XII

United States Steel Corporation.

71 Broadway, New York,

OFFICE OF THE CHAIRMAN

September 30, 1924.

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Miss Ida M. Tarbell,

120 East 19th St.,

New York, N.Y.

My dear Miss Tarbell:

A number of extracts have been selected from speeches of Judge Gary bearing upon the relations of business to governmental agencies. These were compiled at the request of one of our friends to whom the original set of copies has been sent. I take much pleasure in enclosing for your use one of the sets of carbon copies.

Very truly yours,

R. Stites

Secretary to Judge Gary.

Enclosures.

Extract from Remarks at Dinner of Steel Manufacturers, New York,	May 4, 1911.
Extract from Remarks at Luncheon to Steel Manufacturers, New York,	May 29,1911.
Extract from Address at Meeting of Am. Iron & Steel Inst., New York,	May 12,1912.
Extract from Address at Meeting of Am. Iron & Steel Inst., New York,	May 23,1913.
Extract from Address at Meeting of Am. Iron & Steel Inst., Chicago,	Oct.24,1913.
Extract from Address at Meeting of Am. Iron & Steel Inst., New York,	May 28,1915.
Extract from Remarks upon Presentation of Testimonial, St. Louis,	Oct.27,1916.
Extract from Address at Meeting of Am. Iron & Steel Inst., New York,	May 25,1917.
Extract from Address at Meeting of Am. Iron & Steel Inst., New York,	May 31,1918.
Extract from Statement on After-the-War Conditions, New York,	Nov.13,1918.
Extract from Remarks at Meeting of Iron and Steel Mfrs., New York,	Mar. 6,1919.
Extract from Remarks before Industrial Board, Washington,	Mar.20,1919.
Extract from Remarks at Annual Meeting of Stockholders,	Apr.21,1919.
Extract from Address at Meeting of Am. Iron & Steel Inst.,New York,	May 23,1919.
Extract from Address at Meeting of American Bar Assn., Boston,	Sep. 4,1919.
Extract from Testimony during Investigation of Steel Strike, Washn.,	Oct. 2,1919.
Extract from Statement at Annual Meeting of Stockholders,	Apr.18,1921.
Extract from Address at Meeting of Am. Iron & Steel Inst., New York,	Nov.18,1921.
Extract from Address at Meeting of Am. Iron & Steel Inst., New York,	May 26,1922.
Extract from Address at Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill.,	Jun.17,1922.
Extract from Address at Meeting of Am. Iron & Steel Inst., New York,	Oct.27,1922.
Extract from Article entitled "Looking Forward by Looking Backward Twenty Years", New York,	Jan. 1923.
Extract from Address at Meeting of Am. Iron & Steel Inst., New York,	May 25,1923.
Extract from Remarks at Annual Meeting of Stockholders,	Apr.21,1924.
Extract from Comments at Meeting of Am. Iron & Steel Inst.,New York,	May 23,1924.

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Extract from Remarks by Elbert H. Gary at Dinner of Steel Manufacturers, Waldorf-Astoria, New York, May 4, 1911. (Page 6)

One other subject I will briefly refer to is the subject of general business conditions. I think it would be a mistake for anyone to shut his eyes to the fact that in our lines and in business lines generally throughout this country conditions are not as good as we would like to have them. Business in January, February and March was very good, but the extra session of Congress had a very bad effect on general business conditions throughout the country. It is a pity that an extra session of Congress seemed to be unavoidable and it is regrettable that politics should interfere with business progress. It is deplorable that so many politicians are mere politicians and not statesmen; that for political purposes action should be taken or proposed in the Congress of the United States which is to be the great disadvantage of property and business success. Nevertheless it is a fact, we know by sad experience, that when Congress is in session there is a sudden and a marked hesitation, fear and doubt and distrust which enters the mind of the general business public. We have felt it very materially; others have felt it.

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Extract from Remarks by Elbert H. Gary at Luncheon to certain Iron and Steel Manufacturers, Metropolitan Club, New York, May 29, 1911. (Page 3)

I would not undertake to enter into any legal discussion of the question involved, even if I were capable of doing so, but there is a view of the decision to which I ask your attention. You have read statements made by many different people to the effect that the Supreme Court had modified the Sherman Law and had read into that act the word "unreasonable". I am inclined to think even if that were true, to which I do not agree, the adoption of that view and conduct based upon it might result in very great harm to the business interests of the country generally. And I offer, simply for your consideration, this view of the decision: that the Supreme Court, instead of saying that there may be reasonable restriction of trade or reasonable monopolies, intended to say that in the application of the law to the facts in a case there must be reason exercised. In other words, that the Supreme Court has said that there must be a reasonable application of the law to a case in point, rather than that the conduct itself, if in violation of the law, must be unreasonable in order to be a violation.

(Standard Oil case.)

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Extract from Address by Elbert H. Gary at Meeting of American Iron & Steel Institute, New York, May 17, 1912. (Page 10)

I am firmly convinced that, when the last word is said by the courts of highest authority, we shall find that our position during all this time cannot be successfully attacked. Nevertheless, you will remember that one member, or possibly more than one member, of a certain Congressional committee during the month of June, 1911, criticised unfavorably our co-operation, and also criticised unfavorably the proposed organization of an international iron and steel institute; and those criticisms were to a certain extent published by the newspapers of this country. I have no doubt there are people who honestly entertained the opinion that the laws of the country had been violated, or if not, that the best interests of the public had not been advanced by your efforts. That being so, it has seemed proper to those who are more or less responsible as the highest officials of the larger corporations in this country to have it understood there was no disposition on our part to antagonize or to defy public sentiment in any respect or to do anything which would be criticized by any one in authority until after all these questions shall have been carefully considered and finally determined. Not that any of us had the slightest doubt in regard to the propriety of the position which has heretofore been assumed, but because we believe it is always a mistake to oppose public sentiment; because we desire to occupy a position all the time which entitles us to respect and high regard.

I think it should be remembered that prior to the month of June, 1911, no one representing the Government or any department of the Government, executive, judicial or legislative, had ever objected to anything the representatives of the iron and steel industry of this country had done or said concerning what we have termed co-operation. I mention this subject particularly at this time, gentlemen, because I want you to understand that I realize your business conditions during the last year have not been satisfactory. I know that many of you have sold your products at prices less than cost. Some of you may have had more or less difficulty in financing your obligations; but, gentlemen, I hope no one engaged in this line of industry will lose heart. I trust you will keep up your courage and stand by your guns. Don't

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give up your ship. You will be prosperous in the future, as you have been in the past. Don't make up your mind that your competitor in business is desirous of engaging or continuing in a different competition than the competition following 1907. Do not conclude that your competitor is your enemy. Competition has always existed and will always exist, and this is perfectly right and proper. I believe in competition thoroughly; I believe the race should be won by the swiftest, that the greatest success should come to him that is most earnest and active and persevering; but I do not approve of destructive competition, which means bitter, relentless, over-bearing, tyrannical conduct, calculated to drive out the weak and allow only the strong to survive.

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Extract from Address by Elbert H. Gary at Meeting of American Iron & Steel Institute, New York, May 23, 1913.
(Page 14)

I think perhaps worse than the conditions I have alluded to, certainly so far as applies to this country, is the disposition of legislative bodies at the present time to tinker with questions they are not very well prepared to discuss or to decide. It is most unfortunate that a man who is elected to office, being the average man, or a little below it in some places, has the impression that there is elected into him by the people considerable knowledge which he did not before possess.

You gentlemen know by experience that if in the country a farmer or a blacksmith is elected justice of the peace, the people generally are of the opinion that there has been elected into the head of this justice of the peace considerable knowledge, and the next day the neighbors all run to him for legal advice. And that is about the situation with reference to a good many of our officials.

There are pending at the present time in various places questions of legislation which are more or less important, and which may result in temporary injury to our business. I regard as the most dangerous at the present time the disposition of legislative bodies to pass laws which are calculated to produce classes. Class legislation is the most dangerous feature of the present deliberations of some of the lawmakers of this country.

The man who is in politics, the politician as distinguished from the statesman, seems to consider first of all the question as to how he can secure more votes for himself---first, how he can get into office, and second, how he can keep in office. And the disposition of some is to appeal to class feeling by stirring up animosities for the purpose of arraying what he considers to be the multitude of men against the few, and with the idea of creating such a feeling of prejudice as to divide the different classes of people into factions, and thereby perhaps to secure a majority of votes in order to get into or to keep in office.

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Extract from Address by Elbert H. Gary at Meeting of American Iron & Steel Institute, Chicago, Ill., October 24, 1913. (Page 8)

It is not uncommon in public discussions to treat success as an offense; to consider the possession of wealth, however honestly acquired, as wrong. Legislation calculated to create classes is urged persistently; also laws to impose unnecessary and unreasonable burdens; to forcibly take from one something which he has and is entitled to have, and turn it over to another; to prevent or to lessen the success of legitimate enterprise and endeavor.

Capital, always timid, has been seriously affected by this unreasonable and uncalled-for agitation and attack. Indeed, it is becoming frightened. Confidence has been shaken. It is becoming almost impossible to secure, on fair terms, on good security and at a reasonable rate of interest, the necessary capital to equip or liberally maintain going and successful properties, to say nothing of the additions and extensions which the interests of this great and growing country demand.

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Extract from Address by Elbert H. Gary at Meeting of American Iron & Steel Institute, New York, May 28, 1915. (Page 5)

The opinion is ventured that lack of continuous business prosperity and success in this country for a number of years has, in part, been the direct result of undue, ill-considered or unjustifiable assaults which have been made by governmental agencies or by the erroneous and unwise policies of different branches of government. The results have shown to a demonstration that business success has not been fostered or encouraged as it ought to have been; that the vast possibilities of the country for increase in wealth have not been fully utilized. On the contrary, instead of trying to bring about cooperation between the Government and the people in a determined effort to better the conditions of all, there has been, in a substantial degree, an open hostility to business which has paralyzed many of its legitimate efforts. While, as heretofore admitted, there has been cause for complaint on the part of the Government, it is believed that few, if any, cases have been found which could not have been satisfactorily and properly adjusted by personal and friendly, though persistent, efforts without any open or advertised opposition which was certain to lessen confidence and to unfavorably affect large numbers in nowise connected with the matter in question.

It is not intended to be specific nor to do an injustice; but included in the terms used are speeches by men in office, the passage of laws that were discriminatory and others that were unwise or insufficient, investigations by committees appointed by Congress and legislatures, and by various departments and bureaus of government, including grand juries whose services were brought into action on special occasions by the Department of Justice. You who are present will make application of what has been said to individual acts, so far as the facts may warrant. Whether or not it is justified,there has been a feeling on the part of a large portion of the people of the United States, and also those of foreign countries, that there has not been a well-defined and persistent policy to cooperate with and to promote the interests of the business man to the full extent reasonable; and on the contrary, that the policies of some of the governmental agencies, both national and state, in their effect at least, have been to interfere with, to delay and obstruct natural progress; to punish and destroy rather than to regulate and encourage.

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Extract from Remarks by Elbert H. Gary upon Presentation of Testimonial to him by Members of American Iron & Steel Institute, St. Louis, Mo., October 27, 1916. (Page 8)

It is probable the Federal Trade Commission may be of much benefit to business men, depending upon the disposition of its members. So far as we have had opportunity to observe, this Commission is favorable to business success. I would like to have its authority enlarged so as to permit it to advise in advance if inquiry should be made as to a contemplated action; but even under present conditions the Commission should be of real service. I do not believe in governmental paternalism or management; but I do approve of governmental supervision and I favor patriotic, intelligent, generous co-operation between private individuals and between public officials and private interests.

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Extract from address by Elbert H. Gary at Meeting of American Iron & Steel Institute, New York, May 25, 1917. (Page 8)

War

You have heard criticism concerning the conduct of the Government's business affairs. It has been said that confusion or at least lack of system or co-operation sometimes appears; but it must be remembered that there has been suddenly thrust upon the Government officials an enormous amount of business, extraordinary in volume and character, and the strength and capacity of all are taxed to the utmost and often beyond physical endurance. Besides, rules of law or of departments established to fit other conditions sometimes appear and prevent the exercise of judgment which would bring better results if more latitude were permitted. Officials in Washington are entitled to credit and praise for their management under existing circumstances, and so far I believe there is no just ground for severe criticism.

And then there is a disposition on the part of Government officials to co-operate with the business men in promoting the welfare of the country. This is what all of us have desired and advocated, and now we will probably have as much opportunity in this direction as we have ever desired. Just what will be the result in all the ramifications of the business involved remains to be seen. To the extent that the Directors of this Institute have been personally connected with these matters they have been well satisfied, except perhaps as to some of the prices in question.

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Extract from Address by Elbert H. Gary at Meeting of American Iron & Steel Institute, New York, May 31, 1918. (Page 11)

We find today Government officials in high places coming to the steel men with the statement that they want to co-operate with us, that they want our assistance; that they depend upon our loyalty and our ability to assist the Government in this time of great distress; and we have cheerfully and promptly responded.

It is to my mind a source of gratification that we may look forward to the future with hope and expectation that the Government of the United States will assist and will foster prosperity and business enterprise, instead of attacking it.

We must remember always that we cannot expect to get more than our just deserts. We must be loyal to the Government and to the law of the land. We must be reasonable and just, and expect that when we deserve censure we will receive it from the Government.

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Extract from Statement by Elbert H. Gary to Public Press on After-the-War Conditions, New York, November 13,1918. (Page 4)

Cooperation will be seen on every hand. Capital and labor will continue to cooperate with governmental administration, and the latter will reciprocate in every practical and proper manner. This spirit has been exhibited in a marked degree in this country and other countries during the last four years, and its benefits have been demonstrated so clearly that they will not permit a return to the methods of destructive competition.

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Extract from Remarks by Elbert H. Gary at Meeting of Iron and Steel Manufacturers, New York, March 6, 1919. (Page 4)

The steel industry is still more or less the barometer of trade. It involves large production, large amounts of working capital, large numbers of employes and has a decided influence upon the commercial and financial interests of the country. We occupy positions of great responsibility. What we do at this meeting may have an important bearing upon the whole business situation. We must not, we will not, intentionally make a mistake. During the war we have been called upon to do great things, and we have cheerfully and faithfully responded. I think we are bound to say we have in the main been treated fairly. We have served the Government to the best of our ability, and governmental representatives have, in positive language, commended our efforts.

Now we are called upon again by a Government official to cooperate with the Government in the endeavor to stabilize business conditions, to protect, so far as practicable and reasonable, capital and labor, for they must always go hand in hand if success for either is achieved, and to bring about results which no reasonable man will deny are desirable. The methods were not suggested by us. They originated with an impartial, high-minded and capable public official, whose obligation and whose desire are to best serve his country. We must on this occasion rise to a high plane of unselfish observation and there determine our course.

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Extract from Remarks by Elbert H. Gary before Industrial Board of Department of Commerce, Washington, March 20, 1919. (Page 21)

And I am sure, from what I know of the members of this Board, not one of you desires to see anything done in this country that shall interfere with the natural, legitimate progress of this industry or any other.

Now with that there should go, I think---I have friends who do not quite agree with me perhaps---some systematized governmental regulation that will prevent unreasonable, unjustifiable or unfair action on the part of power or wealth or concentration of capital or ability.

We are at the point where we have no government regulation, where you gentlemen are standing impartially between public interest and private interest, and you have placed upon us considerable responsibility. I can only say that, so far as I am concerned, rather than objecting to it, we ought to welcome it, and we should go just as far as we can; I believe, however, that your Board, with the position which you occupy, and in a way with the power that you have, will not impose upon the steel industry burdens which in justice they should not be asked to shoulder.

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Extract from Impromptu Remarks by Elbert H. Gary at Annual Meeting of Stockholders, April 21, 1919.(Page 4)

The industry was requested by the Department of Commerce to co-operate in the endeavor to stabilize business conditions. It seemed to be recognized by the Department of Commerce that to return from a war basis to a peace basis, without demoralizing or depressing business, required good judgment, discretion, open and fair dealing, so that no one interested in business or trade conditions or its results should be unnecessarily injured. After conference between the leading steel interests it was unanimously decided to co-operate as requested and to make such adjustments in prices as were necessary to render proper aid in the stabilization of business so far as the same could be done without undue prejudice to the rights and interests and legitimate demands of the great business public, both producer and consumer, and to the large number of employes. It was stated to us by the governmental representatives that as the steel industry was a leading one its influence would be very great and that other lines of business would probably follow the course which might be adopted by the steel representatives.

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Extract from Address by Elbert H. Gary at Meeting of American Iron & Steel Institute, New York, May 23, 1919. (Page 3)

During the progress of the war we were frequently informed by representatives of the United States Government, military and civil, who were in authority and directly connected with the purchase of supplies required for war purposes, that steel was of the highest importance and we were urged to increase capacity and to hasten production; we were requested to devote our time, money and energy in behalf of our Government and its associates in the war to the exclusion of everything else. It was emphasized that if disaster was to be averted there must be additional war material, food supplies and transportation facilities, and that larger and larger quantities of steel were fundamental to all these means of carrying on the war. Repeatedly statements were made to us that the demands for steel, both as to quantities and deliveries were impossible of fulfillment.

However, the manufacturers never became disheartened or demoralized. They listened patiently to the claims and reasons presented and then considered carefully all figures bearing upon the subject of necessities and ability to produce and made their calculations accordingly. Fired with feelings of patriotism, yet with composed minds and determined spirits, those in control of the iron and steel industry again and again promised that steel would be furnished when and as required for military purposes.

It is sufficient to say that in every substantial particular the iron and steel industry made good all promises. There were no deficiencies in quantities nor delays in deliveries which were harmful. If these matters had been left entirely in the hands of the General Committee of the American Iron and Steel Institute there would have been no delinquencies whatever.

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Extract from Address by Elbert H. Gary at Annual Meeting of American Bar Association, Boston, Mass., September 4, 1919. (Page 24)

Proceeding on the assumption that large capital is desirable and necessary for the safety and legitimate progress of the nation, and yet that it must be controlled against possible harm, we are confronted with what has appeared to many to be a difficult problem. It should be met and solved now if we are going to conserve our vitality and strength; if we are not to weaken or neutralize it at this juncture in world affairs when we are called upon to pay enormous debts, to finance our own necessities and to assist our neighbors across the seas, to maintain a state of preparedness against possible, though not probable, future wanton attacks, and to aid in maintaining the peace of the world to the extent of using force, if and when necessary, all of which will require billions of money. Can we hold our position, and are we to be included in clear thinking, wise concluding peoples? Shall we profit by the experience of the past and by the example of others?

Is there any solution of these problems? I am talking to men who are more competent than I to answer. Still, the general proposition is ventured that whenever it is practicable and effective, resort should be made to the prevention of threatened or possible harm, without destroying the property or business in question, and which can, if preserved, be of substantial benefit to the community and to the nation. This principle has sometimes been invoked by the courts so far as it was believed the provisions of the law permitted. Why not have the law so framed and administered as to allow the courts to cover the whole subject by injunction, rather than by the destruction of property or business? If capital is proceeding or threatens to proceed improperly, it can be restrained by injunction and the order enforced in the regular way. A court of equity should have, if necessary, enlarged powers of preventive remedy, unlimited by statutory provisions. If there is to be punishment inflicted it should be upon the individuals who are reprehensible, and not upon the owners, as stockholders or otherwise, of the properties involved, who are in no respect responsible for misconduct.

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Extract from Testimony of Elbert H. Gary before Senate Committee on Education and Labor in connection with Investigation of Steel Strike, Washington, D.C., October 2, 1919. (Page 149)

Senator, your statement is very clear and comprehensive. I think possibly you and I may differently interpret the public sentiment of this country, and if so you may be right and I wrong; but of course we are acting on our best judgment, believing we are as loyal and faithful in considering the rights and interests of the entire public as you are, although we are not disinterested as you are, I must admit.

Now, of course, the natural way to settle all industrial questions is to leave every one open and free to act on the basis of natural laws and regulations, so long as every one carefully observes the requirements of the law. I believe if the attitude of the public is to insist, first, upon observing the requirements of the law, of maintaining absolute peace, of preventing breaches of law and unlawful disturbances, so that every man and every interest is protected, that this whole difficulty will work out. I think people ought to be allowed to make their own agreements, their own contracts with their men. If one side or the other is transcending the rules of propriety and decency public sentiment will correct that evil. I believed in that principle when, at the beginning of our organization, we started out to give the public information concerning our operations and our management---when we permitted Government representatives to examine our books and our accounts from time to time, sometimes costing a good deal of money and occupying a good deal of our time. I think the strongest force we have in securing and maintaining peace and contentment is an enlightened public sentiment.

Now, if it is desired and found necessary by such as you to furnish additional protection to one interest or another, the foreigners or Americans, of course you can pass general laws for governing them. Speaking now only for myself, and not for the corporation---because while I have a good deal of authority and power I use the same very sparingly; I am in the habit of consultation---speaking for myself, I would not object to a law for Federal incorporation or license, which would result in the appointment of a disinterested commission, appointed by reason of their fitness, their qualifications, who should determine when and how and under what conditions a corpora-

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tion should receive its charter or its license, and should have supervision over the management of the corporation, including even the labor questions; provided, however, that at all times the questions of principles, the fundamentals having application as determined by the law, might be reviewed by a legal tribunal, by a court, a Federal court with ample jurisdiction and authority.

I think the final decision of all these questions, industrial or otherwise, must be left to the courts of the country, those who are disinterested, who are impartial, who are selected because of their fitness to represent and carry into effect the principles of the Constitution and the law. I have no sympathy whatever with the statements which have been made by labor leaders in regard to the courts, when the courts have been condemned and criticized for their action; and I think it is as false as false can be to claim that the action or the decisions of courts as a rule have been partial and influenced by one industry or one interest or another.

The CHAIRMAN: Judge, when you speak of this licensing system it is encouraging to hear you talk that way; but do you speak at all for big business on that? There are bills in Congress now for licensing that are fought by all the interests apparently in the country, as a wrong proposition to license them.

Mr. Gary: If the bills are substantially in accord with what I have said those who are opposing them do not represent my views. That is what I say to that. I think Federal incorporation would be better than license. Of course, if there is opposition it is on the ground that industries and individuals must be left untrammeled, absolutely free to do as they please, if they do not run counter to the law.

Now, that might result in increase in prosperity, progress and prosperity temporarily; but I do not think permanently. That is my own judgment about it.

I recognize that the power of concentrated capital necessarily involves the power to do more or less harm. I recognize the fact personally that concentrated capital has the advantage over a single individual, if the concentrated capital is in the hands of dishonest and unfair men; and therefore I think it is no more than right for concen-

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trated capital to be subject to supervision and control against wrong---because the ultimate prosperity and happiness of a country depend upon a thing being right, fundamentally right. And in that connection I want to say I think to the same extent that capital is subjected to supervision and control by law, concentrated labor should be subject to the supervision and control of the law and the Government. I see no difference. Discrimination is the evil to be avoided. A fair chance, fair opportunity, equal rights to all men and all interests, is the object to be attained, in my opinion.

And I tell you this, Senators, because I want you to know what my views are upon the subject. I should like to have you know that I wish for the very same things which you gentlemen wish; I am no different from you. I base my opinions on conditions as they exist, upon the history of the past, upon what I think is practicable, and what is not; and I think I see dangers, at least difficulties, as connected with our business that one less experienced could not see.

I do not say this by way of apology, gentlemen, although I do apologize for seeming, perhaps to some of you, judging by your questions, to evade your questions or to antagonize your principles, which I do not.

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Extract from Statement by Elbert H. Gary on "Principles and Policies of the United States Steel Corporation" at Annual Meeting of Stockholders, April 18, 1921. (Page 16)

Possibly there is a solution of or antidote to the labor union problem.

I do not believe in socialism; in governmental management or operation; but I do advocate publicity, regulation and reasonable control through Government agencies. Members of commissions or departments should be non-partisan, non-sectarian, based on qualification and moral character. Their decisions should be subject to review by the highest courts.

Laws--clear, well defined, practicable and easy of comprehension--covering these matters, might be passed, and if so they should apply to all economic organizations, groups or bodies exceeding certain specified numbers or amounts. Both organized capital and organized labor should be placed under these laws. Each should be entitled to the same protection and be subject to the same restrictions and provisions. Will labor unions consent to this? They have heretofore objected. Here would be a test. Labor union leaders have before now asked and received discriminatory exemptions. This is wrong and it would be just as bad if the situation were reversed. Employers generally desire only the same treatment that is accorded to labor unions. The large majority of workmen also would be satisfied with this standard.

Digital Images, 2010. The Ida M. Tarbell Collection, 1890-1944, Allegheny College Pelletier Library.

Extract from Address by Elbert H. Gary at Meeting of American Iron & Steel Institute, New York, November 18, 1921. (Pages 7 and 10)

Unless there shall be a governmental supervision which is impartial and non-partisan and covers all interests, classes and departments equally and fully, there is no way of promptly returning to and maintaining normal and sound conditions in all respects, except by the natural means provided by the law of supply and demand, which requires time. By this simple route, with the benefit of full and consistent maintenance of law and order, so that it may be pursued without illegal hindrance, there will sooner or later be forced upon every one the necessity of disposing of whatever he has to offer only at fair and reasonable prices. Business of all kinds would succeed better if unhampered by governmental interference, but if it is desired to proceed with the greatest dispatch towards the starting point of the upward march in prices influenced by the war, then every person and every interest, without discrimination, must submit to some kind of governmental supervision and regulation. Class distinction is the worst thing that can happen to any country.

* * * * *

Our governmental administration, not to specify dates or periods, by precept and example, has been largely responsible for the present economic situation. The high prices paid and advocated by Government officials, the rules established for work, the extravagance in many respects, perhaps necessary during the war, in part at least, I have admitted; but it all had a bad effect on private management, and the situation should now be remedied by legislation and otherwise, and I believe it will be. Industry is sadly in need of assistance from the Government; and, I repeat, individuals must reciprocate to the greatest possible extent.

Digital Images, 2010. The Ida M. Tarbell Collection, 1890-1944, Allegheny College Pelletier Library.

Extract from Address by Elbert H. Gary at Meeting of American Iron & Steel Institute, New York, May 26, 1922. (Page 5)

Investigation and publication are proper and desirable, if not carried to excess. Constant, partisan and reckless indulgence in this pastime by representatives of government, or, what is much worse, by self-appointed, unqualified or dishonest individuals or associations, posing as public benefactors, may be and often is misleading and antagonistic to the general welfare.

At other times I have said that occasional investigation or investigators might result in exposure of a good many rascals; and I emphasize the statement. It is a trite saying that often the man who cries "stop thief" in the loudest tones has the stolen goods in his pocket.

If a man by his manner and methods gives evidence of personal hostility or selfish designs, it is well to scrutinize his conduct and motives before giving credit for his work or placing reliance upon his statements. He may be a "wolf in sheep's clothing."

We may concede that searching inquiry is sometimes necessary and generally productive of good and still be justified in characterizing many of the investigations and investigators as a public nuisance, especially if there is an attempt to go beyond the legitimate domain of the examination, and more particularly, if misrepresentations or unfair methods are indulged in.

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Extract from Address by Elbert H. Gary at Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill., June 17, 1922.
(Page 8)

And first of all, reference is made to Theodore Roosevelt, who was a true reformer and, when President, had a marked influence as such. I made the same statement in public more than once during the time he occupied that exalted position. Although at first he seemed to be somewhat extreme as to certain questions, his views were modified during his incumbency. I will relate to you an actual occurence during the early part of his administration. Pursuant to a common practice by him, he called into conference a business acquaintance and submitted for perusal the draft of a proposed message to Congress. Among other things there was contained a statement, in substance, that it was well understood the majority of business was dishonestly conducted. The visitor suggested this assertion was unjust to the business men and to the President himself, for it was not true; that coming from him it might seriously injure business conditions. The President insisted he was accurate in expression and that he could not change it. Thereupon the business man, reiterating his previous opinion, bade the President a respectful and friendly good-bye. The wording of the message was not then changed, but before it was transmitted the sentence objected to was eliminated. This episode illustrates the fairness and conscientious caution of Roosevelt and is one of the reasons for his great influence for lasting benefit to business management. He was a great and good man.

Not long after the event described, at a meeting of prominent industrialists, a man of ability and wealth bitterly assailed Roosevelt as inimical to industry and general prosperity. The answer was made, by the business man heretofore referred to, that the President had materially improved business methods. The one who criticized the President, with considerable show of vexation, requested the name of a single individual whose management had been bettered by Roosevelt, and the other said: "I give you my name" and then related the facts pertaining to the proposed message to Congress alluded to. The meeting was composed of about nine men of more than ordinary ability and influence, a majority of whom at least entertained a feeling of distrust and resentment toward Roosevelt. Not one present made any comment, except as already related, with reference to Roosevelt's attitude toward

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business. Nearly if not every one who had previously opposed, subsequently changed his opinion of the President's administration.

President Roosevelt had many disciples and with assistance from them he created a strong public opinion in favor of honest business management. This sentiment, however brought about, has had much to do with the change, in the minds of the people generally, as to the desirability and value of closely associating ethics with business.

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Extract from Address by Elbert H. Gary at Meeting of American Iron & Steel Institute, New York, October 27, 1922. (page 7)

Investigations by legislative committees sometimes have been of great benefit in exposing to the public facts relating to misconduct or mismanagement, and have resulted in correcting existing evils; but more frequently they are they are harmful because unfair, politically partisan and managed without regard to rules which govern legal procedure. The committees are often made up largely of lawyers, some of whom are inclined to deal in personalities, are vindictive and arbitrary, and as the witness or other person subject to investigation is not usually permitted to have a lawyer to represent and protect him, great injustice is likely to result. All inquiries for the benefit of the public concerning private affairs, to be effective, must be made with strict honesty and impartiality. When the public is constantly given all proper information concerning business, after ascertained honestly, impartially and intelligently by a Government Board of undoubted ability, non-partisan in character and including every branch of industry without exception, the public interest will be protected and not before.

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Extract from Article by Elbert H. Gary entitled "Looking Forward by Looking Backward Twenty Years", January, 1923. (Page10)

There are many vicious bills pending in Congress which bear upon economic progress. They tend to unsettle industry, to induce fear. It is no answer that the fears usually prove groundless.

Even the mere appropriation bills which provide the necessary funds for governmental administration often precipitate trouble and demoralization and occasionally business depression. It is not so much that large expenditures are proposed as it is the spirit generally exhibited. Selfishness, greed, and vindictiveness are displayed. Not infrequently efforts to promote political or personal advancement are strongly in evidence. Many things other than the public welfare are apparent.

It can be said with some positiveness that if we do not have prosperity this year it will be because of agitation and laws, no matter what their altruistic guise, which are directed against the general welfare.

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Extract from Address by Elbert H. Gary at Meeting of American Iron & Steel Institute, New York, May 25, 1923. (Page 24)

It must be admitted that if one reads the Congressional Record when Congress is in session, and visits the rooms of the Congressional Committees, where may be found organized minority groups urging propositions that have no merit, many of them with destructive tendencies, there is some ground for discouragement.

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Extract from Impromptu Remarks by Elbert H. Gary at Annual Meeting of Stockholders, April 21st, 1924. (Page 13)

And now the worst thing we have at the present time, which I hesitate to say anything about, and certainly I would not say with the intention of offending any single individual in this country, is our American Congress.

I do not speak as a partisan, I speak as a single citizen, and I speak of men not because of their political affiliations but because of what they are doing. I do not name anyone, because I have no disposition to indulge in personalities, ever, anywhere, for one reason; and also because I might not be able to name the right person or persons. But I take them as a whole and I apply the principles I think are proper to the action or non-action that Congress is guilty of. There are men in Congress who are naturally selfish and who act and vote and talk with a view of advancing personal interests. Of course those men are unworthy of their position. There are other men, with perhaps good minds, certainly good intentions, but who in their actions are just as bad as the first named, men of little experience in business affairs, some with poor judgment, some influenced by considerations that are unworthy, without knowing it, who by their action are bringing harm upon the country, men who seem to be inconsiderate of the best interests of our people.

I made a few remarks before a university a few years ago entitled "Ivestigate the Investigators". I thought it was appropriate then and I think so now. Of course no decent man can object to investigation when it is properly, honestly conducted, with a worthy object in view; nobody can object to the exposition of the truth, always if the circumstances at the time justify it. But there are many investigations being carried on that are unworthy; and not only that, some which are proper carried to an extent that is unreasonable and unfair and calculated to bring personal unjustice and reproach upon good men. And those I do not approve of. Those, with you, I denounce..

Now, gentlemen, will you allow me to say, still as a non-partisan, strictly non-partisan so far as politics are concerned; we have, as opposed to that disposition of some of the members of Congress, whose actions and motives are objectionable, a man in the White House who is as strong and solid as the Rock of Gibraltar.

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