

out of fifty-two nations of the world have adopted the policy of government ownership in whole or in part, if twenty-one countries own all their railroads, if this condition has been brought about not suddenly but after careful trial, it follows without discussion or other testimony that it must be a success and I am at loss to know what argument can prevail against this test of experience. This condition does exist, and it has been an unqualified and uniform success under all conditions and with all kinds of governments from the despotic monarchy of Russia to the referendum governed republic of Switzerland. It has been a success in new and unsettled countries like Australia, Africa, and South America, as well as in thickly populated and fully developed countries like Belgium, Germany and Austria.

Belgium was the first country to build and operate railroads on government account, commencing in 1834. Austria followed four years later, but in 1848 sold out to private companies. Russia built a railroad from St. Petersburg to Moscow in 1851 but sold it to a private company in 1860. Both of these countries repented the error later and in 1870 when so many other countries entered upon the policy of state ownership they commenced to repurchase and now each owns substantially all its railroads. From that time on the policy gained ground with every acquisition and on every hand until the present time, and now among others Prussia is about to purchase all the railroads not already owned by the government.

Switzerland bought all her roads at once five years ago and issued bonds therefor at 3½ per cent. Prussia purchased its railroad part at a time and when interest rates were higher and issued bonds mostly at 4 per cent. Belgium got its roads at about cost. Germany paid such an enormous price that in some cases investors received 16 per cent on their investments, or in other words, they received four times the cost of their railroad stock in 4 per cent bonds. (Enc. Brit., Vol. 20, page 251.) The Australian countries bought first the railroads that had been extended so far into unsettled territories that they were unable to pay running expenses, extended them farther, built up a business, settled the country and have already made them so valuable Consul General Marata, in the report hereafter referred to, says that they would sell for more than the national debt. France in 1878 took the first five roads out of bankruptcy and, soon made them profitable, and generally the first purchases of governments have been of railroads which were a financial failure in private hands. As a financial success government ownership outranks private ownership beyond comparison. Our experience with the postal system indicates what this government could accomplish with the same economy applied to the operation of railroads.

The following table shows the growth and development of government ownership by decades. The year 1848 is added to show the falling off caused by Russia and Austria disposing of their small holdings at that time to private companies. The year 1888 is substituted for 1890 because that is the year in which the French

government collected and published such full statistics on the subject:

Year.	No. of countries owning railroads.	Miles owned by governments.
1840.....	2	495
1848.....	3	987
1850.....	3	470
1860.....	6	730
1870.....	14	3,500
1880.....	24	29,074
1888.....	31	167,813
1900.....	42	167,813

The foregoing table is compiled from figures given in Encyclopedia Britannica, volume 20, page 251, title Railroads; Mulhall's Dictionary, ex-Governor Larrabee's book, The Railroad Question, and The Annals of the American Academy of Philadelphia.

The following table showing government and private ownership by countries is taken from Senate Document 53, first session of fifty-sixth congress. I have made but one change, and that is to transfer all the mileage of France to the public ownership column, for the reason that the table shows that France has purchased the roads to be delivered at the end of a certain period, and furthermore, at the time of the purchase France secured a control which amounts to actual possession today. I am sure that later statistics will very greatly increase the public ownership column and decrease the private ownership. In every instance where I am in possession of later statistics the change since this table has been compiled (1900) shows an uninterrupted increase in public ownership. For instance, this table gives 795 miles private owners, whereas later writers treat Belgium as one of the countries owning all her roads.

Countries.	Private miles.	Government miles.
Alsace-Lorraine.....	1,078	981
Austria-Hungary.....	6,265	12,350
Baden.....		1,034
Bavaria.....	573	3,034
Belgium.....	795	2,044
Brazil.....		13,580
Brunswick.....		302
Bulgaria.....		600
Cape of Good Hope..	254	2,350
Ceylon.....		297
Chili.....	829	1,575
Colombia.....		670
Denmark.....	367	1,067
Dutch East Indies....	300	993
Ecuador.....		53
Egypt.....		1,369
England.....	21,277	
Finland.....		1,485
France.....		22,700
Germany.....	2,817	26,085
Greece.....	59	
Guatemala.....	159	
India.....	2,950	17,440
Italy.....	2,900	5,321
Japan.....	1,873	631
Mexico.....	7,380	
Natal.....		402
Netherlands.....	801	898
New South Wales....		2,639
New Zealand.....	167	2,018
Nicaragua.....	91	
Norway.....		1,020
Paraguay.....	156	
Peru.....	124	800
Portugal.....	539	914
Queensland.....		2,430
Roumania.....		1,831
Russia.....	25,756	
Serbia.....	354	
Africa.....	1,000	
South Australia.....		1,863
Spain.....	7,627	
Sweden.....	3,862	2,832
Switzerland.....		2,351
Tasmania.....		475
Turkey.....	2,542	
Venezuela.....		406
Victoria.....		3,122
West Australia.....	391	970
Total mileage.....	66,854	167,813

In view of this wonderful growth of government ownership it is perhaps

unnecessary to quote authorities to show that the policy is a success, but I will quote briefly from a few persons of unquestionable knowledge and reliability. Among the following quotations, those from consuls can be found in the House Mis. Doc. 2nd Sess., 53d Cong., Vols. 45 and 46.

"It is, however, improbable that the people concerned will ever allow this great possession (the railways) to pass again into private hands." (Daniel Marata, consul general at Melbourne.)

"In recent years a tendency has strongly developed in Russia as well as in other countries of continental Europe which aims at changing private ownership of railways into state ownership. One by one private railway lines have thus been falling under full control of the Russian government being thus absorbed in the state railway system. In the course of the present year (1894) no less than ten different lines have been transferred from private owners to the government and on the first of January the greatest of the remaining lines is expected to follow suit." (Charles Jonas, consul general at St. Petersburg.)

"It is impossible to trace, however briefly, the history of French railroads without being impressed with the intimate relation of government with the system. From the very first there has prevailed the idea of ultimate state ownership." (Frank H. Mason, consul general, Frankfurt.)

"Since then (1871) the progress of railroads has been rapid and the desirability of government ownership has not been seriously questioned." (Helen Page Bates, on Australian railways, in Ann. Am. Acadmy, Vol. 12.)

"Prussian theory places railroads in one category, ordinary business in the other. We have, until recently, insisted upon their essential similarity. Prussian history establishes the soundness of the first and the falsity of the second theory. Continental Europe recognized the danger of laissez faire in railroad business much earlier than America." (Prof. B. H. Myers, of Wisconsin S. U. I., in Ann. of Am. Academy, Vol. 12.)

"Within the last few months I have had occasion to meet men from both these countries (Australia and New South Wales) who are thoroughly well informed not only as to the operation of the railroads but as to the sentiment of their people and I was assured that the idea of discontinuing public ownership and allowing the railroads to pass again into private hands would find no support in public opinion or be regarded as among future possibilities." (M. A. Knapp, chairman international state commerce commission, in Ann. of Am. Academy, Vol. 19, page 72.)

Speaking of the movement for government ownership throughout the world Chairman Knapp in the same article says: "On the whole the tendency is strongly toward government ownership."

It will thus be seen that government ownership of railways is not a new issue, and it is not socialistic. The United States supreme court and every state in the union has held that railroads are simply improved highways and when built by private companies is done by virtue of powers delegated from the government.

In every country where the policy has been started it is at the present time being pushed to complete ownership of all the railroads in the country. There has been no confiscation, no condemnation, and no litigation to speak of. It has all been accomplished by negotiation and purchase. What forty-two of the principal countries of the world have accomplished with nothing but the very best of results I presume no man will say that the United States could not do equally well.

In answer to the objection that the

increased patronage would exert an undue influence in politics it is sufficient to quote the words of Chairman Knapp in the article referred to:

"We may well question whether government ownership would under any circumstances introduce into our politics a more dangerous or vicious force than the railways now exert."

At most the railway employees could do no more than give an undue strength to the policies and principles of the party in power. They would, part of the time at least, favor good laws. As it is now, the whole power is exerted for themselves and against the best interests of the whole people. Certainly we would have no more railway lobbies, no more scandals in the election of United States senators and other officers. We would see an immediate end of the great corruption funds which have so successfully controlled elections and nullified the will of the people.

Remove this one influence from the manipulation of our elections and we shall experience the good results of a free expression of the will of the people at the polls such as has not been felt for more than a quarter of a century if not longer.

This has been the experience of other nations. Immediately upon its adoption has followed the perfection of the civil service laws. The whole power of the railway employees has been uniformly thrown in that direction with irresistible force. As I said in the Waterloo speech:

"The railroads are therefore the

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