

UNION PACIFIC RAILROAD DEPOT

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Historic Context

A transcontinental railroad, uniting both Atlantic and Pacific coasts, was long a national dream in America. The concept was under discussion for nearly as long as there were railroads in this country. England introduced the world's first railroad in 1825, and Americans were quick to adopt the new technology. Within two years, the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad had laid the longest track in the world, 133 miles from Charleston to Hamburg, South Carolina, the first important US rail line. By 1840 some 3,328 miles of railroad ran through the larger Atlantic states, eventually surpassing canals and rivers as the country's predominant means of transportation. As the Eastern lines developed, talk of a transcontinental railroad to link with the West Coast heated up during the 1840s. After the war with Mexico and the acquisition of the western United States, the notion picked up new momentum. By the late 1850s, as steam revolutionized transportation technology of all kinds, the railroad "came of age as the major instrument of transportation."¹

As early as 1845, Asa Whitney, New York businessman and China trader, had lobbied Congress—unsuccessfully, as it turned out—to subsidize just such a venture. "To the interior of our vast and widely spread country," he stated, "it would be as the heart to the human body; it would, when all completed, cross all the mighty rivers and streams which wend their way to the ocean through our vast and rich valleys from Oregon to Maine, a distance of more than three thousand miles."² Following the discovery of gold in California four years later, Congress generally agreed with Whitney that a transcontinental rail link was needed. Unfortunately the groundswell of public enthusiasm for a transcontinental line coincided with a rise of sectional antagonism between North and South. By the time Congress acknowledged the necessity of the railroad, no one could agree upon a route. The path the railroad would take was the subject of partisan bickering among various Congressional factions. The combatants were only temporarily pacified by a series of surveys undertaken by the army in 1853-1854 to determine the most feasible course to the Pacific. The Secretary of War in 1855 presented four viable routes: from Lake Superior to Portland; over the Overland Trail to San Francisco; along the Red River to southern California; and across southern Texas to San Diego.

Southerners objected strongly to any northern route, and during the 1850s decision-making about a transcontinental railroad reached a stalemate. The outbreak of the Civil War and Southern secession eventually broke the impasse. With Congress now controlled by Northerners, the first transcontinental railway would take a northerly route. The most favorable northern route originated at Council Bluffs, Iowa, and roughly paralleled the Overland Trail along the Platte River and across southern Wyoming. The relatively gentle grades of this route made it much more enticing to engineers than other routes to the north and south.

The "Big Four"—Leland Stanford, Collis Huntington, Mark Hopkins and Charles Crocker—provided the private finan-

¹The quotation is from Taylor. It is not known when the first idea for the transcontinental railroad occurred. In 1832 an anonymous writer in *The Emigrant*, a paper published in Ann Arbor, Michigan, proposed the idea. Robert Riegel writes that so many people took credit for the first idea of a transcontinental railroad that it became a frequent topic of after-dinner conversation by men during the mid-19th century. George Rogers Taylor, *The Transportation Revolution, 1815-1860*, Vol. IV, *The Economic History of the United States* (New York: Rinehart & Company, 1951), 75-76, 79, 102; James E. Vance, *The North American Railroad* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995), 148, 151, 155-157; Robert Edgar Riegel, *The Story of the Western Railroads* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1926), 14-16.

²Asa Whitney, *Railroad from Lake Michigan to the Pacific: Memorial of Asa Whitney, of New York City, relative to The construction of a railroad from Lake Michigan to the Pacific ocean* (1845), 28 Congress, 2nd Session, 1-4. Whitney argued that such a railroad would have inestimable value in controlling the Pacific coast and in shipping people and goods across the country and across the ocean to China. "Each state and every town would receive its just proportion of influence and benefits compared with its vicinity to, or facility to communicate with, any of the rivers, canals, or railroads crossed by this great road." He argued for the railroad's potential contribution to the Jeffersonian agrarian ideal, stating that immigrant farmers from Europe who settled along the route would "escape the tempting vices of our cities, have a home with their associates and labor from their own soil and not only produce their daily bread but, in time, an affluence of which they could never have dreamed in their native land."

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cial reserves and administrative ability to transform the idea to reality. They commissioned Theodore Judah, a practiced engineer and energetic promoter, to present their plan to Congress. On July 1, 1862, the partnership succeeded, as Congress passed the Pacific Railway Act. The legislation called for two companies to build and operate the road. The Central Pacific, chartered by the Big Four, would bridge the Sierra Nevada; the Union Pacific, chartered by Congress, would build westward from Council Bluffs, Iowa, across the Rocky Mountains, to join with the Central Pacific.³

The Union Pacific incorporated in July 1862 in Boston, with Oliver Ames as its first president. His brother, Oakes Ames, would serve as director of Credit Mobilier, the corporation charged with actual construction of the railroad. Grenville Dodge, a major in the Civil War and congressman from Iowa, would function as the railroad's Chief Engineer. The cost to build the transcontinental railroad would be staggering—far beyond the capacity of private industry to bear. To help finance the construction, each company was assured liberal government subsidies, receiving grants of twenty alternate sections of land for each mile of track laid. This included the odd-numbered tracts in a strip forty miles wide, twenty miles on either side of the track.⁴ Additionally, Congress authorized 6 percent loans, on a second-mortgage basis, of \$16,000 for each mile built over flat terrain, \$32,000 per mile in the foothills, and \$48,000 in the mountains. The transcontinental project was made even more appealing by the inclusion of mineral rights grants. By the time the line was completed in 1869, the companies had received nearly \$27 million, or one-half the legitimate cost of construction.

Although the US Army had reconnoitered a route seven years earlier, the exact line of both railroads was still undetermined. Grenville Dodge was responsible for mapping the Union Pacific's route west from Omaha. His route generally followed the route delineated by Capt. Howard Stansbury in 1849, paralleling the Platte River Road—used by the Oregon, California and Overland trails—across Nebraska. Rather than dropping down along the South Platte to Denver to capture the mineral-rich Colorado territory, Dodge routed the line across windswept southern Wyoming to tap known coal resources and avoid the most rugged part of the Rocky Mountain chain. To provide ready water sources for the railroad's locomotives, he largely kept to the Platte River, Lodge Pole Creek, Rock Creek, Bitter Creek and Bear River drainages across the territory.

Early in July 1865 a small group of workers began laying track for the Union Pacific in the Missouri River mud flats above Omaha. But the Civil War hampered construction of both the Union Pacific and Central Pacific. The CP had begun tracklaying in October 1863 and had laid some 35 miles during the war. By the end of 1865 the UP had laid only about 40 miles of track in eastern Nebraska. At war's end, however, the Union Pacific—now flush from the first Congressional grant money—could resume construction in earnest. Thomas Durant, an experienced railroad manager, was given responsibility for overseeing the railroad's construction. In February 1866 Durant contracted with brothers and Civil War officers Jack and Dan Casement to supervise the actual tracklaying. By agreement, the Casements would make no more than a mile per day, unless Durant ordered them to slow to half speed. For this they would be paid \$750 per mile. The railroad would provide locomotives, ties and rails, water, and undercarriages for special rail cars that the Casements would construct themselves. "Casement has contracted for tracklaying," Durant telegraphed an assistant in Omaha. "Will probably want our men. Aid him in building boarding cars. Make arrangements to furnish 3,500 ties per day after river opens."⁵

³The railroad's location was not the only disputed issue. With several different gauges then in use around the country, the issue of the measurement between the rails became a point of contention. After enactment of the Pacific Railway legislation, President Lincoln decreed that the proposed line would employ a five-foot gauge, then the standard in the West, but Congress overrode his decision in response to Northern political backers, and defined the standard gauge as 4'- 8½". This has been the national standard since.

⁴The land grant proved extraordinarily lucrative for the Union Pacific, totaling some 4.5 million acres of land in Wyoming alone. Further, it allowed the railroad to establish strategic towns along the route on its own land, selling town lots through a subsidiary corporation at an enormous premium.

⁵Quoted in David Bain, *Empire Express: Building the First Transcontinental Railroad* (New York: Penguin Book, 1999), 255.

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The Casements spent the spring gearing up for the construction season—building their four enormous rail cars, stockpiling materials, lining up laborers from among the Civil War veterans then pouring into town for work. “Could get plenty of men here if I was ready to go to work,” Jack Casement wrote, “We will have lots of hard driving to do if they can get the Iron fast enough.” Construction finally got underway on April 6, with men laying the rails at the end of the existing tracks west of Omaha.

The Casements soon developed a system to maximize the crews’ efficiency. Typically, surveyors would demark a hundred-mile right-of-way, which would then be graded with the construction of cuts, fills and bridges, as needed. Gangs of track layers followed, comprised of tie-men, rail-men, screwers, spikers and gandy dancers. “Thirty seconds to a rail for each gang, and so four rails down a minute,” one reporter wrote. “Close behind the first gang came the gaugers, spikers and bolters, and a lively time they made of it. It is a grand Anvil Chorus that those sturdy sledges are playing across the plains. It is in triple time, three strokes to a spike. There are ten spikes to a rail, 400 rails to a mile.”⁶ In this manner 240 miles of track were laid down across the Nebraska plains in 1866 at an average of 1¾ miles per day. “It is hard to realise that so great a distance may be accomplished in so short a time,” reported the *New York Times*.⁷

The Casement brothers contended with considerable construction obstacles posed by the High Plains. All materials had to be transported over vast distances to the uninhabited region—trees from the mountains for ties and bridge timbers, stone from the quarries of Wisconsin and rails from the forges of Pennsylvania. With the Union Pacific and the Central Pacific each being paid by the mile of completed track, competition rapidly developed. This competition carried with it tremendous stakes, and the pistol-wielding Casements pushed construction relentlessly. They worked their crews long into the evenings and paid triple wages for Sunday work. Graders and teamsters typically made \$2.50 per day; spikers, \$3.00; iron workers, \$3.50. The men were housed in three of the 85-foot-long, four-story boarding cars. The fourth car housed equipment, a butcher’s shop, a bakery and an office for the Casements. Each man paid \$20 per month for board, which consisted of a vermin-infested bed and an unvarying diet of beefsteak, bread and coffee. There was little for off-shift laborers to do but sleep, drink and gamble.

By coordinating materials shipments and synchronizing the ways that twelve-man gangs moved and placed the rails, the brothers were able to increase progress from one mile per day in 1865 to six or seven miles by 1869. Such haste had its cost, though, as the crews shaved corners from accepted construction practice. The roadbed was largely unballasted, the bridges were often structurally suspect, the grades were the maximum allowed by law, and the ties were generally untreated and frequently of inferior quality. Most of the line across Nebraska would have to be replaced soon after its completion due to its inferior quality. But with government subsidies tied to completed trackage, this was of secondary importance. The Union Pacific roared across Nebraska and into Wyoming.

Building across most of Nebraska, the UP crews had only to contend with construction-related hardships and difficulties. From the western part of the state onward, however, they faced an additional danger: hostile Indians. The Pacific Railroad Act had called for the establishment of an army post at the eastern slope of the Rocky Mountains to provide a military escort for the construction workers. This fort would function as one of a series of outposts along the railroad from which troops would patrol the region. On July 4, 1867, with the railroad construction crew at Julesburg, Colorado, Grenville Dodge met with Gen. C.C. Augur at the point where the railroad would cross Crow Creek to determine the best location for the proposed post and supply depot. Dodge preferred a site close to the settlement rapidly developing in the railroad’s path. Augur wanted to place the fort near timber some fourteen miles away. They eventually agreed on the Crow Creek site. The railroad named the nascent town Cheyenne, after the Indian tribe; the army named the post Fort D.A. Russell, after Gen. David A. Russell, killed in the Civil War. Troops of the 13th Infantry

⁶W.A. Bell, “Pacific Railroads,” *Forthnightly Review*, May 1869, 572-573.

⁷As quoted in Maury Klein, *Union Pacific: The Birth of a Railroad: 1862-1893* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Company, 1987), 137.

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soon began building the new post in anticipation of the railroad's arrival.

Nearly a thousand men strong, the Casement Army reached Cheyenne on November 13, 1867. "A vast assemblage of citizens and railroad men convened to celebrate the occasion of the advent of the U.P.R.R.," the *Cheyenne Leader* cheered. "The large transparency near the speakers' stand bore the motto: 'The Magic City greets the continental railway.'"⁸ What the railroad crew found here was a fully developed town with a population of some 4,000 people, two daily newspapers, over 200 businesses and a functioning town government. The town had been surveyed within a week of Dodge's visit in July and lots sold by the Union Pacific's land company. The initial residences and businesses were housed in tents, shanties, adobes and prefabricated buildings that had been erected, dismantled and re-erected at different locations as the railroad moved westward. Cheyenne typified the end-of-tracks towns that followed the railroad's progress. City lots that had initially sold for \$150 had burgeoned to as much as \$2000 in the speculative boom. All manners of vice could be obtained from the scores of saloons, gambling houses and brothels that had sprung up literally overnight.

Grenville Dodge himself had predicted that the town would be a "second hell," but he also foresaw a more lasting legacy for the teeming community. "Government alone will build up here a large town," he wrote in July, "as it is to be the depot for all posts north and south and also the distributing point for all points in Colorado. . . [The Union Pacific] shall also build a large workshop, machine shops, round houses, etc."⁹ The UP's plans for Cheyenne buoyed the more sober-minded businessmen in town, but as the railroad workers rolled in that November afternoon there was celebrating to do. As the *Leader* reported, the reception was joyous:

Our citizens swarmed along the grade, and watched with most intense delight and enthusiasm, the magic work of track-laying. The hearty greeting we all gave this gigantic enterprise, so rapidly approaching, was too deep and full for expression. There was no shouting and cheering, but one full tide of joy that sprung from the deep and heartfelt appreciation of the grandeur of the occasion and the enterprise, and that bright future now dawning on the remote regions of the far west. . . All honor to the country that projects, and the managers that carry forward this magnificent thoroughfare, that links the remotest cities and States, or our glorious Union, in stronger fraternal bonds and further, at the same time, all their social, moral and natural interests.¹⁰

Cheyenne, located some 512 miles west of Omaha, was one of numerous settlements springing up along the railroad's length. At intervals of between twelve to fifteen miles along the tracks, the railroad established stations. Some consisted of no more than a pile of wood and water tank for the steam locomotives. Others employed frame shacks to house the company's freight and passenger facilities. Division points, more distantly spaced, contained eating houses, stores, saloons and shops. The end of the line and the eventual Rocky Mountain headquarters for the UP, Cheyenne received an extensive stone roundhouse and several maintenance shops. As the rails moved westward, towns sprang up along the route to service the needs of the laborers. The unsavory nature of these temporary settlements was legendary. North Platte, Nebraska, was a product of the railroad, populated briefly by some 5,000 souls "having a good time, gambling, drinking and shooting each other." Julesburg, further down the line, was one of the worst of the hell-on-wheels towns, described by Dodge as "a much harder place than North Platte." In June 1867, before the rails arrived, Julesburg housed 40 men and a woman. Six weeks later, after the first train pulled into town, the population had burgeoned to over 4,000 and was known as the "Wickedest City in America." As described by one correspondent:

⁸*Cheyenne Leader*, 16 November 1867.

⁹As quoted in Mark Junge, "Union Pacific Depot," National Register of Historic Places Inventory—Nomination Form, February 1972.

¹⁰"The Arrival of the U.P.R.R.," *Cheyenne Leader*, 14 November 1867.

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Julesburg continues to grow with magic rapidity and vice and crime stalk unblushingly in the midday sun. General Augur and staff returned here last Friday evening and nothing would do but they must see the town by gas light. I sent for Dan Casement to pilot us. The first place that we visited was a dance house, where a fresh importation of strumpets had been received. The hall was crowded with bad men and lewd women, Such profanity, vulgarity and indecency as was heard and seen there would disgust a more hardened person than I. The next place visited was a gambling hell where all games of chance were being played. Men excited with drink and dally were recklessly staking their last dollar on the turn of a card or the throw of the dice. Women were cajoling and coaxing the tipsy men to stake their money on various games; the pockets were shrewdly picked by the fallen women or the more sober of the crowd.¹¹

When a group of gamblers contested the platting of Julesburg by squatting on town lots, Dodge sent in Jack Casement and a contingent of his tracklaying crew to restore order. Casement's men set upon the squatters, opening fire on them indiscriminately. Later Casement showed Dodge the town cemetery and said, "They all died in their boots and Julesburg has been quiet since." Many of the hell-on-wheels towns no longer remain, lasting no longer than it took the railroad to move westward to the next division point.

The construction crew made it as far as Granite Canyon, a station twenty miles beyond Cheyenne, before shutting down for the winter. Prospects for the Union Pacific looked promising. The railroad had accrued \$3.8 million in government subsidies for 1867. Government business, commercial freight hauling and land sales had netted about \$2 million. The Union Pacific was operating regular service over its 517-mile length between Omaha and Cheyenne. As most of the workers laid off by the Casements returned to winter over in Cheyenne, the contractors were stockpiling materials for the more challenging mountain segments that lay ahead in southern Wyoming. Despite the outlook of heavy construction, beginning with the immense Dale Creek Viaduct, the UP directors were predicting that 350 miles would be built in 1868.

The winter of 1867-1868 was relatively mild in Wyoming. Late that winter crews began working on the railroad in advance of the tracks, as far west as Fort Sanders near the future site of Laramie. The trestle bents were completed for the Dale Creek Viaduct, and the L.B. Boomer Bridge Works had begun shipping chords for the truss superstructure. Ties were being stacked along the route in anticipation of the tracklaying that would resume shortly. Work resumed in earnest in March; by April 5 the men had passed the Sherman station, the highest point on the Union Pacific line. Two weeks later, they laid tracks across the newly completed Dale Creek Viaduct. With a length of 707 feet and a height of 127 above the streambed, it was the highest railroad bridge in the world at the time of its construction. The Boomer Bridge works had used timbers cut in Michigan to fabricate the combination trusses in their Chicago plant for a cost of some \$200,000. Later that month the tracks reached Laramie, the site of Fort Sanders, a military post established to provide protection for the railroad crews. At Laramie the railroad quickly built a roundhouse and maintenance facility similar to Cheyenne's. According to historian David Bain:

Before the tracks were run past the new station at Laramie, a tent town had sprung up on the riverbank, populated by speculators and entrepreneurs and other fast-buck artists. On auction day, the railroad men could barely record the sales quickly enough. Some four hundred plots were sold within a few days at prices ranging from \$25 to \$260, and in another ten days no fewer than five hundred shacks had been slapped together. The first regular passenger train would ease its way slowly over the new, raw mountain grades on May 9, its coaches raucous with saloon keepers, gamblers, peddlers, tradesmen, brothel owners and their "prairie flowers," the flatcars spilling over with all of their various paraphernalia and with

towering stacks of dismantled building sections. Hell on Wheels had advanced a little farther into the

¹¹As quoted in David Haward Bain, *Empire Express*, 380.

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West.¹²

That spring and summer the Casements' crew pushed steadily northward and westward from Laramie, making about three miles per day. On July 21, 1868, the rails passed through the newly established town of Carbon, the Union Pacific's first coal town, before passing through Fort Fred Streele, another railroad-based military post. A week later the rails had reached Benton, dubiously named after Missouri senator Thomas Hart Benton, an infamous hell-on-wheels town described by Jack Casement as "the meanest place I have ever been in." In August the railroad built another roundhouse and maintenance facility at Rawlins. The Casement army pressed grimly westward from there, though the Red Desert, reaching Rock Springs in October. As the tracks approached Green River, a squatters' town sprang up alongside the site where the railroad built a temporary bridge over the river. Grenville Dodge noted that the town was situated in the bottomland near the river and would certainly be flooded during high water. Rather than rout out the speculators as he did at Julesburg, he instead sited the railroad's roundhouse complex at Bryan, some twelve miles west of Green River, and the town picked up and moved to the railroad's new division point.¹³ From Bryan the tracks stretched to Granger, the junction of the Oregon and Overland trails.

As winter began to descend in November 1868, the construction army angled southwest from the Red Desert toward Utah. Near the southwest corner of Wyoming Territory, the railroad located the Evanston station, named after Division Engineer James A. Evans, who had been responsible for much of the surveying on the line. Camp followers expected the Union Pacific to establish a division point here. By the time the first locomotive steamed into the fledgling town on December 16, 1868, some 600 people were settling in for the winter. General Williamson, who was responsible for laying out towns along the UP, had platted Evanston along the Bear River. But Dodge surprised the settlers again by locating the division shops, not at Evanston, but at Wasatch, eleven miles west in Utah Territory. "Machine shops of wood were hastily constructed," stated historian Elizabeth Stone, "so-called 'rag-houses' of canvas and wood were hurriedly put up, and two thousand people flocked in."¹⁴ Here the railroad closed down for the winter. Wasatch, at an elevation of 6,000 feet, was bitterly cold, prompting one wag to comment that coffee spilled in his saucer would freeze before he could pour it back into his cup. Work on the railroad resumed early the following March, as the railroad pushed westward across northern Utah.

On May 10, 1869, a small coterie of workers and officials watched the driving of the ceremonial golden spikes at Promontory, Utah. Americans from coast to coast recognized this moment for the watershed event that it was. "It is," stated editor Samuel Bowles at the time, "the unrolling of a new map, a revelation of a new empire, the creation of a new civilization." The economic importance of the transcontinental railroad could hardly be overstated. The slender steel strand represented a symbolic joining of East and West—at a critical time for a nation still deeply divided following the Civil War—and a coming of age for the country, politically, technologically, economically and socially. The *Cheyenne Leader* captured the national euphoria:

Human language is inadequate to portray, in proper shape, the magnitude and importance of the work just completed. Even imagination is weak in its conceptions of the grandeur of results which shall unfold, in full and immediate realization of untold benefits to humanity. The driving of the last spike of the Pacific Railroads has not only united with indissoluble bonds of friendship the two extremes of our own land, but has inaugurated a revolution in the commerce of the entire globe. . . Throughout our entire Union the electric chime of joyous bells, and the simultaneous boom of rejoicing cannons, in strangely concordant symphony, proclaimed, with each stroke of the silver hammer on the last golden spike at Promontory Point, the triumph of Peace over War—of mind over matter. With the increased facilities for commercial

¹²David Haward Bain, 478.

¹³Bryan proved to be less than suitable for a maintenance facility, due to a lack of available water. By 1872 the Union Pacific had moved its complex back to Green River.

¹⁴Elizabeth Arnold Stone, *Uinta County: Its Place in History* (Laramie, Wyoming: Laramie Printing Co., 1924), 85.

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intercourse, thus afforded the sons of men, have we not reason to believe rapid strides have been made towards the millennium promised to man?¹⁵

The linking of the Union Pacific and the Central Pacific in remote Utah has been likened by historians to the signing of the Declaration of Independence in terms of historical significance. Certainly the railroad was pivotally important to Wyoming. The Union Pacific brought a series of towns to Wyoming where none had existed previously. In peculiarly American fashion, the railroad formed the leading edge of development, as railroad-created towns were established in advance of outlying rural settlement. Agriculture and mining soon followed, once the means to ship large, cumbersome loads—cattle, ore, machinery—was in place. As the previously inaccessible region became accessible, population grew and other infrastructural elements—wagon roads, stores, churches and schools, government, social order—soon developed in and around the nexuses formed by the railroad towns.

Wyoming, with its rich mineral resources and abundant grazing lands, was primed for development by the Union Pacific. Once a part of Dakota Territory, Wyoming was granted territorial status of its own as the railroad construction had progressed halfway across the territory in 1868. At that time close to 20,000 Anglos lived here—most of them transient railroad workers—a substantial increase over the hundreds that populated the territory only shortly before.¹⁶ The Union Pacific provided a tremendous impetus for future social and economic growth of Wyoming and the Rocky Mountain West. Pioneers who had previously passed through the region could now be assured materials and supplies needed for existence and be guaranteed a ready outlet for their products. The transcontinental railroad virtually transformed the West.

For the nascent community of Cheyenne, the self-proclaimed “Magic City of the Plains,” the railroad represented a powerful economic engine. Cheyenne was “a creation of the U.P.R.R.,” stated the *Leader*, “and by the acts of that corporation does she stand or fall.”¹⁷ The Union Pacific employed scores of full-time laborers here and supported numerous secondary businesses. Cheyenne, on the basis of the railroad and military presence, had been designated the territorial capital, with its attendant government payroll. Additionally, Fort D.A. Russell and the Camp Carlin supply center had developed into the most important military post in the Rocky Mountain region. As a result, Cheyenne grew into the territory’s largest city, even after losing half its population when the railroad construction crew and the hangers-on moved down the line. Located roughly midway along the Union Pacific’s length at the eastern edge of the Laramie Range, Cheyenne represented a strategic division point for the railroad. Soon after the tracks reached town in 1867, the UP had designated Cheyenne as its principal depot and maintenance yard in the Rockies.

To accommodate these repair facilities, the UP built several wood frame shops and a twenty-stall roundhouse and turntable. The stone masonry roundhouse, characterized as “elegantly designed” by one chronicler, was Cheyenne’s first

¹⁵“Victory,” *Cheyenne Leader*, 14 May 1869.

¹⁶Historian Robert Athearn summarized the impact upon Wyoming made by the Union Pacific:

The route west was old , but the means of travel was new, and those who followed the rails had high hopes exploiting Wyoming resources hitherto denied them because of transportation costs. (In 1868) the commissioner of the General Land Office spoke of iron, coal, gold, forests, grazing lands, soda deposits, and medicinal springs in his annual report. All these resources were now more promising because of their sudden nearness to more populated portions of the nation. Before it had penetrated Wyoming even halfway, the Union Pacific had spawned a new western territory and had changed the political map of the United States.

Robert G. Athearn, *Union Pacific Country* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1971), 66.

¹⁷“The U.P.R.R.,” *Cheyenne Leader*, 15 February 1868.

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permanent structure.¹⁸ The nearby depot, in contrast, was as prosaic as the engine house was elegant. A modestly scaled, single-story, wood frame building constructed in 1867 from a standard design, it featured a simple rectangular footprint and a side-gabled roof. The station's board-and-batten siding and wood-shingled roof earmarked the building as utilitarian, rather than inspirational. It housed a telegraph and express office on one side and a ticket office and waiting room on the other. Situated immediately east of the depot was the Pacific House, a two-story hotel and eating house also built by the railroad in 1868. Like the depot, it featured wood-frame construction and an uncomplicated roofline.

Cheyenne grew incrementally in the 1870s and early 1880s, alternately prospering and suffering—along with the railroad—in response to national economic cycles. The rail yards expanded gradually, as the UP built more offices and shops over time. In 1879 the railroad eliminated the men's waiting room in the depot and expanded the ticket office and women's waiting room. Few wanted to wait inside the shabby building anyway, preferring to stand in the hotel lobby or outside on the platform. With its rough construction and poorly maintained grounds, the station had by this time become a disgrace to the city. "When the train brought me to your depot," one traveler wrote in 1881, "though I felt an abiding interest in the welfare of your city and people, yet I could not help but remarking to myself, how coldly barren the neighborhood of your depot appeared."¹⁹

The Union Pacific building suffered in comparison with the stations that other railroads had more recently built in Cheyenne. Embarrassed, Cheyenne civic groups began to push for a more ostentatious passenger depot to replace the original frame structure still being used. In June 1885 the *Cheyenne Sun* stated that the old depot had given the city a black eye, stating, "In a business sense, the railroad has no depot." The *Sun's* editor urged the Cheyenne Merchants' Association to lobby UP President Charles Adams for a new facility:

It should be pointed out to President Adams that building of a new depot would encourage many gentlemen who own cattle and have other interests in the territory to build substantial and handsome residences. It could be a profitable situation, if the Railroad would devote half the money it received from Cheyenne in a month, to building a depot.²⁰

That year the railroad erected a new freight depot a hundred yards west of the passenger station. A large single-story frame structure, it featured expanded facilities for freight handling. But the new building did little to mollify a city clamoring for improved passenger facilities. By the 1880s the "principal depot" that the Union Pacific had promised in 1868 had still not materialized. With the first impression given to visitors a run-down shack, there was little magic in the Magic City of the Plains.

In December 1885 Governor Francis Warren received word that Adams had approved the design for a "large and handsome" new passenger depot at Cheyenne.²¹ The design, according to railroad officials, had been under

¹⁸Robert Darwin, *Union Pacific in Cheyenne: A Pictorial Odyssey to the Mecca of Steam* (Carmel Valley, CA: Express Press Limited, 1987), 7.

¹⁹As quoted in Bess Arnold and James L. Ehrenberger, *Union Pacific Depot: An Elegant Legacy to Cheyenne*. (Cheyenne, Wyoming: Challenger Press, 2001), 10.

²⁰"Our New Depot," *Cheyenne Daily Sun*, 14 June 1885.

²¹"A New Depot," *Cheyenne Sun*, 20 December 1885. The newspaper described the proposed building:

In the second story were to be the offices of the division superintendent and telegraphers. The waiting room, ticket offices, baggage room and express office were all to be of spacious proportions. The building was to be heated with steam. One very desirable feature was the plan for entrances on the city side, provision to be made by a large awning for conveyances and a walk leading in the waiting room door for pedestrians. Both railroad men and the public will appreciate the new depot and THE SUN rejoices with everyone else.

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consideration for a long time, and, with the decision to build the depot now made, construction would begin without delay. It is not known what had motivated Union Pacific to build the structure almost twenty years after having promised it. It seems unlikely that the railroad was responding to the entreaties of the Merchants' Association lobbyists, no matter how convincing. One theory is that UP Director Fred Ames used his influence to push the depot to show appreciation to Warren for having guarded the railroad's property during labor and racial disputes in the coal mines of western Wyoming. Whatever the reason, the proposed depot would be the grandest west of Omaha. It was much more ostentatious than the railroad could justify for a city the size of Cheyenne. According to the railroad, the new building would be a substantial two-story structure, featuring brick walls trimmed with stone. It would cost in the neighborhood of \$100,000 to build and furnish. To design it, the UP had commissioned the architectural firm of Van Brunt & Howe.

In hiring the prestigious New England architects to design his depot, Adams and the UP directors were selecting a known quantity. Born in Boston in 1832, Henry Van Brunt had attended the Boston Latin School and Harvard. In college he studied intensely and sketched and wrote almost constantly, memorizing the classical orders of architecture from Joseph Gwilt's *Civil Architecture of Sir William Chambers* and writing erudite architectural critiques in his journals. "The constructive part of architecture, although it does not have so attractive an appeal in my eyes (as does the decorative part) obtains from me much study and attention. My progress in this department is necessarily slow and tedious," he wrote in April 1854. "I desire very much to become acclimated to the architect's office, and the further I proceed the more I see the necessity to examine with my own eyes the architectural monuments of Europe."²² Van Brunt traveled to Europe only at the end of his career, providing a provincialism that would color his architectural philosophy.

Van Brunt graduated from Harvard in 1854 and took a position with Boston architect George Snell. There he learned the English school of architecture but, apparently, little else. After three stultifying years under Shell, he moved to New York to work under noted architect Richard Morris Hunt. Van Brunt and four other apprentices studied Beaux Arts classicism in Hunt's atelier, marking the "founding of serious architectural training in the United States," according to Van Brunt's biographer, William Coles. Van Brunt described the atmosphere in Hunt's atelier floridly:

Thus we together entered upon an era so rich, so full of surprise and delight, that it seems, as we look back upon it, as if once more in the world the joy of the Renaissance, the white light of knowledge had broken in upon the superstition of romance. To us it was a revelation and an enlargement of vision so sudden and complete that the few years spent by us in that stimulating atmosphere were the most memorable and eventful in life.²³

During the Civil War Van Brunt served in the navy in 1861-1862. A year later he and one of his fellow apprentices, William Robert Ware, established their own practice in Boston. Ware and Van Brunt rapidly became one of the most prestigious and respected firms in the East. The partners formed an atelier in their own office, similar to Hunt's, where they directed the education of fledgling designers. When the Massachusetts Institute of Technology decided to start the first school of architecture in the US in 1865, Ware was named its first director. As a partner in the firm, Van Brunt was responsible for the design of the First Unitarian Church in Boston, the Mudge Memorial Church in Lynn, Massachusetts, the library at the University of Michigan, and the Episcopal Theological School at Cambridge. The *Architectural Review* praised his work, stating: "There are houses on Beacon St., Boston, quiet brown houses, unassertive, but with mouldings so well adjusted, openings and walls so well proportioned that they are grateful to the eye, and they are Mr. Van Brunt's work; and upon entering those houses it will be found that there is a distinction both of plan and attack."²⁴

²²As quoted in William A. Coles, ed. *Architecture and Society: Selected Essays of Henry Van Brunt* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Belknap Press, 1969), 9.

²³*Ibid.*, 12.

²⁴Bainbridge Bunting, *Houses of Boston's Back Bay* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Belknap Press, 1967).

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Without question the firm's most noteworthy commission was Memorial Hall at Harvard, which has been recognized as one of the landmark examples in America of the High Victorian Gothic style.²⁵ When William Ware left the firm in 1881 to head the Columbia School of Architecture, Van Brunt formed a partnership with former assistant Frank Howe. The two continued to practice in Boston as Van Brunt and Howe, employing a wide range of architectural styles for a variety of commissions.

Van Brunt was a classicist and a purist, but he also valued original interpretation of classical forms. He espoused scholarly study of historic architecture and disdained eclecticism. In addition he was concerned about the development of an American style of architecture, distinct from its European counterparts. Many of the popular styles of the time, he argued, failed to capture the robust spirit of the country:

The Greek revival of the last century, the Gothic revival of the first half of the present century, the late revival, improperly called, of the Queen Anne style, and all the various subordinate revivals which, meanwhile, have arisen and fallen apparently as illogically as fashions in costume, have failed, because they were revivals of perfected styles, incapable of further progression; they were quotations, admirable for their archaeological correctness, and for the skill with which they were adapted to modern uses. But they infused no new life into modern architecture, and failed to arouse public attention.²⁶

In the 1880s Van Brunt's buildings began to reflect the influence of fellow architect and close friend Henry Hobson Richardson, who is generally regarded as one of the three greatest American architects (along with Louis Sullivan and Frank Lloyd Wright). Richardson had first introduced his distinctive architectural style in 1872 with the Trinity Church in Boston. He quickly developed an architectural vocabulary that combined forms and surfaces from the Italian vernacular with a robust treatment that was distinctively American. The Richardsonian Romanesque eschewed the smooth surfaces and vertical planes of its predecessors in favor of more richly textured wall finishes and a horizontal emphasis. His buildings epitomized massiveness, with their heavy stone masonry and deep reveals for the window and door openings. Romanesque round arches appeared everywhere, often with contrasting stone quoins and voussoirs. Columns tended to be short and stubby with massive capitals. In contrast with the horizontal lines of their eaves and masonry joints, most Richardsonian Romanesque buildings featured some sort of vertical projection, either in the form of a tower or prominently placed wall dormers.

Although this successful application of style was immediately recognized by the architectural profession, it was so self-assured and so singular that during the 1880s Richardson himself was almost its sole practitioner. After his death in 1886, however, others began borrowing his style as their own. "While he was living and practising architecture," Montgomery Schuyler stated in 1891, "architects who regarded themselves as in any degree his rivals were naturally loth to introduce in a design dispositions or features or details, of which the suggestion plainly came from him. Since his death has 'extinguished envy' and ended rivalry, the admiration his work excited has been free to express itself either in

²⁵Noted architectural historian Marcus Whiffen cited Van Brunt's Harvard Memorial Hall as one of the major monuments of the style, calling it "more than a little ecclesiastical in appearance." Marcus Whiffen, *American Architecture Since 1780: A Guide to the Styles* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1969), 91. Memorial Hall was listed as a National Historic Landmark in 1970.

²⁶Henry Van Brunt, "Henry Hobson Richardson, Architect." *Atlantic Monthly* 58:349 (November 1886), 686. Van Brunt, in a cautionary note for 21st century architects, also criticized the rapidity with which architects of the time flirted with one style after another, without the proper knowledge of the styles' origins:

The constant desire for new things has made architecture extremely sensitive to impressions and hints. Every successful building is the parent of a score of imitations, not in its neighborhood only, but in distant places, sporadically all over the Union. For the publication of designs is prompt, and every architect has in his hands duly every new expression of form. Thus we have had and are having a succession of little fashions, contemporaneous, overlapping, intermingling, dying out, and coming into vogue, the duration of each being in proportion to the strength of the original impulse. We have imitations of imitations, the quality of each varying according to the training of the practitioner, and, as a general rule, deteriorating according to its distance from the original revival or invention.

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direct imitation or in the adoption and elaboration of the suggestion his work furnished.”²⁷ Henry Van Brunt, the architect for the Cheyenne Depot, was a close friend of Richardson and one of Richardson’s most ardent supporters. He eloquently argued for the Romanesque style as a distinctively American architectural expression—a counterpoint to the European revival styles then commonly built in this country. In an essay in *Atlantic Weekly*, written as he was working on the Cheyenne Depot, Van Brunt described some the style’s most distinctive features:

If there are any prevailing characteristics in the best architectural work of the present day in this country, they consist of the free use of heavy Romanesque forms from the south of France: low-brow round arches, stone mullions and transoms, wide-spreading gables, severe sky-lines, apsidal projections, rounded angles, and towers with low, pointed domical roofs; a great wealth of carving, where the work is rich; a general aspect of heaviness and strength, frequently degenerating into an affectation of rudeness. Columns are short and stumpy, and capitals show Byzantine influence. Colonnades and arcades of windows are frequent, and all are free from the trammels of classicism. The new fashion has, for the moment, driven aspiration and lightness as well as precision and correctness out of the market.²⁸

Van Brunt called Richardson “one of the most interesting, and perhaps one of the most remarkable personalities, in the history of American architecture.” When Richardson died in April 1886 at the age of 47, Van Brunt wrote an obituary in *Atlantic Monthly* that included a critique of American architecture. “It is the fate of most modern buildings,” he scolded, “not less of the most scholarly and correct among them than of the most vernacular and commonplace—that they have failed to excite public interest.” Van Brunt saw the Richardsonian Romanesque style as an antidote to the copying of historic European building forms then commonplace in American practice.²⁹ He admired Richardson’s bold forms and robust detailing, and he particularly respected the manner in which Richardson adapted a historical revival to fit modern tastes and needs. He felt that Richardson’s interpretation of the Romanesque style represented the best hope for an American architectural idiom. In March 1886, as he was preparing for construction of the Cheyenne Depot, he wrote:

A new style of architecture—a style in the sense of the great historical styles, as those of Greek, Roman, Byzantine, Romanesque, mediaeval Saracenic, and early Renaissance periods—is impossible. But good architecture *is* possible. The progress of architectural knowledge has already begun to enable us to have our own revivals, and the experiments we are trying in this respect, being free from the prejudices of patriotic sentiment which I believe to be a serious hindrance to the advance of English art, are curious and not without promise. Among these minor revivals, that of the Romanesque forms of Auvergne, in which the vigorous round arches, the robust columns, the strong capitals, and the rich but semi-barbaric sculpture are tempered with reminiscences of the finer Roman art, is at the moment the most interesting and perhaps the most promising.³⁰

²⁷As quoted in Marcus Whiffen, 137.

²⁸Henry Van Brunt, “Henry Hobson Richardson, Architect.” *Atlantic Monthly* 58:349 (November 1886), 686.

²⁹*Ibid.*, 689. Van Brunt states:

Richardson’s works, wherever placed, have in some ways made an impression upon the public mind. They have always surprised, and generally pleased, all who look upon them. They have aroused discussion outside the closed areopagus of the profession. To discover the cause of such a phenomenon and rightly to profit by this unusual experience would make architecture at length a living art in our land. Its professors have but to gain their public by their works, and the *reform* has begun. Reform is better than any revival, however learned or picturesque.

³⁰Henry Van Brunt, “On the Present Condition and Prospects of Architecture.” *Atlantic Monthly* 57:341 (March 1886), 382.

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H.H. Richardson's energetic style lent itself naturally to railroad architecture, and Richardson himself designed several depots in Massachusetts and Connecticut. Union Pacific directors Oliver and Oakes Ames commissioned him to design the Ames Memorial Library and Ames Memorial Town Hall in North Easton, Massachusetts. When the Union Pacific stockholders wanted a "suitable and permanent monument" to Oakes Ames, Richardson designed a sixty-five-foot, granite pyramid with bas relief sculptures by Augustus Saint-Gaudens. Construction of the Ames Monument at the summit of the Union Pacific line west of Cheyenne began soon after Congress concluded its investigation of the Credit Mobilier scandal; the massive structure was dedicated in October 1882. When the Union Pacific directors three years later wanted a landmark depot at the railroad's midpoint in Cheyenne, they could not turn again to Richardson, who would be dead within months. Instead they commissioned one of his most eloquent supporters, an accomplished architect in his own right, and a Massachusetts native son, Henry Van Brunt.

Van Brunt accepted the job from his friend Charles Adams, even though most of his work up until then had been in the Northeast. He quickly adapted to western culture, however, and came to embrace the energetic western ethic with the same fervor that he had embraced the Richardsonian Romanesque style. "Any architect of education and accomplishments is fortunate who finds himself a part of a young [western] community so ambitious, enterprising, and restless in the pursuit of wealth and power," he wrote in 1889, "[and is] doubly fortunate if he can make his art keep step with a progress so vigorous without losing the finer and more delicate artistic sense."³¹ Although he appreciated the rough and tumble of western commerce, he maintained a mildly condescending attitude toward the western aesthetic, stating in a single stunningly run-on sentence:

The attitude of the West towards architecture, as distinguished from that of the more cultivated parts of the East may, I think, best be illustrated by the fact that a graduate of the best schools and practice of the East, who, finding himself in one of the rapidly growing Western cities, should insist on being scholastic, and should confine himself to the correct use of strictly classic or mediaeval motifs, would soon have no opportunities for the exercise of his proclivities; because, in the first place, he would not be understood, and because, in the second, he could not effect a reconciliation between his academical convictions and the modern methods of structure which he is compelled to adopt, at whatever cost of purity of style.³²

Van Brunt's design for the Cheyenne depot incorporated many of the hallmarks of the Richardsonian Romanesque style. The building featured the "vigorous round arches, the robust columns, the strong capitals, and the rich but semi-barbaric sculpture" rendered in terra cotta that Van Brunt had praised in Richardson's work. Its overall character was substantial and brooding, an effect that was accentuated by the rusticated granite blocks that made up the exterior walls. The powerfully horizontal lines formed by the wide eaves were broken dramatically by the central clock tower. The overall sense of the depot—underscored by the round-arched openings and the symmetry of forms—was one of mass and balance. Van Brunt's design for the Cheyenne depot was a high-style interpretation of the Richardsonian Romanesque style. His office completed the drawings for the building late in 1885 or early in 1886.

Early in March 1886 the Union Pacific began shipping materials for the depot to Cheyenne. The railroad loaded flat cars with red- and buff-colored sandstone blocks quarried near Fort Collins, Colorado, to be used for the building's foundations and exterior walls. On March 15 a small work force comprised of railroad section hands and local day laborers began excavation for the foundations. Three days later the men went on strike, demanding higher wages.³³

³¹Henry Van Brunt, "Architecture in the West," *Atlantic Monthly* 64:386 (December 1889), 777.

³²*Ibid.*, 780.

³³"The force of eleven men who have been digging the foundation trenches of the new depot, quit work yesterday morning and said they wanted \$2.00 per day. This was refused, and about eleven o'clock the men got their pay and walked off. The crew was composed partly of the section men, who are old employees of the [railroad] company, and partly of men picked up in town. It was expected that all would work at the old prices for section hands, \$1.50 per day, but the new men claim that while they had no understanding as to the wages, they supposed they would get more." "Work at the Depot Stopped," *Cheyenne Sun*, 19 March 1886.

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While they struck, the contract to build the structure was awarded to J.F. Coots of Kansas City. Just as the Union Pacific used Henry Van Brunt's firm to design several of its buildings, the railroad hired John Coots for many of its construction projects. The contractor was at the time working on an addition to the UP headquarters in Omaha and several other smaller projects. For the Cheyenne depot, Coots would combine laborers and subcontractors from Cheyenne with his own crew. Late in April the men moved part of the old frame depot containing the passenger section and ticket office to a new location west of the Pacific Hotel. The express office remained in place east of the hotel, and the lobby of the hotel itself functioned temporarily as the passenger waiting room.

In May Coots's crew resumed excavating for the foundation walls, as subcontractor Akroyd of Denver undertook the stonemasonry, using blocks shipped up from Colorado on board UP trains. The contractors built a looped track around the foundation pit, over which they ran small flat cars loaded with stone and mortar. To enclose the site, they constructed a high wood plank fence.³⁴ "The deep trenches were being rapidly filled up with the foundation stones, and presented a very solid appearance," the *Cheyenne Leader* reported in June. "A large pile of the beautiful red stone to be used in the facings and trimmings of the building was placed at one end of the yard. No finer stone ever entered into a building's composition than these, nor any capable of adding a more finished appearance."³⁵

By the end of the month the foundation walls had been extended above the ground line, and the railroad and city could begin planning a ceremony to lay the cornerstone. The Wyoming Lodge of Masons presided over the celebration, held on July 19. The date was an auspicious one—the 19th anniversary of the surveying of Cheyenne. A parade of masons, firemen, politicians, city and railroad officials and onlookers marched ceremoniously to the site and watched as the stone was wheeled into place from a derrick. As Territorial Governor Francis E. Warren and others looked on, the masons anointed the 2500-pound block with wine, oil and corn and pronounced it square and plumb.³⁶ The crowd then endured speechmaking from the politicians before returning home satisfied that the depot would ultimately be "the largest and grandest structure in the territory."³⁷

Construction on the depot continued through the rest of the year with the destruction of the Pacific Hotel by fire in November as the only reported incident.³⁸ The contractors increased the size of their work force with an eye to completing the structure by May 1887. By March the stonework was largely complete, and the men were framing the floors and roof. After encountering difficulties with settlement of the tower, they worked through the spring and summer on the building's exterior trim and interior finishes.³⁹ In September a *Cheyenne Sun* reporter visited the site and

Railroad officials were apparently in no hurry to resume work. They made no attempt to negotiate with or rehire the strikers, and work on the building languished until May, after the old depot was moved from the site. This desultory pace prompted speculation about the UP's timing with regard to a bond issue for the Cheyenne & Northern Railroad, then under consideration.

³⁴The planks on this fence were soon covered with advertising posters for local businesses and traveling shows. They were later used—with the posters still attached—for the building's third-floor subfloor. In 2003 these planks and posters were documented systematically by Richard Collier, Staff Photographer for the Wyoming State Historic Preservation Office.

³⁵"The Depot," *Cheyenne Leader*, 17 June 1886.

³⁶The cornerstone contained a copper box into which had been placed several commemorative items, including copies of various local newspapers, a photo of Cheyenne, a copy of the city charter and ordinances, bylaws of the Masonic chapter, a Union Pacific timecard, financial statements from the Wyoming Stockgrowers' Association and First National Bank, and two poems—"The Corner Stone" by W.P. Carroll and "Black Mammy" by Will Visscher.

³⁷"The Corner Stone Laid," *Cheyenne Leader*, 20 July 1886.

³⁸This was actually the second hotel at this location. The first one had been built by the railroad in October 1868. That structure burned to the ground soon thereafter and was replaced with a larger building in March 1872. The hotel that burned on November 25, 1886, was never replaced.

³⁹"The difficulty with the depot tower is not so serious as to cause any great misgivings about the successful completion of it

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described the building as “palace-like.” “One would almost forget himself and think that he was in the Crystal Palace of old, that formerly adorned the city of London,” he stated, “while taking a stroll up and down its ample halls and corridors.” Compared with the press coverage given to the depot during its planning and early construction, the building was put into service with relatively little fanfare. The railroad moved into the upper-level offices in September; two months later the first-floor public spaces were opened and the building complete. The *Sun* was ebullient in its praise for the new depot:

Between Omaha and San Francisco on the line of the Union Pacific railway, there is not to be found a depot equal in size, style or elegance to that which the Union Pacific railway company has just completed—or will be very soon complete—in Cheyenne. The erection of this magnificent building was commenced in the fall of 1886. . . and the company was induced to commence its erection at that time from two considerations. First, that such a building as this proves to be was needed by the Union Pacific at this point; and second, the company desired to do whatever it could consistently to advance and promote the material interests of the City of Cheyenne.⁴⁰

Completion of the Cheyenne depot in 1887 would prove timely for the city and region. As construction of the building was underway, Wyoming was experiencing the worst environmental disaster in its recorded history. After years of range overgrazing by area cattle ranchers, the region experienced an extremely dry summer in 1886 that killed much of the forage. This was followed by the worst winter on record, with snow, icy winds and sub-zero temperatures that ravaged the northern plains. Starving cattle drifted southward until they encountered fences, then they milled around without food or shelter until they froze to death. The resulting carnage was unprecedented. According to one firsthand account, a person could walk along the fence line of the Union Pacific from Ellsworth, Kansas, to Denver, stepping only on carcasses. The die-off amounted to tens of thousands of cattle, with some ranchers losing up to 85 percent of their herds. The cattle industry was decimated from Montana to Texas. The bankrupting of such a large industry had a rippling effect on the territory’s economy that impacted the railroad—which relied heavily on revenues from livestock shipping—particularly severely. With Wyoming on its knees economically, it is unlikely that the Cheyenne depot would have been built had it been undertaken a year later.

When the depot opened in 1887, one construction detail remained unfinished. For some reason, the Union Pacific would wait for three years before installing a clock in the prominent clock tower. Finally placed in the tower in January 1890, the clock featured four faces, each six-feet-four-inches in diameter, that faced in the cardinal directions. The prominent timepiece had been manufactured by the Seth Thomas Company and weighed some 1000 pounds. It immediately became a landmark in downtown Cheyenne. “A person whose eyesight is unimpaired can tell time by the depot clock, when ten blocks away,” stated the *Leader*. “It will be lighted at night.”⁴¹

As the Cheyenne depot settled into day-to-day operation, the Union Pacific itself was struggling. The railroad had in fact been laboring under financial hardship almost since its inception. The UP had been prevented from building branch lines by its Congressional charter, and shipping revenues from traffic through the sparsely settled West were barely sufficient to sustain the railroad’s operation. The company’s monopoly on western rail transportation lasted only briefly before other corporations began stretching lines into the region. Without the ability to tap directly into lucrative markets such as the mining districts of Montana and Colorado, the Union Pacific was unable to forestall its competition

after the original plan. The trouble does not appear to be with the architect, its plans or manner of construction, but lies in the fact that the ground on which the building is being erected is not as substantial as it should be.” “The Depot Tower,” *Cheyenne Leader*, 21 May 1887.

⁴⁰“The Depot,” *Cheyenne Sun*, 6 September 1887.

⁴¹*Ibid.*, 20.

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and was reduced to lending rails and equipment to other concerns to encourage construction. The UP thus found itself increasingly unable to compete with other lines stretching into the region. “We. . . are like an apple tree without a limb,” UP President Sydney Dillon stated in an oft-quoted speech to the UP directors, “unless we have branches there will be no fruit.”⁴²

In 1873 the UP had been both a contributor to and a victim of a nationwide financial panic. The panic had been triggered by the bankruptcy of financier Jay Cooke, principal investor for the Northern Pacific Railroad. Cooke’s failure in turn resulted in a series of bankruptcies that crippled the nation’s rail network. The ensuing financial depression brought the usual constriction in the money supply and the general rush to unload stock and bond holdings. For the railroads, the loss of confidence among investors was exacerbated by the nationally reported scandal involving Credit Mobilier, the finance company organized to pay the construction costs of the Union Pacific. Suspicious purchases with UP stock and federal subsidies, missing funds and preferential stock sales by corporate insiders to members of Congress all combined to bring the UP and other railroads into even greater disfavor around the country. The Panic of 1873 drove some 77 American rail companies into receivership, including—almost—the Union Pacific.

The UP barely survived the Panic but was still dogged by troubles from competitors. To make matters worse, the railroad was further hamstrung by the Thurman Act of 1878, passed by Congress in reaction to the Credit Mobilier uproar. The Thurman Act required that the greater part of the UP’s profits be set aside into a sinking fund to guarantee repayment of the government’s subsidy bonds, due in the 1880s. With much of its operating capital thus encumbered, the Union Pacific was unable to make needed improvements, maintain its rolling stock and right of way or build subsidiary lines.

Jay Gould tried to build the UP into a viable enterprise in the 1870s and 1880s by merging the Union Pacific with the Kansas Pacific to give the railroad a better entree to the East. He was on the verge of bringing the Missouri Pacific into the fold and thus creating a truly transcontinental line but backed off after a subsequent financial panic in 1884. Then Charles Adams had tried to manage the unwieldy mess but, after six of what he called the most frustrating years of his life, admitted defeat. Gould resumed control of the UP in 1890, before going into a sort of receivership himself. In 1892 the old man died, leaving his fortune, his railroads and his desire to control a coast-to-coast road to his son George Jay Gould. But it was too late for the Union Pacific. Starved for traffic, throttled by the government and facing millions of dollars of debt, the railroad declared bankruptcy in October 1893.

The UP emerged from receivership five years later as “two dirt ballasted streaks of rust.” Despite its poor financial condition and decrepit physical state, the company had managed to keep its properties intact. The UP at the turn of the 20th century essentially controlled the same track it had in 1881. It would be up to its new president Edward H. Harriman to forge it into a viable entity. Harriman’s scheme was to transform the UP into the western trunk of a truly transcontinental railroad, with either the Baltimore & Ohio or the New York Central as the eastern leg. To this end he quickly re-acquired the Oregon Short Line, acquired the Southern Pacific and built a new line from Salt Lake City to Los Angeles. Harriman also spent some \$9 million shortening distances, straightening curves and reducing grades soon after taking over, so that the railroad could function more efficiently with much heavier trains. He was largely successful.⁴³ Before he died in 1909, Harriman had resurrected the Union Pacific into the forerunner of western rail traffic. He secured financial backing from the powerful Kuhn, Loeb & Co. Banking house to put the Union Pacific in an unusual situation for a Western railroad—it was cash rich. “Applying a combination of talent and hard work,” stated one historian, “Harriman and his associates rebuilt the Union Pacific into one of the strongest, most efficient, and most profitable railroads in the United States.”⁴⁴

⁴²As quoted in Robert G. Athearn, *Union Pacific Country* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1971), 224.

⁴³Harriman did suffer one major setback when the Supreme Court in 1913 forced the Union Pacific to divest itself of its Southern Pacific holdings, as a violation of the Sherman Anti-Trust Act. The SP became a separate line, along with the old Central Pacific from Ogden to San Francisco. Although they were independent entities, these so-called Harriman lines functioned cooperatively.

⁴⁴Howard R. Lamar, ed. *The Reader’s Encyclopedia of the American West* (New York: Harper & Row, 1977), 1205.

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Under Harriman's direction, the Union Pacific upgraded much of its trackage, which had been initially laid hurriedly and then allowed to deteriorate after years of deferred maintenance. By 1909 the UP had rebuilt some 253 miles of road on its main line and Kansas division, shortening the route by 54 miles, double-tracking much of the main line and eliminating almost 4500 feet of grade. The railroad replaced almost 100,000 feet of timber trestle. Also during the Harriman administration, the UP embarked on an aggressive program of building construction. Between 1898 and 1909, the company built 45 new section houses, 58 new stockyards, 7 roundhouses, 36 depots and 286 other structures. Up and down the line the railroad constructed substantial masonry railroad depots to replace the earlier frame buildings, some of which were still sheathed with original board-and-batten siding. Such medium-scale depots at Evanston (1900), Rawlins (1901), Rock Springs (1900), Brigham City (1907) and Nampa (1903) featured revival architectural idioms. None could match the Cheyenne depot, however, in terms of scale or grandeur. The Cheyenne facilities during the Harriman administration underwent large-scale improvements. Although the depot itself remained essentially unaltered, several shop buildings were constructed in the Cheyenne yards to create a major complex.

In a little over a decade, Harriman had virtually transformed the Union Pacific into the driving force of western railroading. He had spent some \$160 million building new facilities, rebuilding rails, acquiring new lines, purchasing rolling stock and generally improving the company. As a result, the railroad became perhaps the most efficient of its scale in the country. The Union Pacific was at last turning a handsome profit when Harriman's successor, Robert Lovett, took over the helm in 1909. Lovett took up where Harriman had left off, proposing further improvements soon after taking office. He and his successors continued to nurture the company, as the Union Pacific thrived in the 1910s and 1920s.

During this period, the Cheyenne Depot remained essentially unchanged, with improvements to the park out front as the only incremental changes undertaken to the facility. In 1922, the railroad built a 114-foot-long addition onto the east side of the building to house a dining room and kitchen. The new wing was built by Utah contractor H.W. Baum, who reopened the Bellevue quarries in Colorado to obtain stone for the exterior walls. Dubbed "The Beanery" by locals, the restaurant was operated by the UP's Dining Car and Hotel Department. It soon proved popular for travelers and residents. Ernest Hemingway dined there in 1940 after his third marriage in Cheyenne. With its bi-chrome stone construction, hipped roof and large-scale, semicircular-arched windows, the restaurant wing mirrored Van Brunt's design for the original west wing. The addition actually improved the building's proportions by softening the somewhat abrupt eastern end and serving as a counterbalance for the west wing. The dining room featured ceramic tile floor, dark paneled wood walls and coffered plaster ceilings.

In 1929 the railroad undertook further changes to the building. The breezeway at the base of the tower was enclosed to form a new entrance, many of the original wooden columns in the basement were replaced with steel members, and many of the first-floor public spaces were rehabilitated. For these changes, the UP commissioned architect Gilbert Stanley Underwood. With degrees from Yale and Harvard and an office in Los Angeles, Underwood had become the architect of choice for the Union Pacific. Between 1924 and 1931 he designed more than twenty stations for the railroad, in addition to several lodge complexes in southwestern national parks for the UP-owned Utah Parks Company.

Underwood was heavily invested in the Rustic style, which traded on nostalgic building forms and Southwestern motifs. His design for the lobby of the Cheyenne Depot reflected this proclivity. He plastered over the 1880s walls and coffered ceilings to simplify their lines, painted them with warm tones, stenciled Spanish patterns along their edges and hung ornate, Rustic-style lamps from the ceiling, transforming the space into an oversized casa. Other, subsequent alterations to the building have been comparatively minor. In 1937 the railroad built covered train sheds and a subway linking them with the station. In 1940 the depot park was covered with a bus terminal for the Union Pacific Stages (later Greyhound Bus Lines). In 1948 the restaurant was closed. Part of the space was converted into offices; the remainder was used as a meeting hall for railroad employees. In 1971 Amtrak took over the passenger service into Cheyenne and that year demolished the train sheds. The Union Pacific moved the last of its offices from the building in 1990.

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In 1993 the UP donated the building to the City of Cheyenne and Laramie County, and stabilization of the building was begun a year later.⁴⁵ Since then, the building has undergone various stages of an extensive rehabilitation project. The first floor now houses the Wyoming Transportation Museum and a brewpub/restaurant. The upper levels house offices for various city and private concerns related to tourism, the museum and building administration.

The depot in Cheyenne was not the first grand station built by the Union Pacific along its main line, nor was it the last. The railroad's first architecturally noteworthy passenger facility was the one at Council Bluffs, its eastern terminus. In 1878 the railroad built an elegant three-story depot here to handle passengers and freight transferring to the transcontinental railroad from lines further east. Built to replace an 1874 structure that had burned, the brick masonry building featured High Victorian Italianate architectural detailing and the finest and largest bar between Chicago and Denver. A sign in the waiting room grandly proclaimed, "The West begins here." The Council Bluffs Transfer Depot was later demolished.

As the Union Pacific built westward from Council Bluffs in the 1860s, it constructed wood frame passenger and freight depots. Hurriedly constructed, these small-scale facilities were generally built from standard designs with little regard for architectural craftsmanship or style. Most were little more than shacks, even in the larger municipalities such as Omaha, Cheyenne and Ogden. In the 1870s the railroad was too strapped for cash to spend much upgrading these earliest stations, other than the Council Bluffs facility. Omaha's depot was improved somewhat but was hardly what could be considered a high-style structure. Cheyenne's depot, built in 1886-1887, was the first substantial large-scale depot that the UP built west of Council Bluffs. Its stone masonry construction and grandly detailed Romanesque architecture marked it as the most elegant depot along the line at the time of its completion. It was followed in 1889 by a similarly configured depot at the railroad's western terminus in Ogden. Also designed by Van Brunt, the Ogden depot was subsequently destroyed by fire in 1923 and replaced a year later with the existing Italian Renaissance Revival structure built over the foundation of the earlier building.

After completion of the Ogden depot in 1889, the UP was stumbling toward bankruptcy and could ill afford construction of other grand depots. During the Harriman administration this all changed, as the railroad emerged from bankruptcy flush with cash and expanding its lines. Around the turn of the 20th century the Union Pacific built several small-scale masonry stations along its main and subsidiary lines. During this time the UP also built major union stations at Omaha and Salt Lake City. Completed in 1899, the Omaha depot was another Van Brunt design. It stood until 1931, when it was replaced by an Art Deco station by architect Gilbert Stanley Underwood. About the mausoleum-like building, Underwood stated, "We have tried to express the distinctive character of the railroad—strength, power, masculinity." Architectural historian Carroll Meeks has more recently had a different take, however. He states that the architect had made no apparent attempt to rescue the building from "complete lethargy." "From the outside," he writes, "it is as impossible to imagine that [it] has an interior as it is to visualize the internal chambers of the pyramids."⁴⁶

The Salt Lake City depot was clearer in its architectural intent. Designed by Southern Pacific staffer Daniel J. Patterson and completed in 1909, it featured a French Renaissance Revival style, with mansard roofs, carved stone gargoyles and circular dormers. The building's strict symmetry, blocky proportions and steeply pitched roofs gave it a dour countenance, however, which was hardly inspirational to travelers or townspeople. It was saved architecturally by the stained glass windows and murals that depicted western transportation themes. The Salt Lake City Depot still stands essentially intact and is today used to house a museum and art gallery.

The Central Pacific experienced a similar chronology of depots for its portion of the transcontinental railroad. With fewer populous cities along its length, however, it had fewer opportunities for grand depots. Sacramento, the railroad's original western terminus, received its first depot in the late 1860s, as the line was still under construction. A single-story frame

⁴⁵In August 2001 the county relinquished its share of the property ownership to the city.

⁴⁶Carroll L.V. Meeks, *The Railroad Station: An Architectural History*. (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1964), 156.

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building, it resembled the earliest Union Pacific depots with its wood frame construction and board-and-batten siding. It was later replaced with a more substantial structure, which was in turn replaced in 1926 with a Renaissance Revival station designed by Bliss & Faville. The first and second depots are no longer extant (although a reproduction of the original station has been built in Old Sacramento, a tourist park). The 1926 building still stands, more or less intact. Reno, Nevada, went through three depots—beginning in 1868—before the current structure was built here, also in 1926. A stuccoed structure with symmetrical facades, Palladian windows and a red tile roof, it still stands, although its predecessors are no longer extant.

Of all these cities along the original transcontinental railroad, only Cheyenne still maintains its 19th century depot. All the others have been destroyed by fire or demolished to make room for later iterations. As only the second grand depot built by UP on its main line, it was from the start intended to serve as a landmark structure, a point of pride for both the railroad and the city.

The depot in Cheyenne was the first that Henry Van Brunt designed for the Union Pacific. In 1885, as he was beginning the design for the Cheyenne depot, Van Brunt sent his business partner Frank M. Howe from Boston to Kansas City to open a branch office there. As the depot was approaching completion in 1887, he moved there himself. The *American Architect and Building News* attributed his move to dissatisfaction with the Boston scene following the Great Fire of 1872. But in truth Van Brunt moved his office westward to undertake the design of other buildings for UP president Charles Adams. As construction was underway on the Cheyenne Depot, Van Brunt designed a similarly scaled passenger station for the UP at Ogden. The Ogden depot featured a prominent central clock tower similar to the Cheyenne building and a complex roofline with numerous dormers. Although it resembled the Cheyenne Depot in its overall scale and configuration, the Ogden structure used brick construction and lacked the distinctive Richardsonian Romanesque detailing of its Wyoming counterpart. During the early 1890s Van Brunt & Howe also designed major depots for the railroad at Sioux City, Iowa, and Omaha, Nebraska. None featured the richly textured Romanesque design that Van Brunt had employed on the Cheyenne building.

From their Kansas City office, Van Brunt & Howe undertook numerous other commissions around the country. Major public buildings included the Kansas City Club (1888) in Kansas City; the Coates House Hotel and Bullene, Moore & Emery Store (both 1889-1890), also in Kansas City; Spooner Hall (1893) at the University of Kansas; and the Union Depot (1896) for the Northern Pacific Railroad in Portland, Oregon. Van Brunt worked with McKim, Mead & White on the New York Life Insurance Building in Kansas City. And he also designed several large-scale houses, including mansions for K.B. Aman (1895-1896), August R. Meyer (1895-1896), E.W. Smith (1903) and Mrs. A.W. Armour (1903), all in Kansas City. Without question the most important commission undertaken by the firm was for the Electricity Building on the Court of Honor at the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1893, the most prestigious architectural event at the close of the 19th century.

Van Brunt wielded considerable influence in the architectural profession through a series of critical essays he authored in the 1880s and 1890s. He wrote eloquent eulogies for H.H. Richardson (1886), John Root (1891) and Richard Morris Hunt (1895). And his treatises entitled "The Personal Equation in Renaissance Architecture" (1885), "Architecture in the West" (1889), "Classic Architecture" (1895), and "Two Interpreters of National Architecture" (1897) presented a sophisticated and erudite architectural philosophy. Additionally, Van Brunt was active in the American Institute of Architects. Elected an AIA Fellow in 1864, he contributed frequently to the *Proceedings*, and in 1898 he was elected president of the Institute. At his death in 1903 the *Architectural Review* lauded his distinguished career and the formative influence he had had on the architectural profession. "It is much in a desert of drought to believe in the oasis," the *Review* stated, "It was much when there was no architecture to try bravely to make one."⁴⁷

Van Brunt's buildings, both large and small, characteristically displayed classical design and detailing. The Union Depot at Omaha, for instance, featured a Greek Revival facade with an overscaled fanlight in the central pediment. The Union

⁴⁷ *Architectural Review* X (1903), 44.

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Depot in Portland, initiated by Stanford White in 1890 and completed by Van Brunt, featured a prominent Italianate clock tower. Van Brunt's design for the Cathedral of St. John the Divine (1889; not executed) in New York was high-style Gothic, replete with Gothic-arched openings, flying buttresses and foliated windows. And his design for the Electricity Building at the Chicago World's Fair reflected the Classical Revival theme used for the exhibition buildings in the Court of Honor. His houses were typically massed and detailed as chateaus with various European antecedents.

Van Brunt traded on the Richardsonian Romanesque style for only a brief period in the late 1880s. Among his commissions using the style were the Thayer Building (1886) and Gibraltar Building (1888), both in Kansas City, party-walled office blocks that featured dressed stone exterior walls and Romanesque arches to frame the facade bays; and the Hoyt Library (1885-1886) in Saginaw, Michigan, and the Public Library (1888-1889) in Cambridge, Massachusetts, both massive free-standing buildings that resembled Richardson's Ames Memorial Library. None of these approached the Union Pacific Depot in Cheyenne in grandeur or architectural accomplishment.

Two of Van Bunt's earlier buildings have subsequently been designated as National Historic Landmarks. The Adams Academy (1869) in Quincy, Massachusetts, was listed in 1994, and Memorial Hall (1874-1878) at Harvard was listed in 1970. None of his later works and none of his railroad projects have been recognized until now. As one of the most architecturally distinguished buildings designed by one of America's most important architects, the Cheyenne Union Pacific Depot is a landmark building among Henry Van Brunt's commissions, among Union Pacific depots and among Richardsonian Revival buildings in the United States. It is one of the most significant passenger depots in the American West.

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Previous documentation on file (NPS):

- Preliminary Determination of Individual Listing (36 CFR 67) has been requested.
 Previously Listed in the National Register.
 Previously Determined Eligible by the National Register.
 Designated a National Historic Landmark.
 Recorded by Historic American Buildings Survey: #
 Recorded by Historic American Engineering Record: #

Primary Location of Additional Data:

- State Historic Preservation Office
 Other State Agency
 Federal Agency
 Local Government
 University
 Other (Specify Repository):

10. GEOGRAPHICAL DATA

Acreage of Property: less than one

UTM References:	Zone	Easting	Northing
	13	515590	4553390

Verbal Boundary Description:

Boundary Justification:

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