . . "A Dangerous Country" seems to insinuate that the big Indian riding so grimly through the night is the danger, though perhaps the white man is really more dangerous.

"A CLOSED CHAPTER OF LIFE. PAINTINGS OF WESTERN LIFE BY FREDERIC REMINGTON, INDIANS, COWBOYS, AND TRAPPERS," *NEW YORK TIMES*, 23 DECEMBER 1906, 4





**Guarding of the Supply Train  
(The Guard of the Whisky Trader;  
Protecting the Whisky Trader)**

1906  
oil on canvas  
78.1 × 53.8 (30¾ × 21⅞)  
Inscribed: Frederic Remington  
(lower right)  
University of Arizona Museum of  
Art, Tucson, Arizona, Gift of Mr.  
and Mrs. Samuel L. Kingan

Illustrated: *Collier's Weekly*  
(22 September 1906): 8,  
color halftone  
CR 2806

## DIARY

Kingan of Tuscon wants "Whisky  
Trader" picture but I don't want to  
send it without some assurance,  
have so written.

MONDAY, 23 SEPTEMBER 1907

Kingan of Tuscon says he will take  
"Scout" and "Whisky" pictures.

MONDAY, 13 JANUARY 1908

## COMMENTARY

The Guard of the Whisky Trader[:]  
High wines with water to suit what  
the traffic would bear was the short  
road to results in the Indian fur-  
trade. The desperate emissaries of  
the traders went to meet the Indians  
in their camps or journeyings to  
forestall their competitors, bearing  
the strong water which warmed the  
Indian hearts and also their imagi-  
nations. This process frequently  
resulted in the death of the trader,  
until it became the Indian under-  
standing that a trader must be pro-  
tected or his kind came no more.  
The powder and knives they  
brought were an absolute necessity  
to the Indians, so they were com-  
pelled to detail camp-soldiers or  
village police who kept sober and  
stood war-ax in hand to strike dead  
any one who so far forgot himself as  
to threaten the trader. This was  
tribal statecraft, not love.

COLLIER'S WEEKLY (22 SEPTEMBER 1906): 8

"Protecting the Whisky Trader"  
shows the interior of a big tepee fit-  
fully lighted by an unseen fire. The  
squalid trader, wolfish and hairy, sits  
on a cask, and behind stands a big  
Injun wrapped in his blanket, hold-  
ing a hatchet ready to brain the  
unquiet spirits beyond the picture.

"A CLOSED CHAPTER OF LIFE. PAINTINGS  
OF WESTERN LIFE BY FREDERIC REMING-  
TON, INDIANS, COWBOYS, AND TRAPPERS,"  
NEW YORK TIMES, 23 DECEMBER 1906, 4



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**The Hungry Moon**

1906  
oil on canvas  
52.4 × 67.6 (20<sup>5</sup>/<sub>8</sub> × 26<sup>5</sup>/<sub>8</sub>)  
Inscribed: Frederic Remington/1906 (lower right)  
Gilcrease Museum, Tulsa, Oklahoma

CR 2794

**DIARY**

Knoedler sold "Squaws among the Buffalo" \$500.

MONDAY, 9 DECEMBER 1907

Squaws skinning a Buffalo—sold.

LISTED ON MEMO PAGE, 1907

Knoedler check for painting "Squaws Among Buffalo" minus my stamp for Ex. \$322.65

FRIDAY, 3 JANUARY 1908

Cash account January / Jan. 2

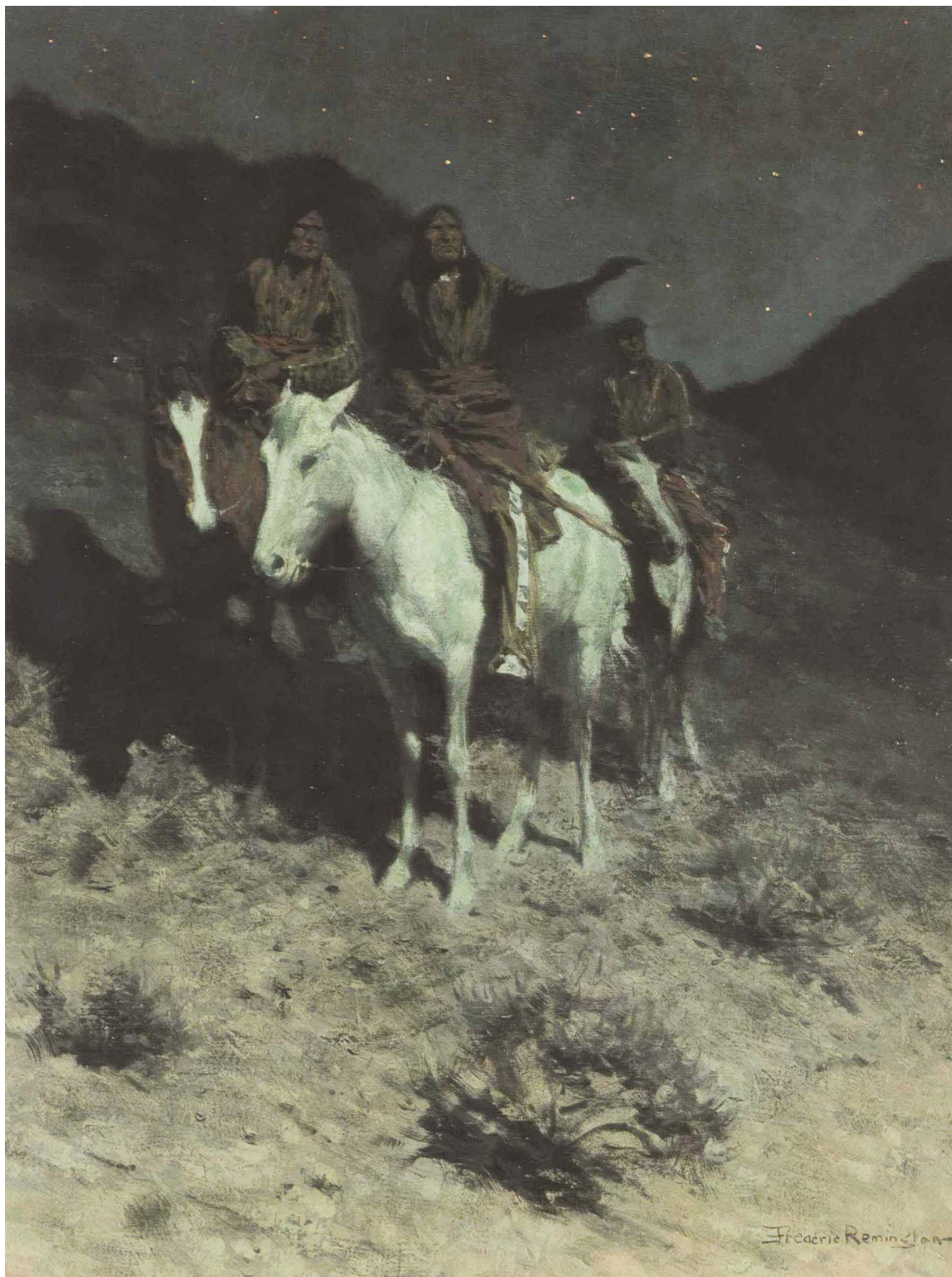
Knoedler "Squaws among Buffalo" / Rec'd / 322.65

LISTED ON MEMO PAGE, 1908

**COMMENTARY**

Anecdotes brightly told are "Firing the Grass to Windward of a Camp," in which the triumph of the hostile Indians is well depicted as they stand or ride near the line of flame, looking toward the quarter where

they expect to cause a stampede; and "Ghost Stories," a lean, dark Indian squatted by the campfire with outstretched hand, curdling the blood of a lot of young Indians seated about; and "The Hungry Moon," three Indians skinning and cutting up a buffalo, which lies stark on the snow under the moonlight. "INDIANS ON LAND AND WAVE. EXHIBITION OF PAINTINGS BY FREDERIC REMINGTON AT THE NOÉ GALLERY," *NEW YORK TIMES*, 10 FEBRUARY 1906, 6



35

**Indian Scouts at Evening  
(Scouts at Evening)**

c. 1906

oil on canvas

64.8 × 49.5 (25½ × 19½)

Inscribed: Frederic Remington  
(lower right)

Collection of Jane Forbes Clark

CR 2796





**Last March**

1906  
 oil on canvas  
 55.9 × 76.2 (22 × 30)  
 Inscribed: Frederic Remington  
 (lower right)  
 Frederic Remington Art Museum,  
 Ogdensburg, New York

CR 2797

**COMMENTARY**

Strong and sad is the “Last March,” a worn-out horse dragging his weary limbs through a snow-covered desert, with four hungry wolves dogging his steps, and waiting the inevitable end. . . .

“EXHIBITIONS NOW ON,” *AMERICAN ART NEWS* (22 DECEMBER 1906): 6

“The Last March” is a riderless horse with hanging head shadowed by three wolves, which are patiently waiting for the moment when he stumbles and falls and their meal is ready. All these pictures [“Winter Night in the Corral,” “A Dangerous Country,” “Protecting the Whisky Trader,” “A Taint on the Wind,” “The Cowpuncher’s Lullaby,” and “The Last March”] have more or less atmosphere, more or less tenderness, in the brushwork. Would they have it if the wizards of the brush in Europe had not fought against the hard academic style?

“A CLOSED CHAPTER OF LIFE. PAINTINGS OF WESTERN LIFE BY FREDERIC REMINGTON, INDIANS, COWBOYS, AND TRAPPERS,” *NEW YORK TIMES*, 23 DECEMBER 1906, 4

**A Taint on the Wind**

1906  
oil on canvas  
68.9 × 101.6 (27<sup>7</sup>/<sub>8</sub> × 40)  
Inscribed: Frederic Remington  
(lower right)  
Sid Richardson Collection of  
Western Art, Fort Worth, Texas

CR 2801

## DIARY

My picture "Stage Coach" in  
Knoedlers window.

FRIDAY, 3 MAY 1907

## COMMENTARY

Working seriously and with a keen sympathy for his theme, he has advanced along healthy lines, got an unction in his color, and uses his pigment with greater discretion. In short, he must be taken very seriously as a painter in these days, where, some years back, it seemed all in the nature of experimentation. In one of the contributions, the most important of the compositions, with a title "A Taint in the Wind," not immediately comprehensible to the eastern tenderfoot, we see a stage with six rearing horses and an excited driver on the box. The lamps on either side of the omnibus flare out with dramatic intensity and are contrasted with the soft and merging shadows of the moonlight, while afar in the sky are dotted the stars.

Full of fine action and holding the spectator intensely interested in the stirring situation, on analysis we discover not alone is the illustrator's quality here and a certain literary charm, but there is painting of a high order, craftsmanship of which no man need be ashamed. The way these animals are swept in with simple, direct brushwork, is most agreeable and painterlike, and there is excellent tone throughout. Indeed, it is a painter's picture.

"ART AND ARTISTS. REMINGTON'S INDIAN PICTURES AT KNOEDLER'S—NOTES," *NEW YORK GLOBE AND COMMERCIAL ADVERTISER*, 19 DECEMBER 1906, 10

The subjects of the present canvases are the characteristic western ones which are so associated with the artist's name and fame. The most important is the dramatic "Taint of the Wind," which depicts a stage coach at night in a lonely mountain pass—its four horses, which are strangely reminiscent of the Wallachian steeds painted by Adolph Schreyer, rearing affrighted by the scent of danger near.

"EXHIBITIONS NOW ON," *AMERICAN ART NEWS* (22 DECEMBER 1906): 6

"A Taint on the Wind" is a lively scene at night, when the six horses of a coach smell bear or wolf and bound about in the traces.

"A CLOSED CHAPTER OF LIFE. PAINTINGS OF WESTERN LIFE BY FREDERIC REMINGTON, INDIANS, COWBOYS, AND TRAPPERS," *NEW YORK TIMES*, 23 DECEMBER 1906, 4



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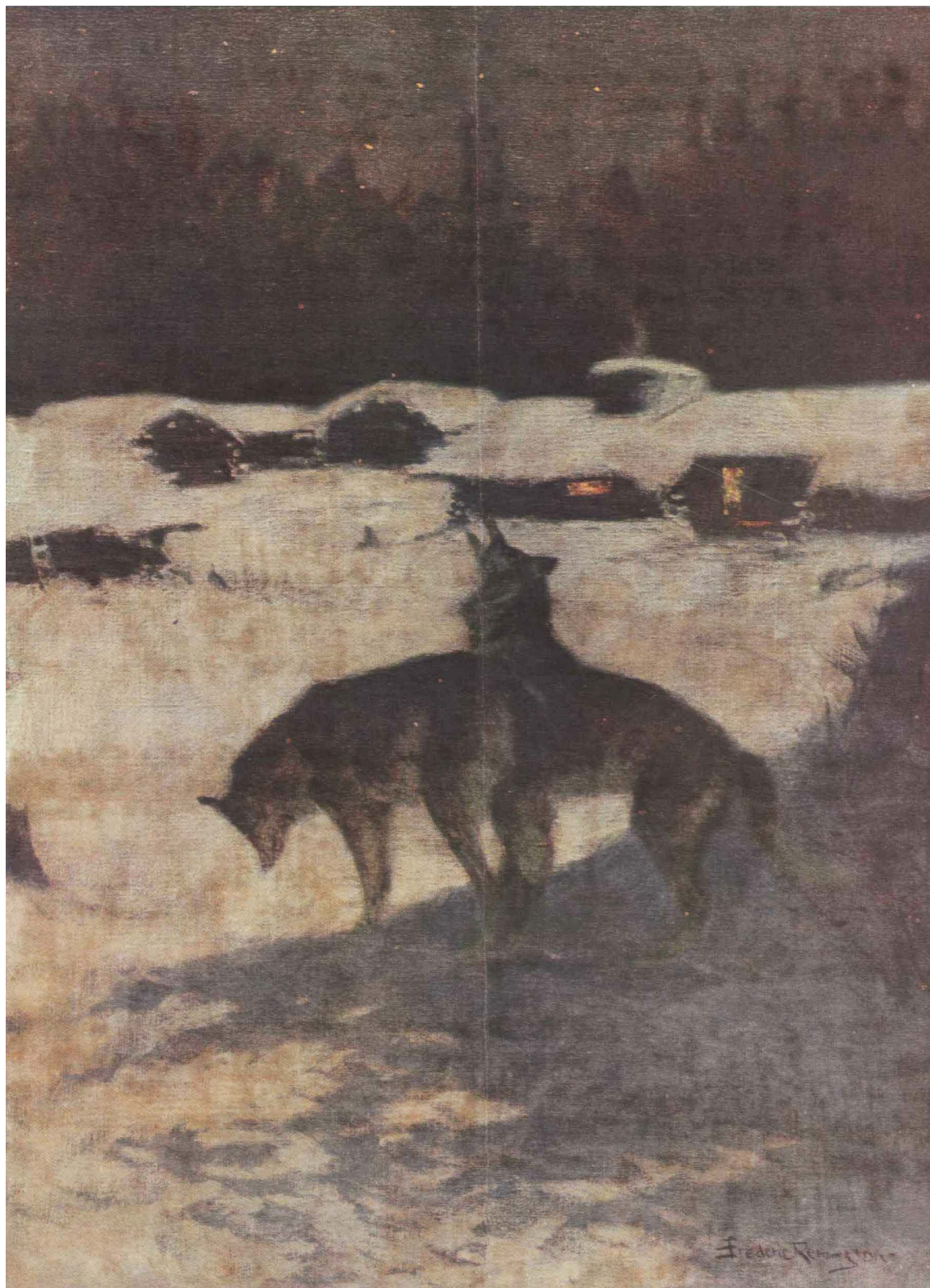
**The Tragedy of the Trees:  
Lumber Camp at Night**

1906

Inscribed: Frederic Remington  
(lower right)

Destroyed by Remington in 1908

Illustrated: *Collier's Weekly* (10  
November 1906): 8, color halftone  
CR 2807





39

**Who Comes There?  
(Moonlight Scouting Party)**

1906  
oil on canvas  
68.6 × 101.6 (27 × 40)  
Inscribed: Frederic Remington  
(lower left)  
Gilcrease Museum, Tulsa,  
Oklahoma

CR 2803

40

**Winter Night in Corral  
(Winter Night in the Corrals)**

c. 1906

oil

68.6 × 101.6 (27 × 40)

Known only through Remington's account

No known image

CR 2804

## DIARY

Harry's Man "Payne" who bought pictures "Winter night in corral" reniged and it's all off.

WEDNESDAY, 15 MAY 1907

Retouched "Winter Night in Coral" — "Where Sun Goes" and struggled with "Attack on Wagon Train."

WEDNESDAY, 22 JANUARY 1908

Reinhardt has returned all pictures but the "Winter Night in Corral."

MONDAY, 2 MARCH 1908

## COMMENTARY

It is a softened and harmonized Remington we find this year, his pictures having atmosphere and looking for all the world as if he had been abroad, studying the delicate aerial niceties we find in Corot and Mauve, Pissaro and Le Sidaner. It is true that he takes the shades of night to help him to those tones of mystery which most of his previous pictures lacked. "Winter Night in the Corral" expresses cold, but it is not hard.

"A CLOSED CHAPTER OF LIFE. PAINTINGS OF WESTERN LIFE BY FREDERIC REMINGTON, INDIANS, COWBOYS, AND TRAPPERS,"  
*NEW YORK TIMES*, 23 DECEMBER 1906, 4

The copyright record for this painting gives the following description: "a dozen ponies in snow-moonlight — with a shed behind." This sounds similar to *The Call for Help*, 1908.

NOTE IN CATALOGUE RAISONNÉ  
(HASSRICK AND WEBSTER 1996, 809)

41

**The Desert Prospector  
(A Pack Train; Moonlight Scene)**

c. 1907

oil on canvas

68.5 × 91.5 (27<sup>1</sup>/<sub>8</sub> × 36)

Inscribed: Frederic Remington (lower left); copyright 1909 by Frederic Remington (lower center)

Private Collection

CR 2816

## DIARY

Rainy day — worked "The Desert Prospector"

MONDAY, 22 JULY 1907

Worked on Blizzard, Desert Pros. and Buffalo Signal.

WEDNESDAY, 21 AUGUST 1907

Was invited by Penna Academy to show "Sentinel" and "Prospecting" — very fine.

WEDNESDAY, 18 DECEMBER 1907

"The desert prospector"

LISTED ON MEMO PAGE, 1907

Paintings shown at Knoedler Dec.

1907: 10. Desert Prospector 1,000

LISTED ON MEMO PAGE, 1907

Letter from Bob Camp. He has a . . . offer from Trast [?] Penna Academy of 750 for Desert Prospector. said "yes" by telegram.

MONDAY, 17 FEBRUARY 1908

Deposited 635.50 for "Desert Prospector"

THURSDAY, 12 MARCH 1908

Cash Account January / Mar. 10  
"Desert Prospector" Penna Fine Arts / Rec'd / 635.50

LISTED ON MEMO PAGE, 1908



#### COMMENTARY

A very satisfactory canvas is "The Desert Prospector," a night affair with a man and some animals wending their way over the wilderness. There are just a dozen works in all and they make a highly entertaining show that may be seen until Dec. 14.

"ART AND ARTISTS. REMINGTON'S WESTERN PICTURES," *NEW YORK GLOBE AND COMMERCIAL ADVERTISER*, 3 DECEMBER 1907, 8

Simple eloquence lies in "The Desert Prospector," with his old wagon and older team crossing the desert. . .

"PAINTINGS IN THREE MODES," *BROOKLYN EAGLE*, 4 DECEMBER 1907

In this single exhibition one may see. . . one of the real makers of the West in "The Desert Prospector," a representation of the type of man who led the way toward the busy mining cities of the present time.

"ART NOTES," *NEW YORK PRESS*, 8 DECEMBER 1907, 5





42

**Fired On**

1907  
oil on canvas  
68.9 × 101.6 (27 1/8 × 40)  
Inscribed: Frederic Remington  
(lower right); Copyright 1907 by  
Frederic Remington (lower center)  
Smithsonian American Art  
Museum, Washington,  
Gift of William T. Evans

Illustrated: *New York Herald*,  
20 June 1909, 7  
CR 2817

**DIARY**

Paintings shown at Knoedler  
Dec. 1907: 8. Fired On 1500  
LISTED ON MEMO PAGE, 1907

A man at Tiffany firm looking at  
"Fired On."  
FRIDAY, 27 MARCH 1908

Hearn dickering for "Fired On" for  
Metropolitan.  
WEDNESDAY, 17 FEBRUARY 1909

NY Herald Art Supplement had my  
"Fired On" in with a trivial reference  
while the spirited Thawlow in same  
connection.  
SUNDAY, 20 JUNE 1909

Gerrity says Baltimore man wants  
"Fired On" — reduced price. I told  
him \$1000.  
THURSDAY, 16 SEPTEMBER 1909

Church is after the old man Evans  
who wrote Gentry that he will [illegi-  
ble] either "Fired On" or another  
\$1000 for his Govt. Collection.  
I never loved him before but I  
will now.  
SATURDAY, 16 OCTOBER 1909

Gentry says Evans take "Fired On"  
or another of my present bunch.  
THURSDAY, 21 OCTOBER 1909

F. S. Church writes Evans will prob-  
ably [illegible]... 216 Fired On  
MONDAY, 1 NOVEMBER 1909

## COMMENTARY

Particularly happy are some moonlight and starlight effects. Mr. Remington has caught the sentiment of the hour, caught truthfully the color feeling, with mysterious shadows, weird whites, and disappearing outlines.

Somehow you may not stand before these compositions without a thrill of interest and a vague wonder at the outcome of the incident. The figures that are being "Fired On," in the picture of that name, are really in serious trouble. Every attitude is of meaning. It is obvious the men are actually in danger and you would somehow like them to retreat—or advance—or do something that would bring matters to a head; while in "The Sentinel," where the old campaigner stands guard over the wagon in the moonlight, you are impressed at the tension of the figure and his alertness, for he is not a model posed—he is the man himself.

"ART AND ARTISTS. REMINGTON'S WESTERN PICTURES," *NEW YORK GLOBE AND COMMERCIAL ADVERTISER*, 3 DECEMBER 1907, 8

For good and spirited drawing and composition, as well as for dramatic interest, no picture exceeds in interest "Fired On," in such low tone that it is almost monochrome in black and white. A troop, pursuing Indians by night, is halted and thrown into confusion at a river's edge by a fusillade of bullets that whistles among them, some missiles throwing up spurts of water almost to the horses' noses. A white horse in the foreground shows the only big light in the picture, and in the gloom beyond the other horses are plunging about in terror.

"PAINTINGS IN THREE MODES," *BROOKLYN EAGLE*, 4 DECEMBER 1907

But Mr. Remington has painted a number of night scenes, and in these he has made a great stride forward. It is not simply that he has changed his key. Study of the moonlight appears to have reacted upon the very grain of his art, so that all along the line, in drawing, in brush work, in color, in atmosphere, he has achieved greater freedom and breadth. He is, too, as spirited as ever, painting in the picture called "Fired On" one of the most truly dramatic compositions he has ever put to his credit.

"ART EXHIBITIONS," *NEW YORK DAILY TRIBUNE*, 4 DECEMBER 1907, 7

The dozen new paintings by Frederick [sic] Remington, now being shown at the Knoedler Galleries, repeat the subjects long since made familiar by him, without adding much to his reputation as a painter. With but one or two exceptions they are rather crudely colored illustrations of various phases of the life on the Western plains that might just as well, if not better, have been done in black and white. While they exhibit a keen and alert mind, thoroughly in sympathy with the life depicted, recorded with great knowledge and an eye for the dramatic, they lack the essential qualities of good painting—light, atmosphere, and tone. They are blatantly, glaringly crude at times, nor is there the redeeming quality of strong expressive draughtsmanship in the delineation of the figures of the cowboys and Indians in these paintings. But one easily condones these faults in the presence of such a spirited and truly dramatic composition as the canvas called "Fired On," which shows Remington at his best, perhaps.

"NEW REMINGTON PAINTINGS," *NEW YORK TIMES*, 5 DECEMBER 1907, 8

Mr. William T. Evans has purchased from Messrs. Knoedler & Co. a painting by Mr. Frederic Remington called "Fired On." He will present it to the National Museum in Washington, to which he has given one hundred representative American pictures.

"NOTES OF THE ART WORLD," *NEW YORK HERALD*, 13 NOVEMBER 1909, 13

Among the best examples of his late work are "Fired On," which was recently purchased for the National Museum; "Shotgun Hospitality," "The Scare in the Pack Train," "The Night Halt of Cavalry," "The Lost Warrior," "The Blanket Signal," "Among the Led Horses" and "The Hunters' Supper."

"MR. FREDERIC REMINGTON, CELEBRATED ARTIST, DIES," *NEW YORK HERALD*, 27 DECEMBER 1909, 7



**In From the Night Herd**

1907  
 oil on canvas  
 68.6 × 101.6 (27 × 40)  
 Inscribed: Frederic Remington  
 (lower right)  
 National Cowboy and Western  
 Heritage Museum, Oklahoma City,  
 Oklahoma, Gift of Albert K. Mitchell

Illustrated: *Collier's Weekly*  
 (2 March 1912): 12, color halftone  
 CR 2820

**DIARY**

I worked on my *In from Night Herd*  
 and am going to study a fire light  
 out doors to night.

FRIDAY, 11 OCTOBER 1907

worked on Night Herd.

SATURDAY, 12 OCTOBER 1907

Boxed "In from the night herd"  
 for *Colliers*.

THURSDAY, 14 NOVEMBER 1907

Shipped "In from Night Herd"  
 to *Colliers*.

FRIDAY, 15 NOVEMBER 1907

**"In from the night herd"**

LISTED ON MEMO PAGE, 1907

Show at Knoedlers . . . 12. In From  
 the Night Herd

MONDAY, 30 NOVEMBER 1908

Sold at Knoedlers to date . . . In from  
 the night herd

TUESDAY, 8 DECEMBER 1908

**COMMENTARY**

"In from the Night Herd" does not  
 depend alone on the story of the  
 cowboy in the round-up, who is  
 joining his sleeping comrades by  
 the camp-fire. Mark the modelling  
 of the white horse's hind-quarters;  
 the way in which the light from the  
 fire is used.

"AN ARTIST OF THE PLAINS. FREDERIC  
 REMINGTON'S GRAPHIC PICTURES AT THE  
 KNOEDLER GALLERIES," *NEW YORK EVENING  
 POST*, 3 DECEMBER 1908, 9

**Moaning of the Bulls**

1907  
oil on canvas  
68.6 × 101.6 (27 × 40)  
Inscribed: Frederic Remington  
(lower right); Copyright 1907  
P. Collier & Son (lower center)  
Frederic Remington Art Museum,  
Ogdensburg, New York

CR 2822

**DIARY**

Painted “The Moaning of the Bulls”  
to day—very successful picture.

SATURDAY, 3 AUGUST 1907

Finish “Bulls” picture.

MONDAY, 5 AUGUST 1907

Worked on *Canoe picture—bulls and  
Quarrell*

FRIDAY, 16 AUGUST 1907

Shipped to Colliers—“Quarrell,”  
“Moaning of the Bulls,” “Navajo  
Raid.”

TUESDAY, 20 AUGUST 1907

Somer didn’t take “Bulls”—sent  
back.

FRIDAY, 30 AUGUST 1907

“Bull’s” came back from Collier.

SATURDAY, 31 AUGUST 1907

Paintings shown at Knoedler Dec.  
1907 . . . 12. Moaning of Bulls 1000  
LISTED ON MEMO PAGE, 1907

Deposited my securities in box and  
brought home my insurance papers  
and shipped to W. Scott Thurber—  
Chicago “Moaning of the Bulls”  
“Dry Camp.”

TUESDAY, 7 SEPTEMBER 1909

Thurber received “Moaning of the  
bulls” and “Stuck for a Dry Camp.”

MONDAY, 13 SEPTEMBER 1909

“The Moaning of the Bulls” is most  
vividly told, although the painting  
approaches a monotone in color.

UNIDENTIFIED NEWSPAPER CLIPPING,  
AT 1909**COMMENTARY**

Other picturesque examples are  
“The Navajo Raid,” “The Story of  
Where the Sun Goes Down,” and  
“The Moaning of the Bulls.”

“PAINTINGS IN THREE MODES,” *BROOKLYN  
EAGLE*, 4 DECEMBER 1907

Frederic Remington at his brilliant  
best is to be seen at the Knoedler  
Galleries 355 Fifth Avenue corner of  
Thirty-fourth street. Anecdotes of  
the West and Southwest, principally  
painted in two color schemes, a the-  
atrical dark green and the blazing  
yellows, whites and blues of sandy  
deserts, sage brush and white hot  
sunlight, these dozen pictures  
attract by their human and dramatic  
qualities. The artist has nothing new  
to say, and while he too often feels  
the glamor [*sic*] of the superficial,  
his admirers will forgive him so  
long as he remains Remington. We  
admired “The Moaning of the Bulls”  
(No. 12); it is forceful and it grips  
the attention.

“AROUND THE GALLERIES,” *NEW YORK SUN*,  
7 DECEMBER 1907, 6

Two other brilliant passages of  
painting are to be found in “The  
Moaning of the Bulls,” in which the  
white bull in the moonlight fore-  
ground puts Paul Potter’s famous  
animal to shame for reality, and in  
“The Quarrel,” which has all the  
brilliancy of coloring of a French  
luminarist. These are canvases for  
our museums to consider seriously.

“ART NOTES,” *NEW YORK PRESS*,  
8 DECEMBER 1907, 5

“The Moaning of the Bulls” is not  
only a curious name, the picture  
itself is curious in color. With all  
that, there is a certain interest  
attaching in the composition. One  
doesn’t understand why they should  
moan; but so it is.

PHILIP L. HALE, “ART,” *BOSTON HERALD*,  
9 JANUARY 1909, 6





**The Sentinel**

1907  
oil on canvas  
68.6 × 91.4 (27 × 36)  
Inscribed: Frederic Remington  
(lower left)  
Frederic Remington Art Museum,  
Ogdensburg, New York

Illustrated: Frederic Remington,  
*Eight New Remington Prints*,  
portfolio (New York, 1909),  
color halftone  
CR 2841

## DIARY

Worked on Sentinel. We have first moon now—clear nights and I studied it until near 11 o'clock last night.  
TUESDAY, 25 JUNE 1907

Five pictures done—“Sentinel,” “Last Ride Warriors,” “Buffalo Horse Hunter,” “Quarell,” “Buffalo Signal”  
THURSDAY, 18 JULY 1907

Fine day—boxed my paintings before breakfast for Colliers. “The Sentinel,” “Buffalo Bull and Cactus,” “The Quarrel,” “The warrior’s last ride.”  
MONDAY, 29 JULY 1907

all pictures home from Colliers but “Sentinel.”  
TUESDAY, 29 OCTOBER 1907

Was invited by Penna Academy to show “Sentinel” and “Prospector”—very fine.  
WEDNESDAY, 18 DECEMBER 1907

Paintings.—II. The Sentinel  
LISTED ON MEMO PAGE, 1907

Paintings shown at Knoedler Dec. 1907: 6. The Sentinel 1000  
LISTED ON MEMO PAGE, 1907

In Players [club] Royal Cortissoz congratulated me on “The Sentinel”  
MONDAY, 27 JANUARY 1908

## COMMENTARY

Somehow you may not stand before these compositions without a thrill of interest and a vague wonder at the outcome of the incident. The figures that are “Fired On,” in the picture of that name, are really in serious trouble. Every attitude is of meaning. It is obvious the men are actually in danger and you would somehow like them to retreat—or advance—or do something that would bring matters to a head; while in “The Sentinel,” where the old campaigner stands guard over the wagon in the moonlight, you are impressed at the tension of the figure and his alertness, for he is not a model posed—he is the man himself.

“ART AND ARTISTS. REMINGTON’S WESTERN PICTURES,” *NEW YORK GLOBE AND COMMERCIAL ADVERTISER*, 3 DECEMBER 1907, 8

Simple eloquence lies. . . and also in “The Sentinel,” a man of the prospector type, leaning and strongly revealed against his white canvas emigrant wagon.  
“PAINTINGS IN THREE MODES,” *BROOKLYN EAGLE*, 4 DECEMBER 1907

But Mr. Remington has painted a number of night scenes, and in these he has made a great stride forward. It is not simply that he has changed his key. Study of the moonlight appears to have reacted upon the very grain of his art, so that all along the line, in drawing, in brush work, in color, in atmosphere, he has achieved greater freedom and breadth. . . . Best of all is the quiet

scene with a single figure, the picture of “The Sentinel.” The very spirit of the night is in this painting.  
“ART EXHIBITIONS,” *NEW YORK DAILY TRIBUNE*, 4 DECEMBER 1907, 7

The exhibition [at the Knoedler Galleries] is not wholly without its new note, however, and this in the most difficult and unexpected quarter, the painting of night, in which he has made great progress, revealing genuine painter-like qualities. In these night scenes there is a marked forward stride in the rendering of atmosphere, the color is more expressive, and less painty, the brush work is looser, even the drawing is better, and the whole has a breadth and freedom of execution that may presage great things for Mr. Remington if he chooses to follow this path seriously. Unquestionably the most impressive of these is the painting called “The Sentinel,” with its single figure cloaked, as it were, in silence, and very expressive of the spirit of night.

“NEW REMINGTON PAINTINGS,” *NEW YORK TIMES*, 5 DECEMBER 1907, 8

Lovers of painting as paintings will linger longest over the wonderful technique displayed in “The Sentinel,” an old plainsman standing guard against the side of an old “prairie schooner,” in which the effect of moonlight against the white wagon-top is wonderfully rendered.

“ART NOTES,” *NEW YORK PRESS*, 8 DECEMBER 1907, 5



**The Story of Where the Sun Goes**

1907  
oil on canvas  
66 × 91.4 (26 × 36)  
Inscribed: Frederic Remington  
(lower left); Copyright 1907 by  
P. F. Collier & Son (lower center)  
Private Collection

Illustrated: *Collier's Weekly* (23  
November 1907): 18–19, color  
halftone  
CR 2838

## DIARY

Took pictures over Forrester's freight  
house for Colliers. "Story of where  
the sun goes", "Navajoes", "Bring-  
ing home the new cook"  
TUESDAY, 18 JUNE 1907

Collier says Story of Where Sun  
Goes is a great picture.  
WEDNESDAY, 11 SEPTEMBER 1907

Paintings . . . 5. Story of Where the  
Sun Goes x  
LISTED ON MEMO PAGE, 1907

Paintings shown at Knoedler Dec.  
1907 . . . 3. Story of Where the Sun  
Goes [1000]  
LISTED ON MEMO PAGE, 1907

Where the sun goes.  
LISTED ON MEMO PAGE, 1907

Retouched "Winter Night in  
Corral" — "Where Sun Goes" and  
struggled with "Attack on Wagon  
Train"  
WEDNESDAY, 22 JANUARY 1908

Ahsler and S[taab] sent O' Brien  
"Apache Scouts Listening" "Story of  
Where the Sun Goes".  
MONDAY, 25 JANUARY 1909

Possibly no man is developing into  
painterlike workmanship with  
greater strides than is Frederick [sic]  
Remington at the present time. His  
tight, dry handling, due to the dic-  
tates of reproduction, is giving way  
to a velvety touch possible of all  
sorts of mysterious depths. "The  
Story of Where the Sun Goes" and  
"Moonlight—Apache Scouts" are  
the two examples of Remington's  
work in this collection.

CHICAGO RECORD HERALD CLIPPING,  
AT SUNDAY, 7 FEBRUARY 1909

First and last Mr. Remington is an  
illustrator, and he never loses sight  
of the fact that the story must be  
told in a few strong, dramatically  
colored touches. If in his first youth  
this artist had been led Monet-  
wards, we should have had another  
great American impressionist, for  
he certainly has the instinct to  
choose a strong subject, and to  
record the impression it makes.  
Especially is this to be remarked of  
the picture called "The Story of  
Where the Sun Goes," which, hav-  
ing none at all of the color quality of  
Monet's work, nevertheless shows  
the stuff of its creator.

UNIDENTIFIED NEWSPAPER CLIPPING,  
AT 1909

## COMMENTARY

The group of Indians listening to  
"The Story of Where the Sun Goes,"  
seems more or less arranged for  
composition needs, while the color,  
again a rich, reddish glow, is not as  
convincing as that in the first two  
pictures ["The Sign of the Buffalo  
Scout" and "The Dry Camp"].  
"ART AND ARTISTS. REMINGTON'S WESTERN  
PICTURES," *NEW YORK GLOBE AND COM-  
MERCIAL ADVERTISER*, 3 DECEMBER 1907, 8

Other picturesque examples are  
"The Navajo Raid," "The Story of  
Where the Sun Goes Down," and  
"The Moaning of the Bulls."

"PAINTINGS IN THREE MODES," *BROOKLYN  
EAGLE*, 4 DECEMBER 1907

"The Story of Where the Sun Goes"  
is an interesting composition. It's an  
effective sort of thing, though one  
doubts if the effect is just right;  
the firelight seems too evenly  
distributed.

PHILIP L. HALE, "ART," *BOSTON HERALD*,  
9 JANUARY 1909, 6





**Trail of the Shod Horse  
(Sign of the Shod Horse)**

1907  
oil on canvas  
68.6 × 101.6 (27 × 40)  
Inscribed: Frederic Remington/1907  
(lower right)  
Princeton University Library, Princeton, New Jersey, The Philip Ashton Rollins, Class of 1889, Collection of Western Americana, Gift of Francis Earle, Class of 1909

CR 2829

DIARY

Did the "Trail of the Shod Horse" picture—moonlight.

SATURDAY, 23 FEBRUARY 1907

Knoedler sent "Sign of Shod Horse" to O'Brien Chicago.—No cable from Knoedler—suspense.

FRIDAY, 18 OCTOBER 1907

Saw John. Gave him \$700 price on "Shod Horse" for Montreal man.

FRIDAY, 6 DECEMBER 1907

Knoedlers sold "Trail of the Shod Horse".—I have to buy a new frame for it.

THURSDAY, 12 DECEMBER 1907

Extra frame for "Shod Horse" \$38—

THURSDAY, 19 DECEMBER 1907

Paintings.—9. The Trail of the Shod Horse Sold.

LISTED ON MEMO PAGE, 1907

Paintings shown at Knoedler Dec. 1907: 4. Trail of Shod Horse 1000 LISTED ON MEMO PAGE, 1907

Knoedler picture "Shod Horse" sold to Elizabeth N. J. man.

TUESDAY, 7 JANUARY 1908

Knoedler says they will pay for "Shod Horse"

MONDAY, 3 FEBRUARY 1908

\$800 check from Knoedler for "Trail of the Shod Horse".

TUESDAY, 4 FEBRUARY 1908

Cash Account January / Jan. [date illegible] Knoedler "Shod Horse" pic / *Rec'd* / 800.00

LISTED ON MEMO PAGE, 1908

COMMENTARY

Another story-telling picture, also in low tone, is "The Trail of the Shod Horse," a band of mounted Indians halting in the dusk at the right of the trail in the snow crossing their course at right angles.

"PAINTINGS IN THREE MODES," *BROOKLYN EAGLE*, 4 DECEMBER 1907

The "Fight On," the "Downing the Nigh Leader," the "Navajo Raid" and the "Trail of the Shod Horse" are pictures that especially move and stir the emotions. They tell of a wild life and adventure that would rouse the most slothful of dilettantes to attention.

"EXHIBITIONS NOW ON," *AMERICAN ART NEWS* (7 DECEMBER 1907): 6

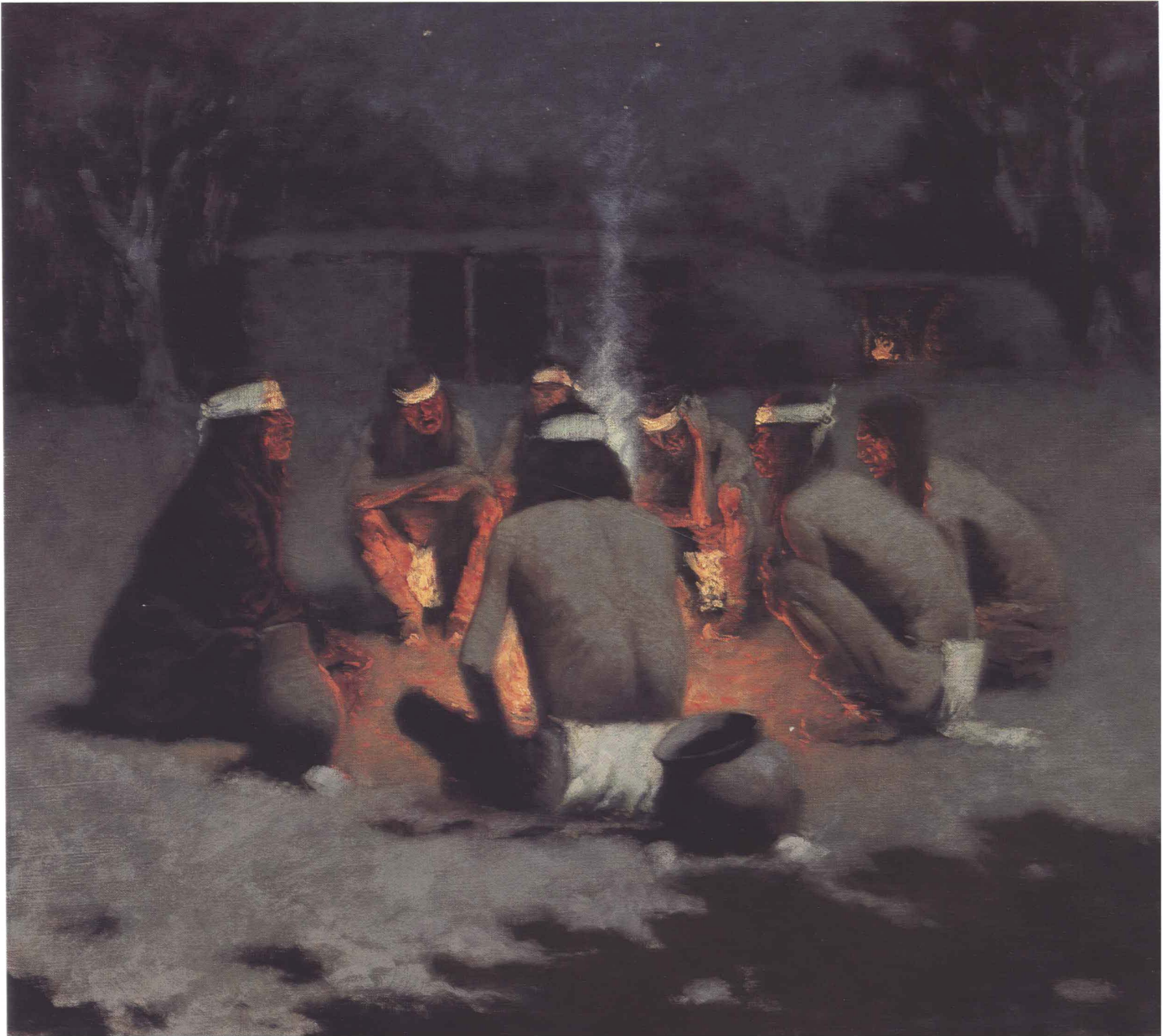


48

**Waiting in the Moonlight**

1907  
oil on canvas  
68.6 × 76.2 (27 × 30)  
Inscribed: Unsigned  
Frederic Remington Art Museum,  
Ogdensburg, New York

CR 2833



49

**Apache Medicine Song  
(Apache Medicine Song –  
Moonlight)**

1908  
oil on canvas  
68.9 × 75.9 (27<sup>1</sup>/<sub>8</sub> × 29<sup>7</sup>/<sub>8</sub>)

Inscribed: Frederic Remington/1908 (lower right)  
Sid Richardson Collection of  
Western Art, Fort Worth, Texas

CR 2844

## DIARY

Apache Medicine Song  
THURSDAY, 12 NOVEMBER 1908

Knoedler sent Apache Song to Col.  
Seybrim – Detroit.  
THURSDAY, 24 DECEMBER 1908

sent Apache to Seybrim Detroit  
MONDAY, 28 DECEMBER 1908

Wirthret took "Apache Song" and  
"Unknown Ex." for \$1000.

FRIDAY, 5 FEBRUARY 1909

Check from Knoedler for \$1800 /  
Apache Moonlight, \$400 /  
Unknown Explorers 400 / by bal.  
1000 / 1800 / they owe \$4000

MONDAY, 8 FEBRUARY 1909



50

**Apache Scouts Listening**

1908  
oil on canvas  
68.6 × 101.6 (27 × 40)  
Inscribed: Frederic Remington/1908 (lower right)  
Private Collection

CR 2845

**DIARY**

Awful hot day—worked laid in  
“Cavalry halt Moonlight”, “The bark  
of a dog”

TUESDAY, 7 JULY 1908

mapped in the Apache picture over  
again—fine start

FRIDAY, 17 JULY 1908

worked—made great success of  
“Apaches”

WEDNESDAY, 22 JULY 1908

Packed pictures with Pete. For Col-  
liers “Cutting out the Pony Herd”  
“The Stampede” “The Stranger”  
“The Grass Fire” “With the eye of  
the mind” “The dead men” For Lin-  
coln Storage “The Lost Warrior”

“The Apache Scouts” “The Night  
Halt” have 12 Chippewa Bay oil  
studies

THURSDAY, 13 AUGUST 1908

“apache Scouts” moonlight red card  
Academy. Nov 23 & 24 \$1500

THURSDAY, 13 OCTOBER 1908

Show at Knoedlers... 2. Apaches-  
Scouts listening

MONDAY, 30 NOVEMBER 1908

Apache scouts. listening to the dogs  
bark. moonlight.

LEDGER BOOK, 1908

Ahsler and S[taab] sent O’Brien  
“Apache Scouts Listening” “Story of  
Where the Sun Goes”.

MONDAY, 25 JANUARY 1909

Possibly no man is developing into  
painterlike workmanship with  
greater strides than is Frederick [sic]  
Remington at the present time. His  
tight, dry handling, due to the dic-  
tates of reproduction, is giving way  
to a velvety touch possible of all  
sorts of mysterious depths. “The  
Story of Where the Sun Goes” and  
“Moonlight-Apache Scouts” are the  
two examples of Remington’s work  
in this collection.

CHICAGO RECORD HERALD CLIPPING,  
AT SUNDAY, 7 FEBRUARY 1909

Going send Apaches to  
Philadelphia.

MONDAY, 13 DECEMBER 1909

"The Longhorn Cattle Sign," the "Apache Scouts Listening," and "The Dry Camp" are others making a strong imprint upon the mind.

UNIDENTIFIED NEWSPAPER CLIPPING,  
AT 1909

#### COMMENTARY

Mr. Remington's western themes are of the familiar sort—savage Apache scouts, under the command of a still more savage white scout, listening for an enemy, in the moonlight; a stampede of cattle in a storm; ponies calling for help from wolves; Indians frightened by the portent of a sunset, and propitiating the storm with prayers; cavalry halting at night in the enemy's country, and the like. In every case, of course, the theme is handled with audacity and amazing vigor of expression.

"FREDERIC REMINGTON AGAIN," *NEW YORK EVENING MAIL*, 2 DECEMBER 1908, 8

Frederic Remington sounds a purely American note in his exhibition of a score of recent paintings in oil at the Knoedler Galleries, 355 Fifth avenue, where he demonstrates his progress and his continued serious study of conditions existing nowhere else than in this country. One could never for a moment mistake the work for other than of this soil, and no one has secured so truthfully the type, made the characters stand out with such vividness and force, with such convincingness and absolute veracity. In the field of moonlight, which Mr. Remington has chosen so frequently as an environment for his plainsman and

Indian, for his soldier and cowboy, the artist has been at pains to study closely its subtlety and mystery, and he has succeeded in obtaining a verisimilitude that is most impressive. Several compositions here of the night are truthful transcripts of the hour and are full of a suggestive quality that is most delightful. Some "Apache Scouts Listening" really seem to be environed by the night and the woodland. The picture gives one a thrill in its truthfulness, and "A Scare in the Pack Train" is fairly uncanny in its weirdness, as you look at the man feeling for his weapons.

"ART AND ARTISTS," *NEW YORK GLOBE AND COMMERCIAL ADVERTISER*,  
3 DECEMBER 1908, 10

"Apache Scouts Listening" is highly interesting, and the attitudes of the Indians, crouched to the ground, seem well studied. It is hard to decide whether this picture is meant for a monochrome or for a night effect. It seems that the color note is a trifle greenish.

PHILIP L. HALE, "ART," *BOSTON HERALD*,  
9 JANUARY 1909, 6

The many people sincerely interested in Mr. Remington's work have, for the past few years, felt that he was making rapid strides in the development of a variety of new and interesting methods of expressing what he had to say. He is either forgetting or purposely putting aside the recollection and influence of the color and technique employed by his first art heroes, de Neuville and Detaille, and is achieving a manner that has been evolved out of the sub-

jects which he paints, so that his color is more and more inevitably related to his ideas, as if Nature herself had spread his palette. He has grown to think through his paint so freely and fluently that in some of his more recent work he seems to have used his medium unconsciously, as a great musician does his piano and score.

And very wonderful indeed are some of the colors which Remington has seen visions of in the West and dared to paint on his canvases—strange water-green moonlights that are fundamental to our great Western plains, vast spaces of whirling glittering yellow dust through which horsemen and horses glow in red and gold tones, as though caparisoned for some gorgeous tournament. And the men that he paints, almost without exception, are definite types of human beings, men who have lived through unique phases of our American civilization; and his Indians are of the old dignified race of the prairies, a people of fine presence and poetical imagination. The emotions of these people, their poetry and their material lives, with the surroundings of cowboys and ranchmen, Remington has placed on his canvases truthfully, fearlessly and with a supreme understanding of his art. Among the most significant paintings in what might be called his new method are: "The Water Hole, Navajos," "With the Eye of the Mind," "Night Halt of Cavalry," "The Stampede," "Apache Scouts Listening," "The Snow Trail."

"MUSIC: DRAMA: ART: REVIEWS," *THE CRAFTSMAN* 15 (JANUARY 1909): 501-502





51

**The Call for Help  
(At Bay)**

c. 1908

oil on canvas

69.2 × 101.9 (27¼ × 40⅝)

Inscribed: Frederic Remington/190  
[illegible] (lower right); [copyright  
information illegible] (lower center)  
The Museum of Fine Arts, Houston,  
Texas, The Hogg Brothers Collec-  
tion, Gift of Miss Ima Hogg

Illustrated: *Collier's Weekly* (17  
December 1910): 6, color halftone  
CR 2847

**DIARY**

Painted on the "Call for Help."

MONDAY, 13 APRIL 1908

Boxed and shipped my paintings  
and canvases. Box to go to Colliers  
labeled No 2 sent to Lincoln. . . .

Containing pictures; "Snow Trail";  
"Shotgun Hospitality"; "Indians  
Simulating Buffalo"; "The Long-  
Horn Cattle Sign"; "The Call for  
Help"; } in no 1 box; "Scare in the  
pack train"; "Poole in desert";  
"Grass Fire to Island";

THURSDAY, 14 MAY 1908

To Ahsler and Sta[a]b—they had my  
paintings slightly mixed.—I  
straightened them out—the frames  
are bully. *Snow Trail* lacks color in  
figure and *Call for Help* is too green.  
I am going to try and fix it up.

WEDNESDAY, 25 NOVEMBER 1908

. . . retouched at Ahsler and Sta[a]b  
"Call for Help" and "Snow Trail."

FRIDAY, 27 NOVEMBER 1908

Show at Knoedlers. . . 7. The Call  
for Help

MONDAY, 30 NOVEMBER 1908

Sold at Knoedlers to date. . . "The  
Call for Help"

TUESDAY, 8 DECEMBER 1908

**COMMENTARY**

Mr. Remington's western themes  
are of the familiar sort—savage  
Apache scouts, under the command  
of a still more savage white scout,  
listening for an enemy, in the  
moonlight; a stampede of cattle in a  
storm; ponies calling for help from  
wolves; Indians frightened by the  
portent of a sunset, and propitiating  
the storm with prayers; cavalry halt-  
ing at night in the enemy's country,  
and the like. In every case, of  
course, the theme is handled with  
audacity and amazing vigor of  
expression.

At least two of these western pictures rise to as high a level of power as anything that Remington has ever done. One of them is "The Call for Help." Three horses, in a brilliant moonlit night on the plains, have been driven to the home camp by wolves, and crowd against the corral fence, seeking to get over it or through it, or in some way to escape. One can see that they are raising that despairing shriek which a horse only utters in extreme despair, and which no one who has heard it will ever forget. The wolves are furtive, half outlined, gliding, doubtful of the house. The expression of movement in the winding and wriggling ponies is intense and terrible. ["With the Eye of the Mind" is the other picture]

"FREDERIC REMINGTON AGAIN," *NEW YORK EVENING MAIL*, 2 DECEMBER 1908, 8

"The Stampede" is a vigorous study of confused motion, and "A Scare in the Pack Train" and "Night Halt of Cavalry" have a dramatic color scheme that lends intensity to the general effect. "The Call for Help," however, with its bunch of huddled and frightened horses against a fence, with the light of a window beyond, tells, perhaps, the most impressive story.

"GALLERY NOTES. REMINGTON PAINTINGS ON VIEW," *NEW YORK TIMES*, 2 DECEMBER 1908, 8

In "The Call for Help," a night scene in a corral, where three horses are huddling up against the fence, alarmed by the two coyotes in the foreground, the ranch house in the background with a light in the window, graphically recalls to any one who has known Western life the horse's cry of fright, but outside of the story it tells it is a fine bit of painting and drawing. The horse who is facing the dreaded coyotes quivers.

"AN ARTIST OF THE PLAINS. FREDERIC REMINGTON'S GRAPHIC PICTURES AT THE KNOEDLER GALLERIES," *NEW YORK EVENING POST*, 3 DECEMBER 1908, 9

In his "Call for Help" we have some horses attacked by wolves, a stirring composition, and well rendered. Always, however, there is the sentiment of the people, the place, and the underlying sense that the man [Remington] knows it all well, has been there, and is in deep sympathy with the men and the life; has, indeed, as the French say, "passed that way." Technically, Mr. Remington has greatly improved. He handles his pigment with surer brush, in a bigger way and a more logical manner, with greater simplicity than hitherto. His color is purer, more vibrant, more telling, and his figures are more in atmosphere.

"ART AND ARTISTS," *NEW YORK GLOBE AND COMMERCIAL ADVERTISER*, 3 DECEMBER 1908, 10

As for the night scenes, it would be difficult to congratulate Mr. Remington too warmly on the spirit and the skill with which he has painted them. Suffused with a strange gray-green light, they expose some characteristic incident of the plains, a white pioneer welcoming Indians to his camp-fire—with his shotgun in hand—cattlemen at their duty, horses attacked by wolves and crying in their terror for help from their owner's cabin, and so on through a list of subjects which seem to revive the very atmosphere and movement of the vast West. There is life in them all, the realism of things clearly seen and apprehended with sympathetic feeling. But even more exhilarating is just the spectacle of Mr. Remington's adroitness, his swift and judicious handling of pigment, his boldness and his simplicity. Moreover, he has never been so attractively himself as in the making of these pictures. Their virile originality constitutes a great part of their merit.

ROYAL CORTISSOZ, "AMERICAN ART. NEW PAINTINGS BY MR. REMINGTON AND MR. DEWEY," *NEW-YORK TRIBUNE*, 6 DECEMBER 1908, SEC. 2, P. 2

The Call for Help[:] Wolves have run the ponies in a pasture to the cabin of their natural protector—man—and hesitate whether to bring on a general engagement so near a house.

*COLLIER'S WEEKLY* (17 DECEMBER 1910): 6



52

**Figure of the Night  
(The Sentinel)**

1908

oil on canvas

76.2 × 53.6 (30 $\frac{1}{8}$  × 21 $\frac{1}{8}$ )

Inscribed: Frederic Remington/1908 (lower right); copyright 1908 by Frederic Remington (lower center)

Sid Richardson Collection of Western Art, Fort Worth, Texas

CR 2855

**DIARY**

Painted—finished “Indian in moonlight”

TUESDAY, 14 JANUARY 1908

Sent photo paper and one dollar to copyright “A *Figure of the Night*.”

WEDNESDAY, 22 JANUARY 1908



53

**Government Outfit  
(Sleeping Camp—Moonlight)**

1908  
oil on canvas  
30.5 × 45.2 (12 × 18)  
Inscribed: Frederic Remington/1908 (lower left)  
Location unknown

CR 2856

DIARY

worked at paintings—did a little  
sleeping camp moonlight—good.  
28 NOVEMBER 1908



**The Grass Fire  
(Backfiring)**

1908  
oil on canvas  
68.9 × 101.9 (27<sup>1</sup>/<sub>8</sub> × 40<sup>1</sup>/<sub>8</sub>)  
Inscribed: Frederic Remington/  
1908 (lower right); Copyrighted  
[illegible] by P. F. Collier (lower left)  
Amon Carter Museum, Fort Worth,  
Texas

Illustrated: *Collier's Weekly*  
(3 April 1909): 8, color halftone  
CR 2888

DIARY

Redrew the "Grass Fire" picture  
from first little picture.

SATURDAY, 21 MARCH 1908

Worked—laid in new "Shotgun  
Hospitality" and on Grass Fire.

WEDNESDAY, 1 APRIL 1908

Worked on "Grass Fire" and "Shot-  
gun Hospitality"—a new moon and  
I will soon get a chance at the later  
picture. Firelight and moon—very  
difficult.

SATURDAY, 4 APRIL 1908

Boxed and shipped my paintings  
and canvases. Box to go to Colliers  
labeled No 2 sent to Lincoln. . . .  
Containing pictures; "Snow Trail";  
"Shotgun Hospitality"; "Indians  
Simulating Buffalo"; "The Long-  
Horn Cattle Sign"; "The Call for  
Help"; } in no 1 box; "Scare in the  
pack train"; "Poole in desert"}  
"Grass Fire" to Island;

THURSDAY, 14 MAY 1908

Put six paintings away—finished  
and tomorrow I begin on the "Dead  
Buck". . . . "Grass Fire" "Stranger"  
"Dead Run" "Pony Officer" "Eye of  
mind" "Stamped."

MONDAY, 8 JUNE 1908

Packed pictures with Pete. For Col-  
liers "Cutting out the Pony Herd"  
"The Stampede" "The Stranger"  
"The Grass Fire" "With the eye of  
the mind" "The dead men" For Lin-  
coln Storage "The Lost Warrior"  
"The Apache Scouts" "The Night  
Halt" have 12 Chippewa Bay oil  
studies

THURSDAY, 13 AUGUST 1908

Show at Knoedlers. . . 8. The Grass  
Fire

MONDAY, 30 NOVEMBER 1908

"Grass Fire" sold today  
SATURDAY, 5 DECEMBER 1908

Sold at Knoedlers to date. . . "The  
grass fire"

TUESDAY, 8 DECEMBER 1908



55

**Night Halt of Cavalry  
(Night Halt of the Cavalry)**

1908  
oil on canvas  
68.6 × 101.6 (27 × 40)  
Inscribed: Frederic Remington/'08  
(lower right)  
Private Collection

CR 2862

**DIARY**

worked laid in "Cavalry halt—  
moonlight," "The bark of a dog"  
TUESDAY, 7 JULY 1908

Packed pictures with Pete. For Col-  
liers "Cutting out the Pony Herd"  
"The Stampede" "The Stranger"  
"The Grass Fire" "With the eye of  
the mind" "The dead men" For Lin-  
coln Storage "The Lost Warrior"  
"The Apache Scouts" "The Night  
Halt" have 12 Chippewa Bay oil  
studies

THURSDAY, 13 AUGUST 1908

Show at Knoedlers . . . 1. Night Halt  
of Cavalry

MONDAY, 30 NOVEMBER 1908

**COMMENTARY**

Mr. Remington's western themes  
are of the familiar sort—savage  
Apache scouts, under the command  
of a still more savage white scout,  
listening for an enemy, in the  
moonlight; a stampede of cattle in a  
storm; ponies calling for help from  
wolves; Indians frightened by the  
portent of a sunset, and propitiating  
the storm with prayers; cavalry halt-  
ing at night in the enemy's country,  
and the like. In every case, of  
course, the theme is handled with  
audacity and amazing vigor of  
expression.

"FREDERIC REMINGTON AGAIN," *NEW YORK  
EVENING MAIL*, 2 DECEMBER 1908, 8

"The Stampede" is a vigorous study  
of confused motion, and "A Scare in  
the Pack Train" and "Night Halt of  
Cavalry" have a dramatic color  
scheme that lends intensity to the  
general effect.

"GALLERY NOTES. REMINGTON PAINTINGS  
ON VIEW," *NEW YORK TIMES*, 2 DECEMBER  
1908, 8

But in his western scenes the artist, as always, most appeals. His color has softened, and he has, if possible, grown stronger in the depiction of those dramatic episodes of far western and frontier life, on which his fame rests. The "Shotgun Hospitality," the "Night Halt of Cavalry" and the "Scare in the Pack Train" are composed and painted with sincerity and marked skill.

"REMINGTON AT KNOEDLER'S," *AMERICAN ART NEWS* (5 DECEMBER 1908): 6

The many people sincerely interested in Mr. Remington's work have, for the past few years, felt that he was making rapid strides in the development of a variety of new and interesting methods of expressing what he had to say. He is either forgetting or purposely putting aside the recollection and influence of the color and technique employed by his first art heroes, de Neuville and Detaille, and is achieving a manner that has been evolved out of the subjects which he paints, so that his color is more and more inevitably related to his ideas, as if Nature herself had spread his palette. He has grown to think through his paint so freely and fluently that in some of his more recent work he seems to have used his medium unconsciously, as a great musician does his piano and score.

And very wonderful indeed are some of the colors which Remington has seen visions of in the West and dared to paint on his canvases—strange water-green moonlights that are fundamental to our great Western plains, vast spaces of whirling glittering yellow dust through which horsemen and horses glow in red and gold tones, as though caparisoned for some gorgeous tournament. And the men that he paints, almost without exception, are definite types of human beings, men who have lived through unique phases of our American civilization; and his Indians are of the old dignified race of the prairies, a people of fine presence and poetical imagination. The emotions of these people, their poetry and their material lives, with the surroundings of cowboys and ranchmen, Remington has placed on his canvases truthfully, fearlessly and with a supreme understanding of his art. Among the most significant paintings in what might be called his new method are: "The Water Hole, Navajos," "With the Eye of the Mind," "Night Halt of Cavalry," "The Stampede," "Apache Scouts Listening," "The Snow Trail."

"MUSIC: DRAMA: ART: REVIEWS," *THE CRAFTSMAN* 15 (JANUARY 1909): 501-502

Among the best examples of his late work are "Fired On," which was recently purchased for the National Museum; "Shotgun Hospitality," "The Scare in the Pack Train," "The Night Halt of Cavalry," "The Lost Warrior," "The Blanket Signal," "Among the Led Horses" and "The Hunters' Supper."

"MR. FREDERIC REMINGTON, CELEBRATED ARTIST, DIES," *NEW YORK HERALD*, 27 DECEMBER 1909, 7





56

**Scare in a Pack Train  
(A Scare in the Pack-Train)**

1908  
oil on canvas  
68.6 × 101.6 (27 × 40)  
Inscribed: Frederic Remington/  
1908 (lower left)  
Private Collection

CR 2867

DIARY

Quite a fall of snow during night—very beautiful—worked on Rattlesnake and laid in “A scare in the pack train” moonlight.

THURSDAY, 6 FEBRUARY 1908

Like the rough canvas for moonlights—have ordered some. Must re’do my “scare in pack-train”.

SATURDAY, 22 FEBRUARY 1908

Have managed the “Scare Pack Train” on the new “Rough Smoother” canvas. I think I am going to like this.

MONDAY, 24 FEBRUARY 1908

Finished the “*Scare in Pack Train*” and think the rough canvas a great help in moonlights—don’t know how it will be for complicated figure things in sun.

THURSDAY, 27 FEBRUARY 1908

Laid in paintings—worked my “Scare in Pack Train”—color looses readily from the heavy mesh canvas but if one knows how to work it it is a good thing.

MONDAY, 9 MARCH 1908

Painted on “Pack Train” and laid in “Shotgun Hospitality.”

FRIDAY, 13 MARCH 1908

Painted and finally got—“Pack Train” in good shape.

SUNDAY, 15 MARCH 1908

Worked a little on Pack Train. Those moonlights are elusive and require a world of monkeying.

TUESDAY, 17 MARCH 1908

Saved “Scare in Pack Train”

WEDNESDAY, 25 MARCH 1908

B. thought my “Pack Train” was wonderful—ghost painting he calls it.

THURSDAY, 26 MARCH 1908

Boxed and shipped my paintings and canvases. Box to go to Colliers labeled No 2 sent to Lincoln. . . . Containing pictures; "Snow Trail"; "Shotgun Hospitality"; "Indians Simulating Buffalo"; "The Long-Horn Cattle Sign"; "The Call for Help"; } in no 1 box; "Scare in the pack train"; "Poole in desert"} "Grass Fire to Island";

THURSDAY, 14 MAY 1908

Show at Knoedlers. . . 10. A Scare in the Pack Train

MONDAY, 30 NOVEMBER 1908

Sold today "Scare in Pack Train" three payments of \$500 each. . . "With Eye of Mind" \$1000 "Against the Sun Set" \$500.

FRIDAY, 4 DECEMBER 1908

"Grass fire" sold today—party did not take "Scare in Pack Train."

SATURDAY, 5 DECEMBER 1908

#### COMMENTARY

"The Stampede" is a vigorous study of confused motion, and "A Scare in the Pack Train" and "Night Halt of Cavalry" have a dramatic color scheme that lends intensity to the general effect.

"GALLERY NOTES. REMINGTON PAINTINGS ON VIEW," *NEW YORK TIMES*, 2 DECEMBER 1908, 8

Some "Apache Scouts Listening" really seem to be environed by the night and the woodland. The picture gives one a thrill in its truthfulness, and "A Scare in the Pack Train" is fairly uncanny in its weirdness, as you look at the man feeling for his weapons.

"ART AND ARTISTS," *NEW YORK GLOBE AND COMMERCIAL ADVERTISER*, 3 DECEMBER 1908, 10

But in his western scenes the artist, as always, most appeals. His color has softened, and he has, if possible, grown stronger in the depiction of those dramatic episodes of far western and frontier life, on which his fame rests. The "Shotgun Hospitality," the "Night Halt of Cavalry" and the "Scare in the Pack Train" are composed and painted with sincerity and marked skill.

"REMINGTON AT KNOEDLER'S," *AMERICAN ART NEWS* (5 DECEMBER 1908): 6

Among the best examples of his late work are "Fired On," which was recently purchased for the National Museum; "Shotgun Hospitality," "The Scare in the Pack Train," "The Night Halt of Cavalry," "The Lost Warrior," "The Blanket Signal," "Among the Led Horses" and "The Hunters' Supper."

"MR. FREDERIC REMINGTON, CELEBRATED ARTIST, DIES," *NEW YORK HERALD*, 27 DECEMBER 1909, 7



57

**Shotgun Hospitality  
(Shot Gun Hospitality)**

1908  
oil on canvas  
68.6 × 101.6 (27 × 40)  
Inscribed: Frederic Remington/  
1908 (lower right)  
Hood Museum of Art, Dartmouth  
College, Hanover, New Hampshire,  
gift of Judge Horace Russell, Class  
of 1865

Illustrated: *Collier's Weekly*  
(17 September 1910): 12, halftone  
CR 2869

DIARY

Painted on "Pack Train" and land in  
"Shotgun Hospitality."

FRIDAY, 13 MARCH 1908

Rain—worked—afraid I am going to  
fail on "Shotgun Hospitality."

TUESDAY, 31 MARCH 1908

Worked—laid in new "Shotgun  
Hospitality" and on Grass Fire.

WEDNESDAY, 1 APRIL 1908

Worked on "Grass Fire" and "Shot-  
gun Hospitality" a new moon and I  
will soon get a chance at the later  
picture. Firelight and moon—very  
difficult.

SATURDAY, 4 APRIL 1908

Boxed and shipped my paintings  
and canvases. Box to go to Colliers  
labeled No 2 sent to Lincoln. . . .  
Containing pictures; "Snow Trail";  
"Shotgun Hospitality"; "Indians  
Simulating Buffalo"; "The Long-  
Horn Cattle Sign"; "The Call for  
Help";} in no 1 box; "Scare in the  
pack train"; "Poole in desert"}  
"Grass Fire to Island";

THURSDAY, 14 MAY 1908

Show at Knoedlers. . . 6. Shot-gun  
Hospitality

MONDAY, 30 NOVEMBER 1908

Knoedlers sold "Shot-gun Hospital-  
ity" to Judge Russell for Dartmouth  
College. Judge called me in and was  
very nice. Got the press clippings—  
all very nice. No "Sun" or "Tribune"  
yet.

FRIDAY, 4 DECEMBER 1908

Sold at Knoedlers to date. . . "Shot-  
gun Hospitality"

TUESDAY, 8 DECEMBER 1908

## LETTERS

I thought Shotgun Hospitality a wonderful picture and Chippewa Bay and the wood scenes moved me north in a jiffy. If I ever get rich I'll have a Remington room here to help me to be content with life and old age.

IRVING BACHELLER TO FREDERIC REMINGTON, 5 DECEMBER 1908 (SPLATE AND SPLATE 1988, 403)

## COMMENTARY

A group of nineteen paintings by Frederic Remington is now on view in the upper room of the Knoedler Galleries. They show the artist's constant study of dramatic movement and color and the types of Western character are chosen with discrimination for their pictorial appropriateness. The three Indians in "Shotgun Hospitality," for example, are the true old-fashioned Cooper "braves," and the white men in the different compositions are not only lifelike but like what we see in imagination when we call to mind a western scene.

"GALLERY NOTES. REMINGTON PAINTINGS ON VIEW," *NEW YORK TIMES*, 2 DECEMBER 1908, 8

In the thirteen pictures of Western prairie life it is difficult to select any one as preeminent. Each is distinctive and each is excellent in its distinction. . . . What calmness in the "Shot-gun Hospitality" when the white man sits coolly with his Winchester across his knees while three unwelcome Indians pay him a visit. "AN ARTIST OF THE PLAINS. FREDERIC REMINGTON'S GRAPHIC PICTURES AT THE KNOEDLER GALLERIES," *NEW YORK EVENING POST*, 3 DECEMBER 1908, 9

But in his western scenes the artist, as always, most appeals. His color has softened, and he has, if possible, grown stronger in the depiction of those dramatic episodes of far western and frontier life, on which his fame rests. The "Shotgun Hospitality," the "Night Halt of Cavalry" and the "Scare in the Pack Train" are composed and painted with sincerity and marked skill.

"REMINGTON AT KNOEDLER'S," *AMERICAN ART NEWS* (5 DECEMBER 1908), 6

As for the night scenes, it would be difficult to congratulate Mr. Remington too warmly on the spirit and the skill with which he has painted them. Suffused with a strange gray-green light, they expose some characteristic incident of the plains, a white pioneer welcoming Indians to his camp-fire—with his shotgun in hand—cattlemen at their duty, horses attacked by wolves and crying in their terror for help from their owner's cabin, and so on through a list of subjects which seem to revive the very atmosphere and movement of the vast West. There is life in them all, the realism of things clearly seen and apprehended with sympathetic feeling. But even more exhilarating is just the spectacle of Mr. Remington's adroitness, his swift and judicious handling of pigment, his boldness and his simplicity. Moreover, he has never been so attractively himself as in the making of these pictures. Their virile originality constitutes a great part of their merit.

ROYAL CORTISSOZ, "AMERICAN ART. NEW PAINTINGS BY MR. REMINGTON AND MR. DEWEY," *NEW-YORK TRIBUNE*, 6 DECEMBER 1908, SEC. 2, P. 2

Among the best examples of his late work are "Fired On," which was recently purchased for the National Museum; "Shotgun Hospitality," "The Scare in the Pack Train," "The Night Halt of Cavalry," "The Lost Warrior," "The Blanket Signal," "Among the Led Horses" and "The Hunters' Supper."

"MR. FREDERIC REMINGTON, CELEBRATED ARTIST, DIES," *NEW YORK HERALD*, 27 DECEMBER 1909, 7

Shotgun Hospitality[:] When three or four Indians called in at the camp-fire of a lone white man they might do no worse than eat all his grub, but the preliminaries of getting acquainted were apt to make the host nervous, especially when he reflected that his horses were staked at some distance and that the Indians looked tired.

*COLLIER'S WEEKLY* (17 SEPTEMBER 1910): 12



58

**The Stampede by Lightning  
(The Stampede)**

1908  
oil on canvas  
68.6 × 101.6 (27 × 40)  
Inscribed: Frederic Remington/  
1908 (lower right); Copyright 1908  
by P.F. Collier and son (lower  
center)  
Gilcrease Museum, Tulsa,  
Oklahoma

Illustrated: *Collier's Weekly*  
(18 February 1911): 8, color halftone  
CR 2872

DIARY

Worked. Have begun "Stampede"  
picture all over again. — I do not  
think I got all I could out of it.  
SATURDAY, 30 MAY 1908

Worked on "Stampede" and have  
made a dandy of it. I got the light  
that is unearthly—the curious  
yellow glow of a rain storm, seen  
only at long intervals but not  
forgettable—  
SUNDAY, 31 MAY 1908

Put six paintings away—finished  
and tomorrow I begin on the "Dead  
Buck" . . . "Grass Fire" "Stranger"  
"Dead Run" "Pony Officer" "Eye of  
mind" "Stampeded."  
MONDAY, 8 JUNE 1908

Got sick of my Stampede and have  
begun that 1 Stranger all over again.  
TUESDAY, 23 JUNE 1908

Worked all day "Stranger" and  
"Stampede".  
WEDNESDAY, 24 JUNE 1908

am repainting "Stampede" for third  
time.  
WEDNESDAY, 22 JULY 1908

Have a good start on third attempt  
at "Stampede".  
FRIDAY, 24 JULY 1908

Dandy day—worked on Stampede—  
didn't do much.  
SATURDAY, 25 JULY 1908

Packed pictures with Pete. For Col-  
liers "Cutting out the Pony Herd"  
"The Stampede" "The Stranger"  
"The Grass Fire" "With the eye of  
the mind" "The dead men" For Lin-  
coln Storage "The Lost Warrior"  
"The Apache Scouts" "The Night  
Halt" have 12 Chippewa Bay oil  
Studies  
THURSDAY, 13 AUGUST 1908

Show at Knoedlers . . . 5. The Stampede

MONDAY, 30 NOVEMBER 1908

Knoedler has sent "Stampede" out on consignment to Billy Mygatt I think — Fred Gunnison was in and would have bought it they think.

FRIDAY, 11 DECEMBER 1908

A Mr. Ray Scofield 115 B'way bought my "Stampede" and I at Billy Mygatt's request wrote him a nice letter. My show at Knoedler's closes tonight. It was a triumph. I have landed among the painters and well up too.

SATURDAY, 12 DECEMBER 1908

#### COMMENTARY

Mr. Remington's western themes are of the familiar sort—savage Apache scouts, under the command of a still more savage white scout, listening for an enemy, in the moonlight; a stampede of cattle in a storm; ponies calling for help from wolves; Indians frightened by the portent of a sunset, and propitiating the storm with prayers; cavalry halting at night in the enemy's country, and the like. In every case, of course, the theme is handled with audacity and amazing vigor of expression.

"FREDERIC REMINGTON AGAIN," *NEW YORK EVENING MAIL*, 2 DECEMBER 1908, 8

"The Stampede" is a vigorous study of confused motion, and "A Scare in the Pack Train" and "Night Halt of Cavalry" have a dramatic color scheme that lends intensity to the general effect.

"GALLERY NOTES. REMINGTON PAINTINGS ON VIEW," *NEW YORK TIMES*, 2 DECEMBER 1908, 8

In the thirteen pictures of Western prairie life it is difficult to select any one as preeminent. Each is distinctive and each is excellent in its distinction. What rush in "The Stampede" of horses started by a thunderstorm at night!

"AN ARTIST OF THE PLAINS. FREDERIC REMINGTON'S GRAPHIC PICTURES AT THE KNOEDLER GALLERIES," *NEW YORK EVENING POST*, 3 DECEMBER 1908, 9

That the man who could paint "The Stampede," with its double drama of the elements and the herd gone mad with fear, could visualize for us the pastoral calm of "The White Birches" speaks loudly for the variety of Mr. Remington's viewpoint and of his command of his medium.

"ART NOTES," *NEW YORK PRESS*, 6 DECEMBER 1908, SEC. 2, P. 7

The many people sincerely interested in Mr. Remington's work have, for the past few years, felt that he was making rapid strides in the development of a variety of new and interesting methods of expressing what he had to say. He is either forgetting or purposely putting aside the recollection and influence of the color and technique employed by his first art heroes, de Neuville and Detaille, and is achieving a manner that has been evolved out of the subjects which he paints, so that his color is more and more inevitably related to his ideas, as if Nature herself had spread his palette. He has grown to think through his paint so freely and fluently that in some of his more recent work he seems to have used his medium unconsciously, as a great musician does his piano and score.

And very wonderful indeed are some of the colors which Remington has seen visions of in the West and dared to paint on his canvases—strange water-green moonlights that are fundamental to our great Western plains, vast spaces of whirling glittering yellow dust through which horsemen and horses glow in red and gold tones, as though caparisoned for some gorgeous tournament. And the men that he paints,

almost without exception, are definite types of human beings, men who have lived through unique phases of our American civilization; and his Indians are of the old dignified race of the prairies, a people of fine presence and poetical imagination. The emotions of these people, their poetry and their material lives, with the surroundings of cowboys and ranchmen, Remington has placed on his canvases truthfully, fearlessly and with a supreme understanding of his art. Among the most significant paintings in what might be called his new method are: "The Water Hole, Navajos," "With the Eye of the Mind," "Night Halt of Cavalry," "The Stampede," "Apache Scouts Listening," "The Snow Trail."

"MUSIC: DRAMA: ART: REVIEWS," *THE CRAFTSMAN* 15 (JANUARY 1909): 501-502

The Stampede by Lightning[:] Lightning and thunder have started a herd of cattle, and in the gathering darkness the cowboys trail along trying to head them off.

*COLLIER'S WEEKLY* (18 FEBRUARY 1911): 8



59

**The Stranger  
("The Stranger")**

1908  
oil on canvas  
68.9 × 101.9 (27 $\frac{1}{8}$  × 40 $\frac{1}{8}$ )  
Inscribed: Frederic Remington/  
1908 (lower right)  
Thomas A. Petrie

Illustrated: *Collier's Weekly*  
(12 December 1908): 20–21,  
color halftone  
CR 2887

**DIARY**

Put six paintings away—finished  
and tomorrow I begin on the "Dead  
Buck" . . . "Grass Fire" "Stranger"  
"Dead Run" "Pony Officer" "Eye of  
mind" "Stampeded."  
MONDAY, 8 JUNE 1908

Got sick of my Stampede and have  
begun that 1 stranger all over again.  
TUESDAY, 23 JUNE 1908

Worked all day "Stranger" and  
"Stampede".  
WEDNESDAY, 24 JUNE 1908

Painted—worked again on the  
*Stranger*—it seems I can never  
satisfy myself.  
WEDNESDAY, 15 JULY 1908

Packed pictures with Pete. For Col-  
liers "Cutting out the Pony Herd"  
"The Stampede" "The Stranger"  
"The Grass Fire" "With the eye of  
the mind" "The dead men" For Lin-  
coln Storage "The Lost Warrior"  
"The Apache Scouts" "The Night  
Halt" have 12 Chippewa Bay oil  
studies  
THURSDAY, 13 AUGUST 1908

Show at Knoedlers . . . 4. The  
Stranger  
MONDAY, 30 NOVEMBER 1908

Knoedlers crowded to see my pic-  
tures—sold "The Stranger"—many  
enquires. Lunched Players, Hear  
Cortissoz much impressed  
WEDNESDAY, 2 DECEMBER 1908

Sold at Knoedlers to date . . . "The  
Stranger"  
TUESDAY, 8 DECEMBER 1908

#### COMMENTARY

"The Stranger," another night scene, an Indian spying a prairie schooner by which the immigrant sits at his fire, gives that not unpleasant feeling of lonesomeness which comes over a man when he finds himself camped out on the plains, unknown miles away from an unknown place.

No artist can tell so well the story of Western plain life as Frederic Remington; none can paint it or sculpt it better. His pictures, or, at any rate, those on exhibition at Knoedler's, do not show the "beer and skittles" side of that life. They tell its serious tale, the tale of the man who spends most of his time by himself communing with nature and often is driven to indulge in what has been described as "the jolly blues."

"AN ARTIST OF THE PLAINS. FREDERIC REMINGTON'S GRAPHIC PICTURES AT THE KNOEDLER GALLERIES," *NEW YORK EVENING POST*, 3 DECEMBER 1908, 9

One picture, "The Stranger," discloses a rider coming up to a camping party and making a noise to signal his approach, for in that country it is not healthy to appear too suddenly, without warning. There, undesirable characters are received with short shrift, a sudden shot, and no questions asked, so it is wise to come up gingerly, and one feels this is what the stranger is doing. Meanwhile, the stillness of the place, the hush of the night, and the glow of the fire are all well expressed. . . . In short, it is an interesting collection Mr. Remington offers, one to attract a large public; while the pictures are artistic records that may not be repeated by others who shall succeed this painter, for he has seen with his own eyes, mingled with the people he portrays, lived in the camp, been on the march, rounded up his cattle, or trailed after game, and those days have, in the words of old Eccles, "gone most like forever." He has hiked with the soldier in his time as well, and it follows that such experiences give an authority not otherwise possible. But these are the real things, they fairly exude virility, action, and the genuine life that in the far west is gradually passing into a tradition merely. Go see the pictures which remain at the Knoedler galleries until Dec. 12.

"ART AND ARTISTS," *NEW YORK GLOBE AND COMMERCIAL ADVERTISER*, 3 DECEMBER 1908, 10

"The Stranger"[:] In the old days when Indians and marauding white men were common on the plains it was considered good judgment when approaching a camp at night to announce oneself, as a stealthy approach was apt to invite an investigating bullet.

*COLLIER'S WEEKLY* (12 DECEMBER 1908): 20-21





60

**Untitled** (night landscape)

c. 1908

oil on board

30.5 × 40.7 (12 × 16)

Inscribed: Unsigned

Buffalo Bill Historical Center,

Cody, Wyoming, Gift of

The W. R. Coe Foundation

CR 2993



61

**Untitled**  
**(Night Rider; The Night Herder)**

c. 1908

oil on board

30.8 × 45.7 (12 $\frac{1}{8}$  × 18)

Inscribed: Unsigned

Buffalo Bill Historical Center,

Cody, Wyoming, Gift of

The W. R. Coe Foundation

CR 3015



62

### The Gossips

1909  
oil on canvas  
68.6 × 101.6 (27 × 40)  
Inscribed: Frederic Remington/  
1909 (lower left)  
Peabody Essex Museum, Salem,  
Massachusetts, Gift in memory of  
Esther Paine LaCroix and Morris  
Felton LaCroix by Susanne LaCroix  
Phippen and Richard D. Phippen

Illustrated: *Scribner's Magazine*  
(February 1910): 185, halftone  
CR 2903

### DIARY

have sold "The Blanket Signal" "The  
gossips" "The Love Call." Pretty  
good for a start. We're not going to  
hang them but I said yes Saturday.  
FRIDAY, 3 DECEMBER 1909

My show opened at Knoedlers and  
had great crowds. / Sold Blanket  
Signal 1000. / Gossips 1000. /  
Hunter's Supper 1000 / War Bridle  
600. / Love Call 800. / Luckless  
Hunter 800.

SATURDAY, 4 DECEMBER 1909

Burdick sent letter from Mrs. Paine  
of Boston who bought "Blanket Sig-  
nal" Gossips and Love Call.

FRIDAY, 17 DECEMBER 1909

Paintings sold... 10. The Gossips  
1000

KNOEDLER'S CATALOGUE PAGE PASTED IN  
BACK OF DIARY, 1909

Cash accounts July Paintings  
Knoedler 1909 14. The Gossips  
LISTED ON MEMO PAGE, 1909

### COMMENTARY

In the last few years he [Remington]  
has been making tremendous  
strides. There is something posi-  
tively exciting about the rapidity  
with which he passes one milestone  
after another. He, too, like Mr. Has-  
sam, has his one outstanding pic-  
ture, a work which, if matched by  
others in technical authority, never-  
theless makes a singular and most  
impressive appeal. This is the pic-  
ture of "The Gossips," portraying a  
scene in the Indian country. It is a  
peaceful evening landscape, with  
river and sky bringing a golden glow

into contrast with the russet hues of the earth and the even darker notes of trees and tepees stretched across the background. Pausing upon their ponies in this glorified solitude are two palavering Indians, types portrayed with a realism embracing not only their bodies, heads and gesticulating hands, but their very souls. Here in the West Mr. Remington paints us the truth, as Mr. Hassam has painted it in the East in "The Old Elm," and he in his turn heightens the interest of his fact by sound workmanship and handsome color. This, indeed, he does repeatedly in his latest exhibition, producing better pictures than he has ever produced before.

ROYAL CORTISSOZ, "ART EXHIBITIONS. NEW PICTURES BY TWO AMERICAN PAINTERS," *NEW-YORK TRIBUNE*, 7 DECEMBER 1909, 7

Two aspects of his [Remington's] ability as a painter of life were brought out in sharp relief by this collection of pictures [at the Knoedler Galleries]—his authentic interpretation of the Indian, and his fidelity to things as they are amongst our soldiers and cowboys as against what they seem to be under the conditions of a Wild West show. His picture of "The Gossips" is, I think, one of the handsomest and most convincing Indian studies ever painted. The scene is set in a grassy landscape divided across the centre of the canvas by a still stream. This river reflects the rich yellow glow that fills the sky, and elsewhere there is naught save masses of tawny reddish tone. The landscape by itself possesses a kind

of lonely fascination. The primitive tepees, darkly silhouetted against the sky, have the appearance of natural growths befitting the two mounted figures that fill the centre of the composition. These figures bring us back to his reliance upon life, upon the real thing. Looking at his gossips we feel that thus do the Indians sit their ponies, that thus do they gesture. Mr. Remington makes no use of feathers here or beads, nor is it the "noble red man" that he portrays. He gives us just the everyday tribesman, mayhap worthy of his heroic forebears, mayhap deeply tinctured with rum, and full of small tattle about affairs on the reservation and the unamiable practices of one of Uncle Sam's agents. It is another page from the familiar life of a people, and it is in that character that it speaks to us with genuine force. But enriching its historical value and its human poignancy is its beauty as a painted picture. . . . Returning to his mounted figures, consider again for a moment the picture of "The Gossips." One does not need to humanize animals or to look at them through the eyes of Landseer to see in them traits that are individual and even touching. There is about the ponies in this picture a curiously strong suggestion of the patience with which beasts of burden await the pleasure of their masters. They are full of "horse character," and in this respect the touch given by the little foal is perfect.

ROYAL CORTISSOZ, "FREDERIC REMINGTON: A PAINTER OF AMERICAN LIFE," *SCRIBNER'S MAGAZINE* 47 (FEBRUARY 1910): 187-188, 190



**The Hunters' Supper**  
**(The Hunter's Supper;**  
**Hunter's Camp in the Big Horns)**

c. 1909

oil on canvas

68.6 × 76.2 (27 × 30)

Inscribed: Frederic Remington/Big  
 Horn Mountains/1909 (lower right)  
 National Cowboy and Western  
 Heritage Museum, Oklahoma City,  
 Oklahoma

Illustrated: *Scribner's Magazine*  
 (February 1910): 187, halftone  
 CR 2904

DIARY

John Howard thinks of buying  
*Hunters Supper* for a C. P. R. man  
 but I had to refer him to Knoedler  
 \$1000. He says they may be able to  
 sell my stock.

TUESDAY, 9 NOVEMBER 1909

My show opened at Knoedlers and  
 had great crowds. / Sold Blanket  
 Signal 1000. / Gossips 1000. /  
 Hunter's Supper 1000 / War Bridle  
 600. / Love Call 800. / Luckless  
 Hunter 800.

SATURDAY, 4 DECEMBER 1909

Among the subjects which the artist  
 has taken for his canvases are "The  
 Lost Warrior," "The Blanket Signal,"  
 "Among the Led Horses," and "The  
 Hunters' Supper."

NEWSPAPER CLIPPING, "NEW PAINTINGS  
 SHOWN BY MR. REMINGTON," AT  
 THURSDAY, 9 DECEMBER 1909

Paintings sold . . . 11. The Hunter's  
 Supper 1000

KNOEDLER'S CATALOGUE PAGE PASTED IN  
 BACK OF DIARY, 1909

Cash Accounts—July Paintings  
 Knoedler 1909 2. The Hunter's  
 Supper

LISTED ON MEMO PAGE, 1909

COMMENTARY

Among the best examples of his late  
 work are "Fired On," which was  
 recently purchased for the National  
 Museum; "Shotgun Hospitality,"  
 "The Scare in the Pack Train," "The  
 Night Halt of Cavalry," "The Lost  
 Warrior," "The Blanket Signal,"  
 "Among the Led Horses" and "The  
 Hunters' Supper."

"MR. FREDERIC REMINGTON, CELEBRATED  
 ARTIST, DIES," *NEW YORK HERALD*,  
 27 DECEMBER 1909, 7

**The Love Call**

1909  
oil on canvas  
78.7 × 71.1 (31 × 28)  
Inscribed: Frederic Remington/  
1909 (lower right)  
Sid Richardson Collection of  
Western Art, Fort Worth, Texas

Illustrated: *Scribner's Magazine*  
(February 1910): 188, halftone  
CR 2906

## DIARY

I worked to great advantage—the color vibrated for me. Finished “The Love Call” in one sitting—got a scheme on “outlier” and pulled “The buffalo runners” into harmony and night.

TUESDAY, 6 JULY 1909

have sold “The Blanket Signal” “The gossips” “The Love Call.” Pretty good for a start. We’re not going to hang them but I said yes Saturday.

FRIDAY, 3 DECEMBER 1909

My show opened at Knoedlers and had great crowds. / Sold Blanket Signal 1000. / Gossips 1000. / Hunter’s Supper 1000 / War Bridle 600. / Love Call 800. / Luckless Hunter 800.

SATURDAY, 4 DECEMBER 1909

They [twenty-three pictures by Remington at Knoedler’s] are mostly dramatic, or tragic, episodes of the fight between white man and aborigine, but in one instance the artist strikes a gentler note in the lyrical episode he styles “The Love Call.” Of the atmosphere of the Far Western plains and mountains this artist often declares “it can’t be painted,” and then sets about the task again. How well he does it, how admirably he fills his canvases with its rarity and the intensity of its light, both under the sun and stars, these pictures tell.

UNIDENTIFIED NEWSPAPER CLIPPING, AT TUESDAY, 7 DECEMBER 1909

Among the large canvases are several which are entitled to rank among the best things that Remington has done. “The Love Call,” an

Indian wooer blowing his flute at the foot of a tree in the enchanted moonlight, is an [sic] triumph of beautiful characterization.

UNIDENTIFIED NEWSPAPER CLIPPING, AT SATURDAY, 11 DECEMBER 1909

Burdick sent letter from Mrs. Paine of Boston who Bought “Blanket Signal” Gossips and Love Call.

FRIDAY, 17 DECEMBER 1909

Paintings sold . . . 14. The Love Call 800

KNOEDLER’S CATALOGUE PAGE PASTED IN BACK OF DIARY, 1909

Cash Accounts—July Paintings Knoedler 1909 7. The Love Call sold LISTED ON MEMO PAGE, 1909

## COMMENTARY

Likewise are the aborigines supple fellows, capable of great deeds and used to privation, sons of nature and warriors bold. Which makes a combination, and you linger over them as they wave “The Blanket Signal,” as they make “The Love Call,” or as they wander like “The Lost Warrior,” seeking their way.

“ART AND ARTISTS,” *NEW YORK GLOBE AND COMMERCIAL ADVERTISER*, 6 DECEMBER 1909, 8

Altogether these pictures [at the Knoedler Galleries] by Mr. Remington are interesting examples of his skill as a painter. They included besides those which have been mentioned a portrait of Major General Leonard Wood, U. S. A., “The Blanket Signal,” “The Sun Dance,” “Among the Led Horses,” “The Love Call” and several small landscapes. [The pictures already mentioned are

“A Buffalo Episode,” “The Outlier,” “Pony Herder,” “Buffalo Runners, Big Horn Basin,” “The Visitation of a Buffalo Gun,” and “Missing.”]

GUSTAV KOBBE, “PAINTERS OF INDIAN LIFE. SPIRITED SCENES ON THE WESTERN PLAINS AS PORTRAYED BY NOTED ARTISTS,” *NEW YORK HERALD*, 26 DECEMBER 1909, 11

His men and horses are empathetically of a practical, modern world, a world of rough living, frank speech, and sincere action. I recall, in passing, a picture of an Indian upright beneath a tree, and sedately piping to a maiden whom we are to imagine dwelling in one of the tepees not far distant. “The Love Call,” as it is entitled, is, if you like, a romantic picture, an idyl of the starlight, but I confess that I cannot dilate with any very tender emotion in its presence. There is nothing languishing about this lover; he carries his pipe to his lips with a stiff gesture. In his ragged blanket he is essentially a dignified, not a sentimental image. It has not occurred to Mr. Remington to make his model “pretty” or in any way to give his painting a literary turn. He has busied himself with his tones of gray and green; he has sought to draw his figure well, to realize, for example, the arm concealed beneath the blanket. For the rest his purpose is simply to paint an interesting landscape, enlivened by the right figure, and to paint it well. Never was a picture bearing so poetic a title more realistically produced. The note of intimacy that he strikes rests upon the firm basis of common things.

ROYAL CORTISSOZ, “FREDERIC REMINGTON: A PAINTER OF AMERICAN LIFE,” *SCRIBNER’S MAGAZINE* 47 (FEBRUARY 1910): 189–190







**The Luckless Hunter**

1909  
oil on canvas  
68.3 × 73.3 (267/8 × 287/8)  
Inscribed: Frederic Remington/  
1909 (lower right)  
Sid Richardson Collection of  
Western Art, Fort Worth, Texas

Illustrated: *Scribner's Magazine*  
(February 1910): 181, halftone  
CR 2907

## DIARY

My show opened at Knoedlers and had great crowds. / Sold Blanket Signal 1000. / Gossips 1000. / Hunter's Supper 1000 / War Bridle 600. / Love Call 800. / Luckless Hunter 800.

SATURDAY, 4 DECEMBER 1909

Another massive piece of expression is "The Luckless Hunter" — an Indian on horseback moving forlornly homeward through the weird night light.

UNIDENTIFIED NEWSPAPER CLIPPING,  
AT SATURDAY, 11 DECEMBER 1909

Paintings sold... 15. The Luckless Hunter 800

KNOEDLER'S CATALOGUE PAGE PASTED  
IN BACK OF DIARY, 1909

Cash Accounts — July Paintings  
Knoedler 1909 6. The luckless hunter — moon

LISTED ON MEMO PAGE, 1909

## COMMENTARY

Again and again Mr. Remington brings out the interest residing in this factor in Western life and adventure. I hardly know which is the more moving in his picture of "The Luckless Hunter," the stolidly resigned rider, huddling his blanket about him against the freezing night air, or the tired pony about which you would say there hung a hint of pathos if that were not to give, perhaps, too anecdotic an edge to an altogether natural episode. Wherever he finds them Mr. Remington makes his horses stand out in this way as having something like personality.

ROYAL CORTISSOZ, "FREDERIC REMINGTON:  
A PAINTER OF AMERICAN LIFE,"  
*SCRIBNER'S MAGAZINE* 47 (FEBRUARY  
1910): 190, 192



66

**Moonlight, Wolf**

c. 1909

oil on canvas

50.8 × 66 (20 × 26)

Inscribed: Frederic Remington  
(lower right)

Addison Gallery of American Art,  
Phillips Academy, Andover,  
Massachusetts, Gift of the Members  
of the Phillips Academy Board of  
Trustees on the occasion of the 25th  
Anniversary of the Addison Gallery

CR 2909

67

**Sleeping Village**

1909  
oil  
Known only through  
Remington's account

No known image  
CR 2920

DIARY

Painted—Laid in my “Sleeping Village”—moonlight & stage.

FRIDAY, 29 JANUARY 1909

Cash Accounts—July Paintings  
Knoedler 1909 . . . 4. Sleeping  
Village

LISTED ON MEMO PAGE, BUT LATER  
CROSSED OUT, 1909

68

**Squaws with Buffalo Meat**

c. 1909  
oil  
Known only through  
Remington's account

No known image  
CR 2921

DIARY

worked—“Blanket” & snow squaws  
buffalo meat.

WEDNESDAY, 27 JANUARY 1909

Have great perplexity with a moon-  
light “Squaws with buffalo meat”

MONDAY, 8 FEBRUARY 1909

Failed on Squaws with Buffalo Meat.  
Threw it away

TUESDAY, 9 FEBRUARY 1909

worked—got the squaw out of my  
system

TUESDAY, 20 JULY 1909

I have thrown out Squaws with  
Buffalo Meat, it won't do.

SATURDAY, 28 AUGUST 1909

Cash Accounts—July Paintings  
Knoedler 1909 4. Squaws with  
Buffalo Meat

LISTED ON MEMO PAGE, BUT LATER  
CROSSED OUT, 1909

COMMENTARY

[As noted by Hassrick and Webster in the 1996 Remington catalogue raisonné (page 835), this work “appears to have the same theme, a moonlight scene of Indian women skinning buffalo, as *The Hungry Moon*, 1906.” They also note that the work “may be the same painting as *Home with the Buffalo Meat*, c. 1908.”]



**The Outlier**

1909  
oil on canvas  
101.9 × 69.2 (40<sup>7</sup>/<sub>8</sub> × 27<sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub>)  
Inscribed: Frederic Remington/  
1909 (lower right)  
Brooklyn Museum of Art,  
Brooklyn, New York,  
Bequest of Charlotte R. Stillman

Illustrated: *Scribner's Magazine*  
(February 1910): 189, halftone  
CR 2913

**DIARY**

I worked to great advantage—the color vibrated for me. Finished “The Love Call” in one sitting—got a scheme on “outlier” and pulled “The buffalo runners” into harmony and night.

TUESDAY, 6 JULY 1909

I destroyed “Outlier” and must do him over again.

SATURDAY, 25 SEPTEMBER 1909

Have given up “Outlier”—I am not up to that low tone.

FRIDAY, 1 OCTOBER 1909

I modeled and laid in “Outlier” for 10th time. I will not be licked.

THURSDAY, 14 OCTOBER 1909

Worked on my “Outlier”—my old companion—I have a good start.

FRIDAY, 15 OCTOBER 1909

Worked—made the great tonal proposition “Outlier” to set up—

SATURDAY, 16 OCTOBER 1909

Worked—made huge success of “Outlier”.

SUNDAY, 17 OCTOBER 1909

Hassam thinks “Outlier” best of my pictures.

WEDNESDAY, 20 OCTOBER 1909

to Knoedlers when a Mr. Harkness, Standard Oil Man was introduced and he bought “Outlier”.

MONDAY, 13 DECEMBER 1909

Paintings 17, The Outlier

KNOEDLER'S CATALOGUE PAGE PASTED IN BACK OF DIARY, 1909

Cash Accounts—July Paintings

Knoedler 1909 9. The Outlier moon

LISTED ON MEMO PAGE, 1909

**COMMENTARY**

But the pictures, more than twenty in number, which he [Remington] recently exhibited in the Knoedler galleries, showed him as a painter—and a painter who knew the American Indian, his habits, his life and his abiding places. The Indian was displayed on field and plain, in peace and war, in love and peril, and always the same consummate knowledge and skill. . . . A solitary mounted figure, called “The Outlier,” was an interesting example of strength in repose. The warrior, bare to the waist, his lithe, copper colored figure projected against the deep blue sky of a full moonlight night, gun across the saddle, was the type of the silent sentinel of the plains. The white forehead of the horse, the bluish green of the grass, the shrubs melting from the middle distance into the sky—all these were details of an admirable color scheme. GUSTAV KOBBE “PAINTERS OF INDIAN LIFE. SPIRITED SCENES ON THE WESTERN PLAINS AS PORTRAYED BY NOTED ARTISTS,” *NEW YORK HERALD*, 26 DECEMBER 1909, 11



**The Sundance**  
**(Ordeal in the Sundance, Blackfeet)**

1909  
 oil on canvas  
 68.6 × 101.6 (27 × 40)  
 Inscribed: Frederic Remington/  
 1909 (lower left)  
 Frederic Remington Art Museum,  
 Ogdensburg, New York

CR 2923

DIARY

Am starting "Sun Dance" for the love of Record of Great Themes but I'll never sell it—it will give everyone the Horrors. It is in my system and it's got to come out. Schuyler Kemble is going to pose for the tall skeleton shapes.

SUNDAY, 28 FEBRUARY 1909

Schuyler Kemble came up and gave me some dandy poses of "Sun Dance"—he is thin and poses as you want. I shall use him again.

MONDAY, 1 MARCH 1909

Worked—have good thing in "Sun Dance"—a horror but a great thing—the biggest thing most significant of the Western Indians.

TUESDAY, 2 MARCH 1909

Awful time with my "Sundance"—a most difficult proposition.

MONDAY, 8 MARCH 1909

Worked "Sun Dance"

WEDNESDAY, 17 MARCH 1909

Whether his [Remington's] braves race madly on raw boned steeds amid the dust, engage the troops sent against them by a paternal government, or are engaged in the by no means dilettante divertissements of the sun dance, he depicts the true Indian.

NEWSPAPER CLIPPING, "NEW PAINTINGS SHOWN BY MR. REMINGTON," AT THURSDAY, 9 DECEMBER 1909

Knoedler send "Sun Dance"... back to Lincoln Safe Dep.

SATURDAY, 18 DECEMBER 1909

Paintings 7. The Sun Dance

KNOEDLER'S CATALOGUE PAGE PASTED IN BACK OF DIARY, 1909

Cash Accounts—July Paintings  
 Knoedler 1909 8. The Sun Dance fire

LISTED ON MEMO PAGE, 1909

COMMENTARY

Dramatic incidents of the Far West, the great glare of the sun-baked plains, their aridity, the contrasting blue of a quiet uneventful night, are shown in pictures by Frederic Remington in the Knoedler Gallery. It is inevitable that Remington be called an illustrator. He is a narrator, a teller of tales romantic enough to be of more than usual interest. The painter quality is not his in viewpoint, although as a manipulator of the medium he is fast becoming free, easy, facile. His improvement during the past four years is remarkable. . . . There are the "Buffalo Runners—Big Horn Basin," a group of horsemen coming full tilt over the brow of a hill, a long stretch of prairie land behind them; "The Sun Dance," "The Pony Herder," "The Mystery," Indians performing a religious rite in the full glare of the sun, and the "Lost Warrior," Indians mounted on swiftly moving ponies, who brave the rattling fire of cavalry troop to regain the body of a lost warrior.

"REMINGTON'S SCENES OF THE FAR WEST AT KNOEDLER'S," *NEW YORK AMERICAN*, 13 DECEMBER 1909, 6

Altogether these pictures [at the Knoedler Galleries] by Mr. Remington are interesting examples of his skill as a painter. They included besides those which have been mentioned a portrait of Major General Leonard Wood, U. S. A., "The Blanket Signal," "The Sun Dance," "Among the Led Horses," "The Love Call" and several small landscapes. [The pictures already mentioned are "A Buffalo Episode," "The Outlier," "Pony Herder," "Buffalo Runners, Big Horn Basin," "The Visitation of a Buffalo Gun," and "Missing."]

GUSTAV KOBBE, "PAINTERS OF INDIAN LIFE. SPIRITED SCENES ON THE WESTERN PLAINS AS PORTRAYED BY NOTED ARTISTS," *NEW YORK HERALD*, 26 DECEMBER 1909, 11





71

**Untitled**

(Remington's last painting;  
**Around the Campfire**)

1909  
oil on canvas  
68.6 × 76.2 (27 × 30)  
Inscribed: Frederic Remington/  
1909 (lower left)  
Frederic Remington Art Museum,  
Ogdensburg, New York

CR 2925

COMMENTARY

Left untitled—and with a signature that may have been added by another hand—this unfinished painting has been described as Remington's last ever since his widow's death. Remington worked on several paintings at a time, and brought out old pictures for refinement months after he began them. That could explain Eva Remington's impression that this was his final effort, and justify using the older title "The Cigarette."

DIPPIE 2001, 214–216



72

**The Winter Campaign  
(Cavalry Warming Themselves;  
Cavalry Halt)**

1909  
oil on canvas  
68.6 × 101.6 (27 × 40)  
Inscribed: Frederic Remington/  
1909 (lower right)  
The Rockwell Museum, Corning,  
New York

Illustrated: *Scribner's Magazine*  
(February 1910): 183, halftone  
CR 2929

DIARY

worked on Cavalry in snow-fire light  
TUESDAY, 9 MARCH 1909

"The Winter Campaign"—a group of soldiers squatting about a fire, with their horses huddling close to them to keep warm—expresses, as only Remington can the oneness of feeling of animals and men in the face of nature's menace of death.

Indeed, in all of Remington's pictures the shadow of death seems not far away. If the actors in his vivid scenes are not threatened by

death in terrible combat, they are menaced by it in the form of famine, thirst or cold. One sees the death's-head through the skin of the lean faces of his Indians, cowboys and soldiers; his figures are clothed and desperately active skeletons, and even about his animals there is a strong suggestion of the nearness of the moment when their bones will lie bleaching on the desert.

UNIDENTIFIED NEWSPAPER CLIPPING, AT  
SATURDAY, 11 DECEMBER 1909

A Jew was interested in "Winter Campaign."

MONDAY, 13 DECEMBER 1909

Paintings... 5. The Winter Campaign

KNOEDLER'S CATALOGUE PAGE PASTED IN BACK OF DIARY, 1909

Cash Accounts—July Paintings  
Knoedler... 5. The Cavalry Halt—moon and fire

LISTED ON MEMO PAGE, 1909

## COMMENTARY

It is in the night scenes, however, that as mere art lovers we find the most satisfaction. "The Winter Campaign," to take a notable example, shows the backs of a group of horses ranged about a campfire, the light of which appears not too insistently within the circle of their finely modeled forms. The general color of the picture is blue, and the tone dark. The indication of the figures of the men in the middle distance gathered around the fire is admirably done, and the whole effect is of sincere workmanship and a strong feeling for characteristic sentiment.

"GALLERY NOTES. TWENTY IMPRESSIVE PAINTINGS OF THE WEST BY REMINGTON AT KNOEDLER'S," *NEW YORK TIMES*, 8 DECEMBER 1909, 10

Dramatic incidents of the Far West, the great glare of the sun-baked plains, their aridity, the contrasting blue of a quiet uneventful night, are shown in pictures by Frederic Remington in the Knoedler Gallery. It is inevitable that Remington be called an illustrator. He is a narrator, a teller of tales romantic enough to be of more than usual interest. The painter quality is not his in viewpoint, although as a manipulator of the medium he is fast becoming free, easy, facile. His improvement during the past four years is remarkable. . . . Beautifully drawn backs of horses, brilliant faces of men on the offside of a camp fire, green reflections of snow and a dark forest, in which other fires relieve the black monotony, are admirably rendered in the "Winter Campaign." The clear cold of its atmosphere is reproduced with indisputable veracity.

"REMINGTON'S SCENES OF THE FAR WEST AT KNOEDLER'S," *NEW YORK AMERICAN*, 13 DECEMBER 1909, 6

In one of his night scenes, "The Winter Campaign," we have not only the qualities which have just been traversed, but an exceptionally good illustration of that truthful painting of the white man in the West which I have mentioned as constituting an important aspect of his [Remington's] art. The military painter has ever been prone to give ear to the music of the band. How can he help himself? History invites him to celebrate dramatic themes. The lust of the eve is bound to lure him where the squadrons are glittering in their harness and the banners are flying. Even when he has but a single figure to paint he must, as Whistler once said to me of Meissonier, "put in all the straps and buttons." That way lies disaster sometimes. It was of a military picture by Meissonier that Degas remarked that everything in it was of steel except the swords. One antidote to the artificiality fostered by too great a devotion to a handy wardrobe and a multitude of "studio fixings" lies in the simple process of roughing it with the forces. It is to be gathered from Mr. Remington's books that he has forgathered with the troops as he has ridden and dwelt with the

cowboys, but, if we had no other evidence on this point, we would know it well enough from such pictures as "The Winter Campaign." It is an admirable piece of painting, beautifully expressing the night cold and the mysterious gloom of the forest, and reproducing with positive clairvoyance that indescribable bond which unites the men and their horses around the comfortable glow of the camp-fire. Here once more I would emphasize the fusion of substance and technique. The spirit of the subject is superbly caught, but, equally with this achievement, you admire the adroit management of light and shade, the modelling of the bodies of the horses, the skilful painting of textures, the good drawing both in the trees and in the heads of the men, and the soundly harmonized scheme of color. This painting alone would stand as a record of the kind of life led by our men on duty in the West and as proof of Mr. Remington's gift as a painter.

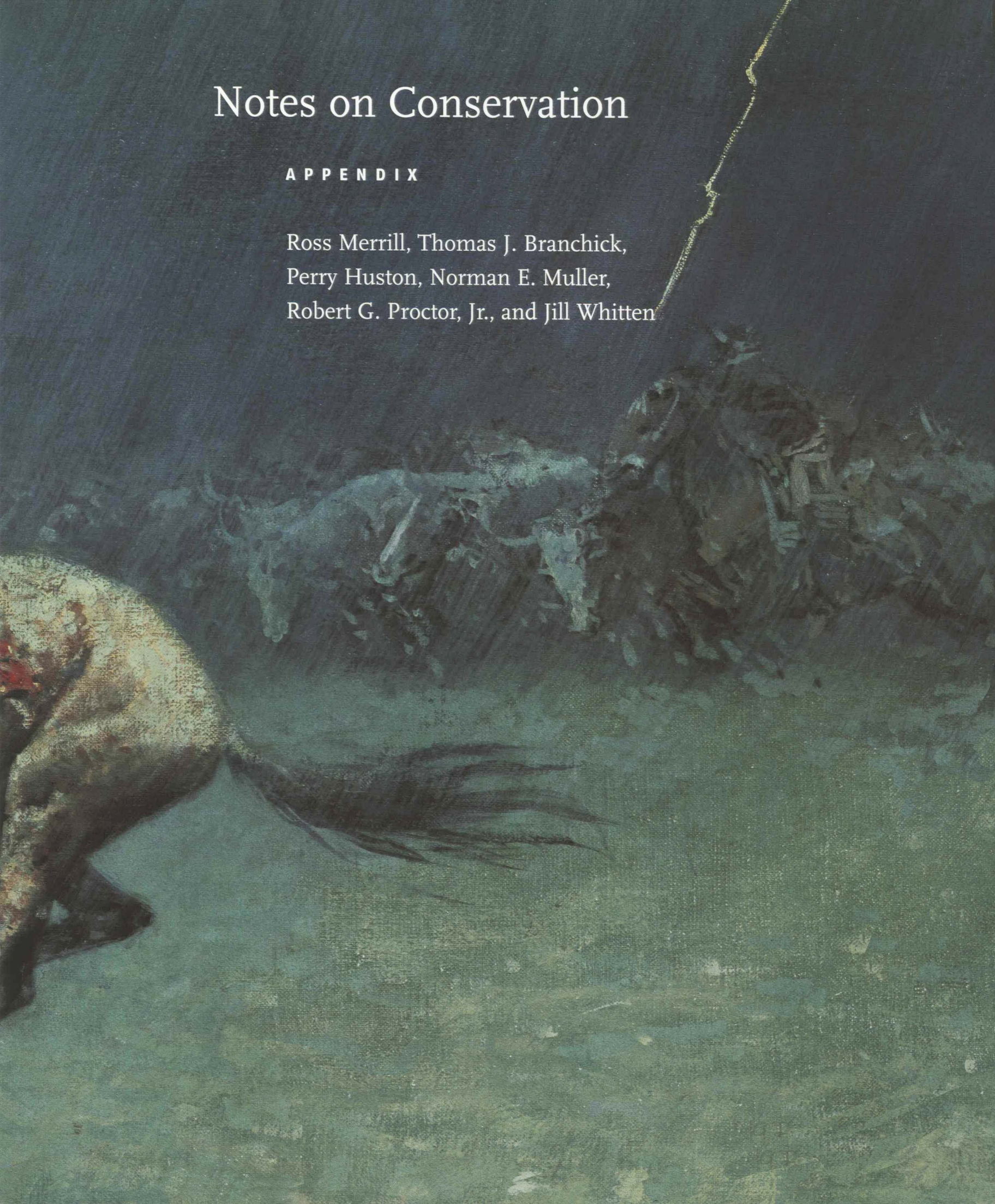
ROYAL CORTISSOZ, "FREDERIC REMINGTON: A PAINTER OF AMERICAN LIFE," *SCRIBNER'S MAGAZINE* 47 (FEBRUARY 1910): 192, 194



# Notes on Conservation

## APPENDIX

Ross Merrill, Thomas J. Branchick,  
Perry Huston, Norman E. Muller,  
Robert G. Proctor, Jr., and Jill Whitten





IN AN EFFORT TO UNDERSTAND Remington's painting technique and to ensure that his nocturnes would be shown to advantage, several works included in the exhibition *Frederic Remington: The Color of Night* were conserved. Because the results were often revealing, the conservators involved agreed to share their findings in this section. We are grateful to the National Gallery of Art's Ross Merrill, chief of conservation, who oversaw their efforts, to his staff, and to the conservators themselves—Thomas J. Branchick, Williamstown Regional Conservation Center; Perry Huston, private conservator; Norman E. Muller, Princeton University Art Museum; and Jill Whitten and Robert G. Proctor, Jr., also private conservators. Their thorough studies provide new insights into Remington's painting technique. Following Merrill's introduction, the six paintings treated are arranged in a chronological sequence.

#### Observations on Remington's Materials and Technique

Ross Merrill

During the last decade of his life, Remington struggled to achieve recognition as a fine artist rather than as an illustrator, and to that end he experimented continually with the difficulties of painting in color. In the nocturnes, Remington achieved remarkable success, employing a broad range of color effects that captured the subtleties of firelight, candlelight, and moonlight. Over time, such subtleties were often compromised by yellowed varnish, which deadened cool tones and obscured the delicate tonal and color changes characteristic of these fine paintings. During the removal of this discolored varnish, technical analysis was undertaken regarding Remington's materials and painting technique.

The National Gallery's scientific research department provided critical technical support to the conservators in their investigations. Pigment and cross-sectional paint samples extracted from works undergoing treatment were sent to the Gallery for study and analysis. There, embedded in a clear casting resin and ground down to cross-section, samples were examined by Michael Palmer with a light microscope and analyzed with a scanning electron microscope with energy disper-

sive spectrometry (SEM/EDS). His findings were reported to the individual investigators. The Gallery's Lisha Glinsman used X-ray fluorescence spectrometry (XRF) to identify the pigments on Remington's palettes, which were cleaned by Joanna Dunn.

Technical studies of works of art have an inherent drawback: when, as in this study, they are based on a very small sampling of an artist's work, care must be taken not to draw conclusions that are too broad. The analysis of paint cross sections and pigments, while very informative about the nature of the materials used in the paintings, cannot give a full understanding of the physical character of the paint at the time of application. For this study, an analysis of binding media was not conducted on the samples, but the inferred origin of some of the paint suggests the addition of varnish resin in the paint. Artists have always added materials to affect the handling of wet paint. Driers may have been added by the paint manufacturer or by the artist to accelerate the drying rate of the paint. Oils, varnish resins, or other additives may have been included in the paint to aid the leveling of the glazes or to increase the transparency of the paint film. For this study, such additives were not investigated.

#### NINETEENTH-CENTURY BACKGROUND

The nineteenth century was a period of dramatic change in artist's materials and the practice of painting. The preparation of paint moved from the hand grinding of small batches of pigment to larger commercial production on roller mills. Paint was no longer sold in small leaky bladders but became available in collapsible metal paint tubes that were easily portable and long lasting. The practice of having a local colorman custom grind selected colors gave way to the production of a new international commodity that could be shipped and stored for long periods of time. A New York artist could select from a variety of imported European-made artists' paints. For glazes, the artist could choose paints from one brand that were inherently more transparent than those of another. Depending on how the paint was made and with what materials, Remington could select thick pasty paints of higher viscos-



1. A Remington palette (1.67.219),  
after cleaning



ity over more fluid paints. He could also select paints that were faster drying because of the addition of driers or varnish resins by manufacturers.

Nineteenth-century chemists also developed improved pigments. A manufacturer of pigments had two goals in mind: improving the lightfastness of the paint and reducing some of the pigments' highly poisonous nature. Cadmium reds, oranges, and yellows replaced the less stable chrome colors, which tended to darken and were sensitive in mixtures with certain other pigments. The clear sky-blue pigment, cobalt blue, was introduced along with the closely related cobalt-based cerulean blue, two favorites of the French impressionists. Unfortunately, the most popular red and yellow lake colors, prized for their rich transparency in oil glazes, continued to be the fugitive madder lake, carmine, gamboge, and Indian yellow. It was not until the late twentieth century that such natural materials could be replaced with lightfast modern synthetic pigments. The first synthetically produced dyestuff, alizarin crimson, was introduced about 1858, replacing madder lake as a transparent red pigment. Although an improve-

ment over madder lake, alizarin has never been lightfast and is now considered the most fugitive color on the modern artist's palette.

In the second half of the nineteenth century, the number of reliable artists' pigments virtually doubled. These colors, such as cerulean blue, cadmium yellows and reds, zinc yellow, cobalt violet, ultramarine violet, manganese violet, chromium oxide green, and the range of red and yellow Mars iron oxides, gave artists a spectrum of bright, colorfast, permanent, and reliable hues for permanent painting. The French impressionists were the first group to embrace these new colors, which the American impressionists immediately introduced in the United States. Mixed colors were quickly derived from these new materials, including Hooker's green, a mixture of Prussian blue and fugitive gamboge in watercolor, and of Prussian blue and cadmium yellow or zinc yellow in oil.

Little is known of the history of paint sales and distribution in America prior to World War II. *The Illustrated Price List of Artists' Materials* published by F. Weber & Co., Philadelphia and Saint Louis, in 1890 cites not only Weber & Co.'s "Finely

Prepared Oil Colors” but also Winsor & Newton’s prepared oil colors. Schoenfeld’s German oil colors are also listed. Like Weber’s catalogue, F. W. Devoe & Co.’s *Priced Catalogue of Artists’ Materials* of 1887 lists Devoe’s artists’ paints as well as Winsor & Newton’s, but does not list any European paints. Devoe, located in the later nineteenth century at Fulton and William Streets in New York City,<sup>1</sup> was a long-term supplier of artists’ materials including the A. D. Shattuck Patented Stretcher Key (4).<sup>2</sup> Rather than relying on commercial colormen, some artists served as their own importers. Emanuel Leutze, for example, reported in an undated letter (c. 1859)<sup>3</sup> that Albert Bierstadt was ordering paints from Dresden, Germany, that were the same quality as Schoenfelds of Dusseldorf.<sup>4</sup>

#### REMINGTON’S PALETTE

The study of an artist’s materials is usually restricted to the paintings available for technical study and information gleaned from the literature. Occasionally, written materials such as diaries, studio notes, or day logs yield additional insights. In the case of Frederic Remington, diaries from the last three years of his life (1907–1909) survive, as do actual paints and palettes (fig. 1). These sources confirm that Remington was experimenting with various brands, colors, and procedures. On Thursday, 4 March 1909, for example, he wrote, “Tried Antwerp Blue—no good—Transparent Gold

Ocher—fine color. Peruvian Yellow—Fredericks . . . Light Blue—Schoneufields.”<sup>5</sup>

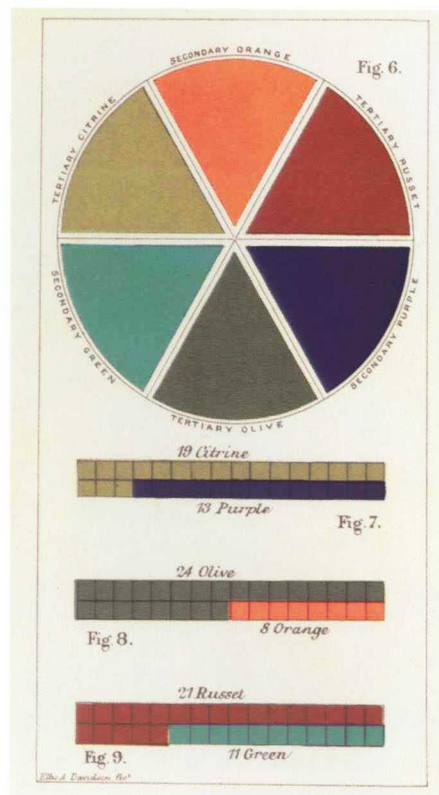
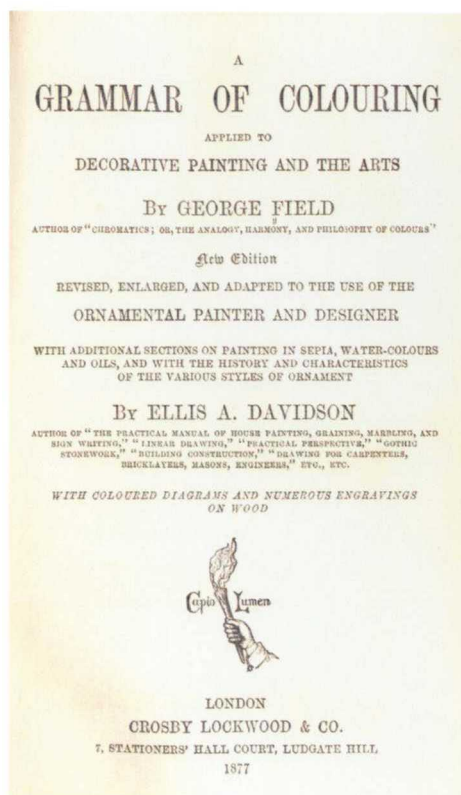
Painters’ manuals from the period offer numerous clues regarding pigments and technical information available to Remington. In one such manual by colorman George Hurst, Antwerp blue is listed as a Prussian blue made paler by the presence of zinc sulphate.<sup>6</sup> Transparent gold ochre, a pigment listed in several artists’ colormen’s catalogues from the late nineteenth century and still available today, is a hydrated iron oxide that is particularly transparent.<sup>7</sup> Hurst also noted that ochres, depending on their opacity, were commonly used as glazing colors or as body colors.<sup>8</sup> Peruvian yellow, probably a commercial name unique to a specific company, was not listed in any of the late nineteenth- or early twentieth-century color catalogues consulted in this study. Light blue, which often describes a color rather than a specific pigment material, is likely a mixture of lead or zinc white and ultramarine or Prussian blue.

Thirteen tubes of paint from Remington’s studio are now in the collection of the Frederic Remington Art Museum: twelve tubes of Mussini oil colors from H. Schmincke & Co., Dusseldorf, and one tube of Permanent White from Devoe Framing Co., Inc.<sup>9</sup>

Related through their wives’ family, Hermann Schmincke and Josef Horadam became friends and business partners. In 1881 the two chemist colormen founded a color-manufacturing plant that developed resin-oil-color recipes based on those used by Professor Cesare Mussini of Florence.<sup>10</sup> Just before the start of World War II, the Schmincke family, fearing the loss of its prized formulas, entrusted the recipes to a close American friend, Max Grumbacher, who began production of oil paint in New York using the Schmincke recipes. During the war the company records were lost when the Dusseldorf paint factory was destroyed. However, H. Schmincke & Co. continues to make Mussini oil colors today and, over the years, has expanded its line to include Horadam watercolors, gouaches, acrylics, and other artists’ materials. Schmincke “Norma Professional oil colors” are comparable to the leading brands of the finest oil paint while its “Mussini resin-oil-colors” continue to be made as “traditional dammar-resin-oil-colors.”<sup>11</sup>

Among the twelve tubes of Schmincke Mussini oil colors at the Frederic Remington museum are two tubes each of burnt Sienna and Cassel earth. Hurst viewed Cassel earth, a variety of Vandyke brown, as a variable pigment whose composition was not constant; he therefore advised against using it in any artistic painting.<sup>12</sup> George Field, a colorman whose view toward Cassel earth was a little more charitable, found the true *terre de Cassel* an ochreous pigment similar to burnt umber, but more russet-brown in color (fig. 2). In other

2. Title page and colored diagram, from George Field, *A Grammar of Colouring Applied to Decorative Painting and the Arts* (London, 1877)



PIGMENTS FOUND ON FREDERIC REMINGTON'S PALETTES (IDENTIFIED BY ACCESSION NUMBERS)

	1.67.218	1.67.219	1.67.229	1.67.230
Leaded-zinc white	×			×
Lead white			×	
Zinc white		×		
Prussian blue	×	×	×	×
Bone black	×	×		
Hooker's green	×	×		
Vermilion	×	×	×	
Chrome orange	×	×		×
Cadmium red	×	×		
Mars red	×	×		×
Emerald green	×	×		×
Cadmium yellow				×
Chrome yellow			×	
Chromium oxide green	×	×	×	
Purple lake				×

respects it does not differ essentially from Rubens and Vandyke browns.<sup>13</sup> Like Vandyke brown, Cassel earth makes beautiful transparent brown glazes, but both paints are considered fugitive by modern writers.

Also included among the Remington paints are transparent gold ochre, madder lake deep, ivory black, vermilion, carmine, Prussian blue, chrome yellow, and a tube labeled "Prussian [brown]," with the remainder of the label obscured by an orange-red paint smear. This tube of paint is most likely Prussian brown, which Field described as "a preparation of Prussian blue, from which the blue colouring principle has been expelled by fire, or extracted by an alkaline ley; it is an orange-brown, of the nature and properties of Sienna earth, and dries well in oil."<sup>14</sup> Prussian brown is not listed in an early undated Schmincke catalogue, probably from the 1920s, though Cassel earth is numbered as "36/30." The Schmincke Mussini paint labeled vermilion is listed in the catalogue as "Vermilion light (Carmine)," and another vermilion is listed as "Vermilion deep (Chinese)." As the chemist Maximilian Toch of the D. Van Nostrand Company noted in his manual, "English vermilion (sulphide of mercury), of which the prototypes are Chinese vermilion, American quicksilver vermilion, etc., was formerly used wherever a permanent red was desired."<sup>15</sup> The mercuric sulphide, the classical pigment known as

cinnabar, and its artificial counterpart, vermilion, are of course highly toxic. Vermilion's properties have been known for a long time and Remington was undoubtedly aware of the pigment's deadly character. Nevertheless, he chose to use the pigment.<sup>16</sup> Carmine is a beautiful rich transparent red but, unfortunately, not lightfast. It was made from "the dried dead wingless female cochineal insect (*Coccus Cacti*) which feeds upon several species of cactus, being principally indigenous to Central America, Mexico."<sup>17</sup> Coal tar lakes replaced carmine, and today these reds lakes are made from lightfast modern synthetic dyes. The Permanent White paint in the collection is included in Devoe's *Priced Catalogue of Artists' Materials of 1887*,<sup>18</sup> which lists it separately from Cremnitz white, flake white, and silver white.

For our study, we were able to examine four of Remington's palettes from the collection of the Buffalo Bill Historical Center in Cody, Wyoming. Surviving mounds of paint on the palettes were analyzed using XRF. A non-destructive analytical technique, XRF does not require sampling, although the system gives only an elemental analysis from which pigment possibilities must be drawn. The results suggest the presence of the following pigments: Prussian blue, bone black, vermilion, cadmium red and yellow, chrome yellow and chrome orange, emerald green, chromium oxide green, and Hooker's green. Rarely are artists as systematic in the layout of their palettes as Remington was: he put the same paint (such as blues, reds, yellows) in the same general area each time. For example, where cadmium red was put out for one painting, chrome red was found for another. Since the XRF technique completely penetrates the layers, the presence of cadmium and mercury, suggesting cadmium red and vermilion, was detected in the same location. Whether these elements were mixed or were part of two separate layers is not known. On one palette, a purple paint that lacked strong mineral-based pigments led to speculation that it is an organic purple lake. The most interesting find was the Hooker's green, whose spectra were identical to those in a sample taken from a Winslow Homer watercolor palette studied several years ago at the National Gallery. Because Hooker's green often contains gamboge, a water soluble yellow resin that is not lightfast, it is rarely made as an oil paint. However, paint literature from the early twentieth century<sup>19</sup> suggests that other yellows, including zinc yellow, were mixed with Prussian blue to make a Hooker's green oil paint, which is considered more permanent. Zinc was also located in the same area of the palette, although the XRF cannot indicate the form of the zinc: possibilities include zinc white, zinc yellow, or since lead was also indicated, leaded-zinc white. As a natural resin, gamboge does not show up on XRF. Hooker's green would have provided Remington with a very transparent green, ideal for laying in the dark

shadow tone in his nocturnes. As an oil paint, Hooker's green has been available from H. Schmincke & Co. since its founding in 1881.<sup>20</sup>

Remington also employed several white paints. Two palettes contain a leaded-zinc white; a third, zinc white; and a fourth, lead white. The first pigment, a mixture, is described in technical literature of the period: "Zinc Lead White composed of equal parts of zinc oxide and lead sulphate is obtained from the reduction, volatilization and subsequent oxidation of zinc and lead ores containing sulphur."<sup>21</sup> Toch explained why mixing the elements was necessary: "A comparison between zinc oxide and white lead paints will show that the progressive oxidation which takes place when white lead dries, produces a chalky mixture, while the reverse is true of zinc oxide, which will produce a hard and brittle vitreous surface which is somewhat affected by temperature changes. Owing, therefore, to the diverse effects of the two pigments,

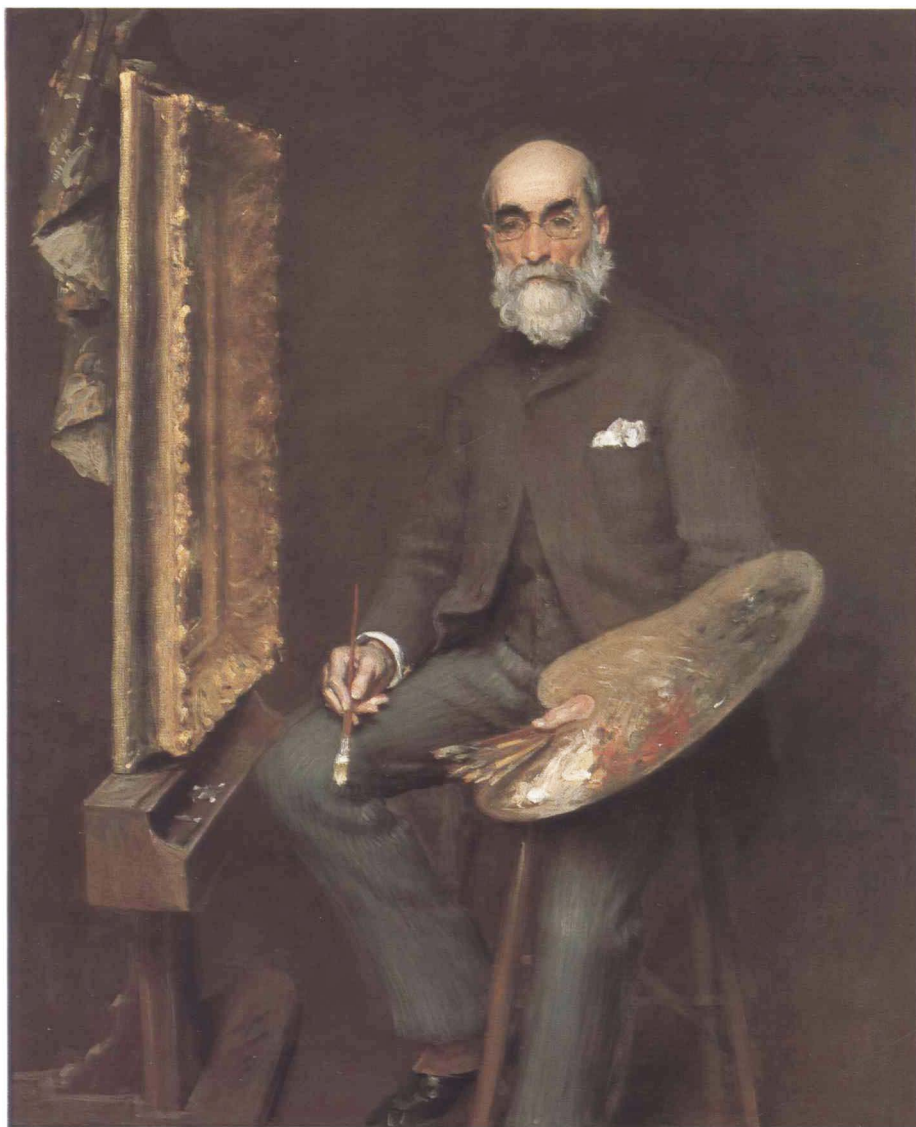
a combination of lead and zinc is often well recommended."<sup>22</sup> Hurst noted that zinc white was often added to lead white (in a fifty-fifty mixture) to reduce the toxicity of the lead paint.<sup>23</sup> The leaded-zinc white—used little in Britain but extensively in America—held many advantages: It had greater opacity than zinc white alone and was less poisonous than pure lead white. Also, the brittleness of zinc white, which tended to crack, was reduced by the addition of lead.<sup>24</sup> Finally, the notoriously slow drying rate of the zinc was improved by the lead content.<sup>25</sup>

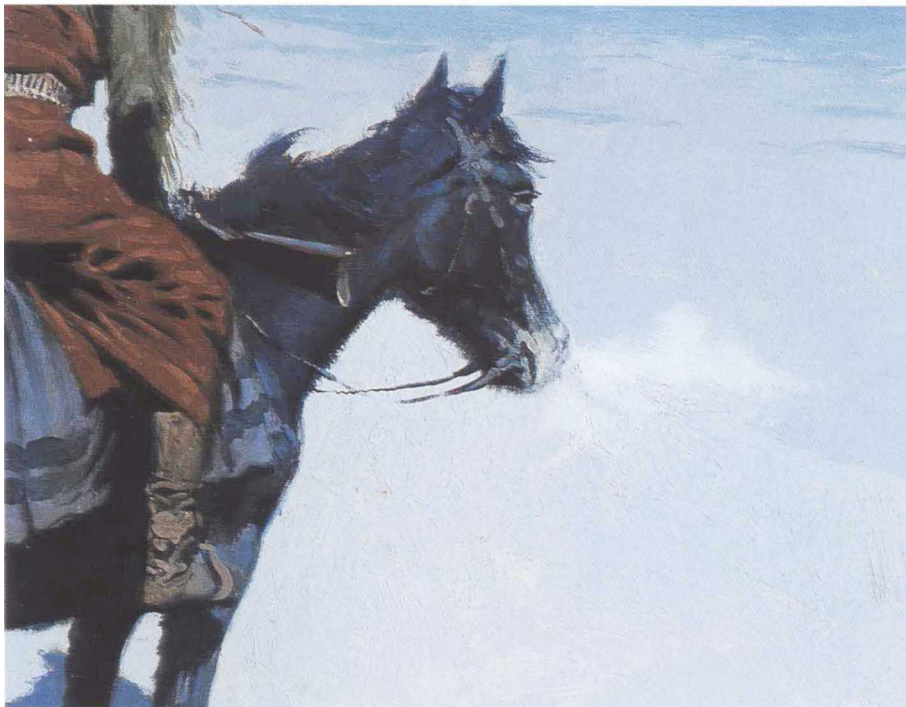
#### LAYOUT OF COLORS ON PALETTE

Placement of various paint colors on a palette often reflects an artist's philosophy regarding light and color. Isaac Newton's discovery of the spectrum heavily influenced artists, and in the nineteenth century, palettes were often laid out in a spectral sequence that moved from blues to greens, then to yellows, and finally to reds and violets with white either below the spectral arc or at the end closest to the painting. The impressionists began to divide their colors into warm and cool, often laying out white in the center to divide the two. Late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century American painters frequently used a spectral layout on an oval palette of mahogany or walnut, traditionally the favored woods. William Merritt Chase's portrait of Worthington Whittredge (fig. 3), for example, shows a palette with just such a layout. White is in a favored position, closest to the painting, because (as any paint manufacturer would assert) it is the most heavily used paint on the palette. Two of the four palettes from the Buffalo Bill Historical Center are oval palettes with nearly identical pigment arrangement. Remington's layout, however, departed from that of Whittredge. Remington moved the greens, Hooker's green and emerald green, to a prime location just above the white on the palette. This change suggests that he used these two colors heavily, as the late nocturnes confirm.

The pigments found on Remington's palettes are consistent with those found in the late paintings and are characteristic of paints readily available at the time. While the Hooker's green and leaded-zinc white are unusual, they were easily available from colormen of the period. The tonality of the nocturnes owes much to these two colors, which were the basic components of the artist's silvery moonlight. The basic layout of his oval palettes was consistent with the practice used at the time, as was his choice of colors. While his paint handling and coloration may owe a debt to the French impressionists, Remington did not utilize the cobalt blue (considered the purest blue available) that they favored.

3. William Merritt Chase, *Worthington Whittredge*, c. 1880, Manoogian Collection





***The Scout: Friends or Foes?***

Thomas J. Branchick

Originally purchased from the artist by Ledyard Cogswell of Albany, New York, *The Scout: Friends or Foes* (pl. 11) dates from 1902 to 1905. The painting was later acquired by J. Townsend Lansing, also of Albany. In 1951 Robert Sterling Clark bought the picture from Knoedler's Gallery in New York. It is now in the collection of the Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute in Williamstown, Massachusetts.<sup>26</sup>

Paper edge tape applied at the tacking edges, assumed contemporary with a past lining, was left in place. Surface dirt and grime were removed using Pluronic solution, a mild aqueous cleaning system (pH 6.0) containing citric acid diammonium salt as a chelator, the surfactant Pluronic F-127 (BASF™), and a small amount of triethanolamine, a strong base. Removal of oxidized varnish was accomplished using Keck II solvent solution, which effectively dissolved the varnish when the surface was rolled with a cotton swab. During cleaning, a coating that appeared to be glaze work in the shirt of the scout and in the hindquarters of the horse was noted. When viewed under 20x magnification, pigment particles could be seen suspended in an assumed oil medium over the underlayer brushwork.

Interestingly, Remington used colors in the silhouette of the figures that influenced the tone of the light. This technique is particularly evident in the shadow of the horse, which is outlined with a turquoise undercolor. Perhaps the most dramatic before- and after-treatment passage is the "breath" of the horse, which became far more evident after cleaning (figs. 4, 5). During treatment, it became clear that the painting appeared quite different when viewed under varied lighting conditions. At lower levels, the yellow stars glimmer, as do the horse's tracks in the snow. Because the furrowed brushwork, which was much more apparent after varnish removal, contributes to the reflected presentation surface of the picture, only one thin brush coat of 10 percent damar in xylenes was applied to the surface. Inpainting at the edges and for small interior losses was executed with dry pigments and B-72 acryloid resin and damar natural resin in a one to one ratio with xylenes.

4. Before cleaning (top)

5. After cleaning (bottom)

## The Hungry Moon

Jill Whitten and Robert G. Proctor, Jr.

Dated 1906, *The Hungry Moon* (pl. 34) is in the collection of the Gilcrease Museum in Tulsa, Oklahoma. Remington, who had originally called the painting “Squaws among the Buffalo,” noted in his diary on 9 December 1907 that Knoedler’s had sold the picture for \$500. Like *The Stampede by Lightning*, the painting came to the Gilcrease as part of the Philip G. Cole collection.<sup>27</sup>

*The Hungry Moon* is signed “Frederic Remington” in black paint in the lower right corner. Examining the signature with a stereo microscope revealed that the artist had carefully resigned the painting with a translucent blue-green paint after he had made changes to the image. A very faint date of 1906, written in this same color, is barely visible below the signature (fig. 6). *Hungry Moon* has been physically and chemically altered by past restorations. The paint layers were sensitive to

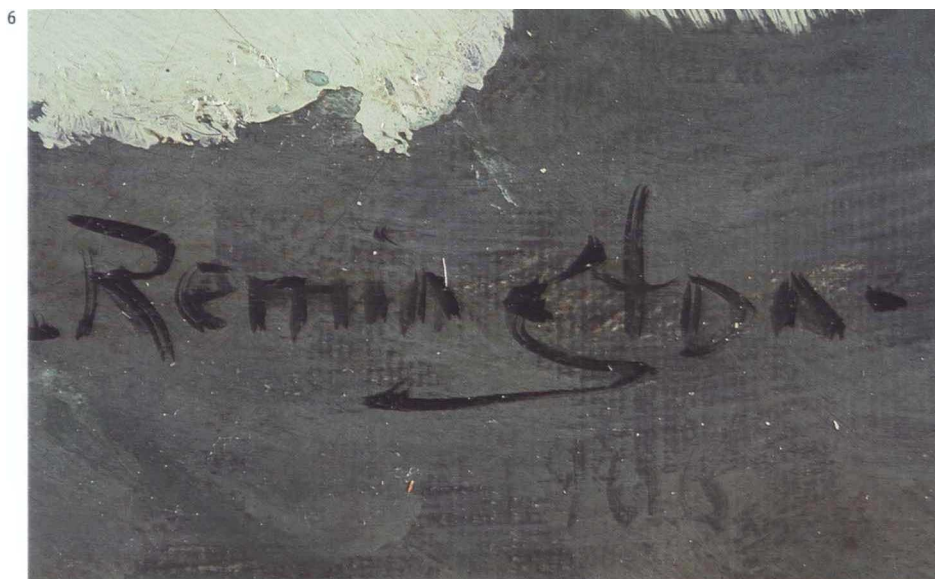
most solvents and soft in texture. There was a wide interval craquelure in the thickly painted, predominantly lead white snow. There was interlayer cleavage in these same areas and flake paint loss.

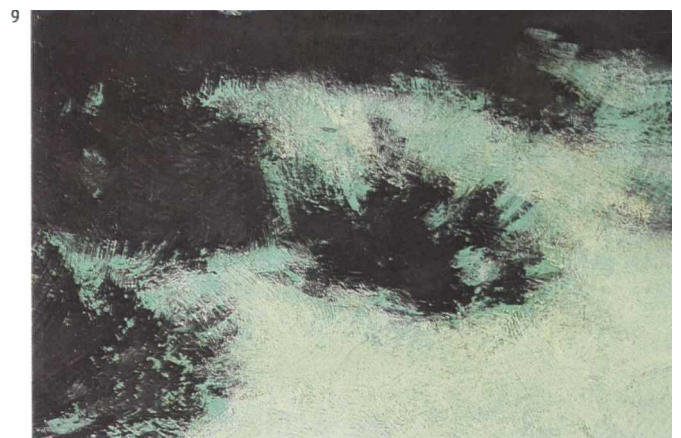
Remington used a medium weight, plain weave canvas (probably linen) with a 35 × 35 per square inch thread count. Now lined to fiberglass fabric, this canvas is attached to a four-membered Shattuck key stretcher (presumably original) with metal staples (fig. 7). Shattuck stretchers, with their unusual iron wedges or keys in the corners, were favored by many American artists during the last decades of the nineteenth and first decades of the twentieth centuries.

A discolored synthetic varnish had been removed in a previous restoration. Wax fills from an earlier treatment that were well adhered and textured were left in place. Losses and some scratches were retouched with Gamblin Conservation Colors (pigments in Laropal A-81). To resaturate dark colors that had become blanched by previous cleanings, an MS2A varnish was applied locally with a Japanese stencil brush. The entire surface was then sprayed with a light application of MS2A mixed with Cosmoloid 80H wax (5 percent by weight) to give the oil paint the lustre that had been lost.

*The Hungry Moon* was executed in a nearly monochromatic palette characteristic of several of Remington’s late nocturnes. The application of paint was both fluid and active, ranging from thickly applied opaque layers of pastelike paint, to thin washes of medium rich transparent glazes. Instead of painting the figures on top of a background and finishing them with transparent thin glazes, Remington painted his figures and shadows simultaneously with thin, smooth, deep translucent green. All of the dark passages were painted in a similar smooth fashion. In contrast, the snow was laid in around the dark forms with thick, opaque white paint toned with yellow and green. The paint was dabbed on with a wide, flat brush. As a result, the smooth dark forms of the image are surrounded by the low relief texture of the snow.

Remington further delineated the central figural group by adding dashes of brown and olive green—the artist used emerald green, chrome and zinc yellow, and iron earth pigments with leaded-zinc white to achieve these effects. He applied the surrounding snow in multiple layers with slight adjustments of color. He continued to modify the forms by overlapping the perimeters with strokes of “snow” and further adjusted them with dark paint that would overlap the snow. Similarly, details such as the rein of the horse in the foreground (fig. 8) were scumbled over with white paint in order to obscure the line. These details were then reinforced with dark paint glazes. This constant adjustment of perimeters and lines evokes the strain of looking at objects in dim light. The overall effect is of a nebulous image in which the solid matter





is one with the shadows, and both are less tangible than the thickly painted amorphous snow.

The removal of small sections of tape (added during a previous restoration) along the edges revealed losses that allowed Remington's complex layering system to be seen with a microscope. The first layer consists of a commercially applied lead white ground. Remington then applied a thin greenish gray imprimatura, followed by a layer of bright green opaque paint. The figures and the snow were painted over a layer of emerald green and leaded-zinc white. This green can be seen in paint holidays in the snow (fig. 9). In areas near the central figural group, the gray-green imprimatura is visible. Additionally, Remington used tiny dabs of chrome yellow and vermilion red to depict stars in the sky.

The discovery of deep scratches throughout the dark passages in the image was surprising. Of different widths and depths, the scratches seem to be random, and may be old

damage. However, under magnification these lines could be seen in every dark area of the painting. To the left and right of the central figure in the shadows on the snow (fig. 10), the scratches can be seen with the naked eye. In some areas the surface paint is chipped, suggesting it may have been scored when brittle; in other areas the lines press into what must have been leathery paint. These scratches extend through the black paint of the signature, where they are covered by the blue green of the upper signature. The scratch marks consist of arcs and straight lines that intersect, suggesting that they may have been made with a loose abrasive such as powdered damar resin, sand, or pumice, or with some type of metal tool. Remington may have put the painting aside for a period and then roughed up the semidry surface to prepare it for reworking (the presence of the double signature would seem to support this conclusion). It is also possible (though less likely) that these scratches resulted from simple wear and tear while the painting remained in the artist's studio. Under magnification, numerous areas of yellow green snow added in the final stages of execution could be seen extending over the scratch marks. Touches of snow also overlap the "F" in the signature.



### *Trail of the Shod Horse*

Norman E. Muller

Frederic Remington's *Trail of the Shod Horse* (pl. 47), which is signed and dated 1907, was presented to Firestone Library, Princeton University, by Francis Earle, a Princeton student, in 1909, the year of his graduation. Whether he or his father was the "Elizabeth N.J. man" mentioned in Remington's diary as the purchaser of the painting from Knoedler's in New York in 1908 for \$800 is not known. In 1992, the painting was placed on loan to the Princeton University Art Museum.

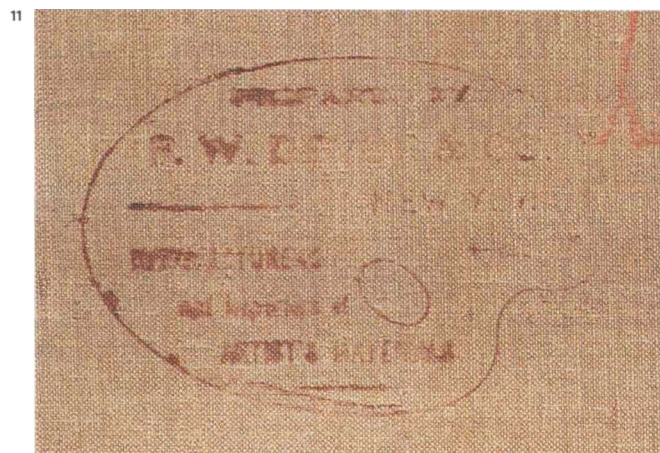
From all available evidence, the painting had not been treated prior to our restoration during the winter and spring of 2001–2002; thus it represented a wonderful example of Remington's style and technique only two years before his death. Our initial examination found the painting in quite good condition for its age. The plane of the painting was flat and quite taut, except for minor wrinkling of the support along the right side. By applying slight tension to the stretcher keys, we were able to reduce this minor distortion. A thin, slightly discolored yellow natural resin varnish, presumably applied by Remington himself, covered the paint surface, and a few damages marred the surface paint film, including a diagonal scrape exposing an underlayer, just to the right of the riderless horse, and another in the snow, below and to the left of the Indian on foot. Both were indicative of an adhesion problem between paint layers, but the problem did not appear to be widespread. Along the bottom edge, in the very center and hidden by the frame rabbet, is a partially illegible inscription in the same blue-green paint as the artist's signature. The inscription, which includes "Copyright 1907," is probably a

variation of "Copyright by P.F. Collier's & Sons," which has been found on other Remington paintings.

For this picture and for several other untreated paintings, Remington purchased prepared, plain weave canvases from F.W. Devoe & Co. in New York, a large artist's supply firm.<sup>28</sup> Devoe's characteristic palette-shaped stencil, in this case brown in color and imperfectly impressed, is found at the reverse top center of the support (fig. 11). In the four corners of the stretcher are Aaron Draper Shattuck's patented stretcher keys, held in place with slotted wood screws (fig. 12). Shattuck supplied Devoe with cast-iron metal keys until at least 1910 or shortly before Shattuck's business ended in 1917.<sup>29</sup> The linen support was tacked to the stretcher edges and folded over the back, where it was secured with tacks. The sides, possibly the selvage edges, are partially unprimed, and thus the total width of the support is a bit more than forty-four inches. Tack holes along these unprimed margin edges imply that the support may have been temporarily stretched on a larger framework for the application of the ground, which in this case has a light gray color.

Conservation treatment consisted of removing the varnish coating with solvents, applying by brush a thin, synthetic resin varnish (Paraloid B-67), and retouching the two losses with Maimeri restorer's paints. Four small pigment samples from along the painting edges were removed and sent to the National Gallery of Art for analysis. After the application of the first layer of varnish, work began on documenting the materials and techniques found in this painting.

The *Shod Horse* was preprimed with a white lead paint over which a fluid light gray paint was brushed, perhaps the tone that Devoe mentioned in his catalogue. Over this layer,







however, Remington applied what appears to be an optically peach-colored or pinkish gray tone of oil paint. This color, while visible under the stereobinocular magnifier, was not detected on the samples sent to the National Gallery of Art for analysis. Yet this warm tone was revealed at many locations of the composition where skips occur through the upper layer of paint, and thus it appears to have been a thin paint film applied by the artist to alter the gray wash.

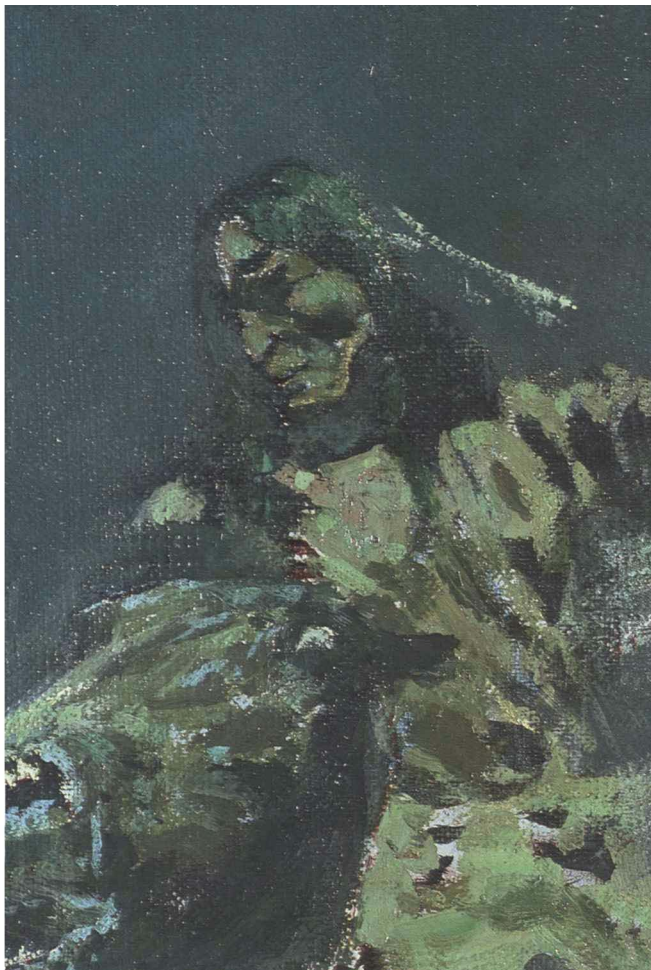
Remington first drew his composition on the pinkish imprimatura with a deep red lake color (similar to alizarin crimson) applied with a small brush. Where gaps in brushstrokes revealed the underlying structure, traces of this color were found at various points in the composition, such as in the far left horse's open mouth, wherein a line of this red could be detected (fig. 13). In laying out his composition, Remington emphasized crossed diagonals: here one from the upper left to the lower right bisects the line of Indians moving from the upper right to the lower left. At the point of intersection stands the Indian on foot, who raises his right hand in a warning gesture that stops the forward movement; he has encountered the prints of a shod horse, which therefore could not be one of theirs.



Remington made great use of scumbles and glazes, utilizing the optical effects of darker underlayers of paint to achieve the subtlety of undulating snow-covered ground illuminated only by moonlight. He blocked out broad areas of his composition with fluid paste oils, and generally worked from dark to light. For example, the dark tones of the shadows and background appear to have been laid in first, with Prussian blue mixed with black, and then altered by the dark green brushed over it. The wet-in-wet application of paint can be seen in the cross section from the upper left edge in the dark blue-green background color (fig. 14). This dark color consists of a mixture of chrome oxide green, chrome yellow, lead white, zinc white, Prussian blue, and bone black, surrounded by large irregular areas of lead white. On the paint layer itself, the edges of the dark blue-green were feathered where they abut the pink ground.

The vast expanse of moonlit snow was underpainted with a pale bluish green, which appears to be a mixture of Prussian blue, emerald green, plus lead white and zinc white. This underpainting was clearly revealed in the diagonal scrape just to the right of the riderless horse. Over this layer, a fluid, creamy pale yellow green oil was scumbled: brushed thinly

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and thickly in a crisscross fashion that allowed the underpaint to modulate the character of this large area. Though simple, the technique brilliantly captures the undulating character of windblown snow over uneven ground, with the cool light of the moon reflecting off it.

Through his masterly handling of paint, Remington achieved the effects he desired in the horses and riders: painted more loosely, they have an impressionistic look when examined closely. For example, the Indian on horseback at the far left has deep shadows executed in black and Prussian blue. Where the moonlight hits the nose of the horse and the buckskin of the Indian, the color is earthy and green, ranging from a warm golden ochre to accents of chrome oxide green, a lighter green, and pale spots of a light blue (fig. 15). A close look at the boundary between these elements of the design and the background seems to indicate that the area they would occupy was reserved, as they were the last portions painted in the composition. When viewed close-up, these areas break up visually, but when viewed from a greater distance, the optical blending is marvelous.

Remington added final accents in drybrush, using a thick, pasty oil lightly dragged over drying oil paint. Such accents are present in the fringe on the central Indian's buckskins and in the windblown and snow-tipped grass in the bottom right corner (fig. 16). There, Remington achieved the latter effect by first painting individual grass strokes with fluid paint, allowing them to partially dry, and then dragging a brush loaded with an ivory white color over the tops of the blades so that traces of this white color would stick to the top paint strokes.

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### *The Call for Help*

Jill Whitten and Robert G. Proctor, Jr.

*The Call for Help* (pl. 51), c. 1908, was given to the Museum of Fine Arts in Houston by Ima Hogg as part of the Hogg Brothers Collection. Like *The Stampede by Lightning* (pl. 58), it was originally purchased (by an unknown collector) from the artist's one-man exhibition at Knoedler's in 1908. Will Hogg acquired the painting (by October 1920) from John Levy Galleries in New York.<sup>30</sup>

A wide interval craquelure in the thickly painted "snow" with associated interlayer cleavage (flaking between thickly applied layers) had resulted in a number of discrete losses. The craquelure is not present in the thinly painted dark areas. The painting was covered by a thick, dull synthetic varnish from an earlier restoration. Remnants of a natural resin were found in the interstices at the edges of the impasto. The synthetic varnish and the degraded material that had not been removed during previous restorations were removed with mixtures of hydrocarbon and oxygenated solvents combined with mechanical techniques. The dark areas of the painting were locally varnished with Paraloid B-72 to even the surface and were then saturated with MS2A. The losses in the snow were filled with chalk mixed with sturgeon glue and then retouched with Experimental Aldehyde paint from Gamblin Artists Colors. To preserve the visual effect of blowing snow, these areas were left unvarnished.

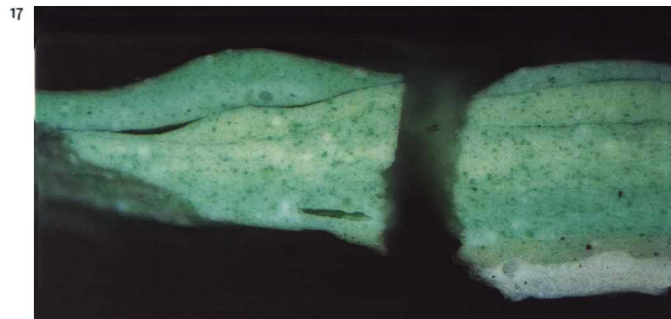
Remington used a standard, commercially prepared canvas with white lead priming. Because of accumulated varnish and grime and darkening of the white lead pigment, this priming appears to be a cream or light gray color when viewed at the edges or in paint holidays. There is no evidence of a preparatory drawing, though Remington delineated the horses' heads and tails and the fence rails with thin, liquid paint and a fine brush.<sup>31</sup> The artist used dilute black and deep green paint to lay in the horses, wolves, upper background, fence, and cabin. To capture the glistening hides of the horses, Remington used bone black with emerald green and brown highlights.

After placing the dark elements, Remington laid in the snow around them with emerald green and lead white mixed

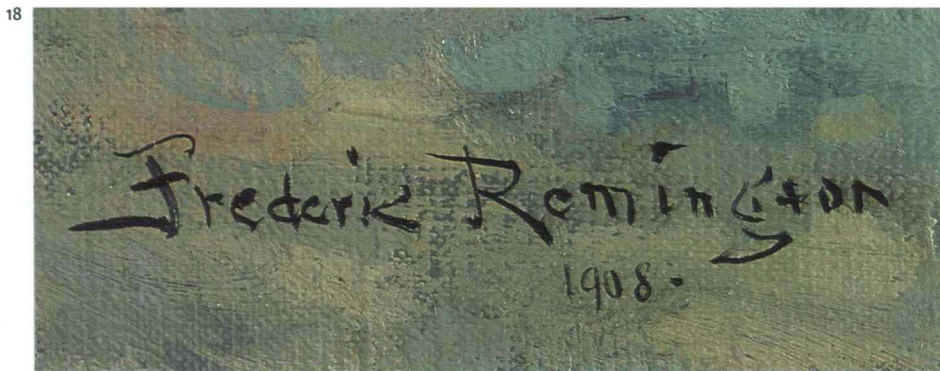
with zinc yellow and chrome yellow. Deep prints in the snow placed early in the execution indicate both the path of the wolves and the stamping of the horses. Varying shades of green, yellow green, and a light creamy yellow modify the tones of the snow and blur the edges of the forms. After painting the snow, Remington modified the color numerous times, allowing the lower layers to remain partially visible, especially around the edges of the forms. The wolves appear to have been painted from the inside out. They were laid in with dark green and black paint and built up with dabs of brownish chrome green paint. The outline of the wolves was adjusted repeatedly with a series of wet-into-wet brushstrokes used to create the fur.

The light cream yellow color was used to highlight and adjust the perimeters around the forms in the painting. Remington did not alter the placement of these dark passages (cabins, wolves, fence, haystack). This color modulation around the forms creates the illusion of light glowing through the negative spaces in the image (for instance, between the fence rails). As a result of Remington's adjustments, the negative spaces in the image are the most thickly painted. Remington created *The Call for Help* with a relatively limited palette. In a sample of dark paint from a wolf's leg, the following paint layers were revealed: emerald green with lead and zinc white; bone black with lead and zinc white; in a thicker green layer, emerald green, zinc yellow, chrome yellow, bone black, and lead white. An additional green layer on top contains all of the same pigments except for bone black, which was replaced by earth pigments (iron alumino silicates). A pigment sample from a dark green glaze indicates that Remington added viridian to the perimeters of the horse on the right side and on the wolves' tails and shadows. The thick snow contains emerald green, lithipone (barium sulphate and zinc sulfide), zinc white, bone black, zinc yellow, chrome yellow, and lead white (fig. 17). Remington adjusted the color of the snow several times, building the texture to an almost sculptural effect. With a dry brush, he dabbed on a faint yellow-green paint (whiter than the other layers) in order to create the effect of dry, blowing snow. On 25 and 27 November 1908, he wrote in his diary that he had gone to the framers and retouched *The Call for Help* because he felt it was "too green."

In *Call for Help* Remington used color to convey both temperature and mood. His technique involved careful observation of dark forms and shadows in the moonlight reflecting off the snow. As the source of light in the painting, the moon hangs just behind and to the right of the viewer. The green of the snow is cold, and the dabs of paint illustrate and exaggerate the fear and motion in the image.



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### *The Stampede by Lightning*

Jill Whitten and Robert G. Proctor, Jr.

Ray L. Skofield of New York purchased *The Stampede by Lightning* (pl. 58), 1908, for \$1,000 from Knoelder's following Remington's third solo exhibition at the New York gallery. On 12 December 1908, Remington noted this sale in his diary. In 1934 the painting was purchased by Philip G. Cole of Tarrytown, New York. Thomas Gilcrease acquired the work in 1946. The painting is now in the collection of the Gilcrease Museum in Tulsa, Oklahoma.<sup>32</sup>

The full treatment history of *The Stampede by Lightning* is not known. The painting was lined to a stiff fiberglass fabric in the 1970s. The lining must have been a prophylactic measure: no tear, canvas weakness, or paint cleavage explains the need for a lining. There are virtually no cracks in the paint layers. The original canvas is a medium weight, plain weave (probably linen) with 35 × 35 threads per square inch. The painting is attached to a Shattuck stretcher that was modified during a restoration with an oversized center cross-member. The crossbar was added in an unsuccessful attempt at

addressing a bulge in the stiff canvas along the top edge. When the canvas texture was “emphasized” by the lining, slubs and weave irregularities became more pronounced. The natural resin varnish applied in the 1970s was highly discolored.

The thin paint glazes that make up the image were sensitive to most solvents; therefore, the treatment consisted of reducing the discolored varnish by rolling a cotton swab moistened with isopropanol over the surface. A mixture of isopropanol, Cypar 9 (Cyclic hydrocarbon C8–C11), and Cypar 7 (methylcyclohexane) in a one to one to one ratio followed. A few minor losses were filled and then retouched with Gamblin Conservation Colors (pigments ground in Laropal A-81). A brush varnish of Regalrez 1094 with Cosmoloid 80H wax (10 percent by weight) was applied to saturate the colors without appearing glossy. The later center stretcher member was removed and replaced with a keyable member that is flush with the original.

The painting is signed and dated “Frederic Remington 1908” in dark blue paint (estimated to be Prussian blue) in the bottom right corner (fig. 18). An inscription in the same blue paint (on the bottom edge, covered by the frame) reads “copyright 1908 by P. F. Collier and son” (fig. 19). Close examination revealed an earlier signature (just above and to the right of the first), which the artist had painted out when he reworked the picture. Changes around the legs of the central horse are evident. Pentimenti of dark paint can be seen through the milky green color Remington applied around the horse to cover his changes. At one point, Remington must have considered the painting finished and thus added his signature. Diary entries indicate that he reworked the picture in May, June, and July of 1908.

*The Stampede by Lightning* is a low contrast nocturne with thinly painted, translucent forms. Although the painting has an overall green tonality, Remington employed additional colors, including iron earths and Prussian blue. Confined to a horizontal band in the center of the painting, the figures were “drawn” in thin, liquid paint. Numerous layers were built up. The artist made use of the canvas weave and a dry brush technique to create texture in the central horse. However, the impasto and texture so common in other Remington paintings are not found here. The only other textural areas are the lightning bolt and the directional strokes of the background paint in the upper half of the image (fig. 20).

Lead white and quartz (most likely an extender) were found in the commercial priming. A thin, transparent layer of Prussian blue covers the ground as an imprimatura. Remington began by painting the predominant forms in a dark blue paint. The thickness of this blue layer varies, resulting in a deeper color in the upper right. Remington left an opening in



the blue imprimatura for the yellow green cloud seen on the left. As he expanded the cloud to the right, it overlapped the blue. He then applied a green scumble over most of the painting with a stiff flat brush. In the upper left corner where the scumble was thickly applied, textural brushstrokes and small scratches from the stiff bristles can still be seen.

In the bottom third of the image, Remington used a round soft brush to paint dabs of muted gray, green, blue-green, yellow-green, and reddish yellow over the green scumble. The figural group was painted in browns, blues, reds, yellows, and greens. The pigments found in paint samples are emerald green, iron earths, zinc yellow, and chromium green oxide. The iron earths are most likely responsible for the brown and reddish tones. To enhance the effect of driving rain, Remington muted the image by applying a final layer of milky green paint in diagonal brushstrokes (fig. 21). The artist also carefully glazed the lightning bolt with dilute glazes of blue and green.

### *The Luckless Hunter*

Perry Huston

On 4 December 1909 Remington wrote in his diary that his exhibition at Knoedler's Gallery in New York had opened to "great crowds" and that he had sold six paintings, including *The Luckless Hunter* (pl. 65), 1909, for which he was paid \$800. The buyer was William H. Bliss of New York, whose son, Robert Woods Bliss of Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C., sold the painting back to Knoedler's in the late 1930s. Sid Richardson purchased the picture in 1946 through Newhouse Galleries. It is now at the Sid Richardson Collection of Western Art, Fort Worth, Texas.<sup>33</sup>

The preprimed glass-fabric wax-resin lined painting is in very good condition. Interlayer cleavage that had resulted in a few small losses along the edge of the painting revealed a pink and blue underpainting beneath the "snow" layer. Pink underpaint was also found in other areas throughout the foreground. The paint film is in very good condition, and the impasto seems unaltered. The painting appears to have been selectively cleaned. A few islands of darkened natural resin varnish were found in low points of the impasto of the opaque snow layer. The varnish had not been removed from the horse and figure to the same degree as in other areas of the painting, and had moderately darkened and yellowed over time. The dark blue middle ground between the snow and the distant mountains also appears to have a thin layer of darkened varnish. Ultraviolet light seemed to confirm these findings. A synthetic resin, possibly an n-butyl methacrylate, covers the surface of the painting, which is saturated with an even, soft sheen. The synthetic resin varnish does not appear to be darkened or discolored. Retouching in a few small areas is very slightly discolored.

In our conservation treatment, acetone was used to dissolve the remnants of the darkened and yellowed natural resin varnish that remained in the low points of the texture. This treatment was performed locally only in the small areas, scattered throughout the snow, that were covered with the old varnish. A thin layer of B-72 acryloid resin was applied over each area.

In treating the painting, the following observations were made: The off-white ground appears to be a preprimed white lead. The design appears to have been worked up with dark blue washes. The foreground from the edge of the snow in the middle distance to the bottom appears to have been sketched in with a thin pink paint worked up alternatively with a dark blue wash to develop the design. These thinly painted areas occasionally bleed into one another at the junctures of color change. In some areas, the foreground foliage for example,



pink, blue, and perhaps white were blended wet into wet. The blue appears to be Prussian blue.

The middle ground, distant mountains, and sky appear to have been laid down in Prussian blue. The line next to the snow was laid down wet into wet with the pink underpaint. The preparation of the underpainting, both in the sky and the foreground, apparently dried somewhat before the upper opaque snow layer was added.

Over the dark underpainting, light opaque paint was applied as a paste with strong brushstrokes. Some of the underpainting, including the horse, foreground foliage, and dark middle ground (from side to side) became part of the finished painting. The foliage and horse were then outlined with the heavier upper opaque paint layer. To complete the design, blue and black washes were added to areas of the dark blue sky. Lighter snow tones on the top of the mountains were blended wet into wet with the darker tones in order to give final definition to the mountains, while heavier opaque paint applied in like manner over the dark underpainting further defined the figure and horse (fig. 22). A black wash added to the dark blue underpainting to further define the design may have been worked some of the time wet into wet with the application of the light snow foreground. The signature and date were apparently added after the paint was dry. The dark blue (probably Prussian blue) lies on top of the heavy snow paint.

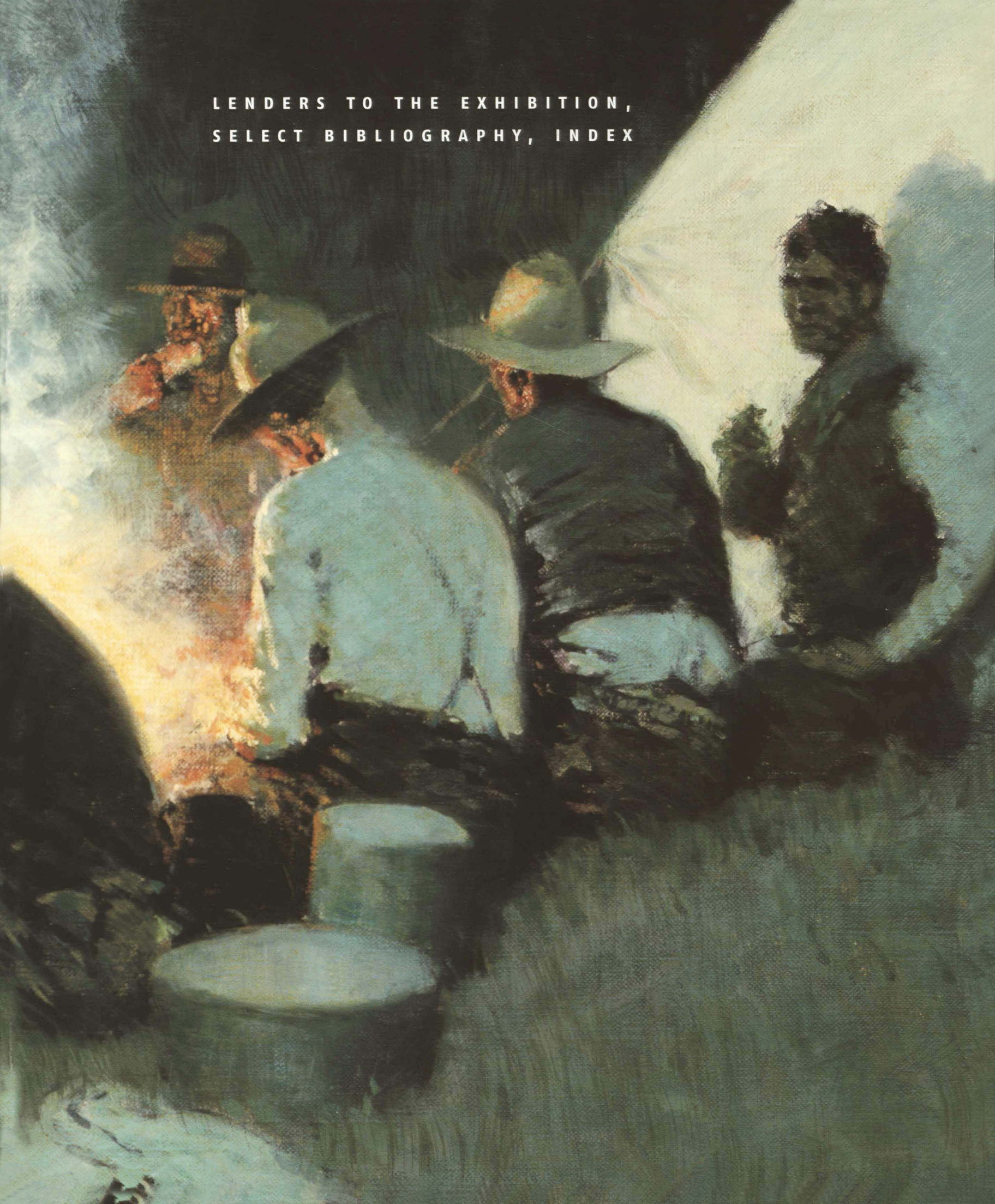
## Notes

1. Alexander W. Katlan, *American Artists' Materials Suppliers Directory, Nineteenth Century* (Park Ridge, N.J., 1987), 82.
2. F. W. Devoe & Co., *Priced Catalogue of Artists' Materials* (New York, 1887), 9.
3. This letter addressed to Asher B. Durand is in the manuscript collections of the New York Public Library.
4. Leutze's letter was addressed to Asher B. Durand, who was invited to order paint as well. See Katlan 1987, 11.
5. Diary entry, 4 March 1909.
6. George H. Hurst, *A Manual of Painter's Colours, Oils and Varnishes for Students and Practical Men* (London, 1913), 243. Much of the information in this and other such manuals has been available to artists since the mid-nineteenth century.
7. For Sienna ochre, see R. D. Harley, *Artists' Pigments c. 1600–1835* (London, 1970), 83.
8. See Hurst 1913, 191.
9. Private communication from Laura A. Foster, curator, Frederic Remington Art Museum, who also reports that A. Bieldenberb at 169 Front Street, New York, was H. Schmincke & Co.'s importer for the United States and Canada.
10. See Schmincke, "Meliora Cogito," at [www.schmincke.de/uk/uk-0100c.htm](http://www.schmincke.de/uk/uk-0100c.htm) (May/June 2002).
11. Schmincke 2002.
12. Hurst 1913, 260.
13. George Field, *A Grammar of Colouring Applied to Decorative Painting and the Arts* (London, 1877), 94.
14. Field 1877, 98.
15. Maximilian Toch, *The Chemistry and Technology of Mixed Paints* (New York, 1907), 42.
16. Toch's book describing pigments of the period was published in New York in 1907 and would have provided a ready reference for Remington.
17. F. W. Weber, *Artists' Pigments: Their Chemical and Physical Properties* (New York, 1923), 33.
18. Devoe 1887, 3.
19. Weber 1923, 63.
20. Private communication from H. Schmincke & Co., spring 2002.
21. Weber 1923, 125.
22. Toch 1907, 23.
23. Hurst 1913, 120.
24. Rutherford J. Gettens and George L. Stout, *Materials: A Short Encyclopaedia* (New York, 1966), 177.
25. See Herman Kühn's discussion in Robert L. Feller, ed., *Artists' Pigments: A Handbook of Their History and Characteristics*, vol. I (Washington, 1986), 175.
26. Margaret C. Conrads, *American Paintings and Sculpture at the Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute* (New York, 1990), 148–149.
27. Provenance information was provided by Anne Morand, curator of art collections at the Gilcrease Museum. Additional information was drawn from Remington's diary entry for 9 December 1907.
28. Katlan 1987, 82, 397–402. See also Alexander W. Katlan, *American Artist's Materials, II. A Guide to Stretchers, Panels, Millboards, and Stencil Marks* (Madison, Conn., 1992), 322–338.
29. W. T. Chase and Jeremy R. Hutt, "Aaron Draper Shattuck's Patent Stretcher Key," *Studies in Conservation*, 17 (1972), 17, 20–25.
30. See Emily Ballew Neff, *Frederic Remington: The Hogg Brothers Collection of the Museum of Fine Arts, Houston* (Houston, 2000), 104.
31. Neff 2000, 124.
32. Provenance was compiled from information (including a letter from Remington to Skofield) provided by Anne Morand, curator of art collections at the Gilcrease Museum. Additional information was drawn from Remington's diary entries for 30 November and 12 December 1908.
33. See Brian W. Dippie, *Remington and Russell: The Sid Richardson Collection* (Austin, 1982), 54, and provenance listing for the painting on the CD-ROM provided in the Remington catalogue raisonné (Hassrick and Webster 1996). We thank Joan Zalenski, collections manager of the Sid Richardson Collection, for her assistance.





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## LENDERS TO THE EXHIBITION

Addison Gallery of American Art, Phillips Academy, Andover, Massachusetts	The Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, Texas
Amon Carter Museum, Fort Worth, Texas	National Cowboy and Western Heritage Museum, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
Bellas Artes Nevada, LLC	Peabody Essex Museum, Salem, Massachusetts
Brooklyn Museum of Art, Brooklyn, New York	Mr. Thomas A. Petrie
Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, Williamstown, Massachusetts	Princeton University Library, Princeton, New Jersey
Curtis Galleries, Minneapolis, Minnesota	Sid Richardson Collection of Western Art, Fort Worth, Texas
Frederic Remington Art Museum, Ogdensburg, New York	Smithsonian American Art Museum, Washington, D.C.
Gilcrease Museum, Tulsa, Oklahoma	West Point Museum, United States Military Academy, West Point, New York
Hood Museum of Art, Dartmouth College, Hanover, New Hampshire	Private Collections
Mr. William I. Koch, Palm Beach, Florida	

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