NOTES

Introduction


Chapter 1


5. Baltimore & Ohio Railroad, Annual Reports, 1901–1909. Net income here is defined as net after preferred dividends.


7. Alfred D. Chandler, Jr., The Visible Hand: The Managerial Revolution in American Business (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press, 1977), 173–75; also Martin, Enterprise Denied, 18–21, 115–16. The other six groups (and their main components) were the Vanderbilt lines (New York Central system, Chicago & North Western), the J. P. Morgan roads (Erie, Southern, Atlantic Coast Line, Louisville & Nashville), the Gould roads (Wabash, Missouri Pacific, Denver
& Rio Grande), the Moore roads (Sante Fe, Rock Island), the Hill Lines (Great Northern, Northern Pacific, Burlington), and the Harriman lines (Union Pacific, Southern Pacific, Illinois Central).

14. Ibid., 11.
15. Ibid.
18. Ibid., 13–18.
23. Ibid., 90–107.
28. “Collective Bargaining: A Right Freely Acknowledged by the B&O Nearly 30 Years Ago,” *Baltimore & Ohio Magazine*, February 1938, 5–7; and Hungerford, *Daniel Willard Rides the Line*, 164–65. Willard was at this stage in his career no great booster of unionism, but his amicable tolerance of the brotherhoods differed noticeably from the attitudes of even some of the more worker relations-oriented railroad presidents of the time, such as Edward P. Ripley of the Santa Fe (Bryant, *History of the Atchison*, 238).
30. Ibid., 5–14, 23–37.
31. Ibid., 12.
32. Ibid., 11.
33. Ibid., 24.
36. Ibid.


42. Baltimore & Ohio Employes Magazine, October 1912, 25, 38; April 1916, 10; July 1916, 33; September 1916, 5; November 1916, 47–49; December 1916, 47–48; May 1917, 21–22.

43. Baltimore & Ohio Employes Magazine, July 1915, 55–59; July 1916, 63; September 1916, 45–47; March 1918, 40; May 1918, 16.

44. Baltimore & Ohio Employes Magazine, September 1916, 50–51; October 1916, 69; January 1917, 47–56; March 1917, 49–50, 57; May 1917, 49–54.


52. Ibid., 4, 15.


54. Hungerford, Daniel Willard Rides the Line, 194.


57. For a full discussion of the attitudes of organized labor toward scientific management, see Milton J. Nadworny, Scientific Management and the Unions (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1955). Union opposition to the movement generally diminished during the 1920s,
as practitioners became more sensitive to the need to cushion workers from its potential negative impact on their jobs.


59. Emerson’s firm also performed a small piece of work for the B&O, a standard time study at the Martinsburg switch shop, in 1911. Letter from Harrington Emerson to J. M. Davis, 30 Oct., 1916. Pattee Library, Pennsylvania State University, Harrington Emerson Papers, B&O Railroad reports, bk. 3, pt. B.

60. Martin, _Enterprise Denied_, 220; Nelson, _Managers and Workers_, 70–71.


62. An interesting side issue to the general subjects of scientific management and cooperative management programs is why they tended to be applied more often in manufacturing (in this case, equipment and right-of-way construction and maintenance) settings than elsewhere. To hazard a simple answer, the key determinants seem to be scale and repetitiveness of tasks. If one has large numbers of people doing similar, routine tasks in a single location, then the possibility of discovering an optimal technique or method, whether by consultant or cooperative committee, is much increased, with benefits easily and greatly multiplied across the large number of workers. Unfortunately, that does not explain why such programs were not applied in some clerical settings (e.g., paper-processing departments such as car service) that met those criteria.


64. Stover, _History of the Baltimore and Ohio_, 229–43; and _Baltimore & Ohio Employes Magazine_, June–July 1918, 7–10; August 1918, 6; December 1918, 36; July 1919, 47–49.

65. _Baltimore & Ohio Employes Magazine_, June–July 1918, 7–10; for a full discussion of the politics of railroad control during the USRA period, see Kerr, _American Railroad_, esp. chaps. 4–8.


68. Stover, _History of the Baltimore & Ohio_, 237; and _Baltimore & Ohio Employes Magazine_, February 1918, 23; March 1918, 14–20; December 1918, 34–35.

69. _Baltimore & Ohio Magazine_, July 1920, 43; August 1920, 28; September 1920, 34–35; September 1921, 29; June 1922, 20.

70. _Baltimore & Ohio Magazine_, September 1920, 32; April 1921, 30; May 1921, 34; August 1921, 34, 39–42; September 1921, 30–32.

71. _Baltimore & Ohio Magazine_, April 1921, 30, 62; July 1921, 37; September 1922, 55; December 1922, 45.


**Chapter 2**


4. *Railway Age*, 75, no. 21 (Nov. 24, 1923): 956. See also 76, No. 7 (Feb. 16, 1924): 407; and 76, no. 10 (Mar. 8, 1924): 543–45.

5. *Railway Age*, 76, no. 7 (Feb. 16, 1924): 407–8; and 76, no. 10 (Mar. 8, 1924): 543–45.

6. Ibid.


8. *Baltimore & Ohio Employes Magazine*, October 1917, 23–24; December 1917, 32; January 1918, 26; February 1918, 39; April 1918, 27; *Baltimore & Ohio Magazine*, July 1920, 27–28; August 1920, 56.


12. Ibid., 160–78.


20. Ibid.

21. Ibid.


28. Ibid., 120, 130; *Railway Age* 73, no. 6, (Aug. 5, 1922): 248; 73, no. 10, (Sept. 2, 1922): 421.


33. *Railway Age* 73, no. 13 (Sept. 23, 1922): 549.

34. *Industrial Management* 73, no. 5 (May 1927): 262.

35. Ibid., 261.


38. Ibid., 89.


43. *Industrial Management* 73, no. 5 (May 1927): 261.

44. Economic evidence was more compelling to higher officers than to lower ones. An example of a lower-level supervisor who clung stubbornly to his personal power was a Glenwood boiler foreman by the name of Stapleton: nineteen months after the start of the cooperative program his arbitrary and abusive behavior still was undermining it. Letter from Boilermakers District 31 chairman P. D. Harvey to O. S. Beyer, August 12, 1924, Library of Congress, Manuscript Division, Otto S. Beyer Papers, box 94.


46. *Railway Age* 76, no. 10 (Mar. 24, 1924): 545.


50. *Railway Age* 76, no. 10 (Mar. 8, 1924): 543.

1924, Library of Congress, Manuscript Division, Otto S. Beyer Papers, box 103; and Industrial Management 73, no. 5 (May 1927): 262.

52. Railway Age 80, no. 7 (Feb. 13, 1926): 426.

53. Ibid., 426.

54. Memo from the secretary-treasurer of Railway Employees’ Department, American Federation of Labor, to the Executive Council of Railway Employees’ Department, Feb. 14, 1924, Labor-Management Documentation Center Archives, Cornell University, AFL Railway Employees’ Department Collection, box 88.

55. Letter from B&O motive power chief George H. Emerson to AFL Railway Employees’ Department president Bert M. Jewell, June 3, 1925; letter from Bert M. Jewell to Baltimore Federation of Labor president Henry F. Broening, June 9, 1925; letter from IAM president William Johnston to Henry F. Broening, June 5, 1925; letter from Bert M. Jewell to members of the executive council of AFL Railway Employees’ Department, June 9, 1925; letter from Bert M. Jewell to George H. Emerson, June 12, 1925; letter from System Federation No. 30 president William H. McGee to Daniel Willard, June 12, 1925; letter from Bert M. Jewell to System Federation No. 30 secretary H. L. Alberty, June 23, 1925, George Meany Memorial Archives, Railway Employees Department records, reel 58.

56. Letter from R. E. Reynolds, secretary of B&O local shopcrafts federation, to H. L. Alberty, secretary of B&O System Federation No. 30, June 30, 1925, with attached circular, dated (misdated?) July 7; letter to H. L. Alberty from Bert Jewell, president, Railway Employees’ Department, AF of L, July 29, 1925, Labor-Management Documentation Center Archives, Cornell University, AFL Railway Employees Department Collection, box 87.

57. Copy of letter from C. G. Watson, secretary of Lodge 212, International Association of Machinists, to J. Howe, superintendent of Cumberland Shops, July 23, 1925, with cover letter to IAM president William Johnston, George Meany Memorial Archives, Railway Employees Department records, reel 58.

58. Letter from Thomas E. Carroll, IAM Gand Lodge representative, to William Johnston, July 25, 1925; telegram from Bert Jewell to H. L. Alberty, July 25, 1925; telegram from H. L. Alberty to Bert Jewell, July 25, 1925; letter from C. N. Fullerton, IAM District 29 general chairman, to C. G. Watson, July 26, 1925; letter from C. N. Fullerton to H. L. Alberty, July 26, 1925; letter from H. L. Alberty to Bert Jewell, July 27, 1925; letter from George Beisser, shopcrafts Local Federation No. 7 president, to H. L. Alberty, July 28, 1925; letter from H. L. Alberty to William Johnston, July 29, 1925; letter from H. L. Alberty to George Beisser, July 29, 1925, all Labor-Management Documentation Center Archives, Cornell University, AFL Railway Employees Department Collection, box 88; letter from boilermakers’ Local 332 committee chairman L. R. Ambrose to Bert M. Jewell, Sept. 9, 1925; letter from William J. McGee to Brother Scott, Aug. 13, 1925; letter from Bert M. Jewell to members of the executive council of AFL Railway Employees’ Department, August 22, 1925; letter from the blacksmiths’ union president, James W. Kline, to Bert M. Jewell, Aug. 29, 1925; letter from Bert M. Jewell to James W. Kline, Sept. 4, 1925, George Meany Memorial Archives, AFL Railway Employees Department Collection, box 88.


61. Baltimore & Ohio Railroad, Motive Power Department, Minutes of Meeting Covering the Plan of Co-operation between Employees and the Management, Ivorydale, Ohio, Shops, Jan. 7, 1925, Labor-Management Documentation Center Archives, Cornell University, AFL Railway Employees Department Collection, box 88.

62. Ibid.

63. Baltimore & Ohio Railroad, Motive Power Department, Minutes of Meeting Covering the Plan of Co-operation between Employees and the Management, Ivorydale, Ohio, Shops, Jan. 21, 1925; also Feb. 4, 1925; Feb. 18, 1925; and March 4, 1925, Labor-Management Documentation Center Archives, Cornell University, AFL Railway Employees Department Collection, box 88.

64. Ibid.

65. Ibid. For details of the resolution of the Sunday-holiday time-and-a-half issue, see letter from O. S. Beyer to Daniel Willard, Aug. 28, 1926; letter from Daniel Willard to O. S. Beyer, Aug. 30, 1926; memorandum from F. E. Blaser (assistant to operations vice president Galloway) to all division superintendents, shop superintendents, master mechanics, and division engineers, Sept. 2, 1926, Library of Congress, Manuscript Division, Otto S. Beyer Papers, box 103.


67. Ibid.

68. Ibid.

69. Baltimore & Ohio Railroad Company, Minutes of Meeting Covering the Plan of Cooperation between Employees and the Management, Flora, Illinois, Shop, Jan. 7, 1925; also Feb. 4, 1925; Feb. 18, 1925; and Mar. 4, 1925, Labor-Management Documentation Center Archives, Cornell University, AFL Railway Employees Department Collection, box 88.

70. Ibid.

71. Ibid.


76. The Seaboard discussed the matter with Beyer and the AFL at some length, and adopted some of its tenets, but never signed a formal comprehensive agreement; see Labor-Management Documentation Center, Cornell University, AFL Railway Employees Department Collection, box 89, folder 5.

77. *Baltimore & Ohio Magazine*, February 1925, 7–9; and Wood, *Union-Management*, 276–88. Wood incorrectly dates the start of the CT/MW cooperative program as early 1924, not early 1925; he apparently was using as his source *Railway Age*: 78, no. 8 (Feb. 21, 1925): 453–54, which reproduced the *B&O Magazine* article, and which by typographical error identifies that article as from the February 1924 issue.

78. *Baltimore & Ohio Magazine*, February 1925, 8.


83. During this period at least one major scientific management recommendation was implemented in the context of the Cooperative Plan. Partially traceable to the firm of Harrington Emerson, the “spot system” of heavy repairs at the Mount Clare locomotive shop (a major change in shop layout and work flow) was established during the winter of 1925–1926. See spot system procedure manual, Nov. 3, 1925, Library of Congress, Manuscript Division, Otto S. Beyer Papers, box 100; letter from Daniel Willard to Harrington Emerson, Oct. 29, 1930, Pattee Library, Pennsylvania State University, Harrington Emerson Papers—B&O Railroad reports, box 1, file 7; Chester B. Lord, “Three a Day,” American Machinist, July 24, 1930, 149–54; July 31, 1930, 199–202; Aug. 7, 1930, 231–35.


85. Eisuke Daito, “Railways and Scientific Management in Japan, 1907–1930,” Business History 31, no. 1 (January 1989): 1–28; miscellaneous correspondence of Harrington Emerson, especially a letter from Emerson to the Japanese Minister of Railways, H. Ogawa, Dec. 26, 1928, Pattee Library, Pennsylvania State University, Harrington Emerson Papers, box 10, file 9. Even though Emerson apparently was not under contract to the B&O at this time, he stayed in personal contact with Willard; see, for example, a letter from Willard to Emerson, Dec. 28, 1928, Harrington Emerson Papers, box 1, file 6.


88. Industrial Management 73, no. 5 (May 1927): 262.

89. Wood, Union-Management, 190.


91. Net income here is defined as net income to common equity; preferred stock dividends have been treated as an interest charge deducted from the bottom line of the Annual Report income statement.

Chapter 3

1. For a fuller discussion, see John F. Stover, History of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad (West Lafayette, Ind.: Purdue University Press, 1987), 1–183; and Herbert H. Harwood, Jr.,


4. Opinion of the Railroad Labor Board censuring the Pennsylvania Railroad for its refusal to obey Board Decision no. 218, requiring a free election to determine shopcrafts representation, Railway Age 74, no. 25 (June 23, 1923): 1514.


8. Ibid., 83, no. 19 (Nov. 12, 1927): 956, and 84, no. 24 (June 16, 1928): 1412.


11. For examples, see Baltimore & Ohio Magazine, March 1928, 28, 48–49; January 1929, 28–29; August 1929, 18.

12. Baltimore & Ohio Magazine, October 1927, 7; December 1927, 4, 28, 38, 64–65; April 1929, 47–51; July 1929, 18–21.


15. Ibid., April 1929, 31; July 1929, 32; August 1929, 18.

16. Ibid., May 1927; May 1928; June 1929; June 1950, 2.


19. Summarized in Baltimore & Ohio Magazine, July 1929, 6–7. For specifics, see, e.g., October 1912, 12; April 1920, 38; December 1922, cover; June 1923, 5; February 1927, 13; October 1927, 13; January 1928, 21; August 1929, 6; December 1930, 8.

20. Railway Age 87, no. 18 (Nov. 2, 1929): 1042.


22. Railway Age 87, no. 22 (Nov. 30, 1929): 1269.

24. For examples, see *Baltimore & Ohio Magazine*, August 1926, 12–13; November 1926, 28–29.


30. Beyer, Jewell, and McGee had found it necessary on at least two prior occasions to appeal to Willard to get around Emerson’s objections to their proposals regarding the Sunday overtime issue (e.g., letter from Bert M. Jewell to H. L. Alberty, Oct. 25, 1927, George Meany Memorial Archives) and the creation of a joint committee to resolve seniority problems (letter from Otto S. Beyer to Bert M. Jewell, Apr. 26, 1926, George Meany Memorial Archives, Railway Employees Department records, reel 58.


32. Ibid.


35. Letter from H. L. Alberty to Bert M. Jewell, July 24, 1928, George Meany Memorial Archives, Railway Employees Department records, reel 58.

36. Letter from H. L. Alberty to Bert M. Jewell, July 24, 1928; letter from H. L. Alberty to Bert M. Jewell, Nov. 7, 1928; letter from Otto S. Beyer to H. L. Alberty, Apr. 11, 1929; letter from Bert M. Jewell to William McGee, May 1, 1929, George Meany Memorial Archives, Railway Employees Department records, reel 58. William Johnston was not a party to these discussions because he had retired from the IAM leadership in 1926.


38. Letter from William J. McGee to John Howe, May 4, 1933 (expressing the system federation’s appreciation of Howe’s efforts), George Meany Memorial Archives, Railway Employees Department records, reel 58.

39. *Baltimore & Ohio Magazine*, December 1929, 9–11. Willard was involved in other Cooperative Plan—boosting activities as well during the year; for example, he was a principal speaker at the labor conference sponsored by B&O system labor organizations in January (see minutes of *Railroad Labor Conference*, *Baltimore, Jan.* 19–20, 1929; sponsored by the Association of General Chairman, Baltimore & Ohio Railroad [American Federation of Labor, 1929]).


43. Ibid., 15.

44. Ibid., 9, 12, 14, 16.

45. Ibid., 16–17; also letter from Daniel Willard to Bert M. Jewell, Jan. 15, 1930, George Meany Memorial Archives, Railway Employees Department records, reel 58.


55. Ibid.

56. Letter from Bert M. Jewell to O. S. Beyer, June 26, 1931, Labor-Management Documentation Center Archives, Cornell University, AFL Railway Employees Department Collection, box 88.

57. Letter from O. S. Beyer to Bert M. Jewell, July 20, 1931, Labor-Management Documentation Center Archives, Cornell University, AFL Railway Employees Department Collection, box 88.


60. *Baltimore & Ohio Magazine*, October 1931, 64.


64. For example, see letter from IAM Lodge 478 (Chicago/Garfield Park) secretary G. Henriksson to Sheet Metal Workers Local 367 secretary Harry Ditberner, Aug. 31, 1929; and letter from shopcrafts Local Federation No. 16 (Parkersburg, West Virginia) secretary Robert C. Cabell to William McGee, Sept. 5, 1931, Library of Congress, Manuscript Division, Otto S. Beyer Papers, box 100.


67. Letter from Balser to McGee, Nov. 10, 1931.

68. Letter from Galloway to McGee, Nov. 24, 1931.


74. Letter from Daniel Willard to Otto S. Beyer, Oct. 11, 1933; letter from Otto S. Beyer to Daniel Willard, Oct. 24, 1933; letter from Daniel Willard to Otto S. Beyer, Oct. 25, 1933, Library of Congress, Manuscript Division, Otto S. Beyer Papers, box 103. Willard carried the ball on this play, but Beyer, as he usually did, got it moving. Willard was pleased with and proud of the Plan, but Beyer was its primary promoter: it was the center of his career at this point (see, for example, letter from Otto S. Beyer to *Baltimore & Ohio Magazine* editor Robert M. Van Sant, Apr. 30, 1931, Otto S. Beyer Papers, box 100).


77. Data derived from *Industrial Management* 73, no. 5, (May 1927): 262, and *Baltimore & Ohio Magazine*, April 1934, 17. The suggestion decline appears to have been fairly steady, as the following table indicates:

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<th>Period</th>
<th>Beneficial to employees</th>
<th>Beneficial to management</th>
<th>Beneficial to both</th>
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<td>July 6–</td>
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<td>Sept. 4</td>
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<td>Sept. 2</td>
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It is interesting to note that the percentage of suggestions exclusively benefiting employees stayed exactly constant (at 13 percent) through the decline, while the percentage of suggestions from employees increased (from 85 to 92 percent). Baltimore & Ohio Railroad Motive Power Department Cooperative Plan summary reports, Library of Congress, Manuscript Division, Otto S. Beyer Papers, box 97.

78. At this particular meeting, J. F. McGrath of the stationary firemen and oilers’ union occupied a seat normally occupied by the blacksmiths’ general chairman. The stationary firemen belonged to Federation No. 30, but they were not a part of the original Cooperative Plan organization.

79. Minutes of the system cooperative meeting between representatives of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad Company and the General Committee of the Federated Shop Crafts, Baltimore, Jan. 4, 1933, George Meany Memorial Archives, Railway Employees Department records, reel 58.

80. Ibid.

81. In the mechanical department committees 8,789 meetings had been held, with 34,001 suggestions offered and 27,816 of them adopted; in the transportation and maintenance of way departments, the corresponding data were 735 meetings, 7,332 suggestions, and 4,938 adoptions. The shop committee at Flora, Illinois, had held 182 meetings; five other shop committees (Bailey’s Car Shop, Maryland; Brunswick, Maryland; Cumberland Roundhouse, Maryland; Cumbo, West Virginia; and Somerset, Pennsylvania) each had held 180. Willard, Ohio (formerly Chicago Junction), led all committees in total suggestions with 1,651, followed by the Cum-
berland Back Shop with 1,471 and Mount Clare with 1,461. Somerset boasted an adoption rate of
96.8 percent, followed by Cumbo with 95.7 percent; Connellsville, Pennsylvania, was third with
92.3 percent, barely ahead of Zanesville, Ohio’s, 92.2 percent, *Baltimore & Ohio Magazine*,
April 1934, 17–18.
82. Figures derived from Baltimore & Ohio Railroad Company, *Annual Reports*, 1927–1941,
and *Moody’s Investment Manual: Steam Railroads* (New York: Moody’s Investors Services,
1930–1941).
83. Ibid.
235–39; *Baltimore & Ohio Magazine*, December 1931, 7, 15.
85. Ibid.

Chapter 4

2. Interstate Commerce Commission, *Statistics of Railways in the United States*, (Washington,
3. There was also a third aspect of the B&O’s survival efforts: pursuit of government assistance.
Most notably, in November 1932 the B&O arranged a loan of over $31 million from the
Reconstruction Finance Corporation to aid in refinancing its debt. Baltimore & Ohio Railroad,
4. An earlier version of some of the material contained in this chapter is David M. Vrooman,
“‘The Cooperative Traffic Program: Employee Participation on the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad,
Phase 2,’” *Essays in Economic and Business History* vol. 7.
D.C.: USGPO, 1933). The eastern district debt ratio excludes proprietary and lesseror lines.
6. *Railway Age* 92, no. 19 (May 7, 1932): 782, 785; 91, no. 3 (July 18, 1931): 107; 91,
no. 25 (Dec. 19, 1931): 951; 92, no. 6 (Feb. 6, 1932): 260.
7. Remarks by C. N. Fullerton, at Newark, Ohio, CTP dinner, Nov. 5, 1934, in *Baltimore &
Ohio Magazine*, December 1934, 19; remarks by Daniel Willard, at Baltimore Terminals CTP
dinner, Nov. 6, 1940, in *Baltimore & Ohio Magazine*, December 1940, 10; “The Story of Your
Cooperative Traffic Program,” pamphlet published by the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad, May 1,
1956, collection of William C. Howard.
9. *Baltimore & Ohio Magazine*, December 1920, 24–25; January 1921, 30; February 1921,
6; July 1923, 12.
10. Ibid., January 1921, 30; February 1921, 5–8; March 1921, 5–7; April 1921, 5.
11. Ibid., April 1921, 5–6.
12. Ibid., May 1921, 5–9; June 1921, 5–7; July 1921, 26–37; August 1921, 11–14.
13. Ibid., and September 1921, 9–11; October 1921, 7–9; November 1921, 9–11; December
1921, 27.
14. Ibid., July 1923, 12; January 1924, 8–9; November 1926, 38–41; October 1928, 24–27;
Baltimore & Ohio Railroad Company, *Annual Report*, 1924; see also *Baltimore & Ohio Maga-
nize*, June 1928, 8; July 1928, 5–7, 15, 23. The shopcrafts federation in Chillicothe, Ohio, ran a
“Cooperative Page” in the local newspaper, endorsing local merchants who patronized the B&O
15. *Baltimore & Ohio Magazine*, July 1928, 32–35. The summary statistics for freight shipments and routing orders may understate the actual totals, as numbers were not specified in five instances, and the author inserted conservative estimates.

16. Ibid., April 1932, 18–19, 84–85.

17. Ibid., November 1926, 21–22; March 1934, 9.


22. Interview of retired CTP director John W. Bliss, by the author, Towson, Maryland, July 28, 1988.


24. Ibid., 5; *Baltimore & Ohio Magazine*, December 1934, 19; March 1935, 10–12.

25. *Baltimore & Ohio Magazine*, March 1934, 9–10; December 1934, 10; March 1935, 12.


29. *Baltimore & Ohio Magazine*, December 1935, 8–9; September 1935, 28–29, 56; January 1936, 28; March 1936, 26; October 1935, 26; February 1936, 25.


32. Specific figures for total CTP credited traffic were not published year by year after 1934; the $1-million-plus figure is the author’s estimate, based upon local committee reports and the five-year (1934–1938) CTP revenue totals given in O. S. Lewis’s report to Daniel Willard in February 1939, summarized in *Baltimore & Ohio Magazine*, March 1939, 5–6. The comments on CTP costs are taken from interviews of retired CTP director John W. Bliss and retired CTP special representative William C. Howard, by the author, Towson, Maryland, July 28, 1988.


37. Ibid., June 1936, 20–21, 68.

38. Interviews of Bliss and Howard; interview of retired CTP special representative Mildred L. Drechsler, by the author, Towson, Maryland, Nov. 14, 1988.


42. Interviews of Bliss, Howard, and Drechsler.

43. *Baltimore & Ohio Magazine*, March 1939, 5–6, 11; Baltimore & Ohio Railroad Company, *Annual Reports*, 1934–1938; "Business-Getting Employees," *Baltimore & Ohio Magazine*, July 1931–June 1932. The carload revenue estimate is O. S. Lewis's (108,000 carloads times average carload revenue of $50.00); the LCL estimate is the author's (95,877 shipments times an average shipment revenue of $8.17, derived from the average value of employee-solicited LCL shipments for the second half of 1931 and the first half of 1932, adjusted for 1934–1938 average rate charges), as is the passenger estimate (167,062 passengers times 1934–1938 average revenue per passenger of $2.62).


46. Reports by Mrs. C. H. Sortman, V. P. Travers, and M. C. Humphert, *Baltimore & Ohio Magazine*, December 1937, 41; December 1937, 40; January 1938, 42, respectively.


48. The data under examination here (tables 4-1 and 4-2) are from CTP reports by L. A. Hightshoe, Edith Hormann, and E. J. Demedy (Cincinnati and Ivorydale) and C. B. L. Hahn, Mrs. R. C. Koechlin, Mrs. H. R. Barton, and Mrs. John Roberts (Zanesville), published in *Baltimore & Ohio Magazine*, January 1938–December 1938.

49. In 1937 the B&O (not including the Alton) reported to the ICC total employment of 42, 492: 572 executives (white-collar), 7,162 professional and clerical employees (white-collar), 7,293 maintenance of way workers (nearly all blue-collar), 11,711 maintenance of equipment workers (nearly all blue-collar), and 15,754 transportation employees (mostly blue-collar, but including some lower-level supervisors).

50. Interviews of Bliss and Howard.


52. *Railway Age*, 106, no. 24 (June 17, 1939) 1051. An alternative explanation for the journal's silence was that the editors knew about the CTP all along, but simply were not much impressed by it.

53. *Railway Age* 100, no. 7 (Feb. 15, 1936): 291; also 102, no. 5 (Jan. 30, 1937): 234.


56. Ibid., August 1936, 8–9; November 1937, 38–39; October 1938, 8.


60. Ibid., November 1938, 48.


63. This is the only assumption under which the end-of-1937 figures can be reconciled with the Cooperative Plan summary sheet of April 1941 (Library of Congress, Manuscript Division, Otto S. Beyer Papers, box 97) other than error in one or both sets of numbers.
66. There is some possibility that these factors contributed to the below-average CTP participation rates of blue-collar employees.
68. Cooperative Plan summary sheet, April 1941, Otto S. Beyer Papers. The retired B&O conductor and local union official George Stanton, interviewed by the author in Fairmont, West Virginia, on Oct. 8, 1988, stated that Cooperative Plan meetings in the conducting transportation department no longer were being held when he was hired by the B&O in 1941.
70. *Baltimore & Ohio Magazine*, December 1940, 10.
71. Ibid., 10–12.
83. For example, see a survey conducted by *Sales Management* magazine and summarized in *Baltimore & Ohio Magazine*, October 1936, 5; and Virginia Tanner, “B&O’s Remarkable On-Time Record,” *Baltimore & Ohio Magazine*, March 1946, 4–5, 57; also interviews of Drechsler, Bliss, and Howard and letter from retired B&O president Jervis Langdon, Jr., to the author, Aug. 27, 1988 (author’s collection).

**Chapter 5**

1. Open letter from Daniel Willard to all Baltimore & Ohio employees, May 19, 1941; printed in *Baltimore & Ohio Magazine*, May 1941, 4.
were lowered during the last two years of his life by the death by heart attack of Daniel, Jr., in May 1940.

3. Ibid., 13–14.


9. Ibid., August 1942, 40–41.

10. Ibid., May 1941, 4–6.

11. Ibid., 6; December 1941, 6.

12. Ibid., December 1942, 17; August 1943, 34; October 1942, 6.


15. Interview of retired CTP special representative Mildred L. Drechsler, by the author, Towson, Maryland, Nov. 14, 1988.


17. The 1943 strike-averting seizure was one of a string of increasingly nasty confrontations between the railroads and the operating unions, extending back through a near-strike in the summer of 1941 to the near-strikes of 1938 and 1937, and forward through the federal seizures of the railroads in 1946, 1948, and 1950.


25. Baltimore & Ohio Railroad Company, *Annual Report*, 1948. The report incorrectly states that 1913 was the year in which the Veterans’ Association was founded.
26. Interview of Mildred Drechsler.
30. Ibid., March 1955, 8–9, 31.
31. Interview of the retired CTP senior special representative John W. Bliss and the retired CTP special representative William C. Howard, by the author, Towson, Maryland, July 28, 1988; interview of the retired CTP special representative Mildred L. Drechsler by the author, Towson, Maryland, Nov. 14, 1988.
32. Interviews of Bliss, Howard, and Drechsler.
35. Interview of Mildred Drechsler.
39. Interviews of Bliss, Howard, and Drechsler.
40. *Baltimore & Ohio Magazine*, March 1956, 7; March 1958, inside back cover; October 1958, inside back cover; November 1959, 10, 22; June 1960, 8; July 1960, 10; April 1960, 12–13; March 1956, 4–5.
43. Ibid.
44. Interview of CSX Cumberland car shop superintendent Russell DeVore, by the author, Cumberland, Maryland, Oct. 7, 1989. DeVore was originally hired by the B&O as a carman at Keyser, West Virginia, in 1958.
45. Minutes of the Convention of System Federation No. 30, AFL, Fort Pitt Hotel, Pittsburgh, May 22–23, 1940; Minutes of the Convention of System Federation No. 30, AFL, Sinton Hotel, Cincinnati, June 7–8, 1950; Minutes of the Convention of System Federation No. 30, AFL, Lord Baltimore Hotel, Baltimore, June 11–12, 1952; Preamble to the Constitution and Bylaws of Sys-
tem Federation No. 30, AFL, as revised in June 1952; Preamble to the Constitution and Bylaws of System Federation No. 30, AFL, as revised in 1960; resolution submitted on behalf of System Federation No. 30 by president Oscar A. Anthony, to the Twelfth convention of the Railway Employees’ Department, AFL, Chicago, Apr. 25, 1960; letter and attachments from System Federation No. 30 president Oscar A. Anthony to AFL Railway Employees’ Department president Michael D. Fox, Mar. 9, 1960, Labor-Management Documentation Center Archives, Cornell University, Railway Employees Department collection.


49. Minutes of the Convention of Western Maryland System Federation No. 24, AFL, Hagerstown, Maryland, Sept. 2, 1948, Labor-Management Documentation Center Archives, Cornell University; Bylaws of Federation No. 30; Minutes of 1946 Federation No. 30 convention; Minutes of 1948 Federation No. 30 convention.


Conclusion

1. The Willard work history sheet was provided by D. R. Shawley, manager of employee services, CSX Distribution Group, Baltimore (with cover letter dated Mar. 2, 1988).
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