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**LABOR POLICY OF THE UNITED STATES
STEEL CORPORATION**

STUDIES IN HISTORY, ECONOMICS AND PUBLIC LAW

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**LABOR POLICY OF THE UNITED
STATES STEEL CORPORATION**

BY

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CHARLES D. TOMKIES

TEACHER AND FRIEND

PREFACE

Those interested in a record of personal experiences in the steel mills are referred to the excellent chronicles of Messrs. Whiting Williams and C. R. Walker. Nothing of that sort is attempted in this study. It purports to be no more than an attempt to gather a quantity of loose fragments into a united whole and to bring a story up to date. With some of these fragments even the most casual reader of the newspapers is familiar; others have remained more obscure. Still others must continue obscure for reasons which will appear. In spite of the objections of "practical" steel men that such work can have no value, there is considerable evidence to the contrary. As a part of that evidence the facts presented in the chapter on hours herein are submitted. In this particular case the records, albeit scattered, are adequate for certain conclusions. Their validity and significance are for the reader to judge.

In securing information it was obviously necessary to appeal directly to the offices of the United States Steel Corporation. Possibly the most widely advertised part of its labor policy is its safety campaign, included in the wider field of "welfare". Consequently, work on this section was undertaken first. Mr. C. L. Close, Manager of the Bureau of Safety, Sanitation and Welfare, and his assistant, Mr. H. A. Schultz, supplied considerable quantities of data and answered a great many questions. The chapters on welfare are, therefore, based very largely on the facts they furnished. When attention was transferred to the question of hours and subsequently to that of wages, requests for information still went through the hands of Mr.

Close, although they were usually passed on to Mr. Filbert, the Comptroller, or to some other official. As the chapters on these topics show, the Corporation's records did not contain many of the facts in an available shape; that is, they were not complete over the entire history of the Corporation, or they had been kept as individual subsidiary items which could not be assembled without unwarranted and unjustifiable expense. Such items as the aggregate wage for manufacturing employees year by year and the fluctuations in the common labor rate were promptly furnished upon request. For material on the attitude of the Corporation toward labor organizations I was referred to the published statements of Mr. Gary. Most of the data furnished from the offices of the Corporation were secured in the spring and summer of 1922. After an unavoidable delay the work was completed in the spring of 1924 and submitted to Mr. Close for criticism.

In his own words those criticisms were that the work was "prejudiced, unfair to the Corporation, and in many instances not in accordance with the facts".¹ He offered to go over "each point in question" if I desired to "set forth the labor policies of the Steel Corporation in their true light." In my reply I requested a list of the objectionable items but this was refused on the ground that there were "too many of them." In the first five minutes of our conversation of July 12, Mr. Close stated that he would not cite a specific instance of my errors unless I would agree to rewrite the entire book in a different "tone." A few questions made it clear that in order to find out exactly what he considered to be wrong I must first pledge myself to reverse all the major conclusions I had reached. To such a proposal only one answer was possible. Subsequently, I was accused of being a member of the Third International and of attempting

¹ Letter of July 7, 1924.

to overthrow the government of the United States. My manuscript convicted me of both in the eyes of Mr. Close. But the most disappointing feature of the interview from my point of view was the refusal of Mr. Close to bring up to date certain data that had been previously supplied. The gaps resulting from this refusal are noted as they appear.

In spite of my request Mr. Close did not submit my manuscript to any other official of the Corporation. He expressed the opinion, however, that they would probably react exactly as he had. For reasons subsequently developed in more detail it is possible that such a reaction was inevitable. These executives are convinced that they are better friends of their employees than the labor leaders. They also believe their methods of handling labor bring in more profits than the method that seems to me more desirable. Since I am more interested in industrial democracy than in large profits for the Corporation, my conclusions rest in part on considerations which must seem either immaterial or beside the mark to the Corporation officials. Some of my statements may be, as Mr. Close declared, inaccurate, though I have made every effort to verify each assertion made and test every conclusion drawn. But the principal ground of difference between us is not, I am convinced, lack of agreement as to the facts but lack of agreement as to their interpretation. Only as Corporation officials substitute for considerations of profit considerations of social service in the broadest sense will the advantages of more democratic labor policies come to be appreciated. It is in the hope of contributing something in this direction that these pages have been written.

I should like to thank individually all those who have assisted me in numerous ways, but their numbers make that impossible. Among those who have aided most materially are Mr. C. L. Close and Mr. H. A. Schultz of the Corpora-

tion, Mr. John A. Fitch of the New York School of Social Work, Mr. F. E. Johnson of the Federal Council of Churches, and Professor W. F. Ogburn of Columbia. Particular acknowledgment is due to Professor R. E. Chad-dock for help in certain statistical problems and to Professor H. R. Seager under whose direction the study was undertaken and carried out. Above all, however, I am indebted to my wife for aid and encouragement in every stage of the process.

C. A. G.

NEW YORK, AUGUST 7, 1924.

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