

# **A History of Railway Rulebooks in Britain**

## **Part 2**

### **LONDON TRANSPORT (Railways) and LONDON UNDERGROUND RULE BOOKS and ASSOCIATED INSTRUCTIONS**

By

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(v5)

# THE LONDON UNDERGROUND RULEBOOK

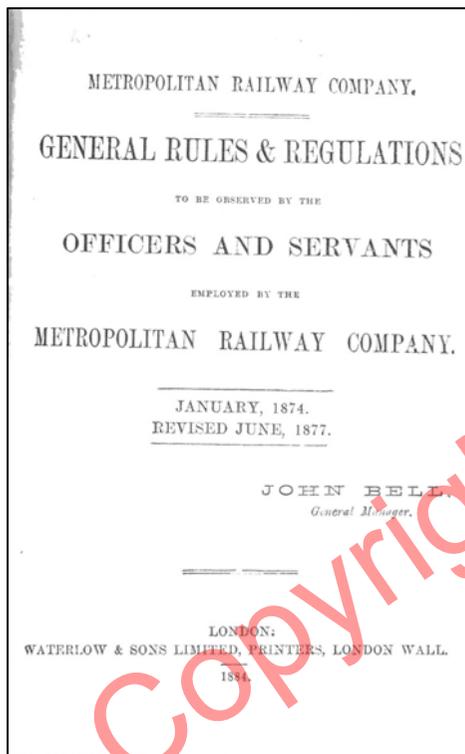
## INTRODUCTION

The Metropolitan Railway was the first of London's underground Railways and opened on 10th January 1863. At first the line was operated by the Great Western but the precise arrangements for operating the Metropolitan are unclear. The GWR published a new rulebook in April 1863, and although it contained some information specific to particular localities, no identifiable reference is made to the Metropolitan Railway and it is inferred from this that from its beginning the GWR produced separate instructions for operating the Metropolitan. Given that the operational environment of the Metropolitan departed significantly from

common main line practice, it is perhaps not unreasonable that separate instructions should have been issued; the most obvious differences included the adoption of block signalling with the electric telegraph, operation almost entirely in tunnel where certain rules would have been difficult to apply without variation and where additional rules would have been needed, and absence of goods traffic.

Following a dispute between the companies the Metropolitan began to operate services on its own account from 11 August 1863, but intermittently from October the GWR operated a number of through trains to and from Farringdon Street. It may be inferred from this that at some point the Metropolitan would have had to issue rules and other instructions on its own account, but that the GWR and GNR would also have needed 'working over' instructions for their own staff operating through trains.

It is known the GWR did issue instructions and a copy has been seen of a document that appears to date from 1864, after the GWR ceased control of Met operations and after the Hammersmith & City Railway opened. The section seen occupies pages 72 to 87 of a rule book or code of signals which is unfortunately not referenced. The Met instructions comprise rules 104 to 107 and are followed by rules 108 to 111, which relate to the West London Railway (and part of the next section is included that refers to the Reading District suggesting the original document covered more and possibly all of the GWR). The extract includes general instructions for train operation, the code of lights and disks to be used, the code of



INDEX.		PAGE
Accidents or Stoppages	... ..	10
Bye-Laws and Penalties	... ..	76
Detonating Signals	... ..	61
Foggy Weather	... ..	62
Head Lights and Discs	... ..	72
Regulations, General	... ..	5
Signal Instructions, General	... ..	59
Single Line Working	... ..	64
Whistle Signals	... ..	76
Clerks in Charge and Booking Clerks, Regulations for	... ..	11
Drivers and Firemen	... ..	44
Guards and Breaksmen	... ..	22
Pilotmen (St. John's Wood Line)	... ..	67
Platelayers and others	... ..	55
Porters	... ..	41
Signalmen	... ..	29
Signalmen (St. John's Wood Line)	... ..	69
Station Inspectors	... ..	15
Ticket Collectors and Examiners	... ..	36

whistles, a general description of the fixed signals, a description of the signals at each location, and extensive instructions to engine drivers.

The earliest Metropolitan Railway rule book so far encountered is that of October 1868. It is a brief affair containing 40 pages and superseded General Instructions of April 1868, and Special Instructions for the Widened Lines of July 1868.

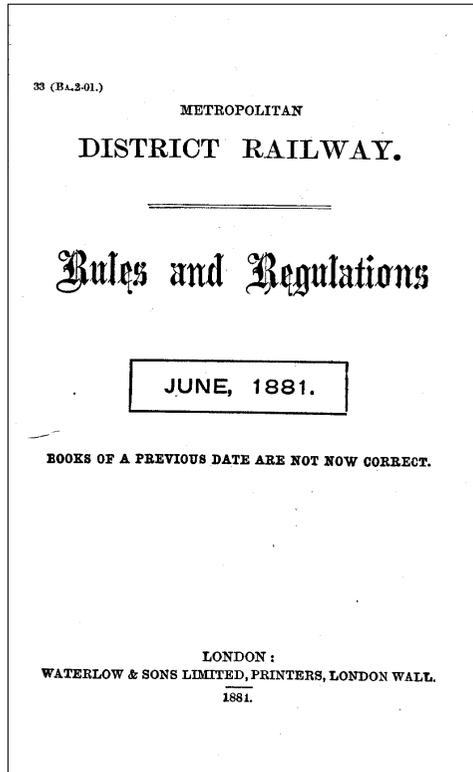
The book consists largely of descriptions of the signalling arrangements on the Westbourne Park – Farringdon Street line, and on the Metropolitan & St Johns Wood Railway (which was worked by the Met). Various more general rules were also present, for example reference to the general speed limit of 25 mph (12 mph between Bishops Road and Westbourne Park), and several lower limits at specific locations. A section was devoted to the procedures to be followed in the event of an obstruction on the line, including the arrangements for protecting the train. There was very little else in the book to suggest any influence from the Great Western, or any other railway. No indication is made of the existence of the 1867 RCH 'Rules', which is perhaps a little surprising in view of the links with other railways; possibly other instructions were issued.

The Metropolitan's 1874 Rule Book (of which an 1877 reprint has been examined) was a much more advanced work. This has some 86 printed pages comprising 279 rules, followed by headlight and whistle codes, byelaws and extracts from Acts of Parliament. The rules occupy seventeen sections, of which ten are specific to individual groups of staff, including clerks in charge of booking offices. The first 26 rules are general to all staff, mainly referring to attitude, behaviour and discipline, and set the pattern for all Underground rule books since. This rule book seems still to have been current in 1885 and the author does not know if it was replaced prior to the 1904 rule book, which followed

the RCH standard. The 1874 rule book appeared prior to the 1876 RCH standard, though there were some areas of similarity suggesting that the Metropolitan were at least talking to other railways.

The District Railway opened in December 1868 and was similar in character to the Metropolitan with which it interworked. Indeed the Railway was worked by the Metropolitan until 1871 and may have been covered by the Metropolitan's rules. The earliest District Railway rules so far identified are dated 1872, and are very similar in style to the Met's 1874 book, suggesting some kind of collaboration; it is quite likely that the extensive interworking between these two railways influenced a commonality in working arrangements. The District rulebook is slightly disorganised in starting with 105 rules and then digressing into a lengthy description of many of the signals before continuing with a separately numbered section of 44 rules for drivers and firemen. The book concludes with byelaws, extracts from Acts of Parliament, and a folded gradient diagram. The main bank of rules falls into eight sections, six of which are specific to grades of staff. The first 20 rules are general to all staff.

The District's June 1881 rulebook is rather different in appearance, consisting of 282 rules divided amongst ten sections. Gone are the byelaws, parliamentary extracts and descriptions of individual signals — these must now have been reproduced elsewhere. The rulebook does not follow exactly the RCH standard, though many of the sections cover the same subject areas and the ordering is similar. Nor do the rule numbers follow the pattern of the standard book. One might say that whilst it does not follow the RCH model, it is nevertheless heavily influenced by it. By this time the District interworked with the LSWR and the possibility of confusion did arise.



**CONTENTS.**

	PAGE
SECTION I.—General Rules .. .. .	3
„ II.—SIGNALS .. .. .	12
Colour Signals .. .. .	12
Hand Signals .. .. .	12
Detonating Signals .. .. .	13
Fixed Signals .. .. .	14
Home Signals .. .. .	15
Distant Signals .. .. .	15
Starting Signals .. .. .	16
General Regulations as to Signals ..	16
Train Signals .. .. .	20
Signalling in Foggy Weather or during Snow Storms .. .. .	20
„ III.—General Regulations and Precautions in cases of stoppage of the Line, Accidents, or Vehicles breaking away .. .. .	24
„ IV.—Working Double Line Traffic, over a Single Line, during Repairs or Obstruction .. .. .	28
„ V.—Station Inspectors .. .. .	34
„ VI.—Signalmen .. .. .	37
„ VII.—Guards .. .. .	42
„ VIII.—Engine Drivers and Firemen .. .. .	48
„ IX.—Platelayers, and others employed on the Permanent Way .. .. .	56
„ X.—Regulations to be observed by Station Inspectors, Signalmen, Signal Fitters and others, respecting the Fixing and Repairs of Signals, &c., &c. .. .. .	67

A further District book of 281 rules in 19 sections appeared in 1904 and clearly indicated that it was now based on the RCH standard rules (which had just been reissued); it may be relevant to note the District was just about to begin inter-running with the LTSR to Barking and beyond. Nevertheless the District had modified many of the standard rules to suit its own needs and requirements. Generally the modification was an expansion of the standard rule by addition, ranging from the odd sentence to an entire new set of clauses. In order to add material without actually creating new rule numbers many additions sat perhaps a little uncomfortably on the end of some other rule. RCH Standard

Rule 6, for example (concerning safety of the public), ran to 19 words and said merely that it must be the chief care of servants of the company. In the District's rulebook these 19 words were followed by four lettered clauses covering such diverse advice as passengers' safety in foggy weather, not conveying passengers in a disabled train, preventing passengers crossing line except by bridge or subway and instructions for whitening the edges of platforms.

One of the purposes of the RCH standard rules was to make it relatively easy for the servants of one company to operate safely when working over the lines of another (and the District interworked with the London & South Western, London & North Western, Midland and London, Tilbury & Southend Railways, as well as the Met). Unfortunately, all attempts to improve the instructions from the District's perspective tended to obscure the clarity of the RCH standard. The large body of material the District was moved to add made the content more difficult to assimilate.

In order to emphasise the 'local' instruction, as against the 'standard' rule, the District printed the standard rule in normal type but underlined all local rules and variations, which did little for readability. Conversely, there were many rules provided for in the RCH standard that did not apply on the District because of its nature — operation of slip carriages for example. Where rules were not applicable they nevertheless appeared in the District rulebook but were clearly marked by marginal brackets as not being applicable on the District. Carrying this unnecessary information added considerably to the bulk of the document while adding no practical value, and we see here an early manifestation of the long standing problem of balancing the benefits of rule harmonization across the industry with the peculiar lo-

cal needs of individual companies; it is a matter of opinion whether the resulting complexities were ultimately of net benefit.

As previously, the District's 1904 rule book contained little extraneous material but did find space to put at the end 'Regulations for the Guidance of Train Examiners and Greasers' and 'Extracts from Acts of Parliament'.

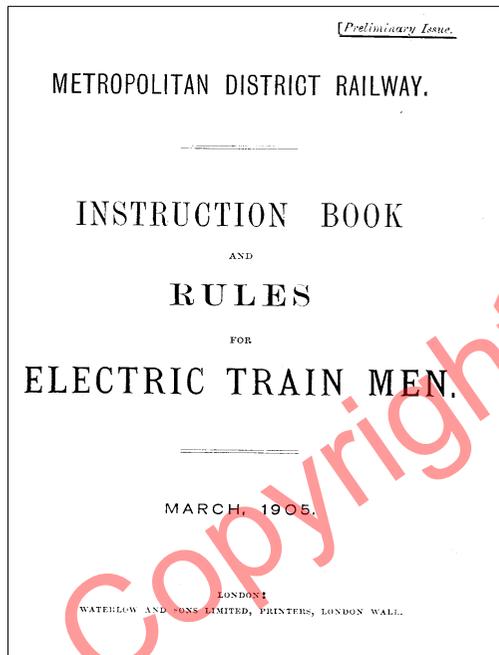
The District's 1904 Rulebook was soon put under further strain by the introduction of electric train operation, together with widespread introduction of automatic signalling; neither facet was handled by the RCH standard and the implications were immense. To meet the new circumstances the District issued in March 1905 a subsidiary rulebook entitled 'Instruction Book and Rules for Electric Train Men'. In addition to including rules for the operation of electric trains and for the

switching and supply of traction current, and for the revised types of signals and their system of operation, the new rulebook also incorporated a substantial number of rules which effectively replaced those in the 1904 book. The supplementary book stated "the General and Special Rules contained in the Rule ... book dated 1<sup>st</sup> June 1904, apply in so far as they are not altered or cancelled by the rules ... in this book...", but no attempt whatever was made to set out the specific rules that had been superseded or changed. Given there were 241 of these supplementary rules the scope for (mis)interpretation of the impact on the 281 rules in the main book was perhaps considerable and cannot have been very satisfactory.

Generally, the supplementary rules seem to have been designed to instil a sense of urgency, slickness and efficiency among the staff, a necessary move in view of the substantially improved train headways and the increased danger of accident if rules were flouted. Several of the new rules were evidently concerned with enjoining staff to behave in a civil and orderly manner, particularly in their relations with the public. Some of the rules perhaps reflected the American influence, which lay behind the modernization of the District. The Metropolitan was slower in introducing radical change and while they did bring in specific new instructions they also stayed with the RCH standard rulebook.

### THE TUBE RAILWAYS

Between 1890 and 1907 emerged the frenzied building of the London deep level tube network. These railways presented there own peculiar operational requirements. They were all-



CONTENTS.		PAGE.
GENERAL REGULATIONS	...	3
GENERAL INFORMATION RELATING TO ELECTRIC TRACTION	...	8
ELECTRIC TRAINS AND EQUIPMENT	...	13
BRAKES	...	21
SIGNALS—		
Interlocked	...	29
Automatic	...	32
TRAIN OPERATING INSTRUCTIONS—		
Motormen	...	38
Conductors and Gatemen	...	48
Single Line Working during Repairs or Obstruction	...	55
Single Line Working between Hounslow Town and Hounslow Barracks	...	58
Trains stopped by Accident, Failure, or Obstruction	...	53

No. ....  
(Book remains property of the Company.)

electric railways working in single bore tube tunnels where operational practices had necessarily to be different and where signalmen could often see neither trains nor signals, or, at least, not all of them. Moreover train frequencies were high, goods trains not run and communications were quite poor.

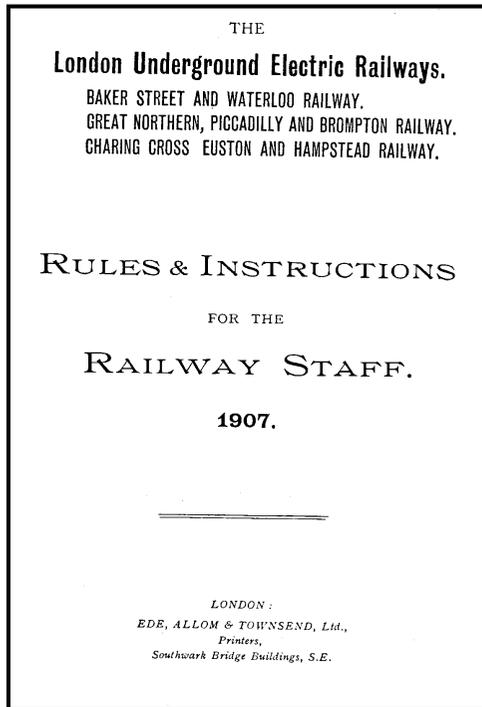
No instructions from the pioneering City & South London Railway have been seen. Operationally a form of block telegraph was used with electric locking superimposed and Electric locomotives were used. This would have been amenable to a cut down version of the RCH rules but with no inter-running contemplated it is more likely bespoke rules were formulated. The Central London Railway (1900) would have been in a similar kind of position, but may have built on the CSLR experience. A CLR rule book for signalmen (dated 1904) has been seen; this is a smaller format than most rule books and comprises 128 rules in three sections. Although some of the rules bear some structural resemblance to RCH standard rules it is obvious the book has been compiled as a bespoke document. Presumably a similar book was produced for trainmen and perhaps other staff; what happened prior to 1904, and whether there was a general set of rules is not known. The copy of the signalmen's rules inspected is stamped 1912 implying it was still in force then, and it probably lasted until automatic signalling came into force in 1913-14, by which time the company had been absorbed by the Underground Group and the course of events changed anyway.

Likewise the Great Northern & City Railway Rulebook of 1906 appears to have been devised substantially from first principles, and bears little relation to the RCH book. However there is a striking resemblance in the wording of many paragraphs with the Central London book of 1904 and it seems the GNCR drew freely from it and then added its own additional material. The GNCR had some 235 rules, which dealt

comprehensively with every eventuality at its six stations (and two of those it only owned in part). The rules were divided into fifteen sections spread over 100 pages, including specimen forms. The rulebook sections were split into: General Rules, Signals, Train signals (which were not automatic), Catch points, Signal resistance lamps, Shunting, Breakdown tools, Special Instructions for Signalmen, failures, Single line working, Guards and Conductors, Breakdown arrangements, Propelling disabled trains, Drivers and assistants, electricity supply and lifts. It is apparent that this content is substantially at variance with the RCH standard.

In 1906/7 various tube lines were opened by the Underground Electric Railways Company of London Ltd (UERL), which also owned the District. Again they developed their own sets of instructions that bore little similarity with the RCH standard, and like the earlier tubes had no inter running with the main lines. Although the UERL rules as a body are quite different from the earlier tubes owing in part to deployment of automatic signalling, careful examination of the book shows that many of the rules were drawn from the GNCR rule book or otherwise evidence a degree of collaboration.

The Baker Street & Waterloo Railway was the first UERL tube to open and their rule book was dated 1st January 1906. The Great Northern, Piccadilly & Brompton Railway was the second tube and their rulebook was dated December 1906. Both rulebooks were very similar, although a number of sections appeared in a different order and some rules had been adjusted, presumably reflecting service experience. Interestingly, both rulebooks were marked 'preliminary Issue'. The third UERL tube was the Charing Cross, Euston & Hampstead Railway, which does not seem to have had its own rulebook. Instead, a joint rulebook for all three tubes emerged, dated 1st June 1907, and this



CONTENTS.

SECTION.	RULE.	PAGE
I. GENERAL RULES ... ..	1-43 ...	5
II. CONDUCTORS AND GATEMEN ... ..	46-95 ...	15
III. LIFT OPERATORS ... ..	96-156 ...	25
III. LIFT AND FAN MACHINERY ATTENDANTS		
IV. TELEPHONES AND TELEPHONING ... ..	157-165 ...	36
V. LIGHTING ... ..	166-171 ...	41
VI. SIGNAL LINESMEN ... ..		
VI. TELEPHONE ... ..	172-192 ...	46
VI. LIGHTING ... ..		
VI. CLOCK ... ..		
VII. STATION MASTERS AND STATION FOREMEN	193-211 ...	55
VIII. MOTORMEN ... ..	212-277 ...	60
IX. PERMANENT WAY ... ..	278-291 ...	77
X. PRECAUTIONS TO BE TAKEN IN CASE OF BREAKDOWN ... ..	292-306 ...	83
XI. SIGNALS ... ..	307-356 ...	91

was closely based on the GNPB version, though with a few significant amendments. The joint book contained 356 rules, divided amongst 11 sections. The nature of these sections bore little resemblance to the RCH style, reflecting the need to cope with new areas such as lifts and fans, lighting and synchronised clocks, as well as the electrification and automatic signalling systems. This rulebook was rather more closely related to an operating manual than the string of safety regulations and procedures characterising the RCH approach.

### THE 1912 – 1914 RULE BOOKS

The position the District found itself in 1905, with two rule books competing with each other, cannot have been found very satisfactory in

practice. The author's copy of the 1905 supplementary rule book is endorsed 'withdrawn 1907' which perhaps lends weight to this suspicion and if the endorsement is true — and it has not been possible to confirm it — then it raises the question about how the special requirements were dealt with for operation of electric trains and power operated automatic signalling. Self-evidently the instructions must have appeared somewhere, possibly migrating to the Working Timetable Appendix and a host of miscellaneous instructions.

By 1912 the District had bitten the bullet and replaced the pre-electrification 1904 rulebook with a new version, dated December 1912. This effectively returned the railway to its earlier position of using the RCH standard with 'local' variations, which owing to electrification now grew to enormous proportions. In order to reduce the bulk, and vastly improve clarity, the rule book came with a pocket at the back into which a range of appendixes were inserted. These appendixes are covered in more detail later but in essence contained detailed

material about operation of trains, signalling and a variety of other matters that was previously in the electric trains supplementary rules or spread about elsewhere, and which would have been exceedingly difficult to marshal into the RCH ordering, however brave the attempt. Nevertheless there was no shortage of local instructions to accommodate, or RCH instruction to overlook. The illustrations show the content together with the handy explanation of the type styles but in summary the following points are made.

The District rule book was of 190 pages containing a daunting collection of differing typefaces and marginal notes intended to

differentiate the applicability of the rules. Several devices were used to mould the RCH standard rules.

- (a) A glossary at the front linked the name 'driver' with 'motor-man', and 'Fireman' with 'Motorman's Assistant', and paralleled various other terms.
- (b) There was an indication that 14 rules (or part rules) did not apply to District staff, and that these were not printed in the District book (these rules concerned such things as goods operation).
- (c) Some of the rules concerning particular areas of operation (such as operation of the electric trains themselves) were not printed in the rulebook itself but appeared in four separate leaflets. A pocket for these leaflets was put in the back of the rulebook.
- (d) It was stated that District rules applied generally on the District Line and the Metropolitan Railway's Circle Line. They also generally applied on other lines worked over even if marked as NOT applying on the District Line itself.
- (e) Rules applying ONLY on the District Railway appeared in heavy type.

It cannot be said that the District's attempts to reconcile its requirements with the RCH standard produced a result which could be described as elegant, and the amount of non

standard heavy type was impressive. Resort was had extensively to supplementary rules. We find the description of automatic signals in a rule 45A, for example, wedged between rules on dealing with all manner of semaphore type signals, much of which did not apply on the District. Nevertheless the book presumably served the company well as it was re-issued in March 1919 and December 1923 (incorporating amendments) and lasted a further ten years. As noted, the book allowed for

<b>Metropolitan District Railway.</b>		3
<b>RULES AND REGULATIONS</b>		<b>TABLE OF CONTENTS.</b>
FOR THE GUIDANCE OF THE <b>OFFICERS AND MEN</b> IN THE SERVICE OF THE <b>METROPOLITAN DISTRICT RAILWAY COMPANY.</b>		<b>GENERAL RULES AND REGULATIONS.</b>
December, 1912.		PAGES.
Approved— A. H. STANLEY, Managing Director.		5
LONDON WATERLOW AND SONS LIMITED, PRINTERS, LONDON WALL.		16
		24
		29
		30
		32
		37
		39
		42
		44
		45
		46
		48
		52
		55
		57
		73
		75
		113
		132
		144
		167
		160
		161
		APPENDIX
		I
		II
		III
		IV
		A 1

(initially) four supplementary leaflets or ‘appendices’) but the rulebook itself omitted the appendices printed in many of the main line rule-books.

The tube lines seem to have had less difficulty in simply using their own bespoke rule books but as the world was on the brink of war two things happened to disturb the status quo. First the independent CLR and CSLR concerns had been acquired by the UERL and some harmonization of practices was called for, and secondly several of the tubes were in the process of planning to interwork with main line railways. The Bakerloo was in the process of projecting itself over the LNWR to Watford Junction, the CLR was discussing projection over the GWR to Ealing Broadway (and possibly over the LSWR to Richmond), and the Piccadilly also had its eyes on Richmond.

The outcome was a decision that the tubes, too, would adopt the RCH standard. One might have thought that the tubes would simply adopt the new MDR book which had perhaps already addressed the issues of adapting an unpromising text to meet the requirements of a rapid transit railway. Not so. The tubes obviously started with the MDR model but ended up with a book that is only superficially similar and which close inspection shows to be comprehensively different. One can understand why many issues did perhaps warrant different treatment, but the scale of difference is quite interesting and there are some slight differences in format, such as omission of table of contents. The tube book is issued in the name of the London Electric Railway (LER) with the CLR and CSLR shown only in the titling; the text inside that the term LER is to be taken as applying on all three railways. The LER was the formal name from 1910 of the three tubes covered in the UER 1907 book.

The District book contains two parts towards the back headed ‘Section VII (Conveyance of Dangerous Goods and Explosives), and Section VIII (Uniform Time to be kept by Conductors)’. These are clearly not sections seven and eight —more like 21, depending on what constitutes a section — and the rule numbering carries on uninterrupted; indeed no other ‘sections’ have their own number. Nor do the numbers correspond with the ‘Appendices’ in main line rule books of the time. The tube lines 1914 book adds a section IX (Rules for Lift Operators and Lift Machinery Attendants). These ‘sectional numbers’ remain a complete puzzle.

The LER book was also reissued in 1919 and 1923, with amendments, and with at least one later reprint without incorporating amendment.

### **THE 1933 RULE BOOK**

During the 1920s the Railway Clearing House began the task of preparing a new standard rulebook, taking into account the modernization of operating methods (and, as noted earlier, the grouping of the main line railways). The UERL was represented on the committee that undertook the task of preparing the standard book, and it later served on the internal committee which prepared the proposed variations that were still inevitable. Previous practice was departed from in that the UERL approached the Metropolitan Railway and agreed upon a common set of variations for use by the two of them. These were contrived such that the difference between the two books lay only in the title page and in the last section (rules 242 to 253); by using the same printer the bulk of the new books were printed in one operation and the differing pages bound in with the appropriate companies’ covers.

## CONTENTS.

	PAGE
General ... ..	7
Control and working of stations ... ..	16
Fixed signals ... ..	22
Hand signals ... ..	35
Detention of trains on running lines ... ..	41
Detonators ... ..	44
Working of points and signals ... ..	47
Fixing, removing or repairing signals or apparatus for working signals and points ... ..	52
Defective signals, points, etc. ... ..	58
Signalling during fog or falling snow ... ..	67
Station yard working ... ..	73
Level crossings ... ..	74
Shunting ... ..	75
Head, tail and side lamps ... ..	80
Working of trains ... ..	81
Reporting of accidents ... ..	113
Trains stopped by accident, failure, obstruction or other exceptional cause ... ..	115
Working traffic of a double line over a single line of rails during repairs or obstruction ... ..	143
Permanent-way and works ... ..	165
Conveyance by goods trains of explosives and dangerous goods ... ..	188
Storage, conveyance and use of explosive and dangerous articles ... ..	193
Switching off and restoring traction current ... ..	195
Index.	

## APPLICATION OF RULES.

The term "Metropolitan Railway" where used in these Rules includes (except where indicated to the contrary) the East London Railway (including New Cross and New Cross Gate), the Hammersmith and City Railway (including Bishop's Road and Royal Oak) and the Joint Lines between Harrow, Rickmansworth and Watford.

The term "London Electric Railway" where used in these Rules includes (except where indicated to the contrary) the Central London and City and South London Railways and the Ealing and Shepherds Bush Railway between Wood Lane and Ealing.

Rules or portions of Rules set in ordinary type (as this) apply to District, London Electric and Metropolitan Railways' employees on all Companies' lines.

*Rules or portions of Rules set in italic type (as this) apply to District, London Electric and Metropolitan Railways' employees only when working over other Companies' lines, except where otherwise shown.*

**Rules or portions of Rules set in bold type (as this) apply to District, London Electric and Metropolitan Railways' employees AT ALL TIMES. They will also apply to the employees of other Companies when working over the District or the Metropolitan Railways.**

**Rules or portions of Rules beside which a vertical line is printed (as this) apply to District, London Electric and Metropolitan Railways' employees ON THESE LINES ONLY. They will also apply to the employees of other Companies when working over the District or the Metropolitan Railways.**

The RCH standard book emerged in 1932 and the combined District and tube lines book came into use on 1st January 1933, the same date as the books of the Metropolitan and the main line companies. This book had no supplements, or any pocket at the back in which to put additional material. The Metropolitan book included the statement (following main line practice) that the rules had been adopted by the director's of that company at a meeting at Baker Street station on 27th day of October 1932, and then printed the relevant minute, but the Underground book in accordance with its own practices ignored such niceties. The Underground book was headed Underground Rule Book 1933 on the outside cover, but inside carried the just name of the four railways it applied to (MDR, LER, CLR and CSLR).

On 1st July 1933 the new London Passenger Transport Board (LPTB) assumed control of both the UERL system and that of the Metropolitan Railway, and thus inherited two rulebooks. In the event the books were now so similar that no great need was felt to drop either in favour of the other, and they remained in force on their respective sections of the system. The rulebooks were effectively amalgamated by erosion of the differences caused by later amendments, with the result that later printings (in 1938 and 1940) were entitled 'Underground and Metropolitan Railway Rule Book 1933'.

Contents page and Explanation from the 1933 Rule Book

Only in printings after the inland transport systems were nationalized in 1948 did the title change to 'London Transport Executive, Rule Book 1933'; the 1949 printing incorporated all the amendments made in the intervening years. The Underground continued to use the (heavily adapted) 1933 'RCH' book for another nineteen years, and required a further major reprint in 1955.

The 1933 rulebook (both Underground and Met) inherited a continuing need to indicate to employees which rules did or did not apply on which railways. The result was still not ideal, and was recognised as being less than ideal, but was the best that could be thought of at the time and served for over thirty five years. It was probably the least unsatisfactory attempt to reconcile the irreconcilable. The standard rules (applicable on 'foreign' lines) were printed in ordinary type if they applied on the Underground and in italic if they did not. 'Variation' rules were printed in bold type if they applied to Underground employees at all times, but the (bold type) paragraph was marked with a vertical black line at the left hand edge if it only applied over Underground lines themselves. An example of this arrangement is shown opposite.

### A NEW APPROACH — RULE BOOKS 1969-1990

During the 1960s it was realised that the 1933 rule book was becoming increasingly cumbersome and was going to be difficult to develop further as BR and LUL practices were diverging rapidly and some LUL practices demanded simplification. Nor was the complex and confusing layout (the need for which had long since disappeared) conducive for training ever-more-hard-to-find staff who found the rules, crafted in old fashioned language, bordering on the inaccessible. After a lot of work a new rulebook appeared in 1969, coming into force on 30th

March, after a printing delay. The new book was quarto, rather than pocket size, and was divided into seventeen lettered sections with the rules logically grouped into each section. Very little appears to have survived from the RCH book, although familiar phrases appear every now and then. The main apparent advantage is that it is much easier to find a rule applicable to some prevailing circumstance (recognition, perhaps, that the vast bulk of the rules were in fact simply procedures). For example all the procedures for dealing with a signal failure were together in section G, irrespective of the type of signal involved. The revised wording also made the responsibilities of individual staff clearer. In terms of general coverage the book failed to change in scope, and other than in the general section at the front activities relating to train operation pre-dominated.

More fundamental to the new rulebook was the desire to restrict its application solely to the London Underground, and the preface lists those sections of

Section	CONTENTS	Page(s)
A—Conduct of staff	... ..	7-8
B—General requirements	... ..	9-11
C—Protection of staff	... ..	12-18
D—Working of regulating rooms and signal boxes	... ..	19
E—Working of trains	... ..	20-23
F—Working in depots and sidings	... ..	24
G—Signals remaining at danger	... ..	25-30
H—Trains stopped by accident or exceptional cause	... ..	31-33
J—Wrong direction movements	... ..	34-38
K—Single line working	... ..	39-47
L—Engineering work—general	... ..	48-49
M—Engineering work—tube sections	... ..	50-51
N—Engineering work—open sections where trains are booked to run during non-traffic hours	... ..	52
O—Engineering work—single line tunnels other than tube tunnels	... ..	53-54
—double line tunnels	... ..	
—open sections where trains are not booked to run during non-traffic hours	... ..	
P—Engineer's possessions	... ..	55-56
Q—Detonators	... ..	57
R—Switching off and switching on traction and extra high voltage current	... ..	58-60

railway (BR owned) where separate instructions would be issued. This immediately simplified the presentational problems grappled with for over fifty years by the Underground and a hundred years by the RCH. An attempt was also made to concentrate on the general principles of operation and to leave the particular to other forms of dissemination. In connection with this principle the weighty Working Timetable Appendix was renamed the Rulebook Appendix and there was an exchange of material between the Appendix and the Rulebook itself. It should be noted that the new rulebook did not entirely cater for the operation of the contemporary Victoria Line, which retained copious instructions designed specifically for its automatic train system and centralised control. The arrival of the new rulebook inevitably heralded the arrival of a number of new operating procedures, about which more later.

The 1969 Rulebook, though a major step forward, did not prove entirely satisfactory in its day to day application and was to last only five years. It was superseded by a new rulebook from 1st January 1974. The most obvious changes were in the size (reduced to 7 inches by 4.5 inches) and in the expanded table of contents, which indicated the nature of each rule. Certain key rules were re-written and the sections on engineering work were rearranged and updated. During 1977 section A (conduct of staff) was completely revised and re-issued as a set of amendments; likewise section C (Protection of staff) a little later.

The 1974 rulebook was replaced during 1983 by a new book, this time A5 size. The main reason for change was a comprehensive revision to long established methods of work during the night, resulting from which the time when trains were not running became 'engineering hours' instead of 'non-traffic hours'. The new safety procedures for

night staff involved fundamentally changed principles and a complete new rule book was an inescapable component.

A new rule book came into force on 8th January 1990. This updated the previous one and introduced a range of new definitions together with revised procedures affecting those working on the track, especially where it was necessary to protect staff. The nature of the revisions especially affected section C (Protection of Staff), although there were many other minor changes and some simplified wording. Although the layout of the rule book is otherwise similar to its predecessor a number of additions resulted in many rules being renumbered, a complication which might have been avoided.

The 1990 rule book was the last one used by the Underground. Before moving on it is an appropriate time to say a few words about rule books on worked lines and joint lines.

A 'Joint' line was generally a separately constituted company with separate legal existence, while a 'worked' line (whether joint or otherwise) was owned by one company but entirely operated by another. On the Underground there were a few true 'worked' lines, and the London & South Western Railway between Hammersmith and Turnham Green, and the Whitechapel & Bow line (Whitechapel and Campbell Road) come to mind, both of which were worked by the District Railway. It was not universal that the working company provided the rulebook, but to do so had the obvious merit of consistency and was very common. The two worked railways just mentioned both used the District rulebook, for example, while the Ealing & Shepherds Bush Railway (owned and technically 'worked' by the GWR) eventually used the LER rulebook.

More frequently encountered was operation of a service by one railway over tracks owned and worked by another (for example, Putney

Bridge to Wimbledon and Queens Park to Watford). The whole point of the RCH rule book was to facilitate this process and the Underground's version of the RCH standard would usually incorporate all the rules train staff would need to know about, however obscurely expressed. Where substantially different rules applied (as with the signalling between Queens Park and Watford, for example), then the supplementary instructions issued to the owning company's staff were also given to the Underground staff.

In modern times this type of special supplementary instruction is still necessary but has to be treated differently as Underground rules are now quite different from those on the main line. Train staff need to know what the rules are, as well as any special instructions that are relevant. From 1965 a selection of relevant British Railways rules were put together for Bakerloo Line staff operating north of Queens Park. This type of instruction found its way into a rulebook appendix devised for Bakerloo Line staff. Similar instructions were produced for District Line staff working over former Southern Region lines too. Today these matters are covered in 'Working Over' books issued to the staff who work over another's railway; these contain a distillation of all that is necessary, and omit the vast quantity of material that is not. Working Over books seem to have had a long history on the main line and survived until recent times to cover staff of one BR region working over another, but they are comparatively new to LUL.

In precisely the same way, main line staff who worked trains over LT-owned sections of line were given the necessary additional instructions for so doing, either in the form issued to Underground staff or a suitable digest of relevant material printed in their own instructions. This applied particularly to main line staff operating goods trains over the Underground system, although through passenger trains were also

very much more common than the last remaining example (Amersham - Harrow) would suggest.

The Ealing & Shepherds Bush section of the Great Western Railway (opened in 1920) was wholly worked (for passenger trains) by the Central London Railway, and the 1919 reprint of the 1914 tube lines rulebook embraces this line within its compass, as do the rule book appendices (oddly the 1923 reprint omits special reference to this section of line, though in 1927 the tube rulebook was known still to apply). Although it was worked by LER rules, it was the Great Western Railway who published special instructions for this line in 1927, which highlighted the unusual signalling arrangements then in force (a return to three position semaphores, this time automatic) and the consequential changes to the rules which were required. This may have been because it was staffed by GWR staff and GWR goods trains operated).

Joint lines were a slightly different proposition. It was common for joint lines to be wholly worked (sometimes alternately) by one of the owning companies, but many lines were worked as separate affairs. On the basis of all too little evidence the author believes that most of the joint lines associated with the Underground did *not* have separate systems of rules. The Metropolitan & Great Central Joint Committee, however, was a more substantial piece of railway controlling the section of line from Harrow on the Hill to Verney Junction and Brill. This came into being in 1907 and was worked alternately by the Great Central Railway (later LNER) and the Metropolitan Railway (later London Transport). At least from 1st July 1920 (and possibly earlier) the Committee had its own rule-book, based on the RCH standard; this also included six out of the twelve appendices which were applicable on the M&GC.

In contrast, the 1933 rule book (either in the form of the Underground version or the Metropolitan Railway version) was adopted for the whole of the electrified system, *including* joint lines. The portion of the M&GC north of Rickmansworth (which was unelectrified) appears to have been operated under LNER rules, which of course were very similar but omitted the complications resulting from electrification and automatic signalling.

The Metropolitan & London & North Eastern Railway (Watford Joint Railway Committee) was a separate joint line, consisting of just two stations (Watford and Croxley Green). The author has not unearthed a separate rule book for this line, which opened in 1925; possibly the M&GC rulebook was adopted. However records exist to

show that in 1933 the Met&LNE Railway formally adopted the Metropolitan Railway rulebook, and a document exists in the National Archives which is signed and sealed by the two railways. Indeed each of the six amendments to the rulebook made in the period up to 1936 was each formally adopted with joint seals (amendments 2 to 6 being made with the London Transport seal, as successors to the Met). This cumbersome arrangement was probably adopted by the Met & GC railway too. What happened between 1936 and the extinction of joint lines after 1947 is not clear, though there is no reason to suppose the arrangements changed.

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## THE REFERENCE MANUAL AND WORKING MANUALS

The Formal Investigation into the Kings Cross fire resulted in a recommendation that the rules concerning the calling of the fire brigade be drafted into plain English; this seems to have resulted from evidence given during the inquiry which was critical of the huge number of rules in their different forms. The resulting admission that the system of rules was not entirely satisfactory created the beginning of a process of revision, starting with the issue in March 1989 of Appendix 8 to the rule book (relating to fire) in a new easy to read format and in a hard A5 ring binder. The Bakerloo Line supplement to rule book Appendix 11 was next, in November 1989, appearing in similar format, though in soft covered ring binder. This to a large extent set the pattern for the future for the issuing of supplementary instructions. The nature of the Appendixes to the rule book will be explained shortly, but for now consider the matter simply as a one where in future the whole of the rule book apparatus was going to have to be looked at.

The adoption by London Underground of the International Safety Rating System (ISRS) helped create a new safety culture that is essentially risk based. ISRS helped formalise procedures and introduce checks into the existing systems, the philosophy being that every safety related matter should be resolved into a procedure and the need to carry out the procedures fully, and for audits to take place. The theory was that things needed to be written down if they were to be measured and audited, thus demonstrating to anyone interested that a measurable level of safety exists. In making things measurable, so improvements can be demanded and monitored, forcing safety levels upwards. In the early days ISRS initially resulted in no more than a formalisation of practices which already took place. ISRS forced many safety processes

to be formalised but it took some time before developing thoughts came to a firm conclusion about how to deal with the rule book. A further serious accident took place at Chorleywood in 1990 when an engineers train ran away; the investigation suggested the rule book was a contributory factor in not making it clear beyond doubt who should have secured the vehicle. New rules, based on role-specific actions and responsibilities appeared to be called for.

In the light of this a team was specifically set up during 1991 to refine the requirements and create the documentation. Implicit in this was the decision to abandon the traditional rule book completely. Teams of staff were seconded to deconstruct the existing rules to identify the hosts of issues they were intended to address; by employing ordinary operating staff on these teams it was possible to identify how the rules were actually implemented on the ground, the complications that real staff faced and how the new instructions could be made more workable and robust. Unsurprisingly it was discovered that in many areas there was considerable divergence between what the rule stated and what staff and managers actually did when presented with a problem; this was immediately identified as an uncontrolled risk that had to be addressed. Having identified the issues to be addressed, new requirements were mandated and new procedures were constructed to meet the mandatory requirements. The outcome was a manual intended to address every conceivable circumstance that could arise and which offered a procedure to address each of those circumstances. To the maximum extent possible, everything was converted into a procedure. To add to the sheer scale of this exercise, every procedure was replicated with a version for each different grade of staff likely to be involved with a

problem. As might be imagined, the result was a document of prodigious size that was far beyond the carrying capacity of any ordinary member of staff going about their duty. The master book filled three very thick A4 binders (and later more).

In order to reduce the daunting and impenetrable bulk of what became known as the reference manual, it was recognized that the vast majority of staff only needed to know that proportion of the contents that related to their own particular job. The approach, therefore, was for every class of job to be investigated in some detail in order to understand which rules were likely to be applicable. Having identified all this, the solution to the problem of providing staff with something relevant but still accessible was to produce a 'working manual', for them that contained only those rules. The working manuals (there were over thirty different types) were of A5 format and only contained the relevant material for the intended recipient; even so the A5 binders were mostly extremely thick. These working manuals were regarded as impractical to carry around and (perhaps for the first time) there was formal acknowledgement that it was no longer necessary for staff to have the 'rule book' about their person. Initially working manuals were still issued to individuals, but quite soon this became self-evidently unworkable, which meant that they were henceforth issued to every staff location as a reference book. This was precisely the opposite approach taken in traditional rule books (up to and including the 1972 book) that required staff to have the books with them when on duty.

Perhaps a number of observations might be made here:

- There was formal recognition that the old rule book as it had evolved was not fit for purpose;
- The old rules had grown in response to particular problems that presented themselves and to incidents that had hap-

pened. Although material was freely added, there was little enthusiasm for excision or wholesale review, and the Rules and Regulations Office had not considered itself a revising department.

- The decision to move to a procedures manual was essentially steered by the fallout from the King's Cross fire and was not necessarily the outcome of choice by London Underground to improve the system of rules;
- The conversion from a small pocket book of rules covering the principle issues surrounding railway operation to a reference manual of procedures created a huge raft of new communication problems at a time when lots of other changes were being introduced, and the consequences of this in turn created new problems;
- The sheer physical problem of managing and communicating updates became an onerous task and cost with its own problems and it wasn't long before the original principles were compromised by reducing the number of different working manuals in order to contain everything within manageable bounds.

The manual itself was technically well structured, though perhaps a little daunting to staff familiar with the rule book system.

When first issued, the numbering system of the manual was somewhat daunting. Of the hundreds of sections, each had a three-part number in the form 5-F012-a. The single digit comprising the first part defined the type of document, as below, and was intended to assist users how to interpret the information within:

- 0 - Information
- 1 - not used

- 2 - Policy Statement
- 3 - Rules
- 4 - Standards
- 5 - Procedures
- 6 - Guidelines

The second section comprised a capital letter followed by a sequential 3-digit number. Perhaps confusingly the sequence of numbers disregarded the initial 'type' number, which led to gaps. The letters defined the subject groups of the reference manual (like the rule book the new 'rules' were grouped into broad subject areas, but there was no correlation between the old letters and the new ones. The letters meant:

- A - Protection
- B - Fire
- C - Permits and Licences
- D - Track
- E - Traction Current
- F - Signalling System
- G - Flooding
- H - Trains
- J - Stations
- K - Escalators
- L - Lifts
- M - Communications System
- N - Incident Handling
- P - Depots
- Q - Engineering Work & Possessions
- R - Engineering & Test Trains
- S - Contractors

- T - Workshops
- U - Personal Protective Equipment
- V - Victoria Line

The third element was a sequential letter starting at 'a' which subdivided the detailed instructions into separate subsections which applied to different staff. For example 'a' might refer to station supervisors, 'b' to train operators, 'c' to signal operators, and so on. The letter 'o' meant 'overview' applying to everyone concerned with at section to explain what the element was seeking to achieve, while '#' applied to everyone by its very nature, for example a standard.

Compared with the simplicity of the old rule book all this perhaps *looked* complicated and unappealing. Another new feature was that the straightforward textual approach of the old rulebook was replaced by the consistent use of a 3-column format, with all matter, so far as possible, written as a procedure. The first column gave brief details of each step that had to be taken. The second column gave necessary extra detail about that step. The third column contained other useful or relevant information, such as impacts on other people. Staff had first to identify which procedure applied to them, and then had to follow each step in turn.

The working manuals initially came into use early in 1993 to cover particular areas, those of maximum risk being done first, and the old rule book remaining in force covering the remaining areas. Some temporary manuals were issued to get the process going, one for signal operators being among the first. The process was much delayed and it wasn't until Monday 7<sup>th</sup> August 1995 that the whole of the 1992 rule book (sections B to R) was abolished and replaced by the new Working/Reference Manual. Section 'A' (Conduct of Staff) had already been

superseded by another document referred to as a 'code of conduct' issued by the Human Resources department and ended, after a century and a half, a tradition of putting some general staff rules at the front of what were essentially operational rules and procedures. Quarterly update packs were thenceforth issued (itself a vast job). There was no going back—procedures were the future. From the same date Appendices and Supplements to the Rule Book were restyled Appendices and Supplements to the Working/Reference Manual.

Per TC 21/95 (29 May) Engineering directorate requested DELAY to withdrawal of 1990 Rule Book. Staff reminded that last number of procedures already effective. From 4<sup>th</sup> June these were listed, Incl Section B001-006; D001-002; E001-019; F001-023; G001-005; H001-024; J001-002; K001-015; L001-020; M001-005; P000-P017; U001.

One result of the introduction of the manual was that the sheer quantity of material tended to obscure what previously had been fairly conspicuous as the basic set of operating principles that might apply to a railway such as the London Underground—most difficulties ultimately resolve into a relatively small number of issues on the ground. In turn, this meant a fairly profound change to the training methods traditionally employed as basic principles (which hadn't actually changed much) had to be reconciled with the vast body of material in the reference/working manuals. It is still an open question, but at the beginning of an era where the experience level of staff was reducing (and eventually direct recruit operating staff including drivers and managers became accepted) the complications in teaching the basics may not have been assisted by obscuring them within something the size of the reference manual.

The reference Manual and all the working manuals were comprehensively revised and re-issued for 28<sup>th</sup> June 1998, with the numbering system somewhat revised, but the approach was similar to previously. There were eighteen sections (denoted by a capital letter), any number of sub-sections (denoted by a small letter) and individual sub-sections (largely procedures) that were sequentially numbered. Each subsection was systematically structured with headings that indicated where that procedure applied, to whom it applied, when it applied, and when it might not apply. The structure of the manual is given at the end of this work, as a matter of record, and is a copy of the guidance given at the time.

The new number format was in the form Bf500, the initial letter (capital) denoting the main section heading, the second letter being logical subsections, and a sequential number.

The main section headings were reduced to nineteen, as below, with some departures from the earlier letters:

- A – Protection
- B – Fire
- C – Passes, Permits and Licensing
- D – Depots
- E – Electricity & Traction Current
- F – Signals
- G – Adverse Weather & Flooding
- L – Lifts & Escalators
- M – Communications
- N – Incident Handling
- P – Plans
- Q – Infrastructure Maintenance and Engineering Work
- R – Requirements

S – Stations  
T – Trains  
U – Occupational Health & Safety  
V – Victoria Line  
X – Byelaws  
Z - Notices

The notices section was to comprise urgent notices issued between quarterly updates and filed separately in the manual, a cross reference was made by inserting the title page of the notice in the appropriate section of the manual. There were some other complex pieces of information printed on each manual section which are not gone into further here but are given in the appendix at the end.

It continued to grow, and by 2003 the reference manual was some 4000 pages long (and occupied eight A4 binders), with 446 sets on issue, and there was a total of 1620 working manuals on issue, divided into 32 different types, as set out below:

**Manual type and who each manual type applies to**

- M1 Reference Manual
- M2 Operating Officials
- M7 Train Operator
- M8 Signal Operator
- M15 Victoria Line Train Operator
- M16 Non-operational LU staff and other staff
- M18 Head of Fleet Management staff
- M19 Track Access Controller
- M20 Central Line train staff
- M30 Station Supervisor (basic station)
- M31 Station Assistant (basic station)
- M32 Station Supervisor ('section 12' station)

- M33 Station Assistant ('section 12' station)
- M34 Station Supervisor (lift/escalator station)
- M35 Station Assistant (lift/escalator station)
- M51 Lift and escalator engineering staff
- M52 Emergency Response Unit
- M59 Track safety trainers
- M60 Protection Section
- M68 Contractor lift and escalator set 4C
- M69 Contractor installation
- M73 Contractor master set
- M74 Power supply engineering
- M75 Asset Maintain - Signals (SSL)
- M76 Depot engineering
- M77 Track workshops and depot engineering plant
- M78 Infraco BCV Ltd Asset Mtce Div - Signals
- M84 Power supply engineering - HV staff
- M85 Signal, communication and electrical services - UTS staff
- M86 DESU - train modification staff
- M94 Power supply engineering - operating
- M95 Compliance and Licensing Office

The reference / working manual approach made a useful contribution towards the goal of harmonizing staff behaviours to enhance safety, but cannot be regarded as an unqualified success. The lack of portability was a major issue and effectively required a host of supplementary documents to be issued, which were portable, and whose status was unclear and mode of presentation highly diverse. The manuals themselves (many never leaving their owner's lockers) cost a fortune to update. The procedures for agreeing new or altered text was also

unwieldy, so much so that where something needed changing quickly, or where agreement couldn't be reached at all, then the material had to be promulgated by some other means, and so was born the Operational Standards Notice. These looked and felt like rules and instructions but sat outside the reference manual system and were not always issued in strict procedural form.

When London Underground embraced the Public-Private Partnership and hived its engineering activities off to contractors Metronet and Tubelines it was necessary to visit its entire suite of organizational standards and it was around this time that the reference manual itself was classified as a formal London Underground standard. This introduced further complexity into the change process since changes to a standard were likely to precipitate contractual issues. Operational Standards Notices offered a way out but did nothing for the consistency of approach that the reference manual originally stood for.

### THE 2007 RULE BOOK

Increasing dissatisfaction with the reference manual caused further work to be done, perhaps with an eye to what Rail Safety was proposing for the main lines through their GT8000 series rule books. This coincided with the creation of an 'Operational Standards' department in 2004, subsuming the former departments that had been involved in promulgating rules and regulations.

This time the decision was made to abandon the long-winded approach of the reference manual and return to the simplicity of a rule book where operating principles were more clearly set out. The reasons for change were explained at the time, and included:

- The reference manual had become so bloated over time, thereby making it inaccessible and rarely used;
- It had not kept pace with change and some contents were contrary to common sense;
- The reference manual required staff to do things that were no longer (if they were ever) necessary, which created a breed of regulations that were simply ignored—this hardly added credibility to the remaining regulations;
- Numerous formal incident investigations had drawn attention to deficiencies in the rules, often suggesting they were confusing and overly complicated;
- The Infracos had practical responsibility for managing worksites (rather than LUL) and provided their own detailed instructions were robust then the LUL instructions could be much simplified;
- The railway assets were getting older (implying failures would rise), while the railway was getting more crowded (implying failure needed to be dealt with more efficiently if risk were to be managed)—a new approach was now required in order to address this.

The working manual concept was partly retained by breaking the rule book down into 22 modules, each of which comprised a logical gathering of material in terms of its user. In other words it was envisaged from the start that in most cases most staff would only need a selection of the modules. This was good for portability (the new books were each a slim A5 size), but the downside was that the instructions relating to particular aspects of railway operation were sometimes spread about in several places. The intent was to remove all duplication and base the new rules only on what was essential; other material (if

important) would be relegated to other material, such as training documentation. In addition an attempt was made to improve network efficiency by improving process, though every process change was subject to risk and training needs analysis.

The modules as issued were:

- Book 1 Communications
- Book 2 Incident organization and management
- Book 3 Traction current and high voltage supply
- Book 4 Moving a stalled train and authorised detrainments
- Book 5 Movement of trains due to exceptional circumstances
- Book 6 General train operations
- Book 7 Train incidents and safety equipment
- Book 8 Managing the platform train interface
- Book 9 Lifts, escalators and moving walkways
- Book 10 Station access
- Book 11 Station management
- Book 12 Station emergency response
- Book 13 LU staff responsibilities – Traffic Hours protection
- Book 14 Possession planning and management
- Book 15 Possession protection methods
- Book 16 Going on the track in Engineering Hours
- Book 17 Managing access to the track in Engineering Hours
- Book 18 Engineers trains, vehicles and trolleys
- Book 19 Station supervisor responsibilities – dealing with train incidents
- Book 20 Engineering staff – Traffic Hours protection
- Book 21 Personal safety on the track
- Book 22 LU operational staff – track access

The style is quite interesting and is clearly intended to enhance the readability of the contents, with 'plain English', a rather large typeface, numerous diagrams, and various explanatory or warning notes sprinkled about. In many ways it is not unlike the GT8000 rule book in approach. The penalty for this approach was that contents that were once accommodated, conceivably with more tightness of writing, in just one volume of comparable size, now consumed 22 volumes. After extensive briefing material had been issued, the new rules came into use on 31<sup>st</sup> May 2007, with the reference and working manuals withdrawn from the same date. A number of fairly presentational errors were soon addressed by issuing suitable notices, and during early 2008 volume 18 spawned a rather incongruous supplement dealing with various engineer's trains peculiarities. The good news was that the new rule book facilitated a significant slimming down in the sixty or so operational standards, as the contents (so far as they were still relevant, could be accommodated in the new output. Having said that, it was not the intention that the new rules would change hugely anything carried out on the ground-it was merely a further attempt to improve the ways instructions were communicated.

The new rules were reissued, with some amendments, in 2009.

## **SUPPLEMENTARY LONDON UNDERGROUND RULES**

### **THE UNDERGROUND RULE BOOK APPENDIX**

It was stated earlier in this research that the rulebook is just one of a number of media for distributing instructions, regulations and procedures, and that on railways generally the working timetable appendix is one of the better-known forms of disseminating information peculiar to a geographical area.

Both the Metropolitan and District Railways used these appendices. For many years the District Railway published the appendix literally in the form of a supplement bound in the back of prevailing working timetables. It has been found the appendix did not necessarily appear in every timetable, so when a new timetable was issued, if it had no appendix, then the old timetable would have to be kept too. As the body of instructions mounted over the years, both the District and Metropolitan realized that the appendices were outgrowing the timetables and began producing them as entirely separate documents. Research is not yet complete but certainly by December 1903 the District was producing a separate 38-page Appendix containing a mass of detailed information on a wide variety of issues. In later years (eg 1915) the District was again publishing this information in the Working Timetable, though much slimmed down. By then other sets of instructions were available to carry part of the load. This practice may have changed on electrification, when so much of the train working information would have appeared in the Electrification Rules of 1905, and some of it would have migrated to the new Rule Book appendices. The tube rail-

ways also issued instructions in an appendix at the back of the timetables until the early 1920s, but also used the rule book appendices referred to later.

At this point one might backtrack to the 1912-1914 rulebooks. As mentioned earlier, these had been issued with supplements in an attempt to find a medium in which to continue much of the specialist information which had characterised the 'electrification' books of the 1905-7 period. Separate instructions, grouped by topic, were therefore issued. For the 1912 District Rulebook four appendices had been produced initially (on general electric working, on electric train equipment, on the braking equipment, and on the byelaws). These effectively replaced information in the District's 1905 Electrification rules and, to some extent, the Working Timetable Appendix before that. The supplements to the 1914 tube rulebook started off in a similar vein, though they soon proliferated. In later years the books were revised and some of them were common to the District and the tube lines, while some of the tube line books did not apply to all the tube railways.

**A listing of the known Appendices is given below:**

**Appendix I**

General information respecting electric working and also dealing with cases of electric shock.

**DR** Undated - probably 1912  
**LER/CLR/CSLR** December 1914.

**Appendix II**

Information respecting Electric Train Equipment and Rules for operation and dealing with failures of equipment.

**DR** Undated - probably 1912  
**LER** 25th April 1916.

*{Presumably there were Appendices IIa to IIc but these have not been seen}*

**Appendix II d**

Air operated door trains, Piccadilly Lines.

**LER** April 1922.

**Appendix II e**

Air operated door trains, Hampstead and C&SL Lines.

**LER/CSLR** 7th January 1924.

**Appendix II f**

Metropolitan-Vickers train equipment

**LER/CSLR** 5th November 1924.

**Appendix III**

Brakes, Description and Operation of.

**DR** December 1912  
**DR/LER/CLR** August 1915

**Appendix IV**

Byelaws and Regulations, and extracts from Acts of Parliament.

**DR** Reissued February 1914  
(original prob 1912).

**LER/CLR/CSLR** December 1914.

**Appendix V**

Instructions for dealing with snow, sleet, frost and floods on current rails.

**DR** Undated, prob 1912-3.  
**LER/CLR/CSLR** (omits ref to floods) December 1914

**Appendix VI**

Regulations for working single line between Heston-Hounslow and Hounslow Barracks.

**DR** 3rd February 1913

**Appendix VI**

Lifts, Escalators and Ventilating plant. Replaces Appendices VIa to VIg and Rules 282-305 (pre-1925 Rule book issues).

**LER/City/CLR** 8th December 1924.

**Appendix VII**

Special instructions relating to the working of signal cabins and emergency crossover roads.

**DR** 1st June 1914  
**LER/CLR/CSLR \*** December 1914.

\* Title includes suffix: 'Regulations for working electro-pneumatic and electro-mechanical cabins.'

### Appendix VIII

Code of head lights and discs.

DR

5th March 1914

### Appendix IX

Tables of Distances.

LER/CLR/CSLR

March 1915.

### Appendix X

Starting of trains.

LER/CLR/CSLR

March 1915.

On the face of it, it appears that the District series of appendices was completed in the period 1912 to March 1914, and the LER series between 1914 and March 1915, the latter modelled on the District books where appropriate, the most obvious departure being appendix VI which were about completely different subjects. The LER books picked up on the CSLR and CLR where possible. Later re-issues clearly attempted some convergence between the DR and the others.

Though the situation was presumably clear at the time, the state of play some eighty years on is a little confused. Nevertheless (as referred to above) there does seem to have been a tendency for the contents of at least **some** of the rulebook appendices to have been absorbed by the Working Timetable appendices. Much of this absorption seems to have taken place by about 1930, and it is notable that the 1933 Rulebook had no appendices to it. The fate of the rule book appendices which were **not** absorbed is obscure. While a few of them simply became redundant others emerged in a variety of miscellaneous instructions.

The appendices as printed in the back of timetables almost exclusively consisted of information actually necessary for the running of trains on that line, including traction current arrangements and certain

emergency and miscellaneous information. The tube lines continued to publish at the back of timetables until February 1926 when the material was pulled out and sorted into a single logically arranged document, still called 'Appendix to the Working Timetables'. In June 1928 this was replaced by an expanded and updated book (of 108 pages) which additionally embraced the contents of five Rule Book Appendices; a single supplement was produced in 1930 that consolidated amendments to date. A similar story applies to the District Railway whose separate Appendix book appeared in January 1919 and which was superseded by an edition of April 1930 (122 pages), incorporating eight rule book appendices and several other local instructions. By 1928/30, a considerable volume of miscellaneous material had been accreted.

The Metropolitan Railway produced an Appendix, last apparently issued in August 1921, the Metropolitan & Great Central lines in March 1922, the East London Railway in March 1923. These all appear to have survived into London Transport days without tremendous change (things moved slowly in those days).

To summarize, by 1930 each of the Underground railways had consolidated much of the day to day operating material into a single document (the Appendix to the Working Timetable) relevant to its own railway. Content might broadly be described as information or operating instructions specific to particular locations or particular types of equipment, differentiating them from the Rules, which were more general in application and might be said to set out the principles of operation. A small amount of instructional material still appeared in working timetables and there was still a body of miscellaneous instructions on issue that were not felt appropriate to bring into the 'Appendix'.

## THE LONDON TRANSPORT APPROACH

In 1933 the LPTB inherited at least three separate documents describing themselves as appendixes to Working Timetables (ie the Metropolitan, the District and the tube appendixes). As noted, the Met & GC joint Committee and the East London Railway also had their own, though these entities continued their separate legal existence until 1948, and the pace of change on those lines was not such as to press for any great urgency to revise anything. The pre-LPTB appendixes continued to serve their purpose for several years more, but they gave rise to two problems. Firstly, they were essentially geographically based (on the old companies) and problems were going to arise when the New Works programme expanded and rearranged the system. Secondly, a combined appendix would be a massive affair, complicated to keep up to date and difficult to use.

The solution adopted was to regroup all the material by topic area, at the same time harmonizing the instructions for universal application across the system. The fiction was to establish a network-wide 'appendix' to the working timetables, but broken down into a number of sections, one for each topic area. The new appendix was also destined to sweep up a few other separate sets of instructions which had constantly to be kept available. The Sections of Appendix were each given numbers for ease of recognition, and at its height there were no less than sixteen sections! It was a mammoth task; Section 1 appeared in February 1936, the next one in January 1939, and then each year or two until 1954. A list of them in Section order appears hereunder.

The years in which the various Sections of the new Working Timetable Appendix were first issued were as follows (the notes represent a description of the contents drawn from specific document titles):

- |           |      |   |
|-----------|------|---|
| Section 1 | 1936 | Protection of Employees and Movement of Vehicles in Works, Depots and Sidings; Precautions to be taken against Fire and Fusing; Use of Shoe Lifting Devices. <i>Replaced earlier instructions (relating only to first of the above headings) issued as stand alone in the 1920s. Other material was drawn from a number of disparate sources.</i> |
| Section 2 | 1939 | Traction Current Supply. <i>This superseded the explanatory matter originally in the Appendixes, slightly enlarged. Switching times were included (except north of Harrow on the Hill) and Met practice was harmonized with that of the Tubes which had already migrated to line working timetables.</i>  |
| Section 3 | 1946 | Accidents to Passengers and Staff. <i>Replaces dispersed material, with considerable addition.</i>  |
| Section 4 | 1947 | Signalling and Single Line Working regulations. <i>Supersedes material in old Appendixes together with a host of miscellaneous material all brought together.</i>   |
| Section 5 | 1947 | Bye Laws, Regulations and Notices. <i>Replaces earlier material issued as stand alone as well as in Appendixes.</i>   |
| Section 6 | 1948 | Breakdown and Defective Train Arrangements. <i>Replaces earlier material issued as stand alone as well as in Appendixes, with considerable updating and amplification.</i>  |

- Section 7 1948 Adverse Weather Regulations. *Replaces earlier material issued as stand alone as well as in Appendixes, with considerable updating and amplification. This material can be found as early as 1914 in Rule Book Appendix V.*
- Section 8 1949 Tickets, Ticket Office and Lost Property Regulations. *Replaced instructions previously issued stand alone in 1939 (superseding 1934/36 instructions) and covering similar ground; in turn replaced earlier instructions going back at least to the 1920s.*
- Section 9 1950 Operation of Escalators. *Updates material in old Tube Appendix.*
- Section 10 1951 Regulations for Working of Stations. *Replaces earlier material issued as stand alone as well as in Appendixes, with considerable updating and amplification.*
- Section 11 1952 Operation of Otis Lifts. *Updates material in old Tube Appendix. With Section 9 the material has its origins in 1914 in Rule Book Appendix VI.*
- Section 12 1952 Passes and Permits. *Mainly new material, some drawn from 1930s ticketing instructions.*
- Section 13 1954 Privilege Ticket issue and examination. *Mainly new material.*

During the period in which these thirteen Sections of Appendix were issued the old appendices retained diminishing validity. While they were never formally rescinded (as far as it has been possible to establish) it clear that by 1939 they were only of marginal relevance and by the end of the war they were of no practical utility (the last explicit ref-

erence to them was as early as 1935). To a large extent the gap between the topics covered by the old appendixes and those in the new 'sections' was filled by miscellaneous instructions. Later alterations to the 'sections' resulted in the following changes:

- 1962 Section 1 issued without reference to fires. Expanded fire instructions and flooding instructions, issued as new Section 14.
- 1965 Section 15 issued to cover automatic train working on Central Line.
- 1967 Section 11 (Lifts) superseded by revised section 9, now covering both lifts and escalators.
- 1969 New section 11 appears covering working of trains. Over next two years supplements to this section issued for each line (except Victoria). Engineer's trains supplement also issued.
- 1969 Section 16 issued covering operation of Victoria Line.
- 1969 With issue of 1969 Rule Book, Sections of Appendix to Working Timetables redesignated Section of Appendix to Rule Book.
- 1972 Section 16 (and various miscellaneous instructions) superseded by Victoria Line Handbook
- 1975 Sections 8, 12 and 13 superseded by Ticket Office Handbook.
- 1982 New Appendix 8 (Fires & Flooding) replaces Section 14
- 1983 New Appendix 12 issued covering working of trains Victoria Line (Victoria Line Handbook fell out of use).
- 1986 New Appendix 13 (Engineers trains) replaces relevant supplement to Appendix 11.

- 1989 New Appendix 8 (Fire) replaces 'fire' content of former Appendix 8, the residue of which (flooding) is renumbered Appendix 14 and re-issued in 1990.
- 1992 New Appendix 15 (Incident Organization) is brought into use in September. This lasted until 1996, when contents became part N of the Working Reference Manual.

*Note - Some appendixes were renumbered prior to issue of a new document. This list only comprises overall changes in content, numerous sections were revised and reprinted during above period.*

In 1969 the archaic fiction of an Appendix to the Working Timetables was dropped upon the introduction of the 1969 Rule Book (with which, as already noted) there was some exchange of material. Henceforth the documents were simply known as Appendix 'n' to the rule book, though the number 'n' did not, of course, change. The documents had generally been issued in a format approximately 8½ inches high by 7½ inches wide, and this continued for a while. From 1969 (and for about five years) new editions had cloth covers with a memorable design on the front. Certain of the Appendixes were additionally printed at a much smaller pocket size, and Appendix 1, 5 and 9 have been seen in this form (thought to be for non-operating department staff).

Editions published after the 1972 rule book was introduced were printed (or reprinted) in A5 format. After 1989, they began to be issued in loose leaf format. Once the Working Reference Manual was established they became known as Appendixes to the Working Reference Manual, though over the following ten years the material was gradually absorbed into the reference manual itself, or issued as stand alone instructions. For example Appendix 5 was abolished 29<sup>th</sup> September

1996, to be replaced by Section X in the Working/Reference Manual (a previously unused letter).

The exception to the above were the line supplements to Appendix 11 (and the slightly fuller material in Appendix 12 that related to the Victoria Line), first issued in 1969 and originally containing just speed restrictions and various other line specific data relating to train operations. After 1990 they began to take on a new lease of life and began to collect a whole host of line specific instructions. Now known as the Line Supplements to the Rule Book they became quite substantial documents, though they do vary somewhat from one line to another, and several of them have accumulated a considerable amount of data about signalling and station operations. This partly fulfils a need created by increasingly diverse equipment being found around the system.

From about 2010 the 'Line Supplements' were vastly thinned down with and now contain very basic material only, though covering quite a large range of topics. Some of the removed material can be found elsewhere but the feeling seems to be that a lot of basic information can now be found by staff electronically.

## **THE TRAFFIC CIRCULAR**

Another means of distributing instructions and information is the weekly traffic circular, another document of some antiquity and having a parallel with the weekly notices issued by main line railways to meet a precisely similar need.

Both the Metropolitan and the District Railways appear to have had some form of regular 'news sheet', for want of a better expression, before the turn of the century. The primary objective was to advise staff of events likely to have an effect on traffic levels, and to inform of

proposed temporary alterations to the timetables, either because of expected traffic surges or because of short notice engineering work. Naturally, such a convenient organ also became attractive as a means of distributing information and reminders about rules and procedures. Later, the rules themselves, if changed, were handed down by this means.

The UERL tube lines of 1906/7 produced a joint circular which appeared roughly fortnightly in its early days but then emerged as necessary. After about 1913 it joined forces with the District Railway and the two newly acquired tube lines and became the 'LER, CLR, C&SLR and District Railway's Traffic Notice'. These notices appeared fortnightly, with a smaller notice issued in the intervening weeks for more urgent material. They were at first numbered sequentially throughout the year.

By 1920 the contents of the Traffic Notices were substantially devoted to the listing of Signalling alterations, Engineering Work, Events, temporary and Ballast train arrangements, alterations to tickets or special tickets (and list of lost passes etc) and reminders to staff and general information. Supplements were occasionally issued, incorporating such things as revised fares tables.

From about 1932 the principle of issuing supplements to the Traffic Notice was somewhat extended. The advantage of printing a supplement was twofold. Firstly it enabled information on a particular topic to be kept separately from the ordinary notices, and secondly it enabled perhaps lengthy information applying to only a proportion of staff to be directed solely towards those staff, reducing printing costs as well as taking 'clutter' out of the ordinary notices. Initially the supplements were devoted towards the widespread track and signalling arrangements taking place on the Piccadilly Line extensions, but supplements then

became a frequent feature, covering a wide variety of specialist topics. It might be added that from early 1920 page numbering of the traffic notices became a continuous series through the year. When supplements appeared they were also numbered within the same scheme. Annual indexes were produced.

From 15th July 1933 the UERL Traffic Notices also covered the Metropolitan Line, and the former Metropolitan Railway notices ceased (though the Met & Great Central Railway section continued with its own series of notices). From 21st April 1934 the Traffic Notice became the Traffic Circular, though it was not until the beginning of 1936 that the alternate fortnight-weekly system gave way to the weekly traffic circular. In 1956 (check) the ballast train elements were removed and placed in a new (but similar format) document called the weekly 'Ballast Train Supplement to the Traffic Circular', later renamed Engineers Train Supplement. Although substantial changes have been made to the layout of the traffic circular it is still issued weekly today and contains broadly the same sort of information. Indeed it remains the principle medium for advice on changes to the rule book and appendices and currently contains amendments in a form which can easily be cut out.

From the mid 1930s the supplements to the traffic circular were also used to distribute accumulated rule-book changes and separate rules for the operation of particular pieces of equipment or for particular types of work. In 1934, for instance, instructions for the operation of ticket offices (a precursor to Working Timetable Appendix, Section 8) was issued as a Traffic Notice supplement. In later years amendments to the Rule Book (or appendix) were sometimes issued in the form of a supplement. Occasionally instructions for operation of rolling stock (for example 1972 stock) arrived in the form of a supplement.

The most common types of information to be found in supplements to the Traffic Circular are:

1. Alterations to Track or Signalling (other than minor ones which appear in the Traffic Circular itself).
2. Information concerning changes to general fares levels.

Typically (1) will be printed on yellow paper and will often include a diagram - this seems to follow main line practice. (2) invariably appears on white paper. But in addition to 1 and 2 must be included an enormous variety of other types of instruction or information, not necessarily with any obvious consistency. For example, traction current switching times were originally incorporated as a part of the Working Timetable appendix. As these were often amended they were no longer included in Appendix 2 from the 1948 edition but were instead printed in a Traffic Circular Supplement, and a new one was issued from time to time. From 1970, however, it was dropped in the form of a Traffic Circular Supplement and issued instead as a supplement to section 2 of the Rule Book Appendix, as it has remained since. Rolling Stock instructions were similar with 1967, C69 and 1972 stock general instructions issued by means of a supplement, but no other stock either before or since has been dealt with this way.

From 1986 the system of identifying traffic circular supplements was altered. Previously they were simply styled: 'Supplement to Traffic Circular number 14 1983', for example (sometimes, when there was more than one, they were referred to as 'first, second etc, supplement to...'. More recently they were issued as a separately identifiable series which begin at number 1 each year. Hence, for example, 'Traffic Circular Supplement number 3 1989'. Almost perversely the first one in the new style (Supplement number 1) was issued in December 1987, and

concluded the year's issues all the rest of which were identified the old way.

In 1994 (check) the Traffic Circular and Engineers Train Supplements were reconfigured, with some exchange of information and the latter renamed the 'Engineering Works and Safety Arrangements' supplement.

## **SUPPLEMENTS TO TRAFFIC CIRCULAR**

As already indicated, material slightly too weighty, specific or detailed was often confined to a supplement to a traffic circular, which could be printed and issued in smaller quantities only to those concerned with the material. These started in the 1920s and often related to fares increases, containing long boring fares tables. Around 1931 an orgy of extension works created a need to issue (particularly) signalling and train working instructions, and for the first time these were issued in the form of supplements (previously special notices would have appeared). From 1933 these were generally printed on white paper, except for signalling notices that were issued on yellow paper, echoing main line practice.

The single largest single sub-category of traffic circular supplement came to be the signalling ones describing new track or and altered signalling arrangements. Some of the supplements simply show diagrams of the signalling, and once the equipment has been commissioned and the staff have become familiar with it then the job of the supplement is done and it has little further use. On the other hand some supplements contain a considerable number of detailed operating instructions, together with an injunction such as 'this supplement must be retained for future reference by staff concerned'. While, occasionally, one might

find later published amendments to such supplements it is more usual for the documents to be simply forgotten, but never formally rescinded. Indeed many supplements of just post-war origins, with few or no amendments, carry almost as much validity today as they did when published, especially on the Metropolitan and Northern Lines, and on the eastern end of the District, where traditional signalling is much in evidence. Few, if any, copies of such supplements might be found in day to day use now. Are they therefore current regulations?

### OTHER REGULATIONS

There have always been pieces of paper with procedures additional to the more formalised ones in the Rule Book. Early ones seen by the author have tended to be referred to by some sort of reference number, though not invariably. The UERL lines often issued notices for specific purposes and the 'W' series seems to encompass a variety of different topics (including track and signalling changes) many of which would later have gone into a traffic circular supplement. Departments other than the operating department were also great believers of the printed word and each issued its own series of notices. A rich seam of documentation related to accounting instructions, basically for activities within ticket offices.

In LPTB days a wide variety of information appeared in a series simply called 'notice', with each one sequentially numbered. Anything from lists of missing tickets to instructions for operation of new trains was a likely candidate.

The principle series of notices which were emerging in the post war era were as follows:

1. Local Signalling Instructions (fairly self explanatory - instruction to operating staff about use of local equipment or unusual signalling procedures).
2. Rolling Stock Notices (about operation of, or modifications to, rolling stock).
3. Rules and Regulations Notices (a wide variety of subjects ranging from lists of stations issuing certain types of ticket to regulations for dealing with experimental equipment somewhere).
4. Traffic notices (a lesser species of R&R notice, typically dealing arrangements for some special event).
5. Divisional Circulars (local arrangements to meet requirements on a single line or the lines of a single operational Division).

These varieties of notice are still issued in some form though the series have not been fully continuous and Divisional Circulars are now called Line Circulars. Considerable overlap may be noted over the years as to what goes in each notice.

A principle difference exists between the Rulebook (and appendices) and the lesser species of instructions. The Rulebook and the Appendices are both subject to periodic revision and it is comparatively easy to determine what documents are current or otherwise (ignoring, for a moment, the practical difficulties of updating them). All the other documents are normally issued sequentially, with the majority of them losing relevance gradually over time, it being not at all clear when they are totally or partially redundant. It is thus possible to find forty or fifty year old notices which are still relevant, in contrast to comparatively recent notices which are no longer so — and with not a word uttered on either! This is mentioned simply to highlight the fact that it is not al-

ways a certain matter to define what the precise nature of the extant regulations is.

Line Supplements – no longer obvious what to.

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# LONDON UNDERGROUND RULES, NOW AND THE FUTURE

## WORDING THE RULES

The department responsible for the maintenance of the rulebook has never, visibly, indicated a propensity for wholesale modernization of the rules and regulations. Generally, new rules have appeared when an old one has proved unable to meet the demands placed upon it, or when it has been necessary to cover some new circumstances. General updating has only been resorted to when the former arrangements became quite unworkable. The last major re-think about the system of rules and regulations seems to have been before the war when the sections of appendix began to appear. Later adjustments (for example introduction of the ticket office handbook) were very much more minor in scope. Even here it was more the way that the regulations were presented that was in question, not what individual regulations actually said.

It is fairly obvious that rules need to be concise in their wording if misinterpretation is to be avoided, a particular problem where a rule is fairly general in application. Traditionally rules have been framed by staff who have a good command of the English language and who are able to use the subtleties of the language in order to express a very precise meaning. Whether or not the meaning is in all cases intelligible to the intended readership is perhaps questionable, and has given rise to a cynical feeling that the rules are framed in a legalistic way more for the protection of the company than for the employee expected to understand and abide by them. This view has undoubtedly been fuelled by the recent tendency to teach new employees the rules and regulations

somewhat apart from the rule book, which (with its appendices) is simply handed out with little further reference ever made to it.

The combination of the reluctance for 'unnecessary' updating, and the somewhat starchy style, gives rise to some extraordinary forms of expression by modern standards, as well as some inconsistency in the areas covered.

The 1983 Rule Book, in rule A6(e) states:

*Staff, when on duty, must not solicit gratuities.*

What this means is that staff must not attempt to demand a tip, though it does not prohibit them from accepting one if pressed to do so! District Railway Rule 10 (1912 Rule Book) covered the matter with:

*No Servant of the Company is allowed to solicit gratuities from passengers or other persons.*

so one sees where the expression comes from. Another, though more acceptable, example of a familiar turn of phrase may be found in rule A7(b)i (of 1983):

*Staff must not appropriate to their own use nor remove from the railway any property of the Executive... without express authority.*

The RCH rule (4b) which covered this in 1916 stated:

*Servants are not allowed to appropriate to their own use any article, the property of the company.*

This was a comparatively radical move forward when compared with the end of District Railway rule 8 of 1881:

*No servant is allowed to convert to his own use any article, the property of the Company...?'*

Until relatively recently there was one extraordinary paragraph in the Ticket Office Handbook. Paragraph B12 (1979 reprint) reads:

*If a person endeavours to substitute one note or coin for another with intent to defraud, or to obtain money on jewellery or other alleged valuables on the pretence that he or she is temporarily financially embarrassed, Booking Clerks must refer such person to the Station Supervisor who must communicate with the LT Area Police Information Room'.*

The regulation first appeared with this wording in the 1949 edition of Section 8, and one can just visualise sharp suited spivs trying their luck on unfortunate railway staff. In fact the regulation dates back even earlier, with the tube lines Appendix of 1928 stating:

*In the event of a person endeavouring to 'ring the changes' or to obtain money on jewellery on the pretence that it is genuine and that the person offering it is temporarily embarrassed and in need of money for his fare, Booking Clerks must refer such person to the Station Master or Clerk-in-Charge, who will communicate with the Police, giving a description of the offender.*

That such a regulation could continue to be expounded until the 1970s seems positively bizarre. It serves to show how reactive the office must have been at the time. The paragraph did not survive to see the 1986 Ticket Office Handbook.

New rules have tended to be written in a more straightforward manner and, similarly, rules subject to amendment have been better worded as a result. The balance between wording of different areas of rules varies considerably, from the vague to the exhaustive, without obvious reason. For example, Appendix 10 (1984) extols at great length the need to switch lights on and off when necessary, and even goes to the extraordinary lengths of offering tables of switching on/off times (in GMT, with an appropriate note about correcting for summer time). This concept comes straight from the 1920s (tube lines appendix, page 54 for example) when perhaps conditions were a little different. It is

very doubtful whether this is met with the slightest notice being taken, and the lights are invariably put on or off depending on whether it's dark or not.