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FREDERIC REMINGTON IN FLORIDA

by Julian M. Pleasants *

F THE MANY writers and artists who have glorified the western experience, few have been more singularly devoted, more prolific, or more enduring than Frederic Sackrider Remington. Through his painting, sculpture, illustrations, and literary works, Remington preserved for posterity the essence of a wild and colorful epoch in American history. To a rare and satisfying degree, he captured the Old West-reconstructing its vividness and the vitality of the men, animals, and the scenes that characterized its picturesque history. Other artists drew and painted cowboys, Indians, and the western scene, and many have done so since, but as one critic noted, "there is no other name which symbolizes our wild Old West as does Frederic Remington's." 1

Remington's pictures had freshness, life, action, and individuality. He possessed a quick, accurate, and unsentimental eye and a hand that could swifty record what his eye saw. He was neither an embellisher nor a theorist; he saw particulars, he noted details, and he accurately recorded the thousand quick glimpses of the western life that fascinated him. Remington recorded the actual happenings he observed, and his illustrations were natural, honest, and three-dimensional-all of which made him a realistic reporter of the Old West in spite of his romanticism. Because historians accept the content and detail of his pictures as fact, his paintings have provided the public with a unique pictorial record of western history and have become invaluable documents in the interpretation of American history. As Francis Parkman, historian and author of The Oregon Trail, which was illustrated by Remington, noted: ". . . [Mr. Remington's] pictures are as full of truth as of spirit, for they are the work of one who knew the prairies and the mountains before irrestible commonplace had subdued them."

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^{1.} Harold McCracken, Frederic Remington: Artist of the Old West (Philadelphia, 1947), 23.
2. Francis Parkman, *The Oregon Trail* (Boston, 1892), preface.

While Remington is mainly identified with the American West, he also worked in the South, particularly Florida. In 1895, he visited south-central Florida on assignment from Harper's Weekly to write and illustrate a story on the "cracker cowboys" of Florida and to seek a bit of the Old West in the South. By 1890 the Battle of Wounded Knee, the last great struggle between the soldier and the Indian, had been fought, and the federal census compiled that year indicated that there were only a few pockets of the frontier remaining. Remington realized that the West was no longer the "West of picturesque and stirring events. Romance and adventure have been beaten down in the rush of civilization; the country west of the Mississippi has become hopelessly commercialized, shackled in chains of business to its uttermost limits. The cowboy-the real thing, mark you, not the tame hired man who herds cattle for the mere wage of it"-was vanishing "with the advent of the wire fence." ³ After 1894 Remington made no major excursions to the West, and he turned his attention to recreating western scenes and testing his philosophy of the western cowboy in the study of the Florida cowboy.

If the United States Census concluded in 1890 that a frontier no longer existed in the United States, it was not correct in regard to Florida. In this state the frontier lasted on into the twentieth century. There were numerous areas of open range and a very sparse population-less than two persons per square mile in the area south of Orlando. As late as 1937 one man in southwest Florida claimed to have driven a herd of cattle 160 miles without crossing a fence. ⁴ The Florida cowboys and the unsettled frontier intrigued Remington, and in January 1895, he visited Punta Gorda and Arcadia-a land of scrub pines, palmettos, sawgrass, and Seminoles. ⁵ Remington promptly invited Owen Wister, his close friend and the author of the western classic, *The Virginian*, to come to Florida, promising Wister "bear, tarpon, red

Remington to Perriton Maxwell, in Perriton Maxwell, "Frederic Remington, Most Typical of American Artists," Pearson's, XVIII (October 1907), 396-97.

Joe A. Akerman, Jr., Florida Cowman, A History of Florida Cattle Raising (Kissimmee, 1976), 156-59.

^{5.} Remington to Owen Wister, January 1895, in Ben Merchant Vorphal, My Dear Wister: The Frederic Remington-Owen Wister Letters (Palo Alto, 1972), 66.

3

FREDERIC REMINGTON IN FLORIDA

snapper, ducks, birds of paradise" and even "curious cowboys who shoot up the railroad trains." 6

While standing outside a store in Arcadia, Remington caught his first glimpse of these "curious cowboys" as they meandered into town: "Two very emaciated Texas ponies pattered down the street; bearing wild-looking individuals, whose hanging hair and drooping hats and generally bedraggled appearance would remind you at once of the Spanish-moss which hangs so . . . helplessly to the limbs of the oaks out in the swamps. There was none of the bilious fierceness and rearing plunge which I had associated with my friends out West The only things they did which were conventional were to tie their ponies up by the head in brutal disregard, and then get drunk in about fifteen minutes." 7

Although the Florida cowboys appeared tame and ragged, there was a significant amount of cattle rustling and changing of brands in southwest Florida in the 1890s. Disputed ownership of stray cattle had been one of the causes of the DeSoto County cattle wars in the 1890s-a period which comprised one of the most violent chapters in that county's history. 8 The geographical configuration of the area was conducive to cattle stealing since the unknown reaches of the Everglades were fairly close to Arcadia, and a cattle thief with a knowledge of the country would be safe from pursuit with a half-hour's start. After all, as one man confided to Remington, "A boat don't leave no trail, stranger." 9

The problem of cattle stealing was generally settled among the contesting parties, usually by gunfire, and with very little interference by law enforcement authorities. One such incident was typical of this type of conflict. Court records revealed the case of a cowboy who was found slumped over a dead steer, holding a branding iron different from the one used by the owner of the animal. A coroner's jury ignored the gaping bullet hole at the base of the dead man's skull and ruled that the steer was shot by persons unknown and concluded that the rustler died by falling on the steer's horns. 10 Even when these sordid affairs were

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Remington to Wister, February 1895, *ibid*.
 Frederic Remington, "Cracker Cowboys of Florida," *Harper's Magazine*, XXXIX (August 1895), 339.
 Louise Frisbie, *Peace River Pioneers* (Miami, 1974), 59.
 Remington, "Cracker Cowboys of Florida," 342.
 J. Pete Schmidt, "The Painted Life of A Violent Florida Frontier," *St. Petersburg Times*, May 14, 1972, *The Floridian*, magazine supplement, 30.

brought into court, the men came en masse into the room, heavily armed with rifles and knives, so that any judicial decision was likely to end up either in a compromise or in a free-for-all. Remington was amazed at the severe conflict perpetuated among cattle owners over such poor cattle. He noted that while the northern tourist ate Chicago-dressed beef in a fine restaurant, "out in the wilderness low-browed cow-folks shoot and stab each other for the possession of scrawny creatures not fit for a pointerdog to mess on." 11

The scrub cattle in the palmetto country were descendants of Spanish stock. The cattle owed their lack of size and poor qualities to undernourishment and premature breeding, but the breed was blessed with the stamina to cover range so sparse that heavier cattle died trying to find enough to eat. The land the animals grazed was flat and sandy with only a few pines and gnarled water oaks and, as Remington remembered, gave "only a tough wiregrass, and the poor little cattle, no bigger than a donkey, wander half starved and horribly emaciated in search of it." 13 Many of the stray cattle were as wild as deer and raced off at the sight of man. When rounded up, the cattle that would not drive were promptly shot.

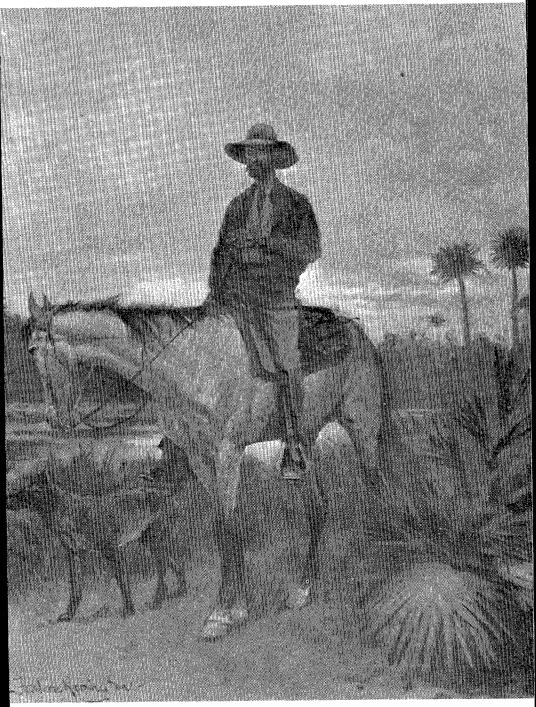
The cattle also created problems for the Florida railroads. Whenever a train ran over one of the scrawny cows owned by the local denizens, one could expect a long-haired cracker to rush into the nearest train station and demand, often at gunpoint, that the telegraph operator settle promptly his claim for damages to personal property. The demands were absurdly high considering the poor condition of the cattle, and the railroads at first refused to pay. The cowboy, determined to get full recompense, would hide in the brush on a dark night and pump a few bullets into the train-the lanterns were especially inviting targets-as a reminder to the company that all dues had not been paid. Eventually the railroad was forced to hire a company adjuster, or "cow-attorney" as he was called, who settled with the local cattle barons as best he could. 14

The Florida cowboys worked desperately hard for a meager

Remington, "Cracker Cowboys of Florida," 342.
 Stetson Kennedy, *Palmetto Country* (New York, 1942), 216.
 Remington, "Cracker Cowboys of Florida," 342.

^{14,} Ibid., 344.

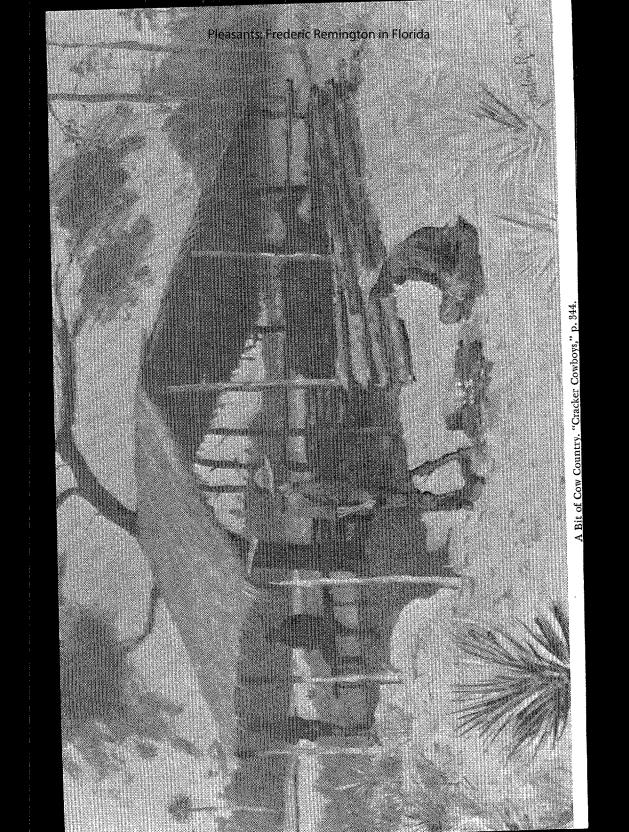
Pleasants: Frederic Remington in Florida



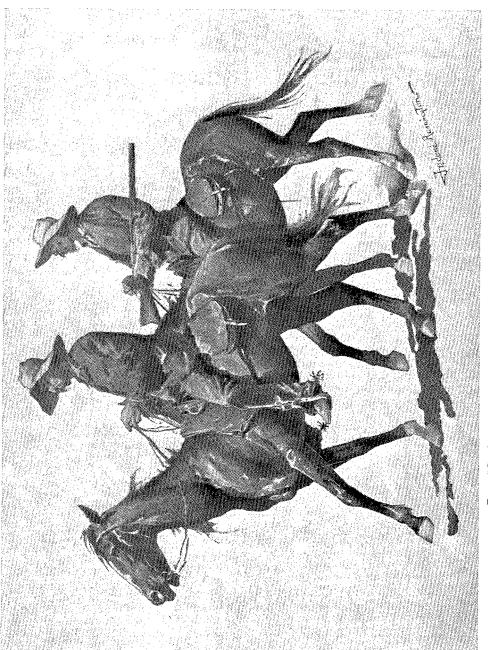
A Cracker Cowboy. "Cracker Cowboys," p. 340.

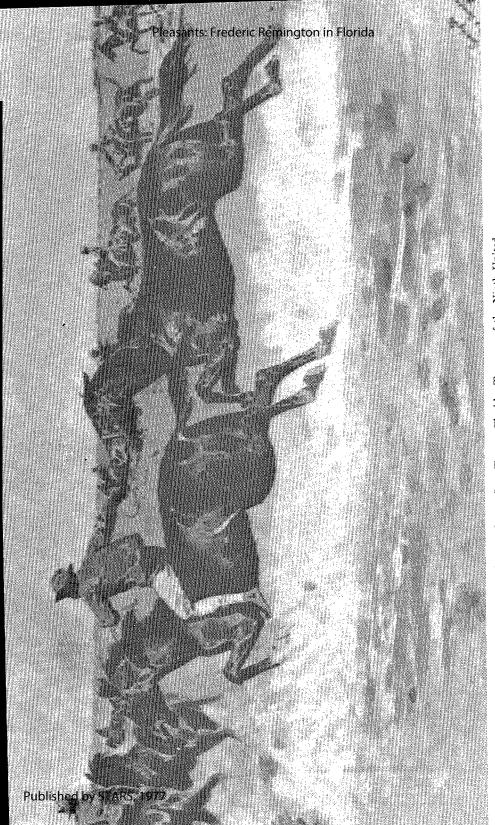


Squadron A in the War-Orders from Headquarters. From Douglas Allen, Frederic Remington and the Spanish-American War (New York, 1971), p. 71.

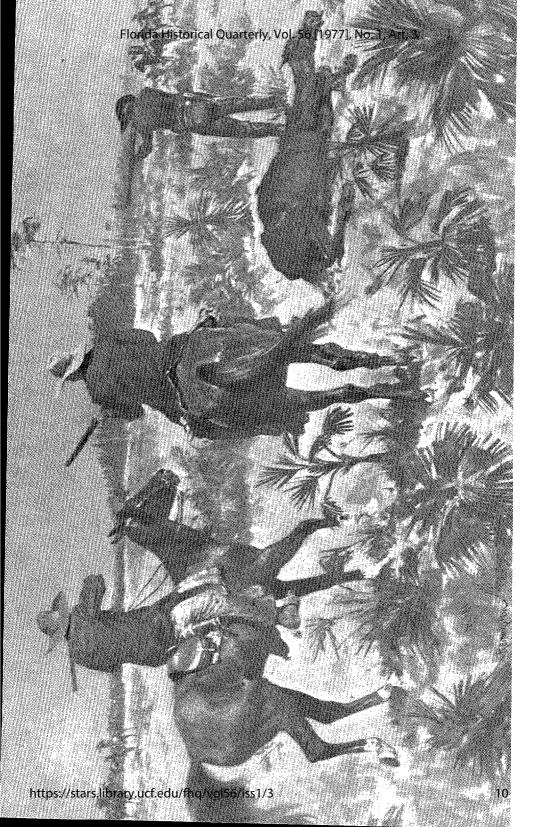


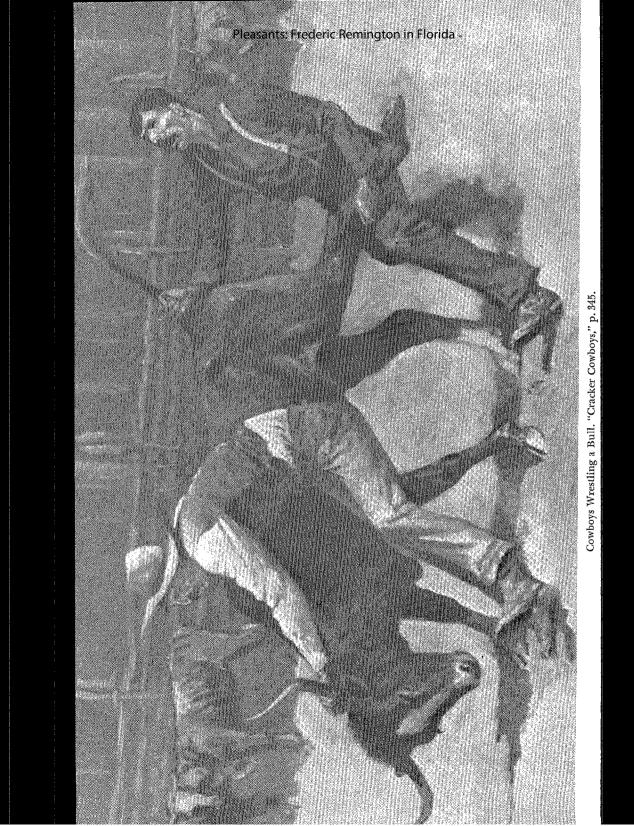
Florida Historical Quarterly, Vol. 56 [1977], No. 1, Art. 3





With the Regulars at Port Tampa, Florida—Troopers of the Ninth United States Cavalry Taking Their Horses for a Dash into the Gulf. Allen, Frederic Remington, 66.







In Wait for an Enemy. "Cracker Cowboys," p. 341.

living, and their task was made more difficult because they were faced with enervating heat, flies, poor grass, and generally adverse conditions. Nonetheless, the cattlemen were expert at the job of rounding up the stubborn cattle, and they favored the small, wiry, speedy cow ponies with their extraordinary stamina and toughness. These ponies had bloodlines going back to the Andalusian horses of the Spanish conquistadores, and they could race over ranges festooned with palmetto scrub and gopher holes with sure-footed certainty. 15 The cowboys worked their cattle in strong log corralls which were built at about a day's march from each other throughout the woods. The cowboys did not use the rope very often, as the cattle were so thin and scrawny that two men could easily wrestle a three-year old. They relied on a twelve to eighteen foot rawhide whip mounted on a hardwood handle. The whip's loud, musket-like crack drove the cattle in the desired direction although the whips seldom touched the cattle.

The whips were augmented by shrill cow-whoops from the herders and by large, fierce herd dogs. ¹⁶ These "drive and catch" dogs, "generally a cross [breed] with about thirty percent bulldog and the rest common cur," had the value of two or three cowboys because they could slip into thickets too dense for a rider and flush strays from the straw grass. ¹⁷ The "cur" dogs were trained to pursue the wayward cattle, seize them by the nose, and return them to the herd. Remington considered this tactic brutal but effective.

Despite his acknowledged interest in the Florida cattle country, Frederic Remington had a very poor opinion of the cracker cowboy, especially in comparison with the glamorous figures he had known in the West. Although the cowboys were "picturesque in their unkempt, almost unearthly wildness," they lacked dash and were indifferent riders. Remington often found the "crackers" 'slovenly, drunken, dishonest, and unromantic. They preferred military saddles to the western types, used shotguns instead of rifles or six-guns, wore farmer's shoes instead of boots, and refused to carry lariats. Remington was surprised that the cowboys even managed to survive on the dismal pine barrens of Florida,

George H. Dacy, Four Centuries of Florida Ranching (St. Louis, 1940), 70.
 Remington, "Cracker Cowboys of Florida," 344.
 Kennedy, Palmetto Country, 217.
 Remington, "Cracker Cowboys of Florida," 344.

"truly not a country for a high-spirited race or moral giants." At best, Remington considered the Florida cowboy "revolting" and believed that he had no concept of the savage encounters and heroism of the Old West, "when every man tossed his life away to the crackle of his own revolver." In place of wild stampedes, Remington observed, "only the bellowing in the pens, and instead of the plains shaking under the dusty air as the bedizened vaqueros plough their fiery broncos through the milling herds, the cattle-hunter wends his lonely way through the ooze and rank grass, while the dreary pine trunks line up and shut the view." ¹⁹ Since the Florida cowboys were different from his romantic view of the western cowboy, Remington dismissed the crackers as "insignificant." 20

Another important Florida attraction also disappointed Remington. Prior to leaving Florida in 1895, Remington wrote an article for Harper's Weekly on tarpon fishing. He thought two good reasons to come to Florida were the weather and to catch tarpon, but he warned his readers that in fishing for tarpon failure was inevitable. The fisherman would be terribly bored except for the blowing wind and the clouds rolling overhead. Remington advised sportsmen to sell their rod and tackle to a newly-arrived enthusiast and purchase a twelve-bore shotgun for the more rewarding sport of duck hunting. "Ducks down there [Florida] are confiding birds, and a boat loaded with girls, and grub and scotch whiskey and soda can be sailed right up to them while the sportsman empties his shot-gun and fills his game bag." 21

Although Remington's initial impressions of Florida were not favorable, he returned in 1896, 1897, and 1898 to cover the beginnings of the Spanish-American War. His first trip, in December 1896, was at the behest of William Randolph Hearst, publisher of the New York Journal. Hearst commissioned Frederic Remington as illustrator and ace reporter Richard Harding Davis as journalist to go to Cuba and report on the Cuban rebellion against Spanish rule.

Davis and Remington arrived in the port city of Key West

Ibid., 342-45.
 Vorphal, My Dear Wister, 67.
 Frederic Remington, "Winter Shooting on the Gulf Coast of Florida," Harper's Weekly, XXXIX (May 11, 1895), 451.

FREDERIC REMINGTON IN FLORIDA

shortly after December 19, 1896. Unfortunately for the eager newsmen, the Spanish navy had blockaded the island of Cuba to prevent Cubans from fleeing and to prevent food and arms from reaching the insurgents. Davis and Remington were determined to get to Cuba, and they decided to try to run the Spanish blockade on the Vamoose, William Randolph Hearst's very fast but rather frail power boat. The intrepid reporters tried on two occasions to reach Cuba, but heavy seas and high winds forced the captain of the Vamoose to return to Key West. 22 On the third attempt, the storm was so severe that even the crew despaired of returning to Key West safely. Crouched on deck, Remington and Davis desperately hung on to keep from being washed overboard by the high seas that swept the boat. While a Chinese cook struggled to lash together a life raft out of some boxes and a door, Davis suggested to Remington that they should do the same for themselves. "Lie still," Remington ordered, "you and I don't know how to do that. Let him make his raft. If we capsize, I'll throttle him and take it from him." Fortunately, Remington's desire for self-preservation was not taxed to that degree; the storm quieted and the boat limped safely back to Key West. In a later discussion of the moral rectitude of such precipitous action against the Chinese cook, Remington remarked: "Why, Davis alone was worth a dozen sea-cooks. I don't have to talk of myself." 23

At this juncture hope of reaching the rebel forces in Cuba via the Vamoose was abandoned, and Remington and Davis remained in Key West for three weeks, waiting for an opportunity to reach Havana. During this three-week period, or "three years" as Remington afterwards referred to his time in Key West, he and Davis became firm friends and were guests at numerous dinner parties, luncheons, and informal receptions. 24

Remington disliked Key West intensely. For one seeking the hectic pace of revolution and war, it was a place of unrelieved

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Charles Belmont Davis, ed., Adventures and Letters of Richard Harding Davis (New York, 1917), 186; Jefferson B. Browne, Key West: The Old and The New (St. Augustine, 1912; facsimile edition, Gainesville, 1973),

Augustus Thomas, "Recollections of Frederic Remington," Century Magazine, LXXXVI (July 1913), 357.
 Browne, Key West, 145. See also Richard Harding Davis to his family, December 26, 1896, in Davis, Adventures and Letters of Richard Harding Davis. 188-89.

dreariness, a "dusty smelly bit of sandy coral, and the houses are built like snaredrums; they are dismal thoroughly, and the sun makes men sweat and wish to God they were somewhere else." ²⁵ Richard Harding Davis also complained of endlessly sitting on the hotel porch or the end of the wharf waiting for the trip to Cuba. "Nothing happens . . . except getting one's boots polished as the two industries of this place are blacking boots and driving cabs." 26

Finally, on January 9, 1897, Remington and Davis sailed to Havana in a safe, inglorious manner on the regularly scheduled steamer Olivette. 27 Remington became bored and discouraged within a week as the two men encountered no military engagements. Remington allegedly wired William Randolph Hearst: "Everything is quiet. There is no trouble. There will be no war. I wish to return." Hearst's immortal reply was as follows: "Please remain. You furnish the pictures and I'll furnish the war." ²⁸ Remington did not choose to remain and promptly left for New York with a portfolio of sketches. Davis was relieved that Remington had returned to New York. "He was a splendid fellow but a perfect kid and had to be humored and petted all the time." 29 Beginning in January 1897, the New York Journal carried a series of pictures by Remington on the Cuban situation, and the illustrations accompanied vivid accounts from the pen of Richard Harding Davis.

Remington remained in New York until the American battleship Maine blew up in Havana harbor on February 15, 1898. Anticipating war, he immediately journeyed to Key West. Remington was once again under contract to the New York Journal to do drawings and was also committed to Harper's Weekly for a series of journalistic pieces on the impending war with Spain. Remington desperately wanted to take part in the "splendid

^{25.} Frederic Remington, "The War Dreams," Harper's Weekly, XLII (May 7, 1898), 454.

Richard Harding Davis to his family, January 2, 1897, in Davis, Adventures and Letters of Richard Harding Davis, 191.

^{27.} Davis, Adventures and Letters of Richard Harding Davis, 186; Charles H. Brown, The Correspondents' War: Journalists in the Spanish-American War (New York, 1967), 78.

James Creelman, On the Great Highway (Boston, 1901), 177-78, quoted in Brown, The Correspondents' War, 78.
 Richard Harding Davis to his mother, January 15, 1897, in Davis, Adventures and Letters of Richard Harding Davis, 193.

little war" with Spain as he had missed the Civil War and the American Indian wars. As he observed to Owen Wister, we "are getting old, and one cannot get old without having seen a war." 30 The experience of seeing a war firsthand would satisfy Remington's lifelong desire to see men do the greatest thing which men are called on to do-"He who has not seen war only half comprehends the possibilities of his race." 31 Remington regarded the war not only as an opportunity for personal fulfillment, but also a rare opportunity for an artist. The fact that the war had an exotic setting, colorful characters, and promised action on a large and violent scale made the conflict even more attractive to Remington. Finally, he linked the historical westward movement and the conquest of Cuba as part of America's grand concept of "manifest destiny." ³² He wrote his wife that he was about "to undertake quite the most eventful adventure of my life." ³³

Once again Remington and Davis had to spend several uneventful days in Key West. Davis described the scene as they marked time under the hot sun: "... on the porch of the hotel a row of officers in white duck and . . . correspondents in yachtingcaps sat with tilted chairs . . ., in a state of depressed and sweltering silence"-awaiting the advent of warfare. 34 Remington eventually departed Key West on the battleship *Iowa* in order to witness the United States' naval blockade of Cuba. Unfortunately the ship saw no military action and never landed in Cuba. Remington was thoroughly bored with life on the Iowa, "the appalling sameness of this pacing works on the nerves of everyone," and he was frustrated at his repeated failure to see action. He expressed his disappointment and his desire for war in an article for Harper's Weekly: "I want to hear a shave-tail bawl, I want to get some dust in my throat; kick dewy grass, to see a sentry in the moonlight and to talk the language of my tribe. I resist it. I suppress myself, but my homely old first love comes to haunt me,

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Vorphal, My Dear Wister, 214-15.
 Frederic Remington, "With the Fifth Corps," Harper's Monthly, XCVII (November 1898), 962.

Vorphal, My Dear Wister, 215. Douglas Allen, Frederic Remington and the Spanish-American War (New York, 1971), 8.

^{34.} Richard Harding Davis, The Cuban and Porto Rican Campaigns (New York, 1898). 1.

waking and sleeping. Yes, even when I look at this mountain of war material, this epitome of modern science." 35

While on board the *Iowa*. Remington concluded that the technological aspects of modern war were distressing to him; the technology replaced the glory and spontaneity of an Indian fight. It also seemed to reduce the impact of the individual and to depersonalize his reactions. To Remington, civilization had made the West "inhuman." and it had also made the sailors on the battleship *Iowa* lose their free will to the technology of the modern age. The same civilization that robbed the West of its wildness also robbed man of his free will. This development saddened Remington. 37

Shortly thereafter Remington "deserted" his post and returned to New York for a short rest prior to the real invasion of Cuba. Remington wrote Wister that he still hoped "to see the landing in Cuba but if any yellow fever microbes come my way-I am going to duck. They are not in my contract." ³⁸

In May 1898, Remington arrived in Tampa, the city designated as the focal point for military operations against the Spanish. Tampa was then a community of approximately 12,000 people soon to be encircled by a huge military encampment. The troops were in Tampa for five months preparing for the war, and the camp took on the characteristics of a professional men's reunion, a county fair, and, as more troops arrived, an organizational disaster. Tampa was at the end of a railway line built by Henry B. Plant. According to Richard Harding Davis, it was nothing more than a place "chiefly composed of derelict houses drifting on an ocean of sand." From the midst of this desert arose, in magnificent splendor, the huge Tampa Bay Hotel, built by Plant. It was a "giant affair of ornamental brick and silver minarets," gingerbread decoration, giant statuary, and potted palms. This Victorian edifice was so enormous that, it was

Frederic Remington, "Wigwags from the Blockade," Harper's Weekly, XLII (May 14, 1898), 462; G. Edward White, The Eastern Establishment and the Western Experience: The West of Frederic Remington, Theodore Roosevelt, and Owen Wister (New Haven, 1968), 115.
 White, Eastern Establishment and the Western Experience, 115; Remington, "Wigwags from the Blockade," 462.
 White, Eastern Establishment and the Western Experience, 120.
 Pomington to Wister, Lyng 1998, in Vorphal, Mr. Dear Wister, 232, 23.

^{38.} Remington to Wister, June 1898, in Vorphal, My Dear Wister, 232-33.

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claimed, an appetite could be worked up simply by "walking from the rotunda to the dining room." 39

The Tampa Bay Hotel quickly became the hub of the journalistic, military, and social life of the area. All the high-ranking military men, some of the best of the world's correspondents, and most of the distinguished visitors stayed in the hotel. 40 The guests included General Joseph Wheeler, General William R. Shafter, military representatives of various foreign governments, Cuban refugees, Clara Barton and her corps of nurses, and such distinguished journalists as Stephen Crane, Stephen Bonsal, and H. C. Christy, and, of course, Richard Harding Davis and Frederic Remington. ⁴¹ Theodore Roosevelt and the Rough Riders were quartered just behind the Tampa Bay Hotel, and Roosevelt developed a close friendship with Remington and saw much of the artist throughout the campaign. 42

For several weeks the army and the correspondents sat comfortably in the chairs on the gigantic porch of the hotel, waiting for the day when the boring routine might end and the war would begin. This segment of time was aptly named the "rockingchair period" of the war by Richard Harding Davis. Remington was one of the best-known and most popular of all the individuals at the hotel, and he held impromptu receptions practically every day. 43 In the meantime, Remington began drawing illustrations with great rapidity. He sketched and painted the everyday existence of the army and his pictures covered every aspect of the military organization-from portraits of officers to accurate portrayals of horses. 44 These sketches were an invaluable record of army life prior to the outbreak of the war.

On June 20, 1898, Remington arrived in Cuba aboard General Shafter's headquarters ship, the Seguranca. He sat on the quarterdeck, sipping iced drinks with Davis and waiting for the

Davis, Cuban and Porto Rican Campaigns, 46-47.
 Allen, Frederic Remington and the Spanish-American War, 56.
 Works Progress Administration, Writers Program, Florida, "Tampa" (type manuscript), 10, in P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, Gainesville.

^{42.} Theodore Roosevelt, The Rough Riders: A History of the First United States Volunteer Cavalry (New York, 1906), 52-53.

Davis, Cuban and Porto Rican Campaigns, 56.
 Allen, Frederick Remington and the Spanish-American War, 61; Vorphal, My Dear Wister, 233.

action to begin. 45 Remington finally got his long awaited chance to see war firsthand, and he accompanied the United States Fifth Corps into action, recording their campaign with his straightforward, spare prose. Remington witnessed the battle of San Juan Hill and wrote an account of his activities with the Fifth Corps for Harper's Weekly. He quickly discovered that the reality of war was far different from his romantic anticipation of it. The death and suffering unsettled Remington and made him realize that war was much more terrible than he had imagined. Remington suffered from the heat, fatigue, poor transportation, and Spanish bullets. Racked with vellow fever and haunted by the specter of dead bodies. Remington's taste for adventure palled. He gave in to his sickness and concluded that "I had finished." ⁴⁶ He returned immediately to the United States having thoroughly satisfied his desire to experience war. "From now on I mean to paint fruits and flowers. Then if I'm ordered to the scene of action I can go fearlessly." 47

Owen Wister wrote that, "Remington has taken the likeness of the modern American soldier and stamped it upon our minds with a blow as clean-cut as is the impression of the American eagle upon our coins in the mint Remington is drawing the most picturesque of the American people." 48 Fortunately, the Florida cowboys and the soldiers in the Spanish-American War were among his subjects. Because of Remington's perceptive drawings and analysis, this period of Florida's past has been recorded

^{45.} Vorphal, My Dear Wister, 233. 46. White, Eastem Establishment White, Eastem Establishment and the Western Experience, 115-16.

Willer, Eastern Establishment and the Western Experience, 113-16.
 Thomas, "Recollections of Frederic Remington," 357.
 Owen Wister, in the Introduction to Frederic Remington, Done in the Open: Drawings by Frederic Remington (New York, 1902), 7.