A COLORADO LANDSCAPE: GEORGE CALEB BINGHAM’S VIEW OF PIKES PEAK

by

MARGARET ANDERSON DEITERS

(Under the Direction of Janice Simon)

ABSTRACT

George Caleb Bingham (1811-1879), a nineteenth-century painter, most well-known for his genre pictures, also painted landscapes. This study will demonstrate the importance of understanding one landscape in particular, View of Pikes Peak. Bingham, recognized as a painter of figural types, specifically western types, extended the same categorized method to his landscapes, producing types of landscapes rather than particular locations. Accordingly, the landscapes in Bingham’s genre scenes are nonspecific, avoiding any signs of a particular place. Pikes Peak offers a departure from this trend. The circumstances surrounding the creation of this painting, in conjunction with Bingham’s awareness of topography, make for a provoking moment worthy of investigation. Bingham’s journey to Colorado to improve his health, his political belief in the unification of the country through commerce, and his perception of the West as America’s great frontier all contribute to his artistic choices in producing a uniquely identifiable landscape.

INDEX WORDS: George Caleb Bingham, Pike’s Peak, topography, Colorado, geopolitical, western landscapes, specificity of place, perspective, health-seekers, travel
© 2012
Margaret Anderson Deiters
All Rights Reserved
A COLORADO LANDSCAPE: GEORGE CALEB BINGHAM’S VIEW OF PIKES PEAK

by

MARGARET ANDERSON DEITERS

Major Professor: Janice Simon
Committee:
Alisa Luxenberg
Shelley Zuraw

Electronic Version Approved:
Maureen Grasso
Dean of the Graduate School
The University of Georgia
August 2012
DEDICATION

I would like to dedicate this thesis to my mother. She instilled in me a curiosity and joyfulness for all things, ultimately, making this study possible.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Greatest thanks to my advisor, Janice Simon, whose constant support and patience made this work possible. I am also grateful to the other members of my committee, Drs. Alisa Luxenberg and Shelley Zuraw, for their encouragement and willingness to help me in my research. Finally, an extended thanks and appreciation to the art history faculties at the University of Georgia and at Sewanee: University of the South for their help and guidance over the years.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LIST OF FIGURES</td>
<td>vii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INTRODUCTION</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Bingham’s <em>View of Pikes Peak</em></td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Visions of Colorado</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Historical and Geopolitical Importance of Colorado</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONCLUSION</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BIBLIOGRAPHY</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**LIST OF FIGURES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Figure</th>
<th>Artist</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Size</th>
<th>Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>George Caleb Bingham</td>
<td>View of Pikes Peak</td>
<td>1872</td>
<td>28 1/8 x 42 ¼</td>
<td>Amon Carter Museum of American Art</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>George Caleb Bingham</td>
<td>Shooting for the Beef</td>
<td>1850</td>
<td>33 3/8 x 49</td>
<td>Brooklyn Museum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>George Caleb Bingham</td>
<td>View of Pikes Peak</td>
<td>1872</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>William Henry Jackson</td>
<td>Pikes Peak From Woodland Park</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>George Caleb Bingham</td>
<td>Colorado Mountain Landscape</td>
<td>1872 (?)</td>
<td>10 7/8 x 14 ¾</td>
<td>Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>George Caleb Bingham</td>
<td>Cottage Scenery</td>
<td>1845</td>
<td>29 x 36</td>
<td>Corcoran Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>George Caleb Bingham</td>
<td>Landscape: Rural Scenery</td>
<td>1845</td>
<td>29 x 36</td>
<td>Collection of Mrs. E.P. Moore, Washington, D.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>George Caleb Bingham</td>
<td>“Forest Hill,” The Nelson Homestead, Boonville, Missouri</td>
<td>1877</td>
<td>22x 27</td>
<td>Private Collection</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>George Caleb Bingham</td>
<td>The Storm</td>
<td>1852/53</td>
<td>25 1/8 x 30 1/16</td>
<td>Wadsworth Athenaeum, Hartford, Connecticut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>George Moreland</td>
<td>Sportsmen Refreshing</td>
<td>1783</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Page 40

Page 41

Page 42

Page 43

Page 44

Page 45

Page 46

Page 47

Page 48

Page 49
Figure 11: Asher B. Durand, *Solitary Oak*, 1844, 36 x 48, New York Historical Society .......50

Figure 12: George Caleb Bingham, *The Concealed Enemy*, 1845, 29 ¼ x 36 ½ Stark Museum of Art, Orange, Texas .................................................................51

Figure 13: George Caleb Bingham, *Captured By Indians*, 1848, 25 x 30, St Louis Art Museum, St. Louis, MO .................................................................52

Figure 14: George Caleb Bingham, *Landscape with an Indian Encampment*, after 1853, 15 x 19, Thomas Gilcrease Institute of American History of Art, Tulsa, Oklahoma ..........53

Figure 15: Charles Craig, *Jimmy’s Camp at Sunrise*, 1905 ........................................54

Figure 16: Worthington Whittredge, *Long’s Peak from Denver*, 1866, 12 ¾ x 23 ¼ Buffalo Bill Historical Center, Cody, Wyoming ................................................55

Figure 17: Samuel Colman, *Spanish Peaks, Southern Colorado*, 1887, 31 1/8 x 72 ¼ Metropolitan Museum of Art .........................................................56

Figure 18: Thomas Moran, *Pikes Peak through the Gateway to the Garden of the Gods*, 1880, 14 ½ x 24 ½ Courtesy Garden of the Gods Club, Colorado Springs, CO ..............57

Figure 19: William Henry Jackson, *Pikes Peak through the Gateway to the Garden of the Gods*, 1880 ..............................................................................58

Figure 20: Thomas Moran, *Chasm of Colorado*, 1873- 1874, 84 3/8 x 144 ¾ Department of the Interior Museum, Washington, D.C., currently at the Smithsonian American Art Museum59

Figure 21: William Henry Jackson, *View of Pikes Peak from Fountain Creek*, 1878-1898, Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Yale University .........................60

Figure 23: Samuel Manning, *Pikes Peak*, American Pictures Drawn with Pen and Pencil, 1876 62
INTRODUCTION

George Caleb Bingham (1811-1879) enjoyed success as a portrait and genre painter during his lifetime; an avid interest in the artist’s work has continued into the twenty-first century with monographs, articles, and exhibitions examining primarily his genre paintings. Bingham also painted landscapes; however, many are missing. Consequently, scholars have been reticent on this aspect of Bingham’s work. This study, however, will demonstrate the importance of understanding one landscape in particular, View of Pikes Peak (fig 1). Bingham, best known as a painter of figural types, specifically western types, extended the same categorized method to his landscapes, producing types of landscapes rather than particular locations. Accordingly, the landscapes in Bingham’s genre scenes are nonspecific, avoiding any signs of a particular place. Pikes Peak offers a departure from this trend. The circumstances surrounding the creation of this painting, in conjunction with Bingham’s awareness of topography, make for a provoking moment worthy of investigation. Bingham’s journey to

---

1 Many of Bingham’s landscapes are missing. Out of thirty four landscapes, twenty one have been identified as “present location unknown” by Maurice Bloch. The Paintings of George Caleb Bingham: A Catalogue Raisonné (University of Missouri Press: Columbia, 1986). Of course, since it has been thirty years since this Catalogue Raisonné was published it is likely that some of these landscapes have been located. However, I have not come across any recently located landscapes in my own research.

2 Pikes Peak is on permanent display at the Amon Carter Museum of American Art in Fort Worth, Texas. The dimensions of the painting are 28 1/8 x 42 ¼ inches. Bingham finished the painting while in Colorado. The painting was in possession of Mrs. James M. Piper from Kansas City possibly by 1876. It was then inherited by Robert S. Thomas and then by Miss Mamie Thomas. Both were from Blue Springs, MO. It was later purchased by William Howard Adams from Kansas City, MO with the Kennedy Galleries, Inc., New York and in 1967 was sold to the present owner. Bloch, 232.

3 Bloch speaks to this approach, “His [Bingham’s] pure landscapes, which were chiefly ““fancy”” compositions, display an inclination to observe natural phenomenon from a distance and to combine a variety of details taken from studio props into preconceived conventional patterns. Similarly, the landscape backgrounds in his river pictures all contain the general, familiar, and characteristic landmarks of time and place but do not record specific locales.” Bloch, 29.
Colorado to improve his health, his political belief in the unification of the country through commerce, and his perception of the West as America’s great frontier all contribute to his artistic choices in producing a uniquely identifiable landscape. Thus, it will be argued that View of Pikes Peak, holds an important place in Bingham’s oeuvre in particular as well as nineteenth-century American landscape painting in general. Beyond a naturalistic depiction of a particular place in the American West, Pikes Peak is a manifestation of intersecting historical, geopolitical and artistic problems.

Only briefly treated in The Rocky Mountains: A Vision for Artists in the Nineteenth Century by Patricia Trenton and Peter Hassrick, Bingham’s painting, View of Pikes Peak, has not received adequate scholarly attention. Trenton and Hassrick’s research is valuable; however, their purpose in providing a survey of Rocky Mountain imagery precludes a close reading of the painting, the artist’s circumstances of its creation, and consideration of the geopolitical climate in which he created Pikes Peak. I will attempt to cast new light on this painting by engaging these issues.

Bingham’s biography is a key factor in comprehending and analyzing Pikes Peak. George Caleb Bingham was born on a plantation in Virginia on March 20, 1811, but moved to Missouri in 1819. Spending his adolescent years in Missouri, at the age of 22, Bingham began his career as a portrait painter, likely in Arrow Rock. In his early years of painting, Bingham spent time in St. Louis and Columbia, and in 1838, went to Philadelphia to study art. While

---

4 Patricia Trenton and Peter Hassrick, The Rocky Mountains: A Vision for Artists in the Nineteenth Century, (University of Oklahoma Press: Norman, 1983). Out of dozens of artists and ten chapters, pages 239 – 244 include a discussion of Bingham’s Pikes Peak – this discussion is part of a larger chapter and Bingham’s painting is just one that the authors employ among others.
5 “What follows is a broad overview of their [artists painting the Rockies] artistic interpretations, a perspective on their cumulative efforts, and a discussion of the role they played in altering America’s images of itself and its natural wonders.” Trenton, “Introduction,” 15.
6 During this time he also may have visited New York and Baltimore.
Bingham always returned to his St. Louis studio on Market Street, he spent the next few years traveling to New York, Pennsylvania, and Washington, D.C. and painting portraits as well as genre pictures. Throughout his life, Bingham was interested in politics. In 1848, Bingham accepted a nomination to represent Saline County in the state legislature. He attended the Whig national convention as a delegate in 1852 and a Whig meeting in Columbia in 1855. In August of 1865, Bingham sailed for Paris, France. He then traveled to Dusseldorf, where he was welcomed by painter Emanuel Leutze (1816-1868) as a fellow artist, in early November. Bingham remained there until 1859, when he returned to America. In the late summer of 1872, the artist traveled to Colorado as prescribed by his physician in hopes of ameliorating a severe case of tuberculosis. He painted two versions of View of Pikes Peak by late October. Both paintings remained in his possession; however, only one is extant. In 1877, Bingham was appointed professor of art at the University of Missouri’s newly established School of Art. He returned to Colorado in 1878, and, a year later, became ill with pneumonia. Bingham died in Kansas City on July 7th, 1888.

A visual and contextual analysis of Pikes Peak indicate that Bingham purposefully painted a landscape which could have been appreciated as an environment rich in opportunity.
and ripe for community establishment. For Bingham, the Colorado landscape, above others, had a potential to form a paradigm of American character; his political beliefs as well as the growing national interest in an expanding West also contributed to his perception.

The Amon Carter version of Pikes Peak is approximately twenty eight by forty two inches. This is relatively small compared to the landscape paintings of Albert Bierstadt (1830 – 1902) and Thomas Moran (1837–1926), which were typically three or four times this size. The painting was exhibited in Denver in 1872 and remained in Bingham’s possession. In the background of Bingham’s painting, Pike’s Peak dominates the mountain range, its towering presence softened by a light dusting of snow. As the eye approaches Pike’s Peak, several foothills ease the transition between the visibly rocky mountains and the comparatively level foreground. Pike’s Peak is silhouetted against a blue sky obscured by only a few stratocumulus and cumulus clouds. The clouds are mostly wispy and don’t appear to foreshadow a storm. One low-hanging band of clouds cuts diagonally across Pike’s Peak, adding a subtle dynamism to the scene. The terrain and mountains in the middle ground are a golden green color, denoting spring or summer. The warmer colors contrast with the grey of Pike’s Peak and the mountains further into the background. Bingham employs a spotlight effect to lead the eye through the painting. In the foreground Bingham accentuates the man, his dog, the tree and its knotty roots. This particular tree is most likely a ponderosa pine, indigenous to North America and especially common in mountainous topography. Behind this prominent tree other evergreens are visible adding to the majesty of the landscape. Moving into the middle ground the creek and the

---

11 For example, Bierstadt’s The Rocky Mountains, Lander’s Peak (1863) is approximately six-by-ten feet compared to Bingham’s painting which is two-by-three and half feet. In addition, Thomas Moran’s Mount of the Holy Cross (1875) is about seven-by-five feet.

12 Bloch, 232.

13 At no point does Bingham identify the surrounding peaks, but they could be Cameron’s Cone, Cheyenne Mountain, or Rhyolite Peak, which all were close to Pike’s Peak and would have been visible.
gradually rising foothills are prominently lit. Finally, the middle ground seamlessly leads up to the taller peaks.

Just left of center, a man sits on a boulder. He aligns almost perfectly with the topmost peak, especially its protruding ridge, giving the eye a chance to move vertically, and forcing an acknowledgement of the actual height of the mountain. Bold white highlights on the man and his dog visually link them with the snowcapped mountain as well. It is only his dog that keeps him from complete isolation since no other people, horses, wagons or suggestions of human life appear. Although, both man and dog look in the same direction as if reacting to a noise which comes from left and out of our view. Despite being seated in the foreground, the man’s facial features are nearly impossible to distinguish. His effects appear to be limited to a gun powder purse and a gun. The gun is slender and tall, and resembles the guns seen in Bingham’s painting *Shooting for the Beef* (fig 2). The dog looks to be related to the greyhound breed, and this reference to the greyhound dog is significant as they were traditionally raised as hunting dogs. However, the small size makes it difficult to identify with any certainty. The isolation of the figure, additionally, gives the scene a sense of quietude. In fact, a contemporary article written about *Pikes Peak* articulates this feeling:

Those who have stood beneath the towering height of the grand mountain, and under the bright sky watched drifting clouds and the succeeding shadows, drunk in the grandeur of the scene, and felt its overpowering effect, will feel as they stand before this work of art that they are in the presence of the reality of towering crags and snow-capped peaks.

---

14 The traditional symbolism of the dog as representing fidelity should be remembered. Since the man is alone it makes sense that his faithful dog would remain by his side. However, it should also be noted that the dog does not seem to wear a collar, however, it is not typical for Bingham to include collars on dogs. For example, the dog in *The Squatters* (1850) does not wear a collar either.

15 *Shooting for the Beef* (1850) 33 ½ x 49 inches. In this painting, the guns are similarly very long and slender.


The peaceful scene set against the range of plentiful natural resources make for an appealing view suggestive of a place where the land is plentiful and available for settlement.

The missing version (fig 3) is known only through a photograph; thus, it is difficult to draw any finite conclusions about the painting. The one piece of evidence regarding the missing version comes from Walstein Findlay of Findlay Art Galleries. Findlay, who was last in possession of the painting and wrote to Bingham scholar, Maurice Bloch, “I sold out our stock in 1914…and I feel sure it was destroyed, it was very large and cumbersome to handle and I think the people considered it of not much value.”

The painting was approximately forty eight by sixty inches. Patricia Trenton has identified the specific view as being near Woodland Park, which is about twenty-five miles from Colorado Springs. A comparison with a photograph taken by William Henry Jackson Pikes Peak from Woodland Park (fig 4) from between 1882 and 1900, suggests this could be accurate; although, Bingham’s inclusion of a river departs from the photograph. A likeness between the topography in Bingham’s painting and the photograph is most palpable in the mountain profile, which resembles that of Woodland Park. Pike’s Peak appears to tower over its surroundings and seems especially pointed. There is one extant oil sketch (fig 5) from Bingham’s first Colorado trip which seems to correspond with the bigger view because of the prominent river, jagged mountains, and in the foreground rock slab. Moreover, the missing version also includes a seated figure, although he is not accompanied by a dog. Despite similarities, it is problematical to definitively discern an exact location due to the

---

18 The letter dates from Nov 18, 1944. Before this, it was included in the administrator’s sale of the Bingham estate which was held at Findlay’s Art Store in Kansas City, MO. In March of 1893, the painting was purchased by R. Saunders for $61. Bloch, 232.
19 This is approximately 20 inches longer on each side than the Amon Carter version.
20 Trenton, 239. In the lost version of Pikes Peak there is a creek which is far more obvious. In this view, likely taken from Woodland Park, a large pool appears in the middle ground and flows into the foreground of the painting. Bingham calls attention to the creek as the water cascades over several rock groupings. Contemporary photographs of Pikes Peak from Woodland Park, however, show no indication of a creek.
limited visual evidence. The Amon Carter version, on the other hand, is believed to have been taken from a confluence of Monument and Fountain creeks.\textsuperscript{21} In fact, an article written for the Rocky Mountain News reports that “the point of observation [is] about one mile north of Colorado Springs.”\textsuperscript{22} Trenton and Hassrick identify this point as “Jimmy’s Camp,” a place where tourists often stopped to enjoy the view of Pike’s Peak.\textsuperscript{23} Contemporary photographs suggest this is likely, although Bingham seems to have taken artistic liberties when he painted both versions, which will be discussed later.

Contemporary scholarship argues for the visibility of politics in Bingham’s art. The way in which he entangled political events, issues and policies into his work is often foregrounded as a means of explaining his artistic choices.\textsuperscript{24} In 1844, for example, Bingham supported the Whig Party by creating political banners for Henry Clay, a major Whig politician. The banners were intended to be displayed at the Whig convention in Boonville, MO. Bingham described his ideas in a letter to his dear friend and fellow Whig James S. Rollins (1812-1888).\textsuperscript{25} “On one I shall have a full-length portrait of Clay as the Statesman with his American System operating in the distance,” Bingham explained,

\begin{quote}
on the other I shall represent him as the plain farmer of Ashland… I would suggest for the design as peculiarly applicable to your County, old Daniel Boone himself engaged in one of his death\end{quote}

\begin{footnotes}
\textsuperscript{21} Trenton, 241.
\textsuperscript{22} Rocky Mountain News, “A Notable Picture” October 15, 1872.
\textsuperscript{23} Trenton, 241.
\textsuperscript{25} James S. Rollins was a Missouri politician and lawyer. Bingham and Rollins were close friends and while Rollins’ letters to Bingham do not survive, Bingham’s letters to Rollins offer a wealth of insight into the artist and his life. Both men were engaged in Whig politics and shared a similar vision for America even after the party disseminated. In 1846, Bingham signs a letter to Rollins, “Yours in the bonds of Whiggery.” November 2, 1846. “But I forget that I am a Painter and not A Politician” The Letters of George Caleb Bingham, edited by Lynn Gentzler and Roger Robinson. (The State Historical Society of Missouri Columbia, 2011), 69.
\end{footnotes}
struggles with an Indian, painted as large as life, it would make a pictures that would take with the multitude, and also be in accordance with historical truth. It might be emblematical also for the early state of the west, while on the other side I might paint a landscape with “peaceful fields and lowing herds” indicative of present advancement in civilization. Bingham’s political agenda can be seen through his thoughtful crafting of these banners. In the hopes of culling support for Henry Clay, Bingham tried to evoke the notion of progress. By transitioning from a Daniel Boone “death struggle” to “peaceful fields and lowing herds” Bingham suggests that under Clay, the nation would prosper and improve. Howe argues that Clay and his Whig supporters believed that, “Economic diversification and good transportation, by creating domestic markets, would encourage commercial bonds of interest.” The Whig platform generally supported industrialization, technological innovation, and encouraged the moralistic betterment of society through temperance and religion. Bingham asserted his self-identification as a Whig in a speech to the Missouri House of Representatives, “I am known, sir, as a Whig, and am not ashamed or afraid to be recognized by such a time-honored title; a title that blends with the rallying cry of freedom throughout the World!”

When thinking about Bingham’s politics, it also seems necessary to acknowledge his reaction to the American Civil War. Bingham was strongly opposed to slavery and sympathized with the Union cause. Determining if and potentially how slavery would be permitted in newly

---

26 Bingham to Rollins September 23, 1844.
28 Howe, 9.
29 Bingham, Speech to Missouri House of Representatives, December 17, 1846. The speech was delivered in the House of Representatives of the Missouri Legislature in reply to Attorney General B.F. Stringfellow, the counsel for Mr. Sappington, who contested the seat of Mr. Bingham. Gentzler, 70.
30 Although Missouri was controversial because both sides claimed it and it was a border state in the Civil War. Bingham wrote to Rollins, “I look forward to the election of Lincoln with far more hope than apprehension, and believe that his administration will allay the present sectional Strife by demonstrating to the people of the Southern States that the large majority of their Northern brethren are willing to concede to them everything to which they are clearly entitled under the Constitution.” Letters, September 15, 1860.
established western states was much debated. Bingham’s political beliefs play a role even in *Pikes Peak* (1872), and thus will be considered seriously, despite the Whig party’s decline in the 1850s. Ideas about the cultivation of industry through the integration of western territory seem relevant to understanding this painting as the country increasingly looked westward to encourage commerce. For Bingham, the western landscape evoked political values including social and economic progress.

While not all of Bingham’s paintings deal with high-minded political or social issues, Bingham was interested in the potential to create a painting of historical significance. In 1858, Bingham wrote to James Rollins about a potential commission from the Library of the Capitol:

> As there is yet no work of Art in the Capitol, properly illustrative of the history of the West, it seems to me that a western artist with a western subject should receive especial consideration.  

Bingham’s statement illuminates his earnest feelings about painting the West. He conveys his belief that having lived in the West was critical to his portrayal of it. This calls attention to a unique bond created between the artist and his surroundings, allowing the artist to more honestly engage with his subject. In this letter, Bingham wrote about a history of the West and while he never received a commission from the committee, *View of Pikes Peak*, created fourteen years later, demonstrates Bingham’s lasting commitment to the subject. It seems that Bingham’s artistic identity was strongly informed by a sense of regional identity. That is, for Bingham, the West was more than a geographic location, more even, than a symbolic space, he believed that

---

31 Many compromises including the Kansas-Nebraska Act, and the Compromise of 1850 tried to resolve this issue.  
32 By the mid 1850’s the Whig party had essentially dissipated although many of their ideas were still relevant. Most Whigs, crossed over into the Republican Party. For more on the Whig party’s decline Daniel Walker Howe, *Political Culture of the American Whigs*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979). It is unclear from his letters to what extent Bingham played an active role in the Republican Party, or whether he even supported it.  
33 Angela Miller articulates Bingham’s interest in this integration, “Bingham’s art and his political involvements were related expressions of a single ambition around which he focused his career – the cultural and economic integration of the West within the nation.” Angela Miller, “Mechanisms of the Market and the Invention of Western Regionalism: The Example of George Caleb Bingham” *Oxford Art Journal*, Vol. 15, No. 1, Manifest Destiny (1992): 3.  
34 Bingham to Rollins, Dusseldorf, July 18, 1858.
the West engendered a particular point-of-view, one that was, perhaps, quintessentially American. Although the painting may not be a historical landscape in the traditional sense, the ways in which Bingham’s own history as well as the history of Colorado seem to intersect with it bear meaning. *Pikes Peak* sheds light on Bingham’s perception of Colorado as a place to foster an ideal American identity.

The first section will situate *Pikes Peak* within Bingham’s oeuvre focusing on how its attention to place distinguishes it from his other landscapes. The second section will locate Bingham’s painting among other representations of Colorado in American landscape. In general, the cultural function of Colorado scenery was to impress an eastern audience with the splendor and expanse of western topography. Bingham’s painting operates in a different way because of his reasons for traveling to Colorado and his unique investment in the specific topography of Colorado. The final section will demonstrate how the painting provides an intersection of Bingham’s personal history and the economic and cultural importance of the state for nineteenth-century Americans. These intersecting histories seem to reveal an American reliance on the land, for individual prosperity as well as for the advancement of the collective whole.

*Bingham’s View of Pikes Peak*

Evaluating this painting against Bingham’s incorporation of figures into the landscape is not unprecedented, yet in *Pikes Peak* the effect is different. In earlier landscapes such as *Cottage Scenery* (fig 6) and *Rural Landscape* (fig 7), Bingham included groups of three or four. The figures appear larger and engage in conversation in *Cottage Scenery*, while in *Rural Landscape* a family unit carries out the domestic task of washing clothes. By contrast, the figure in *Pikes Peak* has a different relationship to his surroundings. His seated pose and outward gaze follows more closely the figures in Bingham’s genre paintings. The vast splendor of the landscape and the
soaring height of the mountains are underscored by the relatively tiny dimensions of the man and his dog. The man is clearly overwhelmed by nature, offering an awe-inspiring view, one that is full of promise and abundance.

Bingham created *Pikes Peak* later in his career which also bears on its significance because before this painting, Bingham tended to paint generic views. Considering Bingham’s early landscapes highlights how Pikes Peak, in its specificity, is unique within Bingham’s oeuvre. Pikes Peak is distinctive because it pictures a specific place, Bingham’s earlier landscapes, on the other hand, are generic and unidentifiable as actual locations. Another landscape painted late in his career, “*Forest Hill,*” *The Nelson Homestead, Boonville, Missouri* (fig 8), also shows an attention to a specific place. A developed awareness of place is significant because it demonstrates that Bingham was conceiving of landscape in a different way. The early landscapes rehearse several approaches from the American landscape tradition, notably sublime mountain scenes, and picturesque pastoral views. For example, *The Storm* (fig 9), is representative of Bingham’s mountain landscapes and additionally exhibits tenets of the sublime. *The Storm* pictures a rocky scene set against a dark, threatening sky. In the foreground, a deer leaps over a rushing river and the dramatic lighting illuminates the tree trunk of a blasted tree. This landscape is characteristic of Bingham’s mountain scenes in its inclusion of a river as well as the generalized mountains. *Pikes Peak* departs from this landscape type in several ways, from its geological structure, a well-known peak from the Rocky Mountains to particular plant life.

---

35 When mentioning an attention to place I should also mention a small (14 x 20) sketch Bingham painted while in Dussledorf. The painting, *Moonlight Scene: Castle on the Rhine* (1857/1859) is said to be a representation of Drachenfeldt Castle. Bloch, 212.

36 *The Storm* is 25 1/8 by 30 1/16 inches. It was discovered in an antique shop in St. Louis, MO in 1934 and was sold to Meyric R. Rogers of St. Louis, MO. Then, it was purchased by Henry E. Shnakenberg of New York and was presented by him to the current owner, the Wadsworth Atheneaum, Hartford, Conn. Bloch, 202.
Two paintings, *Cottage Scenery* and *Landscape: Rural Scenery*, are representative of Bingham’s early pastoral landscapes. Scholar Nancy Rash has persuasively identified the pair as pendants that were submitted to the American Art Union in 1845. Although the early history of *Landscape: Rural Scenery* is unknown, in the same year that Bingham submitted *Cottage Scenery*, it was purchased by James D. Carhart from Macon, Georgia. The painting’s appeal to an antebellum Southerner is significant when considering the AAU’s national, non-partisan aims. The AAU was a major patron for Bingham, so much so that one issue of their *Bulletin* boasts, “Bingham acknowledges his indebtedness to us as the first patron of his higher efforts, and his main-stay in all attempts beyond the line of portraiture.” In trying to garner and keep the AAU’s interest, Bingham worked to tailor his landscapes to their taste. His creation of generalized landscapes, which avoid any signs of the particular, coincided with the AAU’s proclaimed non-sectional agenda. The AAU’s *Transactions* magazine of 1848 reads,

The American Art-Union has only arrived at is present eminence, by a constant adaptation of its every change and feature to the peculiar characteristic and wants, not of a *single city*, but of the *whole republic* – it has pursued a course independent alike of alien influences, or home dictation. Created for “the greatest good of the

---

37 Nancy Rash, *The Paintings and Politics of George Caleb Bingham*, (Yale University Press, 1991), 54 – 58. Amanda Left provides a helpful overview of the AAU and its lifespan- “As the country moved closer to division and economic instability, the Apollo Association, later the American Art-Union, emerged in 1839, trumpeting the noble cause of national unity through a common art and created a much-hoped-for beacon for new artists with few other resources...Accusations of sectionalism, lack of perceived artistic value, and the vocal criticism of artists from outside the organization doomed the American Art-Union to a short life. Despite its brief window of influence, however, the organization fostered an interest in American art that would grow throughout the remainder of the 19th century, and its distribution of prints whetted the appetite of a growing middle class who looked for idealistic scenes to decorate their parlors.” Amanda Left “Pictures are more Powerful than Speeches” in *Perfectly American, The Art-Union and its Artists*, (The Gilcrease Museum, 2011), 16.

38 The early history is unknown but there are records of the painting from the late twentieth century. In 1974 the painting was acquired by Craig Libhart of Lancaster, Pennsylvania. Two years later the painting was in the hands of the Vose Galleries in Boston and was sold to Mrs. E.P. Moore of Washington D.C in August of 1976. Bloch, 173; *Cottage Scenery* was in the hands of the Carhart family of Macon, Georgia in the nineteenth and early twentieth century until 1960 when it was acquired by the Berry-Hill Galleries in New York and purchased by Lawrence A. Fleischman from Detroit, Michigan. In 1961, the painting was purchased by the Corcoran Gallery of Art. Bloch, 173.

The benefit of a non-partisan approach to landscape painting was that the AAU could attract buyers from various political positions even in the 1850s as the issue of slavery became heated and threats of secession loomed. In championing purely American art, the AAU saw itself as supporting national unity through art. Bingham engaged this vision, creating generic landscapes that would appeal to residents from any part of the nation.

Nancy Rash points out that the paintings have identical dimensions and dates of creation. Both pictures depict natural light, as sun streams in from the left, highlighting the central figures in the painting. In *Cottage Scenery*, a group of two men and one woman huddle in the threshold of a thatched-roof cottage. In *Landscape* a mother and her children wash clothes in a lake. Rash rightly suggests that the thatched roof recalls English and Dutch painting and prints. According to Rash, the painting is also symbolic of Bingham’s ideas about settling western territories. She argues that the thatched cottage is a reminder of needed repairs and the blasted trees remind the viewer that new trees need to planted. Rash’s attempt to tie these landscapes to Bingham’s personal views, however, is problematic. The thatched roof motif as well as the frequent inclusion of blasted trees in landscape paintings were generally popular and more than likely explicate Bingham’s choices. Elizabeth Johns also demonstrates that *Cottage Scenery* draws inspiration from English prints and drawing books, specifically, George Moreland’s *Sportsmen Refreshing* (fig 10), a landscape print that was printed in large editions and was widely-known in

---

40 *Transactions of the American Art-Union* (1848), 42.
41 Although in the end, issues of sectionalism were part of the reason for AAU’s decline. Left claims, “At the heart of the debate were accusations that the managers allowed their political views, mainly Whig and abolitionist in nature, to influence the art selected for exhibition and distribution to subscribers,” 40.
42 Ibid, 57.
America. Here, Moreland employed a group of three as well as the thatched roof motif. That Bingham considered English and Dutch antecedents is convincing; however, one must also consider the importance of the American Art-Union as Bingham’s potential patron.

Clearly, Bingham was following the philosophies the AAU set out as the ideal for landscape imagery. Evidence of this is found in Cottage Scenery which refers directly to the request published in the 1844 Transactions of the American Art Union:

> It is the aim of the Art-Union…to convey to the abodes of common life works of intrinsic merit…To the inhabitants of cities, as nearly all of the subscribers to the Art-Union are, a painted landscape is almost essential to preserve a healthy tone for the spirits, lest they forget in the wilderness of bricks which surrounds them the pure delights of nature and a country life. Those who cannot afford a seat in the country to refresh their wearied spirits, may at least have a country seat in their parlors; a bit of landscape with a green tree, a distant hill, or a low-roofed cottage; - some of those simple objects, which all men find so refreshing to their spirits after being long pent up in dismal streets and in the haunts of business – that even in the noisome air of the city they may see if not feel “the breezy call of incense-breathing morn.”

Bingham quite literally transcribes, “a bit of landscape with a green tree, and distant hill, or a low-roofed cottage” in Cottage Scenery.

*Landscape: Rural Scenery*, in contrast to Cottage Scenery, seems somewhat removed from civilization. The small cottage surrounded by full leafy trees is barely visible in the background as the family washes clothes in the foreground. The lake is surrounded by blasted trees as well as different varieties of flourishing trees. Rash notes that this scene resembles English or Dutch precedents less and seems more reminiscent of Bingham’s own Missouri.

---


Rash supports her reading by pointing to Bingham’s Whig views and a nostalgia for his early life in Arrow Rock. She suggests that Bingham would have wanted to illustrate signs of earnest settlement in a positive light. While nostalgia might have been the intended sentiment, there are no sketches of the Missouri terrain of flora that indicate that Bingham worked from the Missouri landscape as his model.

By contrast, Johns proposes the 1844 painting *The Solitary Oak* (fig 11) by Asher B. Durand (1796-1886) as a source for *Landscape: Rural Scenery*. The dominant oak tree central to Bingham’s painting echoes the motif in the Durand painting. Bingham could have seen the painting while he was in New York and the landscape was on view at the National Academy exhibition. Bingham’s reference to one of the major landscape painters of the day shows his knowledge of the current school of American landscapists as well as his hopes to achieve similar success. Johns’ argument about this painting seems more in keeping with Bingham’s aim to engage the AAU as a future patron by offering views “which all men find so refreshing to their spirits.”

Another way in which *Pikes Peak* can be distinguished from Bingham’s body of work is through the absence of Native Americans. The Pike’s Peak region was considered to be part of the new frontier of the young nation, often recognizable through the inclusion of Native Americans. Bingham, like many of his contemporaries, did create paintings of Native Americans. There are two instances where Bingham features the Native American, *The

---

45 Rash, 56.
46 Ibid, 57. Employing a speech by Henry Clay, who praises those that, “...build houses, plant orchards, enclose fields cultivate the earth, and rear up families around them” Rash argues that *Landscape: Rural Scenery* is related to Bingham’s Whig politics.
47 Johns, “The Missouri Artist,” 100.
48 The new school of American landscapists was guided by Thomas Cole in the early and mid-nineteenth century in America. Cole believed that landscape was a higher sort of painting with the capacity to educate, moralize and inspire. Asher B. Durand, Frederic Edwin Church, John Frederick Kensett and Sanford Robinson Gifford were other artists working to help realize Cole’s vision.
Concealed Enemy (fig 12) and Captured by Indians (fig 13).\textsuperscript{49} Both of these paintings convey contemporary ideas and stereotypical narratives about Native Americans. The Concealed Enemy follows a James Fennimore Cooper narrative, as an Indian crouches behind a boulder waiting to attack. Captured by Indians, on the other hand, is a representation of the common captivity narrative. A woman and her young child have been kidnapped by three Native Americans; the mother looks heavenward as if questioning her fate.\textsuperscript{50} Another instance of Bingham implicating Native Americans is a smaller (15 x 19 inches) landscape from after 1853, Landscape with an Indian Encampment (fig 14). Here, in the middle ground of a mountainous landscape Bingham includes a single small teepee. This painting is helpful to keep in mind as a contrast for Pikes Peak, in which Bingham does not include a reference to Native Americans. This choice was certainly purposeful and should be considered when thinking about the meaning of the painting. The exclusion of the Native American might be the result of Bingham’s aim to truthfully convey the scene. By the time Bingham might have traveled to “Jimmy’s Camp” near Colorado Springs, the wagon stop meant for tourists would have been devoid of any Native American life.\textsuperscript{51}

Considering these earlier art works in conjunction with Pikes Peak demonstrates that Bingham’s later approach to landscape often hinged on an awareness of a specific place. Pikes Peak can also be considered as singular among a larger group of paintings of the American West. Other interpretations of the Colorado landscape show how Pikes Peak operates in a distinctive way – combining Bingham’s personal history with the history of the state.

\textsuperscript{49} Bingham’s letters don’t indicate his thoughts on the political measures enacted in order to eliminate Native Americans.


\textsuperscript{51} Colorado Springs was founded as a resort community in 1871, consequently, it grew quickly which led to the creation of winding pathways, large hotels, boardinghouses and private cottages. These developments would have displaced Native Americans. Carl Abbott, Stephen Leonard, Thomas Noel. Colorado: A History of the Centennial State. (University Press of Colorado, 2005), 224.
Visions of Colorado

Of great significance is the fact that Bingham was not an artist-explorer of the American West as were his contemporaries like Thomas Moran. As mentioned, Bingham did not travel to Colorado in order paint; on the contrary, he was in search of good health. Bingham’s motives for travel set him apart from contemporary painters, many of whom traveled with government survey groups. Among the many who painted western landscapes, Charles Craig (1846-1931), Worthington Whittredge (1820-1910), John F. Kensett (1816-1872), Samuel Colman (1832-1920) and Thomas Moran all offer comparisons to Bingham. These artists and their paintings help situate Bingham’s own Pikes Peak in the scope of topographical representations of Colorado. Pikes Peak, to some extent, was a response to the success of contemporary paintings of the western terrain. While many artists received acclaim for their western views, the variances among their landscapes are most critical in illuminating Bingham’s work. When considering the paintings of Craig, the Hudson River School artists and Moran, Bingham’s Pikes Peak occupies a niche. Bingham’s painting participates in the general artistic trend of representing a specific location, but is embedded with the historical importance, for Bingham, of Colorado as a place capable of molding a quintessential American identity. This identity is further entangled with Bingham’s own belief in the unification of the country through interregional exchange.

Although not an exact contemporary to Bingham, one artist whose work offers a useful comparison is that of Charles Craig, the so-called Indian painter. Best known for painting Native Americans, Craig also created paintings inspired by the landscape surrounding him in Colorado Springs, including Pikes Peak.⁵² For example, in Jimmy’s Camp at Sunrise (fig 15) Craig paints the location from which scholars believe Bingham painted Pikes Peak and therein lays its

---

significance. Two covered wagons rise above the horizon and are silhouetted against an early morning sky. These wagons most likely refer to the Conestoga wagons used in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries as people moved westward. Importantly, Pike’s Peak is noticeably absent. Rather than painting Pike’s Peak, Craig paints the area from which people appreciated it. The soft pinks and yellows as well as the activities of the figure suggest that the day is just dawning and people are getting ready for the long day. One man leans against a wagon while the other two gather and prepare for a fire. Craig simultaneously calls to mind the tourists visiting Colorado as well as people moving westward. Craig offers a different account from Bingham, who engages a direct view of the mountain. Although this was painted some thirty years after Pikes Peak, it throws light on the different approaches to depicting western landscape.

While Craig was painting the Pike’s Peak region in the early twentieth century, there was a precedent for painting the American West in the mid-nineteenth century, as seen with the movement of some Hudson River School painters. The Hudson River School artists did not travel as a collective, but toured the new frontier at different times and applied a variety of methods in their representations of the terrain. What unites these artists is their eastern point of view as they painted eastern landscapes before turning west. These artists set out to see and record the west as far as Wyoming. Thus, in many cases travel through Colorado was part of a larger trip. Importantly, these artists spent time in and painted Colorado specifically. Scholar

---

53 Trenton, 241.
54 The Conestoga wagon was designed to carry up to eight tons and was pulled by horses, oxen, or mules.
55 The Hudson River School grew up around the principle of transcending the vernacular, or the topographical view. This ideology was pursued and preached by Thomas Cole, the landscape artist generally acknowledged as the originator of the so-called Hudson River School. Cole wanted to educate the public through landscape painting, which he believed had a deeply religious meaning. In his “Essay on American Scenery” Cole concludes, “May we at times turn from the ordinary pursuits of life to the pure enjoyment of rural nature; which is [to] the soul like a fountain of cool waters to the way-worn traveler; and let us Learn The laws by which the Eternal doth sublime And sanctify his works, that we may see The hidden glory veiled from vulgar eyes.” Thomas Cole, “Essay on American Scenery” American Monthly Magazine 1 (January 1836): 1-12.
Nancy Moure provides some insights into these artists and their methods. She argues that some of these artists gravitated towards the simple scenes and sought out the delightful, rather than underscoring the fantasy of the west by calling attention to the rugged and dramatic.\textsuperscript{57} These artists created \textit{plein air} sketches of the western landscape. The outdoor sketch served as the first step in a complex process that culminated far from the frontier, in an east coast studio. Their aims were distinct from that of Bingham: while the eastern artists were sampling regions throughout the American West, Bingham remained in Colorado.

The work of these eastern artists, however, offers a fruitful comparison to \textit{Pikes Peak}. For example, John F. Kensett was one of the Hudson River painters to travel out west.\textsuperscript{58} Kensett articulated his purpose for western travel in a letter included in Moure’s article: “I shall use my brush to the best advantage to myself, I hope to get reliable and characteristic material.”\textsuperscript{59} Kensett’s goal is characteristic of the Hudson River School painters and provides an especially revealing contrast to Bingham. Kensett and his colleagues sought to gather “material” for painting, while Bingham searched for the “wilderness cure” for his consumption.

In contrast to his fellow painters, Worthington Whittredge, focused on painting the western plains, as opposed to the mountains.\textsuperscript{60} In his autobiography Whittredge recalled his impressions of the western plains:

\begin{quote}
I had never seen the plains or anything like them. They impressed me deeply. I cared more for them than for the mountains, and very few of my Western pictures have been produced from sketches made in the mountains, but rather from those made on the plains
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{57} Moure: 15.
\textsuperscript{58} Kensett traveled out west was in 1854, 1857, 1868, and finally in 1870. Moure: 16-17.
\textsuperscript{59} Quoted in Moure: 16.
\textsuperscript{60} Whittredge visited the Rocky Mountains in the summer of 1866 and then made two additional trips west, one in 1870 with artists John F. Kensett and Sanford Gifford and another the following year. Whittredge did not travel west again until 1893 when he traveled with Frederic Edwin Church to Mexico. There, he painted town views as opposed to landscapes. Trenton and Hassrick, 219; Anthony F. Janson \textit{Worthington Whittredge}. (Cambridge England; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 129.
with mountains in the distance...Due to the curvature of the earth, no definite horizon was visible, the whole line melting away, even in that clear atmosphere, into mere air...Nothing could be more like an Arcadian landscape than was here presented to our view. 61 Whittredge’s interest in an “Arcadian landscape” is connected to his Hudson River School background and his quintessentially pastoral vision. Sketching the plains lent itself to a horizontal orientation of the canvas. 62 The views from 1866 are mostly comprised of sketches made on easily portable paper approximately 10 x 23 inches in size. Whittredge also created several sketches of a mountain called Long’s Peak.63 However, the mountains in his sketch of Long’s Peak are not prominent but barely visible in the background. The grasses and foliage of the plains were given significant attention while the mountains are concealed behind a heavy mist. In another sketch, Long’s Peak from Denver (fig 16), large trees, green grasses, and bushes are featured in an expansive view, and again, the mountain range is pushed to the distant background. Whittredge identifies his attraction to the quiet side of nature as opposed to dramatic shapes and colors:

Great railroads were opened through the most magnificent scenery the world ever saw, and the brush of the landscape painter was needed immediately. Bierstadt...answered the need. For more homely scenery this need was answered by a group of artists known as the Hudson River School – all of whom I knew, and one of whom I was. 64 Whittredge’s recollection offers evidence for his intentions in representing the West. Whittredge distinguishes between the work of the Hudson River School artists and Bierstadt and yet asserts that there was a “need” for both. His observation is significant as he separated these painters into two groups. Whether or not this was actually the case, Whittredge placed himself along with his eastern colleagues, as a painter of “homely scenery.” Whittredge’s interest in the plains as well

---

61 As quoted in Janson, 112 – 113.
62 This interest in exaggerating the expanse through a horizontal orientation is exemplified in a sketch from 1866, Encampment on the Plains which measures seven and a half by twenty three inches. Janson, 113.
63 Ibid, 211.
64 As quoted in Janson, 119.
as his tendency to keep mountains low and pushed into the distance differs from Bingham’s emphasis on the mountains. All of the major paintings that Whittredge produced, moreover, focus on the plains and rivers rather than the mountains.\(^{65}\) Bingham, on the other hand, only created two major western landscapes and both give prominence to a mountainous topography. Bingham’s choice in painting a prominent mountain can be attributed to his interest in conveying the majesty of that particular landscape.

Samuel Colman, a relentless traveler, also recorded the American West.\(^{66}\) Often working in a picturesque mode, Coleman selected a low horizon for his paintings, directing his audience to the expansive horizon line. In *Spanish Peaks, Southern Colorado* (fig 17), Colman employs an exaggerated horizontal orientation much like Whittredge. Coleman’s artistic choices reflect a commitment to nature and can be attributed to his studying from Asher B. Durand.\(^{67}\) Colman’s aim, however, was to sample the American West and add it to his expanding portfolio of foreign and exotic locations. Like the other eastern artists traveling through the West, Colman’s work reflects a larger project involving several places within the western landscape. Due to their distinctive approach, these artists mark a unique moment in nineteenth-century representations of Colorado with their horizontal orientation and softer imagery. Bingham remains distinct from this group. The issue of location is significant because Bingham completed *Pikes Peak* in Colorado, while the eastern artists produced their final works in eastern studios.

---

\(^{65}\) Whittredge’s major paintings include *On the Plains* (1872 St. Johnsbury Atheneum, St. Johnsbury, VT) which is about 30 by 50 inches in size, *Crossing the Platte River* (1872-74 the White House, Washington, D.C.) which measures 40 by 60 inches, *On the Cache La Poudre River* (1876 Amon Carter Museum of Western Art, Fort Worth, TX) which is also about 40 by 60 inches.

\(^{66}\) Colman also traveled through and painted Venice, Italy, North Africa, and Spain. Coleman’s first trip was likely in 1870 but “Unpublished dated watercolors in the collection of Kennedy Galleries, New York, show that Colman made more trips west in 1886, 1888, and 1898-1905...” Moure: 27.

\(^{67}\) Trenton, 238.
However, it was not just the Hudson River painters and older local artists, such as Craig who were attracted to Colorado. Thomas Moran, often identified under the rubric of the Rocky Mountain School, was first introduced to the West through a work-related venture.\textsuperscript{68} The artist was asked to create a series of illustrations for an article about the West in \textit{Scriber’s Monthly} and traveled with the official survey of Ferdinand Vandeveer Hayden.\textsuperscript{69} Also in company was photographer William Henry Jackson (1843-1942). Jackson served as the official photographer to the United States Geological and Geographic Survey of the Territories, an expedition organized by the Department of the Interior to gather information about the West.\textsuperscript{70} Moran and Jackson would continue to travel together though the West creating watercolors and photographs, respectively.\textsuperscript{71} On these western journeys, Moran created watercolors upon which he would later rely in order to create large oil paintings in his studio.\textsuperscript{72}

Moran assimilated the teachings of John Ruskin (1819-1900) into his paintings, believing that if he possessed sufficient topographical knowledge he could take artistic liberty in his compositions. For example, he often dramatized the landscape with soaring mountains and plunging valleys, finding that in capturing the essence of the location he was justified in any

\textsuperscript{68} Other artists associated with the so-called Rocky Mountain School were Albert Bierstadt, Thomas Hill, and William Keith.

\textsuperscript{69} Trenton, 178. Ferdinand Vandeveer Hayden (1829-1887) was an American geologist and major surveyor of the Rocky Mountains in the late nineteenth century.

\textsuperscript{70} Jackson was an American painter, explorer, and geological survey photographer. In 1869 Jackson was granted the commission to document through photography the routes along the railroad from Union Pacific Railroad. His work was going to serve as a means to promote the railroad and the beautiful views which could be enjoyed while traveling by this mode of transportation. He was also asked in 1870 to accompany an expedition through Yellowstone River and the Rocky Mountains. Although the conditions were often difficult Jackson worked with multiple camera and plate sizes. He worked using the collodion process, which required the plates to be coated, exposed, and developed onsite, before the wet-collodion emulsion dried. Beaumont Newhall and Diana E. Edkins, \textit{William H. Jackson}, (Moran & Morgan: Amon Carter Museum: Fort Worth: 1974), 13.

\textsuperscript{71} Moran was especially interested in the photographic process. Trenton, 181.

\textsuperscript{72} Moran was greatly impacted by the works of J.M.W. Turner (1775-1851), the English landscape artist. Moran’s color schemes reflect Turner’s artistic choices and Moran’s art works also resemble Turner’s in the loose, bold brushwork. Additionally, like Turner, Moran’s views do not record nature exactly. Trenton, 13.
exaggerations. Moran often described his technique in Ruskinian terms and told scholar G.W. Sheldon:

I place no value upon literal transcripts from Nature. My general scope is not realistic, all my tendencies are toward idealization…Topography in art is valueless…while I desired to tell truly of Nature, I did not wish to realize the scene literally, but to preserve and to convey its true impression.

In *View of Pikes Peak through the Gateway to the Garden of the Gods* (fig 18), Moran employed a vantage point which exaggerates the snow-capped summit. In the sketch, Moran casts portions of the mountain range and valley in a deep shadow creating a dramatic effect. Adding to this sublime feeling are the dark storm clouds which seem to emerge over the Peak. The tremendous atmospheric elements in conjunction with the amplified topography are meant to overwhelm and astonish. As in *View of Pikes Peak through the Gateway to the Garden of the Gods*, Moran’s watercolor washes and finished paintings reflect his method of changing the environment in order to “convey its true impression.”

Jackson’s photograph of the same view (fig 19) is revealing. Jackson seems to have taken the photograph on a cloudy day as clouds can be seen to the left of Pike’s Peak. Jackson’s photograph shows more of the mountain on the right whereas Moran crops it out of his sketch. The white rock formation on the right is also much lower in Jackson’s photograph. The enlarged size of the white rock in Moran’s sketch suggests that his vantage point view is closer to the gateway. This focused view offers a more dramatic perspective with Pike’s Peak appearing higher and more pointed. The differences between Moran’s painting and Jackson’s photograph demonstrate their divergent aims. Both photographer and painter were working to satisfy a customer, for Jackson it was the government, and for Moran it was an eastern audience.

---

73 Ibid, 184.  
A dramatically stormy sky appears as well in one of Moran’s finished large-scale western landscapes, the *Chasm of the Colorado* (fig 20). John Wesley Powell invited Moran to join him on an expedition in August 1873, and during this trip Moran saw the Grand Canyon from above for the first time. Later in the trip, Moran and Powell stood above the chasm as a violent thunderstorm moved through impressing upon Moran the potential power this kind of deluge could effect upon the western landscape. This storm features prominently in Moran’s painting and the connotations of rain water helps explain the complex meaning of the painting. Powell’s studies, maps, and measurements led him to problematic conclusions about the settlement of the West. According to Powell, the low levels of rainfall would require organized land and water management. He believed that the established system for settlement, which included about 160 acres of land marked off on a grid, was not ideal for this particular area because the most significant resource was water. In the duration of Powell’s time studying along the Colorado River, he came to understand the dual nature of water as capable of demolition and redemption. The Colorado River’s power was simultaneously responsible for eroding land as well as bringing life. The potential to demolish or nourish is incorporated into the painting through the immediate and powerful agency of the storm.

The recurrent thunderstorm in Moran’s paintings when juxtaposed with Bingham’s clear sky speaks to the two artists’ opposing aims. Moran was creating a painting meant to entice an eastern audience. In fact, the painting was exhibited at the Corcoran Gallery of Art and then purchased by Congress for ten thousand dollars. By contrast, Bingham’s painting was exhibited

---

75 Nancy Anderson “The Kiss of Enterprise” in *The West as America: Reinterpreting Images of the Frontier*, ed. William Truettner (Smithsonian Institution Press: Washington, London, 1991), 251. Anderson includes part of a letter Moran sent to his wife describing the moment of first seeing the canyon, “On reaching the brink the whole gorge for miles lay beneath us and it was by far the most awfully grand and impressive scene that I have ever yet seen.” 251.

76 Anderson, “Kiss of Enterprise,” 252.
in Denver, and then remained in his possession. Bingham’s clear sky had meaning on a personal level and for the local Denver community, who would have appreciated the landscape for its mild climate.

As mentioned, historians, Trenton and Hassrick identify Bingham’s View of Pikes Peak as a convergence of Monument and Fountain creeks, near a site known as “Jimmy’s Camp” a place where wagons stopped to enjoy the view. Several contemporary photographs of Pike’s Peak corroborate this argument. For example, one photograph, by Jackson, provides a view of Fountain Creek (fig 21). Jackson’s photograph features the creek prominently as it runs through the center of the foreground and into the viewer’s space. In Bingham’s painting, the creek is not given such emphasis. While it is visible in the middle ground of the painting, Bingham’s focus and attention is given to Pike’s Peak itself. The mountain profile in the photograph is similar to the way Bingham articulated the mountain range.

The height of Pike’s Peak and the surrounding mountains in Bingham’s painting, however, seem to be exaggerated, appearing more pointed and topographically higher. This issue of topographical accuracy and conversely inaccuracy has several possible explanations, explanations which are more than likely interconnected. For example, Bingham’s amplification of the mountain is not completely unlike Moran’s especially pointed peaks. Bingham would have been familiar with Moran’s work along with his success, and this might have precipitated, in part, Bingham’s choice to paint the peak physically higher and in a way that he believed was more impressive. A Jackson photograph of a camp set up at Fountain creek (fig 22) provides more insight into the terrain and Bingham’s formal decisions. The prominent tree, which can be

---

78 Bingham’s acknowledgement of Church manifests in a letter. In this letter, Bingham wrote about Church as the greatest landscape painter, and compared him to other “modern masters” in reference to nineteenth-century landscape painters such as Moran. Bingham to Rollins, 19 June, 1871.
identified as a Ponderosa Pine, in Bingham’s painting resembles the tree to the right of the photograph. Including the Ponderosa Pines proves an awareness of the topography and an effort to document it in earnest. However, it must also be acknowledged that Bingham did not depict a precise point of view. While Bingham does not record the scene exactly, the nature of his decisions in representing the topography indicates a reverence for and personal investment in the Pike’s Peak region. The exaggeration of the mountains could be a product of the uncertainty surrounding the actual height of the summit; but more likely, Bingham hoped to create an arresting view, one which would cause a viewer to think seriously and positively about this particular environment. Indeed, it seems that Bingham employed a similar method with the missing version of Pikes Peak. Although it is difficult to judge with a dark black and white photograph, it looks as if Bingham has amplified the height of the peak here as well. While the paintings are topographically quite different, Bingham’s insistence in calling attention to the elevation and stature of Pike’s Peak speaks to his overall aims of glorifying the region’s prize geological feature.

A final comparison comes in the form of a book of engravings from 1876 (fig 23).  

Pike’s Peak is pictured in a similar way to Bingham’s painting. Although the artist does not identify the point of view from which he created the scene, it resembles Bingham’s painting as the foothills lead up to a central and prominent Pike’s Peak. Ponderosa Pines are also scattered throughout the fore and middle grounds or the engraving. The artist of the engraving, Samuel Manning, includes a man-made fence as well as some kind of building signifying human presence, which is different from Bingham’s isolated figure and absence of habitation.

Additionally, Pike’s Peak appears even more pointed than it does in Pikes Peak. It is striking that

---

both artists decided to show Pike’s Peak from a perspective that allows for a view of the surrounding foothills and terrain. As opposed to showing some of the more dramatic and popular views from Garden of the Gods, or one of the sandstone mounds at Monument Park, both artists highlight Pike’s Peak as the most essential part of its environment. Despite any changes Bingham made to the actual view, Bingham’s painting of Pike’s Peak casts light on this key moment in his career – an enhanced attentiveness to place.

After the Civil War, the country looked westward with a renewed sense of hope. Natural resources in the South were depleted by warfare and excessive cultivation of the soil and the morale of the country was low and divided. The West offered a seemingly endless supply of natural resources and inspired Americans with its breath-taking views. By painting a view of a specific place, Pike’s Peak in Colorado, Bingham engages his personal relationship with Colorado as healthful and the West as land of opportunity and redemption.

**Historical and Geopolitical Importance of Colorado**

Bingham traveled to Colorado in the summer of 1872 seeking its much popularized curative climate. In the nineteenth century, Colorado was a place that offered the promise of health and financial potential – a place mined for salubrious and economic reasons. Americans became familiar with this territory during the Pike’s Peak gold rush, which began in 1858, roughly ten years after the California gold rush. Bingham’s painting reflects a sweeping trend of interest in Colorado and Pike’s Peak; however, Bingham had personal investment as well – his

---


reasons for travel in conjunction with his political beliefs also contribute to the painting’s meaning.

A medical condition led Bingham to travel to Colorado. Having been diagnosed with consumption, or tuberculosis, Bingham wrote to his friend James Rollins,

> From all the information I have been able to gather from those who have visited the mountains for health, I am led to believe that the region considerably south of Denver, bordering New Mexico is the best for confirmed consumptives. This too is Dr. Wood’s opinion...The examination which I will subject myself to in New York must determine whether it will be best for me to go out this summer or not.\(^2\)

The artist traveled to Colorado in 1872 sometime after July. By November he had returned to Kansas City to work on portraits.\(^3\) The above passage calls attention to the widespread belief in the superiority of curing tuberculosis in Colorado, as opposed to a sanitarium in the Adirondack Mountains, even though it was closer to Bingham’s doctor in New York.\(^4\) The climate, air, and sunshine in Colorado were marketed by physicians and were advertised to asthmatics looking for relief or in best-case scenarios a cure. As the environment became increasingly linked with remedial success stories, Colorado’s identity began to grow up around its publicized curative powers.\(^5\)

The Civil War left countless problems in its wake, one being health. Due to the brutal conditions in which people lived during the war, many suffered from pulmonary-related

---

\(^2\) Bingham to Rollins, July 4, 1872, 340.
\(^3\) Bloch, 274. By the end of his career the majority of Bingham’s commissioned paintings were portraits with the exception of his major work, *Martial Law or Order No. 11* painted between 1868 and 1870 which represented a major conflict between Kansas and Missouri.
\(^5\) Gregg Mittman “Geographies of Hope: Mining the Frontiers of Health in Denver and Beyond, 1870-1965” *Osiris*, 2\(^{nd}\) Series, Vol. 19, Landscapes and Exposure: Knowledge and Illness in Modern Environments (2004): 93-94.
problems. In search of relief, many moved their families, homes, and businesses west. Health-seekers made up a major part of Denver’s population. By 1890, invalids amounted to approximately one third of the city’s 100,000 residents. Known as “lungers” the majority of the sickly in Denver had issues with consumption. The relationship between the land and the invalids, undoubtedly, was reciprocal. As these health-seekers needed the Denver climate, the city of Denver needed the business and financial boost.

The qualities that distinguished Colorado as the optimum environment for consumption relief and possibly recovery were identified as: “Pure Air, Sunshine, Altitude, Rest, Diet, and Congenial Surroundings.” The purified air was one of the major tenets set forth as effecting positive change on patients. William Gilpin (1813-1894) wrote that, “…the air is intensely pungent, tonic to the taste, dry, and translucent.” He continued,

The atmospheric currents pour incessantly from the west – the mountains gather but little snow – they are naked and dry and mid-summer – the rivers are without affluents, and expend their waters by evaporation – the incessant passage of clouds does not obscure the sun, but refracts and intensifies His inspiring light; there are neither moisture, miasmas, nor perceptible exhalations of any kind, dust is not frequent – serenity, moderation and purity reign within the complete circuit of the horizon – the mind of man is soothed, tempered and modified by this immense benignity throughout nature, which infuses itself, and assimilated everything but human avarice and rapacity.

Gilpin called attention to Colorado’s frequent sunny days, and the purity of the air. Establishing the absence of miasmas and dust would assure readers of the clarity of the Colorado air. Health-

---

87 Mittman: 95.
88 Ibid: 95.
90 William Gilpin, Notes on Colorado, 1868. William Gilpin was the first elected territorial governor of Colorado. He promoted Colorado as a place of agricultural prosperity, pure air, and yielding endless natural resources, and forcefully urged Americans to expand and settle the land.
91 Gilpin, Notes, 41.
seekers trying to escape the pollution of cities were attracted by the marketed natural benefits capable of effecting physical change. 92 Another theory argued that the dryness of the air resulted from the altitude, especially, “said several physicians, reduced the air’s capacity to conduct heat and electricity and therefore helped cure diseases of the lungs.” 93 The importance placed on the air is manifest in Bingham’s painting as well. The clear, blue sky might be tied to Bingham’s personal hope that the renowned Colorado air would relieve his own consumption. The sky, and by implication the air, in Bingham’s painting echoes the promotions for Colorado. The clouds play an important role in suggesting the movement of the air, which would have been seen as advantageous as compared to dirty, stagnant air. The blue sky invokes visions of clear weather and crisp, clean air.

Bingham’s Pikes Peak must also be considered within a cultural context that associated Colorado with new beginnings. Prosperous agriculture, as well as health, was believed to be an advantage of the terrain. For example, Samuel Bowles’s (1826-1878) book Our New West, published in 1869, demonstrates this attraction to Colorado. 94 His book describes his travels throughout the western territories and provides a contemporary perception into the role Colorado played in the restoration of American economy and morale.

There is apparently no limit, in fact, to the growth of the mineral interests of Colorado…inexhaustible as is Colorado’s mineral wealth; progressive as henceforth its development; predominate and extensive as are its mountains; high even as are its valleys and plains, - in spite of seeming impossibilities and rivalries.

---

92 The Colorado Springs Chamber of Commerce explains, “Air depends for its purity on its freedom from bacteria, carbon particles from smoke, dust and deleterious gases. Bacteria find their way into the atmosphere from the bodies of men and animals, or from their excreta and from decaying animal and vegetable matter. The numbers are determined, therefore, by the density of men and animals, and by the moisture content of the air. They will be increased in numbers in most, thickly-settled community. Their comparative absence in these sparsely settles regions is self-evident. Colorado Springs: City of Sunshine, 15.

93 Abbott, 225.

94 Samuel Bowles III (February 9, 1826 – January 16, 1878) was an American journalist born in Springfield, Massachusetts. He later became the editor of a journal called The Republican (Springfield).
Agriculture is already and is destined always to be its dominant interest... For agriculture is the basis of wealth, of power, of morality; it is the conservative element of all national and political and social growth; it steadies, preserves, purifies, elevates.  

Bowles articulates the hopeful sentiment that many shared in the post-civil war reconstruction era. The fertile western soil gave all generations hope and helped rekindle a national identity in nineteenth-century America. Bingham’s painting is part of this ideology as he highlights the vast Colorado terrain.

The association of hope in Colorado was intensified by the constantly advancing technology. Developing technology played an increasingly significant role in the country’s understanding of healthful climates. The telegraph became one of the most reliable sources for compiling precise meteorological data and statistics. Using the data gathered from the telegraph physicians paired specific symptoms of patients with physical geographic locations. Physicians created an extensive list of meteorological and physical factors in order to determine the most beneficial geographic locales. The comprehensive list of factors included: “temperature, relative humidity, barometric pressure, atmospheric electricity, wind direction, rainfall, diathermancy, cloudiness, and soil types.” Employing science in this way seems to be a significant component of advertising the therapeutic advantages of Colorado. The Signal Service was created by Congress in 1870 in order to create a network of weather stations linked to commercial telegraph lines. In 1873, the service set up a station atop Pike’s Peak in Colorado. It was the first station in Colorado and the highest meteorological station in the country, giving it a certain authority. The

---

95 Samuel Bowles, *Our New West, Records of Travel between the Mississippi River and the Pacific Ocean*. New York, Arno Press, 1973 (c. 1869), 188-189 [*my emphasis*].

96 Mittman: 98.
telegraph line ultimately furthered the region’s economic prosperity through scientifically verifying the healthful conditions.  

The Transcontinental Railroad, in addition, facilitated travel to the West. Built between 1863 and 1869, this railroad connected the Atlantic and Pacific coasts for the first time. Creating faster, cheaper, and safer travel, the railroad offered an appealing alternative to the Conestoga trail. Although the route did not pass through Denver, feeder lines were built to service travel to Denver and Colorado Springs. Originally founded to ship gold during the gold rush from the mountains, the Colorado Central Railroad eventually expanded to connect with the Transcontinental Railroad.

Colorado’s particular environment gave Americans hope as people increasingly believed in the curative power of the physical landscape over medicinal practice. In the same way that hopeful Americans mined for gold, so they mined for health. The parallel between the pursuit for health and gold was not lost on contemporary promoters as they realized the economic importance of this demographic. While Bingham traveled to Denver in search of personal health, the nation looked to the same landscape for a kind of healing as well. The abundance of natural resources in Colorado offered restoration as the land in the east and south were becoming exhausted.

Leading up to and during the Civil War, many Americans lost property and financial security; after the conflict the West provided a kind of fantasy of great riches with natural splendors ready to be used. Even prior to the Civil War, the country faced economic challenges.

---

97 Ibid: 98.
98 These feeder lines really did affect the number of visitors in the region. Abbott notes, “Both population and mercantile business tripled in three or four years as the city became the railroad hub of the Rockies.” Abbott, 78.
99 Mittman: 99. Mittman writes, “With the aid of the railroad and telegraph, physicians surveyed, extracted and marketed health as a natural resource...hope rested not in the medical profession but in the salubrious environment.”
100 Ibid: 99
Through the Pike’s Peak gold rush as well as the promise of agricultural success, a belief in the prospect of increasing one’s wealth surfaced as a major factor in Colorado’s development. People believed stories in newspapers and dime novels and moved to the Pikes Peak region expecting to find their own fortunes. Moreover, people were not just moving to the Pike’s Peak region in search of gold. Many entrepreneurs were setting up hotels and supplies stores which they hoped would prosper due to the tourists and new settlers.\textsuperscript{101} Indeed, the Pike’s Peak gold rush distinguished Colorado from any other state. The often lucrative peaks hold deep significance for understanding Bingham’s conception of Colorado and the Pike’s Peak region as ideal for settlement. Bingham viewed this settlement as crucial for increased commerce in America. Bingham reinforced the gold rush in his coloration of the foothills with their golden hue. He also conveyed the geological component of pink granite, which characterizes Pike’s Peak in the nineteenth century, with the slightly pink tint of the central peak. Bingham’s palette underscored Pike’s Peak and its economic and geopolitical importance, specifically, in the employment of a golden tint as well as an attention to the naturalistic pink shade of the prominent peak.

When Bingham traveled to Denver in 1872, it was considered to be a territory by the government; however, Coloradoans had been seeking statehood since 1865.\textsuperscript{102} It is possible that

\textsuperscript{101} Abbott, 133.
\textsuperscript{102} In 1865 Coloradans voted to become a state but President Andrew Johnson opposed it. In the same year, the African American community also refuted the proposed state’s failure to grant them the right to vote. In fact, one hundred and thirty-seven African Americans wrote to Congress to deny statehood. “One hundred and thirty-seven African Americans petitioned Congress to deny statehood until “the word white be erased from the State Constitution.” Abbott, 75. Bingham was deeply invested in the abolitionist cause early in his career and would have identified with the plight of the African American as they pushed for constitutional rights. In the 1850s, as the slavery debated raged throughout the country Bingham wrote a series of pamphlets on the subject in the Columbia Missouri Statesman. See, Bingham, \textit{Columbia Missouri Statesman}, (January 18, 1856). Three other attempts also failed, largely because of President Johnson, who cited the small population as problematic. Johnson was a Democrat and distrusted the idea of adding a state whose two senators would most likely be Republicans. Abbott, 74-75. Nevertheless, in 1876, on the celebrated anniversary of the Declaration of Independence the Colorado territories became the state of Colorado.
Bingham, however subtly, addresses the issue of statehood through the figure in the foreground. Bingham might have employed a homesteader type in *Pikes Peak*.

This man could be a reference to a homesteader because he appears alone in nature, clearly in a remote area of terrain. It would be appropriate for Bingham to include a homesteader as they were encouraged to settle land in the nineteenth century through the Homestead Act of 1862.\(^{103}\) If this man represents the homesteader, Bingham indicates that this individual has trekked as far as Colorado and was continuing to develop and settle land. Bingham, who felt strongly about the assimilation and settlement of the West, would have appreciated the efforts of homesteaders, who were moving the territory towards a state-ready circumstance.\(^ {104}\) Considering the state’s history, Bingham’s painting, completed during the final phase of Colorado’s campaign to join the union, might have grappled with the issue of statehood. Although painted later in his life, the artist likely still carried his political beliefs from the forties and fifties. Consequently, he would have supported Colorado’s sanctioned statehood so that the country as whole could benefit from the natural resources and potential commercial exchange.

Bingham is finally connected with Colorado through an article in the *Rocky Mountain News*. The article reported on Bingham’s progress:

*The subject is Pike’s peak; the artist G.C. Bingham, one of the noted landscape painters of America, the point of observation about one mile north of Colorado Springs; and the picture perfect in detail, elaborate in execution, and rich in color. Mr. Bingham has been at work upon this sketch for several weeks, and has succeeded in a manner commensurate with his large genius, and produced a picture which will meet all criticisms of the art centres*


\(^{104}\) For example, scholar John R. Van Atta notes, “In his [Henry Clay’s] mind, there was never any serious conflict between revenue and settlement objectives; both could be served well enough in a system that kept lands reasonably cheap but did not give them away.” John R. Van Atta. “Western Lands and the Political Economy of Henry Clay’s American System, 1819-1832” *Journal of the Early Republic*, Vol. 21, No. 4 (Winter, 2001): 634. By keeping land cheap people would be encouraged to move out west, purchase land, and cultivate it.
and bear the most rigid comparison with the efforts of the other
great masters of the land. Those who have stood beneath the
towering height of the grand mountain, and under the bright sky
watched drifting clouds and the succeeding shadows, drunk in the
grandeur of the scene, and felt its overpowering effect, will feel as
they stand before this work of art that they are in the presence of
the reality of towering crags and snow-capped peak…We advise
all to examine the picture soon, as it will be taken east for sale in a
few days. The only point to which we object, and upon which we
must pass censure is, that the moneyed men and art lovers of our
territory will permit it to leave this section. Mr. Bingham’s pictures
are noted throughout the land, and there should be some pride felt
in retaining this one near the scene of which it is the counterpart.105
While the article does supply information about Bingham’s work, it seems that the newspaper
had additional aims. Championing Bingham’s painting gives the writer a chance to advertise the
remarkable environment. Moreover, extolling the artist’s renown presents an opportunity to
attest to the area’s popularity.106 The article serves as an important document which informs
about Bingham’s painting and evidences the positive sentiment surrounding the impressive
topography of Colorado.

CONCLUSION

American art historian Elizabeth Johns touched on Bingham’s Pikes Peak landscape in an
essay, “…like Bierstadt and Moran, he [Bingham] was to paint a few far western landscapes
such as View of Pikes Peak, and Colorado Mountain Landscape. Up to date as they were in their
subjects and approaches, these landscapes had little of the technical accomplishment and artistic
commitment of Bingham’s agrarian scenes of the late 1840s. Those were where his heart was as
a landscapist.”107 This essay has proposed the opposite. While Bingham’s creation of Pikes Peak
was “up to date” in many ways, the personal impulses embedded into the art work complicate
and separate it from his body of work. Pikes Peak provides an important intersection, where

105 Rocky Mountain News, October 15, 1872
106 Many western newspapers employed this technique when reporting on artists painting their respective natural
vistas.
107 Johns, “The “Missouri Artist” as Artist,” 105.
issues of artistic trends in American landscape, as well as personal and national healing, intermingle. Bingham’s intention of conveying Colorado as a particular place, with a particular capacity to provide America with an ideal identity manifests in the painting. Since *Pikes Peak* resonates simultaneously on a personal and national level, it brings together a series of American histories, that of Bingham and of Colorado, in a visually impactful way - one that helps to give deeper meaning to both narratives.
BIBLIOGRAPHY

“A Notable Picture” Rocky Mountain News, October 15, 1872.


“Proceedings at the Annual Meeting of the American Art-Union for 1844” Transactions of the American Art-Union...for the year 1844, 1844: 3-24.


Bingham, George Caleb. “Art, the Ideal of Art and the Utility of Art” University of the State of Missouri, 1879.


Figure 1: George Caleb Bingham, *View of Pikes Peak*, 1872, 28 1/8 x 42 1/4, Amon Carter Museum of American Art
Figure 2: George Caleb Bingham, *Shooting for the Beef*, 1850, 33 3/8 x 49, Brooklyn Museum
Figure 3: George Caleb Bingham, *View of Pikes Peak*, missing version (1872?)
Figure 4: William Henry Jackson, *Pikes Peak From Woodland Park*
Figure 5: George Caleb Bingham, Colorado Mountain Landscape, 1872 (?) 10 7/8 x 14 ¾, Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art
Figure 6: George Caleb Bingham, *Cottage Scenery*, 1845, 29 x 36, Corcoran Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.
Figure 7: George Caleb Bingham, *Landscape: Rural Scenery*, 1845, 29 x 36, Collection of Mrs. E.P. Moore, Washington, D.C.
Figure 8: George Caleb Bingham, “Forest Hill,” The Nelson Homestead, Boonville, Missouri, 1877, 22x 27, Private Collection
Figure 9: George Caleb Bingham, *The Storm*, 1852/53, 25 1/8 x 30 1/16, Wadsworth Athenaeum, Hartford, Connecticut
Figure 10: George Moreland, *Sportsmen Refreshing*, 1783
Figure 11: Asher B Durand, *Solitary Oak*, 1844, 36 x 48, New York Historical Society
Figure 12: George Caleb Bingham, *The Concealed Enemy*, 1845, 29 ¼ x 36 ½ Stark Museum of Art, Orange, Texas
Figure 13: George Caleb Bingham, *Captured By Indians*, 1848, 25 x 30, St Louis Art Museum, St. Louis, MO
Figure 14: George Caleb Bingham, *Landscape with an Indian Encampment*, after 1853, 15 x 19, Thomas Gilcrease Institute of American History of Art, Tulsa, Oklahoma
Figure 15: Charles Craig, *Jimmy’s Camp at Sunrise*, 1905
Figure 16: Worthington Whittredge, *Long's Peak from Denver*, 1866, 12 ¾ x 23 ¼ Buffalo Bill Historical Center, Cody, Wyoming
Figure 17: Samuel Colman, *Spanish Peaks, Southern Colorado*, 1887, 31 1/8 x 72 1/4
Metropolitan Museum of Art
Figure 18: Thomas Moran, *Pikes Peak through the Gateway to the Garden of the Gods*, 1880, 14 ½ x 24 ½ Courtesy Garden of the Gods Club, Colorado Springs, CO
Figure 19: William Henry Jackson, *Pikes Peak through the Gateway to the Garden of the Gods*, 1880
Figure 20: Thomas Moran, *Chasm of Colorado*, 1873–1874, 84 3/8 x 144 ¾ Department of the Interior Museum, Washington, D.C., currently at the Smithsonian American Art Museum.
Figure 21: William Henry Jackson, *View of Pikes Peak from Fountain Creek*, 1878-1898, Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Yale University
Figure 23: Samuel Manning, *Pikes Peak*, American Pictures Drawn with Pen and Pencil, 1876