The White Mountains presented nineteenth-century travelers with an American landscape: tamed and welcoming areas surrounded by raw and often terrifying wilderness. Drawn by the natural beauty of the area as well as geologic, botanical, and cultural curiosities, the wealthy began touring the area, seeking the sublime and inspiring. By the 1830s, many small-town taverns and rural farmers began lodging the new travelers as a way to make ends meet. Gradually, profit-minded entrepreneurs opened larger hotels with better facilities. The White Mountains became a mecca for the elite.

The less well-to-do were able to join the elite after midcentury, thanks to the arrival of the railroad and an increase in the number of more affordable accommodations. The White Mountains, close to large East Coast populations, were alluringly beautiful. After the Civil War, a cascade of tourists from the lower-middle class to the upper class began choosing the mountains as their destination. A new style of travel developed as the middle-class tourists sought amusement and recreation in a packaged form. This group of travelers was used to working and commuting by the clock. Travel became more time-oriented, space-specific, and democratic.

The speed of train travel, the increased numbers of guests, and a widening variety of accommodations opened the White Mountains to larger groups of people. As the nation turned its collective eyes west or focused on the benefits of industrialization, the White Mountains provided a nearby and increasingly accessible escape from the multiplying pressures of modern life, but with urban comforts and amenities. Americans’ perceptions of time and space changed and their perceptions of the mountains changed with them.

ON THE COVER:
Morning Mist Rising, Thomas Cole, 1830.
Oil on canvas, 15 1/8 x 22 1/8 inches. Private collection. Robert J. Steinberg photo.

ENDPAPERS
Detail of Map of the White Mountains of New Hampshire, Appalachian Mountain Club, 1887. Private collection.
Passing Through: The Allure of the White Mountains

INAUGURAL EXHIBITION FEBRUARY 23, 2013 — FEBRUARY 16, 2014
Passing Through: The Allure of the White Mountains


The Museum of the White Mountains preserves and promotes the history, culture, and environmental legacy of the region as well as provides unique collections-based, archival, and digital learning resources serving students, researchers, and the public.

Project Director: Catherine S. Amidon  
Curator: Marcia Schmidt Blaine  
Assistant: Lindsay Bolduc

Text by Marcia Schmidt Blaine with consultation and editing by  
Adam Jared Apt, Pavel Cenkl, and Bryant Tolle

Edited by Emile Coulter  
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Printed and bound by Penmor Lithographers

2013
Getting the teams up the Rocks at the Notch, Marshall Tidd, Engraving on woodblock, 1859. Courtesy of Rauner Special Collections Library, Dartmouth College Library.

Marshall Tidd created a series of engraved woodblocks for an illustrated edition of Lucy Crawford’s History of the White Mountains. Ultimately they were not used.
Contents

FOREWORD 7
Sara Jayne Steen

INTRODUCTION 11
Catherine S. Amidon

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS 12

TRAVELERS TO TOURISTS 15

FRANCONIA NOTCH 47

NORTHERN PRESIDENTIALS 61

SUMMIT OF MOUNT WASHINGTON 73

CRAWFORD NOTCH 91

CONWAY VALLEY 107

THE ALLURE OF THE WHITE MOUNTAINS 115
Foreword

This exhibit is the first to appear in the newly opened building that is the physical site of the Museum of the White Mountains. The Museum of the White Mountains is an exciting initiative, bringing together core elements of Plymouth State University: innovative teaching and learning, research opportunities, and active engagement with our region. Plymouth State is fortunate to have its residential campus based in a place that is an extraordinary living and learning laboratory, known and loved internationally.

The University is committed to offering a broad range of educational opportunities in the classroom and beyond, and students have been involved in this vibrant new initiative since its inception. The Museum is a site for hands-on learning through internships and classes and independent studies in topics from art to resource management and the history of tourism. Programming is both on-site and online, extending opportunities for learning to those who are interested across the world. Materials also are available for teachers to adapt for students of varied ages.

The Museum offers to students, faculty and staff members, and the general public an opportunity for research, with collections both for the public and for scholars. It is also a resource that will encourage visitors to the area, who will contribute to the community and its economy as they stop to visit, shop, dine, and learn about the other attractions of the region. The Museum is another point of connection to Plymouth and to central and northern New Hampshire.

Creating the Museum is part of PSU’s dedication to highlighting the unique history, culture, and ecology of this region. The project has grown quickly. Love of the region and a strong pride of place are shared by students, alumni, residents, and recreational users, and that commitment to the White Mountains is a primary driver for the Museum, in its exhibition plans, digitization of collections, programming, and all that the Museum will contribute over time.

Clearly, however, this Museum is also based in strong partnerships with those who have donated unique collections both large and small, who have loaned priceless materials, who have served as advisors, who have become members and individual and business donors, and who contribute with their enthusiasm to the richness of this project. To all of you, we offer sincere thanks.

This opening exhibition highlights the transdisciplinary nature of the Museum, as visitors experience the history of the White Mountains region through a variety of media and perspectives. We welcome you to pass through this new gateway to the White Mountains to learn about and experience this extraordinary place.

Sara Jayne Steen, President
Plymouth State University
Travellers through the White Mountains.
Samuel L. Gerry. Date unknown. Oil on canvas.
20 1/2 x 30 1/2 inches. Private collection.
This gentleman is traveling "Entirely for Pleasure"
Introduction & Acknowledgments

THE INAUGURAL EXHIBITION OF THE MUSEUM OF THE WHITE MOUNTAINS (MWM) AT PLYMOUTH STATE UNIVERSITY PROVIDES AN OPPORTUNITY FOR CONNECTION AND REFLECTION. Visitors to Passing Through: The Allure of the White Mountains are invited to explore five well-known regions in the White Mountains of New Hampshire: Franconia Notch, the Northern Presidentials, the summit of Mount Washington, Crawford Notch, and Conway Valley. The exhibition explores human experiences conveyed in journals, paintings, maps, books, and photographs—images and ephemera left as the allure of the mountains has drawn in visitors across generations.

Time and space influence perception. When the first white travelers came to the White Mountains, they traveled slowly along winding trails on foot or horseback. In the 1820s and 1830s travel through the mountains was slow through rough terrain, with the more comfortable nights being in rustic homes or under the stars. Time was evident by the rising and setting of the sun. The rainy days often brought boredom to “stranded” travelers.

But roads improved and the speed of travel increased as carriage routes traversed the region. Space and time between urban and rural landscapes dramatically decreased as the mountains were criss-crossed by rail traffic after the Civil War. With each change in transportation, time between home and vacation, factory and wilderness, schedules and leisure appeared to shrink, while space to explore expanded.

By the 1860s urban travelers boarded trains in Boston and New York, sped to the mountains, and installed themselves in grand hotels with their trunks of finery to enjoy music, food, and vistas. In fact, by 1869 visitors could already get on the train in New York and go all the way to the summit of Mount Washington with a few station changes. Train timetables imposed metropolitan time. Activities were scheduled. Hotels were no longer stopovers but destinations.

The exhibit examines how societal conceptions of time and space altered in response to the opening mountain landscape, development of more efficient transportation, a variety of accommodations, and the introduction of mechanical rhythms in a forest formerly governed solely by biological rhythms.

And what are these rhythms today? We encourage visitors to take an information sheet or go online to get the GPS coordinates in order to find where these various artists, scientists, and travelers were in the 19th century, visit the sites, and think of your experience of getting there. How long did it take? What is the terrain like near roads or paths traveled? Go to the website plymouth.edu/the-cairn and share your stories, photographs, videos, and sound recordings. Become part of the White Mountains story.
Many have ventured there before you and many will follow. Consider how the American perception of the White Mountains has changed over time. Why does this matter to the nation, the region, and the individual? How did new modes of travel alter connections with nature? How do aspects of time relate to our conceptions of space? Do they make a difference in our understanding of human interactions with nature? What motivates people to return?

Acknowledgments

The exhibition script was a team process comprising many meetings and discussions with Marcia Schmidt Blaine, Chair of the Department of History and Philosophy; Lindsay Bolduc, the MWM Collections Assistant; and me. Marcia Schmidt Blaine is the first faculty fellow at the museum, a position that in the coming years will allow a broad range of scholars to work with exhibitions and collections. Blaine crafted the exhibition narrative that became the catalogue essay. Adam Apt, Pavel Cenkl, and Bryant Tolles Jr. were exemplary editors.

It was with the steady guidance of President Sara Jayne Steen that we were able to "imagine a way" to create the new museum. Provost Julie Bernier, Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences Cynthia Vascak, Vice Provost Ann Thurston, Vice President of Institutional Advancement Sally Holland, and Director of Major Gifts Laure Morris were all instrumental in institutional planning and working through myriad decisions that came with the new museum. Executive Director of University Relations Steve Barba has had a very special connection to the project, from the early days of working with Dan Noel.

Vice President for Finance and Administration Steve Taksar, Director of Physical Plant Ellen Shippee, and their staffs stewarded the renovation process. Barba and Wheelock Architects had the vision to transform a local landmark, a former Methodist Church built in 1946, into a museum. Bauen Construction managed the site and creatively worked through the surprises that come with renovating an old building.

We offer a very special thank you to the USNH Board of Trustees for approving the project and to the supportive President’s Council, in particular Rebecca Weeks More and Allan Fulkerson.

For two years, the founding Advisory Committee of the Museum of the White Mountains has met, shared ideas, and helped to shape policy. They have been ambassadors, opening doors and networking to share our good news. For this service I thank Tim Carrigan ’04, Woolsey Conover, Dave Govatski, Dick Hamilton, Andy McLane, Doug Nelson, Victoria Noel, Leslie Schomaker, John Small, and Bryant Tolles.

The exhibition is possible through loans and image rights from many generous individual collectors as well as the Rauner Special Collections at Dartmouth College, the New Hampshire Historical Society, the Mount Washington Auto Road, the Longfellow National Historical Site, and the George Eastman House International Museum of Photography.

For their special assistance in locating works I would like to thank Adam Apt, Wes Balla, Doug Copeley, Sarah Hayes, Donna-Belle Garvin, David Daly, Barbara L. Krieger, Alison Nordstrom, Roger Benson, Jamie LaFleur, Doug Nelson, Martha Cox, and Randall Bennett. Moore Huntley productions
insured high quality audio-visuals for the exhibition and website. Thanks to Carrie Brown and Jason Swift for their work that allows learners of all ages to get the most out of the exhibition. Avid hiker Lauren Plummer '10 did GPS readings for select works in the exhibition. John Hession’s photographs capture the richness of the objects and images for the catalogue. There would be no enhanced website without the expertise of PSU’s Information Technology Services and MWM student worker Brett Martinez ’13.

The Office of Public Relations was critical to the exhibition and museum launch, working on everything from catalogue design to press releases.

Funding for the exhibition was generously provided by the New Hampshire Humanities Council; the New Hampshire Charitable Foundation, including the Anna B. Stearns Fund, the Beal & Woolsey Conover Fund, the Chandler Family Fund, and the Jocelyn Gutches Fund; John Small and Philip Marcus; P. Andrews and Linda McLane; Lore Moran Dodge in honor of John Bowden Dodge; the Museum of the White Mountains Charter Membership; and the Common Man Family of Restaurants.

Please join me in acknowledging the museum staff, volunteers, and members in their seminal role in the successful celebratory opening of the Museum of the White Mountains.

Catherine S. Amidon
Director
Philip Carrigain (1772–1842) devoted his working life to developing an accurate map of New Hampshire. Printed in Philadelphia, the map was engraved on six overlapping plates. The six separate pieces were later assembled in Concord to create a single map.
Travelers to Tourists

Ever since the first explorers saw the distant white mountain peaks as they sailed off the coast of New England, people have been drawn to the White Mountains. The attraction increased in the nineteenth century as the mountains’ allure worked its way into American culture. Where commercial drivers passed through to get from one market to another, a few leisure travelers joined them on the road. With the arrival of the railroad after 1850, increasing numbers of people escaped the urban noise and crowds to pass through the mountains. First seen as a mecca for the elite, the White Mountains opened to the average tourist after 1850, thanks to changes in travel and accommodations. Americans’ perceptions of time and space changed and their perceptions of the mountains changed with them.

Who traveled for pleasure? In 1799, not many people. When the French nobleman, Duke de La Rochefoucault-Liancourt, journeyed to the White Mountains that year, he was mistaken for a speculator. “We were asked everywhere, whether we travelled with a view to buy lands …. And when we told them, that we travelled with no other purpose than to gratify our curiosity, they thought we were fools, or, at best, liars.” Why would people travel to the mountains for pleasure? The time involved was tremendous; the expense even more so. Farmers and service and factory workers could not leave their place of work for any extended period nor could they afford lengthy travel. The first travelers to the White Mountains tended to come from three groups: those with wealth and time enough for the slow course through the mountains, those who came to do scientific research, and those who came on business. They were interested in learning and exploring. If they walked, travelers could average fourteen to eighteen miles per day; on horses, they could double the mileage. If they brought luggage and needed a coach or wagon, their movement could be slower than a walk.

Curious travelers like the Duke were few along roads in the White Mountains through the mid-1820s. Roads followed the rivers through the mountains as far as possible, but early roads through Crawford Notch and Franconia Notch were treacherous, haphazardly kept, and often washed out even after the state improved the roads in the early nineteenth century. Commercial drivers who used the White Mountain roads through the region far outnumbered the scattering of tourists. During the winter, sleighs pulled freight through the notches, bringing goods from Vermont, Canada, and northern New Hampshire to markets in Portland, Portsmouth, and Boston. The roads were built to satisfy commerce, with few amenities along the way. Even after the much-heralded Concord coaches began production in 1826, most movement in the mountains continued to be by wagon for much of the century.

It took a disaster to attract more travelers to the White Mountains. The Willey family moved to Crawford Notch in 1825, to farm and host overnight guests. The following summer, a severe storm struck the area. The family, anticipating a destructive rock slide, fled the house for safety but the house remained undisturbed while the entire Willey family perished in the
crush of rock and mud. The disaster was a display of the raw power of nature at its most perverse.

Americans sought to explain the catastrophe. Nature was a fearful force unto itself. It could strike anyone, good as well as evil, without discrimination. Drawn by the macabre disaster, more people journeyed to New Hampshire’s mountains, the ultimate irony for the Willeys. Adventurous, wealthy urban travelers and well-supported artists left their comfortable homes to seek the sublime but often terrifying vision of an unpredictable nature. The disaster captured the American imagination for years as the story was told and retold. It became an American cultural event. Scientists, such as Benjamin Silliman, visited and wrote about the Willey avalanche; ministers used the disaster as the basis for lessons; poets, such as Lydia Sigourney and Grenville Mellen, wrote long, romantic poems about the incident; artists arrived to sketch the “woeful” scene; and writers such as Nathaniel Hawthorne used the Willey slide as the basis for novels and short stories. Even as late as 1881, Edward Melcher, “the only survivor of the party who discovered and removed the bodies of the unfortunate family from the ruins,” published and sold his story.

The flood that caused the Willey disaster also destroyed the only road through Crawford Notch. The state of Maine and the people of Portland raised thousands of dollars to repair that important commercial link. The repaired road brought in tourists attracted by the mountain disaster. Daniel Wadsworth, a wealthy art patron from Hartford, laid out a travel plan and urged his young friend artist Thomas Cole to travel to the White Mountains to see for himself. After a “dreary and uninteresting” ride from Boston to the mountains in late July 1827, Cole found himself surrounded by “an ocean of beauty and magnificence.” In a letter to Wadsworth, he wrote, “It is here, in such sublime scenes that man
sees his own nothingness; and the soul feels unutterably—The scene was far beyond my expectation and is the finest one I have ever beheld …. How kind has the Creator been to us—Nature opens her treasures; and a rich banquet is ever spread for our enjoyment.” How could a landscape of such beauty have produced such horror?

Cole was captivated by the natural wonders of the mountains. “I have been highly delighted with my visit to the W[ite] Mountains and should find a great pleasure in showing you my sketches,” he wrote to his mentor Wadsworth. “It was not for pictures I ascended the mountain but for ideas of grandeur, for conceptions and for these this was the region.” He sought to depict the “visible hand of God” in his painting, promoting historical themes and using allegory to warn his audience about corrupting modern influences. He painted mountain landscapes that would “leave the great features, whether the beautiful or the sublime, dominant in the mind.”

Cole returned to the White Mountains in 1828 accompanied by New Hampshire native and artist Henry Cheever Pratt. They followed what would become an oft-used path of nineteenth-century tourists: they traveled to Centre Harbor on Lake Winnipesaukee, then east and north to Conway. From there they passed through Crawford Notch and across the northern Presidential to Littleton and then south through Franconia Notch. Pratt already knew the mountains and was a good traveling companion. They traveled by coach and by foot in difficult conditions. Time did not concern them; catching nature on canvas did. At times, the trees were “prostrate” before nature’s power. They walked through Crawford Notch, “a wild mountain pass called the Notch through which descends a rapid river without bridges,” as Cole wrote. Since only foot traffic could get through, they strapped their luggage to their backs and walked twelve miles, passing “not a single house on the road excepting the deserted Willey house.” The view of the Willey House was sobering. “We looked up at the pinnacle above and measured ourselves and found ourselves as nothing. How awful must have been the darkness of that night with the crash of falling crags and rushing cataracts.” Clearly, the adventurous were willing and able to venture in the White Mountains, but the path was not open to less bold and less well-financed tourists.

In many ways, the Willey disaster was well timed to open the mountainous region of New Hampshire to the outside world. Descriptions of the disaster intrigued the educated. Was this God’s handiwork or could there be a natural explanation? Various new disciplines of natural history, such as geology, botany, and zoology, became fashionable in the late 1820s, and the narrow notches of the White Mountains furnished a nearby laboratory for research. Locals were intrigued for quite a different reason. The Willey disaster was another indication that they needed to find new ways to survive in the mountain river valleys—or leave. Farmers in the re-
gion had been doing well raising sheep, so well that they had produced a wool glut and the market had collapsed. By 1835 New Hampshire farmers were beginning to move to new farming regions opening in the Midwest or to industrial areas such as Lowell and Lawrence. Other farm families survived by adding a new trade to their farm economy: inn keeping. Many small town taverns and individual homeowners used the new traffic to make ends meet. For some of the first generation innkeepers, such as the owners of Thompson Tavern in North Conway and Blair’s Hotel in Campton, it was the beginning of a new and prosperous career.

The Willey disaster was well timed in another way as well. Americans were on the cusp of a period of impassioned nationalism, and the White Mountains, accessible yet wild, were seen by some as a symbol to represent the still young nation. While struck by the raw power of the landscape, educator Theodore Dwight was caught by the sublime majesty of the peaks and beauty of the valleys. In 1829, Dwight wrote of “the grand avenue towards the centre of the White Mountains, where Washington sits enthroned in the midst of his gigantic associates, usually with a crown of snow upon his head.” He took the awesome power of nature and, in his writing, made it
an expression of American optimism and potential. “The road proceeds in a winding course; and thus a constantly varying scene is presented, of swelling hills, level little meadows and narrow ravines, uplands half divested their forests, with the lofty peaks rising above, some with granite foreheads.”

Americans were enchanted by the contrasts presented by the mountains. There they found open agricultural valleys set against the wilderness of high mountain forests. It was an American landscape, a microcosm of the United States, tamed and welcoming areas surrounded by raw and often terrifying wilderness. Accessible wilderness attracted many from close by who had the means and time to travel.

In 1831, Mary Jane Thomas and her new husband Moses borrowed a “one horse shay” from her father and traveled from Concord, the New Hampshire state capital, through Laconia to the Weirs along Lake Winnipesaukee. They felt the pull of the mountains, especially Mount Washington, and moved slowly northward. At the Weirs, they boarded “a small new steamer just put on for the accommodations of the traveling public,” The Lady of the Lake, and steamed to Centre Harbor where they spent the night. During their “ride from Centre Harbor to North Conway,” they were awed by “the continually unfolding grandeur and loveliness of scenery,” which kept them “mute, because [of] unspeakable

* “Shay” was another word for a small open carriage usually drawn by one horse.
wonder and delight." At nightfall they stayed at "the only public house in North Conway," the McMillan House, a very early hotel probably dating to 1765. It was "very old but perfectly neat and nice in its appointments." Their trip continued up the Saco Valley the next day during which they "watched the drapery of the clouds, concealing, and anon revealing, the outline of the mountains" before arriving at Abel Crawford’s inn at the south end of the Notch.

Thomas seems to have been comfortable at Crawford’s, if a bit surprised by the accommodations. There was "the inevitable bar room on the right—its white floor carpeted with sand, where those of the ‘male persuasion’ mostly congregated” to drink and smoke. There was a "nicely scrubbed white floor, guiltless of carpet or even mats—6 hardbottomed wooden chairs, one common rocking chair ... the fireplace filled with green branches, the mantel with two oil lamps at one end, and two candles of domestic manufacture at the other.” For dinner, the Crawfords served baked beans, brown bread, berries, honey, cream and butter, "arranged in rather primitive fashion."

The next day, the couple made the almost obligatory stop to view the Willey house in the Notch "just as it was left by the frightened inmates" when they fled five years earlier. The Willey ghosts did not frighten them but their slow progress through the increasingly narrow pass between the mountains did. "The sun having gone down behind the lofty Mountains
made our P.M. ride indistinct and shadowy.” The mountains “seemed to meet in our pathway apparently offering an obstacle to our farther progress” as they moved slowly toward the Notch House. Their fear of the untamed notch made the couple’s arrival at Thomas Crawford’s Notch House reassuring. Thomas’ husband was determined to hike Mount Washington, so they spent a rainy week at Crawford’s house waiting for the weather to clear. The fare and accommodations were “of the most primitive character.” Fresh trout helped to offset cold corn beef and salt fish. While her husband fished in the rain, Thomas read everything with her. Soon there was “nothing to amuse or occupy” her as the rainy weather continued. She could not see the scenery through the clouds. The tavern supplied nothing for her amusement. People–watching would have helped pass the time, but the interminable rain led to muddy roads and very difficult travel conditions. The wagons that went through the Notch during the week left no one at Crawford’s. There was no one to talk to and nothing to do. She was bored. Finally, the weather cleared and her husband was able to make his climb, guided by Crawford. When he returned from the summit, he was “wonderstricken, awe stricken, and inexpressibly impressed by his first view from the summit of the mountains.” For him, the long wait had fulfilled his wish to experience the views from the top of New England. For her, the experience was less agreeable. She “very gladly left the first bright day for Lancaster.”
Thomas and her husband were at the forefront of a new style of traveling. Leisure allowed them to study poetry and the budding new ideas in biology and geology that prepared them for travel in the mountains. They were interested in seeing the "awesome" and "sublime" views available only in nature while staying in accommodations that gradually changed to meet the traveling public’s demands for increased comfort.

Many people living in the mountains had already opened their homes to visitors. The best known were the Crawfords. Eleazar Rosebrook and his son-in-law Abel Crawford and grandson Ethan Allen Crawford had been lodging drivers of commercial wagons through the Notch since the late eighteenth century. When they realized that hosting pleasure travelers could be more lucrative, they took them in and, to entertain them, built a path to the top of Mount Washington, led fishing trips, fired cannons so visitors could hear the echo, guided "trampers" on mountain trails, and kept bears or wolves as pets. Very popular with the early tourists, the Crawfords used their houses for inns, added on additional space and eventually developed new buildings entirely for the increased tourist trade.

But they were not the only families in the mountains to benefit from the increased number of visitors. The Abbotts opened a tavern in Conway sometime before 1812 and accommodated the new type of traveler. When the diarist known only as "BKZ" arrived in Conway in 1833, he wrote, "This little village ... is, I am told, a sort of family concern, belonging to
Thus, by the early 1830s, travelers heading to the mountains for pleasure had a way to get to the mountains and places to stay, but still difficult travel. The roads remained quite primitive. A young man of seeming wealth and leisure, BKZ left Boston “in a stage for Lowell, drawn by six prancing steeds” in 1833. He had come from Virginia through major cities but he did not describe this part of the journey to his correspondent since “the ground we travelled over, you had been jolted on, again and again.” Trip details began in New Hampshire. Eighteen miles above Concord, “our party were separated, and conveyed off in different directions, some for Haverhill on the Connecticut, and others on an excursion of pleasure among the White Mountains. We, happening to belong to the latter and less[er] fraction, were placed in a smaller, and less commodious carriage, moving by the power—or rather the weakness—of two worn-out steeds, ‘ill favored and lean fleshed,’ and whose ribs were as distinguishable as the rails in a fence. You need not be told that our progress was slow … Just four miles an hour.”

Upon reaching Centre Harbor, the views more than compensated BKZ for the frustrating rate of progress. He felt compelled to describe the sight as “mountains are piled on mountains, till their lofty summits are literally lost in the heavens. Some of these enormous protuberances are environed by gray, fleecy, floating vapors, which render it impossible to ascertain, where the land terminates, and where the sky begins. Some shoot their bald heads, tipped with silver far above the world of clouds, that clothe, in thick darkness, their midway zones, and, in awful majesty, seem to hang suspended from the immeasurable heights above.” His vocabulary had met its match. Clearly, he was amazed by what he saw.

With better accommodations, improved traveling conditions were not far behind. In 1826, stages began regular runs from Plymouth through Franconia Notch to Littleton, but their intent was primarily commercial. Beginning in 1831, a tourist stage left Portland at 5 a.m. three times a week and arrived in Conway at 5 p.m., where tourists could stay and find transportation into the “Notch of the White Mountains,” or Crawford Notch. Other visitors to the Notch generally came by way of Concord. By 1834, stage companies added stages through the Notch to the northern Presidential and to the northern limits of Franconia Notch “for the convenience and accommodation of travelers and visitors to the White Hills.” It was a difficult route, but the White Mountain Stage Line promised that “if the Proprietors should receive sufficient encouragement, they will run during the summer season, a daily Stage from the White Mountains to Littleton.”

two or three brothers, by the name of Abbott.” He had arrived by “the Concord stage” to the “comfortable apartment, at the Abbott’s hotel.” The Abbott family stayed in the hotel business and later opened the Pequawket and Conway houses. In 1835, on the other side of the mountains, S.C. and J.L. Gibbs opened the Lafayette House in Franconia Notch specifically to host the new type of traveler. The house was immediately popular. During its first summer, English visitor Harriett Martineau noted that the hotel “had been growing in the woods thirteen weeks before, and yet we were far from being among its first guests.” The Abbotts and the Gibbs were savvy entrepreneurs who hit upon a profitable business. They commercialized the mountains, monetized the views, and increased the value of inns, souvenirs, and particular natural sites.
FLUME HOUSE.

BENJAMIN KNIGHT

Respectfully informs his friends and the public that he has erected and nearly completed a spacious three-story dwelling in LINCOLN, N. H., called the "FLUME HOUSE," with convenient outbuildings. This house is 64 feet long and 34 wide, and will be opened on the 4th day of July next, and continue open for the reception of company.

It is situated on the main road leading from Concord, N. H., to Plymouth; 24 miles from Plymouth and 17 to Littleton, and 11 miles by the way of Franconia through Bethlehem to the White Mountains, and 36 miles to Centre Harbor. No spot in the region of the Mountains could be selected on the road, affording more sublime and varied prospects. It is in the immediate vicinity of the Flume, the Silver Cascade, the Pool, and the Basin.

FLUME.

The Flume is universally considered by travellers, one of the greatest natural curiosities of our country. It is so called from its resemblance to the flume of a mill. It is a deep chasm, fissure, or channel, extending down the side of the mountain some 1500 feet, with walls rising to the height of 30 or 60 feet. These walls consist of layers of solid granite, laid up with the regularity of mason work. The channel, or space between the walls, varying in width from 15 to 30 feet, perhaps, on an average, about one rod in width. Near the centre of this chasm is a large rock, of many tons weight, nearly oval in shape, suspended against the sides of the chasm, about 30 feet from the depth below. A few rods further down, is another rock, nearly resembling the one above, lying at the bottom of the gulf. These rocks appear to have been thrown from their mountain led by some great convulsion of nature, the lower one reaching the bottom of the gulf, while the upper one remains suspended against the sides of the chasm. Carbonated near these narrow walls, from which it is impossible to escape sideways, rushes down over its rocky bed an impetuous mountain torrent, with deafening roar.

CASCADE.

Descending still farther down the mountain, you come to the Silver Cascade, where the stream spreads out to a width of 60 rods, and rapidly descends over broad sheets of granite, sparkling in the rays of the morn or sunset sun, forming beautiful basins or bathing troughs in the solid granite, and tempting the visitor, by their clearness and transparency, to enjoy the luxury of a bath, were it not for its icy coldness.

POOL.

The Pool is another object of great interest. It is approached by a narrow foot path leading from the Flume House, through the woods, about half a mile. Here the Penagwassan, rushing over its rocky bed, down a steep declivity, forms a pool of about 20 feet in depth. The stream, ebbing and flowing, has worn its granite walls at its base into a circular form, which walls rise to the height of nearly 50 feet. The Pool is sufficiently large for a skiff to play on its surface, and affords excellent sport to the skilled angler.

BASIN.

The Basin, situated by the road side, is a round, deep cavity in the solid rock formed by the action of the streams, and has been so often observed and described by travellers as to require no further description. About 4 miles farther, in the direction of Franconia, you come in sight of that singular and extraordinary granite formation, the Basin.

THE OLD MAN OF THE MOUNTAIN.

so famous in story and in song. There he sits in stern grandeur, overlooking his pond, and is made to utter just such sentiments as newspaper writers ascribe to him. Don't believe one of them, but come and see him yourself.

It is contemplated to improve the foot paths leading from the Flume House, through the wilderness, to the Flume, about three miles of a desolate, yet to the eye, strong half a mile, which traverse amongst the basins to the summit of the noble peak, the noblest and most picturesque scene.

The roads are now good and shaded. The traveller and gentleman of leisure, and all in pursuit of health and pleasure, are invited to come during the many weeks and months and enjoy the cooling basins from the mountain, new formed with the purlieus of the forest and wild flowers. Come single or in parties by horses or in waggonets, or whatever conveyance may suit your fancy; but, however you please, your company shall never wish for the welcome hospitality of the Floater House.

The establishment is entirely open-air, appointment neat and clean, with excellent beds and bedding. It will be the sole object of the proprietor to supply the wants of his guests with the best provisions, and the best wines can be found, WILD FRUITS, such as blackberries, raspberries, blueberries and blackberry, are produced here, and from nature, in the greatest abundance.

The visitors, by stepping from the Flume House, not far above the summit of the basin and carriage to visit the magnificent villages situated in.

Lincoln, June, 1846.
BKZ was caught up in the need to see the sublime and awesome in nature. Many Americans felt compelled to explain scenery in terms that today seem overly exuberant. They were assisted in that endeavor by writers of the day, such as Hawthorne, Emerson, and, especially, a variety of poets. They helped to turn the landscape into a saleable commodity. Visitors expected to be overwhelmed and awestruck when viewing the mountains. In the 1830s and 1840s, their slow progress by coach and foot gave them time to gaze at will and to write detailed explanations about their experiences. More people visited, and news of the alluring mountain scenery and forests spread through advertisements, letters, broadsides, and art.

William Bartlett published *American Scenery* in London in thirty installments from 1837 to 1839. The young New Hampshire native and artist Benjamin Champney saw a copy that included views of the White Mountains and was inspired to make his first trip north in June 1838. In many ways, this could be called business travel, as Champney sought views that would sell. He and a friend traveled along the Connecticut River valley up to Hanover, New Hampshire. From there they walked east to Centre Harbor and on to the Mount Washington Valley. Champney described the area as “something more than terrestrial.” He was enchanted by what he saw. It was the beginning of Champney’s lifelong love of the White Mountains.
The beauty of the White Mountains drew wealthy tourists as well and it became part of an early guidebook for the well-to-do, *The Fashionable Tour*. Well educated and possessing some wealth, teenager Mary Hale of Haverhill, Massachusetts, and her family progressed slowly along the Connecticut River and then gradually moved east toward the mountains in 1840. They visited churches and factories in each town, including the “very large iron establishment” in Franconia. Then, like other tourists of the 1830s and 1840s, they turned their attention to natural wonders of the White Mountains. It was the notches, Franconia and Crawford, that drew the most attention from the Hales. From the cascading waterfalls to attractions such as the Old Man of the Mountain, nineteenth-century travelers knew they should be deeply and emotionally moved by the "sublime"
wonders of nature. The Hales climbed Mount Lafayette, and then followed a "very hilly" road to Crawford Notch, where they stayed at the Notch House. They walked a few miles into the Notch: "The scene was truly grand[,] immense rocks towering above our heads looked very frightful. It is impossible for a person who has such a weak mind as mine to describe the view that we had there of the beauties of nature." Hale’s background gave her family the time and money that allowed for travel in difficult yet alluring territory.

By midcentury, the intersection of artists and tourists with the mountains brought the White Mountains into the living rooms of urban dwellers. More artists were drawn to the beauty of the peaks and congregated in the region, focusing their numbers in West Campton and North Conway. They were attracted by the unusual scenes found in the hills of New Hampshire and in the knowledge that they could sell their wares to the tourists. The allure of the mountains and an interested public drew in more artists who layered meaning on the landscape with each brush stroke. Their art was sold, exhibited, and turned into prints, familiarizing even more Americans with the New Hampshire hills.

Prints reproduced the same views on the walls of the less well-to-do. In her history of the White Mountains published around the same time, Lucy Crawford wrote, "So great has become the celebrity of the many objects of attraction about these hills that the walls of the parlors of private families are decorated with a painting of one or more of the most prominent
curiosities— the windows in the cities of the principal vendors of lithographic views are filled— and on the centre tables stand the steroscope, and lying by its side Tip-Top, The Cascades and many beautiful views which the artist has gathered.”

Artists visited the mountains not only to make a living at what would otherwise be an avocation but also as part of the international Romantic movement that stressed emotions and reaction, especially to nature. American transcendentalists, most famously Emerson and Thoreau, believed individuals should be transported when faced by untamed nature. Nature was expected to inspire, heal, and provide solace. More artistic renditions of the White Mountains brought more people to the region. In late August 1848, an unknown Connecticut businessman wrote, “It’s getting to be quite a place of resort for people who have money to spend. John Jacob Astor’s family was at the Mountains when I was there.” Astor himself had died earlier that year, reputedly the richest man in America.

“An improvement fever is ... raging in New Hampshire, melting down the ‘everlasting hills,’ smoothing the granite precipice, and fusing, as in a crucible, the varied interests of the people into one burning desire for steam power and a railroad to pass through every town in the state.” Sarah Josepha Hale, 1846 Godey’s Magazine and Lady’s Book

“"An improvement fever is ... raging in New Hampshire, melting down the ‘everlasting hills,’ smoothing the granite precipice, and fusing, as in a crucible, the varied interests of the people into one burning desire for steam power and a railroad to pass through every town in the state.” Sarah Josepha Hale, 1846 Godey’s Magazine and Lady’s Book

Sarah Josepha Hale wrote in an 1846 Godey’s Magazine and Lady’s Book, one of the most popular magazines of its day, that “an improvement fever [was] ... raging in New Hampshire, melting down the ‘everlasting hills,’ smoothing the granite precipice, and fusing, as in a crucible, the varied interests of the people into one burning desire for steam power and a railroad to pass through every town in the state.” She caught the spirit of the time. The same year, business interests recognized the potential commercial advantages in connecting Portland, Maine, to Montreal. While commercial reasons drove their desire for a rail connection, their route was chosen because of tourist potential. In 1851, the Atlantic and St. Lawrence Railroad Company built the White Mountain Station House, or Alpine House, at its stop in Gorham. Within a few years, additional railheads reached Littleton, Alton, and Plymouth, encircling the mountains.

Train travel was a marvel. Before she became famous, Louisa May Alcott took the train to Gorham for a vacation in 1861. She viewed the trip with excitement and some trepidation. She thought the train went “perilously fast; predict smashery, and meditate on..."
immortality of the soul.” Train travelers no longer detailed the sights of each town they passed through. Instead, as the speed of travel increased and the costs became relatively less expensive, a greater number and a greater variety of people became tourists.

During an 1853 visit to the United States, Swedish tourist Frederika Bremer complained that the region overflowed “with noisy, unquiet company, who do not seem to understand any other mode of enjoying nature than in talking, laughing, eating, drinking, and by all other kinds of noisy pleasures. They pass up the mountain laughing at full gallop, and come down again at full gallop. Champagne corks fly about at the hotels, gentlemen sit and play cards in the middle of the day, and ladies talk about dress-makers and fashions. How unlike is this thoughtless life to that of nature, where the clouds come down as if to converse with the mountain.” Bremer, a friend of Emerson, was influenced by the transcendentalists. But her view of mountain travel clashed with fellow urban-based tourists who were sold on the commercial experience of nature. In escaping the crowded, often corrupt and commercialized cities, travelers to the mountains brought crowds and commercialism with them.

After the railroads arrived in the mountains, the geographic reach of the region increased. Suddenly it was possible to begin the day in New York City and end the day in a White Mountains hotel. Some contemporaries were fully aware of the changes that this wrought and did not consider all to be for the better. In July 1858, the Boston Post published a long article entitled, “The White Mountain Journey—Twenty-five Years Ago and To-day.” Their correspondent
balanced his observations and reflections on the changes: “Five and twenty years ago the trip to the Notch [from Boston] occupied four whole days … [At the Willey house,] no Guide demanded a fee; the visitor poked about the ruin with his gloomy reflections undistracted by [a] talking automaton’s recital. There was no let or hindrance to chipping off and taking away as much of the woodwork of the house as we wanted for a memorial …. But its sublimity of desolation is gone now … the new paint, the fixing up, the enlarged windows, carefully shut doors, and proprietary air of all about … seem to mock at the unique sorrow of the Willey House …. The roads are worse now than they were then, because the railroads that skirt the eastern and western bases of the mountains have absorbed the heavy transportation, and the turnpikes are bankrupt.”

There was money to be made from the tourists. Guidebooks aimed at the rising middle class were one of the first tourist-based industries. While it doesn’t fit a modern definition for guidebook, the Reverend Thomas Starr King’s 1859 book *The White Hills: Their Legends, Landscape, and Poetry* was used by many nineteenth-century travelers. King’s purpose was “to direct attention to the noble landscapes that lie along the routes by which the White Mountains are now approached by tourists … to help persons appreciate the landscape more adequately; and to associate with the principle scenes poetic passages.” This very popular book was reprinted throughout the rest of the nineteenth century.

George P. Bond, a Harvard astronomer and the son of the director of the Harvard College Observatory, published the first topographical map of the White Mountains in 1853. A spare, purely factual document, it showed the locations of the summits (many identified by name), the rivers and streams, and the major hotels. It lacked geographical coordinates, but it contained a wealth of information on the altitudes of the summits, which Bond had carefully measured. Like the other scientists who came to the region, Bond was also a tourist. He loved the mountains and, until the end of his short life (he died aged 39 in 1865), he spent a working vacation at a White Mountain inn every summer with family and observatory
staff, and could not resist measuring summits and distances at every opportunity. This map was his only publication intended for the public; it was bound with a table of distances and engravings of original drawings of the mountains by Benjamin Champney.

Building upon Bond’s foundation of measurements, Harvey Boardman, of Connecticut, published a White Mountain map in 1858 that was more pictorial, but also more informative. It included major public buildings, churches, and sawmills, as well as engravings of the hotels and the names of their proprietors. One striking feature of this map is the number of summit trails that it depicts. All of these were bridle paths, going up not just the Presidential Range, but also Mt. Moriah, Mt. Lafayette, Mt. Willard, and Cannon Mountain. A tourist could use either Bond’s or Boardman’s map to plan a tour of the region and could keep or hang the map on the wall at home as a souvenir. Henry David Thoreau carried both when he visited the region in 1858.

Until late in the century, nearly all those who ascended the summits hired a guide and traveled at least partway on horseback, often in large groups. Contemporary guidebooks aided them, like Samuel Eastman’s *White Mountain Guide Book*, which went through sixteen editions between 1858 and 1881. From its second edition, Eastman’s book included a serviceable map for planning tours of the region, and described hotels and sights and the routes among them, not the mountain trails. *The White Mountains: A Handbook for Travellers* by Moses F. Sweetser first appeared in 1876 and went through fifteen editions by 1896. Unlike earlier guides, this substantial book paid little notice to the hotels; instead, it described in great detail the views to be had from the mountains, with much history interspersed. The unstated assumption was still that the "tramer" would employ a guide to lead him to the peaks.

Even as late as 1870, a large part of the White Mountain region, in particular the area between Franconia Ridge on the west and the peaks overlooking Crawford Notch on the east, remained *terra incognita*. Several of the mountains there were unvisited and unascended. The first recorded ascents of North Twin, South Twin, Mt. Bond, and even Mt. Garfield were made in 1871.

Professor Edward C. Pickering, a 29-year-old physicist at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, led the creation of the Appalachian Mountain Club in 1876. The AMC’s original constitution stated, "The
objects of the Club are to explore the mountains of New England and the adjacent regions, both for scientific and artistic purposes; and, in general, to cultivate an interest in geographical studies.” It was an exclusive private club and had only 295 dues-paying members by 1880, but it wielded great influence over the cultural development of the mountains during the next century. From its inception, one of the AMC’s aims was the “improvement” of the White Mountains by constructing trails. Its first treasurer was the prominent and prolific cartographer Henry F. Walling, who in 1860 and 1861 had published
enormous wall maps of the three counties that encompass the White Mountains. In March 1877, the AMC published the first contour map of the White Mountains, but this was little more than a preliminary draft. The first really useful and detailed map with contour lines was prepared by Walling and published, not by the AMC but with its endorsement, later in 1877. This was also the first map to depict actual hiking trails. It was not so much a hiking map, however, as a major precise and comprehensive analysis of the mountains’ topography.

A cascade of tourists, from lower middle class to upper class, arrived after the Civil War. Industrialization created a white-collar middle class that hoped to emulate the upper class by vacationing in the same places. This was a traveling public used to working and traveling by the clock. They wanted to take advantage of the leisure time that they did have. A new way of traveling developed as the tourists sought amusement or recreation in a packaged form. What did an establishment have to offer? How exclusive, a euphemism for restrictive, was the clientele? Small and large hotels catered to different social groups. Rather than accepting what they might find at a rural hotel, tourists brought their cultural expectations with them and looked for particular types of
accommodations. While many visitors still hoped to experience an emotional uplift from their visit to the mountains, they also expected excellent or at least acceptable food, more comfortable accommodations, and easier travel than before.

Visitors were sometimes surprised to find that industrialism followed them into the mountains. The views of forested mountainsides so enjoyed by earlier travelers could be transformed as more logging crews dispersed through the mountains. Louisa May Alcott commented on the changes she saw outside her train window. What was once a dense forest had become "acres of burnt stumps, looking as if nature’s mouth needed a dentist." Individual tourists knew they were supposed to be awestruck when they experienced mountain views, but how could that happen when they were greeted instead by the detritus and desolation of extensive logging? Large hotels purchased more land to protect their guests from economic reality, especially after logging increased dramatically in the 1870s and later.

Travel became more time-oriented, space-specific, and democratic. George Perkins of Salem, Massachusetts, who called himself the "Bummer," kept a journal of his 1867 trip to the White Mountains. A rather cocky young man, his journal is full of frank complaints and dramatic enthusiasms. He took a less-than-satisfactory train ride to Portland: "the cars of the G[rand]. T[runk]. R[ailway]. Oh! dear! The shaking we got is fresh in our memory yet, and confirms us in our determination to go home by some other route." Focused on the pleasure he could gain at his destination, he was pleased to find croquet, "our favorite game of out door," was provided at the Alpine House. He enjoyed flirting, his "favorite pastime," with any young woman he found attractive (which was almost all young women), even to the point of endangering himself by leaning over from the top of the stagecoach to talk to young women inside the coach.

George Perkins’ group stopped at the White Mountain House for dinner and the driver was refreshed. “As the wine took effect, the whip cracked often and we flew towards Bethlehem at a furious rate, over a new made road muddy…. Chunks of mud as big as your hand came jumping into the coach, and no one enjoyed the sport more, than the Bummer who was nicely sandwiched between two ladies.”

Even as more people vacationed in the mountains in the immediate aftermath of the Civil War, the arrangements for rooms could be quite spontaneous and travel between the hotels quite challenging. When the Bummer sent a "dispatch flying over the wires" to Mr. C.H. Greenleaf, manager of the Profile House in August 1867, informing him that his party needed "rooms for Party of Nine, 6 ladies and 3 Gents," Greenleaf replied that he had room and to "come on with your party of nine." They left Crawford House about 3 p.m. in a private coach drawn by a "four-horse team just as a fresh shower commenced laying the dust for us, and cooling the air." "Mr. Martin and Bemis rode outside, which left the Bummer to the mercy of six ladies, but he was a match for a dozen in eating or frolicking.” They stopped at the White Mountain House for dinner and the driver was refreshed. "As the wine took effect, the whip cracked often and we flew towards Bethlehem at a furious rate, over a new made road muddy…. Chunks of mud as big as your hand came jumping into the coach, and no one enjoyed the
sport more, than the Bummer who was nicely sandwiched between two ladies.” Arriving at the Sinclair House in Bethlehem, they were told that the Profile House was full and no stages were to continue there. “We being in a private party no human being could stop us, although the landlord was terrible indignant at our leaving.” The driver of their coach was the half-owner of the vehicle and willing to do what he could to satisfy his paying customers. After changing horses at the driver’s home, the group arrived at the Profile House at 9:20. Thanks to their telegram they were able to get rooms, but many people spent the night on cots in the parlor or were sent on. By the time the Bummer wrote, the popularity of the White Mountains made finding any quiet and contemplative space difficult. Only the intrepid escaped the usual route of the tourist.

In his 1876 Handbook for Travellers, Moses F. Sweetser wrote, “The rapid extension of the railroads into the mountain-district has substituted for the formerly arduous task of travelling from point to point a luxurious and rapid transit, while by lifting the tourist on higher grades it affords better opportunities for outlooks. The sybaritic traveller now traverses the savage defiles and ascends the rugged valleys while reclining among the cushions of a palace-car, passing thus over ground that was formerly visited only by weary days of horseback-riding on miry and rocky roads.” The speed of train travel, the increased
numbers of guests, and a wide variety of accommodations opened the White Mountains to larger groups of people. As the nation turned its collective eyes west or focused on the benefits of industrialization, the White Mountains provided a nearby and increasingly accessible escape from the multiplying pressures of modern life, complete with urban comforts and amenities. Conditions changed and tourism changed with it.

“When scenery were a sentient thing, it might feel indignant at being vulgarly stared at, overrun and trampled on, by a horde of tourists who chiefly value luxurious hotels and easy conveyance. It would be mortified to hear the talk of the excursionists, which is more about the quality of the tables and the beds, and the rapidity with which the ‘whole thing can be done,’ than about the beauty and the sublimity of nature. The mountain, however, was made for man, and not man for the mountain.”

1886, Charles Dudley Warner

When Charles Dudley Warner published “Their Pilgrimage” for Harper’s New Monthly Magazine in 1886, he expressed regret with the changes. “The White Mountains are as high as ever, as fine in sharp outline against the sky, as savage, as tawny; no other mountains in the world of their height so well keep, on acquaintance, the respect of mankind.” Yet “undeniably something of the romance of adventure in a visit to the White Hills is wanting, now that the railways penetrate every valley, and all the physical obstacles of the journey are removed. One can never again feel the thrill that he experienced when, after a weary all-day jolting in the stage-coach, or plodding hour after hour on foot, he suddenly came in view of a majestic granite peak …. Nothing, indeed, is valuable that is easily obtained.” His view seems to have been a minority view. More rail lines led to more hotels and more visitors. The mountains’ popularity had not yet hit their peak.

College student F.W. Sanborn left Marblehead, Massachusetts at 6:30 a.m. on a July morning in 1874 and arrived in Lisbon at 5 p.m. “Our ride of 175 miles was without unpleasantness. There were no disagreeable people on the cars: there were no noisy babies; there were quiet ones, and a good many of them.” His journal includes nothing about the world outside his window. Instead, he wrote, read, and watched people. Like many post-Civil War tourists, he was interested in the relaxation and distractions a mountain vacation could bring. He knew exactly when his train would leave the station and when it should arrive at his destination. He was ready for entertainment.
Mount Lafayette from Franconia, New Hampshire, David Johnson, 1854, Oil on canvas, 34 1/2 x 55 inches, Private collection
“The scene was far beyond my expectation and is the finest one I have ever beheld.... How kind has the Creator been to us—Nature opens her treasures; and a rich banquet is ever spread for our enjoyment.... I have been highly delighted with my visit to the W[hite] Mountains and should find a great pleasure in showing you my sketches.... It was not for pictures I ascended the mountains but for ideas of grandeur, for conceptions and for these this was the region.” Thomas Cole, Letter to Daniel Wadsworth, 1827
Franconia Notch

The road through Franconia Notch brought commerce from the settlements in Coos County to the State Capital in Concord. But drivers through the Notch did not note the beauty of the area, only its danger. The mountains were obstacles to be overcome. The road through New Hampshire’s western notch was plagued by landslides from its inception. In fact, the storms that caused the Willey disaster also brought a rockslide that closed the Franconia Notch road for two months. Travel through Franconia Notch was slow, hazardous, and difficult.

During an 1805 survey for a proposed state turnpike through the Notch, workers looked up and “discovered” the Old Man of the Mountain. The Old Man’s similarity to the profiles of Presidents Washington and Jefferson began the mystique that developed around the area. The world learned of the curious rock formations in Franconia Notch, such as the Old Man, the Flume, and the Basin, in articles published between 1826 and 1828, well timed to entice travelers already curious about the White Mountains because of the Willey slide.

One morning in 1828, a solitary Thomas Cole left his lodging in Franconia Notch and began walking south. “Through the pass called Franconia Notch there is a good road on which a small coach passes on its way to Plymouth …. I sallied forth expecting the coach (as it was the day of running) to overtake me in the Notch.” With the many streams flowing down into the Notch, he “was often deceived by the sound of falling streams for among these mountains the sound of falling streams is always heard either whispering in the distance or thundering in the foreground.” He described the grandeur of “the Old Man of the Mountain (as the country people call it) a singular crag that has the features of a man strongly marked in colossal dimensions. I should suppose this head is 1500 ft above the lake. The stillness of this lake and the silence that reigned in this solitude was impressive and sublime.” His journal notes the emotive difference he found between the two notches: the Franconia region was calm; it had none of the “desolate grandeur” of Crawford Notch but instead was “impressive and sublime.” Cole’s time walking through the Notch and following the Pemigewasset River gave rise to his painting, “Morning Mist Rising, Pemigewasset River, NH.” He returned to his home in New York City, filled with admiration for the mountains. His reaction includes a reason many others followed in his path: “What a contrast! The voiceless stillness of the mountain wilderness—the deafening turmoil of this great city.” Cole was in the forefront of a new type of landscape painting. He opened the path for other painters with similar instincts to follow.

When Cole’s friend artist Asher Durand learned of the White Mountains, Cole encouraged him to visit, hoping that the experience would lift Durand’s depression. In 1837, he wrote “I am sorry that you are at times so much depressed in spirits. You must come to live in the country …. Your expression is the result of debility; you require the pure air of heaven. You sit (I know you do) in a close, air-tight room, toiling, stagnating, and breeding dissatisfaction at
TOP:
Profile Lake and Old Man of the Mountain,
N. W. Pease. Date unknown. Stereoview card image. Museum of the White Mountains, Dan Noel Collection

BOTTOM:
Profile, Franconia Notch, N. H. Kilburn Brothers. Date unknown. Stereoview card image. Museum of the White Mountains, Dan Noel Collection
all you do, when if you had the untainted breeze to breathe, your body would be invigorated, your spirits buoyant .... I merely wish to convince you that, provided you could consistently leave the city, you would be in better health and spirits.” Durand took his advice and, starting in 1839, traveled often in the White Mountains. He became the leading artistic advocate for the Franconia region. Durand’s promotion popularized the Old Man and the Flume and increased their commercial value. It also mentally decreased the distance between East Coast cities and the region.

Romanticism influenced other visitors to the mountains. After the death of her mother in 1833, fifteen-year-old Frances (or Fanny) Elizabeth Appleton* and her family made a two-month tour of the northern United States, using the 1828 version of *The Fashionable Tour*. They traveled in a hired private coach and stayed in small hotels and taverns, the best money could buy at the time. The journey followed a stately pace, yet young Fanny wrote, “One is almost bewildered by the ever changing variety and has hardly admired sufficiently one sweet landscape … before a turn in the road brings … an equally picturesque and rural scene. Yet differing from the other entirely.” The wealth of the Appleton family provided them with the best accommodations possible, but these were still rustic. There were no complaints from young Fanny. Her father, a well-educated and prominent businessman from Haverhill, Massachusetts, and a U.S. Congressman, was an amateur geologist. That may be the reason they visited Franconia and not Crawford Notch. Franconia Notch provided what author Randall H. Bennett calls "a museum of natural curiosities" in his book *The White Mountains: Alps of New England*. Fanny was drawn to the Old Man as well and sketched him from Echo Lake. Her drawing was one of the first on-site renditions of the Old Man.

The Old Man’s fame grew when Nathaniel Hawthorne published his very popular short story, “The Great Stone Face” in *The National Era* magazine in 1850. “The Great Stone Face, then, was a work of Nature in her mood of majestic playfulness, formed on the perpendicular side of a mountain by some immense rocks, which had been thrown together in such a position as, when viewed at a proper distance, precisely to resemble the features of the human countenance .... There was the broad arch of the forehead, a hundred feet in height; the nose, with its long bridge; and the vast lips, which, if they could have spoken, would have rolled their thunder accents from one end of the valley to the other.” The connection between a “noble” profile and the mountains named after presidents was not lost on travelers. As one visitor noted in 1852, the "old man … far surpassed my expectations in the perfection of feature, appearing quite expressive.”

“The Great Stone Face, then, was a work of Nature in her mood of majestic playfulness, formed on the perpendicular side of a mountain by some immense rocks, which had been thrown together in such a position as, when viewed at a proper distance, precisely to resemble the features of the human countenance.” Nathaniel Hawthorne. 1850

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* Appleton became the wife of H.W. Longfellow in 1843.
Commercial interests soon noted the popularity of the area. In 1835, Stephen and Joseph Gibbs opened the Lafayette House, the first fashionable hotel in Franconia Notch to provide service to the pleasure traveler. They catered to both commercial and early tourist traffic. While comfortable for the time, it was not a grand hotel. When it first opened, the Lafayette House was an expanded private residence where guests often slept on the floor of the parlor when the rooms were full. But its location made it an instant hit: it was between Echo and Profile Lakes, very close to the Old Man of the Mountain and within easy walking distance of the Flume. Once guests arrived, they could stay at the hotel and take in the nearby sights. It was the first of many hotels in the Notch.

When sixteen-year-old Mary Hale and her family traveled to the mountains, they took the stage north through the Connecticut River Valley, visited friends and stayed in taverns, while Mary detailed the features of each town in her journal. For example, she wrote that Orford has "two meeting houses, one public house" and that Franconia was "a very pleasant town" with "a very large iron establishment." After staying in Crawford Notch at the Notch House, they took a "very hilly" road to approach Franconia Notch from the north. During an 1840 stay at the Lafayette House, the family hiked Mount Lafayette. "The ascent is laborious but easily accomplished if done moderately. I arrived at the top of the mountain first .... Went above vegetation. The prospect was delightful." The views captured her imagination. Her party continued their excursion, traveling from the base of Lafayette to see the "natural curiosities" of Franconia Notch: the Old Man, the Basin and the Flume.

Similarly, Samuel Johnson, a young college graduate about to enter divinity school, kept a lengthy travel journal during his 1842 "pedestrian tour" to the White Mountains. About the Flume, he wrote,
“Nothing can be grander than this mighty work .... This tremendous abyss ... made us dizzy when we looked over into the whirling stream.” On the cusp of his adult life, he filled his journal with the expected emotional experience of nature. “At Creation or by some terrible convulsion was it cleft down to the mountains’ heart, as by a sword.” His extensive journal touched on the “excessively hot” weather, people along the way, their accommodations, and the natural wonders of the mountains.

When Richard Taft opened the Flume House just south of the Lafayette House in 1848, the Gibbs expanded their inn to accommodate fifty guests. A short-lived race to provide the best accommodations in Franconia Notch was on. Taft understood that the traveling public wanted social interaction with fellow travelers during their stay, and so his hotel included many parlors. Like-minded individuals could gather to play games, converse, and even dance in the parlors. Taft’s Flume House was so successful that he decided to build another hotel with more rooms and better amenities. He purchased the Lafayette House from the Gibbs in 1851 and, the next year, tore it down to build the Profile House, deliberately associating his hotel with the profile of the Old Man of the Mountain. He and his partner Charles Greenleaf advertised it as the “most luxurious hotel in Franconia Notch.” The hotel boasted 110 rooms, nightly bands, dancing, telegraph offices, daily mail, games, transportation, rentals, excellent food, and comfortable lodging—anything a guest might need or want. The Profile House was the first all-inclusive White Mountain hotel. It was an opportune business move: the Boston, Concord and Montreal Railroad reached Littleton in 1853, only an hour away by coach or wagon from the Profile House location. Anticipating the arrival of the railroad, storekeeper Henry L. Thayer built a hotel close to the railway in Littleton in 1850, with room for about 100 guests.
Some tourists spent their first few days at Thayer’s while others were transported directly to one of the Franconia Notch hotels.

When tourist Thomas Chapin vacationed in the White Mountains in August 1852, he took the train to Wells River. He then took a stage to the Flume House. "The first part of the evening very pleasant—with a beautiful moon wading through broken masses of clouds and occasionally a vivid flash of lightning illuminating the distant heavy clouds.” They changed horses twice (once in Lisbon and again at Franconia), a measure of the rugged roads. Without a reservation system, Chapin was planning to stay at the Profile House but when he arrived it was so full that guests were already sleeping on cots in the parlor. He found a coach to take him to the Flume House, where they arrived very late at night. He "went in and booked our names and spent a few minutes in looking for the names of friends, without much success.” The next morning, he walked to the Flume. "After breakfast walked in company with Mr. Polk to the Flume, which one must see to comprehend its beauty and grandeur.” Instead of romantic praise of its beauty, Chapin gave a narrative version of what he saw. He seems to have expected a sublime experience when viewing the scenery in the mountains, but he did not feel compelled to recite romantic poetry. He was more interested in the reality of the experience.

Chapin and guests like him could afford hotels like the Profile and Flume Houses, which were quite expensive. Artists, unless they were independently wealthy or working for the hotels, stayed elsewhere. The most popular spot for artists in the Franconia region was the Stag and Hounds Inn in West Camp- ton. In the 1850s, Asher Durand, Samuel Lancaster Gerry, Samuel Griggs, and George Loring Brown were regulars. Their accommodations often influ- enced their subject choice. In November 1856, The Crayon noted, "Mr. Durand’s sketches of West Camp- ton scenery … are almost wholly confined to moun- tain views," including a number of scenes from the
Franconia region. Attracted by word of mouth, David Johnson also visited the White Mountains beginning in 1851. Known for his detailed realism, Johnson first visited the Conway area but was drawn to the scenery of Franconia Notch. In his early years of painting in the White Mountains, he chose the least expensive way to overnight in the mountains: he camped out. After a night on Mount Kearsarge in 1857, Johnson wrote fellow artist Jasper Cropsey to say that he had seen “the finest sun set, sun rise and elevated view, I think I ever saw.”

After 1865 and the end of the Civil War, the pace of the tourist experience and the number of guests increased dramatically. Tourists who walked in to see the Flume were often buttonholed by photographer Henry S. Fifield. Fifield did a thriving business with a tiny studio set up within the Flume, and he photographed many groups of tourists during excursions through the Flume gorge, leaving a record of their outings. Increasingly photographers supplied vacationers with souvenirs of their trips. Their work easily undercut the costs of a painting.

In 1886, Charles Dudley Warner noted that the Flume still drew a stream of visitors, despite the loss of the phenomenal attraction: “Everyone went there to see a bowlder [sic] which hung suspended over the stream in the narrow canon [sic]. This curiosity attracted annually thousands of people, who apparently cared more for this toy than for anything else in the region. And one day, as if tired of this misdirected adoration, nature organized a dam on the site of Mount Lafayette, filled it with water, and then suddenly let loose a flood which tore open the canon, carried the bowlder away, and spread ruin far and wide.” Like most educated Americans, Warner understood the changes wrought by natural events on the environment. Despite the loss of the boulder, people continued to flock to the Flume. They traveled “in increasing number, to see where the bowlder once hung,” and Fifield continued to take their photographs.

Smaller hotels sprang up in the countryside as farm families realized that they could add to their income by accommodating members of the leisured middle
Franconia Notch, Samuel L. Gerry. Date unknown, Oil on canvas, 24 x 43 inches. Private collection.
class. In a July 26, 1879 letter written during a stay at Blair’s House in Campton, Marian Pychowska wrote to her friend Isabella Stone to describe a new boarding house her family tried that summer: “The house is very comfortable, the table good, and the big attic room that my mother and I occupy has a lovely view from the window.” After a hike up Welch and Dickey, Pychowska wrote, “The outlook from the summit repaid us for all our scrambling …. I recognized Camel’s Hump, Vt., Mounts Lafayette and Liberty, Cannon, Kinsman, and Moosilauke.” Like Mary Hale almost forty years earlier, she drew pleasure and inspiration from the mountain vistas. Her lodgings, however, were more comfortable and accommodating.

But it was the larger hotels that gained the most repute. Profile House’s “superintendent” and co-owner, C.H. Greenleaf, was an art patron and hired artists to respond to his guests’ desires in art. Beginning in 1877, Edward Hill became the artist-in-residence for guests at the Profile House, a practice he continued with a few interruptions until 1893. He also served as a Glen House artist-in-residence for a few years in the 1880s as well. In September 1884, The White Mountain Echo reported that “The Glen, says the Boston Beacon, has become famous for its artistic cartes du menu as well as for the delicious results of ordering from them. This season nine different styles have already appeared, and Mr. Edward Hill, the Boston artist, who is spending the summer at the house, is engaged upon designs for other novelties.” As a New Hampshire resident, Hill also painted genre paintings depicting mundane chores such as winter logging. Because he loved hiking and, especially, fishing, Hill was personally acquainted with the mountains. His art is a curious blend of the commercial and the romantic. He was a useful addition...
to the Profile House. By the late 1870s, the Profile House was so popular and so large (with accommodations for 500 people) that the owners added a small gauge rail line directly to the hotel from Bethlehem. Guests could climb Cannon or Lafayette mountains, take a little steamboat across Echo Lake, row and fish on Profile Lake, enjoy "cuisine of unrivalled quality and variety," visit artist Edward Hill in his Profile House studio, or while away time along the porch watching the changing scenery of Franconia Notch.

In order to get around and perhaps to find a quieter spot, tourists hired "mountain wagons" or buggies from their landlords throughout the century. Proprietors found wagon rentals to be quite profitable. F.W. Sanborn rented a buggy from his Sugar Hill proprietors, the Littles, for an excursion in 1874. "Mr L harnessed up Charlie—Charlie is a horse, with no bad habits, except being a little timid, and possessing the notion that if he stops, when about half way up a hill, and then turns his head part way round with tongue protruded, he will be allowed to stop there the rest of the day." Sanborn sought a quiet view of Mount Lafayette. "The sun was hot and we were impatient for the clouds to clear away: but as we looked the clouds lowered, and I happened to look up much higher than I had thought to look before, there, towering above the clouds, seeming, by a strange optical delusion, almost over our heads, was the black rocky summit of Lafayette. A strange surprise it was, that stern rock above milky clouds." Despite changing tourist expectations, modes of transportation, and concepts of vacation time, the majesty of the mountains still impressed him.
Mt. Washington from Sunset Hill
Benjamin Champney, 1878. Oil on canvas.
21 x 33 inches. Private collection
Northern Presidentials

BEFORE THE STATE ESTABLISHED A ROAD THROUGH FRANCONIA NOTCH, IT ESTABLISHED TWO ROADS ACROSS THE NORTHERN PRESIDENTIALS: A ROAD FROM THE NORTHERN END OF CRAWFORD NOTCH TO JEFFERSON AND LANCASTER IN 1804 AND A SECOND ROAD FROM LITTLETON TO CRAWFORD NOTCH IN 1807. Thomas Cole journeyed through the region during his first trip to the mountains. He painted a view of Mount Washington “about nine miles from Crawfords, on the road to Franconia.” He followed what would become a well-traveled path. Tourists tended to go through Crawford Notch, around the northern part of the mountains and then head south through Franconia Notch. If visitors were moving from one notch to the other, travel conditions sent the majority of them north of the mountains. The ease of railroad access, the comfortable accommodations, and the willing hosts meant that views from the north soon gained it the attention other sections of the mountains had already received.

The area north of the mountains was not part of the popular perception of the mountains until the arrival of the first railroad in the White Mountains in 1851. The Atlantic and St. Lawrence Railroad Company built a hotel at the terminus in Gorham; first known as the White Mountain Station House, it soon became known as the Alpine House. Originally, the northern Presidentials were depicted with dramatic Alp-like peaks. When the artists arrived, they sketched the increasingly tamed and accessible region, attracting more tourists. Artist Benjamin Champney spent part of the summer of 1851 in the northern Presidentials. He was intrigued by the beauty of Pinkham Notch and made many sketches.

Beckett’s 1853 Guide Book of the Atlantic and St. Lawrence included the following description of the Alpine House: “you are greeted with the scenes which usually attend an arrival at a fashionable resort—ladies in their sun bonnets, gliding to and fro, anxious to see the newcomers, gentlemen under curiously shaped hats and wreaths of cigar smoke, lounging prominently against pillar and post as anxious to show their indifference; hurrying waiters bumping trunks and boxes against the elbows of the promiscuous crowd in the hall, &c. But barring contingencies, you are immediately shown to a neat and airy room, and
having adjusted the outer man, the next thing is to look about the house. You will find it a noble edifice .... A handsome piazza along the front and two ends, gives a finish to the building, while it affords a pleasant walk, where visitors may enjoy the mountain air and scenery.” In many ways, when it opened, the Alpine House was the best hotel for guests.

The railway’s instant popularity proved to be both a blessing and a curse. Immediately, more than a hundred people a day could arrive in Gorham, easily overwhelming the town with people seeking rooms. For some tourists, it was a minor disaster. With no way to match the numbers of train travelers to the number of available rooms, hotel proprietors were unable to accommodate everyone. Many people arrived in Gorham to find that there were no rooms in the Alpine Hotel or any nearby hotel. While the Alpine House could accommodate an estimated 250 people in its 165 rooms, many guests stayed longer than a single overnight. For many seasons overflow guests were housed in cots in every available parlor or alcove. The Glen House, south of Gorham,

“You are greeted with the scenes which usually attend an arrival at a fashionable resort—ladies in their sun bonnets, gliding to and fro, anxious to see the newcomers, gentlemen under curiously shaped hats and wreaths of cigar smoke, lounging prominently against pillar and post as anxious to show their indifference; hurrying waiters bumping trunks and boxes against the elbows of the promiscuous crowd in the hall, &c.” S.B. Beckett, 1853 Guide Book of the Atlantic and St. Lawrence

ABOVE:
Alpine House, Gorham, NH.
Bierstadt Brothers, c. 1865, Stereoview card image, Private collection
education, but with ambition and a strong sense of self. He was one of the local characters who gave the tourists what they sought. Having worked variously as a woodsman, hunter, mountain guide, laborer at the Notch House, and a builder of the Alpine House in Gorham, as well having helped to construct a couple of the paths up Mt. Washington, he recognized a commercial opportunity following upon the surge in tourism brought by the railroads. While his maps are “cartographically ludicrous,” as art historian David Tatham writes in an article for Historical New Hampshire, when viewed as souvenirs for tourists, they make sense. Leavitt drew a map of the region and carried it to Boston in 1852 to be engraved by one of the leading printers there. It was the first published map of the White Mountains. He sold this map, and the seven that followed up to 1888, for profit.

opened in 1851. With such a heavy demand in nearby Gorham, the Glen House expanded steadily over the late nineteenth century. The railroad company added space by buying other smaller hotels. It was a pattern repeated in many places as accommodations expanded and gained amenities, ushering in the era of the Grand Hotels.

The changing popularity of large hotels may be traced through the various renditions of the maps designed and published by Franklin Leavitt. Leavitt, a native of Lancaster, was a jack-of-all trades, with little formal
“Spent a month at the White Mountains with L. W.,—a lovely time, and it did me much good. Mountains are restful and uplifting to my mind. Lived in the woods, and revelled in brooks, birds, pines, and peace.” Louisa May Alcott, July 1861

These maps are folk art. Travelers would not use one to get about, but the maps alerted them pictorially to the area’s principal sights. Leavitt’s maps were large and very detailed, printed at a high level of quality, and rewarded close study. They told stories, drew attention to the hotels, showed the roads and railroads, tabulated information like summit heights, and identified the mountains. Some of the names that appear on his first map appear nowhere else, like Mt. Brickhouse and Mt. Warren. Reflecting Leavitt’s personal perspective, south is usually more or less at the top, with the mountains depicted as someone in Lancaster might have seen them.

In 1861, Louisa May Alcott and her companions stayed at the Alpine House. After a day’s travel, she arrived at the hotel, which she gave comic good reviews. “The Hotel is a convenient impertinence [sic] up there among the everlasting hills, and I am disgusted with it while I enjoy its comforts, for romance and rain don’t agree as well as one could desire.” She recognized the absurdity of her conflicting desires to mix a wilderness experience with accommodations matching her desire for urban comforts.
Alcott and her fellow tourists were able to take advantage of the Alpine House mountain wagons in order to go see the natural beauty close by, but she noted their discomfort. "Mountain wagons ... seem constructed upon the principle that once in you are never to get out, and once out you are never to get in: after which gymnastic feat we took a lovely drive along woody roads, by pleasantly singing brooks, between wheat and barley fields, patches of grass ruffled by the wind, and dark with cloud shadows, or acres of white potato flowers. Sheep, cows, and horses spread along the greenish hillside; hay making was going on in the broad meadows; the Androscoggin with its freight of logs rolled rapidly through the intervale, and all about us stood the mountains green and grand."

She found a greater challenge in riding. When she and her cousin borrowed horses from their hotel, she found that her mount, named Squab, was less than cooperative. Perhaps his name should have given her pause. As they began their ride, her cousin offered, "'Fine exercise, isn't it?' 'Ve-ry fine indeed' chattered I, bound not to give in while I could hold on." As they trotted out of sight of the hotel, Alcott "was justly collecting my shattered wits when the landscape abruptly reversed itself and I found myself sitting in the dirt with the saddle on Squab’s belly instead of his back." Her cousin must have found it difficult not to laugh. "My Dear Girl, are you hurt ...?" Clearly, at times and for some, walking was a better option.

When the Bummer arrived in Gorham in 1867, he was impressed by the Alpine House but he traveled on to a smaller hotel owned by "Han Abram Cole’s also known as Farmer, Horsetrainer, Gold Digger, Mower, Mountain Driver and in fact anything you want him to be." His comments make it clear that the Bummer aspired to better accommodations. "Our Room ... a bed, table, bureau, 2 chairs and nothing else." That wasn’t quite true since he later mentioned that "BedBugs" were "furnished free to all guests." But the food was tolerable: "Saleratus Bread and 'steak' that was mule or sole leather was not pleasing. But 'real cream', berries, new butter, warm milk to drink & doughnuts, made the meal quite satisfactory."

A few days later, the Bummer joined a group that left Gorham to spend a few days at the Waumbeck House at Jefferson, about fourteen miles away. "The road is level and gradually rising all the time till we mount 'Randolph Hill 1500 ft high and no route can produce such a view of old Madison and Adams (to our sight), with that frightful gorge in the side of the latter called 'Starr King Ravine.' … For twelve miles we see all of the Mt. Washington Range and the Green Mountains in Vermont."

It was a view that captured his imagination as it did many who passed along that route, such as artist Samuel Lancaster Gerry. But the northern Presidential are most closely associated with artist Edward Hill who bought land in Lancaster in 1874. He was a good friend of photographer Benjamin West Kilburn of Littleton. The two apparently worked together and many of Hill’s images reflect Kilburn’s views and vice versa.

The same summer that Hill moved to Lancaster, F.W. Sanborn walked from Sugar Hill over the mountains to the Glen House. His journal captured the experience so many found in that region: "the singing of birds has a meaning and effect; so also does the rustling of the trees; the chattering of the brooks; and the occasional hush which follows an unusual sound. That was a pleasant day—a day long to be remembered; in which we tired our limbs, browned our faces; blistered our feet; relieved them
by bathing in the brook; and grew hungry, without finding a place for miles and miles, where food could be found. We fought mosquitoes and black flies, and though we were never so pestered we did not become angry.” Transported by the scenery even as he faced the reality of black flies and hunger, he was one of the new groups of “hikers” discovering new ways to create adventures in the mountains.
Presidential Range and the Great Gulf from the Summit of Mount Washington, Nicollay Tyland Leganger, Date unknown, Oil on canvas, 20 x 30 inches, Private collection
"The Descent from Mount Washington,"
Henry Fenn, *Picturesque America Vol. 1*
p. 158, 1872, Museum of the White Mountains, Dan Noel Collection
Summit of Mount Washington

THE CLIMB TO THE TOP OF MOUNT WASHINGTON WAS THE CHALLENGE MANY SET FOR THEMSELVES, ESPECIALLY IN THE EARLY YEARS OF TOURISM. Mountain climbing or “tramping” became fashionable in the 1820s and Mount Washington beckoned to all. Among the Boston crowd, where they had gone “geologically mad,” as art historian Rebecca Bedell writes in *The Anatomy of Nature: Geology and American Landscape Painting*, and were fascinated by the sciences of meteorology and botany, amateur scientists saw Mount Washington as a treasure trove of information.

Artist Thomas Cole climbed Mount Washington in 1827 and made two drawings while on the summit. Despite the path built by the Crawfords in 1819, early hikers met considerable challenges during their hikes. When BKZ rode up Mount Washington in 1833, he noted that “the whole [was] excessively wet” and that the path was made “Yankee style, with rough logs and poles, thrown across it, just far enough asunder to allow the animal’s feet to slip down between them to an immeasurable depth.” Beyond the corduroy roads, “nature’s pavement” was “still more frightful and dangerous.” However, the difficulties were worth the effort since almost everyone who reached the summit had the same reaction BKZ did: “The highest anticipations we had cherished, of the grandeur of the scene, fell infinitely below the reality. All our toil was forgotten.” The magnificence of the view rewarded his physical exertions.

The Crawfords upgraded their walking trail to a bridle path, and the first ascent of Mt. Washington on horseback took place in 1840, when Charles T. Jackson, the New Hampshire state geologist (and Ralph Waldo Emerson’s brother-in-law), rode to the summit. In the first annual geological report to the state, Jackson wrote, “Travellers should thank the Crawford family for having made this ascent so easy and agreeable, for now any person who knows how to ride may safely travel on horseback over their path to the very highest point in New England.” And many did.

“Mount Washington, indeed, looked near to Heaven; he was white with snow a mile downward, and had caught the only cloud that was sailing through the atmosphere, to veil his head. Let us forget the other names of American statesmen, that have been stamped upon these hills, but still call the loftiest—Washington. Mountains are Earth’s undecaying monuments. They must stand while she endures, and never should be consecrated to the mere great men of their own age and country, but to the mighty ones alone, whose glory is universal, and whom all time will render illustrious.” Nathaniel Hawthorne, 1835

Nathaniel Hawthorne described the summit in his *Sketches from Memory*, written in 1834: “Mount Washington, indeed, looked near to Heaven; he was white with snow a mile downward, and had caught the only
Upon reaching the summit of Mt. Washington: “The highest anticipations we had cherished of the grandeur of the scene, fell infinitely below the reality. All our toil was forgotten.” BKZ, 1833
cloud that was sailing through the atmosphere, to veil his head. Let us forget the other names of American statesmen, that have been stamped upon these hills, but still call the loftiest—Washington.” It is easy to hear that nationalism as well as romanticism propelled Hawthorne in writing this piece. Amos Binney was a less-well-to-do and probably less romantically-inclined hiker. He left Dover to walk with friends to the mountains, camping, fishing, and hunting as they went. On September 6, 1843, he ascended Mount Washington on horseback. “Mount Washington itself is a bare pile of rocks covered with moss with a few spears of grass scattered about wherever there is earth enough.” Later an engineer, he had a more prosaic and less romantic view of the mountain.

By 1851, tourists staying in the Alpine House could take a one-hour coach ride to the base of Mount Washington and climb the mountain by foot or by a seven-mile “horse road” to the top. The new horse trail (or Glen House Bridle Path) was financed and built by the Atlantic and St. Lawrence Railway, owners of the Alpine House. Given the early limited capacity of the Alpine House, additional housing in the area
Summit of Mount Washington in the White Mountains
Ferdinand Richardt, 1857, Oil on canvas, 26 1/2 x 38 1/4 inches. Private collection. Robert J. Steinberg photo
“I sat myself down in the shadow of a rock and sat there for an hour, I verily believe without winking... For an hour, I was supremely happy, not because I was just then one of the most eminent women this side of the Rockie Mountains, but because I forgot my body, my cares, my fears, my fate and seemed nothing but a spirit that, loving beauty, had found its fill for once. My eyes were ready to fall out of my head with gazing over hundreds of miles of sunny landscape, and my head spun round with trying to imagine the lives these mountains led.”

Louisa May Alcott, 1861
was a clear need. Colonel Joseph M. Thompson and his wife purchased a small inn at the base of Mount Washington, enlarged it to include 24 rooms, and renamed it the Glen House. It was soon very popular. By 1853, the Thompsons completely rebuilt the Glen House to approximately 200 rooms on the site of their previously small tavern. The accommodations held hundreds drawn to Mount Washington. By 1870, the Glen House accommodated up to 500 guests who paid $4.50 per day for room, board, and transportation to and from Gorham. In contrast to earlier taverns, the Thompsons’ hotel provided the guests lots of entertainment in addition to the mountain: croquet, tennis, wagon rides to nearby sites, dances, discussions, plays, lectures, and rooms for letter writing, card playing, and socializing.

In the 1867 *White Mountain Guide*, Samuel Eastman wrote: “There is a grand portico to the principal entrance [of the Glen House]. Over this is a balcony upon which the second story windows open, from which may be had an uninterrupted view of the five highest mountains in New England. From this balcony, also, the guests of the hotel can watch with a glass the progress of the horseback parties ascending or descending the rugged ledges of Mount Washington.” The Glen House even provided adventure by proxy!

But many visitors climbed to the top of the mountain themselves. When Thomas Starr King published the first edition of his long-popular *The White Hills* in 1859, he explained exactly how visitors should experience Mount Washington. “As to our satisfaction with the excursion, costing as it did no little toil, let
TOP:
Snowball. S. F. Adams. Date unknown.
Stereoview card image. Courtesy of the
New Hampshire Historical Society.

BOTTOM:
The Ledge and Coach, Mt. Washington
Carriage Road. Benjamin West Kilburn.
Date unknown. Stereoview card image.
Museum of the White Mountains.
Dan Noel Collection.
me say that there is no approach to Mount Washington, and no series of mountain views, comparable with this ascent and its surroundings on the northerly side. Your path lies among and over the largest summits of the range. You wind around the edges of every ravine that gapes around the highest summits." The approach he recommended commanded a stunning view. Perhaps that is why the Appalachian Mountain Club built its first hut, Madison Hut, in this location in 1888. "The only trouble with the route is, that there is too much to see in one day. It would be better to camp, if possible, near the summit of Mount Adams, and thus spread the delight more equally and profitably over two days, and have a sunset and sunrise also from the ridge to remember." His party spent the night in the "Summit House" before descending to the Alpine House.

Hotels on the summit of Mount Washington were a relatively new phenomenon. Although the Crawfords had created crude huts on the summit for a few years in the mid-1820s, the first substantial building, the Summit House, opened in July 1852. It was a strong building with small dormitory-style boarding facilities, a larger dining hall for day guests, and walls four feet thick to withstand the fierce Mr. Washington winds. The next year, Samuel Spaulding built a second hotel, the Tip-Top House, with improved dining and kitchen facilities and walls six feet thick. The rival facilities offered similar accommodations, including beds filled with moss, separated from the kitchen facilities with heavy cotton draperies. In 1854, the owners of the Summit House sold their concern to Spaulding’s firm. To bring in additional overnight guests, the firm hired a chef from Boston, added a telescope and an expert to explain the skies, and offered weather statistics to outside newspapers.

In 1859, Starr King described the Summit House in his guidebook. "Hospitality at sixty-three hundred feet above the Atlantic is a virtue to be celebrated. Suppose you do pay a dollar for the shelter, the fire, and the excellent dinner furnished to you on the bleak crest of New England. What do these men undergo to invite that donation from you? Do they not duplicate their winter?" While meals were dear at one dollar a piece, guests could also obtain three meals and overnight lodging for four dollars. But the high cost was equal to the comfort provided. Knowing that there was food and shelter at the top of the mountain helped many skeptical individuals make the climb. King noted that, by 1859, "not less than five thousand persons make the ascent of Mount Washington, every summer, by the regular bridle-paths" and that the "increasing proportion of visitors who desire more loneliness and wilderness in the track [trek], and more adventure in the experience" were seeking new routes.
Both summit hotels kept a steady business. A toll road, which averaged four hours by coach, was completed from the Glen House to the summit of Mount Washington in 1861. The road was the work of investors with a state charter. By 1867, the Bummer reported that the carriage road was "a wonder. It is as smooth and level as any country road, the average grade being only 12 ft in 100. It is eight miles in length and was six years in the making. It pays the stockholders almost 6% per annum." The road allowed anyone who could pay the fare to travel to the top of Mount Washington without physical exertion. Louisa May Alcott rode up the Carriage Road during its first year in operation: "Six buckskin colored horses and a vehicle very like a black sun bonnet trimmed with yellow, stood before the door and into it piled a merry company, eager for bears, land-slides, whirlwinds, thunderbolts, and phenomena generally." First Lady Mary Todd Lincoln and her son Robert took the Carriage Road to the Tip-Top House on August 6, 1863. They liked the trip so well they repeated it the next day. Visitors such as the President’s wife helped spread the news.

With so many people climbing or riding to the top of Mount Washington, it was only a matter of time before someone decided to put a railway up the mountain. Confounding the experts, Sylvester Marsh developed just such a railway and, after much engineering and politicking, the Cog Railway reached the top of the mountain in 1869. The Cog took only an hour and a half to reach the summit. It was instantly popular among all types of tourists. More than 7,000 people visited the summit in
1870. When F.W. Sanborn and friends hiked Mount Washington, they struggled up the rocks beside the Cog Railroad. "When we go up again, we resolve, we will take the [railway] car." By 1876, visitors could travel by rail from their homes in cities to the top of Mount Washington, leaving and arriving by unofficial railroad time, to stay in a new, larger, and much more comfortable Summit House.

Scientists were drawn to the summit as well. Although an early attempt to create a weather observatory in 1854–1855 failed, scientists persevered. Prompted initially by a rumor circulating among the hotels (which soon proved false) that the Smithsonian Institution or someone else was offering good money to anyone who would spend an entire winter on the summit of Mt. Washington, New Hampshire state geologist and Dartmouth professor Charles Hitchcock decided to put together an expedition to do just that. His little team spent the whole winter of 1870–71 on the summit. When the exploration of the Arctic and Antarctic lay in the future by decades, this was a serious and noteworthy undertaking in a severely frigid and hostile environment. But the summit was connected to the wider world by a telegraph line, and the armchair tourist could vicariously experience the adventure at home through newspaper reports. In May 1871 the government began maintaining weather observers on the mountain and in 1874 built a "Signal Station" for their use.

The observatory and Signal Station were additional attractions for the tourists who came in ever larger numbers. Hotel records reflect that the summit houses did not cater to just one level of society. In fact, during the first year it was open (1853–54), the Tip-Top House guests included 13 percent lower-level white collar workers, 20 percent laborers, and 10 percent farmers. Industrialization made it possible for average workers to take a few days off to explore the wonders of the mountains. Train travel was quick, cutting down on days away from work, and relatively inexpensive.

Because of the time involved, the less well-to-do tended to focus on the highlights of the mountains.
“One is almost bewildered by the ever changing variety and has hardly admired sufficiently one sweet landscape ... before a turn in the road brings ... an equally picturesque and rural scene. Yet differing from the other entirely.” Frances Appleton, 1833
Among the Clouds.


West Side News.

The Appalachian Mountain Club hold a meeting, and meet the house on Tuesday, July twenty-fourth, at half past two. This is the fourth field meeting.

A Saratoga and White Mountain express has been put on this season. The trains are run between the two points via the Wells River and Mountain railroad.

Henry Ward Beecher goes to the Twin Mountain House in August to remain till October. He writes to Mr. Boston: "We are beginning to think a stint of mountain air would be refreshing."

John Hubbard, author of Helen's Babies, is registered at Ralston's Belvedere House, in Bethlehem. He has been over to the Profile House and later in the season goes to the Twin Mountain House.

The view from the Oak Hill House in Ladd's is extensive and beautiful. Mr. Washington and the entire White Mountain range are in full view. Mr. Furr, the proprietor, keeps an excellent house for summer guests.

The new Episcopal church at Bethlehem, was occupied for the first time on Sunday the 5th. It is a beautiful little church and meets the wants of summer visitors, who contributed the necessary funds to build it.

The White Mountain House is one of the oldest established in the mountain region. Mr. Zaneveld takes pains to keep a good house, and has had liberal patronage during each season. It is a mile west of Fabian's.

The pioneer White Mountain express over the Boston, Concord and Montreal railroad is doing a good business. Drawing-room cars are run the same as usual to Boston and New London. Passengers ride at Plymouth, where they always get a good dinner.

Mr. Leavitt's Mount Pleasant House, near the Fabian House, has been open but a year or two, and, although moderate in charges, it has a good reputation. The Mount Washington railway can be seen from the base to the summit from this house.

Hilberto Bethlehem has had only a Methodist church. The Episcopalians having built a church beside the Congregationalists are following in the same direction and are now building a fire station on a new street, near the Sinclair House. It is expected that services will be held in it before the season closes.

Rev. Nelson Miller, wife and son, of Syracuse, N. Y., are stopping at the Sinclair House in Bethlehem. Mr. Miller is pastor of the First Presbyterian church in Syracuse and has gone to Bethlehem on account of an asthmatic difficulty, where he hopes to find relief. The Sinclair is an excellent place for those who need rest.

The Sinclair House, under the management of Durand & Fox, at Bethlehem, has gained golden opinions from those who have passed its portals. It is an excellent house and in point of reputation stands as well as could be desired. It is a good place to make either a long or a short stay. Durand's smiling face makes every body happy.

The Governor Frankell," in charge of N. M. Parker, conductor, was the first drawing-room car that came through from New York on the new White Mountain express line. It left New York July twenty-first at five minutes past eight, a.m., Springfield at one p.m., and reached the Fabian House at five after nine the same evening. The car was very filled when it left New York. Concord Valley people who come to the mountains will appreciate this new arrangement.

Many of the members of the American Institute of Instruction who attended the meetings of the association at Montpelier, have been visiting the White Mountains. The Barons have invited them to hold the next meeting at the Twin Mountain House. No action can be taken until next January, but it seems quite probable that the next meeting will be held at some point in the mountain region, as many of the teachers would like to avoid the responsibility of visiting the most charming spot in America.

Sylvester March is deserving well of his countrymen for having done so much to make the ascent of Mount Washington so easy and comfortable to all. The Mount Washington railway is certainly an enterprise that has brought joy to the multitude who ascend in its cars to the highest mountain summit in New England. A ride over it is one of those things that cannot be neglected by those who come to the White Mountains. The practical hand of Walter Aiken has made it what it is in completeness and security against accidents.

The Fabian House is doing a larger business in July than it did last year. It certainly deserves much. It is one of those houses where everybody feels at home and gets all he pays for. It is fortunate in its central location, and the view of the White Mountain range at sunrise, when tipped with purple and gold, is exceedingly beautiful. No one tires of it. It is in every respect a well-managed house, and its reputation is deserved. The Mount Washington railway can be seen from the porch, with its ascending and descending trains.

Bethlehem is fully alive to the importance of making improvements. Trees have been set out in various places and about two miles of black side walk have been laid. Much of the expense has been borne by the town. The new churches and the new library association, as well as the improvements mentioned above, help to make Bethlehem more attractive to the great number of summer guests who throng the village during the season. It is a good indication, a sign of prosperity that can be made lasting, if each resident will do his bit every year to beauty and make attractive.

The Kennedy Literary Association of Bethlehem has now nearly 500 volumes. It is a recent origin and was brought into existence by those who desire to promote the interests of Bethlehem. Mr. Kennedy of Littleton, a former resident, contributed a considerable sum to start the project. Hon. Frank E. Fay of Chelsea gave fifty volumes, and others have made contributions. The membership fee for which entitles the donor a free use of the library, is $3.00. The yearly charge is $1.50. Summer guests are charged two cents a day for the use of books. The library is open three times a week, from two to five, for giving out books.

Among the recent visitors at the Fabian House were Mr. and Mrs. Samuel Hunt of Boston. Mrs. Hunt visited the mountains thirty-three years ago and stopped at the old Fabian House, from which she ascended Mt. Washington by the old Fabian bridge path. The Fabian cottage now stands where the old Fabian House stood then. She contrasted the accommodations of that day in the little old red house that would hardly hold five people, with the magnificence of the present Fabian House, and concluded that White Mountain hotel keeping had made rapid strides.
As guidebook writer and minister Thomas Starr King noted in the 1859 *The White Hills*, “Some travellers have but a very few days for the whole tour of the mountain region, and desire, in that time, to see the points of interest that are the most striking, and that will produce the greatest sensation…. Their object will then be to make the ascent of [Mount Washington] at once.” King understood that desire. “Suppose that we could be suddenly a mile and a quarter above the sea level in the air, and could be sustained there without exertion. That is the privilege we have in standing on the summit of Mount Washington.” In order to enjoy the interplay between light and shadow, to see the night sky or to experience the full effect of winds, he suggested that tourists see the view from the summit in the morning or evening, a suggestion fully supported by the summit’s hotel owners.

The food on the summit included tripe, tongue, eggs, pancakes, fried cakes, and a variety of breads, but the views more than made up for the rustic accommodations. During her 1861 trip, Alcott took in the scenery. “Choosing a secluded nook, I sat myself down in the shadow of a rock and sat there for an hour…. For an hour, I was supremely happy … because I forgot my body, my cares, my fears, my fate and seemed nothing but a spirit that, loving beauty, had found its fill for once.” Her reaction was exactly what visitors hoped for, to be taken outside themselves by beauty and joy. “My eyes were ready to fall out of my head with gazing over hundreds of miles of sunny landscape, and my head spun round with trying to imagine the lives these mountains led.”

In the late nineteenth century, passage to the summit remained a necessary part of a White Mountain tour but the emphasis had changed. When Charles Dudley Warner visited the summit in 1886, he watched as visitors rushed from the train or carriage to register at the summit newspaper. *Among the Clouds* was published twice daily and would print visitors’ names in the next issue. They admired the views and heard the weather at the Signal Station. Warner was one of many visitors on the summit in what had become a place to see and be seen.
“Here a most magnificent panorama—a scene altogether novel and stupendous—opened on our delighted vision. A valley, ten or twelve miles in length, and three or four in width, lay before us, encompassed by walls of granite—built by the hand of Omnipotence—of astonishing altitude and of frightful steepness.... This is, indeed, I could not help exclaiming, the Switzerland of the west.”

BKZ, 1833

The Gate of the Notch from the House of Thomas Crawford, Alvan Fisher, 1834.
Oil on canvas, 34 1/2 x 39 1/2 inches.
Private collection
Carrying a Lady Down Jacob’s Ladder
Marshall Tidd, Engraving on woodblock, 1859. Courtesy of Rauner Special Collections Library, Dartmouth College Library

(This page and opposite) Marshall Tidd created a series of engraved woodblocks for an illustrated edition of Lucy Crawford’s History of the White Mountains. Ultimately they were not used.
THE HISTORY OF CRAWFORD NOTCH IS THE BEST KNOWN OF ALL AREAS OF THE WHITE MOUNTAINS. That is in part because of the popularity of the Crawford family. From their settlement in the late eighteenth century, the family worked to maintain the rough roads in the area; in fact, a large part of their income came from their work on the roads. The first real road was made through the Notch in 1785. Theodore Dwight noted that the original road "was 50 or 60 feet higher than the present turnpike, and so steep that it was necessary to draw horses and wagons up with ropes." The gap through the mountains was a mere twenty feet apart when Dwight wrote in 1834. While the Willey disaster brought more tourists to the area, the Notch was already a well-traveled commercial route, especially in the winter. The Crawfords' standing was further established when the state of New Hampshire chartered the 10th New Hampshire Turnpike through their notch in 1803. Even when the road ceased to be a state turnpike, it survived as a road thanks to the work of the Crawfords.

It was very difficult to keep the road open but, as Nathaniel Hawthorne stated, the road through Crawford Notch was "a great artery through which the lifeblood of internal commerce is continually throbbing between Maine, on the one side, and the Green Mountains and the shores of the St. Lawrence, on the other." Along with commercial traffic, scientists and the scientifically-minded as well as a few hikers also visited the mountains and stayed with the Crawfords.
in their homes. In April 1831, the New-Hampshire Spectator reported: "During five days in the latter part of January last, four hundred and sixty-two horse teams passed [Abel Crawford’s] house. Three nights in succession, in the same month, he put up, on the first night 124 horses, on the second 86, and on the third night 137, and 80 two-horse teams passed on, which could not be accommodated."

Some early travelers were so impressed with the area that they hired the Crawfords to guide them. By 1819, Ethan Allen Crawford put in a walking trail to the top of Mount Washington and, three years later, he and his father broadened the lower part of the path into a bridle path to the base of the mountain. By 1825, there were three inns along the Notch: Ethan Allen Crawford’s inn at the northern end of the Notch; the Willey’s inn six miles south; and Abel Crawford’s inn six miles below that. Thus Crawford Notch could serve the small number of early scenic travelers. Familiarity became more widespread with the Willey disaster.

*Ethan Allen Crawford, “always desirous to amuse his visitors, and supposing that a combination, as it were, of the nature of the forest, added to the romantic scenery, would serve to instruct as well as to gratify the eye, became anxious to get a collection of such wild animals as roamed the hills.”*

Lucy Crawford, 1846. History of the White Mountains
In 1826, during the same storm that destroyed the Willey family, the notch road was virtually destroyed. When artist Thomas Cole passed through in 1828 with a fellow artist, he wrote "We had before us that wild mountain pass called the Notch through which descends a rapid river without bridges. These with the roads had been washed away by the late floods … this road is impassable excepting to foot travellers." Their progress through the Notch was difficult and the weather foreboding. "The wind blew violently down the pass as we approached and the gray heavy clouds were rushing round the craggy mountains." They used fallen trees to cross the Saco River. "It required no little courage to venture on such precarious bridges with a rapid stream rushing beneath."
The Notch House, Frank Shapleigh, 1879.
Oil on canvas, 28 x 41 inches, Private collection.
Ethan Allen Crawford expanded his inn and announced in 1833 that he could host "28 couple[s] and more if necessary." Well-known scientists, writers, artists, politicians and teachers all stayed with the Crawfords in the early days. Abel’s inn was "the very best kept house in that locality then." Nathaniel Hawthorne reported on a winter trip to the mountains in 1832 for the New-England Magazine that the Crawfords hosted "a typical group of fashionable tourists: a mineralogist, a doctor, two newlywed couples from Massachusetts on the 'matrimonial jaunt,' two gentlemen from Georgia, and a young man with opera glasses spouting quotations from Byron." By 1834, artist Alvan Fisher visited and sketched Crawford Notch, a place he found to be "incomparably superior to all others." He may have been one of the guests who stayed at Crawford’s newly expanded inn that season. His paintings from this trip emphasized the power of nature and the fragility of man. But he also emphasized the romantic beauty of the wild yet accessible White Mountains. Like the story of the Willey tragedy, exhibitions of his paintings attracted more urban visitors.

In 1833, BKZ stayed at Crawford’s inn. His group was quite impressed by the innkeeper, "a most venerable old man," and the location of his inn. "Here a most magnificent panorama—a scene altogether novel and stupendous—opened on our delighted vision. A valley, ten or twelve miles in length, and three or four in width, lay before us, encompassed by walls of granite—built by the hand of Omnipotence—of astonishing altitude and of frightful steepness .... This is, indeed, I could not help exclaiming, the Switzerland of the west. Such amazing grandeur—such terrific majesty, in the Almighty’s works, I had never before witnessed." The next day, as he walked through the Notch, his eyes were "riveted" on the mountains where "the clouds were ever frolicking." The Notch appeared to him "scarcely wide enough for the roads and the little Saco." He spent ten minutes gazing on a cascade of water close to the road he traveled. At "Upper Crawford’s," he took the Portland stage to Littleton. "The road is passable but not good."
TOP:
Crawford Notch, Kilburn Brothers,
Date unknown, Stereoview card image,
Museum of the White Mountains,
Dan Noel Collection

BOTTOM:
The Menagerie, 1878, Stereoview card
image, Museum of the White Mountains,
Dan Noel Collection
The Crawford Valley from Mount Willard,
Frank Shapleigh, 1877. Oil on canvas.
29 1/4 x 44 1/4 inches. Private collection
BKZ was very surprised to see “a company of Indians” camped close to Crawfords. The Abenaki set up small summer camps close to a number of hotels in the mountains to sell goods to the guests, a practice they continued throughout the century. “A party of forty or fifty of the Aborigines—composed of men, squaws, and papooses—actually are encamped but a few rods from the inn, where we are resting our jolted frames.” They took the commercial advantage tourists brought.

Nathaniel Hawthorne described Ethan Allen Crawford’s inn in a piece that, in typical Hawthorne fashion, may have mixed a bit of fiction with fact. “We stood in front of a good substantial farm-house, of old date in that wild country. A sign over the door denoted it to be the White Mountain Post-Office, an establishment which distributes letters and newspapers to perhaps a score of persons, comprising the population of two or three townships among the hills. The broad and weighty antlers of a deer, ‘a stag of ten,’ were fastened at a corner of the house; a fox’s bushy tail was nailed beneath them; and a huge black paw lay on the ground, newly severed and still bleeding—the trophy of a bear-hunt.” The guests were a “picturesque group” all thrown together at Crawford’s inn. “at once the pleasure-house of fashionable tourists, and the homely inn of country travellers.” Crawford entertained them by blowing a trumpet so they could hear “a thousand aerial harmonies in one stern trumpet-tone. It was a distinct, yet distant and dreamlike symphony of melodious instruments.” As romantic as his description sounds, Hawthorne also noted that when he went to his room for the night during his winter visit, he discovered that a cold wind billowed around through chinks in the wall and a broken window.

Traffic through Crawford Notch followed seasonal patterns. Harriett Martineau noted that August and September brought “a flock of summer tourists” during her visit in the mid-1830s. “Then the Crawfords lay down beds in every corner of their dwellings, and spread their longest tables, and bustle from morning till night, the hosts acting as guides to every accessible point in the neighborhood, and the women of the family cooking and waiting from sunrise till midnight.” Then things were quiet until the ground was frozen. In January, “traders from many distant points come down with their goods, while the roads are in a state which enables one horse to draw the load of five. This is a season of great jollity; and the houses are gay with roaring fires, hot provisions, good liquor, loud songs, and romantic travellers’ tales.” The Crawfords’ hospitality made them famous. Dr. Samuel Bemis made some of the first daguerreotypes in America, capturing images of the Crawfords’ inns around 1840. While commercial traffic through the Notch continued to be important, tourist traffic increased during the 1850s and 1860s. The Crawfords replaced their inns with new ones but, gradually, they were bought out.

In 1859, after the first Crawford House burned down, Cyrus Eastman and his partners built a new one in just sixty days with added amenities the new tourists appreciated: gas lights, a post office, bowling alleys, gardens, and more. The “Bummer” rode the top “of one of the most jolting coaches that ever swung on straps” through Crawford Notch in 1867.
En route, they stopped in Jackson at Trickey’s Hotel where stages were changed. “All on the return route from Crawford to Glen feed here. Such a noise and bustle; six stages and a lively crowd of about eighty all meeting here together.” At 6:30 p.m., they approached “the wonder of this ride”: the Notch. “We enter the wonderful rocky gorge called ’Gates of the Notch,’ and rejoiced to see the lights of the Crawford House where we arrived at 8 pm. it being just twelve hours since we left the Glen.” The twelve-hour ride covered about thirty-five miles.

Crawford House “was packed and many a poor sinner, was lucky to get a cot. We booked our names, and Mr Doyle the indulging landlord promised to do the best he can.” By the time of the Bummer’s visit, the Crawford House was a marvel. The hotel included gaslights, a post office, telegraph office, bowling alley, large dining room, long porches, and nightly bands with dancing. But it gained a rival when the new and very large Fabyan House opened in 1873. Fabyans had the advantage of having a rail line stop right at its front door; in fact, Lucy Crawford called it “the great railroad center of the White Mountains.” When F.W. Sanborn stopped at Fabyans on his trek between Franconia and Conway, he was astonished to see the trains. “How strange to see a train of cars in this quiet place: the band comes out and plays for the benefit of the arriving party: there are perhaps twenty arrivals: some will stop here: others will take the stage and immediately arrive at the [Tip] Top House for supper. Before tea there is another train in, with more guests. The supper hour was late.”

The impetus to take a rail line through Crawford Notch came from Portland. By 1875, a railroad line pushed directly through Crawford Notch. Blasting for the railroad greatly increased the size of the notch and workers built two massive trestles to reach the area. The railway companies established regular time so that their trains could run “on time.” In 1883, they divided the country into time zones. Technology conquered nature and time, an accomplishment most in the late nineteenth century applauded.

The Crawford House hired the affable artist Frank Shapleigh as a summer artist-in-residence beginning in 1877, a post he continued until 1893. He lived in a small studio near the hotel during the height of summer and painted hundreds of mountain scenes for tourists. Along with selling paintings to tourists, he and his wife participated in and often helped organize the social life of the hotel guests in softball games, parades of decorated coaches, and dinner parties. The railroad through the Notch stopped at the Crawford House and the local road passed close to his studio where tourists visited and art students studied. While many artists shied away from showing the transformations wrought by industrial change, Shapleigh’s paintings elevated and often highlighted the technological wonders of this time. But he also played to a growing sense of nostalgia for the past by painting evocative scenes, such as one showing the Notch House as it might have looked from the Crawford House porch had it not burned in 1859. Shapleigh gave his audience what they wanted. His work appealed to the many tourists coming through the Notch and tends to portray a bucolic mountain landscape, civilized and accommodating but still alluring.
Mt. Washington Vista, Samuel L. Gerry
1858. Oil on canvas, 20 x 30 inches.
Private collection
By the Brook, Intervale, Samuel Longfellow
1886, Pencil on paper. Courtesy National Park Service, Longfellow House—Washington's Headquarters National Historic Site
Conway Valley

Because the Conway region was the entrance to and exit from Crawford Notch, almost all visitors passed through the area. There were already five taverns tending commercial traffic in town by 1800. The first hotel built with the focus of serving the sprinkling of summer guests, especially scientists, was built by Daniel Eastman in 1812. After the Willey slide, artists and leisure travelers joined the scientists and commercial traffic.

Abbott’s Tavern in Conway is a good example of early White Mountain hospitality. When Thomas Cole and Henry Cheever Pratt journeyed through the mountains in 1828, they stayed at Abbott’s Tavern in Conway. Pratt wrote, “We expected to have been taken up by the Stage, but the Driver being thrown off and hurt the Stage was delayed, and we had to walk 5 miles thro a Pine forest in the dark.” According to hiker Henry James Tudor, Abbotts was “a very good house where four stages meet, and where there is always plenty of broiled pickerel, which is the best way of cooking them, and more other things.” After a single overnight, Cole and Pratt took a “jersey wagon”* and, after a frightening journey, arrived at Abel Crawford’s tavern at the lower end of Crawford Notch in a driving rain. The village of Conway may have been a little more developed when BKZ stayed at Abbott’s hotel in 1833. It included “twenty, or thirty houses, a neat church, a commodious school house, both painted white, and furnished with steeples, all standing on a broad alluvial plan, across which meanders the sprightly Saco.”

After studying in Europe and establishing himself in Boston, artist Benjamin Champney visited the White Mountains in 1850 with artist friends. He traveled by rail to Portland and then by open wagon, small steamer, and carriage to the Saco River valley where he spent several months sketching before returning to Boston. He was amazed by the scenery. The Intervale at North Conway, he proclaimed, fashioned “a large natural poem in the landscape.”

Champney stayed with artist friends John Kensett and John Casilear at Thompson’s Tavern, which became and remained a haven for artists for many years. Samuel Thompson, a native of Conway, had been born into tavern keeping. After introducing Thomas Starr King to many spectacular views in the mountains, King helped the young Thompson find work in Boston. There he learned the latest in inn keeping. Thompson returned to the Valley and served as innkeeper of his family tavern and the owner of a stagecoach company. He gave artists a very low rate and in return artists produced paintings of the Conway area. Champney noted that, in 1852, “there was quite a little knot of artists at Thompson’s and we nearly filled the dining room in the old house.” In his memoir, Thompson’s son (and later innkeeper himself) remembered that “Benjamin Champney and Mr. Kensett found our valley and as father saw the value of such men to spread the beauties of the place about, he made a special rate to them, and at

* A “jersey wagon” was a notoriously uncomfortable wagon. Often without springs, the wagon so jostled passengers that at times they had to be lifted out of the wagon.
“Left Abbott’s at Conway, a very good house where four stages meet, and where there is always plenty of broiled pickerel, which is the best way of cooking them and most other things. At 7 o’clock after having breakfasted and having walked fifteen miles, we arrived at Mrs. Hall’s, a good house. After dinner we walked seven miles to the Elder Crawford’s and arrived while the twilight was dropping its ethereal colors on the different peaks. Our walk today has been an interesting one.”

July 1831, Henry James Tudor
one time we had fifteen or more of the most prominent artists of the country with us. We used to convey them to different points for their work, and often carry them their dinners without extra charge. We only charged them $3 a week any way, so you can see what a time of it they had.” Thompson also made sure that the artists who received such good terms signed their paintings identifying the place as “North Conway.” It was good advertising for the artists, the town, and vacationers.

In 1851, Champney returned to North Conway, accompanied by several artist friends, including David Johnson. Their enthusiasm for the area inspired other artists to paint around North Conway. In many ways, 1851 was the beginning of the Conway artists’ colony; some say it was the first artist colony in the United States. The artists responded to great rates and accommodations as well as the stunning scenery by coming in large numbers to the Mount Washington Valley. As Champney later noted, “Thus every year brought fresh visitors to North Conway as the news of its attractions spread, until in 1853 and 1854 the meadows and the banks of the Saco were dotted all about with white umbrellas in great numbers.”
The charismatic Champney was instrumental in bringing additional artists to the area. He promoted the Intervale and the beauty of the region. When he arrived in 1850, Kensett reported that there were few tourists in the area but, urged by Champney and others, artists discovered the area quickly. Even as early as 1852, a guidebook printed for the Boston, Concord and Montreal Railroad proclaimed North Conway “a favorite resort for artists.” When Champney married in 1853, the couple settled in North Conway in a home across the street from the McMillan House and close to other hotels; at least forty artists were then painting in the Conway region. Champney attracted and welcomed the artists who came to his home as he himself became increasingly popular with the public.

Many of the artists highlighted the changed landscape. In 1857, Boston-based Samuel Lancaster Gerry wrote in The Crayon: “a well painted foreground is worth more than acres of mountains.” Perhaps that is why his paintings from this time show very distant and rather hazy mountains which, while identifiable, are not the main subject of his painting. Unlike the wild and forbidding wilderness depicted in earlier paintings, the landscape was now quite accessible and easily traversed, as seen by the figures strolling in the foreground of Gerry’s paintings. As one critic wrote in 1858, Gerry’s paintings show “that the lover of the beautiful in nature need not go out of the region of horse railroads to find it.” Accessibility was one key to the popularity of the mountains.

In 1872, the railroad finally reached Conway. Not everyone was happy with the changes it brought. In 1886, Charles Dudley Warner wrote. “I cannot but think that the White Mountains are cheapened a little by the facilities of travel and the multiplication of excellent places of entertainment. If scenery were a sentient thing, it might feel indignant at being vulgarly stared at, overrun and trampled on, by a horde of tourists who chiefly value luxurious hotels and easy conveyance. It would be mortified to hear the talk of the excursionists, which is more about the quality of the tables and the beds, and the rapidity with which the “whole thing can be done,” than about the beauty and the sublimity of nature. The mountain, however, was made for man, and not man for the mountain; and if the majority of travelers only get out of these hills what they are capable of receiving, it may be some satisfaction to the hills that they still reserve their glories for the eyes that can appreciate them.” But few had similar feelings. Instead, they were caught in the economic prosperity that followed the railroads and the influx of tourists. The ever increasing numbers of tourists supported hotels, boarding houses, farm families, and more. They took home White Mountain art, guidebooks, sheet music, china, and maps that reminded them of their time in the mountains. Mountain tourism had become the most important driver of the local economy.

The ease of transport did not mean that tourists were not excited by their trips into the mountains. When F.W. Sanborn came through the Conway region in 1874, he spent some time on top of a stagecoach. “There is something fascinating about riding, up hill and down, behind three span of horses which are fully in the spirit of the occasion. I dare not ride in: and so far as we can ascertain the points of interest are more numerous and full as noteworthy as those of any place, which we have visited.”
Map of Conway, NH, George E. Norris, 1896. Private collection
The Allure of the White Mountains

WHAT WAS THE ALLURE OF THE WHITE MOUNTAINS? Why did people maintain a fascination with the area even as American culture underwent massive changes? Drawn by the dramatic depiction of the mountains, many early visitors came to the mountains to see the hand of God at work. Others were interested in scientific study while still others came because it was fashionable to do so. These groups were urban, sophisticated, and well educated. They had the time to read, study, and recreate in the mountains. By the 1850s, some in the leisureed middle class were able to afford the time and train travel to vacation in the mountains. Their stints in the mountains included less time and covered less distance than that of the more well-to-do. Middle class tourists generally followed a set path and stayed in smaller hotels and boarding houses. The allure of the mountains increased after the Civil War as many people sought escape from the rapidly changing technology in crowded cities, but still demanded urban amenities in the mountains. Tourism in the White Mountains was democratized during this time as the middle class was able to seek pleasure away from their daily urban lives. They slipped the bands of their time-governed lives to re-create themselves among the mountains.

Each visitor was drawn to the mountains with personal expectations. He or she might be seeking serenity, excitement, entertainment, recreation, or personal challenge. Throughout the nineteenth-century, guests arrived in ever increasing numbers. They traveled by coach, wagon, and on foot, with time to explore and find the sites that would become popular. The slow excursions of the 1830s were accompanied by fewer demands and more rustic accommodations as well as additional time for introspection. They could apply what they read to their mountain experiences. Each could explore unknown sections of the forest. It was a powerful but privileged experience. Their time in the mountains encouraged artists to paint the sublime and beautiful. The distance they traveled also encouraged investors to put money into improved transportation through the mountains. They prepared the mountains for tourism.

As the urban east discovered the accessible wilderness at their backdoor, they commercialized nature through advertisements, more rapid transportation, and art. Later tourists found the mountain hotels had become extensions of urban life, and they reveled in that. They explored the known gentle paths and shared their tales. Civilization had tamed the wilderness. By the later nineteenth century, the drama in White Mountain travel was gone. Tourists knew what awaited them. But the mountains remained, drawing in the hiker, artist, thinker, climber, and disciple of the hills to pass through the mountains.
View from Mount Washington, W.H. Bartlett and S. Bradshaw, Date unknown, Lithograph, Private collection
"We arrived at Crawford's at six in the evening. There we continued, till the Portland stage of today made its appearance. We took passage in it for Littleton, where we now are.... Most of the country, between Crawford's and this place, is rough and in a state of nature, but is capable of being converted into the best land for pasturage. The road is passable, but not good."

BKZ. "A Trip from Boston to Littleton, through the Notch of the White Mountains," 1836, New Hampshire Historical Society.

"How strange to see a train of cars in this quiet place: The band comes out and plays for the benefit of the arriving party; there are perhaps twenty arrivals: some will stop here: others will take the stage immediately and arrive at the [Tip] Top House for supper. Before tea there is another train in, with more guests. The supper hour was late."  F.W. Sanborn, "How Frank and I spent Two Weeks in the White Mountains of N.H.," 1874, New Hampshire Historical Society.
“The rapid extension of the railroads into the mountain district has substituted for the formerly arduous task of travelling from point to point a luxurious and rapid transit, while by lifting the tourist on higher grades it affords better opportunities for outlooks. The sybaritic traveller now traverses the savage defiles and ascends the rugged valleys while reclining among the cushions of a palace-car, passing thus over ground that was formerly visited only by weary days of horseback-riding on miry and rocky roads.” Moses F. Sweetser, Handbook for Travellers, 1876.
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