

the earth, all placed under the control of the Canadian Pacific railway, and would lord it over all the inhabitants of the earth. His predecessor, Abraham Lincoln, said with regard to public-ownership, "This country and all that is within it belongs to the people who inhabit it." Lord Shaughnessy would go him one better and declare that this country and all who inhabit it belong to the Canadian Pacific Railway. Others have expressed themselves on public ownership. Let me quote what some have said:

Every measure must be tested by this question only: Is it just? Is it for the benefit of the average man, without influence or privilege? Does it embody the highest conception of social justice, without respect to person or class or particular interest?—Woodrow Wilson.

Real public ownership is the essence of democracy. Instead of dividing men into masters and mastered, it brings men together in a union of interest, and affords the conditions necessary for the highest traits of conscience and character.—Prof. Frank Parsons of the Boston Law School in "The City for the People."

In its search for truth the commission had to overcome many obstacles, such as the burning of books, letters, and documents and the obstinacy of witnesses who declined to testify until criminal proceedings were begun for their refusal to answer questions. The New Haven Railroad system has more than 300 subsidiary corporations in a web of entangling alliances with each other, many of which are seemingly planned, created, and manipulated by lawyers expressly retained for the purpose of concealment of deception.—From the Inquiry of the Interstate Commerce Commission, July 11, 1914, into the New Haven and other Railroads.

If public ownership had been in such a condition as was revealed by the Interstate Commerce Commission as aforesaid, I wonder what private ownership advocates would have had to say? What would Lord Shaughnessy and Mr. Beatty say? I asked the hon. member for South York (Mr. Maclean) the other day why it should take so much time to co-ordinate and consolidate these roads, in view of the recommendation made by the commission appointed by this Parliament four years ago. Take the New York Central lines in the United States as an example of the expedition with which consolidation can be achieved when an effort is made toward this end. That system co-ordinated many branch lines in Ohio, the Lake Shore passing through Geneva, Cleveland and other centres down to Toledo. How long do you imagine it took the New York Central to co-ordinate that system? About forty-eight hours. The leader of the Opposition (Mr. Meighen) the other day referred to the subject of arbitration of the Grand Trunk. It is true that a delay was exper-

[Mr. Church.]

enced in connection with that arbitration, but it was entirely unavoidable. The right hon. gentleman was compelled to visit the Old Country on an important mission, in regard to which, as we all know, he acquitted himself so admirably, reflecting the greatest credit on this country. When he returned last fall he announced an election, and as head of the government of that time he felt he could not deal with the important question of co-ordination of the publicly owned roads until the country had expressed its opinion on his policy of linking up the Grand Trunk and the Grand Trunk Pacific. The election came, and nothing has been done since. The Minister of Railways (Mr. Kennedy) has been taking a trip, and now that he is back in the House I trust it will not be long before he can make up his mind as to what it is best to do. What they have done in the United States in connection with their railways should spur the Government of this country to activity. Mr. McAdoo, the Director-General of Railways, under Mr. Woodrow Wilson, soon after he was appointed to the position, took over, on the 28th of December, 1917, all the railways in the United States in twenty-four hours and co-ordinated and consolidated them. True, it was not strictly government ownership but government operation. This taking over of the railways was a war measure that had to be carried out. Many of the roads were bankrupt and could not carry on; they could not, in the state in which they were without certain betterments and improvements which had to be made by the director-general, carry munitions and troops to the seaboard. The Director-General of Railways, however, was able in twenty-four hours to co-ordinate something like, I think, 200 or 300 companies. These roads were taken over for the duration of the war and a period of eighteen months thereafter, when, it was agreed, the government would hand them back to private ownership. During the time that they were under the control of the government they were put into a state of repair. The government had undertaken to pay to private ownership 5½ per cent. or the average dividends secured each year for the 5 years prior to 1917—during government operation. That, of course, I do not call public ownership. There are several ways of operating a railway. There is, for instance, private ownership practically without any government regulation, such as we see in the case of the Canadian Pacific Railway. There is also private ownership with some degree