

# VALE OF WYOMING:



After a sketch by W. H. Dwyer.

J. T. Wilkes

G. S. McCLINTOCK  
COLLECTION

WILKESBARRE

(Vale of Wyoming)

## Nineteenth Century Images from Campbell's Ledge to Nanticoke

Sordoni Art Gallery, Wilkes College

# VALE OF WYOMING:

Nineteenth Century Images  
from Campbell's Ledge to Nanticoke

Sordoni Art Gallery  
Wilkes College  
Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania

December 8, 1985 through January 26, 1986

Annie Bohlin and F. Charles Petrillo, Guest Curators  
Essays by F. Charles Petrillo and Roger B. Stein  
Exhibition organized by Judith H. O'Toole

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from the Pennsylvania Council on the Arts.

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Front cover: William Henry Bartlett (1809-1854),  
*Wilkes Barre. (Vale of Wyoming)*, c. 1838, engraving,  
Gilbert S. McClintock Collection, E.S. Farley Library, Wilkes College

Back cover: Artist Unknown,  
*Baltimore Company's Coal Mine*, c. 1830, wood engraving,  
Gilbert S. McClintock Collection, E.S. Farley Library, Wilkes College

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## Lenders to the Exhibition

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Judith H. O'Toole, *Director*

## The Wyoming Scene: From Black Earth to Black Diamonds — A Historical View

*In the meadows at Wyoming, the soil is deep, strong, fat, black and fine; exceeding[ly] kind and warm . . . the grass was up almost to a low horse's back . . . The river is not very swift . . . and varies as to its width . . . and depth . . . The river abounds with islands . . . The principal timber are white oak and pine . . . Such pitch pine we never saw in any other place . . . there are also black walnuts good and large . . . There is also at Wyoming, sea coal in great plenty, and in different places . . . It lies along the bank of the river, very easily broken up, of a black color . . . [To] sum it all, in a word, with respect to the country, we are of the opinion it is the best, and the pleasantest land we ever saw, take it together hills and meadows, considering it in its native state.*

Robert J. Taylor, ed., *The Susquehanna Company Papers, 1772-1774*, (Ithaca: Cornell Press, 1968), V, 33-39, quoting the *Connecticut Courant*, September 29, 1772.



1. Jasper Francis Cropsey, *Wyoming Valley, Pennsylvania*, c. 1864, oil on canvas, 15×24

With the dawn of the nineteenth century, the warring land disputes between Connecticut and Pennsylvania settlers to the rich agricultural valley of Wyoming were finally settled, and local farmers, merchants, and tradesmen now turned to the mundane affairs of government and commerce. Luzerne County, named after Chevalier de la Luzerne, Minister of France to the United States, had been carved out of Northampton County in September 1786, and Wilkes-Barre was named the county seat the following year. The youthful city, with its thirty-five acre public common along the river, and four acre town square, became a borough in 1806. The county was growing rapidly with a population in 1800 of 12,809, more than double the 1790 census. Most settlers to the new county were attracted to the Wyoming Valley, the scene of the legendary Wyoming Massacre. The name Wyoming is a corruption of Maugh-wow-wa-me, a Delaware Indian name for The Large Plains. It suited the area well, for the seventeen mile valley between Pittston and Nanticoke and the five mile plain at Wilkes-Barre were poetically beautiful with their tree-fringed riverside paths and pristine river pools.

Early settlers were aware of "stone coal" outcroppings in the Wyoming Valley. But with vast woodlands for fuel or for making charcoal, the Wyoming Valley's coal seams were more a curiosity rather than a resource. A few local blacksmiths used "stone coal," but with the methods of the time a coal fire was difficult to start and required a forced draft to sustain it. Moreover, in the early Philadelphia industrial markets, it was actually cheaper to ship "sea coal" from Liverpool, England, than to haul wagon-loads of anthracite coal over crude roads from Pennsylvania's frontier settlements.

Three events in 1808 forever changed the Wyoming landscape. In February 1808 Jesse Fell discovered that anthracite coal could be readily burned in a simple raised grate with a minimum draft. His famous experiment at the Old Fell Tavern would ignite the Wyoming Valley coal industry. Later in the year two brothers, Abijah and John Smith, of Plymouth, Pennsylvania, shipped coal in wooden arks down the Susquehanna River which was successfully sold in Columbia, Pennsylvania, and later in Havre de Grace, Maryland, for the Baltimore market. The double-pointed arks, with a cargo capacity of sixty tons each, were built on the Plymouth flatlands. They were dismantled at journey's end and the lumber used to construct the boats was sold, since it was too laborious to pole the boats upriver for a return trip to the Valley. The boatmen frequently walked home if a wagon ride was not found. Armed with Fell's discovery, the Smith brothers pioneered the marketing of Wyoming Valley coal.

Perhaps an even more fortuitous event in the Wilkes-Barre town of five hundred was the arrival in 1808 of the visionary Jacob Cist. Son of a Philadelphia publisher, Cist was a skilled linguist, geologist, inventor and entomologist. Fresh with new ideas from Washington, D.C., Cist had married Sarah Hollenback a year earlier. Sarah was the daughter of Judge Matthias Hollenback, a Wilkes-Barre merchant with a reputation as the wealthiest man in Northeastern Pennsylvania. Cist applied

In the Wyoming Valley a number of small locally owned mines dotted the hills along the river. The only major outside investment occurred in July 1831 when a 410 acre mine in the East End of Wilkes-Barre was purchased by Baltimore interests. The Baltimore mines were renowned for their richness in the early history of the Wyoming Valley anthracite industry. Coal from these early mines was hauled to the Susquehanna River bank for shipment on arks or the canal.

Even with the development of the North Branch and Wyoming Division canal systems, the expansion of the Wyoming Coal Field lagged behind the Southern and Middle fields. The Wyoming field produced only fifteen percent of Pennsylvania's total anthracite production of 376,000 tons in 1834. But technological improvements were advancing for both the mining and transportation of coal. A crude version of the railroad principle was adopted by the Baltimore Mine Company in 1836 and by the Butler Mine Company in Pittston in 1838. A railroad track permitted loaded coal cars to descend by gravity from the mines to the river bank or canal, and mules or horses pulled the empty cars back to the mine.

Illustrations of the changing American landscape were successfully marketed in 1840 in a thirty-part collection entitled *American Scenery* by the London publisher George Virtue. It was a collaboration of the English artist William Henry Bartlett (1809-1854) and the American writer Nathaniel Parker Willis. Bartlett drew two famous images of Wilkes-Barre during two visits to the United States between 1836 and 1838. At this time the Wyoming Valley mining industry and its canal system was in a youthful stage, and did not seriously detract from the predominately agricultural landscape of the area. The Wilkes-Barre and Easton turnpike brought visitors down Wilkes-Barre Mountain at Prospect Rock, a vista which itself became legendary in the landscape and travelogue art of the last century, and served as the viewpoint for Bartlett's *Descent into the Valley of Wyoming*. From Redoubt Hill near North Street in Wilkes-Barre, Bartlett's *Wilkes-Barre*. (*Vale of Wyoming*, shows the lovely village, spired public square, and the covered Market Street Bridge across the river. Very shortly the solitary canal boat would be crossing the aqueduct at Mill Creek (near the present site of the General Hospital), and in a couple of hours it would reach its destined stop at a Pittston store or mine. Bartlett prints enjoyed tremendous success on both sides of the Atlantic and were frequently copied and transferred to other mediums including chinaware. The Bartlett views of the Valley maintained the purity of its landscape and gave little hint of the industrial revolution soon to be wrought from underneath the Valley's green hills.

In 1842 Pennsylvania's anthracite production increased to one million tons. Early in the decade railroad technology had improved and permitted the construction of both passenger and freight lines. In 1843 the Lehigh and Susquehanna Railroad was completed between White Haven, at the head of the Lehigh Canal, and the Ashley Planes, a series of three railroad inclined planes near Wilkes-Barre. From the Ashley Planes a railroad track was extended to Wilkes-Barre, with a station on the river bank at the site of Wilkes College's Center for the Performing Arts. In 1847 the Wyoming Coal Company sent 10,000 tons of coal from Hanover area mines to New York and Philadelphia over the Ashley Planes, the first major shipments on the Lehigh and Susquehanna Railroad.

By 1852 Pennsylvania's coal trade was exploding as five million tons of coal were mined. Increased production in the Wyoming field now accounted for twenty-five percent of the state's coal production. Between 1849 and 1856 a North Branch Extension Canal was constructed along the Susquehanna River between Pittston and New York State, providing a northern canal outlet for Wyoming coal. Between 1850 and 1865 the North Branch Canal realized its long-sought prosperity, even as railroads penetrated the Wyoming Coal Field to eventually doom the canal.

In the decade before the Civil War, Wilkes-Barre was a major canal port along the North Branch of the Susquehanna River. The community had seen steady if not enormous growth in the coal industry from the opening of the Wyoming Division in 1834. In the ten years between 1840 and 1850 the town population grew from 1,718 to 2,723. The Wyoming Division canal drew a variety of new shops and industries along the canal route through the city. In 1842 the City Council authorized a new street, Washington Street, between Main Street in the center of town, and Canal Street, at that time the eastern boundary of the town's limits. The new street was needed to accommodate the growing demand for building spaces near the canal. The community was also drawing new immi-

grant populations. The Irish — followed by the Germans — had come to the Valley to build the canal. Now the English and Welsh were coming to work in the mines. By 1850 an industrial base for the community and its service-connected businesses was clearly evident along the canal. The course of the canal and the railroad which later followed it served as the town's industrial development corridor well into the twentieth century.

The town of Pittston Ferry (now Pittston) was also a busy river community in 1850. As with Wilkes-Barre, commercial activity in Pittston followed the line of the canal. There were two daily stage lines. One ran on the west side of the river to Binghamton; a second line on the east side ran to Carbondale. Between 1849 and 1851 the 128-foot steamboat *Wyoming*, the largest ever built for the Susquehanna River, ran between Athens and Pittston, carrying coal, freight, and passengers. The forests of the upper river basin were being stripped for lumber to build cities and to support mine tunnels. Huge rafts of timber, manned by stout, independent raftsmen, were floated to market on the river. One month in the spring of 1849, 2,243 rafts passed Pittston with 100,000,000 feet of lumber. As many as one hundred rafts were tied up at one time along the river when raftsmen stopped at Sax's Hotel in Pittston for dinner and refreshments. In 1850 the Pennsylvania Coal Company, which had acquired large mining interests in the Pittston area, completed a series of inclined railroad planes and began to send hundreds of thousands of tons of coal over the Lackawanna Mountains to Honesdale, where the Delaware and Hudson Canal shipped Pittston coal to the Hudson River and New York City.

The early 1850s also supported a successful packet boat trade on the Wyoming canal. Packet boats provided passenger and mail service on the canal between Wilkes-Barre and Northumberland; they supplanted stage lines along the river. At Northumberland other packet lines could take passengers along the state's canal system to Harrisburg and Pittsburgh. The packet boat trade in the Wyoming Valley quickly died when the Lackawanna and Bloomsburg Railroad, between Pittston and Northumberland, was opened in 1856. From West Nanticoke to Northumberland the new railroad ran a course parallel to the North Branch Canal.

Between the 1840s and 1850s coal production in the Wyoming field quadrupled with over nineteen million tons mined between 1851-1860. Business newspapers devoted to commercial, mining, and railroad affairs were published in Philadelphia, New York and Baltimore. They frequently served as propaganda vehicles to attract investment funds for railroad, canal, and mining ventures in the anthracite region. The general public devoured popular magazines with woodcut illustrations of American travel attractions.

Illustrated articles covering Susquehanna scenery and the Wyoming Valley anthracite industry appeared in a variety of English and American magazines in the 1850s. In the new universe of the steamboat, railroad, and telegraph, illustrated periodicals served to promote both investment and tourist travel. The Susquehanna River was a popular topic for both artists and illustrators and a series of Wyoming Valley articles appeared in *Harper's* magazine. Articles covering the local mining industry, illustrated with breakers and industrious mine workers, could be found in London's illustrated periodicals. Frequently, the articles cited the Wyoming Massacre story and the early poetry surrounding the Valley's legendary beauty, followed by the wonders of hard coal mining. The Baltimore coal mine served as a local tourist attraction in the 1850s and was featured in several magazines. The mine had a twenty-eight foot vein of glistening black coal, and it was said a coach and horses could be driven through its mine tunnel. A solid block of Baltimore coal, five feet square and twenty-nine feet high, was sent by canal boat to the Crystal Palace exhibit in New York City in 1853, where it won a bronze medal. The woodcut illustrations of the time accompanied by laborious Victorian rhetoric glorified the Wyoming Valley's splendid mines and the miners who placidly, if not joyously, sweated out the countless tons of coal from the Valley's cobweb of mine shafts and tunnels.

The mid-century was also a heyday for local historians and a number of local works were produced to recount the area's Revolutionary history and the capitalist version of the exploding mining industry. But the increasing number of mine accidents and the ecological devastation to the landscape were suppressed. The first fatality in Wyoming Valley mining occurred during a rockfall in 1823 at the Hollenback mine on Mill Creek; the first fire damp explosion happened in 1843, also at the

Fig. 5  
Front cover

Hollenback mines. But accidents were generally attributed to careless workmen rather than institutional neglect. In 1847 the mechanized breaker was introduced to local mining at the Butler Colliery at Pittston and coal breakers soon peppered the low hills of the Wyoming Valley. By 1853 mine operators were sinking shafts and mining coal below water level, pumping the underground water from the mines as countless tunnels were built under the Valley. Acidic mine water and coal silt began to pollute the Susquehanna River, and culm waste from breaker operations began their hideous mountain-building.

By this time many of the mines in the Wyoming Valley were consolidated into large operations and they were usually controlled by outside interests. In 1855 there were still several small mines near the huge Baltimore Company works in the east end of Wilkes-Barre. But a major new company, the North Pennsylvania Company, was beginning operations in the area, and below the Baltimore lands the Philadelphia-owned Empire Coal Company had 1,150 feet of frontage on the canal in the city. Below the Empire there was a succession of Philadelphia or New York mining companies all along the canal line from south Wilkes-Barre to Hanover Township.

Perhaps the last major art work to capture the Wyoming Valley's romanticized past is Jasper Francis Cropsey's *The Valley of Wyoming* (1865) which Cropsey composed while on a visit to the Valley in 1864. Originally trained as an architect, Cropsey had a strong interest in natural scenery, particularly American autumnal landscapes. Cropsey's large oil work of a bucolic but settled farming valley catches a stretch of the languid canal in Hanover Township. But any sign of bustling industrial and mining activity is absent and the cityscape is far in the background. Cropsey, however, could not be oblivious to the mechanization of the region's landscape. *The Valley of Wyoming* was commissioned by Milton Courtright, an engineer and railway magnate, who was born in the Wyoming Valley. The painting is a nativity scene for Cropsey's patron, and became the Valley's most powerful artistic expression of natural values.

Anthracite production in Northeastern Pennsylvania's Northern, Middle, and Southern Coal Fields leaped from 8.5 million tons in 1860 to 20.1 million tons by 1874. The Wyoming Valley now produced forty-seven percent of the state's coal production, and would out-strip production in the Middle and Southern fields for the balance of the century. By 1874 there were three recognizable changes in the character of the Wyoming Valley's economic history. Railroad lines began to dominate the area's coal transportation market, particularly after the Great Flood in March 1865 smashed the upper Susquehanna River basin. The flood destroyed the North Branch Extension Canal between Pittston and New York State and despite an effort to rebuild it the canal would be abandoned seven years later. The Lehigh Valley Railroad opened a railroad line from White Haven to Wilkes-Barre in May 1867 and extended its railroad along the course of the Extension canal to Waverly, New York, by 1869. The Central Railroad of New Jersey was the primary rival of the Lehigh Valley Railroad for the Wyoming Valley coal market, and in 1871 it leased the Lehigh and Susquehanna Railroad from White Haven to Wilkes-Barre. Both railroads carried over one million tons of coal from the Wyoming Valley mines in 1874. In the same year at Pittston the Pennsylvania Coal Company sent over one million tons of coal over its gravity railroad to the Lackawanna Valley's railroad and canal systems to New York markets. The Lackawanna and Bloomsburg Railroad, which hugged the original North Branch Canal line, carried 432,000 tons of coal down the river giving the canal severe competition. Three years earlier the Lackawanna and Bloomsburg Railroad had been merged into the mighty Delaware, Lackawanna and Western Railroad.

Another change in the Wyoming coal region was the consolidation of coal companies under the ownership or control of railroad systems. State law generally had prohibited the merger of mining and transportation companies. However, the railroad and mine companies were fairly adept at evading the legal restriction. By 1868 the state legislature had removed legal barriers to mergers of mining and transportation lines. In 1870 the Delaware, Lackawanna and Western Railroad merged with the Nanticoke Coal and Iron Company and now controlled 25,000 acres of coal lands in the Wyoming-Lackawanna field. The Lehigh Valley Railroad controlled the Lehigh Valley Coal Company and by 1872 it held 32,000 acres of coal lands in the Wyoming and Middle Coal Fields. The Central Railroad of New Jersey purchased over 21,000 acres of prime land in the Wyoming and Middle Coal Fields

Fig. 11

between 1867 and 1873. Its holdings included the Lehigh and Wilkes-Barre Coal Company. The Delaware and Hudson Canal Company also entered the Wilkes-Barre mine fields; it soon controlled several mining companies, including the famed Baltimore Mine Company. In time the Delaware and Hudson became a powerful canal, mining, and railroad combination.

Finally, there was some legislative recognition of the hazards of anthracite mining following the Avondale mine disaster on September 6, 1869. The Avondale breaker in Plymouth had been built directly over the mine shaft. When the breaker caught fire, 176 men were trapped, unable to escape through the perilous shaft. The tragedy captured the front pages of the *New York Times*. The national tabloid periodicals also highlighted with engraved illustrations the fatally trapped miners, the vain rescue attempts, and the grisly recovery of the suffocated men. The horror of the Avondale disaster gripped the nation and state legislation was quickly passed in Harrisburg to require that every mine have at least two exits, and to prohibit the building of breakers over mine shafts. But further safety and welfare legislation for miners had an uncertain history until a new century had turned; even basic workmen's compensation for seriously and fatally injured miners was not enacted until 1916. Local promoters were content to ignore the dark side of the industry which provided wealth and position to the mine and railroad owners. Even the area's most prominent populist Democrat, Hendrick B. Wright, a former local Congressman, wrote a history of Plymouth, his home town, in 1873, without mention of the Avondale tragedy.

Not only local historians but also regional artists had an uneasy time with the changing landscape. Perhaps the most arresting view for the period is *The Harvey Breaker* by Thomas Hill (1829-1908). The breaker was located in West Nanticoke. Hill's painting looks across the river to the mountains on the east side of the Wyoming Valley. A Lackawanna and Bloomsburg Railroad passenger train, in seemingly quiet bliss, steams down along the river's edge, while a sailboat near the east shore finds a billowy course upriver. But the painter's most curious ambivalence is the juxtaposition of the dark breaker with the farmhouse and barn in the opposite corner, as though mining were merely an extension of the family farm. Hill's beautiful but unheralded work proposes to maintain the Valley's majesty in a changing era.

More common artistic expressions of the time were the engraved travel periodicals. Some were artistic in the vein of *American Scenery*; others were blatant commercial pieces published by railroad companies to promote passenger traffic. In the midst of the Wyoming field's boom years, there appeared the best selling two volume work, *Picturesque America*, published in 1874 by Appleton and Company. The twenty pound leather bound work contained richly illustrated essays of American cities and glorious country and waterside scenery. A Susquehanna River essay, illustrated by Granville Perkins, and written by R. C. Garczynski, had to contend with the increasing industrialization of the Wyoming Valley landscape. Granville Perkins' view of the canal, railroad, and industrial scenes along the riverside bravely sought reconciliation of the Valley's legendary beauty and its industrial fortune. The view *Nanticoke Dam* is forefronted by a solitary fisherman on an idle river, with no hint of the bustling Nanticoke canal traffic behind the dam. *The Canal at Hunlocks* shows a romanticized boatman blowing his horn to signal the lockman ahead to open the West Nanticoke guard lock, when canal boats of the time were actually dirty eighty ton (soon 120 ton) coal barges. There was little romance in ten or twelve hour work days as boatmen and mules trudged the towpath between West Nanticoke and the Chesapeake Bay. Similarly, in the view *Below the Nanticoke Dam* a Lackawanna and Bloomsburg train, a noisy, grimy, fire-breathing apparatus at war with the riverland scenery, seeks to find its place along a tranquil canal. Garczynski's essay on the Wyoming Valley highlights the "smiling towns" of the green valley, with only a passing reference to the "black mounds and grimy structures [which] mark the collieries." But the coal industry of the Wyoming Valley which "is now only in the dawning of its prosperity," was feeding the American Industrial Revolution. "What it will be in the full sunlight of fortune it passeth here to tell," is Garczynski's own expression of doubt that the Wyoming landscape would escape the destruction his collaborator, Granville Perkins, sought to conceal in the engraved views.

The era of the engraved Victorian parlor book, however, would soon wane as photographic processes were developed. The daguerreotype was perfected in 1839, followed by the ambrotype in

Fig. 15

Fig. 3



3. Granville A. Perkins, *Nanticoke Dam*, c. 1874, engraving (hand-colored), 6 1/8 x 8 7/8

1852 and the tintype in 1856. These processes, however, were primarily for portrait work rather than landscape views. Stereograph views, which provided a 3-D illusion, became popular in the United States in 1858 and millions of stereoviews were taken of American scenes. A number of stereographic views of Wyoming Valley scenes began to appear in 1865. In 1873 a commercially successful series of Wyoming Valley stereograph views were produced by Schurch and Company of Scranton. Other stereoview series followed during the next two decades by other prominent stereographers, particularly E. W. Beckwith of Plymouth and C. F. Cook of Wilkes-Barre. They captured numerous street, river and mining scenes for the parlors of the Wyoming Valley. Unfortunately, these now historic views were pedestrian and poorly framed, and too often reflect the stereographer's commercial haste to snare a scene rather than an historic opportunity to compose an image. Nevertheless, the stereoviews of the 1870s-1880s are the Wyoming Valley's major photographic record of the era. They are also now rare, as most collections were apparently lost in the Valley's several floods.

In 1878 Lackawanna County was created out of Luzerne County. Despite the loss Luzerne County's population between 1880 and 1890 increased from 133,065 to 201,120. Wilkes-Barre's population in 1890 had increased forty-six percent from 23,339 to 37,651. There were similar gains in other coal mining communities. The Plymouth population increased by fifty-four percent from 6,065 to 9,341 and Nanticoke increased 158 percent from 3,884 to 10,037. These gains, of course, were attributable largely to the coal trade and the demand for immigrant mining labor. Between 1829 and 1884 the Wyoming region had mined 242,888,477 tons of coal. In 1885 over sixteen million tons of coal would be produced from the Wyoming Valley's sixty-eight collieries, which employed nearly 20,000 men and boys. But the tremendous production pace also produced steady accounts of mining accidents. At the close of the year on December 18, 1885, twenty-six men were forever entombed in the No. 1 slope of the Susquehanna Coal Company at Nanticoke after a cave-in. During the year another twenty-seven were killed and 149 injured in local mine accidents.

In an era of swelling cities, lithographic town views became a mania for nineteenth-century Americans. A democratic art form, town views promoted civic pride in the urbanization of America. They also served a faddish demand for parlor art and office decoration. They guided immigrants in their introduction and assimilation to city life. Nearly 5,000 American town views were published; the most active period was between 1870 and 1900. Pre-Civil War town views were generally more aesthetic. Commercial considerations in post-war views diminished their art value, if not their public interest. The typical bird's-eye view was adopted as a standard format in later years to gather all of a town's buildings into view to widen the customer audience. Serious artists of the time, and art historians of a later time, have generally dismissed the later town prints as more cartography than art. But with the passage of time, lithographic town views have become collector's items; museums have also increasingly display town views as a form of "pop-art" of Victorian America; and they also now serve as research tools for the urban historian.

Several lithographic views were produced of Wyoming Valley communities including Plymouth (1884), West Pittston (1885), Wyoming (1885), Miners Mills (1892), Pittston (1892), and Plains (1892). There were at least three popular lithographic views of Wilkes-Barre. Published in 1872, 1882 and 1889, they display overhead views of the growing county seat. The 1889 view of Wilkes-Barre by Fowler, Downs and Moyer is the typical bird's-eye view of the period. The canal has been supplanted by the railroad, and back areas of the city display culm hills. A mock steamboat in the river is merely a detail to correctly footnote the river's navigation history.

Thaddeas Mortimer Fowler (1842-1922) was the most prolific of America's city viewmakers. Between 1872 and 1922 he produced 248 Pennsylvania town views, 200 of which were published after 1887, in a partnership with James B. Moyer which continued until 1902. Trained as a photographer rather than an artist, Fowler's work sought to render a clear and accurate picture rather than a portrait of a town. Although Fowler felt "unadulterated joy," using a "spare, mechanical style," other viewers may sense more urban curiosity than artistic revelation in his city works.

The most striking of the local lithographic town views is the 1890 rendering of Nanticoke by Fowler and Moyer. Nanticoke was the last substantial "canal town" along the North Branch of the Susquehanna River. In 1869 the Pennsylvania Railroad Company incorporated the four million dol-

Fig. 18

Fig. 24

Fig. 4





4. T. M. Fowler, *Nanticoke, Pa., 1890*, (bird's eye view), lithograph, 18¼ x 30

lar Susquehanna Coal Company with its base of operations in Nanticoke. The company owned 5,000 acres of coal land and between 1870 and 1897 it built five substantial breakers in Nanticoke and Plymouth. In 1873-1874 the Susquehanna Coal Company built a railroad bridge across the river to connect the Nanticoke mines with the Lackawanna and Bloomsburg Railroad on the west side of the river. In 1882 the company also completed the North and West Branch Railroad between Nanticoke and Catawissa, opposite Bloomsburg, on the east side of the river. In the same year the Wyoming Division canal from Wilkes-Barre to Pittston was closed.

The Fowler lithograph clearly demonstrates the Susquehanna Coal Company's massive operations along the river bank. Along the channel of Nanticoke Creek, three company breakers dumped tons of hard coal onto canal boats which were towed through the river's slackwater by a canal company steam tug. Across the river at West Nanticoke, scores of canal boats with Nanticoke coal would wait to pass through the West Nanticoke guard lock to markets down the canal line. The Nanticoke lithograph faithfully reproduces Nanticoke at the height of its coal industry days. But the North Branch Canal could not survive the competition of the newer rail links serving Nanticoke and the Wyoming Valley. The last canal boats left Nanticoke with coal for Bloomsburg in December 1900 and the canal was formally closed the following spring.

In the backwater of Wyoming Valley's landscape scene is the region's Susquehanna River steamboat history. Before the North Branch Extension Canal above Pittston was built, two steamboats plied the river between Athens and the Wyoming Valley for a short time. But the river is too shallow to support commercial steamboat traffic, and the steamboats *Wyoming* (1849-1851) and *Enterprise* (1850-1852) were abandoned after unsuccessful seasons. Between 1874 and 1894 there was a revived interest in steamboats for passenger-carrying service and a number of steamboats were built at Wilkes-Barre and Plymouth, or brought from the Owego, New York, area to provide passenger travel between Pittston, Wilkes-Barre, Plymouth, and Nanticoke. Over two dozen locally owned and operated steamboats engaged in passenger-carrying trade on the river in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. A few ran only a couple of seasons; others ran for more than a decade. The 108 foot *Hendrick B. Wright*, built in 1874, was the major steamer to ply the river. It was captured, in a crude fashion, in a painting entitled *Wyoming Valley* by an unknown artist of the time. Unfortunately, the present location of the work is uncertain, although a photograph of the painting is available. Other artwork of the Wyoming Valley's steamboat era is rare; oddly enough, although the river steamboats ran well into the photographic era, even photographs of local steamboats are difficult to find. In February 1881 the *Hendrick B. Wright* was crushed by ice at its winter quarters at Solomon's Creek, along with the steamer *Plymouth*. The steamboat era faded quickly after 1891 with the extension of Wyoming Valley's trolley lines to Plymouth and Nanticoke. The river channel for the steamboats was also filling with coal silt from mining operations, hampering river navigation. The last steamboats on the river, the *Greyhound* and *Wilkes-Barre*, struggled along until they ended their river service in September 1902.

With the close of the century, the transition of The Large Plains from country vale to industrial valley had affected not only the landscape but the spirit of the riverside towns. There was increasing concern with labor conditions and the industrial fallout of an extractive industry burdened with both physical risk and ecological damage. Economic progress on a grand scale seemed endless but the industry would peak in 1918 when the state's anthracite production for the year was 98.8 million tons. In 1904 Dr. Peter Roberts, a clergyman and early sociologist, conducted a landmark study of the region. He noted that the Wyoming Valley still retained some of its former beauty, but its few remaining farms were at risk. For the most part, the anthracite valleys had suffered greatly:

*Mining, carried on under the most favorable circumstances, is not advantageous to social progress, but if in addition to disagreeable work the face of nature is despoiled and the physical surroundings of homes are poisoned by carelessness, man must suffer both in mind and body. When man settled here a century ago, the life of nature was far more varied and wholesome than it is this day. Many bright winged birds which are now rarely seen added to the charm of the landscape. The fish are exterminated, and the forests where solemn grandeur and majesty impressed the souls of men are no more. The children of mine employees are to-day raised among surroundings that are dismal and dreary. The huge culm and rock heaps, polluted streams, bare and barren hills, cave-ins and strip-pings, make up the landscape which greets the eyes of these thousands, and if they are polluted in mind and body we need not be surprised. Man can turn a wilderness into a garden, but it needs intelligence and forethought. In these regions hardly a spot can be found in the villages and towns that is not cursed.*

Peter Roberts, *Anthracite Coal Communities*, (New York: Macmillan Co. 1904) pp. 8-9.

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W. H. Bartlett. G. K. Richardson.

THE DESCENT INTO THE VALLEY OF WYOMING.

5. William Henry Bartlett, *The Descent into the Valley of Wyoming*, 1838, engraving, 4½ × 7½



W Y O M I N G

6. J. C. McRae, *Wyoming Massacre*, c. 1852, engraving, 19¼ × 25½



7. Paul Weber, *Campbell's Ledge and the Susquehanna*, 1855, oil on canvas, 24×36



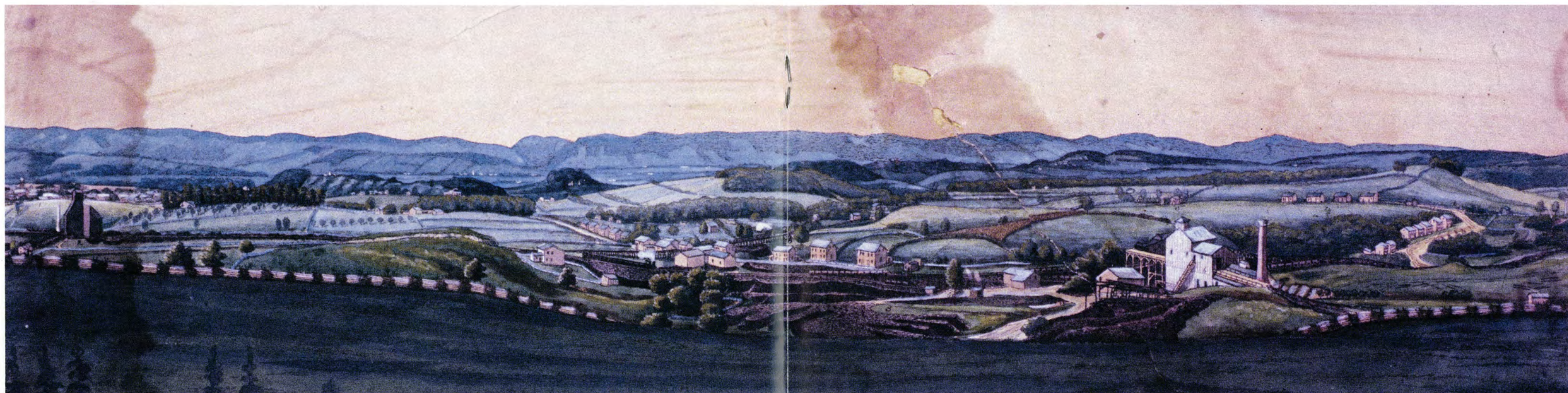
8. Eugene J. Adams, *Valley of Wyoming from Prospect Rock*, 1864, colored lithograph, 27×42



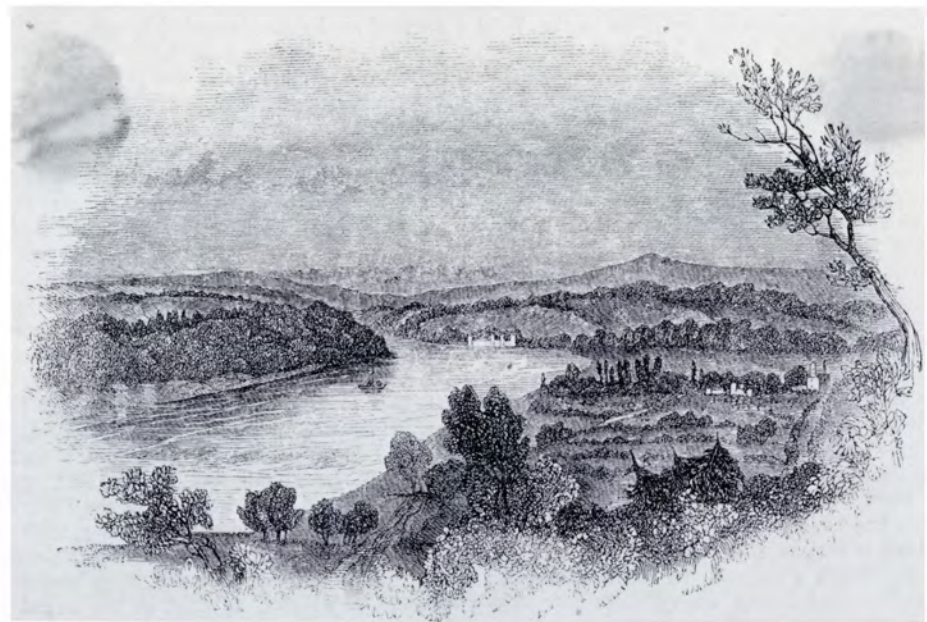
9. George Thomas Devereux, *Wyoming Valley, and Nauticook [sic] Mountains, on the Susquehanna*, c. 1854, wood engraving,  $7\frac{1}{4} \times 9\frac{1}{4}$



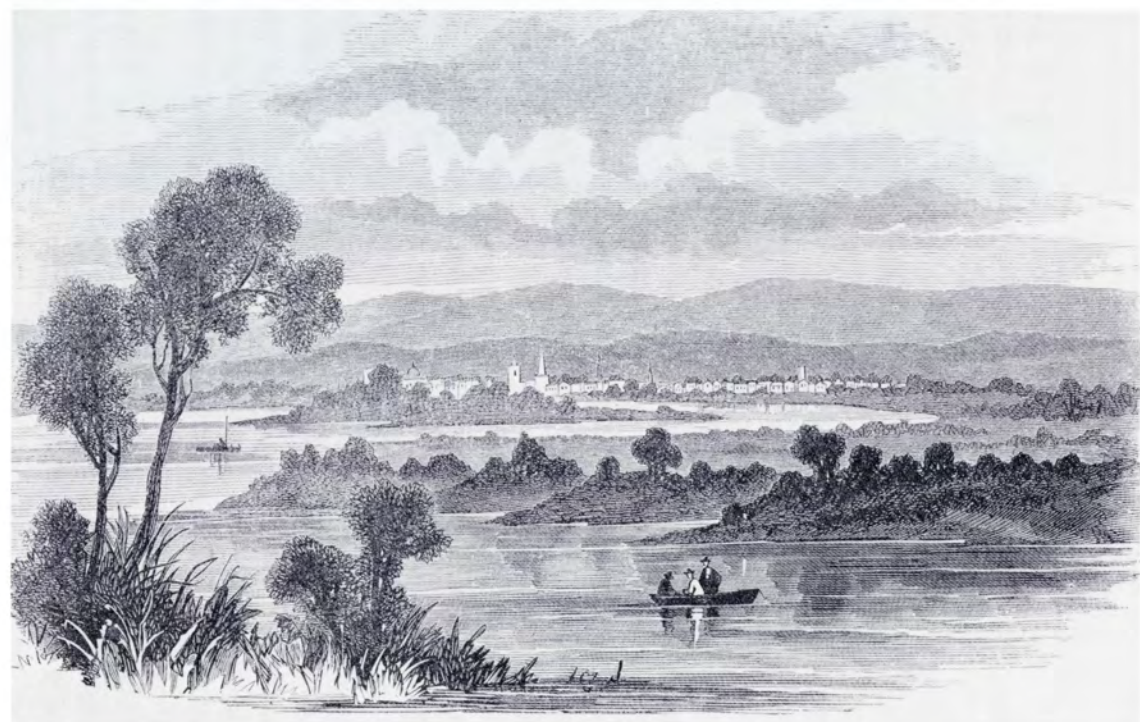
10. Thomas Addison Richards, *Nauticook Dam, Pa., Sept. 1, 1852*, pencil drawing,  $5\frac{1}{2} \times 8\frac{1}{16}$



11. Artist Unknown, *Wyoming Valley in 1850*, watercolor, 6 × 23¼



12. Artist Unknown, *Vale of Wyoming*, 1866, wood engraving, 3 × 4½



13. Edmund Lovell Dana, *View of Wyoming Valley and Wilkes-Barre from the West End of Ross Hill*, c. 1866, wood engraving, 3¾ × 6



14. Thomas Hill, *The Honey Pot (near Nanticoke)*, n.d., oil on canvas, 36 × 48



15. Thomas Hill, *The Harvey Breaker*, 1870, oil on canvas, 11½ × 17½



16. Samuel R. Smith, *The View from Campbell's Ledge*, c. 1880, oil on canvas, 17 × 11½



17. Thomas Fleming, *The Beautiful Valley of Wyoming*, 1864, wood engraving, 14 × 25½



18. T. M. Fowler & James B. Moyer, *Pittsburgh and West Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania*, 1892, lithograph, 20 × 26



## Sites Of Transformation: The Artist's Image Of The Wyoming Valley

*Tis distance lends enchantment to the view.*

Thomas Campbell, "The Pleasures of Hope" (1799)

*There is a property in the horizon which no man has but he whose eye can integrate all the parts, that is, the poet.*

Ralph Waldo Emerson, "Nature" (1836)



19. Jasper F. Cropsey, *The Birthplace of Milton Courtright, Esq., Wyoming Valley Aug<sup>st</sup> 9th, 1864*, pencil on paper, 12½ × 19

The development of the Wyoming Valley of northeastern Pennsylvania in the nineteenth century is a dramatic story. In 1800 it was an isolated rural area, surrounded by dense forests and dependent upon the broad but shallow Susquehanna River for its commerce with the world. By the late nineteenth century it had been transformed into a major extractive industrial site, linked by canals and railroads to national markets, with powerful consequences for the shape of the landscape and the lives of its inhabitants.

To look at a gathering of visual images of the Wyoming Valley over that hundred year period is to become aware of a parallel series of transformations, but of a different kind; for the history of the visual representation of the Wyoming Valley is at once more and less than a recording of the changing face of the natural and human world. Both the artist-producers who came to sketch and paint and the audience-consumers of their works shared a responsibility to know the local scene, and they expected from an image a degree of likeness to the empirical world. We who come after them bring our own mental maps of the region to the examination of its historical past. We match the place we know against the images presented, recognize familiar contours of the landscape and the "marks" upon it, and mentally note the changes between then and now. Or if we are unfamiliar with the Wyoming Valley, we expect that the artistic record will be in some respects a portrait of what it was "like" some hundred or so years ago. Campbell's Ledge and the Nanticoke Dam, Prospect Rock and the flat alluvial plain of the valley, the twisting of the river, the bridges over it, and the urban space of Wilkes-Barre — we recognize these as land-marks, the signs which demarcate the particular features of the Valley portrait over time.

Image-making is more than mimetic reproduction, however. We need to take into account the interpretive role of the visual image. An illustration is not a passive literal record of the empirical world but a coded message, a communicative act involving artist and viewer. It is a shaped vision which defines values as well as objects in space, and place is transformed by the act of image-making. The challenge to us as viewers is to decode the image's message: to ask not just what is recorded but how and why it is presented. The answers to these questions illuminate the nineteenth-century artist and viewer's beliefs and attitudes towards the space of the Wyoming Valley.

Jacob Cist's arrival in Wilkes-Barre in 1808 is a historical fact with important consequences for the life and landscape of the Valley. The appearance one year later in *The Portfolio* of two engravings after Cist's sketches of the *Upper* and *Lower Falls of Solomon's Creek* is an artistic event of equally complex significance. The images record a natural feature of the area, but in the pages of the leading aesthetic periodical of the period, Cist's verbal commentaries on the images situate the natural fact within a series of symbolic frames. Scientifically he classifies the vegetation of the Upper Falls according to the categories of Linnaean botany and measures the sizes of stones and the rocky basins. Visually he sorts the impression of the falls according to the aesthetic terminology of the period — of the sublime, the beautiful, and the picturesque — and he stresses the capacity of the Falls to evoke feelings, to "gratify the ardent admirer of the works of nature" through its tempestuous and turbulent vital life. Contrasting the "tumult" of the Upper Falls to the "placid beauty" of the Lower Falls, he classicizes the latter, peopling the landscape space with sylvan Nymphs and Graces, and

Fig. 20

Fig. 21



UPPER FALLS OF SOLOMON'S CREEK.

20. Jacob Cist, *Upper Falls of Solomon's Creek*, 1809, engraving, 6x4½

creates a sexual drama of the lascivious satyr profaning the "sacred haunts of the chaste Diana." He concludes flatly on a radically different note: "On this stream there are several mills, and fine situations for more." Clearly for Cist natural fact is not enough. As the mills harness the power of the water for economic use, Cist makes it the function of art to transform the natural image by releasing its complex associative values. The Cist images and texts are an initial gesture in the direction of Ralph Waldo Emerson's challenge to "integrate," to turn nature as commodity and property into a poetic vision.

In the same year in which Cist's views appeared, *The Portfolio* was serializing "The Foresters," a long topographical travel poem by Alexander Wilson. Ornithologist and artist, as well as poet, Wilson describes his struggles through the backwoods of Pennsylvania and his search for order in nature. The poem includes a brief prospect vista of the Valley of Wyoming: "Hail charming river! Pure transparent flood! / Unstained by noxious swamps or choking mud." *The Portfolio* also reprinted in 1809 a long essay from the *Edinburgh Review* on the just-published *Gertrude of Wyoming*,



LOWER FALLS OF SOLOMON'S CREEK.

21. Jacob Cist, *Lower Falls of Solomon's Creek*, 1809, engraving, 6x4½

the Scottish Thomas Campbell's poetic version of the well-known 1778 Revolutionary War incident which had come to be known as "The Wyoming Massacre." Campbell's immensely popular poem put the Valley on the map aesthetically for the entire English-speaking world. He recast a political and territorial power struggle between the white Patriot settlers of the Valley and the British and their Indian allies as a racial and gender melodrama. In doing so, he established the Valley's historical and sentimental associations for an international audience. In its context within the pages of *The Portfolio*, thus, Cist's views of Solomon's Creek become part of a complex cultural discourse about the meaning of the landscape: its relation to wilderness, to the order of science and the possibilities of commercial power, to the classical past, and to the place of the new American nation in history.

Cist was no passive celebrant of the beauties of the wilderness but an active transformer of Wyoming's space who sought to bring the landscape under control and to map it for human use — which he did quite literally in *The Wyoming Valley in Luzerne County* (c. 1813-16), produced to attract mining investors to the Wyoming coal field. The same impulse to map Wyoming Valley space for

human use is evident in the Baldwin Brower watercolor entitled *Wilkes Barre Bridge, 1823*, a schematic view of the new Market Street Bridge as seen from South River Street. Through its figural groupings and landscape perspectives, this image encodes both labor and leisure, town and country. Elegant strollers and travellers in coach and on horseback are contrasted to those who measure and bag coal and build the rafts associated with the commercial life of the community. The bridge links town with farms beyond and shows us Wilkes-Barre as a functioning human community. It instructs its viewers then and now how to inhabit the space.

The Brower view is an act of local pride for local consumption. The watercolors by the British artist William Henry Bartlett (1809-54), by contrast, made the Valley available as integrated landscape vista for the world of viewers beyond the Wyoming Valley. Done from identifiable spots during Bartlett's trip to the Valley sometime in 1836-38 in company with the American writer Nathaniel Parker Willis (1806-67), the Bartlett views transform the topographical, control it through the use of a pictorial format which frames the local space, emphasizing both its distance and its accessibility. Roads and the canal become ramps into the distance. In the *Descent into the Valley of Wyoming*, we find our way slowly along the profile of the hillside or through a series of zig-zags, past houses, through the trees, down into the valley below. In the *Wilkes-Barre. (Vale of Wyoming)* we move through gentle curves toward the spires of the town, our movement contained and controlled by the framing delicate trees at the picture's edges. The figures on the roadway are the viewers' surrogates. They instruct us how we might stop, gaze, chat, and then continue slowly toward the town. The stillness and calm of the broad expanse of the river contrast to the more active waters of the canal.

Bartlett's images create a sense of order, balance, and harmony, by adapting the conventions of the French seventeenth-century classical landscape painter Claude Lorrain (1600-82) to the specific landmarks of the local scene. The Claudian landscape typically had a dark foreground stage, with framing trees or classical buildings. Figures look off into a strongly lit middle ground. A sinuous S-curve, often a river or other body of water, guides the observer's eye into the middle ground. Movement into more distant space is controlled by gentle mountains, rising into azure skies. The keynote is stability, the gradual movement of the eye from plane to plane. Indeed, in the *Vale of Wyoming* Bartlett's adaptation of American material to established European conventions is apparent not only in the format but in the foreground figure to the right, who balances a jug on her head in a manner more reminiscent of the peasants in Claude's Italian campagna scenes than of Pennsylvania farmers.

This complex mixing of the local and the classical reminds us that the original project for which Bartlett's images had been created was the collaborative *American Scenery* (1840), designed by its London publisher George Virtue as one more in a series of books of picturesque travel for an international audience. Bartlett turned his drawings and watercolors done on the spot into sepia versions, which were then taken to England where they were transformed into engravings, combined with Willis's text, and published in Britain, in New York, and in foreign language editions. Willis, in his verbal commentary, emphasized that the special quality of American scenery was its wild and sublime aspect and its lack of historical associations. American associations were of the future, Willis insisted, rather than the past. Yet if the Bartlett images of Wyoming move us from a rural present into the future of the distant city, Willis's text suggested a contrasting direction through the passages he quotes that remind us of the Native American past of the region.

The Bartlett-Willis collaboration thus offered the public beyond the Valley region orderly images of Wilkes-Barre as peaceful emblems of future prosperity — accessible, yet distanced visually in space and verbally in time through the recollection of the region's Native American history. That such images, in contrast to Brower's *Wilkes Barre Bridge*, keep the industrial and commercial development of Wilkes-Barre mostly at a distance (with the exception of the small canal boat moving toward us) is the point of the Bartlett-Willis transformation of the Valley experience into art. The immense popularity of these engravings of Bartlett images, their frequent reprinting (with or without acknowledgement) by other publishers, the watercolor tints applied to their fine linear and tonal values by later hands (and still applied by twentieth-century dealers), are a testimony to their continuing appeal to an audience that wants to believe in the vision they construct: of a harmony of

Fig. 5

Front cover



22. William Henry Bartlett, china made using Bartlett's Wyoming Valley scenes as transfer patterns, c. 1843 in the "Beauties of America" series

the human and the natural world, of a serenity and leisure which we have lost in our daily lives but which our art can hold in perfect balance. Given this classical balance, one should not be surprised to find the *Vale of Wyoming* image reappearing only slightly altered on an elegant teapot in an English Staffordshire series (c. 1843) entitled *The Beauties of America*, one more voice in this continuing dialogue between Europe and the Wyoming Valley.

Finally, the Bartlett-Willis collaboration served as a model for marketing the American landscape. *American Scenery* was sold originally through subscriptions, with individual gatherings of four plates and accompanying letterpress selling for as little as two shillings sixpence per number in England. The completed book version is one of the earliest of American "coffee table" volumes, designed to allow individuals to travel while "sitting by the social hearth," as Willis put it in his preface.

With the development of the mass circulation illustrated periodicals in the 1850s, the market for such illustrated travel accounts expanded rapidly. The pattern established by Bartlett, Willis, and their publisher Virtue can perhaps best be glimpsed in the work of Thomas Addison Richards (1820-1900). His small pencil sketches of a trip to the Valley in 1852, delicate notations of the scenery at Nanticoke, Catawissa, and elsewhere, are exercises in framing the vista. They were then transformed into line engravings for the October 1853 issue of *Harper's Monthly Magazine*. Less skillfully executed than the superb renditions of Bartlett's watercolors from the hands of London engravers (some of whom had trained under the watchful eye of J. M. W. Turner, the great English romantic painter), the engravings of Richards' Susquehanna sketches are strong in tonal values and interesting in their play with the format of the page.

The view of *Wyoming, from the South*, for instance, employs a Gothic arched frame, with its obvious associations of nature with the medieval spiritual past. Around Richards' image of Wyoming nature is wrapped his verbal text, with its mixture of topographical description, poetic excerpts, historical evocation of the Yankee-Pennamite Wars and the Wyoming "Massacre," and contemporary genre anecdotes. Richards notes that "Wilkesbarre, the principal town, is a populous and busy place," but he does not depict it visually. He does include images of the entrance and of the interior of a coal mine. The prose description takes "a hasty peep" at the mine, which combines vague classicizing of "the black Cyclopean mouths of the coal pits" with a nervous agitation about the interior, and this in turn leads to his statement: "Happily we escaped the accumulated dangers, and subsequently learned to look upon the mines as very comfortable nooks, and upon the miners, despite their terrible visages, as very clever and Christian people." The return to the surface is a return to an elegant and inflated rhetoric as well, coupled with images of the river at Nanticoke. In one, the *Harper's* engraver substituted an excursion boat for Richards' single figure in a rowboat in the original sketch (with nary a hint of the coal barges at the dam); the other Nanticoke image is a bucolic vista downstream.

As the journey moves out of the Wyoming Valley toward the juncture of the Susquehanna with the Juniata, Richards comments: "the great width of the waters . . . produces that high delight in the contemplation of Nature — the grateful sensation of distance and space — the secret of the universal pleasure afforded in the wide-reaching views commanded by mountain-tops." Richards' direct experience and his on-the-spot visual notations of the space of the Wyoming Valley are transformed into a complex counterpoint of picture and text which shape a vision for the magazine audience. Topographical description in word and image is enriched with historical associations. The subterranean meaning of the landscape — work in the mines — is approached tentatively and then escaped through pious platitudes which evade and mystify the social significance of the miners' existence; and the return to the river vista enables the artist-writer to distance himself and his audience in order to achieve that "universal pleasure" and a "high delight" which the extended prospect affords. Richards' aesthetic strategies in the Wyoming Valley are an escape from responsibility, as he tells us at the very end, "from whence we may readily plunge again into the stream of busy life."

Was then the mid-century artist's vision of the Wyoming Valley not so much a description as an evasion? One perspective on the question is suggested in the finely executed dramatic scene of the "Wyoming Massacre" engraved and published in 1852 after a painting by Felix O. C. Darley (1822-88), the popular illustrator of the works of Washington Irving, James Fenimore Cooper, Nathaniel Hawthorne, and other historical romancers. In subject it echoes the words on the commemorative monument quoted by Addison Richards in his *Harper's* essay: "a small band of patriot Americans, chiefly the undisciplined, the youthful, and the aged," who are gathered here at the right side of the image to repel the dark forces of the poised Indian and his cohorts moving in from the left. The Wyoming landscape is a vague smoky mass to the rear, the wheat field trampled, the implements of harvesting abandoned, as the scythe becomes an instrument of death for the heroic central figure.

History has become race war, and in the 1850s one may wonder whether the 1778 event is brought to violent life again only as an exercise in the historical imagination, or whether for the artist, the publisher of the print, and their audience the engraving also gave shape to the contemporary fear of slave uprisings, of the violent reprisal of the oppressed racial "other." This fear had surfaced in the Nat Turner Rebellion of 1831. The 1850s saw a rash of local history books which recall the violent history of Wyoming and other racial dramas. In George Peck's *Wyoming: Its History, Stirring Incidents, and Romantic Adventures* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1858), the Reverend L. W. Peck retells the old story of the Indian-hater Campbell — not the Scottish poet — who escapes his foe by jumping off the cliff at the head of the Wyoming Valley (giving the name to Campbell's Ledge). The illustration, by the wife of the Reverend Selah Stocking, dwarfs both the tiny Indians on the top of the beautifully rendered escarpment and the falling figure of Campbell, while the innocent deer stare up from below.

Fig. 6

Fig. 23



23. Mrs. Reverend Selah Stocking, *Campbell's Ledge*, c. 1858, wood engraving, 3¼ x 5½

Fig. 7

The strategy of distancing psychologically and socially the potentially threatening present through history and romance is not uncommon. In the 1850s Melville's story "Benito Cereno" sets the tale of violent slave revolt back in 1799. His friend Hawthorne distanced himself and his audience from the threatening contemporary issue of women's rights by setting *The Scarlet Letter* in the seventeenth century. In this 1850s context the melodrama of the *Darley Wyoming* seems almost to prefigure another "Harvest of Death" series, the 1863 photographs from the studio of Mathew Brady after the Battle of Gettysburg. The ideological drama re-enacted in the *Darley* print keeps alive in the present the not fully distanced past.

As Charles Petrillo demonstrates in his essay, the 1850s was a decade of massive changes in the economic life of the Wyoming Valley: in the volume of coal mined and exported, in the expansion of canal and rail transportation, and the growth of the immigrant labor force that made such exploitation of the landscape possible. But though, as he points out, the periodical press reported and pictorialized to some degree the life of the mines, the professional painters sought to preserve the balanced Claudian landscape on the model established by Bartlett and extended by Addison Richards. Philadelphia sent her best artists to the Wyoming Valley, including Paul Weber and his student William Trost Richards. Their Valley work found a market at the annual exhibitions of the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts, as well as in comparable exhibitions in New York, Boston and elsewhere. Weber's 1855 view of the Valley looking east, with Campbell's Ledge in the upper right, combines a strong sense of wilderness with just a few small figures of fishermen. Clearly these works served a need for middle class viewers and wealthy purchasers: to believe in "Nature" as the emblem of regional values and our national destiny in space, precisely at the point where experience in the Wyoming Valley was quite literally "undermining" these national shibboleths.

These paintings prove once again Thomas Campbell's famous poetic assertion that "Tis distance lends enchantment to the view," and precisely at the point when the major depression of 1857, the Civil War itself — a major affront to national optimism which devastated the landscape of Gettysburg and points south — and the railroad's transformation of the midwest into the nation's agricultural center all were changing the character of American life. The persistent desire to hold onto the older, stabler rural values in the face of disruptive change is illuminated by the finest of Wyoming Valley views, created by the successful American landscape painter Jasper Francis Cropsey

(1823-1900). Cropsey had been living in London since 1856, but he returned to the U.S. in 1863, travelled to the war front and visited Gettysburg. His painting of that subject was not completed until 1866. In the meantime, he received a commission from Milton Courtright, a civil engineer and first president of the New York Elevated Railway Company — Cropsey was later to design stations for the “El” in New York City — to paint the Valley of Wyoming, Courtright’s childhood home.

In the summer of 1864 Cropsey travelled to the Wyoming Valley and produced there a series of sketches of the landscape from various points of view. One, now in the Sordani Art Gallery collection, is dated August 9th with the annotation, “The Birthplace of Milton Courtright, Esq.” It looks northwest across the valley from Plains, upriver from Wilkes-Barre, to record the topographical features of farmland, foliage, and the fold of the hills. As a spatial construction, the drawing is a sequence of horizontal bands: the empty foreground anchored by the large tree to the right, the fenced Courtright farm, the band of trees beyond, the gentle V of the hills, and the top two-fifths of the paper left open to the sky. The viewer’s vantage point is low, raised only slightly above the valley floor to make the bands running into the distance perceptible. He positions us so that the declining curve of the hills falls to the valley floor just above and between the Courtright house and barn.

The day before, Cropsey completed two other drawings of the Valley (Karolik Collection, Boston Museum of Fine Arts). One was from Prospect Rock — as its name suggests, a standard place for Valley viewing and the vantage point of Bartlett’s *Descent*. (Cropsey had been given a copy of *American Scenery* by his artist friend J. M. Falconer in 1845.) The other, inscribed “Wyoming Valley from Inman’s Hill,” establishes the perspective which Cropsey chose for the elaborate 15 x 24-inch oil sketch done either on the spot or in his New York studio from the color notations on the drawings. This in turn became the model for the final 4 x 7-foot canvas, completed the following year.

*The Valley of Wyoming*, 1865 (Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York), is one of Cropsey’s greatest paintings and a masterpiece of American nineteenth-century art by almost any standard. The vantage point of the viewer has been moved from the Courtright farm location in Plains down the Valley to Hanover Township, below Wilkes-Barre, and instead of looking across, we look up the length of the valley. The point of view has been raised, so that we are also looking down from the hillside to the Valley floor which stretches out before us. Between the trees to the right we catch a glimpse of the zig-zag of the Easton Turnpike climbing up toward Prospect Rock. Cropsey has reversed the Bartlett point of view. In the center, we drop over a declivity to pick up the complex pattern of Solomon’s Creek and the Wyoming Canal, and of farm plots and trees as they stretch toward the city of Wilkes-Barre. The city’s red brick buildings and puffs of smoke are visible in the distance as is the Market Street Bridge, below the lift of the hills. Should we choose to follow the slope to the left, we can drop to the platform of the harvesting farmers, the barn, and the house — a kind of transposed Courtright homestead. The front porch looks off into the valley, and intersects with the line of the canal below, parallel to the band of the Susquehanna beyond. On the rising western bank of the river we see more farmland, embedded in which is the small but distinctive form of a coal breaker and mining carts.

The painting is extraordinary in its rich detailing of the life of the Valley, without becoming fussy; for Cropsey has translated linear drawing into brush strokes which blend beautifully and give the whole a soft glow. It asks to be read in particular, yet though we may note all the landmarks, the final effect of the picture is not merely as a topographical record. Its function is to produce that “high delight in the contemplation of Nature — the grateful sensation of distance and space” which Addison Richards had called for. Cropsey had read well his copy of *Campbell’s Poetical Works* (London, 1830). He affixed to the picture’s immense gilt frame thirteen lines from *Gertrude of Wyoming* which evoke both a pastoral image of the Valley and the memory “on thy ruin’d wall/ And roofless home, a sad remembrance bring/ Of what thy gentle people did befall.” The pictorial image itself is bright and prosperous, the sun beaming from above.

But Cropsey had also remembered Campbell’s injunction, “Tis distance lends enchantment to the view.” Not only do we explore distance in space in the picture; the work also distances us in time. The lounging group of children in the right foreground, added in the final version, are pivotal. They recall Willis’s statement that the American imagination feeds itself on the future, not on the ruins of

Fig. 19

Fig. 1

the past. They also remind us that this is a memory picture of Courtright’s rural childhood space, not his urban situation as a civil engineer. Furthermore, the “sad remembrance” which the Campbell lines cue for the 1865 viewer is not only the devastation of the Revolutionary War “Massacre.” It is the just-completed War Between the States. (The final payment for the painting was made the month after Appomattox.)

Cropsey’s *The Valley of Wyoming* is thus an enchanted view, distanced not only from the coal breaker, the city of Wilkes-Barre, and the present industrial transformation of the Valley in the 1860s but also from political and social conflict of the distant and recent past. It is a “reconstruction” painting in the aesthetic as well as the political sense, a reorganization, an encoding of the data of the empirical world to hold the hopes, the values, the ideology of a post-war generation. Its strength as picture facilitates the viewer’s assent to its nostalgic values, incarnates the evasion of the industrial present in a “future” which was really the past of both artist and patron, Cropsey and Courtright, and the viewers who came and still come to see the painting. That the evasion is not explicit but buried, embedded in its pictorial structure, indicates the power of ideology to suppress conflict, to elicit from its larger audience assent to the still dominant cultural values of rurality and the presumption of a harmonious relation between human beings and the natural world.

This is not to say that the images of the Valley were completely resistant to change, though it is to insist again that art does not “reflect” its culture in some automatic way and that pictures are not illustrations of current spatial or social realities. For Weber in 1855, Campbell’s Ledge was the background for wilderness fishermen; in 1858 it was the setting for the old adventure tale, although Peck in his text realized that the new sounds of the Valley were those of the locomotive. Twenty years later S. R. Smith reverses the point of view and Campbell’s Ledge becomes the viewer’s prospect rock from which to gaze out and down into the cultivated flatness of the plain below. Whether through awkwardness of technique or through conscious intent, the realism of the near view of the cliffs and trees dissolves into simplified planar pattern.

Clearly from the artist’s point of view, the broad alluvial plain (and plane) of the Wyoming Valley poses a formal problem: how to differentiate space that flattens out before the eye below and that is delimited at the edges for the most part not by interesting cliff formations like Campbell’s Ledge but by mountains ground through glacial action into flat horizontal ridges. The Claudian format of Bartlett, Addison Richards, and Paul Weber offered one solution to the compositional dilemma, and S. R. Smith reduces it to flat abstract formula. Cropsey attempted to find a middle ground between fidelity to the flatness and compositional interest through the elevation of our point of view.

Ironically, perhaps, it was the commercial viewmakers, rather than the painters, who solved the formal problem of Wyoming Valley space by making a pictorial virtue of its planar organization. The earlier anonymous painting of *Wilkes-Barre and the Wyoming Valley* (c. 1845?) creates a foreground platform of rural peace from which to look down Franklin Street into the city. Eugene J. Adams in the 1864 colored lithograph *Valley of Wyoming from Prospect Rock* emphasized the broad and flat expanse extending from a shallow framing foreground on which the viewers (inside and outside the picture) are perched. The urban space of Wilkes-Barre is visible as a denser hatching of the valley floor, but it is overwhelmed by the immensity of the space. The diminution of the scale dissolves our sense of human experience. Distance lends diffusion to the view.

We must turn to the lithographic artistry of T. M. Fowler (1842-1922), who made views of Pennsylvania towns and cities a specialty, to see the new vision, for it is through his work that the topography of the Valley finds a new conventional form which at the same time makes urban space centrally its subject, rather than burying the city in “Nature.” Fowler’s 1889 *Wilkes-Barre* lithograph maps the city’s space for an urban regional audience that purchased such views. For them, the names of streets, the shapes of buildings, the spreading ribbons of the railroad lines — arterial veins of the city’s economic life — and the coal breakers which they serviced were sources of civic pride. The Fowler lithograph thus visually encodes the dominant urban and industrial values of the late-nineteenth century in a way that the lone *Harvey Coal Breaker* (1870) of Thomas Hill (1829-1908) does not, as Charles Petrillo rightly insists. For all its technical skill as a portrait of one breaker, the Harvey scene is isolated from its spatial and economic context. Hill himself would leave

Fig. 16

Fig. 11

Fig. 8

Fig. 24

Fig. 15



24. Fowler, Downs & Moyer, Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania, 1889, lithograph, 24×42

the industrialized East, choosing instead to sing the glories of the sublime space of grandiose nature in countless paintings of Yosemite and the wonders of the Far West.

The lithographic views of Fowler, by contrast, are important not merely for their factuality or their usefulness to the study of urban planning. Aesthetically, Fowler finds a new language for the new world. Nature is peripheral, the mountain ridges shoved to the edge and flattened. The new sculptural forms are human artifacts: the culm hills. The "majestic Susquehanna," which as a Claudian S-curve had organized pictorial space in the images of earlier artists, has now become a simple diagonal slash across the left, marking the city's edge. Below that, where the western shore threatens to become undifferentiated natural space, Fowler fills it up with four images, self-consciously "pinned" up in the lower left corner in a trompe l'oeil visual game which insists upon their artifice. They are artful pictures of architectural constructions. They are also reminders that a pictorial image is itself not a photographic matching of some presumed and posited external "reality" but an act of reconstruction, a transformation of life into art.

That this aesthetic act is not merely a neutral formal solution to a pictorial problem but also encapsulates social values is the final judgment which we may bring to bear upon these images of the Wyoming Valley. As a social transaction, the Fowler image serves the needs of those institutions whose images are pinned up for our perusal or listed on the key beneath the "Wilkes-Barre" banner, an 1889 version of the classical cartouche which on older graphic views and maps held the arms of the ruling monarch or the presiding classical deities. The Fowler view, like others of its type, thus incorporates the names and images of leading business firms, of centers of civic values like the courthouse, the jail, the high school, and the churches, for these are the institutions which socialize the viewer in the urban and industrial world of 1889.

The cleanliness and precision and order of the Fowler image denies the pollution of the environment and the harshness of the lives of those who worked in the mines. There is no place here for poverty, or for strikes in this decade of industrial strife, when the gap between rich and poor was perhaps greater than at any other time in our national history. The Fowler image gives no voice to the immigrant groups who were changing the nature of life in the Valley, for they lacked access to the sources of power which produced these images.

Any visual image is by definition a selective reconstruction, not a complete record of its subject, and the popular images of the Wyoming Valley which we have been examining encode the dominant social values of their time. The earlier images of the Valley stress the persistent belief in the ideal value of an ordered Nature as the comfortable frame which nestles and sustains a human community that can move with comfort through its space and can harvest its wealth without destroying its beauty. The urban views of Fowler and others create a corresponding sense of harmony in the urban community of the late-nineteenth century, through a similar suppression of those elements of discord and conflict, of human and natural waste, which might challenge this ideal vision.

Gathered later by Gilbert McClintock and bequeathed to Wilkes College, or by the members and friends of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society and others, these images offer us an exciting opportunity to understand how American artists and their audiences defined nineteenth-century life in "The Vale of Wyoming." That they are only part of the history and experience of the Valley is surely true, but that should be an incentive to further study and search, as we attempt to recover more fully the sources of our experience as a people in this vital region.

*Roger B. Stein, Professor of Art History and English at the State University of New York at Binghamton, has a special interest in the related literature and visual art of the sea, in Seascape and the American Imagination (New York: Whitney Museum of American Art, 1975) and other studies, and of the landscape of particular regions. He is currently at work both on the Willis/Bartlett collaboration and on Winslow Homer's State of Maine context.*

## Sources

Standard local historical works are O. J. Harvey and E. G. Smith, *A History of Wilkes-Barre* (Wilkes-Barre, Pa., 1929), which has extensive material on the area's topographical features, and Stewart Pearce, *Annals of Luzerne County* (Phil.: J. B. Lippincott, 1886). The role of Jacob Cist in the early coal market history of the region is covered in H. Benjamin Powell, *Philadelphia's First Fuel Crisis* (University Park, Pa.: Penn State, 1978). On the North Branch Canal, see Mary Faber Quinn, "The Influences of the North Branch Canal on the Pattern of Urban Land Use in Wilkes-Barre, Pa." (M. A. diss., Catholic University of America, 1959), which is available at the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society, Wilkes-Barre, Pa., and also Leroy Bugbee, "The North Branch Canal," *Proceedings of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society* (1984), XXIV, 67-99. Regional railroad development in the nineteenth century is covered in Jules I. Bogen, *The Anthracite Railroads* (New York: Ronald Press, 1927). No comprehensive history of the Wyoming Valley's river steamboat history has been written, and brief accounts in existing historical works are unsatisfactory and inaccurate. Charles Petrillo has completed research on this subject for a publication in the near future.

The key source for any study of the art of the Wyoming Valley is Gilbert S. McClintock, *Valley Views of Northeastern Pennsylvania* (Wilkes-Barre: Princeton University Press for the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society, 1948). This collection can be supplemented by Mary Barrett, compiler, *Catalogue of the Edward Welles, Jr. Collection of Paintings by Artists in Wyoming Valley in the D. Leonard Corgan Library, King's College*, rev. ed. (Wilkes-Barre: King's College Press, 1979), with a useful essay by George Gates Raddin, Jr., on "Painting in Wyoming Valley 1808-1957," pp. 23-81. For the art of the Wyoming Valley in its larger river context, see Roger B. Stein, *Susquehanna: Images of the Settled Landscape*, exh. cat. (Binghamton: Roberson Center for the Arts and Sciences, 1981), and its notes to further sources. The methodology of regional study of the visual arts is discussed in Stein, "Packaging the Great Plains: The Role of the Visual Arts," *Great Plains Quarterly*, 5 (Winter 1985), 5-23.

Beyond the sources cited above and in the essays themselves, the following are particularly useful: On the Bartlett-Willis collaboration, see Alexander M. Ross, *William Henry Bartlett, Artist, Author and Traveller* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1973), and the modern facsimile of N. P. Willis, *American Scenery*, (Barre, Mass.: Imprint Society, 1971). On Felix O. C. Darley, see ". . . illustrated by Darley," exh. cat. (Wilmington: Delaware Art Museum, 1978). Paul Weber is the subject of an M. A. thesis by David McCarthy, University of Delaware, 1986. The best source for the Jasper Cropsey, *Valley of Wyoming*, with an excellent summary of all the relevant literature on the subject, is Natalie Spassky, et al., *American Paintings in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, ed. Kathleen Luhrs, vol. II (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art/Princeton University Press, 1986), pp. 185-92. For the work of the viewmakers and Fowler in particular, see John W. Reps, *Views and Viewmakers of Urban America: Lithographs of Towns and Cities in the United States and Canada, Notes on the Artists and Publishers, and a Union Catalogue of their Work, 1825-1925* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1984).

## Checklist of the Exhibition

(All dimensions in inches, height precedes width)

Eugene J. Adams (?-1874), *Valley of Wyoming from Prospect Rock*, 1864, colored lithograph, 27×42, sketched and published by Adams in 1864, lithographed by Endicott & Co., N.Y. Shows locations of: The scene of the Grasshopper War, town of Wilkes-Barre, old Slocum house, umbrella tree, Forty Fort, Wyoming monument, Campbell's ledge, Collection Wyoming Historical and Geological Society, Wilkes-Barre

Artist Unknown, *Baltimore Company's Coal Mine*, c. 1830, wood engraving, 2¼×4, Gilbert S. McClintock Collection, E. S. Farley Library, Wilkes College

Artist Unknown, (initialed: A. P.), *From River Street*, Dec. 1899, Watercolor, 8×12¼, Lent by Mrs. George T. Bell

Artist Unknown, (initialed: EJM), *Picturesque Views of Wilkes-Barre, Pa*, 1878, colored lithograph, 12×18, Collection Osterhout Free Library, Wilkes Barre

Artist Unknown, *Public Square in Wilkes-Barre*, n.d., wood engraving, 2×4, Gilbert S. McClintock Collection, E. S. Farley Library, Wilkes College

Artist Unknown, Untitled, view of Wilkes-Barre from Franklin Street hill, n.d., oil on canvas, 18×25, Gilbert S. McClintock Collection, E. S. Farley Library, Wilkes College

Artist Unknown, *Vale of Wyoming*, 1866, wood engraving, 3×4½, (view from Wyoming with Forty Fort shown at the bend of the river, published in second edition of Stewart Pearce's *Annals of Luzerne County*, Philadelphia, 1866), Gilbert S. McClintock Collection, E. S. Farley Library, Wilkes College

Artist Unknown, *View of Wilkes-Barre*, n.d. oil on canvas, 18×24, Gilbert S. McClintock Collection, E. S. Farley Library, Wilkes College

Artist Unknown, *A View of Wilkes-Barre and the Wyoming Valley from the top of Franklin Street Hill*, c. 1845, oil on canvas, 25×38¾, Gilbert S. McClintock Collection, E. S. Farley Library, Wilkes College

Artist Unknown, *Wyoming Valley from Campbell's Ledge*, n.d., lithograph, 17×23½, (view taken from S. R. Smith's *The View From Campbell's Ledge*, see below), Collection Wyoming Historical & Geological Society, Wilkes-Barre

Artist Unknown, *Wyoming Valley in 1850*, c. 1850, watercolor, 6×23¼, (inscription on back of picture reads: "Wyoming Valley in 1850 found by Mr. ? in the debris of the old D&H Depot, Scranton, when it was being changed into a nurses hospital, 1860. This inscription written by H. E. Hayden"), Collection Wyoming Historical & Geological Society, Wilkes-Barre

Artist Unknown (initialed: J.R.B.), "The Coal Fields of Pennsylvania: An Anthracite Mine, Wyoming Valley," *The Graphic*, London, October 7, 1876, Collection F. C. Petrillo

\_\_\_\_\_, "The Coal Fields of Pennsylvania: An Anthracite Mine, Wyoming Valley," *The Graphic*, London, October 7, 1876, Collection F. C. Petrillo

William Henry Bartlett (1809-1854), *The Descent into the Valley of Wyoming*, 1838, engraving, 4½×7½, engraved by Richardson, the view is from Giant's Despair road on the easterly side of the valley, this engraving by G. K. Richardson appeared in N.P. Willis, *American Scenery*, 1840, Gilbert S. McClintock, E. S. Farley Library, Wilkes College

\_\_\_\_\_, *Wilkes Barre. (Vale of Wyoming)*, c. 1838, engraving, 4½×7½, engraved T. Creseick and J. T. Willmore, appeared in N. P. Willis, *American Scenery*, 1840, the view is from a point north of present Luzerne County Court House. North Branch canal visible. Gilbert S. McClintock, E. S. Farley Library, Wilkes College

\_\_\_\_\_, china made using Bartlett's Wyoming Valley scenes as transfer patterns: Staffordshire, made by J. & W. Ridgway, Hanley, Staffs. c. 1843 in the "Beauties of America" series, Collection Wyoming Historical & Geological Society, Wilkes-Barre

Baldwin Brower, *Wilkes-Barre Bridge*, 1823, watercolor, 15×22¼, Collection Wyoming Historical & Geological Society, Wilkes-Barre

Thomas Campbell, *Gertrude of Wyoming and Other Poems*, sixth edition, London, 1816, engravings by E. Engleheart, Gilbert S. McClintock Collection, E. S. Farley Library, Wilkes College

\_\_\_\_\_, *The Pleasures of Hope with Other Poems*, London, 1820, engravings by C. Heath, Gilbert S. McClintock Collection, E. S. Farley Library, Wilkes College

\_\_\_\_\_, *The Poetical Works of Thomas Campbell*, London: Edward Moxon, 1846, illustrated by \_\_\_\_\_ Harvey, Collection Annie Bohlin

\_\_\_\_\_, *The Poetical Works of Thomas Campbell*, London: Edward Moxon, 1837, engravings by Turner, R. A., Gilbert S. McClintock Collection, E. S. Farley Library, Wilkes College

E. A. Christie, Untitled, c. 1870, oil painting, 29½ × 50, (a view from Tilbury Knob near West Nanticoke), Gilbert S. McClintock Collection, E. S. Farley Library, Wilkes College

Jacob Cist (1782-1925), *Upper Falls of Solomon's Creek*, 1809, *Lower Falls of Solomon's Creek*, 1809, engravings, each 6 × 4½, (drawings contributed with descriptive passages by Cist to *The Portfolio*, Vol. 2, 1809, published in Philadelphia by Joseph Dennie, *The Portfolio* was a monthly magazine devoted to useful science), Gilbert S. McClintock Collection, E. S. Farley Library, Wilkes College

\_\_\_\_\_, *View of Smith's Coal Mine, Luzerne County, Pennsya*, c. 1813-1816, lithograph, 4¼ × 6¾, appeared in *The American Journal of Science*, IV, 1822, *Valley Views*, p.17, pl.23: "An Early View of a Coal Mine, opened about 1808, on the west side of the river at Ransom's Creek, in Plymouth," Gilbert S. McClintock Collection, E. S. Farley Library, Wilkes College

\_\_\_\_\_, Map, c. 1813-1816, ink drawing on paper, 9½ × 15, showing the Wyoming Valley in Luzerne County and exhibiting the coal strata, Jacob Cist Collection, The Academy of Natural Sciences, Philadelphia

\_\_\_\_\_, Map, n.d., ink drawing on paper, 23 × 26½, showing Pittston to Sugar Loaf (North to South) and Wilkes-Barre on the Susquehanna to the bend of the Lehigh (East to West), Jacob Cist Collection, The Academy of Natural Sciences, Philadelphia

C. J. Corbin, *Wilkes-Barre, PA 1882*, (with 14 vignettes), black and white lithograph, 31¼ × 17½, Philadelphia Publishing House, 925 Chestnut St., Philadelphia, Collection Wyoming Historical & Geological Society, Wilkes-Barre

Jasper F. Cropsey (1823-1900), *The Birthplace of Milton Courtright, Esq., Wyoming Valley, Aug'st 9th, 1864*, pencil on paper, 12½ × 19, a view of Wyoming Valley from Courtright's birthplace in Plains, Pa., done at the same time as Cropsey's studies for his painting, *Valley of Wyoming*, Collection Sordoni Art Gallery, Wilkes College

\_\_\_\_\_, *Wyoming Valley, Pennsylvania*, c. 1864, oil on canvas, 15 × 24, (finished oil study for Cropsey's large *Valley of Wyoming*, 1865, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York), Lent by The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bequest of Collis P. Huntington

Edmund Lovell Dana (1817-1889), *View of Wyoming Valley and Wilkes-Barre from the West End of Ross Hill*, c. 1866, wood engraving, 3¼ × 6, published in second edition of Stewart Pearce's *Annals of Luzerne County*, Philadelphia, 1866, Gilbert S. McClintock Collection, E. S. Farley Library, Wilkes College

George Thomas Devereux (1810-?), *Wyoming Valley, and Nauticook [sic] Mountains, on the Susquehanna*, c. 1854, wood engraving, 7¼ × 9¼, engraved by C. Minton for *Gleason's Pictorial*, Boston, June 24, 1854, Gilbert S. McClintock Collection, E. S. Farley Library, Wilkes College

Duval & Son, Lith(ographers), Philadelphia, (*S. Williams'*) *Mountain Houses, Prospect and Spring House, Wyoming Valley, Pennsylvania*, c. 1880, color lithograph, 13¼ × 12, advertising placard, Collection Wyoming Historical & Geological Society, Wilkes-Barre

Thomas Fleming, *The Beautiful Valley of Wyoming*, 1864, with 48 topological and historical references, wood engraving, 14 × 25½, view taken from Prospect Rock area, Wilkes-Barre Mountain, Lent by Anna Kleyps

T. M. Fowler, *Nanticoke, Pa., 1890*, (bird's eye view), lithograph, 18¼ × 30, Lent by Anna Kleyps

T. M. Fowler & James B. Moyer, A. E. Downs Lithography, Boston, *Pittston and West Pittston, Pennsylvania, 1892*, lithograph, 20 × 26, Lent by Private Collection

Fowler, Downs & Moyer, (bird's eye view of) *Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania, 1889*, lithograph, 24 × 42, lithograph by A. W. Downs, Boston, Collection Wyoming Historical & Geological Society, Wilkes-Barre

Thomas Hill (1829-1908), *The Harvey Breaker*, 1870, oil on canvas, 11½ × 17½, Collection Mr. and Mrs. A. DeWitt Smith

\_\_\_\_\_, Untitled, view from Garringer's Hill toward Honey Pot and West Nanticoke, 1867, oil on canvas, 24½ × 39¼, Collection Mr. and Mrs. A. DeWitt Smith

\_\_\_\_\_, *The Honey Pot (near Nanticoke)*, n.d., oil on canvas, 36 × 48, Collection Karolyn Vreeland Blume

Augustin-Francois LeMaitre (1797-1870), *Disastre de Vioming*, n.d., engraving, 3¼ × 5¾, (Early French version of the scene at the massacre of July 3, 1778), Gilbert S. McClintock Collection, E. S. Farley Library, Wilkes College

Edmund Darch Lewis (1837-1910), Untitled, a view from West Nanticoke, 1872, oil on canvas, 31 × 31, (Lewis was a student of Paul Weber), Gilbert S. McClintock Collection, E. S. Farley Library, Wilkes College

J. C. McRae, *Wyoming Massacre*, c. 1852, engraving, 19¼ × 25½, engraved after painting by Felix O. C. Darley, (1822-1888), Collection Wyoming Historical & Geological Society, Wilkes-Barre

J. J. Merriam, *Forty Fort, Pa, 1875*, oil on board, 6½ × 10, Collection Wyoming Historical & Geological Society, Wilkes-Barre

George Peck, D. D., *Wyoming: Its History, Stirring Incidents, and Romantic Adventures, with Illustrations*, third edition, New York: Harper and Brothers, 1860, Gilbert S. McClintock Collection, E. S. Farley Library, Wilkes College

Granville A. Perkins (1830-1895), *Scenes on the North Branch of the Susquehanna*, c. 1874, wood engraving, 9¼ × 6¼, engraved by Richardson, et al., in *Picturesque America* Vol. II, 1874, Collection F. C. Petrillo

\_\_\_\_\_, *Nanticoke Dam*, c. 1874, engraving (hand-colored), 6½ × 8⅞, engraved by John Filmer, printed in *Picturesque America*, Vol. II, 1874, Collection F. C. Petrillo

\_\_\_\_\_, *Below Nanticoke Dam*, c. 1874, engraving (hand-colored), 5½ × 6⅞, engraved by Frederick Juengling (1846-1889), printed in *Picturesque America*, Vol. II, 1874, Collection F. C. Petrillo

Thomas Addison Richards (1820-?), *Nanticoke Dam, Pa., Sept. 1, 1852*, pencil drawing, 5½ × 8⅞, Collection Williams-Munson-Proctor Institute, Museum of Art, Utica, New York

H. H. Rowley, *Village of Wyoming, Wyoming Valley, Penna., 1885, Scene of the massacre of July 3, 1778.*, c. 1885, lithograph 14⅞ × 23¼, lithograph by C. H. Vogt & Son, Cleveland, Collection Wyoming Historical & Geological Society, Wilkes-Barre

H. H. Rowley, *West Pittston, Pa., Wyoming Valley, 1885*, D. H. Vogt & Son, Lith., Cleveland, drawn and published by H. H. Rowley, Utica, NY, lithograph, 18 × 30, Lent by Private Collection

J. C. Sidney, *Plan of the Town of Wilkes-Barre, Luzerne County, Pa, from the Original Surveys by J. C. Sidney, Surveyor and Civil Engineer*, (map), 1850, published by Richard Clark, 100 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, wood engraving, 29 × 38¼, Collection Osterhout Free Library, Wilkes-Barre

R. E. Smith, *Along the Susquehanna*, 1898, ink drawing, 8⅞ × 13, Lent by Mr. and Mrs. John N. Conyngham

Samuel R. Smith (of Kingston), *The View from Campbell's Ledge*, c. 1880, oil on canvas, 17 × 11½, Collection Wyoming Historical & Geological Society, Wilkes-Barre

\_\_\_\_\_, *Old Mill at Solomon's Falls near Ashley 1872*, c. 1872, pencil drawing on paper, 5 × 6⅞, note in pencil on mount: "Old Red Mill owned by N. Ross," Collection Wyoming Historical & Geological Society, Wilkes-Barre

Mrs. Reverend Selah Stocking, *Campbell's Ledge*, c. 1858, wood engraving, 3¼ × 5½, (Campbell's Ledge is at the north end of the Valley, just above the confluence with the Lackawanna River; this view was printed in George Peck's *Wyoming: Its History, Stirring Incidents, and Romantic Adventures*, 1858), Gilbert S. McClintock Collection, E. S. Farley Library, Wilkes College

Paul Weber (1823-1916), *Campbell's Ledge and the Susquehanna*, 1855, oil on canvas, 24 × 36, Lent by Private Collection



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Judith H. O'Toole, *Director*

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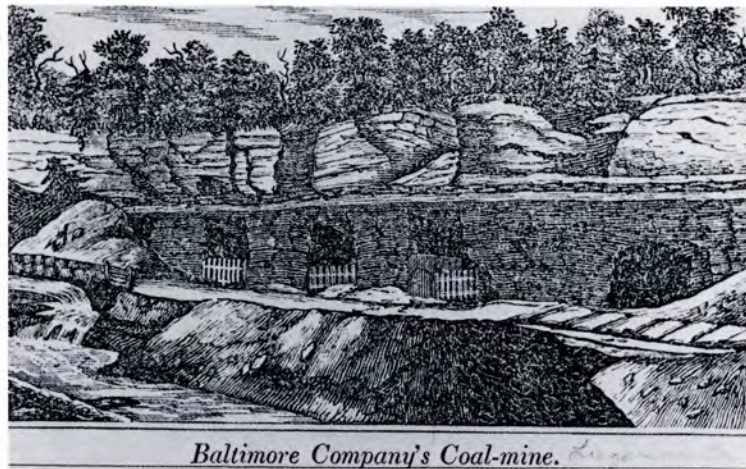
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25. Turner, R. A. *Apart there was a deep untrodden grot, Where oft the reading hours sweet Gertrude wore . . .*, 1837, engraving, 3½×3

# VALE OF WYOMING:



Nineteenth Century Images  
from Campbell's Ledge to Nanticoke

Sordoni Art Gallery, Wilkes College





SORDONI  
ART GALLERY  
WILKES COLLEGE  
824-4651, ext. 447

SHERRY and LUNCHEON  
Tuesday, January 14, 1986  
12:00 noon

Sordoni Art Gallery

(Parking in rear of Weckesser Hall)

Please respond to me at Wilkes College by January 6.

\* \* \* \* \*

The current exhibit "Vale of the Wyoming: 19th Century Images of the Wyoming Valley from Campbell's Ledge to Nanticoke," is so thoroughly delightful that I thought some of the College's friends who are particularly interested in area history would enjoy seeing it at a get-together in the Sordoni Gallery. Our Director, Judith O'Toole, will have some brief remarks about the pictures. I look forward to seeing you then and Happy Holidays!

Emil Carlsen, N.A.

**BLUE AND WHITE, 1928**

Oil on canvas tacked to artists board,

16 1/2 x 13 inches

In memory of Dr. Arnaud C. Marts from his wife

Photo by Mark Cohen

Gallery permanent  
collection. Not in exhibit.

Betsy Bell Condron