

## Works Cited

### Primary Sources

Berkman, Alexander. *Prison Memoirs of an Anarchist*. NYRB, 1971.

The words of Alexander Berkman in this book really show the overall views of being an anarchist. He explains his actions and much about his character through this memoir. It was useful to our project because it shows how he thought and acted as a human in relations to the assassination attempt.

Carnegie, Andrew. Telegram to Henry Clay Frick. 7 July 1892, U. of Pittsburgh, MS 31735061570549.

This telegram was one of the first times Andrew Carnegie communicated with Henry Clay Frick during the strike. Since he was out of the country at the time of the strike, he was not able to take much action. In this telegraph Carnegie informs Frick of what he should do to maintain authority at the Homestead mills, and tells him about his complete confidence in Frick.

Carnegie, Andrew, and Henry Clay Frick. Letter to Andrew Carnegie and Henry Clay Frick. 14 July 1892, U. of Pittsburgh, MS 31735061570614.

One part of understanding history to its fullest is understanding the emotions and thoughts of the people who play a leading role. These letters allowed us to have a firsthand look into the past and furthered our knowledge on how they justified their actions to one another. It also was a prime example of how trusting their relationship seemed, and how Andrew Carnegie was confident in the choice that ended up costing him so much.

Frick, Henry Clay. Letter. 4 July 1892. ULS Digital Collection, University of Pittsburgh.

This letter was written from Frick to Carnegie before the confrontation of the workers and the Pinkertons. In the letter Frick outlines his entire plan to send the Pinkertons to Homestead. This source gives us insight on Frick's exact plans and help us to better understand how they went wrong. It provided a great primary source look at what was going on inside Frick's head.

---. Letter to Andrew Carnegie. 11 July 1892. Henry Clay Frick Business Records, University of Pittsburgh Library, MS 31735061570580.

This letter written by Henry Clay Frick to Andrew Carnegie was about Frick's view on the strike, and his opinions on what should happen next. This letter gave us key information on what Frick was feeling during the Homestead Strike. It allowed us to see what kind of views and ideals can drive a person to make costly decisions. Learning this part of history can teach us how to cope with future situations by analyzing historical figures.

Garland, Hamlin. "Homestead and Its Perilous Trades- Impressions of a Visit." *McClure's Magazine*, 1894. *Ehistory*, [ehistory.osu.edu/exhibitions/HomesteadStrike1892/GarlandHomestead/GarlandHomestead](http://ehistory.osu.edu/exhibitions/HomesteadStrike1892/GarlandHomestead/GarlandHomestead). Accessed 25 Feb. 2018.

In the magazine article, the reader gets an inside perspective on the Homestead Mill. Their guide is leading them through, and Hamlin describes what it was like to see the machines in operation, and see the mill itself. It gives a different viewpoint because rather than the author going off handed down information, they were actually at the site and knew first hand when writing it, which always helps with visualization of the mill in previous years.

Goldman, Emma. *Living My Life*. 1931. *History Matters*, [historymatters.gmu.edu/d/99](http://historymatters.gmu.edu/d/99). Accessed 26 Feb. 2018.

In Emma Goldman's book, she recounts the time of the assassination attempt made on Henry Clay Frick by Alexander Berkman. This is a valuable resource because it provides first hand experience and knowledge, and describes her reactions to the event and insights. Her emotions are very raw and evident, and it obviously shows her views. It also includes how she came to hear of what was occurring, and includes some of the views of Alexander Berkman (the anarchist who attempted to assassinate Henry Clay Frick).

*The Musical Saga of Homestead*. *History Matters*. *History Matters*, [historymatters.gmu.edu/d/5322](http://historymatters.gmu.edu/d/5322). Accessed 1 Mar. 2018.

This is a massive collection of folk songs that originated during the Homestead Strike. They were written and sung by factory workers and some of them caught on for ages. A few sounded negative and generally accusatory of others for the messes, while some were also very hopeful to the future and for their ongoing causes. While we focus a lot on the powerful figures, it is crucial to know how the masses of people affected were reacting.

*National Police Gazette*. 23 July 1892. *History Matters*, [historymatters.gmu.edu/d/6768](http://historymatters.gmu.edu/d/6768).  
Accessed 1 Mar. 2018.

This resource was an unexpected discovery that helped us along. The striking image from the Library of Congress that is part of it really helps set the dull and serious tone of the brief article. It explains what the people would have felt like, and the general conflict that occurred between the Union factory workers and Frick and Carnegie.

United States, Congress, House Committee on the Judiciary. *Labor Troubles at Homestead, PA*.  
Testimony of William Weihe, Government Printing Office, 1892, pp. 71-73.

William Weihe, the president of the labor union involved in the strike, provided us with the other side of the story. There are many accounts of why Frick did as he did, but few about the laborers. The testimony showed how the workers dealt with the Pinkertons.

---, ---. *Labor Troubles at Homestead, PA*. Testimony of Henry Clay Frick, Government Printing  
Office, 1892, pp. 37-40.

This testimony shows how Frick was able to avoid punishments for his actions at Homestead. He turned the public against the union and was able to help set the entire labor movement back. The source showed how Frick felt about the ordeal, and how he tried to make others feel. As history continually proves, having influence is key in making things go as you want them to.

Wright, Carroll D. *Quarterly Journal of Economics*. Oxford University Press, 1901. Vol.16, No.  
1. Table.

We used this source to create a graph of membership in the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel, and Tin Workers. The information in this source helped us show the effects of the Homestead Strike on labor union membership. After the strike occurred, the views were turned against the labor unions, and membership dropped drastically.

## Secondary Sources

Aronoff, Kate. "U.S. Homestead Steel Workers Strike to Protect Unions and Wages, 1892." *Global Nonviolent Action Database*, 16 Oct. 2011, [nvdatabase.swarthmore.edu/content/us-homestead-steel-workers-strike-protect-unions-and-wages-1892](http://nvdatabase.swarthmore.edu/content/us-homestead-steel-workers-strike-protect-unions-and-wages-1892). Accessed 7 Mar. 2018.

Not only did this article provide a detailed summary of the events at the Homestead Mills, it also had an asset that was not available in other resources. It had an at length description of the trials and more details about key helpers during the Homestead Strike.

*Biography*. A&E Television Networks, 22 Nov. 2016, [www.biography.com/people/andrew-carnegie-9238756](http://www.biography.com/people/andrew-carnegie-9238756). Accessed 25 Feb. 2018.

This source had little on the Homestead strike itself, but it gave Carnegie's background. It helped us understand how Carnegie got to becoming the owner of the Homestead mill. It explained Carnegie's rise to power, and why he was trying to eliminate unions in his factories. He knew that if he gave the pay cuts he wanted the unions would try to stand in his way.

Brecher, Jeremy. *Strike!* Straight Arrow Books, 1972.

In the book we read new information in regards to consequences of strikes in general. It had information on all types of strikes in history, possibly showing patterns in human judgement, and pointing out any potential outliers. The Homestead Strike was unique in many ways, including the results of the events. The book also alluded to the general knowledge of the strike's events, clarifying things like the cause of the strike, and why the workers reacted the way they did. Overall it was a very valuable resource to the project because it provided general and specific knowledge, along with useful quotes.

Brick, Chris. "Teaching Eleanor Roosevelt Glossary." *The Eleanor Roosevelt Papers Project*, edited by Christy E. Regehardt, George Washington University, [www2.gwu.edu/~erpapers/teaching/glossary/national-labor-relations-act.cfm](http://www2.gwu.edu/~erpapers/teaching/glossary/national-labor-relations-act.cfm). Accessed 1 May 2018.

When looking for a way to explain our timeline of events to the viewers, we knew we needed an explanation for the National Labor Relations Act. This website was extremely helpful in providing a basic understanding of the Act, and helped us relate it to the Homestead Strike. It ensured working people that it was their choice to be in a labor union, and their right, which was not provided during the Homestead Strike.

Cashman, John. "Homestead Strike." *Encyclopedia.com*,  
[www.encyclopedia.com/history/united-states-and-canada/us-history/homestead-strike](http://www.encyclopedia.com/history/united-states-and-canada/us-history/homestead-strike).  
Accessed 27 Nov. 2017.

This website provided us with a basic overview of the information associated with the Homestead Strike of 1892. While brief, it was full of statistics and broken down information that was simple and easy for anyone to understand. It also provided a full bibliography at the end.

DiLallo, Matthew. "Carnegie Steel Company: An Early Model of Efficiency and Innovation." *The Motley Fool*, 12 June 2015,  
[www.fool.com/investing/general/2015/06/12/carnegie-steel-company-an-early-model-of-efficienc.aspx](http://www.fool.com/investing/general/2015/06/12/carnegie-steel-company-an-early-model-of-efficienc.aspx). Accessed 1 May 2018.

While the Homestead Mill strike is the entire focus of the project, we felt it necessary to include background on the other Carnegie Steel mills. We added in the first mill that ever opened under Carnegie Steel. This website was a useful to our project, because it accurately and briefly describes the Edgar Thomson Steel Works, and how it amassed great success and was a gateway to opening other mills.

Domike, Steffi, and Nicole Fauteux. "The River Ran Red." *The Labor Film Database*, 1993.  
Accessed 25 Feb. 2018.

This documentary gave us a great general overview of the strike. It also included helpful visuals that helped us to better understand the the events of the strike. Since it was one of the first sources we found, watching it helped us put the pieces of information we learned from other sources together into a chronological event.

"1892 Homestead Strike." *ALF-CIO America's Unions*, American Federation of Labor & Congress of Industrial Organizations, [aflcio.org/about/history/labor-history-events/1892-homestead-strike](http://aflcio.org/about/history/labor-history-events/1892-homestead-strike). Accessed 15 Nov. 2017.

Information in this website was elaborate and unique. It provided different resources where the authors had different standpoints on the matter, and introduced a new folk song to us. The song "Father Was Killed By the Pinkerton Men" was of interest to us from the article because it was based off of the events that occurred during the infamous strike. It also made Andrew Carnegie and Henry Clay Frick sound like the perpetrators of cruelty in their ideas of wage reduction to increase overall production rates. It was useful because some other resources make Carnegie seem to be less at fault.

"ExplorePAhistory.com." *ExplorePAhistory.com*, Historical Marker, 2011, [explorepahistory.com/](http://explorepahistory.com/). Accessed 31 May 2018.

We came across this website while looking for additional and better images to aid the story we are trying to tell on our project for Nationals. Upon further analyzation, the website had so much more to offer than just the sought-after image. It provided in depth descriptions and articles, and was a wonderful addition to our research.

"The First American Factories." *U.S. History Online Textbook*, Independence Hall in Philadelphia, 2018, [www.ushistory.org/us/25d.asp](http://www.ushistory.org/us/25d.asp). Accessed 7 May 2018.

An important part of enhancing our overall project was the inclusion of the timeline explanation. To describe the opening of the first factory, this website provided us with necessary contextual evidence, and contributes to the overall meaning. It was different than other sites due to the fact that there was a surplus amount of descriptive and trustworthy information.

Fitzgibbon, Jerry. E-mail interview. 4 June 2018.

We met Jerry Fitzgibbon at the regional competition and he showed interest in our project. Jerry Fitzgibbon is an interpretive historian with the Rivers of Steel Heritage Corp. in Homestead PA. at the Historic Pump House, site of the 1892 Battle of Homestead. He is a board member of the Battle of Homestead Foundation. He told us more about the effects of the strike on the labor movement and unions. It was useful to talk to someone who was very knowledgeable in our topic.

Holman, Spence. "The Homestead and Pullman Strikes." *Vassar*,  
[projects.vassar.edu/1896/strikes.html](http://projects.vassar.edu/1896/strikes.html). Accessed 6 Mar. 2018.

This website gave a description of the Homestead Strikes with visuals. It also showed how the Homestead Strike was linked with other strike such as the Pullman strike. This helped us put the strike in context with other things that were going on in the world.

"Homestead. Pennsylvania Militia in the Field." *Ehistory*, OSU.EDU,  
[ehistory.osu.edu/exhibitions/HomesteadStrike1892/PennMilitiaInField/pennmilitia infield](http://ehistory.osu.edu/exhibitions/HomesteadStrike1892/PennMilitiaInField/pennmilitia infield)  
. Accessed 25 Feb. 2018.

A crucial component to this piece was the visual work. It explains the positions of the men on the battlefield, but also shows in pictures the workings of minds who had seen what it was like. It is a visual masterpiece and explains a lot of what it was like solely through images.

"Homestead Strike." *Infoplease*, Sandbox Networks, 2001,  
[www.infoplease.com/encyclopedia/history/united-states-canada-and-greenland/us-history/homestead-strike](http://www.infoplease.com/encyclopedia/history/united-states-canada-and-greenland/us-history/homestead-strike). Accessed 25 Feb. 2018.

This brief explanation of the Homestead Strike shows the toll it had on the workers. It also explains that the battle was the strikers fighting for a cause, while the Pinkerton Agents had merely been hired to fight against them.

"Homestead Strike." *Sensagent*, sensagent Corporation: Online Encyclopedia, Thesaurus, Dictionary definitions and more, 2012, [dictionary.sensagent.com/Homestead%20Strike/en-en/](http://dictionary.sensagent.com/Homestead%20Strike/en-en/). Accessed 25 Feb. 2018.

An at length description of the Homestead Strike was provided in this article. It had different sections talking about the events in the strike leading up to the arrival of the military forces, and the aftermath of it and the assassination attempt made on Henry Clay Frick by Alexander Berkman. It also included detailed information about legal battles after the strike.

"The Homestead Strike, 1892." *Libcom*, 9 Sept. 2005, libcom.org/history/1892-the-homestead-strike. Accessed 15 Nov. 2017.

This article was overall an enlightening work. It showed us standard viewpoints, but also in a way justified the violent actions of the strikers and Pinkertons as the strikers were battling over class. One thing that was new from this article was how the strikers actually anticipated the arrival of Pinkerton agents before they came and were monitoring the surrounding areas. It also showed how the initial violence was over fairly quickly, strikers remained for weeks afterwards.

Johnson, Stephanie. "Battle of the Monongahela: Homestead Steel, 1892." *Pennsylvania Center for the Book*, 2008, pabook2.libraries.psu.edu/palitmap/Homestead.html. Accessed 7 Mar. 2018.

This article showed us the many impacts of the Homestead Strikes, and had many different and new aspects of the strike. It also contained great sources that we were able to look at for more information as well.

Krause, Paul. *The Battle for Homestead 1880-1892: Politics, Culture, and Steel*. University of Pittsburgh Press, 1992.

This book provided a long and in-depth view of the strike and its effects. It was entirely about the strike, and contained a plethora of useful information, especially about its long term results. It also included numerous visuals that helped us to picture the people and settings involved in the strike.

Marcus, Irwin, et al., compilers. *Change and Continuity: Steel Workers in Homestead, Pennsylvania, 1889-1895*. doi:44189/43910. Accessed 1 Mar. 2018.

This book gave a more political view of the Homestead Strike. This allowed for us to see things from a different angle and see that there were many sides to the Homestead Strike, like any event. Most other accounts we saw portrayed everything from the side of the workers.

McNamara, Robert. "The Homestead Steel Strike." *ThoughtCo.*, 1 Nov. 2016, [www.thoughtco.com/the-homestead-steel-strike-1773899](http://www.thoughtco.com/the-homestead-steel-strike-1773899). Accessed 27 Nov. 2017.

This article makes all of the readers aware of the fact that in the beginning, the public eye favored the workers during the strike. The public's opinion at the time heavily influences how people of the future view history. Despite this, it ended with the government settling in the Plant's favor. Another conflict of interest brought up in this article was how much Carnegie was really aware of Frick's intentions while he was at his house in Scotland. It says that many think that he was fully aware, while others still do not point the blame of this incident at Carnegie.

"Notable Labor Strikes of the Gilded Age." *Weber State University*, [faculty.weber.edu/kmackay/notable\\_labor\\_strikes\\_of\\_the\\_gil.htm](http://faculty.weber.edu/kmackay/notable_labor_strikes_of_the_gil.htm). Accessed 7 Mar. 2018.

This web page gave not only information on the Homestead Strike, but also of many other strikes during the Gilded Age. This allowed us to see the many similarities and differences between these strikes, which helped us see some of the reasons why strikes happen in the first place.

Pickard, Douglas. *The 1892 Homestead Strike: A Story of Social Conflict in Industrial America*. doi:10066/1019. Accessed 1 Mar. 2018.

This book contained a large amount of information on the Homestead Strike itself, but while doing so, the author, Douglas Pickard, asked questions. This allowed for readers to reflect on the events of the Homestead Strike better.

Rees, Jonathan. *Pennsylvania History*. doi:25439/25208. Accessed 1 Mar. 2018.

This book, like most others, gave a detailed description of the events occurring at Homestead. Other than that, it also had commentary with Rees's, and others, opinions on the strike. That allowed for us to have a deeper understanding about how people who were not participating in the strike reacted and why they reacted the way they did.

"The Strike at Homestead Mill." *PBS*, WGBH Educational Foundation,

[www.pbs.org/wgbh/americanexperience/features/carnegie-strike-homestead-mill/](http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/americanexperience/features/carnegie-strike-homestead-mill/). Accessed 28 Feb. 2018. A particular asset that this article contained that others didn't was its abundance of statistics. These help us to develop an understanding of the events and topic, and it is a slightly

more visual or black-and-white way to learn. The Homestead Strike itself was full of astounding facts and statistics that were brought to light by this article.

Weidenhof, Alex. "Newspapers Were in Homestead during the Strike in 1892." *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, 25 June 2017, [www.post-gazette.com/life/lifestyle/2017/06/25/Battle-of-Homestead-1892-newspapers-River-Ran-Red/stories/201706160205](http://www.post-gazette.com/life/lifestyle/2017/06/25/Battle-of-Homestead-1892-newspapers-River-Ran-Red/stories/201706160205). Accessed 1 Mar. 2018.

This article started by stating that happened after the Homestead Strike, offering something new and different. It then went on to give a brief summary about what happened during the strike. Throughout the article it gave references to newspapers that wrote about the Homestead Strike, which was helpful because it allowed for us to do further research on those websites.

White, Joe. "The 1892 Battle of Homestead." *The Battle of Homestead Foundation*, Battle of Homestead Foundation, [battleofhomestead.org/bhf/the-battle-of-homestead/](http://battleofhomestead.org/bhf/the-battle-of-homestead/). Accessed 27 Nov. 2017.

One aspect of this work that countless other articles visited did not touch upon was the effect the strike had on industrialization in years to come. It talked about how it majorly influenced decisions and could potentially be a setback to further work in the industry. It served as a reminder of what can happen when conflicts were left unresolved, and the violence that can ensue. One other thing it included that was beneficial was two different standpoints, one from the workers, the other from Carnegie and Frick.

Yellen, Samuel. *American Labor Struggles 1877-1934*. Monad Press.

This book included a wide variety of conflicts with American labor, including riots, wars, and strikes. It contained a short but detailed summary of the Homestead Strike. There was a plethora of facts given in the passage, stated clearly and concisely, allowing us to easily pick out the most important information.