

# The SMOKE SIGNAL

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## Wagon Freighting In Arizona

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Attack on Tully and Ochoa wagon train in Cañada del Oro in May of 1869, by unknown artist who may have been a participant. The soldiers at the left had been sent from Camp Grant to escort the train. The unmanned artillery piece at the left is not mentioned in most accounts of the fight.

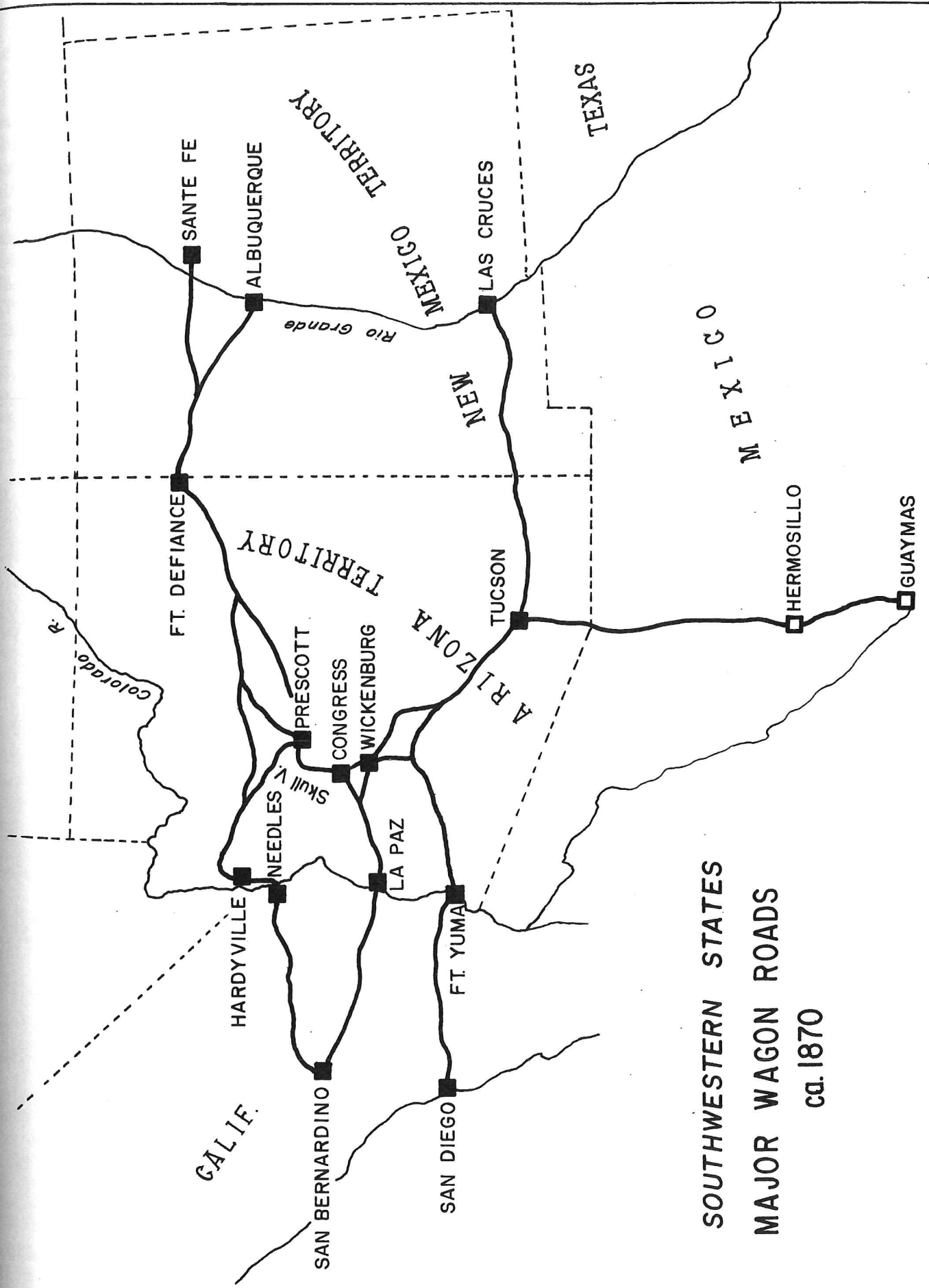
**D**URING THE PERIOD OF SPANISH AND MEXICAN RULE OVER WHAT IS NOW THE STATE OF ARIZONA, MOST MANUFACTURED GOODS, CLOTH, TOOLS, AND WEAPONS FOR THE MISSIONS AND PRESIDIOS WERE BROUGHT IN BY PACK ANIMALS. European manufactures were landed at Vera Cruz and hauled over the Sierra Madre Oriental Mountains to Mexico City — a distance of some 260 miles. To reach Sonora they then had to be carried over the Sierra Madre Occidental to a port on the Pacific and shipped to a Sonoran port by a coasting vessel that had to fight the prevailing northwest winds and currents for over 1,000 miles. As an alternative, the goods could be carried by pack animal the 1,500 mile distance from Mexico City to Tucson. There were no roads on which wagons could be used.

When one considers the distance, the expenses and the small trickle of supplies to reach the frontier, it is small wonder that northwestern New Spain was slow to develop. When Philip St. George Cooke stopped in Tucson in 1846 he estimated the population of the town to be some 500 souls. When the Gadsden Purchase was made in 1853, the only part of present-day Arizona that was inhabited by white men was the portion lying south of the Gila River. The tremendous expansion of the Spanish Empire that covered much of the Western hemisphere in three centuries ground to a halt on the northern frontier of Sonora largely because of the problem of transportation.

Southern Arizona was more fortunate during the prerailroad era than many other Western portions of the United States in that it had several potential lines of transportation available for the wagon freighter. From the east, goods were freighted from the Texas coast or over the Santa Fe Trail from Missouri. Up from the south came the 400-mile road from the Sonoran port of Guaymas. From the west there were trails across the California desert from Los Angeles and San Diego. Another advantage lay in the Colorado River. Goods could be shipped from San Francisco to Port Isabel at the head of the Gulf of California in ocean-going vessels. Here the cargo was transferred



*In the days of Spanish and Mexican trade rule supplies for the missions and presidios came to Arizona by pack mule trains similar to this more modern group.*



SOUTHWESTERN STATES  
 MAJOR WAGON ROADS  
 ca. 1870

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to river steamers which delivered their loads to river ports as much as 200 miles upstream. From the river ports, pack mules or wagons completed the trip to the final destination.

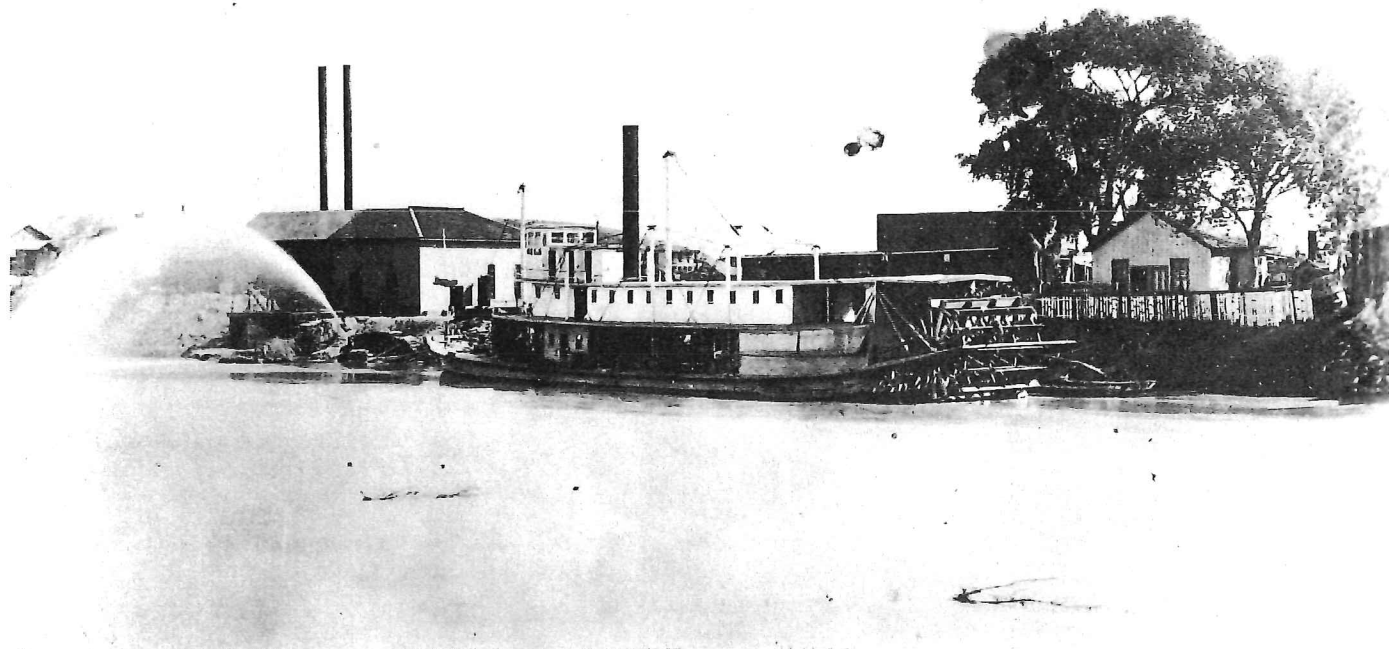
To control the crossing of the Colorado River by the southern overland route to the California gold fields and to provide a resting place for caravans of gold seekers before tackling the California desert, the U. S. Army established Fort Yuma on the California bank near the confluence of the Gila and Colorado Rivers. The post was established in 1850 but was abandoned in 1851 because of the difficulty of supplying it by wagon from Southern California. In 1852 the fort was regarrisoned and Captain William Turnbull brought the knocked-down steamer *Uncle Sam* into the Gulf of California in a schooner. The river boat was assembled on the mud flats at the river's mouth and, on December 3, 1852, reached Fort Yuma with a load of military supplies.

For several years the only traffic on the Colorado River was the movement of supplies for Fort Yuma. It was not until 1856 that Solomon Warner landed a stock of goods for his Tucson store at Fort Yuma. He engaged the 14-mule pack train of Joaquin Queroga to take his goods to Tucson. He arrived on February 28, 1856, 10 days before the Mexican army garrison left the presidio. Later Pinckney Randolph Tully used 10 wagons to move more merchandise ap-

proximately 300 hundred miles to the Old Pueblo. At this time Tucson had an estimated population of 200, of whom only a dozen or so were Anglos.

Pinckney Randolph Tully was born in Fort Gibson, Mississippi, in 1824. His family apparently started for Oregon in 1845 but the father died in Missouri and the family stopped there. In the following year, young Tully moved to Santa Fe where he got a job as clerk in a store. He finally settled in Las Cruces, New Mexico, where he went into partnership with Esteban Ochoa. In 1858 he hauled a wagon train load of merchandise to Tucson which he sold to Solomon Warner. Ten years later the firm of Tully and Ochoa moved its headquarters to Tucson. P. R. Tully, like most pioneer businessmen, was a public spirited citizen. He served variously as a member of the Tucson Board of Health, as city treasurer and as mayor, as well as a period as territorial treasurer. Tully died on November 10, 1903 at Healdsburg, California.

In the late Fall of 1857 four companies of the First Regiment of Dragoons established Camp Moore near Calabasas, creating a demand for more transportation. At first supplies of goods and forage for this garrison were drawn largely from Sonora, Mexico. After the filibustering expedition led by Henry Crabb in 1857, the trade with Sonora was cut off and military supplies and some civilian goods had to be brought from the Rio Grande valley. In 1860 the Army con-



*River steamer Gila tied up at the foot of Main Street, Yuma, 1898. Note the lack of gingerbread work that was typical of steamers on the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers.*

tracted with Simeon Hart of El Paso to transport 800 gallons of vinegar to Fort Buchanan at the rate of one half cent per pound. This line of supply was rather tenuous. It took one wagon train of supplies for Camp Moore 105 days to make the trip from Albuquerque. When Col. Benjamin L. E. Bonneville made an inspection, in 1859, of the Department of New Mexico, which then covered Arizona, he came up with the commercial wagon train of one A. Barnes corralled on the dry bed of the San Simon River. Barnes had sent his oxen 12 to 14 miles to the cienaga at the head of the river and had gone himself to Stein's Peak station of the Butterfield Overland Mail to see if he could get enough water to push his train through the arid country. Bonneville later learned that Barnes had lost 12 oxen out of his eight teams from heat and lack of water between Stein's Peak and the Burro Mountains.

When the Sonora Exploring and Mining Company set about opening its mines near Tubac in 1857, their first wagon train of supplies and machinery, including 6,000-pound boilers, came from Port Lavaca, Texas, a distance of well over 1,200 miles. Additional heavy equipment was later brought from the Missouri Valley in 12 six-mule wagons operated by Santiago Hubbell of New Mexico. The wagons returned to Missouri with loads of very rich silver ore on which the freight charge was \$233 per ton.

In December of 1857, Solomon Warner was on the road from Yuma with two large freight wagons of 6,500-pound capacity and one smaller of only 2,500. He was held up by floods near Maricopa Wells. Warner took the small wagon forward and left the others in charge of Tufalo Burruel. Apaches attacked the stranded wagons and did much damage to the cargo. Four barrels of whiskey were broken and the contents mixed with 1,500 pounds of sugar, 500 pounds of beads were scattered about, coats, scarves, undershirts and yard goods were ruined. Warner listed the loss at \$1,087. Luckily, the Indians had fled before they could put the wagons to the torch.

In 1858, Charles D. Poston had contracted with one Conklin of San Diego to haul mining machinery to Tubac from the West Coast. After many excuses Conklin admitted that he could not haul across the Great Colorado Desert and the Gila Desert for the agreed \$300 per ton. Instead he asked for \$500 per ton and assurance of six months' work hauling ore to the Colorado. The machinery finally arrived at Tubac after 40 days on the road.

The growth of the Colorado River as a trade route can be judged by the growth of the river fleet. The *Uncle Sam* was 65 feet long, 16 feet wide and could carry 35 tons while drawing only 22 inches of water. In 1859, the *Cocopah I*, the monster of the fleet, was put in operation. She was 140 feet long and had a

capacity of 100 tons. Each steamer, on the upriver trip, usually towed a flat-bottomed barge of 100 ton capacity.

The first sizable demand for freighting away from the river had started in 1858 with the gold strike at Gila City, some 15 miles east of Yuma. The town soon had a population of 1,000 souls. J. Ross Browne commented that within a few months Gila City had everything "but a church and a jail. . .". He noted that barrels of whiskey, billiard tables, ready-made clothing and fancy wares, as well as food, were brought in promptly. By 1865, the placers were cleaned out and Gila City fell into decay.

Freighting was a relatively easy business to get into. All one needed was enough money to buy a wagon and a team of mules or oxen, say \$1,000. W. G. Shook raised some potatoes near Camp Hualapai and sold them for \$1,100. Going to Los Angeles to visit he bought a wagon, four small mules, and two horses to make a team of six. He loaded up at San Bernardino with fruit and other items that commanded high prices in Prescott. His goods sold well enough to repay his investment. With this success, he decided to become a freighter. He bought another team and wagon from the Miller brothers. He fitted the second wagon as a trailer so he did not have to hire a teamster. The Millers gave him an order to haul lumber to Phoenix and he loaded back with barley. After a second load of lumber he started freighting out of Yuma to Phoenix and towns and mining camps in the south and central parts of the territory. He made a practice of driving early in the day taking advantage of the cool weather. He drove from stage station to stage station, 12 to 15 miles per day, to be sure of water and forage.

The *Weekly Arizonian*, published in Tubac, waged a long struggle for the opening of a line of supply through the Mexican state of Sonora. In its issue of May 3, 1859, it stated that goods could be brought from San Francisco to Port Lobos on the Gulf of California for six cents per pound, compared to 15 to 18 cents via Yuma or over the plains. The paper said on June 2, that one Señor Zepata, a merchant of Altar, had opened a wagon road to Port Lobos and went on to say, "should the Mexican government permit the opening of this port, and allow free transit through the country, Lobos will become the seaport of Arizona, being distant from Tubac and Tucson about 200 miles. . . ." The army was urged to move men and supplies over this route to reduce the cost of transportation. Major Samuel P. Heintzelman, who had been the commanding officer at Fort Yuma from 1850 to 1854 and who was, in 1859, the president of the Sonora Exploring and Mining Company, reported to the executive committee that it took four months to receive good from San Francisco via Yuma. Via Port

Lobos it would take only 40 days. The river freight charge was \$65.00 per ton and the land carriage amounted to 14 cents per pound. He concluded that it would save time and money to order goods from New York via Lavaca, Texas and the Rio Grande. He added, "We have permission to ship our ores through Guaymas, but it is no longer advisable." In the latter part of 1859, Governor Ignacio Pesqueira of Sonora, who had been trained for a business career in Paris, granted duty-free transit of goods destined for Arizona, as a boost to the Sonoran economy.

The Civil War brought about great changes in Arizona. Fort Buchanan on Sonoita Creek, Fort Breckinridge on the Aravaipa and Fort Defiance in the Navajo Country were all abandoned in mid-1861 and the troops moved east to meet the invasion of New Mexico by Confederates from Texas. Many Arizonans went over to the Confederate cause.

In late 1860, William S. Grant of Tucson ordered a large stock of goods in Boston and New York for his store and to fill contracts to supply Forts Buchanan and Breckinridge as well as Forts Fillmore and McLane in New Mexico. The goods were landed at Port Lavaca on January 10, 1861. The supplies were loaded into 41 wagons for the 1,200 mile trip. A few days out the train had to halt for two and a half months for the grass to grow enough to feed the draft animals. On the Rio Hondo, 50 miles west of San Antonio, on April 26, 1861, the train was seized by Texas troops. Two hundred fifty thousand pounds of government freight and 30,000 pounds of civilian goods were lost.

Another train that never reached Arizona was seized by its crew in 1861. The 15 loaded wagons were driven into Mexico and sold in Janos for \$3,000 — \$1,500 in cash and a draft for \$1,500 on someone in Chihuahua City. United States troops from Fort McLane arrived in Janos the next day. The property was immediately surrendered and the thieves were overtaken on the road and forced to give up the money. This was considered a gratifying example of cooperation between the United States government and the Mexicans of Chihuahua.

In June of 1862, the California Column of Union volunteers passed through Tucson on its way to the Rio Grande and established a supply depot in the Old Pueblo. It reoccupied the site of Fort Breckenridge and established Fort Bowie. All this called for a great increase in the transportation of military supplies and the expense became a major item. Major David Fergusson reported to the headquarters of the Military District of New Mexico in August that when he was in Sonora during the summer, Don Onofre Navarro had offered to haul government supplies from Guaymas to Tucson for five cents per pound, and that Don Juan Yñigo had offered to do the same for four cents,

if the army would pay the duty of one cent charged on goods in transit. Fergusson pointed out that freight from Yuma to Tucson was about 12½ cents per pound plus three and a half for the river steamer and four dollars ferriage per wagon at Yuma. He said there was a good natural road with plenty of wood, water, and grass from Tucson to Santa Aña and had been assured the road from Santa Aña to Guaymas was good though with less water and grass. The Mexican freighter normally hauled a 4,000-pound load with an eight-mule team.

General James H. Carlton ordered Fergusson to reconnoiter possible routes from Tucson to Port Lobos or to Libertad. The major reported good roads to both ports. In September, Carlton sought permission of Washington to ship the army supplies through Sonora and notified Don Juan Robinson, United States Consul at Guaymas, that a train of 30 wagons had been ordered to Libertad to pick up the supplies.

In March of 1865, Captain William Ffrench was sent to confer with Governor Pesqueira to arrange for transport through Sonora. A contract had been drawn with John G. Capron and Co. of Tucson for the land transportation. If Ffrench was not successful, the supply ships were to be ordered to proceed to the mouth of the Colorado River. It would seem that some hitch developed in these plans. In May it was reported to Carlton that Capron's contract had not been completed as the stores had been shipped to Yuma by the time he reached Guaymas. In the meantime, the Tucson depot had been notified from California that another shipment would leave for Guaymas about May 1, 1864. The Tucson officers had been directed to give the contract for land transportation to J. A. Rogers of Tucson at six and a half cents per pound in gold, or equivalent, on delivery.

The permission was granted but difficulties soon arose. In November, Farrelly Alden, a new consul, reported that 100 tons of quartermaster stores had been detained by the consignee, despite orders to forward them at once. Hazard & Co. had held the supplies as security for money due them on a previous shipment on which the land transport alone had amounted to \$6,000. The contractor, Joel R. Rogers, had paid in protested drafts. Alden went on to say, "The contractor is a well known Secessionist . . . gone to New York to get up a mining company, neglecting the important business confided to him by the Government."

Some civilian goods came through Guaymas, along with the government supplies but, because of abuses, Governor Pesqueira had to restrict the duty-free privilege to United States Quartermaster supplies. When the French seized Guaymas in March of 1865, General Armand Alexandre de Castagny authorized passage of 300 tons of American army supplies without duty,

despite the danger of seizure by Mexican forces outside of the town. It was finally decided not to risk the loss and the supply ship *Jessup* unloaded at the mouth of the Colorado. At the same time, M. O. Davidson, special agent for the Papago Indians, reported that a wagon train sent to Guaymas for Indian goods could not enter the town through the lines of Governor Pesqueira's army. The goods were sent to Fort Yuma in hopes that army transportation would haul them to Tubac. By mid-June Guaymas experienced a "general and complete suspension of trade." Charles Trumbull Hayden, a Tucson merchant and freighter, had a wagon train confiscated by the French officials in Guaymas and, when he went to protest the seizure, he was held a prisoner for a number of days.

Charles Trumbull Hayden, one of the leading pioneers of Southern Arizona, has been greatly overshadowed by his son, Senator Carl Hayden. Born in Connecticut in 1825, Charles T. Hayden came to Arizona via Overland Stage. Like many pioneer merchants, he operated a wagon train to keep his stores in Tubac and Tucson stocked and also also freighted for others. He was one of the strongest supporters of the Guaymas route. In 1870 he opened a store in Tempe and established a ferry over the Salt River. A few years later he opened a water-powered flouring mill which is still in operation though run now by electricity. Charles Hayden died at Tempe in 1907, a perfect example of the pioneer entrepreneur who could turn a profit at many different businesses.

Despite the fighting in Missouri which caused the army to move its depot from Kansas City to Fort Leavenworth in 1861, freighting continued over the Santa Fe Trail. The *Kansas City Journal of Commerce* noted on August 5, 1863, "Indeed there was one trader who arrived here this season with a train of 10 wagons loaded with wool from Altar, Sonora within 35 miles of Port Liberated *[sic]* on the Gulf of California." This may have been the large mule train of Epifanio Agueirre whose passage through Council Grove, Kansas, enroute to "Tuscan, Arazonia" with mining machinery, was noted in the *Council Grove Press* on October 5, 1863. With several thousand troops in Arizona and New Mexico and one of the main supply depots in Tucson, there was a steady movement of wagons from one to the other. The post returns of Fort Bowie for September 1863 note the passage of Ochoa's train en route to Tucson. On October 24 the returns noted a Mexican train going to Tucson. In fact a train passed the post nearly every month. In addition, trains brought forage and supplies to the post from the Tucson depot.



Esteban Ochoa

Esteban Ochoa was born in Chihuahua City, Mexico in 1831 to a family that had been widely known and influential for several generations. As a young man he spent some time in Independence, Missouri, picking up a fair command of English and preparing himself for an active role in the Santa Fe trade. By April of 1859, he was dissolving a partnership with Pedro Aguirre operating out of Las Cruces, New Mexico. Four months later, Don Esteban was elected chairman of a convention called to organize a new territory covering southern New Mexico and Arizona. Sometime, probably in 1860, Ochoa moved to Tucson and soon was a prosperous merchant. When Captain Sherrod Hunter occupied Tucson with a company of Confederate troops, Ochoa refused to take an oath of loyalty to the Confederacy. Hunter gave the merchant only time enough to get a horse, weapons and ammunition and such rations as he could collect at once. Traveling alone, Ochoa arrived in Mesilla, New Mexico. Don Esteban returned to Tucson when the Confederates withdraw from the Southwest.

In 1863, Ochoa entered into partnership with Pinckney R. Tully who had been in the Santa Fe trade since 1846. In 1863, the firm of Tully & Ochoa had its headquarters in Tubac but moved them to Tucson in that year.

Active in public affairs, Esteban Ochoa served in the Fifth and Sixth Territorial Legislatures and as mayor of Tucson. He was one of the leaders in the movement to establish public schools in Arizona.



*Steamer and barge tied up at the Quartermaster Depot in Yuma in 1876.*

By far the greater part of the military supplies that were landed at Fort Yuma were destined for the forts and camps in Arizona. As a result, the Army, in 1864, established a large, new quartermaster depot on the east bank of the Colorado River adjacent to the burgeoning town of Arizona City [now Yuma]. This simplified the dispatch of the wagon trains and eliminated the fee for ferriage.

It was during the Civil War that events occurred in northern Arizona that led to the beginning of white settlement. In May of 1863, Joseph Reddeford Walker with a prospecting party of some 30 men reached the general area where Prescott was later founded and began to pan for gold. Some of the men had to retrace their steps to the Pima Villages in June to obtain a supply of flour and beans — a round trip of over 300 miles. It was not long before some of the members of the original party saw that there was money to be made in merchandizing and transportation, possibly more than in panning for gold.

Some time in the spring or summer of 1864, the Miller brothers, Jacob L. and Samuel C., sent a pack train of eight or 10 small mules all the way to San Bernardino, California, for supplies for the mining camp. Fortunately for the citizens of Prescott the trip was soon materially shortened. The town of La Paz on the Colorado River, 150 miles away, had been established in 1862 as a supply point for placer min-

ing along the river and was being served by river steamers. The Millers found business so good that they increased their string to about 30 animals.

The Millers soon converted to wagons. At first the wagons were small six-mule affairs, but within two years they were using 200 larger animals and larger wagons. On the haul from Los Angeles to Wickenburg, at times they had 22 teams of 12 mules each, each team pulling two wagons loaded with 16,000 to 25,000 pounds. For the 640-mile round trip they received 15 to 25 cents per pound. It is small wonder that living in Prescott was expensive. A barrel of flour that could be bought in San Francisco for five dollars sold for \$25 in Prescott. Thomas D. Sanders, an early settler, remarked of the Miller brothers. "Everyone depended upon them for their supplies . . . and naturally when they failed, a famine was sure."

The Millers did have trouble at times. On one occasion a wagon loaded with 13,000 pounds of bacon, shoes, boots, etc., was lost in the Colorado River. The wagon and team were crossing the river at La Paz on Tom Goodman's ferry. A heavy wind blew the ferry into a pile of driftwood that tore the flat boat apart. The wagon, load, 10 mules and a horse were lost.

After the Miller brothers the second biggest freighter in the Prescott area was Virginia born Dr. Wilson W. Jones who was a graduate of the University of Virginia. He arrived in Arizona in 1864. It would appear that the practice of medicine was not a very lucrative profession in Arizona in those days. In the special census of 1864 he gave his profession as mineralogist, and in the 1870 census as freighter. Within three years of Jones' arrival in Arizona, in partnership with Mike and Joseph Goldwater, he had several wagon trains on the run between Prescott and La Paz. In addition to the occasional practice of medicine, as when he removed several Indian bullets from his partner Joseph Goldwater, Jones was an inveterate prospector and owned a ranch on the Verde River.

To protect the rapidly growing mining community, General Carlton ordered the establishment of a military post in the vicinity. Fort Whipple was established on December 23, 1863, at a point 24 miles northeast of Prescott, but on May 24, 1864, it was moved to a site two miles from the town. An additional boost to the population and economy came in January of 1864, when the government of the newly created Arizona Territory settled first at Fort Whipple and then moved into Prescott.

The increased population required increased transportation. Pack trains had certain advantages over wagons. The equipment was relatively inexpensive





S. C. Miller



J. L. Miller

and they could travel narrow trails in rugged terrain impossible for wheeled vehicles. On the other hand, they had serious drawbacks. Good sturdy mules could carry loads up to 300 pounds. In most trains an *arriero*, or packer, was required for each 10 mules, or one man per each ton and a half of cargo. Also, the animals had to be unloaded at every evening stop and reloaded every morning, a slow and laborious process even with experienced packers and well trained mules. By comparison a mule could pull about three times as much loaded in a wagon. The wagons stayed loaded all night. By hitching two or three wagons in tandem, one driver could manage a load of five or six tons, thus reducing the payroll.

The first issue of the *Arizona Miner*, published in Prescott on March 9, 1864, discussed the feasibility of a wagon road to Tucson by way of Weaver's Diggings and the Pima Villages. The paper noted that "some money must be expended in opening more watering places than are now found on the route." The army became actively interested in a better, cheaper, more reliable line of supply than the route from Albuquerque to Prescott via Fort Canby, the successor to Fort Defiance. A month after the *Miner's* article appeared, a

reconnaissance was ordered seeking a wagon road to Fort Mohave, close to the practical head of navigation of the Colorado River. Captain Herbert M. Enos, Assistant Quartermaster, reported that the route was over 150 miles in length, but that it had ample water, except for a 25-mile stretch between a tributary of Bill Williams Fork and the Hualapais Springs. He estimated that the labor of 50 men for 60 days would make a useable road for six-mule team hauling 3,000 to 3,500 pounds each.

In August of 1864, the wagon train of the Messrs. Bowers, sutlers at Fort Whipple, arrived from Fort Mohave. Next month the *Miner* reported that McMullen's wagon train had brought in, for the Territorial Secretary, a number of boxes of stationery which had been shipped from New York on August 3 of the previous year. It went on to say, "Besides the delays of ocean and river transportation, they had been stored at Fort Yuma and Pimo [Pima Villages] awaiting a train to this place." The paper also noted that goods arrived more expeditiously by way of the wagon trains over the Great Plains to Santa Fe. It hoped that more river steamers and a better wagon road from the Colorado would soon change that.

George E. Freeman of Los Angeles arrived in October of 1864 with a train of assorted goods for the local merchants and paper and type for the *Miner*. The material for the newspaper had been ordered in July of the previous year. Freeman's train had left Los Angeles on September 12 and had been on the road for a month.

While some freighters were getting through with wagons, pack trains continued to operate. The *Miner*, on September 21, 1864, reported that Wilbur Curtis had come in from Williams Fork with goods that had left there a month previously — in wagons.

Some improvements were made along the road from the Colorado River as early as 1864 when a number of wells were dug between Weaver and La Paz. Mike Goldwater subsequently had a string of wells dug at Skull Valley, Kirkland, Willow Springs, Martinez and Congress Junction. The Charles Collins well was 300 feet deep. The well at Deep Wash was only 80 feet deep, as was the Mesquite well. The charge for watering was 25 cents per animal for evening and morning watering. For water hauled away, the charge was 50 cents per barrel. Drinking water for humans was free. At Johnson's Well there was a small store where whiskey sold for 25 cents a glass, in coin, and canned fruit and oysters sold at \$1.50, gold, each.

Captain William H. Hardy, in 1865, built a toll road from the newly founded town of Hardyville, nine miles up river from Fort Mohave, to Prescott. Hardyville was considered the practical head of navigation of the Colorado River. On occasion steamers had gone farther up the river but seem to have taken advantage of unusually high water. On completing the road, Captain Hardy took a contract to haul 300 tons of government freight to Fort Whipple. The captain bought 40 yoke of oxen and a number of wagons, with accessories, in Southern California. In addition he had two large wagons specially built at a cost of \$1,600 each and procured eight six-mule teams. Even so, to move all the supplies he had to hire additional teams. Either freighting did not pay or Captain Hardy did not like the business. At any rate he sold the animals and wagons to Messrs. Silverthorn and Brown in the following year. He received a small down payment but never saw the balance due.

There was quite a stir in Prescott when, in October of 1866, four ox teams, each loaded with 9,000 pounds of goods, arrived. It had been thought to be impossible to move such heavy loads over the roads of the Territory. Some 800 man-hours of work had so improved the road from Hardyville that freighters were soon ready to contract for loads as heavy as 15,000 pounds.

Other freighters arriving in the same month brought from California such items as dried grapes, peaches, and honey.

A good deal of freight for Prescott was hauled from the Pacific Coast via San Bernardino. Thomas D. Sanders, who freighted over the road several times, stated that when the wagons left San Bernardino, 50 percent of their load consisted of water and forage for the animals. A team of 12 mules could handle only 8,000 to 9,000 pounds of freight. Even so, at the end of one trip Sanders collected \$2,300.

There was some freighting in northern Arizona from the Rio Grande Valley, but it does not seem to have been very extensive. In 1890 Franz Huning, a well established merchant of Albuquerque and Piños Altos, New Mexico, loaded his wagon train with flour and wine and set out for Prescott. He traveled via old Fort Wingate, Zuñi, and Leroux Spring. Huning sold his goods in Prescott and loaded out with lumber and shingles for Phoenix via Wickenburg and the Hassayampa River. The lumber and shingles were sold and two trips were made to Camp Verde with barley belonging to a man called Pumphandle. Another load of barley was hauled to Prescott and then Huning returned home. Unfortunately he did not relate whether he had any load for the last leg of this swing through Arizona.

Before the Civil War there had been only three army posts in Arizona. Fort Buchanan was supplied from the depot at Fort Union, New Mexico via Las Cruces in the Rio Grande valley. Supplies for Fort Defiance in the Navajo country were freighted via Albuquerque or Santa Fe. Fort Mohave received its stores directly from the steamers on the Colorado River. After the war there were 10 or more posts of differing life span, scattered across the territory and the expense of getting supplies to them became an important issue. In 1867 the *Miner* reported complaints over the high prices paid by the government, especially from Fort Yuma to the Tucson supply post. A contract was let to E. N. McDonald to move 35 tons at seven and three-eighths cents per pound. The army authorities in San Francisco stated that there were few bidders for Arizona contracts, sometimes only one. The *Miner* responded to this by pointing out that the advertisements for bids appeared in the San Francisco *Alta California* and that copies of that paper reached Arizona only two days before the closing of bids in San Francisco. It went on to suggest that the officials keep in mind the distances involved and the irregularity of the mails when they sent out for bids. In the same year, Wilson, Jones & Company was awarded the contract from La Paz to Camps

Lincoln (Fort Verde) and McPherson (Camp Date Creek) and to Fort Whipple at four cents per pound, in gold. Louis J. F. Jager contracted to deliver supplies from Yuma to Camp McDowell for three cents per pound in coin.

Louis J. F. Jaeger was an outstanding example of the easterner who made good by the ease with which he could turn from one endeavor to another if there was any chance at turning a profit. Pennsylvania-born Jaeger arrived in the Yuma vicinity in 1850 with a party that set a ferry in operation across the Colorado River. Within a year or so, Jaeger bought out his partners in the ferry business, put in operation an extensive freighting business, contracted with the United States Government for meat, grain, hay and wood. He invested in a number of mines and in the first attempt to open an irrigation canal in the Salt River Valley. He also owned a number of ranches. In the little community of Jaegerville on the California side of the Colorado, he owned and operated a blacksmith shop, a store, a meat market, a post office and an Overland Mail station. Jaeger kept an extensive diary, but it is

written in the old-fashioned German script and his English is written with a German accent.

The army had a contract with the Colorado Steam Navigation Company for the movement of goods from the Gulf of California to Yuma, 150 miles, the rate was \$20 per ton; from Yuma to La Paz, another 150 miles, the rate was the same; from Yuma to Fort Mohave, 300 miles, the rate was \$37.50 per ton. Colonel James F. Rusling, an inspector for the Quartermaster General, remarked in 1872, "I think these rates excessive, not to say extraordinary, even for the Pacific Coast." The rotation of troops into and out of Arizona brought business to the wagon freighter. In 1875 Oscar Buckalew took the contract to move the military stores of the 23rd Infantry from Camps Lowell, Bowie, and Grant to Yuma for \$1.56 per 100 pounds per 100 miles.

Army supplies continued to roll in from Guaymas but there were troubles. Consul Edward Conner reported in October of 1866 that, during the past four years, the credit of the United States had been greatly impaired in the estimation of the local merchants.



*Horse and mule team with string of wagons in Nogales in 1881. Note complex and expensive harness.*



*Remains of one of the few freight wagons still in existence. It stands fully exposed to the weather in Tombstone. Note the size of the rear wheel.*

Some of them had bought remittances drawn by the quartermaster or the paymaster, but because of some irregularities they had not been honored in Washington. As of the date of writing some were still unpaid.

In his annual report to Secretary of State William H. Seward, dated December 20, 1866, Conner called attention to the advantages of Guaymas as a port of entry for the southern and eastern portions of Arizona and southwestern New Mexico. He said, "It is regarded by all as the natural and only outlet for Arizona and New Mexico" with a good road, hard and gravelly, that was traveled by wagons of three-ton capacity in 13 to 18 days. In support of this contention, he cited the case of a steamer that had left San Francisco on November 9 and arrived at Guaymas on November 24. The ship had on board 75 tons of sutler's stores for the post at Tubac. He had been told that the goods reached their destination in 31 days out of San Francisco, at a cost of six and a half cents a pound, including steamer freight and the cost of transshipping at Guaymas. For comparison he cited the case of the *Laura* which had left San Francisco 43 days before the steamer and he thought she would not reach the mouth of the Colorado before December 28. He added, "at this point, the great expense and delay, commence." The supplies would probably take 120 days for delivery at a cost of 18 to 20 cents per pound or \$400 per ton.

General Irvin McDowell, commanding the Department of California, of which Arizona was a part, stated in his annual report of 1867, "It is much to be desired that Mexico should be induced to make a port of entry at Libertad, so that freighters should have no difficulty in using that port to disembark their stores." If this had been done, it would have halved the land haul to Tucson. Two years later the Consul at Guaymas reported that trains of 12 to 20 wagons each had moved 300 to 400 tons, in 6,457 packages, between the first week of November and December 6. He added that "Owing to a delay caused by a wagon master, the last train did not get fairly started until today." He also noted that while each package had been bound with twine with a leaden seal costing seven cents, the seal could easily be displaced. The forwarding house of Ortiz Hermanos of Guaymas had written to the consul asking him to use his influence with the Mexican government to have them dispense with the binding and sealing. Later the string and lead seal were replaced by a stencil with the words *Aduana Maritima de Guaymas, transito*.

Although some 1,000 tons of government stores flowed north through the port of Guaymas in 1870, this was the year in which the United States government decided to abandon the Guaymas route. The *Weekly Arizonian*, while published in Tubac, had been a strenuous supporter of the Guaymas route. After it moved to Tucson and became the *Weekly Arizonan*, in August of 1859, it became more of a regional newspaper and less one devoted almost exclusively to the mining industry. On June 25, 1870, the paper ran a lengthy article headed "The Freight Contract: Keep American Money in America." It pointed out that the American settlers along the route to Yuma would benefit through the sale of supplies to the passing wagon trains, rather than the Mexicans along the Guaymas route. The paper went on to claim that shipping from San Francisco via San Diego would save half the time consumed by shipping through Sonora. In the October 15 issue of the same year, the paper reported that Charles Mowry, a government freighting contractor, was advocating the Guaymas route "to the great injury of our freighters, farmers, station keepers, and merchants; also the establishment of free trade with foreign states." It claimed that free trade with Mexico would destroy business and property "of every farmer south of the Gila."

The question of the contract for handling government stores found its way into the political arena. The merchants of Tucson sought to elect Peter R. Brady as Delegate to Congress to secure a reversal of the decision. Hooper, Whiting & Co., of Yuma, who had received the contract to move the supplies from the

river port, declared that they would spend large amounts of money to assure the reelection of Richard C. McCormick — McCormick won and Hooper & Whiting kept their contract.

The distances involved, the poor conditions of the roads, and the weather often caused delays in the delivery of army supplies. However, penalizing the contractor for late delivery did nothing to alleviate the distress of the troops on short rations. In 1868, Brevet Lieutenant Colonel Thomas C. Devin reported from Fort Whipple that he understood that a contractor's train was en route from La Paz, but that bills of lading received indicated that there must still be nearly 800,000 pounds at the river. Ten years later General O. B. Willcox was able to report that despite the difficulties of transportation "the troops have been well fed." He also reported that because of long delays, transportation from the east via New Mexico had been abandoned in favor of the San Francisco route, except for Camp Apache. That post was supplied from El Moro, Colorado, at the rate of \$4.96 per 100 pounds.

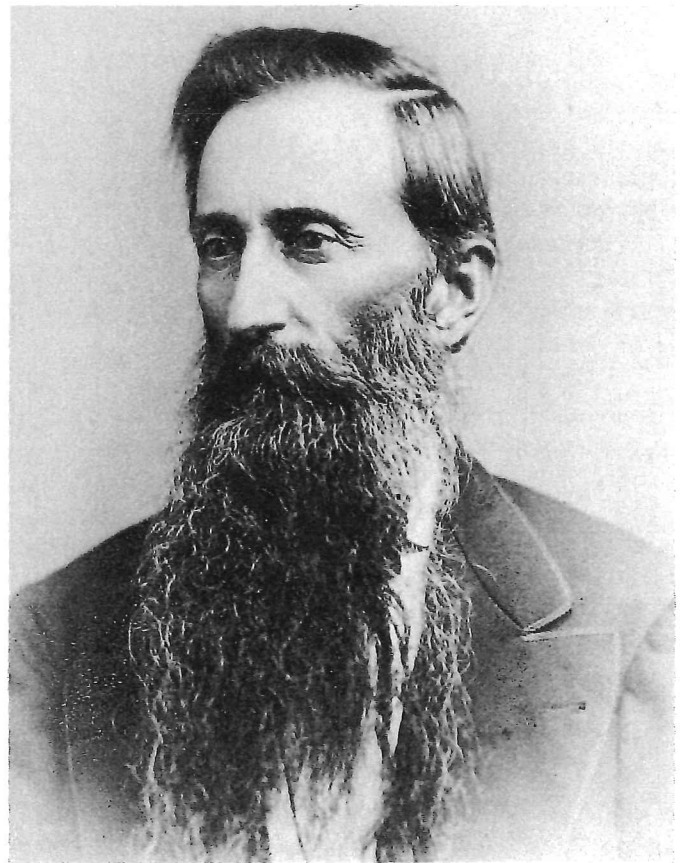
At the same time the merchants of Southern California, especially those in Los Angeles and San Diego, looked hopefully toward Arizona Territory as a possible market. The merchants and the Supervisors of San Diego County, which then extended to the Colorado River, raised \$13,575 to improve the road to Yuma. However, the *Arizona Citizen* on December 17, 1870, feared that it was cheaper to ship to Yuma by sea than overland. The paper went on to say, "Business is business and many can play at it and all never win." On the other hand, two years later, John T. Alsap reported that the long time required for goods to reach Yuma from San Francisco resulted in "the greater portion of the goods brought here is freighted overland from Los Angeles at a cost of about 12 cents a pound."

Considering the long dry haul across the California desert, it is surprising to note how much freight for Arizona came from San Diego. In September of 1870, the *San Diego Union* reported that A. Pauly & Sons had 60 tons "for shipment over the Ft. Yuma wagon road." A month later the paper stated that "Tucson merchants are ordering freight in small shipments by every steamer." Still later it reported that Gordon, Stewart & Co., in one week, loaded 17 teams with 67,328 pounds for E. N. Fish & Co. of Tucson. With the boosterism so common with newspapers, the *San Diego Union*, April 1871, claimed that San Diego would replace San Francisco as Arizona's chief supplier. "A dollar will be a dollar here, instead of 91 cents, as in San Francisco," it said.

There is no doubt that Tucson needed the wagon freighter, but at times there was a little too much of a good thing. The *Weekly Arizonan* in 1871 asked

the city fathers to forbid the freighters from using the streets of the town as their camping ground. It pointed out that for three days a train of 30 wagons "have remained in camp upon one of our principal streets — taking full and undisputed possession of the same." Trouble with Tucson's streets was not all the fault of the freighter. At one point where an *acequia* crossed the street, a mud hole had developed. In one week half a dozen teams had stuck in the mud and one or two wagons were broken. It cost the teamsters a great deal of time, patience, extra work, and some money to get in and out of town.

Such was the importance of freighting to the citizens of Arizona, that in September of 1872, the *Arizona Citizen* ran a long article on the problem of getting goods into Tucson. It stated that the local merchants had tried all routes: via San Diego, via the Gulf of California and the Colorado River, through Guaymas and by rail to Kit Carson, Colorado, thence by wagon through New Mexico. The paper concluded that average time and cost favored the latter route. First cost invoices from firms in the east were 15 to 20 per cent lower than from San Francisco firms for the same lines of merchandise. Freight from San Francisco to Tucson averaged about 12 cents per pound. From the east the freight tariff was about the same, seven to nine cents being the charge for wagon freight from



Pinckney Randolph Tully

Kit Carson. The paper cited the unhappy experience of Lesinsky & Company who had had some goods held up for months by snow blockade on the Union Pacific Railroad and then had to wait another four months while the goods moved from San Francisco to Tucson. This was compared to the experiences of Tully & Ochoa whose goods left Philadelphia on March 28, via Colorado, and arrived in Tucson on August 18, in their own wagons. Other cases of long delays were cited. The paper did not mention one drawback to the route from Kit Carson. In order to obtain the services of a good reliable wagon train, a shipment had to amount to at least 25,000 pounds.

Wagon freighting in Arizona was a large enough business that wagon builders opened shops in Yuma, Phoenix, Tucson and Prescott. Some of the lead wagons had wheels eight feet in diameter and had a capacity of half a railroad car. A 16-mule team could pull three or four wagons in tandem. The Union Wagon Factory, owned by Banning & Company of Wilmington, California, had a branch in Arizona City and advertised in the Prescott *Miner* stating that their work was all warranted. The driver handled his team by jerk line and usually was assisted by a swamper who helped with feeding the animals, making camp, and other odd jobs. Both men were heavily armed.

While oxen were the most common draft animals on the Great Plains, they suffered a number of disadvantages when compared to the horse or the mule for use in the Southwest. For one thing, they required more and better forage than the mule. More important was the physiological fact that while mules and horses could sweat, oxen could not. The evaporation of sweat from an equine body provided a means for control of body temperature. To provide the same degree of temperature control, oxen had to wash many times more water through their internal organs. These were vital factors in the semi-arid Southwest.

Mules were a much more costly source of motive power. In 1866, they cost \$200-\$400 per span while oxen could be bought for \$75-\$140. per yoke. The complex leather harness for a 10-mule team cost \$300-\$600. The rigging for oxen was about \$3 for the yoke and \$2 for the chain. On the other hand, the average working life of the mule was about three times that of the ox and his rate of travel on the trail was about 50 percent faster.

Horses were too delicate and temperamental. Stage station keepers and farmers along the main freighting roads advertised that they kept large supplies of hay and grain at their corrals. J. P. Spann announced that freighters on the Tucson road "will find water and all conveniences for camping and the cheapest forage between Tucson and San Diego."

At times the suppliers of forage put pressure on the freighters through the prices they charged for grain. In 1876 the freighters held a meeting to discuss action against an increase in the price of grain from four to five cents a pound. This advance knocked all the profit out of a trip or even entailed a loss. They agreed to raise the freight rate to seven cents a pound from Yuma to Tucson. If the shippers refused to pay the increased rate the freighters would pull their teams off the road and turn the animals out to pasture.

As the freighter was paid by the pound, he did his best to get a full load for each trip. David Neahr, forwarding and commission agent of Yuma, wrote to the M. I. Jacobs & Company of Tucson in January of 1870 that he had not been able to ship their freight. The teams he had counted on would not take the consignment "as there was not enough freight to load them and it was impossible to get enny *{sic}* Government freight to fill out with for Tucson." Six years later Neahr reported that one Sepeda had not taken all Jacobs' freight. Weightwise he could have handled it, but it was so bulky that he could not stow it in his wagons. In addition, Hovey had so much furniture for Zeckendorf Brothers that his wagons were nearly full, but he had promised to take all of Jacobs' freight.

Important links in the supply chain were the forwarding and commission houses that usually operated at points where changes in the mode of transportation had to be made. At Yuma there were Hooper, Whiting & Company and David Neahr, among others. These firms received the goods from the river steamers, stored them, and arranged for shipping them to their destination. A typical shipment for Tucson was set forth in the receipt given by M. Nolan, wagonmaster for Neahr: Thirty-five cases of boots and shoes, six trunks of merchandise, two cases of merchandise, one tin of matches, one case of powder, one case of salmon. Trunk number 116 contained 25 dozen half-hose, 20 dozen child's hose, six dozen lady's hose, five dozen Hickory shirts and two dozen shoes. Trunk number 93 contained 13 dozen wool socks and 13 pieces of print cloth of 247 yards each.

As most forwarding and commission houses were also wholesalers, they often filled orders for their customers. On March 18, 1870, Neahr reported to M. I. Jacobs & Company that he had forwarded a consignment of freight by Fish & Company's train. However he had not sent any crude sugar as he had none of his own and could not buy any "unless paid a most exorbitant *{sic}* price."

Business was not without its element of competition. Hooper, Whiting & Company wrote to Jacobs to say that they would be glad to take charge of and forward Jacobs' freight at any time. They claimed

that this would be an advantage to Jacobs "as we handle most of the Tucson freight—the more we have the easier it is handled and with quicker dispatch." By May of 1870, Jacobs was dealing with both houses. Hooper, Whiting reported that all of Jacobs merchandise then on hand had been forwarded by Amabisca's train. On the same day Neahr wrote that he had contracted to have Jacobs' goods delivered within 20 days at nine cents per pound with a penalty of one cent a pound if delivery was delayed. For the week ending September 14, 1878, the *Arizona Sentinel* of Yuma reported that 221,000 pounds of freight had left for Tucson and 11,500 pounds for Phoenix.

There was also competition among the freighters which kept the cost of transportation at reasonable levels—for the times. On June 18, Contreras & Amabisca wrote to Jacobs, from Fort Yuma, that they

understood that Jacobs was paying nine cents per pound. They offered to haul for eight cents, in coin. Amabisca claimed that he was in a position to haul faster than anyone else and assured Jacobs that he would deliver the merchandise in good condition.

In 1872 M. I. Jacobs & Company fell heir to a wagon train and found themselves, somewhat unwillingly, in the freighting business. The firm had loaned nearly \$4,000 to Modesto Borquez on the collateral of the latter's train of 11 wagons of an average value of \$327, with harness and equipment, and 100 mules worth \$50 each. The train had a capacity of 60,000 pounds and required 20,000 pounds of grain monthly. The wagonmaster was paid \$70 per month and teamsters and herders \$25. A round trip to Yuma consumed some 45 days. Lionel Jacobs wrote from Tucson to his father in San Francisco that if Borquez did not



Freight wagon in front of L. Meyer's store, Main Street, Tucson, 1870. Note how high the freight is stacked on the trail wagon.

redeem the train at the end of a four-month period, he would try to sell the train, or at any rate part of it, to reduce the amount of capital tied up.

A wagon train, like any other investment, had to be worked as close to full capacity as possible and at a profit. Lionel wrote to David Neahr that he hoped to get a load of condemned pork to be moved from Fort Grant to the Quartermaster Depot at Tucson. Neahr was directed to try to get the job of moving the freight of some troops that were due to leave the Territory soon. A month later Jacobs again wrote to Neahr to express his disappointment that their train had not brought more than 50,000 pounds of goods from Yuma "as they could easily have put on & hauled 10,000 more."

Loaded round trips were always more profitable than one-way loads. In general, the freighters had to charge enough on the run from Guaymas, New Mexico or the Colorado River to meet all expenses for the round trip. There were occasional loads of ore en route to smelters in Wales or San Francisco, but these were very limited in amount as only very rich ore would pay for such long trips. C. C. Bean, one of the original locators of the Peck Mine, said that only ore assaying \$750 per ton would return a profit to the miner after transportation and all other charges had been paid. In 1868, W. A. Werninger arrived in Prescott with a load of agricultural equipment including plows and cultivators. He was fortunate enough to get a load of corn for what the *Miner* called "way ports," meaning Wickenburg and Camp Date Creek. In 1872 Barron Jacobs wrote that he would send their train to Prescott with a load of government barley at 4½¢ per pound, with forage provided, or the equivalent of 6½¢ per pound. The train would return with a load of lumber for Fort McDowell at \$55 per thousand board feet freight. Five days later he offered to pay one Bossung 6½¢ per pound, currency, if he would bring freight for the store from Yuma.

In the late 70s, wool became an important export commodity for Arizona, thus providing at least partial return loads. The *Arizona Sentinel* reported on January 12, 1878, the arrival at Yuma of a barge with 26 bales of wool from upriver. Two weeks later the paper noted the arrival of Lord & Williams' train with 15,000 pounds of wool. In May it reported the arrival of 39 bales and 63,500 pounds.

Jacobs & Company had the usual freighter's trouble in finding trustworthy personnel to man the train, especially a good wagonmaster. The wagon boss was in complete charge of the equipment, was responsible for the cargo, and had to supervise the work of teamsters. He had to know where water and grass were to be found, when and how much grain to feed, to know about conditions along the road, and keep an eye out for

hostile Indians, plus a dozen other responsibilities. When Jacobs took over the train, James Cowan was wagonmaster. In April of 1872, Barron Jacobs noted that Cowan had arrived at Maricopa Wells with only five wagons. He had left the rest on the mesa 16 miles from Gila Bend because the mules were beginning to "play out" for want of grain. "I am of the opinion that Mr. Cowan is not very smart," wrote Barron. On May 2 Barron reported that four wagons and 30 mules had arrived from Yuma but were not fit for further travel. He added, "Cowan is a very bad manager & tho' he has made several bills on the road & at Yuma, I have no a/c of them nor has he." Letters were sent out to call in any bills and to warn against granting any more credit to their wagonmaster.

By May 28, Cowan had been replaced by Charles Shibell. Barron reported to his father that Shibell was taking the train to Prescott and would expect half of "the nett [sic] profits of the trip, which I shall be willing to allow him, as the train under less competent & Scrupulous {sic} auspice would not return us much more & perhaps much less." In July Barron tried to intercept Shibell at Fort McDowell and have him take the train to Yuma. In writing to Shibell, Jacobs told him to send five wagons and as many more as he thought could make the trip. He was to put the wagons in charge of Guerro with the best teamsters. They were to feed all the barley the animals would eat, as this was cheaper in the end, and to travel Mexican style, morning and evening. Under such a regimen the mules should improve, even on the Yuma road. Shibell missed the letter at Fort McDowell and came into Tucson having lost four mules valued at \$400. Despite the loss the net profit for the Prescott trip was \$700.

Missouri-born Charles A. Shibell first came to Tucson May 20, 1862 as an army teamster for Colonel James H. Carleton's California Column. His first visit was short, but on receiving his discharge from the Army in 1863 he returned to Tucson and its vicinity. During the first twelve years of his residence south of the Gila, in addition to serving the Jacobs firm as wagonmaster, he engaged in mining and ranching. Charlie served as Deputy Sheriff 1875-76 and as Sheriff 1877-81, he then operated the Palace Hotel and was involved in the mercantile trade until 1887, after which he served as Under Sheriff and then was elected County Recorder in 1889. Charles A. Shibell died in Tucson on October 21, 1908.

Barron gave the following estimate of the costs of a trip to Yuma. Grain and provisions for the trip down, plus repairs and outlays, would amount to \$800. Wages for the whole trip would come to \$350, and provisions for the return trip — say \$150. A total of \$1,300 expenses for the round trip. The freight, based



on seven cents per pound for a load of 25,000 pounds, would gross \$1,750, leaving \$450 for contingencies. The wagons were to load light and feed heavily although recent rains had brought up the grass.

The men who worked as teamsters and wagonmasters were a fairly rough lot. Abraham Lyon, a wagonmaster, was fined \$40 for whipping a teamster "Who had for some time evinced considerable insolence and obstenancy [sic]." The *Weekly Arizonan* felt that a wagonmaster on the road, where habitations were 50 to 100 miles apart, should have "authority somewhat similar to that vested in the Captain of a vessel at Sea." (Josiah Gregg had made much the same comment in 1844 relative to the Santa Fe caravans.) Barely nine months later it was reported that Lyon, "a man of despotic character," had been killed, apparently trying to chastise the wrong man. Sam Drachman of Tucson received a letter from Yuma which reported trouble. Barnett & Block's train started from the river and made a short march. That evening the teamsters went back to town, got liquored up and two of them were killed in a fight.

Some of the trouble arose out of horseplay. A teamster was fined \$35 for putting a cartridge in the fire under the *olla* of a Mexican tamale maker. The resulting explosion destroyed the *olla* and ruined the stock in trade. Most teamsters were experts at tapping whiskey barrels so that their handiwork did not show, but an ex-sailor, who drove for the Miller Brothers of Prescott, offered to tap off some champagne. He worked a long awl through the packing basket, broke a bottle and drained the fluid into a water bucket. This man in the evening would take the tailgate off a wagon, place it on the ground and entertain his fellows with a clog dance. He was also a good storyteller, a valuable sort of man to have along on a long trip. Even women got into the act. Molly Monroe "Big Moll" was a toughened woman whose husband was a freighter early in the 1870s between Los Angeles and Prescott. On one occasion when her end of the train was attacked by Indians, she held the drivers, who were about to run, and drove off the hostiles. Moll usually wore a man's hat and coat, but a woman's skirt and always had two rifles handy on the road.



*Loaded ore wagons. Note the brakeman on each wagon during the descent into town.*

There were dangers involved in freighting. Wagonmaster Bill Garrett attempted to climb onto the front end of a moving wagon, but missed his footing. He fell under the wheels and his right leg was badly crushed above the ankle. It was feared that he might have internal injuries. He was left in care of a man at Gila Bend, but it was thought he had little chance for recovery. The nearest surgeon was at Camp McDowell, three to four days away. Garrett survived, coming into Tucson on Buckalew's train, though he admitted that his right leg would never again be of service.

A freight wagon bound for Tucson upset near Antelope Station and the driver, James Quinlan, was caught by the falling freight. One arm was broken and his right side severely injured. He was taken back to Yuma in a buggy padded with a bed. It was thought that with the care of Doctor Arnaba he would recover. George Bryan was encamped for the night almost in the center of the town of Wickenburg. During the night he was fatally wounded by two men apparently bound on robbery. A posse soon closed in on one Nelson who was suspected of being one of the assassins. There is no report of what happened after that. A Mexican teamster of Ludgenling's train was kicked by a mule in the region of the liver. A messenger rode into Tucson and took Doctor Corning back to the train. The doctor brought the patient into town and reported the injury to be very serious, and probably fatal.

It was a good thing that the men of the wagon trains were a hardy lot. Poor Lo, the Indian, was an ever present source of trouble. The train of Tully and Ochoa, nine wagons, 80 mules and 14 men en route to Camp Grant was struck in May of 1869. The wagonmaster, Castanida Santa Cruz, corraled the wagons and put up a fight. Shortly, a sergeant and six privates from Camp Grant, who had been sent out to meet the train, appeared. The soldiers charged through the circle of Indians and joined the teamsters. The little garrison put up a spirited fight, but had three men killed and two wounded. Running low on ammunition, the wagonmaster and sergeant decided to abandon the wagons. The men fought their way to safety, but Tully & Ochoa lost some \$12,000 in goods and equipment and the government and civilian parties at Camp Grant lost about \$8,000.

In January of 1870 Indians attacked the train of N. B. Appel and ran off the mules. Being pursued, they soon released the animals, but then tried to stampede them by throwing live coals and brands into the corral. Appel had to break camp before the mules were fed and abandon his cooking utensils. German-born Appel had started as a teamster for Tully and Ochoa about 1846. Eight years later he set up in busi-

ness for himself, freighting from Sonora. At the time of his death, he had a claim on file in Washington for \$17,000 for Indian depredations.

In December of 1870, another train of Tully & Ochoa, about 30 miles out on the road from Tucson to Camp Goodwin, had 30 oxen run off. The train crew pursued the hostiles and had a sharp fight. Martin Rivera was shot through the head, Theodoso Carabajal was wounded in the arm by an arrow, and N. Baragan was slightly wounded. This was an unusually bold attack as there were about 30 well armed and experienced men with the train. The estimated loss was set at \$100,000. Even the competent Charley Shibell had his troubles with the noble red man. About July 4, 1872, he lost 14 mules to what Charley reported as Aravaipa Indians.

The Indians along the Yuma route became quite sophisticated in their troublemaking. They would run off the freighter's stock and then after a furious search would return the animals for a "reward" of \$2 to \$8 per head. In January of 1875, the Tucson *Citizen* reported five such cases of blackmail. The paper commented that teamsters would not stand much longer for that sort of thing.

When the Chiricahua Apaches left the San Carlos reservation under Bonito, Juh, and Nachez in October of 1881, they hit a wagon train one mile east of Cedar Springs. Young Bartolo Samaniego, who six years earlier had freighted the equipment for the Sixth Cavalry during a station change from Santa Fe to Tucson, was in charge. Samaniego and five teamsters put up a stubborn fight but were all killed, along with six mules. The flour sacks in the load were cut open and the contents scattered to the four winds.

Indians also caused trouble along the road to Prescott. The wagon train of John Dove was attacked within a mile and a half of Hardyville by a band of Paiutes in 1866. One John Killian and five mules were killed. At times the experienced guide, Dan O'Leary, assisted the freighters. In June of 1864 he led a party of teamsters in driving off a band of some 100 Indians who had attacked their train nine miles west of Tollgate. A month later he guided a train from Tollgate to Prescott without incident. William Fourr, who worked as a teamster on this route, later said that Tom Goodwin, the wagonmaster, evolved a system for dealing with the Indians. Whenever one was spotted watching the train, one man would drop back, circle around, and take a long-range shot at the Indian. These unexpected attacks discouraged the Indians from any depredation they may have had in mind, though few, if any, were hit by the marksman.

At times the whites were too trigger-happy. Gustavous Chenowith was at La Paz with his train when it was rumored that the Mojaves were about to attack



*Wagons loaded with ore about to leave Clifton for the railroad, probably at Lordsburg, New Mexico.*

the town. Chenoweth took his men and joined the residents in a preemptive strike. Guided by Chemehuevi Indians, the whites attacked a Mohave camp at three in the morning. Eleven Indians were killed. Later, the *Prescott Miner* admitted that there really were no signs of a plot.

From the point-of-view of Indian attacks, the Guaymas route was the safest. The most dangerous spot was at "Big Canyon," some 30 miles south of the international boundary. During part of 1870, this area was patrolled by about 30 Papago Indians to protect the wagon trains.

Mother Nature, at times, entered the lists against the freighter. In 1870 it was reported that Miller's teams were unable to deliver a load of machinery to a mine in the Bradshaw Mountains because of deep snow and severe cold. The draft animals had to be brought into Prescott until the weather moderated. Four years later, the train of I. Goldberg, with S. H. Hovey as wagonmaster, was delayed at Gila City by the bursting of what was described as a "water spout." The flash flood nearly carried away the wagons, loaded with 47,629 pounds of freight, including a quartz mill. The water came up to the wagon beds but did no damage to the loads. The mules were saved by driving them up on some knolls. However, the affair resulted in a delay of two days.

Despite the transfer of government freight from the Guaymas route to the Yuma route, civilian freight

continued to move through Sonora. To encourage trade, the Mexican government in 1871, after a year's debate, granted the privilege of duty-free transit in Sonora. The *Weekly Arizonan* promptly changed its tune. Having supported the Yuma route in October of 1870, five months later, it was pointing out that the freight rate to Tucson from San Francisco via Guaymas was five cents per pound; from San Francisco via San Diego the cost was 14 cents and from New York via Kit Carson, the railhead, it was 12 cents. Return loads of ore were handled at \$25 per ton to Guaymas while shipping via Yuma cost \$200. The paper wound up saying, "The Guaymas route must be opened and San Francisco must help find the wedge." Apparently as long as government money was paying the freight cost, every cent must stay in the territory, but if local merchants could save money, then it was all right to ship through Mexico.

Lionel Jacobs wrote to his father on March 19, 1872, that the latest Mexican decree would allow duty-free passage of bonded goods, but added that the "chronic state of political unrest" in Mexico presented a constant risk to the transportation of goods through that country. Three months later Barron Jacobs wrote, "I think that after this we will have to ship via Guaymas in order to compete with others." He recommended a trial shipment and wrote to Roundtree & Lübbert of Guaymas asking the cost of handling a shipment and whether teams would be available for loads ranging from 4,000 to 40,000 pounds.

One shipment received by L. I. Jacobs & Co. via Guaymas consisted of: a single bedstead and mattress, one sofa, 11 chairs, one "Bureaux" with marble top, one washstand with marble top, one stool and a towel rack. The whole shipment weighed 1,459 pounds, and the freight from San Francisco figured out to six cents per pound. Another Jacobs shipment indicates the variety of the goods shipped: one roll of harness leather, one dozen hanging lamps with a gross of wicks, 10 pounds of sulphur and a like amount of salt petre, 10 coils of rope, one case of Castor Oil, 12 cases of boots, 15 sacks of coffee, four kegs of sugar, one pack of needles, and two boxes of stick candy.

In November Roundtree & Lübbert, submitting an account of the charges on a shipment of 529 packages to Jacobs, included such items as freight, wharfage, nightwatching on the wharf, custom house papers, stamps for the same, custom house pass, consul's certificate, charges of carpenter and tinsmith to repair shipping boxes, rope to bind the boxes, and transit due at two and a half per cent. The total amount was \$664.40. The forwarding letter suggested that Jacobs have their goods packed more securely in the future and remarked that the firm had encountered some delay in forwarding the shipment as not all freighters would go to Tucson for eight cents a pound.

Matters in Guaymas became more complicated in June of 1873. A new collector of customs, who insisted on the letter of the law, arrived. The shipper had to post a bond for the full duties pending arrival of the transit permit from Mexico City, a matter of 35 to 40 days before the goods were allowed to move. The previous collector had allowed the trains to roll as soon as the transit permit was applied for. The *Arizona Citizen* on July 26, 1873, reported that Jacobs & Company was experiencing delays and annoyance. The paper predicted that it was not likely that more goods for Tucson would come that way. It concluded, "However tempting the figures look upon paper, they do not prove satisfactory when practically applied."

There was considerable administrative confusion. In August of 1873 Consul Willard obtained the release of several tons bound for Tucson by showing the collector a circular from the Minister of Finance, sent to the Mexican consul in San Francisco, which stated that no permit was required for goods in transit "from a port to the frontier." This circular had not been received in Guaymas. Nine days later, the collector received an order from Mexico City that annulled the circular. Willard remarked in his annual report that such delay and uncertainty would probably end shipments to Arizona through that port. Eight months later the government in Mexico City ordered its cus-

toms officials to dispatch goods for Arizona within 15 days. The order stated that any longer delay would cause trouble for the employees "unless sufficient cause is shown." However, in almost the same breath the government increased the transit fee from two and a half percent of the normal duty, which usually ran around 80 per cent *ad valorem*, to five per cent. After receiving a load of 60,000 pounds of merchandise via Guaymas in June of 1874, Jacobs thought that they would not ship over that route any more "as the delays and expenses of customs' regulations amount to more than the small saving in freight." A year later an additional duty of one-half cent per pound of gross weight was added. This applied to the crating of mining machinery as well as to the machinery itself. Willard reported there had been no shipments between April and September of 1875 because of cost, uncertainty and delay.

What may have been the last large shipment from Guaymas reached Tucson on March 23, 1877, in a train of eight wagons. The goods—whiskey, gin, linseed oil, buttons, bacon, tobacco, syrup, vinegar, iron and quartz machinery—had been salvaged from the steamer *Montana* which had burned on the evening of December 14, 1876, at the entrance to Guaymas harbor.

As the Southern Pacific Railroad built slowly southward from Los Angeles through San Bernardino and San Geronimo Pass, the pattern of wagon freighting changed. William C. "Billy" Breakenridge, in partnership with Sam Hunt, went into freighting. At first using two small wagons they hauled flour from Hayden's Mill to Prescott and merchandise from Wickenberg to Prescott. This proving profitable, they traded the small wagons for a larger one and Billy set off for the railhead at Dos Palms (*sic*), California. To provide for the animals, a water barrel was mounted on both sides of each wagon.

On the return trip Billy had to drop the trail wagon at the foot of a steep slope about 40 miles west of Prescott. After pulling the wagons up the slope, one at a time, and in the act of recoupling the wagons, one of Billy's hands was caught in the chain. The nails were torn from two fingers and the flesh cut to the bone. While riding all night to Prescott, Billy was thrown from his horse and landed on the injured hand. A doctor in town fixed up the injured hand and Billy sent a man to assist in bringing in the wagons. During his absence, Billy's partner had died leaving the partnership deep in debt. Breakenridge worked hard to pay off the debt. His last trip was from the railhead, which was now at Yuma, and then he sold the outfit to liquidate the balance of the debt.

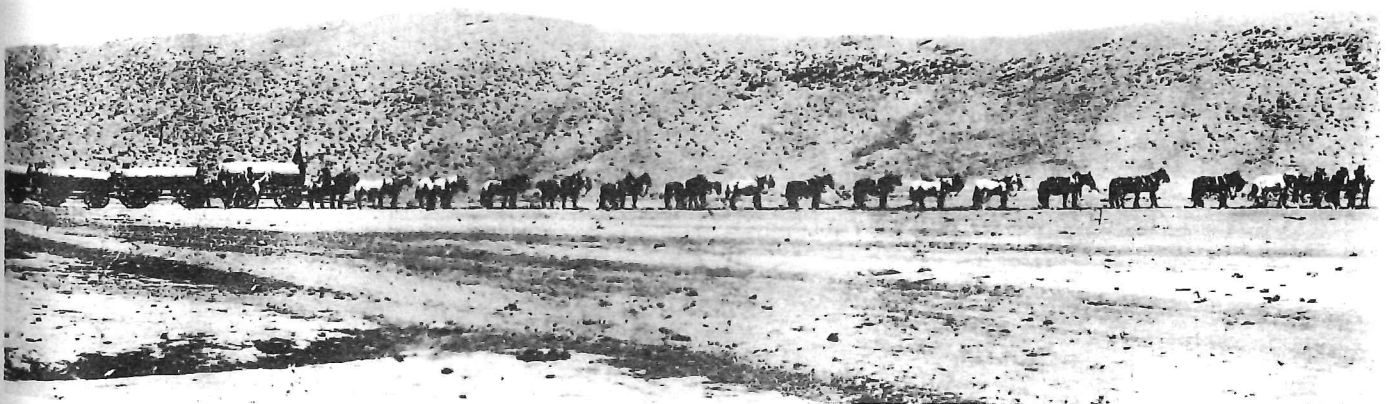
As the railroad extended its lines eastward from the Colorado River, the pattern of wagon freighting shifted. Colonel J. M. Burney, who had long operated a forwarding and commission house in Yuma, moved with the railhead. In January of 1879 he opened a branch at the new railroad station of Adonde, 30 miles east of Yuma. The *Citizen* noted that a "Hotel, stage office, saloons, dance-house, butcher, and barber shops already adorn the town."

By February of 1879 the railroad was delivering freight to Texas Hill, some 64 miles east of Yuma. The *Arizona Citizen* suggested to the Tucson merchants that to save delays caused by new paperwork they should have their goods waybilled to Texas Hill rather than to Yuma.

The *Arizona Citizen* on October 11, 1879, reported that O. Buckalew had just come in from Tombstone where he had delivered the first 100,000 pounds of machinery for the Contention Mill. His train was even then en route to Casa Blanca southeast of Phoenix to pick up more machinery. The same issue reported that Donnally's train had arrived at Casa Blanca with 10,000 pounds of concentrated ore from the Silver King Mine.

On May 16, 1879, the *Citizen* remarked that freight arrivals destined for Prescott "have a peculiar significance." The paper noted the arrival of 8,520 pounds of liquor and that D. Levy & Company had 15 cases of liquor and one package of hardware consigned. It went on to say, "It must be these preparations are being made for the return of our glorious governor [John C. Frémont] and suite or do our neighbors of the north expect an extra session of the legislature."

The *Arizona Sentinel* of Yuma noted in 1878 that "the great influx of machinery has almost monopolized transportation." It went on to say that merchants "in the interior" were running short of goods that were waiting in Yuma to be hauled to the towns and mining camps. The *Arizona Miner* of Prescott noted on January 29, 1880, that some freight was being brought in from Phoenix or Tucson. It added that heavy rains near Phoenix (*sic*) had delayed freighters by at least five days when the rivers flooded. The building of the Atlantic & Pacific railroad across the northern part of the Territory also brought about a change. The wagons began supplying Prescott from Ash Fork on the rail line.



*Thirty-six horse team bringing four boilers to a Tombstone mine.*

The completion of two major rail lines across the Territory ended long-haul freighting, but total business for the wagon freighter increased as more settlers moved into the country. The *Citizen* on July 17, 1880, remarked that before the railroads were completed, the freighters had worried about loss of business but that, contrary to expectations, business had improved. The paper added, "We learn that it is a hard matter to get freighting done to our various mining camps." In addition, the paper noted large shipments of mining machinery passing through Tucson for Arizona and Sonora mines. J. Carr bought up the freighting outfit of the Cerro Gordo Company, except for 10 wagons and teams bought by J. E. Durkee. The *Tombstone Epitaph* remarked, "This makes Mr. Carr the freighting king of Arizona."

From 1887 on, the Mormons of the Little Colorado River settlements were active in freighting government supplies from the A & P railroad at Holbrook to Fort Apache. They usually worked as teamsters for Gentile firms. In 1888 the Arizona Cooperative Mercantile Institution took the government contract. The late fall and early winter of 1890 were so severe that the roads were in an appalling state and few Mormons volunteered to freight the Christmas supplies to Fort Apache. It took an official church call to get the men and teams to make the delivery. In that same year, a correspondent of the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat* praised the "superiority of their teams and their own steady habits . . ." Other settlers in the east central portion of the Territory earned a cash income by hauling coke and other supplies from the line of the Southern Pacific at Willcox to the booming mining town of Globe.

There can be no doubt that the wagon freighter played a vital role in the development of Arizona. He brought in the food supplies and equipment needed by miners, ranchers and townspeople, as well as the rations and equipment for the army people that protected the miner, rancher and town dweller. In addition, he provided employment for many of the earlier settlers, stimulated the economy with purchases of food and forage and more supplies, such as lumber, within the territory. The jingle of harness and the bray of the mule were still to be heard well into the present century before they were finally replaced by the roar of gasoline motors and the screech of rubber tires.



## BIBLIOGRAPHICAL ESSAY

As far as this author knows, there are no complete business records and correspondence of any company that was engaged in wagon freighting in Arizona Territory. As a result, the information had to be gleaned from many scattered sources. Fortunately, the freighting business was of such vital importance to the economy of the Territory that the newspapers reported regularly on all phases of the business.

Most of the material concerning freighting from Guaymas, Sonora, to Tucson was drawn from the *Annual Reports of the Sonora Exploring and Mining Company*, the despatches of United States Consuls in Guaymas (Microcopy T-210, National Archives), *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies in the War of the Rebellion*, and the local newspapers—the *Tubac Arizonian*, the *Tucson Arizonan*, *Arizona Star*, and *Arizona Citizen*.

The material dealing with the freighting experiences of M. I. Jacobs & Company of Tucson was found in the Jacobs Collection, Special Collections, University of Arizona Library. While freighting was a small part of this company's business, these papers contain the most complete information on the economics and problems of freighting known to the author.

Freighting into the Prescott area was well reported in the *Arizona Miner* and the experiences of Thomas D. Sanders came from an unpublished manuscript in the possession of Mrs. O. F. Henderson of Prescott (copy in Special Collections, University of Arizona Library). Occasional items are found in the *San Diego Union* and *Los Angeles Star*. Tucson freighting from both west and east was thoroughly covered by the *Arizona Star*, *Arizona Citizen*, and the *San Diego Union*.

As the greater part of the freight for Arizona passed through Yuma, the *Arizona Sentinel*, published in that city, kept very close track of the shipments up river by steamer and eastward by wagon.

For the operation of the steamers on the Colorado River, see Hazel E. Mills, "The Arizona Fleet," *American Neptune*, I (1941), 255-74. Wagon freighting in the post-railroad era is covered in Charles S. Peterson, *Take Up Your Mission* (U. of Arizona Press, 1973), James R. Jennings, *The Freight Rolled* (San Antonio: Naylor, 1969), and the *Tombstone Epitaph*.

A good deal of material is scattered throughout the government documents for the period: Indian depredation claims; reports of Indian agents; lists of contracts made by the Army, and inspection reports by Army personnel.

Many details of wagon freighting on the Great Plains can be found in the author's, *The Wagonmasters, High Plains Freighting from the Earliest Days of the Santa Fe Trail to 1880* (University of Oklahoma Press, 1966).



*Twenty-eight horse team bringing a boiler to a mine near Tombstone. Note the special wagon built to handle this out-size load.*



#### APPENDIX

As indicated above, wagon freighting was an easy business to get into and an easy business to go broke in. In addition, freighters were highly mobile and went where they could find work, be it Arizona or any other Western state. Many who freighted at one time or another had other business interests to which they shifted as the spirit moved. A complication in identifying freighters arises from the fact that the newspapers of the time indiscriminately referred to wagon trains by their owner, their wagonmaster, or the name of the owner of the goods on the train.

As a result, there are literally hundreds of names of men engaged in freighting in one capacity or another. The following is therefore but a partial list of wagon freighters:

Louis J. F. Jaeger  
Charles T. Hayden

Wilson, Jones & Co.  
Oscar Buckalew

Tully & Ochoa  
Lord & Williams  
Miller Brothers  
Thomas D. Sanders  
Nathan B. Appel  
Gustavous Chenowith  
W. G. Shook  
C. W. Beach  
\_\_\_\_\_ Bryan  
Alphonse Lazard  
E. N. McDonald  
\_\_\_\_\_ Noriega  
Elno Perez  
\_\_\_\_\_ Baldonado  
Barnett & Block  
Bradford Daily  
Joseph Pierson  
Epifanio Agueirre

Hooper, Whiting & Co.  
I. Goldberg  
Mike Goldwater  
J. Carr  
J. E. Durkee  
L. K. Thompson  
\_\_\_\_\_ Mendoza  
John Dove  
\_\_\_\_\_ Ward  
\_\_\_\_\_ Sorrel  
E. Fish & Company  
Modesto Borquez  
\_\_\_\_\_ Conklin  
\_\_\_\_\_ Bossung  
William H. Hardy  
M. I. Jacobs & Company  
Contreras & Amabisca





Five-team wagon train hauling Welsh coal from Gallup, New Mexico to Globe. The man in left foreground was probably the wagonmaster.

### 1973 OFFICERS OF TUCSON CORRAL

- GORDON C. BALDWIN - - - - - Sheriff  
 HENRY "PICK" WALKER - - - - Deputy Sheriff  
 CLAIR STROUP - - - Keeper of Marks and Brands  
 JOHN MCCUTCHIN AND  
 GEORGE HERRICK - - - - - Wranglers  
 JOHN F. MAROHN - - - - Keeper of the Chips  
 TONY ZIEHLER - - - - - Roundup Foreman  
 ALECK PUCILOWSKI - - - - - Historian  
 OTIS H. CHIDESTER - - - - Editor of Publications

Editor: Otis H. Chidester; Associates: Gordon C. Baldwin, Don Bufkin, George B. Eckhart, Don Schellie, James E. Serven, and Henry "Pick" Walker.

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### HENRY P. "PICK" WALKER

Henry P. "Pick" Walker was born in Schenectady, New York, in 1911 and was brought up on a farm in Hudson, Massachusetts. In 1933 he graduated from Harvard with an A.B. degree and a commission as a Second Lieutenant in the Army Reserve. Two years later he received an M.A. degree in Mining Geology from Harvard. There being no jobs for partially trained mining geologists, Pick worked around Boston for the next five years as a salesman—everything from Real Silk Hosiery to Shaw-Walker business equipment.

In mid-1940 Pick went on extended active duty under his reserve commission. He was in Panama on Pearl Harbor Day and for fifteen months thereafter. After a short tour in the States, he went to Italy where he served as artillery liaison officer to three American Divisions, three French colonial divisions, a British Indian division, a South African division, and a British Corps Artillery counter-battery section. A tour of duty in Korea was marked by close association with two different ROK artillery battalions. His final tour of foreign service was three years in Germany.

In 1957, after seventeen years, three months duty as a commissioned officer, Walker received a "Dear John" letter and had to enlist as a sergeant in order to complete twenty years continuous duty. He retired on 30 May 196 as a lieutenant colonel.

With retirement approaching, Pick decided to re-tread as a historian. When he turned in his uniform, he worked for a year and received an M.A. in history from Texas Western College (his Master's thesis, "William McLane's Narrative of the Magee-Gutierrez Expedition, 1812-1813, was published in the *SOUTHWESTERN HISTORICAL QUARTERLY*). From El Paso, he moved to Boulder, Colorado, where he earned the Ph.D. at the University of Colorado (his dissertation was published by the University of Oklahoma Press, *THE WAGONMASTERS*.) In mid-1965 he came to Tucson as Assistant Editor of *ARIZONA AND THE WEST*, an historical quarterly published by the University of Arizona, the position he still holds.

He has found time to work up articles for *MON-TANA*, *WESTERN HISTORICAL QUARTERLY*, *JOURNAL OF ARIZONA HISTORY* and *ARIZONA AND THE WEST*, and to review books for several other journals.