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Railroads and the American Industrial Landscape: Ted Rose Paintings and Photographs

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“When an American says that he loves his country, he means that he loves an inner air, an inner light in which freedom lives and in which a man can draw the breath of self-respect.”

Adlai Stevenson (1900-1965)

The world exhibition of 1855 in Paris offered a display of photography signaling an upheaval in the relation of art to technology. The emergence of the camera into the realm of art both threatened realist painting and offered new opportunities for painting’s future development. At approximately the same time, the painter A. J. Wiertz published an important text on photography in which he describes photography’s task, among other things, as “the philosophical enlightenment of painting.” For Wiertz, enlightenment was intended in a political sense where photography would surpass painting in its informational capabilities and its ability to expedite communications. In a parallel moment, trains and railroads caused an upheaval in the natural landscape contributing to its transformation into a new industrial landscape. These developments provided a fresh subject for the artist’s eye to analyze and interpret.

A century later, we find photography and painting functioning in the art of Ted Rose (1940-2002) as complementary means for understanding the new industrial landscape. By the time Rose came along, the railroad/industrial landscape was in transition, except for a surge during World War II when both the railroad and industry in the United States, and especially in Milwaukee, thrived. Rose was exposed to the heyday of railroads in his early youth, then experienced their rapid decline up to the point when he left the city for New Mexico. His photographs and paintings, presented together for the first time in this exhibition, will enlighten the public about the past and current significance of railroads as a piece of the industrial landscape that is now under threat from changes wrought by the global electronic age.

From the mid-nineteenth century onward, trains played a central role in transforming the American landscape. Favorable land grants from federal and state governments enabled railroad companies to acquire vast quantities of land and to transform the rolling plains of the Midwest into cities and to invade the rugged natural scenic mountain terrain of the West. Starting first in the East, railroads spread throughout the country, linking New York and Boston to Saint Louis, Chicago, and New Orleans and eventually to Denver, Salt Lake City, Houston, Seattle, and Los Angeles. The country was spanned by rail first in 1869, and then other east-west lines supplemented the first.

In tandem with industrial and commercial developments requiring advanced transport, trains served as key elements in shaping the urban landscape. They were, along with shipping on the Great Lakes and major rivers, the principal carriers of passengers, livestock and grain, raw materials such as iron ore, timber and coal, and manufactured products. They aided the developing lifestyles of rural and small-town residents, enabling them to engage readily in all manner of exploration into nearby and faraway opportunities for work, family visits, and recreation. In both the cities and the rural landscapes, trains became integrated into commerce and the daily life of citizens. For many, the daily rituals of the passing trains served as important

Ted Rose. Detail from, Duluth, Missabe & Iron Range/Proctor, Minnesota, 1959 (cat. 9)
Gelatin silver print
15 5/8 x 19 5/8 in. (opposite)

Curtis L. Carter
markers of time in their lives. For some, trains became a means of escape from the limits of any particular place. Former slaves in the South saw the train as a means of liberation, and it fueled hopes for a better life. For rural populations, trains helped connect people to opportunities and lifestyles available in developing cities such as Saint Louis and Chicago. For visionaries, trains provided unlimited opportunities for advancing new ideas and for entrepreneurial enterprise.

Milwaukee, Wisconsin, early home of artist Ted Rose, was founded at the time when railroads were a new and promising development. As early as 1836, just one year after its establishment as a tiny village on the shores of Lake Michigan, the residents of Milwaukee proposed constructing a railroad line to link Milwaukee with the Mississippi River to the west and a second line to Lake Superior to the north. Their efforts eventually resulted in development of various local rail lines beginning with the Milwaukee-to-Prairie du Chien line completed in 1857. A connection to La Crosse, also on the Mississippi, quickly followed, affording a critical connection to trans-Mississippi wheat lands which became an important source for Milwaukee's earliest wealth.

This initial realization of the demand for railroad connections led to Milwaukee's emergence as a link for commerce connecting land transportation with shipping lines on the Great Lakes. In the second half of the nineteenth century, a substantial proportion of the Midwest's production of wheat and livestock destined for markets on the east coast and in Europe passed through Milwaukee, where railroads connected to Great Lakes ships. Although Milwaukee never became a major railroad center like Chicago or Saint Louis (nor did its railroad-related commerce rival theirs), railroads played a major role in its development. An important railroad connection was the Pacific coast extension of the Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul Railroad.

Milwaukee continued to develop throughout the first half of the twentieth century as an industrial center with a wide range of products from mine equipment and diesel engines to electronics. By World War II, Milwaukee had become the most industrialized city in the United States. Existing industries in Milwaukee became a central source of products for the defense industry. Increased industrial activity during this time generated a strong need for railroads. With the trains came miles of steel tracks, crossing signs, stations, and railroad yards, all of which helped form the cultural geography of the city. The North Western Station stood at the foot of Wisconsin Avenue, and the Milwaukee Road's West Milwaukee Shops were in the Menomonee Valley where they complemented the city's industrial landscape.

At an early age, Rose was drawn to the exciting life surrounding the culture of railroads. He frequented the local yards and traveled throughout the region, sometimes with the train crew on the locomotive. His first of many such rides took place at age fourteen on the Grand Trunk Western Railroad across Lake Michigan to Muskegon, Michigan, and on to Detroit and other destinations in Ohio. This Muskegon-to-Detroit ride, like many other journeys taken by the young artist, took place in the cab of a steam locomotive. By his late teens, he was free to travel across the land, absorbing visual images and storing experiences that would remain in his memory throughout his career. Through these experiences, he gathered materials that would in time become an important source of images for his art.

From childhood, Rose understood his destiny as an artist. But it was not sufficient for him as a young man to remain fixated on a romanticized fascination with train culture. He studied art at the University of Illinois Urbana-Champaign from 1958 to 1962, where he received a B.F.A. in painting, followed by a semester
of graduate studies at Tulane University. While in school, he worked summers as a layout designer of railroad books for the Kalmbach Publishing Company in Milwaukee. This experience of working with other railroad photographers’ images contributed to his understanding of the conventions of railroad photography. Among his projects as a young designer, Rose produced the layout for a book, *Canadian Steam!*, a portfolio of Canadian National and Canadian Pacific steam locomotives. The book, published in 1961, included Rose’s photograph of train CN 5578 on a run between Clandeboye and London, Ontario. As perhaps a ringing endorsement of his talent, his watercolor painting, *On the Prairies Where the Wheat Grows and the Sun Comes up Yellow in the East, 1961* (cat. 23), was used as the dust jacket for the book.6

After a few exploratory years, including two years in the Army with a tour in Vietnam (1963-65) and visits back and forth between Mexico and Milwaukee, he moved to New Mexico in 1965, settling first in the small northern village of Chama, followed by a permanent move to Santa Fe in 1966. There, he forged a distinguished career as a graphic designer and did not return to painting until 1983 when he was forty-three years old.

Rose approached the subject of trains in two different media: photography and watercolor. Both draw upon a vocabulary of representational images shared by the artist and the viewers. In the respective media of photography and painting, the artist uses figuration to portray the people, machines, and environment of railroads. Powerful industrial locomotives provided a form of giant, moving sculptures to passengers and spectators alike. Whether at rest in the station of a Midwest city or pulling a string of attached cars filled with passengers or freight through the natural landscapes of Colorado or New Mexico, these magnificent symbols of industrial civilization provided one of the main subjects of his images. The artist’s personal experiences acquired while riding and observing trains and hanging out with the engineers, conductors, brakemen, and other railroad workers whose lives revolve around trains, as well as the environments in which trains operate, inform the subject of his artistic works.7

**Photographs**

A photograph represents a way of seeing and is never merely a mechanical record. Every photograph represents a choice of viewpoint selected from infinite possibilities, and the photographer’s choice of subject in turn affects how he sees the world.8 Rose’s sensitive eye was particularly adept at capturing in his photographs the people involved in railroads. In an especially fine image, he focused his lens on a lone fireman servicing his locomotive in a National Railways of Mexico station at Acambaro, Guanajuato (cat. 16). Another photograph, *F. C. Mexicano Engine and Admirers, 1960* (cat. 12), portrays a group of admirers looking on, in awe of a great locomotive in a roundhouse.

A core group of twenty-two of Rose’s black and white gelatin silver prints and a selection of contact prints are being shown for the first time alongside his watercolors in this solo exhibition at the Haggerty Museum of Art.9 The contact prints were made by the artist apparently at or near the time they were taken between 1956 and 1961, while the enlargements ranging in size from 7 1/4 x 8 5/8 to 30 x 26 inches were printed for an exhibition in 1974 at St. John’s College. Not all of the images were printed in large format. The main categories of his subjects in these photographs include locomotives at rest and in motion; close-ups of locomotive parts; trains passing through the landscapes of the Midwest, Canada and Mexico; architecture connected with train...
Ted Rose consciously avoided imitating others' photographs and paintings, but did admire the work of photographer and painter Charles Sheeler, whose famous photograph found a counterpart in a 1960 image, *Valve Gear and Rods of Pacific #2519* (cat. 13), taken by Rose in Mexico.

Charles Sheeler (1883-1965)
*Drive Wheels*, 1939
Gelatin silver print
6 11/16 x 9 11/16 in.
Smith College Museum of Art, Northampton, Massachusetts
Gift of Dorothy C. Miller (Mrs. Roger Cahill) class of 1925 SC1978:34

The remarkable photographs of railroad culture being shown in the exhibition were taken during Rose’s high school and college years between 1957 and 1961; they reflect his mature style in this medium. The exhibition does not include any photographs taken after 1961. During this period, he freely explored the yards of the Chicago and North Western Railway in Milwaukee, talked with the workers, and rode the trains, often in the cab with the engineer, taking photographs as he went. As the places depicted in his photographs show, his itinerary embraced the Canadian National Railway as far as Winnipeg, the National Railways of Mexico in Toluca, the Illinois Central to Carbondale, Illinois, and the Duluth, Missabe and Iron Range to Proctor, Minnesota, to mention a few of many railroad routes that yielded Rose’s exhibition-quality photographs.

The artist’s gifted eye for composition is evident throughout his photographic work, whether in selecting a wide panoramic view of a train passing through the landscape, or when focusing on the complex parts of a locomotive at rest. His photographs of National Railways of Mexico trains blend seamlessly the beauty of the industrial machine and the natural landscape. *Ferry Train, Alvarado, Veracruz*, 1961 (cat. 17) shows an emerging train under a full head of steam and framed by a clump of palm trees on the left side of the image. For contrast, consider Rose’s photograph *Valve Gear and Rods of Pacific #2519*, 1960 (cat. 13), featuring a close-up view of elegantly constructed engine valve gear and rods. This photograph reveals the beauty and power of the locomotive’s parts by focusing the viewer’s attention on its structure and form as a work of industrial design. Here, Rose’s image is reminiscent of the artist Charles Sheeler’s (1883-1965) photograph, *Drive Wheels*, on a similar theme from 1939.

Besides making images that feature trains themselves, Rose was equally adept at capturing architectural structures associated with railroads. These photographs help to contextualize his portrayal of train hardware. For example, a photograph of workers’ accommodations in the form of a boxcar parked on an unused track of the National Railways of Mexico near Rincón de Ramos Aguascalientes, portrays a railroad worker’s family life. The deteriorating structure is fronted with a garden and décor in an effort to personalize the space. A woman dressed in white and facing the structure confirms its use (cat. 11). A striking image of a Go-op flour elevator alongside the tracks in Saskatchewan, Canada, links the railroad to commerce (*Wayfreight*, 1959 [cat. 8]). Another photo displays the finely appointed concourse of Chicago Union Station. Adorned with exposed steel beams and chandeliers, the station appears well stocked with shops and information counters (*Untitled*, undated [cat. 20]). As a group, these particular photographs anticipate Rose’s incorporation of a broader view of life surrounding railroads into his paintings.

Perhaps the most remarkable feature of Rose’s photography is his treatment of light. Unfailingly, he positions the light sources entering into the picture so that the light enhances the entire composition. This is true whether the light source is projecting from the front of a locomotive within the picture or from some source external to it. A masterpiece for its rendering of light is an image portraying the interior of a roundhouse of the Illinois Central Railroad at Carbondale, Illinois (*Roundhouse*, 1957 [cat. 1]). In this image, intense light beams from outside the roundhouse stream through a wall of floor-to-ceiling windows, flooding the darkened interior space. The light coming through the windows reveals a locomotive at rest in the darkened interior space where
the light filters through a cloud of steam. This photograph bears the earliest date, 1957, of any in the exhibition. It suggests that the artist’s sensibilities and skills were already well advanced at this early stage in his career.

**Paintings**

There are important differences between an artist’s work as a photographer and as a painter. As Van Deren Coke notes, echoing others, “Certain visual characteristics in photographs ... are rarely found in pictures created by traditional techniques of drawing and painting. These characteristics derive from the photographer’s use of lenses, shutter mechanisms and stroboscopic illumination to shape their images.” Once the image is captured on a negative, the photographer relies on the manipulation of contrasting patterns of light and dark onto the pictorial surfaces etched with tonality and texture. The painter reconstitutes his visual experience on canvas or other surfaces by making autographic marks on a two-dimensional picture surface. Unlike photography where the artist’s subject is mainly limited to the present moment, painting allows for exploring and incorporating different time frames in the same painting. This feature of painting was important to Rose, who preferred to move back and forth in time in his work.

Rose’s chosen medium of watercolor offers the artist a broader range of formal and expressive means than does black and white photography. For example, bright or muted colors with textural and opaque glazes allow the artist to build up layers of rich and deep color on cold-pressed or rough papers. He understood the unforgiving demands of watercolor, which require working from start to finish on each painting. The over 1,000 paintings he was able to produce in a twenty-year period at a consistently high quality attest to his skill as a painter.

Judging from the multitude of Rose’s railroad paintings between 1983 and his death in 2002, it seems clear that his experiences with photographing trains between 1956 and 1962 substantially affected his way of seeing. Photography’s impact is evident first in his choosing to continue with trains as a central theme in his work. Like the painters Marsden Hartley (1877-1943), Charles Sheeler (1883-1965), and other twentieth-century American artists, Rose used photographs in the composition of his paintings. “I used to get bogged down sketching for reference. Now the camera is my sketchbook. It has allowed me to see more rather than becoming absorbed by one aspect of the scene before me,” he said. There is little evidence of his merely reconstituting a particular photographic image into a painting, although he did not hesitate to draw upon the memories evoked by the photographs to construct an original painting in watercolor. Rather, his sources typically included a combination of references—drawings, photographs, and, most importantly, his imagination. For example, the painting, *Saskatchewan Plain*, 1999 (cat. 39), includes portions of a photograph with a similar building with the lettering “Saskatchewan Pool,” (Wayfreight, 1959 [cat. 8]). However, the painting contains additional buildings not included in the photograph. Moreover, the trains in the two pictures are moving in opposite directions, and the train in the painting is further in the distance.

Not unexpectedly, Rose’s paintings of 1983 and beyond show a greater depth of experience than the earlier photographs. This development is reflected especially in his treatment of human subjects whom he consistently portrays with empathy and respect. His technical facility in composition, acquired in part through his work as a master graphic designer, is served well in meeting the challenges of a new medium. As with his photography, his paintings are endowed with an effortless artistic charm that is grounded in a solid aesthetic.
His range of subjects in the paintings broadens to include greater attention to human subjects and an expanding scope of geographic place. The images that reference particular places appear to be mainly composites from observation and imagination rather than exact replications of specific sites.

There are still plenty of locomotives to satisfy the most loyal train enthusiast, but the stories told by the paintings increasingly project the trains into a broader sphere of human experience. For example, in Errands, 1993 (cat. 27), two elderly women walk cautiously on a snowy street as a Pennsylvania Railroad train passes nearby. Without falling into sentimentality, Errands speaks volumes about the familiar intimacy that came to exist between trains and the people they served. In The Way Out, 1997 (cat. 33), the railroad tracks heading out of town symbolically point the way for two young men walking along the tracks shouldering backpacks. The painting carries both feelings of hope and uncertainty, allowing the viewer to empathize with its subjects.

Especially important in Rose's paintings are the people involved with the railroads. Small Talk, 1998 (cat. 36), catches a rare glimpse of shared friendship between two male workers on break standing outside an Illinois Central roundhouse. The two figures are positioned in the foreground against a bank of windows lit from the other side. The workers and their tasks are depicted with empathy and respect. Rose's sensitive treatment of his subjects demonstrates social concern but without an overt didactic edge.

The artist frequently portrays African-American subjects. Jim Crowbars, 1998 (cat. 35), depicts a line of African-American workers positioned shoulder to shoulder with crowbars poised to work on a section of track, a painting that proved to be one of his more controversial works. Several national competitions, including the National Watercolor Society, the Georgia Watercolor Society, and the Lafayette (La.) Art Association rejected it, whereas they normally would have welcomed his paintings. This rejection in national competitions suggests that the subject matter generated social uneasiness among his fellow watercolorists. Among his other interests were subjects relating to blues and jazz. His painting, Been Callin' That Train, 1993 (cat. 26), features the bluesman Fred McDowell strumming his guitar outside an Illinois Central train station. The caboose and last car of a departing train stretch across the horizon line in the background of the picture.

It is not surprising to learn that Rose returned to his early roots in Milwaukee as a focus for several major paintings completed during his later years. Some Things Last Forever, 1998 (cat. 37), represents a switch engine with the buildings of the Schlitz Brewery in the background. Alas, the title must be read as irony, since the brewery was already history by the time the picture was painted in 1998. A picture simply titled Granary, 2000 (cat. 41) (Milwaukee Road, east end yard, Milwaukee), shows the grain elevators in the background and a cross section of tracks partially filled with freight cars. The main and especially notable aesthetic feature of the picture shows a flock of white pigeons drifting between the top of the granary and the tracks below. Railroad Barony, 2002 (cat. 46), depicts the old Milwaukee Road Station, one of the architectural gems of the city that was demolished, to great lament, in the misguided urban renewal projects of the 1960s. Perhaps the artist intends to comment on the ironic fate of a lost railroad icon.

It seems appropriate to conclude this section with reference to an upbeat title: Ready to Rock & Roll, 2002 (cat. 44), a painting featuring a sleek, modern-design Electroliner of the Chicago North Shore and Milwaukee Railroad, ready for departure from the Milwaukee Terminal. The background for the train is the Milwaukee city skyline.
Ted Rose in a Wider Artistic Context

Rose was well informed about the work of his predecessors in American art photography and painting. His illustrious predecessors in photographing railroads include William H. Jackson (1843-1942), who photographed western scenery in the nineteenth century. Jackson’s railroad photographs include the Union Pacific beginning around 1867 and resuming in 1881 with the Denver and Rio Grande Railroad and other major railways in the United States, Canada, and Mexico.\(^{17}\) A selection of his railroad photographs taken for the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad in 1892 was shown in a special exhibition at the World’s Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1893.\(^{18}\) Jackson’s railroad photographs focus mainly on trains moving through dramatic landscapes. In contrast to Jackson, Rose mainly prefers to interpret the railroad close up, favoring urban industrial landscapes over natural vistas.

Rose shared with Lewis Hine (1874-1940), the progressive photographer-social reformer who spent his early life in Oshkosh, Wisconsin, the desire “to show the meaning of a worker’s task, its effect on him, and the character of his relation to the industry by which he earns a living.”\(^{19}\) Hine’s portraits of railroad workers of the Pennsylvania Railroad, pictures which aimed at promoting mutual understanding between labor and management by showing the “human side of the system,” can be considered a model for Rose’s sympathetic portrayal of railroad workers. Although Rose did not necessarily share Hine’s ideological underpinnings, his photographs present the workers with understanding and respect. For other artist-photographers’ influences he cites Great Depression-era photographers Walker Evans, Dorothea Lange, and Jack Delano who were associated with the Farm Security Administration project and were among the major contributors to American photography of the 1930s and 1940s.

As a painter, Rose considered himself a realist. Realism is sometimes understood as a style of art for rendering pictorially the natural appearances of observed or imagined objects found in nature or the built environment. But for him realism is simply one of the artist’s tools, and not a mirror copy of the subject. Painting as a type of symbolism is “about space and picture plane, which are of concern to painters regardless of the category they work in.”\(^{20}\) It is about interpreting everyday life through the workings of the mind and eye with the aid of color and pigments and shades of light and dark, within the space provided by a two-dimensional picture plane. As Rose understood it, artistic style embraces both the formal art conventions and the artist’s sensibilities and knowledge. “It is the result of consistent work against the backdrop of an artist’s sensibilities and knowledge of art history and contemporary society.”\(^{21}\)

Among the twentieth century artists cited by Rose as being influential for his work are realist painters Edward Hopper (1882-1967), George Bellows (1882-1925), and the contemporary abstract California painter Richard Diebenkorn (1922-1993). Rose frequently referred to Hopper’s *Early Sunday Morning*, 1930, as a source of inspiration for his own work. He admired in Hopper’s paintings, whether in depicting empty streets, houses, or spaces with people, the artist’s special ability to create a sense of “inhabited space.” Showing the efforts of people in the built environment, as Hopper did so well, was of special interest to Rose in his own works.\(^{22}\) The neighborhood of houses depicted in Rose’s painting *Errands* (cat. 27) might have been painted by Hopper, or perhaps by Charles Burchfield, who shared a similar aesthetic.\(^{23}\) Rose appreciated Bellows’ endorsement of realism in his paintings, which were created to show the teeming realities of life in America’s industrial cities.
Assessment of the Significance of Ted Rose’s Work

There is hardly even a tenuous consensus as to what constitutes a masterpiece in photography or painting. The answer depends in part on the context in which the images are made. One measure of success is the ability of an image to capture a decisive moment. Another is the artist’s facility with the vocabulary and formal codes of the medium employed. A third measure is the artist’s ability to move away from the abstract coding embedded in a medium toward an outgoing, socially-concerned art. Rose’s photographs and paintings succeed aptly in all these areas.

Rose captures many decisive moments in his photographs and paintings. They are not replications of the trains depicted, or of the human lives that intersect in so many enriching ways with trains. Nor do they represent a model of the world in which trains operated in the past or the present. Rather, they offer direct testimony concerning the imagination of the artist and his understanding of the places and people whose lives were intimately involved with trains. “The route to meaningful paintings is to find the subject that lets you represent the world through your own experience,” he wrote.24 When appreciated for their iconic value, his pictures offer a coherent system of visual signs in a context that enriches our understanding of railroad culture in the industrial age.

Rose aimed for his art to take on a life of its own. He recognized that the viewer, too, brings to the work a way of seeing. Apart from their artistic excellence in composition and form, their most endearing feature is the ability to tell a story. Each work is like a condensed short story that invites the viewer to imagine the experiences depicted. Rose’s photographs and paintings recount important narratives in visual terms, adding to our aesthetic appreciation and historical understanding of an industrial era, the persons who shaped it and those whose lives were affected. He shows how railroads shaped the American landscape and significantly engaged the lives of people over a time period now approaching two hundred years.

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Notes


6. David P. Morgan, ed., Canadian Steam! (Milwaukee: Kalmbach Publishing Co., 1981), n.p. In a publication note, Morgan remarks that “the layout artist Ted Rose was given carte blanche to evolve a fresh and uninhibited format.” For such an important project, the citation suggests a remarkable confidence in the young artist’s talent.

7. For a general perspective on representations of labor and work in painting and other media, see Klaus Türk, A Brief History of Labor Imagery, in Man at Work: 400 Years in Painting and Bronzes, Labor and the Evolution of Industry in Art (Milwaukee: Milwaukee School of Engineering Press, 2003), 9.


9. An exhibition of Ted Rose’s photographs, Trains: A Photographic Record of Pre-Diesel Railroading in North America (US/Canada/Mexico), was shown at St. John’s College, Santa Fe, New Mexico, March 31-April 21, 1974. The images included steam locomotives, enginemen, terminals, hostlers, etc. This exhibition was the first showing of Rose’s railroad photographs. Some of the images in the Haggerty exhibition were produced for the St. John’s exhibition.

10. The dates for these photographs are those supplied by Ted Rose Studio.


12. Van Deren Coke and Thomas F. Barrow, Peculiar to Photography (exhibition catalog, Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 1976), preface.


14. After the invention of the camera obscura in the sixteenth century and the invention of photographic processes in the nineteenth century, traditional patterns of perception and pictorial expression were radically altered. The impact of seeing through the camera lens and new compositional possibilities revealed in photography were used by painters in a variety of ways including sketching directly from the camera, often secretly. Rose acknowledges use of the camera as an important aid to creating his paintings, but he eschews copying from photographs. Rather, he relies on drawings and imagination as well as photographs. See Coke, The Painter and the Photograph for a discussion of painters’ (Delacroix, Degas, Eakins, Warhol) uses of photographs in their work.


16. Correspondence, Ted Rose Studio.


20. Ted Rose, quoted in Candelora Versace, Ted Rose: Off the Beaten Track, New Mexico 74 no. 8 (September 1996): 30.

21. Rose, In the Traces, ix.

