Figure 1.1  Scheme of the Pittsburgh Survey

Source: Pittsburgh Civic Exhibit, Carnegie Institute, November-December, 1908. Reproduced from Kellogg (1909, 519).
It is through the households themselves that the industrial situation impresses itself indelibly upon the life of the people. The environment of the home afforded by this checkerboard town tilted on the slope back of the mill site, the smoke which pours its depressing fumes to add their extra burden to the housewife’s task, the constant interference with orderly routine due to the irregular succession of long hours—these are the outward and visible signs of the subordination of household life to industrial life. The mill affects the family even more intimately through the wage scale to which the standards of home making, housekeeping, and child rearing must conform. Here the impressions gained by a season’s residence in Homestead are supported by the budget study of ninety families. For whatever may be the triumph or failure of the steel plant as a manufactory, it must also be judged by the part it has borne in help-

Figure 1.2 Immigrant Day Laborers on the Way Home from Work, 1907/1908

Source: Photographed by Lewis W. Hine (Fitch 1910, facing p. 145).
ing or hindering this town, which has grown up on the farm land at the river bend, in becoming a sound member of the American commonwealth.

—Margaret Byington, *Homestead*

Crystal Eastman was even more explicit about drawing a link between workplace conditions—in this case, in the coal mining and railroad as well as the steel industry—and broader public responsibility. Her pioneering research in *Work Accidents and the Law* (1910) provided systematic evidence that the overwhelming burden of workplace accidents fell on working families and communities, despite a preponderance of safety hazards and managerial neglect. For Eastman, however, those consequences, again depicted in photographs and personal interviews as well as in detailed statistical tables, raised questions that went beyond corporate behavior to
whether and how society understood the broader social value of work and the issues of just compensation and protection from hazard (see figure 1.4). The issue for her was not simply corporate neglect, then, though that was considerable, but also a legal and policy environment that failed utterly to hold corporations responsible for their actions and left the burden on already underpaid workers instead.

A special cloud always threatens the home of the worker in dangerous trades, because his daily work involves physical risk to him, and on his life and strength depend the happiness of his family. What is his “work” then? Is it any concern of society? First of all, to be sure, it is his way of making a living, but
burgh in the tap of the minder’s tools and in the shouts of gangs of furnacemen and engine crews in the winding recesses of the mill.

Yet even in a city whose prosperity is founded in steel and