

BRACEROS AND BUREAUCRACY: MEXICAN
GUEST WORKERS ON THE DELAWARE,
LACKAWANNA AND WESTERN RAILROAD
DURING THE 1940s

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The United States-Mexico Non-Agricultural Workers Agreement of April 29, 1943 permitted Mexican manual laborers, commonly known as *braceros*, to work on U.S. railroads and other non-agricultural endeavors during World War II in order to alleviate labor shortages. This program complemented a similar agreement between these two countries which had allowed Mexicans to work in U.S. agriculture. Researchers have focused their attention on guest workers in the agricultural program because they constituted 74 percent of total laborers. The railroad bracero component has also received less attention from scholars because of the sparse information that has been uncovered from local and unexplored archives. As Barbara Driscoll states, "Much relevant archival material remains in private company archives, mostly closed to researchers and probably unidentified."² Fortunately, the Steamtown National Historical Site, located in Scranton, Pennsylvania, houses the personnel files and company records of the Delaware, Lackawanna & Western Railroad, usually referred

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to as the Lackawanna Railroad. Documentation at Steamtown sheds light on the railroad bracero program and the work experiences of Mexican laborers, and serves as a critical lens when weighing the benefits and risks of future guest worker programs in the United States.³ The Lackawanna demonstrated how a railroad could meet the pressing demands of government agencies and private initiatives during wartime while treating its Mexican guest workers with dignity and respect.

The classic history of the Lackawanna is examined in Robert J. Casey and W.A.S. Douglas, *The Lackawanna Story: The First Hundred Years of the Delaware, Lackawanna and Western Railroad*. The authors highlight the founding of the Lackawanna by George Scranton, its capable leadership by presidents Sam Sloan, William Haines Truesdale, and William White, and its most enduring symbol, Phoebe Snow. The Lackawanna grew as the result of “mergers, consolidations, and purchases” in order to transport coal.⁴ The incorporation of the Ithaca and Owego (1828), Ligett’s Gap (1832), Morris and Essex (1835), Oswego and Syracuse (1839), Utica, Chenango and Susquehanna (1866), and Greene (1869) railroads helped to create one of the most important railroads in the northeast. The minutes from the 1925 board of managers for the Lackawanna included the following overview of the railroad’s expansion:

Some eighty years ago the founders of our Company acquired anthracite coal mines in Pennsylvania. In the course of their development, they built and acquired railroads over which to transport the coal to market. Practically all the coal lands were acquired and most of the rail lines comprising our system were built or leased prior to the year 1899.⁵

By 1944 its operations in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and New York included more than 973 miles of road, 525 miles of second main track, 122 miles of all other main track, and 874 yard tracks and siding, for a total of 2,495.90 track miles. The Lackawanna’s 396-mile line from Hoboken to Buffalo offered four passenger trains daily as well as several intermediate commuter passenger trains that connected to the main line. Its passenger service increased from nine million in 1940 to seventeen million in 1943.⁶ The Lackawanna generated gross revenue of \$81,380,394.58 in 1943, with income derived from the transportation of the following items in order of importance: merchandise, passengers, anthracite coal, bituminous coal, mail, and milk.⁷ The Lackawanna’s most enduring symbol, Phoebe Snow, stands as a testament to the railroad’s astute business and marketing skills. This “refined, Gibson

Girl-like personage clad in white” became an icon of American advertising. Her image and slogans touted the high standards of the railroad. For example, “Devoid of Fear with Roadbed Clear” flaunted the safety of the railroad. “For Day or Night They’re All Polite Upon the Road of Anthracite” assured passengers that the Lackawanna’s courteous staff valued its customers. “No Jar Annoys Miss Phoebe’s Poise” promised a smooth ride for passengers.⁸

The slow emergence of the U.S. economy after the Great Depression and the build up to World War II provided the Lackawanna with superb economic opportunities and challenges. The company’s 1940 annual statement to stockholders noted that “all expenses, taxes and other charges were fully earned” for the first time since 1931. It attributed the improvement in railroad traffic to “orders from abroad for war materials and . . . to buying by our own government for defense.”⁹ The 1941 annual report proudly announced that “freight business, exclusive of anthracite coal, measured both in relative tons and revenue ton-miles, was the highest in the history of the Company,



FIGURE 1: “The Delaware, Lackawanna and Western Railroad and Through Connections.” Source: Steamtown National Historic Site Archives, Scranton, PA. 1944 *Annual Report of The Delaware, Lackawanna and Western Railroad Company For the Year Ended December 31, 1944*. Reprinted by permission of Steamtown National Historic Site Archives.

surpassing that for 1926 which was the previous record." 1942 and 1943 proved to be even stronger years for the company in terms of both freight and passenger traffic."¹⁰

But the entrance of the United States into the war drained the domestic labor pool. Approximately 260,000 railroaders nationwide joined the armed services. In all, 1,519 and 1,641 former employees of the Lackawanna served in the armed forces during 1943 and 1944, twenty-three of whom had "made the supreme sacrifice." The Lackawanna also acceded to a request from the War department to sponsor a railway shop battalion and provide officer personnel.¹¹ Lackawanna president William White acknowledged that "the loss of these trained and experienced employees (sic) has been felt, and their replacement by new employees (sic) has been difficult. At the present time [1943] the most serious situation confronting the railroad is shortage of manpower."¹² According to a report filed by Robert C. Jones in 1945, "labor needs of all railroads indicated 98,940 unfilled jobs on July 1, 1944. Of these . . . 53,685 were for track men."¹³ In September 1943, Joseph B. Eastman, Director of the Office of Defense Transportation, stated, "unless vigorous remedies are undertaken at once by labor and management, with the assistance of the government, the country is headed for a crisis in railroad manpower."¹⁴

The special demands of the wartime economy made it necessary for railroad companies across the United States to secure labor from non-traditional sources.¹⁵ The Southern Pacific, for example, tried unsuccessfully to recruit nearly twenty-five hundred African Americans from the south. Director Eastman of the Office of Defense Transportation suggested that companies "enlist the services of women employees (sic) whenever they can fill the jobs" and that the federal government "attempt to get, through the War Manpower Commission, more Mexican workers for maintenance work." He even recommended the use of "war prisoners for work along tracks and roadbeds when necessary."¹⁶ Of all of these options, notes historian Barbara Driscoll, Mexican nationals would prove to be "the most cost effective and controllable source of labor" on U.S. railroads.¹⁷

U.S. Ambassador George S. Messersmith and Mexican Minister of Foreign Affairs Ezequiel Padilla represented their respective countries in the United States-Mexico Non-Agricultural Workers Agreement of 1943. One provision ensured that Mexican nationals could not be subjected to U.S. military service. Because Mexican officials had previously expressed concern about possible discrimination against braceros in the United States,

Employees Serving Their Country

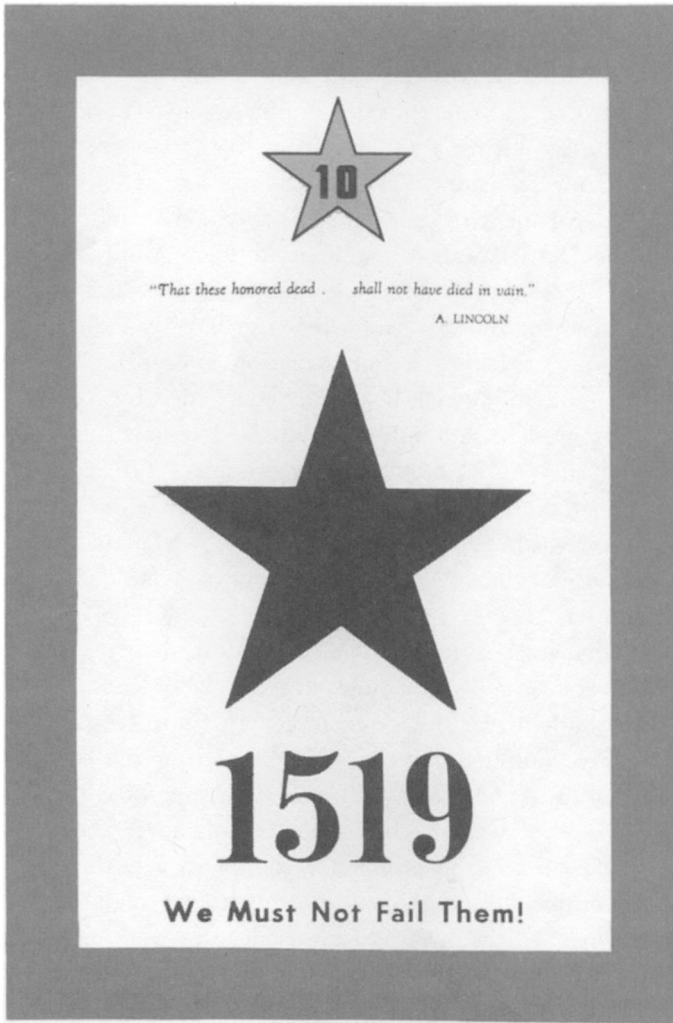


FIGURE 2: Lackawanna Employees Serving in the Armed Services (1519) and Fallen Soldiers (10) in 1943. Source: Steamtown National Historic Site Archives, Scranton, PA. "Employees Serving Their Country." *1943 Annual Report of The Delaware, Lackawanna and Western Railroad Company For the Year Ended December 31, 1943*. Reprinted by permission of Steamtown National Historic Site Archives.

another guideline stipulated that "sudden deportations, shoddy working conditions, and wages paid to Mexicans below that which prevailed for citizens would not be tolerated."¹⁸ Braceros were guaranteed transportation and a food stipend on their journey to and from the United States, and decent housing near their U.S. worksites. An additional proviso protected Mexicans against unemployment and underemployment; it guaranteed "90% full-time employment throughout their contract period and 75% for a specific pay period."¹⁹ All of these provisions were to be written into individual contracts and approved by both municipal and consular authorities in Mexico. The bracero was charged to "perform all work required of him with proper application, care and diligence during the term of the agreement under the direction and supervision of the employers."²⁰ Eventually, at the peak of the program in 1945, sixty-nine thousand Mexican nationals worked for thirty-five railroads in the United States. These railroads received workers proportionate to the size of their operations. Larger railroads such as the Southern Pacific and the Pennsylvania received forty-two hundred and thirty-two hundred braceros. Smaller railroads such as the Erie and the Lackawanna received 550 and 450.²¹

Recruitment in Mexico for the U.S. railroad bracero program began during the spring of 1943. The Mexican Government determined those areas of "surplus" Mexican day laborers and then extrapolated the number of laborers who could be recruited from Mexico without damaging the local economy. State governments in Mexico provided this information to local Mexican authorities who then issued *permisos* (permits) to Mexicans who expressed interest in working in the United States. Nationwide, most workers came from the following areas in order of importance: Mexico City, Zacatecas, Jalisco, Guanajuato, Michoacán, Durango, San Luis Potosí, and Zacatecas. When these men reported to their nearest recruitment center they were given physical examinations that included "x-rays of the lungs and digestive tract and a small pox vaccination."²² Those given a clean bill of health were assigned to a specific railroad in the United States and then issued a six-month contract. Written in both Spanish and English, each contract was sanctioned by the War Manpower Commission of the United States and by the Mexican Government. The War Manpower Commission then entered into an agreement with the railroad company that employed the bracero.²³

While some studies on Mexican railroad workers in the United States suggest that the agreements between rail employees and guest workers were poorly enforced, Lackawanna internal correspondence and payroll data show

that it attempted to implement these agreements in good faith. A 1945 memo from the U.S. Railroad Retirement Board to the Lackawanna states the general policy concerning contractual obligations. Railroads were required to:

Maintain daily time records for each Mexican worker, showing the number of hours worked, the number of hours absent from work for any cause and the cause of absence. Such records should be signed by the worker's foreman or other appropriate official, and such signature shall constitute a certificate that the cause recorded by the employer for an absence of the employee is true and correct, to the best knowledge and belief of the employer.²⁴

The Lackawanna constantly apprised the Railroad Retirement Board as well as the War Manpower Commission of all developments. Not surprisingly, these measures created a mountain of paperwork for the Lackawanna, which struggled to keep up with the managerial responsibilities of the program. Lackawanna personnel records for each employee included a copy of the contract signed in Mexico, U.S. social security information, and information on salary, pay period, and the specific job location of each worker on the rail line. The number of each contract was apparently derived from the last five digits of a worker's Social Security number. While the Lackawanna's small size may have helped the company monitor its 450 braceros more easily than larger railroads that employed thousands of workers, its sound financial practices and bookkeeping were legendary in the industry, due in large part to its president at the time William White, who was "particularly strong on finance."²⁵

Braceros for the Lackawanna worked at a variety of locations in New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania. The specific work locations of twenty-five braceros are available: four worked at Camp #6 in New York; three at the Hoboken Division; two each at East Buffalo, Buffalo, the Hoboken Terminal, the docks at Hoboken, the warehouse at Hoboken, Syracuse, and roadway department subdivision #5; and one each at the East Buffalo Engine House, East Bethany, division 2, and the docks in New York. (See Appendix A)

Most braceros worked as "maintenance of way workers," one of the most grueling jobs on the railroad. Trackmen, part of the railroad's maintenance-of-way forces, were essential to ensure that rails, ties, ballast, and similar components of the fixed plant remained in satisfactory operating condition. Their myriad responsibilities included track laying and surfacing, removing

snow, ice, and sand, repairing bridges, trestles, and culverts, and dismantling retired road property.²⁶ Workers used claw bars, spike mauls, and rail tongs to replace ties. Proper maintenance of ballast steadied the ties, distributed weight evenly, and aided drainage. Maintenance work was dangerous and demanding, and many rail workers nationwide suffered serious injury due to accidents and heat prostration.²⁷ Lackawanna guest-worker Miguel Vázquez P. was “involved in a track motor car accident” on August 17, 1944.²⁸ Railroad officials recognized these dangers and praised the hard work and skill of braceros. Spokesmen for the Erie Railroad, for example, claimed, “They broke in quickly on the tie tampering guns, placed rails, laid new rails, reballasted track and did other jobs like veterans. . . .”²⁹

The Hoboken terminal, located at the start of the Morristown line, had a passenger station, a storage yard for passenger cargo, as well as a roundhouse and repair shed. This important station had ten piers that connected to the terminal, each with special functions, such as coal dumping and the transfer of salt, cement, and oil.³⁰ Mexican workers assigned to this line such as Emilio Domínguez Sánchez probably loaded and unloaded freight cars, barges, and ships for transport elsewhere, and may have performed track maintenance duties. The East Buffalo yard, located on the extreme west end of the railroad, received and classified freight from six different railroads—the Nickel Plate, New York Central, Michigan Central, Wabush, Pere Marquette, and Canadian National Railroad—which was sometimes transferred to ships that sailed Lake Erie. The Lackawanna also had a passenger terminal in Buffalo as well as an extensive repair shop for box cars. Valente Escalera Pimentel, from Guerrero, Mexico, worked in Buffalo loading and unloading cars and ships as well as replacing rails and ties, and reballasting the track.³¹

Housing accommodations for braceros varied from dormitories to freight cars. Mexicans were supposed to “receive hygienic lodgings adequate to climate conditions in the region, of the type furnished domestic workers engaged in similar employment.”³² As Thomas Townsend Taber and Thomas Townsend Taber III noted,

Old passenger cars retired from revenue service were usually converted into dormitory or ‘bunk’ cars. They were also used as mess halls after suitable alterations had been made. Kitchen and food storage cars were usually rebuilt refrigerator or freight cars. Tool, supply, work and equipment cars were usually suitably modified old freight cars.³³

Accommodations generally included oil lamps and coal stoves for food preparation and illumination. Not surprisingly, rail companies claimed to provide comfortable living arrangements. According to the Erie Railroad Company its workers were lodged in “taverns” that were “stocked with food and supplied with cooks and caretakers—even little radios were provided to keep them in touch with the homeland.”³⁴ The Lackawanna made similar claims. Its Secaucus labor camp contained a dormitory with sixty cots, two recreation rooms, several storage facilities, a kitchen, a dining room, dressing rooms, and four bathrooms.³⁵

Many braceros in the United States had difficulty adjusting to weather conditions and food preparation. Mexicans sometimes arrived at work camps wearing light, warm-weather clothes that were ineffective against the cold nights and mornings on railroads in the northeast. According to Erasmo Gamboa, “Although each worker was entitled to bring seventy-seven pounds of personal effects from Mexico, in reality most arrived with little more than a change of clothes.”³⁶ Food allotments and meal preparation caused strife between braceros and employers. Mexicans typically faced three main problems concerning food provisions: overcharging, poor quality, and bland or unappealing meals. The terms of the agreement stated that “the price of food, when furnished by the employer through restaurant facilities, shall be deducted from wages and is not to cost more than similar service to domestic workers in like employment.”³⁷ Workers could buy food with their own money from outside sources if they preferred, but they were still charged \$1.20 per day for food they did not consume at the camp.³⁸ To combat this, some camps allowed Mexicans to cook their own meals while others taught cooks how to prepare Mexican dishes. Ultimately, the only sure way braceros could whet their appetite for Mexican food was if “they were transported to a distant Mexican market or if Mexican food were brought to them.”³⁹

According to the terms of the U.S.-Mexican agreement, braceros were to receive medical treatment comparable to American workers in similar employment. However, actual treatment and medical facilities varied from railroad to railroad. Some had their own infirmaries and others enrolled guest workers in a health care plan. The Lackawanna’s labor camp at Secaucus had a hospital facility with at least six beds. Many workers nationwide, however, were forced to use their own earnings to seek medical attention from private physicians on their own time. This usually meant losing all or part of a day’s work. Records indicate that Lackawanna worker Esteban Ríos Jaramillo was admitted to the New Jersey State Hospital at Morris Plains in 1944, though

it is unclear who paid for his treatment. However, there is some evidence that the Lackawanna may have been planning to hold wages against his hospital bill. He returned to Guanajuato, Mexico, upon his release. His wife later corresponded with railroad officials (requesting back pay) and stated that he "arrived and is now living with us and with the help of God I believe he is some (sic) better."⁴⁰ Keeping the Secaucus and Mount Morris labor camps stocked with adequate first aid supplies proved especially challenging for the Lackawanna. An internal memo written by Chief Engineer George A. Phillips in August 1944 noted the absence of first aid kits at these work sites. As the overseer of the railroad's maintenance-of-way forces he demanded immediate action, stating "We cannot afford to continue to take risks in applying First Aid at these camps, especially where Mexican National employes (sic) are concerned."⁴¹ This preoccupation to provide adequate medical attention for Mexican workers was consistent with the Lackawanna's award winning record for ensuring employee safety on the job. The railroad published its own "Safety Dope Sheet" to reduce accidents, created the position of "superintendent of safety," and became the Class B railroad with the fewest "reportable injuries per million man-hours worked" in 1949, earning the famous Edward H. Harriman Award for outstanding safety achievements.⁴²

Mexican guest workers also confronted a language barrier. Even though contracts were written in both English and Spanish their legalistic nature meant that "most of the men did not have a rudimentary understanding of the terms and conditions."⁴³ The Lackawanna frequently received letters written in Spanish from former workers and their family members in Mexico. In order to rectify this situation, the Lackawanna hired "Mr. Quintero" to translate this correspondence. However, officials at the Lackawanna always wrote in English when corresponding with Mexicans. For example, when Julián García Hernández wrote a letter in Spanish to the Lackawanna in 1951 claiming he was owed back pay, the railroad responded, "We have searched our records and regret to advise that we were unable to locate any unpaid wages to your credit."⁴⁴ Perhaps García had acquired sufficient English skills to understand the company's response; otherwise, he would have had to pay for a translator or rely on bilingual friends and family members.

Mexicans on U.S. railroads faced discrimination throughout the tenure of the railroad bracero program despite stipulations that Mexicans should not be sent to areas where prejudices ran rampant. Apparently, the United States federal government either lacked the will or the muscle to enforce this anti-discrimination measure. Obvious signs of discrimination included notices

14 de noviembre 44
 Purisima del Rincon

Mr. Jefe de la Ware Lackawanna and Western Railroad Company
 muy Señor mio le dirijo esta que espero no le sirva
 de molestia se digne tomar datos sobre la alluda de Brasos
 mios teniendo el No 28 para pasar el tiempo que se trabajaba
 y siendo yo trabajador del Campo No 6
 Cumplido mi Contrato sin dar molestias de ningún tamaño
 y sin faltar un dia
 De lo Contrario quedaron 5 dias que fueron los ultimos
 que trabajamos para la salida que fue para Mexico.
 y dejando mi Domicilio completo al Señor Felix Rios que
 es el encargado de la Comisaria ha sea el alludante del
 Golden
 pues el queda de encargado de Embiar el Sobrante a nuestro
 Domicilio. Pero esta la Fecha no se ostendio de esto nada en
 mis manos quise se sirva Localisar este Cheque que me
 es Comparcido y me lo embie a este Domicilio gracias por su atención
 S. Apdo. el Sr. J. Ysabel Rodríguez Z.
 Purisima del Rincon
 Esta Mexico
 y gracias por su atención

FIGURE 3: Letter in Spanish from J. Ysabel Rodríguez Z. to Lackawanna administrators requesting back pay. Source: Steamtown National Historic Site Archives, Scranton, PA. STEA 00033, Box 4, Folder 83. Reprinted by permission of Steamtown National Historic Site Archives.

BRACEROS AND BUREAUCRACY

December 11, 1944

Mr. J. Ysabel Rodriguez Z,
Parisima del Rincon, General Delivery,
Gto. Mexico.

Dear Sir:

Replying to your letter of November 14, in
regard to your last pay check.

As instructed by the War Manpower Commission,
under date of August 18, 1944, pay check covering
wages to your credit for half-month ending October 15,
1944, was deposited in the Wells Fargo Bank and Union
Trust Company, San Francisco, California, to your
credit in the account of the Banco del Ahorro Nacional,
S.A., and handled in the same manner as the 10% savings
fund deduction.

Yours truly,

J. Ysabel Rodriguez Z

FIGURE 4: Reply from Lackawanna Administrators to J. Ysabel Rodríguez Z. concerning back pay. Source: Steamtown National Historic Site Archives, Scranton, PA. STEA 00033, Box 4, Folder 83. Reprinted by permission of Steamtown National Historic Site Archives.

posted in certain towns that Mexicans were not welcome. Less obvious but equally hateful were common stereotypes of Mexican ‘greasers’ as thieves, dirty, disease-ridden, and immoral.⁴⁵ While it would be naïve to suggest that Mexicans who worked in rail yards from Hoboken to Buffalo escaped racial stereotypes prevalent in the America of the 1940s, the personnel files of the Lackawanna are absent of racial slurs and other indignities. Correspondence between rail officials and braceros or their family members is professional, business-like, and respectful. “Sir,” “respectfully yours,” “yours truly,” and “please and thank you” establish their tone. Railroad officials even referred politely to these workers in internal company memos.⁴⁶ For their part, Mexicans who corresponded with the Lackawanna also wrote gracious and polite letters such as the one by J. Ysabel Rodríguez Zermeno, which included the phrase “I write these few lines which I hope are in a matter of routine + not a bother to you. My number was 78 of Camp #6 + if you take the trouble to look up data of my contract you will find that I was not absent one single time + my contract fulfilled.”⁴⁷

Braceros sent significant portions of their paychecks to Mexico. Some post offices complained that they spent a good portion of their day sending money orders to that country.⁴⁸ Correspondence from Mexicans to railroad officials attests to the economic motivation of these guest workers. Jesús Suárez Del Real sent a letter to the Lackawanna requesting back pay for the wage increase of 1946: “I have my family all sick, and I am with [out] any money to pay the doctor, so you can imagine how can I be with no money neather good job (sic).”⁴⁹ Luis Castro Morales also attested to his penury when he wrote, “I find myself in a difficult situation because my wife is in the hospital as a result of a deficient operation and I do not have a job.”⁵⁰ Servidora Guadalupe Quintana Carmona, wife of former Lackawanna employee Esteban Ríos Jaramillo, wrote, “In addition to the many favors you have already extended, wish you (sic) would inquire about the last two weeks of pay due my husband. I am very much in need and could use the money.”⁵¹

A railroad was required to pay for a bracero’s repatriation to Mexico as long as he gave the company fifteen days’ notice. The typical stipend included transportation fees plus \$2.00 daily for food expenses. Companies were not required to pay travel expenses for a worker who returned “to Mexico on his own accord without giving his employer an opportunity to provide return transportation and subsistence.”⁵² But some braceros who returned to Mexico prior to the termination of their contracts tried to get the railroad to reimburse them. José Rivera Olivares, for example, deserted the Secaucus Labor

camp on September 7, 1945, nearly a month before his contract ended, but sought \$80.94 to cover transportation and food costs. Immigration officials confirmed that he crossed the border at Laredo, Texas, on September 14. The Lackawanna refused to pay these expenses and forwarded documentation on this case to John D. Coates, Chief of Rural Industries and Migratory Labor, as a means to thwart future claims by Rivera.⁵³

Desertion was not uncommon on railroads across America. Workers who abandoned their employment for more than seven consecutive days were reported to the closest War Manpower Commission office and to the Immigration and Naturalization Service. Railroad officials submitted forms that included the name of the employee, his social security number, and the last date of employment. For example, more than one hundred forty guest workers left their jobs at the Chicago, Burlington & Quincy railroad, a dusk-dawn route from Chicago to Denver, during the years of the bracero program. The Lackawanna had eight known desertions during the program. (See Appendix A) As with all employers of guest railway workers, the Lackawanna was "obliged to make every effort to assist in apprehending these men" or at least document that they had returned to Mexico.⁵⁴ When later contacted by railroad officials, employees gave several reasons for having broken their contracts. For instance, José Duarte Alcocer claimed he "was called back to Mexico [on] account of a death."⁵⁵ Another employee, Maximino Vega Gómez, stated that "he returned home on account of family trouble."⁵⁶ Antonio Hurtado Herrera deserted a labor camp at Mount Morris, New York, on the Buffalo branch, because his father passed away.⁵⁷

Even if a bracero had returned to Mexico before receiving his final paycheck, he could still request payment for services rendered. Most contacted the U.S. consul in Mexico and asked these U.S. officials to forward a request for payment to the corresponding U.S. railroad. Others communicated with the office of the Railroad Retirement Board in Mexico which "served about fifty repatriated railroad braceros daily who inquired about benefits, back pay, savings accounts, and other unresolved problems."⁵⁸ Some former braceros who worked for the New York Central claimed that they were never compensated.⁵⁹ There are no known examples wherein the Lackawanna failed to render back-pay to workers with legitimate claims.

In the event of a fatality, railroads were supposed to provide death benefits to family members in the amount of \$150.00 and to pay funeral expenses up to \$130.00. During the first years of the program the bodies of the deceased were returned to Mexico, but this proved both expensive

and difficult due to the bureaucracy involved in transporting corpses across international lines. Therefore, most railroads arranged burials for these workers in the United States and forwarded death certificates to next of kin in Mexico.⁶⁰ The Lackawanna followed protocol when Jesús Cabrera Maldonado died of natural causes at Columbus Hospital in New York City in August 1944. Once doctors notified the railroad company of Cabrera's demise, John G. Enderlin allocated death benefits in the amount of \$150.00. The Lackawanna also determined that Cabrera should receive an additional sum of \$73.31 for services rendered prior to death. The railroad then contacted the Mexican consul for assistance in locating Cabrera's beneficiaries, in this case his father and mother, Cliserio Cabrera and Teresa Maldonado de Cabrera.⁶¹ George A. Phillips, the chief engineer, then arranged for the transfer of \$223.31 to the Mexican Consul for subsequent issuance to the beneficiaries. The process took 11 days.⁶²

The Lackawanna had much to lose if it did not comply with the government's regulations concerning proper licensing of Mexican nationals. In addition to profiting enormously from wartime production and desirous to secure this source of productive and cheap labor, it also did not want to forfeit the five hundred dollar bond that it had secured for each guest worker. The bond agreement stated:

The employer or contractor shall issue a bond or constitute a deposit in cash in the Bank of Workers, or in the absence of same, in the Bank of Mexico, to the entire satisfaction of the respective labor authorities, for a sum equal to repatriation costs of the worker and his family, and those originated by transportation to point of origin.⁶³

This bond would be cancelled and the deposit returned to the employer once a bracero completed his work agreement and the Lackawanna proved that he had returned to Mexico. If a bracero deserted his job, the railroad company was still liable for the bond unless it could prove that he had returned to Mexico on his own. Bonds would be forfeited for each worker that the railroad could not locate in Mexico.⁶⁴ Of the seventy-eight records on braceros at Steamtown, seventy confirmed and documented the return of these workers to Mexico. (See Appendix A)

The Lackawanna worked with the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) to ensure that braceros repatriated to Mexico. Railroads including the Lackawanna employed various strategies to determine a former employee's

residency in Mexico so that bonds could be cancelled. A frequent tactic was to notify the consul in Mexico of back pay due to a worker in the hope that he would claim his final paycheck in person, thus proving his repatriation. Other railroad companies apparently went as far as to "organize house-to-house searches in Mexico City and some states to locate braceros who had returned on their own." Although the Lackawanna never resorted to such drastic measures, it did write additional letters to former workers and encouraged them to claim their funds if the Mexican consulate had not been able to locate them.⁶⁵ Once the bracero replied to this letter with his signature and current address in Mexico a check would be issued in his name and INS authorities would "accept the signature on the receipt of this money as evidence that the man has returned to Mexico, and release the Railroad Company of its bond obligation."⁶⁶ For example, after the railroad sent Maximino Vega Gómez a letter regarding his back wages, he requested that wages be sent to him at his current address in Mexico City. When this letter reached the company, officials used it to prove that they were now entitled to a release of their bond obligation. As chief engineer George A. Phillips wrote, "I would like to have the letter General Foreman Woods sent to you [J. G. Enderlin, longtime secretary and treasurer of the railroad] as it may be the means of releasing our bond obligation in this case which amounts to \$500."⁶⁷

As with letters sent to Mexico to verify the repatriation of workers who had fulfilled their contract, the Lackawanna devised a similar plan to determine the whereabouts of those Mexicans who had left their employment prior to fulfilling their contracts. Again, the motive for the Lackawanna was the recuperation of its five hundred dollar bond and the maintenance of its good working relationship with the INS. According to Lackawanna correspondence from Chief Engineer Phillips to E. T. Lederman, H. E. Jenkins, and C. R. Graham, the road masters at Hoboken, Mount Morris, and Syracuse, respectively, the railroad would "address letters to their homes, advising [the braceros] that if they will contact the writer by mail he will get the money to them, [and] on receipt of a reply, checks can be sent."⁶⁸ The War Manpower Commission specified how the Lackawanna should issue the final payment:

A check covering the total wages due all workers [must be sent] to the Wells Fargo Bank and Union Trust Company of San Francisco, California, for the account of the Banco del Ahorro Nacional, S.A. to be transferred to the personal account of each worker. Lists of wages due workers should be prepared and distributed.⁶⁹

The Lackawanna personnel file of Nicolás Hernández Flores demonstrates how this procedure worked on an individual basis. Chief Engineer Phillips sent a letter to Hernández regarding his back wages. Hernández, anxious to receive payment, supplied Phillips with his contract number (0-6243) and his current Mexican address. The Lackawanna then sent a letter to Mr. A. Matern Jr., Pro Cashier of Wells Fargo Bank and Union Trust Company in San Francisco:

We enclose herewith payroll draft #6416 for 12.38, covering wages earned under this company by Nicolas Hernandez Flores, Contract No. 10-6243, Mexican National, during the week ending January 25, 1945, which is to be credited to him in accordance with the endorsement thereon.⁷⁰

Following standard practice, Wells Fargo credited the Banco de México, S.A., which in turn credited the individual account of Nicolás Hernández Flores in the Banco del Ahorro Nacional, S.A. [Mexican National Savings Bank].⁷¹ As Appendix B demonstrates, the amount of money owed to braceros varied from \$223.31 to \$1.50; the average sum was \$27.74. The Lackawanna also received and retained receipts from Wells Fargo Bank ensuring the final destination of the funds. Whether or not Mexico's banking system actually made these funds available to Mr. Hernández cannot be determined from this documentation. From the perspective of the Lackawanna, it had located and paid its former employee, and had complied with its legal and moral obligations.

The procedure for crediting funds to bracero bank accounts in Mexico was not without its share of failures and miscues. Problems arose with workers' contract numbers and identification information. In May 1945, the Lackawanna forwarded money to Wells Fargo on behalf of two Mexican nationals, but neglected to include their contract numbers. Four months later, the Mexican National Savings Bank sent a letter to the railroad requesting that information, which the Lackawanna provided two weeks later. Mexican banks sometimes recorded braceros' contract numbers incorrectly, which made it difficult if not impossible for workers to obtain their back pay, as was the case with Fernando Delgadillo García. Other discrepancies arose when a worker and the railroad disagreed over services rendered. When J. Ysabel Rodríguez Zermeno requested back pay in 1946, for example, the Lackawanna replied that he had already been paid for his services and that they could substantiate their claim with bank receipts.⁷²

Wells Fargo Bank & Union Trust Co.
Market at Montgomery
San Francisco 20

SAN FRANCISCO, 2/26/46

We Credit and Advise
Banco de Mexico, S. A.
Mexico, D. F.
Mexico

\$ 29.61

Twenty-nine & 61/100- - - - - Dollars

Received in Letter of 2/20/46 From
Delaware, Lackawanna & Western R. R.
Company, Treasury Department, New York,
a/c Banco del Ahorro Nacional, S. A.,
a/c wages due Guadalupe Garcia Chabez
during last half of September 30, 1945.

(ADVICE FOR)

R. L. WALLACE, CASHIER

PER *[Signature]*

In receiving checks, drafts, notes or other paper on deposit or for collection, this Bank shall transmit the same in the usual manner for collection, either to the bank or person on which the same shall be drawn, or to such banks or persons as it shall deem reliable. This Bank assumes no responsibility for the negligence, acts, omissions or failure of any direct or indirect collecting agents, which agents shall be deemed agents of the depositor and not of this Bank, nor for loss of items in transit or from any other cause whatever. This Bank or any collecting agent may receive payment of all items in cash or by check or draft on others, and neither this Bank nor any collecting agent shall be liable for the dishonor of any such checks or drafts or for losses thereon. Any credit allowed for items on this or any other bank or party is only provisional, and until the proceeds thereof, in money, shall have been actually received by this Bank, and found good at the close of the day's business, such items may be charged back to the depositor's account, regardless of whether or not the item itself can be returned.

I. M. 6 15M 4-45

FIGURE 5: Wells Fargo Bank & Union Trust Co. Receipt of Deposit into Banco de México, S.A. on behalf of Guadalupe García Chávez. Source: Steamtown National Historic Site Archives, Scranton, PA. STEA 00033, Box 4, Folder 101. Reprinted by permission of Steamtown National Historic Site Archives.

Although braceros were entitled to the same wages as U.S. domestic laborers who performed similar work, abuses throughout the United States were rampant. According to Driscoll, some braceros who worked on the Southern Pacific made anywhere from four to forty cents an hour. The Lackawanna, however, seems to have complied with this stipulation. Personnel files contain information on salaries. Workers received pay slips, written in both Spanish and English, which included their pay date, gross earnings, deductions for federal taxes, as well as additional deductions for the Railroad Retirement Board [RRB]. As Driscoll notes, "Deductions for the RRB were taken from each bracero's checks and deposited in the RRB's general account along with the deductions from other railroad workers' checks."⁷³ This deduction functioned as a retirement fund for these braceros. Since braceros could not have access to these retirement funds while residing in the United States, the money had to be sent to them in Mexico. At the conclusion of the guest worker program, the Department of State notified the Mexican government that it would release accumulated deductions which in 1946 amounted to six and three-quarter million dollars.⁷⁴ Federal tax deductions included a "Victory Tax," which was "A small universal payroll deduction instituted for the duration of the war ..."⁷⁵ The pay slip for Lackawanna worker Guadalupe García Chávez indicated that his gross bi-weekly earnings were \$34.13, that he paid \$3.41 in federal taxes, and that he had an additional \$1.11 deducted for the Railroad Retirement Board.⁷⁶

Per the international decree, ten percent of a bracero's total wages were to be deposited into his account in the Mexican National Savings Bank, and could only be retrieved upon his return to Mexico. Accordingly, a railroad had to wire the funds to the Wells Fargo banks in either San Francisco or Chicago, which would transfer the money to the Banco de México, which would transfer the funds into a bracero's individual account at the Mexican National Savings Bank.⁷⁷ The financial scope of this forced savings fund program was impressive. Mexican railroad workers' wages in 1944 totaled sixty-three million dollars, which means that about six million three hundred thousand dollars would have been deposited in Mexican Banks.⁷⁸

This savings plan served four purposes: 1) it assured that Mexican workers would save at least ten percent of their earnings; 2) it forced Mexicans to return to their country in order to receive these funds; 3) it helped railroads retrieve their five hundred dollar bond; and 4) it provided U.S. officials with the names of the Mexicans who now resided illegally in the United States. In correspondence with the Lackawanna, officials from the Mexican National Savings Bank assured railroad administrators that it would "credit

each individual worker's savings account with the equivalent amounts that have been deducted as per your statements as soon as we receive credit advice from the Banco de Mexico, S.A."⁷⁹

Wages for braceros increased on April 3, 1946 when an arbitration board awarded a 16 cent per hour wage increase retroactive to January 1. Therefore rail workers were also required to receive pay adjustments for their labor during the previous three months.⁸⁰ This rate hike, probably intended to quell union demands, had positive effects for non-unionized Mexican laborers since they too benefited from the new hourly wage. Moreover, all railroad employees, including braceros, both presently working or now residing in Mexico, were entitled to receive this retroactive pay hike. This wage increase created a bureaucratic nightmare for the railroads, since they were required to compensate current employees as well as former employees who had worked any time after January 1 and had left their jobs—even those who had returned to Mexico. Not surprisingly, many repatriated Mexicans heard about this economic windfall and initiated correspondence with the railroad. The case of former Lackawanna employee José Contreras Barragán proved typical. Contreras' 1946 letter in Spanish to the Lackawanna stated:

I am duly informed that all the workers, who lent our services to the Railroad companies of that country, have had an increase of salary ... effective from the first of January of this current year. Since I lent my services to you all the month of January and until the 12th of February, I would appreciate your sending me, any way you consider best, and to the address shown on the upper left hand side, the sum which I am entitled to, of the retroactive salaries.⁸¹

Secretary and Treasurer J. G. Enderlin verified that Contreras had indeed worked during those dates and was owed \$56.59. He then sent a memo to Chief Engineer Phillips and inquired if this money should be sent to the Wells Fargo Bank following the same protocol established for funding the ten percent savings fund. Phillips answered that Enderlin should "Kindly forward to the Wells Fargo bank in the usual manner. . . ."⁸² Receipts in Contreras' file indicate that the Lackawanna sent money to Wells Fargo, which forwarded the funds to the Banco de México, which were in turn credited to his account in a Mexican National Savings Bank. After these preliminary steps had been taken, the Lackawanna notified Contreras: "in due course you can obtain same from the Banco Del Ahorro Nacional, S.A., Mexico City, Mexico."⁸³ The process took ten business days.

The actual transference of money seems to have gone awry sometime between its arrival at the Banco de México and its deposit in individual accounts at the Mexican National Savings Bank. While receipts at the Lackawanna demonstrate the transferal of money to Wells Fargo and then to financial institutions in Mexico, the archival trail ends there.⁸⁴ The case of Pablo García García serves as an example. García sent a letter to the Lackawanna on August 26, 1946 requesting retroactive pay for services rendered. He provided his contract number, address in Mexico, temporary U.S. residence, and the date of his employment at the railroad. Upon verification of these facts, the Lackawanna sent \$55.16 to Wells Fargo on September 18, which should have been forwarded to Banco de Mexico and then credited to García's account in the Mexican National Savings Bank. The railroad received a receipt for the exchange from Wells Fargo on September 23. But seven days later the Lackawanna received a second and stern letter from García demanding payment. The Lackawanna sent him a letter on November 4 stating that it had already deposited the money into his account and that it was a closed issue. Correspondence from the Mexican National Savings Bank to the Lackawanna on October 11 suggested that ineptitude rather than malfeasance was to blame in this particular case: the bank mistakenly placed the \$55.16 into García's ten percent savings fund account rather than into the wage increase fund.⁸⁵ To this day, however, many former braceros claim they never received their savings funds. Three hundred thousand former braceros and their descendants filed a class action lawsuit in March 2001 against Wells Fargo and three Mexican banks in an attempt to recuperate five hundred million dollars of savings and interest. Wells Fargo claims it forwarded all corresponding funds to Mexican banks. The banks allege to have paid braceros their money.⁸⁶ The Lackawanna is not mentioned in any lawsuit.

Appendix B contains financial information from the seventy-eight case files that make reference to wages and payment processes. Sixty-four concern back pay, twelve the retroactive wage increase, three the mandatory savings fund, and one the payment of death benefits.⁸⁷ The folders include receipts for sixty-eight checks that were issued to Wells Fargo, sixty-seven acknowledgments from Wells Fargo that money transfers had been sent to Banco de México, sixty-seven confirmations from the Banco de México that money had been forwarded to the Banco del Ahorro, and eighteen letters from the Banco del Ahorro to Lackawanna officials.

The United States-Mexico Non-Agricultural Workers Agreement of April 29, 1943 was formally concluded on March 1, 1947. The U.S. government expressed



FIGURE 6: Mexican Workers on the Erie Railroad, 1944. Source: *Erie Railroad Magazine* (December 1944), 3.

"its sincere appreciation of the wholehearted and effective cooperation of your [Mexico] Government and of the very great services rendered by the workers."⁸⁸ The U.S. Navy awarded the Lackawanna a Certificate of Achievement in 1946 acknowledging the role it played "during the war and during the demobilization period in moving millions of naval personnel."⁸⁹ With so many Americans fighting abroad, notes Jones, braceros "helped keep the railroads operating effectively."⁹⁰

Scholars and U.S. government officials, past and present, have given the bracero experiment mixed reviews. In the early 1940s, Joseph B. Eastman, director of the Office of Defense Transportation, and W. H. Kirkbride, chief engineer of the Southern Pacific, recognized the economic expediency of the program: to alleviate labor shortages and keep the railroads running at peak performance.⁹¹ Politicians such as Spruille Braden, the acting secretary of state, acknowledged its important political repercussions: greater cooperation between Mexico and the United States during World War II. Americans preoccupied with border security hoped that this initiative would curb the flow of illegal immigrants or "wetbacks" who "infiltrated in such uncontrollable numbers."⁹² Critics of the program in the 1940s, such as Norman Thomas, the chairman of the Post-War

World Council, claimed that Mexican braceros in railroad camps were “badly housed and fed, given deficient medical care and exploited.”⁹³ Recent scholars, such as Ronald Mize, note that the original guidelines of the agreement were not followed and that braceros also received insufficient salaries and suffered unjust deductions from their paychecks. Other skeptics of the program blamed braceros for displacing American workers after the war.⁹⁴

Unbeknownst to many Americans, the U.S. currently (2007) sponsors a guest worker program called the H-2. As with the previous bracero program, there are two subdivisions of this initiative: H-2A workers are employed by agricultural companies and H-2B workers are employed by non-agricultural employers, mainly those in industry. H-2 workers are also guaranteed to work at least 75 percent of the hours stated in their contracts. As with the bracero program, employers are required to demonstrate the existence of a labor shortage in their area in order to qualify for guest workers. Mostly a regional program with workers in California, North Carolina, Florida, and Louisiana, about one hundred twenty-one thousand guest workers were employed in the United States in 2005.

But there are also significant differences between the bracero program of the 1940s and the modern H-2 version. Approximately 74 percent of workers are presently employed in non-agricultural endeavors such as forestry, food processing, and construction, and only 26 percent in agriculture.⁹⁵ Unlike the 1940s, current guest laborers must pay travel and visa costs to the United States. There are also no formal regulations regarding housing, and workers are sometimes subjected to substandard housing and living conditions without legal recourse. The problems inherent in the H-2 guest worker program are similar to those that bedeviled the bracero agreement of the 1940s. Workers have little or no recourse if they are mistreated on the job. They endure long periods away from family and social networks. The language barrier continues, and many H-2 workers who do not speak English face increased hostility from native-born Americans who fear that the English language has been diminished in importance. Some H-2 workers assert that they do not receive their full wages and that their paychecks do not reflect accurately the number of hours worked. Others claim to receive shoddy medical attention and to have limited health benefits or none at all.⁹⁶

In response to calls for immigration reforms, concerns about America's porous borders, and efforts to secure cheap labor, President George W. Bush proposed the establishment of a new guest worker program in 2004. His proposal shares many similarities with the bracero program of the 1940s. It would, as in the past, afford guest workers the same protection as domestic

workers and even establish a savings fund to provide guest workers with an incentive to return to their country of origin in order to receive their full salary. The major difference between the new and original bracero program is that workers would now be able to apply for U.S. citizenship and residency.⁹⁷ In this way, states Bush, this plan “will make America a more compassionate and more humane and stronger country” and “there will be more efficient management of our borders and more effective enforcement against those who pose a danger to our country.”⁹⁸ Unfortunately, partisan divisions concerning this issue are likely to continue, as suggested by the current inability of politicians even within the same political party to agree on effective solutions to the nation’s economic and security needs. Immigration reform and a viable guest worker program will likely become one of the first battles between the newly inaugurated president in 2009 and the Congress.⁹⁹

Conclusion

Mexican guest workers alleviated wartime labor shortages and helped fuel the U.S. railroad industry during the 1940s. The United States-Mexico Non-Agricultural Workers Agreement of 1943 regulated every aspect of this program. Workers recruited in Mexico were guaranteed travel expenses, decent wages, proper housing, and medical attention while residing temporarily in the United States. Railroad officials in the United States worked closely with the INS and other agencies to insure the repatriation of Mexicans after their contracts had expired. Failure to do so resulted in the forfeiture of a five hundred dollar bond per worker. Records at the Steamtown National Historic Site in Scranton, PA, reveal the challenges faced by American railroads and Mexican guest workers. The Lackawanna profited from efficient Mexican labor, but had to grapple with the complicated bureaucracy inherent in the bi-national agreement. Braceros secured high paying U.S. jobs, but had to adjust to a different and sometimes hostile culture. Salary disputes became commonplace and were exacerbated by mechanisms intended to insure repatriation, such as the ten percent savings fund which could only be recuperated by workers upon their return to Mexico. Retroactive pay raises and remuneration to guest workers who had deserted their job assignments created additional headaches for railroad officials. Despite these complications, braceros and officials at the Lackawanna maintained amicable relations and recognized the mutual benefits of this program. Employers of guest workers in the future would do well to emulate the efficiency and professionalism of the Lackawanna.

Appendix A: Vital Statistics

Name	Date Worked on DL&W	Work Location on DL&W	Returned To Mexico	Desertion?	Location In Mexico	Bracero's Spanish Letter Translated In File?	Injury?	Death?
Román Balderas Becerra	Unknown	Hoboken Terminal	Yes	No	Pabellón, Ags.	Unknown	No	No
Nicolás Hernández Flores	Unknown	Unknown	Yes	No	Mexico City	Unknown	No	No
Luis Hernández Olivares	Unknown	Unknown	Yes	No	Pabellón, Ags.	Unknown	No	No
Eligio Romero Fuentes	Unknown	Unknown	Yes	No	Mexico City	No	No	No
José Duarte A.	Unknown	Hoboken Terminal-Docks	Yes	Yes	Pond, California, USA*	No	No	No
Guadalupe Ayala Castro	Unknown	Hoboken Division	Yes	No	Michoacán	No	No	No
Arnulfo Ramírez Cabrera	Unknown	Hoboken Division	Yes	No	Michoacán	No	No	No
Luis Castro Morales	Unknown	East Buffalo Enginehouse	Yes	No	Azacapozalco	No	No	No
Inocencio Gutiérrez Valdez	Unknown	Hoboken City-Warehouse	Yes	Yes	Unknown	No Letter	No	No
José Luis Cortez Salazar	Unknown	Unknown	Yes	No	Unknown	No Letter	No	No

Appendix A: Viral Statistics

Name	Date Worked on DL&W	Work Location on DL&W	Returned To Mexico	Desertion?	Location In Mexico	Bracero's Spanish Letter Translated In File?	Injury?	Death?
José Naranjo Aguilar	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	No	Unknown	No Letter	No	No
Isidro Abarca Sánchez	Unknown	Unknown	Yes	No	Jalisco	Unknown	No	No
Valente Escalabra Pimentel	Unknown	East Buffalo	Yes	No	Guerrero	No Letter	No	No
Emilio Domínguez Sánchez	Unknown	Hoboken Terminal	Yes	Yes	Puebla/Tlaxcala	No Letter	No	No
Maximino Vega G.	Unknown	Unknown	Yes	No	Unknown	No Letter	No	No
José Lázaro R.	Unknown	Unknown	Yes	Yes	Mexico City	No	No	No
Cipriano Millán S.	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Yes	Unknown	No Letter	No	No
Manuel Enríquez Fragosa	Unknown	Camp #6, New York	Yes	No	Jalisco	No	No	No
Eusebio Enríquez Fragosa (brother of above)	Unknown	Camp #6, New York	Yes	No	Jalisco	No	No	No
J. Ysabel Rodríguez Z.	Unknown	Camp #6, New York	Yes	No	Guanajuato	Yes	No	No

Appendix A: Vital Statistics

Name	Date Worked on DL&W	Work Location on DL&W	Returned To Mexico	Desertion?	Location In Mexico	Bracero's Spanish Letter Translated In File?	Injury?	Death?
Eliseo Ochoa Grover	Unknown	Unknown	Yes	No-Contract Cancellation	Mexico City	No Letter	No	No
Leodegario Rosas Gutiérrez	Unknown	Unknown	Yes	No	Unknown	No Letter	No	No
J. Rodríguez H.	Unknown	Unknown	Yes	No	Unknown	No Letter	No	No
Filiberto Romo E.	Unknown	Unknown	Yes	No	Unknown	No Letter	No	No
Andrés Gómez G.	Unknown	Unknown	Yes	No	Unknown	No Letter	No	No
Severo Sánchez-Ruelas	Unknown	Unknown	Yes	Yes	Aguascalientes	No Letter	No	No
José Vázquez M.	Unknown	Unknown	Yes	No	Unknown	No Letter	No	No
Ramón H. Magallanes	Unknown	Unknown	Yes	No	Unknown	No Letter	No	No
Rosendo Reyes F.	Unknown	Unknown	Yes	No	Unknown	No Letter	No	No
Vicente I. Manchuca	Unknown	Unknown	Yes	No	Unknown	No Letter	No	No
Carlos A. Amado	Unknown	Unknown	Yes	No	Unknown	No letter, but one written on his behalf from Banco Del Ahorro	No	No

Appendix A: Vital Statistics

Name	Date Worked on DL&W	Work Location on DL&W	Returned To Mexico	Desertion?	Location In Mexico	Bracero's Spanish Letter Translated In File?	Injury?	Death?
Heftali Aguilar N.	Unknown	Unknown	Yes	No	Unknown	No Letter	No	No
Daniel G. Andrade	Unknown	Unknown	Yes	No	Unknown	No Letter	No	No
Miguel Vázquez P.	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	No	Unknown	No	Yes	Unknown
Esreban Ríos Jaramillo	Unknown	Unknown	Yes	No	Unknown	Yes	Unknown- Was in Hospital	No
Apolonio Ibarre Villagómez	Unknown	Unknown	Yes	No	Mexico City	No Letter	No	No
Anasasio Ortega Solos	Unknown	Unknown	Yes	No	Durango	No Letter	No	No
Eusebio Medina Guerrero	Unknown	Unknown	Yes	No	Guanajuato	No Letter	No	No
Maximino Muñoz Mendoza	Unknown	Unknown	Yes	No	Mexico City	No Letter	No	No
Crecencio Bautista-Tenorio	Unknown	Unknown	Yes	No	Mexico City	No Letter	No	No
Sixto Ibarra Ruiz	Unknown	Unknown	Yes	No	Jalisco	Yes	No	No

Appendix A: Viral Statistics

Name	Date Worked on DL&W	Work Location on DL&W	Returned To Mexico	Desertion?	Location In Mexico	Bracero's Spanish Letter Translated In File?	Injury?	Death?
Miguel Otero Gutiérrez	Unknown	Unknown	Yes	No	Guanajuato	No Letter	No	No
Jesús Rodríguez A.	Unknown	Unknown	Yes	No	Guanajuato	No Letter	No	No
Vicente Ordóñez P.	Unknown	Unknown	Yes	No	Mexico City	No Letter	No	No
Nabor González S.	Unknown	Unknown	Yes	No	Michoacán	No Letter	No	No
Lázaro Delgadillo Rodríguez	Unknown	Unknown	Yes	No	Mexico City	No Letter	No	No
José Fuentes Díaz	Unknown	Unknown	Yes	No	Jalisco	No Letter	No	No
Alfonso Hernández Alvarez	Unknown	Unknown	Yes	No	Mexico City	No Letter	No	No
Francisco Albrizo Salcedo	Unknown	Unknown	Yes	No	Mexico City	No Letter	No	No
José Angel Fernández-Díaz	Unknown	Unknown	Yes	No	Jalisco	No Letter	No	No
Luis Rodríguez Reynosa	Unknown	Unknown	Yes	No	Aguascalientes	No Letter	No	No

Appendix A: Vital Statistics

Name	Date Worked on DL&W	Work Location on DL&W	Returned To Mexico	Desertion?	Location In Mexico	Bracero's Spanish Letter Translated In File?	Injury?	Death?
Jesús Cabrera Maldonado	Unknown	East Bethany, NY	N/A	No	Unknown	No Letter	No	Yes
Manuel Torres-Fuentes	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	No	Guanajuato	No Letter	No	No
Gustavo Zúñiga-Olivo	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	No	San Luis Potosí	No Letter	No	No
Augustín Andrade Barragán	Unknown	Sub-Division No.5, Roadway Department	Yes	No	Unknown	No Letter	No	No
Guadalupe García Chávez	Unknown	Division 5	Yes	No	Unknown	No Letter	No	No
Luis Jasso Juárez	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	No	Unknown	No Letter	No	No
Isabel Rodríguez Zermeno	Unknown	Division 2	Yes	No	Guanajuato	Yes-But No Letter	No	No
Fernando Delgadillo García	Unknown	Unknown	Yes	Yes	Mexico City	Yes	No	No
Antonio Hurtado Herrera	Unknown	East Buffalo	Yes	Unknown-Probable	Zacatecas	Yes	No	No
José Contreras Barragán	Unknown	New York, NY Docks	Yes	No	Zacatecas	Yes	No	No

Appendix A: Vital Statistics

Name	Date Worked on DL&W	Work Location on DL&W	Returned To Mexico	Desertion?	Location In Mexico	Bracero's Spanish Letter Translated In File?	Injury?	Death?
Jesús Cabello Olguín	Unknown	Buffalo, NY: Camp #2 and Hoboken, NJ: Camp #4	Yes	No	Mexico City	Yes	No	No
Eleno Escobar Landeros	Unknown	Track Division #6 East Buffalo	Unknown- presumably	No	Unknown	No	No	No
Venustiano Sorelo Flores	Unknown	Unknown	Yes	No	Cuernaraca Morelos	Yes	No	No
Pablo García García	Unknown	Syracuse, NY Camp #4	Yes	No	Cd. García	Yes	No	No
Aurelio Zepeda Muro	Unknown	Syracuse, NY Camp #4	Yes	No	Zacatecas	Yes	No	No
Néstor Correa Flores	Unknown	Hoboken City, Marker at Warehouse of Camp 4	Yes	No	Tacuba, D.F.	Yes	No	No
José Rivera Olivares	Unknown	Unknown	Yes	Yes	Unknown	No	No	No
Salvador Mercado Medina	Unknown	Unknown	Yes	No	Zacatecas	Yes	No	No
Manuel Cabral Cabral	Unknown	Unknown	Yes	No	Zacatecas	Yes	No	No

Appendix A: Vital Statistics

Name	Date Worked on DL&W	Work Location on DL&W	Returned To Mexico	Desertion?	Location In Mexico	Bracero's Spanish Letter Translated In File?	Injury?	Death?
Carmelo Mercado Sierra	Unknown	Unknown	Yes	No	Zacatecas	No	No	No
Jesús Suárez Del Real	August 1945-February 1946	Buffalo, NY, and Hoboken Docks	Yes	No	Jalisco	Yes	No	No
Benjamín Guillén Rodríguez	Unknown	Unknown	Yes	No	Zacatecas	No	No	No
Isabel Hernández Barrios	Unknown	Unknown	Yes	No	Zacatecas	No	No	No
Manuel Vázquez Rubio	Unknown	Unknown	Yes	No	Zacatecas	Yes	No	No
Eleuterio Cruz Cruz	Unknown	Unknown	Yes	No	Mexico City	Yes	No	No
Alberto Lara Q.	Unknown	Unknown	Yes	No	Unknown	No	No	No
Julían García Hernández	Unknown	Unknown	Yes	Unknown	Zacatecas	Yes	No	No

*Address given by bracero

Appendix B: Financial Information

Name	Requesting Back Pay, Wage Increase, or 10% Savings Fund	Amount Requested	Sent to Wells Fargo	Receipt From Wells Fargo	Money Sent to Banco De Mexico	Money Sent To Banco Del Ahorro, S.A.	Acknowledgement that Banco Del Ahorro S.A. Received the Funds	Letter From DL&W Informing Bracero that Funds Were Received
Román Balderas Becerra	Back Pay/ Savings Fund	\$17,56	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Unk.
Nicolás Hernández Flores	Back Pay	\$12,38	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
Luis Hernández Oliveres	Back Pay	\$44,91	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
Eligio Romero Fuentes	Back Pay	\$73,48	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Unk.
José Duarte A.	Back Pay	\$25,42	Unk.	No	Unk.	Unk.	No	Unk.
Guadalupe Ayala Castro	Back Pay	\$6,54	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Unk.
Arnulfo Ramírez Cabrera	Back Pay	\$1,69	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Unk.
Luis Castro Morales	Back Pay	\$143,45	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes

Appendix B: Financial Information

Name	Requesting Back Pay, Wage Increase, or 10% Savings Fund	Amount Requested	Sent to Wells Fargo	Receipt From Wells Fargo	Money Sent to Banco De Mexico	Money Sent To Banco Del Ahorro, S.A.	Acknowledgement that Banco Del Ahorro S.A. Received the Funds	Letter From DL&W Informing Bracer that Funds Were Received
Inocencio Gutiérrez Valdez	Back Pay	\$14.01	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
José Luis Cortez Salazar	Back Pay	\$18.84	Unk.	No	Unk.-unclear	Yes	No	No
José Naranjo Aguilar	Back Pay	\$20.14	Yes	No	Yes	Unk.-unclear	No	Yes
Isidro Abarca Sánchez	Back Pay	\$126.59	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes- Tells them to pick it up at Banco Del Ahorro S.A.- Unclear
Valente Escalabra Pimentel	Back Pay	\$2.10	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No
Emilio Domínguez Sánchez	Back Pay	\$1.69	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
Maximino Vega Gómez	Back Pay	\$2.86	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No

Appendix B: Financial Information

Name	Requesting Back Pay, Wage Increase, or 10% Savings Fund	Amount Requested	Sent to Wells Fargo	Receipt From Wells Fargo	Money Sent to Banco De Mexico	Money Sent To Banco Del Ahorro, S.A.	Acknowledgement that Banco Del Ahorro S.A. Received the Funds	Letter From DL&W Informing Bracero that Funds Were Received
José Lázaro Ramírez	Back Pay	\$34.95	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No
Cipriano Millán S.	Back Pay	\$10.23	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No
Manuel Enriquez Fragosa	Back Pay	Unk.	Unk.	No	Unk.	Unk.	No	Yes
Eusebio Enriquez Fragosa- (brother of above)	Back Pay	Unk.	Unk.	No	Unk.	Unk.	No	Yes
J. Ysabel Rodríguez Z.	Back Pay	Unk.	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
Eliseo O. Grover	Back Pay and Savings Fund	\$22.04	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No
Leodegario Rosas Gutiérrez	Back Pay	\$10.39	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No

Appendix B: Financial Information

Name	Requesting Back Pay, Wage Increase, or 10% Savings Fund	Amount Requested	Sent to Wells Fargo	Receipt From Wells Fargo	Money Sent to Banco De Mexico	Money Sent To Banco Del Ahorro, S.A.	Acknowledgement that Banco Del Ahorro S.A. Received the Funds	Letter From DL&W Informing Bracero that Funds Were Received
J. Rodríguez H.	Back Pay	\$17.05	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No
Filiberto Romo E.	Back Pay	\$12.32	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No
Andrés Gómez G.	Back Pay	\$13.32	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
Severo Sánchez- Ruales	Back Pay	\$2.02	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
José Vázquez M.	Back Pay or Savings Fund, Unclear	\$6.54	Yes	Yes-Unclear in Amt. For next 7 All in Same Receipt	Yes	Yes	No	No
Ramón H. Magallanes	Back Pay or Savings Fund, Unclear	\$1.50	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No
Rosendo Reyes E.	Back Pay or Savings Fund, Unclear	\$3.19	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No

Appendix B: Financial Information

Name	Requesting Back Pay, Wage Increase, or 10% Savings Fund	Amount Requested	Sent to Wells Fargo	Receipt From Wells Fargo	Money Sent to Banco De Mexico	Money Sent To Banco Del Ahorro, S.A.	Acknowledgement that Banco Del Ahorro S.A. Received the Funds	Letter From DL&W Informing Bracero that Funds Were Received
Vicente I. Manchuca	Back Pay or Savings Fund, Unclear	\$9.04	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No
Carlos A. Amado	Back Pay or Savings Fund, Unclear	\$16.04	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Heftali Aguilar N.	Back Pay or Savings Fund, Unclear	\$2.51	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No
Daniel G. Andrade	Back Pay or Savings Fund, Unclear	\$2.51	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No
Miguel Vázquez P.	Back Pay or Savings Fund, Unclear	\$3.39	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No
Esreban Ríos Jaramillo	Back Pay	\$50.82	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No
Apolonio Ibarre Villagómez	Back Pay	\$18.71	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes

Appendix B: Financial Information

Name	Requesting Back Pay, Wage Increase, or 10% Savings Fund	Amount Requested	Sent to Wells Fargo	Receipt From Wells Fargo	Money Sent to Banco De Mexico	Money Sent To Banco Del Ahorro, S.A.	Acknowledgement that Banco Del Ahorro S.A. Received the Funds	Letter From DL&W/ Informing Bracero that Funds Were Received
Anastasio Ortega Solos	Back Pay	\$19.41	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
Eusebio Medina Guerrero	Back Pay	\$2.02	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Unk.
Maximino Muñoz Mendoza	Back Pay	\$19.22	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
Crecencio Bautista- Tenorio	Back Pay	\$16.22	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
Sixto Ibarra Ruiz	Back Pay	\$14.88	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
Miguel Otero Gutiérrez	Back Pay	\$5.35	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
Jesús Rodríguez A.	Back Pay	\$9.88	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
Vicente Ordoñez P.	Back Pay	\$16.79	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes

Appendix B: Financial Information

Name	Requesting Back Pay, Wage Increase, or 10% Savings Fund	Amount Requested	Sent to Wells Fargo	Receipt From Wells Fargo	Money Sent to Banco De Mexico	Money Sent To Banco Del Ahorro, S.A.	Acknowledgement that Banco Del Ahorro S.A. Received the Funds	Letter From DL&W Informing Bracero that Funds Were Received
Nabor González S.	Back Pay	\$3.19	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
Lázaro, Delgadillo Rodríguez	Back Pay	\$14.93	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
José Fuentes Díaz	Back Pay	\$13.36	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
Alfonso Hernández Alvarez	Back Pay	\$3.13	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
Francisco Albrizo Salcedo	Back Pay	\$3.19	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
José Angel Fernández-Díaz	Unk.	\$15.96	No	No	Unk.	Unk.	No	No
Luis Rodríguez Reynosa	Back Pay	\$2.02	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
Jesús Cabrera Maldonado	Death Benefits/ Back Pay/10% Savings Fund	\$223.31	Unk.*	No	Unk.	Unk.	No	No

Appendix B: Financial Information

Name	Requesting Back Pay, Wage Increase, or 10% Savings Fund	Amount Requested	Sent to Wells Fargo	Receipt From Wells Fargo	Money Sent to Banco De Mexico	Money Sent To Banco Del Ahorro, S.A.	Acknowledgement that Banco Del Ahorro S.A. Received the Funds	Letter From DL&W Informing Bracero that Funds Were Received
Manuel Torres-Fuentes	Back Pay	\$3.19	No	No	No	No	No	No
Gustavo Zúñiga-Olivo	Back Pay	\$6.02	No	No	No	No	No	No
Augustín Andrade Barragán	Back Pay	\$30.46	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No
Guadalupe García Chávez	Back Pay	\$29.61	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No
Luis Jasso Juárez	Unk.	\$32.58	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No
Isabel Rodríguez Zermeno	Back Pay	\$27.64	Yes	No	Unk.	Unk.	No	No
Fernando Delgadillo García	Back Pay	\$31.74	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes

Appendix B: Financial Information

Name	Requesting Back Pay, Wage Increase, or 10% Savings Fund	Amount Requested	Sent to Wells Fargo	Receipt From Wells Fargo	Money Sent to Banco De Mexico	Money Sent To Banco Del Ahorro, S.A.	Acknowledgement that Banco Del Ahorro S.A. Received the Funds	Letter From DL&W Informing Bracero that Funds Were Received
Antonio Hurtado Herrera	Back Pay	\$39.44	No	No	No	No	No	No
José Contreras Barragán	Retroactive Wage Increase	\$56.59	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Jesús Cabello Olguín	Retroactive Wage Increase	\$22.85	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
Eleno Escobar Landeros	Back Pay	\$22.61	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
Venustiano Sotelo Flores	Back Pay	\$61.26	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
Pablo García García	Retroactive Wage Increase	\$55.16	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Aurelio Zepeda Muro	Retroactive Wage Increase	\$50.53	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Néstor Correa Flores	Back Pay	\$16.22	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No
José Rivera Olivares	Back Pay	\$16.04	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No

Appendix B: Financial Information

Name	Requesting Back Pay, Wage Increase, or 10% Savings Fund	Amount Requested	Sent to Wells Fargo	Receipt From Wells Fargo	Money Sent to Banco De Mexico	Money Sent To Banco Del Ahorro, S.A.	Acknowledgement that Banco Del Ahorro S.A. Received the Funds	Letter From DL&W Informing Bracero that Funds Were Received
Salvador Mercado Medina	Retroactive Wage Increase	\$56.51	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Manuel Cabral	Retroactive Wage Increase	\$54.89	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Carmelo Mercado Sierra	Retroactive Wage Increase	\$52.58	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Jesús Suárez Del Real	Retroactive Wage Increase	\$61.76	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Benjamín Guillén Rodríguez	Retroactive Wage Increase	\$57.51	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Isabel Hernández Barrios	Retroactive Wage Increase	\$53.73	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Manuel Vázquez Rubio	Retroactive Wage Increase	\$52.07	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

Appendix B: Financial Information

Name	Requesting Back Pay, Wage Increase, or 10% Savings Fund	Amount Requested	Sent to Wells Fargo	Receipt From Wells Fargo	Money Sent to Banco De Mexico	Money Sent To Banco Del Ahorro, S.A.	Acknowledgement that Banco Del Ahorro S.A. Received the Funds	Letter From DL&W Informing Bracero that Funds Were Received
Eleuterio Cruz Cruz	Retroactive Wage Increase	\$24.78	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Alberto Lara Q.	Back Pay	\$5.54	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
Julían García Hernández	Back Pay	Unk.	No	No	No	No	No	No

*Cases involving a bracero's death may have been handled through the Mexican Consul.

NOTES

1. The authors wish to thank the Office of Research Services at the University of Scranton for providing financial assistance, and Patrick McKnight, historian and archivist at Steamtown National Historic Site Archives in Scranton, PA, Susan L. Poulson, professor of history at Scranton, and the *Pennsylvania History* readers for their valuable suggestions.
2. Barbara Driscoll, *The Tracks North: The Railroad Bracero Program of World War II* (Austin: Cmas Books, 1999), 138; Mae M. Ngai, *Impossible Subjects: Illegal Aliens and the Making of Modern America* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004).
3. Driscoll *The Tracks North*, 13; James A. Sandos and Harry E. Cross, "National Development and International Labour Migration: Mexico, 1940-1965," *Journal of Contemporary History* 18 (January 1983): 57.
4. Robert J. Casey and W.A.S. Douglas, *The Lackawanna Story: The First Hundred Years of the Delaware, Lackawanna and Western Railroad* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1951), 55.
5. Casey and Douglas, *The Lackawanna Story*, 56, 65, 73, 91, 93, 151.
6. Erie Lackawanna Historical Society, "Lackawanna," Erie Lackawanna Historical Society, <http://erielackhs.org/Lackawanna/LACKHOME.html> (accessed September 6, 2007); *Annual Report of the Delaware, Lackawanna and Western Railroad Company for the Year Ended December 31, 1944*, 24.
7. *Annual Report of the Delaware, Lackawanna and Western Railroad Company for the Year Ended December 31, 1944*, 9. The Lackawanna received additional income from incidental revenue, other revenue from transportation, and the transportation of express.
8. Karl Zimmermann, "Delaware, Lackawanna & Western Railroad," in *Encyclopedia of North American Railroads*, William D. Middleton, George M. Smerk, and Roberta L. Diehl, eds. (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2007), 352; Casey and Douglas, *The Lackawanna Story*, 176-77.
9. *Annual Report of the Delaware, Lackawanna and Western Railroad Company for the Year Ended December 31, 1940*, 4.
10. *Annual Report of the Delaware, Lackawanna and Western Railroad Company for the Year Ended December 31, 1941*, 3; *Annual Report of the Delaware, Lackawanna and Western Railroad Company for the Year Ended December 31, 1942*, 3; *Annual Report of the Delaware, Lackawanna and Western Railroad Company for the Year Ended December 31, 1943*, 3.
11. The Lackawanna battalion completed its training in Louisiana and received "the highest rating of any unit that had gone through the camp." See Casey and Douglas, *The Lackawanna Story*, 164.
12. *Annual Report of the Delaware, Lackawanna and Western Railroad Company for the Year Ended December 31, 1943*, 8; *Annual Report of the Delaware, Lackawanna and Western Railroad Company for the Year Ended December 31, 1944*, 8.
13. Robert C. Jones, *Mexican War Workers in the United States: The Mexico-United States Manpower Recruiting Program and Its Operation* (Washington: Pan-American Union; Division of Labor and Social Information, 1945), 26-27, 64; Francis J. O'Connell, "Last Mexicans Leaving City After War Job," *Buffalo Courier Express*, February 17, 1946; Driscoll, *The Tracks North*, 61.
14. "Manpower Crisis Faces Railroads, Eastman Moves to Avert It," *New York Times*, September 5, 1943, 23, ProQuest.

15. Thomas Townsend Taber and Thomas Townsend Taber III, *The Delaware, Lackawanna & Western Railroad in the Twentieth Century, 1899–1960* (Muncy, Pa.: Thomas T. Taber III, 1980), 1:120.
16. "Mexican Workers Wanted by Railroad: Southern Pacific Sees Vital Shortage of Laborers," *New York Times*, July 21, 1942, 28, ProQuest; "Manpower Crisis Faces Railroads, Eastman Moves to Avert It," 23.
17. Driscoll, *The Tracks North*, 13.
18. "Migratory Workers," April 29, 1943, *United States Statutes at Large* 57 Stat. 1353, Executive Agreement Series 376, 1137.
19. Peter N. Kirstein, *Anglo Over Bracero: A History of the Mexican Worker in the United States from Roosevelt to Nixon* (San Francisco: Robert D. Reed and Adam S. Eterovich, 1977), 25; Sandos and Cross, "National Development and Migration," 53.
20. Jones, *Mexican War Workers*, 30, 25; Kirstein, *Anglo Over Bracero*, 28, 25.
21. Driscoll, *The Tracks North*, 144–45. Though published reports mention 450 braceros on the Lackawanna, this paper focuses on the seventy-eight braceros who had separate files or significant paperwork at Steamtown. Documentation does not include the specific job descriptions performed by guest workers such as "extra gang men" and "section men."
22. Jones, *Mexican War Workers*, 6–7; Sandos and Cross, "National Development and Migration," 54; Steamtown National Historic Site Archives, STEA 00033, Box 4 Delaware, Lackawanna & Western Railroad Personnel Files (Hereafter Steamtown), folders 66–116; Sandos and Cross, "National Development and Migration," 44; Steamtown folders 66–116; Jones, *Mexican War Workers*, 28. As Appendix B notes, fifty three out of seventy-eight workers' home towns are identified in the documentation.
23. Jones, *Mexican War Workers*, 30; Kirstein, *Anglo Over Bracero*, 28; "Migratory Workers," 1138; Jones, *Mexican War Workers*, 25.
24. Steamtown, folder 66, position 25; Ronald L. Mize, "Reparations for Mexican Braceros? Lessons Learned from Japanese and African Attempts at Redress," *Cleveland State Law Review* 52 (2005): 286.
25. Taber and Taber, *The Delaware, Lackawanna & Western Railroad*, 1:120; Steamtown, folder 66, Position 21; Driscoll, *The Tracks North*, 139.
26. "Association of American Railroads Ad," *Trains* 5 (July, 1945): 2; Taber and Taber, *The Delaware, Lackawanna & Western Railroad*, 1:121; Driscoll, *The Tracks North*, 117. The authors were unable to locate documentation on the interaction of regular maintenance-of-way workers and guest workers. For a complete list of maintenance-of-way responsibilities, see *Annual Report of the Delaware, Lackawanna and Western Railroad Company for the Year Ended December 31, 1944*, 24 and *Annual Report of the Delaware, Lackawanna and Western Railroad Company to the Interstate Commerce Commission for the Year Ended December 31, 1940*, section 561 "Employees, Service, and Compensation," 520–21.
27. See Mark Aldrich, "Public Relations and Technology: The 'Standard Railroad of the World' and the Crisis in Railroad Safety, 1897–1916," *Pennsylvania History* 74 (Winter 2007): 74–104; Taber and Taber, *The Delaware, Lackawanna & Western Railroad*, 1:121; Driscoll, *The Tracks North*, 117; *The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language*, 4th ed. s.v. "Ballasting"; <http://dictionary.reference.com/browse/Ballasting> (accessed October 18, 2007); Robert E. Tuzik,

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- "Maintenance-of-Way," in *Encyclopedia of North American Railroads*, 639–59; Brian Solomon, "Maintenance-of-Way Machinery," in *Encyclopedia of North American Railroads*, 659–61.
28. Steamtown, folder 87, position 3; other guest workers died of ailments such as tuberculosis, meningitis, heart disease, tooth infections, and appendicitis. See Kirstein, *Anglo Over Bracero*, 39.
29. *Erie Railroad Magazine* 1 (August, 1944): 6.
30. Taber and Taber, *The Delaware, Lackawanna & Western Railroad*, 2:741–42, 722.
31. Steamtown, folder 78, position 3; Taber and Taber, *The Delaware, Lackawanna & Western Railroad*, 1:222; Steamtown, folder 79, position 5; Taber and Taber, *The Delaware, Lackawanna & Western Railroad*, 1:221, 223; 2:736, 424–31.
32. Jones, *Mexican War Workers*, 37.
33. Taber and Taber, *The Delaware, Lackawanna & Western Railroad*, 2:712.
34. *Erie Railroad Magazine*, 22; Driscoll, *The Tracks North*, 106, 112; Jones, *Mexican War Workers*, 37; Taber and Taber, *The Delaware, Lackawanna & Western Railroad*, 2:716, 712.
35. Steamtown National Historic Site Archives, STEA 00709 – STEA 6961. Box-1.DL&W R.R. Engineering Files, (Hereafter Steamtown Engineering Files) folder 5359, position 6.
36. Erasmo Gamboa, *Mexican Labor & World War II: Braceros in the Pacific Northwest, 1942–1947* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1990), 96, 96–97; Jones, *Mexican War Workers*, 33.
37. Jones, *Mexican War Workers*, 37.
38. Ronald Lee Mize, "The Invisible Workers: Articulations of Race and Class in the Life Histories of Braceros" (PhD diss., The University of Wisconsin, Madison, 2000), 242.
39. Kirstein, *Anglo Over Bracero*, 36.
40. Steamtown, folder 88, position 4, 5; Steamtown, folder 66, position 20; Jones, *Mexican War Workers*, 37; Steamtown Engineering Files, folder 5359, position 6.
41. Steamtown Engineering Files, folder 5151.
42. Taber and Taber, *The Delaware, Lackawanna & Western Railroad*, 1:124.
43. Gamboa, *Mexican Labor & World War II*, 51; Kirstein, *Anglo Over Bracero*, 24, 105.
44. Steamtown, folder 116, position 1; Steamtown, folder 110, position 7; Steamtown, folder 116, position 6; Steamtown, folders 66–116. In all, eighteen such letters are included or alluded to in Lackawanna documentation at Steamtown. Quintero's first name is not mentioned in company records.
45. Nelson Gage Copp, "'Wetbacks' and Braceros: Mexican Migrant Laborers and American Immigration Policy, 1930–1960" (PhD diss., Boston University Graduate School, 1963), 19, 23, 64.
46. Steamtown, folder 116, position 4; Steamtown, folder 114; *The Pocket List of Railroad Officials*, vol. 57. no. 1. (New York: Railway Equipment and Publication Co., 1951), s.v. "Delaware, Lackawanna, and Western," 465.
47. Steamtown, folder 83, position 2.
48. Some sources suggest that braceros sent as much as eighty percent of their paychecks to family members in Mexico. *Erie Railroad Magazine*, 7; Mize, "Invisible Workers," 194.
49. Steamtown, folder 114, position 6.
50. Steamtown, folder 74, position 8, translated by the authors.
51. Steamtown, folder 88, position 5.

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52. Steamtown, folder 112, position 2–3.
53. Steamtown, folder 112, positions 2–3; Steamtown, folder 112.
54. Steamtown, folder 66, position 23; Kirstein, *Anglo Over Bracero*, 39; Jones, *Mexican War Workers*, 39; Driscoll, *The Tracks North*, 101; Steamtown, folder 66, position 27; PBS, “People & Events: The Burlington Zephyr,” http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/amex/streamliners/peopleevents/e_zephyr.html (accessed September 11, 2007).
55. Steamtown, folder 72, position 3; Steamtown, folder 66, position 23.
56. Steamtown, folder 80, position 6.
57. Steamtown, folder 105, position 4, 1.
58. Driscoll, *The Tracks North*, 90, 116, 94.
59. Kirstein, *Anglo Over Bracero*, 39.
60. Driscoll, *The Tracks North*, 117–18; Jones, *Mexican War Workers*, 38.
61. Driscoll, *The Tracks North*, 117; Steamtown, folder 98, positions 4 and 2; *The Pocket List*, 422.
62. Steamtown, folder 98, positions 1 and 2; *The Pocket List*, 422. Documentation does not list the location of Cabrera’s burial.
63. Sandos and Cross, “National Development and Migration,” 53.
64. Ibid; Jones, *Mexican War Workers*, 30.
65. Driscoll, *The Tracks North*, 157; Steamtown, folder 66, position 20.
66. Steamtown, folder 66, position 20.
67. Steamtown, folder 80, position 3; *The Pocket List*, 422.
68. Steamtown, folder 66, position 23; *The Pocket List*, 422.
69. Steamtown, folder 66, position 33.
70. Steamtown, folder 68, positions 2 and 3.
71. Steamtown, folder 68, position 1.
72. Steamtown, folder 103; Steamtown, folder 73; Steamtown, folder 104.
73. Driscoll, *The Tracks North*, 163–64; “Migratory Workers” [*United States Statutes at Large* 57 Stat. 1353], 1139; Kirstein, *Anglo Over Bracero*, 25; Driscoll, *The Tracks North*, 64; Jones, *Mexican War Workers*, 11.
74. Driscoll, *The Tracks North*, 164; “Agreement between the United States of America and Mexico respecting Mexican non-agricultural workers; termination of the agreement of April 29, 1943, and refund of deductions from salaries under the Railroad Retirement Act. Effected by exchange of notes signed at Washington November 15, 1946; entered into force November 15, 1946,” November 15, 1946, *United States Statutes at Large* 61 Stat. 3575, 3576; Jones, *Mexican War Workers*, 31.
75. Driscoll, *The Tracks North*, 70.
76. Steamtown, folder 101, position 3.
77. “Migratory Workers” [*United States Statutes at Large* 57 Stat. 1353], 1140–41; Jones, *Mexican War Workers*, 39; Driscoll, *The Tracks North*, 104.
78. Jones, *Mexican War Workers*, 39.
79. Steamtown, folder 115, position 1; Kirstein, *Anglo Over Bracero*, 25; Driscoll, *The Tracks North*, 104.
80. A. C. Kalmbach, “Rail Wages Upped 16¢,” *Trains* 6 (May, 1946), 7; Pennsylvania Railroad Technical and Historical Society, “PRR Chronology 1946” Pennsylvania Railroad Technical

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- and Historical Society, <http://www.prrths.com/Hagley/PRR1946%20Sep%2004.wd.pdf> (accessed October 19, 2007).
81. Steamtown, folder 106, position 7; Kalmbach, "Rail Wages Upped 16¢," 7.
82. Steamtown, folder 106, position 5; Ibid, position 6.
83. Steamtown, folder 106, position 3; Steamtown, folder 105, position 1; Steamtown, folder 106, position 2; Steamtown, folder 106.
84. For examples of letters sent from Mexico's Banco del Ahorro to the Lackawanna that confirm the transference of money, see Steamtown, folders 73, 66.
85. Steamtown, folder 110, position 9, 1, 3, 6, 2.
86. "Suit Seeks Back Pay for Mexican Guest Workers During 1940s," *Houston Chronicle*, June 13, 2002, 17; "Justice Is on Our Side': Wartime Mexican Workers to Fight On for Benefits," *Houston Chronicle*, August 30, 2002, 9; Pam Belluck, "Mexican Laborers in U.S. During War Sue for Back Pay," *New York Times*, April 29, 2001, 1.
87. Some workers were simultaneously owed money for their savings funds, retroactive wage increases, and even death benefits and, for that reason, the total number of cases here exceeds seventy-eight.
88. "Agreement between the United States of America and Mexico respecting Mexican non-agricultural workers; termination of the agreement of April 29, 1943, and refund of deductions from salaries under the Railroad Retirement Act. Effected by exchange of notes signed at Washington November 15, 1946; entered into force November 15, 1946," 3575.
89. "Navy Awards for Railroads," *Railway Age* 121 (October 12, 1946): 613.
90. Jones, *Mexican War Workers*, 41.
91. Kirstein, *Anglo Over Bracero*, 32; "Mexican Workers Wanted by Railroad," 28; "Manpower Crisis Faces Railroads," 23.
92. Copp, "'Wetbacks' and Braceros," 45, 31, 82; "Agreement between the United States of America and Mexico respecting Mexican non-agricultural workers; termination of the agreement of April 29, 1943, and refund of deductions from salaries under the Railroad Retirement Act. Effected by exchange of notes signed at Washington November 15, 1946; entered into force November 15, 1946."
93. Thomas quoted in "Mexicans Held Abused: Council Says Workers Are Are (sic) Poorly Fed and Exploited," *New York Times*, September 22, 1945, 8, ProQuest.
94. Mize, introduction to "Invisible Workers," viii; Jones, *Mexican War Workers*, 36; Copp, "'Wetbacks' and Braceros," 45.
95. Mary Bauer, "Close to Slavery: Guestworker Programs in the United States," Southern Poverty Law Center, [2007], 1; Mize, "Invisible Workers," 251-52.
96. Bauer, "Close to Slavery," 1, 5-6, 9-10, 19, 34, 37.
97. Susan Ferriss, "Ex-Braceros Tell of Flaws in Guest Worker System," *Knight Ridder Tribune Business News*, March 30, 2006, 1; George W. Bush, "President Bush Proposes New Temporary Worker Program," 3, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2004/01/20040107-3.html> (accessed July 16, 2007)
98. "President Bush Proposes New Temporary Worker Program," 3, 1.
99. Gordon H. Hanson, "Dodging the Guest-Worker Bullet," *Wall Street Journal*, July 5, 2007, A.15; Bruce Alpert, "Immigration Bill Fades Away: Vitter Has Key Role in Defeat of Measure," *Times-Picayune*, June 29, 2007, A.10.