

CHAPTER 3

Transportation: Railroads*

CONDUCTORS, ORDER OF SLEEPING CAR

Address: Room 253, Union Station, Kansas City, Mo.

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1918 Organized as Order of Sleeping Car Employees.
1919 Affiliated with AFL as Order of Sleeping Car Conductors.

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Proceedings.
[1st, 1919]; 3rd, 1925; 5th, 1931; 7th, 1937
2. Constitutions.
1918; 1919; trien. 1922-1931; 1937
3. Journal.
Published as: (Kansas City, Mo.)
1918-1941+ : *The Sleeping Car Conductor*

CONDUCTORS OF AMERICA, ORDER OF RAILWAY

Address: Cedar Rapids, Iowa.

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1868 Organized as Conductors' Union.
1869 Changed name to Conductors' Brotherhood of the United States.
1877 Changed name to Conductors' Brotherhood of the United States and Canada.
1878 Adopted present name.
1888 Seceding faction organized Brotherhood of Railway Conductors.
1891 Absorbed Brotherhood of Railway Conductors.

* Other than Shop Crafts.

II. PUBLICATIONS (Code Number: C6)

1. Proceedings.
1st-8th ann., 1868-1885; 19th-23rd ann., 1887-1891;
24th-34th bien., 1893-1913; 35th-41st trien., 1916-1934;
42nd, 1941
2. Reports.
Officers: 1941
3. Constitutions.
ann. 1868-1881; 1887; 1888; 1890; bien. 1891-1913; trien.
1916-1934; 1941 (1868-1881 *with* proceedings)
4. Journal.
Published as: (Cedar Rapids, Iowa)
1884-Jul 1899: *Railway Conductors Monthly*
Aug 1899-1941+: *The Railway Conductor*
Editors:
1884-1885: Calvin S. Wheaton
1886: William P. Daniels
1887-Jun 30, 1889: Calvin S. Wheaton
Jul 1, 1889-May 1890: Erwin H. Belnap
Jun 1890-Jun 1893: William P. Daniels
Jul 1893-Jun 1906: E. E. Clark
Jul 1906-Feb 1909: C. D. Kellogg
Mar 1909-Jan 1927: F. H. Pease
Feb 1927-1941+: John R. T. Rives

III. CRITIQUE OF PUBLICATIONS

Second of the groups of railroad workers to organize (1868), the conductors were among the last to establish themselves as a trade union employing the strike weapon to enforce their demands. The objectives and methods of the Order of Railway Conductors in the early years must be obtained from the brief proceedings of its annual conventions. The broad objectives of the union as stated in 1868 were to "more effectively combine the interests of railroad conductors; to elevate their standing as such, and characters as men." In its early years the union promoted temperance to reform character, and instituted a mutual benefit program for its members. The latter program established a pattern which influenced the policy of the union into the period of the thirties.

While interest in wage bargaining began to develop in the early seventies, the organization continued for some time longer to place its faith in the employer's willingness to reward "honest toil." By encouraging temperance and technical competence, the Order hoped to render its members worthy of such consideration. In

1885, however, the union convention authorized local committees to bargain with employers. The success of this policy was indicated in the following year, when the union claimed to have advanced wages and established seniority on a number of roads.

Between 1885 and 1891 the union experienced two secessionist movements which can be followed in its publications. The first, resulting from a demand for separate organization of passenger and freight conductors, was localized around Philadelphia. The second developed as a protest against the no-strike policy of the Order of Railway Conductors, and resulted in the abandonment of that policy. A dual union, the Brotherhood of Railway Conductors, was organized by those dissenting from the no-strike policy. Although the membership of the Order did not suffer greatly, President Wheaton complained that antagonism and dissension among those who stayed in the Order had resulted in a virtual paralysis of its functions. To end the paralysis he asked for a vote of confidence on the no-strike policy. The result was a decisive defeat. Wheaton left the Order to found his own organization based on the no-strike principle, and the Brotherhood, having won the fundamental change in policy which it sought, returned in 1891 to the parent organization.

After this period of strife, the order gained steadily, though never spectacularly, in strength. Toward 1900, a growing interest in politics was reflected in positive action to influence legislation. This first took the form of promoting the interests of the railroads by opposing rate reductions and tax increases, but quickly developed into pressure exerted jointly with other railroad unions for employers' liability laws and safety legislation. State legislative committees were authorized and a national legislative representative was appointed. By 1913, alarm began to be voiced in union conventions that legislative activities had been stressed at the expense of collective bargaining.

The union did not establish the *Railway Conductors Monthly* until 1884. Prior to this time, it had published *The Conductors' Brotherhood Journal* about 1873 and the *Railroad Conductors' Brotherhood Magazine* (1875-1878). In 1882 it was reported that *The Railroader*, a privately published magazine, had been used as the official journal.

The *Railway Conductors Monthly* consisted very largely of editorials, letters from members, and a miscellany including fiction and technical articles. The subject matter of the journal in the early years reflected the union's interest in death and disability plans, temperance, and the promotion of efficiency. Before the

crisis of 1890, scarcely any members objected to the views of the editor in condemning the Knights of Labor and the Switchmen for their strike policy, and in defending the right of employers to blacklist strikers and to use troops to protect strikebreakers and prevent damage to property.

After 1890 letters from members became longer and covered a wider variety of subjects. Throughout the journal's history, a large proportion of the correspondence was concerned with such local matters as attendance at union meetings, elections of officers, and social affairs. Many letters contained pleas to pay dues promptly, to attend meetings, and to show a brotherly attitude. Another recurrent theme was the great responsibility resting on the conductor, and the high qualifications demanded of him; tales of hazardous experiences on the road, arguments for limiting admission to the trade, for wage increases, and for safety appliances built upon this theme. But broader issues were by no means neglected. A keen interest in the railroad industry was shown in the early years in arguments against Populist laws, later in discussions of the advisability of government regulation or operation of railroads, and still more recently in concern over growing competition from other types of carriers. Other subjects which have at one period or another occupied a prominent place in the correspondence columns include the union's benefit plans, the frequency and cost of union conventions, seniority and promotion rules, hiring discrimination by employers based on age or physical condition, workmen's compensation laws, the eight-hour day or other limitations on hours of work, and the unemployment problem.

The subjects treated in editorials also became more general after about 1900. The majority of editorials dealt with such topics as immigration, court decisions, and legislation, and contained extensive quotations from court rulings, governmental reports, speeches of prominent persons, and newspaper sources. Editorials became much shorter after 1910 and were made up increasingly of reprinted material. Not until the thirties did a substantial amount of original comment and opinion again appear in the journal, and then it was published in the president's page rather than in editorial form.

The chief source for expressions of official policy is not the union journal but the convention proceedings, and particularly the presidents' reports. These reports described the union's collective bargaining activities and the results achieved, its relations with other internationals, the appeals taken by locals and members to the international officers, and the officers' recommendations for

changes in the laws of the Order. The detail in which these items were treated varied from very brief notices of agreements signed and grievances handled to long reports on negotiations or rulings concerning the technical details of seniority systems. Financial reports and reports of convention committees were also printed in full, but discussion in the convention was printed verbatim only from 1888 to 1922.

The evolution of the ORC's collective bargaining techniques can be followed in the *Railway Conductor* prior to 1900, and after this time in the convention proceedings. A trend toward system federations and negotiation of contracts jointly with other railroad unions, particularly the Trainmen, developed in the nineties and resulted in the formation of the Federation of American Railway Employees in 1897. The constitution of this organization provided for individual action by member unions unless a strike was contemplated, in which case all the unions were to join in attempting to settle the dispute, and where necessary, in taking a ballot for a joint strike. The failure of this plan for cooperative action led to a return to system federations. In 1903, the Conductors began bargaining by districts and continued this practice until the first World War set the stage for national negotiation. In the twenties some dissatisfaction was expressed with the results of cooperation among the sixteen railroad brotherhoods, which, the ORC contended, wished to bring about an undesirable reduction in the differentials between trades. During the thirties, however, the Order seemed well satisfied with the work of the Railway Labor Executives Association.

Despite the early struggle over strike policy, the ORC has engaged in few strikes and there has been little mention of these in the journal, convention proceedings, or officers' reports.

The question of relations with the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen was of major importance to the Order, and occupied many pages in the convention proceedings. In its early years, the Order of Railway Conductors admitted yardmen, brakemen, and switchmen though it never attempted to bargain for these groups. After the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen developed a strong organization among these groups, each union found itself with members claimed by the other.

Since conductors' vacancies were filled by promoting brakemen, the ORC drew its membership wholly from the Trainmen's union. A brakeman was often reluctant to relinquish his claim to insurance benefits in the Trainmen's union, and therefore retained membership in both organizations. Antagonism to these "double-

headers" was apparent in 1901 when the ORC excluded them as delegates to the convention and from collective bargaining committees. Ill feeling between the Conductors and Trainmen continued to become more acute until a jurisdictional agreement, usually referred to as the Cleveland compact, was signed in 1919. By its terms the ORC was to represent only road conductors, assistant conductors, and ticket collectors who had qualified as conductors, and all members of the Trainmen's union in these jobs were to be turned over to the ORC. The Trainmen, however, were dissatisfied with the provisions concerning division of work and seniority and abrogated the compact in 1925. In 1932 another agreement was signed, only to be abrogated in 1934, after which time each union undertook raids on the other's membership. Proposals to merge the ORC and BRT were made by the latter in 1931 and 1934, but were rejected by the ORC. By 1941, another truce had been declared between the two unions, but no formal agreement had been signed.

The Order early established a substantial system of death, disability, and accident benefits, and many members have always identified the union primarily with insurance. Membership in the Order's death and disability plan was made compulsory in 1891. The provisions of this plan were later liberalized and other types of insurance provision were added from time to time, including a relief department for destitute members, old age pensions, accident insurance, and a home for aged members. Poor investments made during the twenties for a time threatened the entire insurance structure, and by 1941 all of the plans except death-disability insurance and accident insurance had been abandoned. The death-disability insurance was reorganized in 1931 to put it on a sound actuarial basis, in spite of the fact that many members withdrew from the union because of the increased rates and assessments necessary to maintain solvency. By 1940, the membership of the union was slightly more than half of that claimed in 1925.

ENGINEERS, BROTHERHOOD OF LOCOMOTIVE

Address: 1118 Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers Bldg.,
Cleveland

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1863 Organized as Brotherhood of the Footboard.
1864 Adopted present name.

II. PUBLICATIONS (Code Number: E3)

1. Proceedings.

1st-3rd ann., 1864-1866; spec., Jun 1866; 4th-10th ann., 1867-1873; [11th, 1874; 12th, 1875]; 13th, 1876; [14th-17th ann., 1877-1880]; 18th, 1881; [19th, 1882]; 20th-29th ann., 1883-1892; 30th-39th bien., 1894-1912; 40th, 1915; 41st, 1918 (5th, 7th-10th *with* journal. Published, but not for general circulation, after 1918)

2. Reports.

Secretary-Treasurer: 1892

3. Constitutions.

1863; bien. 1866-1870; bien. 1871-1877; bien. 1880-1884; bien. 1885-1889; bien. 1890-1912; trien. 1915-1936

4. Journal.

Published as: (Cleveland)

1867-1869: *Locomotive Engineers' Monthly Journal*

1870-1879: *Engineers' Monthly Journal*

1880-1885: *Locomotive Engineers' Monthly Journal*

1886-1887: *Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers' Monthly Journal*

1888-1901: *Locomotive Engineers' Monthly Journal*

1902-1903: *Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers' Monthly Journal*

1904-1906: *Locomotive Engineers' Monthly Journal*

1907-1941+: *Locomotive Engineers' Journal*

(Titles given are those shown on title page, except for volumes for which no title pages were available. In such cases, 1867-1869; 1880-1885; 1888-1901; 1904-1906, the running title, which was *Locomotive Engineers' Monthly Journal* up to 1915 and *Locomotive Engineers' Journal* afterwards, is given.)

Editors:

1867-Jun 1869: S. R. Mudge

Jul 1869-1884?: F. G. A. E. Fellows

1885?-Jun 1894: H. C. Hays
Jul 1894-Feb 1922: C. H. Salmon
Mar 1923-Nov 1927: A. F. Coyle
Dec 1927-Jul 1933: Carl Rudolph
Aug 1933-1941+: Paul M. Smith

III. CRITIQUE OF PUBLICATIONS

The journal of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers was first published in 1867, three years after the organization of the union. The early journals consisted largely of "inspirational" articles, technical information, letters from members, and fiction. Most of the articles and letters dealt with such general subjects as temperance and the pride of the engineer in his work. While these same types of material made up the journal for the next fifty years, their relative importance changed with the passage of time. Articles and letters from members decreased, while the technical section was enlarged and more space was given to news from locals and districts.

About 1913 the union began reprinting articles from other union journals and from government sources. From this time on reprinted material increased steadily in importance. By 1925 reprinted material and technical articles constituted about one-half of the journal, and by 1941 this proportion had increased to three-quarters. News from locals and districts continued to form an important element in the journal. Letters from members, however, had fallen to a very low level, and the few which remained contained only personal trivia. Editorials were brief and rarely mentioned anything which was not of direct concern to railroad employees, though in earlier times the editorial section had dealt rather broadly with the problems of organized labor.

Railroad accidents received more attention in the Engineers' journal than any other subject. The importance of this problem throughout the union's history was shown by the monthly lists of benefit payments to the families of engineers killed while on duty. Articles appeared frequently describing conditions which make for railroad accidents, recommending changes which would make railroad work safer, and urging the engineers to be eternally on guard. Cases in which engineers were prosecuted for negligence and manslaughter were discussed, the journal emphasizing that in the majority of accidents the engineers were not to blame. In the earlier years, the relation between fatigue and accidents was one of the Engineers' strongest arguments for shorter working hours and better working conditions.

The first shorter-hours campaign was waged for the elimination of all Sunday work except for the transportation of perishables. The movement was unsuccessful and was abandoned around 1892. In 1914 the journal began to urge abolition of the federal law which provided for a maximum working period of sixteen hours and substitution of an eight-hour law with overtime pay. Conferences of the railroad unions with employers were unsuccessful. When it appeared that the unions would strike, President Wilson intervened in the dispute, and at the end of 1916 secured the passage of the Adamson Act. This act provided overtime payment for hours in excess of eight per day for workers on railroads engaged in interstate traffic.

Because responsibility for railroad accidents was always attributed to engineers, the Brotherhood was much interested in maintaining a high level of competence among its members. To this end, the technical section was inserted in the journal. Some engineers believed that to insure competence, a federal law requiring the licensing of engineers should be passed. Although this subject was much discussed in the journal from 1867 to about 1910, the desired legislation was never secured. The Brotherhood was also interested in the temperance question because engineers were often accused of contributing to accidents by over-indulgence in alcohol. The word sobriety was one of the key words of the union's motto, and many members were expelled for drinking. Although temperance was discussed from time to time throughout the union's history, it was mentioned less frequently in later years.

Considerable space was devoted to disputes between the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers and the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen. The first major dispute occurred when the Engineers in 1885 passed a law requiring all members to renounce their membership in other labor organizations within ninety days of joining the Brotherhood. This meant that members of the Firemen's Brotherhood who were promoted to engineers and joined the Engineers' union had to renounce their membership in the Firemen's union. In retaliation, the Firemen began to organize engineers, and in 1906 changed their name to the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen. From this date on the conflicting jurisdictional claims of the two groups received much attention. The Engineers' journal frequently reprinted excerpts from the Firemen's journal and followed these with an editorial rebuttal.

Attempts were made to regulate the rivalry of the two groups for jobs through agreements governing the order in which engineering

vacancies were to be filled. These generally provided that a certain percentage of unemployed engineers were to be hired first, after which any remaining jobs were to be filled by promoting firemen. Most famous and successful was the Chicago Joint Agreement, which was instituted about 1915 and enforced until 1921, when it was dissolved by the Engineers. After 1921, joint action was abandoned and the Locomotive Engineers for the most part controlled the hiring of engineers.

Efforts to solve the jurisdictional problem by merging the two unions were made from 1890 on. Various conventions of the Engineers' union established committees to meet with the Firemen and discuss proposals to amalgamate. In the late twenties it seemed likely that the merger would be accomplished, but in the final negotiations neither union was willing to sacrifice its sovereignty. No further attempts at mergers were made.

Discussion of union benefit plans occupied much space in the journal, especially before 1890. Because of the large number of fatal accidents among engineers, the need for a death benefit plan was evident. In 1867 the Locomotive Engineers' Mutual Life Assurance Association, the first cooperative insurance association in America, was founded. Subsequent discussions in the journal concerned the advisability of extending the union's life insurance program or of making it compulsory. Disability insurance was also an important issue during the Brotherhood's early years. In 1869 the Locomotive Engineers established a disability insurance plan, which was temporarily abandoned in 1871 and restored about 1880. From about 1870 to 1900 the Brotherhood considered proposals to build a home for its disabled and retired members. Many members believed the union was unable to afford a home, and after much debate the project was finally abandoned.

The Brotherhood also ventured into the fields of real estate, banking, and mining, and these activities were frequently discussed in the journal. A large office building was constructed by the union in Cleveland in the early nineteen-hundreds. The Locomotive Engineers Cooperative National Bank was organized in Cleveland in 1920 and branches were established in various parts of the country; only members of the Brotherhood were permitted to purchase stock. Partly to find an outlet for the bank's capital, a coal mine was bought in 1921, stock in the mine being sold to non-members as well as members. In 1926 the Brotherhood bought a considerable amount of land in the vicinity of Venice, Florida, part of the money being raised through stock subscriptions by members of the union. When real estate values in Florida

collapsed, the Brotherhood suffered very large losses. In 1927 the president and several other executive officers of the union were expelled on charges of financial mismanagement. A belated attempt was made to straighten out the union's financial affairs, but the damage had already been done. The Brotherhood was forced to sell the bank and the office building, and the mine and the real estate development were written off as almost complete losses.

Problems of seniority and division of work were discussed extensively, particularly during depression periods. Each depression produced proposals to divide the available work by limiting the mileage which an engineer might make in a month. These proposals naturally produced dissension between the older engineers with high seniority who were regularly employed and the younger unemployed engineer who stood to benefit from mileage limitations. In general, the older engineers dominated union policy and the only mileage limitations adopted were such as they were willing to accept.

The question of government operation of the railroads was frequently discussed in the journal, discussion reaching a peak in 1918-1920. During the period of wartime government operation, the journal defended government management and opposed the return of the railroads to private control. When the issue became acute after the war, the journal devoted much space to material sent out by the Plumb Plan League and to editorials recommending the Plumb Plan. Even after the railroads had been returned to private management, articles continued to appear advocating either government operation or government ownership. There was also extensive discussion of the Transportation Act of 1920, the Railway Labor Act of 1926, and the amendments to the Railway Labor Act of 1934. By 1935 railroad labor relations legislation had reached a state generally acceptable to the Brotherhood and discussion of the subject declined.

The growth of highway and water transportation constituted a serious competitive threat to the railroads during the twenties and thirties. The journal devoted much space to advocating government regulation of trucking, opposing the St. Lawrence Waterway, and proposing other methods of combating the competitive menace.

The size of the union's conventions was an important issue from 1867 to 1910, and from 1929 to 1934. Most of the members felt that a better system of representation could be worked out, and that smaller conventions would be more efficient as well as less expensive. There was also discussion of the frequency of con-

ventions, which eventuated in a shift from annual to biennial conventions in 1890, and to triennial meetings in 1915.

The proceedings of the conventions from 1867 to 1906 were summaries containing little or no discussion. The reports of officers and the speeches of guests to the convention were printed in full, and the resolutions passed by the convention were listed. The president's report usually discussed the main problems confronting the Brotherhood, including benefit plans, strikes, accidents, and legislation. A financial report, listing receipts from locals and expenditures of the international, was usually included in the officers' reports.

Beginning in 1906 more discussion of proposed resolutions was included, and from 1912 onward the proceedings were verbatim reports of the conventions. In these later proceedings a great deal of space was devoted to appeals of members from the decisions handed down by officers of the international. Proceedings of the conventions after 1918 were not available for indexing because of a union policy, established originally in 1900, but not strictly enforced until 1918, restricting the circulation of convention proceedings to union members.

EXPRESS WORKERS, AMERICAN FEDERATION OF

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1925 Organized by seceding faction of express company employees from Brotherhood of Railway Clerks (*q.v.*).
 1928 Absorbed by Brotherhood of Railway Clerks.

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Constitutions.
1925

2. Journal.

Published as: (Washington)

Feb 1926: *International Express Worker*

Mar 1926-Oct 1927: *Express Workers' Journal* (Ceased publication)

EXPRESSMEN, ORDER OF RAILWAY

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1919 Organized by seceding faction of Brotherhood of Railway Clerks (*q. v.*).
 1928 Absorbed by Brotherhood of Railway Clerks.

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Proceedings.
 [1919]; 2nd, 1921; 3rd, 1923; 4th, 1926
2. Constitutions.
 bien. 1919-1923
3. Journal.
 Published as: (Chicago; Wisconsin Rapids, Wis.)
 1919-1928: *The Railway Expressmen* (Ceased publication)

FIREMEN AND ENGINEMEN, BROTHERHOOD OF LOCOMOTIVE

Address: 318 Keith Bldg., Cleveland

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1873 Organized as Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen.
 1878 Merged with International Firemen's Union.
 1889 Affiliated with The Supreme Council of United Orders of Railway Employes (*q. v.*).
 1906 Adopted present name.

II. PUBLICATIONS (Code Number: F1)

1. Proceedings.
 [1st-13th ann., 1874-1886; 14th-15th bien., 1888-1890; 16th bien., 1892; 17th-25th bien., 1894-1910; 26th-32nd trien., 1913-1931; 33rd, 1937; 34th, 1941] (Published, but not for general circulation)
2. Reports.
 Officers: 1874-1941 (in conv. years)
3. Constitutions.
 ann. 1881-1886; bien. 1888-1910; trien. 1913-1931; 1937

4. Journal.

Published as: (Terra Haute, Ind.; Peoria, Ill.; Indianapolis; Columbus, Ohio; Chicago; Indianapolis; Mount Morris, Ill.; Cleveland)

Dec 1876-1885: *Firemen's Magazine*

1886-Jun 1902: *Locomotive Firemen's Magazine*

Jul 1902-1906: . . . *Magazine*

1907-1941+: . . . *Magazine*

Editors:

1876-1878: I. J. Bennett

1879-1880: William N. Sayre

1881-1894: Eugene V. Debs

1895-1903: William S. Carter

1904-1937: John F. McNamee

1938-Sep 1941: Robert L. Glenn

Oct 1941+: Ray Scott

III. CRITIQUE OF PUBLICATIONS

For several years after its establishment in 1876, the journal of the Firemen's union emphasized entertainment and gave special prominence to reprinted articles and fiction. Considerable space was also given, however, to editorials and correspondence. The editorials were very general, treating such matters as the objectives of the union, the wealth-producing power of labor, and the virtues of truthfulness, temperance, and responsibility. The editor, Eugene V. Debs, was also, as grand secretary and treasurer, the chief policy-making officer of the union. Debs' opposition to strikes and his belief in arbitration as the solution to labor disputes dominated editorial policy. Correspondence was divided into special correspondence, which consisted of general essays on trade union and economic problems, and regular correspondence, discussing local events and conditions, the extent of union organization, and social and personal matters. The letters printed agreed with Debs' editorial policies.

In 1886 the no-strike policy of the union gave way to a more aggressive stand. The first strikes in the Brotherhood's history, against the Brooklyn Elevated Railway and the Chicago, Burlington & Quincy Railroad, occurred in 1887. With this change in union policy, the emphasis of the journal shifted from entertainment to education. Editorials dealt increasingly with topics of particular interest to members as trade unionists and railroad men. National news items and articles on purely technical subjects appeared for the first time, though not in great volume. During the last three years of Debs' tenure a special essay section largely

replaced the editorials. These essays, contributed by both union and non-union writers, dealt with such general subjects as economic theory, monopoly, and civilization. Letters from the membership formed the main source of information on union affairs, but these continued to avoid controversial subjects.

With the resignation of Debs and the election of Carter as editor in 1894, the journal shifted from general to technical education. By 1902, fully one-half of each issue was devoted to technical and mechanical subjects and the journal became virtually a text book for firemen. Correspondence reverted to a discussion of local news. Increased prominence was given to national affairs, and a section devoted to clippings from the contemporary labor press was included.

In 1917 the journal assumed substantially its present form. Technical articles were removed from their prominent position and major emphasis has since been placed on news. A predominant interest in politics and legislation is evident in the content of editorials and the selection of news items. Editorials have ranged over a wide variety of topics, covering everything from foreign affairs to specific union and industry problems.

The content of the journal reflects the major problems facing the union throughout its history. The Firemen very early established a comprehensive system of benefit plans and now claim to have the largest beneficiary department of any union, including payments for disability, old age, death, and funeral expenses. Concern with the beneficiary department was indicated by the regular appearance of letters and articles advocating changes or defending the existing system, in addition to the regular summaries of amounts received and paid out which appeared in every issue. The Firemen's pride in their own insurance plans was shown by the attacks which were made on company-sponsored group insurance which first became popular during the late eighties and again in the twenties.

The union has faced serious problems in its relations with other railroad unions, particularly the Locomotive Engineers. From the strikes of 1888 and particularly the disastrous Chicago, Burlington & Quincy strike, Debs drew the conclusion that a strong federation of all the railroad brotherhoods was essential, and from 1888 to 1891 he devoted his time unceasingly to the achievement of this end. The Supreme Council of the United Order of Railway Employees, a federation including the Firemen, Brakemen, and Switchmen, was eventually formed. The collapse of this federation because of dissension between the Brakemen and Switchmen

led Debs to believe that the solution lay in a single railroad union. The result was his formation of the American Railway Union and the unsuccessful Pullman strike of 1894 which virtually wrecked the Firemen's organization.

Controversy between the Firemen and the Locomotive Engineers was most acute during the periods 1885-1891, 1905-1909, and 1928-1931. These periods were marked by the development of rules restricting Firemen from membership in the Engineers' union and by frequent jurisdictional disputes, peace agreements, and proposals to amalgamate. Although various conventions of the Firemen authorized committees of officers to meet with the Engineers to discuss amalgamation, no agreement on the subject was ever reached.

The Brotherhood of Firemen, like the other railroad brotherhoods, has been particularly interested in political and legislative activities. From the nineties on, permanent lobbies were maintained, in conjunction with the other brotherhoods, in Washington, Ottawa, and almost every state capital. The reports of these legislative boards were published regularly in the journal and provided a complete picture of their work. By 1903 the boards were actively supporting candidates for office, though not until 1920 was this done on a large scale in almost every state. In 1924 the union actively supported Robert M. LaFollette for president and Franklin Roosevelt was supported for reelection in 1936 and 1940.

A major legislative interest of the union was the enactment of laws compelling the installation of such safety devices as automatic couplers and air brakes. Between 1906 and 1915 the legislative boards were very active in promoting state and federal employer liability laws. Another major undertaking of the boards in the twenties was to secure a railroad labor relations act to their liking, which the Transportation Act of 1920 was not. These efforts led to the Railway Labor Act of 1926 and the amendments of 1934, which set up adjustment boards such as the Firemen had demanded ever since their experience with similar boards during the first World War.

After 1920 and particularly after 1929, the Firemen were faced with decreasing employment opportunities due to the introduction of diesel and electric locomotives, consolidations of railroad systems, competition of motor carriers, waterways, and airplanes with railroads, and decreased passenger and freight tonnage due to economic depression. The union's efforts to alleviate this situation took two main forms—first, proposals for strict government regulation of competing forms of transportation, for safeguarding em-

ployment opportunities in consolidations, and for full crew laws; and second, changes in union rules governing seniority and restriction of mileage, which enabled the declining volume of work to be divided more equitably among union members. Demands for a six-hour day also figured prominently in all negotiations with employers during this period. The problem of declining employment opportunities was the paramount issue in the union from 1926 to 1941, when the war boom once more taxed the railroads to capacity.

Proceedings of the Firemen's conventions have been published since 1874, but have been distributed only to members of the union and were therefore unavailable for inclusion in this study.

FREIGHT AND BAGGAGEMEN, BROTHERHOOD OF RAILROAD

I. CHRONOLOGY

1902 Organized.
1909? Disbanded.

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Proceedings.
1908 (*with journal*)
2. Journal.
Published as: (Lancaster, Pa.)
1903-Apr 1908: *The Railroad Freight and Baggage Man*
May 1908-Oct 1908?: *The Railroad Freight Baggage Man
and Clerk Advocate*
(Published jointly with Interior Freight Handlers' and
Railway Clerks' International Union (*q. v.*).

FREIGHT HANDLERS, BROTHERHOOD OF RAILROAD

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1901 Organized as Interior Freight Handlers and Warehousemen of America.
- 1903 Affiliated with AFL as Interior Freight Handlers' and Warehousemen's International Union.

- 1907 Changed name to Interior Freight Handlers' and Railway Clerks' International Union.
 1909 Changed name to Brotherhood of Railroad Freight Handlers.
 1915 Merged with Brotherhood of Railway Clerks (*q. v.*).

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Proceedings.
3rd, 1907; 4th, 1909; 5th, 1910
2. Constitutions.
1909; 1910
3. Journal.
Published as: (Lancaster, Pa.; Chicago)
May 1908-Oct 1908?: *The Railroad Freight Baggage-men and Clerk Advocate*
(Published jointly with Brotherhood of Railroad Freight and Baggage-men (*q. v.*).)
Nov 1908-Mar 1914: *Freight Handlers' and Railway Clerks' Journal* (Ceased publication)

MAINTENANCE OF WAY EMPLOYES, BROTHERHOOD OF

Address: 61 Putnam Ave., Detroit

I. CHRONOLOGY

- ✓ 1886 Organized as Brotherhood of Railway Section Foremen of North America.
- ✓ 1891 Merged with Order of Railway Trackmen to form International Brotherhood of Railway Track Foremen of America, a social and benevolent fraternity.
- ✓ 1896 Merged with Independent Brotherhood of Trackmen to form Brotherhood of Railway Trackmen of America, with functions of labor union.
- ✓ 1899 Absorbed United Brotherhood of Railroad Trackmen, a Canadian organization organized in 1893.
- 1900 Affiliated with AFL.
- ✓ 1902 Changed name to International Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees.
- ✓ 1909 Merged with National Railway Trackmen, organized in 1903.
- ✓ 1914 Seceding faction organized Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employes of Greensboro, N. C.

- ✓ 1918 Greensboro group merged with parent body under name of United Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employes and Railroad Shop Laborers.
- 1919 Suspended by AFL.
- 1921 Seceding faction organized Order of Skilled Maintenance of Way Employes. Another seceding faction organized Pennsylvania System Fraternity.
- 1922 Reinstated by AFL.
- 1925 Adopted present name.
- 1926 Absorbed Order of Skilled Maintenance of Way Employes.
- 1937 Absorbed Pennsylvania System Fraternity.

II. PUBLICATIONS

(Code Number: M1)

1. Proceedings.
[1892; 1894]; 1st-10th bien., 1896-1914; 11th, 1917; spec., 1918; 12th-19th trien., 1919-1940 (1st-11th, 15th, 18th *with journal*)
 2. Reports.
Officers: 1914
 3. Constitutions.
1889; 1890; 1893; bien. 1897-1909; bien. 1910-1914; 1917; trien. 1919-1940
 4. Journal.
Published as: (St. Louis; Detroit)
1892-1896: *Foremen's Advance Advocate*
1897-1902: *Trackmen's Advance Advocate*
1903-1918: *Advance Advocate*
1919: *Advance Guide*
1920-Sep 1931: *Railway Maintenance of Way Employes Journal*
Oct 1931-1941+: . . . *Journal*
- Editors:
- 1892-Apr 1893: M. O'Dowd
 May 1893-1896: W. W. Allen
 1897-1902: John T. Wilson
 1903-Jan 1910: J. E. Mulkey
 Feb 1910-1912: Samuel J. Pegg
 1913-Oct 1914: Alexander Gibb
 Nov 1914-Nov 1919: Finnur Finnson
 Dec 1919-Oct 1922: Charles P. Howard
 Nov 1922-Oct 1925: Finnur Finnson
 Nov 1925-Sep 1940: F. H. Fljozdal
 Oct 1940-Mar 1941: Elmer E. Milliman
 Apr 1941+: Thomas E. Milliman

III. CRITIQUE OF PUBLICATIONS

The *Foremen's Advance Advocate* was first published in January 1892 when the amalgamation of the Brotherhood of Railway Section Foremen of North America with the Order of Railway Trackmen of the United States became effective. In the early years of the journal, editorials were few and brief. They covered a wide range of labor topics—trade unionism, court decisions affecting labor, arbitration, immigration, wage settlements, and benefit plans—and they were augmented by miscellaneous reprinted material on the same subjects. A regular section of reprints was started in 1898, drawn largely from other railroad journals and official government publications. Articles of special interest to women were occasionally included.

Correspondence was an important feature from the outset. It embraced a multitude of details concerning the day to day life of members in addition to reports on local meetings and comments upon material previously published. As the editors pointed out more than once, caution was exercised in the selection of letters because subordinate officials of the railroads frequently scrutinized the journal to discover which men were violent in opinion. Retaliation would then follow swiftly. In general, care was taken to prevent use of the journal for presentation of grievances against individual company officials.

Editorial policy and union policy were parallel throughout. President John T. Wilson's unionism was careful. The union's first strike did not come until 1901. Emphasis was upon temperance, efficiency, devotion to employer, benefit plans, and avoidance of strikes. Always there was the hope that by being sober, working diligently, respecting company officials, and dressing carefully after work, the union members could induce employers voluntarily to improve working conditions and make possible a higher standard of living. This reluctance to strike survived beyond the successful strikes of the first few years of the new century.

With the death of Wilson, Lowe became president of the union. Lowe, who had been instrumental in securing the affiliation of Canadian locals, was a thorough advocate of mediation and arbitration. His enthusiasm for the Canadian Industrial Disputes Investigation Act continued even after the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada declared its dissatisfaction with the Act. Lowe's resignation came in the middle of 1914 on the pretext of poor health, although in the last of his long series of letters in the fall of the same year he had mentioned that his health was very good. In the last few years of his administration occurred the only con-

spicuous divergence between editorial policy and the president's attitude, a difference which, while not expressed editorially, could be sensed in the selection of reprinted material. A few months after Barker replaced Lowe, the *Advance Advocate* concluded a lead editorial in this fashion: "The Canadian . . . Act is a stumbling block to the workers of Canada . . ."

The years 1900-1901 in many ways marked a new era in the history of the union. A powerful and successful Canadian group had just joined the union, an AFL charter had been secured, and the first successful strikes were in progress. The journal showed a marked intensification of membership interest. Members clearly felt that a great volume of letters indicated a good publication and that members were therefore duty-bound to write. By 1902 it was not unusual for a single number to carry fifty pages of contributions from members. This material was similar in content to that of the nineties, with chief emphasis on personal events, local meetings, and comments on editorials and articles.

The scope of the communications department was considerably limited by editorial policy. In 1904 the editor wrote: "No letter can be given space in the *Advocate* which makes public any of the private affairs of the order; neither will any be published which tend to produce friction and discord among the members, such as discussion of racial, religious, or partisan topics." In the editor's report of 1909 it was stated that the quality of the journal could be attributed to ". . . its conservatism and freedom from every form of discussion which might give offense to any of its readers or prove detrimental to our common cause or to the interest of our individual members." This policy of excluding controversial material was followed consistently in the journal and was again mentioned in the 1928 convention. Nowhere is this seen as clearly as in the publication's coverage of presidential resignations. Only with the printing of separate convention proceedings after 1919 did it become possible to follow intra-union problems with any degree of certainty. External features of the union's growth, however, were covered in periodic histories appearing in the journal.

The trend upon which the journal embarked in 1900-1901 can best be seen in 1915, which marked both its peak and its close. The 1915 *Advance Advocate* was designed to appeal to every member of the family. Health, education, religion, poetry, geography, family care—all were dealt with regularly. Material was reproduced from such publications as the *Literary Digest*, *Leslie's Weekly*, the syndicated column of Dorothy Dix, the *Sunday School Times*, the *New York World*, the *Springfield Republican*,

and the *Religious Herald*. There was also a technical department, a poetry page, and a complete section of children's letters.

A complete change in the make-up of the journal occurred in 1915. Instead of an all-purpose publication of more than a hundred pages, the journal became a sixteen-page newspaper devoted rather strictly to labor material. The new journal consisted usually of a lead article often reprinted from another railroad publication, news notes of the union, editorials, a French section in which most of the editorials and some of the news were translated, several columns of AFL news and articles, and a correspondence section. After four years there was a return to the smaller page and greater number of pages. But there was no return to the all-purpose policy; the journal remained strictly a labor monthly.

The World War saw an unprecedented growth in membership and a complete reorientation of the union's program. Until this time the union's chief problems had been dual unionism, organization, and recognition. After the government took over the operation of the railroads, the union's efforts were bent toward promoting safety measures and other types of railroad labor legislation, extending its scope as representative of the trackmen before government tribunals, and preparing briefs for administrative hearings and court cases. Benefit plans and jurisdictional disputes continued to require consideration throughout.

At the 1919 convention the union's membership was estimated at 300,000. The number of vice-presidents was increased from two to fourteen. A mail order house was established. Land was purchased for a twelve-story office building in Detroit. The union's strength was mobilized behind the Plumb Plan. Participating in the formation of the Plumb Plan League, the Brotherhood naturally entered the Railway Labor Executives Association. After the return of the railroads to private management, the Brotherhood continued to seek improved working conditions through legislation. With the growth of the Railway Labor Executives Association the Brotherhood's legislative program was made parallel to that of the Association.

Between 1919 and 1922, Editor Charles Howard succeeded in obtaining from Brotherhood members a steady stream of full-length articles on labor subjects. During this period there was little reliance on reprinted material. As energies were increasingly turned to legislation, however, reprinted articles once again became important. They were drawn largely from *Labor*, an-

nouncements of the Railway Labor Executives Association, and AFL sources.

The level of membership attained during the World War could not be maintained during the post-war decline in employment. In 1922 the number of vice-presidents was reduced from fourteen to five. Officers' salaries were cut forty per cent. The membership of 300,000 in 1919 dwindled to 84,592 in 1922 and 70,150 in 1925. Improved methods of maintenance, competition from motor transport, and railroad consolidation continuously reduced maintenance of way employment. In addition to diminishing employment during the twenties, company unions became an extremely serious problem after the Railroad Labor Board's decision in the shopmen's strike.

From the twenties onward, letters to the editor consisted mainly of local lodge reports plus a limited amount of general discussion. In addition to reprinted material of the types mentioned above, decisions of government agencies were reprinted at length and often with comments. In 1941 the journal expanded somewhat in scope with consumer notes from Consumers' Union and from the Department of Agriculture. There was also evident a wider interest in foreign affairs and in the problem of economic mobilization for war. The Baruch program of price-and-wage freezing was strongly attacked.

Until the first separately printed convention proceedings appeared in 1919, only scant information concerning officers' reports appeared in the journal. Officers' reports were usually given to delegates and sent by registered mail to the secretaries of local lodges. This secrecy was thought necessary because it was felt that the release of vital financial data would handicap the union in its negotiations. After 1919 the full text of officers' reports was included in the proceedings.

The president's report dealt topically with problems and issues currently confronting the Brotherhood—wage scales, collective agreements, the eight-hour day, system federations, organizing campaigns, dual unions, jurisdictional disputes, benefit plans, politics, and legislation. The secretary-treasurer gave a detailed analysis of the union's assets and liabilities, as well as statistics of membership, while the superintendent of the provident department reported on benefit claims paid or rejected. Beginning in 1928, vice-presidents' reports, consisting of accounts of their organizing activities and dealings with local unions, were included in the proceedings.

Verbatim proceedings were published from 1919 through 1931. These contained speeches of officers and guests, and full discussion of constitutional amendments and resolutions. From 1934 on, resolutions and amendments were listed with a tabulation of the votes on them, but full discussion was not printed.

PORTERS, BROTHERHOOD OF SLEEPING CAR

Address: 217 W. 125th St., New York

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1925 Organized.
1936 Affiliated with AFL.

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Proceedings.
15th, 1940
2. Constitutions.
bien. 1936-1940
3. Journal.

Published as: (New York)

1925-Jun 1928: *The Messenger* (Ceased publication)

Nov 15, 1929-1941+ : *Black Worker*

(*The Messenger*, founded in 1917, was the official organ of the Brotherhood from 1925 to Jun 1928 when it ceased publication. *Black Worker* was suspended Oct 1930-Apr 1935. NS, 1935.)

RAILROAD LABOR ORGANIZATIONS, ASSOCIATED

Address: 10 Independence Ave., S. W., Washington

I. PUBLICATIONS

1. Journal.

Published as: (Washington)

Jul-Sep 18, 1919: *Railroad Democracy*

Sep 27, 1919-1941+ : *Labor*

RAILWAY AGENTS' ASSOCIATION, AMERICAN

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1920 Organized by seceding faction of Order of Railroad Station Agents (*q. v.*).
 1931? Disbanded.

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Journal.
 Published as: (Indianapolis)
 1924?-1931?: *The Railway Agent*

**RAILWAY EMPLOYEES, THE SUPREME COUNCIL OF THE
 FEDERATED ORDERS OF**

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1889 Organized as The Supreme Council of United Orders of Railway Employes, composed of Brotherhood of Railroad Brakemen (*q. v.*); Brotherhood of Railway Conductors (*q. v.*); Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen (*q. v.*); and Switchmen's Mutual Aid Association of North America (*q. v.*).
 1891 Expelled Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen (*q. v.*), formerly Brotherhood of Railroad Brakemen.
 1891? Changed name to The Supreme Council of the Federated Orders of Railway Employes.
 1892 Dissolved.

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Proceedings.
 1st, 1889; 2nd, 1890; spec., Apr, May and Aug 1890 (*with proceedings of 7th conv. of Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen (q. v.)*).
 2. Journal.
 Published as: (Indianapolis)
 Jan-Dec? 1891: *The National Federationist*

RAILWAY EMPLOYEES, UNITED BROTHERHOOD OF

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1901 Organized.
 1903 Affiliated with American Labor Union (*q. v.*).

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Proceedings.
 [1st, 1902; 2nd, 1904]
2. Constitutions.
 1902; 1904
3. Journal.
 Published as: (Chicago)
 1901?-Oct 1904?: *Railway Employees' Journal*
 (Jan 1905 absorbed by *Voice of Labor*, organ of American
 Labor Union (*q. v.*).)

**RAILWAY AND STEAMSHIP CLERKS, FREIGHT
 HANDLERS, EXPRESS AND STATION
 EMPLOYES, BROTHERHOOD OF**

Address: Brotherhood of Railway Clerks Bldg., Court and Vine Sts.,
 Cincinnati

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1899 Organized as Order of Railway Clerks of America.
 1900 Affiliated with AFL.
 1901 Withdrew from AFL.
 1904 Absorbed National Railway Clerks' Association of North
 America and changed name to National Order of Railway
 Clerks of America, and later in same year to Brotherhood of
 Railway Clerks.
 1908 Reaffiliated with AFL.
 1919 Seceding faction organized Order of Railway Expressmen
 (*q. v.*). Adopted present name.
 1925 Seceding faction organized American Federation of Express
 Workers (*q. v.*).
 1926 Suspended by AFL.
 1928 Reinstated in AFL. Absorbed Order of Railroad Expressmen
 and American Federation of Express Workers.

II. PUBLICATIONS (Code Number : R1)

1. Proceedings.
[1st-5th ann., 1901-1906] ; 6th-8th bien., 1908-1912 ; 9th, 1915 ;
10th, 1919 ; 11th-14th trien., 1922-1931 ; 15th, 1935 ; 16th, 1939
2. Reports.
Officers: 1915-1939 (in conv. years)
3. Constitutions.
ann. 1902-1906 ; bien. 1908-1912 ; 1915 ; 1919 ; trien. 1922-
1931 ; 1935 ; 1939
4. Journal.
Published as: (Kansas City, Mo.; Cincinnati)
May 1902-1941+ : *The Railway Clerk*
Editors:
May 1902-Mar 1903 : J. Hugh Fayman
Apr 1903-Feb 1904 : R. E. Fisher
Mar 1904-Aug 1905 : J. F. Marshall
Sep 1905-Apr 1910 : Wilbur Braggins
May-Sep 1910 : J. F. Riley
Oct 1910-Sep 1915 : R. E. Fisher
Oct 1915-Jul 1919 : W. V. H. Bright
Aug-Sep 1, 1919 : William E. Hayes
Sep 15, 1919-1941+ : Phil E. Ziegler

III. CRITIQUE OF PUBLICATIONS

The Order of Railway Clerks of America was founded in Sedalia, Missouri, in 1899 as a social club. The early social and fraternal emphasis of the Order probably explains the fact that, after having affiliated with the AFL in 1900, it withdrew in 1901 and remained independent until 1908.

The Railway Clerk, official journal of the union, first appeared as a four-page monthly in May 1902. By 1903 it had expanded to some twenty pages, most of which was correspondence supplemented by editorials. The central concern of both letters and editorials was the question of reaffiliation with the AFL. In spite of numerous arguments advanced by the editor in favor of reaffiliation, the majority of the membership continued to oppose it on the ground that it would lead to sympathetic strikes and increased expenses, or that an alliance with the railroad brotherhoods would be preferable.

The membership of the union declined sharply in 1904, partly as a result of secession of most of the New England members, who set up a dual union and did not rejoin the Brotherhood until 1908. Despite this setback, a national organizer was appointed in 1905,

and in 1906 organizing drives were concentrated on specific railroad systems. Considerable success was achieved in negotiating local contracts, and the first system agreement was signed with the New York, New Haven, and Hartford Railroad in 1909. The texts of these early agreements, printed in the journal, emphasize the Clerks' interest in seniority, definite working hours, and holidays.

During this first phase of the union's history, *The Railway Clerk* varied from twenty to fifty pages in length. Editorials dealt mainly with the need for organization and the duty of members to attend meetings and pay dues promptly. Employer discrimination because of union membership was cited frequently, and the editor attributed this to the weakness of the union. The example of the older railroad brotherhoods was held before the Clerks as a goal toward which to work. A good deal of interest was shown in cooperation with these brotherhoods and the organization of the Railroad Employes' Department of the AFL was noted with satisfaction. The philosophy of the union during the early years was indicated by the frequent repetition of the word "conservative." The editor often pointed out the advantages which would accrue to the employer when clerks were no longer "cheap labor" and when they would be more alert and healthier as a result of shorter hours. In the early years editorials and correspondence supported the railroads in their pleas for higher rates, since it was generally believed that higher wages would automatically result. Later, after these tactics had failed to produce results, the union opposed higher railroad rates and argued that clerks could get tangible advantages only through a strong labor organization.

The correspondence section was large until 1908. During the years 1908-1910 and 1914-1915, the journal contained a great deal of reprinted material and the correspondence section was shorter. The bulk of the letters from members dealt with election of officers, social events, and other local news. The few which discussed union policy generally concurred with the opinions expressed in editorials.

The second stage in the history of the Brotherhood covered the years of the first World War. During the period of government operation of the railroads, the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks was recognized as the bargaining agent for all those over whom it claimed jurisdiction with the exception of steamship clerks. From that time to the present, the interests of the union have been focused on Washington, and it has consistently favored contract negotiations on a national scale. The union, which during the war

period had increased in membership from 12,000 to 150,000, opposed the return of the carriers to private management. The journal carried many editorials, special articles, and letters from members favoring the Plumb Plan. After it had become evident that this plan would not be adopted, the journal continued to print articles and letters favoring other schemes for government ownership, and failing this, more rigid governmental control. During the period of government operation, a great deal of space in the journal was devoted to reprints of general orders, and of decisions of Railroad Adjustment Board Number 3.

The nationwide anti-union activities and open-shop drives of the twenties worked serious damage to the Brotherhood, but their effects can be guessed only by implication. Loss of membership was not specifically mentioned in the journal, nor was much space given to the fact that company unions were established on a large number of important carriers. During the thirties, however, the journal described victory after victory over company unions, and from this recital the seriousness of their threat to the organization can be estimated. In 1927 the Brotherhood secured an injunction restraining the Texas and New Orleans Railroad from interfering with the right of employees to select bargaining representatives. This case was carried to the United States Supreme Court and the decision in favor of the Brotherhood established the constitutionality of the Railway Labor Act of 1926.

In addition to company union growth, the Brotherhood was troubled by dual unionism and jurisdictional disputes. Several unions of expressmen had existed before the Brotherhood extended its jurisdiction to this group in 1916, and the last of these was not absorbed until 1928. In Canada, the Brotherhood was engaged from about 1920 in a struggle with the Canadian Brotherhood of Railway Employees. A lengthy jurisdictional dispute with the International Brotherhood of Teamsters was recorded also in the journal. The Clerks suffered suspension from the AFL rather than accept an award which upheld the Teamsters' claim to jurisdiction over expressmen in the vehicle service. An agreement was eventually signed with the Teamsters and the Clerks were reinstated in the Federation, but conflict between the two groups broke out again in 1941.

Beginning in 1928 and continuing to date, the journal has contained a great deal of material on the economic difficulties of the railroads. The Clerks advocated as remedies government control of competing forms of transportation, and government investigation and regulation of the financial structure of the roads.

They set themselves in firm opposition, however, to railroad consolidation as recommended under the Transportation Act of 1920 and the Emergency Transportation Act of 1933 because of the adverse effect of consolidation on employment. In cooperation with the other railroad brotherhoods, they succeeded in writing job protection into the Transportation Act of 1933 and later signed a national agreement with the carriers which provided for a dismissal wage, continuation of a workers' previous salary in the event of his transfer to a job carrying a lower salary, and indemnification for losses accruing to the worker's real property in the event of discharge.

A concerted drive for new members and against company unions was inaugurated in 1928, and the union reported a growth in membership during the depression. Assisted after 1933 by the favorable attitude of the Roosevelt administration, the Brotherhood continued to progress, and by 1936 had collective agreements with 236 railroads in the United States and Canada. In this year the Pennsylvania Railroad, last important carrier with which the union did not hold a contract, signed an agreement with the Clerks. The thirties witnessed the first real drive of the union to enroll clerks in steamship and freight forwarding companies, but the inroads in these areas were slow. In 1941 the Brotherhood signed its first contract with a bus company. In 1939 the convention established auxiliary locals for colored members. Prior to this time these workers had been organized in federal unions chartered by the AFL; since 1935 these federal unions had been represented in collective bargaining by the Clerks.

The first of a series of annual conferences on organization was held in 1929. At these meetings local officers heard experts from various fields discuss the economic problems of railroads, labor legislation, and social problems. The conference has in reality become the policy-making body of the union insofar as legislative matters are concerned. The Brotherhood was critical of AFL opposition to unemployment compensation and other forms of social insurance and advocated these measures at the very outset of the depression. As a solution for economic ills the conference advocated higher wages, the establishment of the thirty-hour week, and the inauguration of a large public works program. Although the journal invited discussion of the advisability of a labor party movement and many members wrote articles and letters supporting such a step, the conference went on record in favor of a continuation of non-partisan politics. At the same time it urged greater activity in the primaries. The convention of 1931 cre-

ated a legislative department to develop state legislative committees, but except for a few scattered instances, the journal reveals little local political activity.

In the field of national legislation the Brotherhood, in cooperation with the other standard railroad brotherhoods, has been singularly successful. The fact that President Harrison was chairman of the Railway Labor Executives Association from 1934 to 1940 added considerably to the prestige of the union. In addition to the successful opposition to railroad consolidation, previously mentioned, this Committee sponsored the 1934 amendments to the Railway Labor Act, and the series of acts passed after 1934 to provide retirement pensions and unemployment compensation for railroad workers. The Brotherhood has also exerted legislative pressure in favor of accident compensation for railroad employees.

The collective bargaining technique of the Brotherhood has its base in a broad knowledge of the railroad industry and in the ability of its research department, established in 1922, to present wage data clearly and effectively. The Brotherhood has worked consistently for negotiation with the railroads on a national, rather than a regional or system basis. This objective was not achieved under the Railway Labor Act of 1926 because of employer opposition, but under the Act of 1934 the procedure appears to have become firmly established. The course of negotiations with employers, together with the union's attitude toward the various transportation acts, can be followed in detail in the journal.

The Brotherhood has, on one or two occasions, branched out from the foregoing basic interests. In 1922 it constructed an office building in Cincinnati and founded a bank, but the bank was sold in 1930 after several of its executives were found guilty of misapplication of funds. The Brotherhood has encouraged the formation of credit unions, and from time to time locals report their activities in this sphere. Although the journal proposed at various times to educate its members vocationally or in trade unionism or to make a drive for more healthful working conditions, these projects were of short duration and did not arouse much enthusiasm among the rank and file. The union has had from the beginning a death benefit fund, which after suffering various vicissitudes was apparently put on a sound financial basis in 1931.

The material appearing in *The Railway Clerk* has centered on the issues described above. Emphasis was placed on the national scene. Local news was scarce and was usually news of meetings rather than of union objectives and activities. In very few in-

stances were wage scales given. The letters appearing in the correspondence section dealt mainly with elections of local officers, summaries of speeches at meetings, social affairs, and personal items. When opinions were given, they usually followed the general tone of the editorials. Several long syndicated articles were included in each issue, dealing usually with the legislative scene, the condition of the railroads or, increasingly in the thirties, with foreign governments and labor movements.

The convention discussions, which were printed verbatim beginning in 1919, rarely dealt with these larger issues, but centered rather on the details of union administration. The most significant material appeared in the officers' reports, which were included in the convention proceedings until 1915 and published separately after that date. The president's report summarized the activities of the union, including histories of strikes and negotiations, the terms of agreements secured, organizing campaigns and union growth, and relations with the AFL and with other unions. The secretary-treasurer presented a detailed financial report broken down into the various departments among which union funds were allocated. Some of the reports of vice-presidents provided the only available information on the objectives, methods, and accomplishments of the Brotherhood at the regional and local levels.

RAILWAY UNION, AMERICAN

I. CHRONOLOGY

1893 Organized.

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Proceedings.
1st, 1894
2. Constitutions.
1893; 1894
3. Journal.
Published as:
1894-1897: *Railway Times*

SIGNALMEN OF AMERICA, BROTHERHOOD OF RAILROAD

Address: 4849 North Western Ave., Chicago

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1901 Organized.
- 1908 Merged with Railway Inter-Lockers of North America; Independent Order of Signalmen; and Interlockers, Switch and Signalmen's Union.
- 1914 Affiliated with AFL.
- 1928 Suspended by AFL.

II. PUBLICATIONS

- 1. Proceedings.
3rd-8th ann., 1910-1915; 10th-13th ann., 1917-1920; 14th-16th bien., 1922-1926; 20th-22nd bien., 1934-1938
- 2. Constitutions.
1908; ann. 1917-1920; bien. 1922-1930; 1933; 1934; 1936
- 3. Journal.
Published as: (Mount Morris, Ill.)
1920-1941+: *The Signalman's Journal*

STATION AGENTS, ORDER OF RAILROAD

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1906 Organized.
- 1920 Seceding faction organized American Railway Agents' Association (*q. v.*).
- 1923? Disbanded.

II. PUBLICATIONS

- 1. Constitutions.
1910; 1914; 1920 (1910 *with* journal)
- 2. Journal.
Published as: (Boston)
1910-? : ... *Official Manual*
1912?-Jan 1915?: *The Station Agent*
1918?-1920: *The Station Agents' Magazine*
1921-Jul 1923: *The Station Agent*
(NS, 1921. Ceased publication)

STATION EMPLOYEES, BROTHERHOOD OF RAILROAD

I. CHRONOLOGY

1908 Organized.

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Proceedings.
3rd-9th ann., 1911-1917; 10th, 1919; 11th, 1921 (all *with journal*)
2. Constitutions.
trien. 1910-1919
3. Journal.
Published as: (Boston)
1910?-1912: *Annual Review and Official Journal of the . . .*
1913-1923?: *The Station Employee*

**SWITCHMEN'S MUTUAL AID ASSOCIATION OF
NORTH AMERICA**

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1886 Organized.
- 1889 Affiliated with The Supreme Council of United Orders of Railway Employes (*q. v.*).
- 1894 Disbanded. Remnants organized Switchmen's Union of North America (*q. v.*).

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Constitutions.
1892
2. Journal.
Published as: (Chicago)
1886-Jul 1894: *Switchmen's Journal* (Ceased publication)

SWITCHMEN'S UNION OF NORTH AMERICA

Address: 3 Linwood Ave., Buffalo

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1894 Organized by remnant of Switchmen's Mutual Aid Association (*q. v.*).
 1907 Affiliated with AFL.

II. PUBLICATIONS (Code Number: S2)

1. Proceedings.
 [1st, 1894; 2nd, 1895; 3rd, 1897]; 4th, 1898; 5th, 1900; 6th, 1901; 7th-13th bien., 1903-1915; 14th-19th trien., 1918-1933; 20th, 1937; 21st, 1941 (4th *with* journal)
2. Reports.
 Officers: 1907-1941 (in conv. years)
3. Constitutions.
 1894; 1900; bien. 1901-1915; trien. 1918-1933; 1937; 1941
4. Journal.
 Published as: (Buffalo)
 1898-1941+ : *Journal of the . . .*
 Editors:
 Nov 1898-Jun 1901: M. J. Ford, Jr.
 Jul 1901-Jun 1903: Thomas Meaney
 Jul 1903-May 1909: F. M. Cassidy
 Jun 1909-Jul 1927: W. H. Thompson
 Aug-Sep 1927: C. B. Lightfoot
 Oct 1927-1941+ : W. J. Trost

III. CRITIQUE OF PUBLICATIONS

The Switchmen's Mutual Aid Association, first recorded union of this craft, was founded in 1886 and passed out of existence in July 1894 after a series of reverses—the Northwestern strike of 1891, the formation of the American Railway Union on an industrial basis, and the disappearance of the secretary-treasurer with the funds of the organization. Although the Switchmen's Union of North America was founded three months after its predecessor had disbanded, only a skeleton membership remained, and the new union remained unstable in membership and finances for several years. The convention of 1898 decided to create a journal and instructed each lodge to contribute twenty cents per mem-

ber for its support, but the journal actually remained the private property of its first editor, M. J. Ford, until 1901.

The first issues of the journal consisted mainly of editorials and letters from members. The editorials praised the work of the new organization, discussed the failure of the Switchmen's Mutual Aid Association and debated the methods by which the new union might avoid the mistakes of the old. The letters were numerous, and for the first seven or eight years the correspondence section comprised more than half of each issue. Each issue also contained a few articles on general problems of the labor movement. Very little apart from strictly trade union material appeared in the journal.

With the accession of F. M. Cassidy, a Socialist, to the editorship in 1903, the journal took on a more political character. Under Cassidy's editorship, the correspondence section exhibited wide differences of opinion on such matters as craft *versus* industrial unionism and various aspects of socialism. The autonomous craft union policy of the Switchmen was sharply criticized by some members, who favored the industrial type of unionism and supported Debs' attempts to form an industrial union of railroad workers. The industrial unionists were also supported by Cassidy in the editorial columns.

Cassidy was removed from the editorship in 1909 because of his failure to support the policies of the union. The new editor announced that the journal would be run on a strictly "trade union" basis, without ties to any political party. Editorials were continued and indeed increased in volume, but were now concerned primarily with the organizing problems and achievements of the union. The correspondence section declined somewhat in size. Reprinted material, which had begun to appear as early as 1902, took over a larger portion of the journal. In addition to reprinted articles, a miscellaneous section of reprinted news items was included in each issue. The general style of the journal remained substantially unchanged from 1909 to 1925. In the early twenties, much space was given to testimony before and decisions of the Railroad Labor Board. Decisions were printed in full, accompanied by editorial summaries.

In 1925 the journal was enlarged and its content considerably changed. The correspondence section was further reduced. A president's page, devoted to news of union activities and problems, virtually supplanted the editorial section, though a few general editorials continued to appear. The journal was dominated increasingly by reprinted material, drawn mainly from the *Federationist*, from releases by the AFL news service, and from articles

appearing in *Labor*, the publication of the standard railroad organizations. By 1929 most of each issue consisted of articles written by the editorial staff of *Labor*, with chief emphasis on general news.

Throughout the journal's history much space was devoted to relation between the Switchmen's Union and the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen. The Trainmen's policy of actively soliciting the membership of the Switchmen was considered a grave threat to the security of the Switchmen's Union. In addition, since the Northwestern strike in which the Trainmen continued to work, the Switchmen had accused the Trainmen of strike-breaking. The Switchmen, a strictly craft organization, disapproved of the semi-industrial Trainmen's union, which included switchmen, brakemen, and conductors. Almost every issue of the journal contained some reference to this problem.

The reports of convention proceedings were summaries rather than verbatim records and indicated only the final action taken on each subject. The reports of officers and committees to the convention, however, gave full descriptions of the progress of the organization, the most important strikes, wage demands and achievements, the handling of grievances, and the principal Railroad Labor Board decisions. The report of each officer also contained a day by day summary of his work since the last convention. The secretary-treasurer's report contained a detailed financial statement with itemized receipts and expenditures, lists of death and disability benefit claims paid, and receipts from each local for special assessments.

TELEGRAPHERS, ORDER OF RAILROAD

Address: 3673 W. Pine Blvd., St. Louis

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1886 Organized as Order of Railway Telegraphers.
- 1891 Merged with Brotherhood of Telegraphers under present name.
- 1899 Affiliated with AFL.

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Proceedings.

5th, 1890; 8th, 1893; 9th, 1894; 11th, 1897; 12th, 1899; spec., 1900; 14th-20th bien., 1903-1915; 22nd, 1919; 23rd-29th trien., 1921-1939 (all *with* journal)

2. Constitutions.
1888; 1897; ann. 1899-1901; bien. 1903-1921; trien. 1924-1936
3. Journal.
Published as: (La Porte, Ia.; Vinton, Ia.; St. Louis)
Aug 1885-1891?: *The Railway Telegrapher*
1891?-1941+: *The Railroad Telegrapher*

TELEGRAPHERS, DISPATCHERS, AGENTS AND SIGNALMEN, ORDER OF RAILROAD

I. CHRONOLOGY

1907 Organized.

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Journal.
Published as: (Philadelphia)
1907-1920: *The Railroad Wire and Signal*
(Ceased publication. V. 12 omitted in numbering)

TRAIN DISPATCHERS' ASSOCIATION, AMERICAN

Address: 10 Huron St., E., Chicago

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1917 Organized as Western Dispatchers' Association.
1918 Adopted present name.

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Proceedings.
2nd-4th ann., 1919-1921; 5th-8th bien., 1923-1929; 9th-12th trien., 1932-1941 (all *with journal*)
2. Constitutions.
1920; 1921; 1929; 1932; 1935
3. Journal.
Published as: (Chicago)
1919-1941+: *The Train Dispatcher*

TRAINMEN, BROTHERHOOD OF RAILROAD

Address: 820 Superior Ave., W., Cleveland

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1883 Organized as Brotherhood of Railroad Brakemen of the Western Hemisphere.
- 1886 Changed name to Brotherhood of Railroad Brakemen.
- 1889 Affiliated with The Supreme Council of United Orders of Railway Employes (*q. v.*).
- 1890 Changed name to Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen.
- 1891 Expelled from The Supreme Council of United Orders of Railway Employes.

II. PUBLICATIONS (Code Number: T2)

1. Proceedings.
1st-7th ann., 1884-1890; spec. 1891; 8th-18th bien., 1893-1913; 19th-24th trien., 1916-1931; 25th, 1935; 26th, 1939
2. Reports.
Officers: 1913-1930 (in conv. years)
President and Editor-Manager: ann. 1931-1936
Secretary-Treasurer: ann. 1931-1936
Board of Appeals: ann. 1931-1934
Board of Insurance: ann. 1931-1933
Board of Trustees: ann. 1931-1935
3. Constitutions.
ann. 1884-1891; bien. 1893-1913; trien. 1916-1931; 1935; 1939
4. Journal.
Published as: (Burlington, Ill.; Rock Island, Ill.; Galesburg, Ill.; Cleveland)
Oct-Nov 1884: *Railroad Reporter*
Nov 1884-Aug 1886: *Western Railroader*
Aug 1886-1899: *Railroad Brakemen's Journal*
1890-1907: *Railroad Trainmen's Journal*
1908-1941+: *The Railroad Trainman*
(*Railroad Reporter* and *Western Railroader* were privately published journals endorsed by the union as its official organs.)
Editors:
Aug 1886-Nov 1889: Edward F. O'Shea
Dec 1889-Nov 1891: L. W. Rogers
Dec 1891-Mar 1928: D. L. Cease
Apr 1928-1930: W. N. Doak

1931-Apr 1933: J. A. Farquharson
May-Oct 1933: W. N. Doak
Feb 1934-Aug 1939: J. A. Farquharson
Sep 1939-1941+: S. R. Harvey

III. CRITIQUE OF PUBLICATIONS

The *Railroad Brakemen's Journal* was established as the official organ of the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen in 1886. Prior to this date two privately printed magazines, the *Railroad Reporter* of Burlington, Iowa, and the *Western Railroader* of Rock Island, Illinois, had been used as official journals by the Brotherhood.

For several years the new journal consisted mainly of articles reprinted from other sources, fiction, official union notices, and letters from the locals. The letters dealt mainly with local news and problems pertaining to working conditions, such as safety measures and Sunday work. There were also a few editorials dealing with matters of direct concern to the union, such as prevention of accidents, benefit plans, financial difficulties, and relations with other internationals.

The convention of 1889 elected L. W. Rogers editor and manager. Rogers considered the journal an independent voice and felt that he was under no obligation to support the policies of the Brotherhood unless he agreed with them. He was finally removed from the editorship when he refused to defend the action of the Brotherhood in continuing to work on the Northwestern Railroad while the Switchmen were on strike in 1891.

After Rogers' departure the editorship was made an appointive office under the president and D. L. Cease was appointed editor in 1892. The general style of the journal remained unchanged. Reprinted articles continued to occupy about one-fourth of the space. Correspondence increased in volume, and instead of reporting local news the writers concentrated increasingly on general union matters and on discussions of railroad life and problems. The editorials covered virtually the same range of subjects as the letters.

In 1896 the journal was given the form which it retained throughout Cease's editorship. The journal was divided into three main sections. General essays were given a prominent place. For the first few years these essays dealt with such economic and social problems as the single tax, distribution theory, and monopoly. Later they became factual descriptions of cities, foreign countries and their railroads, industries, and unions. The corres-

pondence section was further enlarged until by 1915 it comprised almost half of each issue. The letters were mainly discussions of union issues of the day, reminiscences of old members on the achievements of the union, and descriptions of working conditions. The third subdivision was an editorial section, which covered subjects ranging from Brotherhood news to national affairs. An increased interest in legislative activities can be seen in the trend of the editorials over this period. In 1922, however, the space devoted to editorials was drastically reduced.

In 1931 a president's department was created which virtually replaced the editorial section. The president discussed Brotherhood topics and defended his actions in wage negotiations, support of legislation and political candidates, and relations with other internationals. A brief experiment in publishing the journal as a semi-monthly newspaper was made in 1938, but in December of that year monthly publication was resumed.

One of the most important issues throughout the union's history was its relations with other unions. The Brotherhood included in its membership yardmen and conductors as well as brakemen, and serious jurisdictional disputes often arose between it and the Switchmen's and Conductors' unions. Its journal, convention proceedings, and officers' reports contained frequent criticisms of the two rival unions and proposals for consolidation of the three groups. The earliest and most bitter dispute was with the Switchmen over the Northwestern strike of 1891. As a result of the Trainmen's actions during this strike, the Switchmen combined with the Conductors to expel them from the Supreme Council of the United Order of Railway Employees. During the thirties, disputes arose between President Whitney of the Trainmen and President Harrison of the Railway Clerks over the conduct of the Railway Labor Executives Association, which was entrusted with joint negotiation of wage agreements with the railroads.

The union's benefit system received much space in its publications as early as 1893. An extensive system of death and disability benefits, funeral benefits, tuberculosis funds, and pensions was built up by the union, and the administration of this system was under almost continuous discussion. In 1931 an "Individual Reserve Department" was created with the object of placing insurance on an actuarial basis which would assure safety and strength, and all other insurance departments of the union were absorbed in the new department.

Like other railroad unions, the Trainmen have been much interested in legislation. Legislative committees were established in

the states, in Washington, and in Ottawa as early as 1891 to promote legislation of interest to railroad men. The Trainmen were chiefly concerned with the passage of adequate railroad labor legislation and levelled much criticism at the Transportation Act of 1920 and the Railway Labor Act of 1926, which failed to meet their demands. The legislative committees attempted also to promote the passage of car-limit laws and full-crew laws, each of special interest to trainmen. A full description of the efforts to secure such legislation appeared in the publications. Another major object of the union was to reduce the number of accidents to railroad men. Many campaigns for safety measures, waged in the state legislatures as well as in Washington, were described in the publications.

The main problem confronting the union after 1929 was to find methods of alleviating unemployment. The method most frequently advocated was adoption of the six-hour day, combined with a limitation on the amount of mileage which one man could accumulate in a month. In addition to these division of work plans, strict government regulation of motor carriers was advocated to combat the encroachments made by buses and motor trucks on passenger and freight hauls. Railroad consolidations were also bitterly opposed by the Trainmen on the ground that they added to general unemployment.

While the issues discussed by the union's conventions were the same as those discussed in the journal, the convention proceedings frequently provide additional information, particularly on intra-union disputes. Except during Rogers' editorship, the journal represented the views of incumbent union officers. In the convention proceedings, however, both sides of all factional conflicts were represented. Thus, there were numerous convention disputes between the Whitney faction and the Lee faction, self-styled "liberals" and "conservatives", which finally ended when Whitney won the presidency in 1928.

The officers' reports also contained much information not found elsewhere. The presidents' reports included a history and discussion of every strike, lengthy details of every general wage change, summaries of most grievance adjustments handled by international representatives, texts of arbitration awards and their history, and a very full report of the work of the legislative committees. The report of the secretary-treasurer contained a detailed account of each union fund, a list of amounts paid in benefit claims, and membership statistics. The trustees' reports were summaries of the secretary-treasurer's report plus such information as strike benefits paid and shortages in funds.

TRAINMEN AND LOCOMOTIVE FIREMEN, ASSOCIATION OF COLORED RAILWAY

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1912 Organized.
 1918 Reorganized as Association of Colored Railway Trainmen.
 1936 Changed name to Association of Colored Railway Trainmen
 and Locomotive Firemen.

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Proceedings.
 2nd, 1919; 6th, 1923; 7th, 1924; 9th, 1926; 12th, 1929; 13th,
 1930
2. Constitutions.
 1926

TRANSPORT SERVICE EMPLOYEES OF AMERICA, UNITED

Address: 3451 S. Michigan Ave., Chicago

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1937 Organized as International Brotherhood of Red Caps.
 1940 Adopted present name.

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Proceedings.
 1st, 1938; 2nd, 1940
2. Constitutions.
 1938; 1940
3. Journal.
 Published as: (Chicago)
 1937-1941+ : *Bags and Baggage*

YARDMASTERS OF AMERICA, RAILROAD

Address: 312 First National Bank Bldg., 33 N. High St.,
Columbus, Ohio

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1918 Organized.
1925 Seceding faction organized Railroad Yardmasters of North America, Inc. (*q. v.*).

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Proceedings.
1921; 1924; 5th-17th ann., 1927-1939
2. Constitutions.
1921; 1924; 1928; 1930; 1933
3. Journal.
Published as: (Columbus, Ohio)
1919-1941+ : *Railroad Yardmaster*

YARDMASTERS OF NORTH AMERICA, INC., RAILROAD

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1925 Organized by seceding faction of Railroad Yardmasters of America (*q. v.*).

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Proceedings.
3rd, 1929; 4th, 1930
2. Constitutions.
1925?
3. Journal.
Published as: (Buffalo)
1925-Mar 1931?: *The Railroad Yardmasters Magazine*