OUR TRANSPORTATION TROUBLES ---AND THE WAY OUT

The Function of the Railway is One Involving the Sovereignty of the State-The Whole Trend of Modern Civilization is to Nationalization of Railways.

IS CANADA TO LOSE HER PRESENT OPPORTUNITY?

(Notes of an Address by E. B. Biggar Before Members of the House of Commons.)

different world from that of 100 years The isolation of not only city and village life, but of rural life has of raising revenue for railway extendisappeared under the influence of the railway, and even international barriers are breaking down, thru the bind-ing influences of the iron road. The railway has become in the organized life of a community or a nation what the air it to the human body. It is vital to our organized existence.
We pay tribute to transportation in almost every act of our daily life. We cannot buy an article at our grocer's,

our children cannot buy a cent's worth of candy, and we cannot buy a copy of the daily paper without paying for transportation. Take, for example, a pair of boots. At first thought, transportation may seem to come into the pair of boots only in the carriage of pair of boots only in the carriage of the boots to the retail dealer, but in reality it begins on the farm, and with the grass in the field. Without the grass or grain, we could not feed the cow or callf that produces the leather, and in order that the cow and calf may be maintained, the farmer has first to build a habitation and buy implements and household utensils before the process of raising the live stock can be carried on. When the stock can be carried on. When the cow is killed, the hide goes to the tannery, and the tanner himself must have already had many items of outlay in buying his supplies of chemicals, tan-ning materials and machinery before he can dress the hide. He, in turn, has to use transportation to ship his goods to the shoe manufacturer, and the manufacturer in his turn must al-ready have bought items of machinery and supplies from a hundred sources before he produces the boots. The wholesaler cannot get these supplies without transportation and without the wooden boxes in which they come, and the wooden boxes in turn bring us back to the sawmill and woodworkus back to the sawmill and woodworking establishments, and then we are brought back to the fumber camp and to the coal and iron mines from which the machinery is derived. By transwholesaler reaches the retailer and the retiler and his travelers use transportation all over the country to sell the goods, and even the ultimate consumer muse use the railway in a large percentage of cases to way in a marge percentage of cases to get to the shoe store. This process can be applied to a hundred other in-dustries, but in the case of boots and shoes alone we see what a large element of the cost of those boots

tion rather than to mere labor. What is a Railway? Now, what is a railway? Our common roads are known to us as the "Queen's Highway" or the "King's Highway," but we do not realize that the railway is both in law and in fact simply an improved highway. This definition of a railway is not based upon the isolated opinion of a based upon the isolated opinion of a the nada of corporations, made a debased upon the isolated opinion of a the nada of corporations, made a debased upon the isolated opinion of a the nada of corporations, made a debased upon the isolated opinion of a the nada of corporations, made a debased upon the isolated opinion of a the nada of corporations, made a debased upon the isolated opinion of a the nada of corporations, made a debased upon the isolated opinion of a the nada of corporations, made a debased upon the isolated opinion of a the nada of corporations, made and in the nistory of postal service is that it never because the property of postal service is that i based upon the isolated opinion of a judge here and there, but upon a principle which has been established by a long line of decisions of the highest authorities of Great Britain, the United States and other countries, the united States and other countries, and the same predictions of corruptive states are here classed among the state-owned, because the company operating them is in reality cise form by the United States su-tion and failure, as are now used preme court thru Justice Strong, against the state ownership of railwho said: "That railroads, the constructed by private corporations and of Cromwell, undertook to convey letowned by them, are public highways, has been the doctrine of nearly all the courts since such conveniences for passage and transportation have had a penny postage for all England, a private companies; 1662 miles are owned and operated by the government; the situation is as follows: 6874 miles are operated by the situation is as follows: 6874 miles are operated by the government; the situation is as follows: 6874 miles are operated by the government; the situation is as follows: 6874 miles are operated by the government; the situation is as follows: 6874 miles are owned and operated by the government; the situation is as follows: 6874 miles are owned and operated by the government; the situation is as follows: 6874 miles are owned and operated by the government; 18245 miles are owned and operated by the government; 18245 miles are owned and operated by the government; 18245 miles are owned and operated by the government; 18245 miles are operated by the government; 18245 miles passage and transportation have had a penny postage for all England, a private companies; 1662 miles are owned any existence." Those who build and two-penny postage for Scotland and a four-penny rate for Ireland, he was four-penny rate for Ireland, he was a function of government under a looked on with disfavor by a government which farmed the service out a function of government under a looked on with disfavor by a govern-license called a charter, but its authorment which farmed the service out thy is always a delegated authority, for revenue, and his new letter car-the franchise being, in the words of riers were "trampled down" by Cromanother supreme court judgment "a well's soldiers. The later postoffice postoffice of the sovereign in the reformer, Rowland Hill, met the same hands of the subject," whether that opposition, but he lived to see the rate subject be "an artificial being (cor- for an inland letter reduced from an poration) or a natural person" and average rate of about nine pence to a penny, and in every country every reduction in the rate of letters, papers

Service to the State. The primary purpose of a railway, therefore, is service to the state, and the servant cannot be above his mas-ter. The thing (created cannot be above its creator, nor can there be two sovereignties in one state. When above its creator, nor can there of the post of the po transportation companies, either thruppride of authority or desire for profit, may assume that they are the sovereigns, and that peeple and parliament are their subjects, and may actually exercise such sovereign functions, but this is usurpation, and a subversion of the principles of that form of government where sovereignty rests with the people. That is the form of government in Canada, where the people are the state. Now the authority which has power to create a thing or to confer a privilege or franchise has power to revoke, modify or extinguish such privilege or franchise. We are speaking of the power, as apart from the question of justice, or subjects and parliament in the people are the state. Now the apart from the question of justice, or subjects and parliament in the principles of the facts of postoffice history against them. The theory, therefore, that a railway charter is unalterable is in direct conflict with the principle of representative government, and the case of the Hudson Bay Company, whose charter was perhaps the widest in modern history along with that of Sir John Macdonald's decision to enforce a modification of the C.P.R. charter may be be cited as illustrations of the subjection of charter holders to the policy.

The theory, therefore, that a railway charter is unalterable is in direct conflict with the principle of representative governments shall own and work the Hudson Bay Company, whose charter somewhat more than half a century's experience, finally deoided either that their governments shall own and work the railways, or at least that in return for a generous measure of state support their railways shall acknowledge an equally appropriate the city of the principle of the principle of the principle of the principle of representative governments shall own and work the railways shall acknowledge an equally appropriate the principle of the principle of

Conduct of railways when farmed out by the state to private corporations is that every the proper of the proper second; and every the proper second, and the mainty proper secon The most invariable leather of conduct of railways when farmed out by the state to private corporations is that

The world we live in is an entirely | sought, passenger and freight rates can | partial abandonment, still owns one be lowered and revised without regard to any surplus; but if provision is to be made to make the railways a means sions or taxes for other purposes, rates may be maintained to that end. These are the most obvious contrasts between the private ownership and state own-

> At this point advocates of private ownership arise to declare that while this is true in theory, it does not work out in practice; that state ownership is inefficient, and the source of corruption where so large an army of men are em-

which are both privately owned and privately operated. A return presented to the British house of commons last year shows that out of 42 foreign countries reported upon, 32 have one or more of these forms of government ownership, while out of 23 self-govern-The answer to this is that such is the case in the administration of other services of the state, such as the post-office, the customs department, the including India) composing the British Empire, no less than 18 have state ownership. This return is not comland revenue, the department of agripublic service, where men and women have the government, and not private individuals, as their employers. Let in the colonial possessions of foreign governments. As it stands it shows that in a grand total of 424,232 miles us take the postoffice, and remember that the postoffice is a department of of railway in these various countries the movement for state ownership has transportation and communication, for thru it the people send not only their already advanced to the extent that 174,917 miles are operated by govern-ments. A better measure of the adletters and newspapers, but money and goods, and, now that we have the beginnings of parcel post, it is becoming in Canada, as it has long been in European countries, a medium of shipvance in state ownership and operation, in Canada, as it has long been in European countries, a medium of shipping light freight of all kinds. The nature of the service is therefore essennature of the service is therefore essencome under government ownership in tially the same as the railways. Do we find that the postal service of Canada all countries in the world.

Leaving out of view the cases of Canada, the United States and Great Britain, or the United States or Great Britain

short line.

Remarkable Development in Recent

Years.

of state ownership and operation.

private lines and added to these under

construction: others, as in the case of

Austria, have state owned lines and also have privately owned lines, which

There are all degrees and conditions

or the United States of Great Britain, is a hot-bed of corruption and a means of inefficiency? On the contrary, making allowance for those imperfections which characterize human effort in all spheres of work, the postoffice is a marvel of service to the people, carried out in faithfulness and honesty of administration. So fully is this proved in our daily life, that no one outside of a lunatic asylum would now proof a lunatic asylum would now pro-pose to hand the postoffice over to a Austria-Hungary. 22,501 farmed out, not only in Great but in all European countries. It is better that in almost all countries in Egypt true that in almost all countries in France former times foreign posts were under the direct control of kings and gov-ernments, but the domestic posts, which furnish the basis of comparison, were given out in England to favorite dukes or court favorites, and in Europe to guilds or to cities such as those

those boots of the Hanseatic, to universities or pri- Switzerland vate companies. Both on the continent and in the British Isles the possession lows: of these postal franchises was a freand Oper- Owned and Operated. ... 16,079 1,934 quent subject of intrigue and a source 245

> the company operating them is in reality a department of the British South Africa Company, which administers that country under a charter. In the case of India, the situation is as follows: 6874 miles

> Newfoundland, not included in this list, has 637 miles of railway, owned by the government, but operated by the R. G. Reid Company.
>
> State Ownership in British Colonies.

Of the seventeen British crown colonies and protectorates, no less than twelve operate their railways under direct gov and parcels has been followed by an reported on, no less than 50 have reached increased in revenue, thru the increased the stage of whole or partial state own-

increase in revenue, thru the increased use made of it by the people. The general history of the postal service shows that whereas the carrying of domestic mails was once farmed out in every country of which we have record, there is now no civilized country in the world where the postoffice ownership—Great Britain, United States

thing or to confer a privilege of the chise has power to revoke, modify or extinguish such privilege or franchise. We are speaking of the power, as apart from the question of justice, or what may appear to be justice. A sovereign state cannot part with its own supremacy over the things it creates except by abdicaton.

Profit is the Purpose of Private Ownership.

Profit is the Purpose of the power of the state to modify or annul a railway manger to be cited as illustrations of the subjection of charter may be be cited as illustrations of the subjection of charter may be be cited as illustrations of the subjection of charter holders to the policy of the with the work of the lines are the work of the lines are the purpose of the power of the state to modify or annul a railway mit the work of the lines are the work of the lines are the work of the lines are the policy of the state ownership, says in his work, "Amerotation Question," dealing with the work of the lines are the policy of the state ownership, says in his work, "Amerotation Question," dealing with the work of the lines are the policy of the subjection of the curpose of the power o

the mutiplication of lines in the same city with their costly terminals and unnecessary trains is self-destructive for even motor wagons are taking their profitable local traffic to make the situation worse. The appointment of the royal commission last year to take up the whole question of the relation of the railway to the state is simply the precursor of state ownership in Great British

In the United States.

In the United States the creation of the interstate commerce commission brought to an end "the public be damned" theory of former days by effective control of rates and the supersession of those discriminations and preferences by which a privately owned road was able to ruin in a year or two the business of a firm worth millions. But in the United States there has been more public spirit of recent years in the administration of the fallways than in most other countries, and it is a question whether any appreciable reduction of freight rates can be expected for a time, as the result of government ownership. This is not because such reduction is physically impossible, but because of the fallacy of state taxation on railways. Forty-four states out of the forty-eight impose more or less state taxes on the railways. These taxes aggregated thirty-four millions in 1832, one hundred millions in 1911, and one hundred and thirty millions in 1913. Now whether the state owns the railways or not these taxes have to be added to the cost of operation, and so they become a part of an uncontrollable (x-penditure and have to be pald before any surplus is possible. This and other causes have depreciated the value of railway shares, as in Great Britain, and that process will go on until state ownership becomes necessary. This will come about because three influences will combine to prevent any material increase in railway rates in general, namely, the protests of the people because of the effect on the cost of living, the attitude of the press on the same ground, coupled with the effect on international trade. The exports of the united States manufactures have now reached about fifty per cent, of the entire value of the country's exports, and this is due in part to the cheap transit of materials to and from the inland states, and this is as important an element in the growth of American foreign trade as that of Germany.

Profound Effect on Canada.

Important an element in the growth of American foreign trade as that of Germany.

Profound Effect on Canada.

These conditions will profoundly effect the rallway problem of Canada. It will force the government and railways ultimately to adopt the only means of defence practicable, and that is to reduce the rates to an equality, if Canada is to maintain or increase the settlement and production of the prairie provinces. When an intending settler realizes that the cost of sending his grain to the Canadian seabord is much higher than from inland states to the United States seaboard, that the cost of getting everything he imports is also increased from the same cause, not to speak of any difference in climate and length of season, the attractions of the Canadian west may not be so powerful. Yet to stand still in the matter of peopling the provinces is to go back, for, as Arthur Hawkes has graphically said: "The locomotive has aiready gone ahead of the plow." The great railway mileage fact that many of us glory in, but we must be careful that the glorying will not bring humiliation. We boast that we now have a line of railway to every 274 inhabitants, but this only means that whereas 274 Canadians must keep up the line of railway, there are 400 who share in the cost in the United States, for we must not forget that the people are the only source of revenue that a railway has. In Great Britain 2000 people bear the cost of maintaining a mile, in Germany 1730, and in Ruesia 4000.

Control a Logical Step to Ownership.

This situation need not put us in a panic, neither should it blind our eyes to the facts. Ultimately the country must own the railways, or the railways will own the rountry. Control or ownership is the first step, but the logical result of a real contract is an actual ownership is the first step, but the logical result of a real contract is an actual ownership.

That was the process of evolution in Germany, Belgium, Italy, Austria and

own the country. Control or ownership is the first step, but the logical result of a real contract is an actual ownership. That was the process of evolution in Germany, Belgium, Italy. Austria and Switzerland, as well as in New Zealand and South Africa, but inasmuch as state ownership is the logical outcome of the situation in Great Britain and the United States, why should not Canada anticipate the event rather than lag in the rear. Every year's delay adds to the cost of transfer.

The Drawbacks of Private Ownership.

There are other evils apart from the financial cost under private ownership; the first consideration of a company is to extend its lines where traffic already exists, and not primarily for the purpose of colonization, as would be the case under a government ownership, and every duplication or triplication of such lines is a source of unnecessary burden which the people will be called upon to bear, because once the line is built it will have to be kept up. Take the situation between Montreal and Toronto. Here we have two lines, and will in a few months have a third. These second and third lines were alleged to be built in the interests of competition, but of what use to the public is a competition that means no reduction in rates? At the most it merely gives the shipper and travelers a choice of route, but in as much as there is no other source of life for these two lines but the people who supply their life blood in traffic it comes in the end to this, that the community continues to pay the high rates, while the tracked road from Toronto to Montreal under government ownership would carry all the traffic for years to come, and the money spent on these two or three lines could have been used to build branches covering a wide expanse of territory north of Lake Ontario, which as yet has no means of communication. Meanwhile these back district people, while bearing their share of the nation's railway taxes, continue to suffer the extra cost of getting to market by wagon. This is an explanation why so

we want this process repeated in the west?

Tribute Involved in Private Ownership. When proposals for state ownership are mentioned we often hear it said with scorn: "Look at the Intercolonial! There is a sample of government ownership. It has never made a real profit from the beginning." This taunt shows a misconception of what the real function of a rallway is. Can anyone give a sound reason why the L.C.R. should pay a dividend? A dividend on a rallway, whether paid to a private company or a government, is a tax on the community from which it draws its revenue. If it were not so then the tariff." as applied to would be a misnomer. It follows that any surplus or dividend on the L.C.R. unless applied to extensions or improvements, would be a form of Dominion taxation with this difference, that in the case of the L.C.R. the taxes would be spent among the people who imposed the taxation, whereas in the case of private ownership of roads built by money borrowed from abroad, it becomes an inverted form of customs tariff. Canada ownership of roads built by money bor-rowed from abroad, it becomes an in-verted form of customs tariff. Canada is now paying, in railway dividends and interest on its various railway obliga-tions, over \$51,000,000 annually, and of this sum less than ten per cent remains in Canada, so that to save ourselves from the full responsibilities of self-govern-ment we must be content to pay an an-

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omes the provinces will realize that they

comes the provinces will realize that they started on a career of mutual pillage, and the trouble will be all the harder to remedy if these taxes become earmarked for special purposes, as they are now in the States. There ought, therefore, to be an agreement between the Dominion and the provincial governments to save further trouble.

The Only Way Out.

Now, which way are we to turn in dealing with the railways? To attempt to wash our hands of the whole matter would be as unavaning as the act of Pillate, because our hands are already in it. The transcontinental railway already exists and it will be cheaper to operate it at some present loss. Neither is there any good purpose served by throwing blame on the promoters of the Canadian Northern, for if parliament had not authorized them to build their lines they could not have gone this present length in raising money. It is just a political lesson in the folly of giving away a state function and a state right without state control. One thing is plain and that is, if the horse is allowed to run further without reaching for the refis both driver and horse will suffer, because the financial men of Europe have put their money on the of Europe have put their money on the horse because of the authority and re-

(Continued on Page 13.)

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several of rumors in the city o farmers ha thru the s expressed mand for Finally it organizatio meat and and thus pose any council wit there is no seriously co rests at th prisoners h He recomi be made to land until that a new in St. Louis

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