

Jim Crow of the North on the South Shore Line aboard the
Parlor and Dining Cars



South Shore Line parlor car #352. Walnut paneling and rotating chairs spelled "Comfort."

New to the South Shore Line in 1927 were parlor and dining car trains. Predecessor South Shore Lines did not offer any comfort greater than coach seating. The motivation for adding deluxe services to the South Shore Line is not clear from company literature or the trade press. However, other Insull Group interurbans offered deluxe parlor and dining car services in Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Wisconsin.

There is a theory in the literature as to why the South Bend to Chicago corridor was chosen for expanding the deluxe services to Northern Indiana: the deluxe services were successful elsewhere.¹ But social custom and expectations are plausible explanations as well. There is a dark truth about how the deluxe services were promoted on the South Shore Line and throughout interurban and steam railroading in the United States, and it is worth exploring.

A Brief History of Jim Crow Laws as Applied to Transportation – The First Causes of “Separate and Anything but Equal”

Jim Crow laws, that body of law that segregated the races in the southern states, were first applied to transportation facilities. And the first attempts to overturn Jim Crow laws were directed at the railroads that offered accommodations that were certainly separate, but rarely if ever equal. *Plessy v. Ferguson* (163 U.S. 537, 1896)² is not the seminal case as two cases had come before, but separate but equal as found constitutional in *Plessy* was not overturned until nearly sixty years later in *Brown v. The Board of Education*, 347 U.S. 483 (1954).³

The Louisiana statute at issue in *Plessy* stated “that all railroad companies carrying passengers in their coaches in this state, shall provide equal but separate accommodations for the white, and colored, races by providing two or more passenger coaches for each passenger train, or by dividing the passenger coaches by a partition to secure separate accommodations.... No person or persons shall be permitted to occupy seats, other than the ones assigned to them, on account of the race they belong to.”

In his dissent, Justice Harlan wrote, “the arbitrary separation of citizens, on the basis of race...is a badge of servitude wholly inconsistent with the civil freedom and the equality before the law established by the Constitution. It cannot be justified on any legal grounds. ...The thin disguise of ‘equal’ accommodations for passengers in railroad coaches will not mislead anyone, nor atone for the wrong this day done.”

¹ William D. Middleton, *Traction Classics: The Interurbans Extra Fast and Extra Fare* 407 (1985).

² Erwin Chemerinsky, *Constitutional Law* 772 (2017).

³ *Id.* at 776.

An exception to the law was carved out for street railroads. But as similar statutes fanned out across the American South, the southern interurbans and street railroads were not exempt from Jim Crow. By statute, the motor coach successors to the electric railways famously moved African Americans to the back of the bus. Even at the time that Rosa Parks refused to give up her seat in Montgomery, Alabama, on 1 December 1955, segregation stubbornly persisted on public transit. Another year would pass before the Supreme Court summarily affirmed the district court ruling in *Browder v. Gayle*, 142 F.Supp. 707 (1956) that found bus segregation to be unconstitutional.



Southern Jim Crow interurban – Kentucky Traction & Terminal car #311, 24 June 1929. A 1902 Kentucky Jim Crow Statute required that streetcars must provide separate but equal accommodations; a 1928 statute extended the streetcar statute to all public carriers. (Photographer credit: Lafayette Studio, R.J. Lang, proprietor).



Steam Railroading and Separate but Equal at Tuscaloosa, Alabama, 24 July 1941. "The railroad depots are everywhere crowded with negroes," noted a visitor to the South in 1874.⁴ Some were travelers, some were there to see off friends or family, and others gathered there to dream of the day that the train would take them to the freedom of the North. Little did they know.... (Photographer credit: Victor Vincent DuBrutz).

Understanding Jim Crow in the North – The Difficulties Presented when There Were No Signs, but There Were Customs and then Covenants

Jim Crow in the North was a real problem. In the South there were signs "White" and "Colored." It was explicit as to where you belonged and where you did not. In the North, there were no signs. The Red Summer in Chicago in 1919 was a result of northern bigotry and the lack of signs. The sad end to Eugene Williams's life on 27 July sparked a horrible riot just because the poor kid did not know where the "colored" beach ended and the "white" beach began.

There were no signs at the 29th Street beach. When Williams drifted over the invisible line, he was stoned and drowned. The resulting rioting killed another 38 people – 23 Blacks and 15 Whites. Another 537 people were injured. Damage to property left about 2,000 homeless, most of them African Americans.⁵

⁴ Theodore Kornweibel, Jr., *Railroads in the African American Experience* 32 (2010).

⁵ Jerrold M. Packard, *American Nightmare: The History of Jim Crow* 144-5 (2002).

Jim Crow in the North got covenants with the decision in *Corrigan v. Buckley* (271 U.S. 323, 1926).⁶ *Corrigan* involved land covenants in Washington, D.C.. The Court found that the discriminatory racial deed covenants in the District of Columbia were not unconstitutional. And with that, racial covenants restricting the sale of real estate spread across the North. There were still no signs, but there were enforceable covenants separating the races. The new deed restrictions discriminated against African Americans to be sure, but often against Jews and Catholics as well.

In Indiana, where the Klan was powerful even after the murder conviction of Grand Dragon D.C. Stephenson in 1925, socially acceptable meant the Northern version of Jim Crow. In keeping with social custom in Klan-controlled Porter County, Fred'k H. Bartlett Realty Co.'s subdivisions had racial covenants: you had to prove that you were a Caucasian to buy lots in Beverly Shores when it was subdivided in 1927, one year after *Corrigan*.

⁶ Northern Jim Crow flourished after the US Supreme Court found racial covenants to be constitutional under the decision in *Corrigan v. Buckley*, 271 U.S. 323 (1926). One year later, Fred'k H. Bartlett Realty Co.'s plat of Lake Shore included covenants that required land buyers to prove that they were Caucasian.

After the National Housing Act, Pub. L. No. 479, 73d Congress (1934) was passed, the Home Owners Loan Corporation began using the presence of racial covenants to determine whether a given neighborhood could support home mortgages. Maps were drawn with color-coded neighborhoods. The descending hierarchy of neighborhoods was green, blue, yellow, and red. From the Federal Housing Administration (FHA) underwriting manual, green neighborhoods had racial covenants in place. Redlined neighborhoods already had a "gradual infiltration of negroes and asiatics." Housing in redlined neighborhoods were not eligible for mortgages under the FHA guidelines.

De Jure segregation existed when the laws in place facially segregated the races. De Facto segregation existed when the laws did not facially segregate the races but did so by intent or effect. SEE Legal Information Institute, https://www.law.cornell.edu/wex/de_facto_segregation (last visited Feb. 8, 2021).

The term Northern Jim Crow or Jim Crow of the North is used to describe the combination of law and custom that created the segregated world outside of the South. SEE Minnesota Experience, Jim Crow of the North, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?reload=9&v=XWQfDbbQv9E> (last visited Feb. 7, 2021).

BEVERLY SHORES, UNIT "D"
(Blocks 81/94 inc.)

This Indenture, Made this 24th day of August A. D. 19 44
between Frederick H. ~~Robert~~ BARTLETT of Chicago, Illinois, as trustee under the provisions of a trust agreement dated January 2, 1923
and known as the ~~Robert~~ Bartlett Realty Company (not incorporated), Trust Agreement, party of the first part, and

party of the second part,

Witnesseth, That said party of the first part in consideration of the sum of TEN (\$10) DOLLARS and other good and valuable considerations, the receipt whereof is hereby acknowledged, does hereby grant, sell and convey unto said party of the second part, as joint tenants and not as tenants in common, the following real estate, (hereinafter called "the real estate") known and described as Lot Two (2) together with riparian rights, in Block Ninety-four (94)

in FREDERICK H. BARTLETT'S BEVERLY SHORES, UNIT "D," being a subdivision of Fractional Section Thirty-four (34), Township Thirty-eight (38) North, and part of Fractional Section Three (3), Township Thirty-seven (37) North, all in Range Five (5) West of the Second Principal Meridian, in Porter County, Indiana, (said subdivision being hereinafter sometimes called "the subdivision"), together with all and singular the tenements, hereditaments and appurtenances thereunto belonging to or in any wise appertaining.

A. General taxes for the year 1944 and thereafter and all unpaid special taxes, impositions and installments of special assessments, if any, now or hereafter levied against the real estate.

B. All zoning and building laws, ordinances and regulations.

C. All recorded restrictions, easements and conditions.

D. Such of the following restrictions, easements and covenants as refer to the real estate, which shall each be construed as a covenant running with the land:

(1) The real estate shall be subject to an easement, which is hereby reserved, in favor of the Public Service Company of Northern Indiana and the Indiana Bell Telephone Company, their successors and assigns, or of any public utility company designated by any of them, for placing and maintaining on the rear five (5) feet of the real estate, electric light and/or electric power and/or telephone poles, conduits and wires, and other facilities necessary for public or quasi-public service, together with right of access thereto.

(2) Before the real estate shall be occupied, a septic tank of brick, tile or concrete, or other satisfactory method of disposing of sewage shall be completely installed by the grantee or the grantees' successors in interest without expense to the grantor and the arrangements for sewage disposal shall be such as to prevent all nuisance and all possibility of contamination, and such as to be satisfactory to the grantor and to the public authorities.

(3) Until June 1, 1959.

(a) No part of the subdivision and no building erected thereon shall be used for manufacturing or industrial purposes.

(b) No lots in the subdivision except those on Lake Shore Drive shall be used for any other than residence purposes, and no building shall be erected or used on any of the following lots (except those on Lake Shore Drive) other than a single family residence costing \$5,000.00 or more: Lots 1 to 15 inclusive in Block 81; Lots 1 to 20 inclusive in Block 88 and Lots 1 to 28 inclusive in Block 94. No building shall be used or erected on any of Lots 16 to 32 inclusive in Block 81; lots in Blocks 87, 89 and 91; Lots 21 to 45 inclusive in Block 88; Lots 5 to 37 inclusive in Block 90 and Lots 13 to 18 inclusive in Block 92, other than a single family residence costing \$3,750.00 or more and no building shall be used or erected on any of lots in Blocks 82, 85 and 86 other than a single family residence costing \$5,000.00 or more. No building shall be used or erected on any of Lots 1 to 13 inclusive in Block 83 and Lots 1 to 14 inclusive in Block 84 other than a single family residence costing \$1,500.00 or more.

(c) The following lots may be used for apartment or hotel purposes, the buildings to be erected on said lots to cost \$5,000.00 or more: Lots 1 to 4 inclusive in Block 90; Lots 1 to 12 inclusive in Block 92 and all lots in Block 93.

(d) No building shall be erected on any lot on Lake Shore Drive unless it shall cost \$1,500.00, or more.

(e) If a principal building which complies with the foregoing restrictions shall be erected on the real estate, thereafter buildings accessory to such principal building may be erected thereon at a less cost, but until such a principal building has been so erected no building or structure whatever shall be erected or placed on any part of the real estate.

E. It is an express condition of this conveyance that no part of the real estate herein described shall ever be conveyed or leased to any person who is not a Caucasian, and shall never at any time be used or occupied by any person who is not a Caucasian. If said real estate or any part thereof shall at any time be conveyed or leased to any person who is not a Caucasian or shall at any time be used or occupied by any person who is not a Caucasian, then and in any such event all said real estate and all estate and interest therein shall forthwith revert to the grantor or his heirs and successors, who may thereafter re-enter upon and enjoy the same as before the making of this conveyance.

To have and to hold the same unto said party of the second part, and to the proper use, benefit, and behoof of said party of the second part.

This deed is executed pursuant to and in the exercise of every power and authority hereunto enabling, given to said trustee under the terms of any deed of conveyance or otherwise vested in him.

In Witness Whereof, said party of the first part has hereunto set his hand and seal the day and year first above written.



Frederick H. Bartlett [SEAL]
As Trustee as aforesaid.
By *North*
(His Attorney in fact. Power of Attorney recorded as document 56924)

The deed to the Armco-Ferro Steel House from Fred'k H. Bartlett Realty Company, 24 August 1944. The racial covenants are at paragraph E.



Racial divisions and Klan-control in Indiana on display at the Porter County Fair, Valparaiso. Klansmen in white robes and hoods are seen directing traffic there, circa 1923. Although waning in stature after the murder trial of Indiana Grand Dragon D.C. Stephenson at Noblesville in 1925, the Ku Klux Klan was powerful in Indiana politics for decades.

The impact of the decision in *Corrigan* was less about absolute separation of the races and more about creating wealthy white enclaves in the manner that Beverly Shores was envisioned. Northern Jim Crow on the South Shore Line had the same effect – clientele who could afford a parlor car chair were assured that they would not be sitting by an African American. The Whites whose economic standing in life did not allow the small luxury of privacy on board the parlor cars suffered the indignity of sitting with whomever chose to take the seat beside them.

The Insull Group aided Bartlett in the sale of lots at Beverly Shores by providing stations at Bartlett's subdivisions and free promotions in the South Shore Line riders' newsletters.⁷ The Insull Group advertised their South Shore Line parlor and dining car services as "...an environment like that of one's favorite club or hotel." Yes, to a black man in the 1920s, that language is a sign of Northern Jim Crow. Club memberships and overnight hotel accommodations for Blacks in the

⁷ *Homesites Abound Along the S. Shore Line*, S. Shore Lines, Mar. 1928, at 3.

United States were not available until the passage of the civil rights acts of the 1960s.

Racial discrimination by private actors was not unconstitutional in America until the Supreme Court decision in *Heart of Atlanta Motel v. United States*, 379 U.S. 241 (1964). In *Heart of Atlanta Motel*, the court found that under the authority of the Commerce Clause, Congress has ample power to regulate private behavior by legislating against moral wrongs, and that the passage of Title II of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 was constitutional.⁸ No such protections existed in the brief period that the South Shore Line operated segregated services. From 1927 until 1933, the only way an African American could be on a South Shore Line parlor car was if he worked there.

The parlor-observation-buffet cars were staffed by light-skinned black men. But while African Americans could work the parlor cars, they could not ride in them. Imagine the awkward moment when a light-skinned black porter denied a black customer a chair in the parlor car. Although the segregation of transportation in the South was defined by Jim Crow laws, in the North, segregation was often enforced by social custom. Much of the social custom on American steam railroads can be attributed to the men behind the company that built the South Shore Line cars: George Mortimer Pullman and Robert Todd Lincoln.

The decision by the Pullman Company to hire African Americans to staff the visible occupations of Pullman porter, dining car waiter, and ladies' maid was not unintentional. George Pullman needed a large compliant work force.⁹ There were four million freedmen and women at the end of the civil war, a very large work force. Who better than a former slave to be obedient to his master? What better way was there to sell Pullman service than to give White guests a sense of the privilege of antebellum landed gentry even if for a few days ride in safety and comfort?¹⁰

There were four elements to George Pullman's business and racial decision to hire African Americans for duty as porters:

- Whites would feel that the travel experience was more luxurious and that they would have enhanced status if the servants who waited on them were black. As most passengers were middle class, having black servants was a level of luxury not available to them in their homes.
- After emancipation, there were few opportunities aside from sharecropping available for African American men and women. The risk of a bad harvest and further indenture to a landlord always hung

⁸ Chemerinsky, *supra* note 2, at 176-7.

⁹ Larry Tye, *Rising from the Rails: Pullman Porters and the Making of the Black Middle Class* 24 (2004).

¹⁰ David D. Perata, *Those Pullman Blues: An Oral History of the African American Railroad Attendant* xix (1996).

over the head of a sharecropper. Wages were infinitely more attractive to many of the newly free in the South.

- The racial gulf between the servant and the served insured that the intimate proximity of the porter and the passenger would not result in future social encounters.
- George Pullman believed that African Americans were naturally adapted to be faithful in the performance of their duties “under circumstances which necessitate unfailing good nature, solicitude, and faithfulness.”¹¹

There is a seemingly a bizarre dichotomy here that was not lost on Pullman’s porters – Pullman was the single largest employer of negroes in the world, a fact that would make George Pullman seem progressive.¹² And yet the negro employed by George Pullman was still expected to act as though enslaved, but now in bondage to George Pullman.¹³ But as George Pullman’s slaves, the African American porters were not admitted into the class of people eligible for shelter in the company town built for George Pullman’s employees despite the fact that Blacks made up 44% of Pullman’s workforce.¹⁴

The Pullman Company under the presidency and board chairmanship of George Pullman’s successor, Robert Todd Lincoln, was no better, and perhaps worse. Lincoln refused to aid in the efforts of Booker T. Washington and others to protest Jim Crow laws in the South, even though segregated facilities negatively affected the capital costs of railroading.^{15 16} And yet even after several raises in the 1920s, Lincoln’s Pullman Company paid wages to its porters that were below the poverty line.¹⁷ In congressional testimony in 1915, Lincoln stated that “if you increase [the porter’s] wages without in some way stopping their tips, you simply make a larger income for them, and the question is whether that is desirable to do.”¹⁸

Here, this alleged dichotomy of personal, and later, corporate paternalism and corporate greed falls apart. George Pullman was famously attracted to a bargain price.¹⁹ Hiring freed African Americans was driven first by George Pullman’s attention to the bottom line; freedmen were the lowest paid employees at

¹¹ Kornwiebel, *supra* note 4, at 114.

¹² Tye, *supra* note 9, at 28.

¹³ Kornweibel, *supra* note 4, at 115.

¹⁴ Tye, *supra* note 9, at 70.

¹⁵ Jason Emerson, *The Life of Robert Todd Lincoln: Giant in the Shadows* 367 (2012).

¹⁶ Plessy’s was an orchestrated arrest accomplished with the blessing of the East Louisiana Railroad (ELR) which had opposed the law because it required ELR to make additional capital purchases of railroad cars or to spend money to modify cars to comply.

¹⁷ Tye, *supra* note 9, at 91

¹⁸ *Id.* at 92

¹⁹ *Id.* at 24

Pullman. Secondly, under George Pullman's sense of showmanship the servient attitude of his smiling former slaves was merely a selling feature for White travelers.²⁰ There really was no dichotomy: George Pullman's actions were race-based decisions to achieve larger personal wealth. Under Robert Todd Lincoln's actions, these same race-based decisions were implemented to achieve greater corporate profitability.

The race-based decisions of George Pullman and Robert Todd Lincoln had the effect of segregation of the races by custom. But the customary segregation of the races aboard the Pullman cars appears to have crossed the line from the world of steam railroading to the world of the electric interurbans. Hence the question, was the business model of selling service in a manner reminiscent of the plantation system applied on the interurbans? Where the interurbans emulated the business methods of Pullman, a case can be made that those interurbans were providing deluxe services as a means of creating the same segregated enclave of White privilege – Northern Jim Crow and separation by race and class – as found on the Pullman cars.

There is Evidence that the Business Methods of Pullman and His Company Reveals a Pattern of Racism

There were actions taken by Pullman that publicly signaled the racist policies of the company. The publicly visible forms of the signals were in 1) marketing, and 2) hiring practices. The best evidence of the Pullman marketing and hiring practices includes brochures, company magazines, as well as contemporary photography. Other documents including press releases and the public speeches of company officials are a helpful resource as well.

Applying this best evidence rule to the interurbans is difficult because fewer resources are found, likely a result of their short corporate life. Even the most public document of corporate existence, the annual report, is a rarity of interurban ephemera. What follows is a comparison of the evidence of the Pullman Company's racial animus with what has been found for the interurbans.

In its brochures, the Pullman Company referred to its men's smoking rooms as a club room, and its drawing rooms as having the comforts of the highest class hotel, these being places that were off limits to African Americans in American life. The Chicago Milwaukee & St. Paul (Milwaukee Road) ran its own sleeping and deluxe car services until it was in bankruptcy in 1927. Milwaukee Road advertising used much the same language throughout its history and it continued to after Pullman began operating the Milwaukee Road sleeping and parlor cars.

²⁰ *Id.* at 17



One of the Club Features of The New Olympian



OLYMPIAN comforts permit one to reach the end of the journey as fresh, trim and neat as at the beginning. The Barber Shop in the observation car is completely equipped and an expert barber, skilled in serving men, women and children, is in charge. The same personal attention is received as at one's own club or hairdresser's.

Valet services are obtainable by day or by night. Clothes given to the porter of one's car will be returned promptly with spots removed and minor repairs made, neatly pressed and ready to be worn.

The fully equipped Men's Bath with porcelain shower adjoins the Barber Shop. Even though THE NEW OLYMPIAN affords the cleanest of transcontinental rides, this refreshing privilege is always available.

A list of the very moderate prices charged for the services of barber and valet and for bath is to be found in the observation car.



The New Olympian's Commodious Men's Club

THE physical comforts and the quiet beauty of the Men's Club are of the highest order and every want has been anticipated. In architectural line, decoration and lighting the Spanish influence is dominant, as elsewhere on THE NEW OLYMPIAN. Sixteen feet long, it provides ample space for the eight lounge chairs, the couch seating three (all upholstered in green morocco leather and each place softly lighted by bronze sidewall candelabra), the two walnut tables—one movable with a drop top and the other with current periodicals and a bronze table lamp. The eight large curtained windows with polychrome fluted pilasters give an unrestricted view of the scenery. Ash trays and match holders on bronze stands are handy and a touch of the button brings one's favorite smoke or beverage from the Soda Fountain-Barber.



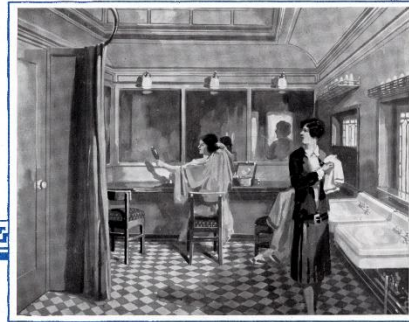
The text and imagery of the Milwaukee Road brochure for the transcontinental Olympian is consistent with that of the Pullman brochures used in a campaign developed in the 1920s called Pullman Facts. The smoking rooms were consistently referred to as Men's Clubs, and the service like that found at "one's own club."



A Compartment-Drawing-Room En Suite



IT is convenient to have a drawing-room or compartment, or better still, for families or groups of friends, a drawing-room and one or two compartments en suite. With accommodations of this character *THE NEW OLYMPIAN* is specially well provided. The general scheme of color and design is followed except that the upholstery varies pleasingly in patterns and tints. Each room has a clock, a night light operated from the bed, a shoe servitor easily accessible both from the corridor and room, and a small door knocker. All rooms are unusually well lighted; a novelty in the drawing-rooms is the reading lamp over one end of the sofa. Each room has an electric fan, individual heat control, porcelain washstand with dental faucet, and toilet conveniences which, for the drawing-rooms, are in private connecting rooms. A cabinet for toilet articles is another new feature.



One of the Spacious Washrooms for Women

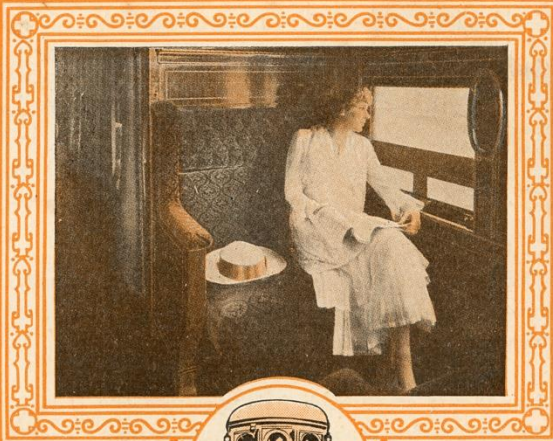
THE ample facilities and the unusual spaciousness of the Women's Dressing Rooms on *THE NEW OLYMPIAN*, minimizing crowding and waiting, delight women who love a leisurely toilette. The three washstands, equipped with containers of flake instead of liquid soap, and with the dental lavatory, are all of the improved sanitary porcelain type. Three chairs facing a dressing table and high mirror, both extending across the entire room; the purser of ice-cold drinking water from round, sterilized, individual drinking cups; and a private connecting toilet complete the conveniences of these charming boudoirs. A ladies' maid is always at your call on *THE OLYMPIAN*, ready to render any personal service. She is a trained hairdresser and manicurist and will give you a shampoo, curl, marcel or whatever aid you wish as a part of your toilette.



The features of the Women's dressing rooms included a ladies' maid "always at your call." The imagery of African Americans in domestic service is suggestive of the servitude of the antebellum South.

Interurban brochures promoting deluxe services are a mixed bag. Some focus solely on the equipment, a common advertising tool at a time when men were fascinated with technological prowess over nature. Others follow the signals of the Pullman Company in touting the service expectations of the old South, and/or contain references to their cars' club and hotel atmosphere. The imagery of African Americans in a servile state to White men and women is prominent in the brochures of many of the interurbans offering deluxe services.

Illinois *Traction* System



**Fast Frequent
Passenger Trains**



"The Road of Good Service"

EFFECTIVE FEBRUARY 3, 1924

Illinois *Traction* System



**Fast Frequent
Passenger Trains**



"The Road of Good Service"

— GENERAL TIME TABLES —

The Illinois Traction System brochure of 1924 is free of racist innuendo or imagery.

Illinois Traction System



Parlor—Buffet and Sleeping Car Service

All the comfort and convenience of modern railway travel, without the smoke and cinders, is offered by Traction parlor and sleeping cars between St. Louis, Springfield and Peoria.

The parlor cars attached to the four fast De Luxe limited trains between these points are luxuriously furnished with large, comfortable, leather upholstered chairs, club compartment with tables for writing or card playing, library, men's smoking compartment, wash rooms and large, airy observation platform. A la Carte luncheon service at all hours.

In addition to conveniences found in the standard sleeping car the Illinois Traction sleeper contains many innovations that add to your comfort. For example, windows in the upper berths and safety deposit boxes for valuables in each berth. All berths are six inches longer than standard. Electrically lighted and electrically cooled in the summer time. Sleeping and parlor cars are pulled by mighty motor cars. There are no motor noises under the cars.

Limited and Local Trains

For the traveler between terminals or principal stations the Traction provides Limited trains, some of which only stop at terminals. These fast trains save time for the traveler.

Local trains, which stop at all intermediate points, are operated for the convenience of local passengers.

Six De Luxe Trains Daily Between St. Louis—Springfield—Peoria

The Morning Limited

Parlor Car Attached

Lv. ST. LOUIS.....	8 30 AM
Lv. SPRINGFIELD.....	12 05 PM
Ar. PEORIA.....	2 30 PM
Lv. PEORIA.....	7 30 AM
Lv. SPRINGFIELD.....	10 00 AM
Ar. ST. LOUIS.....	1 30 PM

The Afternoon Limited

Parlor Car Attached

Lv. ST. LOUIS.....	2 00 PM
Lv. SPRINGFIELD.....	5 35 PM
Ar. PEORIA.....	7 55 PM
Lv. PEORIA.....	12 01 PM
Lv. SPRINGFIELD.....	2 30 PM
Ar. ST. LOUIS.....	6 00 PM

The Sleeper Limited

Also Seat Coaches

Lv. ST. LOUIS.....	11 45 PM
Lv. SPRINGFIELD.....	4 05 AM
Ar. PEORIA.....	6 35 AM
Lv. PEORIA.....	11 30 PM
Lv. SPRINGFIELD.....	2 25 AM
Ar. ST. LOUIS.....	6 50 AM

Sleeper set out at Springfield. Passengers may remain in sleeper until 8:00 AM; Peoria until 7:30 AM.

Passengers may remain in sleeper at St. Louis until 8:00 AM. Sleepers open for occupancy at 9:00 PM at Springfield and St. Louis; Peoria, 10:00 PM.

No Excess Fares on These Trains. Moderate Charge for Parlor and Sleeping Car Accommodations.

The parlor-buffet cars do have a club compartment, but here the focus is on car equipment, not the service one would expect to find there.



Parlor Car Service

BETWEEN

Milwaukee & Watertown
Milwaukee & Sheboygan

To afford "the traveler" the utmost in convenience, comfort and pleasure, high-speed Parlor Car Trains are regularly operated on the Watertown and Sheboygan Divisions with scheduled stops at intermediate points. See TABLES 1 and 5.

These high-speed Parlor Car Trains exemplify the broad policy augmented by an inherent desire to maintain an interurban service of unusually high standards and a determined purpose to conscientiously serve the traveling public.

PARLOR CAR TRAINS

Between Milwaukee and Watertown

Land o' Lakes Limited—Inter-City Limited

Between Milwaukee and Sheboygan

Sheboygan Limited

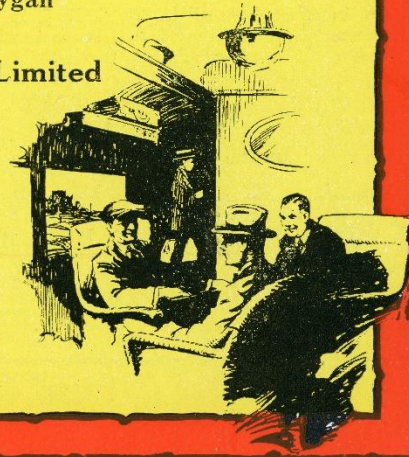
Lake Shore Limited—Mid-day Limited

We recommend that patrons of these trains reserve their seats in advance in order to assure accommodations.

T. M. E. R. & L. Co.

and

Milwaukee Northern Railway
PUBLIC SERVICE BUILDING - MILWAUKEE



The Milwaukee Electric Railway & Light Company parlor cars were advertised with an emphasis on convenience, comfort, and pleasure, but not overtly at the expense of one class of people to the benefit of another.

Geography does not seem to play a role in how deluxe interurban services were promoted. The Texas Electric and Cincinnati & Lake Erie's Ohio and Michigan services could be equally racially insensitive through text or image; the brochure advertising the Ohio and Michigan services was more overtly racist than the brochure promoting the interurban in Texas.



Interurban Parlor Cars



ISSUED BY
PASSENGER DEPARTMENT
DALLAS, MAY 1st, 1917



THE Parlor Car service inaugurated by Texas Electric Railway on May 1st affords a distinct innovation on interurban lines in the Southwest. These cars are operated on fast limited schedules between Dallas and Waco, and between Dallas and Denison.

The cars are elegantly fitted throughout for the comfort and convenience of patrons, each car being equipped with twenty-two large, roomy chairs of the latest parlor car type, furnishing the maximum of ease and comfort.

A commodious smoking room is provided, together with an observation compartment, thus affording a splendid means of viewing the magnificent "Black Land Belt" country traversed by these lines.

Patrons will find a courteous porter on the cars, whose sole duty is to cater to their every want. The cars are supplied with the current magazines to add to the pleasure of the trip.

This service supplements the hourly Local and Limited service operated between Dallas and Denison, Dallas and Waco, and Dallas and Corsicana.

Parlor Car Schedules

DALLAS-WACO DIVISION

SOUTH BOUND			
Lv. Dallas	11:30 A.M.	7:30 P.M.	
" Lancaster	12:10 P.M.	8:10 "	
" Waxahachie	12:34 "	8:34 "	
" Italy	12:59 "	8:59 "	
" Hillsboro	1:36 "	9:36 "	
" West	2:16 "	10:16 "	
Ar. Waco	2:40 "	10:40 "	

NORTH BOUND			
Lv. Waco	7:30 A.M.	3:30 P.M.	
" Hillsboro	8:11 "	4:11 "	
" Italy	8:36 "	4:36 "	
" Waxahachie	9:12 "	5:12 "	
" Lancaster	9:38 "	5:38 "	
Ar. Dallas	10:03 "	6:03 "	

DALLAS-DENISON DIVISION

SOUTH BOUND			
Lv. Denison	7:00 A.M.	3:00 P.M.	
" Sherman	7:35 "	3:35 "	
" Van Alstyne	8:08 "	4:08 "	
" McKinney	8:41 "	4:41 "	
" Plano	9:06 "	5:06 "	
Ar. Dallas	10:00 "	6:00 "	

NORTH BOUND			
Lv. Dallas	11:00 A.M.	7:00 P.M.	
" Plano	11:53 "	7:53 "	
" McKinney	12:20 P.M.	8:20 "	
" Van Alstyne	12:53 "	8:53 "	
" Sherman	1:27 "	9:27 "	
Ar. Denison	1:55 "	9:55 "	

Principal Seat Fares

DALLAS-WACO DIVISION

FROM	Dallas	Lancaster	Waxahachie	Italy	Hillsboro	West	Waco
Dallas		.15	.20	.25	.25	.30	.35
Lancaster	.15		.15	.20	.25	.25	.30
Waxahachie	.20	.15		.15	.20	.25	.25
Italy	.25	.20	.15		.15	.20	.25
Hillsboro	.25	.25	.20	.15		.15	.20
West	.30	.25	.25	.20	.15		.15
Waco	.35	.30	.25	.25	.20	.15	


DALLAS-DENISON DIVISION

FROM	Dallas	Plano	McKinney	Van Alstyne	Sherman	Denison
Dallas		.15	.20	.25	.25	.25
Plano	.15		.15	.20	.25	.25
McKinney	.20	.15		.15	.20	.25
Van Alstyne	.25	.20	.15		.15	.15
Sherman	.25	.25	.20	.15		.15
Denison	.25	.25	.25	.15	.15	

Tickets for seats in parlor cars can be purchased from the Agents at Denison, Sherman, Dallas and Waco. Patrons are asked to call upon any agent for information and seat reservations.

Texas Electric parlor car patrons found "a courteous porter on the cars, whose sole duty is to cater to their every want." Aside from magazines, it is curious that little else aside from views of the Black Land Belt were available on the cars. Here, racism is assumed if only because the courteous porter is not pictured. But from the text the porter was most likely an African American.

For Parlor Car Luxury AT POPULAR FARES

go by 

UNTIL you have ridden these "liners of the rails" you cannot imagine what strides have been made in electrical travel. Superb electric coaches, faultlessly appointed, glide in noiseless, effortless flight at speeds well over 60 miles an hour. Cradled in upholstered individual chairs, or taking your ease on the lounge furniture in the observation compartment, you find a new travel thrill that is the combination of silence, cleanliness, speed and safety.

From Cincinnati to the Great Lakes these trains offer daily service. Cincinnati . . . Dayton . . . Springfield . . . Columbus . . . Lima . . . Toledo and all the points between are served. Across Ohio's rolling countryside these deluxe cars shear minutes from your travel time and invite restful relaxation from worries of the road.

Go by C. & L. E. Deluxe Interurbans. Learn for yourself how well this line deserves its reputation as one of the nation's finest travel systems.



BRIDGE IN THE OBSERVATION AND SMOKING LOUNGE



YOUR BAGGAGE
STOWED OUT
OF THE WAY

COMPLETE
SANITARY
FACILITIES



SOLID COMFORT IN THE MAIN COMPARTMENT



Cincinnati & Lake Erie Deluxe Interurban brochure, undated. The image of the African American porter carrying your bags was even made more blatant by highlighting him with arrows.

The Insull Group was described by one sycophantic author as being past masters of the art of marketing.²¹ If that assertion is correct, the coded racist messages in the Insull Group interurban timetables and brochures were meant to send clear signals that the deluxe services offered were of the same exclusivity that Whites had come to expect on the national network of Pullman Company cars.

²¹ William D. Middleton, N. Shore: America's Fastest Interurban 10 (1964).

EFFECTIVE APRIL 27, 1930

Indiana Service Corporation

Fort Wayne
Lafayette
Indianapolis



Indiana Service Corporation

Fort Wayne
Lafayette
Indianapolis



Indiana Service Corporation public timetable, 27 April 1930. The African American porter in the white jacket on the left was a staple in Pullman and the Insull Group's advertising even as the Depression deepened. But neither the Insull Group nor Pullman would have promoted the porter to the position of the dining car steward on the right. The African American was always the buck private to the White sergeant in the militaristic world of railroading whether steam or electric.

Corrected to Oct. 21, 1928



INTERSTATE *Public* SERVICE *Company*

TIME TABLE



INTERSTATE SLEEPING CAR SERVICE

FROM INDIANAPOLIS, INDIANA
at 11:30 p. m.

FROM NEW ALBANY, INDIANA
at 11:00 p. m.

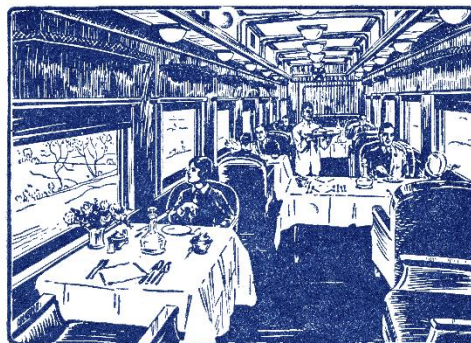
THE ELECTRIC WAY

Corrected to Oct. 21, 1928



INTERSTATE *Public* SERVICE *Company*

TIME TABLE



INTERSTATE BUFFET-PARLOR CAR SERVICE

FROM INDIANAPOLIS, INDIANA
at 7:00 a. m., 11:00 a. m. and 5:00 p. m.

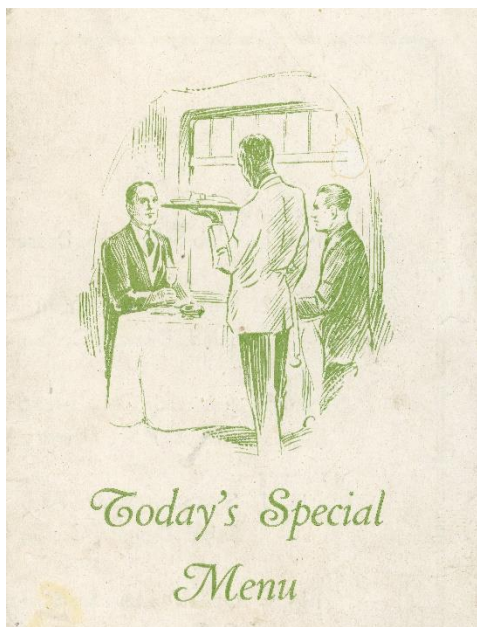
FROM JEFFERSONVILLE, INDIANA
at 11:30 a. m., 3:30 p. m. and 5:30 p. m.

THE ELECTRIC WAY

Interstate Public Service public timetable 21 October 1928. The cover art was derived from promotional photos. In the dining car, the White guests and white-jacketed African American porter were added to the scene.



*Interstate Public Service parlor-dining car #158 sans White patrons and the African American porter.
(Photographer credit: Interstate Public Service Co.)*



From an Interstate Public Service dinner menu cover.

NORTH SHORE LINE

MILWAUKEE AND CHICAGO



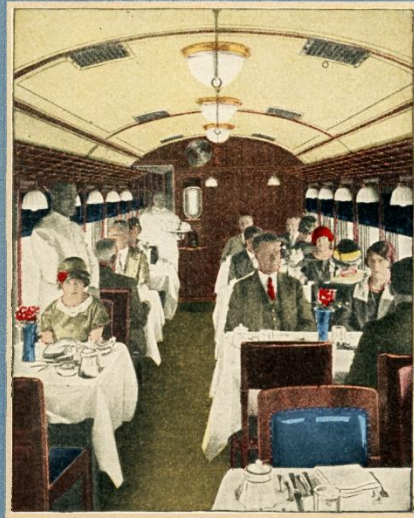
Electrically Operated
High Speed Service

Chicago North Shore
& Milwaukee Railroad

Schedule Effective September 27, 1925

NORTH SHORE LINE

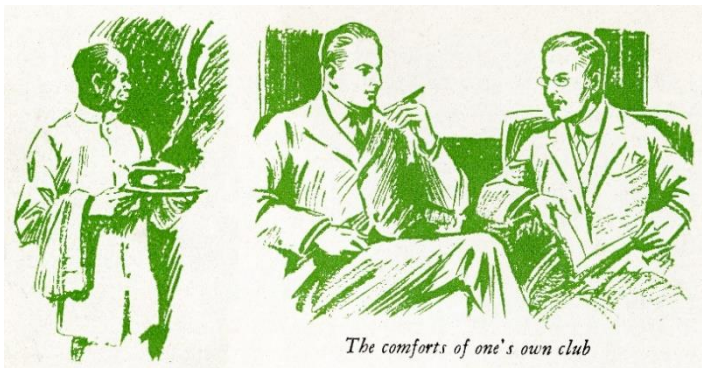
CHICAGO AND MILWAUKEE



Electrically Operated
High Speed Service

Chicago North Shore
& Milwaukee Railroad

Schedule Effective September 27, 1925



The comforts of one's own club

Illustrations from "A Journey on the North Shore Line," circa 1923. The racist imagery driven by the text and artwork was not shocking to White Chicagoans then and is not likely shocking now – in 2019, Chicago was the 4th most segregated city in America in a survey by Money Magazine.

Parlor - Observation and Dining Car Service



Top, left—An atmosphere of restful dignity and comfort pervades the main parlor compartments of the new cars.
Top, right—Interior of one of the new dining cars at "first call for luncheon."

Below, left—A quiet, cozy corner for writing in one of the parlor-observation cars.
Below, right—Luxury and refinement is suggested in the handsome furnishings of the parlor-observation cars.

Below, center—Beautifully appointed ladies' lounge in one of the parlor-observation cars.

Typical Dining Car Menu, Service a la Carte

SOUP			
Mock Turtle in Tureen	30	Strawberry or Peach Preserve	30
Consomme in Cup	20	Orange Marmalade	30
FISH		Sliced Orange	30
Broiled Whitefish, Potatoes	75	Preserved Figs in Cream	40
CHOPS AND STEAKS		Other Fruits in Season	
Grilled Lamb Chops (3)	80	Pie	20
Special South Shore Steak	1.25	Ice Cream, Wafers	25
Ham and Eggs	65	American Cheese, Crackers	25
Half Milk-Fed Spring Chicken	90	Roquefort Cheese, Crackers	35
Special South Shore Omelette	65	BEVERAGES	
Steamed Poached Egg and Bacon on Toast	65	Coffee, Pot	15
VEGETABLES		Cocoa, Pot	15
French Fried Potatoes	25	Individual Bottle, Milk	15
Stewed Tomatoes	20	Assorted Bread or Hot Rolls, and Butter	15
Peas	20		

SOUTH SHORE LINE parlor-observation and dining cars are of heavy, all-steel construction and have been designed to afford utmost ease and luxury in riding. Large, roomy, soft-cushioned chairs, luxurious lounging and smoking rooms and airy, spacious observation platforms invite restful relaxation to parlor car travelers. Buffet luncheons are served on each car.

In the new dining cars, provision is made for serving 24 persons at one time. Meals are prepared in extra-large, immaculate kitchens and served a la carte by experienced and attentive waiters. The cheerful and attractive furnishing of the cars create an environment like that of one's favorite club or hotel. (See page 15 for time schedules.)

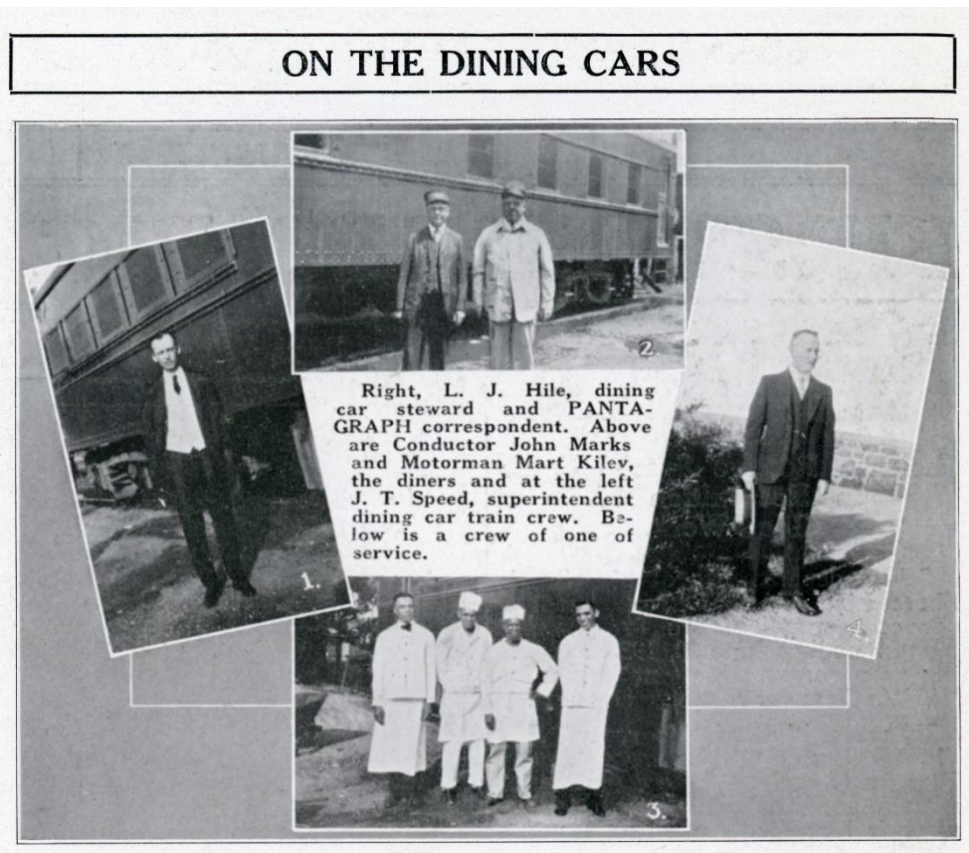
South Shore Line public timetable 25 September 1927. Words have meaning: in combination with the images, the last line on the page makes it clear that the only African Americans on these cars are the attentive staff. "The cheerful and attractive furnishing of the cars create an environment like that of one's favorite club or hotel." Other South Shore Line advertising stressed the exclusiveness and secluded quiet of the Ladies' Lounge.²²

²² *Enjoy This Deluxe Service*, S. Shore Lines, Oct. 1928, at 6.

Company magazines by and for their employees can be used to ascertain the status of African American employees among their peers. The Pullman News carried a monthly section on the “Big Pullman Family” that contained “pictures and features.” Even though the features have lively discussions about the goings on of porters and car cleaners, the pictures are invariably of White employees and rarely contain African Americans.

On the South Shore Line, the anonymity of African American employees showed up in the company employee magazine, the Pantagraph. For over five years, page after endless page was written and illustrated about white employees, their children, their families vacationing, as well as men in their bowling, basketball, and baseball leagues. Articles and images focused on the contributions of white employees to the progress of the interurban. African American employees were nearly invisible.

A photo collage in the July-August 1927 issue shows all of those involved in the dining car service. All of the White employees are named in the captions. The caption with the photo of the African American cooks, pantrymen, and waiters simply states “crew of one of service.” Only one other article pictured a black employee in the five years that the Pantagraph was published.



The Pantagraph Vol. 1, No. 4-5, p. 2. African Americans employees were only pictured twice in the five year history of the publication. There were other African Americans employed at the South Shore Line including station porters whose existence was only mentioned once.²³

²³ On the Dining Cars, The Pantagraph, July 30, 1927, at 4.

An Interstate Limited Crew



In the above picture are seen the men who handled one of the crack trains of the Chicago North Shore and Milwaukee Railroad—the Interstate Limited—in 1924.

The picture was taken by Conductor George Stokes, at the 61st Street Yards, Chicago. On the extreme left is Conductor “Bill” Smith, while the man with the inevitable little black bag is Collector D. W. Buffham. The white-frocked men are chefs, and Dining Car Conductor Charles Boyd is at the right. The man between Conductor Smith and Collector Buffham was not identified by Conductor Stokes.

The Insull Group’s North Shore Line did no better at humanizing their African American employees in their company magazine. But here, neither White nor Black chefs were identified in The Highball of May 1927. In an article about mixed race section gang garden clubs, only the White section foremen were identified by name.²⁴

Promotional images can also be used to show the intent of the message. The images are clearer than the half-tones in published works, and often the message is as well. One of the messages that the Pullman Company telegraphed was that it

²⁴ *An Interstate Limited Crew*, The Highball, Aug. 1926, at 4.

chose dark-skinned African American as porters because they were invisible. You could look at them, but not notice them as they were merely part of the decor.²⁵ And yet through this otherness, they could not be mistaken for a passenger.²⁶

While dark-skinned porters accentuated the boundaries between the servant and the served, the message was different in the parlor and dining cars of the Pullman Company. In the parlor and dining cars the Pullman Company intentionally hired light-skinned African Americans as a return to the days of slavery when light-skinned African Americans were most often the labor in the plantation home.²⁷ Promotional and in-service images show more clearly how this was carried out on the Insull Group's South Shore Line than the half-tones and artwork of the brochures.

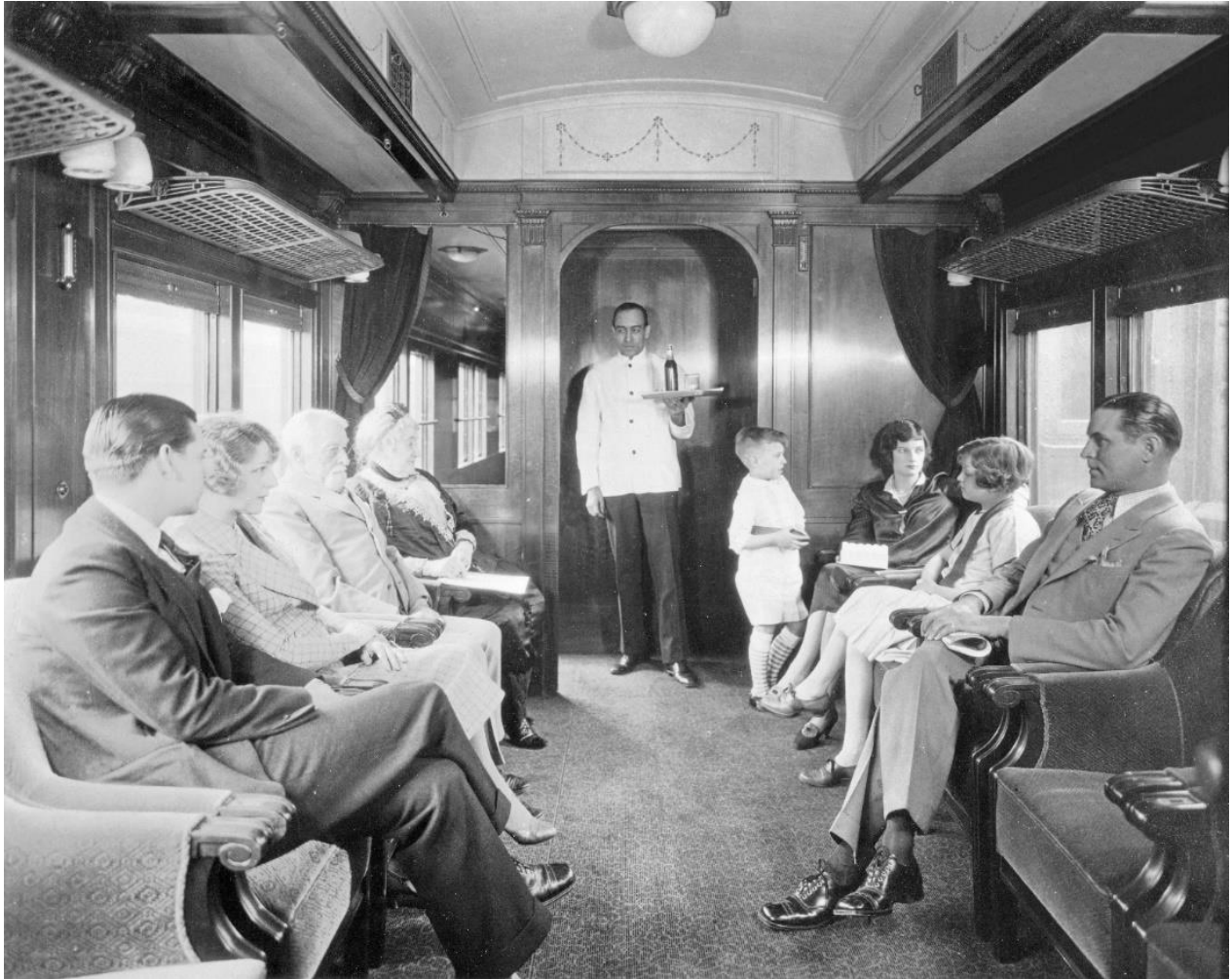
²⁵ Kornweibel, *supra* note 4, at 149.

²⁶ Tye *supra* note 9, at 25, 32

²⁷ *Id.* at 61



In-service image of a South Shore Line dining car, 1927. Throughout the late 1920s, the all-white supervisory staff and dining car clientele seen here were typical. Light-skinned black men were hired to provide table service in the same manner as the Pullman Company. (Photographer credit: E.C. Calvert, Photographer, Michigan City, Indiana).



Promotional image of “special” South Shore Line services in the parlor-observation-buffet cars. An all-white clientele served by a light-skinned black man played into typical 1920s racial stereotyping to be sure, here the African American as the docile servant. But on the South Shore Line this image also played into the racial divisions prevalent in Indiana.



"...An environment like that of one's favorite club or hotel." Parlor-Observation-Buffer car #351, January 1927.²⁸

²⁸ Chi., S. Shore & S. Bend R.R., public timetables (1927-1931).

There are corporate connections between the Insull Group and the Pullman Company that should not be missed – Pullman Company president, Robert Todd Lincoln, was a board member of Chicago Edison when Samuel Insull became its president in 1892. As Insull grew Chicago Edison into Commonwealth Edison, Lincoln stayed on as director until his death in 1926.²⁹ Through a series of holding companies, Commonwealth Edison owned all of the Insull Group interurbans of Indiana.³⁰ Further, Lincoln's law firm, Isham, Lincoln and Beale represented Samuel Insull personally.³¹ The messengers may have been the Pullman Company and Robert Todd Lincoln. As a director and counselor to Insull, Lincoln likely influenced Insull as to how he should run his railroads, what services to provide, and the message of racial segregation to signal to the public.

Because the brochures and images of the operations of the Insull Group interurbans use the same imagery and textural style as that of the Pullman Company, it is reasonable to believe that the Insull Group was promoting the same exclusive White enclaves found on the Pullman Company cars in American train service. Through the creation of these White enclaves, the Insull Group perpetuated the imagery, stereotypes, and the reality of Jim Crow of the North in a manner not unlike the way that segregation developed in the Fred'k H. Bartlett Realty Company communities in Porter County, Indiana, through racial deed covenants.

²⁹ Raymond Vickers, *Panic in the Loop: Chicago's Banking Crisis of 1932* 13 (2011)

³⁰ The chronology of the directorships at the Insull Group companies was gleaned from various Moody's Manuals of industrial companies, steam railroads, and public utilities.

³¹ Samuel Insull, *The Memoirs of Samuel Insull: An Autobiography* 163 (1992).



The final flowering of the South Shore Line segregated services: Train #16, the Illinois Limited, posed at the entrance to Fred'K H. Bartlett Realty Company's Lake Shore subdivision, late summer 1929. Racial covenants banned non-Caucasians from owning the land in the background; the customs of Northern Jim Crow kept African Americans from sitting in the dining and parlor cars at the rear of the train. (Photographer Credit: E.C. Calvert, Photographer, Michigan City, Indiana).