The History of the
Lake Shore & Michigan Southern Railway in Ohio

A Thesis Presented for the
Degree of Master of Arts

by

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Approved by:

Eugene H. Roebuck
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Chapter I

The Strategic Importance of the Lake Shore Road to the New York Central System of Railroads

Following an agreement made on April 29, 1914, which took effect at the end of that year, the New York Central & Hudson River Railroad, with its main line running from Buffalo to New York, and the Lake Shore & Michigan Southern Railway, with its main line from Chicago to Buffalo, formed a consolidation, which continues, according to the terms of the compact, until 1964. The merger created a new New York Central Railroad, with its main line extending the entire distance from Chicago to New York. From Chicago to Buffalo the line is level, since it runs across the prairie-land from Chicago to Toledo, and close to the south shore of Lake Erie from Toledo to Buffalo. East of Buffalo the road runs not far from the old route of the Erie Canal, and follows the Mohawk and Hudson valleys to New York. It is a rather long, but an extremely level route, when compared with its competitors. Although the total distance is sixty miles longer than that of the Pennsylvania, for example, the level route compensates for the greater distance.

The western terminus of the Lake Shore, now the New York Central west of Buffalo, was Chicago. Starting from
that point the route follows the bend of the shore of Lake Michigan to Gary, Indiana. From there it heads almost due east, skirting the dunes, and then over the northern Indiana prairie through South Bend to Elkhart. This town, 101 miles from Chicago, is a division point. East of Elkhart two alternative routes stretch on to Toledo, the southern one being more direct than the other by about ten miles. Goshen, Kendallville, and Waterloo, in order named, are the chief Indiana towns on this route east of Elkhart. It reaches the Ohio boundary at a point about four miles west of Edgerton, Ohio, and comes into Toledo through Bryan, Archbold, Wauseon, and Swanton. Eastbound trains of the longer route call at Sturges, Hillsdale, and Adrian, Michigan, and then turn to the southeast at Lenawee Junction, six miles east of Adrian. This line crosses the northern boundary of Ohio at Sylvania, about six miles from the city limits of Toledo. Both lines converge at Air Line Junction, just within the city limits of Toledo.

Each of the Elkhart-Toledo routes had considerable freight and passenger traffic at the time of the 1915 consolidation. The northern and longer route was designated the "Old Road", as it was completed before the shorter and more southerly line, called the "Air Line". Numerous small branches off the Old Road were valuable "feeders".

On leaving Toledo, the road continues eight miles to Millbury, in a southeast direction. Here another division of route occurs, and two alternative lines stretch on to
Elyria. Today the road following the shore of Lake Erie is the main line, and the inland route is designated as a branch. At the time of the 1915 consolidation, the more direct routes had most of the through trains, but the longer routes enjoyed main-line status, having had a considerable freight and passenger traffic. However, in later years, with changing traffic conditions, the New York Central has concentrated its through east-west traffic on the shorter east-west lines, and as a consequence the old Road west of Toledo and the Norwalk branch east of Toledo give chiefly local freight and passenger service, much to the sorrow of several towns on these routes. The shore road has a seven-mile advantage over the inland road between Millbury and Elyria Junction, where the two lines again converge. The "northern division", now the main line, runs from Millbury through Port Clinton across the narrows in Sandusky Bay on a bridge about a mile and half long into Sandusky. From there as far east as Vermilion the line is in sight of Lake Erie, and then it heads southeastward, away from the lake, to Elyria, where it rejoins the "southern division". The "southern division" has some interesting towns: Fremont, Clyde, Bellevue, Monroeville, Norwalk, and Oberlin.

No divergence takes place on the main line from Elyria eastward. Twelve miles west of Cleveland it passes through Berea. The old Lake Shore route into Cleveland used the old Union Depot on the lake at the foot of what
is today West Ninth Street. Between Chicago and Cleveland were no serious grades, although the first six miles going west of Cleveland, from the old depot, are gradually uphill. Throughout its entire length the road had, and still has, very moderate elevations and grades, inasmuch as so much of the main line is so close to the shore of Lake Erie. This moderate elevation and grading are no small factors in the successful operation of the road.

The general offices of the Lake Shore Road were at Cleveland, and we may say that the Lake Shore was a Cleveland, and an Ohio institution. East of Cleveland the rest of the route, 132 miles long, follows the shore of the lake closely, at the furthest distance from three to four miles from it, often in sight of it. The part from Cleveland to Erie was the first to be called the Lake Shore Road. The chief towns in order, east of Cleveland, are: Willoughby, Mainsville, Ashtabula, and Conneaut in Ohio; Erie, Pennsylvania; and Westfield, Dunkirk, and Buffalo, New York. Buffalo was the eastern terminus of the Lake Shore, and the western terminus of the New York Central and Hudson River Road. At West Third and St. Clair Streets, Cleveland, the New York Central still maintains the old Lake Shore office, which is the headquarters of line and staff officials of the line west of Buffalo. However, the chief executive offices of the New York Central today are in New York City.

Using the most direct Lake Shore Chicago-Buffalo route,
the main-line distance was 522 miles.¹

Buffalo is also the eastern terminus of the Michigan Central, the Lake Shore's one-time rival, and latter ally under the New York Central sphere of influence, running from Chicago to Buffalo through southern Michigan, Detroit, and southern Ontario. Buffalo is one of the largest junction points for different sections of the New York Central lines.

The Lake Shore was the shortest passenger route between Chicago and Buffalo, the Nickel Plate distance being 523 miles, and the Michigan Central 520. Other competitors, the Pere Marquette, Wabash, Grand Trunk, and Erie, were even longer. The chief passenger route was the Lake Shore, closely followed by the Michigan Central. The other lines were principally for freight service.

Strategically the Lake Shore was the most important of all the New York Central subsidiaries. The New York Central lines breathed through the Lake Shore road. It was a westward extension of the four-track main line in New York state, the four tracks being carried all the way to Cleveland by the Lake Shore. Most of the important trunk lines of the system branched off from it.

¹ The distance in New York Central time-tables today will vary from my figures, due to alterations in route and new terminals at Buffalo and Cleveland, since 1915.
Chicago and the Midwest produced many manufactured, agricultural, and livestock products for the main stem. Northern Indiana and Toledo did likewise. At Sandusky, the Lake Erie & Western, a line the Lake Shore controlled, brought in its traffic from Peoria and a productive Midwest territory to swell the traffic. The Lake Erie Railroad's burdens were chiefly alcohol, grain, and alcohol by-products. In the Sandusky region, fruit, agricultural products, and fish were important in season.

At Cleveland a highly diversified industrial traffic was added to the line, in addition to the enormous inter-change with the Big Four railroad, another line controlled by the Lake Shore. The Big Four's traffic was with the "Central West", and Cleveland was its eastern terminus. Columbus, Dayton, Cincinnati, Indianapolis and St. Louis were on the Big Four, an extremely busy line.

At Ashtabula two important branches brought the Lake Shore in contact with other important traffic sources. First was the Jamestown & Franklin branch to the coal and oil fields of northwest Pennsylvania, and leading directly to the Philadelphia & Reading Railway through to the Philadelphia tide-water district. Second was the 62-mile Ashtabula-Youngstown Branch to the Youngstown-Pittsburgh district, making a connection at Youngstown with the diminutive Pittsburgh & Lake Erie Railroad, referred to by men in the railroad industry as the "Little Giant". This small line, running along the Ohio to Pittsburgh, and from there to
Connellsville, McKeesport and Brownsville, was controlled by the Lake Shore. The P. & L.R. was entirely double-tracked, and from Youngstown to Pittsburgh practically all four-tracked, a distance of 64 miles. It originated an enormous tonnage: coal for the Great Lakes docks at Ash- tabula, and steel and manufactured products for distribution all over the United States, as well as for Canadian export via Lake Shore through Ashtabula and Buffalo. In some years the tonnage on this line exceeded that of the Michigan Central and Big Four combined. Much of its freight and passenger traffic reached the Lake Shore at Youngstown, and the main line at Ashtabula.  

The last important construction undertaken by the Lake Shore before the New York Central consolidation was the completion of the "belt line" around Cleveland in 1912. It provided a new double-track freight line 13 miles long, from Collinwood to Rockport, around the city. It relieved congestion on the crowded main and auxiliary tracks close to industries which had grown up along the original line through Cleveland. With the enlarged track capacity through freight trains could be handled on the belt without interfering with switching on the older tracks.

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2 Later editions, (1920 onward) of Annual Report on the Statistics of Railways in the United States, Washington, Government Printing Office, contain tables of originating tonnage of individual roads. These are not until some time after the consolidation, but they give an idea of the importance of this line. Some good traffic analysis can be obtained from the editions of Poor's Manual of Railroads. For the Lake Shore figures, see editions before 1916.
The Detroit-Toledo branch, 56 miles long, was an important feeder, and with numerous criss-cross lines of southern Michigan, branching from the Old Road, and the Fort Wayne-Jackson branch, it completes the lines operated by the Lake Shore.

An interesting line, controlled in part by the Lake Shore, was the Indiana, Iowa, & Illinois, running from the main line of the Lake Shore at South Bend to that of the Burlington Route at Zearing, Illinois. This made a direct connection of the two lines without using the Chicago bottleneck. Another such line, called the Indiana Harbor Belt, performed such a function from Gibson, Indiana, to all lines in the Chicago area. It is worthy of note that no arrangement has been made at any time for passengers to avoid Chicago.

In the 1850's, the early days of the New York Central from Buffalo to Albany, officials of the line already realized the importance of securing control of the lines west of Buffalo. Many considered that a north shore route through southern Ontario would hold greater promise for the future than a south shore line. The route followed closely by that of the Michigan Central today was what they had in mind. The Michigan Central did develop into an excellent line.

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and is practically as direct as the Lake Shore for through business. However, its contiguous territory in southern Ontario and Michigan was hardly comparable with that of the Lake Shore in Ohio and Indiana. In short, it did not have the potentialities of economic development, or future spheres of influence that the Lake Shore did. It did have satisfactory traffic arrangements at Chicago, and a prosperous territory to serve. Kalamazoo, Battle Creek, and Jackson were on the main line west of Detroit, and branch lines reached Grand Rapids, Lansing, Saginaw, Bay City, and Mackinaw City. Nevertheless, its geographic position was inferior to that of the Lake Shore, and its operations by ferry over the Detroit River to Windsor handicapped it, until completion of the Detroit River tunnel in 1910. It is easy to see that the early promoters would have made a grave mistake in favoring a north shore route exclusively over a south shore route. As has been pointed out, the Lake Shore has been double-routed for more than 200 miles, and has had double, and even multiple-track on its main route for many miles.

Of the $50,000,000 outstanding stock of the Lake Shore at the time of the New York Central merger, all but $5,000,000 was owned by the New York Central & Hudson River.

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Accumulation had taken place gradually by the Vanderbilt interests over a long period of years from the early '70's. Lake Shore stock was selling at a price of over $500 a share, and New York Central & Hudson River at about $100 a share, at the time of the merger. As a consequence, holders of the Lake Shore stock received five shares of stock in the new corporation, while New York Central & Hudson River stockholders received one share. 5

The Lake Shore & Michigan Southern enjoyed a high reputation among American railroads, giving a type of passenger and freight service hardly surpassed anywhere in the state. In the following pages, the story of its creation from the Lilliputian short lines, through its long career as a separate road will be told, with Ohio as the focus of attention.

Chapter II

The Early Beginnings in Ohio. Brief Corporate History of Lake Shore Road, 1837-1915.

The idea of a rail route along the south shore of Lake Erie is said to have originated with a Colonel De Witt Clinton, a civil engineer of New York.\(^1\) The Clinton scheme appeared on paper in 1829, and advocated a route through central New York, following in some degree the present line of the Erie Railroad. It was to go through the Tioga valley and come near the headwaters of the Allegheny and

\(^1\) In Meyer, B. R., ed., *History of Transportation in the United States before 1850*, Carnegie Institution, Washington, 1917, we read that Governor De Witt Clinton planned the route as a political measure to placate localities in New York state not on the Erie Canal. The book shows, also, that Governor Clinton was interested in internal improvements. See pages 163, and 496. The governor may well have been one of the originators of the idea.

In Waggoner, Clark, ed., *The History of Toledo and Lucas County, Ohio*, Munsell & Co., New York and Toledo, 1888, on page 393, it is pointed out that the man was not the governor of New York, but a Colonel De Witt Clinton, a civil engineer.

Leland, C. P., "The Ohio Railroad: That Famous Structure Built on Stilts", in Western Reserve Historical Society Tracts, No. 81, pages 265-284. Volume III, Cleveland, 1892, is the chief source for my information in this chapter. He seems to rely upon Waggoner frequently. He too gives the name of the author of this route as Colonel Clinton. Governor Clinton died in 1823, and the plan appeared in 1829.
Genesee Rivers, reaching the shore of Lake Erie, presumably near Dunkirk. In Ohio the road would run near Richmond, opposite the town of Fairport on the Grand River, close to the shore of Lake Erie. In its course through Ohio it would stay close to the lake, crossing the Cuyahoga, Sandusky, and Maumee rivers. The western terminus of the road was the mouth of the Rock River in western Illinois, where that river emptied into the Mississippi. Chicago was scarcely more than a prominent village in the 1820's, and did not figure in this plan. A casual glance at travelers' guides of this period reveals the need for improved transportation.

The Clinton scheme never got beyond the paper stage. In Ohio, the idea was either revived or reborn in 1836, and on April 25 of that year, at Mainsville, the Ohio Railroad was organized. The incorporators were: E. Austin, Thomas Richmond, G. W. Card, Heman Ely, John W. Allen, John G. Camp, F. M. Weddell, Edwin Byington, James Post, E. Redington, Charles Paine, Storza Rosa, Rice Harper, Henry Phelps, and H. J. Reese. We shall meet several of

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these names in our later rail history in Ohio.

The charter was obtained through the efforts of Nehemiah Allen of Willoughby, a Quaker, who represented Geauga County in the state legislature. Under the terms of the charter, the company was allowed banking privileges, including the issuance of money, in addition to its authority to construct a railroad. Allen believed that the investment in a railroad would pay, though his fellow citizens regarded him as a crank, because he believed that a railroad along the shore of Lake Erie could compete successfully with the cheap and abundant lake transportation of the time. The legislature passed a general act on March 24, 1837, which helped to finance this and other projects and encouraged public confidence in such ventures. Provision was made that the state should loan its credit in six per cent stock to the amount of one-third the authorized capital of the corporation, if the other two-thirds of the capital had been

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4 Willoughby and Painesville appear in Geauga County on early maps of Ohio. Lake County was not created out of Geauga until March 6, 1840. See Ohio Archaeological and Historical Publications, Vol. XXXVI, P. J. Heer, Columbus, 1927, page 425.

5 Kennedy, op. cit., page 318.

paid in to the companies organized to build the railroads.\(^7\)

The provisions of the law were liberal, and they had to be because a popular subscription alone could not have obtained sufficient capital for the enterprise. Bond issues, as collateral for equipment trusts, rails and roadbeds, could not be thought of in those days, as the road and equipment were non-existent. Yet some writers, in treating of the Ohio Railroad, are amused not a little at the procedures involved in starting the enterprise, and particularly at the law of 1837, finding it easy to belittle the early dreamers of empire, and the framers of this so-called "Flunder Law."\(^8\) The Ohio Railroad received \$249,000 from the state for its share under this legislation. Not all the recipients of such grants were worthy, many seizing the opportunity to reap ill-gotten gains from the law.\(^9\)

The plan of construction of the railroad was unique, and its route, although never completed, was somewhat more tangible than its Clinton predecessor. Thomas Richmond, of Geauga County, had considerable interest in the venture.

\(^7\) Kennedy, op. cit., page 319.

\(^8\) For the most just estimate of the early financing of Ohio railroads, see Sphart, W. F., Transportation and Industrial Development in the Middle West, Vol. XXXIV, No. 1, Columbia University Series, New York, 1909, pages 163-168.

He had faith in the project in the beginning, and believed that his community, with its apparently excellent situation, could not help prospering from such an undertaking. The road was to proceed west from Richmond along the shore of the lake to its western terminus, Manhattan, one of the communities near the mouth of the Maumee. At Sandusky the road would have passed through Washington Square, the park in which the Erie County court house and the Sandusky high school building now stand. Instead of crossing Sandusky Bay, the road was to proceed inland to Fremont, and then in a northwest direction to Manhattan.

Cyrus Williams, chief engineer of the Ohio Railroad, got out a report on the project, which described it in glowing terms. The Ohio Railroad was an episode in the great speculations mentioned in all general histories that treat of this period. We should not belittle Williams too severely, as one authoritative writer has done, for he was to help later in the successful construction of the

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10 Kennedy, op. cit., page 319.

Cleveland, Columbus, & Cincinnati road, and the Mad River & Lake Erie.  

In any descriptions of railroads of the past, the Ohio Railroad occupies a unique place because of its unusual mode of construction. The road was built on stilts on a double line, with no iron rails, chains, or ties. A roadway 100 feet wide was cleared for the right of way. In each mile of construction 112 piles, and 1056 sleepers, or ties, were used. The piles were from seven to twenty-eight feet long and from twelve to sixteen inches in diameter. The sleepers, or ties, were nine feet long and eight inches in diameter. A machine-hammer, operated by eight men, and something like a modern pile-driver, was employed to drive the stilts. This hammer slid on wooden sills, and was difficult to operate. A locomotive sawmill, attended by three men, followed behind the pile-driver, and cut the parts of the structure. The first pile was driven at Fremont, on June 19, 1839, near the location of the later

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12 Leland, loc. cit., pages 271, 272. Although Leland was probably not a trained historian, his interest in the historical affairs of the Lake Shore is certainly in his favor in any appraisal of material about the road. He was auditor of the Lake Shore & Michigan Southern Railway for over twenty years. Some of his speeches before clubs in various cities along the route have been said to have been interesting, and parts of them have appeared in newspapers and county histories. The material that he presents with reference to rates might be judged by some as tendency in character.
Lake Shore station. One of the most remarkable things about this line is that so much of it was built: twenty-nine miles, the whole distance between Manhattan and Fremont; and about fifteen miles of the forty-seven proposed between Cleveland and Huron. Cyrus Williams, chief engineer of the line, estimated the cost of building to be a little in excess of $16,000 a mile. This was only a little more than the cost of the Toledo, Norwalk, & Cleveland Railroad, the "southern division" of the Lake Shore, which with "T"-rails and earth embankment cost $15,530 a mile.

There is evidence of dissension among the directors of the Ohio Railroad, probably due to conflicting interests. From the meager correspondence available, it would appear that interests at both Manhattan and Richmond wished to develop the road. Nehemiah Allen was interested particularly in the development of Manhattan. In a letter to the Advertiser, as late as 1877, Thomas Richmond, while praising the character of Nehemiah Allen, disclaimed responsibility for construction of the Fremont-Manhattan section of the

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13 I must confess to somewhat of a giddy feeling in respect to this construction. By 1890, practically all trace of the route was gone, and I have seen no artist's conception of the road. I hope it suffices to say that this early "Lake Shore Route" in Ohio was unique in railroad annals.

14 Leland, loc. cit., p. 284.

15 Leland does not supply the name of the town in which the Advertiser was published, in quoting the letter in his article on the Ohio Railroad.
road. He said he did not even know that the road was being constructed, that his consent was not asked, and that as soon as he did find out, he demanded a meeting of the board of directors, submitted his resignation, got his money back, and left the enterprise. He said that he believed that when the Allen group became interested in the development of the Manhattan swamp, and actually began construction, that it was a death-blow to the whole enterprise. He wished, so he wrote, to wait until more tangible assets could be secured through prudent capital investment, before proceeding with construction.

The dissensions in the directorate undoubtedly hastened the downfall of the Ohio Railroad. The "Plunder Law" was repealed in 1840, and the road finally collapsed in 1843.16 Ten years after the collapse, a successful railroad enterprise was in operation in this territory.

The Ohio Railroad was one of the many unfortunate ventures of early railroading. The period before the Civil War is largely one of trial and error. It is the groping period, while the post-Civil War period is the grouping period. During the groping period we see queer financial practices. This was in those sinful days before the genteel era of

16 The repeal of the "Plunder Law" is in Swan's Ohio Statutes, Columbus, 1841, page 559.
legitimate bond selling. Under the "Plunder Law" we have the following railroad appropriations:

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Railroad</th>
<th>Appropriation</th>
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<tr>
<td>Mad River &amp; Lake Erie</td>
<td>$293,050</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vermilion &amp; Ashland</td>
<td>48,450</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mansfield &amp; Sandusky City</td>
<td>33,333</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Little Miami</td>
<td>121,900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fairport &amp; Painesville</td>
<td>6,182</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ohio Railroad</td>
<td>249,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>$751,915</strong></td>
</tr>
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</table>

Few returns were made to the state of Ohio in the form of dividends or repayment.

The Ohio Railroad is of particular interest in this study, because it was the first line to be constructed near the shores of Lake Erie, in the very territory the Lake Shore later served. However, the Erie & Kalamazoo was the first line chartered, constructed, and operated in the group of lines that later made up the Lake Shore road. In the references immediately following in this chapter, we shall see the veritable maize of corporate legislation and consolidations out of which evolved the Lake Shore road. The early promoters probably had little idea that some day a single enterprise would amalgamate the small lines into one big line from Chicago to Buffalo.

References to the corporate history of the Lake Shore now follow. The 1904 state reports were used for the

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Gephart, op. cit., page 165.
summary in this chapter, with a few exceptions noted where they were taken from other sources. Data on some of the lines after 1875 is missing from the state reports, which accounts for these other references.

April 22, 1833, Incorporation of the Erie & Kalamazoo Railroad, Territorial Laws of Michigan, 1833, page 78.

February 6, 1835, Incorporation of the Buffalo & Mississippi Railroad Company, Local Laws of Indiana of 1835, page 16.

February 6, 1837, name of Buffalo & Mississippi Railroad changed to Northern Indiana Railroad Company. Local Laws of Indiana, 1837, page 154.


April 27, 1844, Incorporation of the Franklin Canal Company, Laws of Pennsylvania of 1844, page 471. (Subsequently the company was authorized to build a railroad, by Act of April 9, 1849. However, the charter was annulled, and the road was purchased and finished by the Cleveland, Painesville, & Ashtabula Railroad Company by Act of May 4 and 5, 1854. Laws of Pennsylvania of 1854, pages 588 and 592.)

18 The full title of the Ohio reports cited is as follows: Annual Report of the Commissioner of Railroads and Telegraphs to the Governor of Ohio. A volume covers every year from 1867 to 1911. Publisher varies. Citations will be found in the 1904 issue from pages 50-54.

May 9, 1846, Incorporation of the Michigan Southern Company of Michigan, Tecumseh (or Jackson) Branch, Michigan Laws, 1846, page 170.

February 11, 1848, an act regulating railroad companies, Ohio Local Laws, vol. 46, page 40. Secs. 6, 9, 10, 11, 13, 14, 16, and 22, accepted by the Erie & Kalamazoo Railroad Company.


March 7, 1850, Incorporation of the Toledo, Norwalk & Cleveland Railroad Company, Ohio Local Laws, volume 48, page 316.

19 The Cleveland, Painesville, & Ashtabula Railroad was the first one of the various companies to receive the appellation "Lake Shore".


July 8, 1853, Consolidation of the Northern Indiana Railroad Company of Indiana and the Northern Indiana Railroad Company of Ohio under the name of Northern Indiana Railroad Company.

September 1, 1853, Consolidation of the Toledo, Norwalk & Cleveland Railroad Company with the Junction Railroad Company, forming the Cleveland & Toledo Railroad Company.

October 28, 1853, Lease of the Port Clinton Railroad Company to the Cleveland & Toledo Railroad Company.

February 7, 1855, Northern Indiana & Chicago Railroad Company of Illinois, Northern Indiana Railroad Company of Ohio and Indiana, and the Board of Commissioners of the Buffalo & Mississippi Railroad Company consolidated, forming the Northern Indiana Railroad Company.

April 25, 1855, Michigan Southern Railroad Company and Northern Indiana Railroad Company consolidated, constituting the Michigan Southern & Northern Indiana Railroad Company.
April 26, 1855, Incorporation of the Detroit, Monroe & Toledo Railroad Company, Laws of Michigan, 1855, page 132.

July 1, 1856, Detroit, Monroe & Toledo Railroad leased to the Michigan Southern & Northern Indiana Railroad Company.

April 5, 1862, Jamestown & Franklin Railroad Company, Incorporated, Laws of Pennsylvania of 1863, Appendix, page 653. (This is known as the Jamestown & Franklin Branch, extending into northwestern Pennsylvania to the oil fields and coal mines of that district. The Ashtabula Branch was built under the provisions of the act to incorporate the Cleveland, Rainesville & Ashtabula Railroad, passed Feb. 18, 1848).

March 21, 1864, Jamestown & Franklin Railroad leased to Cleveland, Rainesville, & Ashtabula Railroad.


October 8, 1867, Lease of the Cleveland & Toledo Railroad to the Cleveland, Rainesville, & Ashtabula Railroad Company. (This lease abrogated by subsequent consolidation.)

June 22, 1868, change of name of Cleveland, Rainesville, & Ashtabula Railroad Company to Lake Shore Railway Company. Rec. of Corpn., Vol. 5, page 28, also see Laws of Pennsylvania of 1868, page 524.

April 6, 1869, Consolidation of Lake Shore Railway and Cleveland & Toledo Railroad Company, forming the Lake
Shore Railway Company. Rec. of Corp., Vol. 6, page 189. Filed also with Secretary of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.


August 16, 1869, Consolidation of the Buffalo & Erie Railroad Company and the Lake Shore & Michigan Southern Railway Company, taking the name of Lake Shore & Michigan Southern Railway Company.

May 1, 1897, the Northern Central Michigan Railroad leased in perpetuity all its rights, titles, and properties to the Lake Shore & Michigan Southern Railway, the latter company receiving the gross earnings for operating costs. On the same date the Kalamazoo & White Pigeon leased in perpetuity its rights and franchises to the Lake Shore & Michigan Southern Railway, under the same terms as given in the lease of the Northern Central Michigan Railroad.

Under lease, purchase, or proprietorship, the following companies were operated by the Lake Shore & Michigan Southern:

The Mahoning Coal Railroad Company, certificate of incorporation filed February 25, 1871, and leased in perpetuity to the L.S. & M.S. Ry. on July 1, 1884, also its two sub-

sidiary companies, the Mahoning & Shenango Valley and the Steward Railroad.

The Detroit & Chicago Railroad, (formerly Chicago & Canada Southern), organized July 11, 1871, 21 and controlling interest purchased Dec. 31, 1879. 22

The Sturgis, Goshen, & St. Louis Railroad was acquired on February 1, 1890, by the Lake Shore, through purchase of capital stock.

The Fort Wayne & Jackson Railroad, originally formed by consolidation of the Jackson, Fort Wayne, & Cincinnati R.R. and Fort Wayne, Jackson, & Saginaw R.R. on April 6, 1869, was sold under foreclosure, Dec. 3, 1879. The company was reorganized, Jan. 1, 1880, and leased to the L.S. & M.S. on August 24, 1882.

The Detroit, Hillsdale, & Southwestern was leased to the Lake Shore & Michigan Southern on July 1, 1886.

Additional corporate history, taken from Poor's Manual of Railroads, 1915 issue: 23

Lake Erie, Alliance, & Wheeling Railroad, chartered Jan. 25, 1901. This property was merged from two previous companies, the Ohio River Railroad and the Lake Erie &


23 Pages 83-97.
Alliance Northern. It was leased on July 1, 1912, to the Lake Shore & Michigan Southern.

The Dunkirk, Allegheny Valley, & Pittsburgh Railroad, was leased by the Lake Shore from the previous lessee, the New York Central & Hudson River Railroad, on October 1, 1901.

The Cleveland Short Line Railway, (the Cleveland belt line), was incorporated in Ohio on Nov. 24, 1902, completed and in operation July 1, 1912.

In addition to these references, it will be necessary to outline, at least, the corporate control which the Lake Shore exercised in other large corporations serving contiguous territory. Control in a good many of these companies is financial history, and needs only a brief notice in a treatment of this scope. The chief roads that the Lake Shore controlled were:

1. Cleveland, Cincinnati, Chicago & St. Louis Railway. (Big Four).
2. Pittsburgh & Lake Erie.
4. Lake Erie & Western.
5. Toledo & Ohio Central.
6. Chicago, Indiana, & Southern.

Besides these, it had minority controls in several other roads: the Indiana, Iowa, & Illinois, the Indiana Harbor Belt, and the Philadelphia & Reading Railway. The Reading interest was a joint interest with the Baltimore & Ohio, a chapter in finance and rail rivalry. These far flung
interests justify our previous statement about the strategic value of the Lake Shore to the New York Central group of railroads.
Chapter III

The Chartering and Construction of the Lines in Ohio

Chronologically the Ohio Railroad venture is really not the first chapter in the history of the Lake Shore road, but it is the most logical starting point because it represents the earliest phase of railroad activity in the state. Lessons were learned from this failure which were translated quickly into actual achievement in the ventures which either outlived or succeeded the Ohio Railroad. This chapter will deal with these ventures.

The first Ohio road in the later Lake Shore antedated the Ohio Railroad in its charter, construction, and operation. No fantastic stilts were used in the road's construction, and it managed to survive the rigors of the early struggle for existence, and to become the very oldest link in the chain of little lines that later comprised the Lake Shore & Michigan Southern Railway. Unlike the Ohio Railroad, which was intended to be a "lake shore" route, the Erie & Kalamazoo was to connect Port Lawrence (Toledo) with Kalamazoo. 1 The original plan of the road was to use oak

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rails, and have horse power instead of steam locomotives, but soon after the rails were put down, it was discovered that they wore out too quickly, and so a thin iron covering, a strap rail was used, to prevent the rapid deterioration. 2

This pioneer railroad west of the Alleghenies was projected, built, and first operated by Toledo enterprise. Several members of a Comstock family of Toledo apparently were the moving spirits in the road. 3 The line was not incorporated in Ohio, as this was before the Ohio-Michigan boundary was defined, and before Michigan was a state. 4 The charter was proposed to the Michigan territorial legislature by a brother of the Comstocks who was a Michigan member of that body. 5 No other railroad was in existence west of the Alleghenies at the time of the proposal, as has been pointed out, and the majority of the legislature, naturally not regarding the idea seriously, said afterwards that they voted for the charter because it would do no harm and still please the Comstocks of Toledo. 6

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3 Ibid., Vol. I., page 255.


"Erie & Kalamazoo" was the name given to the road, because it was to run from Lake Erie to the headwaters of the Kalamazoo River. The road's title, like a good many, proved too ambitious for it, and the western terminus became Adrian, thirty-three miles from the starting point at Port Lawrence. Eleven miles of the route turned out to be in Ohio after the settlement of the Michigan-Ohio boundary dispute.

We have said that the original plan was for wooden rails and horse power. The first train on the road ran from Toledo to Adrian on October 3, 1836, drawn by horses. The first steam locomotive west of the Alleghenies was the "Adrian", No. 80 of the Baldwin Locomotive works, which displaced the horsepower on the line. Brought from Philadelphia to Toledo by water, it arrived at its destination on June 20, 1837. The locomotive went in service in July, 1837, and soon astonished people by attaining a speed of twenty miles per hour.

Like the Ohio Railroad, this pioneer road had one unique feature. That was the "Pleasure Car", also sometimes

7 In the Annual Report of the President and Directors, 1877, L.S. & M.S. Ry., is a sketch of the Erie & Kalamazoo, pages 51, 53, and 54. An item from the Toledo Blade is quoted, date Jan. 20, 1837, announcing the arrival of Adrian Baldwin No. 80. Winter says that the locomotive reached there in June. Since it had to come via Erie Canal and Lake Erie, it can hardly have arrived in January. In another place in the Annual Report of the L.S. & M.S. the locomotive is reported as arriving on June 20, 1837. Apparently the January date was a misprint.

spoken of as the "Gothic Car". It had three compartments, each having a capacity for eight passengers. The roof was curved, and the windows and doors gave it somewhat of a medieval-church aspect. Fare charged on the "Pleasure Car" from Toledo to Adrian was $2.25, against $1.50 in the ordinary "Lumber Car". In all the Toledo histories I have referred to, a drawing appears of a train on the E. & K. R.R. with the "Pleasure Car". Dunbar, in his comprehensive history of travel in America, gives some space to a discussion of the Erie & Kalamazoo, and reproduces one of the drawings shown in the Toledo histories.  

The roadbed of the Erie & Kalamazoo, while hardly as unique as that of its Ohio Railroad contemporary, is worthy of some comment, and may help explain the curious stilt-roadbed of the Ohio venture. Sometimes the strap iron rail attached to the oak would work loose. Especially after a rain the soil on which the ties were laid would become slippery and unstable, and sections of the track would not fit properly. Often this would cause derailments, and on one trip at high speed, the strap rail broke loose from the oak and penetrated the floor of the "Pleasure Car", actually endangering the lives of the passengers. There is no


record that the Ohio Railroad construction engineers saw this road in operation, but the state of the roadbed might have given Cyrus Williams, chief engineer of the Ohio Railroad, a superiority complex.

The Erie & Kalamazoo was not prosperous. It had a difficult time of it, and actually went into a receivership in 1842, the only receivership suffered by any of the companies that later constituted the Lake Shore.11 Hard times and the operations of the new road built by the state of Michigan brought about this receivership.

The state of Michigan, after its creation in 1837, embarked upon ambitious railroad and canal projects. Three railroads, the Southern Michigan, Central Michigan, and Northern Michigan were proposed, and a loan of $5,000,000 provided for the projects through the state legislature.12 The Southern Michigan started at Monroe, and became a competitor of the Erie & Kalamazoo. By 1839 eighteen miles from Monroe to Petersburg were completed, by 1840 it reached Adrian and the line of the Erie & Kalamazoo, and by 1843 it was opened to Hillsdale, thirty-three miles west of Adrian.13 Monroe and Toledo, both being at the west end of

12 Ibid., page 55.
13 Ibid., page 55.
Lake Erie, were competitors for transshipments of lake traffic, especially after the two roads met at Adrian in 1840, and by 1843 the Southern Michigan was in a stronger position because it extended even further west. An easterner, Willard J. Daniels, was appointed receiver of the Erie & Kalamazoo in 1842.14

The competition was between a state-owned line and road operated by private capital. However, in 1846 the state of Michigan sold its road to a Michigan Southern Railroad Company for $500,000, and granted it a charter.15 The Erie & Kalamazoo was sold in 1848 to eastern capital under accumulated judgments.16 The Baldwin Locomotive Works had a claim against the Erie & Kalamazoo for eighty per cent of the price of the two locomotives which it had built for the company, and these claims were paid by the new owners.17 On May 25, 1849, the Erie & Kalamazoo was leased by its new owners to the Michigan Southern Railroad of Michigan.18 Toledo capital was not directly involved in the Erie & Kalamazoo after the sale of 1848, and Ohio interests were not concerned

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17 Waggoner, op. cit., page 403.

18 Ohio R.R. Com. Rep. for 1870, Vol. I, p. 198. In the L.S. & M.S. Ann. Rep. 1877, August 1, 1849, is given as the date for the lease. Possibly an agreement was reached on May 25 of that year for the lease, which was to take place August 1. Otherwise, I do not account for the date discrepancy.
directly with financial operations of the Michigan Southern. The "Old Road" from Toledo to Elkhart today, 143 miles long, had its inception with the Erie & Kalamazoo, the first thirty-three miles of the route going west of Toledo. In 1849 the Litchfield interests, which had bought the Southern Michigan from the state of Michigan, acquired control of the Northern Indiana Railroad Company, which had been incorporated in Indiana under the title "Buffalo & Mississippi".  

The Litchfield interests pushed construction westward, and on May 22, 1852, the first train passed over the Michigan Southern Railroad and on over the Northern Indiana from Toledo to Chicago. These two roads were consolidated on April 25, 1855.

That part of the main line of the New York Central from Toledo to Elkhart, today known as the Air Line, was incorporated as the Northern Indiana Railroad Company of Ohio, March 3, 1851. The road was built by the Litchfield interests, which had acquired the old Southern Michigan from the state to form the Michigan Southern, and later the Northern Indiana. The Northern Indiana of Ohio was built

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with the idea of preventing, if possible, construction in the same territory of a potential competitor, the Junction Railroad, which was pushing its plans for western expansion early in 1851, headed by former State Supreme Court Judge Ebenezer Lane of Elyria. Both the Michigan Southern and the Northern Indiana realized that the line might affect them, and so they jointly proceeded to build their own line in this much desired territory. Promoters of the Junction Railroad approached citizens of Williams County for financial support. To offset the effect of this, the Litchfield interests did not ask for subscriptions, but merely requested sufficient land to construct a right of way. This action of the Litchfield people was a heavy blow to the Junction interests of Ebenezer Lane, and they modified their idea of western expansion. The construction of the Air Line was pushed forward by the Litchfields. The town of Wauseon, Ohio, on the Air Line today, was laid out by four men in the year 1854, two of whom were Epaphras Barber and John M. Sargent, civil engineers of the railroad. By 1854 the road was in operation between Toledo and Delta, a distance of

23 Full references to the Junction Railroad will appear in the next section of this chapter.


twenty-five miles. It was possible to leave Delta at twelve o'clock noon, and return at seven-thirty in the evening.\(^{27}\) Finally, on June 8, 1857, "Time-table No. 1" went into effect on the Air Line between Toledo and Elkhart. At first, one train a day made the 133-mile trip, making the journey in nine hours.\(^{28}\)

Construction of this road was part of a large expense incurred by the Michigan Southern and the Northern Indiana roads. After their consolidation of 1855, previously cited, the road experienced considerable difficulty from the panic of 1857. In addition to constructing the Air Line and the Detroit, Monroe, & Toledo Road, it had built two boats for the Lake Erie trade, the "Western Metropolis" and the "City of Buffalo", thus draining its finances. The directors of the line were forced to resign, and a new board, elected on October 1, 1857, had to borrow chairs from neighboring offices in New York to hold its meeting, because creditors took everything that could be classed as property assets.\(^{29}\) However, instead of going into receivership, somehow the company was able to stave off creditors. In 1860 a controlling interest in the stock of the Michigan Southern &

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\(^{28}\) Reighard, op. cit., Vol. I., page 212.

Northern Indiana was bought by a Mr. Henry Keep at a low figure. The road recuperated rapidly after the Civil War began.  

The Junction Railroad received its charter in 1846. Ebenezer Lane was the moving spirit and one of the promoters was Herman Ely of the old Ohio Railroad. R. P. Buckland of Fremont, one-time law partner of Rutherford B. Hayes, was another supporter. The Junction Railroad's charter was amended twice: first, to authorize transporting of goods and passengers across the Maumee by ferry or other means that would not interfere with river navigation, and second, to authorize the extension of the road to the western boundary of the state. We have discussed already the result of the invasion of Williams County by the Junction forces, and saw them come out of it second best.

The stock books of the Junction road were opened at the

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32 History of Lorain County, Ohio, Williams Brothers, Philadelphia, 1879, page 45.


Beebe House in Elyria on May 29, 1850.\(^{35}\) On June 23 of the same year subscriptions were received in Sandusky.\(^{36}\) Soon after the contract was let on November 17, 1850, work began.\(^{37}\)

The Junction Railroad did not go along smoothly. In common with a good many roads it had to wrestle with canal interests, in this instance those of the town of Milan. The Milan Canal Company, representing the little grain shipping town about seven miles inland from Huron, objected in court to a railroad bridge over the Huron River, presumably on the ground that the Northwest Ordinance guaranteed the unobstructed use of navigable streams. In this skirmish the railroad was upheld, since the bridge did not interfere with the type of boat then in vogue between Milan and Huron.\(^{38}\)

In addition to the canal interests the Junction Road encountered a rival railroad project. Norwalk people were launching a line which would be a competitor, and at the Huron County court house a board of directors was selected on September 24, 1850.\(^{39}\) This rival road was more prompt


\(^{37}\) *Idem*.

\(^{38}\) *Haggoner, op. cit.*, page 409.

than the Junction road in securing funds from the public, and acted with greater capacity.\(^{40}\)

The Junction Railroad, instead of going into Toledo, engaged in a contest with the Northern Indiana and lost out. The Norwalk line, in the face of opposition from Maumee River trade, sought and received considerable support from Toledo. It did not attempt to bridge the Maumee, but tactfully began construction of its line on the east bank of the river. The Junction road, still avoiding Toledo after the beginning of 1861, graded its line from Millbury through to Swanton, and actually built a bridge over the Maumee River at the little town of Maumee.\(^{41}\) This line was never in operation and the bridge was sold in 1866.\(^{42}\)

Between Sandusky and Toledo the Junction road experienced further difficulty. Its rival Norwalk line was going to proceed from a point west of Cleveland on the Cleveland, Columbus, & Cincinnati Railroad through Norwalk and Fremont to Toledo.\(^{43}\) The Junction road could not hope to carry its line west of Sandusky to Fremont or into the Toledo area without conflicting with the other line's sphere of

\(^{40}\) Waggoner, op. cit., page 407.


influence. Therefore it decided to build across Sandusky Bay, through Port Clinton, and thence to the western boundary of the state. This projected route crossed the Norwalk line at Millbury. In order to be within the law, the Junction road had to charter another line, the Port Clinton Railroad, to continue the undertaking along this new route, which entailed extra litigation for the Junction Railroad promoters. 45

The Junction road was most successful between Berea and Sandusky. By the spring of 1851 grading was accomplished between Elyria and Olmstead, and culverts had been put in. 46 Even with this bit of success, construction had not proceeded far enough to enable the road to run trains before it was absorbed by the Cleveland & Toledo Railroad, in September, 1853.

The Norwalk line was the more aggressive of the two rival companies, before they were merged into the Cleveland & Toledo Railroad. By popular subscription it raised $50,000 in Toledo, $40,000 in Fremont, $20,000 in Bellevue.

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44 This line was incorporated to be an agent for the Junction Railroad. Its incorporators were Ebenezer Lane, W. F. Stone, C. C. Kerch, Earl Bill, and H. S. Flint, as acknowledged before the Justice of the Peace, October 9, 1852, certified by Clark, Common Pleas Court, Erie County, October 11, 1852. See the Ohio R. R. Com. Rep., 1870, Vol. I, page 221.


46 Cleveland Daily True Democrat, March 21, 1851.
$54,000 in Norwalk, and $15,000 in Oberlin. In 1853 the line connected with the Cleveland, Columbus, & Cincinnati Railroad at Grafton, twenty-five miles west of Cleveland. The C.C. & C. had been in operation since February 18, 1851. On January 24, 1853, the first train was run on this route between Toledo and Cleveland. Services started on the western portion of the road before the line was completed. For a short time one could travel from Cleveland to Toledo by way of the C.C. & C. to Shelby, then north to Monroeville on the Sandusky, Mansfield & Newark, (now part of the Baltimore & Ohio), and from Monroeville to Toledo on the newly constructed line. The first train on the limited portion of the line to arrive in Toledo came in on December 20, 1852.

From January 24, 1853, until September 1, 1853, the Toledo, Norwalk, & Cleveland was in operation as a corporate entity. According to an agreement of July 15 of the same year the T.N. & C. and the Junction road were merged on September 1, with the understanding that the newly formed company, the Cleveland & Toledo Railroad, would complete the line of the Junction Railroad from Sandusky to Millbury.

47 Waggoner, op. cit., page 408.


49 Cleveland Herald, January 24, 1853.

50 Waggoner, op. cit., page 407.
and from Berea to Cleveland. 51 On September 13, 1853, the first train arrived in Sandusky from Cleveland, having used the track of the Cleveland, Columbus, & Cincinnati road to Berea, and the track the Junction line had constructed from Berea to Sandusky. 52 The Cleveland & Toledo also completed the unfinished line of the Junction road between West Cleveland, or Ohio City as it was still called, and Berea, and on October 20, 1853, a train was run from Cleveland to Sandusky all the way on the tracks projected, and for the most part built by the Junction road. 53 The Cleveland & Toledo continued with the unfinished portion of the Junction's line across Sandusky Bay and through Port Clinton to Millbury, and a train ran to Toledo over this section, the northern division via Sandusky, for the first time on April 24, 1855. 54 Due to the panic of 1857, the Cleveland & Toledo was obliged to reduce its maintenance and operating costs, and so abandoned twenty-five miles of the northern division, between Oak Harbor and Sandusky. This abandoned part included the bridge over the bay. On December 31, 1858, the last

51 For the merger of the two companies, see the Ohio R.R. Com. Rep., 1870, Vol. I, page 220.

52 Cleveland Daily True Democrat, September 15, 1853, quoting the Sandusky Register, September 14, 1853.


train was run from Port Clinton into Sandusky and the track was soon taken up. 55

The northern division was operated then as two branches, Millbury to Oak Harbor, and Cleveland via Berea and Elyria to Sandusky, between December 31, 1858, and the restoration of the route in 1872. The first train with the resumption of the route arrived in Sandusky from Port Clinton on March 12, 1872. 56 Complete service from Toledo to Sandusky and Cleveland was resumed on May 5, 1872. 57

From 1858 to 1872 the southern division was the main line. It used the Cleveland-Grafton section of the Cleveland, Columbus, & Cincinnati road from 1853 until September 10, 1866. After that date the Cleveland & Toledo abandoned the tracks between Grafton and Oberlin, but continued using the tracks of the C.C. & C., the first twelve miles west of Cleveland to Berea. At Berea it connected with the tracks of its own northern division, proceeded to Elyria, and thence to Oberlin, over a newly constructed stretch of track not quite nine miles long. 58 This made the junction of the northern and southern divisions at Elyria. The new southern


division route was about one mile longer from Cleveland to Toledo than the route via Grafton, but it conferred two advantages on the Cleveland & Toledo road, first, it cut down the train mileage rental of thirteen miles of the C.C. & O., between Berea and Grafton, and second, it added the populous and growing town of Elyria to the main line. The fall schedules went into effect September 10, 1866, on all roads in the Cleveland district, and this may have been the reason for opening the line on September 10. The first passenger train ever to traverse this route was a rather famous special train, bearing President Andrew Johnson and his staff on his "swing around the circle" in 1866. This train came through on September 4, 1866, six days before the route was opened for regular service. Chronologically, the Toledo, Norwalk, & Cleveland road at its completion in 1853 was the last section of the all rail route of the present day Chicago-New York and Boston line of the New York Central.

Geographically, we have traced the growth of the lines from the west to the east. And so now we shall deal with the eastern section of the line in Ohio, the Cleveland, Painesville, & Ashtabula Railroad. Although it was incorporated with the long name, Clevelanders called it the

59 For the route of President Johnson's special train, I took the account in the Cleveland Leader, September 4, 1866.
"Lake Shore" and the "South Shore", even before it was built. On February 18, 1848, the road was incorporated, with the authority to construct a line from Cleveland via Eriesville to the Pennsylvania state line, with the power to connect there with any road incorporated in that state by the Pennsylvania legislature.\textsuperscript{60}

At the turn of the half-century, Cleveland was making railroad history fast, and much enthusiasm about railroads is noticeable in the newspapers. Through all discouragements, the Cleveland-Columbus road was becoming a reality. On November 3, 1849, Clevelanders actually saw the first locomotive in their city operate on the Cleveland-Columbus road.\textsuperscript{61} It had been a long struggle from the incorporation of that road in 1836.\textsuperscript{62} The press carried news of lines coming to Cleveland. "There will soon be three railroad routes from New York to Galena, all through Cleveland. They will unite eight states, and commercial interest to be secured cannot be regarded as any more important than political."\textsuperscript{63}

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\textsuperscript{61} Orth, Samuel P., op. cit., Vol. I, page 730.


\textsuperscript{63} Cleveland Daily True Democrat, December 17, 1850.
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On August 1, 1849, a meeting of subscribers of stock to the Cleveland, Rainesville, & Ashtabula Railroad was held at the Wadell House in Cleveland.64 Heman B. Ely of the defunct Ohio Railroad Company was the first president of the company. In construction, this road was to reap the benefit of mistakes made in the earlier days of railway building. Instead of strap-rails of the period fifteen years previous, this line was to have sturdy iron T-rails imported from England. They were from twelve to eighteen feet long, and weighed fifty-six pounds to the yard. The running equipment was light and small, judged by modern standards, and equipped, of course, with hand brakes. The motive power consisted of six locomotives, weighing thirty tons apiece. They burned wood, and one train had to run on the line every day to keep up the fuel supply at replenishing points.65

The Lake Shore was now in process of construction after March 20, 1851.66 By August 16 of that year four miles of track were laid east of Cleveland, and nearly sixty miles of the line were graded.67 On November 15, 1851, the editor


66 Cleveland Daily True Democrat, March 20, 1851.

67 Ibid., August 16, 1851.
of the *Daily True Democrat*, as one of a party which included among others the directors of the three roads then centering at Cleveland, rode to Rainsville and back on the first train that ever ran along the south shore of Lake Erie. 68

Nearly everyone in Rainsville was pleased immensely. However, an anonymous correspondent of the *Daily True Democrat* was not in accord with the great haste of the moment. He noticed that the track layers continued their work on the Sabbath, and could see no necessity for such desecration. 69

In spite of the speedy track layers, the road did not reach Erie until November 20, 1852. 70 On November 14, 1852, the Cleveland Herald said that there was happy news for the traveler in this weather, for the Lake Shore road would soon be completed to Erie. It pointed out that with the connection at Erie, it would eliminate the hazards of Lake Erie travel to Buffalo at this time of year. 71 Four days after this article appeared, and two days before the road

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68 Cleveland *Daily True Democrat*, November 17, 1851.

69 Ibid., December 2, 1851.


71 Cleveland Herald, Nov. 14, 1852. The Erie & Northeast Railroad had been placed in operation on January 19, 1852, while the Buffalo & State Line had opened from the Pennsylvania state line to Dunkirk on January 1, 1852, and to Buffalo on February 22, 1852. See *Ann. Rep., Pres. & Dir., L.S. & M.S. Ry.*, Year ending 1877, pages 60 and 61.
was finished, the steamer Oneida, a passenger and freight packet, had been seen by boat crews off shore at Dunkirk with its keel up, having capsized in a storm, with all on board lost.72

This brings our account of the beginnings of the Lake Shore quite to the eastern boundary of the state. We must mention the one disadvantage in the construction of the road, namely the frequent ravines east of Cleveland, over which bridges and fills had to be constructed. In the early days trains were not heavy, and slow speed had to be enforced. Later, in the Civil War period and afterward, iron bridges were erected at some points, but these were constructed in the pioneer days of structural iron work. While the bridges were examined with care and apparently were durable, accidents sometimes occurred. The terrible Ashtabula accident and the Angola bridge accident took place in these ravines, which are cut out by the rivers as they near the shore of Lake Erie. The ravines constituted the chief construction problem of the road engineers of the line. With this reference to the topography of the line east of Cleveland, we bring this chapter to a conclusion.

72 Cleveland Herald, November 18, 1852.
Chapter IV

The Formative Stage. Grouping of Lines. Effects of the Civil War. Interesting Incidents

We are now ready to proceed to the formative stage in the development of the Lake Shore, noting the early competition and later formation of common interests, due to the welding of east-west trade in the Civil War period.

The directors of the Cleveland, Painesville, & Ashtabula were thrust early into the position of officers of an important strategic through line. Almost from the first it was regarded as an extension of the Cleveland, Columbus, & Cincinnati. A whole publication was issued in 1854, dealing solely with the new rail route from Cincinnati, Ohio, to Erie, Pennsylvania. The Cleveland, Painesville, & Ashtabula was thus forced into a through line position, and was destined to be in the path of progress.

From Cleveland to Buffalo the first stage of the rail

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1 Cincinnati, Columbus, Cleveland, and Erie Railroad Guide, Ohio State Journal Company, Columbus, 1854. The C.F. & A., after it reached Erie in November 1852, advertised its train services in the paper under the heading "Cleveland & Erie Railroad."
journey was on the C.P. & A. to Erie on a gauge of less than five feet. The second stage, from Erie to the Pennsylvania-New York western boundary, was on the Erie & Northeast Railroad, which, although it was only twenty miles long, had a gauge of six feet, which was to prove troublesome. At the state line the last stage of the trip was reached, and the traveler returned to a road with the same gauge as the C.P. & A. for the remainder of the ride to Buffalo.

Erie, by virtue of its location on both the little line and the broad gauge, was enjoying the position of bottleneck in a growing east-west traffic, where passengers and freight had to be transferred. Local teamsters, innkeepers, and grog-shop operators found that the town was prosperous, because of the break in the journey. The railroad managers, and most of the press outside of Pennsylvania, saw that this situation could not continue. A Cleveland paper mentioned that in spite of the change at Erie, the "lightning train" carried its passengers from Cleveland to Buffalo in six and a half hours. The railroad managers of the Buffalo & State Line and the Erie & Northeast agreed on November 16, 1853.

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2 Ann. Rep., Pres. & Dir., L.S. & M.S. Ry., Year ending 1877, page 60. From the data at hand, I am unable to tell whether this gauge on the C.P. & A. was four feet, ten inches, or four feet, eight inches.

3 Cleveland Daily True Democrat, July 15, 1853.
1853, that business should go through Erie without transfer, and to accomplish this, the Erie & Northeast set about to reduce its gauge from six feet to the narrower gauge, thus making a uniform gauge from Cleveland to Buffalo. A bitter fight resulted, in which the citizens of Erie went to war against the railroad company, and tore up the track. Philadelphia interests and the governor of the state, opposed to New York interests, encouraged Erie to resist. However, the railroads finally won out in the courts and traffic was restored on February 1, 1854, after a period of interference lasting from the closing of the road on December 7, 1853.⁴

The state of Pennsylvania suffered a defeat, but in turn inflicted a heavy blow upon the Cleveland, Massillon, & Ashtabula, by requiring the road to subscribe to $500,000 in bonds of the Sunbury & Erie Railroad.⁵ The state accomplished this by authorizing the C.P. & A. to purchase the Franklin Canal Company, which had built the railroad from Erie westward in the state of Pennsylvania to the state boundary between Pennsylvania and Ohio, there connecting.


with the C.P. & A. This legislation put the C.P. & A. in an unenviable position. Either it had to accept the ownership of the Franklin Canal Company's line, and then assume the bonds of the Sunbury & Erie, or else obtain a charter for another road parallel to it, in order to reach its connection at Erie. Such a procedure would entail a large outlay for new road construction, in the remote event that the state would grant a charter. Undoubtedly the cheapest way out was to accept the verdict of the state. This final outcome of the Erie War was therefore detrimental to the C.P. & A., and certainly the added financial burden inflicted by Pennsylvania politicians was a retarding factor in the road's history.

Like the Ohio Railroad, the Lake Shore contended against the idea that a railroad along the shore would never be able to compete with lake transportation. At first, it appears that the protagonists of water transport had ample grounds for opposition to the road. Commercial sailing vessels and steamboats were an old story on the lake long before railroads. Lighthouses were established at Buffalo and Erie in 1818, Cleveland in 1820, and at the Marblehead side of Sandusky Bay in 1821. The pioneer

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6 For the charter of the Franklin Canal Company, which built the C.P. & A. connection from the western state line of Pennsylvania to Erie, see Laws of Pennsylvania, 1844, as cited in Ohio R.R. Com. Rep., Vol. 1, 1870, pages 223-226.

steamer on Lake Erie, the Walk-in-the-Water, had been placed in operation in 1818. Even with few navigation aids, a regular steamboat line was organized in 1827 to make tri-weekly trips from Buffalo to Detroit, with intermediate stops at principal towns on the south shore. In 1838 a line giving daily service between Buffalo and Toledo was started. In 1841 the United States Army Corps of Engineers started surveys of the Great Lakes in United States waters. These surveys complemented earlier Canadian surveys of Commodore Owen and Captain Barrie of the Royal Navy, which were completed in 1825. In addition, in 1835 Admiral Bayfield, of the Royal Navy, completed another set of charts with detailed channel markings for mariners in Canadian waters, handy for ship owners in the Buffalo-Detroit trade.

Lake Erie had become a modern Mediterranean, in miniature, and ship lines were becoming established through years of experience of mariners, who knew every channel. In the spring of 1841 aggressive lake men were operating fifty steamboats on Lake Erie. The business was so profitable that it was claimed that two new boats built

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10 Ibid.


in 1843 cleared their construction costs in 1844.\textsuperscript{13} It
is not surprising that railroad promoters could not arouse
enthusiasm for their projects in towns along the shore.

Moreover, competition in the '50's, with ever ex-
panding commerce, was not confined exclusively to the
packet lines. Even railroads made large investments in
this profitable trade, as commercial interchange between
allied boat and railroad interests at the heads of naviga-
tion tended to swell traffic for both agencies. From To-
ledo to Buffalo, the Michigan Southern & Northern Indiana
Railroad ran a boat line in competition with the railroads
along the shore that later merged with it,\textsuperscript{14} and we have
shown how the construction of the two floating palaces,
"Western Metropolis" and "City of Buffalo", nearly ruined
that line in the panic of 1857. On January 5, 1852, the
Michigan Central Railroad announced completion of two new
boats, "Forest City" and "Cleveland", especially constructed
for Cleveland-Detroit service. They were announced as
ready for the 1852 season. Emigrants, with their families,
teams, and cattle would receive special attention. At
Detroit passengers would leave the steamer, and be conveyed
by train to Chicago over the Michigan Central's newly
constructed line.\textsuperscript{15}

\begin{itemize}
  \item[14] \textit{Ibid.}
  \item[15] \textit{Cleveland Daily True Democrat,} January 5, 1852.
\end{itemize}
Nor was this all. In 1853 the New York Central Railroad and the Cleveland, Columbus, & Cincinnati each purchased a one-third interest in two lake boats, "Queen of the West" and "Crescent City". By 1863 the New York Central Railroad was operating a fleet of eight passenger boats on Lake Erie, while the Erie Railroad had a flotilla of seven boats between Buffalo and Toledo.16 Thus we see that the lines of the Lake Shore had plenty of lake-boat competition.

Between 1827 and 1864 the average date for the opening of navigation in the spring on Lake Erie was April 15.17 This made for a long competition period, eight months, or two-thirds of a year. By December 1 navigation on Lake Erie was usually hazardous, due to heavy storms or the presence of ice, so that the railroad could be sure of a large business only during the winter months.

However, with the technical advance in railroad operation and the resulting increase in speed and safety, the passenger traffic on Lake Erie vessels was reduced greatly, and many fine boats were put out of commission after the Civil War. The lines that remained in business realized that their main object was to attract leisurely

16 Wagoner, op. cit., pages 457-459.

17 Ibid.
tourist travel, which was not in too big a hurry to enjoy the beauties and comfort of lake voyages.\textsuperscript{18}

In addition to the lake transportation a formidable rail rival appeared along the north shore of Lake Erie in the embryonic period of the south shore route. This line was authorized as early as 1845. Under the name Great Western Railway of Canada, this namesake of its illustrious British cousin was to extend from the Niagara frontier to Windsor, opposite Detroit.\textsuperscript{19} It received active support from five of the companies between Buffalo and Albany that later comprised the New York Central. The presidents of several of these lines attempted to formulate a joint advantageous policy in respect to westward expansion, and delivered an opinion that no line of roads built from New York or New England to the Mississippi Valley would be as short, straight or moderate in elevation as the Great Western of Canada. Moreover, these rail managers backed up their sentiments with hard cash. The investments of the companies in the Great Western were as follows:\textsuperscript{20}

\begin{tabular}{lccc}
 & & & \\
Albany & & & \\
&Schenectady & & 25,000 \\
Utica & & & 200,000 \\
Syracuse & & & 75,000 \\
Rochester & & & 125,000 \\
& Niagara Falls & & 75,000 \\
Total & & & $500,000 \\
\end{tabular}

\textsuperscript{18} Cuthbertson, \textit{op. cit.}, page 248.


These lines and five others between Albany and Buffalo consolidated in 1853 as the New York Central Railroad, and the stock in the Canadian road was retained by the consolidated company.

The Erie Railroad was pushing its line at this same time westward to Dunkirk from New York. The Buffalo & State Line, later the eastern section of the Lake Shore, operating in 1852, also concerned the group of managers between Buffalo and Albany. They saw that the Erie had an interest in western expansion along the south shore of Lake Erie, and decided that it would be good policy to invest in the Buffalo and State Line, to ward off Erie domination in the territory. The investments of the companies in the Buffalo & State Line, also retained after the New York Central consolidation of 1853, were as follows: 21

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Company</th>
<th>Investment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Syracuse &amp; Utica</td>
<td>$63,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rochester &amp; Syracuse</td>
<td>$105,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buffalo &amp; Rochester</td>
<td>$94,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>$263,200</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Great Western Railway of Canada was completed from Niagara Falls to Windsor in 1854, about one year after the completion of the Lake Shore's lines. The Michigan Central had been completed from Detroit to Chicago in 1852, and so the Great Western and Michigan Central together formed a competitive line with the precursors of the Lake

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Shore. It is worth noting that the New York Central and twice as big an investment in the north shore route as in the south shore route.

In 1856 the Great Western overcame a difficulty at the Niagara gorge by constructing a suspension bridge, thus connecting directly with its New York Central allies. Still, the Canadian route had serious obstacles: the ferry between Detroit and Windsor, and its gauge of five feet, six inches. It put down a third rail to accommodate cars of American gauge, making extreme difficulties at switches and sidings. However, the road was a success and interchanged a great deal of traffic with the Michigan Central. In the spring of 1856, during a period of forty-eight hours, the Michigan Southern, western section of the south shore line, had eight trains into Chicago, a total of eighty-one coaches, and 4,000 passengers. During this same period the Michigan Central, western section of the north shore line, brought in six trains, a total of sixty-three coaches, and 4,622 passengers.23

The demand for increased transportation between east and west during the Civil War proved to be a great boon for the lake shore, although the line was not concerned

22 Wilgus, op. cit., page 82.

23 Washington Daily Union, April 16, 1856.
directly with the battle-front. One might suppose, therefore, that the lines of the Lake Shore were too far from the field of conflict to be affected by the war. But war is not like that. The natural development of north-south traffic was arrested, and in place of it came new demands upon the east-west channels of trade. Southern ports could not export United States goods during the war, although there was a demand for the things they formerly exported. The Northern capacity for trade had been enlarged by the overbuilding of railroad lines prior to 1857. With northern agricultural and industrial expansion, trans-Atlantic trade continued, and the European demand for American breadstuffs did not stop with the war.24 The production and export of an abundant harvest in 1861 helped the credit of the United States government abroad. Quick communication between the Mississippi Valley and Atlantic coast was therefore vital to our country.25 Railroad activity in the north was stimulated in this period as never before. The trend of traffic is illustrated well by the eastbound tonnage of agricultural products carried by the New York Central Railroad during

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25 Fish, C. R., "The Northern Railroads, 1861", in American Historical Review, 1917, XII, 778-793.
the Civil War period, as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Tonnage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td>138,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1861</td>
<td>238,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1862</td>
<td>307,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1863</td>
<td>276,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1864</td>
<td>237,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is noticeable that the year 1861 shows an increase of 100,000 tons, or 70%, approximately, over that of 1860. All other years of the Civil War show at least twice as much tonnage as that of 1860.

Freight forwarded from Chicago on the Michigan Southern & Northern Indiana during the Civil War period shows the same tendency as that of the New York Central figures, but not quite as marked. The chief thing to notice is the comparison with the 1860 figure:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Tonnage</th>
<th>Rate/ton-mile</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td>110,886</td>
<td>2.157¢</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1861</td>
<td>150,734</td>
<td>2.092¢</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1862</td>
<td>196,416</td>
<td>2.099¢</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1863</td>
<td>197,301</td>
<td>2.296¢</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1864</td>
<td>140,496</td>
<td>2.833¢</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The rates given above are ton-mile averages for each year. Of course there were general fluctuations in rates throughout the Civil War. In 1861 and 1862 a slight decrease in rates occurred, then came a 7% increase in 1863 over 1860, and in 1864 a 27% increase over 1860. The rates are interesting in combination with the gross earnings, which are tabulated for each one of the roads of the

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26 Murphey, Hermon K., "The Northern Railroads and the Civil War", in Mississippi Valley Historical Review, 1918, V, 324-328.

Lake Shore during the Civil War period.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Mich. &amp; So.</th>
<th>Cleveland &amp; Toledo</th>
<th>Cleveland &amp; Painesville &amp; Ashtabula</th>
<th>Buffalo &amp; Erie</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Lake Shore</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td>$2,068,897</td>
<td>$388,500</td>
<td>$1,069,325</td>
<td>$918,021</td>
<td>$4,945,843</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1861</td>
<td>2,167,280</td>
<td>955,959</td>
<td>1,244,975</td>
<td>1047,307</td>
<td>5,415,521</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1862</td>
<td>3,223,329</td>
<td>1,167,545</td>
<td>1,629,126</td>
<td>1,386,611</td>
<td>7,411,611</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1863</td>
<td>3,296,094</td>
<td>1,579,511</td>
<td>2,076,185</td>
<td>1,724,084</td>
<td>8,675,874</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1864</td>
<td>4,120,151</td>
<td>1,985,308</td>
<td>2,429,628</td>
<td>2,030,062</td>
<td>10,565,721</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

By interpreting these figures with the average ton-mile rate, it is possible to prove that traffic increased considerably during the Civil War period. While the ton-mile rate in 1864 had increased 27% over the rate of 1860 for the Lake Shore lines as a whole, revenues in 1864 had increased 114%, thus showing a tremendous increase in tonnage. On the Cleveland & Toledo revenues had increased 125% over 1860, and on the Cleveland, Painesville & Ashtabula 126%.

The traffic in Ohio had increased a bit more than the traffic on the Lake Shore as a whole during the Civil War period.

The census figures for 1850, 1860, and 1870, are valuable as an index in traffic demands. I give below the census figures for the six largest towns on the Lake Shore.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Town</th>
<th>1850</th>
<th>1860</th>
<th>1870</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chicago</td>
<td>29,963</td>
<td>109,260</td>
<td>298,977</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toledo</td>
<td>3,829</td>
<td>13,768</td>
<td>31,584</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Detroit</td>
<td>21,019</td>
<td>45,619</td>
<td>79,357</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cleveland</td>
<td>17,600</td>
<td>45,417</td>
<td>92,829</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Erie</td>
<td>2,363</td>
<td>9,419</td>
<td>19,646</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buffalo</td>
<td>42,261</td>
<td>81,129</td>
<td>117,714</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

29 Ibid., 1880, page 47.
It is interesting to note that Toledo quadrupled in population in the decade 1850-1860, and that it more than doubled its population in the decade of 1860-1870. Cleveland more than doubled its population in both decades. All towns on the route were experiencing substantial increases, and it is only natural then to expect phenomenal growth in transportation facilities during these decades, considering population trends.

We must admit that any set of figures is open to several interpretations, but, in general, all these figures show the same trend. Probably the butter and egg consumption, or any other item selected in these periods of growth would be subject to the same numerical tendencies. We can leave the statistics with the feeling that they have a definite significance.

Along with the humdrum of daily existence with ordinary freight and passenger trains on the road, occasionally some unusual occurrence would take place. Railroad station platforms were becoming the meeting points of voters and candidates. One of the most interesting events in the annals of the Lake Shore is the trip of Mr. Lincoln from Springfield, Illinois, to his inauguration in Washington in the late winter of 1861. On February 15, 1861, Mr. Lincoln’s special train arrived in Cleveland from Pittsburgh at 4:10 p.m., at the Euclid Street station of the Cleveland & Pittsburgh Railroad, today the C. & P. division of the Pennsylvania Railroad. The Lake Shore Road seems to
have taken the responsibility for Mr. Lincoln's safety as soon as he set foot in Cleveland, for Mr. Henry Nottingham, superintendent of the line, drove the carriage, drawn by four white horses, which conveyed Mr. Lincoln from the train to the hotel downtown. It was announced that Mr. Lincoln would leave Cleveland the following morning on a Lake Shore train at 9:00 a.m. for his next overnight stop at Buffalo. 30

On February 16 everything was ready on time. Again Superintendent Nottingham stepped to the front, this time as conductor. The engine, the "William Case", was decorated with flags as a special honor to the president-elect. As the train drew slowly out of Cleveland many bystanders rushed out along the track so as to be the last to say good-bye to Mr. Lincoln. He leaned over the back platform and was shaking the hands of four people at once, when one of the agents pulled the pursuers back, as the train was picking up speed. People along the route cheered and were anxious to give the president-elect a hearty greeting.

At Euclid a cannon salute was fired, but unfortunately William Hazeen, the man who exploded it, had a hand blown off in the process, due to the gun's faulty mechanism. At Willoughby the train stopped long enough for Mr. Lincoln to

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30 Cleveland Herald, February 16, 1861.
greet the crowd and to receive the cheers. He got off
the train at Painesville for a huge, though brief, reception.
The train stopped only a moment at Madison, where Mr. Lincoln
bowed to the crowd. At Geneva was another throng, and Ashtabula
turned out a large delegation. At Conneaut a special
platform had been built, and an address of welcome was to
be delivered by a local dignitary, but as the train waited
only a few moments, the address could not be made. The
special reached Erie in time for dinner, and at this point
the Cleveland, Painesville, & Ashtabula's responsibilities
for the president-elect ceased. The journey continued to
Buffalo over the Buffalo & Erie.

Erie was enthusiastic in its reception. One of the
salute-cannons had been used in the Erie War of 1853-1854.
Probably the intense local spirit of Erie as typified by
that cannon was forgotten in the grave manifestations of
sectionalism in the late winter days of 1860-1861. As the
train reached Westfield Mr. Lincoln spoke to another en-
thusiastic audience. Here an incident occurred which is
one of many that have endeared Mr. Lincoln to his contem-
poraries and to posterity. He mentioned that during the
campaign he had received a nice letter from a girl in
Westfield urging him to let his beard grow, because it would
make him more handsome. The girl was a Miss Bedell, and
he took the opportunity to tell her that he had followed
her advice. Immediately it was discovered that Miss Bedell
was in the crowd, and way was made for her to come to the
platform. She was a comely lass of about fifteen, and Mr. Lincoln arose to the occasion by bestowing two hearty kisses upon his young well-wisher. There is something homespun, democratic, and genuine about the public contacts of this great man and his admirers in these instances. The train left Westfield, stopped at Dunkirk, and finally reached Buffalo in time for the evening meal, but police and military preparations were inadequate for the reception. The Cleveland Herald was quick to point out the orderliness at Cleveland in contrast with the condition at both Buffalo and Pittsburgh. One of Mr. Lincoln's military escorts on the train was reported as having said that the reception in Pittsburgh was purgatory, but the one in Buffalo simply was hell. 31

The Lake Shore road was also on the route of the Lincoln funeral train of 1865. Preparations for this train were made in advance, and at the request of Secretary of War Stanton it was preceded every foot of the way from Washington to Springfield by a pilot engine to insure the safety of the road for the special. Contrary to present railway practice, the time of the train was published in the papers in advance of the trip. The special train left Buffalo at 10:10 p.m. on April 27, 1865, over the Buffalo &

31 For the account of Mr. Lincoln's trip on the Lake Shore road from Cleveland to Buffalo I have followed the reports in the Cleveland Herald, February 15, 16, and 17, 1861.
Erie. Mr. Henry Nottingham, superintendent of the Lake Shore, issued a schedule showing the time of the pilot engine and train over the Cleveland, Painesville & Ashtabula Road. The schedule of the train over the Lake Shore was as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Buffalo</td>
<td>10:15 p.m.</td>
<td>(Buffalo &amp; Erie Railroad) April 27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Erie</td>
<td>2:25 a.m.</td>
<td>(Lake Shore, C.P. &amp; A.) April 28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conneaut</td>
<td>3:49</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kingsville</td>
<td>4:09</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ashtabula</td>
<td>4:27</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geneva</td>
<td>4:32</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madison</td>
<td>5:09</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Painesville</td>
<td>5:41</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mentor</td>
<td>5:57</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Willoughby</td>
<td>6:08</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wickliffe</td>
<td>6:20</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Euclid</td>
<td>6:32</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cleveland</td>
<td>7:00</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

On the Lake Shore the pilot engine was scheduled ten minutes in advance of the train. The responsibility of the Lake Shore ceased with the arrival on schedule in Cleveland, where the train was turned over to the Cleveland, Columbus, & Cincinnati Railroad, on which the journey was renewed the same evening. 32 Hushed crowds assembled along the route of the train from Buffalo to Cleveland. Even at those early hours of the morning people turned out to see the train pass.

We have mentioned briefly the special train of President Johnson, which passed over the Lake Shore from Buffalo to Detroit in 1866. Johnson was starting forth on

32 See Cleveland Leader, April 21, 1865, for schedule of the funeral train, and issues of April 27 and 28 for account of trip on Lake Shore.
the "swing around the circle", in an endeavor to convince the country that his plan of restoration for the Southern states was humane, just, and wise. The trip was timed to influence the fall elections of 1866. On September 3, 1866, the train left Niagara Falls over the New York Central for Buffalo. After a three-hour stop there it started for Cleveland over the eastern line of the Lake Shore, the Buffalo & Erie. Mr. Stanton did not provide a pilot engine for this train, as he did for the Lincoln funeral train.

Big crowds were on hand at all stations where the train stopped. A note of hostility to the president is evident in the newspaper account of the trip, and Claude G. Bowers has portrayed it most effectively.33 It may be not unseemly to point out that the crowds were not in the main disrespectful, but showered most of their applause upon General Grant and Admiral Farragut, who were in the presidential party on the trip from Buffalo to Cleveland. The train left Buffalo at 1:10 p.m. on September 3, 1866. At Dunkirk and Westfield large crowds assembled, and at Erie the party left the train to go to a speaker's platform. The crowd hurried up to see the war heroes after the speeches were over, and Grant was kissed several times before he was safely back on the train, which left Erie at 5:00 p.m. Once again our friend Mr. Nottingham was on

hand to superintend the trip on the Lake Shore from Erie to Cleveland. The train stopped at Girard for one minute, but seems not to have stopped at Conneaut. At Ashtabula, Hon. H. E. Payne came aboard, and introduced the various celebrities to the crowd from the rear platform of the train. The paper did not say whether Mr. Payne welcomed Mr. Johnson in the name of the voters of Ohio, or whether he was extending hospitality to him in his capacity as director of the Cleveland, Rainsville, and Ashtabula Railroad. 34

The train continued from Ashtabula westward, and at Rainsville everyone except Grant got off to go to a specially constructed speaker's platform. Such a great clamor went up for a glimpse of Grant that he was obliged to come to the platform. He had to be supported all the way, as he was ill from the effects of diarrhoea. The train finally arrived in Cleveland at 8:30 p.m., at the old C.P. & A. depot. The new depot was not to be opened until November 12, 1866. General Grant and Admiral Farragut did not go to the hotel in Cleveland with the presidential party, but proceeded on to Detroit by a night

lake steamer. 35 The Cleveland & Toledo Railroad, therefore, did not have the honor of conveying the heroes of Appomattox and Mobile Bay over the southern division the next day.

President Johnson pleaded his cause and remained in Cleveland all night, resuming his journey next morning. The principal stopping places and the schedule between Cleveland and Toledo for the train were as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Station</th>
<th>Time</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cleveland Euclid St. Station</td>
<td>9:00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; Lake Shore Station</td>
<td>9:10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; Atlantic &amp; Great Western St.</td>
<td>9:20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Berea</td>
<td>9:40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Olmstead</td>
<td>9:45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ridgeville</td>
<td>10:00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elyria</td>
<td>10:20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oberlin</td>
<td>10:45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Norwalk</td>
<td>11:40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bellevue</td>
<td>12:05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fremont</td>
<td>1:00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Millbury</td>
<td>1:45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toledo</td>
<td>2:55</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The presidential special started in Cleveland on the east side, a considerable distance from the downtown district of those days, at the depot of the Cleveland & Pittsburgh Railroad, approximately the location of the Euclid Avenue station of the Pennsylvania Railroad on Euclid Avenue today. After passing the Lake Shore depot, the special must have proceeded to the tracks of the Cleveland,

35 Conflicting accounts appear as to Farragut's presence on the Cleveland-Detroit rail journey. Detroit dispatches report both Grant's and Farragut's arrival at Detroit on the boat. Some other bluecoated officer may have been mistakenly identified by a landsman as Admiral Farragut. General Custer was one of the party on the trip all the way from Buffalo to Detroit. See the Cleveland Leader, September 4, 1866.
Columbus, & Cincinnati, since it passed the station of the Atlantic & Great Western, now the Erie Railroad station, which curiously enough is on the track of the old C.C. & O. On reaching Berea the train transferred to the tracks of the Cleveland & Toledo Railroad for the rest of its journey to Toledo. A stop was made at Elyria, and the new track not yet open to regular traffic was utilized between Elyria and Oberlin. The chances are that the track was entirely safe, and that the railroad was merely waiting until six days later for the regular inauguration of trains over this nine mile stretch, when full schedules would take effect on all roads in the Cleveland area. Anyhow, this was a fitting initiation of the track.

The train paused at Oberlin but a moment, and Secretary Seward hurriedly introduced the president to the crowd. Just as Mr. Johnson bowed the train lurched somehow, and the president was forced to assume a somewhat ludicrous position to regain his equilibrium, and before he had a chance to speak the train was again on its way. At Norwalk a heckler aroused the president's ire with a pointed query about his policy in New Orleans. Mr. Johnson did not have time to finish his side of the case, but as the train pulled out the heckler was being surrounded and reproofed by

36 The Cleveland & Toledo R.R. track from Cleveland to Berea was not reconstructed until 1867. See Ohio R.R. Com. Rep., 1867, page 40.
many of his fellow-townsmen for such inconsiderate treat-
ment of the chief executive.\footnote{For the special train of President Johnson, I have used accounts in the Cleveland \textit{Leader} of September 4, 5, and 6, 1866.} The train reached Toledo on schedule without further ado, and responsibility of the presidential party from there to Detroit rested with the Lake Shore's ally, the Michigan Southern \\& Northern Indians. There was a wait of one hour and a half at Toledo, the president stopping at the Island House. We say farewell to Mr. Johnson at this point.

Regular trains did not go through as easily as pres-
idential trains did in those days. In spite of the great
growth of the country and its transportation during the
Civil War period, the railroads still retained much of
their colorful, homespun, and local character. As early
as 1857 a meeting of rail managers was held at Buffalo to
try to bring about some uniformity of schedule, and to co-
ordinate a through-line working agreement on the different
connecting small lines.\footnote{\textit{Waggoner, op. cit.}, page 420.} It was possible soon after this
to travel from New York to Chicago according to schedule
in thirty-six hours. The time allowed the lines of the
Lake Shore for their accomplishment of the run from Buffalo
to Chicago was twenty-two hours, about 24 miles per hour.
However, trains were constantly late, and the connections were poor. 39 That the thirty-six hours of 1857 were rather idealistic was shown by the fact that the Pennsylvania Railroad and the Pittsburgh, Fort Wayne, & Chicago Railroad, on their through route from New York to Chicago via Pittsburgh, and the New York Central with the lines of the Lake Shore each arranged for forty-hour service on their respective routes between New York and Chicago in 1861. 40

The surprising thing about these schedules is not that they were so slow, but rather that they were as fast as they were. A comment by the Ohio railroad commissioner as late as 1869 will dispel at once any notion that trains were not fast enough. In praising the Lake Shore, the commissioner said that the road was in excellent condition. "A noticeable fact, notwithstanding it is as well if not better fenced than any road in the state is that there have been killed on the line during the year 248 farm animals." 41

Accident reports of the period just after the Civil War show that people were unbelievably careless around the rights of way. On February 23, 1867, a woman walking on the C.C. & C. double track near Cleveland, evidently in an


40 Fish, C. R. *loc. cit.*

intoxicated condition, saw a train approaching her on one track. She jumped onto the other parallel track, but not looking behind her, was unaware of a train coming on that track in the opposite direction. She was run over and killed instantly. 42 Martin Corcoran, a trespasser, while walking on the track near Erie Bridge was struck by an engine and killed. 43 A son of Thomas Higgins was run over and killed while playing about cars being moved by hand in Elmore yard. 44

Reporters of accidents had extreme difficulty with German names and German people, particularly emigrants. Either the accident reporter couldn't spell the name, or felt that the impossibility of conversation was a barrier to getting the name. At any rate one finds many accidents in the Lake Shore report to the Ohio commissioner such as the following: "A German found that he was on the wrong train, jumped off, and dislocated his shoulder." 45

In most respects the period from 1850 through the Civil War is the most interesting section of this history. In the concluding chapter, we shall witness the consolidation of the four lines into the Lake Shore & Michigan Southern Railway, and view briefly the significant history

43 Ibid., 1868, page 154.
44 Idem.
45 Idem.
of the road from the Civil War era to the amalgamation with the New York Central & Hudson River in 1915.
Chapter V

Brief Summary. From Civil War to 1915

The final touches on the Lake Shore amalgamation were made on August 16, 1869.1 Like most roads of Ohio, eastern capital motivated the consolidation. A railroad lobby appeared in Columbus in 1869, and secured favorable legislation for rail combines.2 With so much "through" east and west business on their lines, Ohio roads were at the mercy of outside interests.3 From 1869 onward, the Lake Shore, although an Ohio institution, was a New York Central satellite.4

In the earlier lists of directors, before 1869, one sees chiefly names of middle-western business men, such as John Gardiner and Ebenezer Lane of Ohio, and Schuyler Colfax of Indiana. Eastern directors were few, such as Daniel Drew, on the Buffalo & State Line between 1858 and

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2 Saphart, op. cit., page 173.


1863. The Vanderbilt name first appears on the directorate of the Cleveland & Toledo Railroad from 1867 to the 1869 consolidation. In this instance it was not the old Commodore, but his son William H. Vanderbilt.

Horace F. Clark, a son-in-law of the Commodore, was on the board in 1869, became president the following year, and remained in that office until his death in 1873. The old Commodore then took over the reins until his death in 1877. William H. Vanderbilt then succeeded to his father's position, continuing the dominant Vanderbilt interests.

Probably the most famous Chairman of the Board was Chauncey M. Depew.

A vigorous construction program was undertaken after the Civil War. By 1873 the Jamestown and Youngstown branches were in operation from Ashtabula, and in 1879, with the finishing of the Pittsburgh & Lake Erie, the lines moved a large tonnage. Coal and ore were first shipped over the branches in 1874. After the disastrous Chicago

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fire of 1871, the passenger station in that city had to be rebuilt, expense being shared jointly with the Rock Island. The Lake Shore also rendered financial aid to the Big Four in 1871 in the construction of a line from Cincinnati to Dayton. Long sections of the main line were double-tracked, and shops and roundhouses were erected before 1873.

This activity was cut short suddenly by the panic of 1873. Business fell off, and from 12,318 employees in 1873, the payrolls were cut to 10,747 in 1874, affecting a wage-saving of $1,521,359. The reducing of employment by 1,571 persons accounted for $975,667 of the saving, while those remaining suffered a total reduction of $545,692. These lay-offs and discharges quite naturally lead us to the subject of labor relations on the Lake Shore. In 1870 the first railroad Y.M.C.A. was founded at Cleveland on the Lake Shore. An air of benevolence was not lacking in it, and the project soon received the support of the Vanderbilts. This was soon after the old Commodore's marriage, in his declining years, to a Miss Crawford. His sudden interest in philanthropy, one evidence

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9 Idem.

10 Idem.

of which was the founding of Vanderbilt University, is said to be traceable to the influence of his second wife and a Pastor Deems of New York City. One would not be far wrong in supposing that the Vanderbilt's support of a railroad "Y" was for promoting amicable relations between capital and labor.

In spite of this, the Lake Shore had the same labor difficulties experienced by other roads in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. In Cleveland labor relations of employees to the company officials and public were usually cordial. This may be traceable partly to the "Y". However, it would be difficult to judge its influence in this respect.

We have seen how the panic of 1873 brought a general reduction in wages and personnel. By June, 1877, another general cut was made in wages, including those on the Lake Shore, making generally a thirty-five per cent reduction in wages in a period of four years. This created a bad feeling among railroad workers, and a strike broke out on the Baltimore & Ohio at Martinsburg, West Virginia. From that point it spread to many other sections of the S. & O., and from that road to other lines in other sections

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12 Smith, op. cit., page 302.

of the country.

President William H. Vanderbilt, the new Commodore, was watching the situation from Saratoga, and sent word to his New York Central workmen that he would restore this last cut as soon as possible, and that their fealty now would be rewarded. As a consequence, the New York Central men did not go out, but at Buffalo a mob swooped down upon the Lake Shore car shops and roundhouse, and induced the men to walk out.

The men also walked out in Cleveland, but the town experienced comparative quiet. Business-like meetings were held by the men, but their only militancy was the assertion that they would not work at reduced rates or pay. They approached Charles Rine, superintendent of the line, who told them that their case rested with Mr. Vanderbilt. Unfavorable publicity was encountered by the strikers for refusing to move a livestock train to the feeding and watering pens at Painesville. The cars remained at Collinwood, and many of the animals died of thirst. Finally the surviving animals were unloaded and driven along the roads to Painesville. Since some of these animals were wild Texas steers, considerable consternation was aroused in Lake County.

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14 Cleveland Leader, July 24, 1877.
15 Ibid.
16 Ibid.
17 Ibid.
As soon as Mr. Vanderbilt knew of the Lake Shore situation, he ordered all trains abandoned. This caused excitement among passengers on the trains and employees all along the line, for the action took on the semblance of a lockout. At Erie employees sent a telegram to President Hayes, in which they disclaimed responsibility for the failure of the company to move United States mails. Mr. Vanderbilt made a statement to the press that he would not allow the demands of the Lake Shore men, because it would be tantamount to giving them a voice in the operation of his business. In spite of the bickering, by August 1 the men on the Buffalo & Erie Division were back at work.

On this same date Cleveland was still tied up, and no traffic was moving between Toledo and Erie. At first the newspapers had sympathized with the strikers, but as time went on, public opinion in the press and editorials seems to have changed. The Leader, in an editorial on August 1, pointed out to the men the folly of continuing the strike, especially now that the men on the eastern end of the road had capitulated. It went on to say that unless the men went back soon, it would be advisable to call out the national guard, as had been done at Toledo so effectively and so on August 4. After some concessions had been made to the

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18 Cleveland Leader, July 25, 1877.

19 Ibid., August 1, 1877.
trainmen, the men went back. Perhaps these concessions pleased the men enough to make them want to go back, but more than likely it was the mobilization of the 15th Ohio National Guard on that last day. 20

Quite logically, mention of the militia brings us to the strike situation in Toledo. The shops were closed there on July 23, and on the following day a mass meeting of strikers was called to consider the situation. 21 On July 25 a citizens' committee of safety was appointed, and on the next day a volunteer regiment, made up largely of former Union soldiers, entered the lists in the name of law and order. This military action in Toledo undoubtedly did a great deal to break the strike.

The employees of the company did not gain as much as they lost, and the company preserved the status quo. However, the era of bad feeling was now definitely here. The next trouble on the Lake Shore was at Toledo in 1893, during the course of a strike on the Ann Arbor Railroad. This line connected with the Lake Shore and other roads at

20 Cleveland Leader, July 25, 1877.

21 Killits, op. cit., page 557. Unfortunately, I was unable to use any newspaper sources on the Toledo strike of 1877, hence my dependence upon Killits. The Toledo situation was different from that of Cleveland. Probably one reason for the quick action of the militia in Toledo was due to the fact that a much higher per cent of the population of Toledo was in railroad work than in Cleveland. Toledo was about one-third the size of Cleveland, and had even more railroads, and railroad employees. Undoubtedly the rail disturbances bulked larger proportionally, and led to more alarmist tactics on both sides.
Toledo. The Ann Arbor trouble was an engineers' strike, and the Toledo lines, sensing the situation, decided to embargo freight coming from the Ann Arbor, in order to avoid trouble with their own engineers, who certainly were sympathetic toward their brethren on the Ann Arbor. The ruling of the railroad companies was seconded by Grand Chief P. M. Arthur of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, who at once directed the attention of members of his order to their "Rule 12", which stated that when a "legal" strike occurred on any railroad, members of the brotherhood should refuse to handle cars coming from the road affected by the strike.

Federal Judge Ricks came to the Ann Arbor's rescue with a restraining order which compelled the other roads to accept freight from the line, in performance of their duties as interstate carriers, while Judge William H. Taft made it mandatory for Grand Chief Arthur to withdraw "Rule 12" from the regulations of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers. No precedent could be found for these decisions, and they were among the many instances, beginning with the '90's, when employers saw the injunction as the solution of the labor problem.

After the strictures of Judges Ricks and Taft, Lake Shore engineers were forced to handle Ann Arbor cars, but

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22 See Toledo Blade, March 18 and 19, 1893.
not before eight men had been hauled into court for having quit their jobs in preference to obeying the court in injunction. All except a James Lennon were acquitted. Lennon was fined $50 for contempt of court. His case was appealed by the attorney of the brotherhood to higher courts, but as one would expect, the injunction was sustained.23 This case, although a minor incident, was long remembered by railroad men. The writer has known several engineers on a neighboring road of the Lake Shore whose chief remembrance of Mr. Taft is his decision on "Rule 12".

The great rail strike at Pullman in 1894 aroused no greater disturbance in Ohio than did the strike of 1877. Cleveland was quiet during the strike, and service was maintained. This strike was an attempt on the part of Eugene V. Debs to amalgamate the rail workers into an American Railway Union, an industrial type organization. The locomotive engineers, with general offices in Cleveland, were not a party to this strike, because they looked upon their jobs as too skilled in nature for the ordinary working man. Besides, they had had no small battle the year before without the support of other workers in the industry.

At Collinwood switchmen were out from July 7 to July 10, but order was restored on the last date.24 At Toledo strikers

23 See Killits, op. cit., page 558. His treatment of the injunction is tinged with formal legalism rather than juristic philosophy.

24 See the Cleveland Leader, July 6 to July 10, 1894.
indulged in obstructive tactics around the cars, and this made police protection necessary on July 10. On the night of July 9, over 300 switchmen had walked out, and the company was proceeding to import labor. This brought about picketing against strike-breakers, and on July 12 some shooting of a minor nature occurred. The action of the regular army in Chicago broke the back of the strike at Toledo and elsewhere. Service was restored July 14.

Besides the disasters from strikes, the Lake Shore experienced a wreck occasionally. Some of them, like the Mentor wreck of the Twentieth Century Limited in 1906 and the Ashtabula bridge wreck of 1876, received wide publicity. In discussing any wreck, it is not my intent to show that anyone was at fault in particular. Considering the conditions of those days, I think that the Lake Shore was an extremely well managed property.

The most famous catastrophe of the Lake Shore was the Ashtabula disaster of December 29, 1876. The Pacific Express No. 5, westbound, with doubleheading engines and eleven cars, came upon the bridge at about 7:30 p.m. soon after an eastbound freight train had gone over the bridge. The engine on the freight had done some station work at Ashtabula, and had in the course of several switching moves

25 See the Toledo Blade, July 1 to July 14, 1894.
been on the bridge. It was a bad windy night, snow was falling heavily, and one could hardly see two car lengths away. Only a few minutes after the caboose of the freight had cleared the bridge on the eastward track, the express, three hours late, and slowed up by the storm, came upon the bridge. Passengers were in many instances returning from holiday trips. The "consist" of the train showed engines "Socrates" and "Columbia", two express cars, one baggage car, three day passenger cars, one smoking car, one drawing room car, and three sleeping cars, two of which were for Chicago and one for Louisville. The Louisville sleeper was to be detached for the C.U.C. & I. at Cleveland.

As the lead engine neared the extreme west end of the bridge, Engineer Dan McGuire felt the structure giving way. Immediately he opened the throttle wide, and by so doing snapped the drawbar connecting his engine to the second engine, just as that engine and the rest of the train were plunging seventy feet into the ravine below. The trucks of the lead engine were off the track, but by some miracle were derailed on the west end of the bridge, which supported the "Socrates". The survivors told of a swaying sensation, when suddenly the crash came. The cars caught fire immediately, and many not killed by the fall were consumed by the flames. The clock on the engine "Columbia", stopped by the fall, showed 7:32. Eighty-nine people died, sixty-three were injured, and eight fortunate
souls somehow came through unscathed.

The wreck aroused considerable interest throughout the country, and for a time the Hayes-Tilden controversy paled into insignificance.\textsuperscript{26} The bridge had been built in 1863, of Howe iron truss type, and had supported heavy loads.\textsuperscript{27} Authoritative opinion was that possibly the contractile effect of the cold upon iron had caused some of the iron parts to snap. Newspapers came forward with several conjectures, among them that possibly robbers or former disgruntled employees had caused the wreck. Materialists had a singular argument on their side, for when the Pacific Express left New York, it was carrying four cars that were detached at Albany and sent northward for Canadian points, on another train. Curiously enough, at about the same time as the Lake Shore wreck, the Canadian-bound train went through a bridge near Pittsford, Vermont. However, in that wreck no lives were lost.\textsuperscript{28}

Probably the most famous people to lose their lives in the wreck were Mr. and Mrs. P. P. Bliss. A musical evangelist and an associate of Dwight L. Moody, Bliss

\textsuperscript{26} See Cleveland \textit{Leader}, December 30, 1876 to January 20, 1877.

\textsuperscript{27} \textit{Ohio R. R. Com. Rep.}, 1877, page 336.

\textsuperscript{28} \textit{New York Times}, January 1, 1877.
wrote hymns of the inspirational type that are still popular with Rodeheaver-Sunday enthusiasts. Two small sons of the Morses were orphaned by the tragedy, and Moody raised $10,000 for them. The company paid $495,722 in claims in this accident, or approximately one per cent of the capital stock.

On January 4, 1877, six days after the wreck, Cornelius Vanderbilt died. His death was not attributed to any shock over the wreck, and there is no mention of his being apprised of it in the papers. But Charles Collins, Chief Engineer of the road, committed suicide on January 21. It was thought that the scenes of the disaster and public criticism of the road preyed upon his mind. Some of the press, remembering the other Lake Shore disaster at Angola, New York, in 1867, were a bit harsh in their comments.

Probably the fairest comment on the wreck appeared in the Nation. It said that any charges of indifference to public safety or negligence would be shamefully unjust to

29 Ann. Rep., Pres. & Dir., L.S. & M.S. Ry., 1877, p. 10. Probably preachers rode on passages, and were not entitled to any claims from the railroad for injury or death.

30 Cleveland Leader, January 22, 1877.

31 For account of the Angola wreck, see New York Tribune, December 9, 1867.
the road, for it was known that the men in charge of the line were of high character and intelligence, and took a great deal of pride in their work. 32

From pioneer to twentieth century was not accomplished in one single transformation. Trial, error, and scientific achievement have eliminated many of the causes of those early wrecks. The road kept improving, although from the very first it was, comparatively speaking, a good line. The first regular sleeping car service on the Lake Shore was established between Cleveland and Chicago in May, 1866. 33 Both passenger and freight services continued to improve. The famous "Fast Mail" trains, inaugurated on September 16, 1875, were a great step in advance. 34 The condensed schedule of the train was as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>City</th>
<th>Time</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>New York</td>
<td>4:15 a.m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buffalo</td>
<td>2:35 p.m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cleveland</td>
<td>7:25 p.m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toledo</td>
<td>10:47 p.m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chicago</td>
<td>6:45 a.m.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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The operation of these trains over a number of years led to faster trains, and to the inauguration of World's Fair trains to Chicago in 1893. Skill developed in operation of these trains finally led to the establishment in the early 1900's of the Twentieth Century Limited. 35

32 The Nation, January 4, 1877.
33 Cleveland Herald, May 18, 1866.
34 Waggoner, op. cit., page 425.
35 See copies of the Official Railway Guide, particularly after 1905.
After the administrative reorganization of the New York Central & Hudson River in 1898, that company concentrated control of all its lines west of Buffalo excepting the Michigan Central in the Lake Shore. By 1899 the Lake Shore held $21,000,000 in holdings of other companies, chiefly the Nickel Plate and the Pittsburgh & Lake Erie. Within ten years, by 1909, the company’s holdings had expanded to $133,000,000, due to the acquisition of control of the Big Four, Lake Erie & Western, Chicago, Indiana & Southern, and of a large minority in the Reading. 36

The New York Central tied its hands in 1898, in obtaining control of the share capital of the Lake Shore, by an exchange of collateral trust bonds for the stock, the bonds being secured by a deposit of the stock. 37 No future loans could then be contracted by the New York Central without acknowledging a prior lien of the Lake Shore collateral trust bonds. This left many of the purists of finance bewildered. 38

Such was the situation of the New York Central when the first decade of the present century had run its course. It needed a new terminal in New York, its credit was poor


because of the collateral bond issue, and its mileage was not large enough to stand the distribution of expense in such a large undertaking. It had a large railway system of 13,000 miles, but with hardly one-fourth of it in a corporate structure for the giant terminal. The Pennsylvania, with a much more compact corporate structure, since its "controlling" line was half as big as the whole system, was able to proceed without trouble. 39

To meet this need, then, for a larger mileage, the only thing left to do was to change the corporate structure of the line, by amalgamating the Lake Shore and the New York Central. Thus, the superb earning power of the Lake Shore was converted into a most excellent agency of credit in the new mileage and corporate structure of the line. This action completed the transfer of authority from Cleveland to New York, and by the 1914 agreement the name "Lake Shore", which had been part and parcel of Cleveland and Ohio business for more than half a century, was lost to the inevitable progress of eastern domination.

39 Ripley, op. cit., pages 448, 449.
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