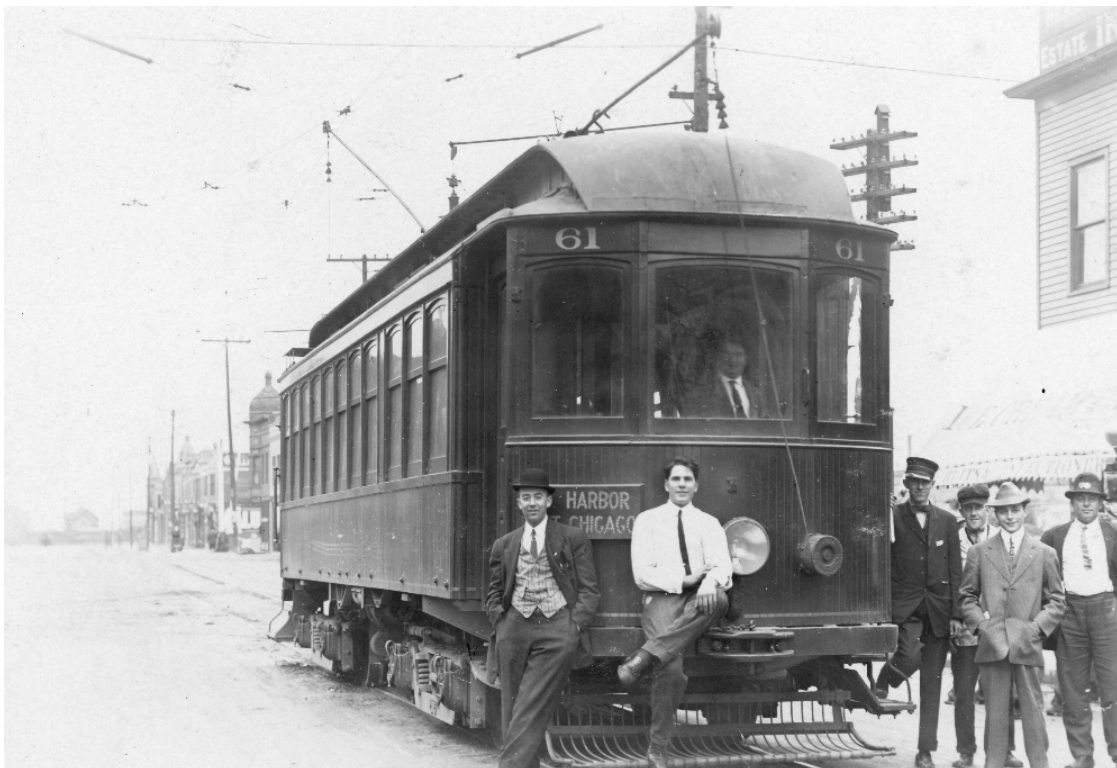


They Were Men of Faith and Business: The People of The Chicago, Lake Shore and South Bend Railway

Take a drive down U.S. Highway 12 through the Indiana Dunes Country. In 1900, the dunescape you are passing through was inhabited by few. Those who were there used the dunes to study the sciences: biologist Henry Chandler Cowles studied the dunes plant life; Octave Chanute retired from a career in railroading to use the dunes at Miller Beach to launch gliders in a bid to achieve heavier than air flight. A decade later, place names in the dunes recognized industrial innovation. Gary was named for an Illinois county judge who had risen to become the president of the company he founded – U.S. Steel. Further east, three sidings on a new interurban railroad were named for prominent Cleveland, Ohio, area men – Goff, Wagner, and Wilson.

Before Goff, Wagner, and Wilson were involved in the interurban, the Chicago & Indiana Air Line Railway (Indiana Air Line) had made some progress under the Seagrave's management. During 1903, the Indiana Air Line completed most of the needed land purchases, engineering, and began grading the interurban west of South Bend through St. Joseph County. Streetcar operations had begun in East Chicago along Chicago Avenue to the steel mill complex at Indiana Harbor. Little else was accomplished before Panic set in.



South Shore Lines streetcar at East Chicago, Indiana, undated. Streetcar operations in East Chicago protected the franchise there for the interurban operations yet to come.

The year 1903 had begun optimistically enough, not just for the Indiana Air Line, but for business generally. The stock market had been at least stable through 1902, the financial panic of 1901 caused by the Northern Pacific Corner¹ was a distant memory (Wall Street always seems to have a very short memory), and interurban building was experiencing a boom across the Midwest. The boom was short lived.

The initial operation in East Chicago only protected the franchise there from competition. Franchise contracts in Michigan City, New Carlisle, and South Bend went unfulfilled. By the time land transactions and construction began again, the financial landscape had shifted under the feet of the promoters of electric railroads, and the shift left the future of the Seagrave's network of electric railways very much in doubt.²

As 1903 faded the panic escalated. The worst panic was not in the Nation's business but was personal for many Chicagoans. Just 35 hours before the New Year of 1904 would be rung in, panic set in among the audience members at Chicago's Iroquois Theatre. As they watched the play *Mr. Blue Beard*, fire broke out above the stage. The theatregoers tried in vain to flee the flames in what is still the worst single-building fire in U.S. history. Over 600 people died that afternoon. The building was over-optimistically billed as being fireproof.³

Not nearly as tragically, but bad enough, 1903 ended poorly for the Nation's financial markets. Financial panic had set in during September as far too many initial public stock offerings came to market, and many of these were in shaky companies with no real profit potential. Bank reserves fell. The United States' export/import ratio deteriorated. The Dow Jones Industrial Average lost nearly one third of its value by the end of the year.⁴ From time to time the financial world gets overly optimistic and again believes itself to be fireproof, making claims that good times have come to stay, permanently. Time and again these hopes prove false. And they proved false again in 1903. As capital dried up in Cleveland, Philadelphia, and Boston, the three financial markets that catered to interurban promoters, electric railway construction ceased.

¹ The Northern Pacific Corner was an attempt by Edward Henry Harriman of the Union Pacific Railroad to best James Jerome Hill of the Great Northern Railway in acquiring the stock of the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy Railroad. The "Corner" was accomplished by buying stock in the Northern Pacific Railway which was controlled by Hill and banker J.P. Morgan. Hill and Morgan retaliated by buying stock in the Northern Pacific at inflated prices to maintain their control. What goes up must come down – railroad stock prices skyrocketed in tandem with the Northern Pacific, but collapse was inevitable; the stock market crash occurred in the afternoon of 8 May 1901.

² Hilton & Due, *The Electric Interurban Railways in America*, 25-7 (1960).

³ Iroquois Theatre Fire, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Iroquois_Theatre_fire (last visited Nov. 3, 2022).

⁴ Roger W. Babson, *The Ups and Downs of Wall Street: Stock Market Reactions of a Quarter Century, with Inquiry Concerning Date and Extent of Next Great Movement*, N.Y. Times, Dec. 31, 1916.

Bear market tumbles are often swift and therefore short-lived. During 1904, the capital markets became liquid once more. On 30 July, the control of the Indiana Air Line shifted away from the Seagraves of Toledo to Francis B. Wagner of Ashtabula, Ohio, as well as James B. Hanna and M.H. Wilson of Cleveland.⁵ Wilson, a vice-president of The Cleveland Trust Company, was the head of the new syndicate that controlled the Indiana Air Line.⁶ Wilson siding near Shadyside, Indiana, was named for the syndicate head.

In 1900, Cleveland was the seventh largest city in America and a hub of steel making and manufacturing and the banking institutions that supported it. Cleveland had become a center for available capital for interurban construction in the Midwest. The wealthy Clevelanders who had made a lasting mark on the City's history lived east of downtown's Public Square along or near Euclid Avenue. There were so many mansions on Euclid that it was dubbed Millionaire's Row. Several of the men associated with the history of the South Shore Line had mansions along or near Millionaire's Row, one of the prominent among them was the president of the Indiana Air Line – Luther Allen.

As control of the Indiana Air Line shifted, Luther Allen stayed on as president. Allen began his career as a clerk on the Chicago & Milwaukee Railway (later a division of the Chicago & North Western Railway), and later served as the first auditor of the Northern Pacific Railroad. At the age of 38, Allen became the secretary and treasurer of the Society for Savings, a large Cleveland bank. Two years later in 1886, Allen had become the secretary and treasurer of The Globe Iron Works, a Cleveland ship building concern. Allen was also a founder of the Cleveland Trust Company which held the construction bonds of the South Shore Lines. At the time of his death on 23 September 1905, Allen was also the president of the Toledo & Western Railway.⁷ Luther Allen's mansion at 7609 Euclid Avenue did not enjoy the long life of the interurban he guided in its early years – the Allen mansion was slated for demolition by the Cleveland Planning Commission in 2015.⁸

⁵ Letter to M.H. Wilson (May 23, 1906), 4.

⁶ The Chicago, Lake Shore & South Bend Railway, 33 Elec. Ry. J. 674.

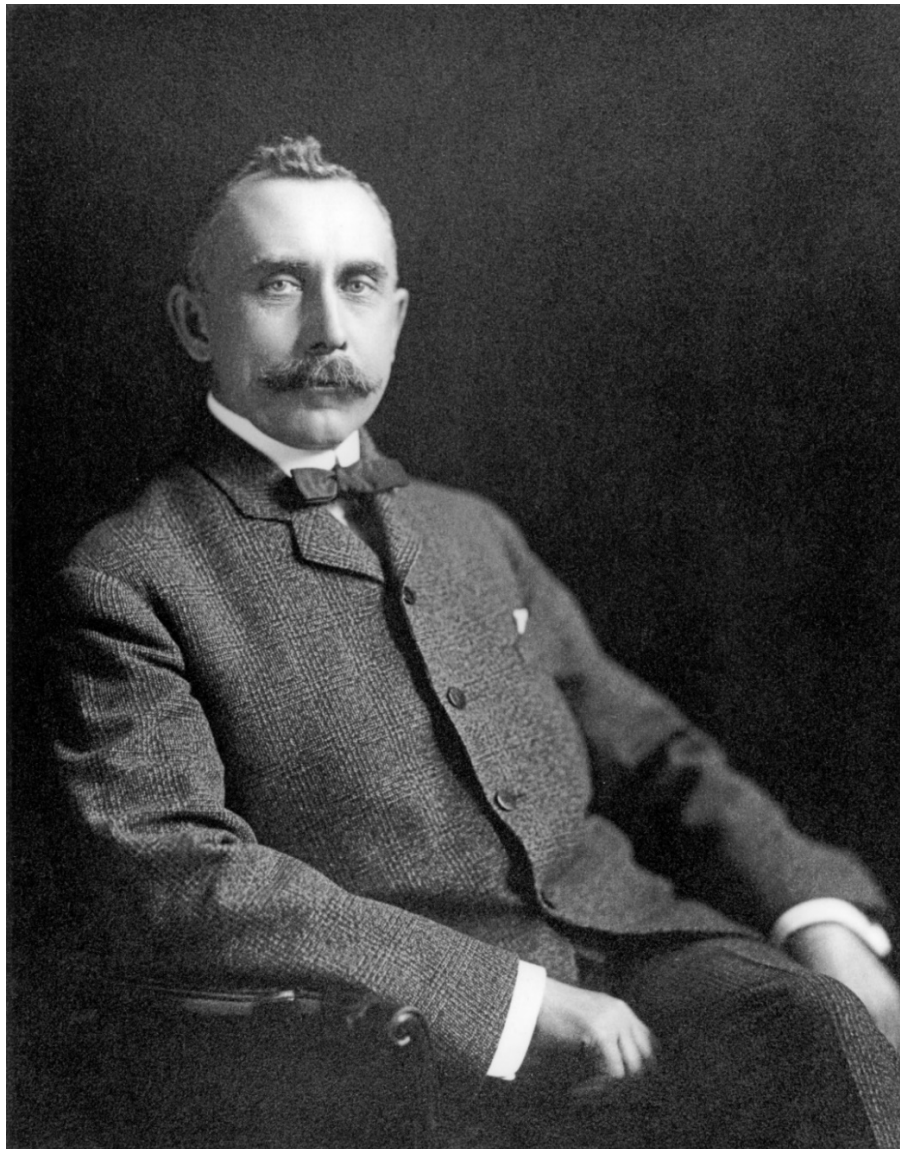
⁷ Samuel Peter Orth, *A History of Cleveland: Biographical*, 852-53 (vol. 2 1910).

⁸ Cleveland Restoration Society, <https://www.facebook.com/clevelandrestoration/posts/we-are-sad-to-see-the-demolition-of-the-luther-allen-house-at-7609-euclid-avenue/1100793466600277/> (last visited Nov. 3, 2022).



Luther Allen was the first president of the Chicago and Indiana Air Line Railway. Allen stayed on as president of the renamed The Chicago, Lake Shore and South Bend Railway. Photograph Courtesy of the Western Reserve Historical Society, Cleveland, O.

Replacing Luther Allen as the South Shore Lines's president in 1905 was a self-described railroad promotor, James B. Hanna. Hanna was a cousin of one of the most powerful men in the U.S., Marcus Alonzo Hanna.⁹ Marcus Hanna was chairman of the Republican National Committee and was alleged to have been the power behind President William McKinley. James B. Hanna's tenure at the South Shore Lines was as noteworthy as that of his cousin in the senate but only because it was marked by mismanagement, scandalous self-dealing, and two wrecks in 1909.



James B. Hanna's control of the South Shore Lines did not go well. Hanna's interurban career ended with the disastrous wreck at Shadyside of 19 June 1909. Warren Bicknell took operational control soon after; Calvary Morris assumed Hanna's role as president. Photograph Courtesy of the Western Reserve Historical Society, Cleveland, O.

⁹ James B. Hanna Dies at Age 77, S. Bend Tribune, Dec. 31, 1931, at 20.

A new board of directors came along with Hanna's control of the Indiana Air Line. The new board was made up of men from Cleveland and the surrounding area. Francis B. Wagner was the head of the street railway company at Ashtabula. Edwin Hanna was the superintendent of Cleveland Railways. Richard B. Moser was a patent attorney from Cleveland. Charles W. Pattison and Francis C. McMillan were in a Cleveland law partnership.

The new board of directors first order of business was to change the corporate title to The Chicago, Lake Shore and South Bend Railway Company (South Shore Lines). The second order of business was to change the corporate vision: the South Shore Lines was to be a link in an interurban road connecting Cleveland with Chicago.¹⁰ After all, these were men of Cleveland. Completing an important interurban road from the Seventh City to the Second City in competition with the steam railroads using new electric railway technologies and their own business model likely was a tantalizing prospect.

Tantalizing enough that the board voted to authorize a bond issue for \$3 million and a like increase in the capital stock. But despite the improvement in the capital markets, only one other thing happened in 1904. The South Shore Lines entered into an important contract with the Illinois Central Railroad to build a seven-mile electrified link from the Indiana – Illinois state line to Kensington Station in the Pullman neighborhood in the City of Chicago. The contract called for the Kensington and Eastern Railroad to be leased to the South Shore Lines.¹¹ The contract was lopsided, however. The supplemental agreement to the contract called for the South Shore Lines to acquire a right-of-way of equal length for use by the Illinois Central into Indiana for the Illinois Central's access to the same industrial markets that were attractive to the South Shore Lines.¹²

Because Delaware is the state where most publicly held corporations are formed, business law in the U.S. is largely based on decisions of the Delaware Supreme Court as emulated in statutes adopted by the other forty-nine states.¹³ Proper corporate governance requires officers and directors to have a duty of loyalty and a duty of care to the corporation. The duty of loyalty requires that the corporate officers place the interests of the firm before their own.¹⁴ The duty of care requires that the directors make well-informed decisions and exercise proper oversight of the actions of the officers.¹⁵ Nothing of the kind happened in the corporate governance of the South Shore Lines.

¹⁰ *Cleveland-Chicago Connection*, 26 Street Ry. J., 1119 (1905).

¹¹ Frank H. Monks, *In the Matter of The Chicago, Lake Shore and South Bend Railway (Illinois and Indiana)*, Report to The Cleveland Trust Company, Cleveland, Ohio, Apr. 1906, 4-5.

¹² Letter to M.H. Wilson (May 23, 1906), 34-5.

¹³ J. Robert Brown & Lisa L. Casey, *Corporate Governance: Cases and Materials* 189 (2d ed. 2016).

¹⁴ *Id.* at 269.

¹⁵ *Id.* at 189-90.

To get things moving, on August 6, 1905, Hanna personally, and without the knowledge of his board members, entered into a contract with a bond and stock marketing company from New Jersey, the Transit Finance Company.¹⁶ Hanna represented to TFC that he was the owner of nearly all the capital stock of the South Shore Lines.¹⁷ But Hanna was not the controlling shareholder of the South Shore Lines; Francis B. Wagner, for whom Wagner siding was named, and a trust that Wagner controlled were by far the largest shareholders controlling over 78% of the outstanding shares. Hanna actually owned less than 10% of the South Shore Lines stock.¹⁸ Hanna further represented to TFC that he held the lease on the Kensington and Eastern Railroad.¹⁹ But Hanna did not control the lease; the Indiana and Kensington Railway Company controlled the lease.²⁰

Failing to do its own due diligence regarding the statements made by Hanna, the TFC entered into a contract with John R. Lee & Co., to construct the railway for \$12 million, half to be paid in stock in the interurban and the other half in bonds. In return, 10% of the construction cost – \$1.2 million – was to be kicked back to Hanna personally.²¹ This self-dealing by Hanna was in violation of the officer's duty of loyalty. At board meetings held on August 25, and September 8, 1905, the South Shore Lines directors ratified these agreements ex post facto in violation of the director's duty of care.²²

A consulting engineer, Frank H. Monks, was hired by the Cleveland Trust Company to sort out the growing mess that all of this had become. The several findings included:

1. that the contract to lease the Kensington and Eastern from the Illinois Central was of the utmost importance as terminating in Chicago on the steam railroad was superior and would boost ridership. Indeed, Monks stated that this contract was “of incalculable worth,” and “becomes the cornerstone upon which the proposed railroad under review rests.”²³
2. That the proposed town of Gary was no longer a fiction, but a fact. Monks cited estimates that ranged from 12,000 to 100,000 expected residents in the new steel center named for U.S. Steel founder Judge Elbert Henry Gary.²⁴ (The actual peak in Gary's population was 178,320 in 1960).

¹⁶ Letter to M.H. Wilson (May 23, 1906), 22-3.

¹⁷ *Id.* at 22.

¹⁸ *Id.* at 5-6.

¹⁹ *Id.* at 22.

²⁰ *Id.* at 3.

²¹ *Id.* at 25.

²² *Id.* at 24.

²³ Frank H. Monks, *In the Matter of The Chicago, Lake Shore and South Bend Railway (Illinois and Indiana)*, Report to The Cleveland Trust Company, Cleveland, Ohio, Apr. 1906, 2.

²⁴ *Id.* at 10-11.

3. That there was a movement to develop an electrified interurban network westward from Buffalo, New York, and that the South Shore Lines “appeared to hold the key to the situation so far as a feasible connection with Chicago was concerned.”²⁵
4. That the estimate for construction costs was \$2,500,000 (far less than the \$12,000,000 amount expected by John R. Lee & Co.).²⁶

Monks confidently went out on a limb and predicted that the coming electrifications of the New York City terminals of the New York Central and Pennsylvania railroads, and the experimental electrification of an operating division of The New York, New Haven and Hartford Railroad

will entirely warrant the rapid extension of electricity as a motive power over other portions of their routes and lines, and that other great roads throughout the country will follow in their suit and largely adopt electricity to the exclusion of reciprocating steam locomotives.²⁷

As to the direct benefit of these coming electrifications, Monks noted that the Illinois Central suburban service that would carry the South Shore Lines’s passengers to the Chicago’s Loop would likely soon electrify as well

and hence the cars or trains of the latter may run through to Randolph Street, thereby vastly improving the operating conditions and bringing increased satisfaction to and patronage from the travelling (sic) public.²⁸

The South Shore Lines’s Illinois subsidiary, the Indiana & Kensington Railroad Company was in such disarray that it was likely that its ability to contract with the Illinois Central Railroad was in doubt. A consultant responding to the inquiry of M.H. Wilson found:

1. that the railway set up a subsidiary in Illinois with a board of directors that failed to meet the statutory requirement that a majority of its members be residents of the State of Illinois,
2. that the Illinois subsidiary had failed to properly record its by-laws or sign the minutes,
3. that the paperwork of the company was in a state of disarray,

²⁵ *Id.* at 26-7.

²⁶ *Id.* at 31.

²⁷ *Id.* at 27.

²⁸ *Id.* at 29.

4. and that neither the board of directors nor the shareholders authorized this most important contract with the Illinois Central Railroad for the connection to Chicago.²⁹

The consultant recommended that these and other corporate governance issues be remedied.³⁰ But most importantly, the counselor found the contract with the TFC to be so odorous that he recommended its termination. That TFC had advanced \$18,000 for surveys, real estate, and construction, did not bother the consultant; that was a loss for TFC to absorb. The consultant hoped that not only would the advanced funds be beyond recovery from Hanna, but he also noted that the contract held out the possibility that the South Shore Lines could collect \$50,000 in liquidated damages for non-performance on the part of TFC.³¹

The last recommendation to consider as the railway was about to resume construction was based upon an earlier recommendation by engineers at Warren Bicknell's Cleveland Construction Company.³² The engineers recommended that the South Shore Lines adopt 6600v alternating current for the trolley voltage, this in contrast with the industry standard of 600v direct current. The decision to adopt 6600vac pitted the South Shore Lines squarely in the "War of the Currents" that was raging between the proponents of Thomas Edison's direct current power transmission and those that adhered to theories of Nikola Tesla and George Westinghouse and the perceived advantages of alternating current transmission and propulsion equipment.

The difficulty in 1906 was that alternating current motors for transportation were largely untested, and the few high-speed electric railways that chose alternating current for distribution to their trolley wire and for car motor current quickly figured out their error and almost universally abandoned alternating current in favor of direct current trolley current and car motors within a decade, some roads making the conversion in as little as two years.³³ The South Shore Lines was soon saddled with so many problems, conversion to direct current power distribution and car motors, indeed finding the capital to correct any number of problems, was out of reach.

²⁹ Letter to M.H. Wilson (May 23, 1906), 2-4.

³⁰ *Id.* at 4-5.

³¹ *Id.* at 24-7.

³² Letter from J.B. Potter to James B. Hanna (Oct. 1, 1906).

³³ George W. Hilton & John F. Due, *The Electric Interurban Railways in America*, 58-62 (1960).



Northern Indiana is not flat. East of Michigan City, construction of the South Shore Lines across the St. Lawrence Continental Divide devoured a of lot dirt and cash. Photograph courtesy of the Calumet Regional Archives, Indiana University Northwest.

Once the construction of the South Shore Lines was complete, one fact stood out: the railway was much more expensive to complete than Monks thought. The total expense came to \$4,549,996. Several factors added to the cost overruns including the “excellent roadway, expensive over-head work [trolley line construction], high class equipment, magnificent power plant, [and] separation of grade crossings. The resulting higher fixed interest charges added not only to the immediate difficulties faced by the South Shore Lines but to future expenses as well. Other factors weighed heavily on the startup expense including two serious accidents in the first year of operation.³⁴ Negligent operation of the railway and the litigation that followed became an immediate and an enduring problem for the South Shore Lines.

Both wrecks happened within the first eight months of operation of the South Shore Lines and in both wrecks there were casualties. A wreck at Cavanaugh on 12 April 1909 injured 47. But the night of 19 June 1909 brought even more misery. On that night most of the folks riding in South Shore Lines car #73 had been to the automobile races in Crown Point, Indiana. Now they were headed for home in the

³⁴ The Chicago, Lake Shore and South Bend Railway Company: History and Present Status, 2 (1910).

Indiana towns of Porter, Michigan City, Knox, and Mishawaka. Three other folks were headed for Niles, Michigan. Then came the crash.

Westbound car #3 was on time at the hands of motorman Shimmel and conductor Pahl, but eastbound car #73 had gotten its current collection pantagraph tangled up in the trolley wire at Gary and was running late. Motorman Reed and conductor Kinney had been given orders from the dispatcher to wait for car #3 at Wilson siding, but forgot.³⁵ As a result, twelve people were killed and twenty-five injured. Conductor Kinney was suspected of drinking before going to work that day.³⁶ A man uninjured in the wreck managed to walk five miles to find a phone to call the dispatcher to alert him of the collision.³⁷ There were no mobile phones, few automobiles. The folks waiting with their horses and buggies for their loved ones at the Portchester stop (which served Porter and Chesterton) likely waited for hours before finding that four of their family members had died in a wreck just four miles away.



Shadyside, Indiana, on the night of 19 June 1909.

³⁵ Michigan City Evening Dispatch, June 21, 1909, at 1.

³⁶ Hilton and Due, *supra* note 29, at 89.

³⁷ Michigan City Evening Dispatch, June 21, 1909, at 1.

There were no block signals. It was critical on single-track interurbans where operating speeds of 75 miles per hour were common to receive and remember train orders; passing an assigned meeting point almost always resulted in tragedy. The Chicago, Lake Shore and South Bend wreck was not the first or the last of its kind.

Near Mattoon, Illinois, eighteen people were killed in 1907, and it was the second fatal wreck on the line in a year. During just one week in mid-September 1910, three head-on wrecks occurred in Indiana killing a total of forty-nine passengers and crew members. Less than a month later, thirty-seven people were killed in a head-on collision between interurban cars at Staunton, Illinois. Head-on collisions had become the most common of interurban disasters across the country.³⁸

The Indiana Railroad Commission found that all the crews in the Indiana cases had ignored their train orders, and all the conductors were found to be incompetent, having been fired from previous railroad jobs or that they simply had too little interurban railway operating experience. In the case of the South Shore Lines wreck, the commission found that to have employed conductor Kinney, who had been discharged for drinking on duty at the Wabash Railroad was “the worst kind of railroading we have ever known, and it may be compared to shooting a gun into a crowd of people.”³⁹

The Indiana Railroad Commission soon ordered all the interurbans in the state to install block signals where safety demanded it – which should have been just about everywhere. The commission order, the crash litigation and claims, low ridership, the high fixed charges, and the difficulties with the alternating current motor and control systems, likely gave the folks at Cleveland Trust some considerable heartburn. As a result, Cleveland Trust brought top men in to bear down on the situation in Indiana. The management of the South Shore Lines was turned over to the best trouble-shooter The Cleveland Trust Company knew – Warren Bicknell.

Warren Bicknell was interested in interurban railroads early in their history, and he did much to shape the electric railway industry. Bicknell began his interurban career as auditor of the Cincinnati & Miami Valley Traction Company. When that interurban merged with the Dayton Traction Company, Bicknell was named secretary and auditor of the merged properties: the Southern Ohio Traction Company. Bicknell left Ohio in 1901 to become general manager of the Aurora, Elgin & Chicago (later nicknamed the Sunset Lines) where he worked for two years. In 1903, Bicknell was named president of the Lake Shore Electric of Ohio.

³⁸ Hilton and Due, *supra* note 29, at 88.

³⁹ *Id.* at 89.

Moving from operations to construction, in 1906, Bicknell formed the Cleveland Construction Company, one of the largest interurban construction firms. As a contractor, Bicknell built interurbans in Ohio, New York, Virginia, Indiana, Illinois, and Wisconsin, including the South Shore Lines. After forming his construction company, Bicknell was still actively involved in managing interurbans including roads in Ohio, Texas, and Cuba.⁴⁰ Bicknell was another Cleveland; his home was at 2073 Adelbert Road, just south of Euclid Avenue.



Someone had to rescue the South Shore Lines from the mess created by James B. Hanna; Warren Bicknell's consulting firm took over operations after two disastrous wrecks in 1909. Photograph Courtesy of the Western Reserve Historical Society, Cleveland, O.

⁴⁰ This Cleveland of Ours: Biographical 445-48 (vol. 3 1933).

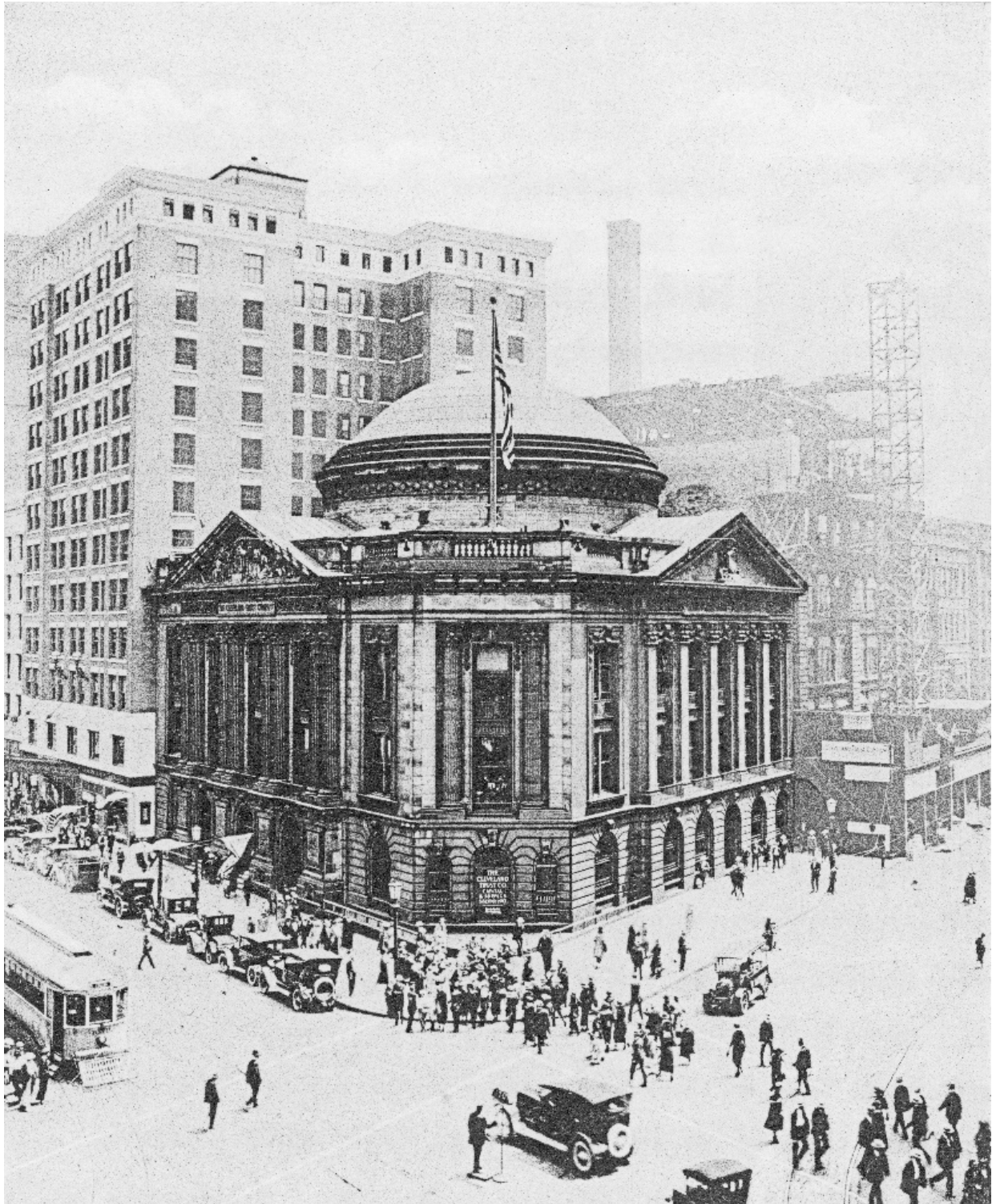
Bicknell brought a new president to the South Shore Lines – Calvary Morris. Morris was born on 3 March 1851 to Charles and Lydia (Warren) Morris in Athens County, Ohio. Calvary was named for his famous grandfather, a U.S. congressman who represented Ohio's 6th District for three terms as a member of the Whig Party. The elder Calvary Morris was named for the Latin word meaning Golgotha, the site of Christ's crucifixion.⁴¹

The younger Calvary Morris was a coal operator prior to rising to the presidency of the Cleveland Trust Company and serving until he was replaced by Frederick Harris Goff in 1908.⁴² As president of Cleveland Trust, Morris commissioned the Beaux Arts headquarters building at 9th and Euclid in Downtown Cleveland. The Cleveland Trust Company Building was designed by New York architect George Browne Post, and still stands in 2022. Morris was not just a figure head of the South Shore Lines – Morris personally loaned the railway \$25,000.⁴³ Morris did not live to see his 61st birthday, passing away in Cleveland on 5 February 1912. Morris's tenure at the South Shore Lines was short-lived lasting perhaps two years.

⁴¹ The Strangest Names in American Political History, <https://politicalstrangenames.blogspot.com/search?q=calvary+morris> (last visited Nov. 5 2022).

⁴² The Encyclopedia of Cleveland History: Ameritrust, <https://case.edu/ech/articles/a/ameritrust> (last visited Nov. 5, 2022).

⁴³ The Chicago, Lake Shore and South Bend Railway Company: History and Present Status, Schedule E (1910).



The Cleveland Trust Company Building, 1920. Because The Cleveland Trust Company controlled the bonded indebtedness of the South Shore Lines, control of the interurban was concentrated in the men officed in the building built by Calvary Morris.



Calvary Morris's Cleveland mansion was at 3147 Prospect Avenue, one block south of Euclid Avenue. Staffed by three servants and a maid in 1910, the mansion was leveled after his death in 1912 and replaced with an apartment block built in 1920.

A new slate of directors came with Bicknell and Morris. These new men were not new to the electric railway industry. All were well known and wealthy Clevelanders and nearly all were involved in financing, counseling, and operating street and interurban electric railways. A couple of them made their mark on U.S. and world history through philanthropy rooted in their Christian faith. The most experienced of these interurban men was Edward W. Moore.

During Edward W. Moore's career, he came to control the largest street railway, interurban, and independent telephone network in the United States through his syndicate with Henry A. Everett. At the start of Moore's business career, he began as an office boy and rose to become one of the largest holders of bank stocks in Cleveland. The Everett-Moore interests controlled the street railways in Detroit, Michigan; Montreal, Quebec; London and Toronto in Ontario; and Winnipeg, Manitoba.

The Everett-Moore syndicate also controlled the interurban network in eastern Michigan, northern Ohio as well as in the Scioto Valley, northern West Virginia, eastern Maryland, and southern Ontario. The Sunset Lines started out as an Everett-Moore property. At its peak, the Everett-Moore syndicate controlled over 15% of the North American interurban mileage. Everett-Moore also operated 9000 miles of long-distance telephone lines, the largest independent telephone network in the United States in the first decade of the 20th Century.^{44 45} Moore's mansion at 11129 Euclid Avenue did not contain his interest long – in 1898, Moore built a 42-room summer home on 1000 acres east of Cleveland near Mentor, Ohio. Moore's summer home has survived well. Today the Mooreland Mansion and 400 of its acres are home to the Lakeland Community College.

⁴⁴ Hilton & Due, *supra* note 29, at 11.

⁴⁵ Samuel Peter Orth, *supra* note 7, at 203-5.



Edward W. Moore teamed up with Henry A. Everett early in the story of the interurbans. Together Everett and Moore built a network that blanketed much of Ohio and radiated in every direction from Detroit including east into Ontario. Photograph Courtesy of the Western Reserve Historical Society, Cleveland, O.

Horatio Clark Ford was a descendant of Andrew Ford who arrived at Weymouth, Massachusetts, in 1650. After practicing law in Cleveland, in 1886 Ford founded the East End Savings Bank, a predecessor of the Cleveland Trust Company. Ford became interested in interurban railroads and was a board member of the Eastern Ohio Traction Company and the Wheeling Traction Company before joining the board of directors of the South Shore Lines.

Ford also had an interest in higher education, serving on the board of trustees of Oberlin College. Ford also served on the finance committee of the American Missionary Association, the one-time abolitionist organization dedicated in the post-Reconstruction era to the education of African Americans, Native Americans, and the Appalachian poor.⁴⁶

On 25 August 1853, Ford was born near the intersection of Euclid Avenue and Adelbert Road in his family's farmhouse. In 1915, Ford died at his family's farm on his sixty-second birthday in the same room in which he was born. Between his birth and death, Ford's success led him to live in the mansion located at 2464 Euclid Avenue. What was the Ford family farm is now owned by Case Western Reserve University.

⁴⁶ Samuel Peter Orth, *supra* note 7, at 1020-25.



Horatio Clark Ford held national offices in the American Missionary Association and the Congregational Church. Ford's work at these organizations aided in the education of poor American's – Native, Black, and White. Photograph Courtesy of the Western Reserve Historical Society, Cleveland, O.

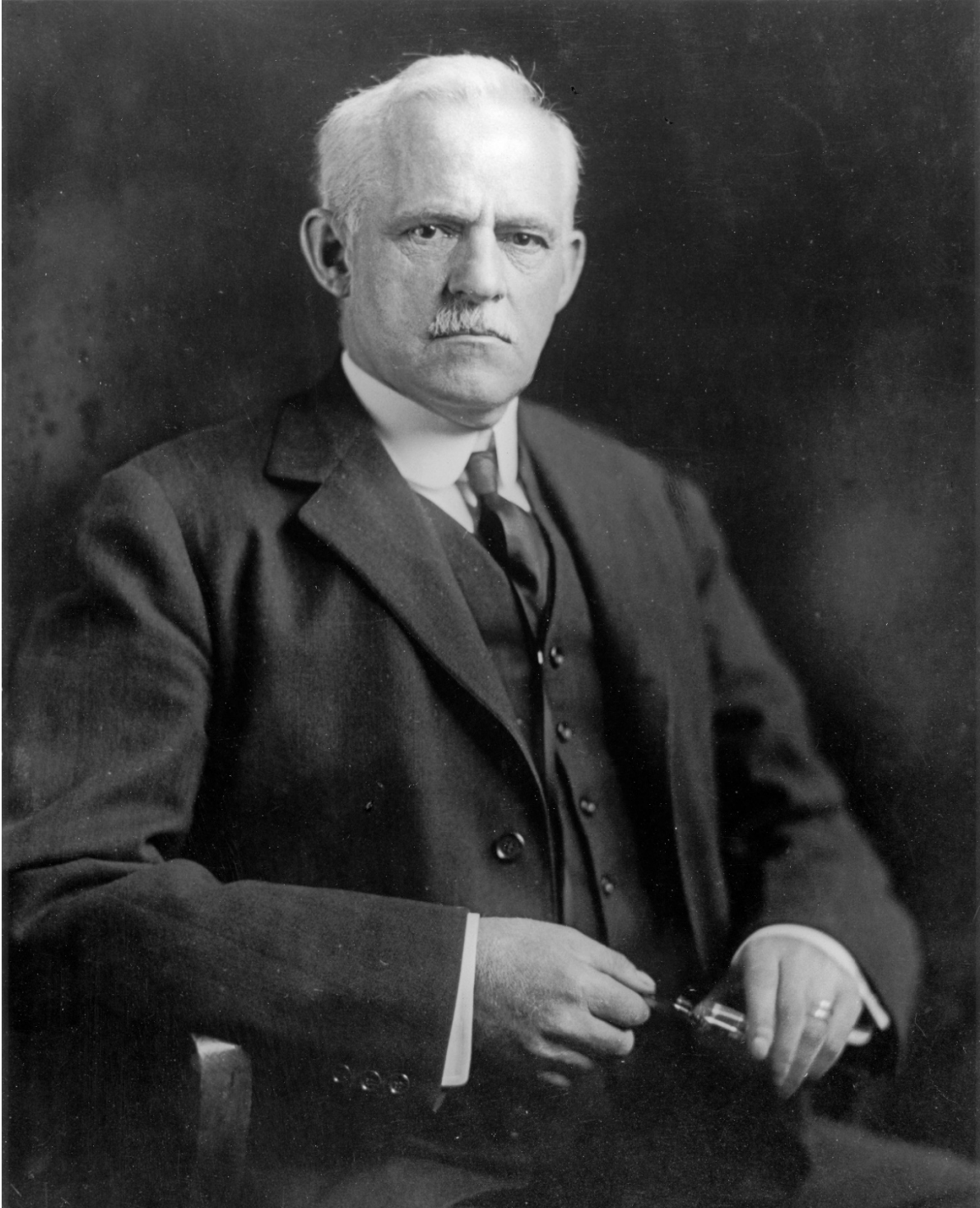
Frederick Harris Goff's ancestors arrived in North America in 1670 settling in New England. But the Goffs had a westering urge and were living in Illinois when Goff was born. By the time Goff was a teenager, his family was living in central Kansas and Goff found work as a cowboy near the town of Wilson. Goff headed back east to the University of Michigan for law school and was admitted to the Ohio bar in 1883. Goff's practice was largely devoted to corporate reorganizations but Goff also developed a reputation as a skilled manager of large estates. Goff's law firm, Kline, Tolles, & Goff, had counted Standard Oil among its clients. But when Goff was invited to handle the legal affairs of John D. Rockefeller, the founder of Standard Oil, Goff turned Rockefeller down.

As Goff's law practice became focused on the administration of estates and legal ethics, his reputation as a skilled corporate trouble-shooter led him into the world of electric railways. During 1907, Goff was asked by Horace Andrews, the president of the Cleveland Electric Railway (CER), to negotiate an end to the seven-year battle to renew the company's street railway franchise. Although the franchise Goff negotiated was accepted by the Cleveland City Council, it was rejected in a public referendum. As a result of the public rejection of Goff's franchise, receivers were appointed for CER, including Warren Bicknell.

Goff became the president of The Cleveland Trust Company in June 1908, replacing Calvary Morris.⁴⁷ Under Goff's leadership, Cleveland Trust became the sixth largest bank in the U.S. By 1910, Goff was also a director of the South Shore Lines. But Goff's most notable work was likely rooted in his early contact with the Rockefellers and his Unitarian Christian ethic. Goff had a distaste for the dead hand control of estates. In response, Goff developed the concepts of the living trust to manage family wealth as well as the community foundation to handle charitable donations; his formation of the Cleveland Foundation in 1914 was the world's first.⁴⁸ The interchange between the South Shore Line and the Elgin, Joliet & Eastern Railroad in Gary, Indiana, is named for Goff. Goff did not have a mansion on Millionaire's Row but lived further east in the wealthy Cleveland suburb of Bratenahl.

⁴⁷ Frederick Harris Goff, 1858-1923: Lawyer, Banker, Civic Leader, 7-14 (1951).

⁴⁸ The Cleveland Foundation: Our History, <https://www.clevelandfoundation.org/about/history/> (last visited May 20, 2017).



Frederick Harris Goff's law school experience and legal career likely left him in favor of the nemesis of every law student – the Rule Against Perpetuities (RAP). RAP was inelegantly designed by Harvard law professor John Chipman Gray in 1886 as a legal tool to end “dead hand” control of estates. Goff's formation of the Cleveland Foundation became another tool used to ensure that wealth was used for community development rather than for perpetuating control of family money from beyond the grave. Photograph Courtesy of the Western Reserve Historical Society, Cleveland, O.

Officers of the South Shore Lines came from The Cleveland Trust Company and its most reliable affiliates. M.H. Wilson became the South Shore Lines's treasurer. Alfred R. Horr, a former Cleveland Trust executive, became the South Shore Lines's secretary.

Despite the talent that had come to control the affairs of the South Shore Lines, problems persisted. Employee safety issues went unresolved; during the period 1910 to 1918, a man working for the South Shore Lines was two to three times more likely to die in interurban service than a man working for the competing steam railroads.⁴⁹ Ridership remained below expectations. Reliability issues associated with the alternating current transformers and motors aboard the cars continued to add unnecessary expense to railway operations.

The man brought in by the Bicknell team to solve the growing pains of the South Shore Lines was Charles N. Wilcoxon. Wilcoxon had been the general manager of the Cleveland Southwestern & Columbus Railway, the second longest interurban in Ohio. Wilcoxon joined the South Shore Lines in October 1909 as the general manager. Wilcoxon had a lot on his plate: Safety was at issue as the railway was working through the turmoil caused by the two wrecks including \$120,000 in court-ordered judgments in favor of the victims. When Wilcoxon was elected vice-president of the South Shore Lines in 1914, Safety First became the new corporate motto, prominently displayed on the interurban's employee timetables.⁵⁰ But a motto alone could not save Wilcoxon's only son, Karl.

Rising to president of the South Shore Lines later in 1914, Wilcoxon pushed not only for Safety First to stop the financial bleeding, but freight service to boost revenues. Electric locomotives were ordered for delivery in October 1916 and the service was inaugurated in November. Wilcoxon's son, Karl, had followed his father into the interurban field rising to master mechanic on the South Shore Lines. But Karl's life was cut short on 22 November 1916 by his own inattentiveness and an inexperienced freight crew. A crew of four backing a new locomotive at the Michigan City Shops struck Karl from behind as he faced away from the moving freight train. None of the crew members saw Karl before backing over him. Karl Wilcoxon was 37.⁵¹

⁴⁹ Martin Tuohy, *Interurban Railroaders and Changing Work Conditions on the South Shore Line, 1908-1938*, 6-7.

⁵⁰ The Chicago, Lake Shore and South Bend Railway Company, Time-Table No. 24, Feb. 8, 1914, at cover page.

⁵¹ Martin Tuohy, *supra* note 45, at 14-5.



South Shore Lines locomotive #506 with a train of company owned cars, undated. A similar train backed over the only son of the South Shore Lines's president on 22 November 1916 soon after the start of carload freight operations.

The South Shore Lines's troubles continued. In the recession that followed The Great War, freight traffic and passenger ridership declined and annual deficits rose. Wilcoxon's wife, Elizabeth, suffered two strokes in October 1923 and barely survived. The loss of Karl, the financial failure of the South Shore Lines, and Elizabeth's health may have been too much for Wilcoxon. Suffering a nervous breakdown, Wilcoxon resigned the South Shore Lines presidency on 1 February 1924.⁵²

Confirming that his retirement from railroading was the correct decision, Wilcoxon's mood improved after he left the South Shore Lines. Wilcoxon began golfing with the return of spring weather and he began construction on a new family home. But the stresses in Wilcoxon's life lingered. While at home and in a rage on the midsummer afternoon of 7 July 1924, Wilcoxon grabbed an axe and swung it crushing Elizabeth's skull. Wilcoxon then hung himself from a rafter.⁵³

In less than one year, on 29 June 1925, the South Shore Lines was sold to a person with yet a different vision for the South Shore Lines – the Monopoly Man, Samuel Insull.

⁵² *Id.* at 16.

⁵³ *Id.*