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COMMON SENSE ABOUT RAILWAYS

Address By

HARRY H. MERRICK

*President Chicago Association of Commerce, before the Railway Business Association,
Chicago, Jan. 9, 1919*

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Common Sense About Railways

By

HARRY H. MERRICK

President of the Chicago Association of Commerce, delivered at the Annual Dinner of the Railway Business Association, national organization of manufacturing, mercantile and engineering concerns dealing with railways, Hotel La Salle, Chicago, Thursday evening, Jan. 9, 1919

JUST a word, even at this late hour, in welcoming you in behalf of Chicago and the Middle West. We are all mighty glad to have you men with us. As our friends, we are happy to entertain you or be party to your entertainment, but above all we are glad to have you here for the counsel that we shall draw from your deliberations and from the resolutions which you have adopted.

Perhaps we of Chicago feel this world problem even more deeply than any other section of the United States. Sometimes we refer to ourselves in our modest way as the heart of the United States; for, above all, we are modest out here. But there is much of truth in the statement that we are the great railroad arterial center, the heart from which the transportation interests spread out throughout our wonderful country, and then to the north of us in Canada and to the south of us in Mexico; the great continental center. Above all we realize our absolute dependence and the dependence of all the country upon this marvelous railroad organ-

ization made up of the railroads themselves and every line of trade and industry that goes into railroad supplies, the maintenance of right of way, the rolling stock, and the some 2,000,000 men that are engaged in that industry.

Primary Issue

This issue that is before us involving governmental ownership and operation or private ownership under reasonable direction and control by the government, is absolutely primary and fundamental, as we see it, to the success and prosperity of the United States. If there shall be wisdom used in solving this problem, then all of the other factors requisite for great prosperity and advancement for our country are assured. If there shall be lack of wisdom, if there shall be serious blunders, if the element of factional politics shall break in, or the mere cry of the ill-advised or unadvised mass shall control, then all of the other factors count for naught and disaster lies ahead.

Our whole country has been built up upon transportation. As one man

said to me yesterday—a well worn phrase, but true—“The greatest business that the world has ever seen, the railroad business”; and then we hear the easy and facile statement made, “Let it continue for five more years under government control, and within that period”—as many factions urge—“let the government take it over, own it and operate it.”

Whatever strength there might have been in such arguments before the war—before 1914 and before 1917, when we went in—it seems to me that the arguments have been proven false in the conduct of the war.

Germany a Warning

Germany was built up over many, many years on the real theory of government downright control and operation of everything, including the men themselves. Year by year the initiative of the individual and the initiative of the business man was reduced; and I doubt if many of our people know the extent to which the German government was a partner and controlled the great industries of Germany. Even its foreign trade throughout the world, its cartel system, was nothing more or less than government control and direction by government directors. And the strange thing was that until a year ago the world cheered that practice, and spoke of the marvelous German efficiency, that was marvelous in many ways.

But Germany failed, not alone because of our allies and our men, but inherently because its manhood was destroyed and the initiative of the individual in its armed forces and in its navy was gone; and that initiative had been sapped year by year in this insidious fashion down to the point where they were merely cogs in a machine. Had Germany

conquered, within a single generation it had the seeds of its own death in that very practice. Some one perhaps might question this statement and say that it is a mere statement of a man who is talking, but if you pick up tonight's paper and read of the revolution throughout Germany, you realize that had they conquered, that revolution probably would have occurred within the next five years; because manhood and womanhood will not stand beyond a certain point the utter elimination of individualism and initiative.

Not Wanted in America

Now, I do not believe that our people, when they understand this problem, will ever willingly face government ownership and operation of basic industries. If you take the railroads, then you must proceed step by step until there is just one head, the President of the United States, all-absorbing in power; and where the individual is working for a wage, whether it be high or low makes little difference, where the element of personal reward that has made you struggle and has made me struggle, and will until we die, is removed, and the dead plane of so many hours a day and so many revolutions of the machine is all that any man can look forward to; that is the dead center, as I see it, of this proposition.

Take the other side, the business man's argument, as we who have dealt with credits all our lives see it, as we who have dealt with our own United States Government for 25 or 30 years know it. It is beyond controversy proven over and over again, not only within the last several years, but within the last 24 hours, and the last week and the last 12 months, that under a demo-

cratic government, based in democracy, such as we have had—and we think it is the best government in the world—it is impossible, with the strife of parties, and the constant change of leaders—the almost necessity for great issues—to have real downright efficiency and business management.

Government Inefficient

Gentlemen, you have never had it in our United States Government. God knows we have not got it today. We are proud of the wonderful response of our country, the wonderful results secured in war administration, proud of all the instrumentalities that were used and of all the leaders who have made good in a greater or less measure, but the war is over and today we may talk with one another and state our opinions and our views, and no man may say us nay. And, therefore, we may admit frankly that mistake after mistake has been made, as was to be expected. And I for one say, let us not waste too much time in committees of inquiry to inquire into the inwards of the horse that is dead, but let us try and provide something for the horse that still lives.

The railroads to a layman, and almost I fancy to a railroad man, present a problem that is so tremendous as almost to stagger one in attempting to arrive at a solution. But, in approaching the problem from the standpoint of the great mass of 100,000,000 people who ultimately will have to decide upon it—for public sentiment will be the deciding vote, whatever the form may be—is it not well to take past experience in something else into consideration?

Federal Reserve Precedent

Every one of you know the experience we had in finance. We staggered and halted and sometimes almost approached death financially in the matter of our banking system, and the control from a governmental standpoint—or the lack of control, the lack of cohesion and the lack of contact—until conditions as the result of repeated panics became so dangerous that the great public became convinced that something must be done. And then over a considerable period of time—for the way was all unknown and paths had to be blazed—we arrived at what we call the Federal Reserve System. And you may remember that about half of the United States, and probably half of the banks, and a large percentage of the business organizations and houses believed that the system that we arrived at at that time was doubtful as to its workability, exceedingly uncertain in its operation, surrounded with many dangers which might produce conditions far worse than those of 1907 or 1893. All sorts of ghosts were brought out and made to stalk across the public stage, and all sorts of evils were painted on the landscape for our edification; and ruin stared us in the face, many men said, if we fooled with this structure of finance; but it was done.

And I only mention that, because it is the only great measure of that sort carried through with thought and effort, with due counsel, that has attained something approximating one hundred per cent., whether it be as the result of the wisdom of our generation, or whether it be providence, God only knows. But, if there is one factor in the United States beyond that of the men themselves that rallied to the colors, and

the business men that backed them up, that has made this war our success and the world's success, it is the fact that our finance was stabilized and certain and that billion on billion, eighteen billions altogether, were raised without a murmur, hardly with any severe strain, and we could have gone on for years to come.

Applicable to Railway Problem

Whatever the method may be that shall be evolved for the solution of this, the problem of the United States, and in that measure the problem of the world, the railway problem, seems to a good many of us that the central thought as applied in that case is susceptible of application; not the detailed thought, that is something that requires time in order that the garment may fit the form, and we have hardly measured the form as yet, but that out of a central bureau in Washington, with a directing head, who shall be a cabinet officer, there shall be a zone system throughout the United States, through which there shall be a direct and immediate contact between the privately owned and directed and operated railroads, and the government of the United States.

Speaking personally I think it would be a disaster if our Congress were to permit the retention of the railroads under present uncertain-

ties for any period beyond the 21 months. That is merely postponing the evil day and making the scrambling of the eggs so utterly hopeless that nothing could be evolved therefrom except government ownership and operation on the one side or chaos on the other.

The earliest possible date, whether it be from a special session as seems most likely, or by action of the present Congress, if that be possible, we must arrive at some plan, something to which to hew; otherwise our talk of foreign trade, foreign finance, and of world advancement will fail, for it does not matter what the form of the athlete may be, however magnificent his muscular development; if there is trouble at the heart the man dies. And that is the thing we face, unless we meet this issue squarely.

Today I had an opportunity of reading a letter written in some haste perhaps by an associate of mine, William R. Dawes, vice-president of the Central Trust Co. of Illinois, who was largely instrumental in the consideration of the Federal Reserve System. The Central Trust Co. was the first of the trust companies of the United States that went in under that system. I think I speak advisedly. That letter is written this afternoon and mailed to William G. McAdoo and to Secretary Glass:

MR. DAWES' PLAN FOR ZONE SYSTEM BASED ON FEDERAL RESERVE BANK IDEA

"Chicago, Jan. 9, 1919.

HONORABLE W. G. McADOO,
"Director General of Railroads,
"Washington, D. C.

"My Dear Mr. McAdoo:
"In all of the discussions relating
to the future administration of the

railroads, I have noticed that the arguments are applied almost entirely to the matter of operation. It would seem to me that it would be wise to join all of the issues, if possible, under some comprehensive system.

“Would it not be practicable to create a new system of railroad administration upon the underlying idea of the Federal Reserve Bank System?”

“It appears to be conceded that there should be definite governmental control of interstate transportation. We have become accustomed to the zone system of operation, which has already resulted in beneficial economies. The interests of the public are paramount, but we should not disregard the interests of the stockholders and bondholders of the railroads. As a possible system, and to join and safeguard all of these interests, I would offer the following, which, of course, is a mere skeleton of an organization, based upon the Federal Reserve Bank System as adapted to railroad administration.

“The new system of railroad administration would include:

“A Federal Railroad Board, corresponding to the Federal Reserve Board.

“Federal Railroad Corporations, corresponding to the Federal Reserve Banks.

The Federal Railroad Board

“This Board would be appointed by the President, with a proper cabinet officer as member ex-officio. Through this agency, which it is assumed would be granted broad administrative powers, we would have the required governmental control. This Board would determine the policy of the railroad administration

and by its power to approve or disapprove, would prevent unjust discrimination, as between the public and the railroads and as between the railroads themselves.

Federal Railroad Corporations

“Profiting by the experience of the regional operation of the railroads under the present emergency, federal railroad corporations would be established at such places and in such number as conditions might require. These corporations would follow the usual form of corporations having capital stock; the amount of such capital stock being merely nominal, as such corporations would not, at least in the beginning, be concerned with railroad financing. The purpose of a regional railroad corporation would be to provide the necessary organization into which could be brought all of the railroad companies operating in any particular zone. As is the case of the federal reserve banks, the stock of these federal railroad corporations would be owned exclusively by the railroads, thus compelling participation by all of the railroads in a common organization. The directors of these Federal Corporations would be elected by the railroads composing the stockholder members, under such restrictions and regulations as would protect all interests involved **and insure a non-political control,** as is true of the federal reserve banks.

Corporations to Regulate

“To these federal railroad corporations would be given broad regulatory powers over all railroad activities. These corporations would have supervision over all phases of railroad operation, including the consolidation of terminals, ticket offices, railroad lines, if necessary, and all

the other activities which affect the interests involved, and which need not be mentioned in this connection. In addition to the supervisory powers, in my opinion, the functions of these railroad corporations should include power to pass upon passenger and freight rates, with the right to initiate rates when deemed advisable, subject only to revision, approval or disapproval of the Federal Railroad Board, to prevent unjust discrimination. This authority must be lodged in some body and the natural place, it would seem, would be in a body composed of men closely acquainted with the needs of the particular region whose interests are vitally affected; such interests being at all times safeguarded by the right of appeal to a central Federal Railroad Board. Also, to these federal railroad corporations all future issues of railroad securities could be referred, in much the same manner as has been done with the various Capital Issues Committees during the past year.

Individual Roads Undisturbed

“After much travail and opposition, **a new banking system was created** to remedy a condition which was becoming unbearable. How successfully the new banking system has worked out, you know. It seems to me the present railroad situation can be remedied in a somewhat similar manner. There was no attempt to disturb the ownership or operation of individual banks. It seems to me it is unnecessary to disturb the present ownership or organization of the railroad companies. By associating the railroad companies in a common organization, we retain all the benefits of private ownership and, at the same time, make it possible to provide for requisite public control without the

destruction of individual incentive.

“There has been no attempt in this letter to do more than to simply outline a system which it is believed would accomplish most of the results to be desired. Our experience with the operation of the Federal Reserve System, it seems to me, makes it worth our while to consider the **creation of a new railroad administrative system** along similar lines. The problems are not essentially different, since in each case it is the purpose of the system to protect the interests of the public and retain the benefits of private ownership.

Federal and State Control

“The difficulty of co-ordinating federal and state control of railroads in the matter of rates and taxation appears to many to be unsurmountable. A similar difficulty was apparent in the Federal Reserve System in connection with the admission of state banks and trust companies to membership in the Federal Reserve System. This, however, has been largely overcome and, at the present time, most of the large state banks and trust companies are members of the Federal Reserve System, generally with the expressed consent of the state authorities.

“The strength of the Federal Reserve System lies in the ownership of the Federal Reserve Banks by the member banks, and the centralization of banking reserves. The strength of the new railroad administrative system would lie in the ownership of the federal railroad corporations by the railroads themselves, and the control of railroad operations by means of the power to protect railroad revenues and control railroad expenditures.

“During the last few months the government has advanced large sums of money on behalf of the railroads. Before the railroads can be turned back to their owners, provision must be made for safeguarding such advances. At the same time, opportunity must be given the railroads to adjust their financial operations to new conditions, to the end that the public, owners and employees

may be assured of the establishment of the railroads on a sound business basis.

“An identical letter is being sent to the Hon. Carter Glass, Secretary of the Treasury, for his information.

“Respectfully,

(Signed)

“WILLIAM R. DAWES.”

MR. MERRICK'S COMMENTS ON RESOLUTIONS OF THE RAILWAY BUSINESS ASSOCIATION

YOUR chairman has very kindly handed me certain sheets covering two or three paragraphs of the resolutions arrived at this afternoon. Now that you have heard this letter I just want you to listen to these two or three paragraphs; for, when you find men working from different standpoints, without any knowledge of the theory upon which each group is working, coming to almost the same general conclusion, you are somewhat assured that the basic thought is right and true. Here is a paragraph of these resolutions:

Prompt Remedial Control

“If Congress at the present session does not enact remedial legislation providing for modified private control of railways, we favor the calling of an extra session for that purpose, and upon the enactment of such legislation the roads should be returned to their owners.”

One hundred per cent from my standpoint.

Additions and Betterments

“During the period of government control additions and betterments should proceed with vigor and farsightedness. Discretion should be permitted the railway corpora-

tions in determining the design and amount of facilities which they will acquire.”

Now, if I were talking to a body of business men who are not railroad men, I would comment on that, if I were using this for the purpose of comment; but it is much more clear to you than it was to me; and in the light of my very limited experience it is dead right.

“The government should provide for corporate co-operation in projects for terminals, way and structures, so as to promote joint use and the avoidance of needless duplication. The government should make such allowance in terms of purchase that the corporations will not carry the whole burden of war prices while their income is based upon that of 1915-17, inclusive. Government loans should be funded for such periods and at such rates of interest as will give each carrier reasonable opportunity to discharge all financial obligations to the government.”

The fairest statement of that problem that I have ever known to emanate from a business men's organization devoted to a special line.

Reference to the National Chamber

“The President of the Railway Business Association is requested to transmit the resolutions entitled, ‘Prompt Remedial Legislation,’ and ‘Additions and Betterments’ (1) to the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, with recommendation that if the time is too short for a referendum, these and similar expressions of constituent bodies be laid before President Wilson upon his return from Europe; (2) to members of the railway supply industry, with the suggestion that they favor in business associations of their communities and trades the adoption of similar expressions addressed to the President through the National Chamber.”

That is a healthy method of bringing about discussion and deliberation.

Independent Federal Corporations

“While permitted to co-operate with one another, so as to eliminate duplication of service and facilities and to secure the most efficient and economical use of routes, terminals and vehicles, and permitted under federal sanction to effect consolidations, if essential, railroad properties should be operated by independent federal corporations as numerous as may be consistent with their financial strength and stability.”

Not being a railway man, I haven't in mind the author of the phrase that the railroads have had “49 varieties of masters.” But we all know that 49 might be multiplied by three and still we would be short of the actual condition of affairs. Therefore, I think one may be firmly of the opinion that this recommendation in the form of a resolution is one that should be adopted by our Congress, if necessary by a

special session; that it be made possible for all the railroads of the United States to go under federal charter; and that can be done.

Exclusive Federal Rate Regulation

“We favor the adoption by Congress of a policy under which regulation of maximum and minimum rates of carriers engaged in interstate commerce would be federal only.”

Secretary of Transportation

“We favor the creation of a Secretary of Transportation to consider carriers' estimates of future expenditures, including labor costs, to exercise exclusive supervision over security issues, and to fix rates designed to yield revenues sufficient for future operations and credits.”

If I were making an address, I would have to apologize for reading the resolutions that your organization carried this afternoon; but I am not making an address; I am simply trying to talk a little sense, so far as I am capable of that act. God knows that it is sense that we need now-a-days, and not quite so much ethics, and not quite so much philosophy, if you please. And sometimes I wonder whether that old biblical statement to the effect that it is desirable to put your own house in order before you proceed to place the houses of your neighbors in order, may not have some application to us. Then again I wonder whether or not that other biblical quotation about the mote in your neighbor's eye and the desirability of looking at the beam in your own, may not have some value. I am not sure that in the short space of 90 days or four months we can reform this old world. If we could take that time to reform some of the things that we have been working on for a good

many years over here, we might make better progress. It might be better for us to stay at home. It is all common sense.

The railroads with their 2,000,000 men—just stop and think of the railroad ownership by the government and the operation of these railroads by the government, think what it would mean in the short space of three or four years—2,000,000 men—2,000,000 voters, of course; magnificent!

Can't you see your old friend Julius Caesar smiling to himself? Can't you see Alexander dreaming of a world that he could conquer if he only changed the multiple by five—that is about what it is now—five votes for each one of the 2,000,000—10,000,000 votes. My Lord! The German peril would not be in it. One man dictating how the United States should vote, and they would vote the way they were told to, or they would not eat.

Centralize Power

Gentlemen, one man is telling us today—or rather he is not telling us—how we are going to make peace for the world; we are going to wait until he tells us, and we must not ask too anxiously what his thoughts may be. That is not safe. That is not safe in business. I am not a politician. If it is safe in politics, then I do not understand the history of the world; and it does not matter, whether such a man is a Democrat or a Republican.

At heart all men of brains seek to dominate to the absolute limit of their power. Don't they? You do. If you had the chance you would use it. And it is not safe for the world that you or any other man should have that chance.

The railroads today, and next year housing for the 10,000,000. Sure! We have housing at Washington; a beautiful success! Purchase of supplies for the 10,000,000. We have had purchase of supplies. A success? I think not.

Government Factories

And then, to do away with the evils that come with the purchase of supplies, whether it be on the cost plus, or through the relatives and friends, or whatever the method may be in politics, the natural change to get away from that evil is to erect a government factory to build the thing that is required; and then Chicago ceases to be and New York ceases to be; and we will go back into the middle ages, because that way lies absolute, total disaster. And no man, it seems to me, that has common sense need go very far with that argument. If you are going to own your five or ten million employees, of course, you clothe them; of course, you feed them, as we have fed them at Washington. Somehow, they did not seem to enjoy it, and they left there like rats leaving a ship, the moment the armistice was declared; and you cannot get them back. They don't want that sort of a deal. Our men that are coming back will have some voice in this. Somehow, they don't seem to be awfully happy since the armistice was signed. They want to get out of the army. God knows they want to get out. We have got two million of them in the camps, but you cannot get the unwinding of the tape started; you cannot get the bureaucrat loose from the desk; you cannot get an order through.

Blackhawk Division

Three days ago we of Chicago asked to have three military trains

loaded with the Blackhawk Division, 90 per cent Chicago men, passing through Chicago next Monday for Camp Grant, to be demobilized, stopped in Chicago; and all Chicago joined in that request; and we thought we really amounted to something when we did. And it got down in the form of 40 or 50 telegrams from all of our organizations, and from our Governor down there. And some chap—God pity him—got that telegram. It was addressed to the War Department, but the Lord only knows which one of the many thousands down there got it. And after it had been there two days and a half the War Department answers, "We have just received your telegram; on account of the necessity for economy in railroad administration and shortage of cars, we regret that we cannot stop the Blackhawk Division in Chicago."

It just happened that McAdoo—he is a human individual, what I call a he-man, neither emasculated nor fed upon pacifism; he makes mistakes and blunders like the rest of us, but he has got some courage—McAdoo, on his private car, at half past nine last night, was down at the Dearborn Street Station, and when we showed him those telegrams, McAdoo went up in a balloon.

He said, "We have got plenty of cars and plenty of engines. We can stop the Blackhawk Division at any place, or any time the people want to see them. I will tell Aishton and I will tell Hale Holden, and they will do it." At 3 o'clock this afternoon we got ten words from him, sent from somewhere out West, "I have wired Aishton and Hale Holden. See them." The Blackhawk Division will stop in Chicago.

Now, I just wonder if I was raising chickens out in Iowa, or raising hell down in Kansas, if I had to go to Washington every time I wanted to perform any natural function, just how far this wonderful United States of ours would go. But I am an optimist; I am not a pessimist; and I am optimistic for just this reason, that if we ever go that far down in the scale of mentality and humanity, I do not believe it would take our people very many months to rise up on their hind legs and scrap that whole machine; and go back to first principles, and the theory of our fathers.

Now just a word from Walter H. Wilson, who has been through all the trials and tribulations of a bondholder and stockholder and so forth and so on. He has written me a letter that I want to read to you.

CHAPTER IN UNION PACIFIC HISTORY TOLD IN LETTER BY WALTER H. WILSON

YOU have questioned me about the government ownership of railroads. May I recite to you a matter of history:

"In the Fall of 1897 the United States Government sold at auction the Union Pacific Railroad, the sale taking place at Omaha, I think. The

Union Pacific system at that time consisted of 3003 miles of line. The Hon. Charles Francis Adams of Boston had been a United States Director of the Union Pacific since 1887. In 1884 Mr. Adams was appointed President of the Union Pacific by the United States Government and remained such for six years.

“At the time of the sale by the government, the indebtedness of the Union Pacific to the government amounted to something over \$52,000,000. The purchaser was the late E. H. Harriman. The price paid was \$12.50 per share.

“Prior to the sale the records show that the earnings of the railroad had not taken care of the charges against it, so the problem was up to Mr. Harriman and his associates as to the future of this great proposition. The story is that Mr. Harriman gave an option to the Chicago and Northwestern Railroad Co. for a period of a few months, at a price of about \$33.00 per share.

Harriman Revivifies

“The option of purchase was not exercised, so Mr. Harriman and associates concluded they would have to rebuild and revivify. This they did, apparently to perfection. New track was laid with the best rails obtainable, for which, of course, the highest price was paid; curves were straightened, wooden bridges replaced by steel bridges, with stone and cement foundations—new rolling stock bought—new yards provided, and all necessary attributes to a transcontinental railroad line. Nearly \$300,000,000 of new capital was applied in the nature of stock and bonds.

“The prosperity of the Union Pacific Railroad of late years is known to every one. The enterprise became so profitable that investments were made in other railroad properties, in order that closer transportation facilities might be furnished to the Union Pacific Railroad from all directions.

“The Oregon Short Line and Navigation Company was acquired, as

was also the control of the Southern Pacific Railway Company.

Result—Growth of the West

“What was the result of this investment of \$300,000,000, regarded as so enormous in those times? The growth of the country west of the Missouri River is the answer. Dissolution suits were brought against the Union Pacific Railway Co. in 1912 and 1913, the government, feeling that the property which it could not itself operate profitably—and which it had not the courage to renovate and renew—had become so powerful that it was perhaps a menace. After many court proceedings a merger dissolution was agreed upon by the government and the railroad company; this, of course, being a matter of quite recent history.

Investments Approached Final Cost

“At present the total capital of the Union Pacific Railroad Co. is \$321,836,000. The total bonds outstanding Dec. 31, 1916, was \$334,000,000. At the present time, notwithstanding the merger dissolution, the Union Pacific Railroad Co. own stocks and bonds in other companies amounting to a total value of \$265,000,000—nearly as much as it cost the purchasers to rebuild this great system.

“The net earnings reported for the twelve months of 1917 were \$42,941,000.

“Now the question of government ownership of railroads is before you. The foregoing is a short history of government ownership and control. For twenty years the United States government had representing it on the Board of Directors a director of the Union Pacific Railroad Co. A large part of that time it dictated

the presidency of the company. Meanwhile the great fertile empire west of the Missouri River was in crying need of transportation facilities and did the government then have the courage to provide them? The answer was the sale of the property to private interests.

“Can it be imagined that the government could have carried through in business-like manner the expenditure of \$300,000,000—”

No, my imagination doesn't go that far.

“—in renewals, extensions and other rehabilitations? Would the Congress of the United States have stood for it in the face of past history? If it had, would it not have been a subject of constant haggling and political criticism, resulting finally in loss and inefficiency? As I have said before—here is an example, because there is no question about this fact, namely, that the re-

claiming and rebuilding of the Union Pacific Railroad by Mr. Harriman and his associates since 1897 has had more to do with the great growth of the West—and consequently of the entire country—than any event in the history of the United States.”

We in Chicago really think that Walter Wilson knows as much as even a professor of Columbia University.

“Has anything occurred to give us faith that this great country of ours, which has been built up by individual initiative, personal ambition and private capital, can be trusted to manage and control the greatest business which the world has yet produced, namely, that of the American railways?”

“Yours truly,
(Signed)

“WALTER H. WILSON.”

I thank you.



REQUESTS FOR COPIES

of this leaflet will be welcome from all those desiring to place it in the hands of their representatives or friends. Copies furnished or sent direct to lists upon application to Frank W. Noxon, Secretary Railway Business Association, 30 Church Street, New York.

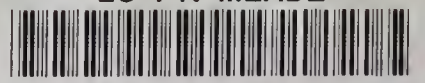
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