

**THE COAL MINING HERITAGE OF
NORTHEASTER PENNSYLVANIA
AND ITS IMPACT ON
HIGHER EDUCATION**

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In both positive and negative ways there has always been a strong connection between higher education and the community in Northeast Pennsylvania's Anthracite region. This is not only true with regard to those colleges and universities within the boundaries of Luzerne and Lackawanna counties, but also pertains to the impact out of town institutions had on the area. Although higher education became widespread in the post-World War II era, it is necessary analyze the period from the mid-1800s to 1945 to understand how higher education was a reflection of Northeastern Pennsylvania's coal mining heritage. The Wyoming coal fields, which included present day Luzerne and Lackawanna Counties were home to over thirty different cultural groups and full spectrum of economic classes. Since the coal industry dominated the region to such a degree, the one's employment position dictated a family's socioeconomic status. As different cultural groups filled the various levels of work in the mines, ethnicity and economic status were directly related. Thus, the old families who owned the coal lands became the entrepreneurs, the Welsh and English immigrants filled the need for skilled miners and the Irish and later the Slavs and Italians toiled as the mine laborers. This combination of cultures and classes along with their traditions of higher education were

responsible for shaping life in Northeastern Pennsylvania for the past 150 years.

After the forced removal of the Native Americans the dominant white group in the Wyoming and Lackawanna Valleys, were Connecticut Yankees.² These original settlers would have a profound effect on the region's social and economic structure and many were the leaders in the development of the anthracite industry. This was especially true in the Wyoming Valley, because it was their oldest settlement, the number of settlers was the highest and the perceived heroic role that the Yankee pioneers played in the Battle of Wyoming. These New England pioneers held firmly to the beliefs of the Calvinist work ethic and took pride in their individualism. These characteristics would help them through the early hardships. But perhaps most importantly was the impact these attitudes had on the nineteenth century development of the Wyoming Valley. Individualism and the Calvinist work ethic were responsible for an entrepreneurial spirit which, in turn brought about a dramatic growth of the anthracite coal industry.³

The Connecticut Yankees of the Wyoming Valley were the first to successfully direct the mining and marketing operations of anthracite. Although greater amounts of coal were first mined in the Lower Anthracite region (primarily Schuylkill and Carbon

Counties), Wilkes-Barre became the center of the entire industry. As a result many of these original families became quite wealthy and powerful. By controlling the mineral rights and through the establishment interlocking corporate directories these entrepreneurs were able to control the anthracite industry. By 1880, this "anthracite aristocracy" founded twenty-five corporations, held thirty chief executive positions and occupied over one hundred board seats. These business connections were reinforced by social interaction, as the elite traveled in the same circles which often led to marriage and extended family power.⁴

The aristocracy established the first higher education traditions in the Anthracite region. However, while the impact of these traditions may have been felt in the coal towns, the institutions of higher learning were separated from the local communities. Many attended out of town preparatory schools and then matriculated to an Ivy League university. The chosen college of the local elite was Yale, demonstrating a continued strong tie to their Connecticut heritage. Young men who were interested in the engineering aspects of the family coal operations usually attended Lehigh or Lafayette. Although these schools were located just outside the Anthracite region, they had very little direct involvement in the coal communities. However, the upper class values reinforced at these

upper level private institutions were put into practice in the Anthracite region upon a student's graduation. Upon taking their leadership roles in the anthracite industry, their education was a vital factor in controlling the lives of 92.2% of the region's workers. While higher education may have played a major role in shaping the direction of the Anthracite region, it did little to familiarize the elite with the people who labored in the mines. This created a dichotomy. In one way higher education was tied to the growth of the anthracite industry and the coal towns that subsequently developed. However, higher education was also responsible for separating the elite from the community. This became especially evident in the late 1800s when many of the local entrepreneurs began to sell off their control of the mining operations to New York and Philadelphia railroad interests. The local elite would still remain a powerful force in the anthracite communities but by that time their business and social connections were further broken with the local region.⁵

The impact of this educated elite was both positive and negative. They totally separated themselves from the suffering and poverty of the working class while living in their world of grace and comfort. Their education failed to make them fully aware of how the average family dealt with an industry

that took the lives of, on average, ten miners each week. On the other hand, the elite were responsible for bringing culture and community development to the region. They made Wilkes-Barre the power center of the anthracite industry which allowed other residents to enjoy social and economic mobility. Institutions that now benefit all residents, such as Nesbitt Hospital and MMI Preparatory School, were founded by members of the anthracite aristocracy. Through these accomplishments, eventually all residents of Northeastern Pennsylvania could see the legacy of the educated elite.⁶

Most people in the Wyoming Valley trace their heritage to the age of anthracite. The industry began to attract migrants to the region by the 1820s and continued to do so until World War I. The settlement came in two waves. The first, ending with the Civil War, brought immigrants from the Great Britain, Ireland, and Germany. With the post-Civil War industrial boom, a second wave of new arrivals came to the Valley. The majority of these came from eastern and southern Europe.⁷ The attitudes of and experiences of these cultures would also shape the traditions of higher education in the Anthracite region.

The need for skilled miners in the rapidly expanding anthracite industry attracted Welsh and English immigrants to the Wyoming and Lackawanna valleys. By 1900, nearly twenty percent of the Welsh

immigrants in America resided in this region. Since these people were of British heritage, practiced Protestantism, and held employment as respected craftsmen, they gained greater acceptance by the native population than other immigrant groups. However, their foreign heritage and customs did make them distinct ethnic groups.⁸

The English and Welsh exerted a great deal of power and influence in three areas of life in Northeastern Pennsylvania during the past century. In the work force they often held positions as skilled laborers and bosses in the mines. This gave them authority over the mine laborers, of which many were Irish and later Slavic or Italian. Local politics was another area where British-Americans gained importance. Towns such as Plymouth and Edwardsville were the bastion of Republican power-brokers of Welsh descent. And most importantly from the standpoint of this study, British-Americans controlled many of the region's school districts and dominated the teaching positions.⁹

As those of Welsh and English heritage raised their standard of living, they placed increased emphasis upon education. This coincided with the Progressive era, which saw the establishment of compulsory education and the development of secondary education. While many of the older families sent their children to preparatory schools, the sons and daughters

of the British-Americans comprised the majority of students at the new high schools. While a high school education was often enough for a supervisory position in the mines, a number of British-American adolescents opted for teacher education at one of the state owned normal schools. Upon graduation they returned to the coal communities where it was not uncommon to see almost every teaching position held by those of Welsh or English heritage.¹⁰

Once again a dichotomous relationship with higher education occurred in the coal regions. Teacher education in Pennsylvania was a combination of traditional Protestant rural values along with some more modern Progressive era educational methods. However, when these new teachers entered the coal town classrooms, the vast majority of students were the children of Eastern and Southern European Catholic mine laborers. By the 1920s, two-thirds the total population in the coal towns was immigrant or first generation and in some communities it was as high as ninety percent.¹¹ Higher education would once again be responsible for shaping the lives of the people in the Anthracite region. It inculcated the young with Americanized ideas which often challenged the values of their elders. By doing so it was still not fully connected to the very nature of the coal communities. Thus, on the positive side the Anglo-American college educated teachers

played a vital role in assisting the immigrant and first generation children through the inevitable assimilation process. The negative was that the process was not always sympathetic to the culture and traditions of the ethnic cultures.

With the coming of the twentieth century major changes in the nature and impact of higher education came to Northeastern Pennsylvania. By that time, local Roman Catholics reached a point in their socio-economic mobility where their own institutions of higher learning effected life in the coal towns.¹² But unlike the Connecticut Yankee and British-American experience, Roman Catholics established colleges located directly within the coal region itself. College and community would now experience a greater degree of interaction and Roman Catholics began the movement to bring higher education to the working class in Northeastern Pennsylvania .

Prior to 1880, most Catholics in Northeastern Pennsylvania's coal field were of Irish or German heritage. The Irish began their migration to the area during the 1820s, but it was the Potato Famine of the 1840s that precipitated the major influx of Irish immigration to the Valley. Since most Irish immigrants were peasants in the homeland, they were not able to gain positions as skilled laborers upon arrival in America. Thus, most would take jobs as mine laborers.

Often their supervisors were those of Welsh or English extraction. Since the employment status of Irish-Americans was usually lower than the Welsh and English, animosity developed on both ethnic and socio-economic levels.¹³ Germans, on the other hand, generally had experience in the skilled crafts often found employment outside the mines. By the late 1800s both groups were experiencing socio-economic mobility. Many of the Germans had developed their craftsman skills into lucrative enterprises in the growing coal towns.¹⁴ By the end of the 1800s the Irish began to move from unskilled mine laborer jobs into skilled miner and boss positions. Also by 1900, the increasing number of Eastern and Southern Europeans residing in Northeastern Pennsylvania filled the lower level employment positions in the coal towns.

Since most Americans believed that the nation was grounded upon Protestant values, there was a great deal of discrimination against the Roman Catholics in Northeastern Pennsylvania. It was questioned as to whether the monarchical and communal traditions of Catholicism were compatible with democracy and individualism. Some Protestants actually believed that the Pope, who had temporal along with religious power, planned to use these Catholic newcomers as some sort of quasi-invasion force. Also, as American Protestants increasingly embraced a prohibitionist attitude toward

alcoholic beverages, Irish Catholics resented Protestant attempts to legislate morality.¹⁵ The upshot of all these conflicts was a very tense relationship between Catholic and Protestant in Northeastern Pennsylvania. The desire to ingrain the children with Catholic values coupled with the fear of Protestant teachings in the public schools, led to the establishment of parochial education in Northeastern Pennsylvania and throughout America.

With the rapid expansion of parochial schools in the Scranton Diocese in the late 1800's, Bishop William O'Hara decided to take the next logical step and establish a Catholic college in the coal region. On November 19, 1887 it was announced that the construction of a men's college would begin the following spring on property adjoining the Bishop's residence. The school would combine the traditional classics and liberal arts along with courses in "book-keeping and business methods." The cornerstone for the new St. Thomas College was laid on August 12, 1888 but financial shortages halted construction for three years. Finally on September 6, 1892 the college was opened.¹⁶

St. Thomas College was very much a reflection of the coal mining traditions, attitudes and culture of Northeastern Pennsylvania. In an area where ethnic and religious rivalries played a major role, it indicated

that Roman Catholics had attained enough strength in numbers and power as to challenge the longer established Anglo-American hierarchy. In order to accomplish this the Bishop recognized the need for an educated group of potential leaders. With emphasis on both the classics and business studies, the curriculum was a combination of respect of the old college traditions along with modern practicalities. While young men may have been expected to be educated as gentlemen scholars they also needed the business acumen necessary to evolve into effective local leaders. The site of Scranton also indicative of the region's socio-economic power structure. Although the Wilkes-Barre area had a greater number of Catholics, as the center of the anthracite industry it was still controlled by the Connecticut Yankee elite class. Scranton did have its share of influential Yankees, but they were not as dominant as their counterparts to the south. Also while coal was important, new enterprises such as the railroads and the iron industry were coming of age in the late 1800s. Consequently, Scranton gained a reputation where newcomers had a greater potential for success and a number of Irish-American families gained considerable economic, social and political power. Scranton, thus, became the center of Catholicism in Northeastern Pennsylvania. It was the logical site for

the see and the first college established in Northeastern Pennsylvania's coal communities.¹⁷

Despite the strong desire among the Catholic clerical and lay leaders to establish an educated leadership class, the goal was not an easy one. St. Thomas College had weak admission requirements, lacked a solid curriculum and was underenrolled. Students as young as ten years old were members of the earliest classes. Progress was made when the Xaverian Brothers filled some teaching positions in 1896. The following year the Christian Brothers took over the administrative and faculty positions at the college. They also established St. Thomas High School so as adolescents could gain credible access to an institution of higher learning. Although enrollment increased to one hundred and fifty students in 1897, the numbers failed to increase over the next two decades. As a result of this, St. Thomas College had difficulty in gaining an incorporation charter. As Diocesan historian John P. Gallagher noted, a vicious cycle was created. Without a charter, potential students would be reluctant to attend a unaccredited college. In turn, this lack of a student body would make the charter less accessible. In order to graduate the Class of 1910 a form of "legal fiction" was concocted. The Scranton classrooms of St. Thomas were officially included as part of the Christian Brothers

St. John's College campus in Washington, D.C.. The thirteen Bachelor Degree and ten Commercial Certificates awarded by Bishop Michael J. Hoban on June 8, 1910 were actually from St. John's College not the local St. Thomas.¹⁸

This difficulty in obtaining students was directly related to the ethnic traditions of Northeastern Pennsylvania's coal towns. Although the Irish-American church hierarchy and the affluent Irish-Americans and German Americans may have seen the value of higher education, the "new immigrants" did not share the same attitudes. By the onset of World War I, these immigrants from Eastern and Southern Europe constituted more than half overall population in the coal regions and over two-thirds of the Catholic residents. Most came to the region to work as unskilled laborers in the mines. Although they gained a reputation for being dependable and hard workers, their perceptions of work differed from that of Anglo-Americans and the upwardly mobile Irish and German Catholics. To the Poles, Slovaks, Lithuanians, Ukrainians and other Eastern Europeans along with the Italians and even the more recent Irish immigrants, work was viewed as simply a necessary part of life. Anglo-Americans, steeped in the Calvinist work ethic, believed that work was a reflection of one's character. Although the more established Catholic families would retain their

religious beliefs, they increasingly embraced the American ideal that financial success was also a measure of character. Consequently a small number of coal town Catholics saw a college education as really necessary. The Old World attitudes became the "coal miner mentality" toward work as most Catholics felt that labor in the mines was enough to gain the things they desired. To most immigrants, time spent in school beyond the onset of puberty was time spent away from work. With such a prevalent attitude there was little encouragement toward higher education in new immigrant families. Without the support of this large segment of the Catholic population, St. Thomas would continue to suffer difficulties.

Fortunately for the future of community based and Catholic higher education in Northeastern Pennsylvania, attitudinal and economic changes began to occur around the time of World War I. More Roman Catholics from all ethnic backgrounds were gaining socio-economic mobility. As more immigrants moved beyond the coal mines and into skilled positions and business there was an increased acceptance of higher education. They too were embracing the American work ethic. Also by the 1920s, employment in the mines was less plentiful due to the introduction of alternative fuel sources, new corporate directions and labor strife. No longer could someone leave school and find work in the mines. In

addition to these factors the children themselves were gaining a greater appreciation for higher education.¹⁹ Although there were twenty-seven high schools in the Scranton Dioceses, most were controlled by the Irish based territorial parishes. Only five ethnic national parishes founded secondary schools. As a result many Eastern and Southern Europeans sent their children to public schools rather than pay tuition at what they viewed as essentially Irish high schools. Since most of the teachers in the public schools were products of the Anglo-American Protestant culture and educational system, the children of the new immigrants were taught the value of a college education. But while Catholic recognized that the adoption of American traditions were necessary, many wished to accomplish this within a local and Catholic context. It is important to note that the increased emphasis on higher education was not just confined to the men. Since jobs traditionally held by women, such as teaching and nursing, began to require advanced degrees, lay Catholics and those within the religious orders saw the for increased educational opportunities for women. These changes were hardly universal. Many Catholics still questioned the need for higher education and upheld the belief that a strong back and a willingness to work hard were enough. Still, in the years between World War I and World War II, enough Catholics felt the attitudinal

transformation and recognized the socio-economic changes to allow for the growth of St. Thomas College and the founding of two new baccalaureate granting institutions.²⁰

Marywood College was founded in 1915. The college was the successor to the highly regarded Marywood Seminary, an exclusive girl's school founded by the Immaculate Heart Sisters in 1902. The Immaculate Heart Sisters were well prepared to take on the task of establishing a successful college. Most had completed their Master's Degrees and Sister M. Immaculate attained the Ph.D., the first among those in the Diocese's religious orders. The curriculum reflected the era's perceptions of women's education, as the degrees were offered in music, education and home economics. The popularity of these offerings was obvious, however, when Marywood's enrollment surpassed that of St. Thomas College.²¹

The Sisters of Mercy took the initiative in establishing a women's college in the Wilkes-Barre area. In 1921, construction began on College Misericordia in the rural village of Dallas, located ten miles north of Wilkes-Barre. Although Dallas was only a short train ride from Wilkes-Barre it was outside the coal regions. Consequently, Dallas reflected rural American culture of the 1920s, with its strong Protestant values and fear of urban immigrants.

The Ku Klux Klan had popular support and attracted as many as four thousand people for their gatherings. The clash of cultures between urban-immigrant-Catholic and rural-native-Protestant manifested itself in cross-burnings at the construction site as Klan members sought to keep Catholic higher education out of the Dallas area. However, in the midst of such bigotry there was a bright spot. Although often seen as anti-Catholic, the Mason's of the nearby Irem Temple reportedly assisted the sisters in patrolling the college grounds. Undeterred by the negative reactions and encouraged by the support offered by both Catholics and non-Catholics, fifty young women began studies on September 24, 1924. It was given its charter in 1927, in time for the first graduating class of five. At that time enrollment was over 400.²²

St. Thomas College went through major changes during the 1920s to the 1940s. In 1923, it was officially chartered as a baccalaureate and Master's Degree granting institution and in the subsequent years received accreditation through the appropriate agencies. Despite this progress the Depression took a toll on St. Thomas. Even with the changing attitudes toward higher education in the Anthracite region, it was a luxury for any coal miner's son to attend college during these years of economic deprivation. By 1939, St. Thomas College was \$73,667.09 in debt. Plans to

admit women or merge with Marywood College failed and a move to university status was deemed unmerited by the Commonwealth's Council on Education. When World War II reduced the school's number to less than two-hundred, the Christian Brothers and Bishop William J. Hafey knew that new arrangements were necessary to save the college. Through tact and diplomacy the Christian Brothers departed the college to concentrate their efforts at maintaining LaSalle College in Philadelphia. After failing gain the interest of the Holy Cross order from Notre Dame University, the Bishop was able to successfully interest the Jesuits at Fordham University. On July 11, 1942, the *Catholic Light* announced that the Society of Jesus had take control of the recently renamed University of Scranton. After enduring the difficulties of the war years, the university was poised to meet the post-war years under an order renown for their educational endeavors.²³

Although it was the Roman Catholics who were in the forefront of higher education in the pre-World War II era, other opportunities were becoming available to those from the coal regions. The Pennsylvania State College (now Pennsylvania State University) opened satellite campuses in Scranton, Wilkes and Hazleton. By offering Associate degrees and certification in technical fields, these campuses reflected the strong practical nature of the coal mining region. Studies in

such field as drafting and surveying could assure the graduate a good job without sacrificing four years of one's life. In an era of economic hardships for coal mining families this was a logical alternative to the cost and time of a baccalaureate degree. Bucknell Junior College, the Wilkes-Barre Business School and the University of Pennsylvania Wharton School extension course also provided practical means of gaining an education and employment opportunities without the four year commitment. Although students of all culture attended these institutions there was a heavy representation from the newly emerged Protestant middle class. Many of these were directed toward careers in business or retail fields. The impact of these schools on the Anthracite region was tremendous. The Penn State graduates would contribute new technical skills in an era when new industry was needed to replace the declining fortunes of anthracite. Those with business education would form the nucleus for the attempts at economic revitalization in Northeastern Pennsylvania during and after World War.²⁴

By the closing days of World War II the coal mining heritage had come full circle in its relationship with higher education. Once the bastion of the elite and later a vehicle for Anglo-Americans to Americanize the immigrants, higher education had now evolved into a means of social mobility for the

children of the mine laborers. However, while most second and third generation Catholics realized that education was essential to success, it would not be until after World War II when such aspirations could become reality for so many. With the GI Bill and the influx of financial aid programs in the 1950s, the sons and daughters of mine laborers would matriculate to colleges and universities in large numbers. The previously mentioned schools grew while the establishment of King's College and Wilkes College, in the years after the war, would offer even greater opportunities. The post-war development of higher education in Northeastern Pennsylvania was responsible for the growth of an upper middle class and elite class who were descendants of mine laborers. While the full results may have not have occurred until after World War II, the evolution in the relationship between the coal mining traditions and higher education had been forming for one hundred years prior. This evolution was led by the leaders of the Scranton Diocese, the religious orders who operated the only baccalaureate institutions and the ethnic population who gradually saw the need for higher education.

ENDNOTES

¹Much of the statistical information was compiled by Edward G. Hartmann and printed in *The Ethnic History Of The Wyoming Valley* (published by the author, 1987). Professor Hartmann included the totals from all Wyoming Valley ethnic groups as listed in the 1980 *U.S. Census*. Also included were statistics from the 1930 *U.S. Census*. I am grateful for Professor Hartmann's work on ethnic groups in the region. His writings serve as a foundation for future scholarly research on ethnicity in Northeastern Pennsylvania.

²Paul J. Zbiek, *Luzerne County: History of the People and Culture* (Wilkes-Barre: Wyoming Historical and Geological Society, 1994), pp. 21-28.

³Clement L. Valletta, "Ritual and Folklore in Pennsylvania's Wyoming Valley: Old To New World Order, *Pennsylvania Folklife*, Autumn, 1983, Vol. 33, No. 1, pp. 4-7; Edward F. Hanlon, *The Wyoming Valley: An American Portrait* (Woodland Hills, CA: Windsor Publications, 1983), pp. 19-53; Edward J. Davies, II, *The Anthracite Aristocracy: Leadership And Social Change In The Hard Coal Regions of Northeastern Pennsylvania* (DeKalb, IL: Northern Illinois University Press, 1985), pp. 54-68; Donald L. Miller and Richard E. Sharpless, *The Kingdom Of Coal: Work Enterprise And Ethnic Communities In The Mine Fields* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985), pp. 77, 78, Miller and Sharpless give an excellent overview of the society and economic systems that were created in the Anthracite region in *Kingdom Of Coal*, Chapters 4 through Epilogue.

⁴*Ibid.*

⁵Zbiek, *Luzerne County*, p. 38.

⁶*Ibid.* pp.38,39.

⁷U.S. Census, 1900; U. 5. Census, 1910; samplings of various communities in the Wyoming Valley and Lackawanna Valley.

⁸ Edward G. Hartmann, *Some Highlights On The Welsh In America*, " *Ethnic Heritage Studies: Papers Of The Institute At King's College*, p. 7; Rowland Tappan Berthoff, *British Immigrants In Industrial America, 1790-1950* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1953), pp. 47, 65; U. 5. Census, Plymouth, Wilkes-Barre, Nanticoke, 1870; Edward G. Hartman, *The Ethnic Religious Congregations Of The Wyoming Valley* (Wilkes-Barre: Osterhout Free Library, 1987) unpagd.

⁹Hartmann, "Highlights," p. 7; Berthoff, *British Immigrants*, p. 47.

¹⁰Ibid.

¹¹*U. S. Census, 1930, Luzerne and Lackawanna Counties.*

¹²Zbiek, *Luzerne County*, pp. 51-60.

¹³Miller and Sharpless, *Kingdom of Coal*, p. 142.

¹⁴Hartmann, *Ethnic Congregations; U.S. Census, Wilkes-Barre, 1870; Hanlon, Wyoming Valley; U.S. Census, Wilkes-Barre, 1870.*

¹⁵For an excellent overview of Irish-Americans in the Anthracite region see, James P. Rodechko. "Irish-American Society in the Pennsylvania Anthracite Region: 1870-1880," John E. Bodnar, ed., *The Ethnic Experience In Pennsylvania* (Lewisburg, PA Bucknell University Press, 1973); see also, Hanlon, *Wyoming Valley*, pp. 144, 145, 150; Miller and Sharpless, *Kingdom of Coal*, pp. 331, 332.

¹⁶John P. Gallagher, *A Century of History: The Diocese of Scranton, 1868-1968* (Scranton: Diocese of Scranton, 1968), pp. 207-209.

¹⁷Miller and Sharpless,
Kingdom Of Coal, p. 68; Rodechko, pp. "Irish-
American Society, 19-38.

¹⁸Gallagher, *Century*, 277-
279.

¹⁹For a detailed analysis of
decline related to alternative fuels see, Dan
Rose, *Energy Transition And The Local
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a good analysis of the labor situation in the
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Northeastern Pennsylvania: The Last 100
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"Life After Anthracite: Wyoming Valley's
Recovery In The 1950's And 1960's," *The
History Of Northeastern Pennsylvania: The
Last 100 Years*, 1990 edition, pp. 27, 28.

²⁰Gallagher, *Century*, p.
377.

²¹*Ibid.*, 279-281.

²²Gallagher, *Century*, pp. 281,
282; Zbiek, *Luzerne County*, pp. 79, 80.

²³Gallagher, *Century*, pp. 278,
361-366.

²⁴Zbiek, *Luzerne County*,
p.103.