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A HISTORY OF JOHN W. YOUNG'S

UTAH RAILROADS, 1884-1894

by

Marlowe C. Adkins, Jr.

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment  
of the requirements for the degree

of

MASTER OF SCIENCE

in

History

UTAH STATE UNIVERSITY  
Logan, Utah

1978

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IN MEMORY OF

Ebba LaRee Fors (Mrs. William S.) Adkins

April 10, 1948 - September 18, 1977

She married a railroad fan and  
into a railroad loving family.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I offer my sincere thanks and gratitude to the many people who have offered assistance and encouragement in the preparation of this thesis. In the area of research, my special thanks to the Utah State Historical Society for the granting of a Golden Spike Railroad Internship that introduced me to the thesis topic. Particular thanks go to staff members Dr. Stanford J. Layton, Margaret Lester, and Martha Stewart for allowing me continual free access to all of the U. S. H. S. resources. In the Archives Section, L. D. S. Historical Department, my thanks are extended to Dr. Ronald G. Watt and K. Hayburn Adams. Dr. Everett L. Cooley and his staff at the University of Utah's Western Americana Section were always cooperative and helpful.

A very special thanks goes to Dr. S. George Ellsworth at Utah State University. He set me on the path of history, and his long-suffering efforts at trying to get the best quality from my efforts are beyond description. I appreciate very much his knowledge and his patience.

In a sense this has been a family project. My parents, Marlowe C. and Afton S. Adkins, Sr., not only allowed me frequent "encampments", they also provided both meals and a sounding board for ideas at all hours of the day and night. My brothers, William S. and Stephen S. Adkins, have offered willing assistance in a multitude of ways. To my wife, Kate, my love and thanks for her many hours of proofreading and being without a husband although I was physically

present. And to my daughter, thankyou Leah. Now you can get a father back.

One last expression of gratitude is appropriate. To my many students who have involuntarily been subjected to stories about railroading in general, and John W. Young in particular, my thanks. But the stories will continue.

Marlowe C. Adkins, Jr.

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## ABSTRACT

A History of John W. Young's

Utah Railroads, 1884-1894

by

Marlowe C. Adkins, Jr., Master of Science

Utah State University, 1978

Major Professor: Dr. S. George Ellsworth

Department: History

The purpose of this paper is to recount how, under the entrepreneurial guidance of John Willard Young, three narrow gauge, shortline railroads were established in and near Salt Lake City, Utah between 1884 and 1894. Once justification for these projects was ascertained, the problems created by local and national politics, construction, and financing were met in a satisfactory manner. The results were two operating railroads and roadbed established for a third line. Operations continued under the control of John W. Young until the depression of 1893 when these railroads went into receivership.

(116 pages)



## INTRODUCTION

This is the story of three narrow gauge, short line railroads. Had fate been kinder, they might have become the hub of a major mountain west rail network. But this thesis will deal with facts, not possibilities, as it investigates the justification, construction, financing, and politics that surrounded these railroads and their location.

The locale was in and near Salt Lake City, Territory of Utah, during the decade between 1883-1894. Both location and time period have significance, for anti-Mormon feelings, within and without the the Territory, were very strong.

The visible cause of the anti-Mormon movement was polygamy.<sup>1</sup> For, as an English-American writer was to state nearly a century later, "nothing bothers a man with one wife more than a man with many wives who doesn't even feel guilty."<sup>2</sup> Many Americans sought to make the Mormons feel guilty. The weight of federal law was applied, both prior to and during the period covered herein, against the Mormons. In July, 1862, an Anti-Bigamy Act was signed into law. When it proved ineffective, it was strengthened by the Edmunds Act which became law in March, 1882. This act brought about prosecutions resulting in prison terms, fines, and other penalties. But the

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<sup>1</sup>Technically the Mormons practiced polygyny, having multiple wives. Following customary usage, however, the term polygamy, having multiple spouses of either sex, will be used throughout this thesis.

<sup>2</sup>Alistair Cooke, Alistair Cooke's America (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1974), 225.

final move, the Edmunds-Tucker Act of 1887 sought nothing short of the economic and political destruction of the Mormon church.<sup>3</sup> Because the railroads concerned were built in a predominately Mormon area by Mormons, the temper of the times was a factor.

In spite of the foregoing, care must be taken not to consider these as "Mormon Railroads."<sup>4</sup> Support from the Mormon church was not forthcoming. The main entrepreneur, however, was a Mormon with a name recognized throughout the territory.

Just as this is a history of railroads, it is not intended to be a complete biography of John Willard Young. Taking control of a railroad project stalled from the outset by public pressures, he was to transform it into a viable, expanding rail service. But as deeply involved as he was with railroads, he was concurrently engaged in other business and political activities. These interests kept him

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<sup>3</sup> Gustive O. Larson, The "Americanization" of Utah for Statehood (San Marino, Calif.: Huntington Library, 1971), 60, 62, 98, 210-11. Also Hubert Howe Bancroft, History of Utah (San Francisco, Calif.: A. L. Bancroft and Co., 1889), 606-07, 682-87, 772-73. Also Brigham H. Roberts, A Comprehensive History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1965), 5:7; 6:41-44, 147.

<sup>4</sup> Leonard J. Arrington, Great Basin Kingdom: Economic History of the Latter-day Saints, 1830-1900 (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1958), 257-292. To link John W. Young's railroads of this period with the Mormon church is understandable due to the lack of research and the Young family name. This error has been made by respected authorities on western railroads. A summary of the Salt Lake and Fort Douglas railroad published in 1974 included "construction of its narrow-gauge track did not commence until 1887 when sandstone from the Red Butte quarry was needed for some of the Mormon Church edifices then being erected in Salt Lake City." Robert A. LeMassena, Rio Grande ... to the Pacific! (Denver: Sundance Limited, 1974), 249.

away from Utah much of the time, thereby turning him into an absentee owner, with all of the connotations of the term.<sup>5</sup>

He was a controversial figure.<sup>6</sup> Practicing polygamist, son of Brigham Young, and a businessman, he was both respected and disliked. During the decade with which we are concerned, his family and religious ties did him little apparent good. What he accomplished, he did on his own merit.<sup>7</sup>

This thesis is presented in a topical-chronological manner. In turn, the subjects of justification for the railroads, politics surrounding them, actual construction, and finances will be covered.

<sup>5</sup> Absentee ownership of railroads in this era was not unusual, but is judged somewhat in a negative light today. See Thomas C. Cochran, Business in American Life: A History (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1972), 155-56. Also Matthew Josephson, The Robber Barons: The Great American Capitalists, 1861-1901 (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1962), 80. It is nearly impossible to keep track of John W. Young's movements, particularly his travels between his office in Salt Lake City and the one in New York City, nor is it really germane to the end result. He did travel at little personal expense, however, for he exchanged passes on his railroads with the presidents of other railroads. When away from Salt Lake City, he relied upon two men, Arthur Stayner and John M. Whitaker, to manage his railroad affairs.

<sup>6</sup> Contrasts in opinion held by others about John W. Young can be found by comparing John M. Whitaker's daily journal, held by the Western Americana Section, Marriott Library, University of Utah and Gene A. Sessions, ed., Mormon Democrat: The Religious and Political Memoirs of James Henry Moyle (Salt Lake City, Utah: Historical Department, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1975), 354-57.

<sup>7</sup> Although tightly knit to protect their religious beliefs, the Mormons were nonetheless strongly independent in many business activities. See Leonard J. Arrington, Feramorz Y. Fox, and Dean L. May, Building the City of God: Community and Cooperation Among the Mormons (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret Book Company, 1976). See also Arrington, Great Basin Kingdom.

Each will be developed by chronological narrative. With the scene and temper of the times so set, we will first look briefly at the background of railroads in Utah and John W. Young.

In the transcription of manuscript materials into the thesis, a literal rendering has been followed.

## CHAPTER I

## BACKGROUND: RAILROADING AND JOHN W. YOUNG

By March, 1883, steam railroads were well established in Utah Territory.<sup>1</sup> The 967 miles of completed track included two links with the eastern states and territories, one with California, and one with the Montana mines and Pacific Northwest.<sup>2</sup> The hub of this railroad activity, representing the interests of three major companies, was Ogden, Utah.

From Ogden the Central Pacific, one of the original transcontinental railroad companies, went west through Nevada and into California. Although part of a large rail network, the C. P. had no subsidiary railroads in Utah, and totaled only 154 miles of track within the territory.<sup>3</sup> The other member of the first transcontinental showed

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<sup>1</sup>For a survey of the development of railroads in the United States and Utah Territory, the following are recommended: Edward Chase Kirkland, Industry Comes of Age: Business, Labor and Public Policy, 1860-1897 (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, Inc., 1967); John F. Stover, The Life and Decline of the American Railroad (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970); Robert Edward Riegel, The Story of the Western Railroads: From 1852 Through the Reign of the Giants (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1964); Robert G. Athearn, Rebel of the Rockies: The Denver and Rio Grande Western Railroad (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1962); Robert G. Athearn, Union Pacific Country (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1971); and Arrington, Great Basin Kingdom.

<sup>2</sup>Henry V. Poor, Manual of the Railroads for the United States for 1883 (New York: H. V. and H. W. Poor, 1883), 896.

<sup>3</sup>Poor, Manual of Railroads (1883), 896.

considerably more interest in Utah.

The Union Pacific went east out of Ogden to link Utah with Wyoming Territory and other eastern points. Although the U. P. main-line totalled but 75 miles within Utah, this figure belies the company's interests.<sup>4</sup> The U. P. had, within the preceding decade, taken control of a series of local railroads, one of which provided a means of access to the riches of Idaho, Montana, and Oregon.

The Utah and Northern Railroad, proceeding from Ogden north to the Idaho line, then on to Pocatello, was originally the Utah Northern Railroad. The U. N. was one of a series of railroads constructed under the direction and control of the Mormons. A three-foot narrow gauge line, this railroad came under the control of the Union Pacific in 1878, a fate soon to be shared by other locally sponsored rail companies in Utah.<sup>5</sup>

In 1880, the Utah Central, Utah Southern, and Utah Southern Extension railroads were consolidated as the Utah Central Railroad with majority stock being held by the Union Pacific Company. Connecting Ogden with Frisco (in central southwestern Utah) via Salt Lake City, this was the longest rail line within Utah, totaling 280 miles. This standard gauge railroad provided a link between iron mines, smelters, and consumers.<sup>6</sup> It was not, however, the only U. P. controlled line

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<sup>4</sup>Poor, Manual of Railroads (1883), 896.

<sup>5</sup>Poor, Manual of Railroads (1883), 900. Also Arrington, Great Basin Kingdom, 283-289.

<sup>6</sup>Poor, Manual of Railroads (1883), 896, 898-99.

that served the mining and smelting industry in Utah.

The mines at Park City, east of Salt Lake City, were served by the Echo and Park City Railroad, and the soon-to-be-abandoned Utah Eastern. West of Salt Lake City the three-foot narrow gauge Utah and Nevada went past the south shore of the Great Salt Lake and into Tooele Valley.<sup>7</sup> These railroads complete the roster of Union Pacific involvement, but one more major railroad, a newcomer, must still be considered.

The Denver and Rio Grande Western was the second longest railroad within Utah (210 miles of track) and provided a link to the east via the Denver and Rio Grande system.<sup>8</sup> This three-foot narrow gauge line was just recently completed between Ogden, Salt Lake City, and the central Utah-Colorado border. The D. & R. G. W. had, however, already absorbed two smaller railroads, the Utah and Pleasant Valley line and the Wasatch and Jordan Valley which had served mines and smelters in the Utah and Salt Lake valleys respectively. Complementing these railroads was the coal-hauling San Pete Valley Railroad being constructed by the D. & R. G. W.<sup>9</sup> Like spiders legs, with the body at Ogden, railroads sought out the wealth of Utah Territory.

Utah's railroads were controlled by entrepreneurs outside of the territory, but supported and operated by local men. Businessmen such as Sidney Dillon, of the Union Pacific, and David Moffat, of the Denver and Rio Grande system, pulled the strings and determined the future actions

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<sup>7</sup>Poor, Manual of Railroads (1883), 896.

<sup>8</sup>Poor, Manual of Railroads (1883), 896.

<sup>9</sup>Poor, Manual of Railroads (1883), 896-97. Also Athearn, Rebel of the Rockies, 115-26.

of the Utah railroads while spending a minimal amount of time within Utah Territory. The day-by-day operations and worries rested with men such as William W. Riter, John Sharp, Abram F. Doremus, William Jennings, James Sharp, and LeGrande Young. Railroaders, businessmen, and lawyers, they represented Utahns deeply involved in, and committed to, the success of Utah railroading in 1883.<sup>10</sup> But temporarily missing from their ranks was a Utahn who had been involved with railroads since the transcontinental first entered the boundary of Utah Territory.

John Willard Young was a railroad entrepreneur, businessman, Mormon, and linked to what had been the most influential family in Utah. Born October 1, 1884, in Nauvoo, Illinois, he was the third son of Brigham and Mary Ann Angell Young. Within the decade of John W.'s birth, his father organized the Mormon migration to the Great Basin area and was accepted as the leader of the main body of the Mormon church.<sup>11</sup> Too young to be deeply impressed by the exodus from Nauvoo and the subsequent migration, he considered Salt Lake City his home. Thanks to his father's position, his early years were considerably different from his peers.

Being Brigham's son brought about situations from which he gained leadership experience. When not yet thirteen, he was the Captain of Light Infantry in the Nauvoo Legion, a unit made up of other youths. At age eighteen he was sent on a church mission to New York City, aiding in the Mormon migration from England. Dealing with agents for shipping

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<sup>10</sup>Poor, Manual of Railroads (1883), 897-900.

<sup>11</sup>John Willard Young was referred to as "John W." by his family and contemporaries. "Johnny W." was also a name used, mostly by the press, and was just tolerated by him.



lines and railroad companies, he was introduced to current business practices of the day. Within three years, now a young man, he was sent on another mission, this time to England. By now, some of his attitudes were well formed, including a liking for the "good life."

On the way to England he demonstrated both a knowledge of who he was and a taste for the creature comforts by engaging only the best of accommodations. As he explained to his father: "As it was generally known that I was your son, I felt I could do no less than stop at the finest hotel also, and be as respectable as the rest of them." Reaching England he continued to expand his business knowledge through continued work in the Mormon migration, handling funds and making arrangements with various passenger agents representing shipping companies. Traveling to Germany, Denmark, Norway, and Russia, he had an opportunity to observe international business functions.<sup>12</sup> Returning home, he gained even more business knowledge, this time starting near the top.

John W. Young's railroading experience began in 1868 as a sub-contractor preparing the grade for the Union Pacific through parts of Utah. The following year he was involved in both the formation and the construction of the Utah Central Railroad. In the summer of 1871, he traveled to New York and obtained financial backing for the Utah Northern, a railroad enterprise of which he was the president. Leaving the U. N., he became involved in another railroad, the Utah Western, which was

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<sup>12</sup>Dean C. Jessee, ed., Letters of Brigham Young to His Sons (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret Book Company, 1974), 91-95, 101-04.

building west from Salt Lake City. During this same period, Brigham Young sent John W. Young to England on business for the Utah Central and Utah Southern railroads. Thus, by 1878, he had received a thorough and practical background in various aspects of the railroad business.<sup>13</sup> Nor was his business experience limited to just railroading.

By 1883, John W. Young had been associated with a woolen factory and two cattle companies in Arizona, an iron mining and manufacturing concern, a supply and forwarding company, and the New York based North American Exchange Company, Limited.<sup>14</sup> As will be developed later, this latter business brought him into close proximity with many of the financial and business giants of the day. For a man not quite forty years of age, he was able to make genuine claim to a much broader base of experience than most of his Salt Lake City contemporaries.<sup>15</sup> And as is often the case, business was linked to politics.

Young associated himself with the Democratic Party. He developed political contacts and purchased the New York Saturday Evening Globe as a means of publishing via a newspaper some of his political opinions, generally aimed at improving relations between the Mormon people and the people of the United States as a whole. Through the decade of the 1880s he involved himself in political causes intended to benefit the

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<sup>13</sup>Arrington, Great Basin Kingdom, 283-88. Also Jessee, Letters of Brigham Young, 116-19.

<sup>14</sup>Jessee, Letters of Brigham Young, 93.

<sup>15</sup>See Leonard J. Arrington, David Eccles: Pioneer Western Industrialist (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1975). Eccles was a Mormon businessman and contemporary of John W. Young.

Mormons, including audiences with President Grover Cleveland.<sup>16</sup> In this way he was able to carry out some of his church-associated obligations in spite of his frequent absences from Utah.

Although ordained an apostle in the Mormon church at the age of eleven, he was never a member of the Quorum of Twelve Apostles.<sup>17</sup> He did, however, function in a number of other church positions. He was a counselor to his father in the First Presidency from April 1873 until May 1874, when he was sustained as assistant counselor. Two and a half years later, in October 1877, he became first counselor to his father until Brigham Young died on August 29, 1877. In October of the same year, John W. Young became a counselor to the Twelve Apostles, a position he held until October 1891.<sup>18</sup> While his church positions thus kept him near the Mormon hierarchy, it did not ease either his business or family responsibilities.

John W. Young was a polygamist. During the 1880s he was concurrently married to two, and possibly three, of his five wives.

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<sup>16</sup>Jessee, Letters of Brigham Young, 93. A number of references relative to politics are found in John W. Young's papers. See also Charles L. Keller, "Promoting Railroads and Statehood: John W. Young", Utah Historical Quarterly, 45 (Summer 1977), 289-308 for a discussion of his political activities.

<sup>17</sup>Jessee, Letters of Brigham Young, 92.

<sup>18</sup>Deseret News 1978 Church Almanac [Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret News, c1978], 101-02.

At least fourteen children were born to him by these five women.<sup>19</sup> Although very little is recorded in extant documents relative to his private, family life, he was divorced by all five women, suggesting that his business activities took their toll on the domestic scene. It was his business expertise, however, that built railroads and not his family life.

Thus, by 1884, John W. Young was not a novice in either railroading or the world of business. This knowledge he brought with him as he prepared to construct his newly acquired railroad in Salt Lake City.

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<sup>19</sup> John W. Young was married to Lucy Maria Canfield, Elizabeth Canfield, Clara Lucinda Jones, Lucy Luella Cobb, and Christine Catherine Damcke. Lucy Canfield and John W. Young were divorced in 1873. Data is lacking on Elizabeth, other than the fact that they had four children, one of whom was born in June 1869, and she may be the "Aunt Libby" that divorced him when he married Lucy Luella Cobb. Clara married him in 1865, no record is available of their divorce date. Lucy Luella Cobb married him in 1877 and divorced him in 1893. Catherine married him in 1879 and divorced him in 1890. Data drawn from John W. Young family group sheets, L. D. S. Genealogical Library, Salt Lake City, Utah, and a manuscript by Mary Luella Maria Young Goulding, Church Archives, Historical Department, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah.

## CHAPTER II

## THE JUSTIFICATION FOR MORE RAILROADS

This chapter will develop the justification for the formation and construction of three railroads in and near Salt Lake City between 1883-1894. With the exception of the mule-powered Salt Lake Street Railway which had limited trackage in the business district, the railroads already established served only the west side of the city.

By the beginning of the 1880s, Salt Lake City was served by two major rail networks. Feeding from the north, the Union Pacific controlled Utah Central Railroad linked the city with Ogden. From Ogden, cargoes and passengers could travel both east and west. The U. C. also provided access to the south-central portion of the territory, via Provo. Under the same corporate control as the U. C., the Utah and Nevada Railroad linked Salt Lake City with Tooele Valley to the west. Feeding from the east-southeast, the Denver and Rio Grande Western Railroad provided a link with Denver and points south and east of Colorado. The D. & R. G. W. also extended north to Ogden. With such a network already in existence along the relatively lightly populated Wasatch Front, the financial prospects for another railroad appeared slim.

The Salt Lake and Fort Douglas Railroad

Ironically, incentive for another railroad in Salt Lake City was due to the impact of both the Union Pacific and the Denver and Rio Grande Western railroads. The year 1883 found Salt Lake City in the midst of a building boom brought about by a population that more than doubled between 1880 and 1890.<sup>1</sup> The migration of Mormon converts from the eastern United States and Europe was made easier and cheaper by rail travel. Salt Lake City, as the "Mecca" of the Mormons, was the natural hub for this incoming flow of humanity. This, in turn, resulted in the establishment of more businesses and a larger permanent population.

People require shelter, both for homes and businesses. In the early years of Salt Lake City's development, adobe was the favorite building material.<sup>2</sup> But by the 1880s both needs and tastes were

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<sup>1</sup>U. S., Department of the Interior, Census Office, Compendium of the Eleventh Census of the United States, 1890: Population (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1892), 1:438.

<sup>2</sup>Adobe homes were built in the Salt Lake Valley from the outset of Mormon settlement. See Bancroft, History of Utah, 276-77, 292. Popular because of the availability of the necessary clay and the scarcity of lumber, adobe buildings are described in many of the accounts of travelers through the city during the past century. An example can be found in Mark Twain, Roughing It (New York: New American Library, Inc., 1962), 92. Twain describes therein the look of the city in 1861. See also Sir Richard F. Burton, The City of the Saints and Across the Rocky Mountains to California (London: Longman, Green, Longman, and Roberts, 1861), 419. Also Harold D. Longley, ed., To Utah With the Dragoons and Glimpses of Life in Arizona and California 1858-1859 (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1974), 90. These examples are not intended, however, to infer that only adobe was used prior to the 1880s in Utah, for this was not the case.

changing. Salt Lake was no longer on the edge of a raw frontier, the railroads were transporting timber from the Northwest for building purposes, and locally manufactured fired bricks were available. But a less expensive building material was in demand and, fortunately, was in abundant local supply.

Large deposits of sandstone are located in the mountains to the north and east of Salt Lake City. From a stonemason's point of view, sandstone has an advantage over brick in an area where fuel must be imported.<sup>3</sup> Quarried sandstone was formed, without intermediate steps, into the desired shapes with nothing more sophisticated than a saw and chisel.<sup>4</sup> The odd shapes, or rubble, were suitable for use in foundation work, basement floors, and inner walls. The major disadvantage was the need to transport its heavy bulk from the mountains down into the city. The use of a railroad for this purpose was far superior to the wagons hauling their heavy load over dirt roads, but such rail service did not exist as the 1880s began.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>3</sup>An interesting, informative description of the brick making process, prior to modern manufacturing methods, can be found in Harley J. McKee, Introduction to Early American Masonry: Stone, Brick, Mortar and Plaster (Washington, D. C.: National Trust for Historic Preservation in the United States, 1973), 41-44. Common to all processes then used in brick making was the need to fire the brick at high temperatures using coal or charcoal fueled kilns.

<sup>4</sup>McKee, Early American Masonry, 31.

<sup>5</sup>The transportation of heavy goods a century ago in Utah was much different than it is today. Unless he lives in a particularly remote region, today's Utahn is hard pressed to appreciate the problems of transportation over dirt roads. During the summer the churning action of the wagon wheels resulted in roads literally inches thick with dust. Drawn by animals, the rate of travel might be as little as two or three miles per hour. With the coming of wet weather, dust

By mid-September, 1883, a group of Salt Lake City businessmen recognized the profit potential of a rockhauling railroad. Drawing up the Articles of Association papers on September 15, and filing them with the territorial secretary on September 27, 1883, they organized the Salt Lake and Fort Douglas Railway. Their initial intentions were to construct the railroad from the Utah Central depot to Red Butte and Emigration canyons, via Fort Douglas.<sup>6</sup> Because they were in the rock hauling business, Red Butte Canyon was the primary target since it contained substantial deposits of red sandstone. An additional financial interest lay on the way, however, at Fort Douglas.

Fort Douglas had been established in 1862, providing a garrison which, overtly, was to protect the overland telegraph. There were many local citizens who felt that since the guns of the fort were aimed towards Salt Lake City, its covert purpose was to keep an eye on the Mormons while the other "peculiar institution" was being taken care of through the medium of the Civil War.<sup>7</sup> The fort remained garrisoned after the war, and where there was a fort there were

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turned to mud and the rate of travel might well slow even more. During the winter, as snow accumulated, the mountain passes would be totally closed, choked with snow until the spring melt. The few macadamized roads to be found were only in the populated areas that provided the traffic and manpower to justify the expense of construction. Utah road development, including transportation problems, is extensively covered in Ezra C. Knowlton, History of Highway Development in Utah [Salt Lake City: Utah State Department of Highways, n.d.].

<sup>6</sup>Archives of the State of Utah, Corporation File No. 246, State Capitol Building, Salt Lake City, Utah.

<sup>7</sup>Roberts, History of the Church, 5:17-18.



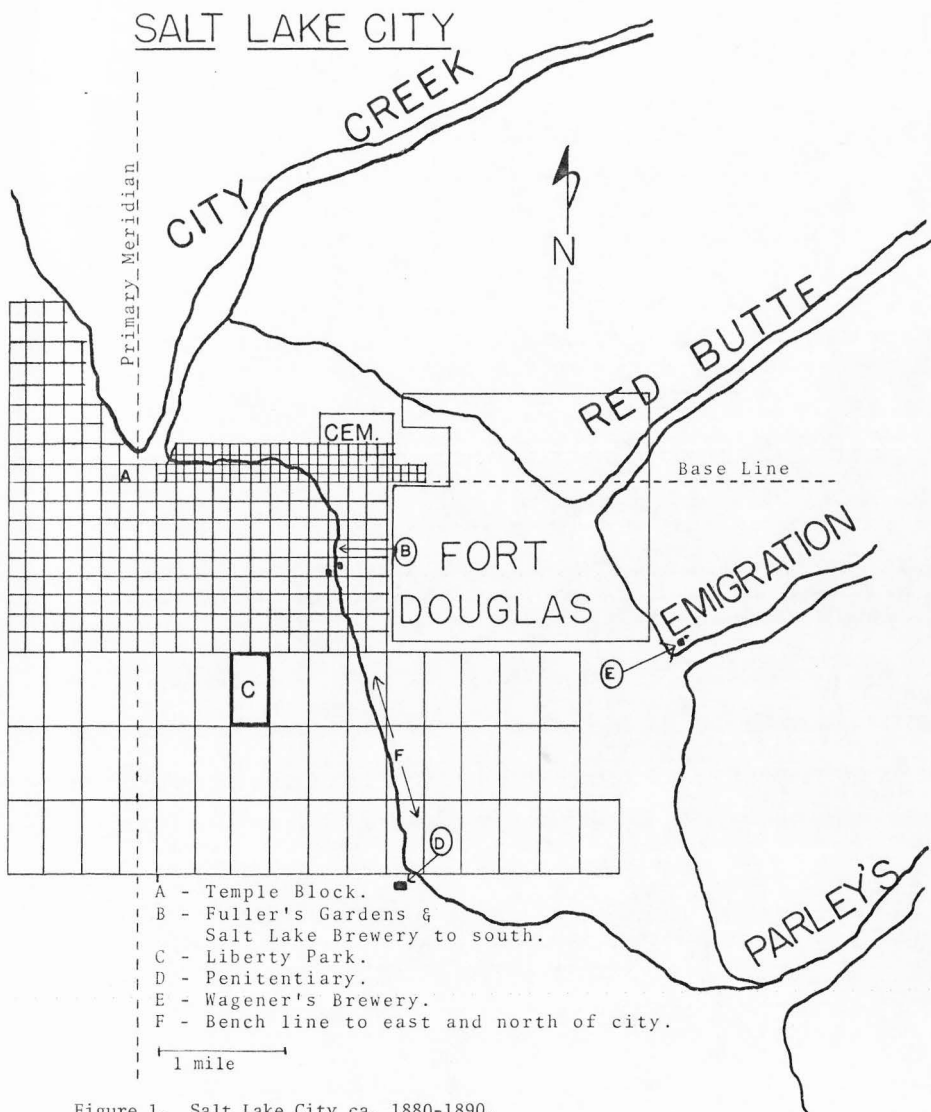


Figure 1. Salt Lake City ca. 1880-1890.

military contracts.

Happily for the investors in the Salt Lake and Fort Douglas Railroad, the fort lay directly between Salt Lake City and Red Butte Canyon. With very little cost, spurs leading into the supply yards of the quartermaster offered easier haulage of materials to the fort and its garrison. Not only supplies but the troops themselves presented revenue sources to a railroad originally intended to haul nothing more glamorous than rock.

Having planned and organized their "rock road", the original investors failed to press the issue when the proposed route met with resistance. The future of the Salt Lake and Fort Douglas Railroad lay in limbo, awaiting the arrival of more dynamic leadership.

A forceful personality was present by early May 1884, for John W. Young had become associated with the Salt Lake and Fort Douglas in an active way.<sup>8</sup> In October of the same year, the organizational papers were modified to include him as a stockholder.<sup>9</sup> On December 2, 1884, new Articles of Association were filed under which he held 291 shares of stock while all other stockholders held but one share apiece. In this manner he insured that he alone would control the railroad.<sup>10</sup> Now heavily committed to the enterprise, he based much of his enthusiasm upon his ownership of rock lands in Red Butte Canyon

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<sup>8</sup>Salt Lake Tribune, May 14, 1884.

<sup>9</sup>State Archives, Corporation File No. 246.

<sup>10</sup>State Archives, Corporation File No. 246.

and high economic expectations.<sup>11</sup>

In October 1884, a prospectus was prepared for the Salt Lake and Fort Douglas Railroad which indicates the financial hopes of the railroad and the broader economic base being formulated by Young. The figures were based upon the actual wagon haulage of 1883, considering the "natural proportion" that the railroad was expected to acquire.

65,000 tons of rock @ .50/ton	\$32,500
40,000 tons of brick @ .50/ton	20,000
15,000 tons of lime and sand @ .50/ton	7,500
27,000 tons of limestone for fluxing @ .50/ton	13,500
7,500 tons of mountain ice @ \$1/ton	7,500
8,000 tons for Fort Douglas and Wagener's brewery @ .50/ton	4,000
15,000 tons of coal and lumber to parts of the city @ .50/ton	7,500 <sup>12</sup>

From these figures, he estimated a gross of \$92,500 per year.

The freight traffic now included brick, limestone, sand, ice, brewery supplies, coal and lumber. Additional revenue sources later developed included serving the Burton-Gardner Fence Factory, the Elias Morris fire brick and sewer-pipe works, Lefler's Flour Mills, another brewery, and Fuller's Pleasure Gardens.<sup>13</sup> Traffic was planned to be

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<sup>11</sup>Salt Lake Tribune, May 8, 1884.

<sup>12</sup>Prospectus draft, John W. Young papers, Church Archives.

<sup>13</sup>Edward W. Tullidge, Tullidge's Histories: Northern Utah and Southern Idaho (Salt Lake City, Utah: Juvenile Instructor Press, 1889), 534-35.

two-way, carrying raw materials into the factories and the finished products out. Even with these additions, Young found additional prospective business.

A projected branch line, reaching south from the city to what was then called Millcreek (the present-day Sugar House) and on towards the Holladay-Cottonwood area was planned.<sup>14</sup> This branch, referred to as the Cottonwood Branch of the Salt Lake and Fort Douglas Railroad, led towards a community that contained a lumber mill, a flour mill, and the only paper mill in the territory.<sup>15</sup> With the addition of building materials and produce, this branch could maintain considerable freight traffic.

Passenger traffic was not ignored. Passenger platforms were to be established at intervals along the line, and the train would stop on signal to board passengers anywhere outside of the city limits. Within the city, passengers would be able to board the train at any street intersection along the line. Passenger traffic was oriented towards three main destinations outside of the city: Fuller's Pleasure Gardens, Wagener's brewery, and the territorial penitentiary. For those living away from the extant horse car lines, the Salt Lake and Fort Douglas might serve the purpose of an interurban railroad. Special student rates were to be offered when schools were in session.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>14</sup>Salt Lake City Herald, November 12, 1884.

<sup>15</sup>Stephen L. Carr, ed., Holladay - Cottonwood: Places and Faces (Holladay, Utah: Holladay - Cottonwood Heritage Committee, 1976), 22-23, 30-31.

<sup>16</sup>Salt Lake Tribune, September 16, 1888.

Taken together, the freight and passenger service provided the financial justification for the Salt Lake and Fort Douglas. What was not foreseen was that this small, local railroad would spawn yet another railroad, this one with much greater ambitions.

#### The Salt Lake and Eastern Railroad

The opportunity to make a profit by transporting limestone and shale created yet another branch of the Salt Lake and Fort Douglas. Limestone was in heavy demand for the manufacture of mortar used in the building of stone and brick structures.<sup>17</sup> Shale was thought to be a more suitable paving material for the city streets than gravel. Both substances were found in large deposits east of Salt Lake City in Parleys Canyon, but a stimulus was needed to justify the expense of constructing a railroad to the shale beds.

Encouragement came from the Salt Lake City Chamber of Commerce. In early May 1888, this body communicated with John W. Young relative to his extending a branch of the Salt Lake and Fort Douglas into Parleys Canyon. His response was rapid, replying in the affirmative on May 4.<sup>18</sup> Within three days he was seeking permission to cross the federally-controlled lands of the territorial penitentiary which lay between Sugar House and the mouth of Parleys Canyon.<sup>19</sup> While

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<sup>17</sup>McKee, Early American Masonry, 62-65.

<sup>18</sup>John W. Young to M. J. Forhau, May 4, 1888. JWY papers.

<sup>19</sup>John W. Young to Marshal Frank E. Dyer, May 7, 1888. JWY papers.

publicly acknowledging the goal of removing shale and limestone, his mind was already conceiving greater, more profitable pursuits.

Park City, Utah, was an economic delicacy to John W. Young. Beginning as grazing lands and timber country, Park City by the early 1870s was a boom town. Silver, and some gold, was being wrenched from the earth on a regular basis.<sup>20</sup> By 1888 the Union Pacific controlled Echo and Park City Railroad was hauling out the mined ore to smelters, but the ore reached its destination in a roundabout manner.

The nearest major smelters were in the Salt Lake Valley, south of Salt Lake City. The Echo and Park City route went north out of Park City to Echo Junction. Here the cars of ore were routed west over Union Pacific tracks to Ogden. At Ogden, they then proceeded south over the Utah Central tracks to the smelters. A more direct, east-west rail route between Park City and Salt Lake City would cut both the time and the cost of transporting the ore, an obvious competitive threat to the E. & P. C. It had been tried before, with a railroad building west from Park City, but the effort had failed.<sup>21</sup> Prior

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<sup>20</sup>Raye Carleson Price, Diggings and Doings in Park City (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1972).

<sup>21</sup>The Utah Eastern Railroad, a three-foot narrow gauge line, linked Coalville with Park City in competition with the Summit County Railroad. (The latter was renamed the Echo and Park City Railroad.) Grading for the Utah Eastern to continue on into Salt Lake City was begun, but the Union Pacific (which controlled the E. & P. C.) gained control of the U. E. through stock manipulation. Once in control, the U. P. forced the U. E. into bankruptcy, bought out the bankrupt railroad, and abandoned the line in December 1883. Marlowe C. Adkins, Jr., "End of Track, Park City" (unpublished manuscript on file with the Utah State Historical Society, Salt Lake City, Utah).

failure or not, Young still had another economic incentive to extend the rails eastward.

Timber on the mountains near Salt Lake City had been harvested since 1847, and lumber for building purposes was now brought in from as far away as the Pacific Northwest.<sup>22</sup> However, east of Park City lay Kamas, or Camas Prairie as it was then known, with large stands of virgin timber.<sup>23</sup> In one stroke, a railroad driving east from Salt Lake City could tap both timber and ore.

Geographically, the most feasible route between Salt Lake City and Park City (to points east) lay through Parleys Canyon. With a branch line already started into this canyon to the shale beds, it was only logical to continue on to Park City. With proper management, it was conceivable to push even beyond Kamas, join with another railroad building west from Colorado, and establish direct connections with the eastern states.<sup>24</sup> The question was, was this feasible for a local railroad such as the Salt Lake and Fort Douglas?

John W. Young removed his newest railroad enterprise out of the control of the Salt Lake and Fort Douglas on September 21, 1888. Outlining

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<sup>22</sup>Arrington, David Eccles, 62.

<sup>23</sup>John W. Young to James W. Barclay, April 16, 1889. JWY papers.

<sup>24</sup>John W. Young had previously discussed with David H. Moffat, of the Denver and Rio Grande system, the opportunities present if a Moffat controlled line was constructed from Denver to Utah via the Uintah Basin. Moffat, in 1889, organized a company separate from the Denver and Rio Grande for this purpose although construction did not begin until 1891. John W. Young to David H. Moffat, October 22, 1889. JWY papers.

a proposed route from Salt Lake City to Kamas via Sugar House, Parleys Canyon, Parleys Park, and Park City, Articles of Association were drawn up to create the Salt Lake and Eastern Railway.<sup>25</sup> Ahead lay the potential profits of ore traffic to smelters, lumber for construction, and ice to the residents of Salt Lake City.

A century ago ice production was solely in the domain of nature. Ice houses were constructed and the ice was cut from ponds during the freezing winter weather. Using sawdust for insulation, the blocks of ice were then stored for later use. The streams used to produce this commodity in the Salt Lake Valley had, by the 1880s, become polluted with sewage and other foreign matter.<sup>26</sup> The mountains still offered a supply of clear, clean ice which Young recognized as a source of a usable commodity. He therefore determined to establish ice ponds and houses along the Salt Lake and Eastern right-of-way up Parleys Canyon. This ice was not only more pure, the season for ice harvesting was longer due to the higher altitude.

#### The Utah Western Railroad

Stretching west and west-northwest of Salt Lake City lies the lake that gives the city its name. Surrounded by arid and alkaline land, the lake itself gained early attention from the white settlers on two points. First, and most important, the high salinity of the

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<sup>25</sup>State Archives, Corporation File No. 487.

<sup>26</sup>John W. Young to Mr. Dick, January 22, 1889. JWY papers.



brine provided a ready source of salt. Second, this same salinity made it impossible for a bather to sink below the surface of the water. This latter, novel effect caused two resort areas to be opened on the shores of the lake by the 1880s.

Garfield Beach, located on the southern edge of the lake, was served by the Utah and Nevada Railroad. The Denver and Rio Grande Western company established a resort on the eastern shore, midway between Salt Lake City and Ogden at Lake Park.<sup>27</sup> Tourists and citizens alike traveled with comparative ease to the resort of their choice over the respective railroads. As the population (and tourist popularity) of Salt Lake City increased, the opportunity for yet another lake resort was present.

In early January 1889, there was considerable local newspaper speculation centering upon a new railroad to be constructed from Salt Lake City to the shores of the Great Salt Lake. Reportedly the route had been staked out, and a name selected for the new enterprise. The reported goal was the Jeromy Salt Works, and actual construction only awaited the arrival of better weather.<sup>28</sup> This purported railroad enterprise disappeared into the mists of dreams by the end of the month, but it was sufficient to engage the interest of John W. Young.

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<sup>27</sup>Gordon Chappell, "Scenic Line of the World", Colorado Rail Annual, 1970 (Golden: The Colorado Railroad Museum, 1970), 84.

<sup>28</sup>Salt Lake Tribune, January 6, 8, and 31, 1889.

From his office in New York City, Young initiated the action that would result in a new railroad. Writing to his secretary, John M. Whitaker in Salt Lake City, he related how he came to be aware of the proposed railroad and what action he wanted accomplished.

You say Brother Harrington speaks of a location to Jeromy's Salt Works, and it should be made at once if I expect to get it. Why doesn't Brother Harrington give me particulars so I may know what he means, and who it is that is liable to build there, instead of saying other parties. I don't like this vague way of giving information. You can tell Brother Hardy to go and have a talk with Jeromy, and go out quietly to the edge of the Lake, North of Jeromy's Salt Works, on the old Island Road and see where is the best Beach, and the best point to locate there. As nearly the whole line could be tangent from Salt Lake City, the first thing to do is to locate a terminus where the best Beach is on a direct line; but it must be somewhere between the old Island Road and Jeromy's Salt Landing. He should see Jeromy, and they should go out together, but I want to do it <sup>29</sup> quietly, and then let me know results immediately ...

The results were favorable, for within five months Young had formed the Utah Western Railway.<sup>30</sup> In Articles of Association drawn

<sup>29</sup> John W. Young to John M. Whitaker, January 24, 1889. JWY papers. The Brother Harrington referred to is Daniel Harrington who became associated with Young's railroad enterprises in 1887 and was later a prominent Salt Lake City lawyer. Biographical Record of Salt Lake City and Vicinity (Chicago: National Historical Record Company, 1902), 119. The Brother Hardy is Charles William Hardy whose railroad engineering experience began with the construction of the Utah Central in 1869. He was the chief engineer for John W. Young, and during his career also held the positions of Salt Lake County Surveyor and Assistant Territorial Surveyor-General. Andrew Jenson, Latter-day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia (Salt Lake City, Utah: Andrew Jenson History Company, 1914), 2:101.

<sup>30</sup> This was the second railroad bearing the name of Utah Western. The first Utah Western Railroad was an earlier enterprise of John W. Young's, formed in June 1874. State Archives, Corporation File No. 4296. This railroad later came under the control of the Union Pacific Railroad and was renamed the Utah and Nevada Railroad. State Archives, Corporation File No. 4311.

up on June 24, 1889, the proposed route was very vague, reading simply "from Salt Lake City to the east shore of the Great Salt Lake ...."<sup>31</sup> Certainly the financial justification for this enterprise was questionable.

John W. Young had more in mind to justify the expense of this new railroad than just tourists and salt. For some time he had been encouraging Collis P. Huntington of the Central Pacific Railroad to build a new line around the south end of the Great Salt Lake.<sup>32</sup> Simultaneously, the Salt Lake City Council had become more reluctant to grant railroad franchises within the city. Such feeling was understandable as four steam railroad lines presently entered or passed through the western part of the city.<sup>33</sup> By immediately organizing the Utah Western, Young was able to accomplish two objectives. First, granted a franchise he had an egress from the city towards the west. Second, by having as his visible destination the beaches of the Great Salt Lake, possible speculation about linking with another railroad from the west was minimized. The Utah Western thus became his "ace-in-the-hole" for future expansion plans.

The formation of all three railroads was based upon sound economic planning. The profit motive was present, based upon both

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<sup>31</sup>State Archives, Corporation File No. 536.

<sup>32</sup>John W. Young to David H. Moffat, February 20, 1889. JWY papers.

<sup>33</sup>Both the Utah Central and the Denver and Rio Grande Western railroads passed through the city on a north-south axis. The Utah and Nevada departed from near the Utah Central depot within the city and went west while the Salt Lake and Fort Douglas connected with the Denver and Rio Grande Western tracks but passed through the city to the east.

sound business judgment and the gambling instincts of an experienced entrepreneur. A transportation service was needed and the transportable goods were available in wide variety.

These railroads were to have a very diversified economic base. The Salt Lake and Fort Douglas was to transport sandstone, limestone, grains, lumber, flour, beer, brick, and sewer pipes. The Salt Lake and Eastern was to carry ice, limestone, shale, silver ore, coal, and various commodities required by the merchants of Park City. The Utah Western offered the immediate potential of transporting salt. All of the railroads intended to provide passenger service compatible with the increasing population density.

To this point we have but "creatures of state," formed by filing pieces of paper with the proper authority. Whatever the economic hopes, the railroads had to be transformed from intent into deed.

## CHAPTER III

## POLITICS AND RAILROAD AMBITIONS

The three railroads discussed in this thesis were in the unenviable position of having to obtain either city or federal permission to build across lands under the control of the respective governments. The Salt Lake and Fort Douglas line and the Utah Western both required franchises granted by Salt Lake City. The Salt Lake and Fort Douglas, as well as the Salt Lake and Eastern, crossed lands within federal reservations, necessitating an Act of Congress to obtain the needed clearances. The result was political machinations, conflict, frustration and successes that reached from City Hall in Salt Lake City to the halls of the United States Congress.

With the initial construction of railroads in Utah, the Salt Lake City Council had passed an ordinance for the control of such lines as might pass through the city. The council was granted the authority to regulate and control railroad franchises. Carefully spelling out the various railroad construction requirements within the city, the ordinance concluded by emphasizing that the council "expressly retained and reserved" the rights to approve or reject railroad development.<sup>1</sup> This control was laden with potential problems

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<sup>1</sup>The Revised Ordinances of Salt Lake City (Salt Lake City, Utah: The Star Printing Company, 1888), 262-63.

for railroad builders.

Where railroad matters were concerned, a conflict of interest was present within the Salt Lake City Council. Although the makeup of the council membership varied during the period of 1883-1890, there was always at least one member who was directly associated with Union Pacific controlled railroads. Council member John Sharp was on the board of directors of the Utah Central and was vice president and general superintendent of that railroad. Another councilman, James Sharp, was the assistant general superintendent of the Utah Central and a member of the board of directors of the Utah and Nevada Railroad. A third railroader and council member, W. W. Riter, was a member of the board of directors, vice president, and general superintendent of the Utah and Nevada.<sup>2</sup> Each of these men placed the concerns of their railroads first and sought to place obstacles in the way of franchise requests from John W. Young. However, conflict of interest was not the only problem when the City Council heard requests for railroad expansion in Salt Lake City.

The council, as an elected body, was sensitive to the wishes of the electorate. If public opinion formed concerning an issue, the councilman doing his duty reacted to popular feelings. Mass meetings, petitions, and newspaper editorials were sources of input to the council, pro or con. Sensitivity to public opinion resulted in a number of petitions to the council from the Salt Lake and Fort Douglas

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<sup>2</sup>Poor, Manual of Railroads (1883 through 1890), under the respective railroad names.

during the first year of the latter's corporate existence.

The Salt Lake and Fort Douglas Railroad submitted five separate route proposals to the Salt Lake City Council before approval and a franchise was finally granted. In chronological order they were: 1) a route from the Utah Central depot around the north edge of the city to Fort Douglas, 2) a route from the Denver and Rio Grande Western depot east along Second South to Fort Douglas, 3) a modified route going north of the city to Fort Douglas, 4) a modified route along Second South using horse-drawn cars to the outskirts of the city, and 5) a route leaving the Denver and Rio Grande Western tracks, proceeding east then north along the southern and eastern edge of the city. Each proposal resulted in considerable comment from the populace and deliberation by the council.

The first proposal from the original incorporators of the Salt Lake and Fort Douglas Railroad occurred in September 1883, and was prior to John W. Young's involvement. As illustrated in Figure 2, this route proceeded from the Utah Central depot, at Third West and North Temple, east along North Temple. Using the walls of City Creek Canyon to gain altitude, it emerged on the north bench and followed Fourth Avenue towards the destination of Fort Douglas and Red Butte Canyon.<sup>3</sup> The criticism that this route received has a familiar ring today--urban density and water pollution.

Less than a century ago, North Temple street was lined with

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<sup>3</sup>Herald, September 22, 1883



Figure 2. Proposed route, September to December, 1885.



with residences instead of the present commercial establishments. A unique feature of this thoroughfare was the stream of water flowing down its center. City Creek, the creek from the canyon of the same name, was diverted from near the mouth of the canyon to flow west in the middle of the street until the water emptied into the Jordan River. The stream was more than a curiosity in its divergence, for it provided both irrigation and culinary water to the residents in the immediate vicinity. In an effort to avoid street congestion along North Temple, the Salt Lake and Fort Douglas proposed to place its tracks on a trestle straddling the stream from Third West to the mouth of City Creek Canyon, a distance of about one mile.<sup>4</sup> Water coursed near the rails at another point.

After emerging on the north bench, the proposed line was to run parallel with Fourth Avenue, alongside what was called the Twentieth Ward ditch. The ditch provided, as did City Creek, the culinary and irrigation water for the residents along portions of the north bench.<sup>5</sup> Rapidly the lines of conflict were drawn between railroad entrepreneurs and residential water users.

The ensuing debate was extensively covered by the local press. In editorials and reports of meetings and petitions, the pros and cons of the argument were aired. Some residents of the north bench

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<sup>4</sup>Herald, September 22, 1883. Also Map of Salt Lake City and Vicinity dated February 20, 1888 (original held by the Utah State Historical Society; reproduction in the possession of the author).

<sup>5</sup>Herald, September 22, 1883. Also Map of Salt Lake City and Vicinity dated February 20, 1888.

area supported the enterprise. They saw in the railroad opportunities to establish various businesses and the enhancement of property values.<sup>6</sup> For other residents, the railroad threatened misery. "It is not pleasant to have a locomotive snorting, blowing, whistling and dashing up and down in front of one's house ...." commented the Herald.<sup>7</sup> Many of the residents were concerned about the possible pollution of their water. The locomotives and cars directly over the waters of City Creek posed one threat. Those drawing culinary water from the Twentieth Ward ditch had a big enough problem with animals contaminating the supply, and did not want dirt and cinders from the trains compounding the problem.<sup>8</sup>

At the council meeting on December 26, 1883, a petition against the Salt Lake and Fort Douglas route was accepted by the City Council. P. L. Williams moved to adopt the petition and W. W. Riter voted in favor of the Williams motion.<sup>9</sup> Of significance, both Williams and Riter were among the original investors in the S. L. & F. D.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>6</sup>Herald, December 16, 1883.

<sup>7</sup>Herald, December 14, 1883.

<sup>8</sup>Most of the debate was aired in the Herald on December 14, 16, 19, 20, 23, and 27, 1883. The Deseret News editorialized on this matter on December 27, 1883.

<sup>9</sup>Deseret News, December 27, 1883.

<sup>10</sup>Other major shareholders were Seymour B. Young, LeGrand Young, Alfales Young, James Sharp, and John Sharp, Jr. They represented, between them, experience in the areas of law, business, railroading, and journalism. State Archives, Corporation File No. 246.

Their action was indicative of the council's feelings. On January 2, 1884, the Committee on Streets and Alleys recommended disapproval of the requested franchise. The council concurred.<sup>11</sup> The Salt Lake and Fort Douglas Railroad had been sidetracked in the City Council, and remained so until the arrival of John W. Young.

On May 13, 1884, the new president of the Salt Lake and Fort Douglas Railroad requested a franchise. The proposed route of the railroad was common with the previous year's request only in its destination. Leaving the Denver and Rio Grande Western depot, the tracks were to travel east along Second South. This route, as shown in Figure 3, cut through the central business section of the city, then proceeded on to the boundaries of Fort Douglas.<sup>12</sup> In less than a month the petition was denied, but this had been anticipated.<sup>13</sup>

A second route under the new leadership, and the third request submitted, was proposed on May 25, 1884. As illustrated in Figure 4, this route departed the Utah Central depot and went north along Third West. At Eighth North it turned in a generally eastward direction until it reached Red Butte Canyon. This proposal did take the railroad along a higher north bench location than did the 1883 request.<sup>14</sup> The council undertook discussion of this proposal.

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<sup>11</sup> Herald, January 3, 1884.

<sup>12</sup> Salt Lake Tribune, May 14, 1884.

<sup>13</sup> Salt Lake Tribune, June 4, 1884.

<sup>14</sup> Salt Lake Tribune, May 28, 1884.

## SALT LAKE CITY



Figure 3. Proposed route of May 13, 1884.

## SALT LAKE CITY



Figure 4. Route to north of the city, May, 1884.

With two qualifications this petition met with the council's approval. First, the Salt Lake and Fort Douglas Railroad had to abandon the requested right of way up Third West. Instead, the tracks were to begin with the existing Utah Central tracks at Eighth North.<sup>15</sup> Second, part of the proposed route, because of its high location on the north bench, passed through land set aside for the city cemetery. The railroad had to relocate above or below these lands.<sup>16</sup> This time Young chose to move slowly, making no reply for just over a month.

On July 27, 1884, it was announced that a new route for the Salt Lake and Fort Douglas had been adopted which avoided going through the cemetery.<sup>17</sup> The details were presented to the City Council on August 5, much to the surprise of all present.

Except for one modification, this fourth proposal was identical to the previously rejected Second South route. To eliminate the noise and smoke of locomotives passing through the city center, the railroad cars were to be drawn by horses between the Denver and Rio Grande Western depot and Eleventh East.<sup>18</sup> This was an obvious bid to obtain

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<sup>15</sup>To join with the Utah Central had two consequences for the S. L. & F. D. First, the track gauge of the latter had to be the standard four feet eight and one-half inches. Second, the former was then in a position to become actively involved in the rock transportation business.

<sup>16</sup>Salt Lake Tribune, June 25, 1884.

<sup>17</sup>Salt Lake Tribune, July 28, 1884.

<sup>18</sup>Salt Lake Tribune, August 6, 1884.

the rail traffic of the businesses in the center of the city, an area untouched by the other railroads. Local businessmen reacted in a prompt manner.

Entrepreneurs along the route were opposed. A petition, just one of many, containing the signatures of one hundred twenty-six businessmen against the railroad was submitted in early September.<sup>19</sup> While opposing the Salt Lake and Fort Douglas Railroad, many of the same citizens favored the establishment of a passenger tramway along the same route.<sup>20</sup> The City Council considered the matter and rendered its decision.

The council meeting of September 2 contained two items of business concerning the Salt Lake and Fort Douglas. The first was the refusal of the council to grant the Second South request.<sup>21</sup> The second was an unscheduled statement to the council by John W. Young just as the meeting was about to close.

His fourth route petition, the fifth in the series on behalf of the Salt Lake and Fort Douglas Railroad, was presented in person.

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<sup>19</sup>Salt Lake Tribune, September 3, 1884. Opponents included the powerful Walker brothers and Fred Auerbach, whose enterprises are still well known in Utah.

<sup>20</sup>Salt Lake Tribune, August 20, 1884. The Second South Street Cable Tramway was incorporated late in 1883. The City Council granted this company a franchise in November 1883 to run along Second South. The franchise was extended, following failure of the company to build under the initial franchise, until March 1, 1884. No work was accomplished and the franchise had expired when the S. L. & F. D. submitted its petitions. Herald, November 27, 1883; January 3, 1884.

<sup>21</sup>Salt Lake Tribune, September 3, 1884.

This request asked that a franchise be granted for a route along Second South (almost identical to the one just denied), but then included an important addition. The council was asked to grant a franchise for "a steam railway from the D. & R. G. Railway on Eighth South street, along said street to Third East; thence south to Ninth South; thence east to the city canal, and thence by the most feasible location to make a grade to connect with the Second South street steam line."<sup>22</sup> In one statement, Young had presented the council with two alternatives.

Without overt public reaction or editorial comment, the City Council rapidly made a decision. Consulting with Young during the ensuing week, a compromise was agreed upon. The railroad along Second South was denied; however, the proposal to build along the southern, more lightly populated portion of the city was acceptable. Minor modifications were made, such as extending the route along Eighth South to Seventh East before turning south for one block instead of going south at Third East as originally proposed. On September 9, 1884, the franchise was granted.<sup>23</sup> Nearly a year had passed since the original franchise request, but finally the railroad had gained a potentially profitable route, illustrated in Figure 5.

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<sup>22</sup>Salt Lake Tribune, September 3, 1884. The "Second South street steam line" was the extension of the horse-drawn line proposed by the S. L. & F. D. from Eleventh East to Fort Douglas and Red Butte Canyon.

<sup>23</sup>Salt Lake Tribune, September 10, 1884. The formal franchise was executed on September 23, 1884. Joseph Lippman, comp., The Revised Ordinances of Salt Lake City (Salt Lake City, Utah: Tribune Job Printing Company, 1893), 332.



## SALT LAKE CITY



Figure 5. Approved proposal of September, 1884.

As stated in Chapter II, the Salt Lake and Fort Douglas Railroad came to serve more business concerns than just Fort Douglas and the rock quarries. Many of these additional sources of revenue were located along Eighth and Ninth South streets. Two major businesses, the Salt Lake Brewery and Fuller's Pleasure Gardens, were located along the most feasible grade climbing the east bench. At long last, construction of the railroad was expected to commence.

Without a spade of dirt being turned, the railroad sought to expand. On November 11, 1884, a petition was presented to the Salt Lake City Council requesting a franchise to extend the tracks of the Salt Lake and Fort Douglas Railroad.<sup>24</sup> With one franchise now in his pocket allowing the railroad to build east and north of the city, John W. Young now desired to expand to the south.

Specifically, he desired to extend the line from Ninth South and Tenth East, where the northward climb along the east bench began, south to the mouth of Big Cottonwood Canyon. Within the city limits, he desired a franchise to use the banks of the Jordan and Salt Lake canal.<sup>25</sup> From the tone of the petition, approval of this request was in the best interests of the city. Not only would the canal banks be

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<sup>24</sup>Herald, November 12, 1884.

<sup>25</sup>The Jordan and Salt Lake canal starts about twenty-five miles south of Salt Lake City, at the southern entrance of the valley. It then flows north along the east side of the valley, emptying into City Creek near the present North Temple and State streets. Authorized in February, 1880, it was completed in 1881 at a cost of \$200,000. Bancroft, History of Utah, 696.

compressed and regularly patrolled (preventing bank washout, a constant problem with dirt banked canals), the extension of the railroad made possible the suburbanization of the Cottonwood area in relation to Salt Lake City. It would "render it available as a healthful and convenient locality for the establishment of pleasant and cheap homes for persons having employment or business in the City."<sup>26</sup> The petition sounded good, but it stirred up the proverbial hornets' nest of public reaction.

A flood of petitions, letters, newspaper editorials, and public meetings followed the announcement of the request to use the Jordan and Salt Lake canal bank. Those in favor extolled the economic and transportation benefits of linking the city and outlying communities to the southeast. Those opposed fell into two major groups. One segment expressed a fear that the Salt Lake and Fort Douglas was just a front for the Union Pacific or Denver and Rio Grande Western railroads. The other major point of opposition centered on the moral aspects of a private enterprise to take advantage of a ready-made grade constructed with public funds.<sup>27</sup> Damage to buildings and property along the route were also factors, but in at least one locality these fears were pacified.

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<sup>26</sup>Herald, November 13, 1884.

<sup>27</sup>Herald, November 15, 19, 23, and 26, 1884 and December 3, 7, 1884. To counter fears that the S. L. & F. D. was a "front" for either the Union Pacific or the Denver and Rio Grande Western railroads, Young had a letter published by the city's papers disclaiming any non-local involvement in his railroad. Herald, Salt Lake Tribune, and Deseret News, November 26, 1884.

Concerned about the possible construction of the Salt Lake and Fort Douglas Railroad, the citizens of Millcreek called an open meeting. Attended by interested citizens, including many farmers with fields along the proposed right of way, representatives of the railroad were also present, including John W. Young. Of primary concern to the residents was whether or not the railroad would honor claims for any damage caused to buildings or other property. Young responded with assurances that the S. L. & F. D. intended to treat the citizens in a fair and honest manner. When the meeting concluded, the bulk of nearly one thousand citizens present were in favor of the S. L. & F. D. extending to the south.<sup>28</sup> Young's personal appearance and ability to convince the Millcreek citizens of the benefits of rail service was, in this instance, successful. Now his talents were needed to convince the City Council.

He failed. On December 9, 1884, the council denied the request to use the banks of the canal. The canal right of way, it was noted, had been acquired for a specific purpose. Further, to obtain some of the land used by the canal, it was necessary to resort to court action and condemnation proceedings. In the opinion of the Committee on Canals "the granting of a right of way for a railway track upon the canal embankment is fraught with many dangers to the canal and its utility."<sup>29</sup> Expansion to the south of the city was stymied while other alternatives were investigated.

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<sup>28</sup>Herald, December 6, 1884.

<sup>29</sup>Herald, December 10, 1884.

On November 3, 1887, nearly three years after being denied a right of way along the Jordan and Salt Lake canal bank, John W. Young approached the council on the same matter. In the interval since his last request attempts at purchasing a right of way were unsuccessful. In one case, he reported to the council, a farmer had asked \$5,000 for passage through forty acres of land. He now requested approval to use the canal bank for a distance of about two miles.<sup>30</sup> The council took the matter under advisement.

In this instance, "under advisement" required five days. On November 8, permission was granted to the Salt Lake and Fort Douglas Railroad to use the canal bank for a distance of about two miles, "ending at a point about 1,000 feet south of the Penitentiary road."<sup>31</sup> The permission was not free, the railroad being charged a one-time fee of \$6,000. It was also responsible for repairing any damage caused to the canal during the construction of the railroad, maintenance of the west bank of the canal upon which the tracks were laid, and free haulage of any debris removed when the canal was cleaned.<sup>32</sup> One more franchise was needed before the requirements of the S. L. & F. D. were satisfied.

In July 1888, Young requested permission of the City Council to extend the tracks of the Salt Lake and Fort Douglas from Eighth South

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<sup>30</sup>Herald, November 4, 1887.

<sup>31</sup>Herald, November 9, 1887. The "Penitentiary road" referred to was also called Twelfth South and is now known as Twenty-first South.

<sup>32</sup>Lippman, Revised Ordinances, 338-42.

north along Fourth West, to connect with the Utah and Nevada Railroad near First South. Once again the council took the request under advisement, although many businesses along the route expressed their approval.<sup>33</sup> The question was held in abeyance until November 13, when permission was granted.<sup>34</sup> This action concluded eight separate franchise requests in behalf of the Salt Lake and Fort Douglas Railroad, yielding three franchises which enabled the railroad to be constructed within the city limits. Yet as the year ended, Young did not know that another railroad and another franchise battle waited in the wings.

Following the organization of the Utah Western Railroad, on June 24, 1889, as noted in Chapter II, it was once again necessary for Young to approach the City Council. He sought to begin the U. W. where the Salt Lake and Fort Douglas joined with the Utah and Nevada tracks. The intended route was to extend north on Fourth West to Ninth North. Then it was to extend west to the city limits and on to the shores of the Great Salt Lake.<sup>35</sup> This request, involving approximately two and one-half miles of track within the city, set off a raging debate between members of the council.

As already noted, a conflict of interest was present in the City Council, and it came into sharp focus at this time. Both W. W. Riter, of the Utah and Nevada Railroad, and James Sharp, of the

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<sup>33</sup>Herald, July 4, 1888.

<sup>34</sup>Lippman, Revised Ordinances, 343-47.

<sup>35</sup>Salt Lake Tribune, August 28, September 4, 1889.

Utah Central Railroad, were members of the council. To date, Young's enterprises had not run in direct competition with either of these railroads. In fact, the tie-in of the Salt Lake and Fort Douglas with the Utah and Nevada was of benefit to the latter. But now, with a planned railroad building west from the city, he had come into direct competition with the U. & N. If the Utah Western was unable to move within the Salt Lake City limits, the entire justification for construction was nullified. Using a variety of tactics, Riter and Sharp tried to influence the rest of the council to deny the U. W. franchise request.

One proposal which originated within the council was to put a third rail within the existing standard gauge Utah Central tracks going north out of the city towards Ogden. This allowed the narrow-gauge Utah Western to move out of the city without the need to establish a new roadbed.<sup>36</sup> Such a plan, however, required cooperation between rival railroads. As unlikely as such cooperation might be, it offered more of a chance for the franchise than did some other council suggestions.

Some councilmen were totally opposed to any additional franchises. Their opinions were based upon the excessive number of tracks already within the western portion of the city. While the council argued over the matter, Young was seeking public support.

Citizens living in the northwest portion of Salt Lake City were

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<sup>36</sup>Salt Lake Tribune, August 28, 1889.

opposed to the idea of another railroad in their area. In an effort to gain their support, Young called a meeting of these people at the Sixteenth Ward schoolhouse. Although he offered to build them a new schoolhouse in return for their support, this overt bribery failed.<sup>37</sup> The franchise was finally granted, but without the backing of at least one group of citizens.

Once the Utah Western Railroad franchise was obtained, it became the sole railroad then under John W. Young's control that had a right of way that did not cross through a federal reserve. To reach Red Butte and Emigration canyons, the Salt Lake and Fort Douglas Railroad first had to cross the Fort Douglas reservation. To reach Parleys Canyon the Salt Lake and Eastern Railroad had to cross lands of the territorial penitentiary. Because both areas were presently under federal control, permission to cross those lands had to come from Washington, D. C.

The workings of Congress can be frustrating. Action to obtain approval to build across the Fort Douglas reservation was initiated in 1885. In June 1886, John W. Young was informed that only the objections of General Philip H. Sheridan prevented approval.<sup>38</sup> At last the bill for the right of way was placed on the Senate calendar in February 1887. The report from the House of Representatives was ordered printed in the same month, and final approval came on

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<sup>37</sup> Salt Lake Tribune, July 14, 1889.

<sup>38</sup> William M. Barnum to John W. Young, June 5, 1886. JWY papers. Unfortunately Barnum did not state what General Sheridan's objections were, only "foolish in the extreme."



March 3, 1887.<sup>39</sup> After two years of effort, the Salt Lake and Fort Douglas Railroad was now assured of the right to cross the Fort Douglas reservation.

The process followed in obtaining permission to cross the penitentiary lands offers an interesting contrast. The initial request was made to Frank E. Dyer, the territorial marshal, in May 1888, and the railroad was across the penitentiary lands by November.<sup>40</sup> The delay in obtaining permission to cross the Fort Douglas lands, in contrast to the relative speed in the approval to cross the penitentiary reserve, may be accounted for by examining Young's involvement in politics.

John W. Young, although primarily a businessman and not a politician, per se, was involved in national political efforts. He was active in the Democratic party, and published the pro-Democratic Saturday Evening Globe,<sup>41</sup> He was also, during the years 1886-1887, lobbying for the defeat of the Edmunds-Tucker bill.<sup>42</sup> He was able to obtain a short, private interview with President Grover Cleveland

<sup>39</sup>U. S., Congress, Senate, Committee on Military Affairs, Report 1840, 49th Cong., 2d sess., February 11, 1887; U. S., Congress, House, Committee on Military Affairs, Report 3973, 49th Cong., 2d sess., February 8, 1887; Compiled Laws of Utah (Salt Lake City, Utah: Herbert Pembroke, 1888), 88.

<sup>40</sup>Salt Lake Tribune, November 3, 1888.

<sup>41</sup>Jessee, Letters of Brigham Young, 93.

<sup>42</sup>Jessee, Letters of Brigham Young, 93. Also Larson, "Americanization" of Utah, 220-21.

concerning the Edmunds-Tucker bill, and felt that the President was favorably impressed with Young's presentation.<sup>43</sup> All of this activity associated with a cause of which the general body of Americans disapproved, may have had a negative influence on his application to Congress for the Salt Lake and Fort Douglas Railroad to cross through the fort's reservation.

Both the city franchises and the federal right of way bill to cross Fort Douglas contained restrictive provisions. For the city, it was required that all of the railroad's roadbed be laid upon and conform to the established grade of existing streets. Where no street existed, the railroad was to grade and maintain a roadbed of twenty feet from the outside of the outer rail on both sides, which in effect created a new public street. The grade and streets were then to be graveled. Culverts and bridges were to be constructed and maintained wherever needed.<sup>44</sup> Without doubt, however, the most expensive provision was one which was for the sole benefit of the city and its citizens.

Under the 1884 franchise, the Salt Lake and Fort Douglas Railroad was obligated to transport, free of charge, not more than

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<sup>43</sup>John W. Young to John Taylor, undated but ca. February 1887. JWY papers. At this time the leadership of the Mormon church was seeking support of the Republican party. Young, with his Democratic party allegiance, was thereby in a better position to influence the Democratic President Cleveland. See Jessee, Letters of Brigham Young, 93. It was the Republican party that supported passage of the Edmunds-Tucker bill. See Larson, "Americanization" of Utah, 210n.

<sup>44</sup>Lippman, Revised Ordinances, 332-38.

two hundred tons of gravel per day, Sundays excepted.<sup>45</sup> This gravel, to be used in the surfacing of the city's streets, came from the city gravel pit in the block bounded by Twelfth and Thirteenth East and First and Second South streets. Although it took nearly three years before the Salt Lake and Fort Douglas tracks reached the gravel bed, the city considered the wait worthwhile. Even a threat to revoke the franchise because of a delay in carrying out the gravel-hauling provisions was quietly tabled rather than lose all chance for this service to be performed.<sup>46</sup> The expense to the railroad was considerable, considering only the use of locomotives, cars, and crews. In November 1888, the requirement was substantially reduced to fifty tons of gravel per day, an amount that was handled by the daily, scheduled trains.<sup>47</sup> Compared to coping successfully with city requirements, the federal restrictions must have seemed deceptively simple.

The Salt Lake and Fort Douglas Railroad was prohibited from polluting the water in Red Butte Canyon. This stipulation to the federal permission to cross the Fort Douglas reservation was reasonable since the Red Butte stream was the sole source of culinary water for the fort.<sup>48</sup> While not as ponderous a provision as was hauling

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<sup>45</sup> Lippman, Revised Ordinances, 332-38.

<sup>46</sup> Salt Lake Tribune, March 13, 1886.

<sup>47</sup> Lippman, Revised Ordinances, 343-47.

<sup>48</sup> Compiled Laws of Utah. (1888), 88-89.

large quantities of gravel, this restriction was to result in lawsuits and injunctions against the Salt Lake and Fort Douglas in the future.

John W. Young had to work hard for the necessary governmental permission to construct his railroads. The process was spread over a period of six years, both in Salt Lake City and in Washington, D. C. As has been described, these actions required give and take, a need to justify the effort financially, and to demonstrate a proven benefit to the citizens of the area. Young's religious affiliation, political energy, and personality were all factors, as were the ambitions of other men who opposed him. What problems he may have had in crossing lands under the control of the Territory of Utah is unknown, but the fight for the Salt Lake City franchise and the Fort Douglas right of way was enough to discourage lesser men.<sup>49</sup> Nonetheless, in spite of the politics and energies involved, only the actual construction of the railroads proved or disproved his expectations.

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<sup>49</sup>In the preparation of this thesis, one of the most frustrating aspects has been the lack of certain records. The Territorial Legislature passed a railroad bill in 1869 which set forth the provisions for incorporating railroads and the requirements for obtaining disputed land. [See The Compiled Laws of Utah Territory (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret News Steam Printing, 1876), 195ff.] Within the personal papers of Young are references to maps, documents, and photographs being submitted to various agencies in compliance with the law. Even with such positive indications of the existence of those records, I have been completely unable to locate any extant references to lands obtained between Salt Lake City and Park City or Kamas. Neither Summit nor Salt Lake County has been able to locate any files concerning John W. Young's railroads. Salt Lake City records are in even worse shape with no apparent filing system. As a result, the questions of right of way through county and territorial lands, exact grade locations, and the use of a former railroad grade by the Salt Lake and Eastern (mentioned briefly in one newspaper account) remain in limbo.

## CHAPTER IV

## THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE RAILROADS

Railroad construction is the pitting of man's skill against the natural obstacles of geography.<sup>1</sup> This chapter is devoted to describing the natural obstacles facing the builders of the Salt Lake and Fort Douglas, the Salt Lake and Eastern, and the Utah Western railroads, and how the topography of nature was overcome.

When John W. Young established his railroads, he also created railroad construction companies bearing the same name as the railroad concerned.<sup>2</sup> This practice was quite common at the time and had some financial benefits. Charles W. Hardy was the chief engineer for each of the construction companies, and it was his survey work that established the exact location of the railroad and determined how natural obstacles were to be overcome.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>As a general rule, railroads seek to avoid a gradient increase in excess of 4.5 percent, which is a vertical rise of four feet six inches per hundred feet of horizontal travel. At any point that a grade exceeds 4.5 percent, the ability of the locomotive to pull heavy loads is noticeably decreased. Likewise, due to the rigid frame of the locomotive, the radius of the curves must be broad enough to allow passage of the drive wheels.

<sup>2</sup>John W. Young to John M. Whitaker, July 2, 1889. JWY papers.

<sup>3</sup>Charles W. Hardy was 42 years old at this time. His railroad engineering experience began when he worked on the Utah Central in 1869-70. Jenson, Biographical Encyclopedia, 2:101.

Hardy's first engineering consideration was the natural topography in and around Salt Lake City. The casual traveler to the city can easily gain the impression that the city floor is flat. In fact, a constant gradient is present, inclining towards the north and east. For example, along Main Street, between South Temple and Eighth South, the difference in elevation is about eighty feet.<sup>4</sup> The natural gradient thus becomes one of the factors to consider, but other, more severe problems were present.

The Salt Lake Valley, east of the north-south flowing Jordan River, was interrupted by no less than seven stream beds. The natural erosion present along these streams, which issued from the canyons to the north and east of the city, required the construction of culverts or bridges. Even these obstructions were minor construction problems compared to the bench lands.

The steep rise of the north and east benches exceeded by far the tolerable grade for a railroad. While the actual rise varies at different points, the sharp increase in height at Ninth South is typical. Between Eleventh East and Thirteenth East the land rises 134.13 feet. This translates into a mean average grade of 8.26 percent.<sup>5</sup> Without doubt, the bench land was the first major barrier for the railroad builders to overcome.

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<sup>4</sup>U. S. Geological Survey Map, "Salt Lake City North, Utah."

<sup>5</sup>Bench marks on file, Salt Lake City Engineers Office, compiled and revised in 1966.

Above the bench, and leading to the mountains, the land takes on a steady but not excessive upward gradient. In this area, east of the city proper, is located Fort Douglas. For the railroad, this land presented some physical problems, primarily due to the erosion of the streams and the rolling nature of the land. But just as the valley floor presented minor problems in comparison to the bench, the construction problems of the upper benchlands were minor compared to the mountains.

Rising to the north and east are the Wasatch Mountains. The canyons determined the route of the railroads, and necessitated careful engineering to keep the railroad grade and curve radius within practical limits.

#### Construction of the Salt Lake and Fort Douglas Railroad

For the Salt Lake and Fort Douglas the terms progress and speed were not synonymous. Once the initial franchise was granted by the Salt Lake City Council, many citizens anticipated the early completion of the railroad. The distances involved were not great, and these people had witnessed a number of successful railroad endeavors during the previous decade. Few, if any, were able to foresee that the first construction was a full year away from the granting of the franchise.

Construction began in late summer, 1885, along the easiest portion of the route. Since Eighth and Ninth South streets, and Seventh East street, were already in existence, and the grade from Fourth West to Tenth East (the base of the bench) was only .65 percent,

the only problem here was to ensure that the railroad was aligned in the center of the respective streets, except where curves were necessary to change the direction of travel. Culverts and bridges to cross irrigation ditches, as well as a stream on Seventh East, had to be built before the rails were put in place. This latter watercourse became more of a problem than originally anticipated.<sup>6</sup>

Above the bench, the stream issuing from Red Butte Canyon divided into two branches. The southern branch proceeded generally west-southwest, passing south of Ninth South and eventually powering the flour mill located on Brigham Young's farm, already known by its present name of Liberty Park.<sup>7</sup> The northern branch flowed in a more westerly direction, cutting across Seventh East between Eighth and Ninth South. Although this stream was not a major water carrier during most of the year, the erosion incurred over the centuries was sufficient to require a bridge for the railroad. This bridge was the first major building project on the Salt Lake and Fort Douglas line.

Work on the Seventh East bridge typifies construction progress in the early years of the Salt Lake and Fort Douglas Railroad. The brickwork of the abutments was underway in November 1885, yet a

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<sup>6</sup>Some of Charles W. Hardy's engineering papers are held in the collection bearing his name at the Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.

<sup>7</sup>The Chase mill still stands in Liberty Park, although the watercourse for its wheels has been nearly obliterated. Unfortunately the structure itself is beginning to collapse from a lack of building maintenance and preservation.



full year later the bridge was incomplete.<sup>8</sup> Agents were still making arrangements to purchase the beams that formed the bridge in November 1886.<sup>9</sup> They were also seeking beams for a much larger project farther along the route.

At Fuller's Pleasure Gardens, located on the bench between Third and Fourth South, a natural ravine posed the single trestle project on the Salt Lake and Fort Douglas Railroad. Exact measurements have been lost, but the trestle in a contemporary woodcut appears to be at least one hundred feet in length and about half that in height at the highest point.<sup>10</sup> The trestle and grade along the bench combined to make this the most difficult section of the S. L. & F. D. until Red Butte Canyon was reached. (The roadbed, which later became a portion of Tenth East north of Ninth South, reached a gradient of 5.5 percent.) While the pace of construction was slow through 1886, things were to change.

The rate of construction increased dramatically in 1887. By the end of March, the grade had been finished to the boundary of the Fort Douglas reservation. Since the bill granting right of way across the reservation had been signed at the first of the month, grading continued without delay towards Red Butte Canyon. The Seventh East

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<sup>8</sup>John W. Young to (?), November 2, 1885. JWY papers.

<sup>9</sup>Arthur Stayner to D. Brinton, November 11, 1886. JWY papers.

<sup>10</sup>Copy of original woodcut in author's possession, received from the Utah State Historical Society. The ravine has been filled in or modified beyond recognition as an inspection on foot failed to reveal any clues to the author as to its exact location.

bridge and the trestle at Fuller's Gulch were completed, the ties distributed along the grade, and the rails began to snake towards the goal.<sup>11</sup> While between 1884 and January 1887, less than one full mile of mainline track had been laid, by November 1887, rails had been completed to the city gravel pit at First South and Twelfth East. The value of the Salt Lake and Jordan canal bank as a grade was demonstrated when nearly two miles of rail was laid along it between November 8 and 25, 1887. This extended the Salt Lake and Fort Douglas as far south as Sugar House.<sup>12</sup> Continued grading and rail laying ushered in the new year.

The winter weather stopped new construction in January; however, once spring arrived the Salt Lake and Fort Douglas rapidly completed its grade across the reservation and on into Red Butte Canyon. Included in this construction was a series of spurs to serve the warehouse and storage area of the fort.

Trains began running on a scheduled basis to Fort Douglas in June, and the final goal, the rock quarries, were serviced by rail in mid-September 1888.<sup>13</sup> It had required nearly four years to the day from the granting of the franchise until the first trainload of sandstone

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<sup>11</sup> Arthur Stayner to John W. Young, March 30, 1887. JWY papers.

<sup>12</sup> Memo, S. L. & F. D. to D. & R. G. W., January 25, 1887. JWY papers. Also Salt Lake Tribune, November 25, 1887.

<sup>13</sup> John W. Young to Superintendent, St. Mary's Hospital, May 4, 1888. Also, John W. Young to Mr. Joseph Richardson, August 29 and September 14, 1888. JWY papers. Also Salt Lake Tribune, June 29, 1888.

was hauled directly from the quarry to the city. Nonetheless, only one phase of construction was complete, and much more remained to be accomplished.

Like meandering branches of a stream, the roadbed of the Salt Lake and Fort Douglas Railroad continued to expand. Grade and rails were extended from the mouth of Red Butte Canyon south to Emigration Canyon. This branch, designed to serve both Wagener's brewery and other rock quarries owned by Young, was completed in October 1888.<sup>14</sup> The roadbed was extended up Red Butte Canyon, reaching towards additional rock sources owned by Young in that canyon. Other crews to the south, in the meantime, prepared the grade and laid rails from Sugar House towards Big Cottonwood Canyon. This branch abruptly stopped, however, at the north bank of Mill Creek.<sup>15</sup> Efforts and energies had been diverted towards a more profitable goal.

#### Construction of the Salt Lake and Eastern Railroad

Ostensibly complying with a request by the Salt Lake Chamber of Commerce to link the city with shale beds in Parleys Canyon, survey and grading work heading east from Sugar House commenced in mid-May of 1888. By late September, when the Salt Lake and Eastern Railroad was formed, eight miles of grade from Sugar House into Parleys Canyon was complete, and four miles of track had been laid.<sup>16</sup> This relatively

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<sup>14</sup>Salt Lake Tribune, October 28, 1888.

<sup>15</sup>Salt Lake Tribune, September 16, 1888. Also John W. Young to Governor Caleb W. West, October 20, 1888. JWY papers.

<sup>16</sup>Railroad minutes, September 25, 1888. JWY papers.

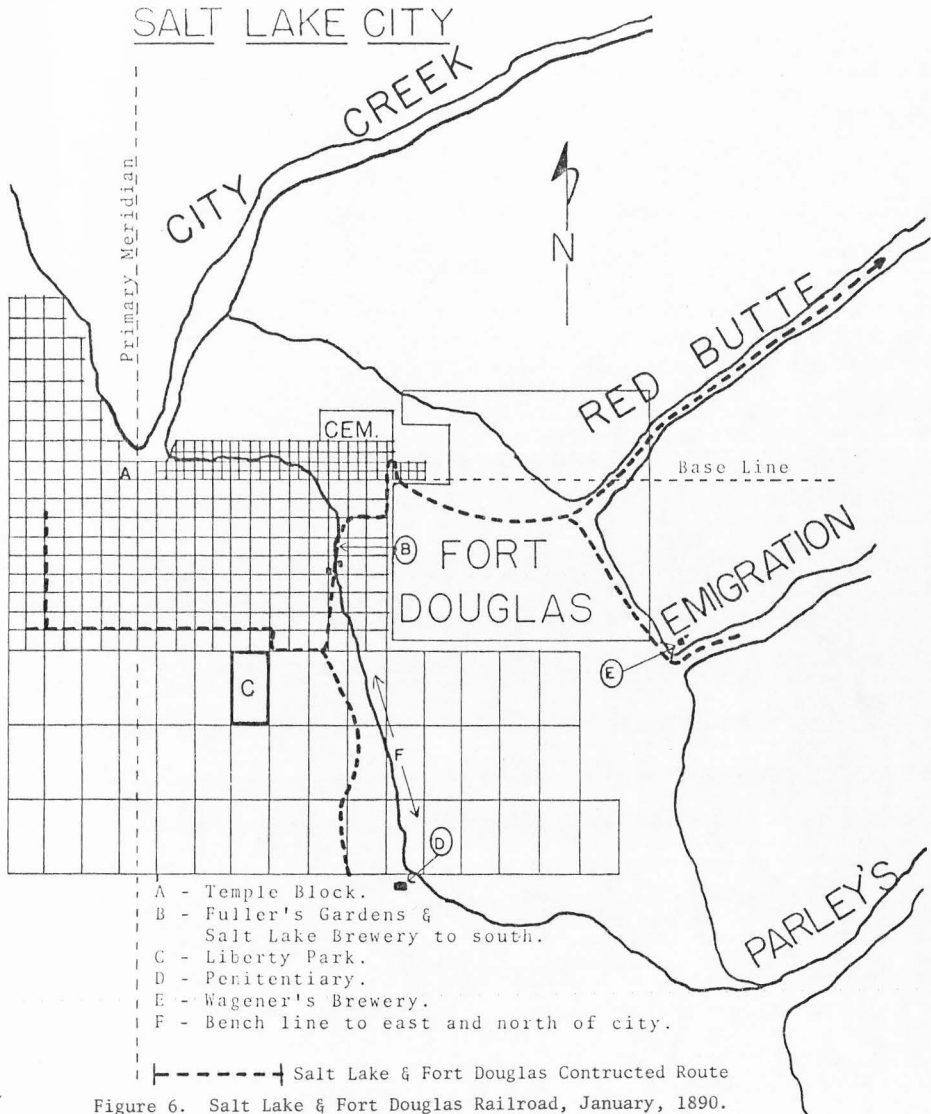


Figure 6. Salt Lake & Fort Douglas Railroad, January, 1890.

rapid work was not the result of excitement over transporting shale. It was the potential found in hauling the ores of Park City. The terrain was difficult, the work exhausting, and Young was having to compete against the Denver and Rio Grande Western Railroad for the available work crews and teams.

In early 1887, the Denver and Rio Grande Railroad, and its Utah counterpart, the Denver and Rio Grande Western, had to standardize its present three-foot narrow gauge. Railroads linking with the D. & R. G. system at Denver served notice that the expense and delay of transferring goods from standard gauge cars to the narrow gauge cars of the D. & R. G. was not economically competitive. Faced with the loss of revenue accompanying the transfer of eastern traffic to the Union Pacific line, insofar as reaching Salt Lake City and Ogden was concerned, the only possible decision was to standardize the mainline between Denver and Ogden, via Salt Lake City.<sup>17</sup>

The process involved more than just moving the rails one foot, eight and one-half inches farther apart. Wider roadbed had to be prepared. When the curves or grade over the present route were too sharp or steep for standard gauge equipment, entire new right of ways had to be obtained and prepared. All of this Denver and Rio Grande Western action required large forces of men and teams. Both events and nature seemed to conspire against the Salt Lake and Eastern.

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<sup>17</sup> Athearn, Rebel of the Rockies, 167.

Parleys Canyon, a watershed drainage canyon whose stream flows to the west, was both the most practical route to Park City and a major obstacle with which the Salt Lake and Eastern Railroad had to contend. Had this canyon been a cut between valleys, such as Weber Canyon through which the Union Pacific Railroad entered the Great Salt Lake Valley near Ogden, the task of the S. L. & E. might have been greatly simplified. In reality, the canyon floor, which rose at a rate suitable for a railroad grade, ended far below the summit. This necessitated, after building along the canyon floor a short distance, the establishment of the roadbed along the canyon wall with a grade that averaged 2.5 percent between the canyon's mouth and the first major construction obstacle.<sup>18</sup>

Approximately eight miles from the mouth of Parleys Canyon, entering from the south, is an off-shoot canyon known as Lambs Canyon. Engineer Hardy had determined that the most feasible route at this point lay along the south wall of Parleys, but because the roadbed was now well above the canyon floor it was necessary to cross the mouth of Lambs Canyon over either a large trestle or an extensive fill. The former means was chosen as both the most economical and the fastest solution.

The trestle over Lambs Canyon provides an early example of prefabricated bridgework in Utah. The wooden trestle was constructed

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<sup>18</sup>Salt Lake Tribune, November 3, 1888.

a section at a time at the Salt Lake and Fort Douglas depot in Salt Lake City. Each section was then placed upon flat cars and transported to the end of the Salt Lake and Eastern track in Parleys Canyon. Here the sections were unloaded from the railroad flat cars and placed upon wagons which followed the grade up to Lambs Canyon. Upon reaching the destination the sections were assembled, forming a substantial, curving trestle which bridged the mouth of the canyon.<sup>19</sup> One of nature's obstacles was thus surmounted, but another one yet remained before Park City was reached.

From Lambs Canyon, to cross the summit of Parleys Canyon, taking advantage of every feasible contour of the land, required a gradient far in excess of the capabilities of any existing locomotive. Two options, if the crossing of the summit was to be accomplished, were available. Each had its advantage and its disadvantage.

The preferred solution was to build on a reasonable gradient, then bore a tunnel through the summit. This method allowed continuous and uninterrupted passage of the trains between Salt Lake City and Park City, but had the negative factor of a large expenditure of cash to construct the tunnel.<sup>20</sup> The alternative was cheaper, but presented a problem in traffic control.

Construction of a switchback enabled the grade to gain the necessary altitude to cross the summit without the need for a tunnel.

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<sup>19</sup>John W. Young to Joseph Richardson, July 3, 1889. JWY papers.

<sup>20</sup>After the turn of the century this was accomplished by the D. & R. G. W., which had gained control of the Parleys Canyon route. Plans on file in the Salt Lake City Engineers Office.

Unfortunately, the mechanics of a switchback served to slow the rate of transit.<sup>21</sup> With both time and money as factors to consider, the easier, less expensive switchback was chosen. Once again a natural obstacle was overcome, but nature still held the upper hand.

Weather was the implacable enemy of the Salt Lake and Eastern, delaying both construction and operation of the railroad. Winter forced a halt in construction in late December 1888, and construction did not resume until late May 1889.<sup>22</sup> Because the bulk of the grading work was completed in 1889, the winter of 1889-90 had less of a delaying effect. Even so, operations were closed down due to snow for most of January and February 1890, and roadbed settling, washouts, and snowstorms interrupted service periodically thereafter.<sup>23</sup> While never tamed, the weather did not prevent the completion of the line into Park City.

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<sup>21</sup>A switchback, from above, resembles the letter "Z" with elongated upper and lower bars. The train entered one bar and pulled ahead until clear of the switch. Stopping, the switch was then turned, allowing the train to back across the angled section, past another switch and onto the other horizontal bar. Once the engine was clear of the second switch, it was turned and the train then continued on its original direction of travel. Switch and back, commonly called switchbacks, thus allowed the grade to either gain or lose altitude within a restricted area. The slowing effect of passage, however, in such an operation is obvious.

<sup>22</sup>Salt Lake Tribune, December 22, 1888. Also Callister and Melville to John M. Whitaker, May 20, 1889. Western Americana.

<sup>23</sup>Park Record, Park City, Utah, March 22, 1890.



The rails approached the lower, or north, end of Park City in mid-May 1890, and regular service began in late May.<sup>24</sup> The first leg of the construction embarked upon two years previously, almost to the day, had been completed. Within four months work on the second leg, towards the timber stands of Kamas began.<sup>25</sup> Pushing through far less hostile terrain, twenty-five miles of grade awaited ties and rails by early November 1890.<sup>26</sup> Like its sister road on the edge of the Great Salt Lake, this particular section of grade on the Salt Lake and Eastern eroded away without ever supporting a single rail.

#### Construction of the Utah Western Railroad

To the railroad construction crews, the grading for the Utah Western must have been an easy task. The contract was let by July 5, 1889, and within a week four miles of roadbed was prepared.<sup>27</sup> By November 10, all of the approximately fifteen miles that comprised the U. W. was graded and awaiting ties.<sup>28</sup> (This includes the delay incurred while the Salt Lake City Council argued over the granting of the franchise allowing work within the city limits.) The speed

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<sup>24</sup>Park Record, May 24, 1890.

<sup>25</sup>Salt Lake Tribune, September 17, 1890.

<sup>26</sup>Park Record, November 8, 1890.

<sup>27</sup>John W. Young to Junius Wells, July 5, 1889, and John W. Young to Benjamin Watson, July 11, 1889. JWY papers.

<sup>28</sup>Salt Lake Tribune, November 10, 1889.

SALT LAKE & EASTERN RAILROAD

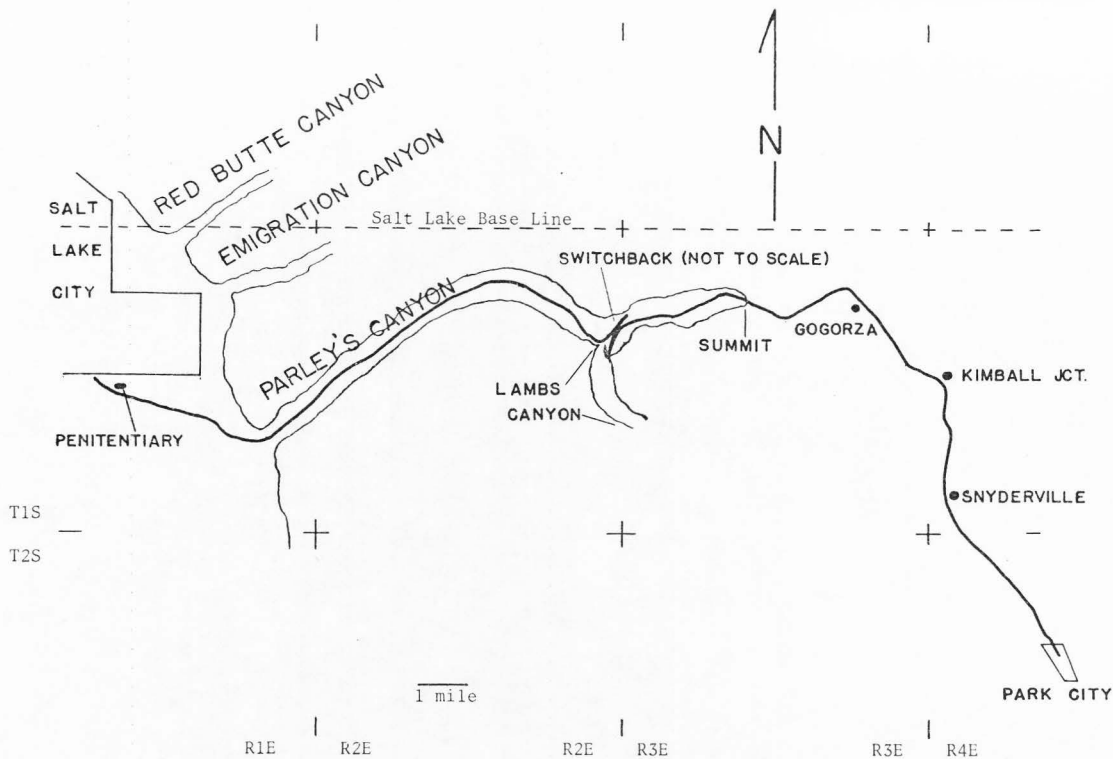


Figure 7. Route of the Salt Lake and Eastern Railroad.

with which this work was accomplished is easily explained.

Unlike the grading work on the Salt Lake and Fort Douglas and the Salt Lake and Eastern railroads, the Utah Western traversed only the nearly flat desert between the Great Salt Lake and Salt Lake City. Differing from her sister railroads, construction on the U. W. began at the far terminus on the shore of the lake and worked towards the main depot in the city.<sup>29</sup> Thus, while the franchise was being debated, work continued without interruption over the greater portion of the roadbed. None of the problems found in Red Butte or Parleys canyons were present on the desert.

To form the roadbed it was necessary only to level the already relatively flat terrain. Fill material was removed from either side of the roadbed, being scraped towards the center out of the borrow pits.<sup>30</sup> Once sufficient fill was obtained to give the roadbed its desired elevation, it was only necessary to lay the ties and rails. Of greatest significance, however, was the width of the roadbed.

Twelve feet wide, the Utah Western roadbed was able to accept a third rail of standard gauge.<sup>31</sup> With the broadening of the Denver and Rio Grande Western, Young was forced into this option if he wanted to maintain viability. While rails were never actually

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<sup>29</sup> John W. Young to Benjamin Watson, July 11, 1889. JWY papers.

<sup>30</sup> This was a common way of building roads found throughout Utah. Knowlton, Highway Development in Utah contains numerous descriptions of this method of road construction, identical to the method used in establishing a railroad roadbed.

<sup>31</sup> John W. Young to Benjamin Watson, July 11, 1889. JWY papers.

## UTAH WESTERN RAILROAD

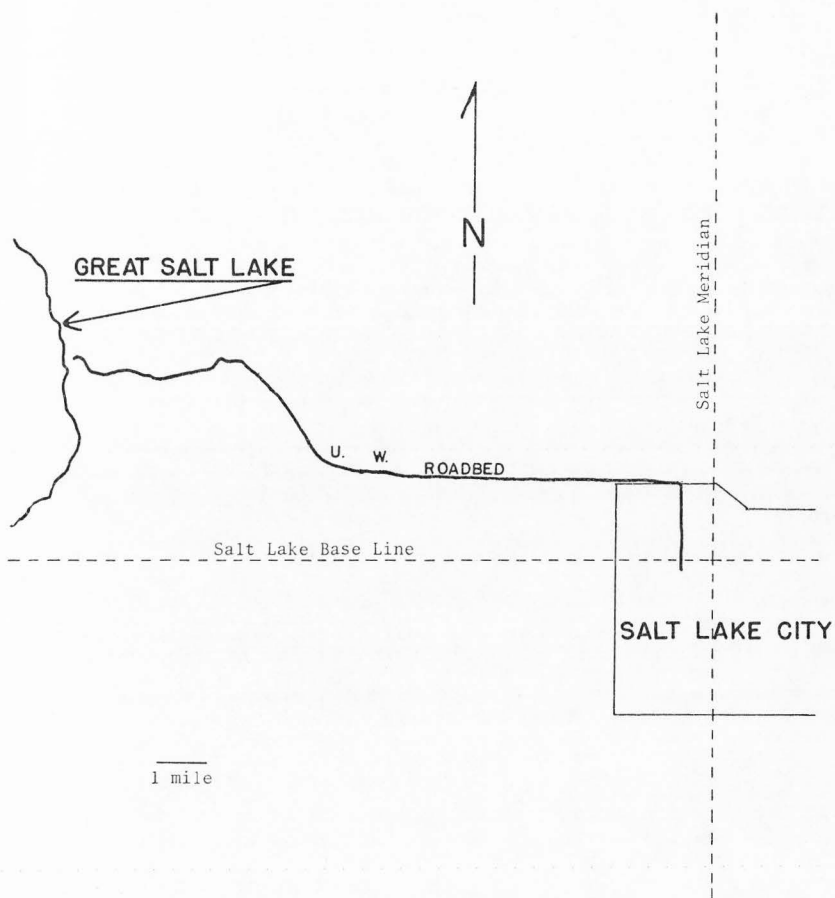


Figure 8. Graded roadbed of the Utah Western Railroad.

laid upon this roadbed, the third rail concept was applied to portions of his railroads within the Salt Lake Valley within the next two years.<sup>32</sup> The expense of establishing a new route eliminating the steep grades and sharp curves in Red Butte and Parleys canyons prohibited the addition of a third rail on those lines. Conservation of funds was paramount during all stages of construction.

#### Materials and Equipment Used on the Railroads

One means of economizing was to utilize as much second-hand material as possible. While the wooden ties, of necessity, were new, all of the other equipment might be previously used without degrading the condition of the railroad. As an example, some of the rails used in Parleys Canyon came from another narrow gauge line which had linked Coalville with Park City. This railroad, the Utah Eastern, had been abandoned by the Union Pacific Railroad and was being dismantled.<sup>33</sup> Young, seeing an opportunity to save money, purchased the rails and other hardware from the U. P.<sup>34</sup> Ironically, these materials were then used to construct another competing railroad into Park City. Just as the rails were of mixed heritage, so were

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<sup>32</sup>Salt Lake Tribune, October 30, 1891.

<sup>33</sup>Adkins manuscript, "End of Track: Park City", Utah State Historical Society. The U. P. system obtained and abandoned the U. E. because it competed against the Echo and Park City Railroad.

<sup>34</sup>John W. Young to C. F. Mellen, U. P. R.R., September 18, 1888. Also John W. Young to "Engineers on the Utah Eastern Railway", October 15, 1888. JWY papers.

the locomotives and cars that rolled over them.

For the first two years of construction on the Salt Lake and Fort Douglas Railroad, the company did not own or operate a single steam locomotive. When the first rails of the S. L. & F. D. leaving the junction with the Denver and Rio Grande Western tracks were laid, they were transported into position by horse-drawn wagons. Since the work was progressing very slowly, this inefficient method was satisfactory. By the time the rails were down for a distance of nearly a mile, a better method had to be used.

Under an agreement with the Denver and Rio Grande Western, flat cars were rented, loaded with rails, and pushed by a D. & R. G. W. locomotive to the end of the track.<sup>35</sup> Since considerably more rails were moved in this manner, the work progressed much faster. The next step was for John W. Young to obtain his own motive power.

In November 1886, the first locomotive on the Salt Lake and Fort Douglas Railroad's roster was acquired.<sup>36</sup> The heritage of this locomotive is lost to history, but it had obviously seen considerable use elsewhere. The crownsheet was burned through, and numerous other minor repairs were necessary before it could be put into use.<sup>37</sup> Over the next two months this repair work was accomplished

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<sup>35</sup> John W. Young to D. & R. G. W. Railroad, January 25, 1887. Also Arthur Stayner to John W. Young, November 26, 1886. JWY papers.

<sup>36</sup> Arthur Stayner to John W. Young, November 20, 1886. JWY papers.

<sup>37</sup> Arthur Stayner to John W. Young, November 26, 1886. JWY papers. The crown sheet was the flat top plate of the firebox. Until the advent of steel fireboxes, the crownsheet had a life expectancy of about three years before it was necessary to patch or replace it. See John H. White, Jr., American Locomotives: An Engineering History, 1830-1880 (Baltimore, Md.: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1968), 102-05.

at the Denver and Rio Grande Western shops, and by January 15, 1887, it was in operation.<sup>38</sup> While there is not an extant description of this locomotive, we do have some definite indications that it was very small.

The Salt Lake and Fort Douglas Railroad's first locomotive was so short in the wheelbase that its wheels fell between the rails on a curve used by a Denver and Rio Grande Western locomotive.<sup>39</sup> Another indication of the small size was the fact that it was capable of pushing only a single flatcar load of rails at a time.<sup>40</sup> While better than no motive power at all, this locomotive's limitations rendered it unsuitable if the S. L. & F. D. was going to become a viable concern.

During August 1887, negotiations were opened with the Utah and Northern Railroad to purchase some of their excess narrow gauge equipment.<sup>41</sup> This opportunity was the result of the U. & N. broadening to standard gauge between Ogden and the mines it served in Montana. As a result, a number of narrow gauge locomotives and cars were becoming available. Young took immediate advantage of this market.

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<sup>38</sup> Arthur Stayner to John W. Young, January 15, 1887. JWY papers. Shortly the S. L. & F. D. would build their own repair shops at Sugar House.

<sup>39</sup> Arthur Stayner to John W. Young, January 15, 1887. JWY papers.

<sup>40</sup> Arthur Stayner to John W. Young, March 14, 1887. JWY papers.

<sup>41</sup> Arthur Stayner to Mr. Hickey, October 11, 1887. JWY papers.

On October 11, 1887, the Salt Lake and Fort Douglas Railroad ordered one locomotive from the Utah and Northern shops in Pocatello, Idaho, at a bargain price of \$2,500.<sup>42</sup> On November 7, a second locomotive was ordered from the same source.<sup>43</sup> These locomotives were numbered S. L. & F. D. No. 1 and 2 respectively, and both were manufactured by the Baldwin Locomotive Works in 1879. They were rebuilt in 1880, probably when air brakes were added, and were inspected in September 1887. At the time of their last inspection by the U. & N. they were rated as in "good condition."<sup>44</sup> With the addition of these locomotives to the S. L. & F. D. inventory, it was finally in a position to provide service to the businesses along its route, and also push ahead much faster in the laying of track on completed roadbed.

As construction neared Fort Douglas, an additional six locomotives and eighty-six cars were ordered from the Utah and Northern.<sup>45</sup> Some of this equipment was used on the Salt Lake and Eastern after that railroad was organized in the fall of 1888. All of these locomotives were equipped with air brakes for safety on the steep grades of the Salt Lake and Fort Douglas and the Salt Lake and Eastern railroads.<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>42</sup>Arthur Stayner to Mr. Hickey, October 11, 1887. JWY papers.

<sup>43</sup>Telegram, John W. Young to Robert Croft, November 7, 1887. JWY papers.

<sup>44</sup>Barry B. Combs, Union Pacific Railroad to author, July 17, 1974.

<sup>45</sup>John W. Young to Joseph Richardson, May 1, 1888. JWY papers.

<sup>46</sup>John W. Young to W. W. Riter, August 30, 1888. JWY papers.



As a direct result of the 6 percent grade up Red Butte Canyon, a special style of locomotive, and one of the few new pieces of equipment obtained by any of John W. Young's railroads, was ordered. This locomotive, known as a Shay because of its special equipage, was received in December 1888, and was put into immediate use serving the rock quarries in Red Butte Canyon.<sup>47</sup> Two additional Shays were ordered in the fall of 1889 for use on the Salt Lake and Eastern.<sup>48</sup> These locomotives were received in 1890 and placed into service hauling the loaded ore and rock trains over the summit of Parleys, again along another stretch of track with a 6 percent grade.<sup>49</sup>

Passenger train or freight train, Baldwin or Shay locomotive, the steep grade presented problems going both up and down Parleys Canyon. To prevent runaways, a six mile per hour speed limit was imposed

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<sup>47</sup>Salt Lake Tribune, December 12, 1888. Also John M. Whitaker to John W. Young, January 2, 1889. JWY papers. Most locomotives were set up with a wheel arrangement consisting of main or driving wheels operated directly by a rod coming from a horizontal, or nearly so, steam piston. The drivers could be preceded by weight supporting leading wheels and followed by other weight supporting trailing wheels. The Baldwin locomotives owned by the S. L. & F. D. and the S. L. & E. railroads had two leading wheels and six 36-inch diameter driving wheels (one and three, respectively, on each side of the locomotive) on a fourteen or fifteen foot rigid wheelbase. These were referred to as 2-6-0's reflecting the wheel arrangement. The Shay design incorporated verticle cylinders operating a geared drive shaft. This shaft drove a series of sets of wheels mounted on trucks similar to those found on freight and passenger cars. The trucks were mounted front, center and rear of the locomotive frame, and all wheels were drive wheels. This method permitted a maximum number of drive wheels and, because the trucks swiveled, enabled the locomotive to be used over short radius curves.

<sup>48</sup>John W. Young to L. C. Trent, October 28, 1889. JWY papers.

<sup>49</sup>John W. Young to Joseph H. Young, December 25, 1889. JWY papers. Also Park Record, February 8, 1890.

on downhill traffic approaching and passing through the steepest gradient.<sup>50</sup>

All factors considered, John W. Young's railroad ventures during the decade of 1884-1893 totaled a respectable number of miles of track. The Salt Lake and Fort Douglas completed about 15 miles and the Salt Lake and Eastern completed about 26 miles of main line track. Both of these railroads had additional trackage in the form of spurs and passing tracks, for a total of about 20 and 36 miles respectively of completed rails. The Salt Lake and Eastern also had 25 miles of grade without rails, while the Utah Western had 15 miles of grade upon which track was never laid. While reports are not in total agreement, rolling upon the rails were at least 9 locomotives, and nearly 100 cars of various types.<sup>51</sup> As the railroads were constructed and equipment improved--the grade, the ties, bridges, and trestles, the rails, spikes, and hardware, the locomotives, passenger and freight cars, the depots, repair facilities, and water tanks, to say nothing of the men who built, ran, and maintained all of this--the expense increased. Money, or the lack thereof, was of prime importance to the construction and operation of these railroads.

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<sup>50</sup>John W. Young to Joseph H. Young, December 25, 1889. JWY papers.

<sup>51</sup>Territorial Board of Equalization, Book 1 (1892), 65. State Archives.

## CHAPTER V

## RAILROAD FINANCES

The financing of railroads was complex. Initial subscriptions, issuance of stocks and bonds, establishing means of revenue, and maintaining the proper flow of money to cover expenses represent the obvious. Less prominent, but of equal importance, is the ability of the promoters to establish confidence in their enterprise through financial, social, and political contacts. This chapter, therefore, is concerned with the activities of John W. Young, his contacts, and very briefly, his predecessors.<sup>1</sup>

Even as a railroad was organized, money had to be a tangible factor. Under the provisions of territorial law for Utah Territory, stock in the amount of one thousand dollars per mile was to be subscribed, with ten percent of the value paid in cash, when a railroad was organized.<sup>2</sup> Thus the original incorporators of the Salt Lake and Fort Douglas Railroad declared their intention of constructing twenty miles of railroad, subscribed \$20,000 worth of stock, but only had to raise \$2,000 in cash. However, these same

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<sup>1</sup>Primary sources relative to John W. Young and his railroads financial conditions are very sketchy. Ledgers for the railroads are not extant and what information is known has primarily been extracted from letters and telegram.

<sup>2</sup>The Compiled Laws of Utah Territory (1876), 203-04.

men established a capital stock issue of \$360,000, anticipating the actual expenses to reach at least that figure.<sup>3</sup> In essence, a railroad was organized for just a fraction of the anticipated cost.

John W. Young followed this same accepted procedure when he took over the Salt Lake and Fort Douglas Railroad. He subscribed to 291 shares of \$100 stock, paying in cash \$2,910. All other stockholders were limited to a single share of stock per person, although the authorized stock issue was for a half million dollars.<sup>4</sup> This same basic policy of limiting stock issuance to others was followed when the Salt Lake and Eastern and the Utah Western railroads were organized.<sup>5</sup> In this manner, Young maintained absolute control over the activities of the railroads. Unfortunately for his ambitions, such control did not mean that he had the money to cover the cost of construction.

John W. Young was not unique in his shortage of funds for the railroads. The United States economy, as a whole, was in the midst of a cyclical monetary contraction as he became involved with the Salt Lake and Fort Douglas. Foreign investors, who heavily invested in railroad securities, began to doubt the management of United States railroads and withdrew sufficient capital to affect the market.<sup>6</sup> Nonetheless, the Salt Lake and Fort Douglas Railroad

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<sup>3</sup>Corporation File No. 246. State Archives.

<sup>4</sup>Corporation File No. 246. State Archives.

<sup>5</sup>Corporation Files No. 487 and 536. State Archives.

<sup>6</sup>Milton Friedman and Anna Jacobson Schwartz, A Monetary History of the United States, 1867-1960 (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1963), 99-101.

required hard money if it was to proceed beyond the drawing board stage.

The fall of 1884 was a period which witnessed the initial attempts to raise funds to construct the Salt Lake and Fort Douglas Railroad. The first sources sought were private investors located in the east. Letters were sent to them, inviting them to "take hold" in the S. L. & F. D.<sup>7</sup> When these attempts failed to generate the hoped for results, another source closer to home was investigated.

On October 15, 1884, John W. Young and George Q. Cannon, then First Counselor to President John Taylor of the Mormon church, engaged in conversation concerning the financing of the Salt Lake and Fort Douglas. The following day Young formalized the discussion on paper and sent it to Cannon. In essence, he desired church financial support in building the initial line between the city and the quarry in Red Butte Canyon, a distance "of about ten miles." Once that was completed, both parties were to share in future expansion except for the "Cottonwood Branch" which Young wanted to develop and run by himself. If, after the first section was completed, he had "not gained the confidence of President Taylor," he agreed to "step down and out."<sup>8</sup> Having taken pains earlier to ensure that he held the controlling stock, why was John W. Young now making such an offer?

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<sup>7</sup>John W. Young to John F. Dillon, August 26, 1884 and John W. Young to Thomas L. Watson, September 11, 1884. JWY papers.

<sup>8</sup>John W. Young to George Q. Cannon, October 16, 1884. JWY papers.

In purchasing the Red Butte lands and additional real estate in Emigration Canyon, John W. Young had gone into debt for \$27,500. By the time he engaged in conversation with George Q. Cannon, about half of this sum had been paid, and he had given his personal note for the balance.<sup>9</sup> With this financial burden upon him, the delay in receiving a franchise from the city, and a lack of success in obtaining private investors, he was in an awkward position. Church backing had assisted him in earlier years, now he looked again in that direction for financial resources. However, in the previous instance his father had been in the position of church president. Matters were now much different.

When the offer to invest in the Salt Lake and Fort Douglas Railroad was received, it caused some hard thinking within the church leadership. One aspect of their decision making process was committed to paper. Reproduced in full as Appendix A, it reveals a distrust of the railroad and a concern that it is the effort of "a monopoly" to gain greater control over the railroad affairs of the area. Relative to John W. Young's arrival and involvement is the question: "Has he paid for it or is the cats-paw of the original proprietors?" If he does indeed owe allegiance to others, another question is presented: "... where is the Monkey?"<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>9</sup>To John W. Young, undated, unsigned, on letterhead of the Office of the President, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. JWY papers.

<sup>10</sup>Unsigned, undated document. Same letterhead as above. JWY papers.

These and other questions must have been answered to the satisfaction of the questioners, for the church presidency responded in a favorable manner.

The response, unsigned and undated but on the stationery of the Office of the President of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, is carefully worded and quite specific. (See Appendix B.) Of significance is a condition which passed control of the railroad to the church. Stating that the church would pay half of the original investment cost, i. e., \$13,750, it continues: "We should then put in something more to give us controlling interest."<sup>11</sup> There is no statement about Young managing the railroad, sharing in future development, or maintaining an independent Cottonwood branchline; simply "give us controlling interest." There was no further discussion of a church and John W. Young partnership in railroad ventures. Young had to go elsewhere for money.

John W. Young's eastern business interests gave him an advantage in making potential financial contacts.<sup>12</sup> Vice president of the North American Exchange Company, Limited, his offices were at No. 57 Broadway, across the street from the New York Stock Exchange.<sup>13</sup> This placed him in close proximity to many of the acknowledged business and financial greats of the day. John D. Rockefeller, for instance,

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<sup>11</sup>To John W. Young, undated, unsigned, on letterhead of the Office of the President, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. JWY papers.

<sup>12</sup>See Chapter I.

<sup>13</sup>Jessee, Letters of Brigham Young, 93.

maintained offices at No. 26 Broadway.<sup>14</sup> Young was also accepted as a gentleman and astute businessman by his eastern contemporaries. He was welcome in their restaurants and clubs in New York City.<sup>15</sup> With such influences present, dealers in securities and bonds on a world-wide scale, it is not surprising that his initial means of raising funds was that of bonding.

The bonding of railroads as a means of financing construction and initial operation began almost with the construction of the first American railroad.<sup>16</sup> The issuance of bonds contained inherent advantages and disadvantages. If continued control of the railroad by a specific person or group was of paramount importance, bonds provided a distinct advantage. Whereas buying stock granted a share of control to the investor, a bond did not. In exchange for the use of a bondholder's money, the railroad was under obligation only to pay a predetermined amount of interest at given periods, and return the original amount upon the maturity of the bond. In no way was the bondholder given any control, specified or implied, in the operation of the railroad.<sup>17</sup> By December 1884, bonds had been printed for the Salt Lake and Fort Douglas Railroad.

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<sup>14</sup>Josephson, Robber Barons, 278.

<sup>15</sup>John M. Whitaker, daily journal. Western Americana.

<sup>16</sup>Stover, The Life and Decline of the American Railroad, 32-33.

<sup>17</sup>Josephson, Robber Barons, 63-64.



On December 1, 1884, John W. Young was again seeking money from Mormon church President John Taylor. Unlike his previous attempt, this time he sought to have Taylor, or the church, purchase a block of ten \$100 bonds, or loan him \$1,000 with the bonds as security.<sup>18</sup> There is no record of a direct reply to this offer, but over the next few months there is a record of a series of receipts for sums of \$500 to \$1,000 issued to James Jack by the Salt Lake and Fort Douglas.<sup>19</sup> Whether this money came from Jack personally, or whether it originated with the church, is unknown. Whichever the case may be, some money was being invested or loaned to the railroad.

Some money, but not enough. In January and early February 1885, John W. Young was financially embarrassed. Rails and other supplies were arriving for the Salt Lake and Fort Douglas, but there was no money available to pay for the grading of the roadbed. Supplies were arriving as a result of an arrangement made with the Central Pacific and Southern Pacific railroads. The C. P. sold \$31,823.60 worth of materials and shipped them to Ogden at a cost of \$1,135.98 with the understanding that Young secure his personal note with \$24,700 worth of S. L. & F. D. bonds.<sup>20</sup> This was not an unusual practice and allowed the holders of the bonds to collect the interest on them until they were redeemed through the payment of the note. If other bonds

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<sup>18</sup>John W. Young to John Taylor, December 1, 1884. JWY papers.

<sup>19</sup>John W. Young papers, December 13, 1884 through March 12, 1885. James Jack functioned as the treasurer for the Mormon church during this time period, hence the uncertainty as to the original money source.

<sup>20</sup>Timothy Hopkins to John W. Young, March 18, 1885. JWY papers.

were sold rapidly, generating money to pay off the note, the security bonds were recovered with a very low interest rate being paid. If other bonds sold slowly, the materials were still available for use at the cost of the interest on the bonds used as collateral.

The Central Pacific was destined to collect the interest on the bonds. Although Young spent most of 1885 in the east actively seeking financial investors, conditions in Utah placed obstacles in his way. The problems had nothing to do with his railroad, but were intimately concerned with his religion.

National attention had been focused on Utah Territory due to the Mormon practice of polygamy.<sup>21</sup> As the anti-polygamist efforts intensified, both factual and fabricated accounts of affairs in the Great Basin were sensationalized by the eastern press. The effect upon potential investors was understandably negative.

John W. Young's search for financial backing suffered due to the anti-polygamy movement. Through his own words we can witness the difficulties presented:

My absence in the East was prolonged many months beyond the time it would have been but for the peculiar state of affairs here. Several times I had about completed arrangements to place my securities, but each time, before the money could be paid, the sensational despatches which the miserable politicians hatched up here to influence public opinion, so alarmed the parties with whom I was negotiating that each time they withdrew from their favorable overtures.

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<sup>21</sup>A good discussion of this period in Utah history is found in Larson, "Americanization" of Utah.

<sup>22</sup>John W. Young to Timothy Hopkins, October 9, 1885. JWY papers.

In addition to his financial problems, John W. Young was also in danger of arrest as a polygamist. To protect his railroad, he did not complete the transaction for the supplies purchased from the Central Pacific Railroad in the spring until October of 1885. By this time he was able to write that "notwithstanding the general depression and the unsettled state of affairs here I now feel secure."<sup>23</sup> Secure enough that he might take control of the railroad supplies without fear of their being confiscated.<sup>24</sup> He found, though, that the risk was still great enough that the C. P. now required \$47,000 worth of Salt Lake and Fort Douglas bonds as security on his note.<sup>25</sup>

Through bond sales and expenditure of his private funds, progress on the railroad was made. The Salt Lake Tribune, which took a distinct anti-Mormon stance during this period, eventually had to admit that the Salt Lake and Fort Douglas was not such a "toy railroad" after all.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>23</sup>John W. Young to Timothy Hopkins, October 9, 1885. JWY papers.

<sup>24</sup>The Edmunds Act, then in effect, provided for five years imprisonment and/or a \$500 fine. Additionally, another six months and/or \$300 might be awarded for unlawful cohabitation. See Larson, "Americanization" of Utah, 95. Young feared that were he arrested, legal entanglement might lead to the confiscation of his property. John W. Young to Timothy Hopkins, October 9, 1885. JWY papers.

<sup>25</sup>Receipt signed by Timothy Hopkins to John W. Young, October 21, 1885. JWY papers.

<sup>26</sup>Salt Lake Tribune, November 25, 1887.

Although slow in starting, and in a precarious financial state throughout the construction phase, as the railroad took shape investors were more likely to risk their capital. John W. Young felt optimistic enough to risk even more of his.

The Salt Lake and Fort Douglas Railroad, and later the Salt Lake and Eastern Railroad, was not Young's sole means of livelihood. As noted earlier and in Chapter I, he was actively engaged in other ventures, the most important of which was the North American Exchange Company, Limited.<sup>27</sup> How much money he derived from this concern is unknown, but it was enough to meet his personal expenses with some left over.

During the development period of the Salt Lake and Fort Douglas, money was expended but none was earned, and the interest payments on bonds sold still fell due. To meet the latter obligations, Young paid the interest out of his own pocket rather than lose the railroad to creditors.<sup>28</sup> The mixing of personal and company funds and obligations in this manner may be considered poor business by some, but his faith in the prospects of the S. L. & F. D. was such that he felt his risk justified. Other investors and their agents agreed.

Beginning in early 1885 Young had attempted to interest James W. Barclay, a member of Parliament, a principal in the Colorado Mortgage and Investment Company of London, Limited, and the banking concern of Barclay, Bevens and Company, in the Salt Lake and Fort Douglas

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<sup>27</sup>John M. Whitaker, daily journal, 1887-1890. Western Americana. Also Jesse, Letters of Brigham Young, 93.

<sup>28</sup>John W. Young to Edwin Bartram, September 18, 1888. JWY papers.

Railroad.<sup>29</sup> Barclay had declined to participate at that time. His reluctance is understandable since a money contraction cycle was just ending, this being a financial phase which had discouraged foreign investors. Furthermore, anti-polygamy agitation was increasing and the S. L. & F. D. was a very small enterprise located in the heart of the polygamy conflict. It is not surprising that this initial attempt was not successful, and Young had to try again later.

The Salt Lake and Eastern Railroad, providing a link between the Park City mines and the Salt Lake area smelters, was a potential high profit endeavor in the eyes of foreign investors. At some point in 1888, after the S. L. & E. was organized, Barclay arranged for Young's railroad bonds to be offered in England. The overseas investors may have been disappointed when they received a delayed interest payment in mid-1889, but by January 1, 1890, nearly £1,350 had been paid to investors in England.<sup>30</sup> Young was certainly doing his best to encourage Barclay's efforts.

Writing to Barclay, Young placed a very optimistic picture before English investors:

In regard to these roads that we are constructing, I ask myself: What other elements for traffic exists in that country that we do not control; for it seems as if we have every requisite as a substantial basis for our expectations,-- we control all the building materials for a growing, important commercial city ... we control mountain resorts and places for mountain towns ... we practically control all the points where

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<sup>29</sup>Salt Lake Tribune, September 14, 1885.

<sup>30</sup>John W. Young to James W. Barclay, May 11, 1889. Also statement sheet dated January 1, 1890. JWY papers. Also Salt Lake Tribune, September 14, 1889.

the largest quantities of fuel is used ... control the only material in all that country suitable for macademizing our broad streets and great therofares; we practically control all the available approaches to Salt Lake City ... including the only pass through the mountains that is a feasible route for an eastern road to reach the great basin. We reach the grandest mining districts in the west ... with the shortest route to get good coal, and will control<sup>31</sup> the only extensive timber belt within reasonable distance.

With this glowing account, Young failed to mention to Barclay that another railroad was already serving Park City, the Union Pacific controlled Echo and Park City Railroad.

John W. Young had previously sought a deal with the Union Pacific Company relative to the Park City traffic. Traveling from his New York City office to the one in Salt Lake City, he spent the night at Omaha, headquarters of the U. P. Meeting with some of the railroad's executives, "I gave this impression to them that I did not wish to work against the interests of the Union Pacific in building to Park City, and told them that I had no doubt, if they chose to so arrange it, but what we could divide the freight satisfactorily to both."<sup>32</sup> While this proposed arrangement was not implemented, the receipt of such a letter offered a balm to badly needed New York investors.

For awhile railroad investors throughout the nation needed as much comfort as they were able to find. America's love of the steam

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<sup>31</sup>John W. Young to James W. Barclay, April 16, 1889. JWY papers. The "great basin" referred to was the Uintah Basin and the proposed point where Young's railroad would meet with one coming from Colorado.

<sup>32</sup>John W. Young to Joseph Richardson, October 18, 1888. JWY papers.

train, the hope for immense profits, and a post-1885 expanding money market resulted in a severe over-building of railroads that culminated in 1888. The major consequence was a railroad depression in 1889 which directly affected the availability of money to complete Young's railroads, particularly the line into Park City.<sup>33</sup> Once again foreign investors were sought.

One such person, a gentleman from Spain, has become the central figure in a local legend. Recent recorders of the legend do not agree on either his name or the conclusion of the tale, but their stories do agree that Young was capable of making lofty promises to obtain funds.

Basically, as the story goes, John W. Young was traveling in Europe and became acquainted with a wealthy Spaniard. In return for the latter investing his money in the formers railroads, a major town along the Salt Lake and Eastern route was to be name, or re-named, in his honor. When the investor came to visit Young in Utah, Young, to avoid embarrassment, had a town plat drawn up showing what the town did (or would, depending upon the version of the story used) look like.<sup>34</sup> The tale does not place John W. Young in a very favorable

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<sup>33</sup>John M. Whitaker, daily journal. *Western Americana*. Also John W. Young to James W. Barclay, May 11, 1889. JWY papers. Also *Herald*, January 2, 1890.

<sup>34</sup>Different versions of this legend can be found by comparing Noal C. Newbold and Bea Kummer, *Silver and Snow: The Story of Park City* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Parliament Publishers, 1968), 21, with George A. Thompson and Fraser Buck, *Treasure Mountain Home: A Centennial History of Park City, Utah* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret Book Company, 1968), 42-44. In fact, Young did not go to Europe until late 1890.

light, nor does it concur with the facts.

John W. Young did make promises, but they were of a more realistic nature. In New York City he became acquainted with a Senor E. Gogorza who invested his money in the Salt Lake and Eastern Railroad; however, the amount of the investment is unknown. In a letter to Gogorza dated October 12, 1889, Young stated that "the best station between Salt Lake City and Park City will be called Gogorza." No mention of a town, simply the "best station." Young had plans to build resort towns in Parleys Canyon, and he inferred that other locations were to be named for other investors. In the same letter to Gogorza, he continued:

One of the two towns that will be built next summer ... will be called Canda, and a beautiful mountain peak, under the shadow of which I shall build a hotel, will be called Mount Jordan. So you see I am preparing to remember my best friends ... please make my peace with Mr. Jordan, Mr. C. J. Canda, and Mr. F. E. Canda.<sup>35</sup>

John W. Young carried out most of his statement, although on a somewhat reduced scale. Current maps published by the U. S. Geological Survey show the misspelled name of Gorgoza (vs. Gogorza) located east of the summit of Parleys Canyon with a few structures. Old railroad maps show sidings named Canda and Barclay.<sup>36</sup> Only Jordan is missing from the list of place names. But investors, no matter how flattered, expected more than their names on maps in return for their money.

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<sup>35</sup> John W. Young to E. Gogorza, October 12, 1889. JWY papers.

<sup>36</sup> Denver and Rio Grande Western maps on file, Salt Lake City Engineers Office.



How much did John W. Young's railroads earn? This is the great mystery. None of the financial record books from any of the railroads discussed are available. The only hard income facts are bits and pieces found scattered throughout his correspondence. We do have good clues, however, of how the income was derived.

Small businesses provided freight hauling income well before the major goal of the stone quarries was reached by the Salt Lake and Fort Douglas Railroad. As early as November 1886, the S. L. & F. D. rails were being used to transport coal to an unnamed business, and other businesses were serviced as the rails were laid.<sup>37</sup> How much clear income was received is unknown, but because the motive power was rented from the Denver and Rio Grande Western, it in all probability was minimal. What such low-profit arrangements did accomplish was to get the customers acquainted with the advantages of rail service, including the transportation of rock.

In December 1886, the Salt Lake and Fort Douglas Railroad negotiated with the Denver and Rio Grande Western for the use of a locomotive to haul between 3,000 and 3,500 tons of sandstone from the area of the east bench to the Hot Springs at the north end of Salt Lake City. Even though the rock had to be hauled from the quarries to the end of the track by wagon, the D. & R. G. W. cooperation enabled the S. L. & F. D. to "capture this few hundred dollars of trade."<sup>38</sup> Once the quarries were reached, and using their own

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<sup>37</sup>Arthur Stayner to John W. Young, November 26, 1886. JWY papers.

<sup>38</sup>Arthur Stayner to W. H. Baueroft, December 28, 1886. JWY papers.

Locomotives, the situation for the Salt Lake and Fort Douglas improved.

By November 1888, the Salt Lake and Fort Douglas Railroad was moving at least eight car loads of rock per day from the Red Butte quarries.<sup>39</sup> What percentage of the total freight income this represented is unknown, but total freight receipts between November 1 and 15, 1888, totaled \$107.90.<sup>40</sup> The following month a larger amount was realized, \$862.25 on freight traffic between Salt Lake City and Emigration and Red Butte canyons. The "Cottonwood Branch" serving Sugar House handled \$1,006.95 worth of freight, but this figure is misleading since it included freight charges on materials being hauled to construct the Salt Lake and Eastern Railroad.<sup>41</sup> Once completed, this latter railroad became an integral part of the income picture. Nonetheless, one potential source of freight revenue eluded the railroads.

The freight business of Fort Douglas was in line with the other supplementary revenues sought by the Salt Lake and Fort Douglas. As its tracks already crossed the forts land, spurs were constructed to the warehouse and coal yard areas. In May 1888, preliminary overtures were made to bid on the coming fiscal year freight contract.<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>39</sup>Herald, November 3, 1888.

<sup>40</sup>John M. Whitaker to John W. Young, November 15, 1888. JWY papers.

<sup>41</sup>Trial balance sheet dated December 13, 1888. JWY papers.

<sup>42</sup>John W. Young to Colonel Osborn, Commanding Officer of Fort Douglas, May 15, 1888. JWY papers.

The bid was too late for the 1888-89 year, but the next year brought a new attempt.

In January 1889, John W. Young again instructed that information be gathered for bidding against the present teamsters who held the forts freighting contract.<sup>43</sup> He was not going to reduce his rates too much, not even to gain an initial "foot-in-the-door" type contract. "I will cut under the wagon prices as little as possible, and charge a good round sum, as I intend them to pay us for our trouble that we have been to."<sup>44</sup> The final bid was 90¢ per ton for coal and grain, and \$1 per ton for merchandise.<sup>45</sup> Once the bid was made, there was absolutely no response from the fort. Young was not the type of businessman to wait patiently, especially in the light of rumors around Salt Lake City to the effect that the contract had been let.

John W. Young contacted a military acquaintance, General Stewart Van Vliet, U. S. Army Quartermaster Corps, retired. Restating his bid and the fact that tracks had been laid to serve the fort, he was very disturbed that the contract might have been let out.<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>43</sup>John W. Young to John M. Whitaker, January 24, 1889. JWY papers.

<sup>44</sup>John W. Young to John M. Whitaker, January 24, 1889. JWY papers.

<sup>45</sup>John W. Young to Stewart Van Vliet, May 4 and 8, 1889. JWY papers.

<sup>46</sup>John W. Young to Stewart Van Vliet, May 4, 1889. JWY papers. Van Vliet had first come into contact with the Mormons in Utah when he entered Salt Lake Valley in advance of the U. S. Army expeditions in 1857. He was then a junior officer in the Quartermaster Corps, seeking the necessary supplies to billet the army. Van Vliet had been

The rumors to that effect were more than rumors, they were fact.

Official confirmation was finally received that the freight contract had been let to Edwin R. Clute, a teamster that had held previous contracts with the fort. Although Young's bid was lower, he failed to indicate if there was to be any drayage charges associated with transferring the cargoes from the standard gauge freight cars to his railroad's narrow gauge cars.<sup>47</sup> Young responded by sending a letter of protest to Van Vliet, claiming religious persecution.<sup>48</sup> Persecution or not, this action did not aid the railroad in making any more money, and money was what was needed.

While dollar figures are not available, we do have some quantity figures that indicate the amount of freight traffic on the Salt Lake and Fort Douglas and the Salt Lake and Eastern railroads at the end of 1891. The S. L. & F. D. handled an average of 30 carloads of stone per day out of Red Butte and Emigration canyons, plus 200 carloads of goods per year from the Salt Lake brewery and Wagener's brewery combined. Quarries on the S. L. & E. provided an average of 40-50 carloads of stone per day. This line also transported 1,200 carloads of lumber, 100 carloads of grain and flour, and unlisted amounts of ice and bricks per year. This activity, plus the ore from the Park City mines, resulted in 33,837,320 pounds of freight from

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favorably impressed by the Mormons, which may account for Young turning to him at this time. See Norman F. Furniss, The Mormon Conflict, 1850-1859 (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1960), 69, 105-07.

<sup>47</sup> Quartermaster General to John W. Young, May 24, 1889. JWY papers.

<sup>48</sup> John W. Young to Stewart Van Vliet, June (?), 1889. JWY papers.

Park City to Salt Lake City, and an additional 45,367,280 pounds moving in the opposite direction during the year.<sup>49</sup>

Passenger traffic also played a distinct, but smaller, role in the revenue producing aspects of these railroads. As soon as Fort Douglas was reached, a regular time-table was published for passenger service.<sup>50</sup> People were able to travel from any point served in Salt Lake City to Fort Douglas, and later to Wagener's brewery, via Fuller's Pleasure Gardens, for 25¢. Or, if their interests were elsewhere, they could travel to the territorial penitentiary near Sugar House for the same fare.<sup>51</sup> This destination became quite popular, especially on visiting days, as many wives and families came to visit the incarcerated polygamists. On one day during the summer of 1888, over 300 passengers made this journey, much to the financial delight of the railroad.<sup>52</sup> Other passenger journeys, however, were of a lighter vein.

The railroads provided an inexpensive means whereby the heat of the Salt Lake Valley might be forgotten for a day in the cooler mountains near Park City. Similarly, residents of Park City were able

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<sup>49</sup>Salt Lake Tribune, January 1, 1892. The mail contract to Park City was also obtained, which provided some additional income. Park Record, September 6, 1890.

<sup>50</sup>Herald, June 27, 1888.

<sup>51</sup>Salt Lake Tribune, September 16, 1888.

<sup>52</sup>Charles W. Hardy to John W. Young, June 5, 1888. B. Y. U.

to enjoy day-long shopping trips in Salt Lake City. For those who desired a cool drink with a view of the valley, rail service was available to Wagener's brewery where the canyon breeze and cool brew countered the effects of a hot summer day.<sup>53</sup> After Park City was reached by the Salt Lake and Eastern, and through an agreement with another narrow gauge railroad, the Utah and Nevada, the residents of the mountains (and valley) traveled to the beaches of Black Rock, a resort on the south shore of the Great Salt Lake.<sup>54</sup> Nevertheless, passenger and freight income notwithstanding, money problems continued.

John W. Young used a number of devices to moderate the railroad's expenses and outflow of cash. Following a practice dating from the mid-1860s, he formed a construction company to build each of the railroads by subcontracting the work.<sup>55</sup> Since the railroad was not turned over to the parent company by the construction company until the railroad was completed, all revenues were deposited to the construction company account.<sup>56</sup> This enabled Young to honestly report that the railroad companies were not earning a profit. This served to moderate city taxes and the chances of creditors confiscating

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<sup>53</sup>Tullidge, Tullidge's Histories, Northern Utah, 534-40.

<sup>54</sup>The earliest account of these excursions dates from May 1890. The standard Park City-Salt Lake City fare was \$2 one-way and \$3 round-trip. Park Record, May 24, June 14, 1890, and March 21, 1891.

<sup>55</sup>Kirkland, Industry Comes of Age, 53. Also Athearn, Union Pacific Country, 37, 57, 123ff.

equipment. And, interestingly, none of the railroads were ever completely finished. Additionally, and as already described earlier in this chapter, bonds were used as securities in lieu of immediate cash payment. But no matter what devices were used, some cash had to be paid out.

The lack of ready cash in December 1888, brought about some very tense moments on the Salt Lake and Eastern Railroad. Workers, grading and laying track in Parleys Canyon, were nearly through for the winter and anxious to be paid. After being put off, their mood grew nasty as described by their foreman, William Black, writing from the construction camp.

Dear Brother. Hell is popping here in camp today; I was surrounded by a mob of men this morning demanding their pay; to quell the trouble I have promised to pay them on the 15th. I have had to make arrangements for a lot of them to be boarded at the Valley House, please see Mr. LeGrand Young; that money can be deposited in the Deseret National Bank to meet these payments, to get me out of this trouble. If not done it will create an injury to me and to the progress of the road for they have threatened to advertise it.<sup>57</sup>

Responding to the threat of having his financial problems "advertised", John W. Young telegraphed money from his New York office. Another contractor, who did not make threats, was not so fortunate and remained unpaid into the following summer.<sup>58</sup> Young was quite

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<sup>57</sup> William Black to John M Whitaker, December 12, 1888. Western Americana.

<sup>58</sup> John W. Young to John M. Whitaker, December 13, 1888. JWY papers. Young criticized Black for not employing the "right kind of men." Some of the "right kind" must have been the firm of Collister and Melville who undertook the grading of the Utah Western in the summer of 1889 even though they still had not been paid for their work on the Salt Lake and Eastern. James A. Melville to John M. Whitaker, February 7, 1889. Western Americana. Collister and Melville to John W. Young, June 27, 1889 (telegram). JWY papers.

sensitive about maintaining a good business reputation, but his financial problems continued into 1889.

The lack of operating income and reluctance of investors forced a reorganization of John W. Young's railroads. The initial discussion of this need came in late 1889, while the Salt Lake and Eastern was still building between Parleys summit and Park City, and the Utah Western was a rail-less roadbed.<sup>59</sup> It resulted in a consolidation of resources and a new railroad.

The Utah Central Railway Company was organized on April 8, 1890. This company assumed all of the assets of the Salt Lake and Fort Douglas, the Salt Lake and Eastern, and the Utah Western railroads except for the tracks extending from Ninth South and Tenth East to Red Butte and Emigration canyons.<sup>60</sup> This latter trackage, with associated equipment, remained as the Salt Lake and Fort Douglas Railroad. This act of consolidation was a well thought out reorganization designed to attract fresh investors.

John W. Young retained the majority of the stock but surrendered his presidency of a railroad. Joseph Richardson, the president of

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<sup>59</sup>John W. Young to LeGrande Young, January 8, 1890. JWY papers.

<sup>60</sup>Corporation Files 536 and 4325. State Archives. Because of the ponderousness of too many railroad names, and the opportunity of confusion, the Utah Central Railroad organized in April 1890, has not been referred to previously. In fact, it was under the name of the U. C. that the original Salt Lake and Eastern was completed into Park City. The term Utah Central used prior to this point refers strictly to the Union Pacific controlled railroad. Henceforth, unless otherwise stated, the name applies only to the consolidated Salt Lake and Eastern, Utah Western, and portions of the Salt Lake and Fort Douglas railroads.



the North American Exchange Company, Limited, and a long time business associate, became the new president of the Utah Central. Young retained the presidency of the Salt Lake and Fort Douglas Railroad, and became the vice president of the Utah Central.<sup>61</sup> The fact that Young was willing to take this subordinate position gives a definite impression that there were severe financial strains at this point, but he was still in a position of control.

The name Utah Central came about through both luck and good business sense. In June 1889, the Union Pacific Railroad had undergone a reorganization that consolidated a number of railroads under the single company of the Oregon Short Line. In Utah, five U. P. controlled lines were affected, the Utah and Northern, the Salt Lake and Western, the Utah and Nevada, the Ogden and Syracuse, and the Utah Central.<sup>62</sup> The resulting abandonment of these corporation names provided the luck, for the name Utah Central was now free for use by others. Young saw in the name an asset, for the Utah Central was familiar among investors in the east, associated with the Union Pacific system, and had a reputation of stability.<sup>63</sup> Thus the Utah Central was reborn and it was under this name that the track

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<sup>61</sup>Corporation File No. 4325. State Archives.

<sup>62</sup>Salt Lake Tribune, June 9, 1889. Some of these railroads were in actuality very short spurs but kept under a separate name.

<sup>63</sup>There was also sentiment involved, for Young claimed to have conceived the name originally two decades earlier when he was involved with the building of the original Utah Central. John W. Young to New York Security and Trust Company, March 4, 1890. JWY papers.

UTAH CENTRAL RAILROAD

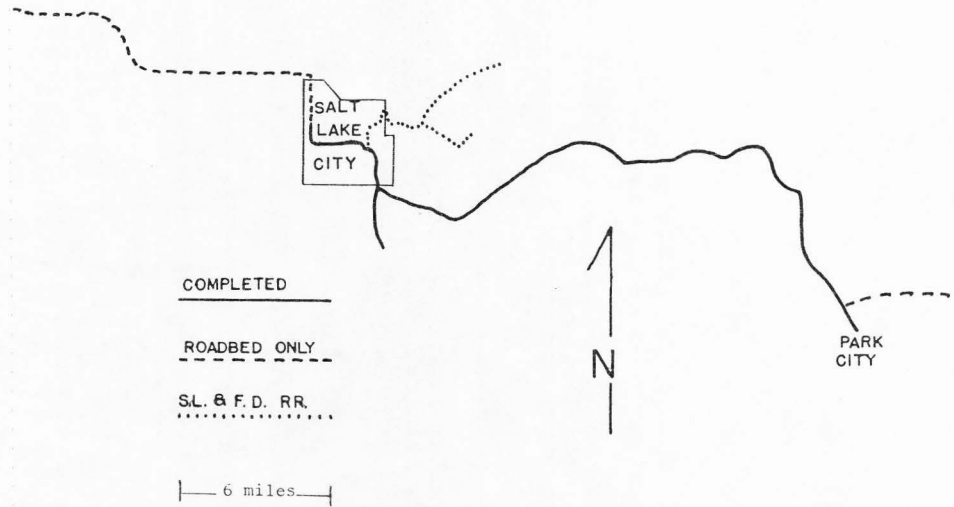


Figure 9. The route of the Utah Central Railroad by 1893.

into Park City was completed. Few, if any, of those who witnessed the creation of the Utah Central for yet another time could have guessed the strange twist of events to follow.

John W. Young's attention was diverted from the Utah Central by his interest in a new railroad for northern Mexico. A proposed 1,400 mile line, initially called the Mexican and Northern Pacific Railroad and later re-named the Mexican Northwestern Railroad, sent Young traveling to England and Europe for new financial backing.<sup>64</sup> The Utah Central and the Salt Lake and Fort Douglas railroads had lost their glamour for him, with unfortunate results for all concerned.

While John W. Young was seeking \$25 million for the Mexican railroad, a thousand tons of steel rails that might have been placed on either the roadbed leading to the Great Salt Lake or to Kamas was auctioned off to meet freight and storage charges. The Denver and Rio Grande Western had held the shipment, along with eighty-eight freight and flat cars, consigned to Young as long as they were able. In November 1891, they had to take action. The freight and storage charges came to \$19,666.82 on the rails, and \$15,259.36 on the cars.<sup>65</sup> The loss of these materials might have been prevented if Young's ambitions had not been diverted, but the next blow was beyond the control of any one person.

In the early 1890s, in a near repeat of the 1882-1885 money

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<sup>64</sup>Salt Lake Tribune, March 23, September 14, 1891, January 1, 1893.

<sup>65</sup>Salt Lake Tribune, September 30, October 11, and November 29, 1891.

contraction, foreign investors once again questioned the United States' ability to remain on the gold standard. This time, however, there were two other factors present: the devaluation of gold on the world market, and intense pressure within the United States to open up the coinage of silver. Instead of a period of inconvenience, this time the factors combined to create the dread of a capitalistic society--depression!<sup>66</sup>

The depression of 1893 reduced the output of the Park City mines to a trickle.<sup>67</sup> This, in turn, reduced both the economic prosperity of the region and drastically affected the income of the Utah Central. The Salt Lake and Fort Douglas, with an even weaker economic base, was equally hard hit. As bond interest payments came due, and without sufficient income to meet even operating expenses, the inevitable happened.

Under pressure from creditors and bond-holders, the Utah Central was placed in receivership late in November 1893.<sup>68</sup> The Salt Lake and Fort Douglas shared the same fate two months later, on January 30, 1894.<sup>69</sup> Through the actions of the Third District Court, Territory of Utah, in ordering receivership, John W. Young's railroading dreams, plans, and work were removed once and for all from his hands.

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<sup>66</sup>Friedman and Schwartz, Monetary History, 104-12.

<sup>67</sup>Park Record, July 15, 1893.

<sup>68</sup>Park Record, December 2, 1893.

<sup>69</sup>Salt Lake Tribune, January 31, 1894.

## SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The concepts behind John W. Young's Utah railroading efforts were sound. In each instance a major mineral source was established as the basic goal. For the Salt Lake and Fort Douglas Railroad the goal was sandstone and limestone in Red Butte and Emigration canyons. The Salt Lake and Eastern Railroad sought the lead and silver ore traffic of Park City. The Utah Western Railroad was to transport that most necessary of all minerals needed to sustain human life, salt. Once the primary economic base was determined, additional revenue producers were sought.

The diversity of materials transported attests to the wide variety of businesses served. Freight cargoes included bricks, ice, lumber products, grains, coal, beer, flour, and dry goods. All of this was in addition to the transporting of sandstone, limestone, shale, and silver and lead ores.

Passenger traffic was of secondary importance. Although initially established on a scheduled basis, all passenger schedules except a twice daily train to Park City were abandoned within two years. Whereas there are a few references in extant records to freight income, there is not a single dollar figure available for passenger revenues. There is mention of heavy passenger traffic to the territorial penitentiary, located near Sugar House, but no indication is given as to how long this traffic lasted. Whether passenger or freight, a transportation need was being filled.

The actual construction of the railroads was a slow process. This was due to the lack of capital, the shortage of workers, and the natural topography. Steep grades occurred at three different points. Climbing the east bench on a north-south angle required a 5.5 percent grade. In both Red Butte Canyon and near the summit of Parleys Canyon grades of 6.0 percent were found. Two major trestles were constructed, one over Fuller's Gulch on the Salt Lake and Fort Douglas line, the other crossing the mouth of Lambs Canyon on the Salt Lake and Eastern (Utah Central) route. All in all, considering the steep grade and hemming-in effect of the canyons, the railroad builders did a sound job of engineering and construction.

Unfortunately, there is no available information on the total freight and passenger revenues actually earned by the operating railroads. We do know that the railroads were running at a profit until the economic depression of 1893, and that tonnages were adequate to justify the railroads even after they entered into receivership.

The fact that the Salt Lake and Fort Douglas and the Utah Central railroads did operate with sufficient profit to meet operating expenses, make bond interest payments, and still be able to invest in new equipment until 1893 indicates a successful enterprise. This is all the more significant since Young did not invest additional outside capital into these railroads after late 1890. When receivership did come as a result of the economic depression, the S. L. & F. D. and the U. C. had plenty of company.

At least sixty-five major railroads in the United States entered

into court-ordered receivership during 1893-1894, including the Union Pacific Railroad.<sup>1</sup> This meant that, in Utah, not only the U. P. but also the Oregon Short Line (formerly the Utah Central, Utah and Nevada, and Utah and Northern railroads) and the Echo and Park City Railroad were placed into the hands of receivers. The Denver and Rio Grande Western was the only railroad in Utah that continued to operate under its own management, aside from the short section of the California-based Central Pacific that came into Ogden.<sup>2</sup>

Whereas other people were primarily responsible for the construction and operational aspects of the railroads, John W. Young bore the weight of obtaining local franchises, permission to cross federal lands, and outside financing. In each of these areas he did well. The local franchise requests required patience and had to overcome conflicts of interest within the Salt Lake City Council. On a national level, he received permission to cross Fort Douglas in spite of his concurrent efforts to defeat the passage of the anti-Mormon Edmunds-Tucker Act. In finances he ranged far, including the London stock exchanges, to raise the needed capital. Until he became interested in the Mexican railroad venture, Young was always able to raise the needed funds for his railroads in and near Salt Lake City. The weakness in his money raising efforts was his diversified interests.

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<sup>1</sup>Riegel, Western Railroads, 305.

<sup>2</sup>Athearn, Rebel of the Rockies, 181.

Concurrent with his railroad building, he was involved with the North American Exchange Company, Limited, and the Saturday Evening Globe in New York. These enterprises required his time, and in the case of the latter, money. In Utah he also controlled the Salt Lake Supply and Forwarding Company, and the Salt Lake Rock Company. He was also interested in, but not controlling, other businesses. Spread so thin, perhaps attempting to emulate the business giants he knew in the east, he was not able to keep as close a rein on the railroads as was necessary. For instance, Black's men in Parleys Canyon were paid when they made threats, once Young received word of it in New York. Other contractors, however, who were less vocal in their demands, were not immediately paid.

What John W. Young accomplished, he did on his own. The family name of Young did not serve to open any financial or political doors for him, either in Utah or back east. Indeed, in both places his family background seems to have placed obstacles in his path until his own personality and drive established his credentials. At a time when polygamy was a very emotional issue, he was able to function freely within the financial centers of New York. This fact alone speaks highly of his personal abilities.

His fortunes declined after the 1893 depression, but he was ever seeking new business ventures. A few years before his death in New York City, he was showing young Mormon missionaries his plans for a huge pier and facility on the Hudson River, and a hundred-story



tall, block square building.<sup>3</sup> (At the time he was working as an elevator starter.)<sup>4</sup> He also continued to state that everything he had attempted had been for the eventual building up of the Mormon cause.<sup>5</sup> Following his death in New York City on February 11, 1924, he was buried in the Salt Lake City cemetery on February 17, 1924. He rests beside one of his estranged wives and their son.

The railroads he built suffered varied fates. The Salt Lake and Fort Douglas was discontinued due to an injunction issued by the Third District Court on December 5, 1896. By 1898 the only physical evidence of the S. L. & F. D. in the city was some streets that had been formed by the original railroad grade.<sup>6</sup>

The Utah Central fared much better. Surviving receivership, the Utah Central was sold to a new Utah Central Railroad Company formed on December 28, 1897. This company acted as an intermediary

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<sup>3</sup>Oral interview with Roscoe A. Grover, February 25, 1978.

<sup>4</sup>Grover interview.

<sup>5</sup>Grover interview. This attitude had been expressed in a letter much earlier. "I made up my mind many years ago to try and do my duty as I understood it, and to build up the cause in which we are enlisted. I am glad to say that this has always been uppermost in my mind, and although I have been greatly misunderstood at times, and people have been full of criticism and fault finding, yet, when the day comes that all must be adjudged for what they have done, good or evil, certainly my intentions will prove that my interests have been ever for the cause and the people ...." John W. Young to John M. Whitaker, August 11, 1888. JWY papers.

<sup>6</sup>The expansion of the city caused the injunction and resulted in the use of the roadbed as city streets. The original complaint was from a property owner whose house shook and was in danger of fire from the sparks of the locomotive each time a train passed.

for the Denver and Rio Grande Western which purchased the Utah Central in early 1898, and continued to run trains to and from Park City. After the turn of the century, the rails were broadened to standard gauge and the switchbacks and 6 percent grade replaced by a tunnel. Like the original owner, the D. & R. G. W. Park City branch outlived its time, bowing to the economics of truck traffic in the late 1940s. Unless you know what you are looking for, no noticeable trace of John W. Young's railroads remain today.

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### Manuscript Material

- Provo, Utah. Special Collections, Lee Library, Brigham Young University. Charles W. Hardy Collection.
- Salt Lake City, Utah. Archives, Historical Department, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. John W. Young Collection.
- Salt Lake City, Utah. Western Americana Section, Marriott Library, University of Utah. John M. Whitaker Collection.
- Salt Lake City, Utah. Genealogical Library, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. John W. Young family group sheets.
- Salt Lake City, Utah. Archives of the State of Utah, State Capitol.
- Salt Lake City, Utah. Salt Lake City Engineer's Office, City and County Building.
- Coombs, Barry B. Letter to Marlowe C. Adkins, Jr., July 17, 1974. [Mr. Coombs works for the historical section of the Union Pacific Railroad Company, Omaha, Nebraska.]
- Adkins, Marlowe C., Jr. "End of Track: Park City." Manuscript on file with the Utah State Historical Society, Salt Lake City, Utah.

### Newspapers

Three Salt Lake City newspapers were examined for pertinent information. Articles and editorials relative to John W. Young's enterprises were carried in the Deseret News, the Herald, and the Salt Lake Tribune between 1883 and 1894. The Park City Park Record a weekly newspaper, was examined for the period 1889-1894.

### Oral Interview

- Grover, Roscoe A. with Marlowe C. Adkins, Jr. February 25, 1978. Interview conducted at the home of Mr. Grover, 62 Virginia Street, Salt Lake City, Utah.

## APPENDIX

Appendix AThe "Cats-paw" Note<sup>1</sup>

1. A combination was organized to create a monopoly.
2. A number of men and their interests were sacrificed, and are today.
3. Under pretence of the power of Railroad grants an attempt was made to force a way through North Temple Street; thus providing for the projectors a Railroad bed for nothing to them, but at the expense of property owners on the route, in the interest of the above monopoly. This was frustrated by the action of the people.
4. As this became unpopular and appeared unprofitable, the projectors offered to sell it out to Pres. Taylor for \$\_\_\_\_\_. He did not buy.
5. There was held out to him the prospect of the U. P. R. R. purchasing and that it was desirable to keep it from them as monopolists.
6. John W. Young next appears on the scene. He tells us that he had nothing to do with the monopoly; that he stepped forward to save it from going into the hands of the U. P. We are informed that it is his, in his own right, that he is the sole proprietor and possesor.
7. Has he paid for it, or is the cats-paw of the original proprietors? If he is, where is the Monkey?

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<sup>1</sup>This undated, unsigned note is found in the John W. Young papers. The handwriting is the same as that of Appendix B. While a handwriting expert was not consulted, there is a marked resemblance between these notes and the handwriting of Joseph F. Smith. It is understandable how Appendix B came to be located in the Young papers, but how the "cats-paw" note came to be there is a minor mystery in itself.



8. Has he paid anything for this? If so, how much; and what is the real status of the case?

9. What is the amount of bonds to be used?

10. Are these people to be paid in bonds for the alleged purchase of the property? Is the railroad iron that is contracted for to be paid for in these bonds?

11. A proposition has been made to furnish \$4000 worth of Iron to the Street Railroad on reasonable terms--Is that iron to be paid for, to the vendors, in those bonds? If so, where would the \$4000 go which is supposed to be obtained from the sale of the iron?

12. What is the amount of stock, and why are these favorable conditions offered to the Trustee in Trust? For if the Trustee in Trust pays in produce that money must go somewhere. It would seem the iron is provided for on certain conditions, is that to be paid for in stock or bonds?

13. It seems the property is paid for, is that to be paid for in Stock or Bonds?

14. How much will the stock be in excess of the bona-fide purchase? And who gets the difference? What provision is there made for the payment of claims for a right of way, for grading, supplying ties and rolling stock, etc, and where does that come from?

These and other questions want answering, associated with the equipment and running of the road. If there is no tangible prospect for the supply of funds, other than that required of us, how is the thing going to be done?

Appendix BReply of the Mormon Church to John W. Young's Proposal to Sell  
Part Interest in the Salt Lake and Fort Douglas Railroad

In answer to your propositions if we had anything to do with that arrangement, I should want it to be placed in a condition that we could have the controlling interest. And, as I understand it, things are about thus: You have bought the quarries and other realty, for which you have agreed to pay \$27,500. About one-half of that you say you have paid, and given your note for the remaining half. If we are expected to embark in the matter we must start at the bed rock, and if you pay \$13,750 and we pay \$13,750 we should then be equal. We should then put in something more to give us the controlling interest, and should then want to be consulted about the manipulation of stock, and matters connected with the building or running of the road. Your proposition regarding the purchase of iron, and for the grading of the road, if the grading is on an economical basis, your offer to us would be satisfactory, and the purchase of the \$4000 for iron would make it easier for us to meet the cash obligation, providing it was on terms that would not be hazardous. Ties, rolling stock, and other equipments would have to be furnished.

Should these former propositions be acceptable the question would arise as to the amount of bonds to be issued. We would suggest that if 8 miles would do at first, it would be better to start it than 10.

8 miles at 15,000 per mile	\$120,000.00
to cover the quarriers would take	<u>50,000.00</u>
	170,000.00
or 8 miles at 20,000 per mile	160,000.00

This would give 2 miles less railroad, and \$30,000.00 less bonds, the interest on which would be quite a consideration. If any odd money was wanted for other contingencies it would come out of the difference between the \$50,000.00 and the price given for the quarries.

Is it supposed that this \$15,000.00 per mile would cover all expenses connected with the building and equipment of the road?

If the foregoing is agreed to, it is further understood that neither party is to sell stock or bonds beyond a certain defined amount, without mutual consent.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>This note is unsigned but written on paper bearing the letterhead of the Office of the President, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Quoted exactly as written including spelling errors.

## VITA

Marlowe C. Adkins, Jr.

Candidate for the Degree of

Master of Science

Thesis: "A History of John W. Young's Utah Railroads, 1884-1894."

Biographical Information:

Personal Data: Born Salt Lake City, Utah, on March 20, 1940, son of Marlowe C. Adkins, Sr., and Mary Afton Siddoway Adkins; married Kate Klingenberg on August 27, 1962; one child, Leah.

Education: Elementary and secondary education completed in Salt Lake City public schools. Attended Santa Ana College, Santa Ana, California; graduated with a Bachelor of Science degree from Utah State University, Logan, Utah in 1972. Major in History, minor in Business Education.

Professional Experience: United States Marine Corps, 1958-1968; Business Administrator of Fairmont, Kenwood, and Radcliffe Hall private schools, Anaheim, California, 1968-1970; teacher of United States history, Sky View High School, Smithfield, Utah 1972 to date. Prepared text for Bicentennial unit entitled "Native Americans of Utah" for the Cache, Logan, and Box Elder School Districts, 1975-1976. Prepared non-visual portion of slide and tape presentation "Utah Engineering: Past and Present" for the Utah Engineers Council, 1976.