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Article Summary: When shopworkers in Havelock struck the Chicago Burlington and Quincy Railroad in 1921, there was open agitation and strong community antagonism towards the railroad, at least partially because the workers believed that their services were essential. Plattsmouth strikers and residents reacted more calmly, understanding that their shops could be eliminated in a period of railroad consolidation.

Cataloging Information:

Names: Samuel McKelvie, F J Woodrough, Edward Balance, Ira Miller, Warren Harding

Place Names: Plattsmouth, Havelock, Omaha, Lincoln, Wymore, McCook, Alliance, Chadron, Fremont

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Photographs / Images: a Chicago, Burlington and Quincy Railroad shop, Plattsmouth; CB&Q shops, Havelock, 1920; inset CB&Q advertisement for workers (*Nebraska State Journal*, July 20, 1922); editorial cartoon showing the effect of the Burlington shopmen's walkout on the national coal strike (*Sunday World-Herald*, July 16, 1922)

Two Railroading Towns **React to a Strike** *Havelock & Plattsmouth in 1922*

By Thomas Magnuson

In the summer of 1922 national railroad shopcraft unions went on strike to protest pay cuts and nonunion hiring practices. Strong support for the strike among shop workers occurred along the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy Railroad (CB&Q) in Nebraska. However, the behavior of striking Burlington workers in Nebraska varied. These differences were most pronounced between the communities of Plattsmouth and Havelock. Plattsmouth strikers remained calm throughout the walkout, union leadership called for nonviolence, and the town worked to preserve peace and maintain strong ties with the railroad. In contrast, striking workers in Havelock found strong community support for open agitation against the Burlington. Anti-CB&Q activities in Havelock included kidnappings, assaults, riots, and lawsuits.

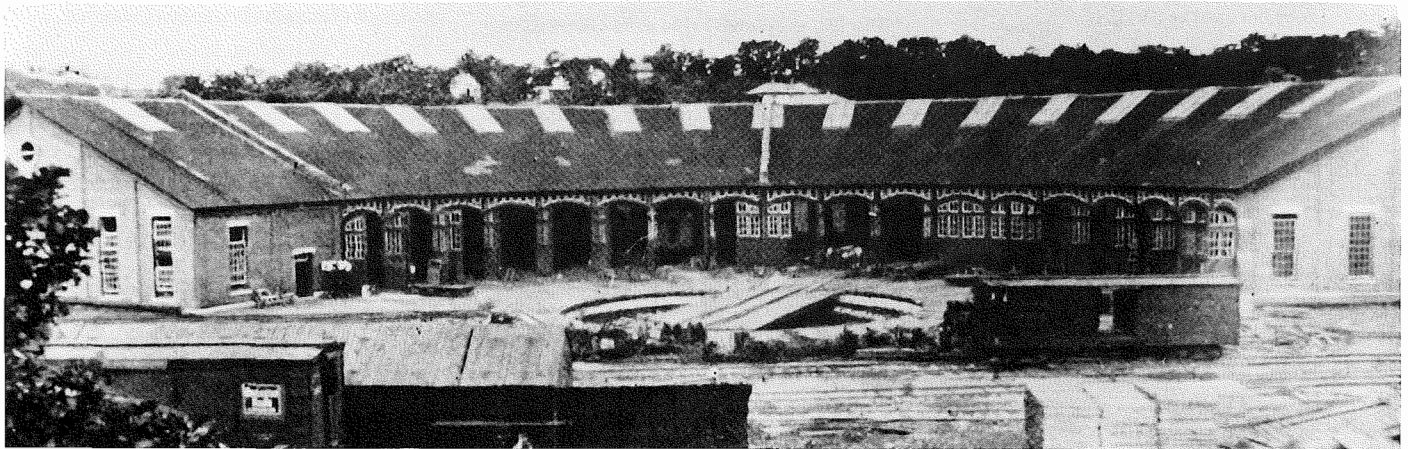
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Plattsmouth, however, was not rewarded. The Burlington announced plans to move train service operations out of Plattsmouth to Havelock even before the strike ended. Despite threats of reduction or closure of Havelock operations during the strike, the CB&Q did nothing in reprisal to this community after the crisis passed. Efforts to understand how this scenario unfolded should focus on the origin and development of the Plattsmouth and Havelock shops, the strength of the shopcraft unions, and the relative value these two service points held within the Burlington system.

The Burlington and Missouri River Railroad (the B&M merged with the CB&Q in 1880) entered Nebraska at Plattsmouth in 1869.¹ The river community had long been tied to transportation, serving both as a steamboat port and as a center of overland freighting. Doctor Robert Livingston led a delegation that convinced the railroad to build shops and locate its Nebraska headquarters in Plattsmouth. The

town passed a \$50,000 bond issue, and Cass County added a \$200,000 bond to lure the railroad across the Missouri River at Plattsmouth.² The relocation of the B&M brought Irish and Czech immigrants into Plattsmouth and increased the population from 1,500 in 1869 to nearly 6,000 in 1892. By the early 1890s Plattsmouth's facilities encompassed fourteen acres and included large machine shops, coach shops, roundhouses, carshops, and storehouses. In 1893 town promoters called Plattsmouth "the most important railroad town on the Burlington."³

Disagreements between the B&M and Plattsmouth surfaced several times prior to 1880. The 1873 depression plus fiscal mismanagement severely strained the B&M's financial resources, and the railroad sought revenue from Plattsmouth and Cass County bonds. The county sought to nullify the bonds in 1873 after the B&M failed to build along the agreed route. A compromise calling for the surrender of half the bonds back to Cass



One of the CB&Q shops, Plattsmouth. From *The City of Plattsmouth Illustrated* (1892).

1922 Strike

County for guaranteed interest payments on the remaining \$100,000 ended the dispute within the year.⁴

By 1874 the town was \$15,000 behind in interest payments to the railroad. City officials refused to pay, claiming the railroad had not expanded the shops according to the 1869 agreement, lots deeded to the company for expansion were being sold, the depot was incorrectly placed, and merchants had been denied through-rate express privileges. In 1876 the railroad agreed to forgive all owed interest after the town council publically acknowledged Plattsmouth's inability to pay as the sole cause of the disagreement.⁵

Despite this refinancing, Plattsmouth's money woes continued. By 1878 the Burlington and Missouri River Railroad demanded payment from the town of \$144,000 in bond principal and interest. In 1879 the town agreed to donate land to the B&M for a railroad bridge across the Missouri River. Entirely without funds, Plattsmouth borrowed the money from the B&M in order to purchase the then-donated land.⁶ Settlement was reached in 1881 when town leaders agreed not to contest the removal of the Nebraska headquarters from Plattsmouth in return for the railroad lowering the bond principal to \$25,000 and cutting the interest in half. Despite these early troubles the relationship between the railroad and the community improved, and little trouble occurred after 1881. The community renewed its support for the company by passing further bond issues in support of the railroad (now CB&Q) in 1901 and 1922.⁷

The Burlington and Missouri River Railroad secured a connecting line to Omaha in 1871. By 1872 the railroad had built from Plattsmouth 194 miles to join the Union Pacific at Kearney. The railroad also expanded along the Republican River Valley in southern Nebraska under the affiliated Lincoln Land Company from 1878 to 1882, and from 1887 to 1888 laid track into the Sand Hills. By 1890 Burlington points of transit included Omaha, Lincoln, Wymore, McCook, and Alliance. Granted 2.5 million acres of Ne-

braska land, the CB&Q recruited immigrants and supported agriculture all along its miles of track. During the last three decades of the nineteenth century the Burlington became a potent economic and political force within Nebraska.⁸

In 1890 the Lincoln Land Company donated three hundred acres in Havelock to the Burlington for the location of the main manufacturing and repair shops of the west division of the railroad. Havelock was an unincorporated community four miles northeast of the capital city of Lincoln. The first shop was built later that year at a cost of \$275,000. A second repair shop, a blacksmith shop, and a boiler shop were all added within three years. Continual expansion of the Havelock shops drove the population from 1,400 in 1900 to over 2,600 in 1910. Shopworkers had increased from 40 in 1891 to 800 in 1910. A capital outlay of \$2 million in 1910 added a significant number of new shops to the site. In 1911 major expansion in Havelock halted locomotive work in Plattsmouth. By 1916 Havelock had become one of the largest shop sites on the CB&Q's west division.⁹

The building of the railroads across Nebraska also brought the organization of labor. Rail workers had organized themselves into unions since the Civil War. Strikes and other shutdowns became commonplace during the 1880-94 period, with much activity in the West and Great Plains. The Knights of Labor found support among Burlington employees, especially in the shopcrafts. By 1885 union members could be found in Burlington shops in Plattsmouth, Lincoln, McCook, and Hastings. At the time of an engineers' strike in 1888 the Burlington found strong union sympathies present in Nebraska. The nearly year-long strike interrupted CB&Q operations and slowed new construction to a crawl. Company officials branded the entire line west of Creston, Iowa, as "nettlesome."¹⁰

The failure of the 1894 Pullman Strike kept the rail unions divided into two camps: the "Big Four" brotherhoods of engineers, firemen, trainmen, and conductors; and a weaker, less consolidated

group of twelve trade unions, half of which constituted the shopcrafts. Through arbitration the Big Four secured pay hikes and standardized working conditions for its members by the beginning of World War I. Shopcraft workers fared less well with arbitration and staged several walkouts between 1914 and 1916. Following the country's entry into war, the federal government took control of the railroads. Shopcrafts, as well as other rail labor, benefited under federal aegis. Government officials granted concessions to unions to keep the trains operating. Following the armistice, Congress returned the railroads to private hands with passage of the Esch-Cummins (or Transportation) Act in 1920.¹¹

One provision of the Esch-Cummins Act established the Railroad Labor Board (RLB). The RLB consisted of nine members (three representatives each from the railroads, the unions, and the public) authorized to settle disputes between labor and management not reconciled through collective bargaining. Initially siding with the unions on several issues, the RLB soon reversed course. In 1920 the Labor Board had granted twenty percent raises for train workers to soften the blow of postwar inflation. By spring of the following year a national recession moved the RLB to reduce the wages of all rail workers by twelve percent. In 1922 the RLB again cut into the pay of shopmen (but not train operating workers), nearly eroding the 1920 increase, leading to a national walkout by train service unions.¹²

The outcome of the 1922 national shopmen's strike ultimately reduced both the ranks and power of the train service unions. The strike began on July 1, 1922, when 400,000 workers walked off the job. Shopworkers initially sought to restore hour and overtime pay scales lost through government mediation over the previous fourteen months. The shopcrafts also hoped to strengthen federal provisions barring the employment of nonunion labor in the railroad industry. Later the strike evolved into a battle over the single issue of seniority rights.¹³

In the face of an antilabor Republican

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administration, a concurrent national coal strike, and a lack of strong support from fellow railroad brotherhoods, the aims of the walkout failed to be fully realized. In early September the shopcraft workers acquiesced to a plan of separate settlements with the railroads. Coming to terms with individual lines rather than with the entire industry allowed smaller, more financially strapped railroads to settle with their shopworkers. However, this also gave larger, more solvent lines less incentive to rehire strikers at anything less than company terms. The walkout collapsed after only ten weeks, leaving shopcraft workers in weakened unions, company-sponsored trade organizations, or unemployed.¹⁴

On July 1, 1922, over 90 percent of all rail shopworkers went out on strike. The Burlington reported that over 3,500 of 4,000 workers west of the Missouri River joined the walkout. Company officials stated that in Nebraska 903 men were out at Havelock; 365 at Alliance; 325 at Lincoln; 305 at Plattsmouth; 225 at McCook; 200 at Omaha; 168 at Wymore; and 100 at Gibson in Douglas County. Sources in Plattsmouth estimated that over five hundred workers participated in the strike. Some nonunion men, from various departments, had walked out with the shopmen. Strong support for the walkout was visible in both McCook and Alliance, where the communities staged parades.¹⁵

Two incidents occurred in Havelock on the first day of the strike that set the

tone for that community's actions throughout the walkout. Strikers forcibly detained five CB&Q security guards as they attempted to enter the Burlington roundhouse. Later in the evening a contingent of security guards and replacement workers ran through a gauntlet of strikers before being driven out of town. One guard, a CB&Q conductor from Omaha named Jackson Kimbrough, claimed the shopmen threatened to "treat 'em as they did in Illinois," a reference to the lynching and shooting of twenty strikebreakers in the coalfields of Herrin, Illinois, in late June.¹⁶

Real fears of strike violence gripped most areas of the country in the wake of the "Herrin Massacre." In Nebraska, Governor Samuel McKelvie called law officers, strikers, and railroad representatives to report to Lincoln on July 7 to discuss measures to control the strike. Concern about the atmosphere in Havelock led Lancaster County Sheriff Ira Miller to swear in seventy-five deputies on July 3.¹⁷ National union leaders' calls for control were echoed in Nebraska. By day two of the strike Michael Kincera and William Hannon of the International Association of Machinists encouraged Havelock shopmen to avoid agitation and court the public good. Plattsmouth strike organizer Jim Ptacek asked local merchants not to sell firearms during the strike. He also called for striking workers to cooperate fully with police to prevent criminal ac-

tions on or near CB&Q property.¹⁸

On July 3 the Burlington announced that striking shopmen who returned to work by July 10 would be welcomed back without loss of either seniority rights or pension privileges. Those who declined to report would forfeit all seniority. The shops were being operated by near-retirement workers and other Burlington employees. G. H. Abel, head of the Havelock machinists' union, called the statement "ridiculous." Tensions continued to rise in Havelock and nearby Lincoln as a result of the ultimatum. On July 8 picketing had increased in both communities, and a few nonstriking shopmen had been beaten while trying to enter the Havelock shops. In response the Burlington posted extra guards all along the line in Nebraska as the July 10 deadline approached.¹⁹

Hundreds of Havelock strikers and their families marched on July 10 in defiance of the CB&Q's ultimatum. Concurrently, the railroad began to move replacement workers into temporary housing within the shop compound. The Burlington claimed that the new workers' safety could not be guaranteed off company property. Later on July 10 a crowd of five hundred striking workers kept a provisions wagon from entering the Havelock shops for several hours until county sheriffs arrived. In Federal District Court in Omaha Judge F.J. Woodrough granted a restraining order against assembling or loitering on Burlington property, or intimi-



CB&Q shops, Havelock, 1920. (NSHS-L244-8-10)

dating or obstructing CB&Q employees in Nebraska. The July 10 order curtailed picketing near shops to one person at each entrance and exit. Evidence given by the Burlington in support of the restraining order included cut air hoses, sand in car journal boxes, unlawful searches, harassment of employees, and kidnapping of security guards and replacement workers.²⁰

By mid-July the Burlington announced that the railroad had replaced over one-fourth of all strike positions west of the Missouri River. The renewal of shop operations led to increasing agitation by strikers and heightened state and federal control efforts. Governor McKelvie threatened to use state troops to quell violence at Chadron, Fremont (both on the Chicago and North Western Railroad), and Havelock. On July 20 Judge Woodrough extended the restraining order on CB&Q picketing by granting it injunction status. Woodrough also deputized one hundred men to assist United States Marshall Denis Cronin in enforcing the order.²¹

The antagonistic feelings between Havelock and the Burlington further intensified during the third week of the strike. The CB&Q installed searchlights on July 17 to protect the shops from sabotage. Mayor Edward Ballance and the town council sued the CB&Q to remove the lights. These local officials (nearly all were striking workers) deemed the searchlights "a public nuisance." Judge W. M. Mourning ruled for the Burlington, saying the "unnatural state of mind" present in Havelock justified the railroad's precaution.²²

William Thiehoff, general superintendent of the Burlington's west division, sent an open letter to Havelock on July 21. The letter warned that the railroad now considered not only scrapping proposed shop expansion, but also moving existing facilities. Burlington officials decried the town's efforts to remove the searchlights and the lack of protection for replacement workers. Thiehoff reminded Havelock officials that the federal injunction required local authorities to insure shop employees a safe workplace. Havelock

The Chicago, Burlington and Quincy Railroad

Is now employing men for its shops, roundhouses and repair tracks, at the standard wage and overtime conditions.

Machinists	70c	Per Hr.
Boilermakers	70c	Per Hr.
Blacksmiths	70c	Per Hr.
Electric and acetylene welders	75c	Per Hr.
Pipe fitters, tinners, plumbers, coppersmiths	70c	Per Hr.
Coach builders and finishers	70c	Per Hr.
Coach painters	70c	Per Hr.
Electricians	70c	Per Hr.
Electric crane operators	66c	Per Hr.
Car repairers	63c	Per Hr.
Brass molders	70c	Per Hr.
R. H. service men	40c	Per Hr.
Coach cleaners	34c	Per Hr.
Helpers	47c	Per Hr.
Firemen	60 3/4	Per Hr.
Laborers	33 1/2	Per Hr.
Apprentices	27c	Per Hr.
Sta. Engineers	66c	Per Hr.

Apply to O. E. Ward, at 212 North 7th Lincoln.

Standard wages and overtime conditions will be paid; hours to be those necessary for maintenance of the service.

Board and lodging, under ample protection, will be furnished.

Young active men desiring to go into railroad service will be given an opportunity for training in steady desirable employment.

Nebraska State Journal (Lincoln), July 20, 1922.

residents paid little attention to the Burlington's letter. The day after the letter was published in local newspapers, a mob of strikers ran several railroad security guards out of town. City Attorney Clifford Rein dismissed the threats as "old stuff," and stated local officials would not be responsible for assaults or vandalism on Burlington property while the searchlights remained.²³

In late July public restlessness continued to grow as no sign appeared that either the coal or rail strike would end soon. The Interstate Commerce Commission declared a national emergency on July 26. Coal supplies, already low on July 1,

dwindled even further as the movement of nonunion coal slowed following the shopcraft walkout. Mediation by the Harding administration in late July failed to settle the strike. Faced with declining prospects of a quick or successful resolution, the hardships of striking shopmen intensified. Burlington strikers began migrating to other company towns in Nebraska to search for work.²⁴

In early August violence erupted at several points on the Burlington line. A battle erupted in Wymore between strikers and police. Replacement workers were attacked in Alliance. Assaults and property damage against nonstriking CB&Q shopmen occurred in Havelock. Lancaster County Sheriff Ira Miller warned Mayor Ballance that if the violence continued, his officers would move in and restore civil order. Three days of riots by Burlington strikers gripped Lincoln between August 2 and August 4. Several crowds, from 150 to 1,000 strong, roamed the city, damaging the homes of CB&Q employees.²⁵ The proximity to the capital city and the size of the mob indicates participation in these riots by striking Havelock shopmen.

Repeated efforts in Washington to end the strike continued through mid-August. Sensing both the bargaining strength of the carriers and the frustration of the public, President Harding became steadily more open in criticizing the shop unions after the second week in August. Despite the flurry of activity in Washington, relative calm existed along the Burlington lines in Nebraska by mid-August. CB&Q officials stressed to the press that a near-normal operational level had returned in Nebraska. The company discharged several security guards at Wymore and Gibson. Construction of a new roundhouse would soon begin at Scottsbluff.²⁶

Despite improving conditions for the CB&Q some agitation still surfaced. Shots were fired into Alliance shops. Strikers forcibly prevented federal marshals from serving anti-injunction warrants at the Havelock Labor Temple. Threats of violence followed the CB&Q's August 28 announcement of plans to integrate Havelock

lock replacement workers into the community. Over five hundred new shopmen moved out of the temporary housing behind CB&Q fences to find living arrangements in Havelock. Local, state, and railroad officials all feared clashes between strikers and replacement workers. In an August 29 speech to Havelock residents, Governor McKelvie again threatened to use troops to maintain order. Havelock merchants now abandoned wholehearted support of the walkout and vowed to maintain local peace. Sheriff Miller swore in three Havelock merchants and four strikers to serve as town deputies. The move took place without incident.²⁷

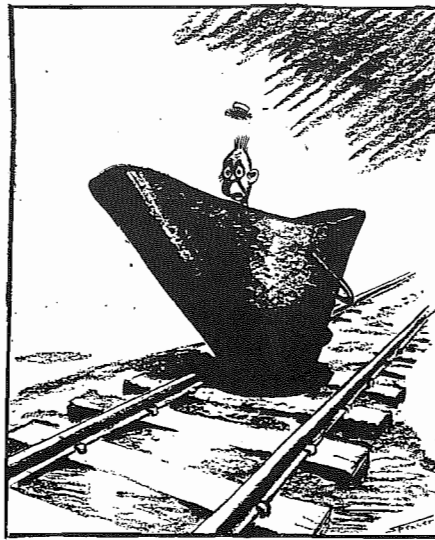
The strike lost steam rapidly throughout September. A more stringent federal antipicketing injunction took force on the first of the month. Union solidarity weakened substantially as shopcraft officials voted to settle separately with individual railroads. By mid-October over eighty roads signed new contracts with the unions, saving the seniority of 225,000 workers.²⁸

The Burlington remained a "hard-boiled" road in settling the strike. By early September, CB&Q President Hale Holden firmly stated that no agreements would be made with those who remained on strike after July 10. Concurrently, the Burlington proposed the formation of a "mechanical workers' association" to men in the Havelock shops. Strikers marched in Havelock on September 4 to protest the CB&Q's efforts to form a company union. On September 16 Holden announced the formation of a labor contract between management and the new shop employees. The contract held "important revisions in rules and working conditions," such as the prohibition of strikes. CB&Q official Edward Bracken may have been understating the obvious when he praised the "new spirit" existing between management and labor.²⁹

In early October of 1922 the Burlington announced plans to remove several operations from Plattsmouth to Havelock. The brass foundry would be transferred initially, to be followed by freight car repair shops and the lumber yard. CB&Q of-

ficials blamed anti-Burlington sentiment in Plattsmouth as the reason for the relocations.³⁰ Plattsmouth residents responded angrily to claims that the town did not support the railroad during the walkout. Community leaders and the local paper pointed to the activities in Havelock:

How this view can be reconciled with the attitude of the people of Havelock is hard to understand, as in that place there has been a great deal of hostility shown towards the railroad company and much more violence than was ever thought of here.³¹



Sunday World-Herald (Omaha), July 16, 1922. The effects of a national coal strike were heightened after the Burlington shopmen's walkout slowed the movement of nonunion coal.

In contrast to Havelock, few reports of harassment and assaults of replacement workers and security guards came from Plattsmouth. Nearly twenty Havelock strikers came before Judge Woodrough for violating federal injunctions. Only three Plattsmouth residents faced similar charges.³²

Havelock merchants had pledged strong support for the walkout, even after the assaults and property damage in early August. On July 8 over 125 businessmen and property owners and the town council endorsed a strike committee petition sent to the Burlington protesting the influx of strikebreakers. On August 6 local mer-

chants printed an open letter fully supporting the aims of the walkout. Their efforts to maintain calm came only after the strike lost steam and the governor threatened martial law. Not until late October were Havelock business owners willing to accept those working in the Burlington shops as permanent employees. Local churches were also strongly pronoun.³³ Although providing donations and extended credit to the strikers, Plattsmouth business leaders and ministers gave no such public support to the walkout, and they worked closely with striking shopmen from July 1 to prevent any escalation of violence.³⁴

Civic leaders in Havelock repeatedly expressed antagonism towards the Burlington, finally culminating in a lawsuit against the railroad. No similar pattern was observed for Plattsmouth. Local officials in Plattsmouth worked directly with CB&Q officials during the strike to begin construction of a new power plant for the shops and to redesign a part of the sewer system. During the walkout Burlington officials threatened to relocate Havelock operations while praising Plattsmouth's efforts to keep open company shops. After the announced move of some Plattsmouth facilities to Havelock in early October, the CB&Q began to criticize company support in Plattsmouth and praise Havelock's civic order.³⁵

In the end, the strike may have provided the CB&Q with a convenient screen for a long-proposed move. Rumors that the shops would be moved from Plattsmouth had been circulating prior to 1880, and the community's status along the CB&Q had been as assistant to Havelock for over twenty years.³⁶ A previous relocation of Plattsmouth's locomotive repair operations to Havelock occurred in 1911. The Burlington's conservative nature belied impulsive corporate decisions.³⁷ The railroad sought consolidation and worked to increase operational efficiency, especially after efforts to merge with the Great Northern and Northern Pacific began in 1901.³⁸

Despite evidence of overwork and crowded shops as early as 1901, the rail-

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road did not expand Havelock's operations until 1910 and only then after much debate.³⁹ Plans to move the locomotive facilities from Havelock to Denver began in the early 1920s. Havelock shops had again become overcrowded, and the railroad sought central facilities to serve both the west division of the CB&Q and the Southern and Colorado. Prior to the 1922 strike, construction began on \$2.5 million locomotive repair facilities in Denver.⁴⁰

The response of the communities of Havelock and Plattsmouth towards the strike appears to reflect not only the strength of ties with the unions, but also some perception of the value of their shops to the railroad. The actions of the strikers, especially in Plattsmouth, also appear to be partially based on the stability of their workplace in the Burlington system. Havelock's open agitation and strong community antagonism towards the railroad was due in part to the volume of business handled in those shops. Since 1910 the CB&Q had moved repair services from other sites to Havelock and completed major capital improvements in 1916. Recently initiated construction in Denver would remove the locomotive repair shops, but the CB&Q planned to consolidate car services for the west division of the railroad in Havelock.⁴¹ What the shopmen misjudged was the response of the nation, tired of concurrent coal and rail strikes; their fellow train brotherhoods, who declined to strike in support of the shopcrafts; the shopcraft union leadership, which left CB&Q strikers isolated after agreeing to separate settlement plans; and the support of the federal government for the aims of the railroads. Plattsmouth remained stable as an important service point along the Burlington, but the shopcrafts crumbled.

The calm nature of the walkout in Plattsmouth, both among strikers and the community, implies some understanding of their fragile status within a railroad bent on consolidating service points. The large capital expenditures at Havelock in 1916 and new construction in Denver in 1922 were not overlooked in Plattsmouth. The community and the local unions recog-

nized their role as helper to Havelock's operations would either be further reduced or eliminated. Violent anti-company actions would only provide the CB&Q a reason to remove train services. This restraint went unrewarded, however, as the CB&Q essentially eliminated union labor from the shops. Looking for communities with less radical shopcraft unions became a moot point for the Burlington. Relieved of having to worry about relations with organized labor, the consolidation of CB&Q shop services moved ahead based almost solely on management concerns. As a result, striking shopcraft workers in Plattsmouth either lost their jobs or resettled on company terms, and the community lost valuable resources and revenue.

Notes

¹ James C. Olson, *History of Nebraska* 2nd ed. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1966), 147; *History of Cass County, Nebraska*, Mary Skalak, project coordinator (Plattsmouth: Plattsmouth Journal, 1989), 19. The B&M began operating in Iowa in the 1860s. In January 1869 Congress approved the transfer to the B&M of all rights to link up with the Union Pacific at the 100th Meridian (near Kearney). A separate entity, the B&M in Nebraska, was incorporated on May 12, 1869. The B&M in Nebraska became part of the CB&Q on Jan. 1, 1880. Management was divided into two divisions, with the Missouri River as the midline. D. R. Burleigh, "The Burlington First Main Line," *Nebraska History* 18 (January-March 1937): 13; Thomas M. Davis, "Lines West: The Story of George W. Holdrege," Parts 1-3, *Nebraska History* 31 (March/June/September 1950): 111.

² *History of Cass County, Nebraska*, 16-17, 18-19; Robert F. Patterson, *The History of Plattsmouth, Nebraska, 1853 to 1900* (master's thesis, University of Nebraska, 1932), 124, 129-30, 135; Davis, "Lines West," 41. Dr. Livingston's efforts were rewarded with six city lots and he later became chief surgeon for the B&M in Nebraska.

³ Dale M. Bowman, *Plattsmouth* (Plattsmouth: King Korn Club, 1970), 33; *The City of Plattsmouth Illustrated, 1892*, 5, 13. The 1890 census in many Nebraska communities was inflated. Plattsmouth is recorded as having 8,392 but a closer estimate is 5,910. Edgar Z. Palmer, "The Correctness of the 1890 Census for Nebraska Cities," *Nebraska History* 32 (December 1951): 261.

⁴ Thomas M. Davis, "Building the Burlington Through Nebraska: A Summary View," *Nebraska History* 30 (December 1949): 324; Patterson, *History of Plattsmouth*, 156-59. Cass County was also in-

volved in the conflict between twenty-eight Nebraska counties and the Burlington over taxation of the railroad's federal land grants. Raymond H. Mattison, "The Burlington Tax Controversy in Nebraska Over the Federal Land Grants," *Nebraska History* 28 (April-June 1947): 110-31.

⁵ Patterson, *History of Plattsmouth*, 161-65, 167, 170; *History of Cass County, Nebraska*, 20.

⁶ *History of Cass County, Nebraska*, 20; Patterson, *History of Plattsmouth*, 175.

⁷ In 1869 the B&M had implied (but not legally mandated) that the Nebraska headquarters would remain in Plattsmouth. Patterson, *History of Plattsmouth*, 138, 177; Bowman, *Plattsmouth*, 38. The headquarters was moved to Lincoln in 1875 when all lines operated by the B&M were reorganized under one division. Following consolidation with the CB&Q in 1880, the headquarters of the Nebraska division was moved to Omaha. Davis, "Lines West," 107, 111; *History of Cass County, Nebraska*, 20.

⁸ Burleigh, "Burlington First Main Line," 16; Olson, *History of Nebraska*, 157, 162, 170, 172; Richard C. Overton, *Burlington Route: A History of the Burlington Lines* (New York: A. Knopf, 1965), 98, 115. The Lincoln Land Company was formed by Burlington officials to develop town sites and select lots along new CB&Q lines. Donald L. McMurry, *The Great Burlington Strike of 1888: A Case History in Labor Relations* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1956), 23. By 1900 Burlington official George W. Holdrege was considered by many the state's most influential political figure. Davis, "Lines West," 213.

⁹ Andrew J. Sawyer, ed., *Lincoln, The Capital City, and Lancaster County, Nebraska* (Lincoln, 1916), 301, 307, 322; Alfred J. J. Holck, *The Hub of the Burlington Lines West: Lincoln and the Lincoln Division of the Burlington Route* (David City: South Platte Press, 1991), 44, 84; James L. McKee, Edward F. Zimmer, and Lori K. Jorgensen, *Havelock, A Photo History and Walking Tour* (Lincoln: J. & Lee Co., 1993), 3; *History of Cass County, Nebraska*, 21.

¹⁰ John Stover, *American Railroads* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961), 178; Shelton Stromquist, *A Generation of Boomers: The Pattern of Railroad Labor Conflict in Nineteenth Century America* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1987), 65, 145. The lack of crews to man supply trains reduced the new building from over 700 miles of track in 1887 to less than 150 miles in 1888. Davis, "Lines West," 204.

¹¹ The unions that constituted the shopcrafts included machinists, boilermakers, blacksmiths, carmen, sheet metal workers, and electricians. David Montgomery, *The Fall of the House of Labor: The Workplace, the State and American Labor Activism, 1865-1925* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 366, 400; Selig Perlman and Philip Taft, *History of Labor in the United States, 1896-1932*, vol. 4, *Labor Movements* (New York: Macmillan and Company, 1935), 515; Stover, *American Railroads*, 191-92.

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¹² Perlman and Taft, *History of Labor*, 515-16; Mark Perlman, *The Machinists: A New Study in American Trade Unionism* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1961), 56-60; Joseph G. Rayback, *A History of American Labor* (New York: Macmillan and Company, 1959), 259; Francis Russell, *The Shadow of Blooming Grove: Warren G. Harding in His Times* (New York: McGraw Hill, 1969), 537.

¹³ Perlman and Taft, *History of Labor*, 519-20; *Omaha Morning Bee*, July 2, 1922; *Omaha World-Herald*, July 2, 1922.

¹⁴ Perlman and Taft, *History of Labor*, 519-21, 523; Russell, *Blooming Grove*, 545; Melvin Dubofsky and Warren Van Tine, *John L. Lewis, A Biography* (New York: Quadrangle, 1977), 85-86; Perlman, *Machinists*, 59; Rayback, *History of American Labor*, 293-94; Colin J. Davis, "Bitter Conflict: The 1922 Railroad Shopmen's Strike," *Labor History* 33 (Fall 1992): 433-55.

¹⁵ *Omaha Morning Bee*, July 2, 1922; *Omaha World-Herald*, July 2, 1922; *Lincoln Star*, July 2, 1922; *McCook Tribune*, July 3, 1922; *Plattsmouth Journal*, July 3, 1922.

¹⁶ *Omaha World-Herald*, July 2, 1922. Dubofsky and Van Tine, *John L. Lewis*, 84; *Lincoln Star*, July 4, 1922. Kimbrough's case against two striking shopmen was dismissed when he could not identify the defendants as his assailants. *Havelock Post*, July 13, 1922.

¹⁷ *Omaha World-Herald*, July 3, 4, 1922; *New York Times*, July 5, 1922; *Omaha Morning Bee*, July 5, 1922. According to McKelvie's itinerary he met with sixty-four of seventy-eight representatives that day from law enforcement, the railroads, and labor unions. Governor Samuel R. McKelvie papers, RG 1, SG 27, box 5, ser. 4, f. 3, Nebraska State Historical Society, Lincoln. Lt. Gov. Pelham Barrows took a more direct measure to control the strike by working as a Burlington guard. *Nebraska State Journal*, Aug. 12, 1922; *Lincoln Star*, July 3, 1922.

¹⁸ *Machinists Monthly Journal*, 34, no. 8 (August 1922): 531; *Omaha Morning Bee*, July 4, 1922; *Omaha World-Herald*, July 2, 7, 1922; *Plattsmouth Journal*, July 6, 1922.

¹⁹ *Omaha World-Herald*, July 5, 6, 9, 10, 1922. Support for the shopmen nearing retirement in crossing the picket lines varied among strikers. *Havelock Post*, July 20, 1922; *Plattsmouth Journal*, July 3, 1922; *Nebraska State Journal*, July 22, 1922; *Lincoln Star*, July 7, 1922.

²⁰ All replacement workers throughout Nebraska were housed in temporary shelters within CB&Q property. Only in Havelock was there much fear for their safety. *Lincoln Star*, July 10, 11, 1922; *Omaha Morning Bee*, July 11, 1922; *Omaha World-Herald*, July 11, 1922.

²¹ *Omaha World-Herald*, July 14, 15, 16, 21, 1922; Davis, "Bitter Conflict," 445-47. President Harding even threatened to use the army to prevent a nationwide shutdown.

²² *Havelock Post*, July 20, 1922; *Omaha Morning Bee*, July 19, 1922; *Lincoln Star*, July 17, 1922; *Omaha World-Herald*, July 17, Aug. 1, 1922.

²³ *Havelock Post*, July 27, 1922; *Omaha Morning Bee*, July 22, 24, 1922; *Lincoln Star*, July 20, 1922.

²⁴ Perlman and Taft, *History of Labor*, 521; Russell, *Blooming Grove*, 545; Dubofsky and Van Tine, *John L. Lewis*, 85-86; *Omaha Morning Bee*, July 26, 1922.

²⁵ *Lincoln Star*, July 31, Aug. 3, 4, 1922; *New York Times*, Aug. 5, 1922; *Omaha Morning Bee*, July 26, 29, 1922; Aug. 4, 5, 6, 1922; *Omaha World-Herald*, July 29, Aug. 5, 1922.

²⁶ *Omaha Morning Bee*, Aug. 18, 1922. Perlman and Taft, *History of Labor*, 521; Russell, *Blooming Grove*, 545; Andrew Sinclair, *The Available Man: The Life Behind the Masks of Warren Gamaliel Harding* (New York: Macmillan and Company, 1965), 257; Eugene Trani and David Wilson, *The Presidency of Warren Harding* (Lawrence: Regents Press of Kansas, 1977), 100.

²⁷ *Lincoln Star*, Aug. 28, 1922; *Nebraska State Journal*, Aug. 28, 1922; *Omaha World-Herald*, Aug. 27, 29, 30, 1922.

²⁸ Perlman and Taft, *History of Labor*, 522-23; Perlman, *Machinists*, 58-59; Trani and Wilson, *Presidency*, 100; Montgomery, *House of Labor*, 408; Rayback, *History of American Labor*, 292-94. Most of the 175,000 men still on strike October 31, 1922, succumbed to the reality of company unions.

²⁹ *Omaha World-Herald*, Sept. 2, 5, 8, 17, 19, 1922. Several shopcraft unions remained on strike as late as April 1924. *New York Times*, Apr. 6, 1924. The International Association of Machinists (IAM) did not end their walkout until May 14, 1924. Perlman, *Machinists*, 60. Settlement between the CB&Q and the IAM occurred in December of 1923, but not before the majority of machinists either quit the union or lost their jobs. *Machinists Monthly Journal* 35 no. 2 (February 1924): 80.

³⁰ *Omaha World-Herald*, Oct. 1, 1922; *Plattsmouth Journal*, Oct. 2, 1922. The CB&Q's consolidation plans sought to close old and inefficient facilities. Plattsmouth was considered among the least efficient shopsites and also possessed a pre-1890 round-house and turntable. After 1928 no additional passenger car work was done in Plattsmouth and by 1931, the freight car repair shops were closed. Rod Masterson, "Plattsmouth, Nebraska," *Burlington Bulletin* 16 (June 1985): 29, 36.

³¹ *Plattsmouth Journal*, Oct. 2, 1922.

³² *Ibid.*, July 21, 1922.

³³ *Havelock Post*, July 13, Oct. 19, 1922; *Nebraska State Journal*, Aug. 6, 1922; Special union services were held in Havelock parks on Sundays during the first two months of the walkout. One local minister claimed that if Jesus Christ were alive he would be a union member. *Havelock Post*, July 20, 1922. Havelock ministers even came to Plattsmouth to speak at union rallies. *Plattsmouth Journal*, Oct. 12, 1922.

³⁴ Union officials reminded Plattsmouth merchants in late July that special prices and extended credit had been offered striking shopmen in other locales. *Plattsmouth Journal*, July 24, 1922. Plattsmouth businesses did offer some support to those on picket lines, but moves toward opening the town to replacement workers to relieve the financial strain on local commerce were proposed in mid-September. *Ibid.*, Sept. 14, 1922.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, Aug. 10, 1922.

³⁶ Burlington vice-president Edward Bracken ironically praised Havelock for maintaining calm throughout the walkout during a visit in late October. *Havelock Post*, Oct. 26, 1922. In early July he stated that Havelock had been the scene of "mob violence." *Plattsmouth Journal*, July 10, 1922. The support of local merchants for the aims of the strikers was given as a major reason for the removal of Plattsmouth shops. *Ibid.*, Oct. 2, 1922.

³⁷ The constant presence of rumors about the removal of the shops led one skeptic to speculate: "If they're not careful, somebody will have the shops worn out dragging them around so much." Patterson, *History of Plattsmouth*, 117, 181.

³⁸ Overton, *Burlington Route*, 267, 280, 321.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 267.

⁴⁰ Holck, *Hub of the Burlington*, 84.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 94, 339.