The Pictorial Record of the Old West

VII. ALFRED E. MATHEWS

ROBERT TAFT

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FOLLOWING the close of the Civil War the tempo of westward migration was greatly accelerated. During the war the Far West had increased rapidly in population, and even the immediate Trans-Mississippi West had felt increasing growing pains. But border troubles, the threat of Indians and the lack of rapid methods of transportation retarded large population shifts to the Great Plains West. Cessation of hostilities, the impetus given by the homestead act of 1862, accompanied by renewed interest and effort in building Western railroads beyond the Missouri river, brought a flood of immigrants to the plains. “The most astonishing migratory movement which has characterized any age or nation,” reported the Kansas Weekly Tribune of Lawrence, at the threshold of the Great Plains. The Tribune account went on to state:

The disbandment of our immense armies is throwing back upon society hundreds of thousands of young and middle aged men, whose business ties have been broken and fortunes shattered by the war, who are now returning to earnest, effective labor for the repair of the waste of the past four years.

Dr. Robert Taft, of Lawrence, is professor of chemistry at the University of Kansas and editor of the Transactions of the Kansas Academy of Science. He is author of Photography And the American Scene (New York, 1938), and Across the Years on Mount Oread (Lawrence, 1941).

Previous articles in this pictorial series appeared in the issues of The Kansas Historical Quarterly for February, May, August and November, 1949, and May and August, 1948. The general introduction was in the February, 1946, number.

1. By May, 1865, the Union Pacific railroad had made no progress save that of organization and planning, the first spike being driven at Omaha on July 10, 1865. The 100th meridian, 247 miles west of Omaha, was not reached until October 5, 1866, and the celebrated junction with the Central Pacific railroad at Promontory Point, Utah, was not effected until May 10, 1869. See Paul Rigdon, The Union Pacific Railroad (Omaha, 1938), pp. 71-73. The less well-known Union Pacific railroad, Eastern division, began westward construction at Wyandotte, Kan., on April 14, 1864, and by December, 1865, had reached a point between Lawrence and Topeka. Service to Denver, however, did not begin until August, 1870. See John D. Cruce, “Early Days on the Union Pacific,” Kansas Historical Collections, Topeka, v. 11 (1909-1910), pp. 536-540 (Footnote 20). For the growth of the Far West during the 1860’s see Dan E. Clark, “The Movement to the Far West During the Decade of the Sixties,” The Washington Historical Quarterly, Seattle, v. 17 (April, 1926), pp. 105-113.

2. Kansas Weekly Tribune, October 13, 1865.
They find, as a general thing, their places occupied, themselves, though personally held in grateful remembrance, pressed out of the commercial circles in which they once moved, and compelled, often with nothing but their undaunted will, to begin anew the battle of life, which before the war had been so well commenced. It is but natural that these men should cast about them and seek new fields for their energy, new scenes and better auspices for the recuperation of their crippled estates, or that the glowing West, the fame of whose riches pervades and eclipses the far East, should become the goal of their ambitions and hopes.

These are the men to build up rich and prosperous communities upon the great plains and in the pleasant valleys of the West. Let them come. No other country can give them so good a home or so grand a welcome. Though often poor in all else, they bring with them the inestimable riches of strong arms to labor, clear heads and honest hearts, and above all, that unquenchable love of liberty and national integrity which made them invincible as soldiers in action, and will make them uncompromising as citizens in all that pertains to the good of the State.

To be sure this eulogy was partly promotional, partly prophetical, and partly descriptive of contemporary affairs. But there is abundant evidence that a rising tide of immigration was moving west at the close of the war. The population of Kansas, for example, increased from 107,000 in 1860 to a figure nearly three and one-half times as great ten years later and much of this gain came in the last half of the decade.3

The tide of immigration carried along with it interested and observant spectators, as well as future settlers, among whom were reporters and illustrators of the expanding Western scene. One has only to recall, among others, the well-known travel accounts of Bayard Taylor, Henry M. Stanley, Samuel Bowles, and A. D. Rich-

3. A. T. Andreas and W. G. Cutler, History of the State of Kansas (Chicago, 1888), p. 306. The population increase in Nebraska during the same decade was from about 30,000 to a figure something better than four times this number.—A. T. Andreas, History of the State of Nebraska (Chicago, 1882), p. 328. The contemporary newspapers of the period also record the immigration at the close of the Civil War. See, particularly, accounts in the Leavenworth Daily Conservative, March 26, 1865 ("The tide of immigration into our State this Spring is immense..."), Kansas Weekly Tribune, Lawrence, March 19, 1866 ("The ingress of immigrants is becoming large, and increasing from day to day."), Weekly Leader, Topeka, May 81, 1866 ("Immigration continues unabated. Hundreds of strange faces show themselves daily in our streets..."), Kansas City Express, May 31, 1866. "There is yet no let up to the stream of emigration." Even during the winter of 1865-1866, the flow of emigrants across the plains continued in large numbers as was reported in a letter dated February 25, 1866, and written by Gen. John Pope (42 Cong., 1 Sess., House Ex. Doc. No. 76 [Washington, 1866], p. 3): "People, in incredible numbers, continue to throng across the great plains to these rich mining territories, undeterred by the seasons, by hardships and privation, or by the constant and relentless hostility of the Indian tribes. For several hundred miles along the routes to New Mexico, Colorado, and Montana, the hospitals of the military posts are filled with frost-bitten teamsters and emigrants, whose animals have been frozen to death, and whose trains, loaded with supplies, stand buried in the snow on the great plains. Notwithstanding these bitter and discouraging experiences, and the imminent danger of like if not worse results, trains of wagons still continue to move out from the Missouri river, and to pursue the overland routes to the mining regions."
ardson, stories based on personal observation in the years 1865-1867, to emphasize the point.4

The Western artists and illustrators, who recorded this period (1865-1867) in pictures, are not so well known. Included among the group, however, we can list the names of T. R. Davis, Alfred E. Mathews, H. C. Ford, J. F. Gookins, H. A. Elkins, A. R. Waud, W. H. Beard and Worthington Whittredge, all of whom, with one exception, crossed the plains to the Rocky Mountains in 1865 or 1866. Probably there were others, but this group is sufficiently representative to consider in this series. Davis, Mathews, Ford, Gookins and Waud were Civil War veterans and had recorded in picture many scenes of that struggle. Davis and Waud we shall consider in more detail later in this series. For the present it can be said that Davis was the first of these artists to cross the plains at the close of hostilities, and Waud undertook an extensive sketching trip for Harper’s Weekly to the South and Southwest early in 1866.5

Gookins, Ford and Elkins, all residents of Chicago in 1866, formed a party early in the summer of that year and started out from the Missouri river (probably from Omaha) where they joined an emigrant train on an overland trip by wagon to Denver and Colorado. Gookins had eight sketches resulting from his trip published in Harper’s Weekly in the fall of 1866. They were titled:

“Storm on the Plains.”
“Preparing Supper [on the plains].”
“Fort Wicked.”
“Denver.”
“Emigrants Attacked by Indians.”
“Indian Massacre.”
“Assay Room, U. S. Mint at Denver.”
“Pike’s Peak.”

4. Bayard Taylor, Colorado: A Summer Trip (New York, 1887), based on a series of letters to the New York Tribune, June-December, 1866; Henry M. Stanley, letters to the Missouri Republican, St. Louis, re-published in My Early Travels and Adventures . . . . (London, 1895), v. 1; Samuel Bowles, Our New West (Hartford, 1899), based on Western travels in 1865 and 1866; Albert D. Richardson, Our New States and Territories (New York, 1866), based on a series of letters to the New York Tribune, 1865-1866. The last letter in the series, No. 36, appears in the Tribune, May 16, 1866. This book of Richardson's is not to be confused with his better-known Beyond the Mississippi (New York, 1867). Richardson was an old hand at Western travel. Descriptive letters in the New York Tribune from Colorado territory appeared in 1860; see, for example, Tribune, September 8, November 9 and 13, 1860.

5. The arrival of Theodore R. Davis (1840-1894) in Denver is reported in The Rocky Mountain News, Denver, December 1, 1865. Alfred R. Waud (1828-1891) was one of the best-known illustrators of the Civil War. Many of his original war sketches are now in the Library of Congress. The beginning of his Southwestern trip is described in Harper’s Weekly, New York, v. 10 (1866), pp. 225, 228, 257, 286. He was in Cincinnati on his way west and south on March 23, 1866.

6. Eight woodcut illustrations on one page.—Ibid., p. 644.

The Daily Rocky Mountain News, October 19, 1866, not impressed with Gookins' view
Some of the experiences of the party in crossing the plains and an explanation of his sketches are given in an accompanying letter by Gookins, who wrote:

Our party of eight (including three artists) had quite an adventurous trip over the Plains. One of our mishaps I have sketched; it is entitled “Storm on the Plains.” A hurricane took down our tents and blew over heavy loaded wagons, on the night of the 9th June, near Cottonwood, Nebraska. Fortunately no serious damage resulted to any one, though many in the train were badly frightened. Ford says that just as he was crawling out of the tent his ears were saluted by a piercing wail and the pathetic cry of “Oh, have you seen my baby!” He looked back and saw the tent down with his wife under it, turned his head, and lo! over went our wagon with the horses down under it; and here was a woman before him wringing her hands and screaming for her baby. “Les joyeuses” are our ladies who, donning fashionable attire, have enlivened the camp by their cheerful presence, and have made us, hungry, tired souls, much happiness with appetizing cookery. Though you have published one or two street scenes in Denver I send the one herewith, which gives a good view of the mountains beyond. It is a different view from any hitherto published, and I think from a better point.

“Fort Wicked,” Colorado, is noted as the ranch where a brave man and wife named Godfrey held over two hundred Indians at bay for two days during the troubles last year—killing many and wounding others, and finally driving them off.

The tide of emigration and enterprise is setting hitherward at an astonishing rate, yet it is not to be wondered at when one sees the immense wealth of this region. Denver, a city of seven thousand inhabitants, is well built, and is the commercial centre of a mining region where already over twenty millions of capital are invested in quartz mills and the like. It hardly needs the eye of a prophet to discern that as the prospective terminus of the Eastern Branch of the grandest national highway of the world—the railroad to the Pacific—and as the great outfitting place for trains for Montana, Idaho, and Utah, its growth must be rapid and its destiny that of a great city.

Messrs. Bayard Taylor, Wm. H. Beard, Whitridge, and Major-General Pope, are traversing this region. I have only met Beard; but expect to meet him and Mr. Taylor in the South Park, whither I am now journeying.

By courtesy of Fred Eckfeldt, Esq., Meller and Refiner, United States Branch Mint, at Denver, I was shown through all the departments of that establishment, and send a sketch of the Assay Room.$^7$

of Denver, commented: “Gookins, the artist, recently here from Chicago, has furnished Harper’s Weekly with some sketches of this country. Some of the smaller views are correct enough, but his picture of Denver is a most miserable caricature, and were it not for the name of the city printed at the bottom of the engraving, there is no one here who would ever suppose the picture referred to this city. Either the artist or the engraver were badly at fault in their work.” One always must take such criticism with a grain of salt. If city views did not present a most pleasing aspect, the boisterous spirit was sure to find fault.

$^7$ Harper’s Weekly, v. 10 (October 13, 1866), p. 654. Bayard Taylor, Colorado: A Summer Trip, p. 146, reports that he met “Mr. Ford, the artist of Chicago and his wife, and Messrs. Gookins and Ellkins also Chicago artists. They had made the entire trip from the Missouri in their wagon and were on their way to the Parks for the summer.” Mention of the Ford, Gookins and Ellkins party is also made in The Daily Rocky Mountain News, September 3, 8, 22 and 27, 1866.
Little record of other Western pictures by Gookins is available. Several paintings were listed as on exhibit in the spring of 1867. Of the Western work of Ford still less is known. He is best remembered today for a series of 24 etchings on the missions of California which he published in 1883 with descriptive letter press.

Elkins became widely known in the Middle West for his paintings of Colorado and California scenery. As his work was primarily landscape, he is not of immediate concern in the plan of work laid out at the beginning of this series.

Worthington Whittredge, the best-known artist of the group listed on p. 99, was, like Elkins, primarily a landscape artist. Several of his paintings which resulted from his Western trip of 1866 and subsequent trips, for Whittredge visited the West several times, were “South Platte River Looking Toward Long’s Peak,” “On the Plains, 1866,” “Cache la Poudre River,” “Indian Encampment,” “The Emi-

8. Ibid., April 8, 1867. This item also lists paintings by Ford and Elkins. James F. Gookins was born in Terre Haute, Ind., in 1840 and died while on a visit to New York City on May 24, 1904. He was a member of Gen. Lew Wallace’s staff and is said to have studied art in Italy and France. Most of his adult life was spent in Chicago.—See Chicago Tribune, May 24, 1904, and Chicago Daily News, May 24, 1904. I am indebted to the Chicago Historical Society for these two obituaries. Three of his Civil War illustrations appeared in Harper’s Weekly—v. 5 (1863), pp. 288, 428, and v. 6 (May 31, 1862), p. 248. A two-page spread of Indiana scenes by Gookins will be found in ibid., v. 11 (November 2, 1867), pp. 609, 607.

9. Henry Chapman Ford, Etchings of the Franciscan Missions of California (New York, 1883). The Daily Rocky Mountain News, April 8, 1887, mentions a Western painting by Ford, “The Garden of the Gods.” Ford was born at Livonia, N. Y., in 1825 and died at Santa Barbara, Cal., on February 27, 1894. He went abroad in 1857 to study and spent nearly three years in Paris and Florence. At the outbreak of the Civil War he enlisted and served for a year, receiving a discharge for physical disability. He is said to have furnished war sketches for the illustrated press. After his discharge from the army, he opened a studio in Chicago and was the first professional landscape painter in that city. He took an active part in the inauguration of the Chicago Academy of Design and was its president in 1873. He made several trips to Colorado, the one recorded above in 1866 and another in 1869 (Daily Rocky Mountain News, September 29, 1869), and possibly others. He moved to Santa Barbara in 1875 where he spent the rest of his life.—See Mrs. Yda (Addic) Story, A Memorial and Biographical History of the Counties of Santa Barbara, San Luis Obispo and Ventura (Chicago, 1891), pp. 485, 486; San Francisco Call, February 28, 1894, and Santa Barbara Weekly Independent, March 3, 1894. Thanks for aid in securing the above biographical information concerning Ford is due the California State Library, the Southwest Museum (Los Angeles), the Chicago Historical Society and the Newberry Library (Chicago).

10. Henry Arthur Elkins was a widely known artist of Chicago, Bloomington, Ill., and Kansas City. He was born in Vermont on May 30, 1847, and died in Georgetown, Colo., in July, 1884. He lived in Chicago from 1866 until 1878 when he moved to Bloomington and later to Kansas City. Among his better-known paintings were “Elk Park, Colorado,” “The Thirty-Eighth Star,” “The New Eldorado,” “The Crown of the Continent,” “Mount Shasta,” and “The Storm on Mount Shasta.” Obituaries of Elkins, provided through the courtesy of the Chicago Historical Society, will be found in the Chicago Tribune for July 25, 26 and August 1, 1884. Mention of his work in Kansas City will be found in the Kansas City (Mo.) Times, April 14, June 2 and July 1, 1884.

For some time the Denver papers remarked on Elkins’ work, many times reprinting accounts from Chicago papers. Among the more important of these comments are those found in the Rocky Mountain News, September 4, 1889; May 18, 1870 (reprinted from the Chicago Post); June 18, 1870 (also from the Chicago Post); December 29, 1872; September 2 and 8, 1873; December 19, 1874; March 16, 1875 (extended account of Elkins); January 4, 1877 (extended account of Elkins’ painting, “The Thirty-Eighth Star,” reprinted from the Chicago Evening Journal); September 23 and October 2, 1883. These extensive bibliographies on Elkins and on several other artists listed in notes in this article are given because there is nowhere else available biographical data concerning them, for they are not listed in the usual biographical directories and in encyclopedias of American artists.
grant Train,” “Santa Fe” and “The Rocky Mountains.” Probably his best-known work of this period is the first of those listed above and now owned by The Century Association of New York. The title now is, “Crossing the Ford, Platte River, Colorado.” 11

William Holbrook Beard was the traveling companion of Bayard Taylor and is mentioned a number of times in Colorado: A Summer Trip. I have seen no sketches or paintings resulting from Beard’s trip across the plains to the Rockies in 1866, but The Rocky Mountain News, Denver, December 11, 1866, refers to W. H. Beard who “last summer . . . painted so vividly most of our exquisite mountain scenery. . . .” 12

All eight artists listed on p. 99 have now been considered except A. E. Mathews. From the standpoint of the criteria developed in the original article of this series (February, 1946), Mathews has made a more notable and authentic contribution to the pictorial record of the development of the West than have any of the others and we shall therefore consider his work in some detail.

ALFRED EDWARD MATHEWS

Alfred E. Mathews was a native of England, born at Bristol on June 24, 1831. His father, Joseph Mathews, a book publisher,

11. A biographical sketch of Whittredge (1829-1910) will be found in the Dictionary of American Biography (New York, 1936), v. 29, p. 177. Also there is an autobiographical account of Whittredge’s life in the Brooklyn Museum Journal, v. 1 (1912), pp. 1-66, edited by John J. H. Bur. In this autobiographical account Whittredge states “We left Fort Leavensworth on the first of June, 1865.” As the Pope expedition which Whittredge accompanied was on the plains in 1866 and not 1865 (see report of Gen. John Pope cited below) a query was sent Mr. Bur, editor of the Whittredge autobiography. Mr. Bur wrote me on April 5, 1948, that on examination of the original Whittredge manuscript it showed that an error of transcription had occurred in preparing the material for publication and the date should read “June, 1866” and not “June, 1865.”

12. Cookins, as we have already pointed out, mentions Whittredge in his 1866 account (see p. 100) and Bayard Taylor, Colorado: A Summer Trip, p. 146, states: “Mr. Whittredge, who crossed the Plains with General Pope, was at the time [June, 1866] in the neighborhood of Pike’s Peak.” Henry T. Tuckerman, Book of the Artists (New York, 1867), p. 517, also reports that Whittredge accompanied General Pope on his journey of inspection. Gen. John Pope, in his official report for 1866 (House Ex. Doc. No. 1, 39 Cong., 2 Sess. [1867], v. 3, pp. 22-229) makes no mention of Whittredge. The American Art Journal, New York, v. 5 (1866), p. 244, states, however, “Whittredge we hear is at Denver City,” and later in the year (ibid., v. 6 [1867], p. 37), “Whittredge having spent the summer amid the Rocky Mountains brings back many fine sketches.” Somewhat later the same journal (v. 6 [1867], p. 326) reports that Whittredge was at work on a “view of the Prairie near Denver,” probably the Platte river painting mentioned in the text. This painting was reproduced in Leslie’s Weekly, January 9, 1869, p. 228, under the title “Plains at the Base of Rocky Mountains.” The Dictionary of American Biography states that Whittredge was accompanied on his Western tour of 1866 by John F. Kemett and Sanford R. Gifford. This statement is in error as the trip by these three artists was made in 1870 and not in 1866, see his autobiography mentioned above and the list by John F. Weir, Catalogue of Paintings of Sanford R. Gifford (New York, 1881), p. 8. Several of the Western sketches of Gifford in this list are also dated “1870”; see, also, New York Tribune, August 30, 1889, p. 6. Kemett had had Western experiences before he made the 1870 trip for he was on the headwaters of the upper Missouri river in 1866.—See, The Crayon, New York, v. 3 (1856), p. 30; v. 4 (1857), pp. 253, 377.
brought his family to America when Alfred was two years old.\textsuperscript{13} The family settled at Rochester, Ohio, upon their arrival from England, and Alfred Mathews spent his boyhood in the Buckeye state.

A family letter, dated December 11, 1845, written to William Mathews, one of the seven children and who was working in Cincinnati, indicates that the Mathews family was musically and artistically inclined. Most of the members of the family added their own notes to the letter, revealing that several of the children made oil paintings and that most of them played musical instruments. At the time the letter was written Alfred was a youngster of fourteen, but he was already an individualist as is revealed by the note he wrote as his contribution in the family letter to William:

Dear William

I was glad to hear that you are so comfortably situated with a prospect of doing well. I should like if you could get me in a store in Cincinnati next year. I am going to learn Dutch this winter. I am learning my books at home because I can’t agree with my schoolmaster he sent me out to get a switch to whip me with because I did not get my grammar good, and I told pa said I should stay at home and study my books. I remain yours affectionately,

Alfred E. Mathews

Apparently he made considerable progress by “studdy” at home for his grammar improved and in a few years he was learning the trade of typesetting in the office of the New Philadelphia Ohio Democrat, owned by his brother, Charles. Whether he received any instruction in art during this early period of his life is uncertain, but by the time he was 25 he was engaged in the combined profession of itinerant book seller and artist as is shown by the following letter written to an aunt:

Ravenna, Ohio, May 6, 1856

Dear Aunt:—

Some weeks ago I had the pleasure of receiving a letter from you, sent to my brother Wm. T. Mathews, artist. I should have written before, but thought best to defer it until my brother, the Doctor, went to England. I

\textsuperscript{13} In 1905, Charles H. Mathews, a brother of Alfred E. Mathews, prepared a manuscript biography, including letters, etc., of the latter for the Denver Public Library. In addition, Miss Ima T. Aulls of the Denver Public Library secured some biographical data, letters, etc., from a niece of Mathews, Mrs. Priscilla Gibbs of Denver. All biographical data concerning A. E. Mathews not otherwise credited in this article is to be attributed to this collection now in the possession of the Denver Public Library. For example, in this material is included a transcript from a family record giving the exact hour, place and date of birth of each of the seven Mathews children.

Miss Isadora E. Mathews of New Philadelphia, Ohio, a grandniece of Alfred E. Mathews, has also kindly furnished me biographical data concerning the Mathews family.

William T. Mathews, a brother of Alfred, also achieved considerable reputation, at least locally, as an artist and became known as “the painter of presidents,” for he portrayed Lincoln, Hayes, Garfield, Harrison and McKinley. William T. Mathews was born in Bristol, England, May 7, 1821, and died in Washington, D. C., January 11, 1905. Harper’s Weekly, vol. 2 (December 24, 1864), p. 529, has two illustrations credited to W. D. Matthews, who may have been this W. T. Mathews.
am still at the same business, as when I last wrote you, traveling with books and am at present in northern Ohio, among the Yankees.

Last year I was in the state of Maine. The scenery in that state is beautiful; there is such a beautiful combination of lakes and mountain scenes. Before being in Maine, I was in Vermont and New Hampshire, and visited the celebrated White Mountains. By the Doctor I sent you a daguerreotype of what is called "The Old Man of the Mountain." It is from a sketch I took myself and is considered an exact representation of it. It is certainly one of the greatest curiosities in this country. Some part of the day is more favorable than others for viewing it, according to the position of the sun. I took this in the most favorable time, when it looked most like the human face. I also send Miss Gillett two (2) pictures, a winter scene and a blue linnet (my own work) which you will please give her, with my love. I hope to visit you before many years. Indeed, I shall be traveling all the time for 2 or 3 years yet; for my health will not admit of confinement.

I go to Kentucky on the first of July next, and in the fall further south. It is much better in the south for my business than in the north, and the climate will agree with me, as I have weak lungs. In selling books I make from $1.50 to $3.00 and even $5 per day; but expenses are high and I have been subject to many delays, so I shall not think of settling in business yet. I stay among the Yankees altogether, as they are a reading community, and I have been with them so much that they consider me the very embodiment of a Connecticut Yankee. I look forward with considerable pleasure to my contemplated trip south and shall probably stay there some time. I leave here the fore part of summer, because my business will not pay here in haying and harvest time. So I shall go where they are through with such work. I send you a drawing of the head of a Moose, which I took while in Maine. I had the head of one of those animals hanging in the barn to look at. I spent a week or 10 days very pleasantly at Moose Head Lake. They had plenty of moose-beef, (the very best of meat) and lake trout.

Mt. Kinneo, situated in the centre of it, is 753 feet high, perpendicular. The hotel there is quite a resort for travelers in summer. I took a drawing of the Mountain which I sold to the landlord for $5.00. I fill up odd times with such work and find it profitable. The other day I sold one the size of a sheet of note paper for $3.00, a group of 3 birds, which took me four (4) hours to make.

I will write you when I go south, and give you a full account of the workings of slavery.

Yours Affectionate Nephew,

ALFRED E. MATHEWS

The letter is intensely interesting from several points of view but primarily because it gives an insight into the life and character of A. E. Mathews. Obviously he was an artist in feeling; he liked to travel; he was not very robust (he died at the age of 43), and he was observant and shrewd.

The projected Southern trip mentioned above was made, for he was teaching a country school in Tuskaloosa county, Alabama, when
A. E. Mathews  
(1831-1874)  

This print and all others reproduced with this article except the two views of Nebraska City are from the Denver Public Library Western Collection.
Central City, from the Site of Manhattan Hill looking up Gregory and Berekka Gulches (From Pencil Sketches of Colorado, 1866)
the Civil War broke out. With considerable difficulty he worked his way north to his father's home in Ohio where, in August, 1861, he enlisted in "Capt. Cotter's battery." Later he was transferred to the 31st regiment of the Ohio Volunteer infantry with which he served for three years. Mathews participated in the siege of Corinth, the battles of Stone River, Lookout Mountain and Mission Ridge.

His skill with the pencil was recognized, for his talents were used in preparing topographic maps and drawings for army use. More important at the present day, however, are a number of Civil War scenes, drawn from direct observation by Mathews and later lithographed. The Library of Congress has some 35 different lithographs and the Denver Public Library 30. A comparison of the titles in these two libraries shows that there are 38 different titles now known. The scenes reproduced by Mathews in these lithographs are of events occurring in the period 1861-1864.


Mathews published an account of his arduous and difficult "escape" from the South, a journey fraught with considerable danger in the days when all sections of the country were at war. In a pamphlet of 28 pages of text, Interesting Narrative; Being a Journal of the Flight of Alfred E. Mathews of Stark County, Ohio (July, 1861), Mathews describes his circuitous route from northern Alabama to Chicago. He went from Alabama to Texas as he thought Texas would not secede, but when it did, he began his northern trek through Louisiana, Arkansas and Missouri. In the opening sentence, Mathews states that he had been residing "for more than one year previous to the close of the year 1860" in northern Alabama.

15. Lithography was by Middleton, Strobridge and Company; by Ehrgood, Forbriger & Company, and by Donaldson and Elmes, all of Cincinnati, Ohio. The lithographs are of various sizes ranging from 11 by 7 inches to 24 by 16 inches.

The combined list of titles of the Mathews lithographs held by the Library of Congress and by the Denver Public Library include:

Lithographs by Middleton, Strobridge & Company, Sketched by A. E. Mathews—

"Battle of Jackson, Mississippi."
"Battle of Perryville, the Extreme Left, Starkweather's Brigade."
"Battle of Shiloh, the Gunboats, Tylim and Lexington Supporting the National Troops."
"The Battle of Stone River or Murfreesboro."
"The Battle of Stone River or Murfreesboro [another view]."
"The Battle of Stone River or Murfreesboro [another view]."
"The Battle of Stone River or Murfreesboro, Charge of Gen. Negley's Division Across Stone River."
"The Battle of Wild Cat, Oct. 21, 1861."
"The Battle of Wild Cat, Oct. 21, 1861 [smaller view with text], dated 1861.
"Camp Ready, Hamburgh, Tennessee, Composed of Companies C, I and E of the 60th Reg't O. V. I."
"Charge of the First Brigade, Commanded by Col. M. B. Walker, on the Friday Evening of the Battle of Stone River."
"Enemment of Gen. Pope's Army Before Corinth, May, 1862. View From the Camp of the 43rd Ohio Reg't."
"Hamburg, Mississippi, May, 1862."
"Female Seminary, Nashville, Tenn. Barracks of the 51st Reg't O. V."
"The First Union Dress Parade in Nashville."
"Fort Anderson, Paducah, Kentucky, and the Camp of the 6th Illinois Cavalry, April, 1862."
"Fort Mitchell."
"On the March From Hamburgh to Camp Before Corinth."
"The 103rd Reg't O. V. in Line of Battle at Fort Mitchell."
"Pittsburg Landing."
"The 121st Reg't Ohio Volunteers, Crossing the Pontoon Bridge at Cincinnati, Friday, Sept. 19, 1862, dated 1862.
"Rev. L. F. Drake, Chaplain 121st Ohio Volunteers, Preaching at Camp Dick Robinson, Ky., November 10, 1862."
"Siege of Vicksburg."
"Siege of Vicksburg [another view]."
That some of these lithographic views, at least, were highly regarded is borne out by the following brief letter from no less a person than Gen. U. S. Grant (included in the Charles H. Mathews material):

**Headquarters Department of the Tennessee**

**Vicksburg, Miss., Aug. 9, 1863**

*Private A. E. Mathews, 31st Ohio Vols.*

Sir—I have examined the Lithographs of views taken by you of the “Siege of Vicksburg,” and do not hesitate to pronounce them among the most accurate and true to life I have ever seen.

They reflect great credit upon you as a delineator of landscape views.

U. S. Grant,

*Major Gen. Com’d’y Dept.*

After his term of service expired, Mathews used his talents in preparing for exhibition a panorama of the campaign in “the South-west.” That is, he depicted on canvas the capture of Vicksburg, the battles of Stone River, Lookout Mountain and Missionary Ridge and concluded by showing Sherman’s march to the sea. How extensively this panorama was exhibited we do not now know, but an undated clipping from a Steubenville, Ohio, newspaper states that “the audience, particularly the soldiers, who were in many of the battles represented, were delighted and gave repeated evidence of satisfaction” when the panorama was exhibited in that city.

The panorama was probably on exhibit in 1864 and early in 1865 but it is doubtful if it brought Mathews any great return. In any event by the time the war was over in the spring of 1865, Mathews’ wanderlust had returned and he again commenced his travels. Evi-

“Siege of Vicksburg [another view].”
“The Siege of Vicksburg, the Fight in the Crater of Fort Hill After the Explosion, June 25, 1863.”
“The 10th Reg’t Iowa Volunteers on the March From Hamburg to Camp Before Corinth, Apr. 25th, 1862.”
“The 31st Reg’t Wisconsin Vol., Crossing the Pontoon Bridge, at Cincinnati, Sept. 13, 1862.”

“Union Forces Crossing Fishing Creek.”

**Lithographs by Ehrman, Forbriger & Company, Sketched by A. E. Mathews—**

“The Battle of Shiloh.”
“Hospital Varian, Hamburg, Tenn.”
“Shiloh Church.”
“Shiloh Springs.”

**Lithographs by Donaldson and Elmes—**

“Lookout Mountain, Near Chattanooga, Tenn.” (This shows Field Hospital, Encampment Pioneer Brigade, Nashville & Chattanooga Rail Road. Dated 1864.)
“Chattanooga And the Battle Ground. Scene of the Brilliant Operations of Major General Geo. H. Thomas’ Army of Major General U. S. Grant’s Military Command. (The Eagle’s Nest.)”

Mathews also had two illustrations of this period published in *Harper’s Weekly*, v. 5 (November 23, 1861), p. 743, Illustrating “The War in Kentucky.”
dently the westward migration caught his fancy, for the next definite record of his movements places him in Nebraska City, Nebraska territory, in the summer of 1865. Here Mathews made a number of sketches, at least four of which were subsequently lithographed. The Nebraska State Historical Society possesses Mathews lithographs of Nebraska City, with the following imprints:

1. "Nebraska City. The Landing and City as Seen From the Iowa Side of the Missouri River, in 1865. Sketched by A. E. Matthews." [Reproduced on the cover of this magazine.]

2. "Nebraska City. View on Main Street—Looking West." Sketched by A. E. Mathews. [Reproduced between pp. 104, 105.]


4. "Nebraska City. As Seen From Kearney Heights in 1865. Sketched by A. E. Mathews."**

Nebraska City in 1865 was one of the important eastern terminals of the overland freighting business. Located on the Missouri river, enormous quantities of supplies were carried by water from St. Louis to this river port, where the slow westward trek by ox train began. Here it was that the celebrated firm of Russell, Majors and Waddell established one of their bases for the transportation of supplies across the plains to Colorado, New Mexico and Utah. The highway terminating at Nebraska City was one of the most important in the period 1860-1869 between the Missouri and Mississippi rivers and the Rocky Mountains. Known as the Oregon Trail Short Line and the Steam Wagon Road, it was one of the shortest and best roads from the Missouri to the Rockies.** Mathews in 1865 must have seen Nebraska City at its height as a freighting center—his views of Main street show that it was indeed a busy place. In one of the views (No. 3 above) some dozen prairie schooners hauled by the usual six-yoke ox teams are represented, as well as a wealth of homely detail that makes his views of importance to the social historian. How faithfully the sketches were copied

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16. I am indebted to James C. Olson, superintendent of the Nebraska State Historical Society, for photographic prints of each of the above lithographs and also for additional information concerning them. No. 3 above was reproduced in *Nebraska History*, Lincoln, for September, 1948, facing p. 212. The lithography of the first print above is not credited, although the original lithograph bears the initials "J. G."; the remaining three were lithographed by Donaldson and Elmes, Cincinnati.

by the lithographer it is hard to tell, as no original sketches of Mathews are known to exist. 18

It is obvious from the lithographs that Mathews' sense of perspective and proportion was none too good, that his buildings and human figures are all too frequently stiff and formal, but the mass of detail introduced and the portrayal of small incidents lend genuine interest to his work. For example, in one view a dog fight is portrayed, in another a flock of sheep and several cows can be seen following an emigrant's covered wagon, from under the rear canvas of which peers the small face of a traveler [reproduced between pp. 104, 105]. Mathews seems to have been particularly successful in portraying the mood and habits of dogs, for there is scarcely a view in which some lifelike attitude of the friend of man cannot be distinguished. 19

In the fall of 1865, Mathews left Nebraska City for Denver, either joining one of the freight trains or going by overland stage across the plains. Doubtless sketches were made en route, but no lithographic record of the trip is known as yet to the writer. Mathews arrived in Denver on November 12, for The Rocky Mountain News of the next day reports:

We received a call this morning from Mr. A. E. Mathews, an artist, typo and soldier, who arrived here yesterday with the purpose of making sketches of the scenery in town and country, to be lithographed and furnished to subscribers. He showed us several of his pictures of scenes of interest in and around Nebraska City and other places, which are as true to nature as it is possible to make them, and bear the marks of an Artist's hand. He is spoken of in the highest terms by the river papers, and has recommendations from Gen. Grant and other eminent officers with whom he served as a soldier, and also as an Artist for the New York illustrated papers. We bespeak for him a liberal patronage from our business men, and the lovers of the beautiful, upon whom he may call. He commences his labors in this city this morning. 20

18. A number of the leading libraries of the country have been queried in the hope that some original Mathews sketches could be located, but without success. Miss Isadora E. Mathews of New Philadelphia, Ohio, granddaughter of A. E. Mathews, reports that none of the original Mathews sketches are in the possession of the family.

19. It is interesting to compare Mathews' views of Main street, Nebraska City, with the reproduction of a photograph of Main street which must have been made at about the same time as the sketches. It will be found in J. Sterling Morton's Illustrated History of Nebraska (Lincoln, 1896), v. 1, facing p. 107. The photograph, too, shows that Main street was a busy place in freighting days.

Mathews not only went to work in Denver but within a month he was out in the mines and mills of the nearby mountains securing sketches of this important Colorado industry.\textsuperscript{21} By early March of 1866, lithographic reproductions of four of his sketches were available. They included a bird’s eye view of Denver and three street views in the same city: one of Laramie street, one of Blake street [reproduced between pp. 104, 105] and one of F street. The local press reported on them very favorably and stated that all views “are natural to the life. Among the familiar objects represented are Estabrook’s splendid black-horse team, and the ubiquitous old sorrel nag and chaise of the lamented Dr. McLain.”\textsuperscript{22}

Several weeks later, Mathews had received from his lithographer, Julius Bien of New York, another set of lithographs. These were from his sketches of Blackhawk, Nevada, Central City [reproduced \textit{facing} p. 105] and the Snowy Range.\textsuperscript{23} Both this set and the previous group of Denver lithographs were undoubtedly separates from the views which were later collected and published as the celebrated \textit{Pencil Sketches of Colorado}. Although this work was not available in Denver until October, 1866,\textsuperscript{24} the book itself is dated “May, 1866.” It is of generous dimensions, 19 by 13\ 1/2 inches, and the sixteen full-page lithographs themselves are approximately 16 by 8 or 9 inches. Eight of the lithographs were printed two on a page and twelve of them four to a page. The titles include (titles bracketed together indicate that lithographs appear together on a single page):

1. “Snowy Range of the Rocky Mountains; From Bald Mountain, Near Nevada” (full page, frontispiece).
2. “Denver, City of the Plains” (full page).
3. “F Street, Denver” (full page).
5. “Laramie Street, Denver” (full page).
6. “Golden City” (full page).
8. “Central City; From the Side of Mammoth Hill Looking Up Gregory and Eureka Gulches” (full page). [Reproduced \textit{facing} p. 105.]
9. “Central City; Looking Up Spring Gulch” (full page).

\textsuperscript{21} \textit{Daily Miners’ Register}, Central City, Colo., December 1, 2, 1865.
\textsuperscript{22} \textit{Rocky Mountain News}, March 6, 1866. These well-known views of Denver were originally sketched, as can be inferred from the above comment, some time between the date of Mathews’ arrival in Denver in November, 1865, and early February, 1866, for mention of “the lamented Dr. McLain” apparently limits the later date. Dr. L. H. McLain died February 1, 1866.—\textit{Ibid.}, February 2, 1866.
\textsuperscript{23} \textit{Daily Rocky Mountain News}, March 10, 1866.
\textsuperscript{24} \textit{Rocky Mountain News}, October 19, 1866.
(11. “Russell Gulch, Gilpin County” (half page).
14. “Fall River, Clear Creek County” (half page).
15. “The Old Mountaineer, Fall River” (half page).
16. “Profile Rock, Fall River” (half page).
17. “Empire City, Clear Creek County. From Near the Foot of Silver Mountain, Looking Towards Elizabethtown” (half page).
18. “Elizabethtown, Clear Creek County. From the Griffith Tunnel” (half page).
19. “South Park” (full page).
22. “Pike’s Peak and Colorado City” (full page). [Reproduced facing p. 112.]
24. “Monuments, Near Monument Creek” (full page).
25. “Gulch Mining.—Colorado Gulch” (fourth page).
27. “The Stamp Process.—Mr. Sensenderfer’s Mill” (fourth page).
28. “Shaft or Lode Mining.—Interior of No. 1, On the Gregory, the Black Hawk Co.’s Mine” (fourth page).
29. “The Ore Breaking Room.—Blake’s Ore Breaker” (fourth page).
31. “The Ore Pit, or Drying Room” (fourth page).
32. “Amalgamating Room” (fourth page).


33. “Ore Dressing Room—The Buddle and Jigga” (fourth page).
34. “Reverbatoratory Furnace” (fourth page).
35. “Cupel Furnace” (fourth page).
36. “Scotch Hearth” (fourth page).


The lithographs are followed by twelve pages of text which describe briefly the subject of each of the 36 lithographs with some additional background material.25

This pictorial record of Colorado is an important historical document. Although here again Mathews’ sense of perspective is faulty and the stiffness of his buildings is all too apparent (many look as if they had been drawn with a ruler), the wealth of detail in his city

25. Pencil Sketches of Colorado will be found in various bibliographic lists under place and date: sometimes as “(Denver, 1866)” and sometimes as “New York, 1866.” These differencies arise from the fact that following the title page is the entry, “Entered according to Act of Congress, in the year 1866, by A. E. Mathews, In the Clerk’s Office of the District Court of the United States for the Southern District of New York,” whereas in the conclusion of the single page “Preface” there is the entry, “Denver, May, 1866.”
and street views is invaluable to the social historian. Dress, transportation (in one of the lithographs, there can be counted seven or eight types of wheeled vehicles), the miscellany of everyday street life, and the methods, equipment and detail of Colorado mining, are all faithfully recorded, or as faithfully as Mathews could for he made a fetish of validity in his pictures. As far as the writer is aware, there has never been any criticism (contemporary or recent) on this score. Comparison of the Denver street scenes with photographs of the same period is interesting, for the photographs, as do the lithographs, show that vehicular traffic was something of a problem even in 1866. To maneuver a six-yoke ox team through such congestion must have been more of a problem than edging forward in a car against the traffic lights of present-day Denver streets. Probably the greatest difference to be noted in comparing Denver photographs of 1865 with the Mathews lithographs is the fact that in the lithographs all the buildings are in good repair and the general appearance is far tidier.

It will be noted in Mathews’ street views, however, both of Nebraska City and of Denver, that although some stores are very distinctly marked with the name of the proprietor, other buildings are conspicuous by the blank space where the owner’s name should appear. Undoubtedly this omission was intentional on Mathews’ part. Some of his income must have come from the contribution of store owners who were willing to pay for the privilege of having their names show boldly in the completed lithographs—a conclusion supported by the comment of The Daily Rocky Mountain News (see p. 108): “We bespeak for him [Mathews] a liberal patronage from our business men, . . .”

Pencil Sketches of Colorado sold originally for $30 a copy, but it has become one of the rarest items of Western Americana and a good copy today will bring $350 to $400.26

During the summer and fall of 1866, Mathews continued his labors in Colorado. He spent over a month in the neighborhood of Colorado Springs, sketching the well-known Pike’s Peak region, the Garden of the Gods and surrounding country, as well as making visits to the mines of southern Colorado.27 This trip was followed


27. Daily Rocky Mountain News, March 19, 1866, reports that Mathews left “today” for the Pike’s Peak region; the same newspaper, May 7, 1866, states that he returned “Saturday” from the south. Probably the views of Pike’s Peak and Colorado City (facing p. 112) and of the Garden of the Gods included in Pencil Sketches of Colorado were obtained on this trip.
by sketching tours to the headwaters of Clear creek, to Long’s Peak and to South and Middle Parks. 28 Some of these sketches were reproduced lithographically and do not appear in any of his better-known bound works (i. e., in Pencil Sketches of Colorado and the three books remaining to be described). Apparently Mathews was none too well satisfied with the lithographic reproduction of his sketches. Contemporary newspaper reports made such statements and they are further supported by the fact that Mathews did much of the actual lithographing of his later work. 29

The winter of 1866-1867, Mathews spent in the East, presumably in visiting relatives in Ohio, and in a business trip to New York City for the purpose of supervising the lithography of additional sketches. 30 He was back in Denver late in May, 1867, to start another season’s work. 31 The earlier part of the season saw him sketching in Colorado but in the fall he spent a month or so in Montana securing the material upon which his second well-known book of lithographs was based, Pencil Sketches of Montana. 32 The editor of The Montana Post saw the sketches resulting from Mathews’ tour of Montana and was favorably impressed, for he wrote: “Having looked over many familiar scenes we can say that his pen has truthfully portrayed them and the work [that is, Mathews’ proposed book of lithographs] will be one eagerly sought for.”

29. The Rocky Mountain News, October 30, 1866, advertises “Mathews Colorado views bound and unbound for sale at the Denver Art Emporium.” The Denver Public Library possesses some of the unbound lithographs; one, in color, is of Long’s Peak and measures about 16½ by 27 centimeters. It was lithographed by Major & Knapp Eng. Mfg. and Lith. Co.
30. The Daily Miners’ Register, Central City, July 20, 1867, reports that Mathews called on the editor of the Register “yesterday” and then went on to say that the earlier Colorado lithographs (presumably those in the Pencil Sketches of Colorado) “were sent on to a lithographing house in New York, which so botched the work as to leave little trace of the original design. The work was coarse, badly colored and altogether ‘dutchy.’ Notwithstanding these serious defects, they were sold. Subsequently Mr. Mathews made pictures of the most prominent points and went on himself to supervise their execution. We now have as pretty a series as could be wished. There are two of Long’s and Pike’s Peak [possibly one of these was the one referred to above in this note], one of each colored in ‘chromo’ style, the others plain, but very skillfully engraved. The third is an elegant view of a point of rock at Fall River, known as the ‘Old Mountainer,’ which is the most picturesque and interesting of all. Specimens may be seen at the bookstores and various other places in town.
31. “The Old Mountainer,” located in Clear Creek county “near the mouth of Fall River,” and mentioned above, was a discovery of Mathews, according to The Rocky Mountain News, December 24, 1866. Doubtless Mathews’ early experience with the Eastern “great Stone Face” (see p. 194) may have sharpened his eye for such natural curiosities. Mention of the new style Mathews’ ‘chromos’ was also made by the weekly News, May 29, July 5, 1867.
32. See Footnote 21; in addition, The Rocky Mountain News, December 24, 1866, stated that Mathews was leaving “in a few days” for Europe to supervise the lithography of sketches. There is no other evidence that he made the European trip and the fact that I have found no lithographs of European origin would also tend to support the New York trip rather than the European one.
34. Daily Miners’ Register, Central City, July 20, 1867, states that Mathews was sketching in Colorado and would soon start for the Great Salt Lake valley. The Daily Rocky Mountain News, July 20, 1867, states that Mathews had just returned from a trip to the Snake river country (possibly in Wyoming). The Montana Post, Virginia City, October 19, 1867, reports his presence in Virginia City after a tour of several weeks through Montana. The Daily Rocky Mountain News, November 21, 1867, reports his return to Denver from Montana by way of Salt Lake City.

Many of these titles appear in *Pencil Sketches of Montana*, which Mathews, evidently not satisfied by his experiences in the publication of the companion Colorado volume, lithographed himself. The lithography was done in New York City, where Mathews spent the winter of 1867-1868, and where he maintained a studio at 470 Broadway.34

During the winter, however, Mathews not only made the lithographic plates for *Pencil Sketches of Montana* but he was also actively engaged in designing and preparing a panorama of Rocky Mountain scenery for exhibition. It is quite probable that Mathews himself did not make the giant paintings for the panorama but had them made by professionals in the trade from his own drawings and under his personal direction.35

About June, 1868, both *Pencil Sketches of Montana* and the panorama were ready for public view and Mathews started again for the West. The first exhibition of the panorama—of which I have note—was held in Omaha.36 Two weeks later it was on exhibit in Denver, and for much of the summer and fall of 1868 Mathews was engaged in exhibiting the panorama in Colorado and Montana.37

33. *The Montana Post*, Virginia City, October 19, 1867. I am indebted to Mrs. Anne McDonnell of the Montana Historical Society for this item and others listed in Footnotes 40 and 43 (relating to Tofft).


35. In fact, the Central City *Daily Miners' Register*, July 28, 1868, states: "The sketches [for the panorama] were all made by Mr. Mathews, but the painting is by artists in New York."

36. *The Weekly Republican*, Omaha, Neb., June 24, 1868. According to the *Republican*, the panorama was to be exhibited June 27 and 29, 1868, with Mathews giving an explanatory lecture. The notice states that the panorama was endorsed by Gen. G. M. Dodge, "who says they [the scenes depicted] are very accurate."

37. Notices of its appearance are given in *The Rocky Mountain News*, July 10, 14, 1868; *Daily Miners' Register*, Central City, July 21, 22, 24-26, 1868; *The Montana Post*, Helena, November 13, 1868. It had been exhibited "along the Missouri river" prior to its arrival in Colorado according to *The Daily Miners' Register*, July 21, 1868; possibly this statement means that other exhibitions than the one in Omaha had been made.
The panorama was well received wherever exhibited. Its exhibition, according to The Rocky Mountain News, gave the very greatest satisfaction. The scenes are well chosen, embracing many of the finest in Colorado, Utah and Montana, they are true to life, we thought we recognized the brands of our old camp fire by the big rock, left front, Chicago lakes, they are well sketched and painted, and the arrangement for exhibiting, showing one complete scene at once and no more, is perfect. Mr. M. accompanied the succeeding scenes with a running descriptive lecture, much of it couched in eloquent and beautiful language.  

The Daily Miners’ Register thought that “The best piece, perhaps, is that sketched from Gold Lake, in Ward district, twenty-eight miles north of here. Grey's peak and other scenes were good. As a whole, the panorama is far superior to most such exhibitions. It might be better said that few equal it. It gives an excellent insight to Rocky mountain scenery. . . .” The Montana Post recommended the Mathews panorama “as one of the finest works of art ever exhibited to the people of the Territory. The scenery in the panorama is purely western, much of it is in Montana, and all the beauty and grandeur of this American Switzerland is transferred to the canvass with a master’s touch.”  

To be sure, many of these descriptions and comments are eulogy of a home product, but it must also be remembered that the panorama was then a form of art and amusement popular and well-known even in the “uncultivated West”—the forerunner of the modern motion picture. One, too, must consider the fact that if the paintings departed appreciably from the observer's belief in reality—one of the criteria of art in that day—the home audiences would have been one of the first to detect and criticize the work.  

To stimulate attendance at his exhibitions, Mathews made it a practice to distribute individual lithographs and occasionally complete volumes of his bound lithographs to patrons of his lecture and panorama. It is therefore surprising to find that his lithographs are so rare today.

That the exhibitions were successful is shown by the following letter written by Mathews to his sister while the panorama was on exhibit during the summer of 1868. It is interesting not only from the light it sheds on the exhibition of the panorama but also on other contemporary affairs.

39. Daily Miners’ Register, July 22, 1868.
40. The Montana Post, Helena, November 13, 1868.
41. Many of the reports cited in Footnotes 37 and 42 state this fact.
In Camp on the North Fork of the Platte
Dacotah, Aug. 15, 1868.

Dear sister, Eliza:—

Since arriving in the Territory I have been so busy as to neglect my correspondents. I am now on my way to Montana. The panorama proved a great success in Colorado; but I was sick most of the time, which prevented my giving it the necessary attention; and that eat up the profits, by long delays. Receipts were from $58. to $117. per night, and sometimes we had to close the doors and refuse to admit more in consequence of the crowd. There is no good chance to invest on the railroad this year; it has all been anticipated. The only good chance I have yet seen was in Georgetown, Colorado, in the silver-mining district. But there is as yet no title to be had to the lots and will not be for some time, until sold by the government. This town is bound to grow very rapidly, as the mountains are very rich in silver, and it will be the terminus of a railroad. The best chance I can see here is raising cattle or sheep, as it costs comparatively nothing to keep them—they feed on grass all winter. I shall likely go into it myself soon. The next best investment would be in farm land near Omaha. Land can be had within 7 miles of Omaha for $8.00 to $10.00 per acre, that will in a few years be very valuable. The trouble is that within the last few months the increase in lots in promising towns has been anticipated; in some places the titles are insecure, without living on the land. I learn that within the past year they have anticipated a rise in San Francisco and property is very high. I will write again soon and describe the country through which I have passed. Write soon and direct to Virginia City, Montana.

In haste, your affectionate brother,

A. E. Mathews.

It seems probable that the panorama was an exhibit in the East during the winter of 1868-1869 (in fact this purpose of Mathews is stated in some of the references given in Footnote 37), but I have seen no direct statement of such exhibit. At any rate, Mathews exhibited it in Colorado again in the summer of 1869, but he finally sold it late in the fall to Dr. J. E. Wharton of Denver.⁴²

⁴² Rocky Mountain News, July 15, October 20, 1869; Colorado Miner, Georgetown, August 15, 17, 18, 1869; Colorado Transcript, Golden, November 10, 1869. The Rocky Mountain News, August 24, 1869, states that Mathews was starting on a tour with his panorama which would include exhibitions at Breekinridge, Fairplay, Canon City, Pueblo and Colorado City.

The sale of the panorama to Dr. J. E. Wharton was announced in the News, November 20, 1869. Wharton in turn exhibited it, for there is notice that he was in Junction City, Kan., with it in January, 1870; see Junction City Weekly Union, January 15, 1870. Apparently Wharton re-sold the panorama by the start of 1871 to a Mr. Smart of Denver who exhibited it with additions by Stobie, another Western artist; see Daily Rocky Mountain News, January 4, 1871.

Charles S. Stobie. "Mountain Charlie," possibly should have been included in the list of artists who crossed the plains to the Rocky Mountains at the close of the Civil War. In J. W. Leonard's Rock of Chicagoans (Chicago, 1905), p. 551, the statement is made that Stobie "crossed the Plains to Denver in 1865." Stobie's earliest Western experiences seem to have been that of a plainsman rather than as an artist. Many years later he described his experiences on his first trip to Colorado but made no mention of artistic labors; see his reminiscences, "Crossing the Plains To Colorado in 1865," The Colorado Magazine, Denver, v. 10 (1903), pp. 301-312. He subsequently achieved considerable reputation locally as an artist of the Western scene. Born in 1845, he died in 1931; see obituary in the Chicago Daily Tribune, August 19, 1931, p. 8.
We must now return to *Pencil Sketches of Montana*, the other production of Mathews during his winter’s stay in New York in 1867-1868. This 95-page book includes 31 lithographs, four of which are folding views (26½ x 47 centimeters) and 27 are full-page ones (13½ x 22 centimeters). Most of the lithographs are black and white although some have a green tint added. Mathews was his own lithographer, so that in this work we have direct examples of his draftsmanship. One of the sketches (see p. 83 of *Pencil Sketches of Montana*) is attributed to P. Tufts.43

The book bears the date 1868 and was known in Denver by July of that year.44 It sold for $17 a copy.45 As is the case with *Pencil Sketches of Colorado*, *Pencil Sketches of Montana* has now become very scarce and is one of the most sought after items of Western Americana. One copy was sold for a record price of $770 and good copies will bring at present (at retail) $350 to $400 each.46

The list of plates found in *Pencil Sketches of Montana* is:

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<td>XII</td>
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<td>“The Gate of the Mountains.”</td>
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<tr>
<td>XVIII</td>
<td>“Gate of the Mountains.”</td>
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43. Peter Toft (also spelled Toft, Toftis, as well as Tufts) was born in 1825 and died in 1901 according to C. F. Bickel, *Dansk Biografisk Lexikon* . . . , v. 17 (1903?), p. 428. Toft was a native of Denmark but traveled extensively. He became well known in the 1860’s and 1870’s in the Far West, especially the Northwest. He is probably best known for the illustrations accompanying the article by Col. Corinam O’Keefe (Thomas Francis Meagher), “Rides Through Montana,” which appeared in *Harper’s Magazine*, v. 33 (1867), pp. 568-585. The incidents depicted by Toft were made on a journey accompanying O’Keefe in 1866. O’Keefe (Meagher) was drowned at Fort Benton on July 3, 1867.
46. Edward Eberstadt’s *Catalogue No. 106* (1867) reports the record price and lists a copy at $225. For the current price I am again indebted to Norman L. Dodge of Goodspeed’s Book Shop.
XIX “Bear Tooth Mountain.”
XX “Prickley Pear Canyon.”
XXI “Prickley Pear Canyon.”
“Bird-Tail Mountain [plate number not printed].”
XXIII “Falls of the Missouri.”
XXV “Fort Benton.”
XXVI “The Palisades.”
XXVII “Citadel Rock.”
XXVIII “The Church, Castle, and Fortress.”
XXIX “Fort Pegan.”
XXX “Fort Cook.”
XXXI “Deer Lodge Valley.”

The last of the pictorial books for which Mathews is best known is *Gems of Rocky Mountain Scenery*. He did, however, publish toward the close of his life a fourth volume, *Canyon City, Colorado, and Its Surroundings*. It is not well known and contains but five views.

*Gems of Rocky Mountain Scenery* was again solely the work of Mathews. He was the artist, lithographer and publisher. Its publication date was almost coincident with the celebration of the joining of the rails of the Union Pacific and Central Pacific railroads. It may be that Mathews had this fact in mind when he published the book, for its title page states that it contained “views along and near the Union Pacific Railroad.” It is, however, the least interesting of the Mathews books. Mathews was neither a skillful draftsman nor lithographer and his defects became all too apparent in his purely landscape work. It was the only one of his works to receive severe contemporary criticism. *Putnam’s Magazine* reviewed the work as follows:

It [*Gems of Rocky Mountain Scenery*] is a large but thin quarto, containing twenty full page illustrations selected by Mr. Mathews from a series of drawings made by him in Colorado, Idaho, Montana, and Utah, from the fall of 1865 to the winter of 1868, and executed by himself on stone. Having however imperfect an idea of the scenery of the Rocky Mountains, derived from the glowing accounts of travellers, and the paintings of Bierstadt and Whittredge, we had no idea that it could be so belittled as it is here. Either Mr. Mathews is no artist, or he is no lithographer; or, being both, it is not within the power of lithography to reproduce the larger forms of nature. As a rule there is no distance in the back-grounds of Mr. Mathews, no minuteness in his foregrounds, and nowhere the slightest sign of magnitude. Even in the mere matter of light and shade, his drawings are below mediocrity.

Mr. Mathews courageously publishes his own work.

47. The plate numbers and titles are those appearing in the Denver Public Library copy.
48. *Putnam’s Magazine*, N. S., v. 4 (August, 1869), pp. 257, 258. *The Rocky Mountain News*, June 29, 1869, in noting *Gems of Rocky Mountain Scenery*, states that it was published by Mathews from 1227 Broadway, New York City, which must have been Mathews’ studio address for the winter of 1868-1869.
Although *The Rocky Mountain News* defended Mathews against this criticism on the ground that his views were faithful to nature and that New Yorkers regarded all outsiders with no favor, the criticism of *Putnam’s*!, despite the mention of Bierstadt’s mammoth canvases as a possible criteria of other work, is well taken. Lack of perspective, of proportion and of proper use of light and shade were Mathews’ defects. He is best in his street views with their wealth of detail and it is unfortunate that he did not make more of this type of sketch—pictorial history of the West would have been greatly enriched if he had.

Lack of such detail has reflected itself in the current price of *Gems of Rocky Mountain Scenery* as compared to his other two well-known works. A good copy will bring, at present retail prices, $75 to $100. It was listed when published in 1869 at $15 a copy but sold in Denver the same year at $10 “owing to the present hard times.”

If the sketches in *Gems of Rocky Mountain Scenery* are not as good pictorial history as are some of the other records of Mathews, the book does furnish in its introduction an excellent description of Mathews’ method of work and of the loving labor which he expended in collecting and making his sketches. Mathews wrote:

The lithographs embodied in this work are selections from a series of sketches made by the artist while sojourning in Colorado, Idaho, Montana and Utah, from the fall of 1865 to the winter of 1868. During this time he made many excursions of more or less duration, from Denver in Colorado, Helena and Virginia City in Montana, and Salt Lake City in Utah; the entire distance accomplished being about 6,000 miles; remaining, however, but one winter in the mountains. These expeditions were performed, excepting during one summer, entirely alone, and principally with ponies; but on two or three occasions on snow-shoes and in a small boat. One pony was used for riding—the other carried a small, light tent, bedding and provisions. Equipped in this way the artist was prepared to camp wherever and whenever so inclined—the tent being a perfect security against wild animals at night.

The pictures represent actual localities; and as they have been drawn on stone from the sketches by the artist himself, have lost none of their original truthfulness.

It will be observed that quite a large number of the scenes represented are located in Colorado; this is because a larger proportion of the sublime and beautiful mountain scenery of the great Rocky Mountain belt cluster to-
gether in this incomparable State. The Territories represented are arranged in alphabetical order.

It would require many, very many, volumes to represent the half of the numerous, grand and awe-inspiring views that are scattered so profusely throughout the entire length of this vast belt of mountains; so that an apology for leaving out some justly celebrated and comparatively well known localities is, perhaps, scarcely necessary.51

In the fall of 1869, Mathews acquired an extensive tract of land near Canon City, Colo., where he planned to go into stock raising on a large scale, a project which, as his letter of 1868 (previously quoted,) shows, had been under consideration for some time.52 So enthusiastic did he become over prospects around Canon City that he traveled extensively in the East during the summer of 1870 attempting to enlist an extensive colonization here. To this end Canyon City, Colorado, and Its Surroundings was published in 1870. Its five lithographs, panorama of Pike's Peak (said to be one of his finest lithographs), a view of Canon City and three scenes in Fremont county, are supplemented with 24 pages of text that extoll the virtues of Colorado, so that the volume is essentially an emigrant brochure. "He has issued but a small edition for private distribution, and none for sale."53 Doubtless Mathews took copies with him on his travels, for not only was he in the East in the summer of 1870 in the interests of his colonization project, but the following year saw him in England for the same purpose.54

Despite Mathews' labors, his colonization scheme was not a success.55 However, he continued to make Canon City his headquarters until the fall of 1872. He spent the winter of 1872-1873 in southern


52. Rocky Mountain News, October 14, December 23, 1869; May 23, 1870.

53. Ibid., May 23, 1870. Eberstadt's Catalogue No. 106 (1867), p. 28, lists a copy of this work at $275 with the comment, "We have never seen nor heard of another copy of this work, nor are we able to trace the existence of another in the records." Goodspeed's Book Shop lists a current retail price of $200 with a question mark. The only copy I have seen is in the Denver Public Library. The book bears the imprint, "New York: Published by authority of the Citizens of Fremont County, Colorado, 1870."

54. Rocky Mountain News, August 16, 1870; March 14, December 9, 1871. The biographical material prepared by Charles H. Mathews for A. E. Mathews and described in Footnote 13, includes copies of two letters, one of which was addressed to A. E. Mathews at Bristol, England, and dated July 18, 1871. It was from R. K. Scott, governor of South Carolina, and commended Mathews' zeal in furthering the colonization project. The second letter dated "Cumnemgen, Massachusetts, Aug. 4, 1871," was from William Cullen Bryant and addressed to Wm. T. Mathews. It also commends A. E. Mathews' zeal in "making arrangements for settling some part of the territory of Colorado with emigrants from the Old World."

55. One William Gibbes recalled Mathews' trip to England in 1871 and some of the subsequent history of the colonization scheme and its lack of success in "Reminiscences of the Early Days." According to the State Historical Society of Colorado this account was published in a Canon City paper dated February 17, 1927.
California “in the neighborhood of San Diego, Los Angeles, San Bernardino, and other prominent points, and brings back some admirable sketches of scenery and cities. They will be published soon.” 56 Just how many of these California views were reproduced lithographically is problematical. Harry T. Peters in his volume, California on Stone (Garden City, N. Y., 1935), p. 162, lists two: “California Golden City [looking east]” and “Oceanic Steamship Company Steamers Mariposa and Alameda.”

An inquiry about these Mathews views was sent to an even dozen California institutions possessing picture collections of Californiana. It brought replies that no copies of original Mathews lithographs of California were owned. The Mariners Museum of Newport News, Va., however, possesses a copy of the second lithograph listed in the Peters’ book. Other institutions, including the Library of Congress, New York Public Library and the American Antiquarian Society reported that none of these lithographs were among their holdings. They are therefore to be regarded as extremely scarce. 57

The last pictorial work published by Mathews was a geological map of the world, representing various geological epochs with suitable views depicting the animals and plants of each age. This work, some three feet wide by four and a half feet long, was reproduced lithographically in Cincinnati and was widely publicized in the press as an easy way to learn geology. 58 Mathews had long been interested in geology and had spent a number of years on the preparation of the map. After its publication he even began lecturing on geology, using, in addition to his map, large paintings of the reptilian mammoths of the past. 59

Mathews’ Canon City venture had been given up by this time, for he is referred to as a resident of Denver in the spring of 1874, but he shortly became restless and looked for other activities. By May of 1874, he had acquired a mountain home near Longmont and with his usual enthusiasm in a new project, he was hard at work in the beginnings of a trout industry. In midsummer he wrote his sister:

56. Rocky Mountain News, May 7, 1873.
57. In a letter written to one of his brothers on May 26, 1874, Mathews makes the comment: “I have been getting up pictures in charcoal, and having them photographed, but they do not print them well; but I think it can be done, and a few pictures of some points in California will sell well there.” Probably these views were never made, for Mathews died a few months after the above letter was written.
58. I am indebted to Carey S. Bliss of the Huntington Library, San Marino, Calif., for calling my attention to the two Mathews lithographs listed in the Peters’ book.
59. Rocky Mountain News, October 15, 1872; September 7, 1873; January 24, 25, 1874. The last item gives an extensive description of the map.
59. Ibid., March 5, 1874.
Dear Sister Eliza:—

The only place I can stay, without ill health, is in the mountains; and I have here the most beautiful place I have ever seen; and shall no doubt stay here. Wild fruit is very abundant and of superior kinds, and the river is full of trout. The water is cool and wholesome. My quarters are more comfortable than I have had, most of the time, for some years. I hope you have recovered your health, which Charley informed me was poor when he left. Remember me to his wife. If she could stay a short distance in the mountains, it would be far better. There is a beautiful place just above this, which could be bought for $50 or $150, where about 10 cows could be kept, and if Mr. Clark thinks of going to the mountains, it would be a good location. We go or send to the post office once in two weeks; and I write in a hurry, as I have an opportunity to send.

Your affectionate Brother,

A. E. Mathews

Although he may have found a close approach to an earthly paradise, Mathews was not destined long to enjoy it. In the fall of this year (1874) he was taken violently ill—probably it was an acute case of appendicitis—and far removed from any source of medical care, he died before a doctor, sent for by friends and neighbors, could arrive. His death occurred on October 30, 1874.60

“The death of Mr. A. E. Mathews,” reports a Denver paper, “removes from active life a well-known Coloradan, and a gentleman who was most widely respected. He was an artist of no ordinary merit, and had sketched more of our Rocky Mountain scenery than any of his contemporaries. Industrious and economical, he had by fortunate investments amassed considerable property. He was a man of liberal culture and ideas; kind and genial in manner; a warm friend and a man who had no enemies and many friends. His name should be enrolled among the pioneers whom Colorado should remember with honor.”61

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I am again deeply indebted to Miss Ina T. Aulls of the Denver Public Library. Through her wisdom there has been accumulated in the Western History department of that library, by extensive examination of early Colorado newspapers, an invaluable store of information for the use of the social historian in general and for the student of early Western artists in particular. Not only has Miss Aulls made this material available to me on several visits to Denver but she has answered my many letters most cheerfully and provided many transcripts of items which my notes did not fully cover. I acknowledge her aid with my most sincere thanks.

60. Details of his death are reported in a letter of W. M. Large, an associate of Mathews, to the family. The letter is dated, “Longmont, Col. Nov. 22d, 1874” and was addressed to Wm. T. Mathews, a brother of A. E. Mathews. The Boulder County News, Boulder, November 6, 1874, reports the death with a record of the date and also states that Mathews’ ranch was 22 miles northwest of Longmont on Big Thompson creek. According to Large, Mathews was buried on his ranch, and Charles E. Mathews reports that his grave was marked by the “authorities at Washington” about 20 years after his death, with a marble slab “such as is placed over the grave of all soldiers.”

61. Rocky Mountain News, November 4, 1874.