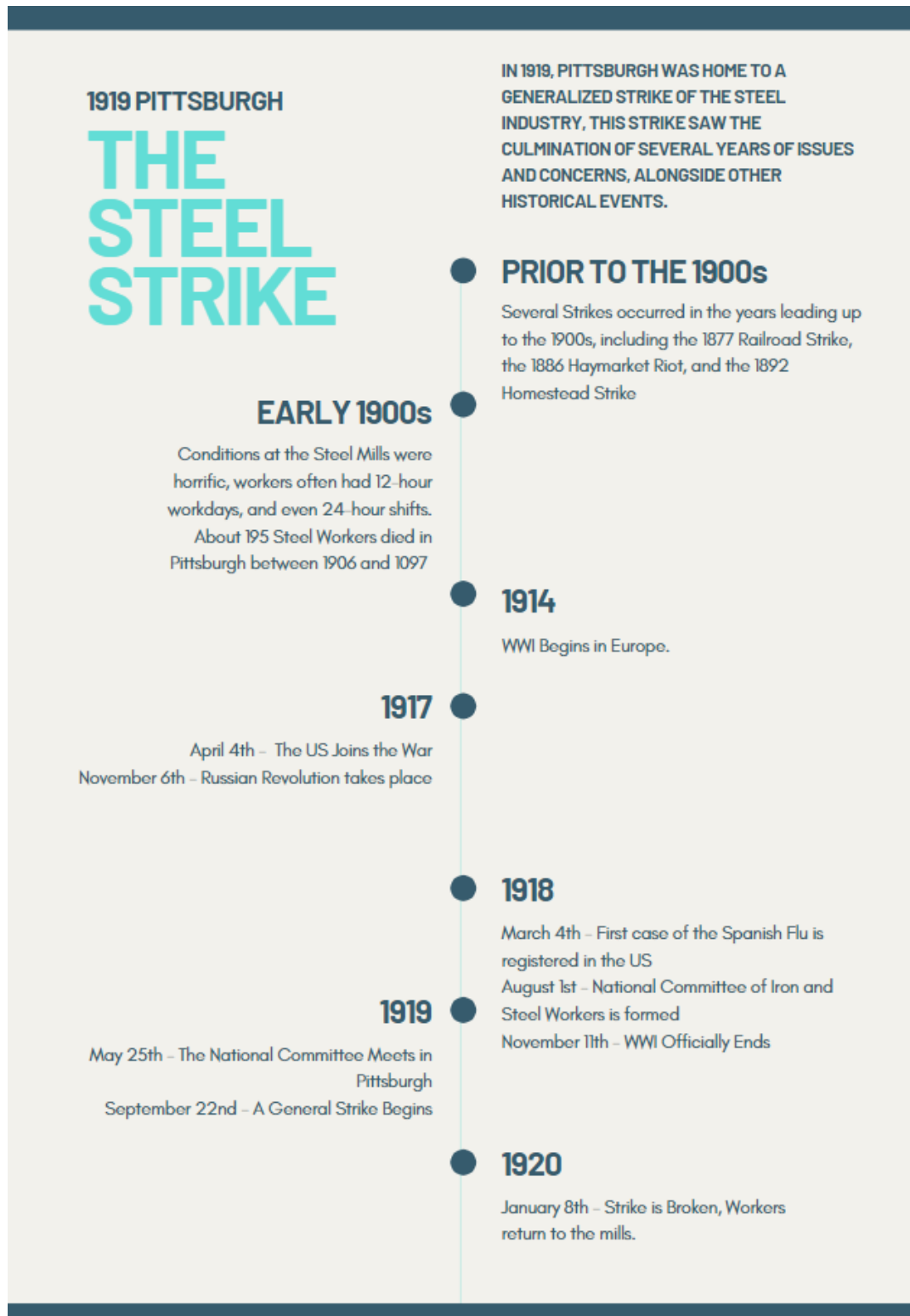


1919 Pittsburgh: The Iron Grip on the Steel Industry

Gamebook

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(1) Historical Context



As the heart of the steel industry, Pittsburgh was the center of many steel strikes in the late 19th and early 20th century. However, the labor unions behind these strikes were no match for the national strength and wealth of the steel industry. The Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, a large union based in Pittsburgh of only skilled workers, was at the height of its strength in 1891.¹ At the same time, steel workers in Homestead, a town just outside Pittsburgh, faced declining wages and a refusal from mill owners to recognize their union. This resulted in what is now known as the Homestead Strike of 1892, which involved many skilled workers who were members of the Amalgamated Association.² Despite the Amalgamated Association being at the height of its power, the strike was violently put down and was ultimately a great failure. Similar Steel strikes backed by the Amalgamated association were attempted again in 1901 and 1909, but both – like the Homestead strike – were no match to the wealth and power of the steel industry.³ The continual defeat of steel strikes had wiped out the strength of unionism in the Pittsburgh Steel industry by 1909, as the members of the Amalgamated Association had been driven from the steel mills.⁴ With the power of unionism in Pittsburgh weakened, work in the steel factories continued to be unsafe and exhausting. Between 1906 and 1907, 195 steel workers died in Pittsburgh mills. The causes of death for these workers included hot metal explosions, high falls, and “asphyxiation from furnace gas”.⁵ Workers often worked 12 hour days and sometimes 24 hour shifts, with the typical worker clocking in between 72-84 hours a week.⁶ At the same time, the workers faced continuously falling wages.⁷

New hope for the revival of unionism in the steel industry emerged with the beginning of World War One in 1914. The increased demand for steel production and shortage of laborers shifted some power back into the hands of workers. Following their belief that past steel strikes had been put down because the strength of the steel industry could not be fought one mill at a time – As it had been in Homestead and the strikes following – labor organizers, namely William Foster, crafted a plan to cripple the entire steel industry with a general strike of the entire

¹ William Z. Foster, *The Great Steel Strike and Its Lessons*. B. W. Huebsch Publishers, New York, 1920.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid

⁴ Ibid

⁵ Ryan C. Brown, *Pittsburgh and the Great Steel Strike of 1919* (Chicago: Arcadia Publishing Inc., 2019), 20.

⁶ Ibid, 21.

⁷ Witwer, David. “Commemorating the 1919 Steel Strike An Interview with John Czelen.” Edited by Linda Shopes and Linda A. Ries. *Pennsylvania History: A Journal of Mid-Atlantic Studies* 86 (2019). <https://muse-jhu-edu.ezproxy.bu.edu/article/733960>.

industry.⁸ With support from the American Federation of Labor, the plan led to the creation of the National Committee for Organizing Iron and Steel Workers on August 1st, 1918.⁹ The National Committee consisted of 24 unions, and incorporated skilled and unskilled men in the industry from those in the mines all the way up to those working on railroads.¹⁰ The National Committee's creation hoped to breathe new life into unionism in the Steel industry, and aimed to organize its national membership to lead an industry-wide strike to solidify their power.

Not all workers were in favor of a strike, necessarily. Particularly skilled workers, who experienced higher wages and benefits through their work, did not want to lose this to go on strike.¹¹ There was also a sentiment that a strike still would not be able to influence steel mill owners. As one steelworker put it: "you can't buck the steel company".¹² Steel workers were aware that steel companies would be able to outlast them in the case of a strike, and that owners would not hesitate to punish workers for striking.¹³ Another significant portion of workers were disillusioned towards strikes as they were involved in previous strikes that had failed, or simply had heard from older workers of strikes that had failed.¹⁴

Propaganda implemented by industrial owners and the press caused a fear of socialism and anarchism to be spread around Pittsburgh.¹⁵ This propaganda gained more power as socialist groups like the IWW began to take hold in the area.¹⁶ These ideologies were nothing new in Pittsburgh, as the presence of such anarchist groups had been growing for decades.¹⁷ However, employers were spreading this fear through propaganda by utilizing ethnic prejudices.¹⁸ In 1917, the Russian Revolution occurred in which the Russian aristocracy was overtaken by a Communist Dictatorship, and as a result fears of Communism spread to the U.S. With this so-called "Red Scare" of 1917 occurring shortly before the strike, many groups that expressed socialist ideals were given the blanket label of "radicals." Fear of socialist uprisings grew in

⁸ William Z. Foster, *The Great Steel Strike and Its Lessons*.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Robert Asher, "Painful Memories: The Historical Consciousness of Steel Workers and the Steel Strike of 1919." *Pennsylvania History: A Journal of Mid-Atlantic Studies* 45, no. 1 (January 1978): 61–86.

¹² Asher, Robert. "Painful Memories: The Historical Consciousness of Steel Workers and the Steel Strike of 1919." *Pennsylvania History: A Journal of Mid-Atlantic Studies* 45, no. 1 (January 1978): 61–86, 67.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ William Z. Foster, *The Great Steel Strike and Its Lessons*.

¹⁶ Ryan C. Brown, *Pittsburgh and the Great Steel Strike of 1919* (Charleston: The History Press, 2019), 57.

¹⁷ Ibid, 67.

¹⁸ Cliff Brown, *Racial Conflicts and Violence in the Labor Market : Roots in the 1919 Steel Strike* (New York: Taylor & Francis Group, 1998), 325.

tandem with the popularity of anarchist sentiments.¹⁹ In Pittsburgh, the large immigrant population from places like Russia, Hungary, and Bulgaria contributed further to this fear.²⁰ Industry owners used the press to imply that immigrants from these countries and other European nations were responsible for pro-strike sentiments.²¹

The existence and form of racial tensions in the country in 1919 is important to understand the historical context of this era. Before the 1919 steel strike, Black Americans that worked in the mills of Pittsburgh mostly had unskilled jobs and were paid very little.²² Those that did work skilled jobs were still paid significantly less than their white counterparts.²³ During strikes, many steel mill owners hired more Black Americans to act as strikebreakers.²⁴ Steel mill owners would often recruit Black Americans from the South, bring them North, and give them an opportunity for work.²⁵ Work in the North was appealing and even advertised in Black newspapers because of the racial tolerance and economic opportunity.²⁶ Black steel workers were desperate for any unskilled work. As one Black steel worker noted “as a group, [Black steel workers] do not aspire for anything higher than unskilled work because they realize the door of opportunity to them is closed.”²⁷ These workers were also excluded by most unions, as prominent unions like the AFL put in very little effort in including Black workers.²⁸ Many AFL members were also openly racist and had no desire to include Black workers into unions solely because of racism.²⁹ In 1904, former AFL official John Roach insisted that Black industrial workers were “huge strapping fellows, ignorant and vicious, whose predominating trait was animalism.”³⁰ This gave many Black steel workers an incentive to remain working in the mills, despite the strike. Strikebreakers, white or Black, were already treated with extreme hostility by

¹⁹ Ryan C. Brown, *Pittsburgh and the Great Steel Strike of 1919* (Charleston: The History Press, 2019), 65.

²⁰ Ibid, 57.

²¹ Cliff Brown, *Racial Conflicts and Violence in the Labor Market: Roots in the 1919 Steel Strike* (New York: Taylor & Francis Group, 1998).

²² Ibid.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Ibid, 322.

²⁵ Cliff Brown, *Racial Conflicts and Split Labor Markets: The AFL Campaign to Organize Steel Workers, 1918-1919* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 320.

²⁶ Ibid, 321.

²⁷ Ibid, 322.

²⁸ Cliff Brown, *Racial Conflicts and Violence in the Labor Market: Roots in the 1919 Steel Strike* (New York: Taylor & Francis Group, 1998), 3.

²⁹ Cliff Brown, *Racial Conflicts and Split Labor Markets: The AFL Campaign to Organize Steel Workers, 1918-1919* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 325.

³⁰ Roach quoted in Rick Halpern, *Down on the Killing Floor: Black and White Workers in Chicago's Packinghouse, 1904-54* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1997), 39.

strikers for their “traitorous” acts. Black strikebreakers however were treated with more instances of violence and many were killed due to these racial riots.³¹

With the working conditions continually getting worse, the presence of communist and anarchist groups in Pittsburgh, racial tensions, and the Spanish Flu being spread, the stage was set for an unforgettable strike...

³¹ Cliff Brown, *Racial Conflicts and Split Labor Markets: The AFL Campaign to Organize Steel Workers, 1918-1919* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 336.

(2) The Game

(2.1) Core Debate & Learning Objectives

In *Pittsburgh 1919, The Iron Grip on the Steel Industry*, students will explore the theme of economic equality, and the lengths we will go to fight for it. They will delve into the foundations of discontent among working-class Americans, and examine the role that racial conflict and the fear of “radicalism” played in labor relations in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Students will pose as workers of varying racial backgrounds, union organizers, outsiders with their own interests, and Pittsburgh locals. Together they will participate in three-game rounds where they will attempt to either organize, or thwart, a strike. All while keeping the essential questions in mind: Can the strength of the National Committee defeat the power of the steel industry, and secure better livelihoods for steelworkers? Or will this strike be marked by failure, thus worsening the conditions they already face and threatening their job security?

(2.2) Factions & Roles

Pro-Strike Faction

- William Foster (Union Leader)
- Mother Jones (Worker’s Advocate)
- Walter Loan (Union Member)
- Edward Johnson (Union Member)
- Louis M. Walsh (Union Member)

Anti-Strike Faction

- Thomas Liggett (Journalist)
- Charles Strophel (Union Member)
- Albert D. Jones (No Union)

Indeterminates

- Joseph Moore (No Union)
- Robert O’Donnell (Union Member)
- Roger Clark (Union Member)
- Bill Gardiner (Union Member)

(2.3) Round Overview & Rules

Round #1: National Committee Meets in Pittsburgh

*Union Labor Temple, Pittsburgh
May 25th, 1919*

Background: At this time William Foster and the AFL are concerned that the workers and unions are becoming too militant, they fear a strike will break out too soon. If the strike broke out too soon, the movement and organization wouldn't be prepared, and it would result in failure.

Overall Gameplay: The round will begin with some set up by the meeting's host, followed by opening statements from both sides. This will be followed by a general assembly, workers of both factions should walk the floor chatting with each other and with the indeterminates, discussing the current situation in Pittsburgh, and the coming vote, each faction should attempt to influence the vote in their direction. The round will end with a vote on whether to pass a Resolution to demand collective bargaining, better pay, and shorter workdays. Only Union-Related Workers may vote on the resolution, which requires a simple 50% majority to pass.

Round #2: National Committee Meets in Pittsburgh

*Union Labor Temple, Pittsburgh
July 20th, 1919*

Background: The workers meet again in Pittsburgh, to vote on whether or not they will strike. This round will be much shorter than the others and will determine how the remainder of the game plays out. Including whether or not some special events occur.

Overall Gameplay: The gameplay will begin with a set of announcements by the meeting's host regarding events that occurred in-between rounds. This will be followed by a Q&A Session where players in both factions, as well as indeterminates, will be able to ask questions of both the Pro and Anti-Strike sides. The round will end with another round of voting, about whether or not to organize a strike on the 22nd of September. All workers are allowed to vote this time around, based on both prior discussions, and the speeches. Again, the vote will pass with a simple 50% majority.

Round #3a: Return to Work & Last-Ditch Efforts

The Streets of Pittsburgh

September 15th, 1919

Background: Round #3a will occur if not enough Workers chose to Strike in Round #2. With September 22nd growing near, this will mark the last chance for a Strike to be organized by the workers, yet the Anti-Strike faction is starting to employ more aggressive tactics.

Overall Gameplay: The Round will mostly be based around a free flow of players, with the Pro-Strike faction attempting to secretly gain support, while some members of the Anti-Strike faction begin to employ terror tactics, endeavoring to assure that workers remain on their side. The round will end with a vote by the workers, *and only the workers*, over whether or not they will support the strike to come. An absolute, 75% majority must be reached to change the prior decision.

Round #3b: Unrest on the Streets, Strike on the Horizon

The Streets of Pittsburgh

September 15th, 1919

Background: Round #3b will occur if enough Workers chose to Strike in Round #2. With September 22nd growing near, the Strike is on the Horizon! The Pro-Strike Faction is finishing up their demands, while the Anti-Strike players attempt to foster chaos.

Overall Gameplay: The Round will mostly be based around a free flow of players, with the Anti-Strike faction attempting to secretly undermine the efforts of the Pro-Strike faction, an effort in which they might be aided by the local authorities. Members of the Pro-Strike faction must attempt to finalize their own list of demands while assuring that they do not lose the support of the people. The round will end with a vote by the workers, *and only the workers*, over whether or not they will support the authorization to strike based on the list of demands written up by the Pro-Strike faction members.

(2.4) Counterfactuals in the Design

- 1) In rounds one and two of this game, at the National Committee Meetings, all players will be present. In reality, only organizers and union delegates were present and cast votes.³²
- 2) In round two, the students will vote on whether they want to go on strike or not during the conference. In reality, they only passed a resolution to send out a ballot to have workers vote on the strike, and the voting would take place over a month.³³
- 3) The primary source “The Chicago Race Riots” has details that happen after the game takes place. The details explained in the excerpt and the brief summary above happened on September 26, 1919 even though the game ends on September 15, 1919.

³² William Z. Foster, *The Great Steel Strike and Its Lessons..*

³³ Ibid.

(3) Glossary

Not everyone is well versed in the topic of workers' struggles in 20th century America, and we understand that you've only had a short time to prepare for this game. As such, we have provided a small glossary of important terms and names that you might find helpful when reading your sources, and playing the actual game:

(3.1) William Foster - William Foster was a prominent figure at the time. He served as the Secretary-Treasurer for the National Committee, and was a devout advocate for workers' rights.³⁴

(3.2) E. H. Gary - E. H. Gary was the Chairman of the United States Steel Corporation, which made him the top man when it came to contact between the workers and the giant that was US Steel.³⁵

(3.3) Mother Jones - Mother Jones, much like William Foster, was a very prominent figure at the time in the field of workers' rights. She traveled the country helping the struggling workers in their fight for better rights and liberties. As a woman, she not only worked with the Steel Workers, but also with their wives, giving us quite a unique insight into the mood in Pittsburgh.³⁶

(3.4) The IWW - The IWW, or the Industrial Workers of the World, was (and is) a huge Union that wanted to bring together all industrial workers in an attempt to confront the massive corporations they worked for, always aiming to provide better conditions and rights to the workers. The IWW ended up being connected to some Socialists, and was under heavy investigation for being "radical." It should be noted here that when the corporations and the state tagged them with the term "radical" they had the clear objective of diminishing the reach of the IWW.³⁷

³⁴ William Z. Foster, *The Great Steel Strike and Its Lessons*.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Mother Jones. *Autobiography of Mother Jones*. United States: Bibliotech Press, 2019.

³⁷ *Britannica*, "Industrial Workers of the World.", accessed April 27, 2022.
<https://www.britannica.com/topic/Industrial-Workers-of-the-World>.

(3.5) The American Federation of Labor (AFL) - The AFL was the main craft union organization at the time of the strike. Many local unions were associated with the organization of the AFL.³⁸

(3.6) The National Committee - The National Committee was formed as an amalgamation of 24 steel unions on August 1st, 1918 to strengthen demands for labor reform.³⁹

(3.7) Steel Trust/US Steel - The United States Steel Corporation, more commonly known as US Steel, was an integrated steel producer based in Pittsburgh. This corporation not only controlled steel manufacturing, but also almost all other stages of production: mining, distribution, etc... Being one of the biggest corporations of the time, it had a massive influence on social and economical policy.⁴⁰

(3.8) Steel Mill(s) - A Steel Mill is the technical name given to the factory where steel is produced. Often these factories did everything from smelting to producing the final production of the final rolled product.⁴¹

(3.9) Skilled/Unskilled Workers - In the 20th century in America there was a huge divide between skilled and unskilled laborers. Some unions only accepted skilled workers, while others welcomed both types. These two groups often fought against each other when attempting to negotiate for better wages and conditions, these conflicts played a crucial part in the corporations attempts to squash strikes and other problems, as they re-directed attention from the main issue: workers' rights to a living wage and proper conditions.⁴²

³⁸ Ryan C. Brown, Pittsburgh and the Great Steel Strike of 1919.

³⁹ William Z. Foster, *The Great Steel Strike and Its Lessons*.

⁴⁰ *Britannica*, "United States Steel Corporation.", accessed April 27, 2022, <https://www.britannica.com/topic/United-States-Steel-Corporation>

⁴¹ "6 Surprising Facts about Steel Mills." Monroe Engineering, April 10, 2019. <https://monroeengineering.com/blog/6-surprising-facts-about-steel-mills/>.

⁴² Cliff Brown, *Racial Conflicts and Split Labor Markets: The AFL Campaign to Organize Steel Workers, 1918-1919* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

(3.10) Steel - Steel is an alloy, which means it is a combination of several metals. Specifically, steel is a combination of iron and carbon which contains less than 2% carbon and 1% of other elements.⁴³

(3.11) Pinkerton(s) - The Pinkertons were a private, armed, militia that was often used by the upper-classes to squash worker problems and strikes. They were famously used in the Homestead Strike, which ended with the Pinkerton defeat, but saw several deaths and injuries.⁴⁴

(3.12) The Red Scare - The Red Scare occurring in the US in 1919 surrounded fears of communist ideologies following the Russian Revolution in 1917. This fear of socialist ideals was accompanied by a growing disdain of immigrants and emerging xenophobia in the US.⁴⁵

(3.13) The Red Summer - The Red Summer was the name given to the Summer of 1919, which saw white supremacist terrorism and racial riots take place all across the United States. These events saw countless black individuals die at the hands of racists in the streets of over a dozen cities across the country.⁴⁶

(3.14) Kaiser - The term “kaiser” is the German word for “emperor.” It was used by the Austrian Empire, and then by Germany, to refer to their rulers in the 19th century and early 20th century. It was also the title of Wilhelm II, the head of state of Germany during WWI.⁴⁷

⁴³ “About Steel.” worldsteel.org, February 22, 2022.

<https://worldsteel.org/about-steel/about-steel/#:~:text=Steel%20is%20an%20alloy%20of,important%20engineering%20and%20construction%20material>.

⁴⁴ Paul Kahan, *The Homestead Strike : Labor, Violence, and American Industry. Critical Moments in American History*. New York: Routledge, 2014.

⁴⁵ Robert K Murray, *Red Scare a Study in National Hysteria, 1919-1920*. Minneapolis : University of Minnesota Press, 1995.

⁴⁶ “Racial Violence and the Red Summer.” National Archives and Records Administration. National Archives and Records Administration. Accessed April 23, 2022.

<https://www.archives.gov/research/african-americans/wwi/red-summer>.

⁴⁷ “Kaiser (n).” Etymology. Accessed April 27, 2022. <https://www.etymonline.com/word/kaiser>.

(3.15) Xenophobia - Xenophobia is a prejudice against those that are not from the same country as you. Xenophobic attitudes of American workers were used by mill owners and the press to instill anti-strike sentiments among workers.⁴⁸

(3.16) Propaganda - Propaganda is information distributed in order to influence people to believe a certain point of view. Often, propaganda is fictitious in nature. The Steel Trust utilized propaganda in Pittsburgh in 1919 to attempt to sway American workers from striking by making them believe the strike was a plot by foreigners.⁴⁹

(3.17) Strikebreaker - A strikebreaker is an individual who continues to work during a strike, thus making the strike less effective as the employer does not have to worry about limited employment. In previous industrial strikes, such as the Homestead Strike, steel mill owners mainly recruited Black Americans to work as strikebreakers.⁵⁰

⁴⁸ William Z. Foster, *The Great Steel Strike and Its Lessons*. B. W. Huebsch Publishers, New York, 1920.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Cliff Brown, *Racial Conflicts and Split Labor Markets: The AFL Campaign to Organize Steel Workers, 1918-1919* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 322.

(3) Primary Sources

(3.1) A Correspondence between Union Workers and Elbert Gary

In light of their fears that workers were growing impatient and may begin a strike on their own terms, the National Committee⁵¹ called for a conference of its union delegates on May 25th, 1919. However, before the conference was held, the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel, and Tin Workers of North America – a group of skilled workers, defying the orders given by the committee⁵² – sent a letter to Elbert Gary, the President of the Federal Steel Corporation, to voice their concerns. They expressed their sentiment that the unrest growing among workers is a cause for concern and that they wish to meet with the United States Steel Corporation to settle the conflict before it gets out of hand. This sentiment aligns with William Foster and the AFL's wish to stem the tide of unrest among workers before a strike breaks out. Below, you can read the initial letter sent by the Amalgamated Association:

Honorable Elbert H. Gary, Chairman,
Executive Officers, United States Steel Corporation,
Hoboken, N. J.

Convention Hall, Louisville, Kentucky
May 15, 1919

Dear Sir:

The Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers of North America, in National Convention assembled, have by resolution, instructed the undersigned to address you as Chairman of the Executive Officers of the United States Steel Corporation on a matter which in the opinion of the representatives of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, is of vital importance to the Corporation you have the honor to represent and to the Amalgamated Association.

As you no doubt are aware, there is a serious disturbing element in the industrial world at the present time, a great spirit of unrest has spread over our common country. It is becoming more and more acute, and there is no telling when or where the storm clouds will break. It is the judgment of the representatives of the Amalgamated Association that it is the patriotic duty of all good citizens to use their every effort to stem the tide of unrest, if possible.

The Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers have admitted many thousands of the employees of the United States Steel Corporation into their organization; these members

⁵¹ Committee created to gather together the different unions representing the different crafts in the steel industry

⁵² This letter is independent from the actual resolution that was passed at the Committee meeting.

are asking that they be given consideration by the Corporation you are the Honorable Chairman of, in their respective crafts and callings, and also that as law-abiding citizens who desire the privilege of having their representatives meet with the chosen representatives of the Corporation you represent, to jointly confer on questions that mutually concern both.

Sincerely believing that the granting of their request on your part will not only be the means of allaying that unrest, but will also promote and insure that harmony and co-operation that should at all times exist between employer and employee to the end that all will share in the glorious triumphs so lately achieved in the war and thereby add still more to the lustre and glory of our common country.

Trusting that you will give this request on the part of the aforesaid employees of your Corporation your most earnest consideration, I await your pleasure.

M. F. Tighe, International President⁵³.

International President,
Amalgamated Association of
Iron, Steel and Tin Workers,
Pittsburgh, Pa.

Chairman's Office,
New York, May 20th, 1919

Dear Sir:

I have read with interest your letter of May 15th inst. I agree that it is the patriotic duty of all good citizens to use their efforts in stemming the tide of unrest in the industrial world whenever and wherever it exists.

As you know, we do not confer, negotiate with, or combat labor unions as such. We stand for the open shop*, which permits a man to engage in the different lines of employment, whether he belongs to a labor union or not. We think this attitude secures the best results to the employees generally and to the employers.

In our own way, and in accordance with our best judgment, we are rendering efficient patriotic service in the direction indicated by you.

With kind regards, I am,

Yours respectfully,

E. H. Gary, Chairman⁵⁴

**Open shop is a system whereby employees in a place of work are not required to join a labor union.*

⁵³ M. F. Tighe, a letter to Elbert Gary on behalf of the Amalgamated Association, May 15th, 1919, in *The Great Steel Strike and its Lessons*, 70-72.

⁵⁴ Elbert H. Gary, Chairman, a letter in response to the Amalgamated Association, May 20th, 1919, in *The Great Steel Strike and its Lessons*, 71-72.

(3.2) Telegram from Secretary Tumulty to President Gompers and the latter's communication to the National Committee

The unions, wanting to act, suddenly received word of telegram sent by President Wilson's secretary, appealing to Samuel Gompers to use his influence to postpone the strike. President Gompers, of the A.F.L., subsequently requested Fitzpatrick and Foster that the strike be postponed until after the Industrial Conference on October 6th. To deny these powerful requests meant, to be accused of hasty and disloyal action, and of practical revolt against the A. F. of L. To start the strike under unduly hostile public opinion would not bode well.

Mr. John Fitzpatrick, Chairman,
National Committee For Organizing Iron
and Steel Workers,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Fitzpatrick:

This morning I received a telegram as follows:

Dickinson, N. Dak., Sept. 10, 1919

Hon. Samuel Gompers,
President American Federation of Labor,
Washington, D. C.

In view of the difficulty of arranging any present satisfactory mediation with regard to the steel situation, the President desires to urge upon the steel men, through you, the wisdom and desirability of postponing action of any kind until after the forthcoming Industrial conference at Washington.

J. P. Tumulty⁵⁵.

You are aware of the reason which prevented my participating further, the past few days, in the conferences with the representatives of the various national and international unions involved in this question.

In transmitting the above to you (which I am doing by long distance telephone from New York) I want to express the hope that something can be done without injury to the workers and

⁵⁵ J.P. Tumulty, Secretary to President Wilson, telegram to Samuel Gompers September 10th, 1919, in *The Great Steel Strike and its Lessons*, 89.

their cause to endeavor to conform to the wish expressed by the President; that even though the corporations may endeavor to provoke the men to action, that they may hold themselves in leash and under self-control, consciously demonstrating their stamina and willingness to abide by the justice of their cause and that their rights will be finally protected.

Fraternally yours,
Samuel Gompers,
President
American Federation of Labor⁵⁶

⁵⁶ Gompers, Samuel, President of the American Federation of Labor, letter to the National Committee, September 10th, 1919, in *The Great Steel Strike and its Lessons*, 89.

(3.3) The Chicago Race Riots

A couple of weeks before the Pittsburgh Steel Strike happened, Chicago similarly began to strike advocating for better working conditions in steel mills. Black Americans were primarily hired in place of the striking workers, making up 75% of the strikebreakers. Violence erupted in the city, and Black Americans found themselves being victims of horrible racially motivated crimes. White workers would beat and harass black strikebreakers. The same week, two black workers shot a white striker who tried to prevent them from going to work. The following excerpt comes from the Blankenhorn Papers, a collection of newspaper clippings from journalist Heber Blankenhorn in 1919.

In South Chicago, the Illinois Steel Mill officials tried to create race riots and to incite the strikers to violence in the following manner. One day three deputies led about two hundred strikebreakers up the main street and stopped across the street from union headquarters. Then someone yelled “Come and get the scabs!” The Negroes were armed, as it developed later, and there were only about twenty union men at the headquarters. Leaders, with difficulty, restrained the provoked union men. Police arrived and dispersed the blacks.⁵⁷

⁵⁷ Blankenhorn, Heber. Archives of Industrial Society, Pittsburgh, PA, 1919, folder 3.

(3.5) BLOOD IS SHED.: Fierce Battles at Homestead. Pinkertons Met and Repulsed. Twenty Men Are Killed in the Fight.

The Homestead Strike was a steel strike in a neighboring Pennsylvania town almost thirty years before the Pittsburgh steel strike of 1919. This excerpt comes from a New York Times article in July of 1892, at the height of the affair. The violence that erupted from the war waged between the hired Pinkertons and strikers is one example of many instances of violence as a result of labor strikes, a significant reason why many workers were fearful of joining similar efforts.

HOMESTEAD, Pa., July 6 - Pennsylvania has had another experience with labor riots, and this time as during the fearful scenes which were witnessed during the riots of 1877 blood has been shed, life jeopardized, and valuable property placed in danger.

This time there was no destruction of property, but the mob was thoroughly well organized, well disciplined, and had sufficient officers at the head to conduct the operations. The force embraced all the men employed in the extensive plants of the Carnegie iron and Steel company at Homestead, and a battle which for bloodthirstiness and boldness has not been executed in actual warfare waged from 4 o'clock in the morning until 5 o'clock this afternoon, and only ceased when the force of Pinkertons brought to the place to suppress the strike unconditionally surrendered, leaving their arms in the barges in which they had been transported to their works.

The 300 Pinkertons who came in a boat to Homestead in the early morning have desolated many a hearth, and their shots have aroused such desperation that it is safe to say before the men would now allow the mill to be operated by non-union men they would burn it over their heads.

In the dark mist of early morning, when the town was quiet, the rumor of the arrival of the boat-load of Pinkertons reached Homestead. The word was sent along the line, and the stress, in almost an instant, were crowded with men, women, and children hurrying in the directions of the works landing. Some were only half-clad.

What followed after the first shot can only be realized by those who were present. The air was filled with the death-dealing bullets of both parties. The battle was at its height, and, regardless of the rapid firing, the howling of the workingmen could be heard above all. The sight

of their fellows falling at their sides gave them new courage, and, although their firearms were not equal to the improved Winchesters of their enemies, they drove them back. The workingmen won the first battle.⁵⁸

⁵⁸ "Blood is Shed.: Fierce Battles at Homestead. Pinkertons Met and Repulsed. Twenty Men are Killed in the Fight." *Chicago Daily Tribune (1872-1922)*, Jul 07, 1892. <https://ezproxy.bu.edu/login?url=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.proquest.com%2Fhistorical-newspapers%2Fblood-is-shed%2Fdocview%2F174681723%2Fse-2%3Faccountid%3D9676>.

(3.6) The Daily Schedule of a Steel Worker in Homestead, Pennsylvania, 1919

A Steel Worker from Homestead, a town outside Pittsburgh home to many steelworkers, details his daily schedule below.⁵⁹

5:30 pm to 12 am — Six and one-half hours of shoveling, throwing and carrying bricks and cinder out of bottom of old furnace. Very hot.

12:30 am — Back to the shovel and cinder, within few feet of pneumatic shovel drilling slag*, for three and one-half hours.

4 am — Sleeping is pretty general, including boss.

5 am — Everybody quits, sleeps, sings, swears, sighs for 6 o'clock.

6 am — Start home.

6:45 am — Bathed, breakfast.

7:45 am — Asleep.

4 pm. — Wake up, put on dirty clothes, go to boarding house, eat supper, get pack of lunch.

5:30 pm. — Report for work.

** a power shovel to drill a by-product from steel production called slag. Slag is molten at high temperatures and solidifies when it cools.*

⁵⁹ Ryan C. Brown, *Pittsburgh and the Great Steel Strike of 1919*, 41-42.

(3.7) The Chicago Riot - The Foreign Element Create an Extensive Disturbance

The Haymarket Riot was a strike that occurred in Chicago in 1886 that ended in unrest and violence.⁶⁰ This article from The Washington Critic written during the strike lays out an example of the extent of violence that occurred. It also provides an example of the anti-immigrant attitudes that existed in the US during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Note the importance the article put on pointing out that these protesters were “foreigners” and “bohemians”.

CHICAGO, May 4. - The different labor movements throughout the country were, as a rule, inaugurated yesterday without any violent outbreaks except in Chicago. In this city yesterday afternoon a crowd of anarchists, nearly all foreigners, and most of them under the influence of liquor, made an attack upon the McCormick Reaper Works. They stoned the officer on duty there, and also different detachments of police re-enforcements as they came to the rescue. They broke the windows of the factory and indulged in almost every form of lawlessness. After standing the maltreatment as long as possible the police opened fire upon the rioters.

They finally dispersed them after some of the mob had been wounded, two of them fatally. A number of the officers were badly hurt by stones. Some of the mob were armed, as the firing was rather promiscuous. A mob of Bohemians, in another portion of the city, terribly beat Officer Casey, and had a rope ready to hang him to a lamppost. He broke away and ran, followed by a number of shots aimed at him. He met a patrol wagon, and when he got into it, he was exhausted. The man who had brought the rope with which to hang Casey was arrested.

It is estimated that about forty shots were fired in the melee, and that eight or ten of the mob were wounded, but they were quickly borne away by their friends and concealed.⁶¹

⁶⁰ Kahan, Paul. *The Homestead Strike : Labor, Violence, and American Industry*, p. 38. London: Taylor & Francis Group, 2013. Accessed March 22, 2022. ProQuest Ebook Central.

⁶¹ “The Chicago Riot- The Foreign Element Create an Extensive Disturbance.” *The Washington Critic*, May 4, 1886, 5, 532 edition. <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn82000205/1886-05-04/ed-1/seq-1/>.

(3.8) Mother Jones' Biography - Chapter on the 1919 Strike

*Mother Jones was a prominent Pro-Worker rights figure in the late 1800s and early 1900s. Although she herself was not a worker, as was usual for women at the time, she was heavily involved with several strikes and worker rights movements at the time. She defended the rights of workers under the liberal democracy created by the Founding Fathers, and would often quote them, and other prominent figures in these fights. Mother Jones came to Pittsburgh to observe the fight and assist wherever she could. The following is an excerpt of a Chapter from Mother Jones' Autobiography, it tells of her time in Pittsburgh, the struggles she faced, and the things she saw.*⁶²

During the war the working people were made to believe they amounted to something. Gompers, the President of the American Federation of labor, conferred with copper kings and lumber kings and coal kings, speaking for the organized workers. Up and down the land the workers heard the word, "democracy." They were asked to work for it. To give their wages to it. To give their lives for it. They were told that their labor, their money, their flesh were the bulwarks against tyranny and autocracy.

So believing, the steel workers, 300,000 of them, rose en masse against Kaiser Gary, the President of the American Steel Corporation. The slaves asked their czar for the abolition of the twelve-hour day, for a crumb from the huge loaf of profits made in the great war, and for the right to organize.

Czar Gary met his workers as is the customary way with tyrants. He could not shoot them down as did Czar Nicholas when petitioned by his peasants. But he ordered the constabulary out. He ordered forth his two faithful generals: fear and starvation, one to clutch at the worker's throat and the other at his stomach and the stomachs of his little children.

When the steel strike was being organized, I was in Seattle with Jay G. Brown, President of the Shingle Workers of America.

"We ought to go East and help organize those slaves," I said to Brown.

(...)

⁶² Jones. *Autobiography of Mother Jones*. United States: Bibliotech Press, 2019.

The strike in the steel industry was called in September, 1919. Gary as spokesman for the industry refused to consider any sort of appointment with his workers. What did it matter to him that thousands upon thousands of workers in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, worked in front of scorching furnaces twelve long hours, through the day, through the night, while he visited the Holy Land where Our Lord was born in a manger!

I traveled up and down the Monongahela River. Most of the places where the steel workers were on strike meetings were forbidden. If I were to stop to talk to a woman on the street about her child, a cossack would come charging down upon us and we would have to run for our lives. If I were to talk to a man in the streets of Braddock, we would be arrested for unlawful assembly.

In the towns of Sharon and Farrell, Pennsylvania, the lick-spittle authorities forbade all assembly. The workers by the thousands marched into Ohio where the Constitution of the United States instead of the Steel Corporation's constitution was law.

I asked a Pole where he was going. I was visiting his sick wife; taking a bit of milk to her new baby. Her husband was washing his best shirt in the sink.

"Where I go? Tomorrow I go America," he said, meaning he was going on the march to Ohio.

I spoke often to the strikers. Many of them were foreigners but they knew what I said. I told them, "We are to see whether Pennsylvania belongs to Kaiser Gary or Uncle Sam. If Gary's got it, we are going to take it away from him and give it back to Uncle Sam. When we are ready we can scare and starve and lick the whole gang. Your boys went over to Europe. They were told to clean up the Kaiser. Well, they did it. And now you and your boys are going to clean up the kaisers at home. Even if they have to do it with a leg off and an arm gone, and eyes out.

"Our Kaisers sit up and smoke seventy-five cent cigars and have lackeys with knee pants bring them champagne while you starve, while you grow old at forty, stoking their furnaces. You pull in your belts while they banquet. They have stomachs two miles long and two miles wide and you fill them. Our Kaisers have stomachs of steel and hearts of steel and tears of steel for the 'poor Belgians.'

"If Gary wants to work twelve hours a day let him go in the blooming mills and work. What we want is a little leisure, time for music, playgrounds, a decent home, books, and the things that make life worth while." (...)

(3.9) Tube Plant Employers say Italians are Causing the Strike

This is an example of the xenophobic propaganda that was spread through Pittsburgh to convince workers that the source of striking sentiments was foreign. Such propaganda was effective as American workers were quick to be suspicious of foreign influences. Newspapers attempted to control the narrative, and presented the situation as a dangerous “foreign uprising”.⁶³ While this source focuses solely on Italian laborers, immigrants from many European nations were being targeted, including those from places such as Russia, Hungary, Belgium, and other Eastern European countries.⁶⁴

WAKE UP AMERICANS!!

Italian Laborers, organized under the American Federation of Labor are going to strike Monday and are threatening workmen who want to continue working.

These foreigners have been told by labor agitators that if they would join the union they would get Americans' jobs.

They are being encouraged by ITALIAN MERCHANTS, who are in sympathy with them. ARE YOU GOING TO SLEEP AND LET MOB RULE THREATEN THE PEACE OF OUR TOWN?

⁶³ William Z. Foster, *The Great Steel Strike and Its Lessons*. B. W. Huebsch Publishers, New York, 1920, 200.

⁶⁴ Cliff Brown, *Racial Conflicts and Violence in the Labor Market : Roots in the 1919 Steel Strike* (New York: Taylor & Francis Group, 1998).

(3.10) Newspaper Articles from the New York Times and The Baltimore Sun

A whole host of reports were made upon the opposition to the radicalism of the foreign workers and considered the strike disloyal and 'un-American.' Newspapers kept up a constant barrage of such propaganda condemning the strike and asking the steel workers to return to their jobs. At the same time, similar advertisements also appeared asking labor to "Show up the Red Labor Agitator for what he is", and warning workers against bolshevism.

Link to full image: <https://www.newspapers.com/image/20375995>

LABOR'S WORST ENEMIES.

The known and responsible leaders of labor had never so great a need as now to look to the conditions in their own organizations and to take heed for themselves lest their influence be destroyed, and their power usurped by unsafe and unsteady elements that are striving to destroy them. With their wisdom and their experience, these tried leaders know when the time has come to use reason and moderation in formulating and pressing the demands of labor, when it is time to check the zeal of agitators. It is plain to all men with seeing eyes and understanding minds that that time has come now. The President's letter to the railroad shopmen was important; it was; more, for it was a true portrayal of conditions and an appeal to reason. The resolve of the publishers of periodicals in this city to suspend publication if what they consider the unreasonable demands of the printers are pressed, the abandonment of many prelected building undertakings in this city and its vicinity because of the insistence of men in the building trades upon a large increase in wages, are signs of the times of which the sound leaders of labor are seriously taking note.

Anyone who reads the labor news of the day will observe constant references to the "radical element" in the labor unions. The periodical publishers in their statement speak of the "radical labor leaders"; press dispatches from Pittsburgh say that the "radical element among the steel workers" is pressing for a strike regardless of the counsel of the leaders; at the conference between Governor Smith and the representatives of capital and labor on Tuesday. Mr. Otto M.

Eidlitz, representing the building industry of New York, declared that the men who were not listening to the officers of the unions were those who have "been here but a short time." That the radical element is active in unions, that it was never so busy, that its voice is always for war upon the employer, that it scornfully impatient of counsels of calmness and moderation coming from responsible leaders, that this is the element which, is pressing the extreme demands of labor and urging strikes in many industries, these things are well known to any person familiar with conditions in the labor world.

The all-important thing for working men to understand is that these radicals, many of; them are actually " Reds," do not want settlement of labor disputes; or if a settlement is reached by accession to the demands they have preferred, they regard It only as a preparation for further demands, a short day's march toward their ultimate goal. The radicals in the labor ranks are seeking to control the industries. They are agitating for a revolution in the industrial World, and it is the consciousness of this fact that prompts employers to take such a stand as that of the periodical publishers. Nobody but "Red" revolutionists entertain any Illusions about the fate of labor and of industry under such conditions. Russia has told the story with terrible eloquence, yet Soviet money and Soviet Influences have been at work to poison the minds of wage earners in this country and to persuade them into these dangerous courses. To these Influences and to the labors of the I.W.W. we must look, chiefly, for the causes of the present rebellious conditions in many labor unions, so threatening to the authority of the officers they have trusted for years.

The older, cooler heads in the ranks of labor know perfectly well what the success of radical plans for controlling the uses of capital and the operations of industry would mean to them. The radicals are many of them youngsters. When once in a position-to use their power they would quickly displace the older, experienced men. They want all the good things for themselves. For that reason the railroad conductors and the locomotive engineers who have been in the service for years, many of them owning their own houses, substantial citizens in their communities, look with no favor upon such devices as the Plumb plan. The control of the railroads by labor would very soon oust them from their places, for the younger element would be in the majority.

No enlightened and sincere friend of labor could wish to see the radical element displace men like Mr Gompers and other leaders who have worked by his side so many years and substitute for their wise guidance the inflammatory counsels and action of the hotheads the revolutionists who share the I. W. W. ambition to control the factories. That is the short way to the ruin of the labor organizations, to unemployment and misery for wage earners, to the destruction of the country's productive capacity. Employers and the public have seen the necessity of largely augmenting the gains of toil. There have been repeated and great additions to payrolls all over the country. These increases have been necessary to meet the cost of living. But President Wilson pointed out that the time has come to seek other means of making both ends meet, and now it is being generally perceived and understood that the radicals and the "Reds" and the agitators in the labor unions, who are battling against the restraining influences of labor's authorized leaders, have quite other ends in view than wage adjustments. This element, this influence is openly or secretly abetting most of the strike movements reported in the news from day to day. The leaders of the organizations know it, the sober and American part of the membership cannot too soon inform itself of the truth.⁶⁵

Show Up The Red Labor Agitator For What He Is

Mr. Sherman Rogers, a recognized authority, who has spent many months in an investigation of the Labor Situation, says:

1 --- The present industrial unrest is not caused by economic necessity.

2--- Working men, generally speaking, are saving more money than at any time in the period of American History, and, in proportion to the cost of living, are receiving the highest wages ever paid in this country

3--- Nine-tenths of the 300 strikes in effect in the United States and Canada are the result of a widespread campaign headed by a skillfully conducted, methodically organized body of revolutionary leaders, whose sole objective is the disruption of the present social system. Their campaign of slanderous misrepresentation, intended to cause suspicion and

⁶⁵ "Labor's Worst Enemy." *The New York Times*. September 18, 1919.

class hatred, is being vigorously waged in every city, village and Hamite throughout the United States.

4--- Conditions will rapidly become normal as soon as there is a concerted movement among loyal Americans to acquaint working men with the truth in the same manner that the Radicals reach them with gross misrepresentation.

Right now, the red agitators boast that they control more than 30% of all organized labor in the country.

It's high time that business should meet the insidious attacks and revolutionary methods of the Red Labor Agitator on his own ground.

Why not, then, use every means to drive home the REAL TRUTH of the economic situation to the same audience that is listening to the misrepresentation class hatred and insidious unrest propaganda of the unscrupulous and lying agitator.

The enemies of American Institutions and American business are using every publicity vehicle available to put their propaganda across.

Business does not propose to stand idly by. The same brains that have made American Industry what it is today must meet the Red Agitator's every insinuation - every calumny - every lie with the naked truth!

The great laboring classes are 100% loyal Americans, but the human mind is so constituted as to react to good influences as well as to bad. Let us present the correct side; truth will prevail.

Let every business man in Baltimore, working individually and collectively, begin, immediately to place before every working man and every working woman in this community, through every legitimate channel and by every legitimate means, a propaganda of truth that will show -up the Red Labor Agitator for what he is -- a wolf in sheep's clothes⁶⁶

⁶⁶ "Show Up the Red Labor Agitator For What He Is." *The Sun*. October 31, 1919.

(3.11) Steel Workers on the Question of Striking

Not all workers were in favor of striking. These quotes are from steelworkers who had hesitations regarding striking. There were a number of reasons that steelworkers would be reluctant to strike. Notably, they saw those wanting to strike as “subversive agitators”.⁶⁷ They also were worried about being fired or demoted in the case that they were to strike.⁶⁸ These ideas came mostly from skilled workers, who experienced higher wages and benefits from their work. Note the core reasons for these workers not wanting to strike: what assumptions are being made about those wanting to strike? How can you integrate these ideas into your character?

- “You can’t buck the steel company”, “What can’t be cured has got to be endured”
 - *Said by a rail straightener, who believed an eight-hour workday would be preferable to twelve, but was “relatively contented”.⁶⁹*
- “You can’t do nothing to the company” “They are smart fellows and they won’t let the fellows do anything to better their conditions”
 - *Said Leo Sigel, a tube inspector who had been involved in a failed strike in 1901, and who now did believe that any strike had the potential to work to improve working conditions.⁷⁰*
- “... sit back and let the grass grow green over the furnaces rather than give the men eight hours. Let them strike for months; when they’re hungry enough they will come back.”
 - *James Conn, a skilled and experienced steelworker, on how the steel company would act if workers were to go on strike.⁷¹*

⁶⁷ Asher, Robert. “Painful Memories: The Historical Consciousness of Steel Workers and the Steel Strike of 1919.” *Pennsylvania History: A Journal of Mid-Atlantic Studies* 45, no. 1 (January 1978): 61–86, 61.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ Ibid, 67.

⁷⁰ Ibid, 74.

⁷¹ Ibid, 75.

(3.12) A Steel Worker Writes to Fellow Workers

This clipping was apparently written by a Steel Worker by the name of J. Dunbar, and was posted on the second page of a prominent Pittsburgh newspaper "The Gazette-Times" on September 18th, 1919, shortly before the official start date of the strike, September 22nd. The worker outlines his reasons for not supporting the strike, including the questionable background of the strike leaders, namely William Foster, and the belief that the strike is doomed to fail. This article was written after President Wilson had asked for a posting of the strike, which the American Federation of Labor supported.

STEEL WORKER WARNS MEN NOT TO SUPPORT MOVEMENT FOR STRIKE

Employee Declares Those Fostering Walkout Do Not Represent All Elements Concerned – Believes Step at This Time Is Sure of Failure.

PITTSBURGH, Sept. 18, 1919.

Editor of The Gazette Times:

Would you permit me, as a steel of Labor who will be a sufferer by the approaching strike among the steel mills to state a few facts to my fellow workmen and the public regarding the absolute folly of the steel strike, and the high-handed methods that have resorted to as a means of bringing it about? I assure you that you will be granting a favor to thousands of workers if you permit me this request. If these facts become known I cannot believe that my misguided fellow workers and the public will be further led astray by the promoters of this strike.

First, let me state that the strike has been called in violation of the rules of the international unions concerned. The method of procedure provided to call a strike of the various affiliated bodies by the constitution of these bodies have not been obeyed.

Second, the persons who have been the chief promoters of the strike have not been appointed or selected by the rank and file of the workers. I take the arch-leader, A. Z. Foster, as

an illustration. Who appointed him? Why, Fitzpatrick, who was not elected himself. These are the two chief promoters and neither of them has ever had anything to do with the steel industry' in any manner or form. They have been notorious advocates of I. W. W. doctrines of the most pronounced type. So much is this the fact that not an organizer of the American Federation of Labor has had, nor has now, anything to do with this strike. Foster in the past has signed himself "Yours for the Revolution, W. Z. Foster" and "Yours forever for the I. W. W." This fact alone should warn true Americans against the machinations, of these agitators. There is no proof that Foster represents, the workers for they have never elected him nor appointed him to any office. He came here with a record as a strike promoter.

The vote that was taken by Foster & Co., relative to the strike, was a mystery and a fraud. In many instances, it is stated, one man was permitted to vote hundreds of times. A ease of this kind took place at Buffalo and another at Hammond. The workmen of many mills are only voting now, regardless of Foster and Fitzpatrick, and large numbers are voting against the strike.

The steel workers are not in any condition to strike to win; they cannot be victorious: they have no funds and the American Federation of Labor will not support them.

These workers are not organized anymore than a disintegrate mob. The leader of these men have defied President Wilson and President Gompers, who are opposed to the Strike.⁷² Foster and Fitzpatrick are superior to the President of the nation and president of organized labor throughout the United States.

Let every wage-worker beware of the fact that the leaders of this strike are on record as openly declaring themselves opposed to the American Federation of Labor and some have announced their intentions of "boring from within its circles" to turn it over to their ultra-radicals who aim at destroying our system of government. The truth is those who are working hardest for this strike are known as the real Bolsheviks of the labor movement.

The presidents of 24 international unions make up the campaign committee of this strike. Only three of these presidents have attended a meeting so far, meaning that they are opposed to the strike, similar to Mr. Gompers.

⁷² It is not until round three Gompers and the President's opposition to the strike is known or announced. Do not mention this point until round 3 if you feel it is important.

The three presidents who have attended the meeting represent the seamen, the blacksmith and the structural ironworker, and not one of them belongs to the basic branch of the steel industry.

Foster has admitted that American workers are not supporting the strike, which means that only foreigners are being misled.

I want my fellow workers to know that there is and always has been something queer about this strike. It seems to be a move on the part of the Reds to disrupt our real labor movements, in my mind there is no doubt of this. Similar moves are being made all over the country by these Reds and with the same object in view.

Bear in mind we have had strikes in our mills before and they have always left us worse off than ever; I want the workers to remember this, for I do. and I suffered with the rest. We were stronger for the Homestead strike, than we ever were and our organization was ruined by that strike: the Rankin strike is a sad and painful memory. Let us remember these events, and if we do so as we ought we will not take any risk just now

Yours respectfully. J. DUNBAR⁷³

⁷³ J. Dunbar, "Steel Worker Warns Men Not To Support Movement For Strike", *The Gazette Times*, September 18, 1919.