

#### Governor Clyde M. Reed correspondence, Public Service Commission

Section 3, Pages 61 - 90

This file includes subject correspondence relating to the Public Service Commission. Topics in the correspondence cover but is not limited to the Rate Department, gas rates in Kansas, and railroad transportation. This file is part of a bigger collection of Governor Clyde M. Reed correspondence.

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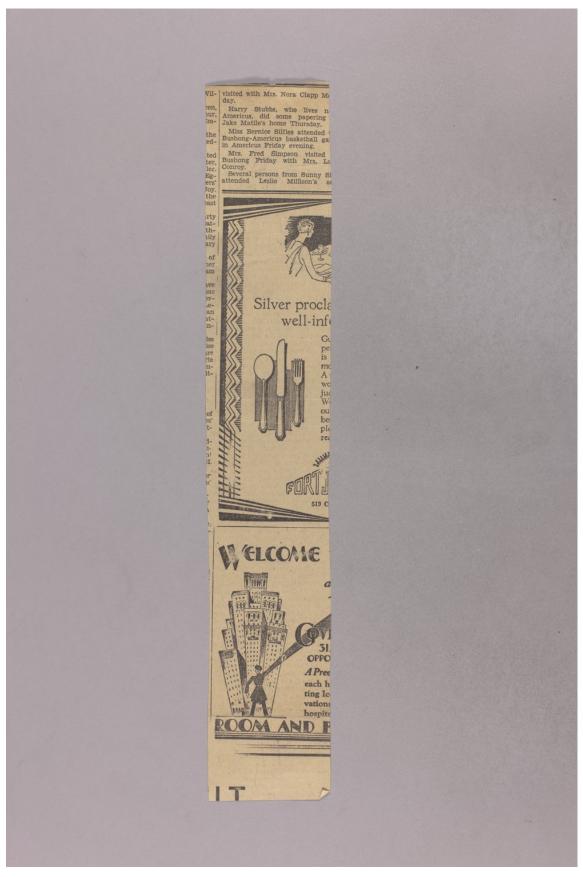
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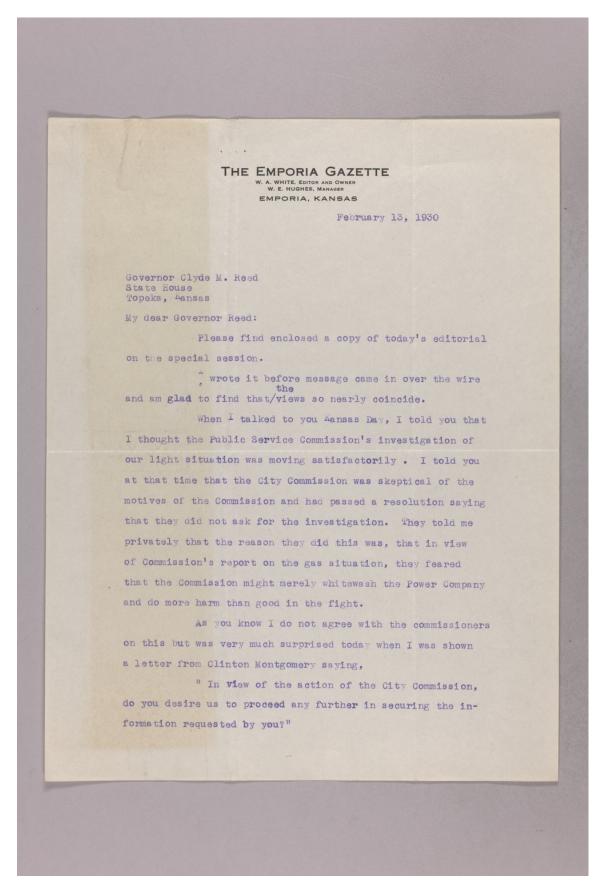
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# KANSAS HISTORICAL SOCIETY

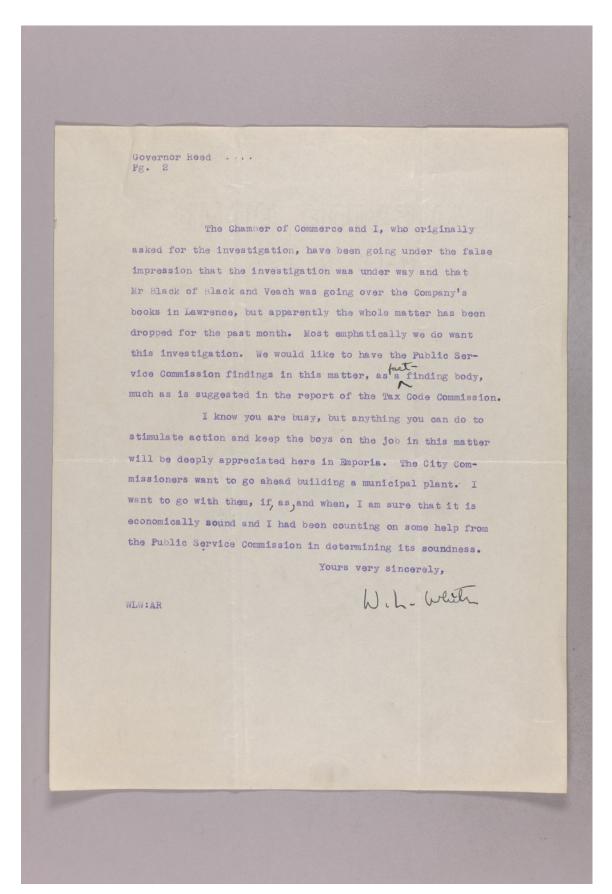




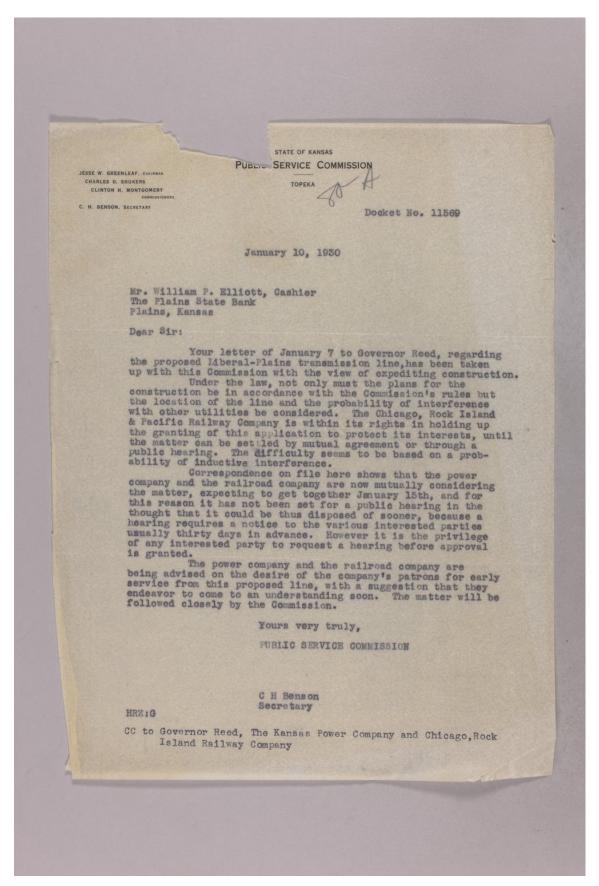




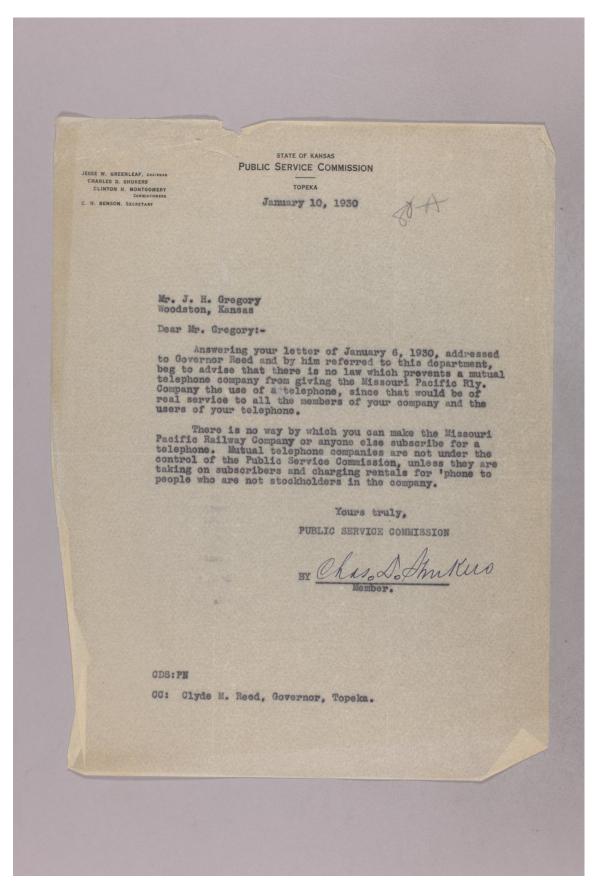




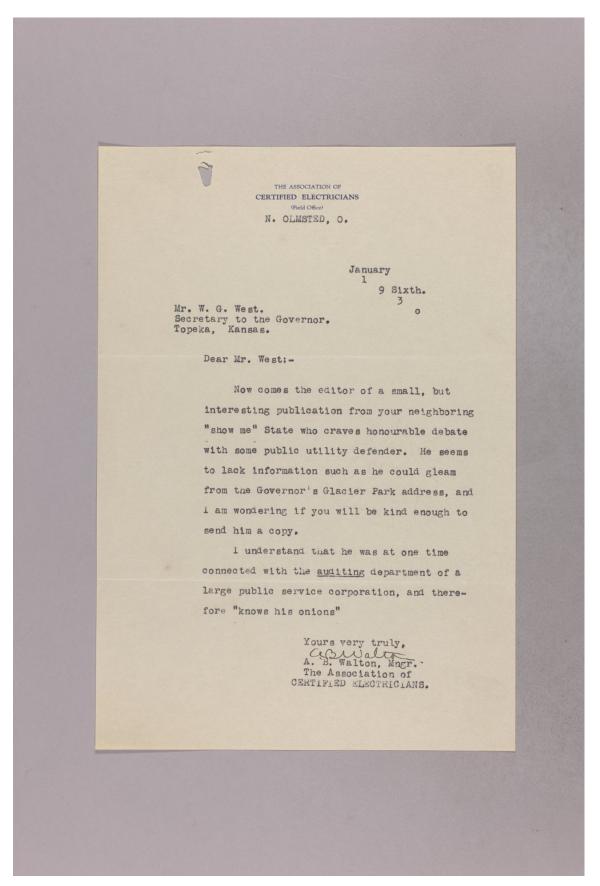




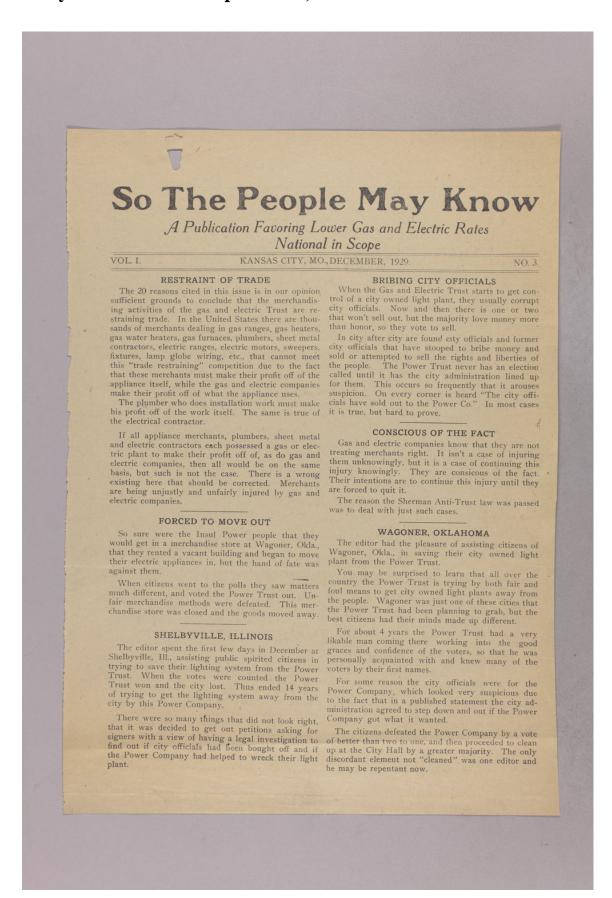




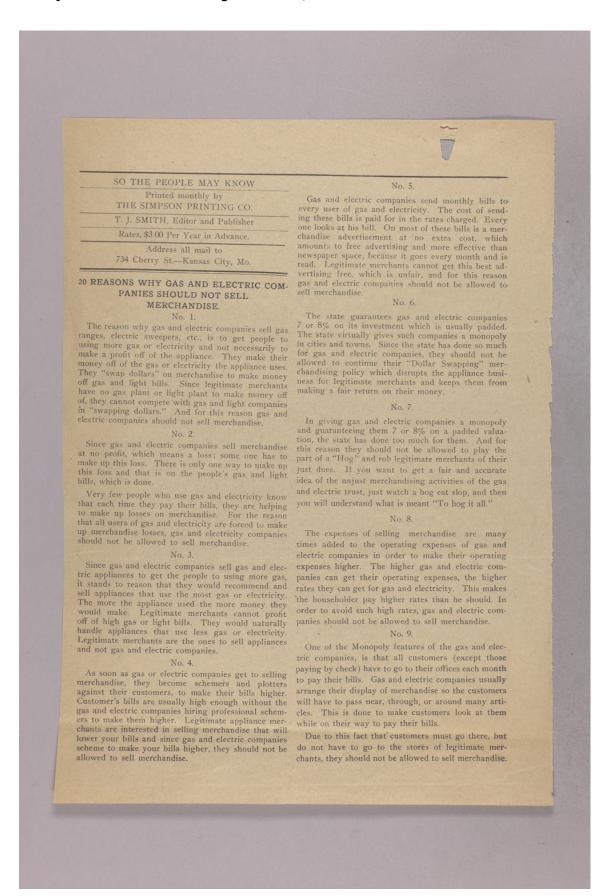




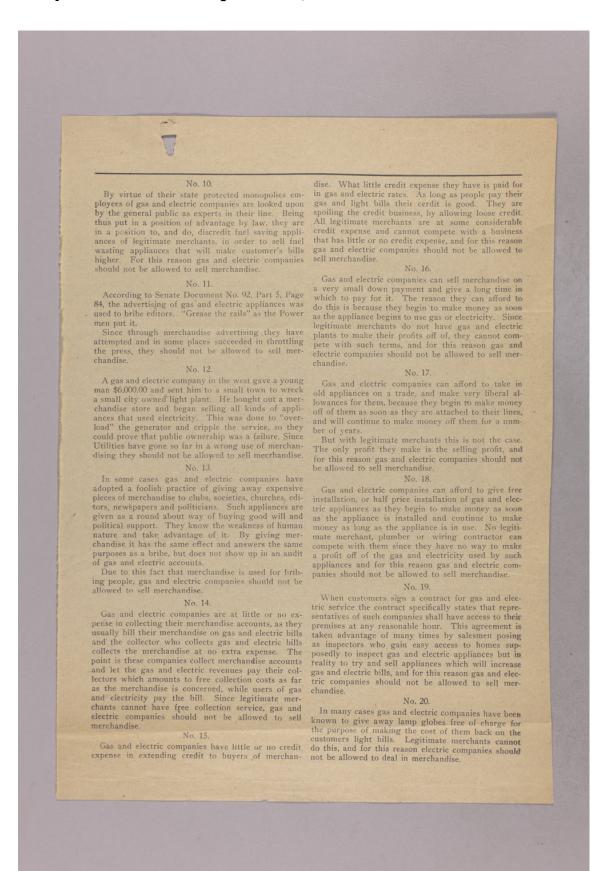




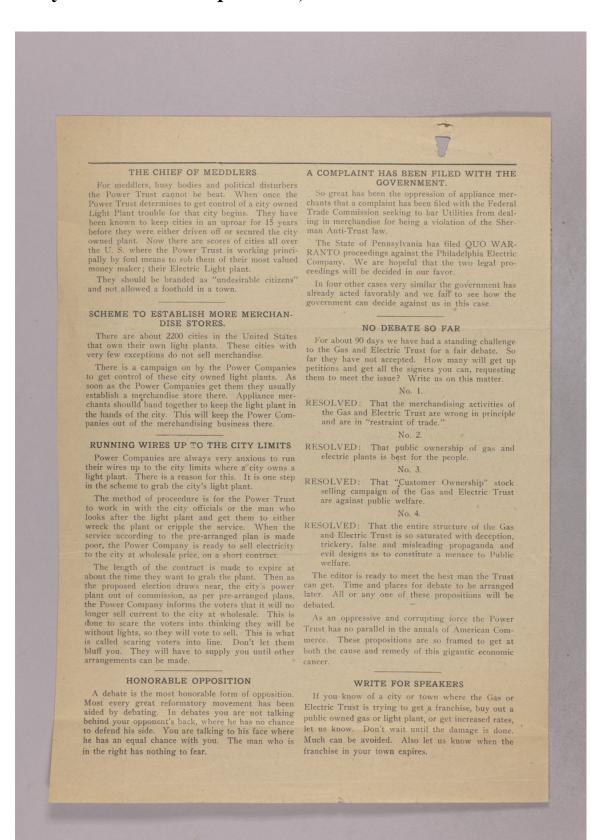




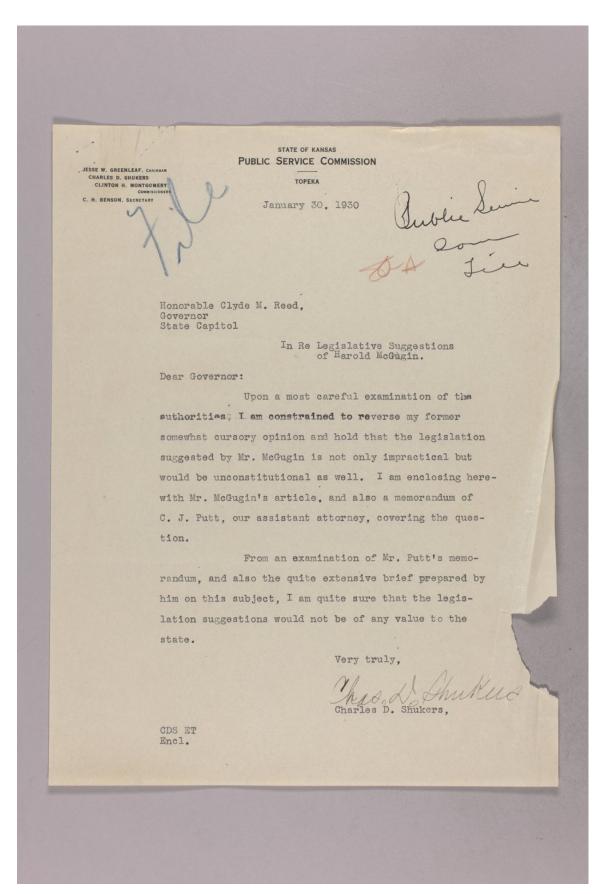














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MEMORANDUM TO MR. SHUKERS:

Several days ago you handed to me a copy of a speech of Harold McGugin in which said speech certain legislation was proposed for the control of the transmission and distribution of natural gas, and requested me to advise you as to the advisability of such proposed legislation.

As you well know, the gas question in Kansas is the question of the control of The Cities Service Gas Company, which said Company is an interstate carrier of gas which sells to its own subsidiaries and to others in Kansas.

This corporation is a foreign corporation duly admitted to do business in Kansas. The State Charter Board has power to revoke this permissive right for cause the same as it would have the right to forfeit the charter of a Kansas corporation, plus of course any suit that was necessary for such purpose. Regardless of the domicile of the corporation its right to engage in interstate commerce remains constant, and regardless of whether or not it has the right to engage in business within the state it can nevertheless engage therein in an interstate business.

Article 1, Section 8, Clause 3, of the Constitution of the United States provides that Congress shall have power "to regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several states and with the Indian tribes", and a state, therefore, is powerless to regulate interstate commerce. This power of Congress is so broad and exclusive that in the Shreveport case (Houston etc. R. Co. v. U. S. 234 U.S. 324) it was held that Congress, through the Interstate Commerce Commission, could prevent intra-state commerce to the injury of interstate commerce. The state not being able to regulate interstate commerce the domicile of the corporation engaging in such commerce would be of no consequence.
Minn. v. Creamery Package Company, 115 Minn. 207; Terral v. Burke Construction Co., 66 L. ed. 352; Western Union Telegraph Co. v. Kansas, 216 U.S. 165; International Text Book Company v. Pigg, 217 U. S. 91; Pullman Company v. Kansas, 54 L. ed. 378; Buck Stöve & Range Company v. Vickers, 57 L. ed. 189; West v. Kansas Natural Gas Company, 221 U. S. 229.

Domestication of a corporation was held not to be a burden or an interference with interstate commerce, but compelling domestication would not, in my opinion, cure the existing evil. Plummer v. C. & O. Railway Company, 143 Ky. 102; Commonwealth v. M. & O. R. R. Co., 54 L.R.A. 916.

Another feature of this proposed legislation that I desire to call your attention to is the feature providing that such a corporation must contract and agree with the State of Kansas that if granted a charter it will always submit to the jurisdiction of the Kansas Public Service Commission subject to the appellate jurisdiction of the Kansas court to regulate the rate which a corporation should charge for gas.

Article 3, Section 2, Clause 1, of the Constitution of the United States provides "The Judicial power shall extend to all cases in law and equity arising under this Constitution, the laws of the United States, and the treaties made, or which shall be made, under their authority."



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Amendment 14, Section 1, Clause 2, provides:

"No state shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any state deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law, nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws."

Under the above provisions a state law cannot effect Federal jurisdiction, as the jurisdiction conferred upon the National courts cannot be abridged or impaired by state statute. Home Insurance Company v. Morse, 22 L. ed. 365.

"The doctrine is so elementary as to require no citation of authority to sustain it. Indeed, its tands out so plainly as one of the essential and fundamental conceptions upon which our constitutional system rests and the lines which define it are so broad and so obvious, that, unlike some of the other powers delegated by the Constitution, where the lines of distinction are less clearly defined, the attempts to transgress or forget them have been so infrequent as to call for few occasions for their statement and application. (Harrison v. St. L. & S. F. R. R. Co., 58 L. ed. 621.)

See also: Terral v. Burke Construction Co., 257 U.S. 529; Barron v. Burnside, 121 U.S. 186; Southern Pacific Co. v. Denton, 36 L. ed. 943; West v. Kansas Natural Gas Company, 221 U.S. 229.

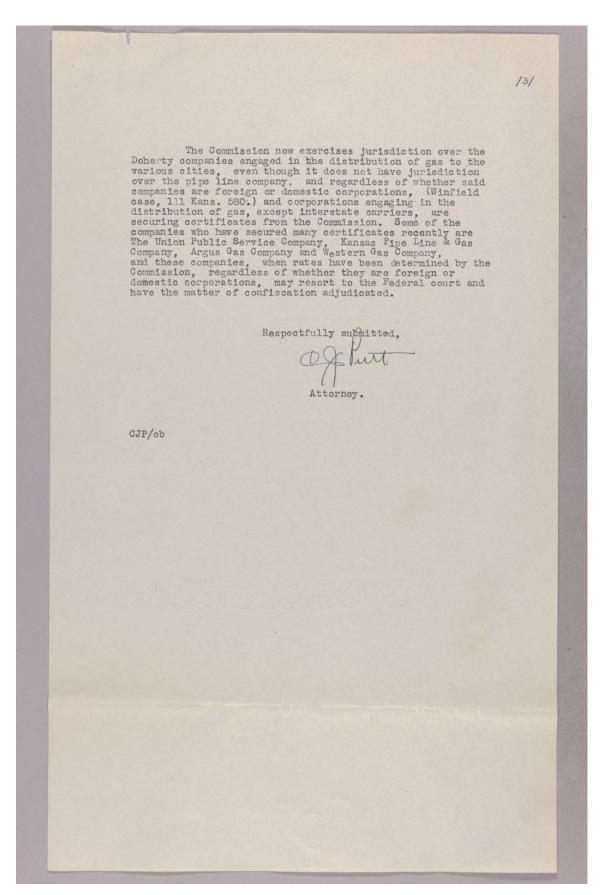
It has been said:

"Every citizen is entitled to resort to all the courts of the country and to invoke the protection which all the laws of all those courts may afford him. A man may not barter away his life or his freedom, or his substantial rights ...................... In a civil case he may submit to his particular suit by his own consent to an arbitration, or to the decision of a single judge. So he may omit to exercise his right to remove his suit to a Federal tribunal, as often as he thinks fit, in each recurring case. In these aspects any citizen may no doubt waive the rights to which he may be entitled. He cannot, however, bind himself in advance by an agreement, which may be specifically enforced, thus to forfeit his rights at all times and on all occasions, whenever the case may be presented." (New York Home Insurance Company v. Morse, 22 L. ed. 365.)

See also:Railroad & Warehouse Company v. Duluth Street Railway Company. 71 L. ed. 807.

In view of the inability of the state to regulate interstate commerce and its inability to oust Federal courts of jurisdiction, when federal questions are involved, I do not believe that the proposed legislation would be of much benefit to Kansas.







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If we of America are going to maintain government worthy of
the name, we must provide someway to handle rate regulation of public
utilities in an effective way. By franchises the power of government
has created a monopoly for the various public utilities companies. When
government has provided this monopoly, the citizens of the country are
helpless in the hands of the monopoly. Government must honestly and
effectively prescribe the rates which the utilities may charge the
public. This has been a self evident and a recognized fact by everybody. Government has no right to permit the creation of monopoly unless at the same time it secures the people from the grasping hand of
monopoly. It is human nature for everyone to charge for his wares
all that the traffic will bear. In general commerce, competition
will stay the natural grasping hand of greed. In monopoly, government alone can stay that hand and protect the people.

Everyone recognizes, that in the case of public utilities, competition is impracticable. In the case of utilities exclusive right to perform the given business is the only practical plan. Recognizing this situation, government has permitted exclusive rights in the various fields of public utilities. Government has undertaken to curb the greed and the selfishness incident to this exclusive right, by the establishing of public service commissions in each of the forty-eight different states and the federal government by establishing the Interstate Commerce Commission.

The theory of these public commissions prescribing public rates was perfectly sound. It was a noble experiment. It should have worked well. However, to a too great an extent, the public utilities companies have practiced every ingenuity to circumscribe and to evade



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the jurisdiction and power of these public commissions. It has been common practice for these utilities to practice virtually nothing less than perjury in their endeavor to evade the power of the rate making bodies. They have employed engineers and auditors and have presented technical and fictitious valuation to the public service commissions. They have asked and they have demanded that the rate making bodies base the rates upon these figures.

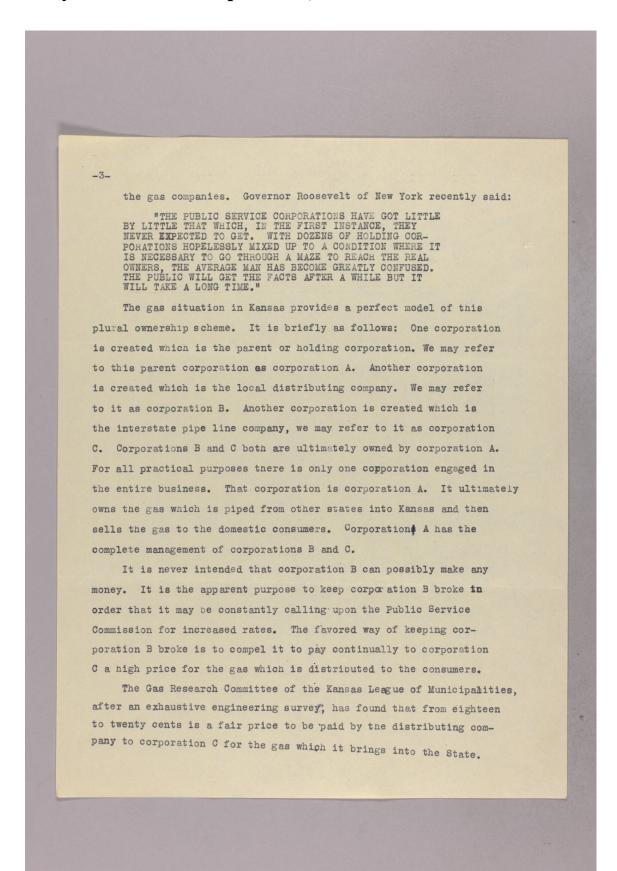
The utilities have pyramided their stock valuations far in excess of the actual valuations of their properties. They have had two sets of valuations; one a ridiculously low valuation for taxation purposes and another a ridiculously high valuation for rate making purposes.

The public has been sold the stock in these utilities corporations. The stock has been in excess of any fair or reasonable valuation of the property. Eventually, the public that bought the stocks and the bonds, must either lose a goodly part of their investment or else, the public that buys the products, must pay an excessively high rate in order to furnish enough revenue to pay a return and to repay the pyramided stocks and bonds which have been sold to the stock and bond buying public.

The utilities have built up an ownership structure whereby they expect to receive from the public service commissions legal authority to charge high rates and at the same time deny to the public service commissions a fair opportunity to inquire into what is a fair rate.

I refer to the plural ownership of a given utility. The gas company combine ownership in Kansas is a perfect example of this plural ownership evil. This plural ownership scheme has become an iniquity which is preying upon the American people throughout the length and breadth of this nation. It is being particularly practiced by the power and







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Yet, we find that the distributing company is paying from thirtyeight to forty cents for this gas. Corporation B after paying corporation C from thirty-eight cents to forty cents for this gas or a hundred per cent more than the Kansas League of Municipalities has found to be a fair price, is constantly calling upon the Public Service Commission for increased rates. The plea is that the distributing company is not making money. What is the difference whether the distributing company is making money or not when the pipe line company is making twice what it should make and the parent company is receiving these profits from the pipe line company? Since the parent company owns both the distributing company and the pipe line company it ought to be made to balance the profits of the pipe line company with the losses of the distributing company. Yet, when the Public Service Commissions of the states undertake to follow this horse sense course, the gas companies arrogantly answer that the State Public Service Commissions are not interested in the huge profits of the interstate pipe line company because that company is engaged in interstate commerce.

This is a set-up which must be crushed. If Government cannot crush this kind of a set-up then government in Americal has become a weak and vacillating thing. However, the present glory of America is that government is going to crush this situation. The Supreme Court of the United States went a long way to break the back of this despicable thing. The Supreme Court made this splendid and forward step in United Fuel Company versus Railroad Commission decided January 15, 1929. The American public and the American press are alive to the situation.

Our own Governor, in a recent speech at Glacier Park, spoke



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-5upon the activities of the utilities companies in circumscribing the Public Service Commissions of the states. I fully agree with him in those remarks. However, I cannot agree with him when in the same speech he censured the Federal Judiciary by attributing a goodly part of the destruction of the jurisdiction of the State Public Service Commissions to the decisions of the federal judiciary. The federal courts have respected the interstate commerce clause of the federal constitution. They have rightfully done so. However, for every bit of the sovereignty of the states that the federal courts have absorbed under the interstate commerce clause of the constitution, the people, the state legislatures, and the governors, have foolishly surrendered a hundred times more of the sovereignty of the respective states. We must not forget that the United States Supreme Court in the before mentioned decision vested more power in the state commissions than the utilities companies ever dreamed would be possible.

The solving of the question of handling the power of state public service commissions to prescribe rates effectively, in sommon with the solving of many other public questions of this day, is to be found only in the restoration of the sovereignty of the states.

In the case of the gas companies, there can be no effective governmental rate regulation until this interstate pipe line company is controlled by some governmental body. As the matter now stands this corporation escapes all governmental regulation. As it escapes governmental regulation the whole gas industry escapes governmental regulation. With the interstate pipe line corporation running rampant and charging such a price as it may desire to charge for the gas which it sells to the distributing company, supposed governmental control of gas rates is a mockery. The public would be just as



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well off if it had no rate regulation whatever of the gas industry.

This interstate gas company has been dodging state regulation on the theory of interstate commerce. It has evaded federal regulation because the federal interstate commerce commission has never been given jurisdiction over interstate gas pipe lines.

To regulate this interstate company and thereby restore effective governmental regulation of gas rates, some advocate that congressional legislation is necessary. It is their purpose to give the interstate commerce commission jurisdiction to regulate and prescribe the rates of the interstate gas pipe lines. This would be one form of governmental control. It would be a thousand times better than the present situation of no governmental control.

Yet, in the last analysis the most and best effective control would be state control. It would, indeed, be expensive and embarrassing for local communities to look to the interstate commerce commission in distant Washington for the regulating and prescribing of the rates which they should pay for gas. Such a situation would mean unbearable delay. The gas companies would be at a great advantage. In short, distant government is always conducive of special privilege and advantage for the great and the strong and of injustice for the weak.

I believe that there is state legislation, which if enacted, can and will effectively provide for state regulation of rates of even this interstate gas pipe line corporation.

Texas by state legislation years ago provided that no railroad corporation could operate in Texas except one holding a Texas charter. The interstate railroad companies running into Texas all have a separate charter for the operation of their railroads in Texas. It is only a separate Texas corporation which may operate a railroad without in the boundaries of Texas. The Texas Statute is as follows:



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Article 6260 reads:

"No corporation, except one chartered under the laws of Texas shall be authorized or permitted to construct, build, operate, acquire, own or maintain any railroad within the state."

If Texas can compel these interstate railroads to be separate corporations, when operating in Texas, surely Kansas can by legislation compel interstate gas pipe line companies to have a Kansas charter when they operate in Kansas.

To control interstate gas pipe line corporations by Kansas legislation, I would suggest that the next legislature of Kansas enact legislation in substance as follows:

- (a) That no corporation EXCEPT ONE CHARTERED UNDER THE LAWS

  OF KANSAS shall be permitted to construct, maintain or operate any pipe

  line for the transmission of natural gas within the state of Kansas.
- (b) That any such corporation in its application for a charter must contract and agree with the state of Kansas, that if granted a charter, it will always submit to the jurisdiction of the Kansas Public Service Commission, subject to the appellate jurisdiction of the Kansas courts, to regulate and prescribe the rate which such corporation shall charge for natural gas which it may sell for public consumption to any person, firm or corporation in the state of Kansas.
- (c) That if any such corporation shall ever refuse to abide by the rates prescribed by the state of Kansas that it shall thereby be deemed to have violated its contract and its charter, which violation shall work a forfeiture of its charter and of its right to do business in Kansas.
- (d) That any such corporation shall, in its application for a charter, contract, and agree with the state of Kansas that it shall never discriminate in either price or service between privately owned and municipally owned distributing gas companies.



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-8-Such legislation would compel such a corporation by contract in its application for a charter to submit to the jurisdiction of the state rate regulating body. I believe that time and judicial construction will determine that such a contract is something more than a scrap of paper. Section D of such proposed legislation would be particularly beneficial for the cities which own their own distributing gas plants. It would insure to them a supply of gas equal to the supply of any of the privately owned companies. This interstate pape line corporation cannot complain about such legislation. The so-called Doherty companies insist that their interstate pipe line corporation is an entirely separate and distinct corporation from the local, distributing corporation. If there is no connection whatever between the interstate pipe line corporation and the distributing company then it can make no difference to this interstate pipe line corporation whether it sells its gas to the privately owned distributing company or to some municipally owned distributing company. However, I venture the prophety that such legislation will find the parent holding company bitterly complaining and strenuously insisting that it wants its pipe line corporation to sell gas only to its local distributng corporation. Then as a companion bill, which will vest further power in the Kansas Public Service Commission to regulate gas rates, I should suggest that the next legislature enact a bill in substance as follows: (a) That any person, firm or corporation using any of the public highways of Kansas in the piping or transporting of natural gas shall first obtain a permit to do so from the Kansas Public Service Commission. (b) In the application for a permit, the applicant must contract and agree with the state of Kansas that the Public Service Commission,



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subject to the appellate jurisdiction of the Kansas courts, shall have jurisdiction to regulate and prescribe the price which shall be paid for any gas transported under such permit for public consumption.

- (a) That any refusal or failure to abide by such rate regulation shall be deemed a violation of the contract and of the permit and shall work a forfeiture of the permit. That the Public Service Commission be given jurisdiction to declare such forfeiture tand cancel such permit.
- (d) That any person, firm or corporation transporting gas along or across any public highway without such a permit shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor and upon conviction shall be fined not less than \$500.00 nor more than \$1,000.00. Each day of transporting gas without such a permit shall constitute a separate offense.

It will be noted that these provisions do not effect the gas producers of Kansas who produce gas and sell it for industrial purposes. Industries using gas for industrial fuel do not need legal protection. Coal and electricity as competitive fuel for industrial power will regulate the price for industrial gas. When competition will regulate a price, government has no business to interfere.

I believe that such legislation will permit Kansas to be the mistress of her own household so far as natural gas for public consumption is concerned.

While I firmly believe that Topeka is the most effective place to carry on this primary fight with the gas companies, it is perfectly proper to carry on the secondary fight at Washington.

In the matter of congressional legislation for years the Kansas City Star has been advocating that jurisdiction be given to the interstate commerce commission to regulate and prescribe the rates to be charged by interstate pipe line companies. No one can question the



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constitutionality of such legislation. No one can claim that such legislation would not be effective and a great improvement upon the present condition. In the consideration of congressional legislation there is other national legislation which I beg leave to suggest as being appropriate. It is as follows:

- (a) By congressional legislation make the members of the State Public Service Commissions federal officers or agencies for the purpose of regulating the gas rates of interstate pipe lines.
- \$\psi\_b\$) If Congress is loath to delegate so much power to state agencies then it could at least enact legislation making the members of the State Utilities Commissions, commissioners or special masters to take evidence and report to the interstate commerce commission.

These last two suggestions are for the purpose of expediting and speeding up the work of the Federal Government in passing upon these rates. The interstate commerce commission is so burdened with railroad rates that it is far behind with its docket. Place the control of the interstate pipe line directly and exclusively with the interstate commerce commission and it would often mean three or four years before a decision could be reached in prescribing rates for these pipe lines.

In any campaign of attack, I believe that the state legislature is by far the better place to make that attack. Let not the people of Kansas depend on distant Washington alone to do for them what they can do for themselves here at home.

In the meantime, there is no need for the cities of Kansas or the Kansas Public Service Commission to lie down and idly wait for legislative relief. The cities of Kansas and the Kansas Public Service Commission can well afford to set themselves under the



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authority of the United Fuel Gas Company versus Railroad Commission decided by the Supreme Court of the United States, January 15, 1929. Here is a quotation from that decision:

"A public service corporation cannot make a rate confiscatory by reducing it's net earnings through the device of a contract unduly favoring a subsidiary or a corporation owned by its own stockholders."

This decision means that corporation B owning the local distributing plant cannot make its public rate confiscatory by unday favoring corporation C by paying to corporation C a 100% excess price for gas. This is true because corporation C is owned ultimately by corporation A, the stockholder which ultimately owns corporation B the distributing company.

This case goes further, it holds that the burden of proof is upon such a gas company to prove that its rate to the distributing company is fair and that the rate charged to the public has not been made confiscatory by paying too much to its companion company for gas.

This case had its origin in Kentucky. The local distributing company was demanding an increased rate. The local distributing company was insisting that it was losing money. It was insisting that the railroad commission of Kentucky had no right to inquire into the reasonableness of the price which the distributing company was paying for the gas which it purchased at the gate. The local distributing company was insisting that it was helpless, that it was purchasing its gas from an interstate corporation which was bringing gas from West Virginia to Kentucky.

Since this interstate corporation and the local distributing company had similar ownership the United States Supreme Court recognized the absurdity of the position of the gas companies. This Kentucky set-up of plural ownership of the gas business is a perfect



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duplication of the plural ownership of the gas industry in Kansas. If the Kansas Public Service Commission and the cities of Kansas will operate under the shelter of this decision, I believe that the so-called Doherty companies operating in Kansas will thereby be brought to time and will learn that there is a government in Kansas. It is with joy that we observe that the Kansas Public Service Commission, fortified with their decision, has met the Doherty companies head-on in the rate cases presented by the Western distributing company.

The so-called Doherty companies have carried on another practice which is to say the least subject to censure. They have in wholesale fashion taken into their employment men high in the public service of Kansas, members of the Public Service Commission, former Attorneys General and Assistant Attorneys General, Judge of the District Court of Shawnee County, which Court has played no small part in establishing the gas rates in Kansas, auditors and engineers of the Kansas Public Service Commission and men high in the legislative branch of our State. Doubtless, all of these men are capable and have made valuable employees for the gas companies. However, the employment has been on such a broad scale that it has all the appearance of the employment of prestige rather than service.

To say the least, it is singular that these companies with head-quarters in Oklahoma and New York City should find it necessary to look to Kansas public officials for so many of its employees. In speaking about this question, I cannot pass without mentioning the fact that engineers of the Kansas Public Service Commission, who represented the Commission and helped to establish the valuation of many of the Doherty distributing gas plants for rate purposes, was shortly after the establishing of these rates employed by the Doherty companies.



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Others may view this situation in any light they may desire, but as for myself, my common sense will always compel me to believe that the gas consumers of Kansas would be better off if the Doherty companies had never taken into their employment a single public official of Kansas. I believe that it would be a wise public policy for Kansas immediately to give Doherty to understand that this State will look with disfavor upon his companies further employing Kansas public officials. That the State will look upon a continuation of this program with such disfavor, that a further practice of it will obtain for his companies disrepute rather than prestige. If this employment had consisted of only one or two Kansas officials, no right thinking person could take any exceptions of it. However, this employment has included so many that it takes on the appearance of a program and a practice which is not in any sense merely an incident in commercial life.

During the past few years the public utilities companies all too prevalent have carried on a program of controlling government. For their own good and for the good of the country they must abandon this program. They must not carry on even in the least degree the domination of government. In a former day the debatable question was private ownership of public utilities or governmental ownership of public utilities. If the UTILITIES CARRY ON THE PROGRAM OF ENDEWVORING TO CONTROL GOVERNMENT THEN THE QUESTION WILL BECOME WHETHER OR NOT WE SHALL HAVE GOVERNMENT OWNERSHIP OF UTILITIES OR UTILITY OWNERSHIP OF GOVERNMENT. If the American people have the spirit and patriotism of their forefathers, it will never take them long to answer that question.

The gas companies in Kansas in furnishing employment for former public officials have carried on a program which is bad. However,



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they deserve full credit for the fact that there is no evidence that they have done the reprehensible things which the power companies have done in other sections of the United States. There is no evidence that the utilities in Kansas Hwe ever furnished fabulous slush funds to elect a former member of the Public Service Commission as United States Senator. Such was publicly reported to have been done in Illinois. The public reports of a Senatorial investigation were to the effect that Mr. Insul, a power magnate of Illinois, furnished a huge sum of money to elect Mr. Smith, a former chairman of the Public Service Commission of Illinois, to the United States Senate. This so shocked the patriotic and moral conscience of the country that the United States Senate barred its doors to Mr. Smith. I understand that Mr. Insul is now interested in the power business in Kansas. It is not unfriendly advise for anyone to inform Mr. Insul that if he ever undertakes to finance the campaign of a Kansas public service commissioner for a high office, that the people of Kansas will view such a transaction as the payment of a debt of gratitude for rates prescribed by such sommissioner favorable to the power company.

There is no public evidence that any privately owned utilities companies have ever undertaken to buy up any of the press of Kansas. It was recently disclosed before the Federal Trade Commission that some power companies in the East had financed the "chaining" of a number of the Eastern newspapers. The public is bound to accept such conduct as an effort to prostitute the public press, deceive the public mind and to prepare the way for such utilities to rob the public by unfavorable rates prescribed by public rate making bodies. Such destruction of the freedom and integrity of the public



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press is little less than disloyalty to country. It will never be accepted by the American people as anything less than disloyalty. It is unbelievable that such a thing could ever happen in Kansas. If any Kansas editor ever made his paper subservient to any public utility, and that fact became disclosed, then may a merciful God have grace for that editor, for the remainder of the Kansas press will never have any forgiveness for him.

The subject assigned to me was public utility regulation.

The greater part of my remarks have been confined to the regulation of the gas companies. This is because I believe that in Kansas there is a greater need at this time for the regulation of the gas companies than of any other utility. As to Kansas regulation of the electric power companies, I do not have any particular suggestions to offer. Any city which is not satisfied with its power rate is not in any great need of governmental regulation to give it relief. Any instance where the power company is charging too much, the people in that city have relief within their own grasp. They can establish their own power plant. It is my observation that publicly owned power plants like privately owned power plants are very valuable property and are making money.

As to telephone rates or regulation of them, if the people are not satisfied at this time, I have no confident judgment as to how to make public rate regulation more effective. However, I have observed that telephone rates in Kansas are on a war time basis.

I have also observed that the telephone company still has in effect every war time device to gouge the public for a little here and a little there. Also that telephone systems are being merged and then stocks and bonds are sold for many times the purchase price of the system. This means again, that the purchasers of these stocks



