

A black and white portrait of Andrew Carnegie, an elderly man with a full white beard and mustache, wearing a dark suit jacket over a white shirt and a dark bow tie. The portrait is set against a black background.

COMMONWEALTH V.
CARNEGIE

MOCK TRIAL
CASE MATERIALS

HONORS HISTORY 9
BLACKHAWK HIGH SCHOOL
WWW.MRTRIPODI.ORG

"Mr. Frick: Let me express the relief I feel in knowing that the important departments of our extended business are in the hands of a competent manager... Take care of that supreme head of yours. It is wanted. Again expressing my thankfulness that I have found THE MAN."

-Andrew Carnegie, 1889

"You can tell Carnegie I'll meet him. Tell him I'll see him in hell."

-Henry Clay Frick, 1919

I got work tearing those old mills down
Until there's nothing left but the sweat and blood in the ground
At night we tuck our little babies in bed
We still pray to the red white and blue in Homestead

-Joe Grushecky, 1995

STATEMENT OF FACTS

On July 6, 1892, Homestead, PA, saw an armed showdown between the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers (AAISW) and private police hired by the Carnegie Steel Works.

The conflict at Homestead arose at a time when the fast-changing American economy had stumbled, and conflicts between labor and management had flared up all over the country. In 1892, labor declared a general strike in New Orleans. Coal miners struck in Tennessee, as did railroad switchmen in Buffalo, New York and copper miners in Idaho.

In 1890, William McKinley, then a member of the United States House of Representatives from Ohio, introduced a tariff bill, which became known as the McKinley Tariff. By placing high taxes on imports, Congress tried to promote items manufactured within the U.S. Manufacturers supported this legislation, but American consumers generally opposed it. Prices increased across the board, and the economy started to sour.

Andrew Carnegie's mighty steel industry was not immune to the downturn. In 1890, the price of rolled-steel products started to decline, dropping from \$35 a gross ton to \$22 early in 1892. In the face of depressed steel prices, Henry Clay Frick, general manager of the Homestead plant that Carnegie largely owned, was determined to cut wages and break the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers, one of the strongest craft unions in the country.

Behind the scenes, Carnegie supported Frick's plans. In the spring of 1892, Carnegie had Frick produce as much armor plate as possible before the union's contract expired at the end of June. If the union failed to accept Frick's terms, Carnegie instructed him to shut down the plant and wait until the workers buckled. "We... approve of anything you do," Carnegie wrote from England in words he would later come to regret. "We are with you to the end."

With Carnegie's carte blanche support, Frick moved to slash wages. Plant workers responded by hanging Frick in effigy. At the end of June, Frick began closing down his open hearth and armor-plate mills, locking out 1,100 men. On June 25th, Frick announced he would no longer negotiate with the union; now he would only deal with workers individually. Leaders of Amalgamated were willing to concede on almost every level -- except on the dissolution of their union.

Workers tried to reach Carnegie, who had strongly defended labor's right to unionize. He had departed on his annual and lengthy vacation, traveling to a remote Scottish castle on Loch Rannoch. He proved inaccessible to all -- including the press and to Homestead's workers -- except for Frick.

"This is your chance to re-organize the whole affair," Carnegie wrote his manager. "Far too many men required by Amalgamated rules." Carnegie believed workers would agree to relinquish their union to hold on to their jobs.

It was a severe miscalculation. Although only 750 of the 3,800 workers at Homestead belonged to the union, 3,000 of them met and voted overwhelmingly to strike. Frick

responded by building a fence three miles long and 12 feet high around the steelworks plant, adding peepholes for rifles and topping it with barbed wire. Workers named the fence "Fort Frick."

Deputy sheriffs were sworn in to guard the property, but the workers ordered them out of town. Workers then took to guarding the plant that Frick had closed to keep them out. This action signified a very different attitude that labor and management shared toward the plant.

"Workers believed because they had worked in the mill, they had mixed their labor with the property in the mill," explains historian Paul Krause. "They believed that in some way the property had become theirs. Not that it wasn't Andrew Carnegie's, not that they were the sole proprietors of the mill, but that they had an entitlement in the mill. And I think in a fundamental way the conflict at Homestead in 1892 was about these two conflicting views of property."

Frick turned to the enforcers he had employed previously: the Pinkerton Detective Agency's private army, often used by industrialists of the era. At midnight on July 5, tugboats pulled barges carrying hundreds of Pinkerton detectives armed with Winchester rifles up the Monongahela River. But workers stationed along the river spotted the private army. A Pittsburgh journalist wrote that at about 3 A.M. a "horseman riding at breakneck speed dashed into the streets of Homestead giving the alarm as he sped along." Thousands of strikers and their sympathizers rose from their sleep and went down to the riverbank in Homestead.

When the private armies of business arrived, the crowd warned the Pinkertons not to step off the barge. But they did. No one knows which side shot first, but under a barrage of fire, the Pinkertons retreated back to their barges. For 14 hours, gunfire was exchanged. Strikers rolled a flaming freight train car at the barges. They tossed dynamite to sink the boats and pumped oil into the river and tried to set it on fire. By the time the Pinkertons surrendered in the afternoon three detectives and nine workers were dead or dying. The workers declared victory in the bloody battle, but it was a short-lived celebration.

The governor of Pennsylvania ordered state militia into Homestead. Armed with the latest in rifles and Gatling guns, they took over the plant. Strikebreakers who arrived on locked trains, often unaware of their destination or the presence of a strike, took over the steel mills. Authorities charged the strike leaders with murder and 160 other strikers with lesser crimes. The workers' entire Strike Committee also was arrested for treason.

In the case that follows, the prosecution alleges that authority belonged to Andrew Carnegie, and that he was ultimately responsible for the 16 dead and 23 wounded in Homestead.

Adapted largely from PBS American Experience: Andrew Carnegie
<http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/amex/carnegie/peopleevents/pande04.html>

GLOSSARY OF TERMS

AAISW	the <i>craft union</i> of steel and iron workers at Homestead: Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers; also known as the Amalgamated or simply “the union”
anarchism	a far-left anti-capitalist political movement, popular in the second half of the 19 th Century, that rejected all forms of hierarchy and authority
attentat	an attempted assault or assassination of a political figure
blacksheep	derogatory term for strike-breaking, non-union workers
collective bargaining	negotiation process between an employer and a union to create an agreement that will govern the terms and conditions of the workers' employment
conspiracy	an agreement between two or more people to commit an illegal act
craft union	a union of workers with a particular trade or skill, often working for different employers or in different locations
effigy	a model of a person; often used as <i>hanged in effigy</i> , in which a model of a person is hanged as a form of protest
lockout	in a labor dispute, when management denies employment to its workers; contrast with <i>strike</i>
malice	conscious, intentional wrongdoing
manslaughter	the unlawful killing of a human being without malice
McKinley Tariff	1890 protectionist tariff promoting American manufacturing; see exhibit 18
negligence	legal definition: a careless (or "negligent") manner, which results in someone else getting hurt or property being damaged
scab	derogatory term for a strike-breaking, non-union worker
stipulations	facts in agreement between the parties to a lawsuit
strike	collective refusal by employees to work under the conditions required by employers; contrast with <i>lockout</i>
treason	federal law states: “Whoever, owing allegiance to the United States, levies war against them or adheres to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort within the United States or elsewhere, is guilty of treason...”
union	an organization formed by workers to improve pay, benefits, and working conditions; often engages in <i>collective bargaining</i>

COMMONWEALTH OF PENNSYLVANIA

MAGISTRATE DISTRICT: No. 5

v.

ALLEGHENY COUNTY, PENNSYLVANIA

ANDREW CARNEGIE,
Defendant.

Complaint No.: 1892 NT 1744

Charges:

Involuntary Manslaughter 18 Pa. C.S.A. § 2504
Criminal Conspiracy 18 Pa. C.S.A. § 903

CRIMINAL COMPLAINT


I, John McLuckie, Burgess of the Borough of Homestead, Allegheny County, Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, do hereby state:

1. I accuse Defendant Andrew Carnegie, who resides at 2 East 91st Street, New York, New York, with violating the penal laws of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, specifically with the involuntary manslaughter of nine striking steelworkers, by allowing and promoting the use of a private and unregulated police force. I further accuse Mr. Carnegie of participating in a criminal conspiracy to commit such crimes.
2. The date when the accused committed this offense was July 6, 1892, at the Carnegie Steel Works in the Borough of Homestead, Pennsylvania.
3. The accused committed these acts against the peace and dignity of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania and contrary to the Act of Assembly, specially, 18 Pa. C.S.A. § 2504.
4. I verify that the facts set forth in this complaint are true and correct to the best of my knowledge, information and belief subject to the penalties of the Criminal Code, 18 Pa. C.S.A. § 4904, relating to unsworn falsification to authorities.

Date: November 29, 1892



AND NOW, on this date, November 29, 1892, I certify the complaint has been properly completed and verify that there is probable cause for the issuance of process.


Issuing Authority

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STIPULATIONS

1. All documents, exhibits and signatures included in the case materials are authentic and accurate in all respects; no objections to the authenticity of the documents or exhibits will be entertained.
2. The parties reserve the right to dispute any legal or factual conclusions based on these items and to make objections other than to authenticity.
3. Jurisdiction, venue and chain of custody of the evidence are proper.
4. All statements made by witnesses and all physical evidence and exhibits were Constitutionally obtained.
5. The price of rolled steel products declined from a high of \$35 per gross ton in 1890, to \$22 per gross ton in 1892.
6. Definition of lockout vs. strike: A lockout occurs when the company shuts down operations and refuses to admit workers into the plant. A lockout is distinguished from a strike because it is the employer who directly causes operations to stop. In a strike it is the employees who stop the operation by their refusal to work until their terms are met.

/s/
Attorney for Commonwealth

/s/
Attorney for Defendant

APPLICABLE LAW

Commonwealth of Pennsylvania Crimes Code

18 Pa.C.S.A. § 2504. Involuntary manslaughter.

(a) Offense defined.--A person is guilty of involuntary manslaughter when as a direct result of the doing of an unlawful act in a reckless or grossly negligent manner, or the doing of a lawful act in a reckless or grossly negligent manner, he causes the death of another person.

(b) Grading.--Involuntary manslaughter is a misdemeanor of the first degree. Where the victim is under 12 years of age and is in the care, custody or control of the person who caused the death, involuntary manslaughter is a felony of the second degree.

18 Pa.C.S.A. § 903. Criminal conspiracy.

(a) Offense defined.-- A person is guilty of conspiracy with another person or persons to commit a crime if with the intent of promoting or facilitating its commission he:

(1) agrees with such other person or persons that they or one or more of them will engage in conduct which constitutes such crime or an attempt or solicitation to commit such crime; or

(2) agrees to aid such other person or persons in the planning or commission of such crime or of an attempt or solicitation to commit such

(b) Grading.-- Except as otherwise provided in this title, attempt, solicitation and conspiracy are crimes of the same grade and degree as the most serious offense which is attempted or solicited or is an object of the conspiracy.

LIST OF WITNESSES

The prosecution and defense must call each of their respective witnesses. Witnesses may be called in any order. All witnesses can be played by either males or females.

For the Commonwealth:

- **Djuro Kracha** Steelworker
- **Count Vay de Vaya und Luskod** Romanian nobleman, Roman Catholic priest
- **John McLuckie** Steelworker, union member, Burgess of Homestead
- **Hugh O'Donnell** Steelworker, AAISW spokesman

For the Defendant:

- **John T. McCurry** Boatman, the *Little Bill*
- **William A. Pinkerton** Director, Pinkerton National Detective Agency
- **Alexander Berkman** Anarchist; would-be assassin of H.C. Frick
- **Henry Clay Frick** Manager, Homestead Works; partner, Carnegie Steel

STATEMENT OF DJURO KRACHA

1 I used to work for Frick, running a coke oven, before he smashed the
2 unions at Connellsville. Some people said he meant to do a similar job in
3 Homestead, that Carnegie had taken him in as much for that as because his
4 blast furnaces needed Frick's coke. I laugh when people tell me that in books
5 and speeches Carnegie makes some impressive sounds about democracy and
6 workers' rights.

7 My suspicions were strengthened in May. While negotiations with the
8 union were still in progress, Frick had a tall fence built around the mill and set
9 up searchlight platforms in the mill yard – hardly a peaceful gesture. We
10 promptly nicknamed the mill Fort Frick.

11 Going home one morning, I passed a group of carpenters working on the
12 fence and I called, "Do a good job on that fence, Charlie." The carpenter
13 replied, "Ain't it a hell of a job? Like asking a man to dig his own grave."

14 June drew to an end, and the days filled with rumor. I heard something
15 different every day and had no way of knowing what was true, what false.
16 There were, of course, few Slovaks or unskilled workers in the union. Most of
17 the union was Irish, and many had been through the short, victorious strike of
18 1889. But we were all confident. If Frick didn't give us what we wanted there
19 would be a strike. It would be 1889 all over again.

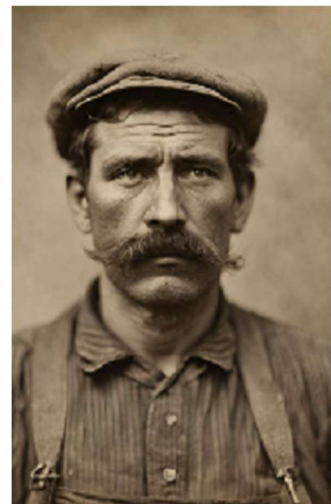
20 Carnegie can't afford to have his mills shut down long. While the
21 striking workers were losing a dollar, Carnegie would be losing thousands.
22 And these millionaires love a dollar more than you or I. Take a penny from
23 them and they bleed. As I understood it, our wages wouldn't be changed one way or another. Only the
24 tonnage men were getting cut.

25 But if the union would let Frick have his way, it would be the finish for everybody. It's what happened in
26 Braddock when the union lost. Carnegie was out to smash the union in every mill he owned. What he did in
27 Braddock he was going to try again in Homestead. And if we lose – well, I suppose Carnegie will give us a
28 library. And much good may it do us.

29 Frick delivered his ultimatum, laying down terms which would have meant the end of the union in
30 Homestead, and shut down the mill two days before the contract expired. The "Homestead Strike" began as
31 a lockout, not a strike. Frick shut down the mill; it was the workers who kept it shut.

32 When a dozen deputies came from Pittsburg union men met them at the station, showed them the mill
33 was guarded and unharmed, and shipped them back to Pittsburg on the next train. There was no violence, no
34 disorder, until the morning of July 6, when the Pinkerton men came and I was awakened by the powerhouse
35 whistle blowing in the mill. It had an alarmed, frantic sound. I got out of bed and went to the window.

36 It was still dark, the cooler part of the night. The street was empty but windows were sliding up, doors
37 opening. A few men, some in trousers and slippers, walked to the corner, stood there looking up the street
38 for moment and then apparently decided to investigate further. While I was debating whether to follow their
39 example the whistle stopped blowing and the question of who had started it blowing, and why, became at
40 once a good deal less exciting and important. I went to the upper end of the mill. Not far from the mill's
41 general office building and nearly in line with the open end of Munhall Hollow, a roadway went down



DJURO (GEORGE) KRACHA

Djuro Kracha came to America in the fall of 1881, by way of Budapest and Bremen. He left behind him in a Hungarian village a young wife, a sister and a widowed mother; it may be that he hoped he was likewise leaving behind the endless poverty and oppression which were the birthrights of a Slovak peasant.

47 between the ten-inch mill and the boiler house to a dock at the foot of the pumping station, where excursion
48 boats docked in summer. Here, I was told, two bargeloads of Pinkertons had tried to land and take
49 possession of the mill. They were still there, effectively kept from landing by the union men barricaded on
50 shore, and unable to leave because their tugboat had gone back to Pittsburgh.

51 The sidewalks were crowded except in front of the general office building; people were hanging out of
52 bedroom windows, standing on porch roofs, climbing the hillsides. All were looking toward the mill yet
53 there was nothing to see but Frick's whitewashed fence, and beyond it the familiar buildings and track-
54 tangled yards. Only the very hopeful continued to insist that, through the nearer turmoil of voices, the
55 shrieks of barelegged children, they could hear gunfire. An upriver train stopped at Munhall station, under
56 the overpass that led into the mill, discharged about as many passengers as it took on, and chuffed off to
57 Duquesne, the conductor and brakeman looking back at the crowds as though they'd never see the like
58 before. Union men were patrolling the overpass and making some effort to keep people from entering the
59 mill. I was turned back after a half-hearted attempt to pass, only a little disappointed – I felt neither like
60 shooting nor like being shot at.

61 Dozens had been killed and wounded, the union men had appropriated a small cannon from the local
62 G.A.R. post and were loading it with powder and scrap iron, attempts to set fire to the barges and to
63 dynamite them had both failed so far. The Pinkertons had surrendered and had been marched to the Opera
64 House in Homestead, since the jail was too small to hold them all. There were nearly three hundred of them.
65 On the way, despite the union leaders' promises of safe conduct, they had been unmercifully mishandled by
66 infuriated steelworkers and their womenfolk. But the provocation had been great. Ten men were dead,
67 seven of them steelworkers, and sixty wounded.

68 The first of the dead was buried the next day. The mill was still down, the union men still in control.
69 But on the Monday following the battle, General Snowden came to Homestead with ten carloads of soldiers
70 and camped on Carnegie Hill. The Homestead union leaders were arrested, charged with murder, riot and
71 conspiracy. A notice was put up giving the men ten days to return to work, on the company's terms. Very
72 few accepted the offer. The company sent eviction notices to all striking tenants of company houses, and
73 began erecting bunkhouses for the accommodation of blacksheep – scabs – at the Munhall end of the mill.

74 In Pittsburgh, on the last Saturday of the month, an anarchist named Berkman waited in Frick's office for
75 his return from lunch, and when he appeared, shot him, Frick lived. Carnegie sent Charles Schwab back to
76 Homestead and the mills slowly resumed production. The union's leaders were in jail or out on bail, the
77 union itself shattered, and hunger and suffering were stalking the streets of Homestead.

78 We got our damned library, an even larger and finer one than Braddock. Carnegie built it on the hill
79 where the soldiers had camped, and next to it he put up a giant mansion for the mill Superintendent. If you
80 stand just right, you can see the sunset between them, and it's like Carnegie himself can pull the sun right
81 down from the sky.

*Adapted from the character George Kracha in Thomas Bell's novel
Out of This Furnace, University of Pittsburgh Press, 1976.*

STATEMENT OF COUNT VAY de VAYA und LUSKOD

1 The bells are tolling for a funeral. The modest train of
2 mourners is just setting out for the little churchyard on the hill.
3 Everything is shrouded in gloom, even the coffin lying upon the bier
4 and the people who stand on each side in threadbare clothes and
5 with heads bent. Such is my sad reception at the Hungarian
6 workingmen's colony at Homestead. Everyone who has been in the
7 United States has heard of this famous town, and of Pittsburgh, its
8 close neighbor. This is the great center of the iron and steel industry
9 of America. Here are the innumerable foundries of the famous, or
10 infamous, Steel Trust, that cancerous and monstrous monopoly.

11 Fourteen thousand tall chimneys are silhouetted against the
12 sky, along the valley that extends from McKeesport to Pittsburgh;
13 and these 14,000 chimneys discharge their burning sparks and smoke
14 incessantly. The forge of Vulcan could not be more somber or filthy
15 than the Monongahela Valley. In every direction are burning fires
16 and spurting flames. Nothing is visible save the forging of iron and
17 the smelting of metal.

18 From thousands upon thousands of these plants the thud of
19 the steam hammers and the hissing of escaping steam smite
20 aggressively on the ears. One can hardly imagine this to be the
21 conscious labor of human beings; the thundering tumult, blinding
22 flame, and choking steam which surround us suggest rather a
23 horrible calamity fallen upon the land. From above, soot, ashes, and glowing embers rain in a steady shower,
24 as though from some volcanic crater; indeed it is difficult to believe all this chaos to be wrought by human
25 hands. It is like the nether world of Pluto, the valley of Hades—of eternal night. Only the imagination of a
26 Dante could depict the horrors of a hell so dreadful, and well might every newcomer to the Monongahela
27 Valley be addressed in the words of the *Divine Comedy*: "All hope abandon ye who enter here!"

28 Along the valley below, clumps of workmen's homes and the mighty conglomeration of forges and
29 factories unfold themselves to our view. Pittsburgh, Homestead, Braddock, Duquesne, McKeesport, follow
30 each other like links in an interminable chain. The impression made by this series of gigantic industrial hives
31 is horrible. It may best be characterized in the language of the Americans themselves: "Pittsburgh is Hell
32 with the lid off." And this fearful place affects us very closely, for thousands of immigrants wander here
33 from year to year. Today he is a new addition to the row of silent sleepers in the churchyard; tomorrow, who
34 knows how many may be added?

35 Like the terrible idols of the past, the implacable iron and steel works must have their daily human
36 sacrifice. Scarce an hour passes without an accident, and no day without a fatal disaster. But what if one man
37 be crippled, if one life be extinguished among so many! Each place can be filled from ten men, all eager for it.
38 Newcomers camp out in sight of the foundry gates, while a little farther away others arrive with almost daily
39 regularity—thousands of immigrants to don the fetters of slavery.

40 The sun goes down. But it will not become dark. The tranquility of evening is unknown here, and
41 twilight brings no peace. The fires burn on, the steam hammers clang, the rain of sparks continues with even
42 greater fury. Labor continues without intermission. There is no Sunday on the Monongahela; no holidays are
43 observed. There is no day and no night; for God's day is darkened by steam, and smoke, and clouds of soot,
44 while the dark pall of night is snatched away by a conflagration worthy of Satan himself.



COUNT VAY de VAYA und LUSKOD

Count P ter Vay de Vaya und Luskod was born in 1865 to Austro-Hungarian nobility. He entered the Catholic Church and advanced rapidly in its service. In the course of his travels he passed through the United States. When he returned to Hungary in 1908, he became Lord Abbot of the Monastery of St. Martins.

45 Everything and everybody is black and gloomy, the place, the air, the sky itself. Day and night, these
46 14,000 chimneys pour forth their noisome vomit, killing everything that grows, trees, grass, flowers, and
47 shrubs. In the works, around the furnaces, the atmosphere is poisonous, the heat infernal. In some places the
48 human organism cannot endure the temperature for more than a few minutes. The workmen are relieved
49 every quarter-hour, but even in this brief period the perspiration rolls down their naked bodies, and their
50 constitutions are fatally infected by the poisonous gases thrown off by the filthy materials in use.

51 This will scarcely work for mankind. Americans will hardly undertake anything of the sort; only
52 immigrants, rendered desperate by circumstances, take up this degrading means of earning their daily bread.
53 When a foreigner arrives, he is quite alone. No one takes an interest in him or guides him with friendly
54 advice. He knows neither the language nor the customs of the strange land and thus he is at the mercy of the
55 tyrannous steel monopoly, the flexing tentacle of one A. Carnegie, which gathers our immigrant into its
56 clutches and transforms him from a free being into a regular slave.

57 In making a tour of these industrial prisons, wherever the heat is most insupportable, the flames most
58 scorching, the smoke and soot most choking, there we are certain to find compatriots bent and wasted with
59 toil. Their thin, wrinkled, wan faces seem to show that in America the newcomers are of no use except to
60 help fill the moneybags of the insatiable millionaires, by the sweat of their brows, by their blood and flesh.

61 In this realm of Mammon and Moloch everything has a value—except human life. Scientific brains
62 cogitate how to better fill the monopoly's coffers. The Taylorists marvel at the increasingly efficient factory
63 floor. But not a soul is stirred by the blood that spills upon it.

64 Why? Because human life is a commodity the supply of which exceeds the demand.

65 There are always fresh recruits to supply the place of those who fall in the battle. Steamships are
66 constantly arriving at the neighboring ports, discharging their living human cargo still further to swell the
67 phalanx of the instruments of greed.

68 How can the inhuman callousness with which the owners of the works regard the annihilation of
69 their employees be accounted for? Carnegie is guilty. He must be charged, and he must pay the penalty.

70 The most astonishing feature of this land of dollars is the absolute indifference and *contempt* of
71 Carnegie toward the poor. One might well suppose that, in a democratic country, as Carnegie rose from the
72 lowest stratum of society, he would entertain more liberal and humane sentiments toward the less fortunate.
73 But in the struggle for gold there is no room for sentiment. Alger be damned. Carnegie, too.

74 Most of the workmen have no families, and having no homes their wants are few and simple. They
75 are regular members of the social order. They are, as it were, outlaws. As many of them are herded together
76 in rooms as can well be packed in, without regard to the requirements of privacy or hygiene. Others do not
77 occupy rooms at all, but find shelter from the elements in outhouses. There is no proper furniture in these
78 shacks, simply rude wooden benches on which the occupants may lie down and sleep, closely, crowded
79 together. No comfort, no cleanliness, no light, not even darkness. Homestead is sickening.

STATEMENT OF HENRY CLAY FRICK

1 The question at issue is a very grave one. It is whether the Carnegie
2 Steel Company or the Amalgamated association shall have absolute control of
3 our plant and business at Homestead. We have decided, after numerous
4 fruitless conferences with the Amalgamated officials in the attempt to
5 amicably adjust the existing difficulties, to operate the plant ourselves. I can
6 say with the greatest emphasis that under no circumstances will we have any
7 further dealing with the Amalgamated association as an organization. This is
8 final.

9 The Edgar Thomson works and our establishment at Duquesne are
10 both operated by workmen who are not members of the Amalgamated
11 association with the greatest satisfaction to ourselves and to the unquestioned
12 advantage of our employees. At both of these plants the work in every
13 department goes on uninterrupted; the men are not harassed by the
14 interference of trade union officials, and the best evidence that their wages are
15 satisfactory is shown in the fact that we never had a strike there since they
16 began working under our system of management.

17 Finding that it was impossible to arrive at any agreement with the
18 Amalgamated officials, we decided to close our works at Homestead.
19 Immediately the town was taken possession of by the workmen. An advisory
20 committee of fifty took upon itself the direction of affairs of the place; the streets were patrolled by men
21 appointed by the committee, and every stranger entering the town became an object of surveillance, was closely
22 questioned, and if there was the slightest reason to suspect him he was ordered to leave the place instantly
23 under a threat of bodily harm. Guards were stationed at every approach to Homestead by this self-organized
24 local government. Our employees were prohibited from going to the mills, and we, as owners of the property,
25 were compelled to stand by powerless to conduct the affairs of our business or direct its management.

26 The lockout continued, and I called the sheriff, outlining to him the facts stated above. The sheriff
27 visited Homestead, and talked with the advisory committee. Its members asked that they be permitted to
28 appoint men from their own number to act as deputy sheriffs; in other words, the men who were interfering
29 with the exercise of our corporate rights, preventing us from conducting our business affairs, requested that
30 they be clothed with the authority of deputy sheriffs to take charge of our plant. The sheriff declined their
31 proposition, and the advisory committee disbanded. The rest of the story is a familiar one; the handful of
32 deputies sent up by Sheriff McCleary were surrounded by the mob and forced to leave town, and then the
33 watchmen were sent up to be landed on our property for the protection of our plant.

34 Why did the Carnegie Company call upon the Pinkertons for watchmen to protect our property? We
35 did not see how else we would have protection. We only wanted them for watchmen to protect our property
36 and see that workmen we would take to Homestead—and we have had applications from many men to go
37 there to work—were not interfered with. We simply doubted the ability of Sheriff McCleary to enforce order
38 and protect our property. We felt that for the safety of our property and in order to protect our workmen it was
39 necessary for us to secure our own watchmen to assist the sheriff, and we know of no other source from which
40 to obtain them than from Pinkerton agencies, and to them we applied.

41 We brought the watchmen here as quietly as possible; had them taken to Homestead at an hour of the
42 night when we hoped to have them enter our works without any interference whatever and without meeting
43 anybody. We proposed to land them on our own property and all our efforts were to prevent the possibilities of a



HENRY CLAY FRICK

Henry Clay Frick was an American industrialist who began his career operating coal ovens. In 1871, he formed his own company, and from 1889 he served as chairman of Carnegie Steel Co., the world's largest manufacturer of steel and coke.

44 collision between our former workmen and our watchmen. We are today barred out of our property at
45 Homestead and have been since the 1st of July. There is nobody in the mills up there now; they are standing a
46 silent mass of machinery, with nobody to look after them. They are in the hands of our former workmen. A
47 man claiming to represent the Amalgamated workers contacted me. I told the gentleman who called that we
48 would not confer with the Amalgamated association officials. That it was their followers who were rioting and
49 destroying our property, and we would not accept his proposition.

50 I further informed him that the proposed wage scales were in all respects the most liberal that can be
51 offered. We do not care whether a man belongs to a union or not, nor do we wish to interfere. He may belong to
52 as many unions or organizations as he chooses, but we think our employees at Homestead Steel Works would
53 fare much better working under a non-union system.

54 The men engaged by us through the Pinkerton agencies were sent up to Homestead with the full
55 knowledge of the sheriff and by him placed in charge of his chief deputy, Col. Gray, and, as we know, with
56 instructions to deputize them in case it became necessary. We made an impartial investigation and are satisfied
57 beyond doubt that the watchmen employed by us were fired upon by our former workmen and friends for
58 twenty-five minutes before they reached our property, and were fired upon again after they had reached our
59 property.

60 That they did not return the fire until after the boats had touched the shore, and after three of the
61 watchmen had been wounded, one fatally. After a number of the watchmen were wounded and Capt. Rodgers,
62 in charge of the towboat, at their request had taken the injured away, leaving the barges at our works
63 unprotected, our former workmen refused to allow Capt. Rodgers to return to the barges that he might remove
64 them from our property, but fired at him and fatally wounded one of the crew.

65 The mills have never been able to turn out the product they should, mainly because they have been
66 held back by the Amalgamated men.

67 I sent a cable to Carnegie in November and told him: "This incident will not change the attitude of the
68 Carnegie Steel Company toward the Amalgamated Association. I do not think I shall die but whether I do or
69 not the company will pursue the same policy and it will win."

70 Let the Amalgamated still exist and hold sway at other people's mills. That is no concern of ours. We
71 had to teach our employees a lesson, and we have taught them one that they will never forget.

STATEMENT OF WILLIAM A. PINKERTON

1 The Pinkerton Detective Agency was founded in 1850 by my father,
2 the late Allan Pinkerton, and during the last twenty years it has frequently
3 furnished private watchmen to protect the property of individuals and
4 corporations during strikes. The men employed by us in this strike work are
5 selected with great care and only after a full investigation of their characters
6 and antecedents. Not a single incidence can be cited where we have
7 knowingly employed unreliable or untrustworthy men, or where any of our
8 watchmen have been convicted of a crime. Moreover, we have seldom
9 allowed our watchmen to carry arms for the purpose of protecting property
10 and life unless they were authorized by the proper legal authorities or sworn
11 in as deputy sheriffs.

12 Our men have never wantonly or recklessly fired a single shot in any
13 of these strikes, and have only used their arms as the last extremity in order
14 to protect life. We have consistently refused to permit our watchmen to bear
15 arms without special legal authority or as deputy sheriffs even when on
16 private property, and we had no intention of varying from this rule in the
17 Homestead strike.

18 When first requested to send watchmen to protect the Homestead
19 plant and property of the Carnegie Steel Company, Limited, we refused to do so unless all our men should be
20 sworn in as deputy sheriffs before going to Homestead. We were then assured that the sheriff of Allegheny
21 County, Pa., knew that our men were going to Homestead to act as watchmen and to guard the property of the
22 company and protect its workmen from violence. We were further assured that the sheriff had promised,
23 immediately upon any outbreak or disturbance, to deputize all our watchmen as sheriff's deputies if it became
24 necessary for the protection of life and property. On that condition only did we consent to furnish about three
25 hundred watchmen. A large number of these men were our regular employés, who could be thoroughly
26 trusted for integrity, prudence, and sobriety. The remainder were men whom we employed from time to time
27 or who were known and recommended to us. They did not go into the State of Pennsylvania as an armed body
28 or force and we should not have permitted or assented to this. There was no intention or purpose whatsoever
29 of arming them until they were on the property of the company at Homestead and until and unless they had
30 been sworn in as the sheriff's deputies.

31 The Sheriff's Chief Deputy Gray accompanied our men, being on the tug towing the barges, and it was
32 distinctly understood that he had authority to deputize them in case of necessity. The boxes containing the
33 arms and ammunition were shipped from Chicago and were to be delivered at the Homestead yards. The
34 instructions to our men were that they should not be armed unless previously deputized by the sheriff. As a
35 matter of fact, the boxes on the barges were not opened and the arms and ammunition were not distributed
36 until after the strikers had commenced firing on the watchmen and it became evident that it was a matter of
37 self-defense, for life or death. Klein had been murdered by the strikers and about five other watchmen shot
38 and wounded before our men began their fire in self-defense. Even then it was impossible to attempt to shoot
39 those firing at the barges, because the strikers made a breastwork for themselves by placing women and
40 children in front and firing from behind them. Not a single woman or child was injured by our men.
41 When our men surrendered, the leaders of the strikers solemnly promised full protection to property and life.
42 They know that our men surrendered because the wounded required attention and for the purpose of saving
43 further loss of life. After the surrender all our men, including the wounded and helpless, were brutally beaten



WILLIAM A. PINKERTON

Allan Pinkerton, who provided security to President Lincoln, founded the Pinkerton Detective Agency. When he died, he left to his sons William and Robert the largest private armed force in the world.

44 and robbed by the strikers, and the leaders made no real or honest effort to protect them. Our men were
45 robbed of watches, money, clothing, in fact, everything, and then mercilessly clubbed and stoned. Conners,
46 unable to move or defend himself, was deliberately shot by one of the strikers and then clubbed. Edwards, also
47 wounded and helpless, was clubbed by another striker with the butt end of a musket. Both died, and
48 subsequently another watchman became insane and committed suicide as a result of the fearful beating after
49 having surrendered. All our men were more or less injured. The acts of the strikers, after our men surrendered,
50 would be a disgrace to savages. Yet, because done in the name of organized American labor, sympathy, if not
51 encouragement, is shown for such deeds by part of the press and by political demagogues.

52 We do not shirk responsibility for any of our acts in this or any other strike. The coming murder trials
53 ought to bring out the truth and uphold the law. Our actions will then be shown to have been legal from
54 beginning to end. Whatever may be the present prejudice against our agency, we shall patiently wait the sober
55 reflection of the country in the confidence that the enormity of the wrong and outrage done to our men at
56 Homestead will be ultimately recognized, although the example will in the meantime have cause incalculable
57 injury to the community.

58 If the firing at Homestead had been done to kill there would have been a great many more people
59 killed than there were. I have no doubt if the men had wanted to use those arms they would have obtained
60 possession of that yard, but they would have had to sacrifice a great many more lives to do it.
61 I sent them there without the authority of the officers of Allegheny County, and without stipulating that they
62 should be qualified as officers before they approached the Homestead works, as I had no reason to know that
63 our men would go and be assaulted; we supposed our men would be landed on that property without assault.

64 We were not violating any law of the United States or of the State of Pennsylvania. Our acts were
65 lawful; we had the right to employ and send men to Homestead to act as watchmen. If they were attacked
66 they had the right to kill, if absolutely necessary for self-defense. They had the right to bear arms on the
67 premises of the Carnegie Company in order to protect life and private property, whether or not they were
68 deputized by the sheriff of Allegheny County.

69 We had the right to ship arms from Chicago to the Carnegie yards at Homestead for the purpose of
70 arming our men if and after they were deputized by the sheriff. In view of the attack on the barges, our men
71 had the right to bear arms and to defend themselves, and that all their acts in firing in self-defense from the
72 barges, after the attack on them, were legally justifiable under the laws of the United States and of the State of
73 Pennsylvania.

74 During the twenty years that we have been engaged in this strike work, not a single instance can be
75 cited where our men have fired upon the strikers except as a last extremity in order to save their lives. During
76 these twenty years three men have been killed by our watchmen in these strikes, up to the time of the
77 Homestead affair. In each instance our men were sworn in as deputy sheriffs or peace officers, and whenever
78 tried have been acquitted.

*Adapted from the sworn statement to (and testimony before) the
House Judiciary Committee, by Wm A. Pinkerton, July 22, 1892.*

STATEMENT OF ALEXANDER BERKMAN

1 Like a gigantic hive the twin cities -- Allegheny and Pittsburg --
2 jut out on the banks of the Ohio, heavily breathing the spirit of feverish
3 activity, and permeating the atmosphere with the rage of life. Ceaselessly
4 flow the streams of human ants, meeting and diverging, their paths
5 crossing and recrossing, leaving in their trail a thousand winding
6 passages, mounds of structure, peaked and domed. Their huge shadows
7 overcast the yellow thread of gleaming river that curves and twists its
8 painful way, now hugging the shore, now hiding in affright, and again
9 timidly stretching its arms toward the wrathful monsters that belch fire
10 and smoke into the midst of the giant hive. And over the whole is spread
11 the gloom of thick fog, oppressive and dispiriting -- the symbol of our
12 existence, with all its darkness and cold.

13 This is Pittsburg, the heart of American industrialism, whose
14 spirit molds the life of the great Nation. The spirit of Pittsburg, the Iron
15 City! Cold as steel, hard as iron, its products. These are the keynote of the
16 great Republic, dominating all other chords, sacrificing harmony to noise,
17 beauty to bulk. Its torch of liberty is a furnace fire, consuming, destroying,
18 devastating: a country-wide furnace, in which the bones and marrow of
19 the producers, their limbs and bodies, their health and blood, are cast into
20 Bessemer steel, rolled into armor plate, and converted into engines of
21 murder to be consecrated to Mammon by his high priests, the Carnegies,
22 the Fricks.

23 The spirit of the Iron City characterizes the negotiations carried on between the Carnegie Company
24 and the Homestead men. Henry Clay Frick, in absolute control of the firm, incarnates the spirit of the furnace,
25 is the living emblem of his trade.

26 The olive branch held out by the workers after their victory over the Pinkertons has been refused.
27 The ultimatum issued by Frick is the last word of Caesar: the union of the steel-workers is to be crushed,
28 completely and absolutely, even at the cost of shedding the blood of the last man in Homestead.

29 The Company will deal only with individual workers, who must accept the terms offered, without
30 question or discussion. He, Frick, will operate the mills with non-union labor, even if it should require the
31 combined military power of the State and the Union to carry the plan into execution. Millmen disobeying the
32 order to return to work under the new schedule of reduced wages are to be discharged forthwith, and evicted
33 from the Company houses.

34 East End, the fashionable residence quarter of Pittsburg, lies basking in the afternoon sun. The broad
35 avenue looks cool and inviting: the stately trees touch their shadows across the carriage road, gently nodding
36 their heads in mutual approval. A steady procession of carriages fills the avenue, the richly decorated horses
37 and uniformed flunkies lending color and life to the scene.

38 A cavalcade passes. The laughter of the ladies sounds joyous and care-free. Their happiness is
39 irritating. I am thinking of Homestead.

40 In mind I see the somber fence the fortifications and cannon; the piteous figure of the widow rises
41 before me, the little children weeping, and again I hear the anguished cry of a broken heart, a shattered brain.

42 Why should they concern themselves with misery and want? The common folk are fit only to be their
43 slaves, to feed and clothe them, build these beautiful palaces, and be content with the charitable crust.



ALEXANDER BERKMAN

Born in Russia in 1870.— a time of revolutionary upheaval — Berkman was influenced by his uncle Maxim, who was exiled to Siberia for his revolutionary activity. Berkman was eventually expelled from school. On his American arrival in 1888, he quickly became involved in the anarchist movement.

44 Returning to Pittsburg on the evening of July 22, 1892, I learned that the conferences between the
45 Carnegie Company and the Advisory Committee of the strikers have terminated in the final refusal of Frick
46 to consider the demands of the millmen. The last hope was gone! The master was determined to crush his
47 rebellious slaves.

48 I knew something had to be done.

49 The next morning, I made my way to Frick's office on Fifth Avenue downtown. I created a false
50 business card representing me as Simon Bachman, and told the receptionist I worked for an employment
51 agency, and could offer non-union workers for Frick's steel works.

52 The doors to Frick's private office, to the left of the reception-room, swung open as a black attendant
53 emerges, and I caught a flitting glimpse of a black-bearded, well-knit figure at a table in the back of the room.

54 "Mister Frick is engaged," the black attendant says, handing back my card. "He can't see you now,
55 sir."

56 I took back the business card, returned it to my case, and walked slowly out of the reception-room.
57 But quickly retracing my steps, I passed through the gate separating the clerks from the visitors, and brushing
58 the astounded attendant aside, I stepped into the office on the left, and found myself facing Frick.

59 For an instant the sunlight, streaming through the windows, dazzled me. I discern two men at the
60 further end of the long table.

61 "Fr--," I began. The look of terror on his face struck me speechless. It was the dread of the conscious
62 presence of death. "He understands," it flashed through my mind.

63 With a quick motion I drew the revolver. As I raised the weapon, I saw Frick clutch with both hands
64 the arm of the chair, and attempt to rise. I aimed at his head. "Perhaps he wears armor," I reflected.

65 With a look of horror he quickly averted his face, as I pulled the trigger. There was a flash, and the
66 high-ceilinged room reverberated as with the booming of cannon. I heard a sharp, piercing cry, and saw Frick
67 on his knees, his head against the arm of the chair.

68 I felt calm and possessed, intent upon every movement of the man. He was lying head and shoulders
69 under the large armchair, without sound or motion. "Dead?" I wondered. I had to make sure.

70 About twenty-five feet separated us. I took a few steps toward him, when suddenly the other man,
71 whose presence I had quite forgotten, leapt upon me. I struggled to loosen his hold. He looked slender and
72 small. I would not hurt him: I have no business with him.

73 Suddenly I heard the cry, "Murder! Help!" My heart stood still as I realized that it was Frick shouting.
74 "Alive?" I wondered.

75 I hurled the stranger aside and fired at the crawling figure of Frick. The man struck my hand -- I had
76 missed! He grappled with me, and we wrestled across the room. I tried to throw him, but spying an opening
77 between his arm and body, I thrust the revolver against his side and aimed at Frick, cowering behind the
78 chair. I pulled the trigger.

79 There was a click -- but no explosion! By the throat I caught the stranger, still clinging to me, when
80 suddenly something heavy struck me on the back of the head. Sharp pains shot through my eyes. I sunk to
81 the floor, vaguely conscious of the weapon slipping from my hands.

82 "Where is the hammer? Hit him, carpenter!" Confused voices rang in my ears.

83 Painfully I tried to rise. The weight of many bodies pressed on me.

84 Now -- it's Frick's voice! Not dead?

85 I crawled in the direction of the sound, dragging the struggling men with me. I had to get the dagger
86 from my pocket -- I had it! Repeatedly I struck with it at the legs of the man near the window. I heard Frick
87 cry out in pain -- there was much shouting and stamping -- my arms were pulled and twisted, and I was
88 lifted bodily from the floor.

90 Some may wonder why I have declined a legal defense. My reasons are twofold. In the first place, I
91 am an Anarchist: I do not believe in man-made law, designed to enslave and oppress humanity. Secondly, an
92 extraordinary phenomenon like an Attentat cannot be measured by the narrow standards of legality. It
93 requires a view of the social background to be adequately understood. A lawyer would try to defend, or
94 palliate, my act from the standpoint of the law.

95 Yet the real question at issue is not a defense of myself, but rather the explanation of the deed. It is
96 mistaken to believe me on trial. The actual defendant is Society -- the system of injustice, of the organized
97 exploitation of the People.

98 Frick is now well, and I waste away in prison. How he looked at me in court! There was hate in his
99 eyes, and fear, too. He turned his head away, he could not face me. I saw that he felt guilty.

100 Yet he lives. I didn't crush him. Oh, I failed, I failed.

*Taken largely from Alexander Berkman's
Prison Memoirs of an Anarchist, 1912.*

STATEMENT OF JOHN McLUCKIE

1 I was born in Elizabeth, Pennsylvania, in 1852. I never made it
2 through school; I left the classroom as a young man to work the coal
3 mines in Turtle Creek and help support my family. I went to work for
4 Carnegie in the J. Edgar Thompson Works in Braddock, then worked for
5 a while in Bellaire, Ohio, before returning to Pittsburg -- Homestead -- in
6 1887. I work in the mill as a converter, casting molten iron ore into steel
7 billets for processing. It's hot, brutal, and dangerous, this steel work.
8 You break once an hour to pour the sweat out of your rubber boots.

9 I make about \$65 in a good month. I don't drink, so I get by
10 better than some men who make more than I do.

11 I'm a union man, even if the union considers me among its
12 lowest. It's mostly the skilled workers in the Amalgamated -- machinists,
13 hookers, the head rollers -- and converters are on the low end of that list.
14 Most of the Slavs and Hunkies aren't allowed to organize with the
15 Amalgamated. A lot of folks resent the Hunkies, look down on them. I
16 say a working man is a working man.

17 I am also the Burgess of Homestead, about as close to a mayor as
18 a company town will allow. I had every opportunity to trade my influence for a patronage job, but they called
19 me "Honest John" when they elected me 1890 and again this year, and that's a lot to live up to. I think it's
20 fitting that a working man can hold such a position. Government in labor's hands. Can you imagine?

21 And if you question my credentials, know first that I have toed the line. I struck with the
22 Amalgamated against Carnegie at the Thompson Works five years ago. We lost that one. Carnegie tried to
23 flush out the unions in '89, but I organized the pickets outside the locked-down plant. Won that one.

24 I knew this lockout was going to be ugly. Carnegie brought in a lot of new, faster equipment -- low-
25 wage workers could run the machinery, and the way we locked the Hunkies out of the Amalgamated, that was
26 going to cost us. Ominous. Plus the market for steel went slack late in '90, thanks to the McKinley Bill.

27 I wasn't too worried about Carnegie. He doesn't have the stomach for blood. He said that it was
28 immoral for a man to replace union workers with scabs. Frick, though, he has the stomach for it. With
29 Carnegie out of the city, I knew Frick was running the show, and the men were bracing for a fight. Then Frick
30 had that fence built around the Works. Fort Frick. The fence had portholes cut for rifles. Why would you cut
31 rifle sights unless you are preparing for war? And then they called for the Pinkertons.

32 Those filthy black sheep attempted to land under cover of darkness about four in the morning. A large
33 crowd of families had kept pace with the boats as they were towed by a tug into the town. A few shots were
34 fired at the tug and barges, but no one was injured. The crowd tore down part of Frick's barbed-wire fence.
35 Strikers and their families surged onto the Homestead plant grounds. Some in the crowd threw stones at the
36 barges. Hugh O'Donnell and other strike leaders shouted for restraint.

37 The two barges -- the Monongahela and the Iron Mountain -- pulled to the landing site as the sky began
38 to lighten. A gangplank was thrown out. A number of Pinkerton men, carrying Winchesters and pistols,
39 started coming down the gangplank to shore.

40 O'Donnell, a man of character and heroic soul, a mill hand, with three others, hatless and
41 coatless, with their backs to the Pinkertons, afraid for their lives, begged the mob to fall back.

42 "In God's name," O'Donnell cried, "my good fellows, keep back! Don't press down and force them to
43 do murder!"

44 A sharp report of a Winchester rifle from the bow of the boat answered him. In an instant there was a



JOHN McLUCKIE

John McLuckie was a steel worker, union leader, and burgess of the Borough of Homestead in 1892.

45 sheet of flame. A rain of leaden hail. John Morris from the blooming mill fell first, bullet to the head, blowing
46 him sixty feet down into a ditch by the pump house. The crowd fell back a few feet, then advanced, pouring
47 deadly shots into the invading force.

48 There were guns everywhere. Fire came from the watercraft and both banks of the river. Thousands
49 of people, swarming to the Works, carrying rifles, pistols, ammunition. Some strikers huddled behind the pig
50 and scrap iron in the mill yard, others behind breastworks, behind mills and beams. The Pinkertons cut holes
51 in the side of the barges so they could fire on any who approached. Many a battle has gone down in history
52 when less shooting was done, fewer people were killed. Hundreds of well-armed men, thirsting for the lives
53 of the men on the boats. Thousands of men and women, cheering them on. I looked off at the hillside toward
54 Munhall, men and women out of range, sitting, watching. Like the action below was a play, and they were
55 simply spectators at the amphitheater. Strangest thing.

56 The boat pulled out into the stream.

57 There were dead men on both sides.

58 And so ended the first battle of the morning.

59 Artillery was rolled out in the morning, around 9:00. Strikers loaded it with steel scrap, fired it toward
60 the barges. One shot tore a hole in the roof of a barge; another cleared the river, killing Silas Wain, a worker in
61 the Bessemer mill. His head exploded, blown clean off. Maybe a thousand shots in ten minutes. Unbearable
62 thunder of gunfire. Anyone who exposed himself was fired upon. I saw Peter Fares, a religious man of 28
63 from Šariš Province, Hungary, armed only with a loaf of bread. A Pinkerton shot his head off, too.

64 Around 11:00 the Little Bill – the small steamer that had accompanied the barges – returned, flying Old
65 Glory, probably hoping they wouldn't fire on their own colors, trying to set loose the barges so they could float
66 away. They did fire, though, hitting a young man in the leg, sending the captain face-down on the deck,
67 scrambling for his own life. By 1:00 the workers were throwing lit dynamite toward the barges, doing little
68 damage. They poured oil in the river, then failed to successfully light the slick. Firing continued sporadically.

69 The Pinkertons flew a white flag around 4:00 the afternoon of July 6, and they were roughly escorted
70 from the landing site up past the mill, into the opera house in town. Six hundred yards, I'd say. They took
71 those men between two lines of strikers and citizens, all lined up ready to do their worst. Townsfolk threw
72 sticks, rocks; beat them with canes and umbrellas. Men and women alike. Shameful, making them walk that
73 gauntlet.

74 A few days later, July 11, the Pennsylvania militia came in. O'Donnell and I led the committee to
75 welcome them. After meeting General Snowden and his seven regiments, I realized that any authority of mine
76 as burgess had evaporated. Homestead was now occupied. Martial law. Soon after, O'Donnell, myself, and
77 199 other strikers were arrested, indicted, and charged with treason against the state of Pennsylvania. Old
78 Carnegie's pockets are big enough to hold the courts, too.

79 I do not wish for this little affair at Homestead to be considered a war between labor and capital. It
80 was a war between laboring men. These Pinkertons and their associates were there under corporate orders.
81 They were there for hire.

82 The person who employed that force was safely placed away by the money he's wrung from the sweat
83 of the men employed in that mill, hiring the Pinkertons to go there and kill the men who made his money.

*Adapted from the sworn statement to (and testimony before) the House Judiciary Committee,
by John McLuckie, July 13, 1892. Also consulted were "The Incident of the 6th of July,"
The Illustrated American, July 16, 1892, and Forgotten Heroes, edited by Susan Ware.*

STATEMENT OF HUGH O'DONNELL

1 July 6, 1892. For hours we watched the barges, waiting for a head
2 to appear. Down in the boats, sweltering, their hearts filled with fear, lay
3 the Pinkertons. The sun was beating down on the low roofs of the barges,
4 and the air within had to be stifling. July in Pittsburg is no treat. The
5 sufferings of the wounded in the boats must have been awful, not to speak
6 of the others, and, as the sun grew hotter, sounds of an ax at work within
7 the boat told the crowd that the Pinkerton guards were taking desperate
8 chances to prevent suffocation.

9 Soon a hole was cut through, and a moment later it was made
10 twice as large by the bullets from the shore. The axman was wounded, and
11 no further attempt was made to secure ventilation. Death in a stifling
12 atmosphere was better, they must have thought, than from the guns of the
13 crowd on the bank.

14 All sorts of plans were tried to ignite the boats. A hand fire engine,
15 owned by the steel company, was gotten out of its shed and connected with
16 a steel oil tank. The oil was pumped down into the river and burning waste
17 was thrown after it. This did not do, and the stores with overstocked
18 Fourth of July fireworks were drawn upon. Rockets, Roman candles and
19 the like were used, but without avail. The oil was of the lubricating kind
20 and was not as inflammable as other grades. But if the men had succeeded, an appalling fate would have
21 overtaken the unhappy men in the barges. To save themselves from death in fire they would have been forced
22 to face the bullets from the watchers, and the escape of any of them alive would almost have been beyond
23 hope.

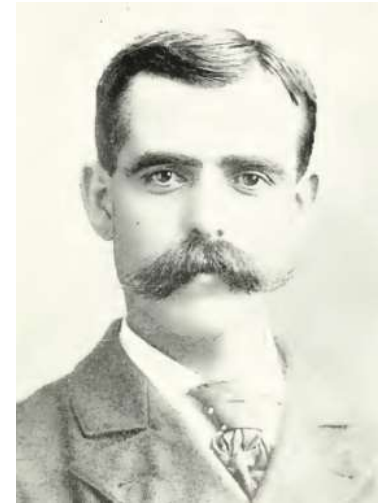
24 This is when I realized that calmer heads must prevail. I grabbed a small American flag, mounted a
25 pile of pig iron, and soon had the attention of the 2,000 maddened men who were shouting for blood. I calmly
26 discussed the situation, and cautioned the men to move slowly. My words were received with cheers, and
27 finding I had the crowd with me, I suggested that a truce be arranged until the arrival of the sheriffs. I said a
28 white flag should be carried to the bank and was about to explain further, when a shout went up from a
29 thousand throats: "Never! If there is any white flag to be shown, it must fly from the boats!"

30 "Very well," I hollered. "We will hold them in the boats till the Sheriff comes, and we will then swear
31 out warrants for every man on a charge of murder." Shouts of approval rent the air. Seeing that this was the
32 desire of the men, I stepped down and went to work to hold them to it, and prevent further conflict if possible.
33 Probably owing to the silence, a white handkerchief was shoved cautiously out of an opening on the barge,
34 and cheers greeted it.

35 Grabbing two veteran mill men, I ran down the steep embankment to receive the message of peace.
36 The spokesman of the Pinkertons announced that they would surrender on condition that they be protected
37 from the violence of the men. After a short parley this was agreed to, though a multitude of enraged men were
38 howling for the blood of those who had killed their comrades.

39 Quickly, a hundred or more from the shore descended upon the boat. Reporters entered and there
40 found one dead and eleven wounded Pinkerton men. I asked where they came from. One big fellow who
41 looked like a tough, said that Boston and Chicago had furnished the most of them, but there were some from
42 other places. Not more than a couple of Pittsburgers were in the gang, he said.

43 The steelworkers did not let them talk long, but ordered them to hurry out. The first one to leave had
44 his Winchester rifle with him. "Disarm them!" cried the crowd on the bank, and as each man came out, his gun



HUGH O'DONNELL

O'Donnell was a heater in the Homestead Works with a gift for eloquent speech. When the workers were locked out, he was chosen to head the union's advisory committee.

45 was taken and became the property of him who took it. Down the gang plank, one by one, they came, and that
46 they might be distinguished from the men on the bank, or that none would get away, they were forced to walk
47 with uncovered heads.

48 And such a gauntlet as they had to run! The Pinkerton men walked, ran, or crawled as best they could.
49 The first to leave got only hoots and jeers. Then, with open hands, the men who formed the gauntlet, began to
50 strike the uncovered heads. My cries for rational behavior were useless. None of us could stop the crowd.

51 Soon clubs were introduced. A gray-haired man -- head and face flowing blood from many wounds --
52 pleaded for his life. One young fellow, with blanched face, saw what awaited him, and burst into tears.
53 Dropping to his knees he prayed for mercy. Then he started to run and as he did so a blow from a blood-
54 stained club laid him low. The Pinkertons' hats, their satchels and even their coats were taken from them,
55 either to be torn into shreds or carried away. You'll never seen men so happy to be locked up, off the street. It
56 was an ugly picnic, but I am proud that we got them to relative safety, instead of hanging from the mighty
57 oaks that line Tenth Avenue.

58 By 9:00 the next morning, the AAISW had sent its president, Mr. Weihe, out to Homestead to try to
59 sort out the mess. The workers were in control of the mill, and our advisory council sent word to Mr. Frick
60 that we wanted to meet, wanted to negotiate. Mr. Frick refused. The mill was dark, and the Pinkertons were
61 prisoners-of-war. Word came from both the sheriff and the governor that the Pennsylvania Militia was en
62 route.

63 On July 12, our advisory committee waited at the downtown station, waiting for the militia to arrive
64 by train. To our surprise, they arrived not at the Homestead Depot downtown, but instead at the Munhall
65 Depot, right across from the works. We rushed over to find the Homestead Works surrounded by soldiers.

66 I rushed over to introduce myself to General Snowden, and welcomed the Pennsylvania National
67 Guard to Homestead on behalf of the steelworkers. I extended my hand, as well as the courtesy of any
68 assistance he would need in maintaining order. He brushed both offers away. "The State of Pennsylvania
69 needs no help from the Amalgamated Association in preserving peace."

70 By ten o'clock that morning, the managers of the works were back in their offices, the plant was
71 surrounded by 4,000 troops, and another 2,000 patrolled the town. All they needed now was a crew of scabs to
72 run the operations. Times turned very desperate, very quickly.

73 Fortunately, since we had organized, the AAISW was at our service. They rushed me to New York
74 City, and we met with national leaders of the Knights of Labor and other labor associations. General strikes of
75 sympathy, they promised, would soon follow our lockout, as far away as New Orleans, Chicago, even San
76 Francisco -- and as near as Carnegie operations in Lawrenceville and Beaver Falls. I was back in Homestead by
77 July 12, and was meeting with Congress later that week, testifying to a select House judiciary committee on
78 labor relations. But none of this changed our plight. We were locked out, and we weren't getting back in.

79 Owing to the fact that certain of my acts in that most memorable struggle are under criminal
80 investigation, I am not in a position to criticize the acts of my late associates. Great battles are rarely, if ever,
81 fought as planned. The world has never witnessed before so much suffering and sacrifice for a cause. The
82 action of the three thousand laborers and mechanics who came out with our men on pure principle alone is
83 unexampled in the history of labor struggles.

*Adapted from the sworn statement to (and testimony before) the House Judiciary Committee, by
Hugh O'Donnell, July 16, 1892. Also consulted were Fort Frick or the Siege of Homestead,
by Myron R. Stowell, and The Homestead Strike of 1892 by Arthur Burgoyne.*

STATEMENT OF JOHN T. McCURRY

1 I was down at the foot of Beaver Avenue, Allegheny City, on July 5,
2 when Captain Rodgers employed me to go up the river on his boat – the Little
3 Bill. We had two boats, the Little Bill and the Tides. Captain Rodgers tells me,
4 around dinner time: “John, I want you to watch on one of these barges.” I told
5 him I would. I’m a river man. I never done nothing else but on the river.

6 Went to the meetup point and found the other fellows. Then the boats
7 came back with the barges hitched up, each one outfitted like a dormitory –
8 beds, toilets, a mess hall. Big chest of ice. All kinds of provisions. Never seen
9 anything like it. This was around 10:00 on the night of the fifth. Nobody in
10 charge told us where we were going, what we were doing.

11 We all laid up in the barges and Captain Rodgers told us to sit tight. We
12 thought we were heading up to Beaver, to work on the dam there. But as we
13 passed through the hold of the Little Bill, I saw crates of guns, and uniforms.
14 We sat tight till about 1:00 or 2:00 in the morning. The boys kept saying we were
15 going up to Beaver, but I didn’t see it that way. You don’t repair a dam in
16 uniform.

17 Started up the Ohio toward Beaver, but we stopped at the Davis Island
18 Dam near Bellevue. Train was there to meet us, Bellevue station. It was dark,
19 hot and close, hard to see. A bit foggy. Then these men come, pouring, onto the boat. Several rail cars’ worth.
20 Supposed to be Pinkerton detectives, but they were boys just like us. You couldn’t call them detectives. They
21 had orders to put on their uniforms. Then we headed back toward Pittsburg. The helm-yoke busted on the
22 Tides’ barge coupling, so now the Little Bill is pulling both barges, slowly, back toward the city.

23 We went on nicely until we got close to Homestead. Before we got there, they had some skiffs set up,
24 three or four of them. Each skiff had three or four fellows on them. Hard to count them in the fog. We had
25 about twenty men on deck, the rest in the barges. They shot at us all the way along, but didn’t hit us.

26 We got to Homestead around 5:00 in the morning. The shore was crowded with the locked-out men
27 and folks from town. We didn’t get off. One of our men threw a line around a spile, and I hauled it back in.

28 Just as we were approached the landing they sent the signal. A whistle. Two quick puffs, followed by
29 a cheer. Then they started firing.

30 The shooting came in heavy so I ran back into the barge. Some of the Pinkerton men tried to climb up
31 the banks. People came at them with sticks, shots were ringing out from above. The men shot first and not until
32 three of the Pinkerton men had fallen did they respond to the fire.

33 I am willing to take an oath that the workmen fired first, and the Pinkerton men did not shoot until
34 some of their number had been wounded.

35 The workmen were so strong in numbers that it was useless for the 350 or 400 Pinkerton men to oppose
36 them further, so they retreated to the barges, carrying their dead and wounded. One Pinkerton man was shot
37 through the head and instantly killed, and five were wounded. We backed out into the river, left the barges,
38 and then left with the dead and wounded men up to Port Perry, whence they would be sent on the Baltimore
39 and Ohio Railroad to Pittsburg. We thought we were in the clear. We were just trying to get the men to safety.

40 That’s when I was hit.

41 Shots broke the glass and splintered the woodwork. Captain Alexander McMichaels was at the wheel.
42 The bullets whistled, crashed through the glass pilothouse, and to save his life he had to rush below. Captain
43 Rodgers was on board, and he displayed great bravery. When the firing came, we all laid down on the floor to



JOHN T. McCURRY

John McCurry was a teenager in 1892. Not much is known about his life beyond a single interview with the *New York Times* during the standoff, and his testimony to the Allegheny County Coroner.

44 escape the bullets, but I was not quick enough and was wounded.

45 There was a cessation in the firing, and the pilot secured control of the boat before it ran into the bank,
46 which it came near doing.

47 Beside the dead and wounded, there was nobody on board at the time we were fired upon but the
48 crew, Captain Rodgers, and one Pinkerton man, J.H. Robinson of Chicago. The look in his eyes. He didn't
49 know what he'd signed up for. None of us did.

50 Many panes of glass in the pilothouse and elsewhere were shattered and the woodwork was perforated
51 in dozens of places. Most of the bullet holes looked as large as one from a thirty-eight caliber revolver. Some
52 went half through the boat.

53 After we cleared the dead and wounded at Port Perry, we got our next orders – back to Homestead.

54 By now it was around 8:00 in the morning. When we approached we could see the attempts to set fire
55 to the barges. The strikers had a carload of what appeared to be oil and they were pouring it on the water and
56 igniting it. The barges at this time were out in the middle of the river. They loaded cannon with iron scraps
57 and fired; they missed the barges and killed one of their own on the opposite shore. They sent a burning flatcar
58 filled with explosives down the rail spur, launching it into the river, toward the barges. They threw lit
59 dynamite. None of it worked.

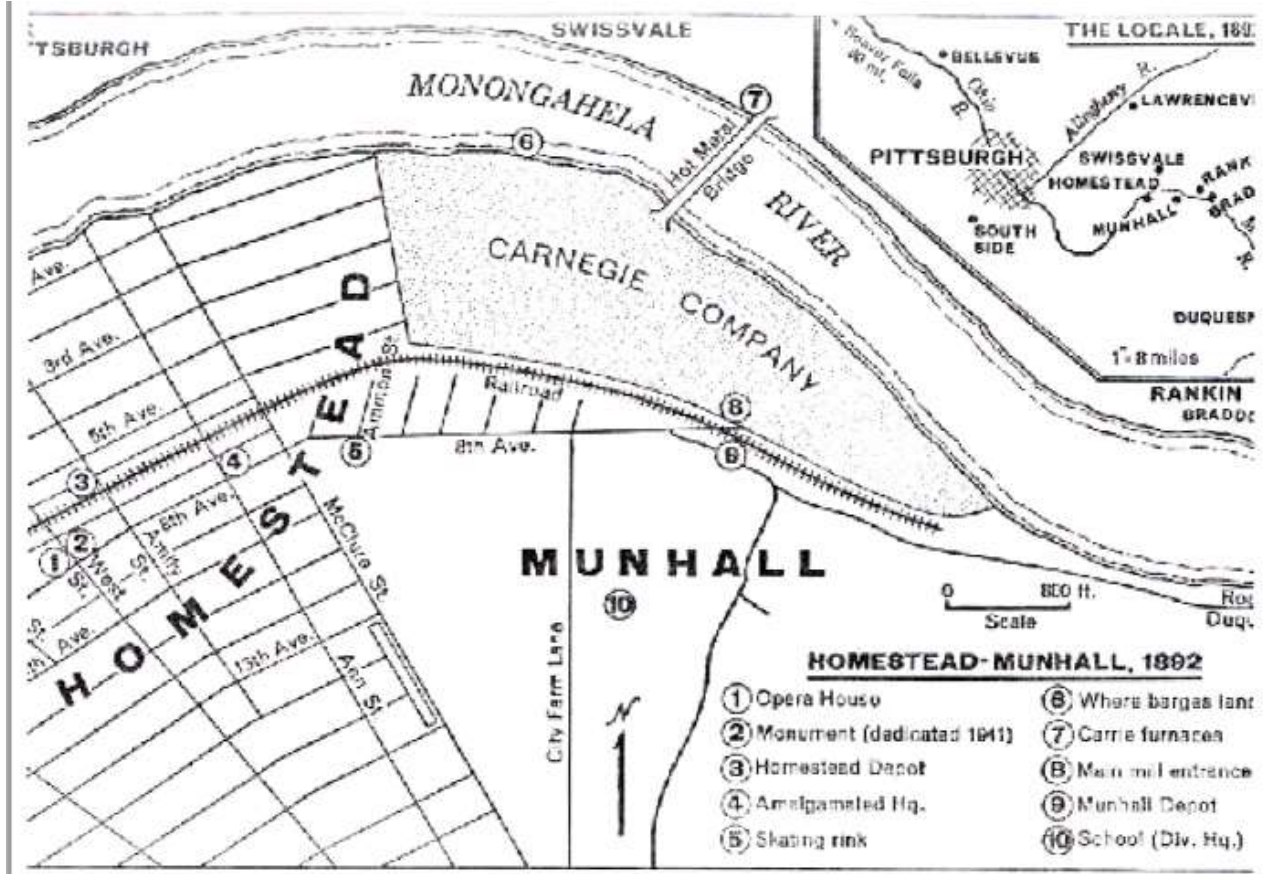
60 For me, I was shot once from behind, inside my left thigh. They took me to Allegheny General in
61 Allegheny City, a brand new building. They had no more than 60 beds. Once my wound was stanced, I sat
62 up most of the night and tried to make sense of all this business.

63 I know the struggle of the working man. We were all working men.

64 But I can tell you -- and I will die knowing it -- that the workers, and not the Pinkerton boys, shot first.

*Adapted from an interview with McCurry in the article "What a Boatman Saw," New York Times,
July 6, 1892, and McCurry's testimony to the Allegheny County Coroner, July 8.*

Exhibit 1



Map of Homestead, Munhall, and the Homestead Steel Works, 1892

Exhibit 2

ANDREW CARNEGIE,

5 West 51st St.

New York, April 4, 1892.

NOTICE

TO EMPLOYEES AT HOMESTEAD WORKS.

These Works having been consolidated with the Edgar Thomson and Duquesne, and other mills, there has been forced upon this Firm the question Whether its Works are to be run 'Union' or 'Non-Union.' As the vast majority of our employees are Non-Union, the Firm has decided that the minority must give place to the majority. These works therefore, will be necessarily Non-Union after the expiration of the present agreement.

This does not imply that the men will make lower wages. On the contrary, most of the men at Edgar Thomson and Duquesne Works, both Non-Union, have made and are making higher wages than those at Homestead, which has hitherto been Union.

The facilities and modes of working at Homestead Works differ so much from those of steel mills generally in Pittsburgh that a scale suitable for these is inapplicable to Homestead.

A scale will be arranged which will compare favorably with that at the other works named; that is to say, the Firm intends that the men of Homestead shall make as much as the men at either Duquesne or Edgar Thomson. Owing to the great changes and improvements made in the Converting Works, Beam Mills, Open Hearth Furnaces, etc., and the intended running of hot metal in the latter, the products of the works will be greatly increased, so that at the rates per ton paid at Braddock and Duquesne, the monthly earnings of the men may be greater than hitherto. While the number of men required will, of course, be reduced, the extensions at Duquesne and Edgar Thomson as well as at Homestead will, it is hoped, enable the firm to give profitable employment to such of its desirable employees as may temporarily be displaced. The firm will in all cases give the preferences to such satisfactory employees.

This action is not taken in any spirit of hostility to labor organizations, but every man will see that the firm cannot run Union and Non-Union. It must be either one or the other.

Posted by Frick at Homestead Works, April 4, 1892

Exhibit 3

May 4, 1892

Mr. Frick:

One thing we are all sure of: No contest will be entered in that will fail. It will be harder this time at Homestead than it would have been last time when we had the matter in our own hands, as you have always felt.

On the other hand, your reputation will shorten it, so that I really do not believe it will be much of a struggle. We all approve of anything you do, not stopping short of approval of a contest. We are with you to the end.

Yours,

Andrew Carnegie

Note from Carnegie to Frick, May 4, 1892

Exhibit 4

<table border="1" style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <th colspan="2">DOMESTIC SERVICE</th> </tr> <tr> <td colspan="2">Check the class of service desired; otherwise this message will be sent as a fast telegram</td> </tr> <tr> <td>TELEGRAM</td> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td> </tr> <tr> <td>DAY LETTER</td> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td> </tr> <tr> <td>NIGHT LETTER</td> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td> </tr> </table>	DOMESTIC SERVICE		Check the class of service desired; otherwise this message will be sent as a fast telegram		TELEGRAM	<input type="checkbox"/>	DAY LETTER	<input type="checkbox"/>	NIGHT LETTER	<input type="checkbox"/>	\$	<h2 style="margin: 0;">WESTERN UNION</h2> <p style="margin: 0;">W. P. MARSHALL R. W. McFALL CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD PRESIDENT</p> <h2 style="margin: 0;">TELEGRAM</h2>	<table border="1" style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <th colspan="2">INTERNATIONAL SERVICE</th> </tr> <tr> <td colspan="2">Check the class of service desired; otherwise the message will be sent at the full rate</td> </tr> <tr> <td>FULL RATE</td> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td> </tr> <tr> <td>LETTER TELEGRAM</td> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td> </tr> <tr> <td>SHORE SHIP</td> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td> </tr> </table>	INTERNATIONAL SERVICE		Check the class of service desired; otherwise the message will be sent at the full rate		FULL RATE	<input type="checkbox"/>	LETTER TELEGRAM	<input type="checkbox"/>	SHORE SHIP	<input type="checkbox"/>
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Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

To H C FRICK 10 JUNE 1892

Street and No. HOMESTEAD WORKS, HOMESTEAD PENNA.

Care of or Apt. No. _____ Destination _____

AS I UNDERSTAND MATTERS AT HOMESTEAD, IT IS NOT ONLY THE WAGES PAID, BUT THE NUMBER OF MEN REQUIRED BY AMALGAMATED RULES WHICH MAKES OUR LABOR RATES SO MUCH HIGHER THAN THOSE IN THE EAST. OF COURSE, YOU WILL BE ASKED TO CONFER, AND I KNOW YOU WILL DECLINE ALL CONFERENCES, AS YOU HAVE TAKEN YOUR STAND AND HAVE NOTHING MORE TO SAY.

IT IS FORTUNATE THAT ONLY A PART OF THE WORKS ARE CONCERNED. PROVIDED YOU HAVE PLENTY OF PLATES ROLLED, I SUPPOSE YOU CAN KEEP ON WITH ARMOR. POTTER WILL, NO DOUBT, INTIMATE TO THE MEN THAT REFUSAL OF SCALE RUNNING ONLY AS NON-UNION. THIS MAY CAUSE ACCEPTANCE, BUT I DO NOT THINK SO. THE CHANCES ARE, YOU WILL HAVE TO PREPARE FOR A STRUGGLE, IN WHICH CASE THE NOTICE [I.E. THAT THE WORKS ARE HENCEFORTH TO BE NON-UNION] SHOULD GO UP PROMPTLY ON THE MORNING OF THE 25TH. OF COURSE YOU WILL WIN, AND WIN EASIER THAN YOU SUPPOSE, OWING THE PRESENT CONDITION OF THE MARKETS.

Senders's name and address (For reference) ANDREW CARNEGIE COWORTH PARK, SUNNINGDALE, BERKS COUNTY
WU1207 (R2-65)

Telegram from Carnegie to Frick, June 10, 1892

Exhibit 5

H.C. FRICK,
42-48 FIFTH AVENUE,
PITTSBURG, PA.

June 22, 1892

Dear Sir, I am in receipt of your favor of the 22d.

We will want 300 guards for service at our Homestead mills as a measure of prevention against interference with our plan to start the operation of the works on July 6, 1892.

The only trouble we anticipate is that an attempt will be made to prevent such of our men, with whom we will by that time have made satisfactory arrangement, from going to work and possibly some demonstration of violence upon the part of those whose places have been filled, or most likely by an element which usually is attracted to such scenes for the purpose of stirring up trouble.

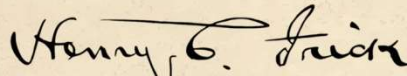
We are not desirous that the men you send shall be armed unless the occasion properly calls for such a measure later on for the protection of our employes or remain unless called into other service by the civil authorities to meet an emergency that is not likely to arise.

These guards should be assembled at Ashtabula, Ohio, not later than the morning of July 5, when they may be taken by train to McKees Rocks, or some other point upon the Ohio River below Pittsburg where they can be transferred to boats and landed within the enclosures of our premises at Homestead. We think absolute secrecy essential in the movement of these men so that no demonstration can be made while they are en route.

Specific arrangements for movement of trains and connection with boats will be made as soon as we hear from you as to the certainty of having the men at Ashtabula at the time indicated.

As soon as your men are upon the premises we will notify the sheriff and ask that they be deputized either at once or immediately upon an outbreak of such a character as to render such a step desirable.

Yours very truly,



H.C. Frick
Chairman, Carnegie Steel

Robert A. Pinkerton, Esq.
New York City, N.Y.

Letter from Frick to Robert Pinkerton

Exhibit 6

Homestead Strike.

Air—Lay Me on the Hillside.

Say, comrades, did you hear about the tow-boat "Little Bill,"
That caused so much excitement at Carnegie's Homestead Mill?
With model barges well equipped, Bill Rogers, sly and slick,
Took "Pinkerton Assassins" there, employed by H. C. FRICK.

On the sixth of July, ninety-two, just at the dawn of day,
The "Pinkerton Marauders" tried to land at Fort Frick Bay,
'Twas then they met their Waterloo from Vulean's brawny sons,
Who repulsed their every movement, and silenced all their guns.

Some weeks before this tragic act Carnegie went away,
To see the Banks O'Bonny Doon, that FRICK might have his say;
'Twas then he wired to Pinkerton, I want eight hundred strong,
One "V" per day shall be the pay, so bring your thugs along.

A committee sat at Homestead to investigate the cause,
Of H. C. FRICK'S tenacity on sumptuary laws;
When asked to state the cost (per ton) of billets four by four,
Had he been in a swearing room, I fancy he'd have swore.

HUGH O'DONNELL as a leader was placed upon the stand;
Describe what you were doing when the Vultures tried to land,
I risked my life entreating men, for God's sake not to shoot,
And for my pains (by LOVEJOY) I was stigmatized a loot.

McLUCKIE as a witness proved that he'd been through the mill,
And gave some sturdy pointers on the famed McKINLEY Bill;
He boldly intimated that where benefits accrue,
They are not for the masses, but the highly favored few.

JUDGE EWING was appointed to see justice hold the sway,
And filled the bill (admirably) in an autocratic way;
To construe the law to meet his views he'll very seldom fail,
While officials strut around at large, the Workmen go to jail.

FRICK'S mode of action seems to say, I feel inclined to brag;
I'll bust the "AMALGAMATION" bow; bring out the pirates' flag;
The skull and crossbones now display, to let the public know,
The UNION MEN have had their day, I'll give the "SCABS" a show.

The "SCABS" they are a filthy set; I can't discriminate,
And though I aint allowed to bet, I'll confidently state,
That with your shoulders to the wheel, they can't soil Homestead mats,
Thy'll seek more congenial quarters, where they're not so "Rough on
Rats."

Price 5 Cents.

"Homestead Strike" pamphlet

Exhibit 7

"Fort Frick": The Homestead Works General Office Building, 1892



Exhibit 8

TYRANT FRICK

In days gone by before the war
All freemen did agree
The best of plans to handle slaves
Was to let them all go free;
But the slave-drivers then, like now,
Continued to make a kick
And keep the slaves in bondage tight,
Just like our Tyrant Frick.

CHORUS:

Of all slave-drivers, for spite and kick,
No one so cruel as Tyrant Frick.

The brave Hungarians, sons of toil,
When seeking which was right,
Were killed like dogs by tyrants' hands
In the coke districts' fight.
Let labor heroes all be true—
Avenge the *bloody trick!*
Be firm like steel, true to the cause,
And conquer Tyrant Frick.

CHORUS

The traitorous Pinkerton low tribe,
In murdering attack,
Tried hard to take our lives and homes,
But heroes drove them back.
O! sons of toil, o'er all the land,
Now hasten, and be quick
To aid us, in our efforts grand,
To down this Tyrant Frick.

CHORUS

The battle of "Fort Frick" is stamped
On page of history,
And marked with blood of freemen true,
Against this tyranny!

The sons of toil, for ages to come,
His curse will always bring;
The name of *Frick* will be well known—
The n----r driver King!

Of all slave-drivers, for spite and kick,
No one so cruel as Tyrant Frick.

Lyrics to "Tyrant Frick"

Exhibit 9



The Pennsylvania militia parading in Homestead during its occupation

Exhibit 10

Year after year the capital of the country becomes more and more concentrated in the hands of the few; and, in proportion, as the wealth of the country becomes centralized, its power increases and the laboring classes are more or less impoverished. It therefore becomes us as men who have to battle with the stern realities of life, to look this matter fair in the face. There is no dodging the question. Let everyman give it a fair, full and candid consideration, and then act according to his honest convictions. What position are we, the Iron and Steel Workers of America, to hold in our society? Are we to receive an equivalent for our labor sufficient to maintain us in comparative independence and respectability, to procure the means with which to educate our children and qualify them to play their part in the world drama?

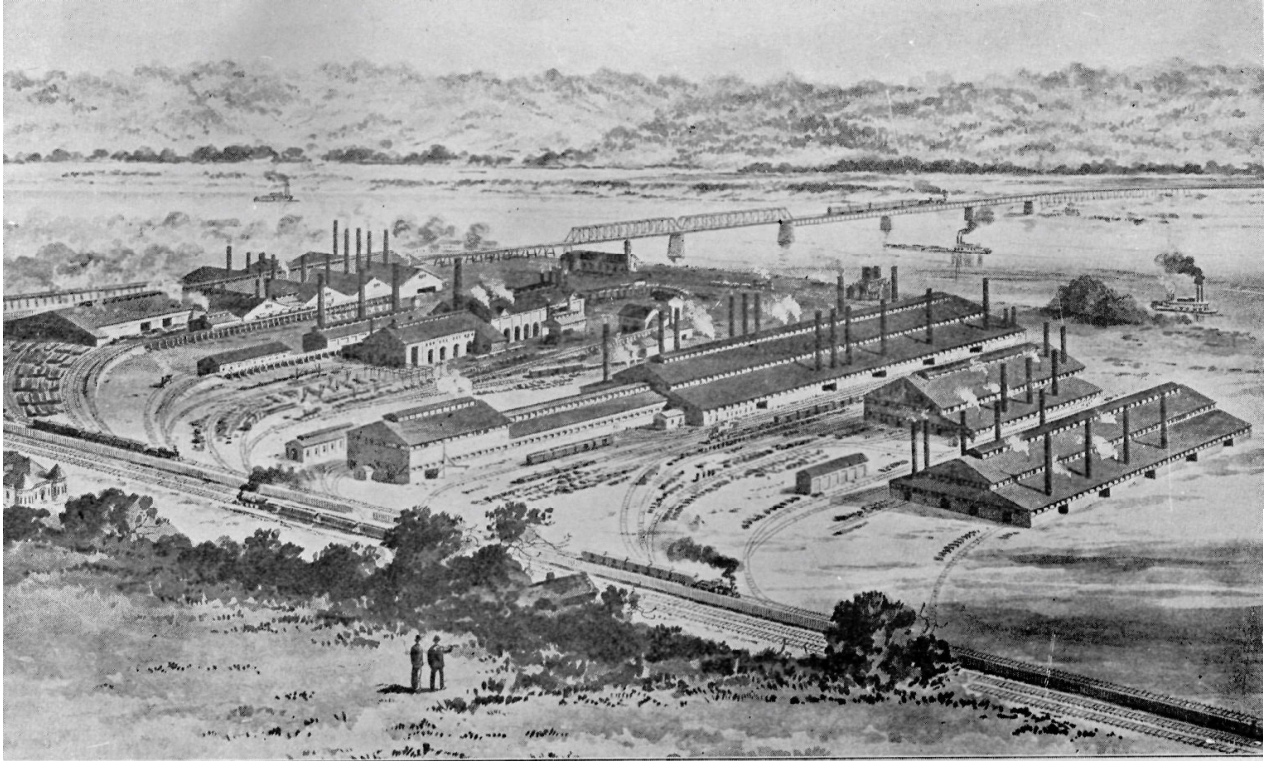
“In union there is strength,” and in the formation of the a National Amalgamated Association, embracing every Iron and Steel Worker in the country, a union founded upon a basis broad as the land in which we live lies our only hope. Single-handed we can accomplish nothing, but united there is no power of wrong we may not openly defy.

Let the Iron and Steel Workers of such places as have not already moved in this matter, organize as quickly as possible and connect themselves with the National Association. Do not be humbugged with the idea that this thing cannot succeed. We are not theorists; this is no visionary plan, but one eminently practicable. Nor can injustice be done to anyone; no undue advantage should be taken of any of our employers. There is not, there can not be any good reason why we should not receive a fair equivalent therefore.

To rescue our trades from the condition into which they have fallen, and raise ourselves to that condition in society to which we, as mechanics, are justly entitled; to place ourselves on a foundation sufficiently strong to secure us from encroachments; to elevate the moral and intellectual condition of every Iron and Steel Worker in the country, is the object of our National Association.

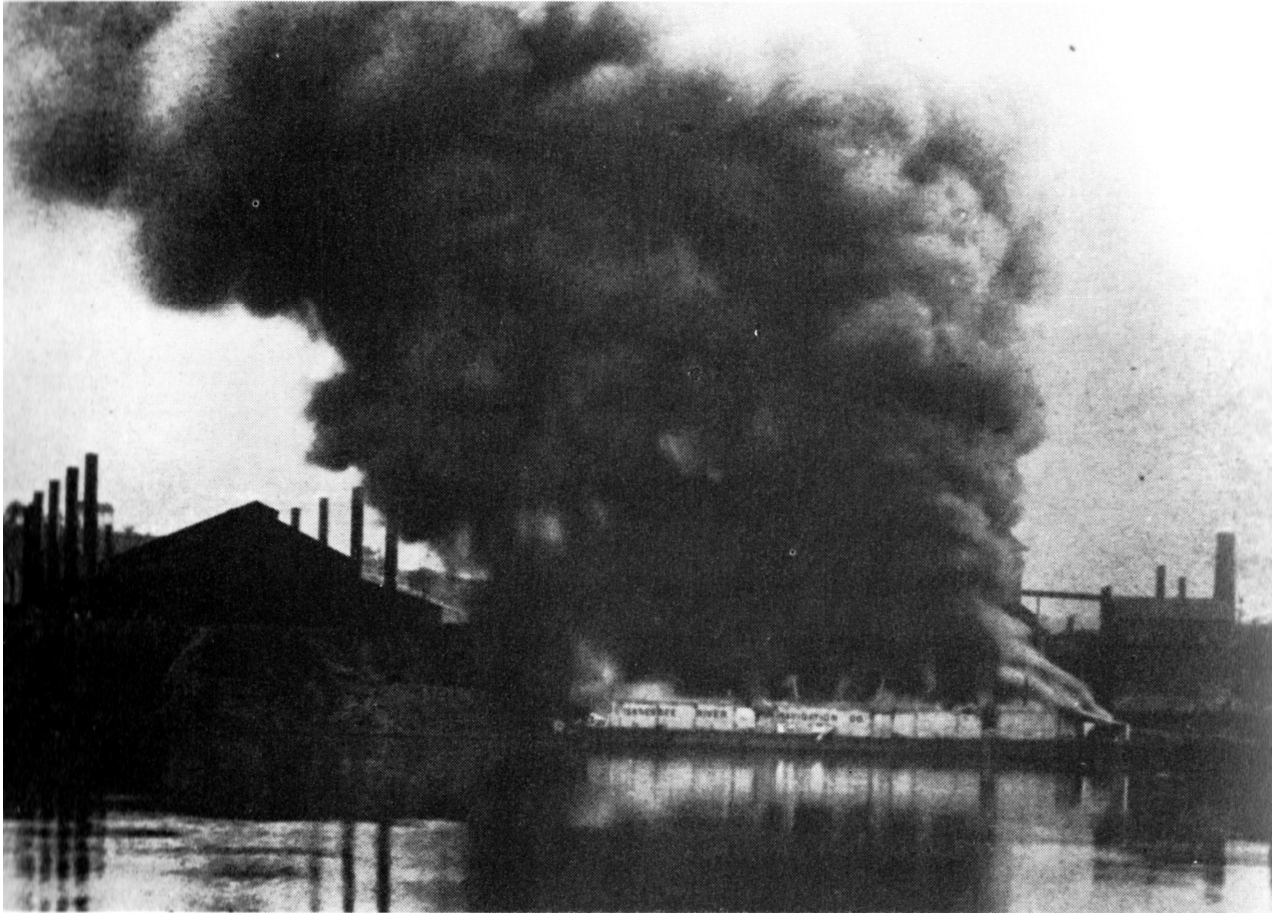
Excerpt from the Constitution of the AAISW, June 1892

Exhibit 11



Homestead Steel Works, as it appeared in 1886

Exhibit 12



A Pinkerton barge in flames, Homestead, July 6, 1892

Exhibit 13

To the Coroner. Tgh Aug. 3/92
T. J. Connors is aged
about 30 years came to his death at
the West Penna Hospital on Tuesday
July 6. 1892. about 11 o'clock a.m.
from shock & exhaustion due to a
gun shot wound in the right arm
which severed the femoral artery
occurring about 8 o'clock a.m. while
in a model barge employed as a
Pinkerton Guard to guard the property
of Carnegie Phipps & Co. Steel Works
Mifflin Twp and being shot by a
ball from an unlawful assemblage
which had assembled on said night
to avoid the landing of said barges
and we find that the party or parties
unknown with felonious intent
that said unlawful assemblage be
certified to the Dept. of Justice of
Grand Jury

T.J. Connors aged about 30 years came to his death at the West Penna. Hospital on Tuesday July 6, 1892, about 11 o'clock a.m. from shock and exhaustion due to a gun shot wound in the right arm which severed the femoral artery occurring about 8 o'clock a.m. while in a model barge employed as a Pinkerton Guard to guard the Carnegie, Phipps & Co.'s Steel Works... and being shot by a ball from an unlawful assemblage which had assembled to avoid... the landing of said barges and we find that the party or parties unknown with felonious intent...

Coroner's report for T. J. "Mike" Connors

Exhibit 14

TABLE 4.—TONNAGE RATES IN PLATE MILLS, HOMESTEAD, 1889-1908*

Position	Cents per Ton, 119-inch Plate Mill			Cents per Ton, 84-inch Plate Mill		Per cent of Decline since 1889-92
	1889-92	1892 [Feb.]	1894 [Feb.]	1905-07	1908 [Feb.]	
Roller	14.00	12.15	6.00	5.50	4.75	66.07
Screw-down	11.50	9.55	3.70	4.11	3.82	66.78
Heater	11.00	9.55	5.25	4.29	3.99	63.73
Heater's helpers	7.50	4.85	2.22	2.50	2.09	72.13
Tableman	10.00	6.94	3.20	3.29	2.74	72.60
First shearman	13.00	9.85	4.09	..	..	..
Second shearman	8.50	6.80	3.41	..	..	..
Shearman's helpers	5.50	3.47	2.27	2.16	1.70	69.09
Hookers	8.50	6.08	2.72	2.75	2.40	71.76
First leader	7.75	5.21	2.95	..	..	..
Second leader	7.25	4.47	2.56	..	..	..

* E. W. Bemis, writing in 1894, gave a list of reductions in the 119-inch plate mill at Homestead, that appear in the first three columns of the table. (*Journal of Political Economy*, Vol. 11, p. 338.) In 1905 this mill was made over into an 84-inch mill, and the rates in the fourth column were paid. The fifth

Table of tonnage rates in Homestead plate mills

Exhibit 15

A MAN NAMED CARNEGIE

Sing ho, for a man name Carnegie,
Who owns us, controls us, his cattle, at will.
Doff hats to himself and his lady;
Let the sigh of the weary be stiller and still.
Drink, boys, to the health of Carnegie,
Who gives his slaves freedom to live-if they can.
Bend knees, and cheer, chattels, cheer. He
May still be a chattel who can't be a man.

But, oh, there was weeping last night at the Homestead!
The river ran red on its way to the sea,
And curses were muttered and bullets whistling,
And riot was King of the land of the free.

Sign ho, for we know you, Carnegie;
God help us and save us, we know you too well;
You're crushing our wives and you're starving our babies;
In our homes you have driven the shadow of hell.
Then bow, bow down to Carnegie,
Ye men who are slaves to his veriest whim;
If he lowers your wages cheer, vassals, then cheer. Ye
Are nothing but chattels and slaves under him.

But, oh, did you hear it, that mad cry for vengeance,
Which drowned with its pulses the cannon's loud roar?
For women were weeping last night at the Homestead,
And the river ran red from shore unto shore.

Then woe to the man named Carnegie!
His vassals are rising, his bondsmen awake,
And there's woe for the lord and there's grief for his lady
If his slaves their manacles finally break.
Let him call his assassins; we've murder for murder.
Let him arm them with rifles; we've cannon to greet.
We are guarding our wives and protecting our babies,
And vengeance for bloodshed we sternly will mete.

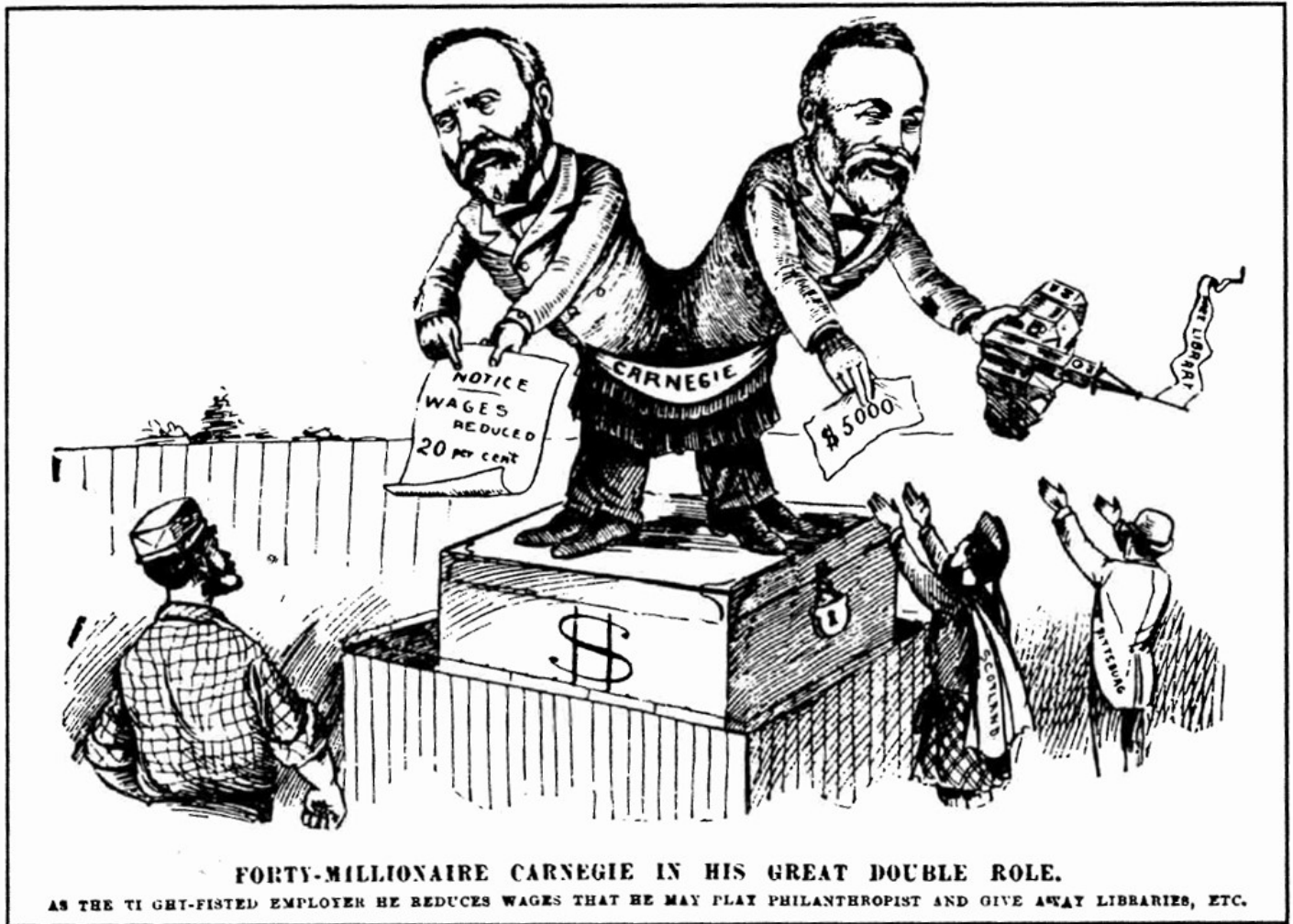
And, oh, did you hear it, that wild cry for mercy
The Pinkertons raised as they fell 'neath our fire?
They came armed with guns for shooting and killing,
But they cowered like curs 'neath our death-dealing ire.

Sing ho, if the man named Carnegie
Were under our guns, where the Pinkertons stood,
He would shrink like a dog and would cry like a baby;
But his country he's left for his country's best good.
He rides in a carriage; his workmen "protected"
Pray God for a chance that their dear ones may live;
For he's crushing our wives and he's starving our babies,
And we would be hounds to forget or forgive.

But, oh, it was awful, that day at Homestead,
When the river ran red on its way to the sea,
When brave men were falling and women were weeping,
And Riot was King of the land of the free!

Lyrics to "A Man Named Carnegie"

Exhibit 16



Cartoon from *The Saturday Globe*, July 9, 1892

Exhibit 17



The Modern Baron With Ancient Methods.

Cartoon from *The World*, July 1, 1892

Exhibit 18

McKinley Tariff imposed, Oct. 1 1890

On this day in 1890, the McKinley Tariff — named after Rep. William McKinley Jr. (R-Ohio), chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee — went into effect. It raised by nearly 50 percent the protective tariffs for a host of American-made products. The House approved the McKinley Tariff by a vote 164-142.

President Benjamin Harrison persuaded his Senate allies to insert a provision permitting the president to raise duties to match foreign rate increases and to sign executive agreements to open foreign markets without congressional approval. McKinley unsuccessfully opposed the reciprocity provision because it yielded traditional legislative powers.

In setting the highest barriers to imports in U.S. history, the Republican-led Congress favored large industries against the interests of consumers. The barriers proved unpopular, shredding the hopes of Republican candidates in the midterm 1890 elections.

The GOP lost 93 seats in the 332-member House, while the Democrats gained 86. The tariff cost McKinley his own seat, which he lost by some 300 votes. This election also saw the Populist Party, a coalition of farmers and laborers who sought to overhaul the nation's financial system, seat eight members. Republicans had jeered when Rep. Richard Townshend (D-Ill.) rose in protest against the measure. House Speaker Thomas Reed (R-Maine) responded, "It is not the speech we complain of so much as the monotony of the thing; we want a change."

Change came in November, when the voters responded favorably to a Democratic pledge to cut the federal budget as they campaigned against not only the McKinley Tariff but also the spendthrift "billion-dollar Congress."

Summary description of McKinley Tariff of 1890

Adapted from an article by Andrew Glass at politico.com, October 1, 2009.

Source: Historian, Clerk of the U.S. House of Representatives

Exhibit 19



Pinkerton men "running the gauntlet", July 6

Exhibit 20

NO. WDS.-CL. OF SVC.	PD OR COLL	CASH NO.	CHARGE TO THE ACCOUNT OF	TIME FILED

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W. P. MARSHALL
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

R. W. McFALL
PRESIDENT

Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

To H C FRICK 7 JULY 1892

Street and No. HOMESTEAD WORKS, HOMESTEAD PENNA.

Care of or Apt. No. _____ Destination _____

CABLE RECEIVED. ALL ANXIETY GONE SINCE YOU STAND FIRM. NEVER EMPLOY ONE OF THESE RIOTERS. LET GRASS GROW OVER WORKS. MUST NOT FAIL NOW. YOU WILL WIN EASILY NEXT TRIAL.

A CARNEGIE

Senders' name and address (For reference)
WU1207 (R2-65)

Telegram from Carnegie to Frick, July 7, 1892