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Montana High School Debating League



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MONTANA HIGH SCHOOL DEBATING LEAGUE

ANNOUNCEMENTS FOR THE YEAR
1907-08

Prepared by
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Department of English and Rhetoric
UNIVERSITY OF MONTANA
MISSOULA

OFFICERS

FOR THE YEAR 1907-08

J. S. SNODDY, Missoula,
President.

G. E. SNELL, Billings,
Director, Eastern District.

G. A. KETCHAM, Kalispell,
Director, Northern District

LEWIS TERWILLIGER, Livingston,
Director, Southern District.

G. T. BRAMBLE, Phillipsburg,
Director, Western District

ACCREDITED STATE HIGH SCHOOLS

EASTERN DISTRICT

SCHOOLS—

PRINCIPALS—

Billings	G. E. Snell
Columbus	J. H. Doyle
Forsyth	Samuel See
Glendive	R. L. Hunt
Miles City	R. H. Daniels
Red Lodge	L. D. Fallis

NORTHERN DISTRICT

Chinook	G. H. Willman
Chouteau	W. W. Jones
Fort Benton	J. W. Lenning
Great Falls	P. C. Emmons
Havre	J. T. Troy
Helena	A. J. Roberts
Kalispell	G. A. Ketcham
Townsend	J. M. Kay

SOUTHERN DISTRICT

Big Timber	W. C. Ryan
Bozeman	E. J. Parkin
Butte	G. F. Downer
Lewistown	P. M. Silloway
Livingston	Lewis Terwilliger
Virginia City	F. R. McKenna

WESTERN DISTRICT

Anaconda	A. B. Hickson
Boulder	B. E. Toan
Deer Lodge	E. T. Eaton
Dillon	L. R. Foote
Hamilton	J. V. Owens
Missoula	J. F. Thomas
Phillipsburg	G. T. Bramble
Stevensville	M. L. Roark

CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS

Adopted by the High School Principals and City Superintendents, at
a Meeting at the University of Montana, May 17, 1906

Amended May 16, 1907

PREAMBLE.

The object of this league is improvement in debate among the students in the high schools of the state of Montana.

ARTICLE 1. NAME.

This organization shall be known as the Montana High School Debating League.

ARTICLE II. DEBATING DISTRICTS.

For convenience the state shall be divided into four debating districts, viz:

Eastern District: Billings, Columbus, Forsyth, Glendive, Miles City, Red Lodge.

Northern District: Chinook, Chouteau, Fort Benton, Great Falls, Havre, Helena, Kalispell, Townsend.

Southern District: Big Timber, Bozeman, Butte, Lewistown, Livingston, Virginia City.

Western District: Anaconda, Boulder, Deer Lodge, Dillon, Hamilton, Missoula, Philipsburg, Stevensville.

ARTICLE III. MEMBERSHIP.

Section 1. Any high school in Montana which has been accredited by the University of Montana may become a member of this league by applying to the president of the league or to the director of the district in which the school is situated.

Section 2. All schools seeking admission for any particular year must join at least ten days before the first contest in the first series in their respective districts.

ARTICLE IV. CONTESTS.

Section 1. *District Contests.* The district contests, held by teams representing the several high schools within each district, shall occur between the first of October and the first of February. The team winning in the last series of these contests shall be the *district champion team*.

Section 2. *Inter-District Contests.* The inter-district contests, held by the several district champion teams, shall occur between the first of February and the first of April. The two teams winning in these contests shall be the two *inter-district champion teams*.

Section 3. *Final Contest.* The final contest, held by the two inter-district champion teams, shall occur between the fifteenth of April and the date set for the interscholastic meet, at the University of Montana (or at some other place in Missoula, selected by the president of the league).

ARTICLE V. OFFICERS.

Section 1. The officers of the league shall be a president and four district directors.

Section 2. There shall be in each district one director, who shall be the principal (or other representative) of one of the league high schools in that district.

It shall be the duty of the director—

(a) To preside at the call meetings of the principals (or other representatives) of the league high schools in his district.

(b) To co-operate with the principals (or other representatives) of the league high schools in his district, in pairing the schools, and in making other arrangements for the several series of district contests, on the basis of convenience and expense. If in any series of the district contests any two schools that are paired by the director should fail to agree upon sides within one week after the preceding series of contests, the director shall appoint some one to determine sides by casting lots.

(c) To furnish the president all necessary information with regard to all the workings of the league within his district, and to report from time to time to the *Inter-Mountain Educator* any news items that may be of interest to the league.

Section 3. The president shall be a member of the faculty of the University of Montana.

It shall be the duty of the president—

(a) To preside at the annual meeting, and at the final con-

test, and, when necessary, to call meetings of the directors.

(b) To co-operate with the principals of the four schools represented by the district champion teams in pairing these teams, and in making other arrangements for the inter-district contests, on the basis of convenience and expense. If, in the pairing of these teams for the inter-district contests, the principals of any two schools should not agree upon sides within one week after their schools have been paired, the president shall appoint some one to determine sides by casting lots.

(c) To co-operate with the principals of the two schools that are to be represented in the final contest in making arrangements for that contest. If the principals of these two schools should not agree upon sides within one week after the last inter-district contest the president shall appoint some one to determine sides by casting lots.

(d) To prepare and have printed each year, before October 1st (at the expense of the university) a bulletin containing the latest revision of the constitution and by-laws, the names and addresses of the officers, the list of names of the high schools belonging to the league, and such other matter as, in his judgment, may be helpful to the members of the league.

ARTICLE VI. THE DEBATERS.

Section 1. The debaters shall be undergraduate students of the schools which they represent, and shall have passing grades to date in all subjects that they are taking at the time of the contest.

Section 2. The team that shall represent any league high school shall be selected by that school in any manner agreed upon by the principal, teachers, and students of that school.

Section 3. At all contests the debaters shall be separated from the audience and shall receive no coaching while the debate is in progress.

Section 4. At all contests the time and order of the speeches shall be as follows:

1st speaker, affirmative, 12 minutes (introduction and direct argument).

1st speaker, negative, 12 minutes (direct argument and refutation).

2nd speaker, affirmative, 12 minutes (direct argument and refutation).

2nd speaker, negative, 12 minutes (direct argument and refutation).

3d speaker, affirmative, 12 minutes (direct argument and refutation).

3d speaker, negative, 12 minutes (direct argument and refutation).

1st speaker, negative (or one of his colleagues), 5 min. (rebuttal and summary).

1st speaker, affirmative (or one of his colleagues), 5 min. (rebuttal and summary).

No new argument allowed in either of the last two speeches.

ARTICLE VII. THE JUDGES.

Section 1. At each contest there shall be three judges, who shall be selected on the basis of capability and impartiality.

Section 2. At the district and inter-district contests the principals of the two schools represented in each contest shall select the judges; at the final contest the faculty of the university shall select the judges.

Section 3. Instructions—

(a) During the debate the judges shall sit apart from one another.

(b) They shall base their decision on the merits of the debate, not on the merits of the question; and shall mark the merits of the debate on the following basis: Argument, 70 per cent; team-work, 20 per cent; delivery, 10 per cent.

(c) Each judge at the conclusion of the contest, without consultation with any other judge, shall write on a card the word "affirmative" or "negative," seal it in an envelope, and deliver it to the presiding officer, who shall open the envelope in sight of the two leaders and then announce to the audience the decision.

ARTICLE VIII. MEETINGS AND ELECTIONS.

Section 1. The directors in the several districts shall, at any time they deem it necessary, call meetings of the principals (or other representatives) of the league high schools in their respective districts.

Section 2. The annual meeting shall be held at the university at the time of the inter-scholastic meet. At this meeting the president and directors shall be elected, each for a period of one year. Each league high school shall be entitled to only one vote. In the election of the president each league high school may vote; but in the election of the directors each school shall vote for only one director—a director for its own district. In case no director for any particular district should be elected at this meeting, the president shall appoint one.

ARTICLE IX. EXPENSES.

Section 1. At the district and inter-district contests the entertaining high schools shall pay—

(a) The expenses of the judges.

(b) The hotel bills and railway mileage of the visiting teams (the three debaters).

If, however, the two teams taking part in the contest, should find it more convenient or less expensive to meet at some half-

way point, the two schools which are represented by these teams shall share proportionally the expense, or make some special arrangements for defraying the expenses for that particular debate.

Section 2. At the final contest, the university shall pay—

(a) The expenses of the judges.

(b) The hotel bills of the two teams.

(c) The railway mileage of the two teams; provided that a sufficient amount of the entertainment fund of the final contest should remain after paying the expenses of the entertainment, and the incidental expenses incurred by the president during the year.

ARTICLE X. PRIZES.

1. The University of Montana gives a souvenir cup to the high school whose team wins at the final contest. The high school winning the cup shall hold it until the time set for the next regular final contest, at which time the cup shall be returned to the university, so that it can be given to the high school that next wins the state championship. Any school winning the cup three times; or twice in succession, shall become the permanent owner of it.

2. Senator Joseph M. Dixon will give, for the year 1907-08, a gold medal to the best debater at the final contest.

3. Judge Hiram Knowles will give, for the year 1907-08, a book to each of the three debaters of the winning team at the final contest.

ARTICLE XI. AMENDMENTS.

This constitution and by-laws may be amended at any annual meeting by a majority of the league high schools present. But no school shall have more than one vote.

BY-LAWS

1. Before the publication of the bulletin it shall be the duty of the directors to co-operate with the president in selecting a question for debate which shall be used at the inter-district contests and at the final contest for the ensuing year. The question, together with references and other suggestions that may be offered by the president, shall be printed in the bulletin.

2. After any series of debates is concluded, the statement of the question for debate may be changed with the consent of all teams concerned. But the team desiring the change must restate the question and secure the consent of the other teams.

3. It shall be considered dishonorable for one school to visit the debates of another school when these two schools are likely to meet on the same question.

4. It shall be considered dishonorable for any debater, in any manner, to plagiarize his speech.

QUESTION FOR DEBATE

FOR THE YEAR 1907-08

Resolved, That boards of arbitration with compulsory power should be established to settle disputes between labor and capital.

[Note.—In discussing this question it will be understood that the power of the boards is to be limited to the United States.]

REFERENCES

BOOKS ON INDUSTRIAL ARBITRATION.*

- Organized Labor:** Its problems, purposes and ideals, and the present and future of American wage-earners. Chap. 38 (1903). John Mitchell (American Book and Bible House, Phil.)—Aff.....\$1.75
- A Country Without Strikes:** A visit to the compulsory arbitration court of New Zealand, with introduction by W. P. Reeves (1900). H. D. Lloyd (The Public Pub. Co., Chicago)—Aff.....\$1.00
- The Story of New Zealand,** Chap. 58 (1904). Frank Parsons. (C. F. Taylor & Co., Phil.)—Aff.....\$3.00
- State Experiments in Australia and New Zealand:** In two volumes, with maps. See Vol. 2, pp. 1-242, especially pp. 69 ff. (1902). W. P. Reeves (E. P. Dutton, N. Y.)—Aff.....\$7.50
- Methods of Industrial Peace** (1904). N. P. Gilman. (Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston)—Aff.\$1.60
- The Progress of New Zealand in the Century** (1901). The labor laws of New Zealand, pp. 331-353. R. F. Irvine and T. J. Alpers (The Linscott Pub. Co., Phil.)—Aff.....\$1.50
- Some Ethical Phases of the Labor Question:** Religion in relation to sociology; relation of political economy to the labor question, etc. (1902). C. D. Wright. (American Unitarian Association, Boston)—Neg.....\$1.00
- Industrial Conciliation and Arbitration:** (1881) C. D. Wright. (Rand, Avery & Co., Boston)—Neg
- Industrial Democracy:** (1902) See part 2, Chap. 3, S. and B. Webb. (Longmans, Green & Co., N. Y.)—Neg
- Getting a Living:** (1903) G. L. Bolen. (The Macmillan Co., N. Y.)—Neg..\$2.00
- Labor Differences and Their Settlement:** A plea for arbitration and conciliation (1886) J. D. Weeks. (The Society for Political Education, N. Y.)—Neg
- Industrial Arbitration and Conciliation:** (1893) Josephine S. Lowell. (G. P. Putnam's Sons, N. Y.)—Neg.....75 cts.; paper, 40 cts.
- Introduction to the Study of Economics:** (1900) See pp. 453-459, also references at end of chap. C. J. Bullock. (Silver, Burdette & Co., N. Y.)—Neg

*A condensed account of attempts at industrial arbitration and conciliation in different countries, and of the work of the Industrial Commission in the United States, can be found in **The New International Encyclopedia**, Vol. IX, pp. 945-948 (Dodd, Mead & Co., 1903).

- Battles of Labor:** C. D. Wright. (Geo. W. Jacobs & Co., Phil.)—Neg....\$1.00
- Labor and Capital:** A discussion of the relation of employer and employed. Discussion from both the affirmative and the negative points of view. Articles by W. D. P. Bliss, J. C. Chase, E. E. Clark, J. B. Clark, E. H. Crosby, H. Davies, J. B. Dill, W. L. Douglas, O. M. Eidlitz, W. Fieldhouse, M. Fox, Cardinal Gibbons, N. P. Gilman, C. B. Going, S. Gompers, B. Hall, J. K. Hardie, T. J. Hogan, G. C. Holt, H. W. Hoyt, S. M. Jones, D. J. Keefe, J. B. Leavitt, H. D. Lloyd, H. H. Lusk, J. McMackin, J. Mitchell, N. O. Nelson, W. R. Peters, E. Pomeroy, H. C. Potter, W. A. Reed, C. Reno, J. B. Reynolds, J. A. Riis, F. P. Sargent, J. M. Stahl, W. T. Stead, A. P. Stokes, J. Strong, W. H. Tolman, J. D. Warner, E. P. Wheeler, H. White, C. D. Wright. Introduction by J. P. Peters. Edited by J. P. Peters (1902.) (G. P. Putnam's Sons, N. Y.).....\$1.50

BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS FOR GENERAL READING.

- Australia, Old and New:** Industrial conciliation, pp. 364-375 (1901) J. G. Grey. (E. P. Dutton & Co., N. Y.).....\$1.50
- Redress by Arbitration:** Digest of laws relating to arbitration and awards, 4th ed. (1902) H. F. Lynch. (E. Wilson, London).....\$1.75
- Compulsory Arbitration:** (1902) M. T. Tuley. (Proceedings of Illinois State Bar Association, 26th Annual Meeting. Pt. 2., pp. 77-114, Springfield, Ills.)
- Labor Copartnership:** Notes of a visit to co-operative workshops, factories and farms in Great Britain and Ireland. (1906) H. D. Lloyd. (The Public Pub. Co., Chicago)\$1.00
- Laborer and Capitalist:** (1903) F. O. Willey. (National Economic League, N. Y.)\$1.00
- Industrial Conflict:** (1907) S. G. Smith. (F. H. Revell Co., Chicago)...\$1.00
- Strike of Millionaires Against Miners:** The story of Spring Valley (1890) H. D. Lloyd. (Bedford Pub. Co., Chicago).....\$1.00; paper 50cts.
- Law of Strikes, Lockouts and Labor Organizations:** (1894) T. S. Cogley. (W. H. Lawdermilk & Co., Washington, D. C.).....\$4.00
- Organized Self-Help:** History and defense of American labor movement (1901) H. N. Casson. (P. Eckler Pub. Co., N. Y.).....75 cts; 50 cts.
- Conflict of Labor and Capital:** (1903) George Howell. (The Macmillan Co., N. Y.)\$2.50
- Labor Legislation, Labor Movements and Labor Leaders:** (Conciliation and arbitration in labor disputes, pp. 433-447) (1902) George Howell. (E. P. Dutton & Co., N. Y.)\$3.50
- Encyclopedia of Social Reform:** (pp. 74-88) (1897) W. D. P. Bliss. (Funk and Wagnolls, N. Y.)\$7.50
- Handbook to the Labor Law of the U. S.:** (Chap. 10) (1896) F. J. Stimson. (Chas. Scribner's Sons, N. Y.).....\$1.50
- Labor in Its Relation to Law:** (1896) F. J. Stimson. (Chas. Scribner's Sons, N. Y.)75 cts.
- Labor and Capital:** Letter to a Labor Friend (1907) Goldwin Smith. (The Macmillan Co., N. Y.).....50 cts.
- State in Relation to Labor:** (1894) W. S. Jevons. (The Macmillan Co., N. Y.)\$1.00
- Conflict Between Labor and Capital:** (1905) E. T. Russell. (Pacific Press Pub. Co., Oakland, Cal.)50 cts.
- Industrial Conciliation:** Report of National Civic Federation, N. Y. (1902) (G. P. Putnam's Sons, N. Y.).....\$1.25
- Industrial Crisis:** (1903) F. C. Lange. (Pub. by F. C. Lange, Hartford, Conn.)\$1.25

Anthracite Coal Strike: (1901) F. J. Warne. (Amer. Acad. of Polit. and Social Science, Phil.)	35 cts.
Industrial Conciliation and Arbitration: (1902) M. A. Hanna, S. Gompers, et al. (Amer. Acad. of Polit. and Social Science, Phil.).....	50 cts.
Strikes and Social Problems: (1896) J. S. Nicholson. (The Macmillan Co., N. Y.)	\$1.25
America's Working People: (1900) C. B. Spahr. (Longmans, Green & Co., N. Y.)	\$1.25
Organized Labor and Capital: (1904) W. L. Bull. (Geo. W. Jacobs & Co., Phil.)	\$1.00
The Social Unrest: Studies in labor and socialist movement (1903) J. G. Brooks. (The Macmillan Co., N. Y.)	\$1.50
Chicago Strike: (1894) C. D. Wright. (The Macmillan Co., N. Y.).....	\$1.00
Capital and Labor: (1907) W. S. Harris. (Minter & Co., Harrisburg, Pa.)	\$1.00
Practical Program for Workingmen: (1907) Edm. Kelley. (Chas. Scribner's Sons, N. Y.)	\$1.00
The Labor Movement in America: (1898, New ed. revised and enlarged 1902) R. T. Ely. (T. Y. Crowell & Co., N. Y.).....	\$1.25
The Pullman Boycott: A complete history of the great railroad strike (1894) W. F. Burns. (McGill Printing Co., St. Paul).....	
The Pullman Strike: (1894) W. H. Carwardine. (C. H. Keer & Co., Chicago)	25 cts.
Theory and Policy of Labor Protection : (1893) A. E. Schaeffle. (Chas. Scribner's Sons, N. Y.)	\$1.00
Working People and Employers: W. Gladden. (Funk & Wagnolls, N. Y.)	\$1.00; paper 25 cts.
Labor Question, T. G. Spyers. (Chas. Scribner's Sons, N. Y.).....	\$1.00
Federal Interference with Strikes, (1894) R. C. McMurtrie. (R. Welch & Co., Phil.)	\$1.00
Arbitration Between Labor and Capital, D. J. Ryan. (A. H. Smithe, Columbus, Ohio)	\$1.25
Labor and Capital, A. S. Bolles. (J. B. Lippincott & Co., Phil.).....	75 cts.
Labor Problem from a Laborer's Point of View, J. P. Cleal. (Christian Social Union Pub. Co., Boston)	10 cts.
Rights of Capital and Labor, (Christian Social Union Pub. Co., Boston)	10 cts.
Wage—Labor and Capital, K. Marx. (International Library Pub. Co., N. Y.)	10 cts.
Some Aspects of the Labor Problem, P. S. Moxom. (Christian Social Union Pub. Co., Boston)	10 cts.
Capital and Labor, W. O. Perry. (National Temperance Pub. Co., N. Y.)	10 cts.
Labor Question, W. Phillips. (Lee & Shepard, Boston).....	25 cts.
Relations of Employer and Workman, W. H. Sayward. (Funk & Wagnolls, N. Y.)	10 cts.
American Trade Unions, W. D. P. Bliss. (Christian Social Union Pub. Co., N. Y.)	10 cts.
Arbitration and Conciliation, W. D. P. Bliss. (Christian Social Union Pub. Co., N. Y.)	10 cts.
Labor Troubles, C. O. Brown. (F. H. Revell & Co., Chicago).....	30 cts.

[Note: Read Senator Carter's speech that he delivered on Labor Day (Sept. 2) at Missoula. It was printed in several of the newspapers of the state, Sept. 3.]

MAGAZINES.

(The magazine articles in the following list, most of which were published prior to 1904, are recommended for general reading. More valuable articles may be found in the recent numbers of these magazines.)

- Amer. Federalist**, 8:38 (Feb. '01) "As to Compulsory Arbitration," (H. White.)
8:107 (Apr. '01) "Amer. Trade-Unions and Compulsory Arbitration," (W. Macarther.)
9:307 (June '02) "Limitations of Conciliation and Arbitration," (S. Gompers.)
Articles on strikes:—1:121 (Aug. '94), 8:415 (Oct. '01.)
- Amer. Jour. of Politics**, Articles on Strikes, by C. H. Reeves et al:—1:275 (Sept. '92), 2:75 (Jan. '93), 5:241 (Sept. '94.)
- Amer. Jour. of Social Sci.**, 21:147 (1886) "Arbitration of Labor Disputes," (W. Gladden.)
- Amer. Law Rev.**, Articles on strikes, by C. Brigham et al:—21:41 (Jan., Feb. '87), 22:233 (Mch., Apr. '88), 28:587 (July, Aug. '94), 28:629 (July, Aug. '94), 30:925 (Nov., Dec. '96.)
- Arena**, 16:622 (Sept. '96) "Compulsory Arbitration," (N. T. Mason)—Aff.
17:663 (Mch. '97) "Compulsory Arbitration," (F. Parsons)—Aff.
23:499 (May '00) "The Delusion of Compulsory Arbitration," (P. H. Coggins)—Neg.
Articles on strikes, by F. Parsons et al:—23:194 (Feb. '00), 29:1-25 (Jan. '03.)
- Atlan. Mo.**, 67:34 (Jan. '91) "Compulsory Arbitration," (C. W. Clark)—Aff.
90:667 (Nov. '02) "Australasian Cure for Coal Wars," (H. D. Lloyd.)
Articles on strikes, by T. Williams, et al:—87:447 (Apr. '01), 90:656 (Nov. '02), 91:567 (Apr. '03.)
- Bureau of Statistics of Labor**, Massachusetts, Bulletin No. 20, Nov. 1901, "Compulsory Arbitration in New Zealand."
- Cassier's Mag.**, 23:558 (Feb. '03) "A Remedy for Strikes:—Investigation and Publicity as Opposed to Compulsory Arbitration," (C. F. Adams)—Neg.
25:153 (Dec. '03) "Some Aspects of the Labor Problem," (R. H. Thurston.)
- Century**, 31:946 (Apr. '86) "Strikes, Lockouts and Arbitration," (G. M. Powell.)
65:478 (Jan. '03) "The Better Way as to Labor."
- Charities Rev.**, 2:153, "Industrial Arbitration," (Josephine S. Lowell.)
18:169, "Triumph for Government Mediation."
Article on strikes, by Josephine S. Lowell:—4:41 (Nov. '94.)
- Chicago Legal News**, 19:375 (July 30, '87) "Arbitration to Prevent Strikes," (J. P. Altgelt.)
- Contemp. Rev.**, 15:543 (1870) "Conciliation and Arbitration," (G. Potter.)
Articles on strikes, labor-unions, etc.:—15:32 (Aug. '70), 30:529 (Sept. '77), 63:790 (June '93), 66:65 (July '94), 82:516 (Oct. '02), 83:362 (Mch. '03.)
- Economic Jour.**, 9:85 (Mch. '99) "Compulsory Industrial Arbitration,"—neg.
12:320 (Sept. '02) "Mr. Wise's Industrial Arbitration Act—New South Wales," (W. P. Reeves)—Aff. [cp. article in **National Rev.**, Aug. '02.]
Articles on strikes:—3:307 (June '93), 8:115 (Mch. '98.)
- Engineering**, 74:149 (Aug. 1, '02) "Arbitration or Litigation," (Editorial on the working of the English arbitration act of 1889.)
- Engineering Mag.**, 25:161 (May '03) "Harmonizing of Organized Labor and Capital," (M. Cokely.)
26:75 (Oct. '03) "Issues between Labor and Capital," (E. P. Watson.)

- Forum**, 15:323 (May '93) "Compulsory Arbitration, an Impossible Remedy," (C. D. Wright)—Neg.
30:737 (Feb. '01) "Amer. Trade-Unions and Compulsory Arbitration," (W. Macarthur.)
Articles on strikes:—17:633 (Aug. '94), 18:523 (Jan. '95), 24:27 (Sept. '97.)
- Gunton's Mag.**, 10:138, "Compulsory Arbitration," (Jerome Dowd.)
14:236 (Apr. '98) "Industrial Arbitration in Congress," (C. D. Wright.)
23:371 (Nov. '02) "Triumph of Arbitration."
Articles on strikes, labor unions, labor law:—11:253 (Oct. '96), 13:88 (Aug. '97), 21:538 (Dec. '01), 22:158 (Feb. '02.)
- Independent**, 51:2029 (July 24, '99) "Compulsory Arbitration."
54:1835 (July 31, '02) "Industrial Arbitration in Australia," (H. T. Burges)—Aff.
54:1850 (July 31, '02) "Constitutional Government in Industry."
54:2219 (Sept. 18, '02) "Compulsory Arbitration," (W. A. Stone)—Aff.
54:2446 (Oct. 16, '02) "The Strike Should be Arbitrated," (Cardinal Gibbons.)
54:2681 (Nov. 13, '02) "De We Want Compulsory Arbitration," (J. B. Clark)—Aff.
56:357 (Feb. 18, '04) "Arbitration in New Zealand," (R. J. Seddon.)
56:1440 (June 23, '04) "Trade Agreement," (J. R. Commons)—Neg.
Articles on the Anthracite coal strike found in the following numbers:—52:2239 (Sept. 20, '00), 2508 (Oct. 18, '00), 2557 (Oct. 25, '00), 2598 (Nov. 1, '00), 2613 (Nov. 1, '00); 53:2506 (Oct. 26, '01); 54:1255 (May 22, '02), 1612 (July 3, '02), 2216 (Sept. 18, '02), 2383 (Oct. 9, '02), 2495 (Oct. 23, '02), 2541 (Oct. 23, '02), 2563 (Oct. 30, '02), 2614 (Nov. 6, '02), 2797 (Nov. 27, '02.)
- International Jour. of Ethics**, 5:444 (July '95) "Labor Troubles—Causes and Proposed Remedies," (J. H. Hyslop.)
8:409 (July '98) The National Arbitration Law, (F. J. Stimson.)
- International Monthly**, 5:649 (May '02) "National Civic Federation and Strikes," (J. B. Bishop.)
- Juridical Rev.**, 14:395 (Dec. '02) "Industrial Arbitration in New South Wales," (F. R. Sanderson.)
- McClure's Mag.**, 21:451 (Sept. '03) "Capital and Labor Hunt Together," (R. S. Baker.)
23:226 (July '04) "Government in the Chicago Strike of '94," (G. Cleveland.)
23:279 (July '04) "Organized Capital Challenges Organized Labor," (R. S. Baker.)
- Nation**, 42:292, "Arbitration between Labor and Capital," (H. White.)
42:357, "President Cleveland on Arbitration," (H. White.)
59:23, "Settlement of Labor Troubles," (D. M. Means.)
59:42 (July 19, '94) "The Limits of Arbitration."
70:471 (June 21, '00) "Compulsory and other Arbitration," (H. White.)
73:488 (Dec. 26, '01) "Progress of Industrial Arbitration," (H. White.)
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*A non-partisan commission created by act of congress, June 18, '98, consisting of 19 members: 5 senators, appointed by the president of the senate, 5 representatives, appointed by the speaker of the house, and 9 especially qualified persons, appointed by the president of the U. S., with the consent of the senate.

DISTRICT CONTESTS

In order that the students, who are defeated in the first series of debates, may have an opportunity to practice debating, the following scheme for pairing teams has been adopted for the year 1907-08:

Contests for the Cup and Other Prizes.

Contests for Honorable Mention. No Prize.

FIRST SERIES, BETWEEN OCT. 1 AND DEC. 1.

- (1) A high school vs. B high school.
- (2) C high school vs. D high school.
- (3) E high school vs. F high school.
- (4) G high school vs. H high school.

SECOND SERIES, BETWEEN DEC. 1 AND JAN. 1. ||

- (5) winner in (1) vs. winner in (2).
- (6) winner in (3) vs. winner in (4).
- (5*) loser in (1) vs. loser in (2).
- (6*) loser in (3) vs. loser in (4).

THIRD SERIES, BETWEEN JAN. 1 AND FEB. 1.

- (7) winner in (5) vs. winner in (6).
- (7*) winner in (5*) vs. winner in (6*).
- (8*) loser in (5) vs. loser in (6).

BETWEEN FEB. 1 AND MCH. 1.

- (9*) winner in (7*) vs. winner in (8*).

The winner in (7) shall be the **regular district champion team**, and shall be entitled to be pitted against one of the other regular district champion teams, in the **regular inter-district contests**, and if successful in the inter-district contest, shall be entitled to take part in the **regular final contest** at Missoula.

The winner in (9*) shall be the **district champion team of honorable mention**, and shall be entitled to be pitted against a similar team in one of the other districts, and if successful, shall be entitled to take part in a **special final contest**, to be held at Missoula or at any other place agreed upon by the president of the league and the principals of the two schools represented in the special contest.

|| In the second series, winner in (1) may, at the discretion of the director, be pitted against winner in (3) or winner in (4); and loser in (1) against loser in (3) or loser in (4)—whichever happens to be the most convenient for the schools concerned—the matter to be decided by the director as soon as possible after the first series of contests. Similar changes may be made by the director for the district contests that come after the second series. In following this plan some schools will necessarily have to be declared winners by default.

RESULTS OF THE DEBATES IN 1906-07

WESTERN DISTRICT.

First Series:

- Butte (aff.) won over Anocanda (neg.), Dec. 14.
- Hamilton (aff.) won over Missoula (neg.), Dec. 14.
- Philipsburg (neg.) won over Helena (aff.), Dec. 21.
- Deer Lodge vs. — won by default.

Second Series:

- Hamilton (aff.) won over Philipsburg (neg.), Jan. 11.
- Butte (aff.) won over Deer Lodge (neg.), Jan. 18.

Third Series:

- Hamilton (aff.) won over Butte (neg.), Feb. 21.
- Hamilton the champion for the Western District.

EASTERN DISTRICT

First Series:

- Columbus (aff.) won over Red Lodge (neg.), Jan. 5.
- Billings (neg.) won over Miles City (aff.), Jan. 12.

Second Series:

- Billings (neg.) won over Columbus (aff.) Feb. 9.
- Billings the champion for the Eastern District.

SOUTHERN DISTRICT.

- Livingston vs. — won by default.
- Livingston the champion for the Southern District.

NORTHERN DISTRICT.

- Kalispell vs. — won by default.
- Kalispell the champion for the Northern District.

INTER-DISTRICT DEBATES.

- Kalispell (aff.) won over Livingston (neg.), Mch. 28.
- Hamilton (aff.) won over Billings (neg.), Mch. 30.

FINAL CONTEST.

- Hamilton (aff.) won over Kalispell (neg.), May 13.

HAMILTON HIGH SCHOOL



GRACE LAWS

MONICA SHANNON

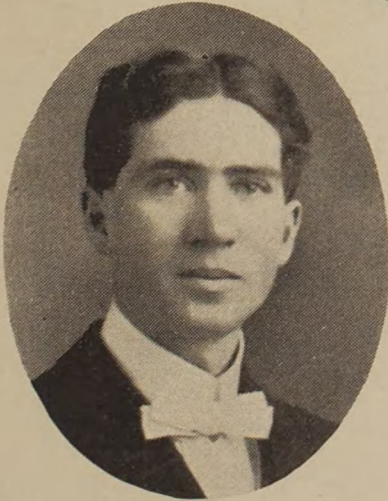
ANNABELLE ROBERTSON

STATE HIGH SCHOOL CHAMPION DEBATING TEAM

For the year 1906-07.

Annabelle Robertson,
Winner of the Dixon Medal, the State High School Champion Debater,
for the year 1906-07.

KALISPELL HIGH SCHOOL



MIRIAM FISHER

WILLIAM D. McBRIDE

ALBERT CRONE

CHAMPION TEAM OF THE NORTHERN DISTRICT,
for the year 1906-07.

SPEECHES OF THE WINNING TEAM

AT THE FINAL CONTEST, MAY 13, 1907

FIRST AFFIRMATIVE—GRACE LAWS.

The subject we are to debate is, "Resolved, that all the railroads of the United States should be owned and operated by the federal government.

As first affirmative I shall state the line of action which my colleagues and I intend to follow. We have divided the subject into two main propositions:

First, that government action with reference to the railroads is necessary;

Secondly, that this action involves the main proposition, namely, that the federal government should own and operate the railroads.

I shall devote the time allotted to me in endeavoring to prove that government action is necessary.

Senator Newlands, in his testimony before the senate investigating committee, 1905, and Professor Frank Parsons, Dean of the Boston University Law School, whom Professor Caldwell of the University of Nebraska pronounces the best authority in America upon railroad matters, say: "There are in the United States six great railway systems which practically control interstate traffic, make many of our laws and influence many important decisions of our courts." "At the rate these roads are consolidating," says Professor Parsons, "it will not be long before our vast railway system will be owned and operated by one company." Indeed, as if verifying Professor Parsons' prophecy, in the last few months Mr. Harriman has absorbed over 35,000 miles of railway. You can get this information from any of the daily papers of the latter part of January.

Even though this power should at the present time be exercised for the benefit of the people, yet it is a dangerous power, for the law of human nature is the same the world over; it is natural for the man who has the power to use this power for his own selfish ends. What will this power lead to? To oligarchy. As proof, read the histories of Greece and Rome.

So intimately connected with the traffic of our country is each of the great railway systems, that to prove any one guilty of an act demanding government action, would be sufficient in our opinion to prove my point, namely, that government action is necessary. Chief Justice Black of Philadelphia, in a decision that has never been questioned, says, "A railway is a public highway, for the public benefit." Yes, railroads are public highways, just as any of our roads or turnpikes are. The American people have simply commissioned certain corporations to discharge the duties of common carriers, and if we find they are not fulfilling their obligations as such at any time, it is the duty of the government either to force them to do so or to take their privileges from them. Now, if the railroads discriminate unlawfully, if they grant unjust rebates, if they water their stocks dishonestly, if they corrupt or seek to corrupt our politics, they do not perform their duty as common carriers, and there should be action on the part of the government.

The railroads do discriminate unjustly.

The first example I shall cite is that of Danville, Virginia. Ray Stannard Baker, in McClure's Magazine of February, 1906, is my authority. Danville was originally connected with the outside world by two roads, one reaching to Washington City, the other extending to shipping points on the James river. The city contributed large amounts toward the construction of these railroads; but in 1886 these railroads combined, and becoming part of the Southern Railway, left Danville to the mercy of a railroad monopoly. Rates on incoming articles were increased, and many firms were immediately forced

to go out of business; while Lynchburg, Danville's rival, was given proportionately lower rates, and built up at Danville's expense. Mr. Baker tells us that these same conditions exist today in spite of two decisions of the interstate commerce commission in favor of Danville.

A second case of railroad discrimination is the case of Mr. I. E. Knapp, of Chanute, Kansas. Ida M. Tarbell tells of this case in McClure's Magazine of September, 1905. Mr. Knapp secured several paying oil wells, and engaged in a profitable trade with the Omaha and Kansas City gas companies. The Santa Fe charged him ten cents per hundred pounds from Chanute to both Omaha and Kansas City, the weight of the crude oil being counted at six and four-tenths pounds per gallon. His business now prospered until in May, 1902, he was informed that henceforth the weight of crude oil would be reckoned at seven and four-tenths pounds per gallon. This was equivalent to an increase of \$7.50 per car, and to small shippers, such as Mr. Knapp, meant bankruptcy. But, while the freight on crude oil was thus increased, that on the products of crude oil remained the same. The result (or rather the purpose) of this was, that the Standard Oil company was enabled to ship gas oil at the old weight of six and four-tenths pounds, while the independent shippers were placed at a disadvantage. Miss Tarbell says this unhappy state of affairs was still in existence at the time she wrote her article.

The discrimination in favor of Seattle, Tacoma, and other places, at the expense of inland cities is too familiar to the public to require proof. Even at the present time, Spokane is pleading her case before the interstate commerce commission. Professor Parsons, after quoting repeated cases of discriminations which he takes from the report of the Spokane chamber of commerce, draws this conclusion: In general the rates from the East to Spokane are through rates to the coast, plus the local rates from the coast back to Spokane. The preference which Tacoma, Seattle, etc., have over Spokane is about 80 per cent., which has proved quite sufficient to enable dealers on the coast to ruin certain important business interests of Spokane.

I have now cited instances of discrimination in Southern, Central, and Western states. This one evil, it seems to me, is sufficient to show that government action is necessary; but I shall go further, and shall now endeavor to show that railways grant unjust rebates.

Chief among the competitors for the Chicago meat industry, says, in substance, Charles Edward Russell, in Everybody's Magazine for April, 1906, were Armour, Swift, Hammond and Morris. These four men made an agreement with the railroads by which they were to receive a rebate of three-fourths of a cent for every mile the railroads hauled one of their refrigerator cars. Now, Chicago is approximately 1,000 miles from New York; so that, for every car shipped to New York, these men received \$7.50 rebate. This eventually drove practically all the small shippers out of business, and the beef trust grew steadily in power. Moreover, from the latest reports of the interstate commerce Commission we find that the beef trust is still receiving rebates today.

Congressman Townsend, in the Business Man's Magazine for July, 1906, says: "The Standard Oil company, the greatest trust in existence, was also largely built up through the effect of railway rebates." In the Omaha News, Feb. 2, 1907, we find these words: "For the past thirty-five years the case of the Standard Oil company has been almost constantly before the courts, and yet, in spite of all laws and lawsuits, the Standard is today receiving enormous rebates."

We now come to the third part of our sub-proposition, namely, that the railroads water their stock dishonestly.

According to a recent report of the interstate commerce commission, the actual value of all the railroads of the country is only about five and one-half billions, while seven and one-half billions are watered securities. Congressman Townsend, continuing in the Business Man's Magazine, says: "In Massachusetts, where the railroad laws have gone farthest in response to popular demand, the water upon which so-called reasonable profit must be made is

over 51½ per cent. of the whole." In other words, patrons of the railways pay more than twice what they ought.

Let us next take up corruption in politics—briefly, however, for this corruption, we think, is evident to all.

Mr. Winston Churchill, in the Review of Reviews for November, 1906, tells us: "The Boston and Maine Railway decides not only who shall be sent to the legislature of New Hampshire, but also who the governor and railway commissioners shall be. It dictates what laws with reference to the railroads shall be passed, and liberally rewards all who serve it."

In an article in Collier's of November, 1906, William Allen White writes: "At every state capital in this land are a score of railway attorneys whose business it is to play politics. These railway attorneys pack conventions, make political slates, and kill off honest candidates who may stand for the interests of the people. It is a part of the business of these railway attorneys to carry judges in private cars, and wherever the insidious use of flattery, social attention, or political influence may move a public servant, there these railway attorneys use it."

To summarize, I have shown that the railroads discriminate unlawfully, that they grant unjust rebates, that they water their stocks dishonestly, and that they corrupt our politics.

My conclusion, therefore, is that government action is necessary.

SECOND AFFIRMATIVE—MONICA SHANNON.

We have shown that the government should take some action with reference to the railroads.

There are two ways by which the government can act: First, by government regulation; secondly, by government ownership and operation.

We have shown that the railroads of the United States are combining into one gigantic trust, that they are granting unjust rebates, that they are discriminating unlawfully, that they are watering their stocks dishonestly, and that they are corrupting our politics.

If we prove that regulation is not sufficient to do away substantially with any one of these abuses, then the second method of government action, namely, government ownership and operation, should be adopted.

The question now arises, whether regulation can substantially bring about the desired changes. Has regulation proved satisfactory in the past, and is it doing so in the present?

The "Sherman Anti-Trust" and various other laws have been passed to prevent combinations. Sometimes they have changed the form of the trust, but the essence remains. The incident of the Northern Securities company is a good example of this for the reason that it was the most important and most talked about case tried under the "Sherman Anti-Trust Law." The Northern Securities company, a trust controlling the Great Northern, the Northern Pacific and the Burlington railways, having violated the "Sherman Anti-Trust Law," was prosecuted by Attorney General Knox, and apparently broken up; nevertheless these three roads remain as before in the hands of James J. Hill, and they are no more competitors now than they ever were. This is a fact so recent and so widely known that it cannot be reasonably denied. The "Sherman Anti-Trust Law" was passed years ago for the purpose of abolishing trusts and combines, yet, according to the report of the senate committee (vol. iv, 1905), "Our vast railroad system, comprising over 200,000 miles of railway, is practically controlled by six men." What with the recent Harri-man consolidation, this control is fast growing to one head, and under present conditions the government seems powerless to prevent it. That the government of the United States has practically given up trying to dissolve these combinations, and is now merely attempting to regulate them by means of leg-

islation, proves that the "Sherman Anti-Trust" and various other laws have not brought about the desired changes.

You know that the "Act to regulate commerce," passed in 1887, forbade the payment of rebates; notwithstanding, Mr. Charles Russell, who investigated the beef trust, says in his report in *Everybody's Magazine*, "The railroads of the United States are paying rebates today and will continue to pay them for many days to come, law or no law." Commissioner Prouty in his speech before the Economic Club of Boston (1905), tells us: "The 'act to regulate commerce,' passed in 1887, forbade the payment of rebates, yet the railroads since that time have continually and habitually paid rebates." The "Elkins Law," as we learn from Congressman Townsend, whose article on the subject has been indorsed by President Roosevelt, was drawn up in the office of A. J. Cassatt, president of the Pennsylvania Railroad company—and the railroads said they wanted to obey the "Elkins Law;" nevertheless, rebates in the year succeeding its passage were greater in ten months than during the twelve months preceding. For example, Professor Frank Parsons says the Northwestern railway jumped from 200,000 rebates in 1902, to 400,000 in 1903, after the "Elkins Law" took effect on February 19.

It was thought many years ago that a commission would work justice. We have had an interstate commerce commission for twenty years. In 1886, the "Collom committee," appointed by the senate, investigated the railroads. The report of this committee contains eighteen charges. The offenses that stand out clearly in these charges are, unjust discriminations, reckless combinations, watered, dishonest stock, and rebates. As a result of this investigation the interstate commerce commission was formed, and Professor Frank Parsons declares in "The Railways, the Trusts and the People" (vol. 1): "This indictment is still true today, not a single count can be omitted." Congressman Townsend, the reports of the senate committee, Professor Frank Parsons—in fact, authority upon authority—tell us that unjust discriminations still continue today, and in greater number than before; that reckless combinations are entered into with less concealment; that one-half the railroad stock of the United States is watered; and that rebates have enormously increased since 1887. Now, what has the interstate commerce commission accomplished? The general inefficiency of the commission was confessed by Commissioner Prouty when he said, "Ninety-five per cent of the decisions of the interstate commerce commission are reversed by the courts."

The last effort at effective regulation, the "Hepburn bill," is a good example of successful lobbying on the part of the railroads. President Roosevelt tried to have passed the "Hepburn bill," which he considered effective; but lobbyists in the employ of the railroads so disfigured it by the "Allison amendment" and other modifications that it ceases to be President Roosevelt's idea, and Commissioner Prouty says that the original purpose of the "Hepburn bill" has been practically effaced. Professor Frank Parsons, in the "Heart of the Railway Problem," says: "The 'Hepburn bill' cannot reach the heart of the railroad problem, which is the discrimination between persons and places. England, with her rigid control, has not been able to stamp out abuses, and Germany, with all the power its great government exerted, could not eliminate abuses until the railroads were nationalized." That President Roosevelt considers the "Hepburn bill" and all laws hitherto passed for regulation, ineffective, is proved by the drastic bill he is now preparing, which, according to the *Omaha News* of January 27, 1907, "if passed, will practically amount to government ownership."

Why should we temporize further with these trusts and combines? As the first affirmative has shown, they are growing stronger every year, and if they are strong enough now to disfigure our bills and to have laws passed to their liking, they will more than likely be able to do so in the future.

We have now seen that government action by government regulation has not brought about the desired changes in the past, is not doing so at present, and more than likely will not do so in the future. Therefore, the second method of government action, namely, government ownership and operation, should be adopted.

There are three kinds of government ownership and operation: State, dual and federal.

State ownership and operation involves the ownership and operation of the lines within the state, and by the state. Dual ownership and operation involves the ownership and operation of the trunk lines by the federal government; and the ownership and operation of the lines that begin and end in each state, by that state. We shall handle both together.

According to a recent report of the senate committee (vol. iv., Senator Newlands) three-fourths of the railway mileage of the United States is interstate, whilst of the remaining twenty-five per cent., the majority handles interstate business is so insignificant that it should not enter this discussion, and we assume that it does not.

Railroads that handle interstate commerce should be owned and operated by the federal government, and not by the states, for the reason that the federal government, being unified, can make the work one harmonious whole; while the individual states would naturally work individually, and with a diversity of ideas, thus bringing about confusion. As an example of the benefits of uniformity in a matter which concern the whole people, our magnificent postoffice system may be cited.

Professor B. H. Meyer of the University of Wisconsin tells us in "Railway Legislation in the United States," that our railroad system should be operated as one unified network. And Hon. H. T. Newcomb, ex-interstate commerce commissioner, says ("Railway Control"): "The existence of many independent units, each exercising control over a portion of a railroad system, has at all times produced friction." In a recent letter from Dr. Hadley of Yale, he says: "If we have government ownership it will unquestionably be federal."

We should now conclude that all the railroads of the United States should be owned and operated by the federal government. The third affirmative will close the argument.

I shall now take up the objections introduced by the first negative.

Objection: "That government ownership would lead to political corruption." We answer: By means of a non-partisan committee composed of two or more from each state to control the railroads, this evil could be evaded. The states could also have the appointive power of railroad employees, subject to civil service, and pro-rated according to railway valuation. Thus, not only would political corruption be evaded, but the autonomy of the states would be conserved.

Second objection: "That government ownership would be unconstitutional." We might deny the assertion, and we might cite high authorities who maintain that the federal government has the implied power to own and operate the railroads; but, let us concede that it would be unconstitutional—a thing not to be unexpected because the men who drew up the Constitution never saw or heard of a railroad. If we need government ownership, then we should change the Constitution as our forefathers provided. But the negative objects that we cannot change the Constitution. We deny this, for it has been changed a number of times. Patrick Henry says: "The only lamp that lights my feet is the lamp of experience." If experience tells us that it is wise to change the Constitution, then we can and should change it, as we have done often before.

The negative has objected, "That government ownership would lead to centralization of power in the United States." Yet one of the speakers said that he would grant the entire speech of the first affirmative, thereby granting that the present railroad system is leading to oligarchy, a government entirely opposed to a democracy. Having granted this, however, how can the negative logically object to centralization? Centralization itself is not an evil. Senator Beveridge and the very advocates of regulation advocate centralization.

The negative objected to government ownership on the ground that it would lead to socialism. Yet the negative failed to prove that socialism itself is an evil. It is certainly not self-evident that socialism would be detrimental to the country. Accordingly we ignore the objection.

Objection: "That government regulation has not been sufficiently tested." We answer that we have been regulating for twenty-five years, as we have shown, with little good results to show.

Objection: "How can the government own and operate what it is not able to control?" We answer that the very nature of a democratic form of government, such as ours is, makes it exceedingly difficult for this kind of government to assume control of private enterprises; whereas it can and does operate successfully enterprises which it owns.

Objection: "That government ownership is not for representative countries." We answer: We have shown that Switzerland and Australia, countries at least as democratic as our own, are making government ownership a wonderful success. Cannot America do as much as either of these countries?

Objection: "That government ownership will do away with individual incentive." We answer: The first affirmative has shown that the railroads, by means of rebates and discriminations, have augmented the power of trusts. Trusts practically destroy incentive on the part of the masses—this must be evident. However, we grant that trusts increase incentive on the part of a favored few; but the greatness of a nation is not measured by the incentive and following prosperity of a few; rather, it is measured by general incentive that makes for the prosperity of the masses. With government ownership the masses will share proportionally in the benefits accruing, and from these benefits will consequently follow incentive—incentive to build up to a higher plane of civilization, home, society and state.

THIRD AFFIRMATIVE—ANNABELLE ROBERTSON.

We shall now endeavor to prove that federal ownership and operation are feasible and remedial, by showing that wherever government ownership and operation have been adopted and have assumed a working basis, conditions affecting the welfare of the government, and consequently the people, have been and are materially improved.

We cannot compare government ownership in other countries with private ownership in this country, for the reason that conditions affecting these countries are vastly different, and it is the law of nature that under different conditions different results will be produced. What we shall compare is government ownership with private ownership in the same country.

Let us first take up the railroads of Germany.

Do not misunderstand government ownership and operation in Germany. Germany nominally has state ownership, but the control is vested in the federal government. This control is so complete that it practically amounts to ownership and operation. As proof, we quote the following from Professor B. H. Meyer, professor of political economy, University of Wisconsin: "The powers of the central government may be grouped under five heads: First, the right to legislate, which in a sense includes all the others. Secondly, the right to grant concessions. Thirdly, the right to control rates. Fourthly, the right to supervise the building, operation and administration of railroads. Fifthly, the right to employ the railroads for the national defense." Accordingly we believe we could logically refer to German ownership and operation as federal. Indeed, the negative has so implied by quoting the German ownership and operation, without stating the kind. However, we shall compare the present system with the private system for the purpose of showing the benefits of government ownership over private ownership.

Mr. Charles Russell makes this statement in the Review of Reviews, 1906, which was substantially made by Professor Taussig of Harvard in 1894, by Professor B. H. Meyer in 1897, and by Professor Frank Parsons in 1895: "There are many advantages of the present system over the private system. Now, every German shipper knows exactly what he pays and what his com-

petitors pay. Rates are uniform. Unjust discriminations and rebates have been stopped. No political influence exists, and the service has been vastly improved under government ownership." "Even then," Mr. Russell says, "the annual net income is \$168,000,000, and each year shows a gain in net earnings." Professor B. H. Meyer, says, in the "Administration of Prussian railways": "If there is any system of railroads in the world which truly and effectively shows all the interests of a nation, that system is the German. Both the people and the nation have gained more and more as the system has developed."

Mr. Carl Vrooman, an alumnus of Harvard University, who has just returned from Europe after studying the railroads of that country a year and a half, and who is now preparing articles on the subject, follows up Professor Meyer's statement in a letter received from him recently: "In every country in Europe where the government has taken the roads, it has at once improved the service and lowered the rates." With reference to Belgium Mr. Vrooman says: "Belgium has had government ownership since 1835. The results due to the long trial are specially noteworthy. Belgium has the distinction of possessing more railway mileage to the square mile, and lower rates, than any other country in Europe. Her service is excellent, and as a consequence the industries of Belgium have been vastly benefited."

Mr. Harry G. Farmer, special railroad commissioner in Europe, says in a clipping from the Omaha News, March, 1907, with reference to Italy: "During the days of private ownership the Italian railroads were in fearful condition. The glaring fact that the companies let everything go to ruin, made no repairs, and captured every cent of profit, made a strong impression on the people. The government has made vast improvements since taking the roads. It has raised the wages of the employes, given shorter hours, and has also made sweeping reductions in rates."

Professor Moore of the Melbourne University says in "The New Australian Commonwealth," that the same conditions exist in Australia as in Germany. The roads are state, but the federal government controls them. He tells us that the grievances complained of under private ownership do not exist under government ownership.

Professor Parsons tells us in "The Heart of the Railway Problem," 1906, that Germany, Austria, New Zealand, France, Australia and Switzerland have tried the two systems—public and private—side by side at the same time, and in every one of these countries where they have thoroughly tried both systems the conclusion by an overwhelming majority is that public railways serve the public interests better, make lower rates, and serve the people at less total cost.

I shall now read from Mr. Vrooman's article on "Democracy and Ownership": "It has been the claim that democratic countries cannot make government ownership succeed, and that where there is a constant shift in power between two great parties, as in our own country, it could not succeed. Disproving this is the experience of Switzerland, which is even more democratic than our own country, and where government ownership has been given a severe test. For the last five years the government has owned and operated the railroads. The surplus profits have been used to cut rates, to raise wages and to improve the service; the public has been benefited and the experiment has been a wonderful success."

Professor Parsons says in "The Railways, the Trusts and the People," 1905: "In every country where the railways are private, the railway problem is a vital issue; dissatisfaction is intense, and regulation has been found to be impossible. In no country in the world where public ownership prevails, is there any desire to return to private ownership. These are facts of the deepest significance."

We do not claim that government ownership is perfect; but we do claim that if other countries and representative countries can reduce rates, increase wages, stop abuses and improve the service by owning the railroads, that our country can do the same.

I shall now take up the objections made by the negative.

First objection: "That the cost would be too great and the debt too large." We answer: Senator Newlands estimates that the saving from government ownership would be about \$340,000,000. This would come about from the elimination of railroad attorneys' fees, strikes, accidents, rebates, lobby and legislative costs, etc., and also the government could borrow an unlimited amount of money at half the rate of interest the railroads would have to pay. Therefore our contention is that government ownership would be much cheaper than private ownership, and that the objection is refuted.

The negative objects that private corporations have recently offered to run the post office system cheaper than the government, the implication being then that they can run the railroads cheaper than the government. This objection cannot be sustained for the reason that the experiment has never been tried in this country, and that it is contrary to the experience of other countries; as we have already shown. Even if this were true, experience teaches us that the corporations would achieve this end by low wages and long hours for the employees, which is opposed to the policy of our government.

The negative objects that the ownership and operation of the railroads would be too great an undertaking for this government. We answer: Will any one say that this government is unable to own and operate her vast army and navy, and her post office systems successfully? Will he say that this government is unable to own and operate the Panama canal, perhaps the greatest undertaking of modern times? If the government can and does operate these systems successfully, we maintain that she would be able to own and operate the railroads successfully.

The negative objects that there are discriminations in Australia under government ownership. The negative has not distinguished between just and unjust discriminations. We are dealing only with unjust discriminations at this point, and the objection falls. However, for information we refer the negative to that part of "The Railways, the Trusts and the People," by Professor Parsons, which says that the discriminations in Australia are not unjust discriminations, but are for the benefit of the people in general, and are brought about by the peculiar conditions of the country.

The negative as an objection says that our railroads are the most efficient in the world. We marvel at such a statement at this time, for the reason that our daily papers and our periodicals tell us that there is a general incompetency in equipment in our railroads today. During the winter of 1906 and 1907, whole states were left without coal; others deserted with their crops unmarketed. They tell us that through the inefficiency of our railroads the traveling public are killed and mangled in daily wrecks. Can the negative claim efficiency? But we have said that we cannot compare government ownership of other countries with private ownership in America, and we have shown that wherever government ownership has replaced private ownership in the same country all conditions are improved.

To summarize our entire argument:

We have shown, and it has been granted, that some government action with reference to the railroads is necessary.

We have laid down a two-fold proposition: First, government action by regulation; secondly, government action by government ownership and operation.

We have shown that regulation has not been successful in the past, is not successful at present, and more than likely will not be successful in the future.

We have named three kinds of government ownership and operation—state, dual and federal.

We have proved that state and dual ownership and operation are not feasible.

We have said that at this point our conclusion should be drawn; but we have gone further, and have shown that federal ownership and operation are feasible and remedial.

Our conclusion, therefore, is, that all the railroads of the United States should be owned and operated by the federal government.

COMMENTS

The Montana High School Debating League is the most complete and most helpful plan yet made by any university department for encouraging high school pupils to do something.—The University (Nebraska) Journal, Jan., 1907.

A series of debates on the government ownership of railroads came off under the auspices of the Montana State High School Debating League during the past year. . . . Such debates as these carry an interest greater even than their intrinsic value, which is by no means slight. They indicate, not only how far-reaching is consideration of this imminent question, but also how well the younger generation in our midst is equipping itself for the handling of it.—The Public, Chicago, Sept. 7, 1907.



