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# REPORT

OF THE

# INDUSTRIAL COMMISSION

ON

# TRANSPORTATION,

## INCLUDING

REVIEW OF EVIDENCE, TOPICAL DIGEST OF EVIDENCE, AND TESTIMONY SO FAR AS TAKEN MAY 1, 1900.

## • VOLUME IV of the commission's reports.

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## UNITED STATES INDUSTRIAL COMMISSION, Washington, D. C., May 14, 1900.

SIR: I have the honor to transmit herewith, on behalf of the Industrial Commission, a preliminary report to Congress on the subject of Transportation, prepared in conformity with an act of Congress of June 18, 1898.

The Commission is not prepared at present to make recommendations to Congress or to the State legislatures, but contemplates the making of such recommendations hereafter.

Respectfully,

JAMES H. KYLE, Chairman.

The Speaker of the House of Representatives.

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# **REVIEW OF EVIDENCE.**

## INTRODUCTION.

The Industrial Commission has taken the testimony of many witnesses on the subject of transportation, especially railway transportation. These witnesses include representatives of all the important organizations of railway employees, representatives of many organizations of shippers and commercial bodies, as well as other shippers, officers of railways and of railway associations, members of the Interstate Commerce Commission, and special students of transportation questions-college professors and others. Several witnesses have also testified as to lake, canal, and ocean transportation. While detailed and specific statements as to the conditions of labor and traffic have not usually been sought, many general statements as to these conditions have been obtained, and although there is, of course, not a little difference of opinion, certain conclusions as to facts emerge with fair clearness from the testimony. Naturally, there is even greater difference of judgment as to needed legislation; but here again it is possible to gather some fair conclusions concerning the preponderance of opinion among those most interested, as to some of the important problems now before the people. The Commission has not, however, completed its investigation of transportation. It is expected that additional testimony will be taken as to all phases of the subject, but more especially as to certain topics which have been investigated least fully, such as ticket brokerage, capitalization of railways, consolidation of railways, state railway commissions, taxation, conditions of water transportation, etc.

The wide-reaching social and economic influence of the means of transportation is indicated by the fact that questions relating to them have been discussed to a greater or less extent by the witnesses in connection with almost all the other investigations of the Commission—notably those on agriculture, trusts and industrial combinations, and capital and labor. The evidence in these investigations should be consulted in connection with the present volume.

## FREIGHT DISCRIMINATIONS BETWEEN INDIVIDUALS.

There is a general consensus of opinion among practically all witnesses, including members of the Interstate Commerce Commission, representatives of shippers, and railway officers, that the railways still make discriminations between individuals, and perhaps to as great an extent as ever before. In fact, it is stated by numerous witnesses that discriminations were probably worse during the year 1898 than at any previous time. It is admitted that there is great difficulty in proving individual cases where shippers have been given special rates or other favors, but the witnesses declare that it is common knowledge among all familiar with the subject that such concessions are largely granted.<sup>1</sup> The arguments pre-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Knapp, pp. 129, 132, 139, 142; Prouty, pp. 150-152; Clements, p. 159; Cowen, pp. 813-316; Blanchard, pp. 683, 684; Ingalls, pp. 286, 297; Spencer, pp. 273, 279; Ripley, pp. 504, 506; Stickney, pp. 400-463; Bird, pp. 470, 471; Morton, pp. 490, 493, 494; Kelley, pp. 185, 186; Vanlandingham, pp. 194, 207; Dousman, pp. 353, 359; Neall, pp. 173, 174.

sented by many railway officers in favor of pooling assert directly or indirectly the existence of discriminating rates. The representatives of the railways declare that so long as competition exists the attempt to get traffic by secret rates must continue.

It is thought generally that there has been a considerable improvement in the situation during the year 1899. This is attributed in part to the exceedingly heavy traffic which rendered it unnecessary for railroads to secure shipments by discriminating rates, and in part to a better spirit among the railways themselves. In the latter part of 1898, Messrs. Cowen and Murray, receivers of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, addressed a letter to the Interstate Commerce Commission declaring that the practice of granting rates below the published tariffs was so general as seriously to reduce the revenues of the railroads. More than 50 per cent of the traffic, at least on certain roads, was affected. The receivers expressed a determination to cooperate in the enforcement of the law. Later, conferences were held between the Interstate Commerce Commission and railway officers, which led to a general attempt to reduce the extent of the evil. Many witnesses, however, including representatives of the railroads, think that the improvement is only temporary and that when the present rush of traffic has ceased discriminating rates will be granted more and more.

A few witnesses are inclined to think that discriminations are not at present a very serious evil and are not likely to become such, especially since the published freight rates are now so low that no considerable concessions can be made from them with profit to the railroads; but the evidence is preponderatingly strong on the other side.<sup>1</sup>

Methods and forms.—The methods by which discriminations are granted are stated by the witnesses to be very numerous. It is claimed by some that direct rebates and secret rates are still frequently granted; commissions are paid for securing freight; goods are billed at less than the actual weight; traffic within a State not subject to the interstate-commerce act is carried at lower rates; allowances and advantages are made in handling and storing, etc. Several witnesses refer to the practice of shipping goods under a false classification. Sometimes this is done without the knowledge of the railways, but in other cases they apparently connive. Thus, fine hardware may be shipped as some low-class kind of iron. A few specific instances of discriminations of different sorts were mentioned before the Commission, but no detailed evidence was taken to prove the exact character and amount of these discriminations.<sup>3</sup>

Effect of discriminations.—It is very generally acknowledged that discriminating favors are granted chiefly to large shippers at the expense of small shippers. This is natural, since the railways compete more actively for the traffic which a large shipper can furnish. It is claimed, also, that the effect of the penalties of the interstate-commerce act has been still further to limit the preferences to a few shippers, since this makes it more possible to secure secrecy. There seems, accordingly, to be weight in the suggestion made by several witnesses that railway discriminations tend to foster trusts and combinations; a position which was especially upheld by numerous witnesses in the investigation of the Industrial Commission on trusts. Mr. Blanchard and one or two other witnesses declare that it is in no way the purpose of railways to favor combinations or men of great wealth; in fact, they would prefer not to do so, since it gives these large shippers power to force still greater concessions. But the railways are in no position to refuse the demands of such shippers.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Tucker, pp. 558, 559; Callaway, pp. 231, 234; Bird, p. 471; Woffinden, p. 565.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>Gallagher, pp. 541-543; Fuller, pp. 442, 443; Prouty, pp. 149, 150; Snydacker, pp. 398-400; Blanchard, pp. 625, 675; Knapp, p. 132; Kelley, p. 186; Vanlandingham, pp. 210, 211.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> Knapp, pp. 130, 142; Frouty, pp. 147, 148; Blanchard, pp. 683, 684; Reagan, p. 342; Bird, pp. 470, 471; Ripley, pp. 594, 596.

Carload and part carload shipments.—Witnesses on behalf of the railroads justify different rates on goods shipped in full carloads and in part carloads, and there appears no special objection to this practice on the part of other witnesses, so far as the differences are reasonable. It is claimed, however, that on shipments to the Pacific coast the rate on part carloads has been as much as 50 per cent higher than on carloads, the difference amounting to more than the possible profit of the dealer, and that this arrangement has practically prevented Eastern jobbers from selling directly to retailers in the Pacific States.<sup>1</sup>

Private cars.—It is the practice of the railways, as was brought out clearly in the evidence, to allow the owners of private cars a mileage rate of from 6 mills to 1 cent per mile for the use of their cars. A very large proportion of the shipments of fruit and of dressed beef is made in such cars. Although the same mileage rates and the same freight rates are perhaps open to all shippers, only those possessed of very large capital are in a position to furnish private cars in sufficient numbers to carry on an important business. It is claimed by nearly all witnesses testifying on the subject, including several railway officers, that the mileage is excessive and represents an exceedingly high profit on the cost of the cars, to that extent giving the owner of private cars an advantage over his competitors. Many of the railways apparently would be glad to supply the needed cars themselves and to refuse to haul private cars, but without an agreement on the part of all the competing lines it is impossible for them to do so.<sup>2</sup> One or two witnesses think that the peculiar character of these cars makes it unwise that the railways should own them, and that the mileage rate is probably not excessive.<sup>3</sup>

Penalties for discriminations.—Several witnesses, especially railway officers, incline to the opinion that the existing law prohibiting discriminations would be more effective if the penalty of imprisonment were abolished and a high fine, to be assessed primarily upon the corporation rather than upon individuals, made the sole penalty. It is also claimed that railway officers, who are most likely to have definite evidence concerning discriminations, will not testify against one another if the result may be imprisonment, but that they would have no such scruple if the punishment were pecuniary only.<sup>4</sup> It is suggested by some that each carload or shipment carried at a discriminating rate should be made the basis of a separate fine. Mr. Knapp, of the Interstate Commerce Commission, and one or two other witnesses, however, think that the threat of imprisonment is more effective than that of a fine, and especially urge that the mere granting of a right to sue for damages on account of discriminations is of very little effect in enforcing the law.<sup>6</sup> Other witnesses suggest the inspection of books and accounts as a means of obtaining evidence and as a remedy for discriminations. (See p. 23.)

#### THE ALLEGED ELEVATOR MONOPOLY.

A considerable amount of testimony has been taken concerning the practice of the large elevator owners, especially at Chicago, in buying grain, and concerning its effect upon commission merchants, country grain dealers, and farmers.

The evidence is clear that the great terminal elevators at Chicago, and to a less degree in other grain markets, are owned by a comparatively few men or firms; that the owners of public elevators, where grain may be stored at fixed charges by any holder, also control great private elevators; that they themselves buy a very large proportion of the grain which comes into the public elevators; and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Vanlandingham, pp. 207, 210.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup>Knapp, p. 141; Prouty, p. 151; Kelley, p. 187; Vanlandingham, pp. 209, 210; Greeley, pp. 373, 378; Dousman, p. 382; Callaway, p. 230; Ingalls, pp. 301, 302; Kennard, pp. 363-365.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Bird, pp. 475, 476; Fish, p. 336. <sup>4</sup> Ripley, p. 595; Morton, p. 495; Ingalls, pp. 296, 297; Hyland, pp. 351, 352; Carter, p. 585; Dousman,

p. 361; Bird, p. 471.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Knapp, p. 137; Spencer, p. 274; Reagan, p. 350.

that the business of handling grain on commission has been very greatly reduced by this practice. The elevator owners admit that they are very large buyers of grain. It is claimed by their opponents also, although the evidence is less definite, that these same owners of terminal elevators own or control most of the country elevators and warehouses; that in fact practically all the elevators along the lines and at the terminals of each railway system are in the hands of a single organization.<sup>1</sup>

The opponents of these large dealers admit that the elevator owners pay more for grain to the local dealers and farmers than the commission merchants and small dealers can pay, but they declare that this is due to various unfair advantages. Thus, the elevator owners themselves are exempt from the terminal storage and transfer charges which must be paid by other persons-three-fourths of a cent for transfer and the first 10 days storage—which is alleged to be much more than the actual cost. It is further declared that the elevator owners receive great advantages from the railways in the forms of allowances for handling grain and of direct freight discriminations. In fact, it is held by many witnesses that the railway companies or their officers are largely interested in the elevators and in grain buying. The evidence as to discriminations in favor of the elevators is chiefly indirect, based either on general belief or on the known fact that the elevator owners often pay more for grain at country stations than the price at Chicago, Kansas City, or Milwaukee, minus the full freight rate, would warrant. The excess in the price offered was shown to be sometimes as high as 2 or 24 cents on both wheat and corn. It was also stated that in 1890 a rebate of 5 cents per hundred was proved before the Interstate Commerce Commission to have been granted to certain elevator owners.<sup>2</sup>

It is also alleged that the Eastern railways have largely leased their transfer elevators, for transferring grain from Western to Eastern cars, to private companies which also deal in grain, and that the charges made by these companies are excessive, so that they have an advantage over competitors.

The elevator owners deny that the charge of ‡ of a cent for handling grain is excessive; the law permits 1‡ cents to be charged, while the actual charge is the lowest known anywhere. They deny also that the railways operate elevators directly, or, in the cases where they own them, have given special favors in leasing them to the present operators; though no very detailed evidence is presented. Mr. Webster, of the Armour Elevator Company, claims that that company actually owns most of its numerous elevators and pays high rentals for the remainder, while Mr. Counselman declares that the elevators on the Rock Island were built and paid for by his own firm. Mr. Webster also denies that the elevator owners receive discriminating rates from the railways.<sup>8</sup>

In view of the quite general acknowledgment among railway men that discriminations in favor of large shippers are still conspicuous, there seems to be a considerable probability that the claim that these large elevators receive favors from the railways, in one way or another, has some basis.

The elevator men explain further the reasons for their buying grain and for their advantages over competitors. They claim that the establishment of through rates on grain from the Mississippi River and other Western points to the seaboard lower, than the sum of the local rates from those points to Chicago and from Chicago east, gave an advantage to Eastern commission merchants and buyers, and Chicago elevator owners found it necessary to buy grain on a large scale and handle it in the same way, on through rates, in order to keep their ware-

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>Vanlandingham, p. 199; Carter, pp. 583, 584; Greeley, pp. 371, 373; Dousman, p. 354.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Barry, p. 250; Bookwalter, pp. 578–576; Gallagher, p. 545; Vanlandingham, pp. 198–200; Greeley, p. 373; Dousman, p. 355; Carter, p. 584; Bacon, p. 427.

<sup>\*</sup>Webster, pp. 413-416; Counselman\* pp. 385-388.

houses from standing idle. Moreover, the competition of the newer markets of Minneapolis, Duluth, Kansas City, and elsewhere forced these men to buy grain to protect Chicago as a market. The advantages which have made it possible for them to compete successfully with other markets, and largely to take business away from commission merchants, arise from their large capital, which enables them to carry large quantities of grain in anticipation of favorable markets, from the elimination of commission and other intermediate charges, and from the ability to forego a part or all of the normal charge for actual elevator service. The elevator owners have the same advantage over commission merchants that any business man has who furnishes himself with all accessory materials and facilities, instead of obtaining them from others, especially from his competitors,<sup>1</sup> One or two witnesses, however, claim that, as regards local buying, the small dealer, who has perhaps other business during the season when there is little grain buying, can handle the grain business more cheaply than a great concern.

Effect on prices.-The opponents of the elevator owners declare that there is a growing monopoly of the local elevators, those on each line of railway being largely controlled by a single firm. While there is still sometimes competition and while in such cases the large buyers pay the higher prices, sooner or later all competitors will be driven out and the farmer will be at the mercy of the great elevator owners. It is maintained, moreover, that where different elevator owners operate along the same line of railway they do not actively compete. On the contrary they meet daily on the Chicago Board of Trade and agree as to the prices which they will pay, at least as to certain territory. No evidence is presented to show specific cases where prices have been depressed by elevator owners.<sup>2</sup>

To these charges the elevator owners ' reply that, at least along many railroads, they do not control any large proportion of the local elevators. They buy largely from the local dealers, who compete among themselves; and there is nothing to check the competition of the different elevator concerns. There are few railroad stations which do not have two or more buyers. No agreement exists for limiting competition or fixing prices, except that certain leading Chicago elevator men do discuss daily the prices which they will pay in Kansas and other parts of the West, where the Chicago market comes into severe competition with other grain markets. The purpose is to agree upon a price high enough to bring the grain to Chicago. At practically all stations local dealers receive daily bids for their grain from a large number of buyers-often from 5 to 20. The existence of these competing bids is admitted by some of the opponents of the elevators.

Two country grain dealers from Iowa and Nebraska also testify that in their towns there are competing grain buyers, and that each of the local dealers receives bids directly from various elevator owners at Chicago and also from other markets, there being often a considerable range in the prices offered.<sup>4</sup>

The elevator owners maintain that the farmers are not only not injured by the existence of these large buyers, but that they are benefited by the elimination of various commissions and profits which were formerly paid by grain in its progress from the producer to the consumer, and by the many economies which elevator owners are able to effect. The elevator owner is satisfied with a little profit on a large business. 5

The two local grain dealers referred to above also declare that the farmer benefits by the elimination of middlemen under the present practice. Moreover

<sup>1</sup> Webster, pp. 400-411; Counselman, pp. 882-389; Bartlett, p. 303. <sup>3</sup> Dousman, p. 355; Greeley, pp. 371-376; Bookwalter, p. 576; Gallagher, p. 545; Vanlandingham p. 200; Sager, p. 451; Carter, p. 586. \*Counselman, pp. 384, 387; Bartlett, pp. 393-395; Webster, p. 416.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Burke, pp. 465-467; Hulbert, pp. 488-489. <sup>5</sup> Counselman, p. 384; Bartlett, pp. 393, 395; Snydacker, p. 396; Webster, pp. 405-415; Bookwalter, p. 574.

the reduction of the risk borne by the local dealer, from the fact that he receives bids for his grain on the track every day, enables him to work on a narrower margin.

Quality of grain .--- It is claimed by certain witnesses that the owners of public warehouses have an unjust advantage over competing grain dealers from the fact that they are able to deliver to those who hold storage certificates the poorest quality of grain which will meet the official grade, while the owners themselves can take the best quality, for which they are able to obtain a higher price. The representative of a prominent milling company especially declares that millers are forced to disregard official inspections in order to prevent the warehousemen from giving them inferior qualities.<sup>1</sup> The elevator owners, on the other hand, declare that their practice of mixing and cleaning grain for the purpose of improving the grades is beneficial to all concerned; that there are no instances proved where unjust discriminations as to the quality of grain have been made, and that it is absurd to expect them to furnish to the public grain better than the official inspection requires.<sup>3</sup> There seems little doubt, however, that opportunities do exist for the warehousemen who store grain for the public and who are also grain owners to get an advantage in the way suggested. This seems the more probable from the fact, brought out in the testimony of one or two witnesses who are especially familiar with grain inspection, that the official grading of grain is necessarily imperfect.<sup>8</sup>

### EXPORT GRAIN RATES AND FLOUR SHIPMENTS.

It appears clearly from the evidence that the railways have of late made specially low rates on grain hauled to the seaboard for export, while higher rates have been maintained on grain intended for domestic use and on flour, whether for domestic use or export. The chief complaint as to this practice comes from the American millers. Although the evidence is not entirely clear on this point, it is stated that these special export rates have been granted for the most part only since February 1, 1899. The discriminations were so great at times. during 1899 that, while the Chicago miller would have to pay 21 cents per 100 pounds to get his flour to New York, the English miller could take wheat from Chicago to New York for 13 cents. The discrimination on shipments from points on the Mississippi and Missouri rivers to the Eastern seaboard and to the Gulf ports was even greater. The Interstate Commerce Commission investigated this subject, and issued an order on August 9, 1899, that the difference between export rates on wheat and on flour should not exceed 2 cents per hundred from Chicago, although the commission admits that it doubts its power in the matter.

It appears that some slight changes in rates were made soon after this order, and that on November 1, 1899, the export rates on grain were raised so that the difference from Chicago to the seaboard was 2 cents, as suggested by the Commission. The through grain rates from the Mississippi River, however, were changed to a less extent, so that it would still cost from 3 to 7 cents more for a miller at Chicago, Milwaukee, or Indianapolis to carry grain from the West to his mill and flour from the mill to the seaboard than it would cost the English miller to take grain from the Mississippi River to the coast, while there were differences of about the same amount between export wheat and domestic wheat, putting the miller on the seacoast at a like disadvantage as compared with the English miller.4

The evidence seems conclusive that the effect of this discrimination has already been disastrous to our milling interests, and that probably, even with the dif-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Carter, pp. 582, 583; Sager, pp. 450-452; Dousman, p. 856; Greeley, p. 371. <sup>2</sup> Webster, pp. 411, 413; Vanlandingham, pp. 200, 201.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>Clark, pp. 431-433; Evans, p. 440.

Knapp, pp. 134, 142; Prouty, p. 146; Vanlandingham, p. 195; Barry, p. 249; Bacon, pp. 422-425; Sager, pp. 446, 447; Evans, pp. 435, 436; Gallagher, pp. 539, 540.

ference in rates reduced as already shown, it will continue to be injurious. Although very large flour shipments continued to be made early in 1899, in order to meet previous contracts or to dispose of stocks on hand, there was later in the year a great decrease in the demand for American flour. The exports from Minneapolis during September, 1899, were one-fourth less than during September, 1898, while exports from Duluth decreased more than one-half. At present American flour has a reputation which tends to keep up the demand, but when it is found that European millers are able to secure the same quality of grain and, owing to lower freight rates and cheaper labor, to turn it into flour at a reduced price, the American millers will probably find it very difficult to export, especially since the margin of profit in milling is very low.<sup>1</sup>

Justification of discriminations discussed.—The representatives of several railways, as well as one or two shipping merchants, declare that it is justifiable to make lower rates on grain for export than on grain for domestic use. The price of grain in foreign markets is determined by the competition of sources of supply all over the world, and American grain can be sold there only if it meets the market price. At times the conditions of competition are such that only by making a very low freight rate could American wheat be sold at all. The low export rate relieves the country of a surplus and is beneficial to the farmers; it is similar to the practice of manufacturers in selling their surplus abroad at lower prices than at home. If the railroads were compelled to make an equally low rate on grain for domestic use, they would be unable to make any profit whatever.<sup>3</sup>

One or two representatives of the railways also assert that the competition of Canadian carriers is more severe as to export grain than as to domestic grain, and that lower export rates are thus forced upon American railways.<sup>3</sup>

On the other hand, Mr. Prouty, of the Interstate Commerce Commission, declares that the investigation of that body showed that the market conditions in Europe during 1899 did not necessitate low export rates, but that the reduction in these rates was due primarily to the bitter competition of the American trunk lines. Several other witnesses hold the same opinion, and especially contend that these low export rates scarcely existed prior to 1899, and that no special change in conditions has arisen to necessitate them. America can produce grain as cheaply as any country, and lower export rates are less justifiable on grain than they would be on manufactured products.<sup>4</sup>

Railway officers also defend the making of lower rates on grain as compared with flour. The chief argument is that grain is easier and cheaper to handle, both as regards the weight which can be loaded into cars and as regards terminal services. Moreover, water competition is stronger in the case of wheat than of flour, especially because of the greater convenience with which grain can be loaded and unloaded from vessels. It is claimed also that railways can get full train loads of grain, and can get them at times when shipments are especially desired. Railways always charge higher rates for more valuable and more elaborated products than for cheaper crude products.<sup>6</sup>

Other witnesses,<sup>6</sup> however, declare emphatically that the railways can handle flour as cheaply as wheat. Flour for export, which is always in bags, can be piled up so as to make the load quite as heavy as that of wheat, and equal to the

- <sup>6</sup> Callaway, pp. 232, 233; Bird, pp. 473, 474; Tucker, pp. 563, 564; Blanchard, pp. 672, 673.
   <sup>6</sup> Barry, pp. 244-250; Vanlandingham, pp. 197, 203-205; Bacon, p. 424; Evans, pp. 435-438; Sager, pp.
- 449, 450; Gallagher, pp. 540, 541, 543; Neall, pp. 164-166.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Barry, pp. 243, 246; Vanlandingham, p. 196; Sager, pp. 447, 448, 453; Gallagher, pp. 539, 545, 546, Evans, pp. 435-437.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Neall, p. 166; Kelley, p. 188; Callaway, p. 234; Spencer, pp. 276, 281; Fish, pp. 336, 337; Tucker, p. 563; Snydacker, p. 397; Blanchard, pp. 628, 629; Gallagher, p. 543.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> Blanchard, p. 628.

<sup>\*</sup> Prouty, pp. 146, 147; Vanlandingham, p. 195; Morton, p. 490; Barry, pp. 247, 248; Bacon, pp. 424, 425.

full capacity of the car. If the actual weight of carloads of flour averages less than that of wheat, it can be due only to the fault of railways, which often furnish small, old-fashioned cars for flour shipments. The expense of handling at terminals is not to be considered, since the cars are loaded by the miller and unloaded by the consignee. Grain shipments tend to concentrate themselves during a short period after harvest, when they interfere with other shipments and prevent the securing of return loads. The gradual shipment of flour throughout the year is an advantage to the railways. It should be to the interest of the railways also to favor milling interests because of the traffic in mill supplies and in the goods consumed by mill employees. One or two witnesses think that the reason for discrimination is that railways are interested in grain elevators and are themselves dealers in grain (see above, p. 8), while others believe that the officers of railways are interested in the terminal elevators and transfer facilities at the seaboard ports, especially at New York, and derive a profit from handling grain. This last argument is specifically denied by the representatives of the railways.<sup>1</sup>

Import rates.—It appears also from the testimony that railways sometimes make lower rates on goods imported from other countries than on the same goods produced in this country. Indeed, instances were mentioned in which the through rates, including ocean transportation, from European countries to inland points, or to the Pacific coast, have been considerably lower than the rates from points in this country, over the same routes, to the same destination.<sup>3</sup>

Remedy.—In view of the discriminations which are thus shown to have existed between the rates on goods exported or imported and goods of domestic origin and destination, it is urged by several witnesses that the power of the Interstate Commerce Commission be specifically extended to cover export and import traffic. It is claimed by some that the commission already has such power, but this is denied by many railway men, and the courts have held, as regards import traffic, that the commission has no power.<sup>3</sup>

## DISCRIMINATIONS BETWEEN PLACES.

Many witnesses presented evidence concerning what they considered to be unjust discriminations in rates as between different places. Mr. Knapp points out that such discriminations are not secret, but result from unfairness of published tariffs.<sup>4</sup>

Long and short haul.—The form of place discriminations which is most conspicuously recognized in the interstate-commerce act is that of higher rates for a shorter distance over the same track than for a longer one. The so-called long and short haul clause of the act, however, declares such differences illegal only where conditions are similar, and it has been held by the courts that dissimilarity of conditions is caused by water competition, and even by competition among railways themselves. The witnesses point out that terminal points are naturally subject to such competition to a far greater degree than intermediate points. In the Southern States, largely on account of water competition along the Atlantic and Gulf coasts, and in the Western States also, on account of ocean transportation, the rates to terminal points are often conspicuously lower than those to intermediate points. The policy of the railways is stated by the members of the Interstate Commerce Commission to be to charge a gradually increasing rate to local points according to distance, until the rate becomes such that it would cost no more to ship the goods through to the terminal point and back to the local station.

Blanchard, p. 673.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Vanlandingham, p. 205; Prouty, p. 146; Reagan, pp. 840, 349; Morton, p. 493; Kindel, p. 260; Kelley, p. 188.

Vanlandingham, p. 213; Gallagher, p. 539; Sager, pp. 447, 453; Barry, pp. 248; Reagan, p. 349.
 4P. 133.

Since terminal charges are an important factor in rates, the intermediate rate may thus be materially higher than the through rate.<sup>1</sup>

Numerous specific instances were submitted by a witness residing in Colorado to show that the rates for the shorter haul from Chicago and other Eastern points to that State were much higher than those for the haul to Pacific coast points. Moreover, the rates on various commodities from Colorado to the Pacific coast and other Western points were shown to be often higher than those from Eastern points to the same destination. Thus the freight on books from Chicago to San Francisco was \$1.75 per hundred pounds, and from Denver to San Francisco \$3. The rate on boots and shoes from Chicago to Denver was \$2.05, and from Chicago to San Francisco \$1.50, etc. The witness claimed that the jobbing and manufacturing interests of Colorado have been very greatly injured by these discriminations.<sup>8</sup>

Other instances of higher rates for shorter hauls over the same road were mentioned by witnesses in connection with more general complaints as to differences in rates, often by separate roads, in favor of one market as against another.

A few witnesses think that the provision that dissimilar conditions may justify lower rates to competitive than to intermediate points should be repealed, or at least that the Interstate Commerce Commission should be given final authority to decide as to the justice of rates to different places on the same line.<sup>3</sup>

Several representatives of the railroads, owever, declare that discriminations between long and short hauls are made only under stress of necessity, and that if the rates for the shorter hauls are themselves reasonable, there should be no objection against lower rates to through points. At least one of these witnesses thinks that the entire long and short haul clause should be dropped from the interstate-commerce act.<sup>4</sup>

Other place discriminations .-- Most of the discriminations between places of which complaint was made are between different terminal points or central markets, as distinguished from discriminations between terminal and intermediate points. Frequently the rates complained of are not made by the same railway system, but by different ones, with or without agreement among themselves. Thus the trunk lines from the West to the Eastern seaboard compete actively, especially for the export traffic in grain and grain products. It is a matter of indifference often to grain shippers whether their goods go by way of New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, or other ports. Each railroad and each terminal point considers itself entitled to a certain proportion of traffic, and naturally the opinion of each differs from that of the other. In the particular case referred to an agreement was reached more than 20 years ago permitting railroads reaching Philadelphia to charge a rate 2 cents less per hundred pounds than those reaching New York, and granting those reaching Baltimore and more southern ports a similar "differential" of 3 cents. Each of the ports is inclined to complain that this adjustment of differentials is unfair.6

Similar adjustments of rates have been made with a view to putting the leading cities of the central West more or less on a par as distributing points for goods shipped from the East and as marketing points for grain and other products. Railway officers point out the immense difficulty of adjusting rates so as to do justice to different sections and cities, and the practical impossibility of satisfying all. They declare that the attempt of each railway, each section, and each city to get the largest possible proportion of traffic has been the chief cause of rate wars and disturbances, especially in the Northwestern States.<sup>6</sup> Since repre-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Knapp, pp. 134, 137; Clements, pp. 154, 155; Vanlandingham, pp. 202, 206.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Kindel, pp. 251-264.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Dousman, p. 361; Bacon, p. 420; Clements, pp. 154, 155; Reagan, p. 342; Hyland, p. 352.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Spencer, pp. 275, 281, 284; Blanchard, p. 628; Tucker, p. 560.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup>Kelley, pp. 185, 186; Neall, p. 173; Callaway, pp. 224-226; Blanchard, p. 673.

Blanchard, pp. 630, 631; Bird, p. 472; Ripley, pp. 597, 598.

sentatives of each of the leading cities are prepared to make complaints against each of the others, a large number of such conflicting complaints being actually made before the Industrial Commission,<sup>1</sup> it becomes very difficult for any public authority to decide as to the justice of the rates in any particular case.

Special reference was made by several witnesses to the effect of transportation by way of the Gulf of Mexico and the railways of the central West upon rail rates between that section and the Eastern seaboard. Some witnesses think that an undue proportion of traffic is diverted to Kansas City, St. Louis, New Orleans, and Galveston, and that the rail rates favor those points, while other witnesses think that the natural conditions—distances, grades, etc.—would justify the Southern ports in demanding a much larger proportion of the traffic than they actually receive.<sup>9</sup>

## POOLING.

A large number of witnesses discussed the question of permitting railways to make pooling and other agreements. It was pointed out that pools were to be distinguished from other agreements as to rates or as to other matters. In the pool an agreement is made as to the proportion of business to be allotted to each of the roads entering the arrangement. Either tonnage is diverted from the roads receiving more than the agreed proportion or a money payment representing the profit on the surplus tonnage is made. Pooling agreements seldom fix rates, although, of course, rates are in practice greatly affected by them.<sup>3</sup>

The interstate-commerce act specifically prohibits pools, while the antitrust act of 1890 has been interpreted as prohibiting associations and agreements among railways with a view to fixing rates. It is now advocated by many witnesses that railways should be permitted to make agreements of any kind, and that pooling contracts should be not only legalized, but made enforceable by law. The chief difficulty, it is said, with the pools which formerly existed was that they were outside of the pale of the law, and that there was no way of punishing a railway belonging to a pool which should attempt to divert traffic to itself or should refuse to divide returns. The advocates of pooling include nearly all of the railway officers who appeared before the Commission. A number of shippers, representatives of commercial bodies, members of the Interstate Commerce Commission, and other expert students of transportation also favor pooling, but usually only with the proviso that much more effective governmental control than at present be exercised over rates and over pooling contracts. It was declared by two or three witnesses also that a very general consensus of opinion in favor of pooling exists on the part of other persons throughout the country.4

Arguments against pooling are vigorously presented by Mr. Stickney, of the Chicago Great Western Railway, by two officers representing the Chicago Board of Trade, by Mr. Vanlandingham, the commissioner of the St. Louis Traffic Bureau, and by one or two others; their general position being that the practice would tend to maintain high rates by checking the legitimate competition between railways. Mr. Vanlandingham, however, would permit railways to agree as to rates.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Newcomb, p. 97; Cowen, p. 314; Blanchard, pp. 677, 643, 665; Ingalls, pp. 286, 297.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>Complaints regarding discriminations against Chicago, Kennard, p. 365; Mallory, p. 588; discriminations against St. Louis, Vanlandingham, pp. 194-199, 206; against Kansas City, Bookwalter, pp. 570-578; Mallory, p. 588; against Milwaukee, Bacon, p. 418; against La Crosse, Dickinson, p. 549; against Norfolk, Nebr., Fuller, pp. 442-446; against Grand Rapids, Musselman, p. 558.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Vanlandingham, pp. 197, 206; Knapp, p. 133; Callaway, p. 225; Fish, pp. 321-330.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup>Public officers, etc.: Knapp. p. 138; Prouty, p. 150; Newcomb, pp. 96-98; Johnson, p. 62; Reagan, p. 345; Seligman, pp. 614-617. Railway men: Blanchard, pp. 640-649; Woffindin, pp. 565, 568; Callaway, pp. 235-238; Ingalls, pp. 286, 296-300; Spencer, p. 280; Cowen, pp. 314, 315; Bird, p. 474; Tucker, pp. 558-561; Morton, pp. 491, 495, 499; Ripley, p. 588. Shippers: Neall, p. 173; Evans, p. 441; Kelley, pp. 190, 191; Counselman, pp. 390, 391; Bacon, pp. 420, 426.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup>Hyland, pp. 351, 353; Vanlandingham, pp. 214, 216; Stone, pp. 532-535; Stickney, p. 463; Carter, p. 585.

Pooling and competition.—The argument in favor of pooling rests on the position, as stated by several witnesses, that competition between railways is abnormal and destructive, tending to reduce rates to an unprofitable figure, to cause sudden fluctuations injurious to the stability of business, and to induce discriminations between individuals. Several witnesses maintain that the conditions of competition in the railway business are entirely different from those in the production and sale of ordinary commodities; that the poorest railway, such as one which is in the hands of receivers, and therefore not forced to pay dividends, can cut rates with a view to diverting traffic unduly, and can thereby force other railways to make unprofitable rates. The experience of the past with rate wars is referred to as evidence of the destructive character of railway competition. It is pointed out that the control which the Government can and does exercise over railway rates makes competition unnecessary, in a way which would not be true as to other business.<sup>1</sup>

At the same time the defenders of pooling claim that pools would not absolutely prevent competition and would not permit railways to charge excessive rates. The competition of water carriers, not only those immediately parallel to railways but often those far distant, would in many cases keep down rates. The chief influence affecting rates is the competition of different markets, frequently of markets all over the world. If the railways in one section should attempt to maintain excessive rates, products of that section could not compete with those of another section, perhaps far removed. Reasonable competition, moreover, still exists among pooled railroads themselves, especially in the way of offering greater facilities and conveniences, for the sake of justifying a claim to a larger proportion of the business. The experience of the country with pools in the past is cited as showing that rates have not been maintained at excessive figures, but have actually been reduced under pools. It is also asserted that pooling is recognized in all leading European countries as a necessary remedy for excessive rate cutting and discriminations, government roads even entering pools with private lines, and that it has not tended toward excessive rates.<sup>2</sup>

On the other hand, it was claimed by two or three witnesses that competition is as natural, necessary, and beneficial in the railway business as in any other; that pooling would mean nothing else than monopoly, and that pools in the past have had injurious effects, tending toward excessive rates, and not preventing other evils.<sup>3</sup>

Pooling and discriminations.—Pooling is especially advocated by railway officers and others on the ground that it would tend to check discriminations between persons and between places, which it is claimed are the natural result of excessive competition. It is urged that the only method by which discriminations can be prevented is by interesting the railways themselves to prevent them.<sup>4</sup>

A few witnesses, however, maintain that railways would still be inclined to grant discriminating rates for the sake of increasing their proportion of traffic, in order to secure a larger allotment when the proportions of the roads in the pool should be fixed for the next time.<sup>5</sup>

To this it is replied that as a matter of fact the proportion of business allotted to each road is determined by other considerations than temporary changes in tonnage.<sup>6</sup>

Control of pooling by the Interstate Commerce Commission.—All of the members of the Interstate Commerce Commission, general students, and representatives of

\* Ripley, p. 596.

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Knapp, p. 138; Seligman, p. 615; Blanchard, pp. 635-640; Ripley, pp. 593, 594; Tucker, pp. 560, 561.
 <sup>a</sup> Blanchard, pp. 643-647, 651-656, 664; Ripley, pp. 593, 595; Cowen, pp. 814, 315; Ingalls, p. 299; Cal-

laway, pp. 235-238; Newcomb, p. 96.
 \* Stone, p. 532-537; Stickney, p. 460.

See especially Blanchard, pp. 644, 675, 683; Ripley, pp. 594, 596; Tucker, p. 558; Musselman, p. 557, and other witnesses already referred to generally.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Vanlandingham, pp. 214, 216; Hyland, p. 351; Greeley, p. 374; Stone, p. 535.

shippers who favor pooling think that the Interstate Commerce Commission should be given a very great degree of control over the terms of pools, and especially over the rates on pooled roads. Otherwise it is feared that extortionate rates may result from the removal of competition. Mr. Clements, of the Interstate Commerce Commission, is disposed to doubt the possibility of proper regulation, and hence the wisdom of permitting pooling at all. The majority of the railway officers who testify on this subject also express themselves as willing to concede such control to the commission, and there is no specific opposition to it. The degree of control suggested by the various witnesses of course differs. Many go so far as to favor giving the commission absolute power to approve or disapprove a pooling agreement or to discontinue it at any time, and also to fix rates finally so far as they apply to pooled traffic.<sup>1</sup> A few railway men think that the commission should be given little more power over the rates under pools than over rates in general.<sup>2</sup>

## REASONABLENESS OF FREIGHT RATES.

There is comparatively little complaint on the part of witnesses before the Industrial Commission concerning excessive freight rates, aside from the complaints regarding discriminations between individuals and places.

On the other hand, many witnesses, including both representatives of railways and others, maintain that American freight rates are reasonable, and are, in fact, remarkably low. Some of these witnesses point out the great complexity of the influences affecting the carrying of freight, and the consequent difficulty of determining whether a particular freight rate is just. The justice of rates can be judged only by comparison between different commodities and different places. and by considering the profits of the railway. It is insisted that it is ordinarily impossible for freight rates to be excessive upon any railway or in any section of the country, on account of the competition of products and markets themselves. Rates must be made such that goods can be produced and marketed, and this fact not only is of prime importance in determining relative rates on different commodities, but also practically prevents unfairly high rates.<sup>3</sup> For this reason the proposition<sup>4</sup> that railway rates should be made strictly uniform on the basis of mileage is declared to be neither feasible nor necessary to secure justice. The differences of conditions, both as to the expenses of transportation and as to competition for markets, necessitate different charges in different parts of the country.<sup>5</sup>

It is shown further by the testimony that freight rates in the United States have decreased steadily and with considerable rapidity during the past 30 years. Numerous specific statistics concerning the decrease in rates are presented. For example, it is stated that the average rate per ton per mile in 1873 was 2.21 cents, and in 1895, 0.839 cent. At the same time it is claimed that the profits of the railway business have declined, the present returns on securities being, on the average, exceedingly low. Opinion as to the last matter will, of course, depend on the belief as to the extent to which railway securities represent actual investment of capital. (See p. 19.) It is also stated by many witnesses that the freight rates in this country are materially lower than in foreign countries, although it is admitted

4 Dousman, pp. 359-361.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Knapp, pp. 138, 141; Prouty, p. 150; Clements, p. 157; Ingalls, pp. 287, 299; Cowen, p. 315; Counselman, p. 391; Kelley, pp. 190, 191; Bacon, p. 421. See also statements of witnesses above named. <sup>2</sup> Morton, pp. 491, 495, 499; Blanchard, pp. 640, 643, 678, 682.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup>Blanchard, pp. 636, 627, 630; Newcomb, pp. 96, 99-101; Callaway, pp. 223, 226, 235; Stickney,

<sup>\*</sup> Blanchard, pp. 630, 651, 650, Newcomb, pp. 86, 85-101; Canaway, pp. 235, 250, 355; Slickney, pp. 460-463; Tucker, p. 559.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Morton, pp. 498, 499.

that some of our local rates are as high as those abroad, the average being reduced by our low through rates on long hauls. No detailed comparisons of American and foreign freight rates have been thus far submitted.1

#### CLASSIFICATION OF FREIGHT.

There is a movement of considerable strength in favor of a uniform system of classifying freight over the entire country. This is advocated by many shippers, and some of them are inclined to believe that the Interstate Commerce Commission should be given power to establish such a uniform classification, or at least to require the railways to do so. There are at present three different systems of classification-the Official, applying north of the Potomac and east of the Mississippi (with certain exceptions as to traffic west of Chicago); the Southern, apply ing south of the Potomac and east of the Mississippi, and the Western. It is claimed by shippers that great inconvenience occurs on account of the differences under these systems. It is impossible for shippers to ascertain accurately the rates on any particular commodity where it passes from one region to another having a different classification. The differences also give rise to discriminations between shippers. Thus goods shipped from Eastern points through Chicago to points in Wisconsin and Illinois come under the Official classification, while similar goods shipped directly from Chicago, from Mississippi River points, or other points in that section, come under the Western classification, by which the rates are likely to be higher, putting the Western shipper at a disadvantage in competition.<sup>9</sup>

A number of railway officers also expressed themselves in favor of uniform classification, and some of these believe it to be feasible to make the classes absolutely alike in all sections.<sup>8</sup>

Others, while admitting the desirability of more uniform classification, think that absolute uniformity is out of the question, and that the railroads should be left to approach more and more toward uniformity as their experience and interests may dictate. It is pointed out that the number of classifications, and the number of classes in each, have been greatly reduced in recent years, and that the railways themselves some time ago actively sought to secure a single classification, although the attempt failed on account of the opposition of certain railways in different sections to the assignment of particular commodities. It is urged by some witnesses with considerable force that the conditions of different sections necessitate differences in classification. In each section the goods which are most largely produced there must be given favoring rates in order that they may compete in the world market; while it would be unjust to require similarly low rates on railways in a section where little of such commodities is carried. It is declared that these differences in conditions have necessitated the adoption of special "commodity rates" outside of the regular classifications, and that even if a uniform classification should be established as regards most articles, these special rates on the more bulky commodities would still be necessary.4

There is evident a desire, however, on the part of both railways and shippers, that a greater degree of uniformity should be secured, and many favor conservative action of Government to further the movement. Most railway officers think that the railways themselves should frame the classification, even if uniformity be required by law, and comparatively few witnesses favor giving a Government commission entire control of classification.<sup>4</sup>

Callaway, p. 237; Kelley, p. 191.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>Newcomb, pp. 101, 106; Blanchard, pp. 630, 631; Callaway, p. 223; Cowen, pp. 315, 316; Clements, pp. 153, 161; Morton, p. 498; Ripley, p. 593; Vanlandingham, pp. 201, 204; Spencer, pp. 378, 279; Stone, pp. 536, 538; Seligman, p. 614; Lewis, p. 733.
 <sup>a</sup> Newcomb, p. 100; Knspp, p. 142; Kelley, p. 191; Emerson, p. 483; Dickinson, pp. 548, 550.
 <sup>a</sup> Ripley, pp. 568-570; Morton, pp. 491, 496, 497; Ingalls, p. 300.
 <sup>4</sup> Blanchard, pp. 628, 627, 632-634, 676; Vanlandingham, pp. 202-204; Spencer, p. 277; Cowen, p. 217;

## PASSENGER TRAFFIC.

Reasonableness of fares.—Little complaint has been made by witnesses on the ground that passenger fares are excessive or discriminating, although two or three declare that our fares are considerably higher than those in European countries.<sup>1</sup> Representatives of the railways, on the other hand, especially defend the reasonableness of American passenger charges. They think that satisfactory comparisons with other countries are impossible because of the European practice of establishing different classes with widely different fares. It is claimed, too, that the average service in America is very much superior in comfort, speed, and other regards to that in Europe. So far as differences in fares exist in differences in the density of traffic and in the consequent cost of transportation, while other special reasons account for particular variations in rates.<sup>3</sup>

Passes.<sup>3</sup>-There seems to be a general agreement among all classes of witnesses that the issue of free passes is carried to a degree which makes it a serious evil. It is generally claimed that fewer passes are issued now than ten or fifteen years ago, and that the railways themselves are more and more inclined to reduce the number. It appears, however, that passes are still frequently granted to the members of State and national legislatures and to public officers of many classes; that they are sometimes issued to shippers and thus may constitute a form of freight discrimination; while they are largely issued in exchange for newspaper advertising and for other services and to employees of railroads. Some witnesses think that the revenues of railways are reduced appreciably by granting free transportation, and that thus indirectly the fares of paying passengers are increased, but others think that the extent of the practice is not sufficient to have this effect. Stress is often laid on the opinion that the issue of passes to public · officers and legislators involves an element of bribery; although some witnesses claim that this is not true, but that the practice is simply a conventional one due to respect for public authorities.

Most of the witnesses believe that practically no passes should be issued except to the employees of the issuing railway themselves, although some would favor issuing them to employees of other railways traveling on official business. Perhaps a majority of the witnesses consider legislation on the matter unnecessary, but not a few believe that laws would be helpful in aiding the railways to check the evil. Several States already have laws prohibiting the issue of passes to public officers, but one witness maintains that the effect of such laws is really to increase the number of passes, since officers, being unable to use them personally, demand them for their friends and supporters.

Ticket brokerage. — Most witnesses so far heard on this subject are representatives of railways, and these almost uniformly favor legislation prohibiting the sale and purchase of unused parts of passenger tickets. This position is also taken by several other witnesses. The witnesses who discuss the subject most fully declare that ticket "scalping" usually consists in the purchase and sale of parts of tickets which have been issued by railways at less than the regular rates for some justifiable reason, with the understanding that the entire ticket shall be used by the original buyer. For example, round-trip tickets are sold at reduced rates. So, too, through tickets

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>Weyl, p. 758; Lewis, p. 733; Seligman, p. 614; Johnson, p. 61.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup>Blanchard, pp. 618-620; Callaway, p. 229; Ingalls, p. 292; Spencer, p. 275; Morton, pp. 490, 498; Cowen, p. 310; Johnson, p. 61.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup>Knapp, pp. 135, 136; Prouty, p. 152; Reagan, pp. 841, 842; Ingalls, pp. 293-295; Fish, pp. 334, 835; Spencer, p. 270; Callaway, p. 229; Bird, pp. 468, 469; Morton, p. 490; Cowen, pp. 310-313; Blanchard, pp. 620, 621, 669; Stickney, pp. 456, 457; Dickinson, pp. 552-554.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup>Blanchard, pp. 621-623, 666-671; Morton, pp. 489, 500; Spencer, pp. 269-272; Ingalls, pp. 293, 294; Cowen, pp. 309,810; Stickney, p. 457; Callaway, p. 227; Bird, p. 469; Reagan, p. 350; Johnson, p. 61; Wilson, p. 768; Fish, p. 333; Vanlandingham, p. 214.

are often issued over connecting lines, making a trip considerably longer than the shortest possible railway route; these tickets must necessarily be sold at the same price as those over the direct line, so that there is opportunity for scalping the separate coupons. It is maintained that the railways already usually provide for the redemption of unused parts of tickets at a rate such as to make the fare for the distance actually traveled the same as that which would have been paid if the ticket for that distance had been bought in the first place. At any rate, the witnesses would be willing that a law prohibiting scalping should include a requirement that unused tickets be redeemed in this way. It is claimed that the fear of unauthorized use of reduced-fare tickets has a material effect in preventing the sale of such tickets by the railroads. The general public suffers more from this effect, perhaps, than from the increase of ordinary fares necessitated by loss of revenue to the railways through scalping.

These witnesses claim also that ticket brokerage leads to many fraudulent and illegitimate practices, such as the alteration of dates, the forging of signatures, the counterfeiting of tickets, and the stealing of tickets by railroad employees. Moreover, railways themselves have often connived with ticket brokers by selling them tickets at reduced rates with a view to secretly drawing a larger proportion of traffic than they could secure under open and equal rates. Opinions differ as to the extent of this latter practice at present, although most witnesses think it is not so common as formerly. Some believe that if the railways should cease to patronize the brokers they would be driven out of business, but the more common opinion seems to be that a large part, perhaps the most, of their business comes from other sources.

Although various methods have been proposed by which the railways themselves should check the sale of unused parts of tickets, it is claimed that none of them is thoroughly effective and that the only sufficient remedy is to be found by direct legislation, either by Congress or by the States.,

## CAPITALIZATION OF RAILWAYS.

It has been suggested that judgment as to the reasonableness of rates and fares from the standpoint of the earnings of railways will depend largely upon the question whether or how far their capital is inflated. Several witnesses declare, in general terms, that the amount of the stocks and bonds of most railways is far greater than their original cost or the cost of reproduction, and that even the bonds in many cases exceed the actual cost of construction. No detailed investigation of this subject was made. Some of the witnesses advocate that hereafter the issue of stocks should be controlled carefully by State authorities or, so far as constitutionally possible, by Federal authorities.<sup>1</sup>

Most of the arguments in opposition to this view are also of a general nature, pointing to the great increase in the value of terminals and of rights of way, to the large expenditure of earnings for improvement of properties, etc., as indicating that American railways, whether at first overcapitalized or not, are not now overcapitalized. It is also urged that overcapitalization in any case has practically no effect on rates, which are determined by competition (a statement which is questioned by one or two other witnesses), and that it does not deceive investors, since the market value of the stock is dependent on actual earning power.<sup>2</sup>

One witness presents detailed comparisons, showing that during the past decade the capitalization of American railways has increased only in proportion to the increase of mileage, while the capitalization of British railways has increased much more rapidly and is now fully four times as great per mile as that of American lines.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>Reagan, pp. 341-345; Knapp, pp. 144, 145; Clements, p. 160; Johnson, pp. 60, 62; Seligman, pp. 609, 610.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>Callaway, pp. 227, 228; Ingalls, p. 298; Cowen, p. 318; Newcomb, pp. 100, 101; Morton, p. 501.

<sup>\*</sup> Fish, pp. 326-332.

## CONSOLIDATION OF RAILWAYS.

Several witnesses refer to the recent well-known tendency toward consolidation in the ownership of railways. These consolidations take the form either of the establishment of long connecting systems, or, in some cases, of the common ownership of parallel and previously competing lines. Little detailed evidence as to the extent of this process of consolidation was presented. Members of the Interstate Commerce Commission declare that, although consolidation may result in certain advantages, it also necessitates more effective supervision.<sup>1</sup>

Railroad officers assert that consolidation has been forced in certain cases by the prohibition of pooling. It is also justifiable, they say, on account of the great economies in management and the improved facilities which are thus made possible. It is claimed that rates have been reduced, service improved, and discriminations checked by the consolidations hitherto made.<sup>2</sup>

The only representative of railway labor who mentions this subject sees nothing in consolidation to which to object.<sup>3</sup>

# PROPOSED INCREASE OF POWERS OF INTERSTATE COMMERCE COMMISSION.

There is a very general feeling shown by the witnesses representing shippers, by members of the Interstate Commerce Commission, and others, that the interstate-commerce act should be amended so as to increase the powers of the Interstate Commerce Commission in one way or another. It is asserted that the commission has found its powers constantly decreased, especially by the interpretations of the courts, and that its influence is at present chiefly an educational one.<sup>4</sup> The evils of railway management, these witnesses claim, are still many. The public character of railways, their great influence upon the general welfare, and their dependence on the State for their privileges, justify a greater degree of Government regulation of railways than of almost any other branch of industry, and a degree materially greater than is at present exercised.

Several railway officers recognize the public character of railroads, and some are willing that a greater measure of power should be given to the Interstate Commerce Commission. These same witnesses and others, however, argue that the rights of railways must also be considered, and that legislation must not prevent the furnishing of proper service, the payment of proper wages, or the earning of a fair return on the investment. It is thought by some of these witnesses that the public is disposed to be unduly hostile to railways.<sup>6</sup>

General power of commission over rates.—It is proposed by two or three witnesses that the Interstate Commerce Commission should have power to prepare general freight classifications and schedules of rates in the first instance, instead of being confined as at present to action on complaints concerning established rates and to the mere ability to declare existing rates unreasonable without prescribing other rates.<sup>6</sup> Other witnesses think it would be sufficient to give the commission power to revise tariffs framed by the railroads, either on its own initiative or after complaint, and to reduce or change unreasonable rates, fixing the rate which shall prevail. Some of these witnesses hold that the decision of the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>Knapp, p. 141; Prouty, p. 153.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Morton, pp. 490, 496, 497, 499; Spencer, p. 278; Ingalls, pp. 296, 298.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup>Sargent, p. 70.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup>Knapp, pp. 135, 139, 140; Clements, p. 159; Kindel, p. 261; Musselman, p. 557; and the same position is implied in the demand of many others for specific additions to the commission's powers.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> Ingalls, pp. 285, 288, 297; Ripley, pp. 594, 595; Blanchard, pp. 624, 625; Callaway, pp. 236, 237, 239; Bird, p. 479.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>e</sup> Reagan, pp. 339, 345, 346; Woffindin, pp. 566, 567; Clements, pp. 155, 158, 161.

commission in these cases should be final and not subject to appeal to the courts. They urge that the commission has technical knowledge of railway matters which is wanting in the judges. Others would be willing to have the courts review the decision, although they would have it enforced pending appeal. Detailed arguments are not presented in favor of this position, but it is claimed generally that many unjust rates still exist, both rates excessive in their amount, and open rates which discriminate between different places or classes of traffic. The power simply to declare a given rate unreasonable is very ineffective.<sup>1</sup>

A few representatives of the railways would be willing to give the Interstate Commerce Commission power to revise rates or to fix them after complaint, but none of them thinks that the commission would be competent to fix rates generally in the first instance, and most believe that it should be confined, as at present, to declaring existing rates unreasonable.<sup>3</sup> It is argued that the making of rates even for a single railway or section of the country is an exceedingly difficult task, and that no body of men, even though all were experts, could fix rates for the entire country. The influences affecting freight traffic are so numerous and complicated, and so constantly changing, that only the highest skill can fix rates even approximately fair to all interests. Some witnesses claim that even to fix a comparatively limited number of rates, under the power of revision, would in many cases be beyond the competency of a body of five men not especially trained by actual experience in railway management.

It is urged especially in this connection by Mr. Blanchard that the power to fix rates is essentially a legislative one, and that it would be contrary to our principles of government to give one body the power to fix rates in the first instance, to investigate as to compliance with them, by inspecting the accounts of railways and otherwise, and to judge concerning their reasonableness and application. In England, which is appealed to as an example, rates are not fixed by the railway and canal commission, but by act of Parliament; the railway and canal commission is restricted, for the most part, to purely judicial functions, and acts only in case of complaint. Moreover the English commission is composed partly of life members, and partly of judges who, as judges, have life tenure. This gives the body a judicial spirit not found in the Interstate Commerce Commission, which is subject to political influences, and which changes frequently in its membership. For these reasons this witness especially opposes the suggestion that the Interstate Commerce Commission be given final power.

Enforcement of commission's orders pending appeal.—Those who favor an increase of the powers of the Interstate Commerce Commission often lay even greater stress on the desirability of making its orders binding on the railways pending appeal to the courts than on that of giving it more extended power as to fixing rates in the first instance.<sup>4</sup> The two positions are not always clearly distinguished, nor is issue always clearly drawn as to them between those witnesses who favor an increase in the regulation of railways and those who on the whole oppose it. Some railway officers are willing that the decisions of the commission should remain binding until declared unjust by the courts, although part of them apparently would wish to make this only as a concession in exchange for the privilege of pooling.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Vanlandingham, pp. 212-214; Kennard, p. 367; Bacon, p. 419; Kelley, p. 192; Dousman, pp. 358-361; Stone, pp. 537, 538; Wilson, p. 767; Ronemus, p. 771; Dickinson, p. 549.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Blanchard, pp. 661-665; Ripley, pp. 596, 597; Morton, pp. 492, 495, 496; Stickney, p. 463; Spencer, pp. 276, 282; Cowen, pp. 314, 315; Callaway, pp. 236, 237, 239; Bird, p. 479.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> Clements, pp. 155, 158, 161; Moseley, pp. 41, 43; Newcomb, pp. 103, 104; Bacon, pp. 419-422; Vanlandingham, p. 212; Dousman, pp. 358-361; Mallory, pp. 587, 588; Baker, p. 592; Barry, pp. 246, 247, 250; Carter, p. 585; Musselman, p. 557; Stone, pp. 537, 538; Ingalls, pp. 299, 300; Cowen, pp. 314, 315; Evans, p. 439.

Those who favor the enforcement of the decisions of the Interstate Commerce Commission pending appeal declare that at present the railways very frequently. perhaps usually, disregard the orders of the commission, and that the commission is compelled to bring suit before a court to enforce them. The court takes up the matter de novo, considering not merely the law, but also the facts, and often taking entirely new evidence. The case may then be appealed from one court to another, and it may be years before a final decision is reached. Meantime the rates complained of have remained in force, and the injury may easily have become irreparable, or the occasion for the complaint, being of a temporary nature, may have disappeared. The right of the shipper to collect damages in view of a past injury is decidedly ineffective, especially since the burden of excessive or discriminating rates may have been shifted in part by him upon the general community. It is claimed that on this account, as well as because of the expense of pushing a case to final conclusion, persons injured by the action of railways have almost ceased to appeal to the Interstate Commerce Commission for relief. Much more is accomplished by the action of associations of shippers in influencing railways directly.

Some representatives of the railways oppose also this increase of the power of the Interstate Commerce Commission, presenting similar objections to those mentioned above. It is argued that the railways may be injured just as truly as the shippers by being compelled to make rates unjust to themselves pending appeal, and that they have no such recourse in damages as the shippers have. The courts may not have the technical knowledge possessed by the commission, but their proceedings are subject to fixed rules and the judges are trained to consider the principles of law and the rights of property, while their tenure of office makes them much freer from political and personal influences.<sup>1</sup>

The conclusion seems clear from the testimony that the powers of the Interstate Commerce Commission at present are decidedly limited, probably somewhat more limited than was the intention of the framers of the interstate-commerce act. The suggestion is made by certain witnesses that some changes in the character of the commission itself, tending to make it more a judicial body, would make more justifiable an increase of its powers.

## OTHER PROPOSED LEGISLATION.

Aside from the proposed legislation specially mentioned elsewhere, such as that regarding pooling, powers of the Interstate Commerce Commission, the issue of passes, ticket brokerage, railway labor, etc., various other suggestions have been advocated by one or more witnesses. The most important are the following:

1. Membership of the Interstate Commerce Commission.—It is thought that the Interstate Commerce Commission should be increased in number on account of the increase of railway business. A representative of the railways also urges that a certain proportion of the members should be railway men, familiar with the actual conditions of the business.<sup>9</sup>

2. Conferences with railways.—It is also suggested that special provisions should be made in the interstate-commerce law for conferences between the commission and representatives of the railways, with a view to promoting mutual understanding and harmony.<sup>3</sup> Such conferences already held are said to have proved very useful. In this connection it is also recommended that the commission should issue a monthly bulletin stating all complaints, without the names of the railways or the complainants.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>Blanchard, pp. 659-665; Spencer, pp. 282, 283; Tucker, pp. 558, 560; Stickney, p. 463.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Blanchard, pp. 664, 665, 678.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Blanchard, p. 665.

3. Publicity of accounts.-Numerous witnesses urge that all of the affairs of railways should be made much more public than at present. Publicity will tend to prevent excessive and discriminating rates on the one hand, and, on the other hand, will often dissipate prejudice against the railways by giving knowledge of actual facts. Indeed, it will promote mutual understanding and good feeling. For the sake of securing this publicity it is suggested that the Interstate Commerce Commission should have power to appoint inspectors to examine the books of railways, and also that reports should be required from the railways in much greater detail than at present. The public character of railway service is held especially to justify such publicity.<sup>1</sup> The advocates of publicity include several railway officers. On the other hand, two or three prominent railway officers think that little would be accomplished by the inspection of books, etc., and that perhaps some injustice would be done to the railways.<sup>2</sup>

4. Construction of railways.-Two or three witnesses representing the railways think that the United States and the separate States should restrict the construction of competing railroads as a protection to the existing lines. Additional railroads often involve a needless duplication of facilities, waste of capital, and excessive competition.3

5. Control over water transportation .- It is suggested by one or two witnesses that the absence of control by the Interstate Commerce Commission over water transportation results in unwarranted cutting of rates and unjust discriminations between persons and places, and it is thought that the power of the Commission should be extended to water carriers so far as regards coastwise, lake, and river traffic.4

6. Control of shipments within States .- It is urged, from both the standpoint of shippers and that of railways, that, if this were possible under the Constitution, it would be desirable that the National Government should have control over traffic within States as well as over interstate traffic. Much traffic moving wholly within a State is essentially interstate in character. Discriminations are often granted, it is claimed, on traffic within a State with a view to influencing shipments of interstate traffic; while inequalities as between different places easily arise from the absence of control over intrastate railways.<sup>5</sup>

## GOVERNMENT OWNERSHIP.

Railroads.-Very few witnesses on transportation who have thus far appeared before the Commission have advocated government ownership of railways. Several witnesses in the trust investigation advocated public ownership of railways as the only effective means of preventing discriminations, and at least one witness in the transportation investigation suggests this as a sufficient ground for favoring public ownership.6 Another witness submits a somewhat detailed argument in favor of the system, declaring that it will tend to reduce fares and rates, to develop the country more rapidly and equally, to improve the condition of railway labor, to prevent losses and wastefulness arising from excessive competition and from speculation, and to produce still other advantages. It is believed by this witness that satisfactory financial results could be obtained from the railroads by the Government, as has been the case with the government railways of Prussia. He does not believe that there would be as serious political evils as those

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>Knapp, p. 144; Stone, p. 538; Reagan, p. 849; Prouty, p. 151; Bacon, p. 430; Clements, pp. 159, 160; Newcomb, p. 100; Johnson, p. 62; Ingalls, pp. 287, 297, 301; Spencer, pp. 274, 278; Morton, p. 500.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>Callaway, pp. 237, 238; Cowen, pp. 317, 318; Stickney, p. 464. <sup>8</sup>Blanchard, pp. 663, 680; Ingalls, p. 287; Morton, p. 492; Ripley, p. 594.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup>Johnson, p. 63; Kelley, p. 189.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Vanlandingham, p. 214; Morton, pp. 492, 501.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>e</sup>Greeley, pp. 379-381.

which exist at present from the interference of private railways in politics, but he declares that thorough civil-service reform would be essential to the greatest success.<sup>1</sup>

Several railway officers, on the other hand, declare that under private ownership American railways are furnishing better service at lower rates than the government railways of Europe. This statement is denied by one or two other witnesses, but no detailed evidence is submitted on either side. These officers insist that all government enterprises in this country are extravagantly managed and that government management of railways would necessarily be less economical than private ownership. They urge especially the political danger of making so many persons dependent on government employment, as well as that likely to arise from sectional conflicts as to construction of railways, rates, etc.<sup>3</sup> Two or three other witnesses aside from railway officers express essentially the same opinions.<sup>3</sup>

Professor Seligman, of Columbia University, presents the argument against government ownership more fully and broadly. He declares that the large capital invested in railways and the great complexity of their management make them unfit for public control, at the present stage of American political development, although he approves government ownership in Germany. Individual initiative turns ability most strongly toward reducing the cost of service by improved methods.<sup>4</sup>

Government ownership of telegraphs and telephones.—On the other hand, Professor Seligman thinks that the comparatively small capital involved in the telegraph and telephone business and the relative simplicity of their management favor public ownership, while the widespread social interest in these facilities makes government ownership, as against monopolistic private ownership, especially desirable. The telegraph and telephone are becoming as necessary as the post, and the same arguments which justify government control in one case justify it in the other.<sup>5</sup> England and nearly all the continental countries of Europe have public telegraph and telephone service in this country, and express themselves in favor of putting these facilities under the Post-Office Department,<sup>6</sup> while one or two express themselves as satisfied with existing conditions.<sup>1</sup>

## RAILWAY TAXATION.

The most detailed testimony concerning the subject of railway taxation is that of Professor Seligman.<sup>8</sup> He discusses the different methods of taxation, points out the great difficulty of avoiding double taxation as well as of preventing evasion, and reaches the conclusion that a tax based on net receipts is most equitable. Such a tax, however, would in practice be apt to result in evasions, unless there were a very thorough inspection of railway accounts by the Government. This difficulty has led many of our States to tax the gross receipts of railroads; a system which has many practical advantages, especially in view of the legal difficulties, under our Constitution, of the just taxation of stocks and bonds. The tax on gross receipts is also favored by Professor Johnson, of the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Lewis, pp. 72-751.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>Cowen, pp. 319, 320; Fish, p. 338; Morton, pp. 492, 497-499; Spencer, pp. 279, 283, 284; Ingalls, p. 299; Ripley, p. 598; Callaway, p. 239.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup>Knapp, p. 145; Newcomb, pp. 102, 103; Reagan, p. 347.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup>Seligman, pp. 607-613.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Seligman, pp. 610-612.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Kennard, p. 366; Fuller, p. 446; Greeley, p. 381.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Snydacker, p. 400; Counselman, p. 392.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Pp. 599-606.

University of Pennsylvania,<sup>1</sup> Mr. Callaway,<sup>9</sup> of the New York Central, and Mr. Fish,<sup>9</sup> of the Illinois Central. Mr. Newcomb, of the division of agriculture, United States Census, however, favors the net-receipts tax on the ground that a gross-receipts tax tends to produce high rates and fares.<sup>4</sup>

Two or three other witnesses prefer the system of assessment of the physical property of the railways for the general property tax. Mr. Reagan thinks that the assessment in that case should be made by the State railway commission rather than by any other authority.<sup>5</sup>

## GENERAL RELATIONS OF RAILWAY EMPLOYERS AND EMPLOYEES.

The commission has taken the testimony of the chief officers of all the leading organizations of railway employees, as well as some testimony of representatives of the railways and of other witnesses, as to the conditions of railway labor.

Qualifications.—Some few complaints were made concerning the tests as to physical ability, eyesight, etc., and concerning the age limits fixed as conditions for employment on certain railways.<sup>6</sup> Railway officers state that somewhat strict conditions regarding the use of intoxicants are usually imposed.

Union membership.—It appears from the testimony that most railways make no discrimination against members of the various brotherhoods and other organizations in granting employment or in the conditions of work; but it is claimed that occasionally there is such discrimination, especially against prominent union leaders. Although the United States statute of 1898 prohibiting this practice is not perhaps openly violated, men can be refused employment, denied promotion, or discharged, on various pretexts, where the real ground is objection to union membership. Several witnesses think that for the sake of reaching these exceptional cases the law should be made even more stringent and the penalty more severe than at present. This subject connects itself closely with that of blacklisting.<sup>1</sup>

Discharge and suspension.—It is also claimed by several witnesses that injustice is sometimes done in the discharge of railway employees. Thus men are at times discharged on account of personal whims and prejudices on the part of their immediate superiors, and without proper hearing. Employees are also sometimes suspended for various periods of time on account of offenses or neglect of duty, and occasionally, it is held, the charges are unwarranted or the penalties unduly severe. A few witnesses think, accordingly, that some legal restriction should be placed upon the discharge and suspension of railway employees, such as a requirement that they be given a hearing, preferably before a high officer of the railway company, or even before a specially constituted court.<sup>8</sup> A prominent railway officer, however, urges that such a requirement would seriously interfere with effective discipline, and that it would be unjust in view of the responsibility of the employer for his servants," while the chief officers of the leading railway orders, in a joint statement, express doubt as to the desirability of legislation, holding that these organizations themselves afford a considerable degree of protection against unjust dismissals.<sup>10</sup>

Blacklisting.—Testimony was submitted to show that the practice of blacklisting, in one form or another, has been quite extensive during the past decade, although it is admitted that since the prohibition of the practice by the United

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> P. 63.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> P. 228

<sup>\*</sup> P. 832.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Pp. 101, 105.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Reagan, p. 348; Cowen, p. 319.

Clark, pp. 110, 111; Arthur, p. 119. See comments of railway presidents: Callaway, pp. 217, 218, 221; Spencer, p. 266; Ingalls, p. 292.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup>Sargent, pp. 90, 91; Arthur, pp. 123, 124; Moseley, p. 36; officers of railway orders, pp. 760, 763, 765, 768; Murphy, p. 777.

Sargent, pp. 65, 88; Clark, p. 113; Arnold, p. 763; Murphy, p. 778; Wilson, p. 765; Ronemus, p. 768
 Walker, p. 772, 13- P. 760.

States arbitration act of 1898 it exists for the most part only in a secret form which is very difficult to reach. Railway officers, in fact, claim that the practice is largely dying out.<sup>1</sup> It appears clearly that men who took part in the Chicago strike of 1894 found it exceedingly difficult to obtain employment thereafter. Witnesses believe that there was an understanding among the railways that those who had taken part in the strike should not be employed. The letters which were given them by their former employers sometimes contained a statement of the fact that they had engaged in the strike. In other cases the very date of the letters gave a clue to employers. It is stated, also, that blacklists containing the names of strikers, and especially of leaders, were circulated among the railways.<sup>2</sup> Several witnesses think the requirement made at present by most railways, that applicants for employment must submit letters of recommendation from their former employers, has somewhat the effect of the former blacklists. especially since, as some believe, secret marks are at times attached to the letters to indicate that the person is not to be employed.<sup>8</sup>

Several witnesses accordingly urge that the existing penalties for the practice of blacklisting should be made even more severe with a view to checking these alleged secret practices. • One witness thinks that the employer should be required to give a discharged employee a copy of every statement sent, even though by request, to any other employer. Two or three others doubt the necessity of further legislation, one railway switchman especially declaring that the requirement of recommendations from former employers has a good effect in raising the standard of service and shutting out those not worthy of employment.<sup>5</sup>

Railroad Y. M. C. A. and hospitals .- Two or three railway officers testify that, at least on their own roads, considerable effort is made to provide for the improvement and comfort of the men by the establishment of Young Men's Christian Associations, and of hospitals, the expense being borne in part by the company.<sup>6</sup>

#### WAGES AND HOURS OF LABOR.

A number of witnesses testify concerning the wages of different classes of railway employees. There is little complaint on the part of men employed on trains. They are for the most part paid for the distance traveled, a certain distance constituting a day's work and any travel beyond that being paid for as overtime." On the other hand, track hands, especially those of the lowest grade, claim that they are underpaid.\* No special legislation in regard to wages is suggested.

On account of the nature of train service the hours of labor are necessarily very irregular. A certain distance must be covered before a train crew can be relieved, and the time required may be short or, under exceptional circumstances, may be exceedingly long. Trainmen are not inclined to complain, especially in view of the fact that they are usually paid extra wages when they travel more than a certain distance or when they are at work continuously for more than 10 or 12 hours. Laws have been passed in some States to restrict the number of hours which trainmen can work without being given rest, the main object being to protect the public safety. Most representatives of the railway employees are not disposed to advocate any legislation, beyond perhaps some provisions of this sort.\*

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>Cowen, p. 303; Spencer, pp. 264, 265; Ingalls, p. 288; Walker, p. 773.

Strong, pp. 503-524; Moseley, p. 8.
 Clark, p. 112; Sargent, p. 65; Wilson, p. 52; Arthur, pp. 123, 124; Strong, p. 524.

Joint answer of chiefs of railway orders, p. 760; Arnold, p. 763; Strong, p. 523; Murphy, p. 777.
 Wilson, p. 765; Ronemus, p. 768; O'Rourke, pp. 528, 529.

<sup>6</sup> Callaway, pp. 218, 220; Ingalls, pp. 289, 290.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup>Sargent, pp. 64, 65; Arthur, pp. 117, 127; Callaway, p. 217; Ingalls, p. 287; Blanchard, p. 643. <sup>6</sup> Wilson, pp. 46, 50; Spencer, p. 288.

Sargent, pp. 66, 86-88; Clark, p. 110; Callaway, p. 218; officers of the brotherhoods, p. 761. For opposing views see Ronemus, p. 769; Arnold, p. 763; Murphy, p. 779.

These witnesses, however, favor, on the whole, as regards most occupations, the legal 8-hour day.

On the other hand, it is claimed by several witnesses that the hours of trackmen, stationmen, telegraphers, etc., are often unduly long, and that it is possible to shorten them by employing more men. The chief officers of the brotherhoods of locomotive engineers, locomotive firemen, railway trainmen, railway conductors, and railway telegraphers, in a joint statement, express themselves in favor of legally limiting the hours of employees not in train service to 10 hours, while some others urged 8 hours as the legal limit for these employees.<sup>1</sup>

It is claimed by representatives of the railways, and apparently conceded by representatives of employees, that there has been a material decrease in the running of trains on Sunday, and that it is the general purpose of the railways to relieve their men on that day as far as possible. It is pointed out, however, that a certain number of passenger trains are demanded on Sunday and that live stock and perishable freight must be carried through. An absolute prohibition of Sunday traffic, moreover, would often result in stopping trains at inconvenient places and in keeping men from getting to their homes. It is admitted that the laws which exist in several States, restricting the operation of Sunday trains, are often evaded in various ways.<sup>2</sup>

### LABOR ORGANIZATIONS, STRIKES, ETC.

The railway brotherhoods.-Several witnesses testify concerning the organization, character, and working of the great railway brotherhoods and orders. It appears clear, both from the statements of the officers of these organizations and from those of the railway presidents and other persons, that these bodies are generally conservative and have been highly beneficial, not only to their members, but to the railway service generally. Much attention is paid by them to elevating the character and morale of the members. Mutual insurance is a prominent feature in nearly all the bodies, and it has apparently worked very successfully. The relations between the brotherhoods and the railways are usually friendly, although a few of the railways refuse to recognize them. In many cases contracts concerning wages and conditions of labor are made directly between railways and the brotherhoods, while in other cases the railways discuss these matters with the representatives of the brotherhoods although contracts are not made directly with them. It is claimed that the organizations do not seek to antagonize nonunion labor, although as a matter of fact on many railways very nearly all of the employees belong to the organizations. Two or three witnesses distinguish sharply between these standard brotherhoods and orders and such temporary organizations as the American Railway Union, which are claimed to be under the control of professional agitators.<sup>3</sup>

Strikes.—It is stated by certain railway employees that strikes are probably somewhat less common on railways than in many other employments. It is admitted that strikes upon railways are more serious in their effects upon the community than those in any other industry.<sup>4</sup> Several witnesses refer more or less incidentally to the great strike of 1894. It appears that it was formerly the rule of the organizations of railway employees, at least of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, to refuse to haul cars from any road upon which the mem-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Wilson, pp. 50, 51, 766; Ronemus, p. 769; Arnold, p. 763; Murphy, p. 779; officers of brotherhoods, p. 761.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup>Sargent, pp. 66, 86, 87; Cowen, pp. 303, 304; Ingalls, p. 288; Spencer, pp. 265, 266; Callaway, p. 218.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Arthur, pp. 116-122; Clark, pp. 110, 113; Wilson, pp. 48, 50, 51-54; O'Rourke, pp. 525-537; Sargent, pp. 67, 68, 87, 91, 62; Moseley, pp. 36, 43, 44; Callaway, pp. 221, 222; Ingalls, p. 291; Fish, pp. 527, 328; Cowen, p. 307; Spencer, pp. 266, 268.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup>Sargent, pp. 68, 71; Arthur, pp. 120, 126, 128; O'Rourke, p. 528; Strong, p. 506; Callaway, p. 221.

bers of the organization were engaged in a strike; but this practice having been enjoined by the courts it has been discontinued.

Injunctions in strikes .- Much testimony was presented concerning alleged abuses of the power of injunction by the courts in connection with railway strikes. Instances were mentioned in which injunctions have prohibited the most ordinary of acts connected with the carrying on of a strike, such as consultation by officers of organizations with one another and with the strikers, and requests, quite without any element of intimidation, to employees or to applicants for employment to refrain from working.<sup>1</sup> In other cases injunctions have been issued to restrain employees from performing criminal acts, such as destroying the property of employers. It is claimed by witnesses that this practice is unwarranted, since sufficient remedy exists under the criminal laws, and that, in fact, a person who is accused of violating an injunction of this class is deprived of the right of trial by jury, as well as of the ordinary protection of the rules of criminal procedure. Judges, moreover, it is held, are apt to be prejudiced against those accused of contempt in violating their orders. Several witnesses accordingly favor legislation restricting the power of the courts in issuing injunctions. Most of these suggestions are somewhat indefinite in their nature, but the chief officers of the leading railway orders, in a joint reply to a schedule of inquiries, declare themselves in favor of a national law, similar to that already enacted in Kansas, dividing contempts of court into two classes. Indirect contemptsthose committed outside of the court-would under such a law be tried by procedure similar to that in criminal cases, and the decision would be subject to appeal.<sup>9</sup>

Especial complaint is made against the attempt on the part of the courts in one or two instances to compel specific performance of service on the part of employees. Thus, during the Northern Pacific Railway strike of 1894 an injunction was issued by a Federal district judge prohibiting the employees of that road from quitting or conspiring to quit employment in such a way as to cripple the property or hinder the operation of the railroad. This decision, to be sure, was afterwards reversed by the Circuit Court of Appeals on the ground that it was an invasion of natural liberty, although the court held that under certain circumstances a combination to quit employment in this way might be held an illegal conspiracy. In another case, when a strike was in force on the Toledo, Ann Arbor and North Michigan Railway, an injunction was issued restraining the employees of the Lake Shore and various other railways from refusing to handle cars and freight coming from the Ann Arbor road. The court held that an injunction could legally be issued not only against the railways themselves, but against their employees, in a case of this kind. Apparently this decision has remained in force. It is pointed out by the witnesses that the courts are especially inclined to issue injunctions regarding employees of railways in the hands of receivers, and, indeed, that sometimes without the previous issue of an injunction certain acts of employees upon railroads in the hands of receivers have been held to be in contempt of court.<sup>3</sup>

Arbitration.—The United States arbitration act of 1898 provides that either party to a labor controversy on interstate railroads may apply to the Commissioner of Labor and the chairman of the Interstate Commerce Commission to act as mediators. If mediation fails the parties may each appoint an arbitrator and a third shall be appointed by the Commissioner of Labor and the chairman of the Interstate Commerce Commission. It appears from the testimony that in

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Moseley, pp. 9-11; Sargent, p. 89; Arthur, p. 119.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Moseley, pp. 12, 13; Johnson, p. 63; Sargent, pp. 65, 66; Wilson, p. 766; Ronemus, p. 769; Murphy, pp. 779, 780; officers of the railway orders, pp. 761, 762.

<sup>\*</sup> Moseley, pp. 8-13; Sargent, pp. 65, 66, 71-74, 89; Arthur, pp. 119, 120.

only one case has there so far been any application for mediation, and the employers in that case refused to accept mediation or arbitration. Some of the officers of the railway brotherhoods, however, think that the act has had a beneficial moral effect and needs no amendment.<sup>1</sup> Several officers of railways are satisfied with the act, but express the opinion that railways will not arbitrate any really important question, such as the rate of wages or the right of the railways to employ and discharge whom they will. The question of wages is so vital to the financial interest of the railroads that they would be unwilling to trust it to to dediction of outside authorities.<sup>2</sup>

Compulsory arbitration is deprecated by most of the representatives of the railway employees, as well as by the officers of two or three railways who testified concerning the matter.<sup>8</sup> A few witnesses, however, think that it should be compulsory upon the parties to railway disputes to submit their differences to the Interstate Commerce Commission or some other body, which should have full power to investigate. The decision should not, most of these hold, be enforceable at law, but it is believed that public opinion would compel the parties to conform to the recommendations of the arbitrators.<sup>4</sup> The influence of public opinion is chiefly relied upon also by those who think the existing statute sufficient.

#### EMPLOYERS' LIABILITY.

A large number of witnesses representing railway employees, as well as two or three general witnesses not connected with railways, express themselves strongly in favor of some extension of the liability of railway employers for injuries to their employees. The railway officers who appeared before the Commission presented little specific opposition to this demand.

The common-law doctrine concerning employers' liability, and the modifications made by existing statutes, are summarized with considerable care by two or three of the witnesses, a large number of court decisions being referred to. The employee, it is said, is supposed to assume the ordinary risks of employment as to which he has or may be presumed to have knowledge. On the other hand, the employer is liable for defects in machinery or appliances of any sort, of which, by taking reasonable care, he might have had knowledge, as well as for failure to provide such facilities and appliances as reasonable care would demand. It is not, however, necessary, in the opinion of most courts, that the very best appliances should be furnished by the employer, although it appears that the recent tendency of the courts has been toward making greater requirements of the employer, especially as regards railroads. The employer is also liable for failure to make proper rules for the conduct of work. Comparatively little complaint is made by the witnesses as to the extent of the liability of employers in these regards. No witness, in fact, demands that the law of employers' liability shall be made as broad as in Great Britain, where the employer is liable for a limited amount of damages on account of injury from any cause whatever, in the absence of contributory negligence on the part of the employee injured.

The chief demand of the railway employees is that railways should be made responsible for injuries arising from the acts of fellow-servants. The commonlaw doctrine is that the employer is not liable if he has exercised reasonable care in selecting his servants; he is ordinarily liable only for the acts of those having positions of superintendence, designated as vice-principals. With regard to rail-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>Sargent, pp. 68, 69, 94, 95; Knapp, pp. 129-131; Moseley, p. 37; Wilson, pp. 766-767; officers of railway brotherhoods, pp. 68, 69, 762.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Ingalls, p. 291; Cowen, p. 309; Callaway, pp. 221, 222; Fish, p. 324.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Officers of railway brotherhoods, pp. 68, 69, 762, 764; Callaway. p. 221; V7alker, pp. 773-776; Knapp, p. 131.

Arthur, p. 125; Wilson, pp. 766, 767; Ronemus, p. 770; Murphy, p. 780.

ways, the decisions of the American courts appear to be exceedingly conflicting in defining those who are considered fellow-employees as distinguished from viceprincipals. Perhaps in the majority of instances, however, it is held that all persons not possessing the power of direction, although they are in an entirely different branch of the service, are fellow-servants. Thus, the railway company is not liable for injuries to men on trains arising from the negligence of switchmen or trackmen, and vice versa.

This common-law doctrine has been modified by statute in a number of States. at least to the extent of declaring that the railway shall be liable for injuries by acts of employees in a different branch of the service. Several witnesses, however, desire that laws of this nature shall be made uniform as far as possible, preferably by Federal enactment; and most of these think that the employer should be made liable for injuries to employees arising from the act of any other employee. It is declared that the employees have no choice whatever with regard to the fellowservants with whom they are forced to work; whereas the employer picks out his men and should be responsible for his choice. It is said that where the liability of employers for the acts of fellow-servants has been extended by statute, they have become more careful in selecting their men, while, on the other hand, there has been no increase of carelessness on the part of the employees.<sup>1</sup> Mr. Callaway, president of the New York Central, thinks that railways would not especially object to being made liable for injuries to employees through negligence of fellowservants, provided a similar liability were imposed upon other employers and provided a reasonable limit to the damages collectible were fixed.<sup>9</sup>

Complaint is also made by various witnesses on the ground that the Federal courts, before which a large proportion of suits for damages on account of injury are brought, do not conform in their decisions to the statute law or the decisions of the courts of highest resort of the State in which the injury occurs. Frequently, it is claimed, the railways by some device carry damage cases before the Federal courts for the express purpose of evading the statute or the rule of the State courts. These witnesses favor an act of Congress requiring the Federal courts to conform their decisions to those of the courts of last resort of the several States.<sup>2</sup>

## **RELIEF FUNDS OF RAILWAYS.**<sup>4</sup>

It appears from the evidence that some half dozen of the leading railways of the country have established relief departments, supported mainly by assessments upon the men, while the railways perform the necessary routine business without charge and sometimes make regular contributions to the fund or supply deficits. Employees contributing to the fund are entitled to certain payments in case of death by accident or to weekly allowances during incapacity.

Complaint is quite general that contribution to these funds is practically compulsory on the part of the employees of the railways maintaining them. Three of the railways openly compelled their employees to join the relief departments up to the time of the enactment of the United States arbitration act of June 1, 1898, which prohibited such compulsion. It is stated by several representatives of the railway employees that excuses are still often given for refusing employment to those who are unwilling to become members of the relief department, or that they are not kept in the line of promotion, or are discriminated against in various

<sup>2</sup> Pp. 222, 225.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>Sargent, pp. 68, 74, 75, 89; Moseley, pp. 21-28, 31, 32; Wilson, pp. 53, 54; Clark, p. 115; officers of railway orders, pp. 762, 764, 769; Murphy, p. 780.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Moseley, pp. 29, 30, 40, 41; officers of railway brotherhoods, pp. 762, 764, 769; Sargent, p. 93; Clark, p. 115.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Johnson, pp. 57-60; Sargent, pp. 67, 89-91; Arthur, pp. 121, L22, 125; Wilson, pp. 47, 48, 767; Mose ley, pp. 31, 32; Cowen, pp. 804-308.

ways. Witnesses claim that employees who are members of such departments often lose in independence, since they do not wish to forfeit their interest in the fund by striking or leaving employment. Mr. Cowen admits that on the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad the applicant for employment must consent to contribute to the relief department, although he says that this does not constitute compulsion, since no one is forced to apply for employment.

It is also declared that the railways maintaining relief funds require those who accept payments from them to release the company from all further liability for damages. This practice is opposed strongly on the ground that the employees pay a full, and in some cases an exorbitant, rate for their insurance in the relief department, and that the receipt of money from the fund should not therefore be any bar to the collection of damages. It is admitted by Mr. Cowen that this requirement exists, at least on the Baltimore and Ohio, although he declares that the fact that the men have the right to sue for damages if they are willing to run the risk, relinquishing their claim upon the insurance fund, is a sufficient answer. to complaints. The act of June 1, 1898, declares that the employer shall not be released from liability beyond the amount of his own contribution to the relief fund, but Mr. Cowen says that on the Baltimore and Ohio an absolute release is still required from those accepting relief from the fund.

Most witnesses on this subject urge that the law of 1898 in these two regards should be made more stringent.

### SAFETY APPLIANCES AND ACCIDENTS.

The United States act of 1893, requiring railways, on or before January 1, 1898, to equip their engines and cars with air brakes, automatic couplers, and proper handholds, was only partly complied with by the railways at that date, and an extension of two years was granted by action of the Interstate Commerce Commission. It appears from the testimony before the Industrial Commission, mostly taken before January 1, 1900, that the railways for the most part had met the requirements of the act, and there appears to be no general complaint. It is believed by witnesses, including several railway officers, that the use of these appliances will have a very material effect in decreasing injuries to employees. A few witnesses recommend that acts similar to that of 1893 should be passed by all of the States with reference to railways lying wholly within their borders.<sup>1</sup>

Report of accidents.-The members of the Interstate Commerce Commission think that railways should be required to report somewhat more in detail than at present concerning accidents, and this suggestion is upheld by representatives of the railway brotherhoods.<sup>9</sup>

### OCEAN AND LAKE TRANSPORTATION.

American merchant marine.-The Industrial Commission has not sought thus far to make a detailed investigation on the subject of measures for developing an American merchant marine. Several witnesses in connection with other investigations of the commission have commented incidentally on the desirability of such measures. In the present investigation one witness, Mr. Neall, presents statistics showing the exceedingly small proportion of American ocean vessels, as compared with the total shipping of the world and as compared with the freight exported and imported by this country. The witness estimates that Americanowned vessels actually suitable for transoceanic traffic have not over 300,000 gross tons register out of more than 27,000,000 gross tons for the world's shipping. Our

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Moseley, pp. 32, 39; Clark, p. 115; Arthur, p. 126; brotherhood officers, pp. 763, 767; Callaway, pp. 219, 220; Spencer, p. 203; Cowen, p. 303; Knapp, p. 131; Sargent, p. 93. Moseley, pp. 37, 38; officers of brotherhoods, p. 763; Sargent, p. 93; Clark, p. 114; cf. Stickney,

p. 456.

American shipyards, he says, scarcely build any ordinary freight steamers, being entirely occupied with naval vessels and high-grade passenger vessels; and the cost of freight steamers here is very materially higher than abroad. Since he believes it would be impossible, even with the help of subsidies, for American shipyards to turn out within a reasonable time any large number of the kind of vessels specially needed, Mr. Neall advocates the passage of a law permitting Americans to buy vessels abroad and to place them under the American flag, these vessels to be prohibited from coastwise traffic.1

Condition of American seamen.—Only one witness, Mr. Furuseth, the secretary of the Sailors' Union of the Pacific, has been examined on this subject. He states the amendments to the navigation laws which are advocated by the Seamen's Union, and presents a detailed account of the existing conditions among seamen in defense of these demands. The chief proposals are that the practice of permitting sailors to make "allotments" of their wages in advance be prohibited on the ground that it promotes the evil of crimping; that masters be required to pay sailors the wages due at any port, so that they may quit employment and not be forced, as at present, to continue service for the full period of time agreed upon, usually 12 months; that the required air space in the forecastle for each sailor be increased; that the majority of the crew be given the right to demand a survey of the condition of the vessel to assure themselves of its safety; that a certain standard of skill and experience be established for "able seamen," to prevent the shipping of incompetent men, which not only depresses wages but endangers the safety of the vessel and increases the work and responsibility of the experienced men; and that there be required a standard number of men for vessels according to their tonnage and rigging, to prevent the common evil of undermanning.\*

Lake transportation .- A considerable amount of testimony was presented showing the magnitude of the traffic on the Great Lakes, the importance of its influence on rail rates, and the rapid increase of shipping and of traffic. No special legislation was advocated for furthering lake navigation, aside from general improvements of the waterways from time to time. Some witnesses, as we have seen, favor putting water carriers under the interstate-commerce act. Improvement of the Erie Canal and the construction of a ship canal from the lakes to the Mississippi are advocated by some witnesses.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Neall, pp. 166-184. <sup>9</sup> Furnseth, pp. 686-709. <sup>3</sup> Keep, pp. 710-724; Carter, pp. 578-582.

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