QUESTIONS OF THE DAY SERIES. NO. LXI. RAILWAY SECRECY AND TRUSTS

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Questions of the Day Series. No. LXI. Railway Secrecy and Trusts by John M. Bonham

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JOHN M. BONHAM

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RAILWAY SECRECY AND TRUSTS





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1890

PREFACE.

In dealing with the subject of railway secrecy and its relation to Interstate Commerce legislation, it has seemed to me to be necessary to make frequent applications of the fundamental rule of equal industrial liberty. Whilst some repetition is thus employed, if this conduces to a better understanding of the subject I may hope it will be overlooked.

I do not wish to be understood in any thing I say as favoring hasty remedial legislation. I am quite aware that sudden dealing with even great and real evils often involves grave disturbances in the body politic, and may seriously affect rights which are in no way responsible for the existence of these evils. Moreover, any legislation upon so comprehensive a problem, to be thoroughly remedial, must reach its adaptations through slow and tentative means. My aim is rather to contribute, as far as I can, to a better understanding of what, in my opinion, constitutes the chief evil of railway management;

and it has seemed to me proper to divest the problem, as far as possible, of the consideration of mere detail, in order that thus I might the more clearly indicate the foundation upon which reform should rest, and the direction in which, by deliberate stages, it should progress.

JOHN M. BONHAM.

NEW YORK, January 1, 1890.

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RAILWAY SECRECY.

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CHAPTER I Shelf No. //

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THE TRANSPORTATION PROBLEM.

Fundamental Principles—The Relation of Trusts to the Problem— Two Classes of Trusts—The Permanently Vicious Elements in Trusts of the First Class—Secret Alliances with the Railways— Trusts of the Second Class; Their Tendency to Destroy Themselves—Illustrations—Corporate Form and Amount of Capital not in Themselves Necessary Evils—The Tariff and the Trust— Strikes and Corners—The State and the Remedy.

There is one method, and I think only one, that will enable us to arrive at an ultimate and comprehensive realization of the transportation problem. It is to subject all expedient and intermediate policies to a rigorous application of fundamental principles. This method is not fraught with any great difficulty. These principles are themselves not abstruse or hard to understand; nor is their application to the problem difficult. Moreover, the remedial process which is thus invoked, so far from involving

any surrender of industrial activity, or from lessening any true industrial advantage, will rather tend to stimulate a more wholesome growth, and at the same time secure more permanent and more widely diffused results.

Let us assume that what we need above all things, as the first condition of political and industrial well-being, is a republican government, not only in form, but in essence; a government with all the sanctions that are necessary for political freedom. Let us assume that this political freedom means the real industrial equality, before the law, of every citizen; his equal security in person and property. And in order that my meaning as to what constitutes equal industrial right may be entirely definite, I will say that such right does not pre-suppose any equality among men in respect to individual skill or business capacity; nor does it have to do with the amount of individual or associated capital. It does import the exactly equal right of each citizen to the exercise of the skill with which he may be endowed, and to the employment of the capital of which he may be possessed. Any organization, political, corporate, or associate, which tends to interfere with industrial equality, must submit to such restraint as is necessary to make its methods consistent with this equality; and this restraint will have to be