

TOWN OF JEANNETTE
Jeannette
Westmoreland County
Pennsylvania

HABS No. PA-6087

HABS
PA
65-JEAN,
68-

PHOTOGRAPHS

WRITTEN HISTORICAL AND DESCRIPTIVE DATA

Historic American Buildings Survey
National Park Service
Department of the Interior
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Washington, D.C. 20013-7127

APPENDIX
FOOTNOTES

HISTORIC AMERICAN BUILDINGS SURVEY

TOWN OF JEANNETTE

HABS No. PA-6087

HABS
PA
65-JEAN,
68

Location: Jeannette, Westmoreland County, Pennsylvania

Date of Construction: 1888 ff.

Significance: A high concentration of window, tableware, bottle and specialty glass plants distinguished Jeannette as "The Glass City" early in its history. Significant housing stock consists of company-built brick row and detached double houses, and several privately constructed dwellings.

Historians: Laura Driemeyer, Gary Koll, Richard O'Connor, and Joseph Socki.

Project Information: In February, 1987, the Historic American Engineering Record (HAER) and the Historic American Buildings Survey (HABS) began a multi-year historical and architectural documentation project in southwestern Pennsylvania. Carried out in conjunction with America's Industrial Heritage Project (AIHP), HABS and HAER undertook a comprehensive documentation of Jeannette, documenting industries, housing and cultural institutions.

INTRODUCTION

Richard O'Connor

Jeannette's origins as a glass-manufacturing center, and the industry's growth in the community during its first twenty-five years, decisively shaped the city's development over the following century. A high concentration of window, tableware, bottle and specialty glass plants, employing at least one in four residents during the industry's peak years, distinguished Jeannette as "The Glass City" early in its history. Turning out complex, labor intensive products such as cylinder window glass and elaborate tableware, the factories attracted a large workforce of highly skilled and well-paid artisans, as well as a small army of laborers and semi-skilled workers, who established a distinctive cultural ambiance characterized by French language operas, German athletic clubs, working class social clubs, and factory-supported baseball teams.

The city's landscape and spatial arrangement to this day testify to the industry's pervasive economic and cultural influence. The commanding presence of the factories, with their pronounced stacks and sprawling structures, the names of commercial and financial institutions such as "Glass City Shoes" and the "Glass City Bank", and murals depicting glass-making in both the City Hall and the U.S. Post Office suggest the extent of the industry's presence and impact on the community's consciousness. That impact extended to neighborhood location and layout, and to home construction as well. On the hillside overlooking the town and its plants lived several factory owners, managers, and highly skilled workers, as well as some of the more important and well-to-do merchants. On the flat areas below, segregated by the factories and the mainline of the Pennsylvania Railroad from the hillside neighborhoods, the majority of glass-workers lived in sturdily-built brick row-housing erected by company officers who were also the principals in the major land development companies. On a daily basis, whether in their homes, on the streets, or in the factories, the city's landscape and built environment reminded residents of the importance of the glass industry in their lives.

The industry's evolution, particularly changes in corporate organization and technology, continued to define Jeannette's landscape, ethnic composition, and cycles of prosperity and decline. In the 1890s, factory principals built additional housing to accomodate the influx of workers to the city. The introduction of mechanical cylinder-making processes in the window glass factory displaced skilled men and presented opportunities for newcomers. Whereas highly-paid Belgians, many

residing with their families in homes they owned, had dominated the ranks of blowers and gatherers throughout the city's first decade, single Italian immigrants tended the new machinery and lived in newly-constructed boarding houses and residence hotels. In tableware production, the merging of the Jeannette and McKee Glass companies in the 1950s led to the closing of the Jeannette factory, the subsequent consolidation of both facilities at the old McKee site, and, finally, the shutdown of the old McKee plant in a bitter episode still resonating in the courts.

To be sure, the glass industry's pre-eminence should not obscure the importance of other major industries whose presence began diluting the impact of glass manufacturing in the post-World War I period. Almost from its beginning, Jeannette's industrial base included a variety of other manufacturing concerns that turned out goods for the glass and mining industries. By the 1920s, several of these firms had grown to rival the city's glass industry in both size and local economic importance. The Pennsylvania Tire and Rubber Company, which produced everything from tires to tennis balls, and the Elliot Company, manufacturer of steam and gas turbines, individually employed at least as many people as the largest glass plants. The city also hosted numerous small industries, such as foundries making mining equipment and secondary metal processors turning out pressed-tin ceilings and building cornices. Its extensive industrial base made Jeannette the workshop of Westmoreland County.

This study explores the complex set of relationships emerging between the glass industry and Jeannette's built environment during the community's formative first quarter century. Chapter One traces the industry's development in Jeannette, focusing on the factories that located here, the organization of work within them, the wages they paid, and the labor organizations they spawned. Chapters Two and Three look closely at two neighborhoods whose layout and construction were determined by principals in the glass companies. Chapter Four examines the social history of Jeannette's public institutions, and the construction, use, and subsequent reuse of their associated structures.

JEANNETTE'S GLASS INDUSTRY: AN OVERVIEW

Richard O'Connor

For over a century, the glass industry has been Jeannette's economic lifeblood, and for its first quarter century provided work for most of the town's residents. Initially, a large proportion of the jobs were among the most skilled and highest paying jobs in American industry. Between the 1890s and the 1910s, increasing mechanization reduced skill levels and brought large numbers of semi- and unskilled men into the factories. Throughout the period, corporate consolidations, failures and reorganizations that were representative of national trends toward industrial concentration, meant alternating periods of prosperity and decline for workers and the community. By the late 1920s, however, the industry's technology and organization were set for the next four decades.

Prior to Jeannette's founding, area residents lived on a loose collection of large farms and engaged in some form of limited subsistence agriculture. "Residents of the community asked very little of the outside, "according to the most comprehensive history of the area, "the farm produced all the foodstuffs..." Nonetheless, a thriving truck farm system supplied dealers and wholesalers in nearby Greensburg, the Westmoreland county seat, and smaller surrounding towns like Manor. The railroad provided most of the non-agricultural jobs, hiring track layers and repairmen, and occasionally brakemen and engineers. Croushore's Tannery, a traditional rural industry wherever substantial woodstands existed, provided a welcome market for tree bark as well as jobs "for a small number of men." "An older generation of men", found the salt works to be one of the only sources of wage labor.¹

The area's agricultural resources paled in contrast to what it offered industrialists. Rich natural gas deposits offered the promise of cheap, plentiful fuel supplies to industries like glass making, where fuel costs could be nearly one-half of production costs. Proximity to the mainline of the Pennsylvania Railroad insured available transportation to the lucrative, rapidly expanding western markets, and particularly to major distribution centers like Chicago. Abundant, cheap land in an agricultural environment offered ample space for expansion and the ability to lay out the plant in an efficient, rational manner.

¹History of Jeannette (Jeannette, PA: Jeannette American Legion, Post 344, 1976), 10-3.

Glass makers came to Jeannette to escape Pittsburgh's increasingly restrictive manufacturing environment and take advantage of Jeannette's resources. During the economic expansion that followed the 1870s depression, taxes in the city rose as fast as land available for expansion diminished. By the mid-1880s, for example, James Chambers operated three separate, self-contained glass-making plants on Pittsburgh's southside - the Upper, Middle and Lower Houses - and one in McKeesport. Waste ash, a byproduct of coal-fired glass furnaces, could no longer be dumped along the river banks as it had been for generations. Even more problematic, as manufacturers slowly switched from river to rail transportation systems for both raw material supply and the distribution of finished goods, they encountered great difficulty securing additional railroad sidings on Pittsburgh's congested southside.

The desire to expand and rationalize their manufacturing facilities also motivated Pittsburgh glass makers James Chambers and H. Sellers McKee to relocate their operations to rural Westmoreland County. Both were scions of old Pittsburgh glass manufacturing families. McKee's family owned one of Pittsburgh's oldest and best known tableware factories. Chambers had succeeded to his father's window glass business, first established in 1843, during the 1870s depression. Throughout the next decade he expanded manufacturing capacity and adopted new technologies such as round pot furnaces, and by the late 1880s was the largest window glass manufacturer in Pittsburgh, and one of the three largest in the country. Both McKee and Chambers perceived opportunities in the expanding western and urban markets of the late nineteenth century, but from their Pittsburgh vantage point could do little to take advantage of them.

To cover the expense of relocating and constructing new factories, Chambers and McKee arranged financial backing from local industrialists and Philadelphia-based financiers. With additional capital, they purchased several large farms near the small town of Grapeville, in Westmoreland County just east of Pittsburgh.² In doing so, they became part of a regional developmental pattern including the founding and construction of a variety of industrial suburbs in the immediate Pittsburgh area. Those involved in constructing Jeannette--Drexel, Morgan and Company, and I.J. Alexander of New York City, J.W. Moore, the ex-

²Commoner and Glass Worker (22 February 1890). On reasons for moving from Pittsburgh to Jeannette, see William McHugh, "Eighty-five Years of Glass: A History of the Glass Industry in Jeannette, Pennsylvania, 1888-1973" (MA Thesis, Louisiana State University and Agricultural and Mechanical College, 1974), 16.

coke king from Greensburg, Dr. Bullitt, a Philadelphia broker, Pittsburgh engineer and McKee's brother-in-law W.D. Hartupee, and Pittsburgher James B. Maines--also built other western Pennsylvania towns, such as Charleroi, on the Monongahela River.

In layout and size, the new factories at Jeannette bore little resemblance to traditional nineteenth glass manufacturing facilities. Unlike the plants they abandoned in Pittsburgh, McKee and Chambers conceived and constructed fully integrated factories at Jeannette. Expansion in Pittsburgh had been piecemeal, and often had resulted in geographically separated and redundant operations, such as those at Chambers' Upper, Middle and Lower houses on Pittsburgh's Southside. At Jeannette, all functions flowed continuously, from the melting of the batch to the shipping of the finished materials. The factories were also substantially larger. While Chambers' Pittsburgh plant consisted of seven buildings on several noncontiguous acres, the Jeannette factory of Chambers-McKee filled seventeen buildings on thirty-five abutting acres of land. Similarly, McKee's tableware factory at Jeannette was initially fifty percent larger than his Pittsburgh facility, covering four and one-half acres. Within five years, however, he expanded over several additional acres, added at least one building measuring 150' x 300', and more than doubled the factory's capacity from sixty-five to one hundred forty-five pots.³

Technological innovation distinguished the new Jeannette glass factories from both their immediate predecessors and their contemporaries. Most striking was the window glass house. Until 1889, American manufacturers had made window glass by the traditional furnace and pot system. In this process, a blended batch of silica, lime, soda or potash, and cullet (along with traces of arsenic, manganese or cobalt) was placed in pots and melted in large furnaces containing between eight and fifteen pots. A team of gatherers and blowers, known as a shop, spent a full day working out the contents of an individual pot, after which it was refilled and then melted over a twelve to fourteen hour period for working the next day. If pot size determined the length of the workday, the rhythms of filling and melting dictated starting and stopping times. (fill in starting and stopping times under batch production.)

The continuous tank installed by Chambers and McKee, the first in America, transformed everything about the batch melting process, and reshaped the workday of gatherers and blowers. The tank had several virtues. Most important, it changed batch melting from a

³Jeannette Dispatch, 28 May 1889; and 23 February 1894.

discrete to a continuous process. Continuously loaded into the hottest end of the tank, the batch mix melted and flowed through successively cooler chambers until it reached the other end, where it had cooled to precisely the correct temperature for working by the blower and gatherer. The continuously ready "metal", as the melted batch was called, facilitated twenty-four hour production and a rationalized workday. Instead of the stepped shifts of pot and furnace production, the Chambers and McKee Company ran three consecutive shifts of eight hours each. The new technology resulted in glass of improved quality as well. Using gas both to fire the tank and to flatten the glass, Chambers and McKee glass lacked the sulphur residue commonly present on glass melted in traditional coal-fired furnaces.

But the new technology also presented manufacturers with problems. Having learned their trades at the same style pots and furnaces as had their fathers and grandfathers, American gatherers and blowers were skeptical of the continuous melting tank. According to the Jeannette Dispatch, "chances were sold on the streets of Jeannette on the success or failure of the new system of glass manufacture."⁴ Already facing a severe labor shortage, antipathy to the new technology made it difficult for Chambers and McKee to attract blowers and gatherers to their new factory. Even after he closed down his Pittsburgh factory and transferred all who would go, Chambers still lacked enough men to run his tanks. To entice workers to Jeannette, he and McKee built sturdy brick rowhouses and either rented or sold them to workers at reasonable prices. Ernest L. Hugg agreed to move from Pittsburgh to Jeannette "if he was given a double strength blowing job and was allowed to bring his gatherer, Arthur Lawrence, and his apprentice, John Bennett, with him."⁵ Through the union of skilled window glass workers, Local Assembly 300, they also hired a considerable number of Belgian and English workers.

The McKee Glass Company also took advantage of the latest technology. According to the Jeannette Dispatch, McKee outfitted

the factory with every modern improvement known to the trade...beginning with the mixing rooms adjoining the railroad tracks, we find the material conveyed to the three large furnaces with the aid of belts...The immense furnaces are each encircled with cold

⁴Jeannette Dispatch 24 May 1925.

⁵History of Jeannette, 264-5.

air flues forming a network of pipes and hose to chill the heated temperature in which the workmen are obliged to toil while on duty. The cold air is generated and forced through the flues by machinery and shows great foresight on the part of the employers in adding every possible convenience to the comfort of their workmen.⁶

As in the window house, McKee was a pioneer in the installation of continuous melting technology in the tableware factory. The tank measured approximately 12 feet long, by seven feet wide, by twenty inches deep, and held nearly ten tons of "metal." In addition to the technological and process-related reasons for doing so, however, the tableware manufacturer also realized a substantial cost savings by substituting tanks for pots: each tank replaced six pots, which had to be renewed four times each year at a cost of \$50 per pot. The tank encouraged and facilitated the installation of machine technology developed independently by Michael Owens in the 1890s and leased by McKee. Replacing the off-hand process, in which blowers turned out individual pieces using blowpipes and side-lever presses, the Owens semi-automatic machine, in the words of economist Richard Slavin, "revolutionized the pressed and blown glass section of the industry."⁷ The machine increased production from fifty to one hundred percent, while "direct labor costs were reduced from forty to forty-six percent."⁸ Other innovations emerged from within the company. Henry A. Ruhe, in charge of the engraving department, developed and patented engraving machines for turning out a special line of ware, to which McKee purchased the exclusive rights.⁹

Abundant land, natural gas, and a concentration of skilled workers induced other established glass makers to move to Jeannette. Dithridge's Fort Pitt Glass Company, producers of specialty items such as brush trays, bonbon boxes, puff boxes, hairpin boxes, etc., came from Pittsburgh in 1890 and soon employed four hundred people, over one hundred-fifty in their

⁶Jeannette Dispatch 3 May 1889, as quoted in McHugh, 18.

⁷Richard H. Slavin "The Development of Current Economic Problems in the Pressed and Blown Glass Industry" (Ph.D. diss, University of Pittsburgh, 1961), 109.

⁸Ibid., 110.

⁹Jeannette Dispatch 23 February 1894.

decorating department alone. In 1902, the Pittsburgh Lamp, Brass and Glass Company emerged from the combination of four firms, including the Fort Pitt. The same year as the founding of the Fort Pitt Co., the electric light bulb manufacturer Specialty Glass Company of East Liverpool, Ohio built a sixteen pot furnace on thirteen acres in adjacent Grapeville. Changing its name to Westmoreland Specialty Company, the firm began making condiment jars and other specialty items. It soon doubled its capacity, and within a few years employed between three and four hundred people. In 1893, local investors accepted an offer from the Western Land and Improvement Company for a free site in south Jeannette and invested over \$25,000 to erect the Jeannette Bottle Works, employing three hundred and fifty people. Beginning production at the start of the worst depression in two decades, the firm experienced financial problems and earned the nickname "the fizzle" in recognition of its erratic performance. Five years later, under new owners it became the Jeannette Glass Company. Adopting the O'Neill semi-automatic bottle blowing machine, a variant of the Owens used at the McKee Glass Company, the Jeannette Glass Company abandoned the manufacture of bottles in favor of wide mouthed jars and containers coming into popular use for preserved foods. It also continued to produce a variety of prescription ware and other assorted items. Throughout the first three decades of the twentieth century, Jeannette continued to attract new glass factories, such as the William Penn Glass Company, which became the Victory Glass Company, makers of wide mouthed bottles and containers, and also branching out to make corrugated boxes; the T.H. Stough Company, a novelty producer; and the J.H. Millstein Company, a candy container manufacturer.¹⁰

The glass companies drew supporting industries to Jeannette. Planing mills and lumber works such as the T. H. Hazlett Lumber Co., capitalized at \$40,000 and employing twelve people in 1910, and the Union Planing Mill and Lumber Company, employing sixty men and capitalized at \$60,000, supplied glass makers with lumber for shipping boxes, and sometimes even the boxes themselves. Early on, officers of the Window glass company recognized the potential for these endeavors. In 1889, H.Sellers McKee, town founder and president of the McKee Glass Co., William Hartupee, his brother-in-law and an engineer involved in laying out the town, and William S. Jones, a factory manager, established the Jeannette Planing Mill Company, comprising a planing mill, box factory and lumber yard. Local iron working mills, such as the Caplan Iron Works and the W.G. Price Iron and Lead Pipe Works,

¹⁰Most of the information in this paragraph is taken from McHugh, *passim*; see also, the Jeannette Dispatch 14 June 1990; 17 March 1990; 30 June 1893; 10 October 1899; and 20 November 1920.

supplied blowers with pipes and also crafted much of the ironwork in the local factories. As the technological sophistication of the glass industries developed, they attracted other manufacturers to supply their needs. At both the window house and the tableware factories, producer-gas houses constructed to supplement the area's natural gas, utilized extensive networks of sheet metal ductwork. Early in the twentieth century, the Northwestern Expanded Metal Company took over the property of the Jeannette Planing Mill. Initially making metal lath to substitute for wood, the company soon branched out to supply ducting to the glassworks.¹¹ Although the Northwestern's life was short, other sheet metal producers, Plato Archer and Koerbel's in particular, lasted, and provided much of the metal work for the glass houses as they constructed new buildings and installed new machinery. To be sure, such firms found additional customers in the commercial and residential construction industry, manufacturing full lines of cornices, ceilings, ventilators and metal roofing.¹²

The Jeannette Shade and Novelty Company made not only glass products, but molds for other glass firms as well. The company's line of products suggests the degree to which larger changes in American consumerism influenced the traditional product mix of local glass producers. Operated until 1910 as the Empire Glass Company, the firm produced lamp globes, shades and chimneys. When it changed hands, the company began making molds for lamp bowls used as gas and electric ceiling lamp shades. Later, the company supplied large retail merchants such as Sears, Roebuck and Co., Montgomery Ward, Woolworth and Kresge with opal glass for offices and schools. It also developed glass globes for gasoline pumps and a variety of advertising pieces for dairies, cigar and drug stores. The widely varying character of its output gave its workforce an equally diverse character, ranging

¹¹The Northwestern Expanded Metal Company was known locally as the "last chance" - a last resort for employment for out of work glassworkers. - Jeannette Dispatch 2 May 1938.

¹²Jeannette Dispatch 24 May 1989; 26 February 1903; 17 June 1906; 2 September 1909; and 24 October 1907; Pennsylvania Industrial Directory, 1916 - 1989. Information on the connection between the sheet metal shapers and the glass industry was supplied by Tom Sweeney, Manager of Product Engineering, General Glass Industries Corporation, in a conversation with the author, 16 July 1990.

from decorators, blockers and ball gatherers to pressers and hand blowers.¹³

The glass industry shaped more than the city's industrial base. Glass production in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries brought to Jeannette a highly skilled, highly paid workforce. In the window house, gatherers, blowers, flatteners and cutters transformed molten "metal" into lights of glass. Since the late 1870s, nearly every skilled window glass worker had belonged to Knights of Labor Local Assembly 300 (LA 300). One of the nation's strongest unions, it negotiated some of the highest wages in America for its members. At the Chambers-McKee plant at Jeannette, Jules Quertimont and Thomas Pearsall blew the double thick, big rings, the highest paying places in the window house. In the late 1890s, these men earned over one hundred dollars per week (in a nine month producing year) at the same time others labored in menial tasks for less than a dollar per day. Along with high wages, they enjoyed substantial autonomy on the job. Through the union they limited their output to forty-eight boxes single strength, or thirty-two boxes of double strength each week. They also hired, trained and supervised their apprentices, and legislated a summer stop that forbade members from working between June 15 and September 15 each year.

Most tableware production was more mechanized and routine than window glass manufacture, however, and all but a few members of the American Flint Glass Workers Union (AFGWU) wielded less power and earned lower wages than their counterparts in the window house. Nonetheless, the more skilled occupations such as mold makers, blowers and pressers still rewarded workers with relatively high wages and significant satisfaction on the job. When window glass blower Sam Pearsall's house burned to the ground in 1895, an inventory of the loss reflected the style in which such wages allowed the men to live: "two fine pianos, a number of pieces of artistic furniture, valuable oil paintings, (and) fancy articles of a costly nature...six gold watches, two diamond rings and a diamond pin..."¹⁴ Moreover, commented the local paper, "some of the blowers who made big money on their time off would don silk hats and cutaway coats, too..." just

¹³Westmoreland County Survey.

¹⁴Jeannette Dispatch 22 November 1895.

like the manufacturers.¹⁵ Many also bought property, some speculatively, in Jeannette's newly platted first and second wards.¹⁶

Jeannette's ethnic mix in the early years reflected the influence of the glass industry. Transferring their factories from Pittsburgh in the early 1890s, both Chambers and McKee also moved their workers. Almost all could trace their ancestry to western Europe, particularly Britain and Germany, and a number were related, reflecting the familial organization of apprenticeship in the industry. The first workforce at the window house included four blowers named Phillips, several St. Peters working as both blowers and gatherers, two flatteners named Hogenmiller, and two cutters each named Eberhart, Westcott, Bates and Lilly. Many, such as John Phillips Sr. and Jr., Adolph Eberhart, William Slicker and T.B. Campbell, hailed from families long involved in glass production. Eberhart's ancestors arrived in Pennsylvania from Germany in the early nineteenth century, working the small factories along the upper Monongahela River before making their way to Pittsburgh. But the window glass industry's rapid expansion in the 1890s also brought a great influx of Belgians working in Jeannette. Moreover, Belgians, and the English as well, were accustomed to working on the continuous tank in their home countries, and when Chambers and McKee ran into difficulty recruiting American workers for their new factories at Jeannette, they found foreign workmen both skilled and eager. Highly visible, Belgian workers annually celebrated Belgium's independence from Holland, and the local opera house offered French language plays for their benefit.¹⁷ Although some Belgians remained in Jeannette after the turn of the century, the vast majority were blowers and gatherers whose jobs left Jeannette with the installation of the Lubbers cylinder machines in 1904. In the tableware, bottle and specialty plants the workforce remained predominantly American-born into the twentieth century.

Their wages and autonomy prepared and encouraged skilled workers to participate in nearly every facet of Jeannette's political and social world. Political activity was particularly important. Window glass blower J.C. (Critt) Hirsch, cutter William Slicker

¹⁵Jeannette Dispatch 2 May 1938.

¹⁶See chapters 2 & 3 by Gary Koll and Joseph Socki respectively.

¹⁷Jeannette Dispatch 1 September 1893; 15 September 1893; and 24 November 1893.

and flattener John Kealey all served on the Jeannette Council, Kealey for at least three consecutive terms and as president for two; Slicker and Hirsch also were elected school board members, along with Adolph Eberhart, brother of LA 300 president and congressional candidate John Eberhart. Their industry's reliance on high tariff protection led them into arduous support of the Republican Party, particularly in the hotly contested elections of 1892 and 1896. They organized the Quay Club, named after Pennsylvania Republican Matt Quay, a close friend of Chambers, to "stop Greensburg's power in the Republican Party."¹⁸ Kealey himself spent considerable time in Washington, D.C., as a member of union tariff committees lobbying for higher duties on imported glass.¹⁹ Skilled glassworkers also took leading roles in organizing the social and cultural calendar. As one might expect, the Labor Day parade was one of the city's major events. At the 1890 affair, chaired by Hirsch, Slicker served as the Chief Marshall and four LA 300 members were among the featured speakers. Workers also organized popular cultural institutions, such as the Chambers-McKee Social Club, containing facilities for a variety of activities, such as baths, billiards and literary events. Every summer, glassworkers set up vacation camps at different rural spots from southern New Jersey to the upper Monongahela River. During industrial shutdowns, the men and sometimes their families would vacation at the camps. John Kealey reported on his visit to the camp that bore his name--Camp Kealey. After touring Atlantic City and fishing the ocean, he and his daughter went on to Tacony, New Jersey to visit his mother and brother, and then visited every window glass town in the southern part of the state, calling on New Jersey window glassworkers who worked at Jeannette during the fire and travelled home for the summer.²⁰ Political and social activities shortened the distance between factory management and workforce. A number of skilled workers resided in the first ward, where window house manager George Moore and H. Sellers McKee himself also maintained residences. Moreover, Moore also sat on the Council and school board, as did McKee manager David Carle.

Although factory officials and skilled workers shared some places in the town's political institutions, the former clearly controlled financial power. Officers of the Western Land and

¹⁸Jeannette Dispatch 3 April 1896.

¹⁹Jeannette Dispatch 21 February 1890; 8 February 1895; and 3 May 1895.

²⁰Commoner and Glass Worker (4 October 1890); Jeannette Dispatch 7 November 1890; 22 August 1890; and 13 July 1894.

Improvement Company, established "for the purpose of purchasing, holding, improving, leasing, selling and otherwise disposing of real estate" in the newly established borough of Jeannette, included Chambers and McKee, as well as three Philadelphia investors. Directors of the borough's first bank, which met in the Land Company offices, included H. Sellers McKee, James Chambers, Thomas McKee, George Moore and Charles R. Smith, all associated in some way with management in the local glass factories except for Smith, who came to Jeannette from the Greensburg Banking Company. To help workers purchase housing built by the land Company, Moore, S.H. Weaver and Morris Davis founded the Gem Savings and Loan Company. Davis was a prominent local merchant and Justice of the Peace, and Weaver managed the Jeannette Planing Mill.²¹

Many of Jeannette's glass workers were clearly propertied, active members of the community. Nonetheless, skilled glass workers often travelled extensively to ply their trades. Glass production, especially in the window branch, was both seasonal and subject to the vicissitudes of gas availability. Consequently, if they wanted to practice their craft, workers followed the industry. Although many Pittsburgh craftsmen, like Adolph Eberhart, William Slicker and Critt Hirsch, moved to Jeannette, others maintained their residences in the city and commuted. Workers from southern New Jersey and the Erie Canal corridor of New York state travelled for the season. In fact, the tramp had become so commonplace by the late nineteenth century that railroads offered workers discounts at the end and beginning of each blast.²² Such rhythms of industrial production meant that many of Jeannette's workers resided in temporary housing during the time they spent in the community. To accomodate them, numerous hotels, like the Marian, the Colombe, and the McKee, specialized in providing lodgings to transient workers.²³ Even so, when the glass plants ran full the city experienced a shortage of sleeping space.

These establishments also functioned as local drinking establishments and, in the case of the Colombe, as the flint glass workers' union hall. Residents still recall the Colombe, with its ornate backbar, operating twenty-two of twenty-four

²¹History of Jeannette, 255-270; Jeannette Dispatch 28 June 1889; and 18 October 1889.

²²Jeannette Dispatch 30 April 1903.

²³For more information on the Colombe, see the work of Gary Koll.

hours each day, constantly filled with men just leaving one of the three shifts at one of the glass plants in the immediate neighborhood. The hotels and their bars quickly became institutionalized, and their lucrative business attracted the city's notables as owners, such as the McKees and longterm city council member John Fath, owner of the Colombe. Not everyone shared the workingman's affinity with alcohol. Jeannette Dispatch editor John Trescher fought against the granting of alcohol licenses and extolled forty-seven year old Carry A. Nation's visit to Jeannette, claiming she gave "the ablest discourse ever heard in Jeannette on the question of temperance."²⁴

Between 1890 and 1910, changes in corporate organization and technology transformed the relationships between the factories and the community. With the formation of two trusts in 1899, the National Glass Company, tableware manufacturers that included the McKee Glass Company, and the American Window Glass Company, that took in the Chambers-McKee Window Glass Company, Jeannette developed a "branch plant" economy. Its major employers no longer operated independently in the marketplace, making decisions that benefitted the local factory, but instead made all choices regarding products, expansion and technology with the benefit to the larger corporation in mind. The McKee plant declined precipitously once it became part of the larger group. "Greatly overcapitalized and expensively run", the National Glass Company saw its stock decline from over fifty dollars to two dollars per share between 1901 and 1904, when it "ceased to be an operating company and became a holding company." Leasing the Jeannette works to its manager, Andrew J. Smith, the new company, known as the McKee-Jeannette Company, refocused its product line from "chimneys, tumblers and jars, and concentrated on producing higher grade glassware and tableware ... (later)... known as the largest flint glass factory in America." Three years later the National Glass Company declared bankruptcy and the following year Andrew Smith bought out the McKee Glass Company. A series of patent violations between 1907 and the 1920s also cost the company dearly, both monetarily and competitively. On the other hand, McKee Glass benefitted from its association with the Corning Glass Company, under whose authority it began producing heat resistant "Pyrex" cookware, continuing with its own brand once patents expired.²⁵

²⁴Jeannette Dispatch 3 September 1903. For a list of distillers, see 19 April 1895.

²⁵McHugh, "Eighty-five Years...", Ch. 3, passim.

Changes in the window house began earlier. As the result of a series of financial failures, James Chambers declared bankruptcy in 1891 and, in a bitter exchange, assigned his shares in the window house to Sellers McKee. Within several months, he arranged alternate financing and built a factory in nearby Arnold, Pennsylvania, taking factory manager George Moore and many of his skilled workers with him. In doing so, he cost Jeannette some of its leading political and community figures. But he was not out of Jeannette's history yet. In 1899, Chambers organized the American Window Glass Company (AWGC), buying forty-one window glass factories, including the Chambers-McKee in Jeannette. Under the AWGC, the Jeannette plant prospered as the trust began closing unproductive factories. With the ability to finance research and development, the company supported John Lubbers, a long time Chambers flattener who was a member of the original window house flattening force, in his development of the cylinder blowing machine in 1902. By 1905, the company had closed all but six of its factories, and had converted those remaining to machine production. The cylinder machine eliminated blowers and gatherers from the production process, and their exodus from Jeannette reshaped the city. Unlike blowers and gatherers, who earned high wages and often owned their own homes, the "new set of men" filled all the hotels and boarding houses and, reported the Dispatch, "as high as six men are sleeping in one room which contains only two beds." Jeannette remained the company's flagship factory. Two decades later, the company replaced the cylinder machines with the Fourcault Process, eliminating flatteners from production and leaving cutters as the last of the original skilled trades.²⁶

The glass industry remained Jeannette's premier industry until recently. Although the window glass factory has changed owners several times since the Saint Gobain bought the American Window Glass Company in the early 1950s, it continues to operate with its Fourcault Process still intact, and employs just over 300 people. The McKee-Jeannette Glass Company and the Westmoreland Glass Company both closed in the 1980s, the former the subject of a bitter courtroom battle. Still in operation are the Jeannette Shade and Novelty Company, the National Plastics Corporation, making glass globes, and the St. George Crystal Company, Limited, turning out fine lead crystal stemware and barware.²⁷

Although the glass industry remained strong and highly visible until the 1970s, Jeannette's industrial base diversified in the

²⁶McHugh, Ch. 4.

²⁷Pennsylvania Industrial Directories, various years.

twentieth century. Supporting metal industries, like the sheet metal shops of Plato Archer and Koerbel's, continued to serve the industry. However, a variety of industries with nominal, if any, links to glass production grew slowly to become major employers. Metal working, rubber and plastics manufacture, and brewing were particularly important. Additionally, increasing numbers of people found work in service and smaller industries.

During the later twentieth century, the Elliott Company grew to be Jeannette's largest employer. Industrialist Charles Swan Elliott, a founder and officer of the Youngstown Sheet & Tube Company at Youngstown, Ohio, started the firm in the late nineteenth century as a distributor of Sterling boilers and steam equipment. Purchasing the old factory of the Clifford-Capell Fan Company, a former manufacturer of mine ventilation equipment, for \$100,000, he transferred his entire Pittsburgh operations, including those of the Liberty Manufacturing Company, to Jeannette. Abandoned for over a year, the old plant's Jeannette site was ideally suited for Elliott's purposes: situated on thirty-four acres of land, it contained a large factory building as well as an uncompleted foundry. A sophisticated engineering firm from the beginning, the company branched out from its boiler distribution operations to develop highly efficient tube cleaners for removing scale and aerators for preventing corrosion. It became the world's largest producer of these goods after acquiring the Lagonda Manufacturing Company of Springfield, Ohio. Buying the Kerr Turbine Company of Wellsville, New York in 1924, Elliott became a major manufacturer of steam turbines for power plants. Two years later, the company continued its horizontal expansion into related areas, purchasing the Ridgway Dynamo and Engine Company at Ridgway, Pennsylvania, a maker of steam engines, generators, motors and centrifugal blowers, and moving the plant to Jeannette during the depression. During that period, the company continued to expand its Jeannette factory, adding over \$750,000 in new capacity and equipment between 1925 and 1934. On the basis of armed service demands, the company expanded rapidly during World War II, with employment rising from 665 in 1941 to 1900 in 1947. Supplying generators, turbines and motors for tankers, submarines and other naval vessels, it received "the Army and Navy 'E' for excellence in manufacturing and productivity". Elliott continued its expansion, purchasing Carrier Corporation of Syracuse, New York, an air conditioner manufacturer in 1957, and Elliott continued to turn out compressors and turbines. Throughout its history at Jeannette,

Elliott was one of the city's major employers, reaching peak employment in 1980 with nearly 2700 workers.²⁸

Along with the Elliott Company, the Pennsylvania Rubber Company employed the largest number of people outside the glass industry. Founded in Erie, Pennsylvania in 1899, the company's president, Pittsburgh steel maker and financier Henry DuPuy, moved the firm to Jeannette in 1901-2. The plant was the first of its kind in the Pittsburgh district, turning out tires for autos and bicycles, horeshoe pads, rubber soles and heels, airbrake and steam hose, tubing, and a variety of other products. It was equipped with a 250 horsepower Corliss steam engine to produce electricity, and a 600 horsepower engine "to drive several trains of rolls, all directly connected...; mammoth hydraulic presses, a forest of large and small vulcanizers, and various other machines for grinding, shaping and finishing..."²⁹

By 1910, the company developed its "Vacuum Cup" pneumatic tire to replace the dangerous "quick demountable" tires then in use. Dramatically increased sales of the "Vacuum Cup" led the company to add a seven story factory to more than triple its tire production. General Tire and Rubber Company of Akron, Ohio, acquired the Pennsylvania Rubber Company in 1940, and transferred tire production from Jeannette to Mansfield, Ohio in 1949. The Jeannette plant became the Pennsylvania Athletic Products division, and later the Penn Athletic Products Division, of General Tire in 1953. From that time until recently, its chief product was sporting equipment, continuing the tradition established by the old Pennsylvania Rubber Company's line of tennis balls. Since the 1970s, the company has manufactured vinyl film and plastic sheeting, and is now known as Diversitech. Employment peaked at just over 2000 immediately following World War II, and the plant has employed approximately 300 throughout recent years.³⁰

²⁸Jeannette Dispatch 31 October 1907; 26 June 1913; and 2 May 1938, 3; Stevens, Sylvester, Pennsylvania, Titan of Industry (New York: Lewis Publishing Co., 1948); History of Jeannette, 160-3; Westmoreland County Survey of Industrial Sites.

²⁹Jeannette Dispatch 20 November 1902.

³⁰History of Jeannette, 171-3; Pennsylvania Industrial directories, various years; Westmoreland County Survey of Industrial Sites; Jeannette Dispatch 29 August 1912; 3 July 1913; 20 November 1902; and 2 May 1938.

The glass industry left an unmistakable imprint on Jeannette. Throughout much of the century, it has dominated the city's economy as well as its skyline. Responsible for much of the distinctive housing that lines the streets adjacent to the still-standing glass factories, it shaped the city's early political and cultural institutions and defined its politics. As the industry's technology became mechanized and its corporate structure larger and farther removed from the local economy, the industry's influence on the city became more limited to its economic impact on jobs. At the same time, the relative importance of other industry's has risen, and today the glass industry is spoken about in the past tense, as residents look for work in other places.

JEANNETTE'S INDUSTRIAL CENTER

by Gary Koll

Jeannette's central neighborhoods were home to many glass workers, and were closely linked both to the factories and to the business philosophy under which the town was built. But the town represents a vastly different townbuilding philosophy than that underlying other industrial communities. In an era of growing labor unrest, Jeannette's builders backed away from the idea of exerting influence over every aspect of the worker's lives, and instead treated their various real estate ventures as related yet separate business enterprises. Stability and profitability, at least in early projections of Jeannette, were to be attained through the creation of a model town that encouraged home ownership.

The neighborhood nearest the glass works on the south side of Jeannette demonstrates this process of townbuilding at work. Mainly residential, the area presents a variety of housing types built over a span of nearly thirty-five years for and sometimes by the workers in Jeannette's industries. The study area combines some of the earliest housing in Jeannette built by the Western Land & Improvement Company, the speculative land holdings of industrialist H. Sellers McKee, which included a portion of the commercial street Clay Avenue, and the majority of what was once company-owned housing. Through such a combination of land development patterns can begin to understand the forces driving the city's development.

Pittsburgh glass manufacturers H. Sellers McKee and James A. Chambers began the process of building Jeannette by purchasing farms in the Penn and Hempfield Townships of Westmoreland County east of Pittsburgh in the spring of 1887. Acting through David Z. Brickell, a fellow Pittsburgh businessman and future vice-president and treasurer of Chambers & McKee Glass, they acquired the Gilcrest farm and another parcel from Solomon Loughner, together comprising just over eighty-seven acres.³¹ In November of that year, Brickell purchased the larger 140 acre Robert F. and Sarah Thompson farm, and shortly thereafter transferred most of the property he had acquired to a development company, the Western Land & Improvement Company (hereafter, WL&IC).³²

³¹ Biographical Review, Volume XXIV, Containing Life Sketches of Leading Citizens of Pittsburgh and Vicinity, Pennsylvania (Boston: Biographical Review Publishing Company, 1897), 334-8.

³²Deed Records: 152/437, 152/439, 152/441, 155/187.

Incorporated in August, 1887, "for the purpose of purchasing, holding, improving, leasing, selling or otherwise disposing of Real Estate," the firm's initial owners and members of its first board of directors were Chambers and McKee of Allegheny City, and J. Gardner Cassatt, Horace Magee and B. Maurice Gaskill, all of Philadelphia.³³ In April 1888, while the first glass factory was under construction, the future town of Jeannette was platted for H. Sellers McKee and the Western Land & Improvement Company.³⁴

Construction began on January 6, 1888 on the first of the glass factories, the Chambers & McKee works, approximately a mile west of the Pennsylvania Railroad's Grapeville station.³⁵ Pittsburgh and local newspaper accounts speculated on the new industry and future town. The Pittsburg Post noted the new continuous tank process to be used at the factory and estimated the future workforce would be at least 1200 men and boys. The article continued, "(i)t is said that houses sufficient to accommodate all the employees and their families will be erected close to the new works."³⁶ Although James Chambers would not comment for the original article, the local Greensburg Press, reprinting material from the trade journal Commoner and American Glass Worker, reported "an improvement company in connection with the syndicate who are building the works, will attend to all details of the town and the development of the surrounding country."³⁷ In February the Pittsburg Times published a broad article on developments in western Pennsylvania. The headline and no less than four subtitles declared the paper's optimism: "The New Era, Wonders Performed in Western Pennsylvania Since 1885, A Record Without Parallel, Millions Invested for New Enterprises and Additions to Old, Towns Created and Boomed." The paper reported

³³Westmoreland County Corporation Book 2/521.

³⁴John N. Boucher, Old and New Westmoreland, Vol. II (New York: The American Historical Society, Inc., 1918), 480.

³⁵ "A Great Glass Works, Operations Commenced at the Penn Station Factory," Pittsburg Post 7 January 1888.

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ "Gas and Glass, Work Commenced on the New Glass Works, A New Process to be used in the Manufacture of Glass," Greensburg Press 10 January 1888. The Greensburg Press was a weekly paper which often relied on reprinting material directly from other newspapers in the area. Where possible the original source has been used, but in some cases the issues of the referenced newspapers and journals are no longer available.

the glass works then under construction at Grapeville, noting that immense gas fields and the area's coal and coke resources had brought Westmoreland County to the "notice of many capitalists." The article went on to predict that "within a few years it will doubtless become one of the greatest manufacturing centers in the state."³⁸

Newspaper boosters were not the only people speculating. The tracts Brickell had purchased included the factory sites and surrounding land on three sides. This left room for a real estate investor from nearby Greensburg, E.M. Gross, to purchase more of Solomon Loughner's farm adjoining the factories to the west and plat it into approximately 300 commercial and residential lots.³⁹ These lots sold well when they were first offered to the public in late May, ahead of any Western Land & Improvement Company sales. The area is now known as West Jeannette, and though it developed early the neighborhood was effectively cut off from the rest of the city by the factories and the Pennsylvania Railroad tracks.

Confirmation of the glass industrialist's intentions for the main part of the future town came in remarks by window glass manufacturer James Chambers published in the Pittsburg Times on April 6, under the heading: "A Rural Pittsburg - Pittsburg Capitalists Arranging For A City At Grapeville." The article's subheading is more revealing: "The Idea Is To Give It All The Advantages of Pullman Without Any Drawbacks ... A Model Town For Workingmen." In the text, Chambers states that his firm, Chambers & McKee Glass, is

not very largely interested in the town financially, but we have placed the building in the best possible hands. Our desire is to have a town for our employees where they can live better than any other place and where they can have every advantage for their families and children at first. There will be 300 houses built, mostly in rows, all brick, with pressed brick fronts...It is the desire of all to make it a model town in every way.

In response to a question on who would own the stores, certainly a reference to more tightly controlled company towns, Chambers stated that anyone could locate there as long as their buildings

³⁸The New Era," Pittsburg Times 18 February 1888.

³⁹"Valuable Real Estate Purchased," Greensburg Press 20 March 1888.

"reach a certain standard." With regards to housing, Chambers remarked that it could "be either rented or purchased on easy terms. We want to see every one of our workmen own his own house, and intend to do all in our power to assist them."⁴⁰ This latter statement regarding home ownership confirmed several earlier reports such as that in the Commoner and American Glass Worker,

The houses will be models of light and comfort, and will be sold to the workers upon monthly payments like rent, differing in this respect from most improvement schemes, who only rent to employees [sic] who can be dispossessed in case of labor trouble.⁴¹

Work on the town commenced in late April with the arrival of M.J. Alexander, a civil engineer and General Manager of the WL&IC. While stopping through Pittsburg Alexander gave an interview to the press about his work:

The busines [sic] I follow at present is town building. I superintended the building of Polaski (Virginia) and several towns in the West and am prepared to build any number to order. I came here for the purpose of erecting a town at Grapeville station...and it will not be long before we have a town there which will accommodate all the working people, merchants and manufacturers who chose [sic] to locate there.⁴²

The WL&IC prepared a town plan that included streets and lots and showed not only the company's land and that of the factory sites, but also the land of H. Sellers McKee. McKee, acting through D.Z. Brickell, had been instrumental in acquiring land for his factories and the WL&IC. But after Brickell had sold most of the land to the development company, McKee purchased some of the tracts from the WL&IC as a personal development venture. Though the McKee tracts were not submitted with the detailed Town of Jeannette Plan, the streets and alleyways were already shown on

⁴⁰ "A Rural Pittsburg, Pittsburg Capitalists Arranging for a City at Grapeville," The Pittsburg Times 6 April 1888.

⁴¹ Greensburg Press, 10 January 1888.

⁴² Reprinted from the (Pittsburg) Commercial-Gazette in "The Coming City, A Gigantic Enterprise Which Will Be Commenced," Greensburg Press, 24 April 1888.

the key suggesting that at least the general planning for these parcels was completed at the same time in a coordinated fashion. Thus the Western Land & Improvement Company, and H. Sellers McKee personally, were jointly responsible for planning and subdividing the industrial neighborhood in downtown Jeannette.

The WL&IC's "Town of Jeannette Plan" covers land on either side of the Pennsylvania Railroad, with numbered streets running north and south and avenues running the other direction. The avenues were named for company officers and directors: Bullitt, Cassatt, Chambers, Cuyler, Frothingham, Gaskill, Hacker, Magee and Scott. The flat land along the Pennsylvania Railroad and the creek, Bull Run, was divided into a regular grid centered on Clay Avenue, named for company president Gen. Richard W. Clay. This grid defines the main downtown commercial area. Other grids with varying block sizes and slightly shifting orientations, based generally on the topography, make up the rest of the town plan. South of Clay Avenue are longer blocks with lots oriented toward the numbered streets perpendicular to Clay Avenue. In June, 1888, working out of a small brick house which stood in an orchard near Fourth Street and Bullitt Avenue, the Western Land & Improvement Company began erecting a group of brick double houses and row houses.⁴³

The contract for the "excavation and erection of foundations for 160...good brick residences" was given in mid-June to a Mr. L.L. Bush of Lancaster, Pennsylvania.⁴⁴ Later described by the paper as having "Philadelphia pressed brick fronts and cut stone trimmings," the WL&IC house designs reflected not only Philadelphia housing but common urban vernacular forms as well.⁴⁵ But their formal arrangement along the two and a half blocks of South Fifth and Sixth streets was unusual. Beginning two lots south of the service alley behind Clay Avenue, and extending for the rest of that block and the next, the Improvement Company built six-room, brick double houses. Beyond those, between Chambers and Cassatt Avenues, four-room brick row houses completed the multi-family housing built by the firm. Though the firm did build some single-family houses and even a hotel in other areas of Jeannette, the WL&IC subdivided the land and offered lots for sale. Close to the downtown, however, the

⁴³ Boucher.

⁴⁴ "Contract Let," Greensburg Press, 19 June 1888.

⁴⁵ "Grapeville Again to the Front - More Buildings Will Go Up," Greensburg Press, 21 August 1888.

company erected an impressive group of residential buildings to provide ready housing for workers in the adjacent glass factories.

At the outset, it was unclear just what type of housing would be built. The lots platted included 16' wide lots for the blocks where the row houses were built and at the adjacent blocks where the double houses now stand (except for the end lots which are and appear to have always been 20' wide). As built, however, the double houses are on 24' parcels, one and a half platted lots, which indicates that at some point before construction began there was a change in plans. The surrounding lots are platted at 20' wide along Clay Avenue and 25' wide for surrounding residential lots. Though the varying grids cause many different lot configurations and irregularities, the lot depths are generally 100' through the level portion of the downtown. Behind the row and double houses, as elsewhere in the Town of Jeannette Plan, there are 20' alleys.

The apparent hierarchy set up by the arrangement of the two types of houses did not translate directly into any strict division of residents by occupation. Since the WL&IC was a distinct entity from the glass factories themselves, houses were not reserved exclusively for glass workers who, nonetheless, comprised the majority of early residents. According to the earliest available records, the Jeannette City Directory of 1897, which generally listed male heads of households, other employed men, and widows, about eighty-four percent of ninety-eight row house residents and seventy-one percent of 174 double house occupants were glass workers.

Both the row houses and the double houses were home to the more highly skilled employees of the window and flint glass works: flatteners, cutters, pressers, gatherers, blowers and mouldmakers. Overall, about ten percent of the row house residents fit into this higher-skilled category and the figure is about twelve percent of persons living in the double houses. Probably due in part just to larger numbers, the listings for the double houses show a wider range of occupations; from barbers to a Justice of the Peace, soda pop makers to a jeweler and a physician. The double houses also had a somewhat larger percentage of residents employed outside of the factories. This and the wider range of vocations could be attributed to the fact that, as noted in the building summaries for the WL&IC housing, the double houses were sometimes also used as businesses by their residents. Overall, however, despite a few more businessmen or professionals living in the double houses, house type does not appear to have been a significant factor in determining who lived on each block. Family size was a more important consideration.

According to the 1900 Manuscript Census, the average number of persons living in each double house unit was 5.9, while for the row houses the average was 4.6.⁴⁶

The extent of home ownership is difficult to assess. James Chambers had pledged in April, 1888, that the company would do everything in its power to ensure that the workingmen could own their own homes. What steps the firm took to encourage home ownership are difficult to assess, but in December, five months after some 600 WL&IC lots had been offered for sale to the public, the Pittsburgh Post reported that

over 100 glassworkers have bought lots, besides the houses already built and sold, and will in early spring erect pleasant homes. They will establish the excellent precedent of owning their dwellings.⁴⁷

The newspaper continued that the Improvement Company had discouraged wild speculation, and in an issue the previous August the paper had reported that the lots were being purchased, cheaply and on good terms, by persons who "purpose building."⁴⁸ Certainly, some speculation took place immediately on the vacant land. Indeed, the Pittsburgh Post reported, "a number of persons who purchased lots in this plan within the past month have already realized handsome profits" and, projecting a steady market, the paper predicted all lots would be sold within nine months. It is also clear that, when the double houses were sold beginning the following year, they were often sold singularly or in groups to investors rather than to their occupants. It may be that the double houses and row houses were outside of the Improvement Company's stated goal of worker home ownership, being part of the housing which was, in the words of a visiting reporter, "put up to rent at reasonable rates to that ever present floating population."⁴⁹

The living spaces offered by each type of house differed fundamentally in their approximation of the urban, Victorian

⁴⁶cite 1900 MS

⁴⁷ "Pittsburgh's Suburbs," The Pittsburgh Post 22 December 1888.

⁴⁸ "Grapeville Again to the Front - More Buildings Will Go Up," Greensburg Press 21 August 1888.

⁴⁹ Pittsburgh Post 22 December 1888.

middle-class houses of their time. The double houses, as originally constructed, were a brick rectangular block with a wood-frame, two-story ell to the rear of each unit. The main floor consisted of a parlor, chamber/dining room and a kitchen in the rear ell. The upper floor had two large bedrooms and a smaller one above the kitchen. Both floors had a side passage which connected all of the rooms to the stairway toward the rear. Though the middle room on the main level probably served two functions as a sitting and dining room, the formal relationship between a street-facing parlor and an adjacent chamber, connected by double french doors, was maintained by the designers or builders.

The rowhouses, built as attached units without ells, were limited to two rooms per floor if light was to reach each room. As originally constructed the houses were two-story, rectangular brick blocks with a front room and kitchen/dining room on the main floor and two bedrooms, one to the front and one to the rear, on the upper floor. Separating the rooms on each floor was a straight-run stairway. Two-room deep plans such as these were common for worker's housing at the time. Both the row houses and double houses initially had no indoor plumbing. Household water for use in the kitchen, wash basins and tin wash tubs was carried from one or two joint wells on each block and side of the street.

The portions of the study area subdivided personally by H. Sellers McKee flank the north and south sides of the McKee Glass and Chambers & McKee works. The east side of the factory grounds, between the two McKee plats of lots, was enclosed by the brick double and row houses along south Sixth Street. The McKee parcel to the north of the factories, west of Sixth Street and south of Clay Avenue, formed the western section of the neighborhood studied. Referred to as the H. Sellers McKee Addition when later annexed to the city in April 1889, it includes seventy-six lots, of which thirty-three lots front onto Clay Avenue, Jeannette's main commercial street.

One lot was sold in the McKee Addition in late August 1888, but lot sales appear to have begun in earnest in mid-September, well before Jeannette incorporated as a city but two months after the WL&IC lots had been offered to the public. Nine lots were sold on September 18th, and over the following months sales were steady if not brisk. The initial lots sold were those along Clay Avenue adjacent to the WL&IC land, bringing between \$300 and \$400 dollars each. Clay Avenue was not cut through to the west, reportedly to limit competition from developers in West Jeannette, so these lots were marginally at the end of the downtown centered close to Fourth Street. Speculation was quick

on these commercial lots, however, and one lot sold just over a year later in November 1889, after two intervening owners, for \$1150.

As an investor and director of the WL&IC H. Sellers McKee may have been party to a company policy that discouraged speculation by lot purchasers, but when it came to his own residential property McKee apparently made no such distinction. Of the forty-three residential lots, all but six were purchased in groups of between two and six. Most were sold in late 1889 and all within eighteen months. Although the vast majority of purchasers were mainly from the surrounding area - greater Pittsburgh and neighboring towns between Manor and Greensburg - at least one was from as far away as Johnstown. The initial prices paid for the residential lots did not climb as quickly as resale prices for the lots along Clay Avenue. Initial purchase prices started at \$300 and ranged upwards to \$600. Although eight years lapsed before publication of the first City Directory (and that has very few addresses), it is interesting to note that only two of the initial lot purchasers are listed at locations that would indicate they built on their lots - and those are for commercial property on Clay Avenue.

The other McKee parcel, located to the south and southwest of the row houses and factory sites, was called the McKee Plan of Lots. The detailed plan was prepared by McBride and McCabe Engineers in January 1889 and the first two lots were sold the following April for \$250 each. In June 1889 the entire parcel, including 121 lots, was recorded with Westmoreland County making it a part of the City of Jeannette. Land in this southwest section of the neighborhood was slower to sell and develop than McKee's other property, probably because much of it was along Bull Run and Brush Creeks which were known to flood. Later tax records note many lots as "low ground" and ascribe them a lower assessed value.

A larger number of the lots in this portion of the neighborhood were bought individually, about fifteen, and another four people bought two lots apiece. The initial sales price for lots remained steady at about \$275 and again the purchasers were from Jeannette and the surrounding area. Another forty-five of the lots in the McKee Plan were never actually sold by McKee before he divested his real estate holdings to National Glass, the successor to his McKee Glass Co., in 1899. Most of these lots were later sold by National Glass or successive companies, but sixteen lots along the creek have never been sold or built upon. The majority of the remaining lots in the Plan were also held by

McKee through the 1890s or sold to Chambers & McKee Glass, but on these lots McKee and the glass company built more worker's housing.

Just as the WL&IC built some initial multiple housing and then concentrated on lot sales, McKee quickly built several worker's double houses in the southwest section of the neighborhood. The double houses were wood frame, two stories and built with matching units of two types. The simplest was a four-room house with each floor containing a large front room and smaller room in a rear ell. The other variety was originally six rooms, with each floor having two large rooms and a small rear room in an ell. McKee built five of each type by March of 1890 and sold off two of them that spring. One of the double houses, later numbered 638-40 south Sixth Street Extension, was sold to glass blower and gatherer Earnest Kramer and his wife Minna for \$2,150. The remaining eight double houses were held by McKee as rental property until 1899, and then became company-owned housing under National Glass.

The first true company housing in Jeannette was built by the Chambers & McKee Glass Company after the firm purchased about thirty neighborhood lots from H. Sellers McKee in November 1890. These were mainly in the southwest portion of the study area but some were also in the west section, the McKee Addition. By the following April when the first Sanborn map was drawn for the city, the company had built sixteen double houses within the study area. Chambers & McKee also built nine double houses up the hill to the south of the factory on Clark Avenue. The builders used the same designs as the McKee double houses for ten of the structures within the study area, two four-room and eight six-room houses. For the remaining six they simply used the main block of the six-room variety without its rear ell. Two of the houses were torn down by 1895 to make way for a railway spur down Cassatt Avenue into the McKee works, and the rest were held by Chambers & McKee until after 1900.

Several of the double houses along south Sixth Street Extension and Division Street were also torn down as the Ascension Catholic Church expanded, but some examples of each of the three types of double houses can still be found in the neighborhood. A one-bay-deep, side-gable, H. Sellers McKee house is located at 629 Division Street; and a good example of a cross-gable, two-bay-deep house with ells built by Chambers & McKee stands at 805-7

Bullitt Avenue.⁵⁰ None of the double houses in the study area are now without ells, but one of those originally built as just a four-room-per-half rectangular block is a Chambers & McKee house at 424-6 Cassatt. Another similar and exceptionally original double house, built by the local bottle works, is found outside of the study area at 509-11 Chambers Avenue.

Glass workers occupied the vast majority of these residences. Although census records do not use addresses for any of the H. Sellers McKee or Chambers & McKee double houses until 1910, well after they were sold by McKee and the glass company, the 1897 Jeannette City Directory did list addresses that correspond to those on Sanborn maps. About seventy percent of the double residences have at least one person listed and, as would be expected, the Chambers & McKee houses are almost all occupied by glass workers. A few of the units have laborers and persons with other occupations listed, but it is likely there was a connection to the company. Like the Chambers & McKee houses, the H. Sellers McKee houses were all occupied by glass workers and, since McKee held company property under his own name, these probably were, in effect, company housing for the McKee Glass works.

As the glass company double houses went up in the west and southwest sections of the neighborhood, private individuals also began building houses. The McKee Addition and Plan were generally platted with lots of standard size for urban areas at the time: 25' x 100'. Each lot is also accessed at the rear by a 20' mid-block alley. Though there are some irregular lots where the grid shifts, notably at south Sixth Street Extension and Division Avenue, this area of Jeannette is relatively flat and full-size, rectangular lots were the rule.

In the west section of the neighborhood, although lots sold quickly and changes in ownership were frequent, house construction was somewhat slower. According to Sanborn maps the first houses actually went up on what were intended to be commercial lots at the very end of Clay Avenue, where four houses were built west of Eighth Street by 1891. Another single house and a double house dating from before 1891 were built by Belgian glassworker Victor Vislet on Bullitt Avenue and on south Seventh Street, respectively. Of all the earliest structures only this simple, flat-roofed double house, 219-21 south Seventh Street, is now standing. Three additional houses were built in this section

⁵⁰ An * following a building or address indicates that illustrations and additional information on the building can be found in its building summary at the end of the chapter.

of the neighborhood by 1895 and two more by 1900, all along south Seventh Street. These latter buildings are of the standard gable-front type for freestanding houses in the neighborhood, and are either two or three bays wide. The most original example is 210 south Seventh Street. It and the three neighboring houses to the south were built as an investment by Clay Avenue grocer J.P. Schall. In all, eleven single houses and one double house were built privately in the McKee Addition by 1900, and including the six glass company double houses the total number of dwellings was twenty-four.

Following slower lot sales there was less private activity in the southwest portion of the neighborhood. Because of the company double houses, however, there were more people living in the McKee Plan by 1900. Several individual houses appear in the 1891 Sanborn maps. Except for one at 631 south Sixth Street Extension, which is also the only cross-gable house in the study area, all have since been demolished. More houses survive from when the next map was published in 1895, and these are scattered along south Fifth and Sixth streets in the first block past Cassatt Avenue. In all, thirty structures were built in the area by 1900. Of those, twenty were the McKee and Chambers & McKee double houses and one was a group of four row houses. That brought the total number of dwellings to fifty-four, including eight free-standing single houses and one double house. Judging from the surviving houses and those in the McKee Addition, most of the individual houses here were probably the standard two- or three-bay, gable-front type.

These privately-built, gable-front and double houses, tightly placed on urban-sized lots, complemented the rest of the neighborhood housing - the early brick housing built by the Western Land & Improvement Co. and the glass company double houses. The specific number of owner-occupied buildings in the McKee Plan and Addition portions of the study area is unavailable until the 1910 census when a standardized system of street addresses was first used, but we can infer from the later data that, in general, early residents in this working-class section of the city were tenants rather than homeowners. Neighborhood residents in families either rented entire houses or shared them. Individuals or sometimes couples most commonly roomed or boarded with families, but there was always the option of the boarding house or hotel. Numerous boarding houses and several hotels appear on Sanborn maps for downtown Jeannette, and most of the latter were for mainly long-term boarders rather than traveling overnight guests. Within the study area there was the Neff's Boarding House at Eighth and Clay, and later the Imperial Hotel and Hotel Jeannette on south Fifth Street. One boarding hotel in

particular, the Hotel Colombe, was an early neighborhood landmark opposite the McKee Glass works at Bullitt Avenue and south Sixth Street.

The Hotel Colombe, popularly pronounced "Columbia", was a three story building with several public spaces on the ground floor, a second floor with the owners' family apartments, and guest rooms on the top floor. The Colombe Bar facing south Sixth Street was one of the most prominent neighborhood gathering places. Underscoring comments by James Chambers that the town's backers would "not allow a single saloon in the place, except, possibly, at the hotels, where it (liquor) may be served with meals,"⁵¹ the first Sanborn maps from 1891 and 1895 indicate that the serving of alcohol may indeed have been restricted to hotel saloons such as the Colombe Bar, despite the fact that the town council, in one of its first acts, voted the city "wet."

Census records provide a sketch of who was living at the Colombe at the turn of the century. In 1900 the Colombe's owners, the Fath family: John, Maggie, their first four daughters, John's brother Adam and Maggie's sister Mary Hoffman, were listed along with their employees. In addition to four women servants there was a bartender and a porter. According to one interview, during the prosperous early years of the Fath's tenure hotel boarders often came out from their homes in Pittsburgh for the week and returned to the city at the weekend.⁵² That may explain why only seven boarders were listed in the manuscript census. All were men ranging in age from 23 to 65, and among them one was married and two were widowers. Five of the boarders were glass workers, one a tailor, and one an "old gent." When available, some of the hotel's rooms were also rented on a nightly basis through a separate desk in the hotel cafe.

In addition to boarding houses and residential hotels such as the Colombe there was another type of early commercial and residential building within the study area: larger brick structures with stores on the ground floor and family accommodations above. The early, mainly wood-frame buildings built on the McKee Addition lots were often replaced, probably in many cases after a fire, by these more permanent commercial-residential brick blocks.

⁵¹ Pittsburgh Times, 6 April 1888.

⁵² Information on the early years of the hotel was gathered through interviews with Mrs. Margaret Essway, John and Maggie Fath's niece, on the 7 & 21 August 1990.

Sanborn maps indicate the businesses along Clay Avenue changed frequently. The buildings themselves had more longevity. Nine, including one double building, survive from about 1895. All can be described as two-part commercial blocks characterized by distinct division of the upper and lower portions of the front facade.⁵³ A good example is no. 618 Clay Avenue. Common elements include the large storefront windows forming an indented entryway framed by stone piers, an intermediate cornice at the break in the facade; regularly-spaced, window openings with decorative brickwork, and an pressed metal cornice. Overall the building fits well within the later Victorian tradition of demonstrating a certain community pride through ornamented commercial architecture.

The upper floor of these buildings was reached through the side door on the front facade. Census records from 1900 indicate that the building owner at no. 618, John Reuttger, lived upstairs from his grocery with his wife and four children. Fellow grocer J.P. Schall also lived above his store at no. 614 Clay Ave., and a comparison of census records and business types noted on Sanborn maps shows that at least four other merchants probably lived directly above their businesses. These merchants were toward the end of a long tradition of combined private house and store as a building type. This mixture of commercial and residential uses was not limited to Clay Avenue, as stores were apparently planned for some of the WL&IC double houses. The general mixed-use character of the rest of the study area beyond Clay Avenue is not unexpected since the time frame predates more use-segregated notions of proper residential neighborhoods.

Only at the end of the first phase of building in the neighborhood do we have reliable data on residents, including their backgrounds, occupations, and living arrangements.⁵⁴ By

⁵³ The term "two-part commercial block" is adopted from Richard Longstreth, The Buildings of Main Street, A Guide to American Commercial Architecture (Washington, D.C.: The Preservation Press, 1987).

⁵⁴ As mentioned earlier Jeannette did not have a standardized system of street addresses until about 1905. In contrast to the rest of the neighborhood the row and double houses did have a consistent numbering system and are identifiable in the 1900 census, but listings for only about 65% of the households were found in the manuscripts. Based on later census data, however, we can expect that this sample of 338 adults and 205 children, perhaps 50% of neighborhood residents, is representative.

nationality or ethnic classifications, seventy-one percent of adult residents listed in the 1900 Manuscript Census were natives of the United States, and about a third of those were first-generation Americans. In line with early recruiting for the glass works, the largest group of immigrants in the neighborhood were English (thirteen percent), followed by Germans at ten percent of adult residents. Another group of immigrants, the French and Belgians, which in general was well represented in Western Pennsylvania's glass industry, accounted for only two-and-a-half percent of the total. This group was probably larger in the early years of Jeannette, but many had left the city for the cooperative factories in the Point Marion area of Fayette County, Pennsylvania. Other immigrant groups accounted for the remaining three-and-a-half percent. Almost all children, about forty percent of total residents, were born in the United States. This indicates that most of the immigrant families had been in the U.S. for a number of years, and any young children that had immigrated were now adults.

The occupation breakdown reflects the town's industrial base. Over thirty-five percent of adults worked in the glass factories, and another two percent were employed in other industries. Adults with occupations outside the factories - from general laborers and skilled workers to white-collar clerks and merchants - accounted for another twenty percent of the total. The remaining forty-three percent were adults with no occupation listed. Most of this latter group were women - wives, mothers, unmarried daughters and widows, who in general did not work outside the home.

The great majority of neighborhood residents, over ninety-one percent, lived in families, some nuclear but many also extended to other generations or adult siblings. "Doubling-up" of two families in one house was also fairly common. About eight percent of neighborhood residents were boarders, living either in boarding houses, hotels or with families in private homes. A small number, slightly over one percent, were listed as servants in private homes or boarding houses.

In just over a decade, the central Jeannette study area had become an important part of the south side neighborhoods adjacent to the glass works. An initial burst of housing construction by the WL&IC, and the glass companies themselves, provided a base of housing for the growing numbers of people drawn to Jeannette beginning in 1888. James Chambers, H. Sellers McKee, and M.J. Alexander were the most influential people behind construction in the neighborhood, but their developments were supplemented by houses built by men such as glassworker Victor Vislet and grocer J.P. Schall. The west end of Clay Avenue was slowly built-up by

Schall and other merchants offering a variety of goods to the surrounding neighborhood and the rest of the city. If census manuscripts for the study area are reviewed for occupational variety and ethnicity, Jeannette appears as both a well-established and well-rounded industrial town by 1900.

This discussion breaks at the turn of the century to reflect a halt in building activity within the study area during the late 1890s. Construction started once again by 1905 and continued until the neighborhood's last residential structures were completed in the late 1920s. Along with another phase of construction, the first decade of the new century also coincided with the arrival of a new group of immigrants in Jeannette and a broadening of the town's industrial base. Yet along with change there was also continuity, and further discussion of the neighborhood can still be approached by looking at established patterns of building: WL&IC housing, housing associated with the glass works, privately-built houses and commercial-residential buildings along westward-expanding Clay Avenue.

Perhaps the most significant event for the Western Land & Improvement Company was its sale to a local investment group headed by prominent dry goods merchant M.A. Gillespie in 1906. More a symbolic than a substantive change, the sale can be thought of as an end to the outside founder's involvement in Jeannette. The divestment of the company by its Philadelphia backers was matched in following years by continued divestment of the company's real estate holdings. The double houses were gradually sold, and the row houses were purchased by individuals in twenty-unit groups in 1912 and 1916.

The private ownership of the double houses, albeit most often by landlords, had physical expression in the neighborhood through successive phases of additions built to the rear and side of the back ells. Front porches, a distinctive feature of the neighborhood today, were added beginning about 1905. Based on examples seen in the neighborhood it is also possible to generalize about the changes in plan. On the ground floor the kitchen in the rear ell was most often extended out to the side to create a dining area. The central chamber room could then be used either as a more formal dining room or for additional sitting area. At the upper floor indoor plumbing was most easily installed in the ell, and the third bedroom which had been in the ell was often replaced with one added to the side. In addition to changes to individual dwelling units some whole double-house structures were retrofitted for other purposes including boarding hotels and commercial businesses. Other double houses were divided into apartments. Such extensive change was not matched at the row houses since they continued to be owned in groups, but

smaller additions for kitchens and indoor bathrooms were built beginning about 1910.

Between 1900 and 1910, a significant decline in population density was matched by low rate of residential persistence. Despite additions to the houses, the average number of persons living in the row house and double house units in 1910 was actually less than in 1900. A comparison of census data shows that in 1910 an average of 5.2 persons were living in each double house, which was a decrease of .7, while an average of 4.2 were living in each row house, a decrease of .4. One other statistic is worth noting from the 1910 census data: only eight households were listed at the same address in a row or double house unit after ten years.

At the turn of the century fourteen of the wood-frame double houses were still held by the Chambers & McKee Glass Company. In 1903 these houses were sold, again to a group of local investors including real estate agents Morris Kelley and William Shuster, banker Edmund Fisher and businessman Matthew Seiler. This sale apparently ended any ownership of housing in Jeannette by the American Window Glass Company, successor to the Chambers & McKee Window Glass Company. The other eight double houses that had been sold by H. Sellers McKee to National Glass were still company property as National went through bankruptcy in 1907. The company was reorganized as McKee Glass, and most if not all of the firm's residential real estate in the southwest part of the neighborhood was transferred to company President A.J. Smith in late 1914.

About the same time two building projects, a double house at 633-5 Division Street and a group of eight row houses at 504-18 Mill Street, were completed in the neighborhood on McKee Glass Co. lots. It appears that the glass company was responsible for their construction during 1914 since they are assessed to the company's taxes the next year. These would then probably represent the last glass company-built housing in Jeannette. The buildings were assessed to their new owner, A.J. Smith, in 1916. That same year, following the precedent set by H. Sellers McKee, Smith dabbled in a real estate development venture on a leftover strip of land behind the Hotel Colombe.

Called Columbia Court, the project consisted of sixteen brick row houses. The parcel was never actually platted into lots due to a surveying error, so Smith maximized its use by fronting the row houses directly onto a narrow alley. One longtime neighborhood resident, Mrs. Margaret Essway, recalls playing on the dump-wagons while the workers excavating the cellars were off for the

weekend.⁵⁵ By the time Columbia Court was finished Smith, who had also purchased forty of the WL&IC row houses, was the most prominent landholder in the neighborhood. Far more of the later housing construction, however, was done on a much smaller scale.

The last of J.P Schall's four houses on south Seventh Street were built in the late 1890s, ending the first phase of building in the westward McKee Addition. Typically the remaining empty lots had changed hands several times since initial sales in 1889, but beginning in 1904 most were finally developed. By 1905 five more single houses had been built, two separately and the others, 250-2-4 south Eighth Street, built together as a group. A sixth building, the Altman Hardware Store and House at 211 south Seventh, was similar to the buildings along Clay Avenue though it was built on a wider, side-street lot. Eight more houses were completed by 1910, and another ten by 1916 when house construction ended in this section of the study area. Of the twenty-four houses eight were built individually and the rest in groups of from two to five. All of these later houses are still standing so we can more accurately judge their builders' expectations and tastes.

Area hotel owners Charles W. Gearing and Charles Beiersdorfer put up five speculative houses (cross-wise on three lots) on south Eighth Street between 1908-9 (see also 266 south Eighth Street). As demonstrated here, the simple wood-frame, gable-front variety continued to be the neighborhood house type of choice.⁵⁶ Although any wood details on these once rental houses have been lost through residing, other houses have portions of original, narrow horizontal siding and shingled gable ends. These were probably standard finishes. Into the 1910s however, brick also began to be used as a facing material. A good example of an individually-built house with brick veneer is the Dominick and Rosie Gullo House at 707 Bullitt Avenue dating from 1916. Perhaps following the example set by Altman's Hardware, this and other houses in the west portion of study area were most often finished for their owners with a light yellow brick.

"Lot crowding" was a common practice in the early years of the neighborhood, but on Bullitt and south 5th streets there are surviving later examples. The lot adjacent to the Gullo House

⁵⁵ Interview, 9 August 1990.

⁵⁶ The only later, non-gable-front houses built in the neighborhood were three identical houses at nos. 711, 713 and 715 Bullitt Ave. Built by H.O. Schmeltzer about 1915, only no. 715 still has its original hip roof.

also has a house dating from 1916, and to the rear of the lot another dwelling, 709 1/2 Bullitt Avenue, was built at the same time. Another building, 510 Bullitt Avenue was squeezed onto the rear yards of two double houses facing south Sixth Street. The double houses, Nos. 300-2 & 304-6, had been the property of two generations of the Bauer family for over twenty years. Louis Bauer, Jr. built the apartment building behind them about 1926. Though some double houses had been converted to apartments by this time, the Bauer Apartments was the only true apartment building to be built in the study area.

In the other portion of the neighborhood, the McKee Plan, more housing also went up after the turn of the century. No new buildings appeared on the 1900 Sanborn maps, and only one more small dwelling on south Sixth Street was built by 1905. By 1910, however, there were three new residential buildings, and by 1916 four new houses excluding the newly-built double and row houses then owned by A.J. Smith. A final phase of activity ended ten years later after thirteen more houses had been built.

Gable-front houses were still the most common type, and all houses here appear to have been built individually. But there was more variety in the housing stock in this southwest section of the neighborhood than in others, and it is the variants that are most interesting. A side-gable, three-family house, now numbered 514-6 1/2 south Sixth Street, was built by glassworker Victor Cerezo about 1907. Two more unusual houses are found on south Fifth Street: a two-and-a-half-story, pyramid-roofed house at No. 527, and the exceptionally original Lavigna House at No. 531 dating from 1923. This latter house has a unique second floor veranda and two front entry doors. What might be called a simple cottage is standing at 639 Division Street, and other examples of this house type can be found up the hill to the south.

Altogether, including A.J. Smith's holdings, twenty-three buildings and thirty-three dwelling units were added to the McKee Plan after 1900. Of these, at least twelve were gable-front houses and two other buildings, which have served both as residences and small local markets, were built with hip roofs. One of these latter buildings is still a market, Antoniak's at Division Street and Western Avenue. The other was the Kwiatkowska-Pienody House and Store at 625 south Sixth Street Extension. Completed in 1926, this was the last residence built in the central Jeannette study area.

At a point about midway through the later phase of building, tax records and the Manuscript Census offer a breakdown of residents.⁵⁷ As in 1900 the large majority of listed adults, over seventy-one percent, were born in the United States, and about a third of those were first-generation Americans. A major shift had occurred, however, in the nationality of immigrants, with almost ten percent of neighborhood residents coming from Italy. The Italians were living in all three sections of the neighborhood, but were relatively underrepresented in the row and double house units. In contrast, almost half of the residents in the southwest portion of the study area were Italian immigrants, and overall the Italian community gravitated toward the southern sections of Jeannette, of which the McKee Plan was only a part.

Occupation statistics reinforce the neighborhood's close ties to the city's industries. Again just over thirty-five percent of the residents were working in the glass factories and the information gathered by the census takers in 1910 provides a better breakdown by job categories. A larger percentage than before were working in other industries, mainly the Pennsylvania Rubber Co. which had opened in 1902. Workers there made a variety of products ranging from jar ring seals and tennis balls to automobile tires. Again most neighborhood residents lived within some kind of family setting. In addition to belonging to families, many were undoubtedly also part of the neighborhood's institutions.

New buildings also went up along the end of Clay Avenue after the turn of the century, mainly in the 700 block. About seven additional buildings were built through the late 1920s when new construction ended. One of the first was the Lombardo building at No. 724, clearly intended for many tenants. An early-1920s structure built for Nettie and Abraham Anton at No. 714 demonstrates most clearly the types of changes which occurred in commonplace commercial building after the end of the Victorian era. The basic two part organization of the facade, in which the lower side door prevented any unifying symmetry between the upper and lower parts, was unchanged from the building designs of the mid-1890s. But with the infusion of more classical thinking, if not detailing, into American commercial designs, the building presents a somewhat lower, more restrained and ordered facade to Clay Avenue, finished with the then popular light yellow brick.

⁵⁷ Relative to the numbers of employed persons found in the census the tax data is very incomplete, but it does provide a partial list of occupations. A much better breakdown of residents was tabulated from the 1910 census manuscripts, though the occupation categories were necessarily condensed.

Heavy cornices and brick-arched windows were out of fashion, replaced with brick corbelling and stone trim. Rusticated stone piers below gave way in the later builders' designs to simple brick frames.

During the first three decades of the century property owners within the central Jeannette study area favored filling-in lots and renovation of existing buildings over demolition and rebuilding, and most of the change was on a smaller scale than before. The new, updated commercial-residential buildings on Clay were matched by new housing which in general followed earlier patterns. Additions signalled more individual control of the houses themselves, and reflected the owners' changing needs, desires or capital. Census records indicate that most neighborhood residents, being tenants rather than homeowners, did not stay at one address for an extended number of years. While living in the neighborhood, however, long-lasting religious and social organizations established soon after the turn of the century brought people together.

Since 1930 the neighborhood has undergone many incremental changes as the buildings have been renovated, razed or replaced. The construction of the new Federal Building and Post Office in 1934 at south Fifth Street and Bullitt Avenue, the site of three brick double houses, was the first significant change in the building pattern established by the WL&IC. A few other double houses have also been torn down over the years, but overall this grouping of buildings remains intact. To the south some concrete-block commercial buildings have been built along south Sixth Street near Cassatt Avenue, and another corner store was in business for many years at the intersection of south Fifth Street and Division Avenue. As mentioned earlier, several wood-frame double houses were also down to make way for the expansion of Ascension Church.

In the westward McKee Addition a few buildings have also been razed both on Clay Avenue and from once-residential lots. Other changes occurred in the mid-block space between south Sixth and south Seventh Streets. The same survey which had misrepresented the site of Columbia Court also left some of this mid-block land unassigned to any residential lot. By the mid-1890s some of the land was taken up by storage buildings or stables, and a blacksmith, Herb Baughman, was in business there behind Columbia Court until World War II. Adjacent to the blacksmith shop was a vacant lot where the neighbors would gather on Saturday nights for horseshoe tossing and cook-outs. As with the rest of this mid-block area, a garage was later built on the vacant land.

Garages were common additions along all of the area's mid-block alleys. On the houses themselves the most common changes have been the addition of vinyl or aluminum siding and aluminum windows. Clay Avenue commercial buildings have also had numerous facade remodels. A notable example, probably dating from the '40s or early '50s, is Balsamo's (no. 626) with its tile storefront and large aluminum letters.

The neighborhood's building patterns have generally remained stable, and the housing stock has remained in a good state of repair, but significant changes have occurred in patterns of ownership. Though A.J. Smith, and later the McKee Realty he formed with his sons in 1922, owned half of the WL&IC row houses and Columbia Court into the 1940s, rent was paid directly to an office at McKee Glass or deducted from wages by the company. In the late 1940s, shortly before McKee was taken over by Thatcher Glass, the row house units were offered for sale to their residents by McKee Realty and Sachs Realty in Pittsburgh's Squirrel Hill. Ray Sachs was an officer of McKee Realty at the time. A temporary sales office was set up at no. 438 south Fifth Street. The terms, at \$700 down and \$25 a month, were very good. Columbia Court was similarly offered for sale to residents through Sachs Realty.

Over a hundred years after its beginning, the neighborhood adjacent to the factories in downtown Jeannette presents a cross-section of development patterns found on the working-class side of this small industrial city. Working through the WL&IC, the glass companies and independently, H. Sellers McKee and, to a lesser extent, James Chambers, involved themselves financially in neighborhood construction while exerting limited corporate control over the lives of residents outside the workplace. In practice, rather than striving to create a "model town for workingmen," Jeannette's corporate founders perhaps regarded the city more as both a convenient base of operations and a potentially lucrative series of real estate and business ventures. Thus McKee and the WL&IC left many aspects of the town to develop from the initiative of individual citizens. The result can be seen in the study area's impressive group of WL&IC double and row houses, and other neighborhood residential and commercial buildings built by industrialists, merchants and glassworkers alike. Taken together these buildings formed, and continue to provide, the built framework for residents lives in part of Jeannette's south side.

MERCHANTS AND MANUFACTURERS IN THE GLASS CITY

Joe Socki

As Jeannette's glass makers first lit their furnaces, merchants began the process of establishing the city's commercial district. Many purchased lots on Jeannette's main business street, Clay Avenue, and soon erected modest yet permanent structures in architectural styles befitting the prominent roles they would soon take in Jeannette's development. The character of the mercantile district, with its variety of green grocers and dry goods merchants, furniture, drug and hardware stores, banks and real estate agencies, was defined in part by the typical late nineteenth century "Main Street" facade of mercantile architecture, and in part by developers. In addition, along with working class housing in the factory district, the Western Land and Improvement Company (hereafter the WL&IC), the city's largest real estate developer, also constructed several single family homes on N. First Avenue, establishing a purely residential neighborhood of large, Victorian homes.

The Central Business District

Jeannette's central business district sat prominently amid the town's glass factories and working class housing. A gridded area of approximately twelve square blocks, it was bound on the north by the Pennsylvania Railroad, on the south by Bullitt Avenue, on the east by S. Second St. and on the west by the Chambers & McKee Window Glass Company and the McKee Glass Company. The WL&IC platted the land into regular parcels, each 20' wide and from 100' to 125' in length. The central location was within a ten minute walking distance to all of the town's original residents. Unlike earlier commercial cities, which would have displayed a mix of residential, commercial and manufacturing building types within the town center, the newly planned late nineteenth century industrial towns like Jeannette developed distinct central commercial zones. The city center became the central gathering place for the town's residents.

One of the more prominent locations in the town's central core, the corner of Second and Clay Avenues, was the first to be developed for commercial use. Located at the top of gently sloping Clay Avenue, overlooking the Jeannette's first glass factories, the corner was soon the sight of several important public and private structures. On the northeast corner would be the Marian Hotel, Jeannette's largest and most opulent; a new public school would be built on the southeast corner, set near one of the earliest churches and a public park. Before independent merchants arrived in Jeannette, officers of the glass

companies invested privately in the town's first store. The Haines and Co. Limited, a general merchandiser of Pittsburgh, constructed "an immense brick store," Jeannette's first, at the corner of Second and Clay Avenues on land purchased in the Fall of 1888 from the WL&IC. The land sale was one of the first transactions of the WL&IC: the eight lots of prime real estate were sold at \$400 each to Haines Co. executives James B. Haines and William D. Hartupee.⁵⁸

Haines Co. notwithstanding, Chambers and the glass companies expressed little interest in running company stores. Similar to his encouragement of private ownership of company-built housing, stores, too, were to be private enterprises. Still, the company maintained a minimum standard for merchants locating on this part of Clay Avenue. The WL&IC, as the future business district's sole property owner, effectively held control over all initial land transactions. Deeds for property along stretches of Clay Ave., including the 200 block, mandated that all structures were to be at least two stories in height and made of brick. But the land company disdained any suggestion at paternalism or the heavy-handedness of the stereotypical company town. M. J. Alexander, general manager of the WL&IC in Jeannette, wanted a community which would accommodate nearly any merchant "who chose to locate there."⁵⁹

While rapid land acquisition and frequent property transfers characterized the developing towns of the late 19th century, the WL&IC clearly intended to limit the speculative character of such activities. After an interview with WL&IC manager M.J. Alexander, the Commoner and Glass Worker noted that

The policy of the company has been to suppress the land sharks and the boomer, both of whom have so often forced the apparent value of land far beyond its real figures, and then sold out to the poor workmen who is made to suffer the tremendous collapse that follows. Mr. Alexander, on the contrary, has pursued a wide and conservative policy to the interest of both the company and the workers, and the result is shown in the quiet, steady, conservative tone attached to all

⁵⁸Commoner (25 May 1889), 2.

⁵⁹"The Coming City, A Gigantic Enterprise Which Will Be Commenced," Greensburg Press 24 April 1888.

transactions in this pleasant and growing city, where the speculator and shark has been most completely sat down upon. In order to accomplish this greatly desirable result, the quality of everything erected there has been of the very best and presents substantial value for every dollar invested.⁶⁰

The zeal with which the article condemns land speculation suggests contemporary national trends in real estate development endemic to the boom towns of the industrial regions.

Not surprisingly, the potential profits represented by the new real estate attracted speculators who accelerated the development of Clay Avenue. Offut and Kamerer were physicians, not merchants, and neither built on the Clay Avenue properties they purchased. In less than a year, they sold several of the parcels at nearly double the original purchase price. In the summer of 1889, at about the same time Jeannette incorporated, fellow Greensburg resident David J. Bush bought four of the choicest parcels from the two land speculators for \$4000. But like Offut and Kamerer, Bush also was speculating, albeit with little apparent risk: within a month, he resold the two contiguous lots nearest the corner, and remaining lots were disposed of by his heirs shortly after his death. The two lots sold by Bush exchanged hands twice more in the next eight months before Manor Station investor Blair W. Caldwell acquired them and began the final phase of construction on upper Clay Avenue. By 1892, he had built a 20' x 60' two-story brick building fronting on Clay Avenue. Less than three years later, he had improved the adjacent lot with a larger two-story brick structure, measuring 20' x 75'. By 1895, other owners had followed suit; each property along the south side of Clay Avenue between Second and Third streets contained a two-story brick structure fronting the full 20' on Clay Avenue, creating a solid facade of commercial buildings.

Thus, while the WL&IC did little to overtly structure the commercial district, taken together, the deed restriction and the construction of Haines and Co.'s store helped establish the appearance of a thriving and prosperous downtown. Within two years of incorporation, Jeannette was already home to over seventy-five commercial structures, most conforming to construction material and height requirements of the Clay Avenue deeds. Of these, a full two-thirds (50) located on lots along

⁶⁰Commoner and Glass Worker (25 May 1889), 2.

Clay Avenue, fulfilling the Land Company's desire to create a "downtown."⁶¹ But it was not only the WL&IC that benefitted. The merchants, by locating their shops along Jeannette's main street were able to take advantage of high visibility and constant pedestrian traffic at a time when word of mouth and "point of purchase" advertising held sway over mass media campaigns. Other prime commercial real estate on upper Clay Avenue sold quickly. In December of 1888, Greensburg residents Lemuel Offut and J. William B. Kamerer acquired lots along the south side of the 200 block of Clay Avenue. Each lot was laid out by the WL&IC in standard commercial 20' x 100' parcels, accessible at the rear by an alley running parallel to Clay Avenue. For the prime location near well-traveled Second Avenue, Offut and Kamerer paid about twenty-five percent more than the average \$400 brought by other parcels on lower Clay Avenue: \$500 for each lot except the corner parcel, for which they paid \$650.

Less stringent developmental standards in other downtown blocks, particularly in areas closest to WL&IC row houses, produced buildings of greater variety. On the south side of Clay Avenue between Fifth and Sixth Sts. developers built a full commercial block of brick buildings at about the same time the 200 block was being developed. In less traveled areas of downtown, however, a mix of smaller brick and frame structures, some only one story high, were interspersed among unimproved lots. These less desirable lots eventually contained the standard two story brick commercial building, although their deeds contained no restrictions as to height and construction materials. By the turn of the century, only about ten years after incorporation, just under 100 stores, shops, restaurants, and hotels occupied nearly three-quarters of Clay Avenue's available commercial space.

The arrival of the street railway system in the 1890s also encouraged businesses to locate on Clay Avenue. In 1894, the Greensburg, Jeannette, and Pittsburg Street Railway Company purchased the right of way to lay tracks on several Jeannette streets. The Connected to existing lines in Greensburg to the east and Manor, Penn and Irwin to the west, the arrival of mass transit securely integrated Jeannette's downtown into a regional network of municipalities that shared common economic interests in a growing metropolitan region. The original Greensburg, Jeannette, and Pittsburg Company was replaced in 1900 by the Westmoreland Railway Company, which was later sold to the Pittsburg, McKeesport and Greensburg Company and consolidated, in

⁶¹Sanborn Maps, 1891.

1907, with over forty other companies to form the West Penn Railway Co. A truly interurban railway system, Jeannette's residents were theoretically connected to locales as distant as Latrobe, PA to the east and cities in West Virginia and Ohio to the west.⁶²

The street railway system also bridged the short but seemingly insurmountable distance between Jeannette and nearby West Jeannette. E.M. Gross, a rural Westmoreland County landowner and prosperous real estate developer, purchased farm land west of the WL&IC and H. Sellers McKee tracts in an area now known as West Jeannette. Platting approximately 300 commercial and residential lots, Gross angered McKee and others by offering his lots for sale prior to the completion of WL&IC developments in the area.⁶³ In response, Chambers and McKee constructed their glass factory on land that provided the only direct vehicle access to Gross's subdivision. It was several years until a street was graded connecting Jeannette and West Jeannette, with pedestrian traffic forced to walk nearly a mile around the glass factory or to use the Pennsylvania Railroad's right of way. As a consequence, West Jeannette's merchants, located along 12th St. and Penn Avenue, never experienced the early prosperity enjoyed by their Clay Avenue counterparts. It was not until the mid-1890s, with the arrival of the Street Railway system, that West Jeannette recovered.

Little differentiated Jeannette's turn-of-the-century commercial district from development typical of contemporary industrial communities. Most numerous among retailers were grocers, bakers, butchers, fruit vendors and dry good merchants, but the city also had a wide variety of specialty shops: milliners, tailors, clothing and shoe stores, druggists, tobacconists, jewelers and barbers. The commercial district contained several banks, insurance offices, hotels, boarding houses and restaurants, as well as the Post Office, Town Hall, Fire Department and Police Station. With pedestrians, horse drawn vehicles and, after 1894, the streetcar all vying for space along the crowded streets, it is not surprising that Jeannette was deemed "the fastest growing city" on the mainline by some, and "a rural Pittsburgh" by others.

⁶²Joseph M. Canfield, ed. West Penn Traction (Chicago: Central Electric Railfans' Association, 1970), 1.

⁶³ "Valuable Real Estate Purchased," Greensburg Press 20 March 1888.

The earliest commercial buildings along Jeannette's Clay Avenue, those dating from the 1890s, typified late nineteenth and early twentieth-century American commercial design. Most were part of two-part commercial blocks, with two story elevations, demonstrated functionality for both first floor businesses and second floor residences and displayed few architectural innovations. Constructed of common-bonded brick load-bearing walls, the facades were veneered with running bond. Brick work also provided decorative embellishment, particularly the cornices, window and door surrounds, and lintels of elaborate masonry that gave each building a sense of individuality. While the facades nonetheless retained a uniformity of function, design, and plan, individuality was the rule in the rear. Throughout the history of these structures, owners adapted the more private sections of the buildings to meet their individual needs. Most often, the first addition was a wooden porch or landing (either open or enclosed) providing easier access or more living space to second floor residents.

The typical store's interior probably had a simple wood floor and paneled or plastered walls, though ceilings were often made of a more decorative pressed tin sheeting. A counter along the side or near the rear of the store and several shelves or bins held merchandise, while a back room led to the rear alley and allowed for receiving and storing additional stock. Approaching the store, one would see large windows to either side of a single front entryway, with a generous use of stone or brick between the doors and windows. A sign may have been hung over the doorway, but more likely there was a painted message across the windows.

Commercial and residential purposes coexisted. Almost without exception, the second story of these c. 1890 commercial buildings comprised residential space that provided living quarters for the merchant and his family who worked in the shop below. Many early "Glass City" entrepreneurs, such as Mark A. Gillespie, for example, lived and worked in the same building. Arriving in Jeannette in 1888, Gillespie, then only 24 years old, purchased a lot on the north side of the 400 block of Clay Avenue and opened a shoe and men's furnishings store on the first floor of a modest two-story frame structure, but resided on the second floor with his wife, and their young son.

Housing the Elite: The Second Ward

In addition to factory sites, the working-class neighborhoods of S. Fifth and Sixth Streets, and the commercial district of Clay Avenue, the WL&IC also platted a specific preferential residential neighborhood. Located north of the tracks of the Pennsylvania Railroad's mainline, the company developed a four

square block area bounded by N. First and Second Streets on the east and west, by Gaskill Avenue to the south and Frothingham Avenue to the north, that soon became the Second Ward. Rising above the rest of the town on a steep hill, it allowed residents a view of both the downtown business district and the newly constructed glass works.

Within the strict confines of the Second Ward, large scale manufacturing was largely absent. When industry eventually arrived north of the tracks, it was relegated to the outskirts of the Ward's already established residential neighborhood: directly east but beyond the town limits was the extract works; a small brewery was situated near the corner of Fourth and Gaskill; and in North Jeannette, the Fort Pitt Glass Company built beyond the city's northern boundary, past Harrison City Road. As early as 1889, newspapers had already taken notice of the neighborhood's residential qualities. The Jeannette Dispatch noted that it was:

perhaps the most beautiful and commanding of our late additions to Jeannette. During the last few months, some thirty or more fine residences have been built, many of them at a lavish outlay of money; It is really the residential part of our City, where many of our wealthy and influential citizens are building homes for themselves and families. Prominent among the fine residences nearing completion, is the house of George E. Moore, General Manager of the glass works, which will cost over \$7,500; also several others ranging from \$3,000 to 6,000. We are pleased to see these improvements and hope the good work will still go on.⁶⁴

Choosing to live in the Second Ward allowed factory managers and Clay Avenue merchants to distance themselves from the factories and their workers. According to local legend, the residential neighborhood of N. First and Second streets was commonly known as "Sucker Hill."⁶⁵ It was presumably given this notorious label by Jeannette residents who unceremoniously climbed the steep hill to see manager George E. Moore "for everything from a laboring job

⁶⁴Jeannette Dispatch 18 October 1889, 2.

⁶⁵History of Jeannette 1976, p. 15.

to political favors."⁶⁶ Moore was the first among the ranks of the white collar work force to conspicuously display his managerial status through his residence, and the size and location of his property reflected his long and close association with Chambers.⁶⁷ In the summer of 1869, he purchased, for the exceptionally low price of only \$500, eight contiguous lots measuring 40' by 100' that together gave him just under a full acre of the most desirable residential land in Jeannette.⁶⁸

The house's exterior was a model of respectability for a well-to-do middle class professional. Immediately following its construction, the Jeannette Dispatch praised its stature:

To George Moore, the well known manager of the window glass works, is accorded the distinction of having the finest residence in this section. His residence and grounds cover nearly a square, and are surrounded with a picket fence and sidewalk. Magnificent lawns, arbors, flower beds, shade and fruit trees, harmonize beautifully with his magnificent residence, which, from its eminence affords a pleasing and inspiring view of the surrounding country.⁶⁹

The short passage, written under the headline "Suburban Beauty," suggests the appeal of Jeannette's Second Ward. By the end of

⁶⁶History of Jeannette 1976, p. 15.

⁶⁷Born in Maryland in 1852, Moore moved to Pittsburgh with his family at the age of ten, and found work in the packing room of the Chambers Glass Company there. In 1869 he was promoted to boss packer and only three years later was named manager of Chambers' entire works. When Chambers merged with McKee and founded their operations in Jeannette, Moore followed, continuing his role as overseer of the operations in its new location.

⁶⁸The selling price of just \$62.50 per lot was well below the standard price charged by the WL&IC to most other Jeannette residents, but was probably inevitable given the twenty-five year relationship between Moore and Chambers. But his intent was not speculative; the property remained a single parcel into the twentieth century, divided only after Moore and his successor J.P. Jones had departed from Jeannette.

⁶⁹Jeannette Dispatch 23 May 1890, 3.

the 19th century, "suburbia" had become the most desirable of locations for professional residences. Within larger cities of the era, dislike of unsightly and overcrowded conditions persuaded members of the upper class to move to nearby rural locales. The noise, smell, and dirt of manufacturing activities furthered this tendency. The Second Ward in Jeannette, though not a suburb in the traditional sense, did satisfy the desire for a bucolic residential area devoid of industry's undesirable characteristics.

Deemed a social necessity of Victorian America, the first story's formal entrance hall and parlor, accessed from the outside through a set of leaded glass doors, was intended as space to greet and entertain familiar guests as well as business acquaintances. A formal living space and dining room were equally important in maintaining a sense of class standing. The home's kitchen, located at the rear of the first floor, was separated from the living quarters by the butler's pantry, a series of doors and passages that served primarily as insurance against the interaction of servants and family members, but also physically divided the home into spheres of work and residence. Like one in six Second Ward families, the Moores employed live-in domestic servants. Typically residing in top floor or attic rooms, domestics cooked, cleaned, and reared children. In 1900, the upper floor of the Moore House was home to then occupant J.P. Jones's two servants. Both Jane Arthur and Lizzie Eckels had all the qualities desired in domestic help: they were young, native born, could speak, read, and write English, and were single. Besides Jones, who had succeeded Moore as superintendent of Chambers & McKee around 1892, the only other occupants of the house were his wife Margaret and their youngest daughter (also named Margaret), age 22.

George Moore was not the only glass manager to locate his residence in the Second Ward. In 1896, eight of twelve glass company managers and foremen listed in the city directory lived in the Second Ward. Of the remaining four, three resided in residential hotels and the other on Gaskill Avenue near Seventh street, outside of the Second Ward proper but still north of the tracks. Like Moore, most built prominent and architecturally distinct homes, though not all on the scale of the Moore House. Henry Ruhe, manager of the engraving department at the McKee Flint Glass Works, built a home on N. Second street just across from the Moore House, on land purchased from the WL&IC in 1890. C.W. Doty, paymaster for the Window Glass Works, constructed a large home on N. First street, again only doors from the Moore House. David Carle, manager of the McKee Flint Glass Works, did build a home to rival Moore's, and it remains one of the most unique residences in the Second Ward. Located at 200 N. Second

St., it stands out due to its rusticated stone masonry, the Queen Anne decorative details, and its placement on a highly visible corner lot. Carle owned two large lots, but the house, begun in 1897 and completed the following year, was built fully on the corner parcel. Unlike the Moore house, Carle was afforded a large open green on one side only; but the large front porch, an original design feature, allowed the family to survey events along the street in semi-privacy.

Merchants followed glass managers into the city's Second Ward. As noted above, many lived above their shops for several years, continuing the tradition of commercial districts in older U.S. and European cities where the distinction between commercial and residential building use was less pronounced. Mark Gillespie, who lived for six years above his Clay Avenue store, purchased land in the Second Ward in 1894 and began construction of a home the following year. Other merchants followed, including George van Horn in 1896, George Whitmyre in 1903, and James Ambler and Mark Euwer in 1906. All shared the similar experience of living above their shops before eventually moving into the city's prime residential neighborhood.

With business interests downtown and residences in the Second Ward, Jeannette's merchants and glass managers commuted daily to their workplaces. Albeit a relatively short trip, and certainly walkable, the distance was far greater than the short walk required of skilled and unskilled glass workers from their brick row houses and adjacent working-class neighborhoods to nearby glass factories. During the 19th century, distance of one's journey-to-work had come to reflect social standing and prestige, usually indicating sufficient wealth to own and operate a private horse and carriage.⁷⁰ Although stables were not assessed as structures for tax purposes in Jeannette until 1910, other records, such as Sanborn maps, show stables and other outbuildings at the rear of merchants' and managers' Second Ward homes.⁷¹

⁷⁰See Kenneth Jackson, Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), especially chapter 2.

⁷¹Sanborn Maps for the city of Jeannette were printed in 1891, 1895, 1900, 1905, 1910, 1916, 1925, and 1951. Westmoreland County Tax Records, Borough of Jeannette, 1890-1910.

As in the commercial district, the coming of street cars encouraged additional development of the Second Ward. Trolley service, introduced in 1894, provided convenient alternative transportation to work for Second Ward residents.⁷² The neighborhood just north of "Sucker Hill" grew rapidly. Taking advantage of the area's somewhat pastoral qualities and speculating on trolley construction, David Z. Brickell, one of the original backers of the WL&IC, platted lots for single-family home construction in the area destined for train service. By the time the West Penn Railway had consolidated, over a dozen different real estate additions, revisions or subdivisions had been drawn up and filed with the county land offices.⁷³

On the one hand, the street railway helped preserve the exclusive status of parts of the Second Ward. Connecting residents with the glass factories via downtown, the Greensburg, Jeannette and Pittsburg Street Railway Company routed its line along N. First street, a main thoroughfare of the neighborhood. The tracks passed Oakford Park, an amusement park north of the city built by the trolley company, before heading east to Greensburg, some five miles distant. The street railway also spurred the growth of residential neighborhoods immediately north of the Second Ward, along N. First and adjacent streets that paralleled the newly laid tracks. At the same time, the pattern of street railway development excluded those with low incomes from locating in the more preferred Second Ward. Trolley owners typically reaped huge returns from their initial rail investments by capitalizing on rising real estate values along new routes, property the companies normally purchased prior to announcing the trolley service.⁷⁴ True to form, values of improved property on previously platted N. First St. rose with the coming of the

⁷²Canfield, 1.

⁷³ See Westmoreland County Corporation Book (CB) 2 page 588, CB 3 p. 20, CB 3 p. 189, CB 3 p. 266, CB 3 p. 268, CB 3 p. 315; and Map Book (MB) 1 p. 279, MB 1 p. 287, MB 4 p. 66, MB 4 p. 146, MB 4 p. 222, MB 4 p. 298, and MB 5 p. 16.

⁷⁴Jackson, 120-24.

railway, making it more difficult for those of lower income to purchase a home in the district.⁷⁵

Yet, on the other hand, trolley lines helped diversified the rest of the Ward. If single family homes dominated N. First and Second streets, commercial and residential diversity typical of lower incomes and social standing typified adjacent areas. A small mercantile district, located on the 100 block of N. Third street, included a steam laundry, grocery stores, and at one time a restaurant, while several commercial establishments located on Fourth street.⁷⁶ As Table I, Appendix A, reveals, fully 54.5% of N. First and Second street residents paying occupational taxes paid more than \$100 in 1910, while the corresponding figure for N. Third and Fourth street residents was just 18.3%. Cut another way, 45.5% of N. First and Second street residents whose occupations were taxed paid between \$20 and \$100, while fully 81.6% of N. Third and Fourth street residents paid at those levels.

Nonetheless, regardless of where they lived in the Second Ward, residents enjoyed substantially more space than Jennette residents living either in the city's working class or commercial districts. The WL&IC's lots for residential use in the Second Ward were almost uniformly 40' wide, with the only exceptions end or corner parcels or natural constraints. Lot depths ranged widely, from less than 90' on one extreme to nearly 300' on the other.⁷⁷ These lot sizes contrast sharply with those platted by the same company for commercial property downtown, which were all 20' wide, or for the working-class brick row and double houses located along S. Fifth and Sixth Sts., which were only 16' wide. The cost of these lots varied by size rather than relative

⁷⁵On the relationship between amusement parks and street railways, see Jackson, 112-13; History of Jeannette, 243-44; Canfield, West Penn Traction, 11. At one time, the large amusement park facility was home to a variety of rides, sideshows, and a swimming pool; more recently, it was a local picnic grove, but subsequently it has ceased operations altogether.

⁷⁶Observation of Sanborn Maps for years 1900, 1905, 1910, 1916, 1925.

⁷⁷Lot #1017 was 90' deep; lot #33 was 300' deep. The largest of these lots, those on the 200 block of N. Second Street, were subsequently subdivided by William DeWolf in 1890.

location. The earliest sales, those dating from the late 1880s, averaged \$300 to \$375 per lot. Exemplary purchases include those of clerk James H. Hartshorn, who paid \$750 for two lots on First St., or engraving department manager Henry Ruhe, who paid \$600 for two lots on Second street. Exceptions did exist as, for example, George E. Moore's early purchase for the deflated price of only \$500.⁷⁸

Despite a general policy against speculation, some of the earliest Second Ward land purchases were clearly speculative. Most investors realized enormous profits, particularly in the years surrounding construction of the street railway. For example, James Hartshorn purchased two lots from the WL&IC in April, 1889 for \$750 and sold them in December of the same year to William S. Jones for \$1100.⁷⁹ Jones was an avid speculator. He owned six separate lots in 1891, though records clearly indicate he built no houses on any until 1897. In 1906 he sold the one he had built to physician Clarence G. Robinson for \$8500.⁸⁰

In the late 1890s, a construction boom lasting until World War I hastened the settlement of Second Ward neighborhoods. As property speculation subsided and private home construction began in earnest after 1895, property owners and developers constructed residences on nearly every lot. [See Table II] The WL&IC itself built several houses. Located on lots 1062, 1066, 1074, 1079, and 1085, all on the 200 block of N. First St., these frame houses were assessed along with the property at \$700 in 1890.⁸¹ That same year, Aaron and Matilda Westcott took out a mortgage

⁷⁸Westmoreland County Deed Book 171, page 596 (October 12, 1888).

⁷⁹Westmoreland County Deed Book 176, page 227 (December 10, 1889).

⁸⁰Westmoreland County Deed Book 424, page 232 (March 12, 1906).

⁸¹Borough of Jeannette Tax Records, 1890.

for \$2550 to buy one of the lots and houses.⁸² The five houses were the only ones constructed by the WL&IC in the Second Ward, and represented a small minority of the buildings in the district. Unfortunately, none of these houses remains standing today.

Compared to other streets of the Second Ward serviced by trolley, N. Third and Fourth streets developed much slower. By 1910, when N. First and Second streets were nearly fully developed, only one-half the lots on Third street contained homes. In addition, retail interests, absent on First and Second streets, appeared on Third street soon after the turn of the century. Appendix A, Table III, illustrates the comparatively slower development of N. Third and Fourth streets. Taking N. First and Second streets as a unit, by 1900 over two-thirds of the lots contained houses; by 1905, that figure reached 81 per cent; and between 1910 and 1916, maintained a level near 95 per cent. Conversely, in the adjacent neighborhood of N. Third and Fourth streets, only 37 per cent of the lots had structures by 1900. In the next five years, that figure rose only 2 per cent, and not until 1910 did it rise above the 50 per cent. The pre-World War I building brought the area its greatest building activity: by 1916 over 83% of the lots contained structures.

Although, in general, homeowners tended to live in the Ward, the upscale areas of N. First and Second Streets registered much higher levels of owner occupancy. As Table IV, Appendix A reveals, two-thirds (66.9%) of Second Ward homes were owner-occupied in 1910. Moreover, only 21.3% of the dwellings were absentee-owned or, conversely, nearly four out of five Second Ward property owners lived in the Ward. The overall lack of absenteeism among owners sheds light on the tremendous varieties in size, style, and type of housing: not until the 1916 Adam Shaffer sub-division located on Fourth St. does mass produced housing appear on any scale in the Second Ward.⁸³ But the two neighborhoods revealed very different patterns of ownership and absenteeism. Of N. First and Second street homes, nearly three-fourths (73 per cent) were single family owner-occupied; N. Third and Fourth streets, on the other hand, had just 55.3 per cent owner-occupied homes. The number of multiple unit absentee owners differed considerably: 17 per cent of the multiple-unit

⁸²Westmoreland County Deed Book 187, page 193 (October 3, 1890); Mortgage Book 38, page 188.

⁸³For the Shaffer sub-division, see Part 4, section 3.

structures on N. Third and Fourth streets were absentee-owned, while the figure on N. First and Second streets was just 3.4 per cent. Comparing total owner occupant levels against total absentee levels for the two neighborhoods reveals that absentee ownership accounts for only 11.3 per cent of those owners on N. First and Second streets, while on N. Third and Fourth Streets, the figure is 40.4 per cent.

Occupational data reinforce perceptions that income helped determine ownership. Not surprisingly, relatively few Second Ward residents worked in the glass industry (see Tables V and VI). In 1910, of over 300 employed men and women residing in the Second Ward areas of N. First, Second, Third and Fourth streets, only seventy-eight, just over one-fourth (25.2 per cent), held jobs within the various glass industries.⁸⁴ The vast majority of positions were prestigious or high paying: either management, clerical, or skilled labor; only a small number, about one in nine (11.5 per cent), were unskilled factory labor.

The surprisingly low number of glass-related jobs held by Second Ward residents in 1910 reflected a steady decline in glass industry employment for Second Ward residents since the nineteenth century. Of the 130 people listed as living in the Second Ward survey area in the 1897 Jeannette City Directory, fifty, or 41.0 per cent, worked in the glass industry. Perhaps more striking is the shift within the N. First and Second streets neighborhoods. In 1897, eighty-nine of the 130 individuals listed N. First or Second streets as their residences; of these, forty, or a full 44.9 per cent relied on the glass industry. By 1910 however, only thirty-seven out of 197 were directly associated with the glass industry, representing only 18.8 per cent.

The diversification of Jeannette's industrial base accounts some of the decline in the glass industry's role as a major employer of the Ward's residents. By 1910, new industries and manufacturing interests in Jeannette, among them the railroad, foundries, iron and electric works, and the rubber factory offered alternatives to glass industry employment, but together still accounted for only a minority of positions. In that year, only fifty-three individuals, or 17.2 per cent of the work force, found employment in non-glass related industry. Again, the majority of these positions, nearly 70 per cent, were managerial, clerical, or skilled labor; less than one-third were comprised of

⁸⁴Includes totals of "managerial/clerical," "skilled labor," and "unskilled" positions.

unskilled workers. The total industry-based work force, including managerial, clerical, and labor, thus accounted for only 42.1 per cent of the Second Ward's population in 1910.

Changes in Second Ward residency clearly reflected the growing predominance of merchants, professionals, and small business owners. In 1897, only 16.4 per cent of Second Ward residents were self-employed merchants, professionals, or small business owners; by 1910 that figure had risen to 27.2 per cent. If we include managerial and clerical workers, the proportion rises from 38.5 to 67.3 percent. At the same time, the number of skilled workers dropped from 35.3 per cent to only 21.7 per cent, while those holding unskilled positions went from 26.2 per cent to 11.0 per cent. The number of laborers as a group, while comprising over 61 per cent of the Second Ward population in 1897, was just over 30 per cent in 1910. Changes within the two Second Ward survey areas nuance these shifts. In the N. First and Second streets area, self-employed merchants, professionals, clerks, and managers comprised a full 81.2 per cent of the residents in 1910; skilled laborers and artisans 18 per cent, and unskilled labor 1 per cent. When compared to data from the previous decade, the transformation is apparent: In 1897, blue and white collar occupations comprised 55.1 per cent and 44.9 per cent respectively. In the N. Third and Fourth streets area, laborers still accounted for 57.2 percent of the occupations of residents in 1910. Professionals and business owners made up only 11.6 per cent, while clerical and managerial positions were 31.2 per cent. Yet, it is apparent that Third and Fourth Sts. experienced the same shifts away from labor positions and towards mercantile and professional occupations. In 1897, laborers made up over three-fourths of the population, while at the same time fewer than one in ten residents owned their own business, and only 12.1 per cent were employed in managerial or clerical positions. Moreover, residents of the Second Ward survey area relied less on local industry for employment during the first decade of the twentieth century, while the self-employed grew considerably in number, from twenty to eighty-four, prompting a demand in Jeannette for clerical and managerial positions. This demand was reflected in Jeannette's Second Ward, where positions in these occupations more than tripled, from twenty-three in 1897 to seventy-three in 1910.

The presence of domestic help confirms the continued affluence of the N. First and Second Street neighborhoods. Jeannette families with domestic help in 1910 were headed by men who almost exclusively held professional positions such as physicians, factory superintendents, or self-employed merchants. Generally, household servants were single, American born females in their early twenties. Mary Zimmerman was typical of these domestics:

single, 19 years old, and born in Pennsylvania. The only servant employed by John Ely (co-owner of Ely Brothers' Department Store on Clay Avenue), his wife Catherine and their six children in their large house at 121 N. First Street. Ely's brother Charles, his wife Nellie and their five children, who lived nearby at 105 N. Second Street, also employed a servant girl, Hettie Detar, who was 20 years old. Throughout the Second Ward, the number of two and one-half story homes testifies to the presence of domestic help in the Second Ward.

Consistent with the social position and income of the residents, architectural housing styles on N. First and Second Streets emulated traditional high-style designs. The Cook House and the Carle House on Second Street each reflect the Queen Anne Movement, with features including conical towers, decorative stonework patterns, and wrap-around porches.⁸⁵ A Colonial Revival influence is seen in the Ambler House, constructed between 1906 and 1907 by James Ambler, a dry-goods merchant. The symmetrical plan is followed in the Euwer House built at about the same time for William F. Euwer, owner of the successful Euwer Furniture Store in downtown Jeannette. The Euwer incorporates prominent Adam's Style features, revived in high-style homes during the first decades of the twentieth century, including a large Palladian window and classical columns. Owners often varied designs to increase their homes' individuality. The brick veneered Van Horn House, constructed in 1898, and the similarly clad Bridges House, built only five years later, were modest four-squares modified to reflect individuality. A unique Palladian window marks the main gable front of the Van Horn House; the Bridges House's square bay, awkwardly situated at the right-hand corner of the front facade, completely alters the simplicity of the otherwise featureless home.

One of the most architecturally unique homes in the neighborhood was that built by Frank A. Maddas, president and general manager of the Victor Brewing Company. Located in West Jeannette just west of the window glass works, Maddas lived near the brewery until his new Second Ward residence was completed in 1925. Purchasing land on N. First street, he built a high-style residence incorporating Tudor and Jacobethan architectural styles (rarely used in Second Ward homes), generous amounts of stained glass, and large double beveled-glass front doors set into stone surrounds. Within, Maddas constructed a private chapel on the

⁸⁵The Cook House was acquired by George Whitmyre, a successful furniture merchant, in 1903. David Carle had joined the McKee Glass Company as a general manager in the 1890s, just prior to beginning construction on his house.

first floor with a stained glass window to provide a backdrop for Masses celebrated for the family.

Patterns of development in the Clay Avenue business district paralleled those of the Second Ward residential area. Before the turn-of-the-century, most commercial lots had been improved with a store, office or hotel. During the next thirty years, construction activity involved expansion or renovation rather than demolition and rebuilding. To be sure, the Clay Avenue still contained many of the small, well-patronized shops that characterized it at the turn-of-the-century. Groceries, butcher shops, fruit vendors, shoe stores, men's and women's clothing shops, and jewelers remained numerous along the avenue, and hotels, with their customary saloons and barber shops, were still fixtures on the busy thoroughfare.

A few notable exceptions, however, suggest the changing nature of the city's central business district during the first several decades of the twentieth century. Perhaps the most important new buildings were the banks, department stores and office buildings. Each in their own unique way indicated a new role for Jeannette's main street. By 1930, Clay Avenue had three large bank buildings, two of which remain standing today: the First National Bank at the southwest corner of Fourth St. and the Glass City Bank on the north side between Fourth and Fifth streets. A third, the Jeannette Savings and Trust, was located directly across Clay Avenue from the First National. Unlike the small offices of earlier years, these new buildings were large, impressive buildings implying solidity and stability. The First National Bank Building opened to the public in June 1929, exactly forty years after it was first established by town founders James A. Chambers and H. Sellers McKee. The four story building was Jeannette's largest to date. Previously, the bank's offices had been located at the corner of Second and Clay before moving into another modest facility on its present site. The Glass City Bank also chose to build a new structure with a temple facade on the site of its previous facilities in the spring of 1922.

Like financial institutions, department stores dwarfed in size and function their smaller predecessors. By 1930, five department stores had located on Clay Avenue where none had existed thirty years earlier. Gillespie's, located on three lots at the southwest corner of Third and Clay, was two stories high with a broad double staircase at the rear and a smaller staircase leading to the basement located off to one side. Department stores typically placed the most alluring items or impulse buys near the store's main entrance, less-often purchased goods on the second floor, and everyday necessities or sale items in the

basement. Gillespie's first floor interior was thus the most opulent: ceiling moldings and a series of ionic columns were among its most prominent appointments.

The third category of structure to help transform the downtown area was the office building. Providing office space for doctors, dentists and lawyers, these buildings were relatively large, taking up two or more downtown lots, and generally three stories high. They differed from the previous commercial block not only in their size, but also in their lack of exclusive residential space on the upper floor. Good examples were the Maxwell Building, at 302-04 Clay Avenue, and the Duncan Building at 314-18 Clay Avenue. The first floor of each was occupied by a large store: J. C. Penney's in the Maxwell and the G.C. Murphy Co. Five and Dime Store in the Duncan. On the second and third floors of these buildings were a vast assortment of spaces devoted to an array of professional, private and institutional uses: four lawyers' offices, a chiropractor's clinic, a dentist's office, the Jeannette's Chamber of Commerce, an office for a justice of the peace, separate meeting halls for the Order of DeMolay and the Spiritual Church of Jeannette, a dancing school, an office training school, and six small apartments.

Conclusion

Both the commercial district and the Second Ward provide us with good examples of two neighborhoods developed within an industrial city at a point in history when factors such as occupation, income level, and ownership type had a direct impact on domestic architecture, an outward expression which became an index to social status and prestige. The two districts of the Second Ward, distinguishable through this domestic architecture, developed unevenly: First and Second St. elite residents were able to construct many large high-style buildings and enjoy the status afforded by pure residential homogeneity; occupants of Third and Fourth St. homes, on the other hand, were primarily laborers, whose smaller structures relied more on traditional turn-of-the-century vernacular and industrial examples. Together, these two Second Ward districts still provided a residential alternative to the manufacturing and business districts south of the Pennsylvania Railroad.

FRATERNAL, SOCIAL, AND RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS

Laura Driemeyer

The structures erected or used by Jeannette's social institutions, fraternal organizations and churches provide a window into the nature of social relationships within the Jeannette community. They united individuals for social and recreational purposes, for beneficial and kinship purposes, and for spiritual support.⁸⁶ Typically, white, native-born males of English or German descent established and constructed new towns. In Jeannette, the members of the early churches and social and fraternal organizations were primarily native born white males, or recent immigrants from northern and western Europe. From the beginning, the composition of the institutions, the physical forms they took, and their placement within the town's landscape embodied the social, cultural and political ideologies of those who founded them. With the influx of immigrants, a new ethnicity emerged upon the cultural landscape.

Not unlike other western Pennsylvania communities its size, Jeannette's built environment contains a variety structures: residences, large industrial complexes, commercial two- and three-story structures centered on Clay Avenue, churches on higher promontories, and a variety of multipurpose buildings scattered over the landscape. Most of the large institutional structures, the churches, the social institutions and the fraternal organizations, date to the first twenty-five years of the town's existence. Whereas the integrity of the religious structures has been preserved, the few remaining social institutions either have been abandoned or exist in significantly altered form. The structures of fraternal organizations reveal periodic exterior updates or the adaptation of pre-existing buildings.

⁸⁶But it is an incomplete picture, at best. Those formalizing their presence through incorporation and building construction represented only one segment of the community, one with access to financial resources and a need to project an image of power and permanence. More casually formed groups which did not contribute to the visual landscape, such as the glassworkers who formed a mustache club (they all grew mustaches) or the numerous women's clubs, left no permanent buildings or records, yet served as focal points for voluntary organization among community residents. We will highlight some of their organizations as well as those active in erecting more permanent landmarks.

At first, churches, social institutions and fraternal organizations held services and meetings in the public halls erected by private owners. Baughman's Hall was one of the earliest.⁸⁷ John P. Baughman, a native Pennsylvanian born in 1846 was a merchant at the time of his arrival in Jeannette who later served two terms as town burgess. He acquired two lots on the east corner of Fourth Street and Bullitt Avenue from the Western Land Improvement Company (hereafter, WL&IC) in September 1888. By the fall of 1889 Baughman had erected a three story brick building with a slate roof, metal cornice and an adjoining one story brick structure with three windows on the north wall.⁸⁸ Characteristic of such multi-purpose structures it contained a store front on the first floor, a residence on the second floor and a meeting hall on the third. A broad cross-section of Jeannette's social and religious organizations used the hall as their meeting place, including fraternal organizations such as the Royal Arcanum, the Knights of Maccabees, and the G. A. R. Ladies' Circle and churches such as the First Presbyterian Church and the Episcopal Church.

A second early public hall, one that still remains, was Bradley's Hall on S. Sixth Street between Clay Avenue and Bullitt Avenue. A three story red brick building erected by James A. Bradley in 1895, the first floor contained Bradley's wholesale grocery and the second housed several residences. The third held a hall, well illuminated by the three large arched windows on the front, each with an arch surround containing contrasting keystone and end stones.⁸⁹ Like Baughman's, Bradley's Hall was used by a variety of social and religious groups, such as the Ancient Order of United Workmen (A.O.U.W.), Wm. Penn Lodge No. 52, Royal Arcanum Jeannette Council No. 1144, Improved Order of Heptasophs No. 200, Knights and Ladies of Honor, the Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks Jeannette Lodge No. 486, Knights of the Maccabees, Ladies of the Maccabees and Knights of the Golden Eagle, Thos. McKee Castle.⁹⁰

⁸⁷King's Hall across the street, a two story wood frame building, is contemporaneous.

⁸⁸1895 Sanborn map (the 1891 Map does not include that corner of S. Fourth St. and Bullitt Avenue.) A notice appears in the Jeannette Dispatch 8 November 1889, announcing Order of Solon meetings at Baughman's Hall on alternate Friday nights.

⁸⁹Building assessed for \$3,300.00 in 1898 property tax records.

⁹⁰Jeannette Dispatch 23 March 1900, 1.

Fraternal Organizations

A wide variety of national fraternal organizations established lodges and locals in Jeannette. These included secret, ritualistic societies (Masons); patriotic and political orders (Jr. Order of United American Mechanics [Jr. O.U.A.M] and Patriotic Order Sons of America); benevolent or "friendly" societies (Independent Order of Odd Fellows, Knights of Pythias, and the Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks); mutual assessment societies (Royal Arcanum, American Legion of Honor, Knights of the Maccabees, Order of Heptasophs); social and recreational societies (Sons of Malta, Loyal Order of Moose, and the Fraternal Order of Eagles); and labor organizations (Knights of Labor).⁹¹

The great variety of fraternal organizations, and Jeannette's small size and relatively homogeneous population inevitably led to overlapping leaderships and memberships, and the sharing of meeting facilities. Though separate entities, organizations shared common characteristics of fraternal groups: the initiation rite, constructed kinships, and the exclusion of women.⁹² They also shared officers: A.J. Case, I.B. Watters and George V. Husted, early officers of the Jr. O.U.A.M., were also officers of the Royal Arcanum, and both John Fath and George Trimble were officers and trustees of the Belvedere Club and the Loyal Order of Moose.⁹³ Frequently, they shared space, as in their use of Baughman's Hall and Bradley's Hall. Indeed, many fraternal organizations never even erected their own buildings, but continued to use public halls, presenting the paradoxical situation of private organizations with emphasis on secrecy and private rituals using a public space. Only two fraternal organizations (Jr. O.U.A.M., and the Fraternal Order of Eagles) constructed their own buildings during the town's first quarter century; the rest relied on other public spaces. A few acquired

⁹¹See Albert C. Stevens, The Cyclopaedia of Fraternities (New York: E.B. Treat and Company, 1907; reprint; Detroit: The Gale Research Company, 1966): xv-xxiii for a detailed discussion of these categories.

⁹²Mary Ann Clawson, "Nineteenth-Century Women's Auxillaries and Fraternal Orders," Signs 12 (Autumn 1986), p. 41. Of course, many male organizations had their female counterparts in the ubiquitous auxiliary societies).

⁹³Jeannette Dispatch 20 December 1889, 4; Jeannette Dispatch 17 January 1890, 1.

pre-existing structures: the Loyal Order of Moose Lodge No. 114 (L.O.O.M.) has owned several structures, including the Belvedere Club on Magee Avenue and their present home, a converted two-story brick residential dwelling at the corner of Harrison City Road and Lafferty Avenue. Despite the early and continued presence of numerous fraternal groups in Jeannette, they contributed far less to the city's visual landscape than religious and social institutions.

For a variety of reasons, few of Jeannette's fraternal organizations erected their own clubhouses. Mutual benefit societies, for example, provided financial security for members, had few secret rituals, and enjoyed tight comeraderie; consequently, they had little need for exclusive space that would have drained the treasury without enhancing the group's mission. For others, a small transitory membership often impeded their ability to erect a structure. For instance, of the twenty-six known 1889 Royal Arcanum officers and members, ten are not listed in the 1895 or 1913 City Directories. Persisters were even fewer in number for other groups. Halls for the more secretive, ritualistic entities, such as the Masons, were conspicuously absent. Although Masons erected halls in many of the surrounding towns, including Greensburg and Irwin, their Jeannette lodge always chose to use space in other buildings. Since late 1920s they have occupied specially constructed space on the fourth floor of the Pittsburgh National Bank building. Their rituals and extreme secrecy dictated the need for their own private space, constructed to facilitate the ritual programs, to keep the public out, and to enhance the bonds of kinship within the organization.

Fraternal groups that either erected or purchased structures were primarily social organizations: the Elks, the Moose, the Odd Fellows and the Eagles. Only the Jr. O.U.A.M. fell outside this classification. Organized in September, 1904, the Jeannette Aerie drew members from the blue collar and lower middle-class communities.⁹⁴ When members erected their building on Fourth

⁹⁴Lodge members in 1918 included C. Franklin Baker, 40 years old, a native of Pennsylvania who worked as a painter for the Pennsylvania Railroad; John B. Wertz, also a native Pennsylvanian, 30 years old, decorated glass at a local factory; and Peter Krupp, who worked as a janitor; Anton Goettler, 41, was born in Pennsylvania of German parents and was a foreman at the Pennsylvania Rubber Company; Charles Auel was a barber; Charles C. Cribbs was a clerk at J.C. Cribbs (Real Estate, Insurance and Loans) and J.C. Dougherty was a dentist who resided over his office on Clay Avenue. (U.S. Manuscript Census, 1910; 1913 and

Street near Bullitt Avenue, the first floor movie theater was a prominent feature of the facility.⁹⁵ The local newspaper listed the movie showing at the Eagles theater every week, indicating the theater was a provider of social activity for many of Jeannette's citizens.⁹⁶ Since the New Deal the F.O.E. has been active in social legislation, in particular workmen's compensation, mother's pensions, old age pensions and social security.⁹⁷

Meeting halls and public activities testify to the growing membership and prestige of some organizations. The Independent Order of Odd Fellows (I.O.O.F.), the oldest and largest beneficial society in Jeannette, was founded in January, 1890 by forty-two charter members at the old Mechanics Hall on S. Fourth Street and Bullitt Avenue. Members of lodges in nearby townships such as Latrobe and Greensburg instituted new members and organized the Jeannette lodge, suggesting ties to a wide fraternal network.⁹⁸ Like the F.O.E., the I.O.O.F. drew its membership primarily from the working and lower middle classes.⁹⁹ In 1913, the I.O.O.F. adapted an existing building, the First Prebyterian Church on the southwest corner of Third Street and Bullitt Avenue, for their own use after purchasing it for \$2,500. In conjunction with the hall's dedication of its newly acquired hall, the Jeannette I.O.O.F. hosted the district meeting of the western part of Westmoreland County of the Odd Fellows and

1923 City Directories.)

⁹⁵The 1910 Sanborn map indicates a two-to-three story brick club building and theater under construction.

⁹⁶See Roy Rosenzweig, Eight Hours for What We Will: Workers and Leisure in an Industrial City, 1870-1920 (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 192-198, for a discussion of theaters as a primary form of entertainment for the working class after the turn of the century.

⁹⁷Alvin J. Schmidt, Fraternal Organizations (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1980): 95.

⁹⁸Jeannette Dispatch 17 January 1890, 4.

⁹⁹I.O.O.F. trustees at the time reflected the organization's strong working class orientation: Mark Bullock was a laborer in the glass works; Robert W. Eicher was a machinist; and Joseph A. Charlton was a moldmaker.

Daughters of Rebekah.¹⁰⁰ A parade of uniformed marchers and decorated automobiles accompanied by six bands passed through the streets of Jeannette to initiate the festivities, with business and residential sections of Jeannette decorated with flags and bunting, followed by a meeting in the new lodge hall. Such a visually profuse public display throughout the town for one lodge suggests the I.O.O.F.'s prominence within Jeannette and the surrounding area.

Fraternal organizations and their clubhouses sought to ameliorated the harsh realities of capitalism. The F.O.E. was organized in 1898, later than many other fraternal groups, by a small group of theater owners with the expressed purpose of having fun. The Belvedere Club, on the other hand, the largest of the town's social organizations, was chartered in October, 1891 for the "maintenance of a club for social enjoyment and for this purpose to have a room or rooms furnished with books and the newspaper of the day."¹⁰¹ The two story clubhouse had a large ball room with a stage on the first floor and parlors, club member's lounging room, dining room and kitchen on the second floor.¹⁰² As historian Mary Ann Clawson has argued, "[i]n identifying the lodge as a sphere of collective responsibility for others, fraternalism implicitly recognized that the market and the values it encouraged were not sufficient or desirable for the conduct of moral life."¹⁰³

Fraternalists were often divided around social and cultural lines.¹⁰⁴ Among the "harsh" realities of capitalism was the immigration of tens of thousands of workers who often competed with native-born Americans for available jobs. The Jeannette chapter of the rabidly nativist Junior Order of United American Mechanics was organized in 1889, calling for "a flag on every

¹⁰⁰The western District included the towns of Trafford, Irwin, Manor, Penn, Adamsburg, Madison, Greensburg, Pleasant Unity and Youngwood.

¹⁰¹Corporation book 3/423; Jeannette Dispatch 3 May 1895, 2; 1900 Sanborn map.

¹⁰²Deed Book 475/185; 1910 Census, p. 6B and p. 14A; "Belvedere Entertainment," Jeannette Dispatch 1 April 1898, 1.

¹⁰³Clawson, 256.

¹⁰⁴Clawson, 110.

public school in the land, the Holy Bible within, and love of country instilled into the heart of every child."¹⁰⁵

The Jr.O.U.A.M.'s exclusionist ideology rigidly shaped its membership. All were white native-born males, approximately 40 years of age, with a broad range of occupations and skill levels, ranging from physician, (J. Hiram Ringer and Thomas A. Klingensmith) to skilled and semi-skilled laborer (flattener, rubberworker, tinner or sawyer.) George E. Moore, manager of Chambers & McKee Glass Factory was an early member.¹⁰⁶ Many members were related, and most resided north of the railroad tracks in the Second Ward or adjacent neighborhoods. Fourteen of the original charter members were glassworkers, including John C. Boyd, flattener; Daniel Cloherty, a blower in the window glass factory; and Amos Kunkle who had been a moulder but by 1913 was listed as a laborer. A number of individuals listed as glassworkers in 1895 had changed industries or slipped in skill levels by 1913, suggesting they were particularly hard hit by the transition from hand blowing to the Lubbers process in window glass.¹⁰⁷ In 1898, when the Jr.O.U.A.M. was the second largest fraternal organization in Pennsylvania, the Trinola Council No. 158, Jr. O.U.A.M., Manor Station consolidated with Jeannette's Crystal Council bringing the membership to 153.¹⁰⁸

The Jr. O.U.A.M. enjoyed support from the community far broader than its membership. Particularly supportive were Protestant

¹⁰⁵Ileen DeVault, Sons and Daughters of Labor: Class and Clerical Work in turn-of-the-Century Pittsburgh (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1990), 126. The Jr. O.U.A.M. was not the only nativist organization in Jeannette, although it was the only one to construct a clubhouse and the only one to draw its membership from diverse occupations. Native-born members of Local Assembly 300, the union of skilled window glass workers, established the American Protective Association in the 1890s to insure that apprentice slots and new positions at the factory went to American-born mechanics. See Richard O'Connor, "Cinderheads and Iron Lungs: The Transformation of Workers' Control in the Window Glass Industry, 1880 - 1905,")Unpub. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pittsburgh, 1993), Chs. 3 and 4.

¹⁰⁶Biographies of Westmoreland County, "Jeannette, Manor and Penn," p. 372.

¹⁰⁷See Ch. 1.

¹⁰⁸DeVault, 127; "Will Consolidate," The Jeannette Dispatch 22 April, 1898, p. 1.

Churches. Espousing nationalism, the Jr. O.U.A.M. perceived a "corrosion of the confidence in unity and homogeneity that America had regained at the turn of the century...."¹⁰⁹ The Jeannette lodge maintained close ties with several religious organizations, evidenced by the presence of pastors from the Baptist, Brethren and Reformed Churches at the building's opening ceremonies.¹¹⁰ Nationally the organization supported separation of church and state, but one membership requirement, as with many fraternal organizations, was a belief in a Supreme Being. The Rev. Weland of the Methodist Episcopal Church was an early resident in one of the apartments of the Jr. O.U.A.M building.

The Jr. O.U.A.M.'s clubhouse differentiated the group from other fraternal organizations. Until 1913 the Jeannette lodge used public halls for meetings. The Jr. O.U.A.M. chose to erect its own hall, a four story yellow brick building on Clay Avenue near Cuyler Avenue and First Street. The strongly linear, hard-edged structure incorporated the order's insignia into the decorative scheme in the fourth floor hall. The first floor contained a banquet room, kitchen, a laundry room for the residential tenants, and furnace room. The second and third floors each contained two apartments running the full length of the building, while the fourth floor contained the lodge room characterized as mission style, with a four hundred person seating capacity and dressing rooms, toilet rooms and ante-rooms.¹¹¹ While the erection of income producing structures by clubs was not unusual, this is the only one in Jeannette combining club space and residential space, suggesting a resemblance to public halls such as Baughman's but owned by an organization rather than an individual. However, the timing of the Jr. O.U.A.M.'s decision to build its own clubhouse suggests a growing polarization between native born Americans and the increasing number of immigrants settling in Jeannette.

Ethnic Clubs

While those opposed to new immigrants found a home in the Jr. O.U.A.M., immigrants and their children organized social and fraternal institutions along ethnic lines. Reflecting national

¹⁰⁹John Higham, Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism, 1860-1925 (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1988), 183.

¹¹⁰Jeannette Dispatch

¹¹¹"New Home Now Occupied," The Jeannette Dispatch 27 March 1913, 1.

immigration patterns of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, as well as the ethnic complexion of the glass working fraternity, Jeannette's ethnic fraternal and social organizations were organized by and served the Belgian, German and Italian communities. While Belgian-Americans belonged to the Lafayette Club and German-Americans typically joined the Turner Verein, Italian-Americans organized at least four such institutions - the Garibaldi Beneficial Society, the Americanization Society, the Societa Armanda Diaz Mutuo Soccorso (the Diaz Club), and the Societa Italian di Mutuo Soccorso Congrega Maria SS. Del Carmine (Italian Mutual Aid Society of the Blessed Virgin of Mt. Carmel).

Mutual benefit organizations emerged in Europe in response to the rise of industrial capitalism and the breakdown of traditional craft economies.¹¹² The demise of social interdependence characterizing those societies left a need for institutions that addressed the exigencies of unemployment, the disabled, widows, and children. In the United States, immigrants responsible for establishing mutual benefit societies tended to be from the working class, but the bonds of ethnicity proved crucial in blurring the class lines of their membership.¹¹³

These organizations, while linked tightly to a single ethnic group, served many of the same functions as the fraternal clubs organized by native-born citizens. The tight-knit Belgian community of window glass workers organized the Lafayette Club on November 12, 1890 for the "for social enjoyment--or providing friendly intercourse among its members for literary culture."¹¹⁴ By 1895 this French speaking club had facilities on Magee between Sixth and Seventh, containing a library and dramatic club to serve its 185 members.¹¹⁵ In November, 1897, the Club purchased

¹¹²Mary Ann Clawson, Constructing Brotherhood: Class, Gender, and Fraternalism (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989): 92-93.

¹¹³John Bodnar, The Transplanted: A History of Immigrants in Urban America (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1985): 121.

¹¹⁴Corporation Book 3/243; 1900 Census.

¹¹⁵Jeannette Dispatch 3 May 1895, 2. In the 1895 City Directory, the Lafayette Club address is Magee Avenue between Sixth and Seventh street. The 1895 and 1900 Sanborn maps show only a few two story wood frame dwellings. The Jeannette Dispatch 23 June 1899, 4, indicates the Lafayette Club was located in South Jeannette at the time they moved into their new

two lots from Jules J. Quertimont (a Belgian-born blower in the window glass house) for \$1200, and called for bids for a two story brick and stone building. Completed the following summer, the Lafayette Club moved into its new clubhouse on the corner of Magee Avenue and S. Fourth Street in June, 1899. Its facilities included a spacious banquet hall on the first floor and rooms for private club uses on the second. Opening ceremonies included a grand ball preceded by a parade led by the Lafayette Band accompanied by fireworks along the route from the old clubhouse in South Jeannette to the new one.¹¹⁶

Although parades frequently accompanied activities sponsored by fraternal organizations in Jeannette, those entities composed largely of native-born members used such festivities to instill patriotic fervor while Belgian and French parades emphasized the national heritage of their members. Annually, the Belgians sponsored a fete in honor of Bastille Day (July 14) or Belgian independence from Holland. In September, 1898 they held the four day lawn fete on the vacant lawn space adjoining McKee & Brothers offices on Bullitt avenue. A parade initiated the opening day ceremonies with the Lafayette Band leading 100 French and Belgian residents down Clay avenue. Dancing on the 100 foot wide platform occurred each evening, stands and tents with food and refreshments surrounded the platform, and balloon ascensions occurred every evening at 9 o'clock.¹¹⁷ Such activities suggest that Jeannette's early skilled glassworkers continued to identify strongly with their native countries.

Chartered on 23 August 1890, Jeannette's Turn Verein sought to stimulate "the physical culture of its members by the encouragement of gymnastic exercises and athletic sports." Yet, it also intended to have the "power to purchase, hold and transfer real and personal property."¹¹⁸ The club's presence from the town's earliest days suggests a particularly homogeneous and active group of Germans. At a meeting of twenty-five Turner Societies in Pittsburgh in December, 1897, Jeannette was proposed as the site of the next National Turner's Association convention

clubhouse.

¹¹⁶Ibid.

¹¹⁷"Franco-Belge Lawn Fete," Jeannette Dispatch 9 September 1898, 1; and "A Successful Affair," Jeannette Dispatch 16 September 1898, 1.

¹¹⁸Corporation Book 3/178

in July 1898.¹¹⁹ Ultimately, the Turners convened elsewhere, but even consideration of Jeannette suggests the relative prominence of its members in the national organization.

Clearly, ethnicity rather than occupation brought members together. A national organization, local Turner chapters could be found in most urban centers where German immigrants settled, such as New York, Milwaukee, Chicago, Philadelphia and Pittsburgh. Members were typically middle and working class, shopkeepers and skilled workers.¹²⁰ Either first generation American-born of German descent, or immigrants from the late 1860s or early 1870s, many early members of the Jeannette Turners worked in the city's glass factories. Of the twenty-one individuals attending the first meeting, five of the nine listed in the 1896-7 Jeannette city directory were glassworkers, and seven appear in the 1900 Manuscript Census, of whom six were glass workers.¹²¹ Membership continued to draw heavily from the German population, but its occupational base grew increasingly diverse as fewer boys of German descent followed their fathers and grandfathers into the glass industry.

Like many organizations, the Turners occupied several sites before constructing their own hall, at Magee and Fifth Avenues. In 1891, soon after their formation, members used a two story wood frame structure with a stage on Division Avenue. The property and structure belonged to Turner member Christ Meussner, a German-born brewer, teamster and grocer who emigrated to the United States in 1870. In September, 1892, the Jeannette Turn Verein purchased three adjoining lots at the corner of S. Fourth St. and Chambers Avenue from the WL&IC for \$600, but never developed the property.¹²² Nine years later, the organization bought additional property on the corner of S. Fifth Street and Magee Avenue for \$1,400 and erected a substantial brick clubhouse. Scheduled initially to open in December 1902 at a

¹¹⁹"2000 People to Come," Jeannette Dispatch 3 December 1897, 1.

¹²⁰See Frederick C. Luebke, Bonds of Loyalty: German-Americans and World War I (Dekalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1974), 43.

¹²¹City Directories are available only for the years 1895-1896, 1913, 1923, 1928 and 1948. The absence of many of the original attendees by 1895 suggests many of them may have been glassworkers who left Jeannette to find work elsewhere.

¹²²Deed Book 218/47

cost of \$22,000, problems with the first architect delayed its completion until March of 1903 and added \$3000 to the cost.¹²³

The organization's substantial hall testifies to the Turn Verein's prominence in the community. The Turn Verein dominated German-American communities in nearby industrial towns such as McKeesport, and the Jeannette Turner Hall is comparable in to those in major urban centers where large numbers of German immigrants settled.¹²⁴ The basement contained a two story gymnasium at the rear of the building and showers, while the first floor contained bowling alleys, dining room, billard room with two tables, the kitchen and other rooms. The exterior reads three stories and a basement, but the second floor, with a 21 foot ceiling, is actually two stories high and once housed the club's enormous auditorium with a large stage and the ladies parlor.¹²⁵ The entrance on Fifth street was to the private club spaces, while the entrance to the public auditorium was on Magee. The facade and wall along Magee avenue use yellow brick while the back and other side wall are constructed of red brick. Stylistically unspecific, the building resembles many other club buildings of that era utilizing romanesque and renaissance revival elements.

Still extant, the Hall's remaining attributes reflect the organization's numerous activities and functions. The Jeannette Dispatch advertized no political activities of the Jeannette Turners, but occassional announcements regarding social activities did appear, such as that for the November, 1914, Oberammergau Peasant Players, a troupe of actors, singers, dancers and musicians who performed the comedy "Der Amerika Sepl" at Turners Hall.¹²⁶ Historians argue that Turn Vereins, especially prior to World War I, functioned primarily as conservators of German cultural traditions and language in America.¹²⁷ The presence of a German performance group

¹²³ (original design by the Pittsburgh architect A. Wills Smith, final architect was Emile Schmidt also of Pittsburgh)

¹²⁴See Luebke.

¹²⁵Jeannette Dispatch 24 July 1902, 1; and 12 March 1903, 1.

¹²⁶"Great Entertainment Coming," Jeannette Dispatch 5 November 1914, 8.

¹²⁷Luebke, p. 42; W. Curtis Miner, p. 3.

demonstrates Turner members' continued interest in and ties to their German heritage within the context of residence in Jeannette.

Even today, this structure remains one of the most substantial and significant in the central Jeannette area. During Turn Verein proprietorship, the building functioned as a primary social facility for many Jeannette citizens. A variety of community groups used the auditorium and stage for programs, theatrical productions and musical recitals. In the 1930s, subsequent to the Turn Verein's bankruptcy, the basement was used as a soup kitchen, and Thanksgiving dinners were provided for needy families.¹²⁸

The German Benevolent Society, chartered 2 May 1898, was a second pan-Germanic organization serving Jeannette's German-American community. Like the Turners, the GBS provided benefits and protection for its members, and promoted "literary culture, [and] also...physical culture, by having drills, in military tactics."¹²⁹ Its relationship to the Turners is unclear, but the GBS was far smaller and never erected its own structure.

In response to the increasing availability of semi- and unskilled jobs, and reflecting national immigration patterns, Italians began arriving in Jeannette early in the twentieth century. The largest Italian community settled on the south side, with two smaller groups forming on the north side, one around Gaskill Avenue and Seventh Street composed primarily of people from Campania, and the second group on North Third Street between Gaskill Avenue and Frothingham.¹³⁰ Within each neighborhood, people lived near others from the same village and geographic region. Social and beneficial clubs and the Church both reinforced and bridged these subcommunities.

The Garibaldi Beneficial Society was the first of these groups to articulate its presence and purpose in brick and stone. Chartered in March 1911, the following year the Society acquired a 40' x 100' lot from Mary and Albert Evans for \$850, and in 1914 erected a clubhouse. The two story red brick structure on Division Avenue near S. Fourth Street provided facilities for a broad range of social activities, including dances, dinners, and

¹²⁸Interview with author, July 1991.

¹²⁹Corporation Book 5/56.

¹³⁰Interviews conducted by Mike DiVirgilio, June and July 1991.

the honoring of returning war veterans. In addition to its social purpose, the society served benevolent and charitable purposes in times of hardship and misfortune. Moreover, it also served to "Americanize" Italian immigrants in the ways of their adopted country, by educating "members in the observance of the laws of the United States and of this Commonwealth, and (fostering) in them the duties of citizenship...."¹³¹ Six of the original 20 members listed in the 1910 U.S. Census emigrated to the United States between 1901 and 1905, during the greatest period of Italian immigration.¹³² Many came to the Jeannette area to work in the coal mines, but soon found work in semi- and unskilled positions.¹³³

In 1935, in response to events in Italy, the Society fragmented and a group composed largely of Piedmontesi formed the Americanization Society. According to oral sources, the division occurred along regional and political lines - between northern and southern groups. Disagreement revolved around "old country" political differences, with Southerners supporting Mussolini's conception of statehood and Northerners objecting to his methods.¹³⁴ As tensions in Europe escalated, differences between these two organizations widened, with the Americanization Society becoming explicitly more anti-Facist. Of the eighteen members who broke away from the Garibaldi Society, few appear to have worked in the glass industry. According to City Directories, they worked as miners, laborers in the rubber factory, and bricklayers and laborers.¹³⁵ Largely duplicating the Garibaldi Society's benevolent and charitable functions, the new organization responded to increasing pressures on Italian immigrants to Americanize their culture.

¹³¹Corporation Book 11, p. 19.

¹³²Michael John Parenti, Ethnic and Political Attitudes: A Depth Study of Italian Americans (New York: Arno Press, 1975): 24.

¹³³Arquillo Venanzio, for example, one of the original trustees, came to this country in 1901 when he was fourteen years of age. Like many other Italian immigrants, he worked as a laborer in one of the town's window glass factory. (City Directories, 1913, 1923.

¹³⁴Interviews by Mike DiVirgilio, conducted June and July 1991.

¹³⁵City Directories 1913, 1923, 1928 and 1948.

As Fascism gained strength in Europe, the organization's emphasis on assimilation became more pronounced. In September 1939, the Americanization Society, with a membership of 170, amended its charter to emphasize members' intentions of integrating into American society. The original charter of December, 1935, outlined the organization's charitable, benevolent and social purposes first, and a generalized intention "to educate and instruct the members in the English language, and in studying the political and social conditions of this country, whereby they may be better fitted for the duties of life and citizenship" A later, amended charter reordered the society's purposes

to promote its members' learning of the English language, and a study of subjects relating to America, as its history, customs, ideas, characteristics, or the like; to encourage among its members a greater knowledge of the Government of the United States of America and its principles, and of the political and social phases of citizenship; to urge America[n] citizenship among its foreign-born or alien members; and to foster among its members the highest ideals of patriotism and devotion to the American Government.¹³⁶

The organization's function as a social and benevolent organization had become secondary.

Indicative of the increasing power base of the Italian community in Jeannette, over a period of thirteen years the Americanization Society acquired property. In 1937, members bought three lots (totalling 75' by 100') on S. Sixth street between Mill Street and Short Street from the McKee Realty Company and erected a one story brick social hall. The hall had a large main floor and full basement, both with bars, and sponsored dances on Saturday nights. In August, 1943, the Society acquired two more lots from McKee Realty (totaling 50' x 100'), which became a children's playground adjacent to the hall. Three more lots, (totaling 75' x 100'), were purchased from McKee Realty in July 1950. In 1965 the Ascension church purchased the property and subsequently tore down the hall. The church now leases the land to the city for a park.¹³⁷

¹³⁶Corporation Books 22, p. 141 and 23, p. 565.

¹³⁷Deed books 989/309, 1149/417, 1389/202, and 1909/14; Gary Koll

The third Italian significant organization to build its own hall was the Societa Armanda Diaz Mutuo Soccorso (Diaz Club), located on the south side of Division Avenue near Lavell Street.¹³⁸ This three story brick and shingle building was erected c.1915 by the property owners Joseph Biava, a glassworker, and Albert Martinazzo, stone mason and building contractor who arrived in the United States in 1905. Both men were also original subscribers of the Garibaldi Society, although nothing is known of the relationship between members of the two societies. By 1913, Martinazzo and Biava had erected a two story, double structure, residing on the second floor of each half, respectively, while the first floors housed the club and a grocery. Between 1916 and 1925, a third story was added to the western half of the building. In July, 1921, Biava sold a portion of the property to the Societa Armanda Diaz Mutuo Soccorso for \$5,500.¹³⁹ In July, 1945, the Society acquired more property for \$4,600 from Antonio Napolitano, which it sold in 1980.

Ethnic organizations, like their fraternal counterparts, also had close ties to religious organizations. The Societa Italian di Mutuo Soccorso Congrega Maria SS. Del Carmine (Italian Mutual Aid Society of the Blessed Virgin of Mt. Carmel), the fourth Italian social club, was organized in 1918 and incorporated in 1923 by members of Ascension church "to bring together men of the parish who had fallen away from the church." Combining spiritual with social benefits, by the time of incorporation its purpose was almost entirely beneficial.¹⁴⁰ Many individuals listed on the charter lived near each other on Division avenue, suggesting that membership drew largely from a single village in the old country, as individuals from the same village tended to reside near each other in Jeannette.¹⁴¹

¹³⁸As no charter exists, little is known about the group aside from it was a social and beneficial organization.

¹³⁹City Directory 1913; Deed Book 478/35, 487/16, 487/18, 487/20, 712/37; 1910 Census. Sanborn maps 1916, 1925 and 1925 rev. 1951.

¹⁴⁰Ascension Church, Ascension's Golden Era 50th Anniversary Book, May 22, 1966 (Jeannette, PA: Ascension Church, 1966): 39; Corporation Book 16/257.

¹⁴¹According to the 1923 City Directory, Joseph Semendi, a laborer resided at 421 Division; Carl Tangretta, a laborer at Jeannette Glass Co. resided at 405 Division; Domenico Cima, a grocer, resided at 327 1/2 Division; and Pasquale (Peter) Di Palma, a laborer, resided at 330 Division. Several other members

The early beneficial fraternal organizations and the ethnic based mutual beneficial societies shared the common purpose of providing financial assistance for their members in times of hardship. Differences arose in the articulation and promotion of the ideal of brotherhood. Fraternal groups relied strongly upon rituals and titles to formalize members' relationships. Ethnic-based societies drew upon old country alliances and more informal procedures to recreate and maintain the sense of brotherhood. In addition, these later organizations had a greater impact on Jeannette's built environment, erecting clubhouses and social halls to provide space for community functions. The organization of mutual beneficial societies was one form of coping with being in a new country, a method of adapting and translating old forms of support to a new situation and ultimately establishing a new basis of power.

Religious Institutions

From its founding, Jeannette hosted a variety of religious institutions. Their early structures suggest the pivotal role of religion not only as a provider of spiritual and moral guidance, but as a social institution emblematic of the congregations' place of origin, and social and political concerns. As arbiters of moral standards and emblems of class hierarchies, religious institutions constituted microcosms of broader patterns in the urban environment. Their location in residential rather than commercial or industrial areas was typical of late nineteenth century church building. The actual designs and plans, with parish houses, social halls and lecture rooms, reflect a high degree of religious-based social programs.¹⁴²

As it did other aspects of Jeannette, the glass industry influenced the city's religious matrix. One of the earliest of Jeannette's religious institutions was the Sacred Heart Church. Original membership consisted of 100 German Catholic glass workers (and their families) accompanying H. Sellers McKee to Jeannette to work at the McKee Glass Company. During the Church's early years, announcements and sermons appeared in both German and English, and the school had a German room and an English room. Such accommodation suggests members' willingness to acknowledge the primary language of their new country without losing all traces of their native language. As other immigrants joined the church, diluting the German dominance, the members

resided on South Fourth Street.

¹⁴²Carole Rifkind, A Field Guide to American Architecture (New York: New American Library, 1980): 146-147.

themselves increasingly used English, and as more and more of the original members moved away from Jeannette, the use of German was dropped. The ethnic transformation of the Sacred Heart Congregation suggests not only the Germans' rapid assimilation and adaptation, but also the strong migratory trend among glass workers. Of the seven individuals on the 1897 Church Committee, five appeared in either the 1895 or 1913 Jeannette City Directories, and none were glassworkers.

Founded in 1889 as a glass manufacturing town, Jeannette's lack of facilities for worship led the town's Protestant congregations, such as the Methodist Episcopal, First Presbyterian, United Presbyterian, United Brethren, Grace Reformed and Holy Trinity, to share buildings. A 24' x 30', rough board chapel, erected in the apple orchard on the site of the present First United Presbyterian Church (S. Fourth street and Bullitt avenue), was used by at least four congregations including First Presbyterian. The tradition of sharing facilities continued after the turn of the century, when Protestant churches combined Sunday church services during the glass industry's summer slack period.¹⁴³ There is some evidence to suggest that doctrinal compatibility, as much as necessity, encouraged cooperation among different Protestant groups. In 1914, men's bible classes from a number of these institutions formed a new organization, the Brotherhood of Men Bible Students. Officers came from two of the largest congregations: Horace L. Smith, President, from the Presbyterian Sunday School, and Elmer E. Doerzbacher, secretary and Robert Froehlich, Treasurer, both from Grace Reformed Church.¹⁴⁴

Other congregations utilized public or privately-owned buildings until they could erect their own structures. Until their church building was completed, the congregation of the Grace Reformed Church used King's and Baughman's Halls. In 1916, while its new church was under construction, the Grace Reformed congregation held services in the Jr. O.U.A.M. hall.¹⁴⁵ This was especially

¹⁴³"Special Summer Services," The Jeannette News 3 July 1914, 1. Decision made by the Jeannette Ministerial Association.

¹⁴⁴"Men's Bible Classes Form an Organization," Jeannette Dispatch 29 January 1914, 1.

¹⁴⁵"Church Dedication," Jeannette Dispatch 30 May 1890; Grace United Church of Christ, 100th Anniversary 1889-1989 (Jeannette, PA: Grace United Church of Christ, 1989). The newspaper gives building cost figure of \$4,950.00, the church pamphlet cites

true in the town's "pioneer" period, when no public buildings or halls existed to hold services. Lutherans held the town's first church service in the early spring of 1889 in the unfinished mixing room of the Chambers and McKee Glass Company, with boards laid across nail kegs and boxes to serve as pews.¹⁴⁶ Pending completion of their new church, members of the Greek Ruthenian Church of St. Demetrius met at the home of member Mike Orange, a laborer in the glass factory, who had come to Jeannette from Austria in 1900.¹⁴⁷ Early masses for the Ascension Italian Church were held in a vacant storeroom near Sixth Street and Cassatt Avenue until the first part of the present church was completed in 1916-17.¹⁴⁸

During the 1890s, as congregations became more financially secure, they erected their own architecturally distinct structures. Although somewhat more refined than the rough board chapel, the first were also of wood construction, dictated by their desire to erect structures as quickly as possible with the limited financial resources available. The very earliest were one story, front gabled, rectangular structures, such as the Methodist Episcopal Church on Gaskill Avenue near Fifth Avenue. Subsequent structures had more characteristic religious detailing such as belfry towers and gothic windows, as found in the German Baptist Church on Gaskill Avenue near Tenth Avenue (later St. Demetrius).

Led by prominent, well-to-do residents, most Protestant congregations erected churches in the upscale Second Ward neighborhood known as "Sucker's Hill," (Holy Trinity, First Baptist, United Brethren, Grace Reformed and St. Mark's), or in the thriving commercial district surrounding upper Clay Avenue

\$3,600.

¹⁴⁶First Presbyterian Church, Fiftieth Anniversary of the First Presbyterian Church (Jeannette, PA: First Presbyterian Church, 1939): 9.

¹⁴⁷1910 Census, Ward 4, p. 12A. 32 years old at the time of the census.

¹⁴⁸The structure is characteristically Romanesque, and includes regular fenestration, projecting buttresses and surface patterns. The original building was a six-bay, central entry plan church. Both wings were seating areas for the parish and face a corner altar. The basement served as a church education center. The church property also includes an adjacent rectory and a meeting hall along Division Avenue.

(United Presbyterian and First Presbyterian). The construction of the the United Presbyterian Church at the corner of Clay Avenue and First Street, at the head of Jeannette's busiest commercial street in the upscale district dominated by the Hotel Marion and the Haines Company store, suggests this congregation wished to draw upon those associations.¹⁴⁹ A typical late nineteenth century Presbyterian Church, the simplified Victorian Gothic styled wood frame structure with the main entrance through the steeply gabled belfry tower was completed by 1891.¹⁵⁰

The congregation of Grace Reformed Church (now Grace United Church of Christ), built within Second Ward boundaries.¹⁵¹ Chartered in August, 1889, members laid their cornerstone on New Year's Day, 1890, and dedicated their church building five months later.¹⁵² The one story, wood frame, vaguely gothic and

¹⁴⁹See Chapter 3.

¹⁵⁰The Board of Church Extension of the United Presbyterian Church of North America acquired three lots from the Western Land Improvement Company in April 1889 for \$1350. (Deed Book 173/370) While no records exist of early membership, nor is there much mention of church activities in the newspaper, the church incorporated in 1902 as the First United Presbyterian Congregation. (Corporation Book 6/238. According to a conversation with John W. Mochnick on August 6, 1991, a local historian and member of First United Presbyterian Church who is in the process of writing a history of that church, United Presbyterian was an associate church while First Presbyterian was a reformed church. See The Encyclopedia of Religion, Mircea Eliad, ed. [New York: MacMillan Publishing Co., 1987] for a discussion of the history of the different branches of the Presbyterian church). Individuals listed in the 1902 charter encompassed a broad spectrum of Jeannette societ. Trustees included W.S. Sloan, merchant, feed and building supplies; John Caruthers, gatherer; and Edward Bauer, glassworker. Seven of the ten subscribers were women, including Mrs. J.W. Ambler, wife of J. W. Ambler, owner of a dry goods store.

¹⁵¹Early members and trustees included Harvey D. Klingensmith, postmaster, Grapeville Station; Israel B. Watters, an engineer and later proprietor of Jeannette Steam Laundry (see also Royal Arcanum and Jr. O.U.A.M. discussions); John Jacobs, butcher; and Charles B. Matthews, packer.

¹⁵²"Report November 1, 1888 -- July 1, 1889," Jeannette Dispatch 8 November 1889, 2; "The Corner Stone of Grace Reformed Church Layed with Impressive Ceremonies," Jeannette Dispatch 3

romanesque styled building was designed by R. H. McGraw, built by Sullivan and Roth for \$4,950.00. The neighboring two story wood frame parsonage was also completed in 1890 for \$1,600. The church building, which seated 350 and had a large basement used for Sunday school and other purposes, was replaced on the same site in 1916. The new building, a red brick, front gabled, one story Gothic styled structure with a central aisle plan and short transept arms, has a belfry tower on the northeast corner of the building.

Reflecting the predominance of German glass workers in its congregation, the Sacred Heart's first services were held near the factories. On November 17, 1889, Father Severin Laufenberg, O.S.B., the Church's first permanent pastor, said Mass in a temporary wooden structure (H. E. Wallace, contractor,) on a lot owned by Michael Burton on S. Seventh Street between Clay Avenue and Magee Avenue. Soon afterward, the Church purchased eight lots (311' x 150') on North Seventh Street between Cowan Avenue and Patton Avenue, across the tracks from the factories but even farther from the upscale neighborhoods of the Second Ward. By 1890, it had erected a two story frame building, conducting services on the second floor and classes on the first, where the rectory was also located. As the school thrived, the parish constructed a new building at North Seventh and Patton, and the original school became a convent.¹⁵³ A second story was added in 1904 containing two class rooms and an auditorium. In April 1903 the Church acquired two more lots to the northeast with a building that would later be replaced by the present rectory building. In October 1915 they acquired lot 359 on Patton Street to the southeast of the original eight lots. The total property presently encompasses 1.8 acres (250' x 311.67').¹⁵⁴

January 1890, 1; Jeannette Dispatch 9 May 1890, 1.

¹⁵³Subsequently razed when replaced by the present convent on Patton Street.

¹⁵⁴Plans for the present church building were submitted by Pittsburgh architect Carlton Strong in February 1923, with the building contract awarded to Edward J. Wehr, Pittsburgh, for \$187,787 in March 1923. The cornerstone was laid in September 1923 and the building was dedicated in July 1924. The old church building became a social center. In 1927, the Church added a wing to the rear of the brick school that contained four classrooms, an entrance hall, bathrooms and cloak rooms. Two old classrooms became an auditorium. The present school building, also of sandstone laid in irregular courses of roughfaced ashlar with contrasting smoothfaced Indiana limestone ashlar for the

Congregations founded in the early twentieth century illustrate the ethnic transformation of the glass industry's workforce brought on by America's second industrial revolution. Many of St. Demetrius' early members arrived in this country between 1900 and 1910 from Austria, finding work as laborers in the glass factories, or as miners.¹⁵⁵ From the beginning, the church was the focal point of Jeannette's Ukranian community, providing not only spiritual guidance and support, but also social activities (actors guild, picnics, baseball team) and a meeting place for organizations such as the Brotherhood of St. Josaphat, Branch No. 89 of the Providence Association of Ukrainian Catholics in America, organized in 1916.¹⁵⁶ Ascension Church on Division Avenue, organized in 1914 by Father Benedict Ingenito, then an assistant pastor at Sacred Heart Church, served the Italian community in much the same way as St. Demetrius served the Ukranian community. The church provided spiritual guidance, sponsored church plays, card parties, bazaars and spaghetti dinners. Many of these activities raised funds for expanding the church, addressed the cultural needs of its Italian parishoners, and serving to facilitate the acculturation process. Early parishoners included a large number of glassworkers, such as Anthony and Joseph Evangelist, both assistant foremen at the Jeannette Glass Company. Over the years many organizations have used the church facilities or have been organized by parishoners, including the Dante Verdi Club in the 1920s, and the Mount Carmel Society, with its feast day celebration on July 16.

The growing diversification of Jeannette's industrial base and the increasing ethnic heterogeneity of the glass industry's workforce led to mergers between congregations, leaving behind structures often purchased and remodeled by different denominations. In 1909, the First German Baptist Church of Jeannette, located on Gaskill Avenue west of North Tenth Street, merged with the First Baptist Church, as the German population had "become more or less uncertain in numbers and in many instances the German people themselves have preferred to unite with the First Baptist Church of Jeannette...."¹⁵⁷ Of the eight

exterior and interior trim was erected in 1960.

¹⁵⁵1910 Census, Ward 4, p. 4A. Klym at the time was a boarder in a house on South Sixth Street.

¹⁵⁶History of St. Demetrius Church," Saint Demetrius Ukrainian Catholic Church Diamond Jubilee Celebration October 27, 1984, n.p.

¹⁵⁷Corporation Book 9/360.

individuals listed in the First German Baptist Church's charter of February, 1892, only half are listed in the 1895 City Directory. The following year, Wasko Senczyszyn, Mikolay Olubisz, Michal Orynica and Michal Klym, trustees of the Greek Catholic Ruthenian Church of St. Demetrius, bought the property for \$2,500.00. Since then, the one story wood frame building has undergone a number of changes. Originally, a belfry projected from the front gabled facade, with gothic windows on either side of the tower. In 1948 the structure was covered with insulbrick and in 1954 it was encased in stone, the gable roof of the tower was replaced by an onion dome, a round stained glass window was inserted into the front tower wall, and the building facade walls were made flush with the tower. In 1984 the aluminum banya of the dome was covered with gold mylar.¹⁵⁸

Conclusion

From Jeannette's earliest days, the glass industry decisively shaped the composition and development of its fraternal, ethnic and religious organizations. In the post-Civil War years, the industry expanded rapidly, in large part based on the skills of native-born, German, British, Belgian and French workers. Part of that late nineteenth century expansion, Jeannette attracted a workforce whose ethnic mix reflected that of the glass industry nationally. Workers, shopkeepers and professionals in the town belonged to a variety of organizations that served cultural, recreational, financial and religious needs ranging from the nativism of the Jr. O.U.A.M. to the nationalism of the Garibaldi Society. Jeannette's built environment came to mirror the varied interests of its residents.

Yet, those interests changed over time as the glass industry mechanized, its workforce grew ethnically more diverse, and the city's industrial base came to include tires, tennis balls and highly sophisticated machines, as well as glass. Polarized in the 1890s, native-born residents might have belonged to the Elks, the Moose Club, the Masons, or even the Jr. O.U.A.M., while Germans might have joined the Turners and Belgians the Lafayette Club. By the early twentieth century, there was little evidence of the Belgian Clubs; the majority of Turners no longer worked in the glass industry; and the nativism of Jeannette's American Mechanics had waned as their principal targets, Belgians in the window glass industry, left the city to establish cooperatives in Fayette County. On the other hand, the immigration of thousands of Italians, sparked by national immigration patterns and the abundance of work in the region's coal and glass industries,

¹⁵⁸Deed Book 1005/348

spurred the formation of numerous organizations dedicated to their political, religious and cultural needs.

**ADDENDUM TO
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