

A VISION IN THE DESERT

Charles Trumbull Hayden,
Salt River Pioneer

by

Jack L. August, Jr.

AS HE APPROACHED the south side of the flooding Salt River in 1866, Tucson trader and probate judge Charles Trumbull Hayden realized that he would not be able to cross. Forty-one years old and well-traveled, he had never journeyed north of the Gila. Before leaving Tucson for Fort Whipple, he had stopped along the Gila and conferred with Pima Indians who informed him that the best crossing of the Salt was at a place where a large and a small butte stood opposite rocky hills on the north side of the river. With little else to do but wait out the high water, Hayden climbed the larger of the two buttes. From his vantage point, 300 feet above the desert floor, he looked out over a wide stretch of inhospitable desert landscape. Stranded for two days atop the butte, he contemplated the forty-mile-wide valley that lay before him.

During his solitary vigil, Hayden had a vision. He saw more in the Salt River Valley than an arid, forbidding land; he envisioned an agricultural empire reclaimed from the desert. Canals would irrigate verdant farms and, at the base of the butte, he would construct a water-powered flour mill. As the flood receded and he climbed down from his perch, Hayden vowed to return. A New Englander by birth, the stranded sojourner had spent most of his life moving westward on the American frontier. The notion of pioneering a new community in the desert Southwest seemed an inviting challenge.

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Charles Trumbull Hayden was born on April 4, 1825, in the village of Haydens, Windsor Township, Hartford, Connecticut, where his Puritan ancestors had lived for six generations. The only children of Joseph and Mary (Hanks) Hayden, Charles and his sister, Anne, helped their mother operate the family farm after their father drowned in the Connecticut River when Charles was six. At age sixteen, Hayden began clerking in a store at Warehouse Point, while attending nearby Windsor Academy. With three years of formal education and some work experience behind him, in 1843 Charles ventured away from his Connecticut home.¹

Almost by accident, young Hayden became a pedagogue and, for the next four years, traveled widely. He originally intended to study law in New York City but, when his health failed, he headed south by sea to teach school at Old Point Comfort, Virginia. Regaining his strength in the warmer climate, he returned north at the end of the academic year to teach at Cedar Grove and Caldwell, New Jersey. While boarding at the home of a refined Philadelphia physician, Hayden instructed forty students who each paid five dollars per month. In 1844, nineteen-year-old Charles wrote his mother that "some of my scholars are as old as I am and are pursuing botany, philosophy, geography, arithmetic, and grammar. Lest some of the good people at home run away with the idea that I am living in a land of heathens, superstition, and ignorance, there are not less than a half dozen pianos in the immediate vicinity."²

While Hayden appeared content with his vocation, many of his countrymen were looking west for opportunity. James K. Polk, whose rhetoric scarcely disguised his expansionist intentions, had gained the presidency over Henry Clay in a hotly contested election. John L. O'Sullivan, the widely read editor of the *Democratic Review*, fanned the flames of war with Mexico by urging his subscribers to fulfill their "manifest destiny" and spread out across the continent. Reflecting the mood and spirit of the 1840s, Charles Hayden decided to pursue his fledgling teaching career in the West.³

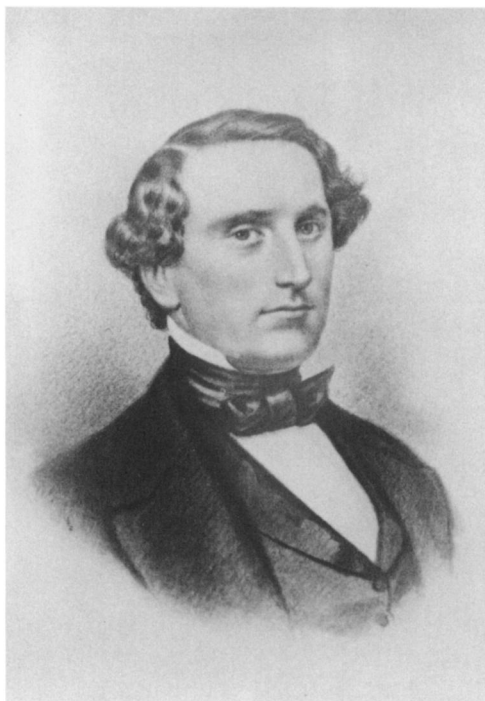
Whether motivated by instinct or forethought, Hayden breathed deeply the excitement of the American frontier. Crossing the Alleghenies by stagecoach, he arrived in Kentucky where,

A Vision in the Desert

by chance, he met Henry Clay and spent an afternoon with the great statesman. Charles taught briefly at a log school house before moving on to New Albany, Indiana, and finishing up the term at a school near St. Louis, Missouri, where the previous teacher had resigned after losing a fistfight to one of the bigger boys. After sizing up his replacement, the rebellious pupils decided not to test their new teacher.⁴

St. Louis in 1846–47 was a city of dynamic change. Hayden witnessed the last sputterings of the fur trade economy—romantic, but victimized by fashion tastes formed beyond the western rivers, prairies, and mountains. The twenty-two-year-old Connecticut Yankee watched carefully as St. Louis flourished in this fluid commercial world fueled by the growing Santa Fe trade. The Mexican War further stimulated the economy. Hayden saw exciting opportunities in the growing number of migrants moving to Oregon, Texas, and the Rocky Mountains, and he confided to his brother-in-law that he longed to visit the vast western prairies. As American troops passed through St. Louis on their way to Mexico, and as news of American victories traveled eastward, Charles noted the quickened pace of the westward movement. The war was barbarous and immoral, he thought, but the anticipated outcome opened new economic vistas. He needed to get some perspective. Hayden jokingly informed his family that he was considering “a trip to the rocky mountains of Mexico or some other outlandish place.”

Although it was made in jest, the quip about Mexico revealed Hayden’s tension and ambivalence. Charles seriously considered returning to the educated, refined, and familiar parlors of New England society, but the challenge of the unknown, coupled with the opportunity to improve his lot in life, drew him to the frontier. In time, he would chide easterners for their ignorance of the physical world. “I think it can be truly said with all the boasted pretensions [*sic*] of the people east of the Hudson to literature and science,” he scoffed, “they would stand no comparison with the people of the southwest in their knowledge of entymology [*sic*].” In St. Louis, young Hayden met powerful Senator Thomas Hart Benton. “Benton’s speeches show as usual that his organ of self-esteem is very strikingly developed,” he commented cryptically, “but I presume that the other organs that



*Charles Hayden, age twenty-one.
SC-UAL #7605-5.*

constitute the groundwork of ambition are sufficiently developed to wear a hat of nearly the same shape of other men." By the summer of 1847, Hayden clearly possessed affection for his new home, and rather than returning to Connecticut, he urged family members to join him in Missouri.⁵

Once Charles had decided to remain in the West, he abruptly changed his vocation, abandoning the classroom for a riskier career in commerce. When the school term ended, he traveled to Independence, another of the great crossroads of American expansion, where he called on Charles Allen, a Connecticut cousin who was engaged in buying eastern goods and selling them to merchants in the Santa Fe trade. As a clerk in his cousin's business, Hayden got a firsthand look at freighters returning, rich with profit, from Santa Fe. He readily agreed to represent the firm on a trading expedition to the New Mexico capital. Hayden soon found himself a full partner in the enterprise and, by the summer of 1848, the twenty-three-year-old trader made his first trip on the Santa Fe Trail.⁶

Although Hayden planned two trading ventures to Santa Fe in 1848, he made only one. On March 18, he asked his mother in

A Vision in the Desert

Connecticut to ship to him, by June 1, two dozen playing cards, Spanish and English dictionaries, and a variety of personal items. Hayden left Independence on July 3 with several wagons, a dozen span of oxen, and a crew of teamsters. Braving the dangers of Indian attack and extremes in weather, they met several companies of victorious American soldiers and heard news of the gold strike in California and the demand for goods it had created. As the ox-drawn wagons traversed the green hills and valleys of northeastern New Mexico, on September 7 Hayden saw his first adobe building. He confided to his diary, "Encamped on the Mora where there are a few deserted Spanish houses built as usual in New Mexico of unburned brick dried in the sun only one story in height with one entrance and small opening in the wall for a window." Although the young trader thought that the rural villages were interesting, he found Santa Fe to be strange, enchanting, and in many ways irresistible.⁷

Soon after he arrived in the capital city in mid-September, Hayden described New Mexico and its inhabitants for his family. The weather was salutary, the population hospitable, and Santa Fe resembled "an immense collection of brick kilns." "The houses," Hayden explained, "are flat-roofed one story high and built of sun dried brick called in the Spanish language adobes—the streets are narrow and irregular. The governor's residence or palace occupies the whole north side of the plaza and except for the space it covers is not distinguished from other buildings." Unlike many American visitors, he appreciated Santa Fe's ambience and admired its ingenious architecture.

Although they did not conform to New England standards, Hayden found the people and the social life of New Mexico equally intriguing. He noted that "The New Mexican ladies mostly wear dresses without bodices having only a skirt and a long flowing scarf or wrapper which is dextrously [*sic*] thrown around the head and shoulders so as to supersede the use of bodices and bonnets." Charles was particularly impressed with the fandango, "the most fashionable place of resort, where every belle and beauty presents herself attired in a most costly manner and displays her jewelry to the best advantage." For Hayden, the New Mexican fandango illustrated a great deal about this new society, and his guarded attraction to it shows how much he had

adapted his values to embrace the variety and diversity of social customs on the multi-cultural southwestern frontier. "To the fandango," he observed, "all descriptions of persons are permitted to come free of charge and without invitation. . . . There is little order kept at these fandangos and still less attention paid to the rules of etiquette."

While Santa Fe's relatively freewheeling social life may have conflicted with Hayden's ideas of proper social deportment, New Mexican agricultural practices—especially irrigation—appealed to his Yankee ingenuity. Observing the Santa Fe Creek, a beautiful stream issuing from the Sangre de Cristo Mountains about ten miles from its junction with the Rio del Norte (Rio Grande), Charles noticed that "various canals part above the town and lead through the fields, gardens, and orchards for the purpose of irrigation." He attributed the wealth of the newly acquired territory primarily to the irrigation system in the Del Norte valley. Charles expressed his feelings in a short, grandiloquent verse:

Gardens richly blooming—
Orchards surcharged with ripened fruit—
Vineyards binding under the clustering grapes—
Fields of wheat waving their golden harvests
Before the wind—
Shady groves of alamos all irrigated with
canals of clear, pure rippling water—
Strongly contrast with the gigantic granite peaks
Which blue as amethyst tower high into the heavens.

The New Mexican canal system, and its importance to the valley's 7,000 inhabitants, left a strong and lasting impression on the young trader.⁸

Santa Fe became the southwestern pivot for transcontinental trade and a new commercial frontier for Hayden. His 1848 expedition proved so remunerative that Hayden determined to expand his enterprise. The following year, he left Independence with a storeload of goods to establish a mercantile outlet in the New Mexican capital. He profited greatly as California-bound argonauts paid high prices for picks, shovels, flannel shirts, boots, and trousers. At year's end, the twenty-five-year-old trader looked back on a commercial pipeline that stretched across the

A Vision in the Desert

continent from New England to New Mexico.⁹

As his fortunes improved, Hayden hired Matthew James Flourney, a hard-drinking ex-southerner, to manage his activities in Independence. Although Hayden disdained liquor to the extent that he would not sell or trade in the profitable commodity, the partnership lasted over twenty years until 1869, when Flourney, "after drinking of strong liquors" one night in Tucson, stripped off his clothing, mounted a horse, and rode into the desert where he died of exposure. When not under the influence, however, Flourney was a shrewd businessman. Together, the abstemious New Englander and his occasionally sodden-eyed partner refined a system in which Flourney purchased goods in the East and brought them to Independence, where Hayden picked them up and hauled them to Santa Fe.¹⁰

Still ambitious, Hayden expanded his trade network to include the trail south of Santa Fe. Finding that mules, although more expensive, were better suited to the arid environment and sparse forage, he promptly substituted them for oxen on this leg of the route. During the 1850s, Hayden's mule teams frequently traversed the Mesilla Valley on their way to and from El Paso and Chihuahua City. Soon, his wagons penetrated the Gadsden Purchase, signalling the Americanization of the area south of the Gila River. Hayden was a visionary and a man of action who developed a pattern in his business operations. As soon as a store was functioning, he turned its operation over to trusted clerks or partners, like Flourney, and then took off on a new commercial venture. By the mid-1850s, Charles Trumbull Hayden had broken away from the mainstream of westward expansion and was pushing toward the cutting edge of the southwestern frontier.¹¹

Hayden's contacts with like-minded frontier traders helped shape his plans. At Independence, for example, he spent many evenings with explorer, soldier, politician, and entrepreneur William Gilpin. One of the main contributors to "Oregon Fever," by 1850 Gilpin had explored much of the trans-Mississippi West. He and Hayden chatted for long hours about the future of the West. They agreed that Missouri, with the awakening spirit of "internal improvements among her people" and its central position for New Mexico-Salt Lake City-Oregon-California trade, would become an important commercial emporium.

Of one of these marathon bull sessions, Hayden wrote: "Last night I spent with Col. Wm. Gilpin and as is usual when I call upon him we spent much of the night in reading and conversation. He gave me a description of the characteristic features of Oregon—the grand manner in which nature there displays itself . . . immense rivers with rapids . . . bordered by valleys of the most exuberant fertility. He also gave me a history of his adventures in that country . . . of some of the characteristics of the Indian tribes . . . also a history of the Hudson Bay Company and their immense holdings." Gilpin and other pioneers provided reinforcement and motivation for young men of Hayden's ilk; and the younger man unquestionably benefited from the exchange of information, which he adapted to the demands of his frontier environment.¹²

In March of 1856, Hayden left Independence with an especially large stock of goods bound for the recently acquired Gadsden Purchase. His destination was the old presidio town of Tubac, amid the high desert and scenic mountains of the Santa Cruz Valley. Located between Tucson and the Mexican border, Tubac—previously neglected and in ruins—was experiencing a resurgence of activity. The Sonora Exploring and Mining Company and the Santa Rita Mining Company worked abandoned Spanish and Mexican mines and scoured the countryside for traces of precious metals. The influx of miners led to the establishment of a military post, Fort Buchanan, manned by the First U.S. Dragoons, who were assigned to keep order and protect the civilian population from Apaches. Seeing the commercial potential, Hayden opened a mercantile outlet ten miles south of Tubac, near the fort. A mere twelve miles north of the Mexican border, it enabled him to furnish goods to the troops and miners, as well as to residents of Mexico.¹³

Although optimistic about the immediate future of his Tubac business, Hayden soon realized that the projected transcontinental stage line would divert traffic too far north to benefit him. James E. Burch's government contract to carry mail between San Antonio, Texas, and San Diego, California, ran through Tucson—not Tubac. Hayden responded quickly by forming a partnership with Palatine Robinson, a Virginian who had recently opened a store in Tucson. Depositing his stock with

A Vision in the Desert

Robinson, Charles returned to Santa Fe, where he arrived during the first winter snow of 1857–58. Loaded up with merchandise for the Tucson enterprise, Hayden headed back south and arrived at Mesilla in time to catch the first westbound passenger stage to arrive in Tucson. His wagon master followed with the supply train.¹⁴

Even as his freighting business continued to take him throughout the Southwest, thirty-three-year-old Hayden settled in Tucson. Among the first American settlers in the Old Pueblo, he quickly emerged as one of its leading citizens. Between 1858 and 1861, he hauled large quantities of merchandise from Independence, via Santa Fe, to Tucson and operated a short freight line to Tubac and the mining districts of southwestern New Mexico Territory. He also hauled supplies for the government and shipped ore for local mining companies.

Within a year, Hayden had accumulated sufficient capital to terminate his partnership-of-convenience with Robinson and open his own mercantile outlet that specialized in dry goods, groceries, and hardware. Shortly thereafter, he ventured north to

C. T. Hayden Mercantile Store, Tucson, c. 1870. AHS #76197.



trade calico, axes, and other manufactured goods with the Pima and Maricopa Indians in exchange for wheat to make bread and as feed for army mules. Hayden hired his Connecticut nephew, Charles Hayden Allen, to help manage the Tucson operation during his extended absences. When young Allen died unexpectedly, Hayden brought Matthew Flourney and his son Newton to run the store. The outbreak of the Civil War convinced Hayden, a northern sympathizer, to abandon altogether his Missouri business. By then, he wore the hats of freighter, trader, and merchant and was expending much energy in pursuit of all three vocations.¹⁵

At the same time, Hayden developed a growing sense of civic responsibility for his adopted home. Years spent on the frontier shaped the direction of his public service. During long freighting trips, he had witnessed the lowest forms of human depravity, as well as countless acts of generosity and kindness. Consequently, he already was a man of tolerance and flexibility when he decided to make Tucson the center of his far-flung business interests. When drunks abused him on the street, Hayden always considered that the liquor, not the man, was doing the talking. More often than not, he gave the benefit of the doubt to customers who abused their credit or refused to repay loans. Not surprisingly, the ex-teacher supported the movement to open Tucson's first public school. He also served on several citizens' committees concerned with local improvements. When Governor John N. Goodwin appointed him First District probate judge in the newly formed Arizona Territory, "Judge Hayden"—as he was frequently called thereafter—accepted the post in order to better his community.¹⁶

Assuming office on May 13, 1864, at a salary of \$250 per year, Hayden administered the laws of New Mexico that were extended over the new territory. He occupied the bench for only one year, and during that time he heard no civil cases. The only criminal action before his court involved a native of Sonora, Mexico. Hayden speculated that his light case load was due to the fact that "The 500 mexicans which constituted nearly all the population in Tucson, like the American population upon the very extreme frontier, settled their disputes without the aid of courts." Tucson's Hispanic residents considered him a beneficent patron, as well as a fair-minded merchant and employer. They

A Vision in the Desert

referred to him as don Carlos, a title of respect that—like the sobriquet Judge Hayden—stuck with him for the remainder of his life.¹⁷

Apart from his civic responsibilities, Hayden devoted most of his energies in the 1860s to the freighting business. Indians posed a constant danger. Although Hayden lost wagons, animals, and food to attacking parties, he usually avoided ambush and loss of life. He attributed his success to the advice of one of his drivers, an “Oklahoma” Indian whom Charles had nursed back to health from typhoid fever. Before setting out, the driver would wait for word of an attack along the route. He knew that the Apaches would not linger long in the area for fear of punishment by the military. This usually guaranteed clear and safe travel for the next freight train.¹⁸

Government hauling and freighting contracts soon drew Hayden to Fort Whipple. At the end of the Civil War, Arizona’s military headquarters moved from Tucson to the new army post near Prescott. Soldiers stationed there protected the seat of territorial government, as well as the surrounding mining districts, from Apache and Yavapai attacks. Hayden, like other enterprising settlers, followed the army into the rugged highlands of central Arizona.¹⁹

One of Hayden’s contracts required him to drive a herd of cattle from Sonora to Prescott. The army was wise to select the Tucson-based freighter, who spoke fluent Spanish and often traded south of the border. Yet Hayden accepted the contract with some trepidation. During his most recent sojourn in northern Mexico, in February of 1866, French troops had seized his train and held him prisoner. The French general at Guaymas vowed that he would not release the Americans until Mexican nationalist guerrillas returned a French pack train they had stolen earlier and sold in Arizona. The exchange never took place and, after a few weeks, the French set their captives free. Despite this calamity, Hayden returned to Sonora, purchased cattle for the army, and delivered them at Prescott in September 1867.²⁰

When the Fourth Territorial Legislature voted 5-4 to move the capital from Prescott to Tucson, Hayden transported the furnishings of government to the new location. Prescott’s *Arizona*

Miner commented disconsolately on the arrival of the Tucsonan's "long expected wagons." Over the next four years, Hayden's mule teams criss-crossed the Southwest, providing supplies for a growing population. "I always haul my own goods," Charles explained, and "most of my goods for the Arizona market came by Cape Horn to San Francisco." Sometimes his merchandise arrived at Wilmington, then the seaport at Los Angeles, or at San Diego. On other occasions it went to Guaymas, Sonora, or to Port Ysabel at the mouth of the Colorado River, where it was transferred onto flat-bottomed boats, unloaded at Yuma, and transported by wagons to Tucson. Hayden's slow-moving mule trains became a familiar sight from the Colorado River to the Pacific Coast and back to southern Arizona. Although Hayden prospered, he recognized that completion of the transcontinental railroad in the late 1860s held fatal implications for his freighting business. Anticipating the eventual extension of the Southern Pacific into southern Arizona, he looked for other fields of endeavor.²¹

At this juncture, Hayden decided to act on his vision of farming in the Salt River Valley. In December of 1870, he gave notice in the *Arizona Miner* that he claimed "for milling, farming, and other purposes, sections 28 and 29, Government Survey, on the south side of the Salt River taking in two buttes on either side of the main road from Phoenix to the Gila River." In addition, his newly formed Hayden Milling and Farming Ditch Company claimed 10,000 miner's inches of water from the river. Along with some partners, he planned to homestead the two sections and dig an irrigation ditch to bring the land under cultivation and provide water power to operate a grist mill.²²

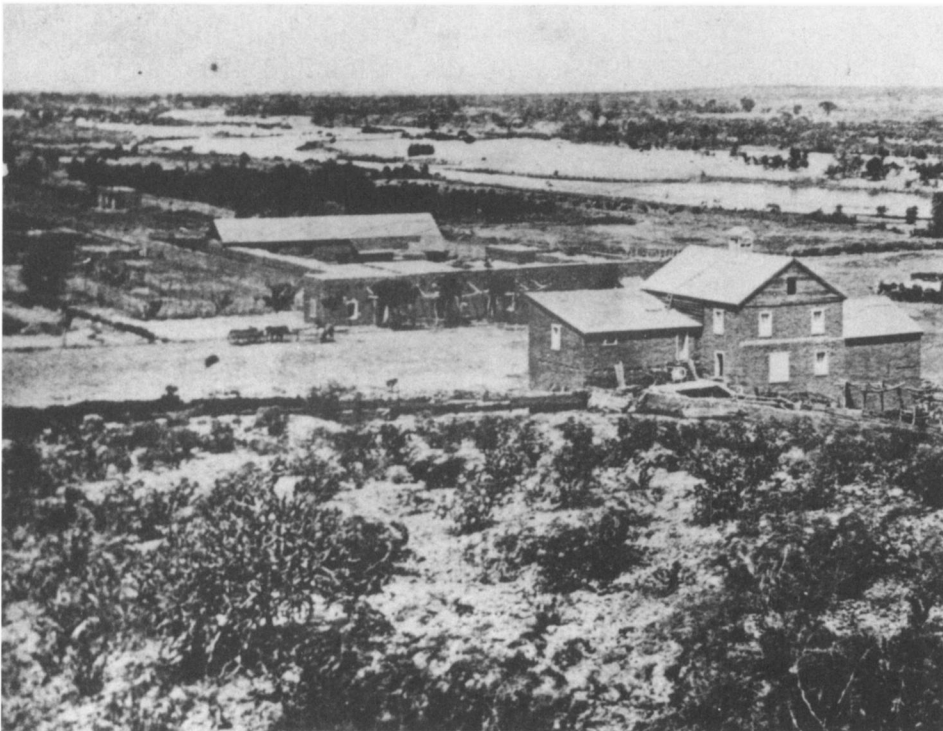
Before filing his official claim for land and water, Hayden apparently had contacted two other Salt River Valley irrigation pioneers, John W. "Jack" Swilling and William Kirkland, hoping to purchase shares in their canal company. Swilling, an old Tucson acquaintance, was one of the prime movers in the development of the Phoenix townsite on the north side of the Salt. In 1867, he promoted the first modern irrigation system in the valley, built on the ruins of prehistoric Hohokam canals. Hayden hired a crew, comprised mostly of Mexicans and Pima Indians, to aid in constructing the McKinney-Kirkland Ditch, the first estuary to divert water from the south bank of the river. Under

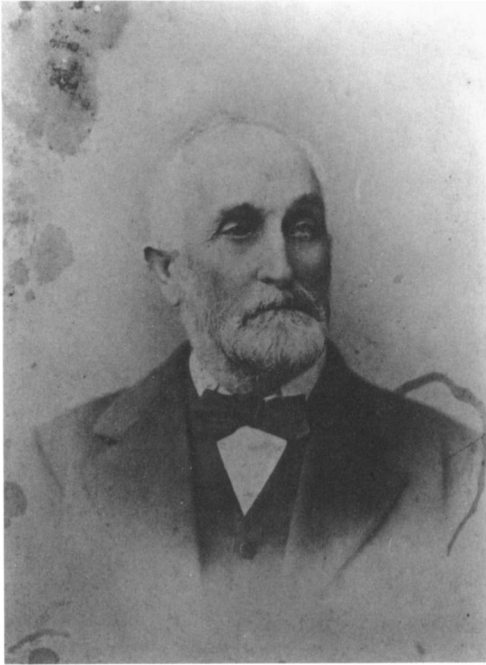
A Vision in the Desert

Swilling's direction, the crew began a project that eventually brought water around the south flank of the buttes to the west side, where a twenty-five-foot drop furnished power for a mill. The water then flowed on to irrigate a wheat field farther west.²³

While Hayden Milling and Farming Ditch Company workers were digging the McKinney-Kirkland Ditch, Charles Hayden drew up plans for the grist mill. In the meantime, a 14 x 16-foot structure made of willow poles, wattle, and daub, located across the road from the mill site, served as his home and office. As his work crew grew, he replaced these temporary quarters with a more sturdy adobe structure that doubled as a workers' dormitory. By 1872, the stone foundation for the mill had been laid, the turbine water wheel and other milling machinery had arrived from the east, and Hayden's Ferry was shuttling travelers back and forth across the Salt River for a modest fee. Between the river bank and the mill, Hayden constructed a blacksmith shop to service his own wagons, as well as other freighting outfits that patronized the ferry. The mill itself opened for business in 1874. By the mid-1870s, Hayden's vision was becoming reality.²⁴

Hayden's Ferry. SC-UAL #7603-3.





Charles T. Hayden.
AHS #50993.

Hayden remained in Tucson until December of 1873, when he hauled his remaining stock to Hayden's Ferry. On December 27, the Tucson *Arizona Citizen* commented that "Judge C. T. Hayden, for many years a prominent businessman and merchant in Tucson, has closed out here and this week left for Hayden's Ferry, on the Salt River in Maricopa County, where he has concentrated all his mercantile business and will hereafter make headquarters. He is an upright man and a desirable citizen in any community." Although the move scarcely affected Hayden's far-flung freighting business, the coming of the railroad and his advancing age convinced him to concentrate on developing his pioneer irrigation community. In the middle of this transition, Hayden—now approaching fifty years of age and still single—met his future wife.²⁵

Legend has it that, in his earlier years, Hayden fell in love with a Spanish girl in San Francisco, who spurned him when he sent the wrong kind of flowers. Crestfallen, he sought advice from his friend Dr. Orson Fowler, the famous Denver phrenologist. After analyzing the bumps on his depressed patient's head, Fowler proclaimed that, despite his fine abilities, Hayden was

Sally Calvert Davis Hayden.
AHS #50994.



very impractical and credulous; therefore, he ought to marry a practical and sensible woman. Exposed to few such women in the freighting business, Hayden remained a bachelor. However, on a trip from Arizona to San Francisco in the spring of 1874, he stopped at Visalia to visit his long-time friends Dr. and Mrs. William Alford. There, he met Sallie Calvert Davis, a southern-born schoolteacher who was boarding with the Alfords. Unbeknown to Hayden, his hosts had been matchmaking. They had spoken constantly to Sallie about the educated New Englander who dropped by on his way to and from the coast. Sallie, who had rejected earlier marriage proposals, doubtlessly listened to the Alfords and—in a practical and sensible way—scrutinized the dignified-looking stranger.²⁶

Long after their first meeting, Sallie confessed that she was not passionately in love with Charles Hayden and that she feared giving up her independence. Still, she shared common interests with the well-traveled gentleman and, besides, most of her friends urged her to marry him. Sallie greatly admired his gentle dignity and scholarly temperament. Perhaps more important, she found a challenge to which she could contribute in his dream

THE JOURNAL OF ARIZONA HISTORY

of building a civilized community on the irrigated deserts of southern Arizona.²⁷

Although she was seventeen years younger than her persistent suitor, Sallie was a mature woman who found in Charles Trumbull Hayden intellectual companionship and a man with dreams she could support and share. After a secret engagement, the couple was married on October 4, 1876, in Nevada City, California. The newlyweds left for Arizona as soon as Sallie's school term ended.²⁸

At the time of his marriage, Charles owned more than 300 acres in and around Hayden's Ferry, and his business and agricultural holdings extended throughout the territory. An advertisement in the January 28, 1876, *Arizona Miner* outlined Hayden's expanding financial empire:

CHARLES T. HAYDEN
Hayden's Ferry, Maricopa County A. T.
Dealer In
EVERY VARIETY OF MERCHANDISE
AND
Proprietor of the Hayden Mills.
Flour of the Very Best Quality
From these Water Mills Also on hand. Also
Cracked Barley for Feed for Animals
Have on hand for sale a large amount of
home made Bacon and Lard
Freighters will find my
Blacksmith and Wagon Shops,
Well supplied with materials for repairs.
CHARLES T. HAYDEN

Hayden's mill ground tons of wheat each day. Nearby, his blacksmith and wagon shops served patrons of Hayden's ferry. Across the street, his general store dispensed dry goods to eager customers. In addition, Hayden owned two mercantile outlets on the Gila Indian Reservation and another at Prescott. Farm hands tilled acres of Hayden grain east of the settlement. Other workers oversaw ten acres of assorted fruit trees behind his adobe home. Hundreds of hogs fattened on the by-products of the flour mill,

A Vision in the Desert

and Hayden purchased thousands more each year from surrounding farmers. His bacon, hams, and lard fed hungry settlers throughout the territory. It seemed that Sallie had married well. As the couple left California for the Salt River Valley, the desert entrepreneur calmly informed his wife that he intended to expand further his already substantial holdings.²⁹

Although Sallie shared her husband's hope for the future, the trip to Arizona and her initial impressions of Hayden's Ferry almost prompted a hasty return to California. Leaving the Southern Pacific Railroad where the tracks ended at San Bernardino, the couple traveled overland by freighter to the Colorado River port town of Ehrenberg, where they spent the night with Charles's friend and fellow merchant Michael "Big Mike" Goldwater. From there, they set out on the last leg of the journey, via the gold-mining town of Wickenburg. Sallie had never experienced such discomfort and anxiety. She suffered from a persistent earache, and the barrenness of the Mohave Desert dismayed her. The ride so upset the new bride that she hardly noticed the cluster of adobe houses nine miles northwest of the Salt River. After a moment of silence, Charles asked Sallie what she thought of Phoenix. Realizing that Hayden's Ferry must be even more primitive, her "heart fell clear to her shoes."³⁰

Sallie Davis Hayden arrived at Hayden's Ferry a lonely, apprehensive woman. Gradually, she overcame her initial shock at the severe climate and the desolate landscape. As she became better acquainted with her husband, she concluded that she had married a noble dreamer who knew little about women. Sensing his wife's loneliness, Charles confessed, "All I have is here—but if you're not happy, just name a place and we'll go there." After several months of desperate unhappiness, Sallie accepted her destiny and decided to stay.³¹

Cast aside modesty, Sallie immediately raised an issue that caused her grave concern. She was aware that Anglo women were scarce in Arizona, and that many of the early male settlers had fathered children by Mexican and Indian women whom they never bothered to marry. Did Charles have any children, she asked. If so, she told him to "bring them here and I'll raise them as my own." Startled and amused, Hayden assured Sallie that there were none. Her willingness to accept this social reality,

THE JOURNAL OF ARIZONA HISTORY

however, touched him deeply.³²

While Sallie resolved to tolerate the climate, society, and isolation at Hayden's Ferry, she nevertheless insisted on some creature comforts. When she expressed horror at the packed-dirt floor in her rambling new adobe house, Charles hauled lumber down from Prescott to construct the first wooden floor in the Salt River Valley. Sallie also insisted on having a green lawn and wrote to her friend Josephine Alford in Visalia. Bermuda grass seed arrived post-haste in a cigar box, and the Hayden's irrigated lawn soon sported a green cover. Over the next few years, Josephine sent shrubbery and flowers from California, as Sallie transformed the desert surrounding the Hayden home into a small oasis. Running water and plumbing—also the first in the area—further helped her accept life in Arizona. Slowly, a sense of place erased the emptiness she had once felt.³³

Sallie not only conquered loneliness, she also overcame her fear of Indians, who played a significant role in early Salt River Valley society and culture. Despite years spent in the West, Sallie knew little about the region's original inhabitants. She watched

Mill Ave. and Fifth, Tempe, c. 1900. AHS #57091.





Tempe, looking south from butte, c. 1900. AHS #57085.

with horror as local Pimas took great delight in chasing schoolchildren, to snatch a hat or grab a lunch. When Sallie first arrived, the native people were curious about everything she did. They peered into her windows, sat in front of her door, and pilfered small articles. It took several years before she felt comfortable with this aspect of territorial society.³⁴

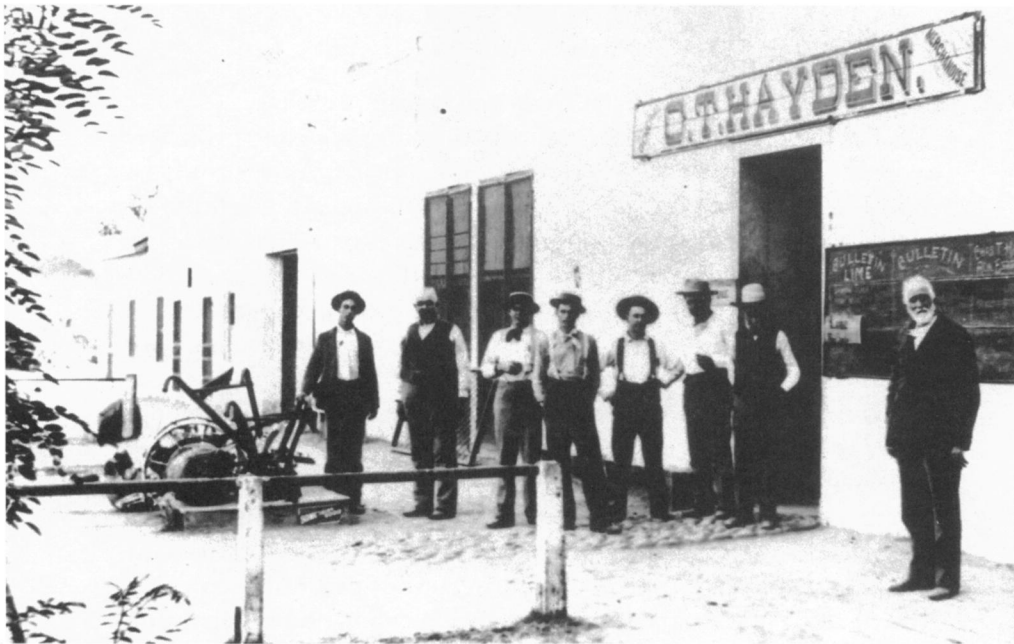
On October 2, 1877, the Haydens became a family with the birth of their first child, a son whom they named Carl. As the first Anglo born at Hayden's Ferry, young Carl was in the public eye from the very beginning. Local newspapers hailed him as the "prize baby of Maricopa County." Down in Tucson, the *Arizona Citizen* announced: "Born at Hayden's Ferry, Maricopa County, to the wife of Judge Charles Trumbull Hayden, a son. We are advised this newcomer weighed nine pounds ten ounces at birth." Eventually, the Haydens were blessed with three more children, all girls: Sarah Davis Hayden, often called Sallie, born on June 25, 1880; Anna Spencer Hayden, born on March 3, 1883; and Mary Calvert Hayden, nicknamed "Mapes" by her brother, born on November 21, 1886. Sadly, two-and-one-half-year-old Anna died unexpectedly in 1885, after eating too many green

peaches from the family orchard. Her mother thought she had received inadequate medical attention.³⁵

As his children grew, Charles Hayden continued to broaden the economic base of his community. Although he still maintained mercantile outlets throughout Arizona Territory, by the mid-1870s he was best known as the founder of Hayden's Ferry, later renamed Tempe. As a miller, farmer, and civic leader, he was the town's principal employer and, by 1882, the fourth largest taxpayer in the county. One pioneer resident recalled that Hayden never turned away a man who wanted to work; if he was short of cash, he paid out wages in flour or some other useful commodity. Although Hayden owned considerable property, he sometimes invested unwisely or trusted unscrupulous men. As he grew older, he acquired a mania for starting new projects. Generous to a fault, he extended credit for the asking and yet never sued a man for debt. All of this strained his financial resources.³⁶

Among the many people who settled in central Arizona, Mormon pioneers especially benefited from Hayden's generosity. Aware of the persecution the Saints had suffered, Hayden welcomed a scouting party under Daniel Jones that arrived in the valley in 1876. Instructed to seek out suitable farming communities along the Salt River, Jones reported back to church leader Brigham Young that "Charles Trumbull Hayden being one of the oldest and enterprising citizens of this country, he being a pioneer in reality having been for many years in the West, . . . could sympathize with the Mormon people in settling the deserts." Anthony Ivins, another member of the party and later one of the Twelve Apostles, recalled that Hayden's Mexican workers described don Carlos as "un hombre muy virtuoso." Charles aided the first wave of Mormon pioneers by extending credit for supplies and to purchase land in and around Tempe, Mesa, and Lehi. In spite of his opposition to polygamy and the Latter-day Saints' communitarian economy, Hayden lived in harmony with his Mormon neighbors.³⁷

At the same time, Hayden was the leader in a host of civic affairs. His role in promoting public education perhaps best exemplified his stewardship. He donated land for the first public school in the valley and, after Tucson snared the university, Hayden lobbied the territorial legislature to authorize a normal



Charles T. Hayden in front of his Tempe store, c. 1899. ASU AZ & SW CP CTH1539.

school at Tempe. In 1885, lawmakers responded by appropriating \$5,000 to establish the predecessor of Arizona State University. Local citizens contributed twenty acres of land for the school, while Hayden sold to the territory another twenty acres of choice property in the heart of Tempe at less than half its market value. Governor F. A. Tritle appointed Hayden to the board of trustees, after which his fellow board members elected him chairman.³⁸

Hayden worked, whenever possible, to advance the cultural and intellectual life of his community. He accumulated a considerable library and generously shared its contents. Intellectual currents of the time attracted his attention, and he possessed intense curiosity about the “isms” of his day. Hayden believed in water-cure hygiene and in spiritualism. He practiced philanthropy and aided the sick and infirm. Daniel Jones commented that when he became violently ill in 1878, Hayden “sent me up some canned goods and other things . . . I could eat.” Teachers, writers, and lecturers were especially welcome guests at the Hayden home. In these ways, he encouraged intellectual activity, cultural diversity, and civility, in addition to his contributions to

the economic stability of the fledgling community.³⁹

During the last two decades of his life, Hayden promoted experiments in public and private enterprise. As a result, his community on the banks of the river became a testing ground for a variety of new ideas—not all of them successful. His large-scale experiments with irrigated citrus agriculture in the late 1880s and early 1890s made his lush orchards the envy of local settlers. In addition, he invested in transportation schemes and promoted the cause of roadway construction.⁴⁰

Hayden's final years were a struggle against environmental forces that threatened the stability of the local economy. In mid-February of 1891, "the biggest flood of the Salt River that had ever been known," erased years of human effort and toil in the Salt River Valley. Fortunately, Hayden had recently moved his family to a ranch, situated on high ground, two miles from the river; floodwaters barely touched the Hayden home. His buildings located downtown near the river's edge, however, suffered extensive damage. The elder Hayden and twelve-year-old Carl salvaged and repaired articles long after the water receded. The disaster sharply reminded residents of the need for flood control and water storage. In the ensuing months, Hayden and other valley farmers and businessmen clamored louder than ever for federal assistance.⁴¹

Ironically, a decade-long drought—"the blackest period in the history of the Salt River Valley," according to one chronicler—followed the 1891 flood. A nationwide depression, that lasted locally well into the new century, compounded the human suffering. Hayden endured serious financial setbacks, and for most of the 1890s, he struggled to keep control of his businesses. By 1897, one of the worst drought years, crops failed, water shortages became acute, and the local economy ground to a halt. The following year, the desert began reclaiming Hayden's empire—livestock died and settlers abandoned their once-prosperous farms. Those who stayed behind prayed for a change in the weather. As the century drew to a close, desperate residents met to take action against the vagaries of flood and drought.⁴²

Tempe's problems took place against the backdrop of the national irrigation movement of the 1890s. Hayden supported the efforts of reclamation pioneers William Ellsworth Smythe

and George Maxwell. He attended several of the early National Irrigation Congresses and brought home copies of Smythe's *Irrigation Age*, which Carl and other family members quickly consumed. Charles dedicated his last years to "the conquest of arid America" and hoped to pass the legacy on to his son, who entered Stanford University in 1896.⁴³

In December of 1899, the seventy-four-year-old Hayden suddenly grew ill. His health became so poor that Carl, one semester away from graduation and preparing to play in the first Rose Bowl game, dropped out of Stanford to take charge of the family business. When Charles Hayden passed away on February 5, 1900, the flood of tributes from those who knew him focused, not on his material achievements, but on his character. "I am an individuality . . . who has rubbed against the barbarism of the Republic," he had uttered shortly before his death. Yet, he never swore, gambled, smoked, nor touched alcohol in any form. At the funeral, twenty-three-year-old Carl delivered an emotional five-minute summary of his father's life, recalling that he had always mentioned the family's link to the earliest stages of American development.

Charles's longtime friend, Mormon Bishop W. A. MacDonald, commented on the large number of Latter-day Saints present. He then eulogized Hayden as "a man of high attainments, scholarship, and ability," who "stood in marked contrast with the tractless desert he came to subdue." "He held to no faith," the bishop continued, "but his religion was honesty and love of his fellow man, and in that religion he was a stalwart missionary." Finally, MacDonald summed up Hayden's legacy: "In many respects the most remarkable of the early pioneers of Arizona, whose hopes have materialized in the wake of their tireless efforts, Charles Trumbull Hayden, the founder of Tempe, is remembered as the personification of New England's best citizenship."⁴⁴

Teacher, freighter, merchant, and entrepreneur, Hayden exemplified the restless spirit of a youthful America determined to forge a civilization on the frontier. In many ways, he personified the country's westward movement. Above all, Charles Hayden was a visionary—a man who saw beyond the limits of his immediate environment and who persevered in times of adver-

THE JOURNAL OF ARIZONA HISTORY

sity. Perhaps his greatest legacy was the example of civic stewardship he passed on to his son, whose own public career was a triumphant epilogue to the pioneering efforts of his father. As Carl Hayden often stated during his storied political career, his father left him with many advantages, the best of which was that he did not have a name to make, only a name to keep. In ways not clear to him at the time, Charles Trumbull Hayden, best remembered as the founder of Hayden's Ferry (Tempe), envisioned the rich future of the arid Southwest.

NOTES

1. Hayden Eulogy, February 7, 1900, Hayden Biographical File (HBF), Carl Hayden Papers Collection (CHPC), Hayden Library (HL), Arizona State University, Tempe; Carl Trumbull Hayden, *Charles Trumbull Hayden: Pioneer* (Tucson: Arizona Historical Society, 1972), p. 1; Bert M. Fireman, "Charles Trumbull Hayden," *The Smoke Signal* (Tucson Corral of The Westerners, Spring 1969), p. 195; *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix), February 18, 1962.
2. Charles T. Hayden to Mary Hanks Hayden Heath, July 8, 1844, Hayden Family Letters Collection (HFLC), CHPC; Fireman, "Charles Trumbull Hayden," p. 195; Hayden, *Charles Trumbull Hayden*, p. 11.
3. See Norman Graebner, *Manifest Destiny* (New York: Bobbs-Merrill, 1968), passim.
4. Fireman, "Charles Trumbull Hayden," *Arizona Crossroads*, in Bert Fireman Collection (BFC), Arizona Historical Foundation (AHF), Tempe; Carl Hayden, "Address at Tempe," November 1, 1956, HBF; Hayden, *Charles Trumbull Hayden*, p. 2.
5. Charles T. Hayden to brother, June 7, 1847, HFLC.
6. Carl Hayden, "Speech at Dedication of Hayden Library," HBF; Hayden, *Charles Trumbull Hayden*, pp. 4–5.
7. Charles T. Hayden to Mary Hanks Hayden Heath, March 14, 1848; and "Diary of Trip to Santa Fe, 1848," both in HFLC.
8. Charles T. Hayden, "New Mexico and its Inhabitants," letter fragment, 1848, *ibid.*
9. Charles T. Hayden to Jabez Allen, February 16, 1851, *ibid.*
10. Hayden, "Speech at Dedication of Hayden Library"; Fireman, "Charles Trumbull Hayden," *Arizona Crossroads*.
11. Carl Hayden interview with Joe Frantz, October 28, 1968, Lyndon Baines Johnson Presidential Library, Austin, Texas; Hayden, *Charles Trumbull Hayden*, pp. 6–7.
12. Hayden, *Charles Trumbull Hayden*, p. 5; and "Speech at Dedication of Hayden Library." Fireman, "Charles Trumbull Hayden," *Arizona Crossroads*. See also, Thomas Karnes, *William Gilpin: Western Nationalist* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1970).
13. *Weekly Arizona Citizen* (Tucson), June 26, July 3, 1869.
14. Hayden, "Speech at Dedication of Hayden Library"; and interview with Joe Frantz.
15. *Arizona Republic*, February 25, 1962; Hayden, "Speech at Dedication of Hayden Library."
16. *Arizona Miner* (Prescott), April 20, 1864; Hayden, "Speech at Dedication of Hayden Library."
17. Charles T. Hayden to Joseph Fish, February 8, 1878, HFLC; Fireman, "Charles Trumbull Hayden," *Arizona Crossroads*.

A Vision in the Desert

18. Hayden, *Charles Trumbull Hayden*, pp. 14-27; "Remarks of Senator Carl Hayden in Acceptance of the Award as Westerner of the Century," May 25, 1967, Potomac, Maryland, HBF; Hayden interview with Joe Frantz. After losing a mule team to Apache attack in the early 1860s, Charles Hayden filed a claim with the U.S. government. In 1908, Carl and his sister Sallie received a check compensating them at \$50 per mule.
19. Hayden, "Address at Tempe," HBF; to K. J. O'Brien, May 8, 1964, Folder 16, Box 701, both in CHPC.
20. *Arizona Miner*, September 28, 1867; Hayden, *Charles Trumbull Hayden*, p. 31; Hayden to O'Brien, May 8, 1964.
21. *Arizona Miner*, November 30, 1867. Hayden, "Speech at Dedication of Hayden Library"; and *Charles Trumbull Hayden*, pp. 7-9. Census takers listed Hayden as a "retail merchant" with an estimated personal worth of \$20,000 in 1860, \$10,000 in 1864, and \$45,000 in 1870. *Federal Census—Territory of New Mexico and Territory of Arizona. Excerpts . . . 1860, 1864, 1870* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1965).
22. *Arizona Miner*, December 10, 21, 1870. Marsha Weisiger, "The History of Tempe, Arizona, 1871-1930: A Preliminary Report," manuscript, 1971, Arizona Collection (AC), HL.
23. Geoffrey Mawn, "Promoters, Speculators, and the Selection of the Phoenix Townsite," *Arizona and the West*, vol. 19 (Autumn 1977), pp. 209-12; and "Phoenix, Arizona: Central City of the Southwest, 1870-1920" (Ph.D. dissertation, Arizona State University, 1979), pp. 6-31. Weisiger, "History of Tempe."
24. Weisiger, "History of Tempe"; Fireman, "Charles Trumbull Hayden," *The Smoke Signal*, pp. 196-200. Hayden kept his Tucson mercantile outlet until 1873.
25. *Arizona Citizen*, December 27, 1873.
26. Carl Hayden, "Sallie Davis Hayden: Thoroughbred Pioneer," manuscript, n.d., HBF.
27. *Ibid.*; Hayden, "Address at Tempe."
28. Hayden, "Sallie Davis Hayden"; and *Charles Trumbull Hayden*, p. 52.
29. *Arizona Miner*, January 28, 1876; Fireman, "Charles Trumbull Hayden," *Arizona Crossroads*; Hayden, *Charles Trumbull Hayden*, pp. 48-49.
30. Josephine Alford to Sallie Davis Hayden, December 10, 1876, HFCLC; Centennial Program, *Ferry Tale: Century in the Sun, 1871-1971* (Tempe: N.p., 1971), p. 9.
31. Hayden, "Sallie Davis Hayden."
32. *Ibid.*; *Arizona Republic*, March 4, 1962.
33. Josephine Alford to Sallie Davis Hayden, February 20, 1877, HFCLC.
34. Ruby Haigler, "History of Tempe," manuscript, AC.
35. *Salt River Herald* (Phoenix), October 3, 1877; *Arizona Citizen*, October 13, 1877. Charles Trumbull Hayden to Carl Hayden, March 14, 1897, HFCLC.
36. Fireman, "Charles Trumbull Hayden," *The Smoke Signal*, p. 196; and "Charles Trumbull Hayden," *Arizona Crossroads*. Hayden interview with Joe Frantz. Chroniclers have debated the 1878 name change from Hayden's Ferry to Tempe. The town took its name from the Tempe Canal Company which, in turn, was inspired by the lush Vale of Tempe, between Mt. Olympus and Mt. Athos in Greece. Initially called Butte City, the settlement soon was referred to as Hayden's Ferry, after the important transportation facility on the Salt River. Regardless of whether Hayden or the redoubtable Darrell Duppa initiated the name change, by 1879 the postal guide listed the town as Tempe. See Haigler, "History of Tempe"; Fireman, "Charles Trumbull Hayden," *The Smoke Signal*, p. 200; Holograph notes of Carl Hayden Eulogy delivered at funeral of Charles T. Hayden, February 7, 1900, HBF; *Portrait and Biographical Record of Arizona* (Chicago: Chairman Publishing Company, 1901), p. 871.
37. Fireman, "Charles Trumbull Hayden," *Arizona Crossroads*; and "Charles Trumbull Hayden," *The Smoke Signal*, p. 205. See also James H. McClintock, *Mormon Settlement in Arizona* (Phoenix: Manufacturing Stationers, Inc., 1921), pp. 218-20.

THE JOURNAL OF ARIZONA HISTORY

38. Holograph notes of Carl Hayden Eulogy; Hayden, "Address at Tempe"; Fireman, "Charles Trumbull Hayden," *Arizona Crossroads*; and "Charles Trumbull Hayden," *The Smoke Signal*, p. 200.
39. Daniel P. Jones, "Autobiography," manuscript, 1924, AC; Hayden, "Sallie Davis Hayden"; Samuel D. Putnam to Sallie Davis Hayden, November 27, 1895. HFLC.
40. Weisiger, "History of Tempe"; Thomas Edwin Farish, *History of Arizona*, 8 vols. (San Francisco: Filmer Brothers, 1914-1918), vol. 2, pp. 288-99, and vol. 6, pp. 103-104, 220-24.
41. Carl Hayden to Charles Trumbull Hayden, March 20, 1897; Josephine Alford to Sallie Davis Hayden, April 12, 1891, HFLC. *Arizona Citizen*, February 18, 1897.
42. Charles T. Hayden to Carl Hayden, September 17, 1898, HFLC; *Arizona Republican* (Phoenix), April 20, 1900; *Tempe Daily News*, February 7, 1900; Stephen Shadegg, "The Miracle of Water in the Salt River Valley, Part II," *Arizona Highways*, vol. 18 (August 1942), p. 29.
43. Carl Hayden to Charles T. Hayden, March 29, 1897, HFLC; Hayden, "Sallie Davis Hayden"; and "Remarks at Tenth Banquet of the National Reclamation Association," HBF.
44. Holograph notes of Carl Hayden Eulogy; Hayden, *Charles Trumbull Hayden*, p. 1; Fireman, "Charles Trumbull Hayden," *The Smoke Signal*, p. 195; *Arizona Republic*, February 18, 1962.

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