THE HOMESTEAD STRIKE IN 1892 REVISITED: LABOR DISPUTES, CORPORATIONS, AND POLITICAL MACHINES IN THE GILDED AGE

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Abstract

The Homestead strike of 1892 was a pivotal event in American labor history. It demonstrated the explosive collision between workers and profit-minded industrialists to the public and politicians. This event also amply demonstrated the extreme lack of legal protection of labor rights in the United States in the late nineteenth Century, the tilting of the scales of government in favor of wealthy industrialists, and the dire consequences they could lead to. The event has helped update and improve the legal framework since then.

Keywords: Labor disputes, Labor History, Labor right, Nineteenth Century

Introduction

The sun had just risen on July 12, 1892, and Homestead, the steel town near Pittsburgh, came alive early that day. Everything looked like the morning of the first day of Carnival, as two bands paraded through the town streets, rehearsing nervously, ready to greet the upcoming state militia under the command of the strikers' advisory committee. However, these musicians had no idea when and where they would appear. Suddenly, a noise interspersed with shouts of surprise came from the steel mills - the city's heart. Before anyone could realize what was happening, a picket line had been erected around the mill, and a whole battalion of heavily armed militias was marching down the town's main street. In less than a day, 8,500 well-trained state militiamen occupied the mill and the hill overlooking the town. Acting on behalf of Pennsylvania's Governor, Robert E. Pattison, Major General George R. Snowden led the militia. Refusing to accept any celebratory welcome arranged by the unions, the general told Hugh O'Donnell, the leader of the strikers' advisory committee, "I don't need any brass bands around here, and I want you to understand clearly that I'm the master of the situation here." Things then became obvious: the state militia had appeared as suppressors. What prompted the state government to deploy the National Guard against thousands of American citizens despite the decision's potential for severe economic and political consequences?

The costs and benefits of unions and strikers have been extensively analyzed in past research. Many argue that the unions' and strikers' own tactical mistakes in management made them lose the strikes. The union's conservatism in abandoning the strike prematurely may have cost them the opportunity to negotiate with the company again. At the same time, the strikers' sporadic violence also negatively impacted their reputations. However, the influence imposed by the government on the strikes cannot be ignored either. This paper builds on prior scholarship to highlight the importance of governmental ties with corporations like Carnegie Steel, which ultimately led to the breakup of the strike.

The backdrop of the event

The Homestead strike in 1892 is a famous event in American labor history and an impressive example of an organized labor strike. It was named after the Homestead town, a thriving steel town during the Gilded Age, where the strike occurred. The progression of this strike was shaped by the complex dynamics involving Carnegie Steel Company, the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers (AAISW), the private armed forces of the Pinkerton National Detective Agency, and other pivotal actors. The catalyst for this event can be traced back to a decade before it occurred.

The formation of Homestead

Homestead is located in Allegheny County, Pennsylvania, southeast of Pittsburgh, with the Monongahela River flowing through the town. Beginning in the 1860s, the United States experienced rapid industrial progress. During this period, later known as the Gilded Age, the iron and steel industry rose quickly and sustained the town's existence. Within twelve years, the town's population grew by 600%. Steelworkers settled in the town and played an important role in the community. They organized various social activities and made this

place a thriving working-class community.

The Company, the Union, and the Pinkertons

At the center of the Homestead Strike were three main entities: the Carnegie Steel Company, the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers (AAISW), and the Pinkerton National Detective Agency. The famous Carnegie Steel Company was officially founded in 1892 after Andrew Carnegie acquired Henry Clay Frick's company, H. C. Frick & Company. The two bosses of the newborn Carnegie Steel Company were also the main characters in the strike. Henry Clay Frick came from the coal industry and had been known to use an iron-fisted approach to cracking down on collective action by workers and specializing in crush unions, which set the stage for his tough behavior in the strike.

Though the Carnegie Steel Company was not formally created until 1892, Carnegie had been consolidating control of the steel industry and building his business empire for many years. In 1883, Carnegie acquired the steel mill in Homestead. The union in the mill was affiliated with the then-powerful AAISW, which had been founded in Pittsburgh in 1876. By 1892, it had some 24,000 members nationwide. As for the Pinkertons, this infamous company, the Pinkerton National Detective Agency, was founded in 1850 by Allan Pinkerton.

Changing Relations: Carnegie and Homestead workers in the 1880s

Throughout the 1980s, the workers had a relatively cordial relationship with the Carnegie Company. The company gave the workers considerable benefits, such as housing subsidies, more favorable prices for company products, etc. Moreover, unlike other companies, the Carnegie Company actively cooperated each year in signing the union's proposed wage schedule, which included the union's demands for a minimum wage and maximum work hour limits.

This harmony was maintained until 1889, when Carnegie changed his mind. A disagreement over the wage scale led to a strike resolved with a new three-year contract. The conflict between the company and the union did not dissolve; it was simply artificially buried until it erupted again in a more intense way three years later.

A brief history of the strike in 1892

In June 1892, the three-year contract negotiated in the 1889 strike expired. While discussing the signing of the new contract, Frick demanded that the signing of the wage scale be rescheduled for the cold month of December, when strikes are difficult to organize. After the union rejected this condition, Frick simply told the union to disband and refused any extra negotiations. On May 30, he issued a request to the workers, giving them a deadline: June 24. The union did not give in until the deadline; from then on, the two sides were completely broken off. On the evening of June 30, a few hours before the contract was due to expire, Frick shut down the plant and the lockout began. The workers immediately declared a strike to fight back. Union members and the majority of non-unionized workers and residents of the town supported the strike. As a result, the workers quickly occupied the plant and the town and went on strict alert to prevent the company from shipping in strikebreakers. At the same time, strikers formed an advisory committee to manage the strike. On July 6, 300 Pinkerton agents employed by Frick attempted to infiltrate the town and retake the plant. But the workers detected the attempt and responded with full resistance. The two sides clashed violently, which became a famous scene in U.S. labor history. On July 12, the Pennsylvania militia declared a takeover of the town and the plant, which marked a turning point in the whole affair. The plant soon went back to operation again, while the union lost the possibility of garnering concessions from the company and finally declared an end to the strike on November 22.

Carnegie Steel Company: firm determination and plan against the union

Although Carnegie adopted a conciliatory policy towards workers in the 1880s, when the market fell into recession, and the old labor policies could no longer continue to create profits for the company, Carnegie chose to abandon the unions he once supported. The main managers of the Carnegie Company anticipated and planned for the Homestead Strike of 1892, viewing it as an opportunity to eliminate the union.

Carnegie was a gentle and liberal businessman.

Carnegie was born in Scotland in 1835 and moved to America when he was twelve. He began consolidating his business ventures in the early 1870s. In 1872, he formed Carnegie, McCandless & Company, establishing his first steel plant near Pittsburgh. After that, he acquired several other nearby mills, including Homestead Steel Works. In 1892, he consolidated his plants and assets and merged them with Frick's company, H. C. Frick & Company, to form the Carnegie Steel Company.

Carnegie was known later as a dedicated philanthropist, sponsoring the construction of numerous public facilities, including libraries, concert halls, and universities. In fact, during his early years as a steel industrialist, Carnegie had a good reputation for enlightened labor policies even among the workers he employed. In his biography of Carnegie, Joseph Frazier Wall pointed out that Carnegie's philanthropism may have come from his personality

and background. Specifically, he desired to have a good reputation and had exposure to radical egalitarianism during his childhood in Scotland.

However, like any other company owner, Carnegie made his company's profits his primary goal. However, in different eras, Carnegie used different means to reach the goal. Until the mid-1880s, Carnegie played the role of "the friend of labor." He actively supported labor unions in the plants, specifically the Amalgamated Association. As Carnegie claimed in 1885, "I am a firm friend of the Amalgamated Association, and no one ever heard of my having trouble with them." Before 1888, Carnegie Steel was the only manufacturing establishment to sign the union scale. Moreover, the Carnegie mills still recognized the Amalgamated Association even though it lost eleven of the thirteen strikes in which it participated. He believed that the existence of unions facilitated the loyalty of skilled workers and that a reliable labor force would create an advantage for him in the marketplace. In 1886, he expressed a similar opinion in the popular news magazine The Forum and even "elevated these labor practices which had brought him success to the status of moral truths." These behaviors, different from those of the usual businessmen, earned Carnegie a good reputation. Moreover, as Jonathan Rees points out, "Carnegie had an interest in keeping the Amalgamated strong because if labor costs were high throughout the industry, his firm could undersell its competitors by exploiting other important advantages." Therefore, when the existence of the union began to prevent Carnegie Steel from achieving higher profits, Carnegie would not hesitate to betray the union.

No more a "friend of the labor"

After 1886, however, things began to change. The pressures of an increasingly competitive marketplace and the recession prompted Carnegie to abandon his previous labor policies. In 1889, Carnegie spoke to non-unionized workers in the nearby Edgar Thomson works in Braddock to celebrate his donation of the first library in the United States. He explained his decision to operate the mill without the Amalgamated Association:

You all know that for twenty years, ever since we began manufacturing, we have invariably signed the iron scale because our competitors generally had to sign it and pay the same wages to labor. If a uniform scale could be enforced in the steel mills of this country, we would gladly pay hundreds of thousands of dollars to secure it. The Amalgamated Association is, unfortunately, no longer able to enforce its decrees even in the Pittsburgh mills, to say nothing of the strong competing mills at Harrisburg and Johnstown. There are no less than five non-union mills in Pittsburgh, and every mill that resolves to throw over the Amalgamated Association succeeds without difficulty. These non-union mills, beyond the reach of the Amalgamated Association, have us at their mercy.

Competitors' success in de-unionization urged Carnegie to change his "friend of labor" role four years before to maintain the company's competitiveness and continued profitability.

Besides competitors gaining an advantage through de-unionization, Carnegie faced a depressed steel market. As U.S. railroads approached their line mileage limits, demand and rails prices plummeted between 1880 and 1885. At that time, Carnegie had just invested $3 million in the prior few years to improve plant production facilities to maintain his losing production capacity advantage. As a result, Carnegie Steel faced severe overproduction in the late 1880s. As Carnegie said in 1888: "With a capacity to manufacture double the amount of rails required, the steel rail mills of this country have nothing to look forward to for some time but a severe struggle to run part of their works and maintain their organizations."

Moreover, Carnegie also faced a dilemma in adapting to the market's shifting demands. The industry that replaced rails as the emerging use of steel in the late 1880s was skyscraper construction. The difference was that the structural shapes required high quality rather than large quantities of low-quality steel. Consequently, Carnegie lost the advantage it had gained in production capacity. Considering this difficult situation, high labor prices became a heavy burden on Carnegie.

The strike in 1889

Carnegie intended to solve this problem by introducing the sliding scale, under which workers' wages were correlated to the price of the product they produced, and wages changed as the price changed. This type of wage scale would eliminate the need to negotiate wage rates every year, thus reducing the incidence of strikes. At the same time, Carnegie could achieve his goal of reducing wages.

In 1889, Carnegie Steel Company refused to sign on to the union's wage scale as it had done in previous years. Instead, it demanded that the union accept its new sliding scale of wages. The union naturally rejected this, and negotiations began between the two sides. During the negotiations, management's attitude became hardened. Carnegie did not initially intend to drive the union out of the plant but to solve the problem by laying off workers. However, management later demanded that the union be eliminated and that a sliding scale of wages be implemented simultaneously. It was clear that the workers would not accept such terms. So, the strike began. William L. Abbott, the company's chairman, tried to hire new workers and bring them into the plant under

the protection of local sheriffs. His attempts failed, as the workers repeatedly prevented the outsiders from entering. Eventually, the sides resumed negotiations and settled. Both sides made compromises: the union would continue to exist, but the sliding scale would go into effect. Unlike any other plant under the Amalgamated Association's jurisdiction, the contract would last three years instead of the usual one year, thus avoiding annual negotiations and the disputes they can cause. From the signing of this long-term agreement in 1889, it could be inferred that Carnegie and management in the company still considered it more important to keep the plant in continuous production than to expel the union then.

Carnegie and Frick: Shared determination to crush the union

Faced with a depressed market and the company's high labor costs relative to its competitors, Carnegie was determined to operate the Homestead mill without a union in the years after. However, this man who cared about his reputation was unwilling to do it himself. Carnegie understood that AAISW would not quit easily. He therefore decided to send his experienced business partner, Henry Frick, to deal with this thorny issue. In the Homestead strike, Frick, the iron-fisted industrialist, played the role of a blood-stained executioner who did the dirty work for his reputation-conscious bosses. Destroying the union at any cost was something that both Carnegie and Frick agreed on. Frick was by no means the only one who thought so and acted on it.

A lot of evidence proves that the decision to destroy the union was not a spur-of-the-moment one by Carnegie and Frick but was planned well in advance. Carnegie visited Pittsburgh in March and drafted a notice stating that the mill in Homestead would be de-unionized. Frick did not publicize this notice, pretending to continue negotiating wages with the workers, but only offered harsh terms that they could never accept. Years later, when the workers who had participated in the strike reunited, they suspected that Frick intentionally offered unacceptable terms to create conflict. It was not until May 30 that Frick hinted at the company's intention to de-unionize in his ultimatum.

Regardless of whether the workers' speculations about Frick were correct, what is certain is that both Frick and Carnegie anticipated that a conflict might occur and consciously prepared for it. On April 21, Frick wrote in a letter to Carnegie that if a "stubborn fight" should arise, it would be "fought to a finish without regard to cost or time." Carnegie responded in agreement and said that the issue with the union should have been resolved in 1889.

While issuing the ultimatum, Frick began preparing for a possible future strike. He employed great manpower to build a three-mile-long strong formwork fence around the mill. The fence was lined with multiple strands of barbed wire and had holes at intervals that seemed intended for shooters hidden within the fence. But Frick claimed that the holes were for observation only when he testified before the congress committee. Twelve-foot-high platforms were set up at each end of the plant. Electric searchlights were mounted on them so the sentries could watch every corner of the plant at night. Sensitive workers noticed these changes and called the armed mill "Fort Frick." Moreover, in the middle of June, Captain Frederick Heinde of the Pinkertons Agency visited Pittsburgh and met with the company. This shows that the decision to hire Pinkertons was made long before the strike began.

From the beginning, Frick and Carnegie did not count on the local Sheriff who was supposed to be responsible for handling the strike. Frick's experience convinced him that there was little possibility that the Sheriff would be able to muster as many as 300 citizens to protect his property rights, even though he was obligated to do so. It also turns out that Frick's judgment was not wrong. Moreover, even if the Sheriff had succeeded in gathering men to protect the plant under the law, the company would have been required to pay for them. So Frick's choice was reasonable: if he had to pay for the Sheriff's actions, he might as well just hire his private army to keep the situation under his control.

Thus, in the strike, Frick looked more to the Sheriff as the source of legitimacy for his action in calling in the privately armed Pinkertons to take back the plant. Early in the morning of July 5, 1892, Attorney P. C. Knox of the Carnegie Steel Company visited the Allegheny County Sheriff William H. McCleary and informed him of the company's plan to send out the Pinkertons later that night to take over the plant. He asked the Sheriff to provide deputies to become commanders of the operation. The Sheriff agreed and sent his deputy colonel Joseph H. Gray to be the commander. In this way, Frick got his plan endorsed by the government. However, Gray would not have the power to command the Pinkertons during the real operation. They only obeyed Frick, who had hired them.

Union leaders: No way out

Contrary to what many people thought, the union and union leaders played the role of conservative decision-makers, not radical agitators, during the strike, trying to de-escalate the situation and calm the workers most of the time. The townspeople and some strikers' ruthless attacks on the captured Pinkertons and the anarchists' failed assassination did negatively impact the strikers' reputation. However, the union and the strike organizers tried to prevent such incidents from occurring or mitigate

the impact of these events. In conclusion, these two incidents should be characterized more as accidental rather than strategic mistakes of the strike organizers.

Union leaders' efforts to protect the captured Pinkertons

Union leaders serve their duties of management in releasing trapped Pinkertons and protecting them as much as possible from angry workers and residents of the town after the war happened on July 6. William Weihe, the national president of AAISW, arrived at the mill in Homestead in the early evening of July 6. He urged the workers to show mercy even to their enemies and pointed out that chaos could lead to bad consequences: "If you stop now and release these people, the militia will not intervene. But if this continues, a large army will arrive tomorrow. You will have to abandon the mill and face the consequences at that time. You have won; now show your forbearance and mercy."

O'Donnell also pleaded for mercy on behalf of the Pinkertons, calming down some angry workers. Although there was some opposition, the final decision was to evict the Pinkertons and turn them over to the Sheriff for murder. O'Donnell quickly waved a white handkerchief to get the attention of the beleaguered defenders and then rushed to the riverbank to negotiate the terms of their surrender. The Pinkertons agreed to evacuate because their weapons were properly disposed of and could leave Homestead safely. They then changed into civilian clothing and prepared to leave.

Anticipating a possible riot, O'Donnell called in some of his workers as armed guards. But that still did not stop the next scene, perhaps one of the most brutal moments in the Homestead strike. The townspeople started to gather. As the detectives attempted to leave the barge, they were attacked by some workers and people in the town. People retaliated brutally against the defenseless Pinkertons, who were attacked with a variety of weapons, including clubs, stones, and other objects. After passing through the mill yard, these victims continued to be attacked in the streets of Homestead. They were struck by objects thrown from a height; some were even stripped of their clothing. Eventually, the Pinkertons were placed under house arrest inside the local "lock-up" under the protection of union members. Locked doors and heavily armed steelworkers separated them from the mob.

Nearly half a century after their emergence, the infamous Pinkerton detectives finally paid the price for the misdeeds they once committed. However, the belated revenge of the workers wasn't good news for the strike, as journalists captured these scenes and sent them all over the country.

The strikers tried to get rid of the anarchists

In addition to the attack on the Pinkerton captives, another incident dealt a significant blow to the strikers' reputation. This was the failed assassination attempt by the anarchist Alexander Berkman against Henry Frick, though acting on his own accord. This man, completely unrelated to the AAISW or steelworkers, lived in New York and hastily arrived in Homestead only after the strike gained nationwide focus. On July 23, 1892, he broke into Frick's office, fired a gun at him, and stabbed him with a dagger. However, he ultimately did not succeed in killing Frick.1 The union was quick to disassociate itself from this action, stating that it was sorry that it had happened and that the anarchists were no friends of "organized labor."

Homestead's unionized workers, the AAISW leaders, did not commit treason or conspire against their country, even though they were later accused of this[1contin]. What they did was no different from any usual strike: occupying the mill, stopping production, trying to restart negotiations with the company. But this time, the difference came in the company: Carnegie and Frick were determined to eliminate the union, even if it would cause the company to lose money. As a result, the two sides reached a stalemate, and the government's intervention would break this deadlock, albeit in a way unfavorable to the strikers.

The Relationship and Influence of Government Officials

The interference of the U.S. government in this strike was largely manifested in the mobilization of the militia. The governor's reason for calling out the militia was that the strikers violated the right of business owners to dispose of their property. However, association and demonstration were also legal rights of the strikers as citizens. However, in 1892, there were no specific legal provisions protecting labor rights, while protecting property rights was already well-established in law. Moreover, the Pittsburgh-area political machine influenced the government officials directly involved in the strike, whether they were the governor or the local Sheriff. The Carnegie Company was a key sponsor behind the political machine. In other words, for the governor and other government officials, supporting the strikers would have lacked a legal basis and would have run counter to the expectations of political benefactors. Therefore, protecting the company's interests was the better option for the officials involved in the strike. Three governmental figures are worth paying attention to to reconstruct how this logic played out in this incident. They are the local Sheriff William H. McCleary, senior Republican Christopher L. Magee, and Robert E. Pattison, the then governor of Pennsylvania.

Sheriff McCleary: A man who had no choice

In 1892, McCleary was the Sheriff in charge of the small town of Homestead. The man had two sides. He was

alone and powerless, completely unable to control the development of the situation. But he was also a crucial figure because he had a major influence on Governor Pattison's judgment of the situation, and the governor could control the deployment of the state militia, a powerful force.

In the past, the Sheriff's duties had been simple: to catch criminals and maintain law and order in the area. However, entering the industrialized age, they faced great challenges. Now, the sheriffs must deal with striking workers. These people were completely different from regular criminals, and this difference was reflected in their identities and numbers. They were ordinarily peaceful, law-obedient community citizens, but in strikes, sheriffs had to deal with hundreds or thousands of these "law-abiding citizens" on their own. Even leaving aside their identity, it would have been impossible for the Sheriff and the few men he could recruit to fight against large numbers of well-ordered, armed workers. That's why the Pinkertons replaced their places in labor disputes during the Gilded Age.

As the primary legal respondent to the strike, McCleary severely lacked available manpower and strength. This is why he has been simultaneously scrutinized and disdained. Nevertheless, McCleary did his best to handle the strike and control the situation. When attorney Knox attempted to obtain his authorization, the Sheriff agreed only conditionally. He asked that Guards be allowed to be deployed only if the mill was attacked. He added: "But the contingency would remain in my hands, and the time I thought that should be done would remain entirely optional with me. " Unfortunately, that did not conform with reality.

The Sheriff was helpless in the deadlock where the company and the union refused to back down, so he had no choice but to seek help from the governor. On July 6, the morning after the fight, AASIW President Weihe came to visit McCleary in the Sheriff's office and indicated that the only way to solve the problem was to restart negotiations between Frick and the strikers. The distressed Sheriff then immediately rushed to negotiate with Frick but was met with a firm refusal. With nothing left to do, McCleary turned to Governor Pattison for help, requesting him to send immediate reinforcements. Pattison said, "Local authorities must exhaust every means at their command to preserve peace." The Sheriff again sent a message requesting the governor to "act at once." Pattison asked the Sheriff this time, "How many deputies have you sworn in, and what measures have you taken to enforce order and protect property?" In desperation, the Sheriff telegraphed a third time for help, only to receive the same embarrassing reminder that it was the Sheriff's job to maintain order.

Merely to prove to the governor that he had exhausted all means, Sheriff McCleary drafted a proclamation calling on "all good citizens . . to appear at the sheriff's office tomorrow morning . . at 9 o'clock with arms and subsistence to aid the sheriff in suppressing the riot now in progress at Homestead," and sent summonses to 105 Pittsburgh prominent residents. After he sent out the summonses, only six men showed up to report, yet all refused to serve. But McCleary wasn't so disappointed in the result since his goal was achieved. Proving that he couldn't get enough power to control the situation, McCleary could put Pattison under pressure to dispatch the state militia.

The Sheriff's strategy of proving his helplessness turned out to be effective. On July 10, McCleary sent a final telegram to the governor saying, "I have failed to secure a posse respectable enough in numbers to accomplish anything, and I am satisfied that no posse raised by civil authority can do anything to change the condition of affairs and that any attempt by an inadequate force to restore the right of law will only result in further armed resistance and consequent loss of life." This telegram finally made the governor's mind up. That night, he ordered more than 8,000 state militia members to be sent to Homestead.

Given the results, McCleary himself had little direct influence on the development of events. He could neither persuade the company or the union to make concessions nor possess sufficient armed power to gain control of the mill and the town. But he had a crucial influence on Governor Pattison's eventual decision to call out the state militia and on the outcome of the workers' quick defeat in the face of the militia. The Sheriff's fourth telegram requesting support, sent on July 10, directly motivated Pattison's eventual order to send out the militia. At the same time, he demonstrated to the governor via telegram several times the impotence of himself and the local law enforcement agency. This put pressure on the governor, ultimately forcing him to use the state's armed forces to resolve the conflict. Overall, the Sheriff recognized his weak power initially but attempted to de-escalate the situation by communicating with both sides. Convinced that both sides were unlikely to compromise and that he was unlikely to have the power to make a difference, he turned to his superiors to take over. He tried to save his political future by dissociating himself from the incident.

Christopher L. Magee: the boss of Pittsburgh in the Gilded Age

Political corruption was rampant in Gilded Age America. Politicians formed close alliances with bankers, constructors, and industrialists. Patronage from wealthy

businessmen helped politicians win elections, and politicians gave back to their patrons through government contracts for public utilities. Such political machines were common in major U.S. cities, including New York, Chicago, and Boston. Business owners spend huge amounts of money to ensure that the government does not regulate the activities of their companies and to obtain government contracts that can bring in high profits. Historian Mark Wahlgren Summers calls it "The Era of Good Stealings," noting how machine politicians used "padded expenses, lucrative contracts, outright embezzlements, and illegal bond issues."

Christopher L. Magee is the man who appeared at the center of the Pittsburgh region's complex political network and was often known as the boss. Born in 1848, Magee's political career began in his youth as a municipal clerk. By 1892, he had become a political giant in Pittsburgh, and Magee had near-absolute domination of the greater Pittsburgh area. His experience as a municipal clerk gave him a deep understanding of how strategically managing city funds, utility franchises, and construction contracts could allow him to gain a large personal fortune and the means to ensure it: the devotion of bankers and businessmen. Magee cooperated with William Flinn, the self-made owner of a large construction company who 1882, was elected chairman of the city's Republican party. Together, Magee and Flinn dispensed thousands of patronage appointments. Their power to control private sector jobs by selectively awarding government construction and utility contracts significantly enhanced their political influence. It also generated astonishing individual wealth. Flinn's company won most city construction contracts, while Magee's wide-ranging investments and ventures in street railways, real estate, and electricity. By the end of the Century, their joint holdings represented $16 in assets.

Magee successfully built his political machine in the Pittsburgh region. He traveled to Philadelphia and New York to study the operation of the political machines. On his return, he told a friend that he could make the political ring "as safe as a bank." His optimism proved well-founded since he soon perfected a ward-level political organization that penetrated virtually all the places of work and leisure in Pittsburgh and throughout Allegheny County. Magee was not loyal to his party but prioritized securing his political future. A quarter of the municipal workers employed by Magee were Democrats. If a "dangerous" Republican challenged his "gang," Magee could count on his employees and friends to elect a Democrat who would be compliant. This could be reflected in the governor's election in 1890.

The 1890 Pennsylvania governor's election manifested the power of Magee's political machine. He deliberately sabotaged the election of the Republican candidate, George W. Delamater, and switched the victory to the committed Democrat, Pattison. This maneuver was intended to fulfill an important personal goal of Magee's: to thwart his number-one rival in the Republican Party in Pennsylvania, Senator George W. Delamater. Although this goal was never realized, his manipulation of the gubernatorial election demonstrated his strong political hold on the region.

When the Homestead strike occurred, Magee had ample reason to side with the company. Magee was closely associated with the Carnegie Steel Company: Magee and Carnegie were close friends, and Frick was his former business partner. Their close relationship was demonstrated and evidenced in many places. Some newspapers have published Carnegie's eulogy on Magee's death, and Magee's relationship with Frick has been described as "a close personal friend" and "associated in many businesses." In addition to personal connections, Magee is also a majority stockholder of Carnegie Company. Besides defending the interests of his friends and political sponsors, Magee was also concerned that the lockout, if it lasted long, would adversely affect President Benjamin Harrison's chances as a national power in the Republican party in the upcoming election.

He aimed to turn the situation in the company's favor by influencing Sheriff McCleary and Governor Pattison. The boss was confident in doing this because he was the important political sponsor behind both people. After the fight between the strikers and the Pinkertons, Magee visited and never left McCleary's office throughout the day from July 6 to the early morning hours of July 7. Under Magee's watch, McCleary sent those telegrams to Pattison asking for the militia's action. On Magee's advice, McCleary described the situation as very serious, calling the workers an "armed mob" and stating that they had "violated the property rights of Carnegie Steel by taking down the fence near the works." Magee had been very confident and strongly expected a positive response from Pattison, but in the first few telegrams, he received only frustrating replies. Ultimately, however, his tactics were successful. McCleary's description of the situation unsettled Pattison and became one of the major factors contributing to his decision to send out the militia.

Governor Pattison: A man in dilemma finally made his choice

Governor Pattison was one of the most critical figures leading to the strike's outcome. The militia's presence was undoubtedly a critical cause of the strike's failure. The workers had no ability or reason to resist the 8,000 state militia because it was tantamount to declaring

rebellion and treason. Thus, the moment the governor decided to call out the militia, the balance of the situation began to tilt in favor of the company. During the first and middle stages of the strike, the governor had been hesitant to send out the militia because many of his constituents were Pennsylvania workers, and his political career would suffer tremendously if he sent in troops to suppress the strike at Homestead. But simultaneously, he was under pressure from his political supporters and the situation. So, he was always in a dilemma from the beginning. Several factors influenced the governor's final decision, the three most important of which were the fear of the situation getting out of control and further bloodshed, the intolerance of the prolonged continuance of anarchy status in Homestead, and the pressure from his benefactor Christopher L. Magee, who had helped him in the election, with the political machine which Carnegie supported behind him.

Robert E. Pattison was then the nineteenth governor of Pennsylvania. He was a Democrat and one of the first state officials to warn against the power of corporate monopolies. So when the workers first learned of Pattison's refusal to send out the militia, they assumed that Pattison was sympathetic and on the side of the workers. But the workers were wrong; Pattison was never on the side of the strikers, and his delay in mobilizing the militia was merely a hope that there might be a possibility for a negotiated settlement.

On July 8 and 9, Pattison tried to get a picture of what was happening in Homestead but finally came to pessimistic conclusions. On the morning of the 8th, the governor sent his deputy, Adjutant-General Greenland, to Homestead to examine the situation. Greenland first met with Weihe and witnessed his failed attempts to persuade the workers to abandon the plant. He then met with Carnegie Steel officials, who reiterated their determination to run non-union and requested the presence of the state militia. Greenland sent an assistant to Homestead the next day, but the strikers sent him back twice. Greenland then immediately traveled back to the capital and reported to Pattison. He reported that the workers and Carnegie Steel were adamant that they were unwilling to back down, meaning that negotiations were no longer possible. This forced Pattison to choose between supporting the workers and supporting the company.

Long before he got this report, Pattison had already been informed about the Homestead situation through his secretly dispatched agents and McCleary's telegrams and had even gotten prepared to decide on sending the militia. The report from his trusted deputy was only the final confirmation of what Pattison had suspected in his mind. Therefore, the governor did not hesitate long. At eleven o'clock the next morning, he notified the commanding officer of the state militia, informing him that he was waiting for an important message from Sheriff McCleary. The state militia should have been ready before the Sheriff's last telegram was sent during the night that day.

There are conflicting opinions on why the governor chose to side with the company. As a Democrat and with an election on the horizon, it would seem reasonable that he should have been happy to see the monopiles deep in the mire of a strike and in full view of the nation. One possible explanation is that Pattison was elected with the help of the political machine Carnegie supported, and his intent to pay off his political debt influenced the decision to call out the militia.

Overall, the influence of the three men was mutual. Sheriff McCleary was always in a difficult position; his power was limited, but he did his best to maintain order and solve problems through communication. While his efforts failed to change the course of the strike directly, his constant reporting and frustration provided critical context and influence for Governor Pattison's final decision. Magee's role as the mysterious political operator tying two critical government officials, the local Sheriff and the governor of the state, to the Carnegie Steel Company demonstrates the existence of the Gilded Age industrialist's influence on politics and how that influence tipped the scales of fortune in favor of the company in unexpected events. Finally, Pattison made his decision amid politics. The driving reasons behind his decision to send out the militia are traceable, possibly based on concerns for public safety, but also potentially subject to political pressure and driven by the interests behind it.

Influence of the event

The defeat of the Homestead steelworkers in 1892 had a far-reaching influence on the future, both locally and nationally, both in the short and long term. The workers in Homestead would then experience nearly half a century of reaction. The union was destroyed, so workers could no longer negotiate wages and working conditions with the company. In the next decade, wages for skilled workers fell by more than fifty percent, and many people were paid even less in 1900 than in 1892. Moreover, workers were forced to work longer hours. The workday was lengthened from the original eight to ten to twelve hours. The company introduced advanced machinery and equipment on a large scale to increase productivity. The increased mechanization rate reduced the need for manpower by twenty-five percent in five years but also gave the workers more intense workloads. The company gained unprecedented control over the mills and towns

and sought to nip in the bud all attempts to strike and unionize. The company summarily dismissed anyone caught trying to organize workers for collective action.

This event became a turning point in the history of unionism in the United States and marked the rapid decline of steelworker unions in America. The AAISW's defeat at Homestead consumed a huge amount of money and led to its loss of prestige throughout the Pittsburgh area. When the previous contracts at the other mills where AAISW controlled expired, most managers refused to continue negotiating with the union. By the end of the nineteenth Century, the AAISW, once one of the most powerful unions in the United States, had virtually disappeared from the steel mills in America. This decline continued through the Great Depression.

However, the event brought labor issues into the public and national political spotlight. Both Senate and House committees investigated the strike and issued reports generally sympathetic to the strikers and critical of the company's managers and the Pinkertons. People widely questioned the justification for the existence of private armies. The government soon banned their employment. The Pennsylvania General Assembly passed the Kearns Act (DATE), a law prohibiting the employment of private armies, the year after the strike. By the turn of the twentieth Century, twenty-five other states had passed similar laws. The public also questioned the lack of legal frameworks to address labor disputes in the United States. This was the impetus for the introduction of subsequent labor rights laws. In 1935, the United States passed the first law guaranteeing laborers the right to strike, organize, and negotiate: the National Labor Relations Act (NLRA), also known as the "Wagner Act, " which greatly facilitated the legal and regulatory chaos that had characterized U.S. labor issues and contributed to a resurgence of union organizing.

Conclusion

The Homestead strike of 1892 was a pivotal event in American labor history. It demonstrated the explosive collision between workers and profit-minded industrialists to the public and politicians. This event also amply demonstrated the extreme lack of legal protection of labor rights in the United States in the late nineteenth Century, the tilting of the scales of government in favor of wealthy industrialists, and the dire consequences they could lead to. The event has helped update and improve the legal framework since then.

Endnotes

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github.com/citation-style-language/schema/raw/master/csl-citation.json”} Burgyone, “Homestead. A Complete History of the Struggle of July 1892, between the Carnegie Steel Company, Limited, and the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers.” 18–19.

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Workers,\\uc0\\u8221{} 510.","plainCitation":"Kahan, The Homestead Strike, Timeline; Rees, "Homestead in Context: Andrew Carnegie and the Decline of the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers," 510.","noteIndex":28},"citationItems":[{"id":103,"uris":["http://zotero.org/users/local/DSC1vdMo/items/TDFBP242"],"itemData":{"id":103,"type":"book","call-number":"HD5325.I5 1892 .K34 2014","collection-title":"Critical moments in American history","event-place":"New York","ISBN":"978-0-415-53193-1","language":"en","number-of-pages":"164","publisher":"Routledge","publisher-place":"New York","source":"Library of Congress ISBN","title":"The Homestead Strike: labor, violence, and American industry","title-short":"The Homestead Strike","author":[{"family":"Kahan","given":"Paul"}],"issued":{"date-parts":[["2014"]]}},"locator":"Timeline","label":"page"},{"id":94,"uris":["http://zotero.org/users/local/DSC1vdMo/items/8XETPB5R"],"itemData":{"id":94,"type":"article-journal","container-title":"Pennsylvania History: A Journal of Mid-Atlantic Studies","issue":"4","language":"en","page":"509-533","source":"Zotero","title":"Homestead in Context: Andrew Carnegie and the Decline of the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers","volume":"64","author":[{"family":"Rees","given":"Jonathan"}],"issued":{"date-parts":[["1997"]]}},"locator":"510"}],"schema":"https://github.com/citation-style-language/schema/raw/master/csl-citation.json"} Kahan, The Homestead Strike, Timeline; Rees, "Homestead in Context: Andrew Carnegie and the Decline of the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers," 510.

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