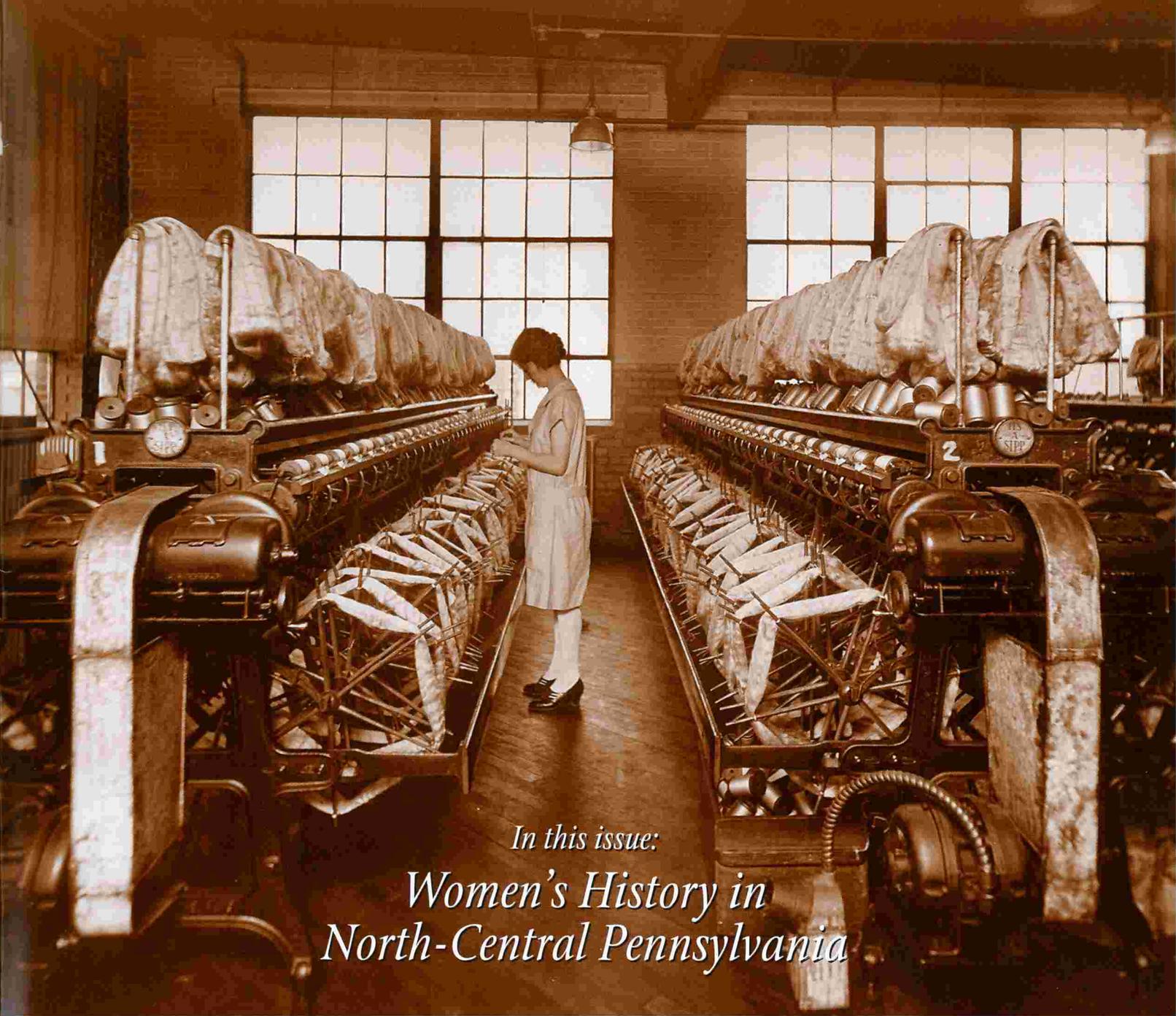


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The
JOURNAL
of the
Lycoming County Historical Society



In this issue:

*Women's History in
North-Central Pennsylvania*

CONTENTS

Letter from the Editor 1

Women at Work in North-Central Pennsylvania: Images from the Historical Society's Collections 2

Women of the Ku Klux Klan: A Local Diary and Letters... 22



Cover Photo

"W. R. Hoehn Silk Mill Co.—Winding," Williamsport, 1928.
(D. Vincent Smith #21248)

The Hoehn Mill opened at 201 Pine Street in about 1921, when the city directory listed it as one of nine mills in the city. A single young woman, standing for ten hours a day, ran several winding machines at once. Child labor laws, passed in the early 1900s, now prohibited the employment of young girls like the one shown in Lewis Hine's famous photograph, "Girl Worker in Carolina Cotton Mill," 1908 (at right). Perhaps Williamsport photographer D. Vincent Smith was familiar with the Hine photograph. The company paid Smith to take this and other photographs, probably for insurance purposes, but Smith produced an artistic image that seems inspired by Hine's.



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Letter from the Editor

This issue of the *Journal* is the first ever to focus entirely on women's history. None of the official state historic markers in Lycoming County memorialize the contributions of an individual woman or group of women. No building in the region is dedicated to the history of women, although that is about to change. The profile of women's history in north-central Pennsylvania will go up considerably with the opening of the Historical Society's Johnson-Lamade-Durrwachter House, scheduled for 2006. LCHS's interpretation of this new house museum will focus on women's social history in the region, including servants as well as millionaires' wives, factory workers as well as doctors and teachers.

The photo essay in this journal depicts the range of women's work in the region, from housework to office, from silk mill to art studio. It also shows the range of women in the social hierarchy, including upper-class women doing volunteer work, middle-class women at work in offices and on farms, and working-class women employed in factories. The photographs hint at the extensive contributions women made to the economy and social fabric of their communities.

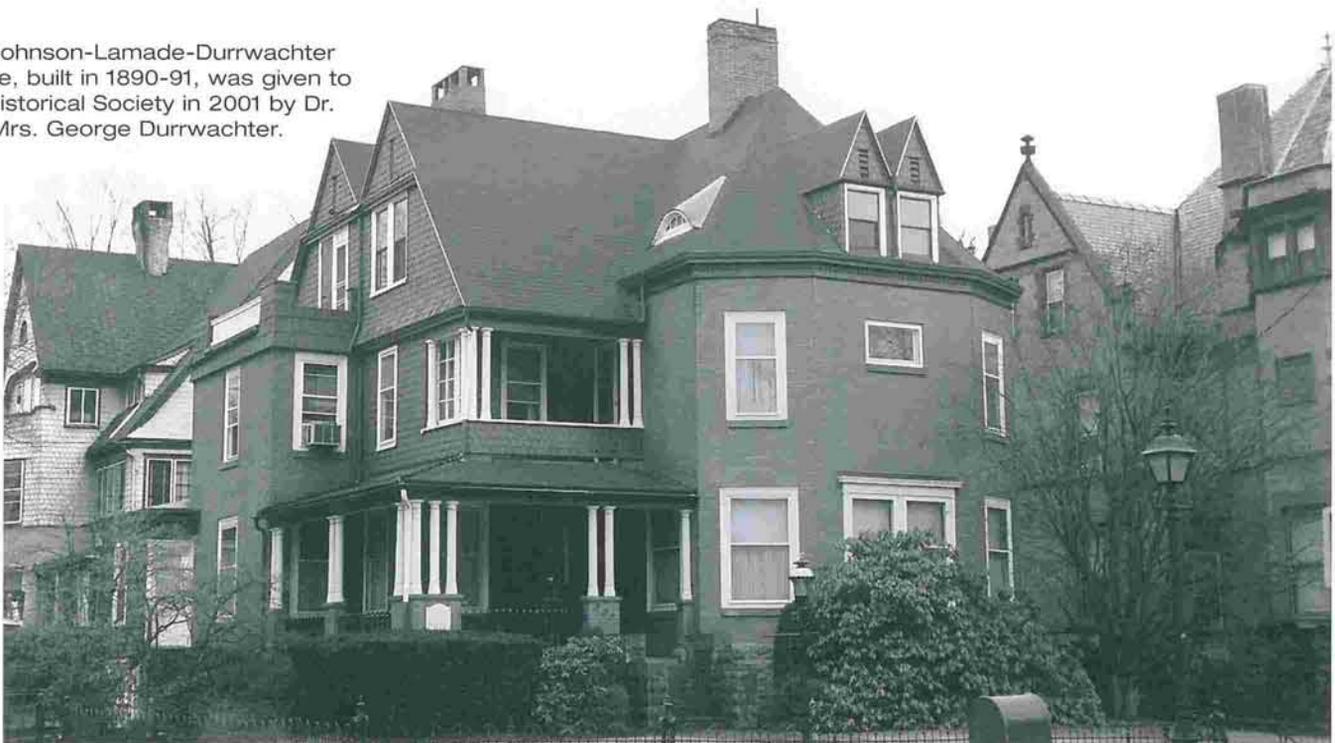
But many of the women pictured are anonymous. Often a single photograph is the only clue that women did a certain type of work. For example, we know that women worked in heavy industry in wartime, but photographs also show women working at Lycoming Auto in the 1920s, when there was no wartime emergency. Was this usual, or was it an exception? We need to do more research to see how local patterns in women's lives fit into the national picture.

Readers may be able to help identify some of the anonymous women and unidentified places pictured here. If you recognize any of these women, please let us know. Your personal and family memories can help fill in the gaps of what we know about women's work in this region over the past century.

The second piece in this issue uncovers women's participation in a little-known organization, the Women of the Ku Klux Klan, in the 1920s and 1930s. Original documents written by members of this group reveal female participation in cross-burnings and Klan demonstrations, events that newspaper accounts portrayed as all-male. These letters and diary represent the perspectives of individual writers, and so may not be entirely reliable historic sources in and of themselves. But they are important because they show how the Klan worked with other voluntary organizations, and how Klan activities were just another part of everyday life in the Susquehanna Valley, for women as well as men.

The next issue of the *Journal* will focus on historic preservation, past and present, in north-central Pennsylvania. We will examine the origins of the historic preservation movement in this area, within the context of the national movement. The 2005 issue will also include a survey of buildings lost and found, significant structures that have been demolished in the name of development and those that have been rescued and restored. We welcome information on historic preservation efforts throughout the region. Please submit articles or resource materials to the *Journal* editor.

The Johnson-Lamade-Durrwachter House, built in 1890-91, was given to the Historical Society in 2001 by Dr. and Mrs. George Durrwachter.





Eight Women, Jersey Shore, c. 1900. (William H. Garman, LCHS #P18.9006)

Women at Work in North-Central Pennsylvania:

IMAGES FROM THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY'S COLLECTIONS

By Alison Hirsch

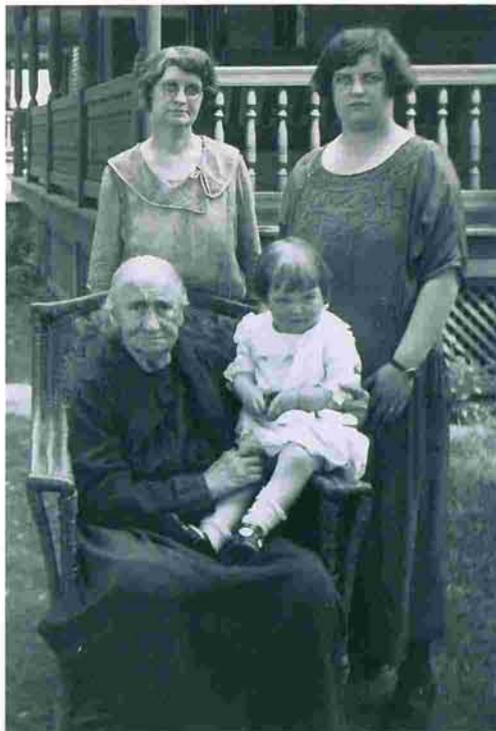
In the traditional historic narrative of north-central Pennsylvania, men played most of the leading roles, as loggers and lumber barons, builders of homes and industries, and organizers of institutions and communities. Men were the lawyers, the politicians, the business owners, and the visionaries who established everything from Millionaires' Row to the Little League. They were the adventurers and troublemakers who fought the Sawdust War and rode the Last Raft. Woman's place was in the home, where they were largely invisible, attracting notice and being photographed only on special occasions, usually at marriage and sometimes at death. Women appeared in this traditional narrative only when they broke into men's world: when they became business owners in their own names, usually as widows; when they entered predominantly male professions like medicine, politics, or the ministry; or when they supported charities and social clubs as donors and volunteers in women's "auxiliaries."

Woman's place has been in the home, to be sure. But, since the nineteenth century, it has also been at the typewriter, on the assembly line, in the schoolroom, and beside the hospi-

tal bed. At each of these work sites, women contributed to the development of their communities and to economic growth. Even within the home, women have often worked for pay, by taking in boarders, doing laundry or mending, or selling homemade or commercial products to friends

and neighbors. In family businesses or on family farms, women's work has been vital to the success of enterprises that usually bore only the names of the male heads of household but actually employed many more members of extended families.

Until the late 1970s, annual statistics show that most women in the United States were not working outside the home. But for more than a hundred years before that, the majority of women probably did wage work for at least part of their lives, usually after leaving school and before marrying. African American and other minority women have, in general, always worked outside the home for most of their lives. In the twentieth century, the percentage of white women who worked outside the home grew steadily. More women worked at some stage in their lives,



"Four Generations," probably Williamsport, c. 1925. (D. Vincent Smith, GPN #357a)

and they worked for increasingly longer periods before and after marriage, and after their children were out of school or reached a certain age.

Most women who worked outside the home did so out of necessity, although the common wisdom was that women really did not need to work; they only worked for "pin money," a few extra dollars to buy fancy clothes for themselves. But those who were single, divorced, or widowed needed to work to support themselves and their families, as did many whose fathers, brothers, or husbands could not earn a living wage for their families. The earnings of married women often increased the family income enough to enable them to get by, or to make the difference between poverty and middle-class comfort.

Of course, much of the work women have done has been unpaid, and therefore unrecognized. Unpaid housework and childcare contributed to the overall economy by freeing men to work long hours for low pay, so that new industries could expand rapidly. In towns across Pennsylvania, wives cooked and cleaned for boarders or took in laundry for the hordes of single men who came to work in the mines or steel mills. Daughters went to work in the silk mills and clothing factories that operated in nearly every coal or steel town. Women's work supple-

mented the men's meager wages, enabled whole families to survive, and allowed industrialists to keep their costs down.

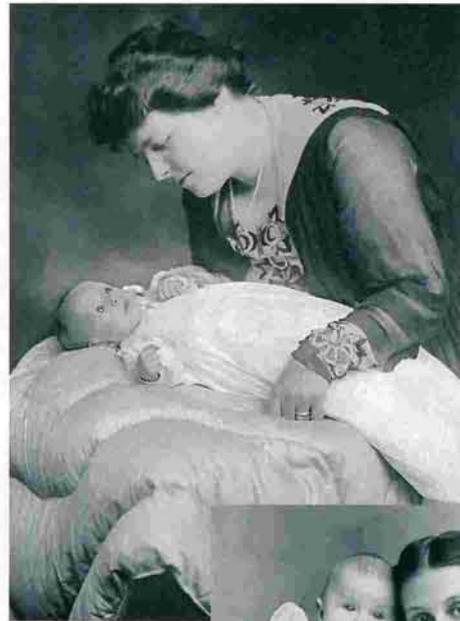
In Lycoming County and the surrounding region, women's work followed state and national trends, with some variations, as this photographic essay illustrates. The Historical Society's photograph collections are rich sources for social history, including the history of women's work. Sometimes, a photograph is the only remaining evidence that women did certain types of work at specific moments in history. In other cases, there are no photographs to accompany the evidence from documents or oral history. For instance, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Williamsport was a center for the manufacture of braid and trim, used for clothing, hats, lamps, and furniture—labor that was certainly done by women—but no photographs have been found of women workers at any of the early braid factories.

Women's work has been a vital part of north-central Pennsylvania's economic history, but women have all too often been invisible partners. This photo essay is an attempt to make visible the working women of the past, as a step toward piecing together a more inclusive historical narrative of the region.



African-American Festival, Brandon Park, 1992. (Craig Smith, LCHS #1999.173.2)

Women's lives were defined by family, marriage, and motherhood. These photographs of multi-generational groups of women show the strong links between women in the same family, although those relationships may not have been clear to outsiders (or to historians), since the women would not have shared the same last name throughout their lives.



LaRue Davies and an unidentified woman, probably his mother, c. 1880. (Photographer unknown, LCHS)



"Goldie & Baby," Jersey Shore, c. 1890. (William H. Garman, LCHS #P20.9757)

Housework

Much of women's work outside the home has its origins in housework. From the earliest white settlement of the region, women, especially widows, have turned their homes into taverns, inns, and boarding houses. They also took their housewifery skills outside the home. Because women traditionally cleaned their own homes, they found work cleaning other people's houses, hotels, and offices. Women cooked for their own families, so they were hired to cook in restaurants, hospitals, and other institutions. They knitted and sewed at home, so textile mills and clothing factories naturally sought female employees. Even the household labor they performed on the telephone made them ideal receptionists, telephone operators, and telephone marketers.



"Christmas, 1919—age 83, 9 mo," Williamsport, c. 1890. (R. Y. Nice, LCHS #P17.7716.)

This photograph was probably taken at Nice's downtown studio, but the woman knits as if she were sitting in her own home. Knitting was often a way for middle-class women to contribute to the family economy.



Woman sweeping outside the house, c. 1910. (Photographer unknown, LCHS #P17.7651)

Was this woman the mistress of the house, a relative, or a servant?



Woman on her kitchen telephone, c. 1974. (Ron Allen?, LCHS #P17.7502)

Is she placing an order at a store or calling about home repairs? Arranging car pools or play dates for children? Making volunteer calls for church, or calling customers? Stereotypes of women talking too much on the telephone ignore the reality that women have done much work—paid and unpaid—over the phone.



"My Best Wishes to all my dear classmates, Harriet," c. 1961. (Photographer unknown, LCHS #P20.9758)

This woman's home was clearly her pride and joy.



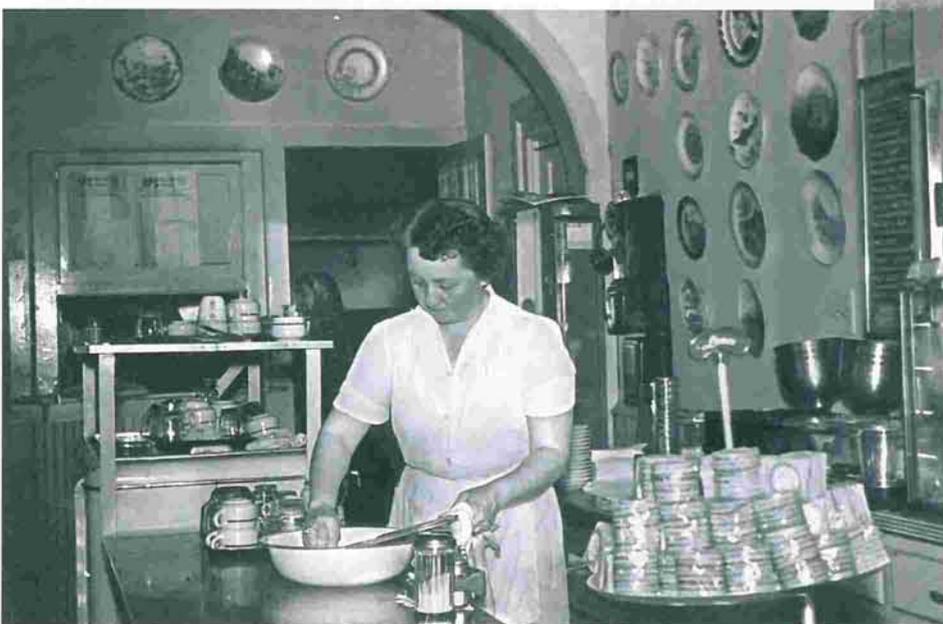
Girls working in the kitchen of the Home for the Friendless, c. 1950. (Photographer unknown, LCHS #WMPT.SA.HF.35)

A small group of women from ten local churches founded the Home for the Friendless, later called the Williamsport Home, in 1872, as a refuge for "homeless and friendless women and children, especially aged women." Orphans worked in the Home after school. While boys did carpentry or grounds work, the girls worked in the customary women's domain of the kitchen.



Women and shoes, c. 1950. (Photographer unknown, LCHS #P18.9026)

These two women seem to be inspecting used shoes for holes and worn-out heels, probably for their fellow residents of the Home for the Friendless. For many years, the Home for the Friendless was managed, operated, and staffed almost entirely by women.



Woman preparing food in restaurant, c. 1950. (Photographer unknown, Karen Stotz Myers Collection)

Cooking in restaurants and institutions was a natural extension of women's traditional role in the kitchen.



Mrs. W. Bruner's Liberty Bell Cottage, Atlantic City, N.J., 1903. (D. Vincent Smith #5036)

Williamsport photographer D. Vincent Smith and his bride, Lillian (front row, second and third from right), apparently stayed at this boarding house, at 14 North Georgia Avenue in Atlantic City, for their honeymoon. By the early 1900s, Atlantic City was a popular resort, and its boarding houses served tourists rather than workers. But its owner, Mrs. Bruner, probably had much in common with Williamsport's boarding house operators. Note the young girl's pail and shovel, brought to the beach from the home fireplace. Toy pails and shovels were yet to come.

Family in front of Lodging House. "A Merry Christmas and a Happy New Year to Nell and Charlie / Dec. 25, 1898 / From Mary and Eugene." (Photographer unknown, LCHS #P20.9755)

For their Christmas card, these parents of a toddler proudly displayed their bicycles and their home as symbols of their middle-class status. The sign on the door "Lodgers Wanted" is an indication that they were still striving to achieve that status, taking in lodgers to augment family income.



Since married women almost always quit their jobs at marriage or the birth of a child, taking in boarders was a way for women to earn money at home. Some families took in occasional lodgers only; others operated large boarding houses. Only the latter were officially listed in business directories.

The 1898 Williamsport Directory lists thirty-four boarding houses. Women, mostly widows, were the sole proprietors of twenty-three of these; another, at 418 Park Avenue, was owned by two female partners, Clara Shultz and Lizzie Lisenringer. For widows left without a steady

income, decades before the introduction of Social Security, turning the family home into a rooming house was often the best way to maintain their standard of living. Boarding houses were concentrated downtown, especially on Third, Fourth, and Market Streets. Clusters also operated near factories, for instance on Erie and Park Avenues.

Even if the man of the house was listed as the boarding house operator, his wife or other female relatives—and female servants, in the case of larger establishments—probably did most of the work of cleaning rooms, preparing and serving meals, and doing boarders' laundry.

Farm Work

When a woman's home was also a farm, her work multiplied. Until the early twentieth century, most Americans lived and worked on farms. Although "farmer" was a male job description, farm women traditionally tended vegetable gardens, milked the cows, made butter and cheese, fed the chickens, and gathered the eggs. But a woman was called a "farmer" only when she had no adult male living with her. As early as 1796, one widow, Phoebe Jones, was called a "farmer" on a list of taxable inhabitants in Loyalsock Township. All the other farmers listed were men, although most of them probably had wives, sisters, or daughters who worked on the farm as well.

At harvest time, wives and daughters worked in the fields alongside the men when necessary. The husbands and fathers pictured here might have agreed with a New York farmer who wrote in 1875 that his wife "helped me hay it as good as a man."¹ But most of women's work on the farm was done outside the view of the camera: raising crops in kitchen gardens; milking the cows and feeding the chickens; making butter, cheese and ice cream; and canning fruits and vegetables for the winter. Women's labor often brought in income for the family, when the women were able to sell their surplus eggs, dairy products, and canned goods.



Woman and Cow/Woman in Hammock, c. 1910.
(Photographer unknown, LCHS #P17.7722)

These two photographs were mounted back to back in an album, in a humorous contrast of women's work and leisure.



S.J. Musselman Farm, Middleburg, c. August 1912. (D. Vincent Smith #10519)

Williamsport photographer D. Vincent Smith rode his bicycle through the countryside to take photographs of farm families, especially at harvest time.



Unidentified Farm Family, early 1900s. (D. Vincent Smith #UNN 102)

Factories

At the height of Pennsylvania's silk industry, more than fifty mills within a hundred miles of Williamsport produced silk for dresses, ties, umbrellas, linings, ribbons, and hat bands. The largest mill was that of John N. Stearns at Memorial Avenue and Oliver Street. Stearns opened his first mill in New York City in 1866; he moved the operation to Williamsport in 1892, citing the region's "plentiful labor, modern machinery,...exceptional shipping facilities, coupled with reasonable freight rates." At least in part because it was plentiful, local labor was cheap and unlikely to protest low wages or long hours. Stearns paid workers \$1.00 to \$1.25 a day for a sixty-hour work week, which was better than most other types of work open to women. According to Stearns, "There is no need for any girl or woman in this section [of the country] to remain idle if they desire to work."²

The Stearns Silk Mill closed in 1933; most of the region's other mills also closed during that decade of the Great Depression. Multiple factors weakened the industry. War between China and Japan cut off the supply of raw silk from China, and synthetic fabrics like nylon and rayon came to replace silk. The Holmes Silk Mill, founded in 1898, lasted the longest; it was able to stay open until 1958 by switching to synthetics.

In 1912, the Holmes Mill saw Williamsport's only recorded silk mill strike, waged for two weeks "in order to secure a living wage." At first, the Williamsport News

reported that the women workers did not "take the strike seriously," but four days into the strike, its leaders complimented "the girls who are also large supporters." When large numbers of strikers, including skilled "girl weavers" began leaving town to find work elsewhere, City Council wrote to the company's owners and managers to urge that they accede to the strikers' demands.³



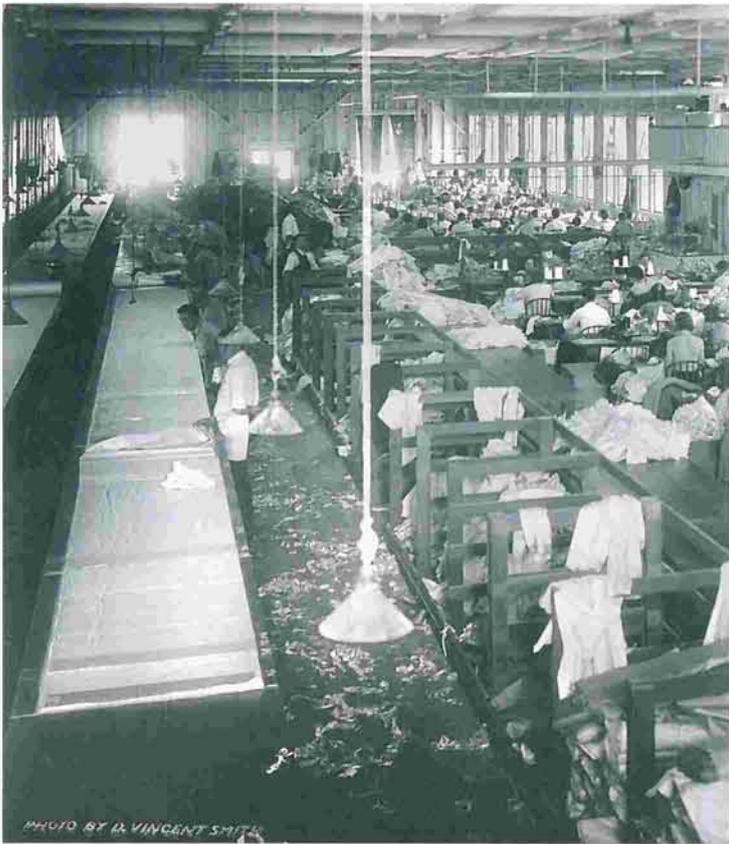
Edith and Emma Faulstich, Stearns Silk Mill, c. 1905. (Photographer unknown, LCHS #WMPT.MA.27)

The Faulstich sisters worked together as weavers for many years. Edith entered the mill in 1900; Emma joined her in 1904. By 1915, Emma had become a "forelady" at the mill; she later became the assistant superintendent of the mill. In 1930, Emma became assistant manager of Keystone Silk Mill in South Williamsport. When that closed, she became an insurance agent. Throughout the period, Edith remained a weaver.



Lloyd's Shirt Factory Employees. "First row right, Ellie Campbell and co-workers in Lloyd's Shirt Factory, Picture before she was married in 1881." (Photographer unknown, LCHS #WMPT.BU.72)

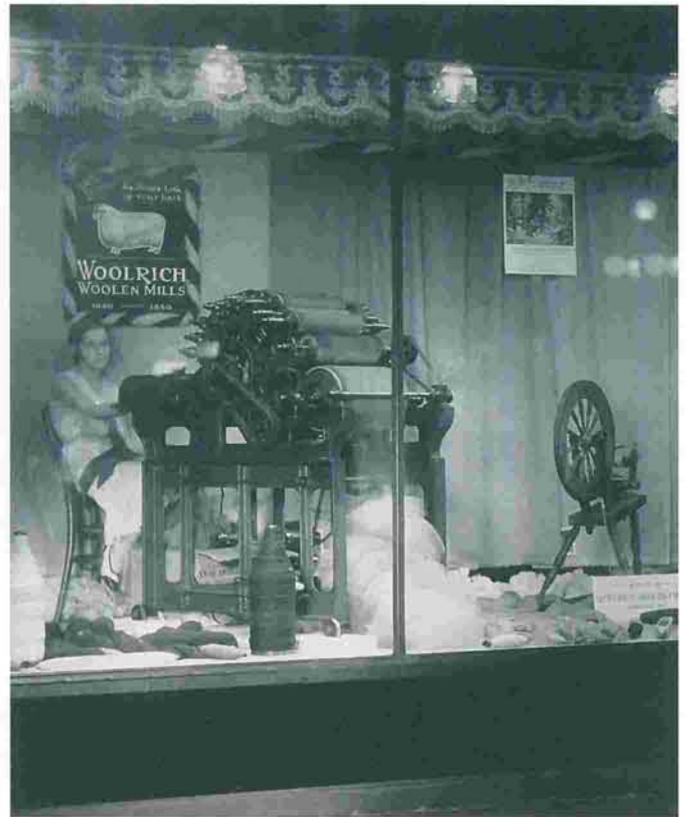
These young women had their photograph taken in fine clothing, some of which was probably borrowed for the occasion. Lloyd's Laundry and Shirt Manufacturing, located at 114 West Willow Street, was one of just two garment factories in Williamsport at the time.



"Pajama Factory," 1933. (D. Vincent Smith #26203)

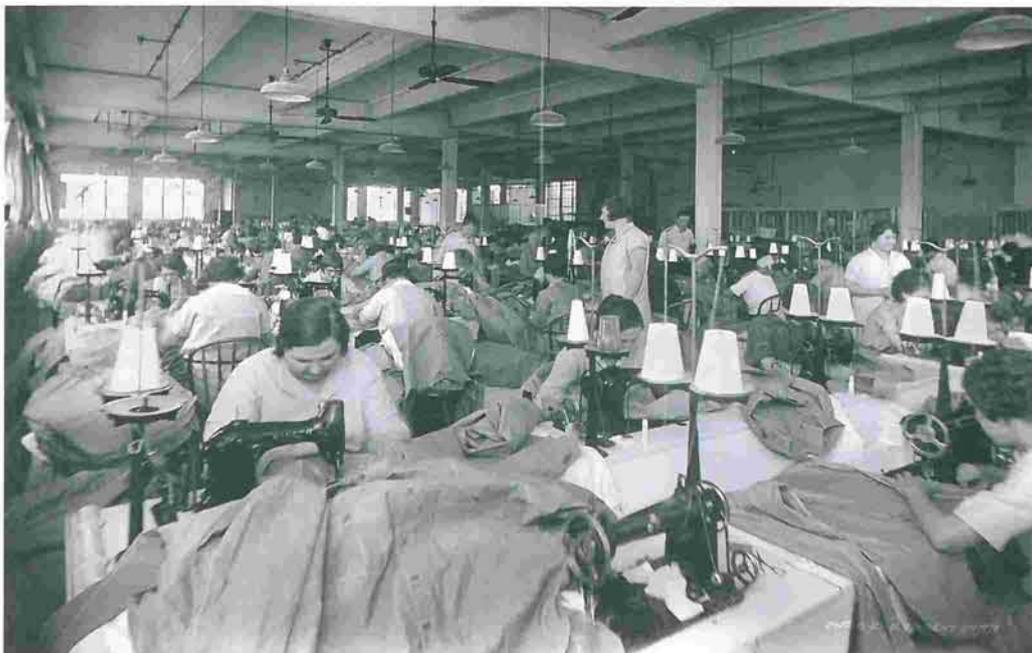
This was probably the Smith-Levin-Harris, Inc. Shirt Co., which shared 1307 Park Avenue with the Faxon Fabrics Corp. This photograph shows the typical division of labor in clothing manufacture: women at the sewing machines, and men at the cutting table. Considered skilled labor, cutting was done almost entirely by men and paid much more than stitching. Both men and women worked as pressers, but even when they did the same work, men usually made twice as much as women.

Another photograph taken at the same time shows about eighty employees standing outside the building; three-quarters of the workers were women. In the 1960s, the producers of *Pajama Game* filmed the building's exterior to set the scene for their movie about love and life in a pajama factory.⁴



Woolrich Display at an Industrial Exhibition in Lock Haven, 1931. (D. Vincent Smith #24827)

Woolrich showed how natural it was for a young woman to operate its new power loom—just an extension of the traditional work of young women at the spinning wheel.



Sewing Room, H. D. Rob Company, Sunbury, 1928. (D. Vincent Smith #20925)

This New York-based company hired D. Vincent Smith to photograph its three factories in central Pennsylvania, located in Sunbury, Milton, and Frackville. In the 1920s and 1930s, garment manufacturers moved their operations to Southern states and to rural areas in the North, where they found workers who were willing to work for lower wages and also less likely to unionize or strike for better conditions.



Mold makers, Spencer Heater (part of Lycoming Auto Corp.), 1928. (Photographer unknown, LCHS Oversize Photos, Box 5A)



Pattern making room, Lycoming Auto Corp., August 1921. (D. Vincent Smith #14570)

Most workers in the early auto industry were men, but like other automakers Lycoming Auto employed women to work at particular tasks that required manual dexterity working with small parts. Lycoming Auto was located at the corner of Oliver Street and the Northern Central Railway tracks (now Memorial Avenue). Note the women's work outfits, baggy pants designed to prevent the accidents caused by long skirts.



"Machines and Girls," Bethlehem Steel, 1944. (D. Vincent Smith #33901)

Located at the foot of Campbell Street, now the site of Williamsport Wire Rope, this plant—like many others across the country—employed women during World War II in jobs traditionally held by men. When the war ended, the women were thanked for their services and laid off.

Professionals

The earliest professions open to women were those that were a natural extension of women's work at home. Teaching grew out of women's role as the educators of young children. Nursing was an extension of women's role as nurturer and healer.

Teaching was one of the first professions open to women, who were concentrated in elementary schools

while men did most of the high school teaching. Like other school districts across the country, Williamsport preferred to hire men or unmarried women as teachers until well into the twentieth century. The practice of firing married women who became pregnant lasted until the 1960s.



Laura Sprague and Her Class, Clay School, Williamsport, c. 1895. "Williamsport, Pa./Clay School, Vine & Rose Streets., 65 years ago/Thank you so much/Mrs. Laura Sprague/Mrs. Sadie Greenaway, Jersey Shore, RD 2." (Photographer unknown, LCHS #WMPT. SC.C.1)

Laura A. Sprague was probably not married at the time she taught. She lived a block down Vine Avenue from the school, with Augustus Sprague, a filer, and Mary J. Sprague, a milliner, who were probably her father and sister.

Girls playing, probably during recess at the Emery School, c. 1920. (Photographer unknown, LCHS #WMPT.SC.T.8)

Until the second half of the twentieth century, black high school graduates could not find work or get training in the two main professional fields open to women, teaching and nursing. The same was true at first for Italian-Americans and other European ethnic groups who were part of the "new immigration" of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.



Organic Chemistry class at Dickinson Seminary (now Lycoming College) for students of the Williamsport Hospital School of Nursing, c. 1930. (Photographer unknown, LCHS #WMPT.SC.LC.21)

In the late nineteenth century, few women in the United States were able to train as doctors, but Williamsport had nine female doctors in the 1880s and 1890s. Two of them, Dr. Jean Saylor Brown and Dr. Rita Biansia Church, played important roles in the founding of Williamsport Hospital in 1881 and the Training School for Nurses in 1883.



Art Class, Dickinson Seminary, 1899. (Photographer unknown, LCHS #WMPT.SC.LC.6)

For well-to-do women in the nineteenth century, painting was a genteel hobby and a sign of a proper education. But some women did become professional artists. Laura Stuart, the wife of photographer Eugene Stuart, had her art gallery on East Third Street, next to her husband's photography studio. Their daughter, Mary, taught music at Dickinson Seminary. Lycoming County's most noted woman artist, Dewing Woodward (1856-1950), went to Paris to study. She left off her first name, Martha, so that people would accept her artistic work in exhibitions as a man's.

Buying and Selling

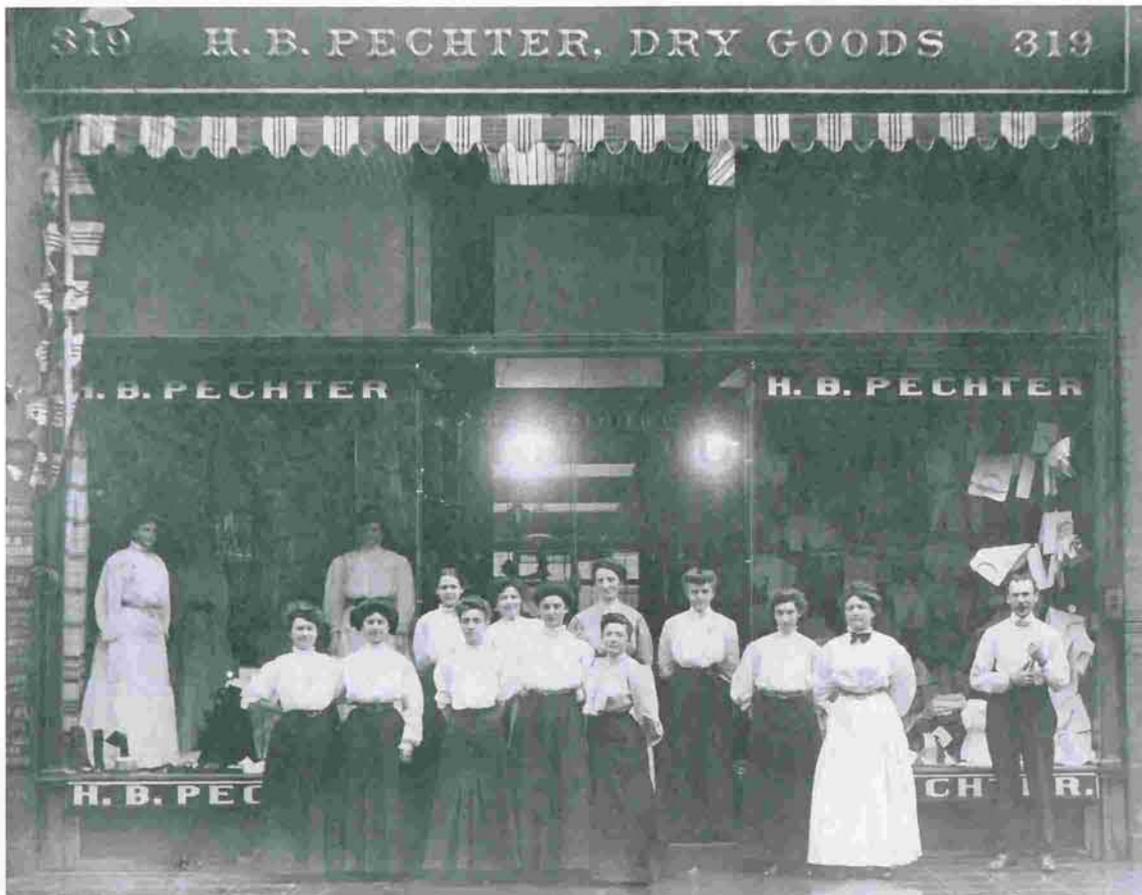
Women's work gradually shifted from making things for the home to buying household goods. Shopping is not usually considered work, but it takes time and labor to choose and pay for goods. Women's labor in "making do" with their husbands' low wages often made the difference

between poverty and a decent standard of living for their families. Women sought out bargains, saved pennies, redeemed stamps and boxtops, clipped coupons, and canned fruits and vegetables—all labor-intensive activities that stretched the dollars their husbands brought home. Since women were the majority of customers, many stores found that it paid to have female employees—not only were their wages cheaper, but they knew what female customers wanted.



"Mrs. Nicholas Funston, Funston and Snyder Bakery and Ice Cream Parlor," Newberry, c. 1910. (Photographer unknown, LCHS #WMPT.BU.40)

Elizabeth Funston and Mary Snyder were widows who ran this ice cream parlor at 835 Diamond Street, which was also Mary's home. Elizabeth lived next door, where three other adults, probably her children, shared the house with her. Her daughter, Retta, worked as a clerk at the Grit, while sons Nicholas and William ran Funston Cigar Store, which was also a pool hall, on Arch Street.



Harry B. Pechter Dry Goods Store, 319 East Third Street, c. 1910. (Photographer unknown, LCHS #WMPT.BU.87)

The man on the right is presumably owner Harry Pechter, standing at a distance from his all-female staff. Pechter opened his own shop in about 1903 at 32 East Third Street. He lived at the Park Hotel for several years. The woman dressed all in white may have been his wife. A married woman who worked in a store was a "shop lady," but most employees were young "shop girls," working for just a few years after schooling and before marriage.

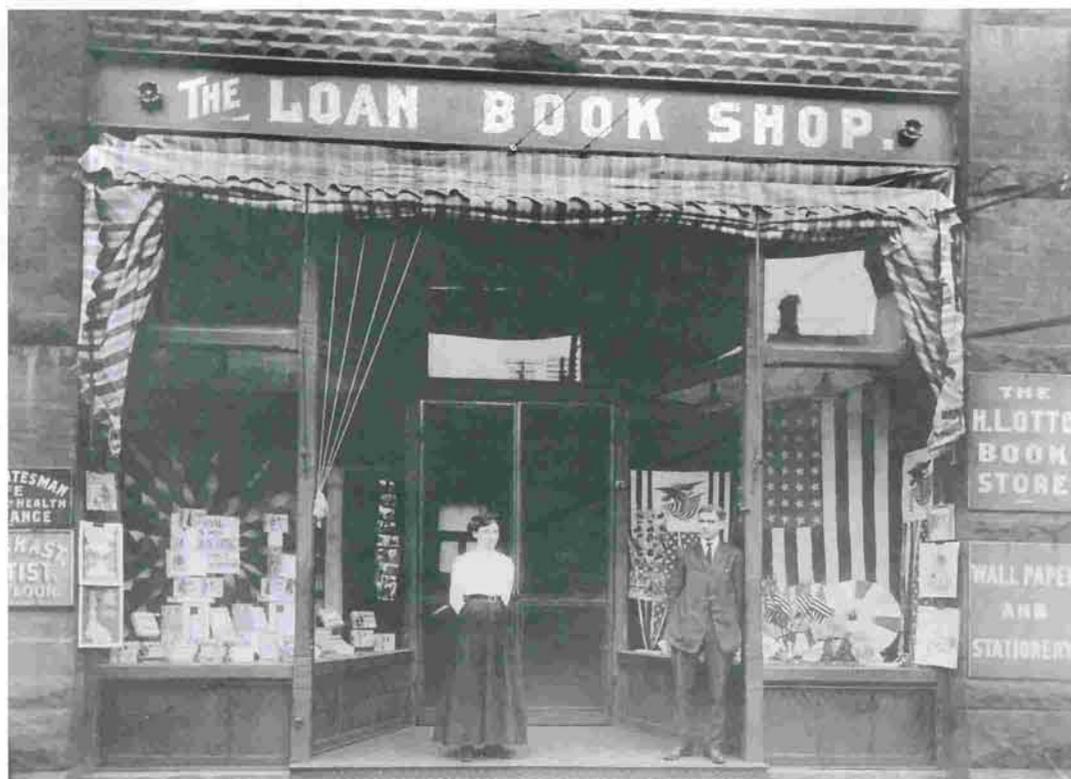


"Producers Dairy Company--Old Building," Williamsport, 1934. (D. Vincent Smith #26848)

Herbert Browning was officially the owner of Producers Dairy, but his wife, Gertrude, probably helped run the business. She may be the woman pictured at the center of this scene. Herbert was first listed in the Williamsport directory in 1920 as a traveling salesman; by the next year, he was listed as the manager of the Producers' Dairy, at 13 West Willow Street. In the early 1930s, the company moved down the street to 125 East Willow.

Jack and Mae Roesgen, H.L. Otto Book Store, c. 1909. (Photographer unknown, LCHS #WMPT.BU.86A)

After several years of working in a silk mill, this brother and sister worked together as clerks at Williamsport's oldest bookstore. Mae soon left to enter a convent in Watertown, N.Y. Jack eventually became the owner of their bookstore, which he and his wife, Margaret, ran for many years. Margaret continued to run the business as a widow, and their daughter, Betsy Rider, runs it today with the help of several of her children.





"Xmas of 1923," Woolworth's 5 & 10¢ Store, 315-319 Pine Street, 1923. (Photographer unknown, LCHS #WMPT.BU.136)

The first "Woolworth's Great Five-Cent Store," in Utica, N.Y., opened and closed in 1879, but a second store in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, was successful. By 1919, Woolworth's had spread across the country, with annual sales of \$107 million and a New York headquarters that remained the tallest building in the world until 1930. Opened in 1912, Williamsport's store probably forced smaller "variety stores" out of business. The Steiger sisters, Hannah and Amanda, ran one such store at 208 West Fourth Street; it closed about 1914.



Demonstration for the new model of the Bendix Home Laundry machine, c. 1948. (Unknown photographer, LCHS #P18.9036)

The Bendix Aviation Corporation, which made gyroscopes and bombsights during World War II, built the first fully automatic washing machine in 1937. Sales took off after the war. This model dates from about 1947, and these properly dressed women were probably recruited to sell the machine to their friends and neighbors. Bendix ads in *Life* magazine told women that the machine was guaranteed to give them more free time: "While you go out to market, your clothes wash themselves sparkling clean."⁵

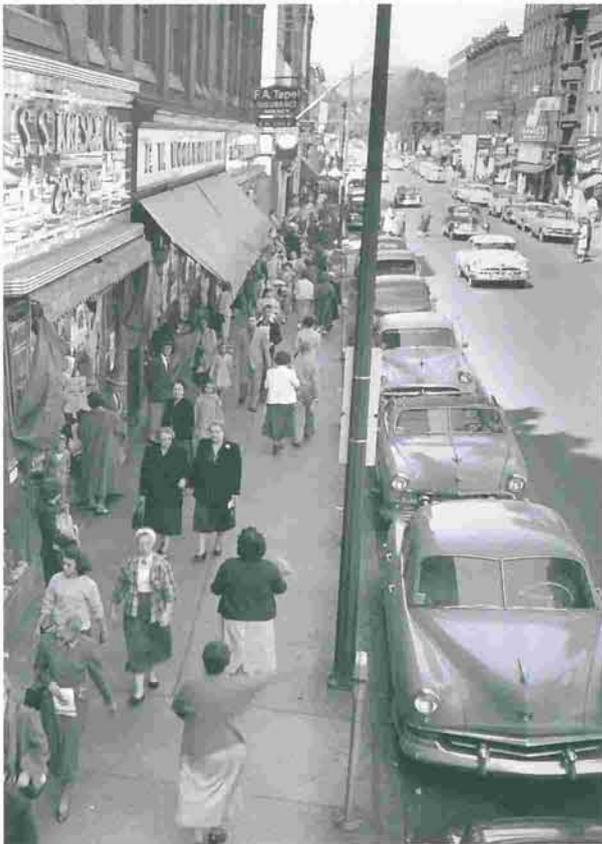


The Bush and Bull Store, 43-47 West Third Street, 1922.
(D. Vincent Smith #15271B)

Until the arrival of supermarkets and malls, downtown Williamsport was crowded with women shoppers and window shoppers.



The A & P and M. H. Housel Co.,
141-43 West Fourth Street, 1922.
(D. Vincent Smith #15347)



"Shopping Crowds Downtown," Williamsport, 1952.
(Putsee Vannucci #9644)



Leo's Quality Foods at the Growers' Market, 210-230 Market Street, c. 1950.
(Photographer unknown, LCHS #WMPT.BU.139)

Leo C. Williamson, mayor of Williamsport in the 1940s, owned a bakery on West Fourth Street, but women operated his stand at the Growers' Market, where women were the overwhelming majority of the customers.

Office Work



"Shorthand Class of William A. Daley," 1890s (D. Vincent Smith, GPN #8002)

These two photographs epitomize the transformation of secretarial work from a predominantly male field to one that was almost exclusively female. Charles Pott began his career in Williamsport in about 1885 as a stenographer for the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad. He opened his school in 1888, while also working as a stenographer for a lumber mill. By 1889, he was working only as principal of the school, in the Elliott Block at 121 W. Fourth Street. With classes in shorthand and typewriting, Pott's Shorthand College advertised itself as the "Best Equipped Shorthand School in the State."



"Pott's Shorthand Class," 1940. (D. Vincent Smith #31968x)



Office of Hurr's Milk Products, 1945 (D. Vincent Smith #34474)

Until the late nineteenth century, "secretary" was a male job description. The invention of the typewriter in 1867 began the shift toward female secretaries. In 1893, the Gregg System of Shorthand (invented in Great Britain in 1888) came to the U.S. and accelerated the transition. Secretaries had been highly educated men, at a time when boys received much more formal education than girls. For example, William Penn's secretary, James Logan, had been

a schoolteacher. Now that the skills were mechanized and standardized, the job theoretically required less advanced education, which translated into lower pay and meant that men were less likely to enter the field. Secretarial work, especially the secretarial pools of larger companies, quickly became the cornerstone of the "pink ghetto" of women's work.



"Bell Telephone Operators at the Long Distance Board," Williamsport, 1959. (Putsee Vannucci #22215)

From the time the telephone came into widespread use until the advent of computers, telephone operators and most of their immediate supervisors were women. The job required large numbers of educated workers willing to accept fairly low wages, and employers found that native-born white women fit that description.

Volunteer Work

Women outnumbered men in many voluntary organizations, although men usually held all the major leadership positions and women were members of the "Ladies' Auxiliary." Women themselves organized an astonishing number of organizations to campaign for social and political causes, to do charitable work, and to educate young people.



"The American Red Cross Canteen at the Park Hotel Railroad Station," 1917 or 1918. (D. Vincent Smith #13330)

During World Wars I and II, women volunteers set up canteens to serve the troop trains that came through town. In peacetime, Red Cross volunteers provided free check-ups for infants and children.



"Miss Helen Dieffenbach-Basketball Team at YWCA," 1936. (D. Vincent Smith #28314)

The Williamsport Young Women's Christian Association began as the Girls' Friendly Society in 1893 and became the YWCA in 1908.

"Junior League Play—The Wizard of Oz," Williamsport, 1932. (D. Vincent Smith #25206)



The Junior League of Williamsport, founded in 1929,

still works today to foster volunteer and community activism. Until 1966, the Junior League Follies, musical productions like the one pictured here, served as the group's principal fund raisers. The 1932 play was actually "The Land of Oz," the sequel to "The Wizard of Oz."

NOTES

¹ Nancy Grey Osterud, "She Helped Me Hay It as Good as a Man": Relations Among Women and Men in an Agricultural Community," in Groneman and Norton, *To Toil the Livelong Day*.

² Quoted in *The Grit*, Williamsport edition, 18 May 1980, p. 26.

³ *Williamsport News*, 23-27, 29-31 January; 2-4, 6 February 1912. The *News* ran the strike story on the front page. Strikers eagerly sought news coverage to gain community support, but the mill superintendent refused to speak to reporters throughout the two-week strike. The paper did not report the end of the strike, but it appears to have been resolved when the City Council passed a resolution (proposed by a Socialist Party councilman) that the Holmes Mill accede to the demands of the strikers.

⁴ Elizabeth Beardsley Butler, *Women and the Trades: Pittsburgh, 1907-1908* (1909; reprint, Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1984), 109-112.

⁵ *Life*, 27 January 1947.

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WOMEN OF THE KU KLUX KLAN:

A Local Diary and Letters

The Historical Society recently acquired the diary of a young Northumberland County woman who belonged to the Women of the Ku Klux Klan (WKKK) in the early 1930s (Doc. 3, below). Ten years ago, LCHS acquired a group of letters written by WKKK members in Jersey Shore, including letters of resignation from the group (Docs. 1 and 2). These letters and the diary, taken together, offer a rare glimpse into this secretive organization. Original documents from the 1920s and 1930s Ku Klux Klan are rare; documents from the women's organization are even rarer.

These documents say nothing about Klan ideology or its more notorious activities against blacks, Catholics, Jews, and any other group that did not fit its definition of "one hundred percent Americans." They tell a humdrum story of meetings and rallies, with the purpose of those gatherings left unstated.

To Klan members, male and female, "American" was synonymous with "white Protestant," and the Klan used various tactics to assert supremacy over non-whites and non-Protestants in their midst. While klansmen went out at night to threaten blacks who lived in the "wrong" areas, klanswomen put their efforts into boycotting Catholic-owned stores and making sure that public schools had no Catholic teachers and used only Protestant editions of the Bible and Protestant versions of prayers or hymns. Women participated alongside men in cross-burnings and "visitations" of white-robed figures to local churches.

The stereotypical image of the KKK is of the southern white men's terror organization that emerged after the Civil War and was best known for lynchings of black men, particularly those suspected of relationships with white women. When the

Klan reemerged in the 1920s, blacks were not the only targets, and the organization was no longer limited to men or to the South. Catholics, Jews, and immigrants were the frequent subjects of KKK paranoia about the white Protestant majority losing its dominance.

In 1920, women had just gained the right to vote in national elections. Shortly before that, Prohibition began, as a result of the temperance movement in which women, especially white Protestant women, had played a critical role. Once that goal was won, many women who were members of the Women's Christian Temperance Union then joined the Klan for similar reasons—to exert control over morality in their local communities. Klanswomen recruited other women at family reunions, churches, clubs, and even amusement parks. Often the same women were members of other community organizations, and they

held their meetings in halls owned by fraternal organizations like the Eagles, Elks, and Moose.

These national patterns held in north-central Pennsylvania, where the Klan staged several highly visible events in the 1920s and 1930s. Contemporary newspaper accounts treated these as all-male events, when they covered them at all, but klanswomen were undoubtedly present as well. In September 1923, at 10:30 p.m., the Klan made its presence known in Williamsport in dramatic fashion, with three simultaneous explosions lighting burning crosses on Grampian Hill, Bald Eagle Mountain, and the hills above Newberry. Crosses burned again on Williamsport's hillsides in March and May 1924. On Good Friday in 1930, klansmen burned a cross on an overlook above the Susquehanna River in Snyder County, while klanswomen sang hymns on the opposite side of the river, in Sunbury.¹

In 1924, hundreds of hooded klansmen and klanswomen attended services at Lycoming County churches whose ministers were open to their message of one hundred percent Americanism and the preservation of morality. In May, a hundred klansmen attended an evening service at South Williamsport United Brethren Church, where Pastor A. H. Arndt delivered a sermon decrying radicalism and the "Bolsheviki." He explained that the KKK wanted to mingle with the local populace in order "to ferret out disloyalty and treason." In August 1924, "a large number of white-clad knights" attended the regular Sunday service at South Williamsport Methodist Church. Five hundred "local men" were at the church two nights later to hear the minister speak, calling for "greater Americanization" and "personal responsibility toward law enforcement."²

By 1927, at least some WKKK



members decided that the organization was not for them. In Jersey Shore, Lillie Harris and Helen Russell wrote letters resigning from the group. Evidently Russell found the task particularly difficult; she wrote at least two drafts of her letter (Doc. 1). These two women were part of a national and statewide trend of declining membership. Their resignations may have resulted from internal struggles within the KKK and WKKK, struggles that centered on the role of women and the autonomy of the WKKK (see Doc. 2).

But even as Lillie Harris and Helen Russell were leaving the Klan, others were joining. Catherine Sholley joined the Sunbury Council of Women of the Ku Klux Klan in about 1929. According to her diary, the Council had been established in 1926, just as the national KKK and its sister organization were headed into decline, falling from a membership of perhaps as many as five million to a membership of some 125,000. Historians have tended to see the 1930s as a low point for the Klan, but this diary, covering the years 1929 to 1934, shows that it was still active in central Pennsylvania, with gatherings and demonstrations of hundreds of robed klansmen and klanswomen in small rural towns, with members traveling to the larger cities of Williamsport and Harrisburg and the Philadelphia suburbs.

Pennsylvania's statewide KKK leaders reported difficulties controlling the predominantly German chapters in smaller cities and rural areas like the Lehigh Valley and Lancaster County. The same seems to be true of the Central Susquehanna Valley, where, according to the Sholley diary, the WKKK continued to be a visible presence at least into the 1930s.

The 36-page diary of Catherine Sholley chronicles meetings of two intertwined organizations: the Daughters of America and the WKKK, both of which had chapters and held meetings throughout central Pennsylvania. Catherine Sholley kept a detailed record of funerals, baptisms, church services, picnics, rallies, and meetings attended by hundreds of klanswomen and klansmen in Montoursville, South Williamsport, and dozens of other communities in north-central Pennsylvania. Her diary also tells a more commonplace story of a young woman's social life, family reunions, birthday parties, excursions with girlfriends, and dates with her boyfriend. The juxtaposition of these mundane

activities with Klan rallies and cross-burnings epitomizes, in one woman's experiences, Hannah Arendt's concept of the "banality of evil."³

Document 1 LETTERS OF RESIGNATION

Jersey Shore, Penna.
May 13, 1927

To the Women of the Ku Klux Klan;

After a careful study of the W.K.K.K. and its methods and after due consideration, I find, as an American citizen and a Christian, that I can no longer respect the organization of the Women of the Ku Klux Klan.

Therefore, I herewith tender you my resignation and sever my relationship with the order of the Women of the Ku Klux Klan of the Invisible Empire, Jersey Shore, Penna.

(signed) Lillie Harris

.....

Jersey Shore, Penna.
May 26 1927

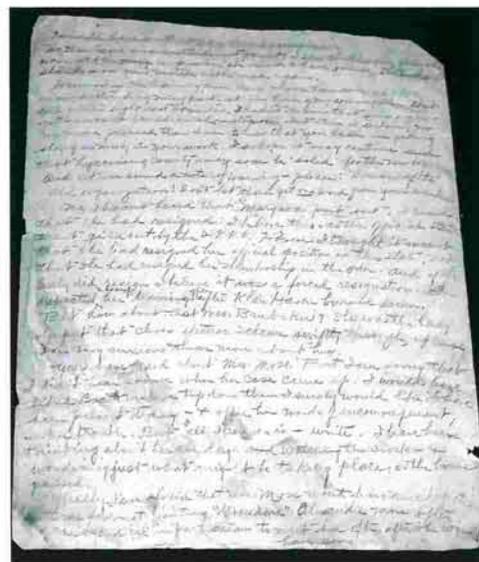
To the Women of the Ku Klux Klan:
(Jersey Shore Unit)

When I became a member of the W.K.K.K. I knew little of nothing about the order itself; I was attracted by its apparent high ideals and principles. Before long, I learned that the order was not all that I supposed it to be, and after a complete and thorough investigation I now find that I can no longer support the organization known as the Women of the Ku Klux Klan.⁴

Therefore I herewith tender you my resignation as a citizen of the Invisible Empire, Women of the Ku Klux Klan, Jersey Shore, Pennsylvania.

You will please consider me no longer a member of the Women of the Ku Klux Klan.

(signed) Helen Russell



Document 2 PARTIAL DRAFT OF A LETTER

Letter probably written by Lillie Harris in early 1927 in response to a WKKK leader in Williamsport.

I should have written to you long ago explaining

No there is no misunderstanding at present. I saw the lady in Jersey Shore & corrected the wrong impression she seemed to have gained, she understands now & no mistake will be made again.

However in the beginning there seems to have been some slight misunderstanding on my part; at the time of my coming down that cold winter night last December. I hadn't known that your organization was so far advanced in its progress. But there is certainly no one more pleased than I am to hear that you ladies are getting along so nicely in your work. I do hope it may continue; and that Lycoming County may soon be "solid" for the new organization.⁵ And let me sound a note of warning – please: Beware of the old organization! Don't let them get one word from your members.

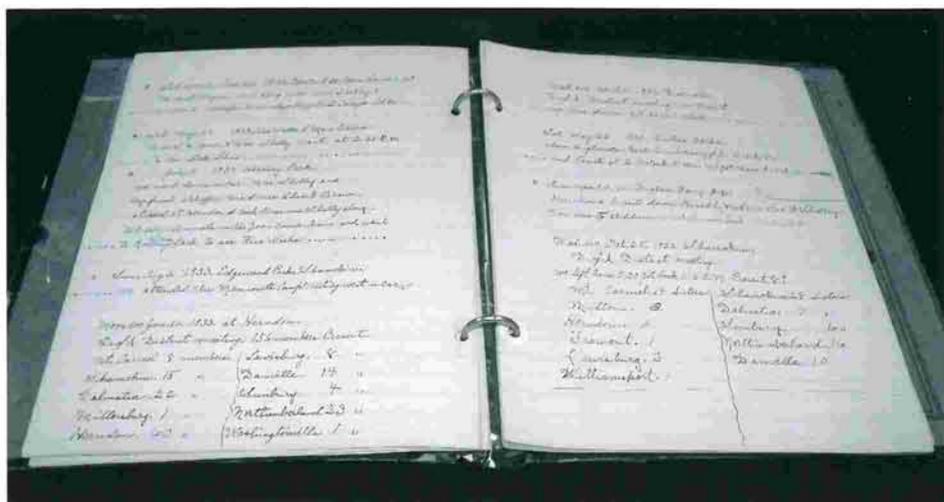
No, I hadn't heard that Mary was put out.⁶ I heard that she had resigned: I believe this was the official statement given out by the W.K.K.K. However I thought it meant that she had resigned her official position in the state; not that she had resigned her membership in the order. And if she really did resign I believe it was a forced resignation. I expected to hear of her leaving office after Klan Haven burned down.⁷

But how about that Mrs. Brubaker?

She was the lady who put that clever election scheme swiftly through, up [?] I am very anxious to hear more about this.

Yes I have heard about Mrs. Moss. But I am sorry that I didn't hear sooner, when her case came up. I would have liked Bro. to make a trip down there I surely would like to have been present today – to offer her words of encouragement; in her trouble. But all I can do is – write. I have been thinking about her all day and watching the clock – & wondering just what might be taking place, as the hours passed.

Really I am afraid that Mrs. Moss wont have much patience with me for not visiting "Grandma" Alexander more often. She asked me in particular to visit her often, after she would have gone.



Document 3

CATHERINE SHOLLEY'S WKKK DIARY

Catherine Sholley's diary is on loose-leaf paper in a school binder. It may actually be a selective copy of the original diary, since entries are sometimes out of chronological order. The format of dates and times has been standardized and periods have been entered at the end of each entry, but other punctuation has been kept as in the original. Spelling has not been corrected.

Sun. July 14th, 1929. Turbotville. R.D. [Northumberland County]
Rhone Reunion dinner at the home of Mrs. Eliza Varner. Relatives & friends present...⁸

Sun. eve, Sept. 28th, 1930. Orangeville Cemetary. K.K.K. [Columbia County] 300 members. Men & women at 9 o'clock. held Memorial Services for a brother Klansman, Chief of Police, Frank Dent of Bloomsburg. Who was killed by a wreckles driver. Williamsport Klan was down strong. Also Muncy, and 15 members of Sunbury.

Sat. eve, Sept. 27th, 1930. Lansdale, Pa. [Montgomery County]
Klan Demonstration was held all day at the Montgomery County Fair Grounds.

Miss Pearl M. Sanders a state officer spoke.

Good Fri. April 18th, 1930. Sunbury K.K.K. [Northumberland County]
A 30 ft. cross was burnt on the top of Blue Hill. The women sang. The old Rugged Cross. Christ Arose & America the Beautiful. on the Band stand in River Park.⁹ Lasted 1/2 hr.

Fri. eve, Sept. 6th, 1929. Fisher's Ferry. R. D. [Northumberland County]
a corn & Weiner roast was held till 12 o'clock. at the home of Mr. & Mrs. Ralph Wynn. 37 people there. Sunbury crowd. each pd. 25c each to go down in a big Moving Van truck of J.H. Hall.¹⁰

Wed. eve, Dec. 11th, 1929. Shamokin. [Northumberland County]
D. of A. District meeting.¹¹
Total present 91.
8 councils being represented.
Sranton, 1.¹²
Northumberland, 21.

Shamokin, 32. Lewisburg, 8.
Milton, 9. Danville, 10.
Sunbury, 6. Mt. Carmel, 4.

Sun. eve, May 25, 1930. Montoursville Cemetary. Memorial Services for the deceased members K.K.K. 300 members were in Regalia. At 9 o'clock.

Sat. eve, Aug. 16, 1930. Island Park.¹³ [Northumberland County] Sunbury.
D. of A. held a corn & Weiner roast at 8 o'clock. 10 present went home 11. P.M.

Tues. eve, Aug. 19, 1930. South Williamsport. a large crowd of K.K.K. members spent the eve at a Pep meeting in their new hall.¹⁴

Fri. eve, Oct. 24, 1930. Hickory Corners. [Northumberland County] back of Mandata. in the Grange hall. K.K.K. Tri County meeting.¹⁵ after this all enjoyed an Oyster Supper.

Thurs. eve, Oct. 30, 1930. above Strand Theatre. Sunbury K.K.K. held in the Lodge room a Hallow'e'n Party. a large crowd of members & friends present.¹⁶

Tues. eve, Feb. 24, 1931. South Williamsport. District Meeting of K.K.K. Hall was packed. Miss Sanders spoke.

Tues. eve, March 24, 1931. Hamilton Band Hall. back of Sunbury. Chicken Noodle Supper. Mrs. Silverwood,¹⁷ son Robert. Miss Sholley & Mrs. Brown were out. (6 o'clock.) 25c

Mon. eve, March 30, 1931 at Northumberland. D. of A. held an Easter Party. in the Moose Hall.¹⁸ Beeker's Orchestra of Danville was there. a Play was given by 5 women (Dr. Cure Me.)

Wed. eve, July 15, 1931. Island Park. Sunbury Eagles Lodge held a O.□ dance¹⁹ Mrs. Gayman & Miss Sholley were over.

Sat. eve, Oct. , 1930. Salem, Snyder County. a Weiner roast was held at the

home of Mrs. & Mrs. A. Musser. 5 cars from Sunbury went over. 1 from Port Treverton 1, Shamokin Dam 1, Norry²⁰ came home 12 o'clock. 33 Present.

Sat., July 18, 1931. Rolling Green Park.²¹ Sunbury K.K.K. Picnic Had table back of Dodgem. 45 Present.

Sun., July 12, 1931. West Milton Park. The 3rd Rhone Reunion we got there 7:30 a.m. with 32 present.

Tues. eve, July 28, 1931. Danville. D. of A. District Meeting. a large Crowd. 7 Councils we got home 12 o'clock.

Fri. eve, Aug. 7, 1931. Island Park. Sunbury D. of A. held a Ham & Egg Supper at 7 o'clock. 11 Present.

Fri. eve, Aug. 21, 1931. Milton. D. of A. District meeting. (8 Councils.) with 61 Present. we got home 11:45 p.m.

Sat. eve, Oct. 10, 1931. Sunbury. We held a surprise Birthday Party for Mrs. Emma Brown at her home. in honor of her 62nd yr. that is on the 15th. with 13 Present.²²

Sat. eve, Nov. 14, 1931. H.D. Bob shirt Co.²³ held a Hallowe'en Party. Music by Ivan Faux & Pa Ramblers.

Sun. eve, Jan 3, 1932. Sunbury. 100 members of K.K.K. attended services in the Grace Lutheran Church on Spruce St. Rev. R.L. McNally, Pastor. Subject was: Shall we Padlock the Church. 4 babies was Baptized.²⁴

Thurs. eve, Feb. 18, 1932. Sunbury. K.K.K. held a George Washington Party.²⁵ hall was crowded. departed 11 o'clock.

Sat. eve, March 26 1932. Herndon. we held a surprise Birthday Party for Grandmother, Mrs. Catherine Sholley in honor of her 73rd yr., got there 7:30. broke up 2 a.m. a crowd of 12.

Sun. Sept. 11, 1932. Island Park. D. of A. of Sunbury had supper at 5:30. Present were: 7 members & 2 friends & 3 Children.

Mon. July 4, 1932. Klan Haven Day.²⁶ back of Harrisburg. with a large crowd. Senator Tom Heflin²⁷ of

Alabama spoke at 7:30 in the home. was a rainy day. Sunbury people got home Tues. 2:40, a.m.

Sat. July. 30, 1932. Knoebles Grove. back of Elysburg. D. of A. & Jr. O. U. A. M. District Picnic.²⁸ we got there 10:30 a.m. went home 6 p.m.

Sun. Aug. 7, 1932. Herndon Camp Meeting. 3 of us went down in car. got home 10:00 P.M. Gramma Sholley was working in the Boarding House.

Sun. Aug. 28, 1932. Allenwood R.D. at the South Creek Rod and Gun Club, Cabin. Mrs. Edwin Schaeffer Hostess. had dinner & Supper. Northumberland D. of A. members & friends, Outing. a crowd of 34 were there.

Tues. eve, July 19, 1932. Lewisburg. D. of A. District Meeting. we were up. 72 Present

Mt. Carmel	12 members.
Shamokin	9 "
Sunbury	5 "
Northumberland	12 "
Washingtonville	3 "
Milton	1 "
Danville	8 "
Lewisburg	22 "

Sat. 2:45 P.M. Feb. 25, 1933. Chestnut St. Opera house. 10c Miss G. Wagner went along with Miss Sholley & boy-friend Schaeffer. to see stage Play Bud Carey's Alibi.²⁹

Sat. May 27, 1933. The Walter L. Main Circus. Miss G. Wagner & Miss Sholley went at 2:30 P.M. to the Side Show.

July 4, 1933. Hershey Park. [Dauphin Co.] we went down in car. Miss Sholley and boy-friend Schaeffer. Mr. & Mrs. Chas. J. Brown stopped at Herndon & took Gramma Sholley along. all seen Animals in the Zoo. came home and went to Rolling Green Park to see Fire Works.

Sun. Aug 6, 1933. Edgewood Park, Shamokin. we attended the Mennonite Camp Meeting. went in car.

Mon. eve, Jan. 16, 1933. at Herndon. D. of A. District meeting. 156 members Present.

Mt. Carmel	8 members.
Lewisburg	8 "

Shamokin	15	"
Danville	14	"
Dalmatia	22	"
Sunbury	4	"
Millersburg	1	"
Northumberland	23	"
Herndon	60	"
Washingtonville	1	"

Wed. eve, April 5, 1933. Dalmatia. D. of A. District meeting. 121 Present we were down. got home 1 o'clock.

Sat. May 20, 1933. Picture Rocks. above Hughesville. 80th anniversary of Jr. O.U.A.M. and parade at 2 o'clock P.M. we got there 9:15 A.M.

Sun. morn, 1 a.m. Fisher's Ferry. R.D. our home burnt down. Owned by Mr. & Mrs. Geo. F. Sholley. then was 5 children.³⁰

Wed. eve, Oct. 25, 1933. Shamokin. D. of A. District meeting. we left home 5:20. got back 1:15 A.M. Present 89.

Mt. Carmel	14 Sisters
Shamokin	28 Sisters
Milton	3 "
Dalmatia	7 "
Herndon	0 "
Sunbury	6 "
Tremont	1 "
Northumberland	16 "
Lewisburg	3 "
Danville	10 "
Williamsport	1 "

Sat. eve, Oct. 7 & Oct. 21, 1933. Queen's Inn. 3 mile below Sunbury. Miss Sholley & boy friend attended the dance.

Mon. eve, Oct. 30, 1933. Northumberland. The D. of A. held a Hallowe'en Party. (85 present. in the Moose Hall. we got home. 11:45.)

Thurs. eve, Nov. 2, 1933. Milton. The D. of A. held a Hallowe'en Party. we were up. got home 12:15.

Sat. eve, Nov. 4, 1933. Sunbury. The H.D. Bob shirt Co. held their 8th Hallowe'en dance Party. we was all there. Free. got home 12:20 a.m.

Mon. eve, Nov. 6, 1933. Sunbury. The Sunshine Sunday School Class made up a Surprise Birthday Party for their teacher Mrs. Albert Miller at her home 719 Railroad Ave., as she was 65

years old on Fri. Nov. 3rd. we all met 7:30 at Cake Hotel Corner.³¹ (Present. 22 in all.) all left 11 o'clock.

Mon. eve, Nov 20, 1933. Evangelical Church, Sunbury.³² Mrs. James Brown & Miss Sholley went there to hear 17 yr old Evangelist Betty Weakland. 7:45 till 9:30 P.M.

Mon. eve, Nov. 27, 1933. Brotherhood Mission Sunbury.³³ Mrs. James Brown & Miss Sholley went to hear The Colored boys 5. Wigden Bros. of N.Y. state.

[Catherine Sholley's diary continues until February 26, 1935, with the majority of entries about theatrical presentations she saw or acted in. The only mention of the Klan in the remainder of the diary is of the funeral of a klanswoman who belonged to numerous social clubs.]

Tues, 1:30 P.M. Jan. 29, 1935. Baptist Church 2nd St. Northumberland. funeral of Mrs. Anna Wesley of 222 4th St. Norry.³⁴ she was a member of Shickellimy Council 105. D. of A. of Norry and served as Treasurer for 10 years. also a member of: Auxiliary to B. of R. T. Dames of Malta and Ladies of the Reindeer of Norristown. Shepherd of Bethlehem of Danville. Women of the Moose of Norry. was a second degree woman of Sunbury K.K.K. no. 163. was 58 years old. was buried in New Rosemont Cemetery at Espy near Bloomsburg. 11 cars in funeral line. Pastor, Rev. Ralph W. Neighbour. D. of A. members attending the funeral were:³⁵

NOTES

¹ *Williamsport Gazette & Bulletin*, 18 September 1923, p. 1; 25 March 1924, p. 1; 5 May 1924 (reprinted in the *Sun Gazette*, 9 May 2001). The first article mentions a similar "demonstration" a few months earlier; local newspapers do not seem to have reported that earlier incident. The Sunbury cross-burning is in Catherine Sholley's diary entry for April 18, 1930.

² *Gazette & Bulletin*, 11 August 1924, p. 8; 13 August 1924, p. 1. The newspapers do not mention the presence of klanswomen, but women customarily participated in these church "visitations" with the men. Loucks, *Klan in Pennsylvania*, 153.

³ Hannah Arendt, *Eichmann in Jerusalem: A Report on the Banality of Evil* (1963).

⁴ An earlier draft (May 19, 1927) is milder in tone: "Having been unable to attend regularly the meetings of the organization in the past; and having no further interest in the order of the W.K.K.K. I herewith tender you my resignation and thereby sever whatever connection I may yet have with the organization...."

⁵ Probably the Women's Christian Patriotic League (see n. 6, below).

⁶ Mrs. Mary I. Goodwin became Major Kleagle of Pennsylvania in 1925, with her headquarters in Pittsburgh. She insisted on a level of autonomy for the women that both the national WKKK and the state KKK opposed. After accusations of financial management, she offered her resignation in October 1926, but it was not accepted until January 1927. As a result, two of the largest women's Klaverns, in Philadelphia and Chester, resigned en masse. They formed a new, short-lived organization, the Women's Christian Patriotic League. Loucks, *Klan in Pennsylvania*, 151-57.

⁷ Pennsylvania's Klan Haven was an orphanage opened by the WKKK east of Harrisburg. The 23-acre plot included a stone house and barn, and the house was used as a dormitory for more than forty orphans. On November 21, 1926, the house burned down. Mary Goodwin had been instrumental in opening the orphanage, and the Pennsylvania WKKK controlled the governing board, until male leaders forced Goodwin out and established a new male-dominated board, under national supervision. Loucks, *Klan in Pennsylvania*, 154-57.

⁸ The list of those present is omitted here; it includes Rhones and other families from Williamsport and Montgomery, as well as Allenwood, Watsonstown, Sunbury, Milton, and Turbotville.

⁹ River Park, in Sunbury, is now just a narrow strip between Route 147 and the dike that runs the length of the city. Blue Hill is across the Susquehanna River, in what is now Shickellamy State Park. "The Old Rugged Cross" was a favorite of the Ku Klux Klan.

¹⁰ J. H. Hall, a moving company located at 1040 Walnut St. in Sunbury, advertised "Hauling of All Kinds by Truck."

¹¹ The Daughters of America was founded in 1891 as a "ladies' auxiliary" of the Junior Order of United American Mechanics (see July 30, 1932, below). By 1930, the organization had 130,000 members. It favored immigration restriction and Bible-reading in the public schools. The Daughters of America seems to have operated very closely with the KKK, and perhaps even had identical membership with the WKKK in North-central Pennsylvania. Catherine Sholley often writes of "the girls," without specifying whether the "girls" are the sisters of the Klan or of the DOA.

¹² This must be a mistake for Scranton, where Klan membership declined sharply between 1926 and 1933. Jenkins, *Hoods and Shirts*, 74-76.

¹³ Island Park, on Packer's Island north of Sunbury, was an amusement park offering a roller coaster and swimming pool with slides. It was in operation 1924-1936. Defunct Amusement Parks, <http://www.defunctparks.com/parks/PA/islandsunbury/islands.htm>.

¹⁴ The Klan's "new hall" in South Williamsport seems to have been at 934 West Southern Avenue, which officially was home of Conestoga Tribe #28 of the Improved Order of Red Men, which in the 1920s met at 32 West Fourth Street in Williamsport. Despite its name, the I.O.R.M. was an all-white organization that shared many of the Klan's ideals. Its women's auxiliary, the Daughters of Pocahontas, had a chapter in Williamsport in the late 1920s. They met at 244 West Fourth Street, which also housed chapters of the Patriotic Order of the Sons of America.

¹⁵ Hickory Corners is south of Mandata, near the Dauphin County line. The Tri-County meeting probably included members from Northumberland, Snyder, and Dauphin Counties.

¹⁶ The "Lodge" referred to was probably that of the Improved Order of Red Men, located at 321 Market Street, up the street from the Strand Theatre at 311 Market. Several other fraternal organizations had rooms at 321: the Woodmen of the World, the Knights of Malta, and the Knights of the Golden Eagle.

¹⁷ Probably Maude Silverwood, who lived with her husband, Benjamin, a weaver, at 508 West Fourth Street in Sunbury.

¹⁸ The Moose Hall was at 87 King Street in Northumberland. The Women of the Mooseheart Legion also met there.

¹⁹ A circle square dance was a popular form of entertainment.

²⁰ Northumberland.

²¹ Probably Rolling Green Park in Shamokin Dam, Snyder County, across the river from Sunbury.

²² At least two women named Emma Brown lived in Sunbury: the wife of Charles I. Brown, a watchman, and the wife of David P. Brown, a silkworker.

²³ The H. D. Bob Shirt Company, at 262 Race Street, was one of two shirt, or clothing, factories in Sunbury, which also had five silk mills and one silk dyeing factory.

²⁴ Baptisms were a rite of passage for WKKK members, who held both public and secret christenings for infants of sister klanswomen. Blee, *Women of the Klan*, 163-64. Grace Lutheran Church is at 120 Spruce Street in Sunbury.

²⁵ The Klan was celebrating the two hundredth anniversary of George Washington's birth, probably at the Red Men's Hall on Market Street.

²⁶ See n. 7, above.

²⁷ Tom Heflin was a former senator who had become a popular lecturer on the Klan circuit.

²⁸ The Order of United American Mechanics was a secret, fraternal organization formed in Philadelphia in 1845 of men opposed to immigration. It formed a ladies' auxiliary, the Daughters of Liberty, and a Junior Order for young, future members of the O.U.A.M. The Junior Order separated from the parent organization when a request for its own women's affiliate group was denied by the O.U.A.M. leaders.

²⁹ The Chestnut Theatre was at 227 Chestnut Street in Sunbury. Gertrude Wagner lived in a rear apartment at 1042 Chestnut Street in Sunbury and was listed in the Sunbury directory as a cutter, a job usually held by a man. She may have been Catherine Sholley's co-worker at the Bob Shirt Company. Catherine Sholley's boyfriend later married her.

³⁰ The number written was originally 6, and a note is added in a different handwriting, "Sister Emma dead, Dec. 15, 1918."

³¹ The Cake Hotel, at 745 Railroad Avenue, was run by Lillian B. Hawbecker, a widow. Valeria Miller was the wife of barber Albert Miller.

³² Sunbury had four Evangelical churches; this was probably First

Chestnut Evangelical Church, at the corner of Chestnut and Fifth Street.

³³ The Brotherhood Mission was at 33 South Third Street.

³⁴ Anna Wesley was the widow of Leroy Wesley, a railway conductor. Her multiple memberships in women's organizations, not uncommon for WKKK members, included the Shikellamy Council of Daughters of America, which met in Northumberland; the women's auxiliaries of the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen, the Knights of Malta, and the Loyal Order of Moose. The Shepherd of Bethlehem was another self-styled patriotic organization of native-born white Protestants. Ladies of the Reindeer may have been a women's auxiliary of the Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks.

³⁵ Names are omitted here.

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Northern Central Bank and Trust, 102 W. 4th St., Williamsport. (Steven T. Smith, LCHS, #WMPT.BU.86)

Originally built as the West Branch Bank, the building served in recent years as the downtown Williamsport branch of M & T Bank. It has been vacant since 2004.



"Miss Blanch Seward at Northern Central Trust Co.," 1927. (D. Vincent Smith #19812)

By the mid-1900s, the Dictaphone had become commonplace office equipment, almost exclusively operated by women. Bankers were traditionally men, but during the twentieth century, women became the majority of bank tellers and secretaries.

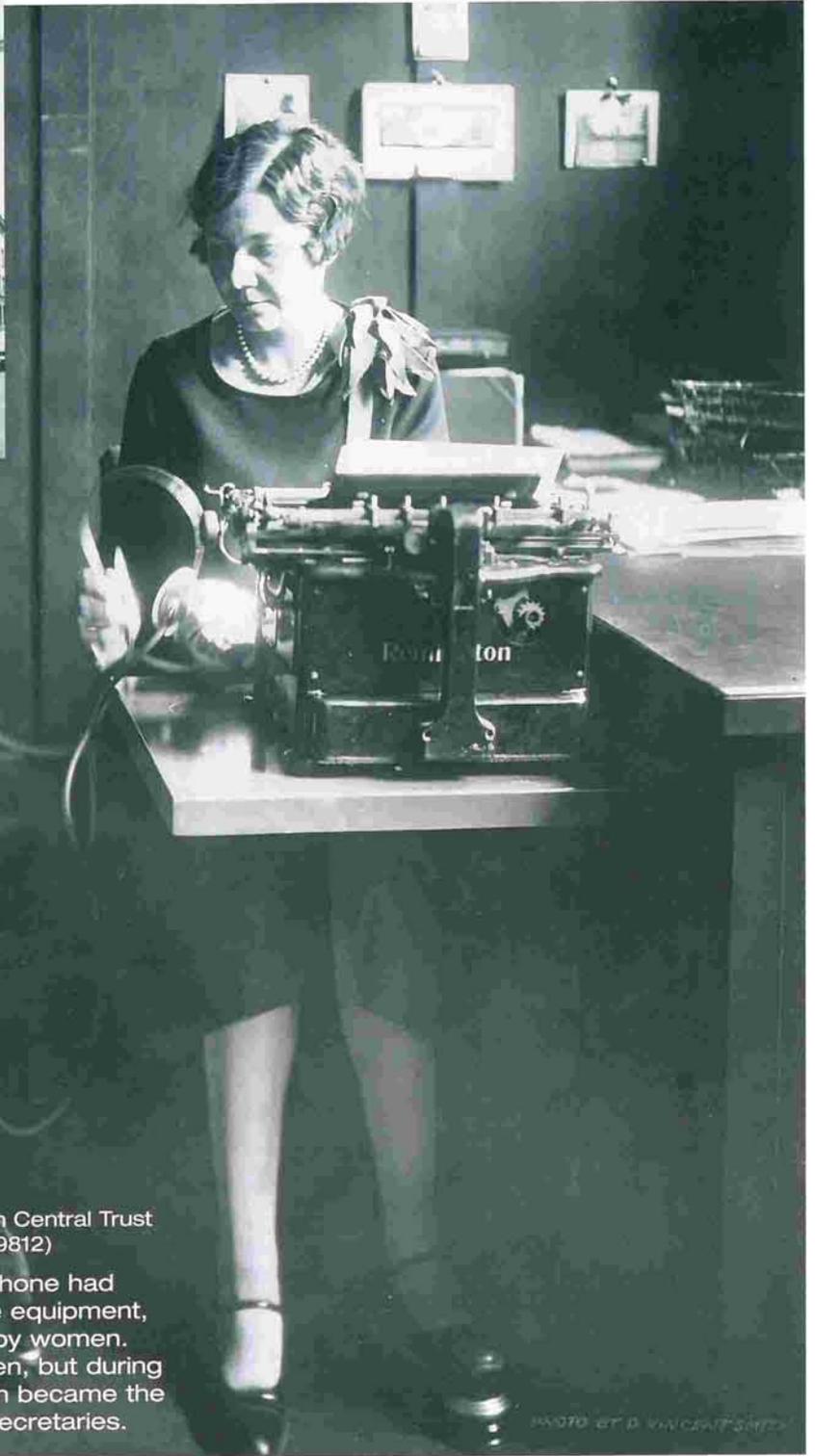


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