THE INDUSTRIALIZATION OF DUQUESNE AND THE CIRCULATION OF ELITES, 1891-1933

Karen Cowles

The examination of elites and their movement can be revealing about the industrialization process in mill towns and the interaction of community politics and industrial growth. An example of this can be seen in the small city of Duquesne, located twelve miles up the Monongahela River from Pittsburgh. The empirical stage of research for this article demonstrated that as Duquesne grew and developed two political factions struggled for control of the town. Vilfredo Pareto has shown that there are two kinds of elites which compete with one another for dominance. He referred to them as the "lions" and the "foxes" in the political sphere or the "rentier" and the "speculators" in the economic realm. Pareto's ideal types are similar to the factions which arose in Duquesne during the years encompassed by this study.

Pareto viewed social change as a cyclical process in terms of which elite group held power at a given time. For him, political and economic elites were most important for the distribution of power within society, and they overlapped with one another. Put simply, they derived their political interests and power from their economic pur-

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1 Rentier connotes in French persons seeking security and therefore investing savings in bonds (rente in French).
suits. In order to describe society at any point in history, Pareto asserted, one must know which elite was in power; at any one point, either the lions or the foxes will be in control. Each elite had distinct characteristics. The lions/rentier were men with conservative attitudes whose wealth was in their landholdings. They acted aggressively to preserve tradition and to consolidate society, and upon attaining positions of power, they tended to be collectively mobile and were quick to establish order in periods of crisis.

The foxes/speculators, on the other hand, were innovators and entrepreneurs. They tended to be individually mobile and rose to power through manipulation and cleverness at times when the lions simultaneously were losing ground. To Pareto, this was part of a natural tendency for these two types of elites to rotate in positions of power over time. One elite makes mistakes which open the way to the ascent of the rival elite, and vice-versa. Thus the term, “circulation of elites” implies more than merely new men of money and power replacing old ones. It means that the dominant character in the elite changes; consolidators supplant innovators, and innovators supplant consolidators. An elite type can extend its power indefinitely only if it incorporates the tactics of its opposing type.

Pareto is considered to be a classical theorist in the study of elites, but his typology has never been applied to the political structure of American towns and cities. This is due to the belief of some sociologists and political scientists that his European data samples could not be universally applied. Duquesne, however, seems to be a case which helps to validate Pareto’s theory of elites, and therefore lends itself to this unusual theoretical construct.

According to T. B. Bottomore and others, we need to know more about the recruitment and tenure of elites. “This problem,” Bottomore wrote, “is an especially interesting one in a country such as the United States which has had no official caste system and no legally established hereditary hierarchies. Yet most American historians have shied away from it.” Bottomore has been a critic of Pareto, accusing

2 John N. Ingham, “The Urban American Upper Class: Cosmopolitans or Locals?” Journal of Urban History 2 (Nov. 1975): 67, has stated that it has become an article of faith among historians that a profound change in the nature of the urban upper classes in America took place around the turn of the century.


him of not contributing to our knowledge of the way in which elites are formed, but the data of this study seem to suggest that using Pareto's theory in conjunction with the unusual case of Duquesne may lead us to a better understanding of the process of elite formation. This article, therefore, will study the social change wrought by industrialization in Duquesne and analyze and identify the elites who, as a consequence, attempted to control the town.

In the nineteenth century, what later became Duquesne consisted of a number of farms which were part of Mifflin Township. Eight wealthy families lived along the river on large tracts of land, some of which had been held by certain families since the late eighteenth century. One of these land-owning groups which was later to play a central role in the struggle for control of Duquesne was the Crawford family. In 1794, George Crawford purchased 164 acres from John McKee, the founder of McKeesport. Crawford subsequently divided the land into two sections, one near the river, and the other comprising the area bordered by West Grant Avenue, Auriles Street, Patterson Avenue, Heilman Street, and Mellon Street. Crawford retained forty-five acres along the Monongahela, including a stone quarry, and sold the rest. This section of Mifflin Township and the area that extended south to Crawford Street became known as "Dutchtown" or "Germantown." Of the 6,519 people listed in the manuscript census of 1880 for Mifflin Township, 300 lived in Germantown. Foreign-born whites at this time came predominantly from Ireland, Germany, and England. In Germantown itself, 97 percent were of German extraction, and 75 percent of those working in 1880 were employed as coal miners. Both ethnic composition and type of employment were to change, however, with the advent and growth of heavy industry.

Between 1885 and 1888, three industrial enterprises built plants in Duquesne. In 1885, the Duquesne Steel Company erected a small converter and blooming mill which for some unknown reason was never used. Meanwhile, the Duquesne Tube Works, built in 1887, prospered and expanded, adding two more furnaces. The Howard

5 Ibid., 56-57.
Plate Glass Company in 1888 purchased twenty acres along the Monongahela from the Crawfords for $60,000, further establishing the family as one of Pareto's rentier. During the same year, the Allegheny Bessemer Steel Company bought the dormant Duquesne Steel Company and in February 1889 began to produce steel. The mill was said to be "the last word in modern steel plants" because it rolled rails by a new and more economical process which passed the steel through the heaters only once. This procedure quickly caught the attention of Andrew Carnegie, who "immediately saw the cost threat of this innovation, and before the first rail had been rolled at Duquesne had drafted a circular to railroads throughout the country warning them that the process being used by Allegheny Bessemer would result in defective rails, because for lack of a second heating the steel in the rails would not have 'homogeneity' of structure." The advantages of the direct rolling process, however, were not lost on Carnegie, who soon utilized it in all his plants.

Carnegie became the dominant figure in the industrialization of Duquesne. His strangulation methods plus a workers' strike caused the Allegheny Bessemer mill to shut down in April 1889. Carnegie then purchased the works for $1,000,000 in Carnegie Brothers and Company bonds and appointed Thomas Morrison, a second cousin, superintendent. At the same time, the Union Railroad, a Carnegie Steel Company enterprise, was built linking Duquesne with the other Carnegie steelworks at Braddock and Homestead. Steel production at the Duquesne mill became so profitable that it returned its purchase cost in a single year. Its profits rose from just under $2 million per year to more than $40 million per year. Both the Duquesne Tube Works and the Howard Plate Glass Company came under the control of the Carnegie Steel Company in 1898, with the result that the firm possessed all of the land along the Monongahela below Duquesne Boulevard from Walnut Avenue to West Oliver Avenue — an area comprising sixty-seven acres. By this time, Carnegie had 900 men employed in Duquesne. On the site of the tube works, he erected ten- and thirteen-inch double storage merchant mills and began operations in 1901. During this same year, the Carnegie Steel Company became a subsidiary of the United States Steel Corporation. Blast furnaces

8 Blair, Silver Jubilee, 14.
11 Gerald Kurland, Outstanding Personalities, no. 50, Andrew Carnegie (Charlottesville and New York, 1973), 17.
were built, and Duquesne was soon turning out annually 750,000 tons of pig iron and 600,000 tons of raw steel through the new open hearth process.\textsuperscript{12}

With the opening of the manufacturing enterprises and the completion of the railroad, large numbers of workingmen, among them considerable numbers of foreign-born, came to Duquesne. Many replaced the indigenous workers who had previously gone on strike. Between 1880 and 1900, the overall population of the town greatly increased. By 1900, it had grown to 9,036, or 39 percent larger than the entire population of Mifflin Township had been in 1880; foreign-born residents now came from present Czechoslovakia, Serbia, Croatia, Italy, and Hungary — in that order. In 1900, 3,451, or 38 percent of the total population, were foreign born, having arrived primarily from eastern and southern Europe.\textsuperscript{13}

In order to accommodate the new arrivals, land companies quickly built houses in the lower part of town below Second Street, East Duquesne, and East Grant avenues. The Carnegie Land Company laid out sixty lots on the land that formerly belonged to the Pattersons in back of the old camp grounds above South Fourth Street and erected fifty new houses and six tenements. By 1889, there were 200 to 300 building contracts. On the Crawford plan alone, thirty-seven lots were sold in one day; on the second day twenty-two lots went to parties from McKeesport. The building of houses began immediately, ten of them being tenant dwellings. J. M. Carboy from Wilkinsburg bought the Fechter Plan in the western part of Duquesne and built a row of nine brick houses on Priscilla Street beyond Catherine Street. He also began erecting another row on Pirl Street near Fechter's row and put up a three-story structure at the corner of West Grant Avenue and North Second Street. By 1900, ten hotels had been built, two of which held at least 100 boarders each in addition to forty-six roomers.\textsuperscript{14}

Many of the newcomers were described by the local citizenry as being of a “rough class,” and much disorder accompanied their arrival in the area. Workingmen and others posing as workers accumu-

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lated bills in the hotels and then slipped out without paying. Newspapers reported numerous robberies and arsons, and gambling, drinking, and fighting characterized the ethos of the town. It was quite usual to see a crowd of men and boys playing poker over a beer keg along East Duquesne Avenue near Grant Avenue at any hour of the day. Ethnic antagonism existed because it was especially dangerous for a foreigner to appear near this area. Fistfights frequently occurred. A typical scene was a workingman on his way home from a tavern with a keg of liquor balanced on his shoulder and another workingman accosting him for it. Early descriptions of the town say that it bordered on anarchy.\textsuperscript{15}

Agitation for incorporation of Duquesne arose in the late 1880s largely because of the need for augmented protective services. The people in Duquesne had formerly felt safe and secure, but with the situation presented by the advent of this new working force the previously established townspeople came to fear for their lives and property. In the March 21, 1889, \textit{Duquesne Times}, an editorial stated that Duquesne should be incorporated as a matter of self-protection. The townspeople, meanwhile, had formed a vigilance committee, and every evening and throughout the night, the men took turns patrolling the areas around their residences. With the continued growth of the town, however, the committee became ineffectual, and older residents desired to incorporate. In April 1889, the \textit{Duquesne Times} made "A Plea for a Borough," and stated, "... we need that protection such as we would have under the organization and which is due and should be given every law abiding and good citizen."\textsuperscript{16} Incorporation was thus seen primarily as a means of suppressing disorder.

Several of the local gentry, including James C. Crawford, Sr. and John W. Crawford, petitioned in 1889 for incorporation of Duquesne as a borough. But the Howard Plate Glass Company, Allegheny Bessemer Steel, and several private citizens who felt their land was not within the projected limits of the borough resisted incorporation. The disagreements and struggle for incorporation went as far as the state supreme court. On September 13, 1890, a petition of numerous citizens was presented to the grand jury as required by law. Allegheny Bessemer, Howard Plate Glass, James H. Hays, V. K. McElheny, et al., Mary Oliver, and Robert Patterson filed for exclusion of certain

\textsuperscript{15} William J. Filcer and A. M. Blair, \textit{Duquesne Industrial Historical Supplement to the Observer}, Mar. 21, 1902.

alleged agricultural lands owned by them respectively. Representatives of the industries contended that their mills should not be included within the borough because they had their own police and fire departments, drainage systems, had no use for schools or streets, and did not want to be subjected to "... the burden of corporate government." 17

The court ruled that no manufacturing was entitled to its own separate governmental organization, and since the community was largely composed of the mills' employees, "... it is in the interest of employers to have them near their works, and further that they should have comfortable homes and surroundings, calculated to insure peace, good order, and health. If a municipal government will conduce to this, it should be created." The borough was incorporated September 12, 1891, but it excluded the Hays and McElheny lands. Oliver, Patterson, Allegheny Bessemer, and Howard Plate Glass appealed this decision in 1892. Again the court stipulated that since the village was mainly the outgrowth of these and other manufacturing establishments, the original decree was affirmed and the appeal dismissed. 18

The leadership of the Crawfords in the move to incorporate the borough to suppress disorder is a consolidating characteristic which Pareto used to describe the lions.19 Realization of this led the author to examine the background of the Crawford family, where genealogy showed that they possessed precisely the kind of heritage that Pareto ascribed to that elite group.

James Chambers Crawford, Sr., was the grandson of George Crawford, the first Crawford to own land in Duquesne. George Crawford was a direct descendant of the Earl of Crawford who had come to America in order to escape religious persecution. A Scottish Presbyterian who refused to become Episcopalian, the earl left Crawford Castle on the River Clyde and came to Philadelphia in 1721. In 1738, he moved to the area which is now Chambersburg. George Crawford lived in Westmoreland County, and after he purchased his land in Mifflin Township, continued to live in the county until his death. His son John married Jane Chambers, the daughter of John O. Chambers of the family for whom Chambersburg was named. John

17 Blair, Silver Jubilee, 15; Incorporation of Duquesne Borough, 147 Pa. 59 (1892); ibid., 61.
18 Incorporation of Duquesne Borough, 147 Pa. 58-59, 63 (1892).
19 Ingham, "Urban American Upper Class," adds that in the Pittsburgh area the core families, as the hub of the city's social upper class, felt that they had important roles as social arbiters in their own local community.
Chambers had come to Pennsylvania around 1770 and inherited from his grandfather 1,000 acres in Franklin County. He later moved to Westmoreland County. After George Crawford's death, his land passed to his son John. Thus, the marriage between John and Jane established a link between two old and landed families.

In 1831, John Crawford died, and Jane took the children back to Chambersburg where she later remarried. John's heir, James C. Crawford, Sr., was raised by his maternal grandfather, William Chambers, and from 1831 to 1859 he resided in Chambersburg. During the intervening years, he visited Duquesne every few months, but eventually he settled on the Mifflin Township tract and married Mathilda Jane Whigham, of American ancestry for generations. She was described as an unusual woman of "more than ordinary ability." 21

James C. Crawford, Sr., continued the contact between Duquesne and central Pennsylvania by moving to Chambersburg in 1876 in order to give his children, John W., Edwin R., and James C. Crawford, Jr., "...a more thorough education than could be obtained in the township schools." 22 This seems to indicate that the family perceived themselves as being apart from the rest of the populace and it reinforces their elite status.

Viewing the biographies of the other governing elites (both those supportive of the Crawford family as well as those opposed to them), one finds that no family in the area went back in time as far or had as much old wealth associated with it as did the Crawfords. The family showed relationships distinct from those of the other elites in this study, and in them one sees the establishment in Duquesne of a very different group which was to resist firmly the mill interests.

When the incorporation of Duquesne took effect in 1891 after the supreme court decision, the first stage of Pareto's cyclical process of elite formation began. The court ordered elections to be held on the third Tuesday — February 16 — of 1892. James C. Crawford, Sr., was designated judge of elections. The court decreed that the burgess of the borough was to serve as one of the six members of the borough council with full power as a member and responsibility to preside at


21 Blair, Silver Jubilee, 10; History of Allegheny County, Pennsylvania (Chicago, 1889), 642.

council meetings. According to the Act of Assembly of 1883, when
the legislature had outlined the organization of borough councils, there
were to be annual elections, at the first of which two councilmen were
to be elected for one year, three councilmen for two years, and there-
after two and three elected alternatively for two-year terms.23

Crawford posted notice of the election in accordance with the
law. A. M. Blair wrote that “political factions organized almost im-
mediately and the campaign preceding this first election was one of
the most stubbornly contested in the history of the town.” This
marked the beginning of Crawford power in Duquesne and the origin
of the struggle between two political groups — one representing
the interests of the Carnegie Steel Company and the other representing
the interests of the Crawford family. Looking back on this critical de-
velopment in the growth of the town, the Observer stated:

This election . . . aroused not a little feeling between two factions that had
organized to control the new borough. The election resulted in a struggle that
was fought out in the courts. In this connection it is said that on the night
of the election a crowd of supporters of the defeated faction bombarded the
Crawford home in the hope of having the figures changed, but met with a warm
reception from Mr. Crawford, who not only refused to change the verdict of
the people, but also drove the visiting crowd off his premises.24

John Whigham Crawford, James’s son, and Joseph Neverline
contested the office of burgess. Not much is known about Neverline
except that his family had a building and contracting business, and
that they lived on Superior Street — a street near the mill where the
workers and others affiliated with the mill lived.25 Each side ran
different tickets. The Crawford ticket contained three nominees for a
two-year council term and two for a one-year term. In contrast, the
Neverline ticket had three names for a three-year term, two for two
years, and one for one year. T. Best, T. Carr, G. E. Gray, W. M.
Oliver, and M. Bedell composed the Crawford ticket. M. Wolf,
J. Lutz, S. H. Young, G. Estep, and R. Robson were on the
Neverline ticket.

Young and Estep received the greatest number of votes cast for
councilmen for the three-year term, but the election officers refused
to issue a certificate of election to them since the notice of the elec-
tion contained no reference to a three-year term for the office of
councilman. The pair petitioned the Allegheny County Court for writ

23 Blair, Silver Jubilee, 16; Petition of Young, 1 Dist. 357, 11 Pa. CC.
209, 39 Pittsburgh Legal Journal, 307; Affirmed appeal of Young, 153 Pa. 34,
25 A. 617 (1892).
24 Blair, Silver Jubilee, 16; Filcer and Blair, Historical Supplement.
25 Advertisement for Duquesne Lumber Company, Duquesne Times,
Mar. 14, 1889.
of mandamus, stating that it was the duty of the election officers to issue a certificate of election. The court, citing the 1883 Act of Assembly, ruled that the attempt to elect the two petitioners was entirely unauthorized by law, and therefore their election was null and void. In 1893, Young and Estep appealed the decision of the county court, but the state supreme court affirmed the judgment of the lower court.26

The Crawford men, therefore, retained their positions on council, and with John W. Crawford as burgess, Pareto’s lions had assumed their position of power and began their reign. Crawford attempted to reestablish order quickly in Duquesne as evidenced in the first issue of the Borough Books of 1892 which dealt with the urgency of building a jail.27 The first council meeting decided that a lockup should be built immediately and set up a police and fire department. Crawford dominance in Duquesne would be recognized by the local newspapers for forty-one years, the power of burgess passing from John W., who eventually became a state senator, to James, Jr.

This dominance was not only political, but economic. In the same year as the first borough election (1892), the Crawford brothers — John W., James C., and Edwin R. — augmented their economic power by opening the First National Bank of Duquesne, the first establishment of its kind in the town. John W. held the directorship until 1900 when he resigned, but control remained with the Crawfords, who held the bulk of the stock in the bank. There seems to have been some question about John W.’s resignation, however. The Duquesne Observer felt the issue was that he carried politics into his banking business. Since at this time the Carnegie-owned Observer had to do its business through the First National and was printing scathing remarks about the Crawfords, there was undoubtedly some truth to this. The McKeesport Herald stated that Crawford’s resignation was the result of “…the intense political feeling which has been engendered in Duquesne. On January 9 two new directors (G. W. Richards and F. W. Pirl) were added to the board, both of whom were antagonistic to the Senator. It was generally known in Duquesne that there was a fight on … the retirement of Senator Crawford from the bank is said to mean retirement from politics … [since] the bank was one of his strongholds.”28

27 Borough Books of Duquesne, Pa., 1892, 1.
In 1903, the speculators formed a state-affiliated rival bank called the Duquesne Trust Company. None of the board of directors was a former landowner in the Mifflin Township area. Instead, all were moneyed entrepreneurs from the Carnegie Steel Company who made the new bank a competitor of the First National Bank over the next thirty years.29

Having established the basis of the rivalry between the Crawford and anti-Crawford forces in Duquesne — the lions and foxes — it is now necessary to examine collectively the characteristics of the opposing groups. According to the Duquesne Observer, the key factor in the political control of the town was access to the offices of burgess, borough council, and tax collector. Of those Crawford and anti-Crawford elites who held these offices and whose biographies could be found, information about them was classified, or grouped, into four categories: (1) length of residence in Duquesne; (2) family occupations (present, father's, paternal and maternal grandfathers'); (3) education; and (4) participation in voluntary organizations.30

Neither group differed significantly in the first two categories. There was, however, considerable intra- and intergenerational mobility among the anti-Crawford men and their fathers that was not found among the Crawford men (category 2). Fifty percent of the fathers of anti-Crawford men showed some change in occupation (and hence social position) leading to upward mobility. Sons had changed occupations more frequently and had greater social mobility within their lifetimes than their fathers. Unfortunately, little information, if any, was available about the grandfathers of these men.

Among the Crawford supporters, 88 percent had grandfathers who were farmers. Fathers exhibited some permanent occupations other than farming throughout their lifetimes, including merchant, brick and stone mason, contractor and builder, minister, and coal merchant and general contractor. Significantly, descriptions of both fathers and grandfathers in the Crawford elite group included adjectives such as “prosperous,” “well-known,” “successful,” and “pro-

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gressive." These terms are noticeably lacking in descriptions of the anti-Crawford group of fathers and grandfathers.

For comparison, the following table depicts a case study of the occupations of two men in the paternal generation of the anti-Crawford group showing some upward mobility from low-status occupations.

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<th>TABLE 1</th>
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<td>A</td>
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<tr>
<td>1. Stagedriver</td>
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<td>2. Dealer in livestock</td>
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<td>3. Justice of the Peace</td>
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<td>4. Commissioner of the National Pike</td>
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The careers of their sons showed even more occupational mobility and led to higher-status occupations. The breakdown for the two is depicted in Table 2.

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<th>TABLE 2</th>
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<tr>
<td>A</td>
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<tr>
<td>1. Clerk for drug firm</td>
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<tr>
<td>2. Manager of drug firm</td>
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<tr>
<td>3. Partner in firm</td>
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<tr>
<td>4. Owner of a drug company</td>
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<tr>
<td>5. Director of 1st National Bank of Duquesne</td>
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<tr>
<td>6. Real Estate broker</td>
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Source: *Memoirs of Allegheny County, 1: 308-9, 551-52.*

Other sons demonstrated immediate upward social mobility after becoming affiliated with the Carnegie Steel Company. Their occupations are shown in Table 3.

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<th>TABLE 3</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
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<tr>
<td>1. Tailor</td>
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<tr>
<td>2. Employee in Carnegie Steel Co.</td>
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<tr>
<td>3. President of 1st National Bank of Tarentum</td>
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<tr>
<td>4. President of Tarentum Water Co.</td>
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<tr>
<td>5. Director of Tarentum Glass Co.</td>
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<tr>
<td>6. Director of Baker Manufacturing Co.</td>
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<tr>
<td>7. Vice-President of Allegheny River Improvement Association</td>
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Although members of the Crawford elite also experienced occupational change, they generally started their careers in occupations of somewhat higher status than those of their rivals. Thirty-eight percent showed upward mobility after affiliation with the National Tube Works in McKeesport.

The other major difference between the two groups of elites is in the fourth category, voluntary organizations. The anti-Crawford group had only eight memberships in voluntary associations, while the Crawford group, by contrast, held thirty-one memberships in organizations. Two men in the Crawford group had sixty-eight percent of the total memberships.

Once the Crawford group had secured political power in the borough, the second phase of Pareto’s circulation of elites commenced. John Whigham Crawford was elected burgess in 1892 and 1893, then was replaced in 1894 by his brother James Chambers Crawford, Jr. John W. served as a member of the borough council in 1895 and 1896, and in 1896, he was also elected to the state senate, where he served four consecutive terms. In 1899, 1900, and 1901 he continued to serve on Duquesne’s council. John retained large real estate interests in Duquesne and in 1900 began a firm called Crawford and Eberman, Bankers & Brokers, in which he developed a specialty of handling stocks of various kinds. Shortly afterward, he became president of the Pittsburgh Stock Exchange and moved his business to Pittsburgh, though still maintaining his residence in Duquesne.

Meanwhile, the third brother, Edwin R., stayed out of the political limelight and concentrated wholly on the economic arena. This interest in economic affairs, however, was later to have profound ramifications for the political control of Duquesne. Edwin began working as weighmaster for the Crawfords’ next-door neighbors, the Neels, who owned two coal mines and a coal works in nearby Dravosburg. He went on to work at the United States Iron and Tin Plate Manufacturing Company of McKeesport, where he was employed for fourteen years. By the time he was thirty-one years old in 1901, he had purchased the company. The tin plate company was extremely successful, and earned for Edwin the appellation, “Tin Plate King.”

While the Crawfords continued to advance politically and economically, the Carnegie-dominated press in Duquesne accused

them of “ring” politics and pressed for the common man and the common workingman to bring them to a reckoning. In December 1904, the Carnegie Steel Company, which already controlled the Observer, bought the Duquesne Times, “... evidently feeling that they now possessed the lever that would hoist every mother's son of them in and out of council and enable them after next February to run municipal affairs their own way. ...” The mill acquired a lot, put up a new building, continued printing the Duquesne Observer, and began defaming the Crawfords for the two years preceding the next election. 33

Before the 1907 elections, the anti-Crawford propaganda campaign peaked with a listing of “mistakes” committed by the Crawford family. A series of articles in the Observer, entitled “Indictments Against the ‘Ring,’” accused the rentier of these misdeeds: selfishness and greed; bossism, or becoming the Third Ward Tammany Hall; mishandling the borough’s Carnegie Library; opposing the steelworkers; misconduct in the police department (that is, arresting many poor workingmen and foreigners and imposing excessive fines); playing politics with the schools; the “Center Street Steal” (refusal to pay for street improvements); disappearance of bond money (specifically, failing to account for $107,645.63); blunders in public improvements; and injuring the credit of the town by refusing to create a sinking fund. As a result of the propaganda, ten out of fifteen Crawford candidates were defeated in the 1907 elections. The speculators now controlled the borough’s government, and mill men of both superintendent and workingman status took charge. Elected burgess was G. W. Richards; M. Raible, J. Hughes, J. St. Clair, M. Flanigan, and N. Hensler were elected to council. 34

The speculators’ dominance in the political struggle continued until 1914. Then Edwin R. Crawford cleverly submitted orders for steel ingots to the New York offices of United States Steel, requesting that his supply come only from the Duquesne Works. The directive from New York forced business dealings between the two political factions and was the key to the Crawfords’ return to power in the town. 35 The newspapers merged, becoming the Duquesne Times-Observer. By 1933, “... the mill carpenters and painters made the

campaign banners for Mayor James Crawford. . . .” His power became so all-encompassing that it was said that even Jesus Christ could not speak in town without the mayor’s permission. Although Crawford seemed to have acquired many of the characteristics of the speculator elite, the distinction between the two groups was still recognized. In his book, Steel — Dictator, Harvey O’Connor wrote: “There are two cliques in town, Crawford and The First National, and then the Duquesne Trust Company crowd.” 36

Pareto believed that the basic distinction between types of governing elites was due to two different biologically inherent factors which he called “residues.” His theory stated that these residues were not equally distributed among upper and lower classes, and their intensity varied in the different social strata. The upward mobility of the rentier, according to Pareto, was due largely to traditional family position. The lions, he felt, were thus characterized by the residue type called “persistence of aggregates,” or “tendency of things formed to persist.” On the other hand, the speculators were individually mobile through the combinations of cleverness, cunning, manipulation, and luck. Consequently, in Pareto’s thinking, the foxes were reflective of the residue of “combinations.” 37

Although Pareto’s and similar theories of behavior have long since been abandoned in the social sciences, the notion of personality types has not. “More recently,” concluded one scholar, “there has been growing sensitivity by historians to cultural and family influences on the psychic development of the individual.” 38 Since the Crawford and anti-Crawford elites tended to come from different social-class backgrounds with corresponding differences in their socialization processes and world views, we can infer that different personality types were produced, albeit from cultural characteristics rather than biological.

The Crawford and anti-Crawford groups represented both of Pareto’s ideal types. The Crawfords were an old, conservative, landed family. Although they did not come to power in Duquesne in a sudden, revolutionary way, as Pareto suggested of his rentier, they

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36 O’Connor, Steel — Dictator, 3, 8, 272.
were concerned about order in the crisis period just before Duquesne's incorporation and after the new borough's first election. They were also collectively mobile as a family because of their considerable wealth. The anti-Crawford group consisted of men who were individually mobile. Most of them came from poor families and rose to prominence only through their connection with the Carnegie Steel Company which served as their vehicle for upward mobility. Their techniques in getting political power were largely manipulative, such as purchasing the local paper in order to defame the rentier. According to Pareto, the rentier made mistakes and then were replaced by the speculators who penetrated from the lower class. The anti-Crawford group in Duquesne did this, purposely isolating these "mistakes" in order to achieve the power of governing elite.

From Bottomore we learn that Pareto and the other classical theorists succeeded in showing that some individuals changed their class positions, or moved between the elite and the nonelite. The theorists show this mainly by giving examples of individuals who have risen in the social hierarchy. But Bottomore added that "this does not tell us what we need most to know: namely, what proportion of the lower strata of society, and what proportion of those in the lower strata is enabled to rise. The outcome of this method of historical illustration seems very often to be an inflation of the amount of circulation in a society." For "... no calculation of the rate of movement into the elite from other sections of the population is likely to be meaningful unless we know something about the size and structure of the elite, and about the general class structure, in a particular society. . . . When we turn to historical studies of elite circulation the collection of data is itself a further difficulty..." 39

The sample used in this study from the Memoirs of Allegheny County was small, yet if one works on the assumption that only recognized elite were mentioned in the Memoirs this should be a valid representation. These data demonstrate that between 1892 and 1906 no more than 1 percent of the population of Duquesne constituted the total elite, that is, the governing and nongoverning elites combined. Of that group which held political power, the proportion recruited from the general population was the same from both upper and lower classes (less than 8 percent). In accordance with Pareto's theory, both elites recruited members from the lower class, but 60 percent of those in the Crawford group came from the old,

39 Bottomore, Elites and Society, 55-56.
established upper class, as compared with 75 percent of the anti-
Crawford group who had lower-class origins.

If, as Max Weber has suggested, ideal types are to be used as
models by which we can gauge real-world phenomena, we gain a
better understanding of the complexity of real-world processes. Ac-
cording to Weber, once a type has been formulated it should permit
us to compare various empirical configurations more precisely than
we could otherwise, then, once a new level of understanding is reached,
the type has done its work. If we follow Weber's suggestion and
look at another case study, such as Robert Dahl's analysis of New
Haven, Connecticut, we see two elite groups comparable to Pareto's
lions/rentier and foxes/speculators, which Dahl has called patricians
and entrepreneurs. Fifty-eight years of political dominance by the pa-
tricians in New Haven gave way to control by the entrepreneurs. In
contrast to Duquesne's situation, there seems to have been no circula-
tion in New Haven. The patricians simply withdrew without a strug-
gle, turning their attention to the professions, commerce, and banking,
while any struggle for political control was frequently a contest be-
tween two leading businessmen within the entrepreneurial group it-
self. Dahl concluded that "even the new style of economic life seems
to have been unsuited to the patricians, none of whom seems to have
turned into an important entrepreneur." In Duquesne, however, there was a cycle of change from lions to
foxes and back again to lions, until the forced merging of the two
political elites by a rentier-turned-speculator finally prevented the con-
tinuation of the circulation. The data thus seem to suggest that the un-
usual background of the Crawford family in the setting of the indus-
trialization of Duquesne provided the matrix for the conflicting
political and economic dynamics with the Carnegie entrepreneurs and
led to the Crawfords' final consolidation of power.

40 Martindale, Nature of Sociological Theory, 381-83.
IN COMMEMORATION GIFT
IN MEMORY OF
C. W. W. ELKIN
FROM
MRS. C. W. W. ELKIN

IN COMMEMORATION GIFT
IN MEMORY OF
RUSSELL R. SHEELEY
FROM
Pittsburgh Press Editorial Department

IN COMMEMORATION GIFT
IN MEMORY OF
HAROLD C. PUTNAM
FROM
William and Anne Putnam Mallinson

IN COMMEMORATION GIFT
IN MEMORY OF
ROBERT SUPPES WATERS
FROM
Robert S. Waters Charitable Trust