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Town and hinterland: Kingman and Mohave County, Arizona, 1860--1940

Diana Roock Dever
University of Nevada, Las Vegas

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TOWN AND HINTERLAND: KINGMAN AND MOHAVE COUNTY, ARIZONA 1860-1940

by

Diana Roock Dever

Bachelor of Arts
Monteith College
Wayne State University, Detroit
1965

Master of Liberal Studies
University of Michigan, Ann Arbor
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Diana Roock Dever

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Eugene P. Moehring
Examination Committee Chair

Dean of the Graduate College

Maria Raquel Casas
Examination Committee Member

Examination Committee Member

Graduate College Faculty Representative

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ABSTRACT

Town and Hinterland:
Kingman and Mohave County, 1860-1940

Diana R. Dever

Dr. Eugene Moehring, Examination Committee Chair
Professor of History
University of Nevada, Las Vegas

This work examines the complex socioeconomic relationship between a northwestern Arizona town and its hinterland from 1860-1940. During this time, Mohave County, Arizona experiences the impact of three industries: mining, ranching, and railroading. After 1882, mining boomtowns in the hinterland stimulate the growth of the Kingman railsiding, making it the only viable transshipment point in the county. The town's development relies on economic activities within its hinterland, national trends, and the character of its hardworking inhabitants, including its diverse racial and ethnic groups. Separate demographic profiles from 1900-1940 of Kingman and Mohave County's composition demonstrate changes that occur. Following the Crash of 1929, New Deal programs further energize the town's economy. The relationship between Kingman and its hinterland throughout the town's evolution from a nineteenth century rail transshipment point to a twentieth century service center for trucking and tourism is a critical factor in the urbanization of northwestern Arizona.

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INTRODUCTION

It is the last summer of the twentieth century in northwestern Arizona, and temperatures soar above 120 degrees. People along the Lower Colorado River seek relief in its cool waters or frequent the nearby casinos. Thirty-five miles east of the river in Kingman a local radio personalty pledges to walk naked down Beal Street if a fund-raiser for the Special Olympics is a success. Meanwhile, citizens and tourists of the neighboring ghost town of Oatman prepare for the annual July Fourth egg-fry on Route 66's pavement. At the same time in Lake Havasu City, now home of the old London Bridge, a civic group proposes the relocation of the county seat from Kingman to their city. The constant hum of air conditioning accompanies all these activities, a necessity in one of the hottest spots in the nation.

Forty thousand years ago an inland lake covered much of this Lower Colorado River area in Mohave County, Arizona.[1] Sloth, camel, and mammoth roamed the juniper forests and drank from springs and creeks of Mohave Valley. Over time volcanic activity and subsequent climatic changes vaporized the lake, creating a formidable desert ecosystem that has

withstood the passage of geologic time and human activity.

The fossilized remains of the inland lake lay in caliche-bonded gravel beds between the Colorado River and the Black Mountains to the east and the Newberry Range to the west.[2] The mountains themselves were products of volcanic uplifting and other geologic events which deposited gold, silver, copper, lead, zinc, and other trace minerals in northwestern Arizona's mountains.[3] Moreover, these local mountains were part of a system of parallel chains that stretched diagonally across Arizona, linking the low desert of the river valley with the Colorado Plateau. Elevation in the uplands ranged from 3,500 feet in the area of Kingman to 8,000 feet in the nearby Hualapai Mountains. Between the mountain chains lay broad expanses filled with desert scrub. Mohave County's mountain-valley topography followed the same pattern from the Colorado River northeast to the Grand Canyon.

When the federal government created Arizona in 1863, the Colorado River flowed unchecked through its ancient river bed, and served as the nations' artificial western boundary for Mohave County. While the elevation remained around 500 feet at the river, the earth rose gradually eastward to the Black Mountain Range. From there the ground fanned out eastward, forming the Sacramento Valley. The range land began at the base of the next mountain chain: the Cerbats and Hualapais. Variations in the terrain produced three climate zones: low, intermediate, and high desert. Thus, the

zones: low, intermediate, and high desert. Thus, the atmosphere was dry in a complex arid landscape consisting of sand, gravel, valleys, mesas, mountains, and desert vegetation.

Mohave County was a land of startling contrasts. The climate was torrid and dry from the late spring through early fall and tolerable the rest of the year. There were springs tucked into the mountains, but those depended on seasonal rains. Indeed, during droughts even the springs dried up. Rainfall and snow were infrequent, but they did come, often in torrents or blizzards triggering flash floods. The constant wind, insects, poisonous reptiles, and blistering sun contributed to the landscape's severity.

For these reasons, any history of Mohave County must consider the environment and how human beings have adapted and thrived in it. This study therefore examines the relationship between the town of Kingman and its hinterland between 1860 and 1840, using the natural environment as a framework for analyzing the socioeconomic development of Mohave County. The mining, ranching, and railroading that thrived in this setting were the industries that spearheaded the county's development. The boomtowns associated with mineral extraction made Kingman's railroad siding the only viable transshipment point and urban oasis in the county. As the town grew, it attracted European American (Euroamerican) immigrants who molded its character and developed its hinterland. To put the process into perspective, this study

will offer a demographic profile of both Kingman and Mohave County. Census data can help identify key characteristics of a growing town and its relationship to the hinterland.

Economic and national forces shaped the historical development of Kingman and its hinterland between 1860 and 1940, transforming the community from a Santa Fe Railroad transshipment point to a crossroads for the tourist and trucking industries on Route 66, and changing Mohave County from a frontier, Indian wilderness to a modern, capitalistic subregion of the Southwest. This study will incorporate key people and events that helped drive the process. By focusing on a sparsely-populated area with statistics of manageable size, this work will attempt to provide a detailed, well-documented explanation for this area's development. Hopefully, it can serve as a useful model for examining similar subregions in the Southwest.

This study relies on both primary and secondary resources. Manuscript census records from 1860-1920 provide comparative information on the developmental characteristics and social structure of town and hinterland. Interviews, newspaper articles, local histories, state directories, oral histories, and travel guides have helped guide my thinking about many events. In addition, Kathleen Underwood's book Town-building on the Colorado Frontier, Duane A. Smith's Rocky Mountain Boom Town: A History of Durango, Roberta Balstad Miller's City and Hinterland, and other demographic studies were also valuable. These sources, along with maps

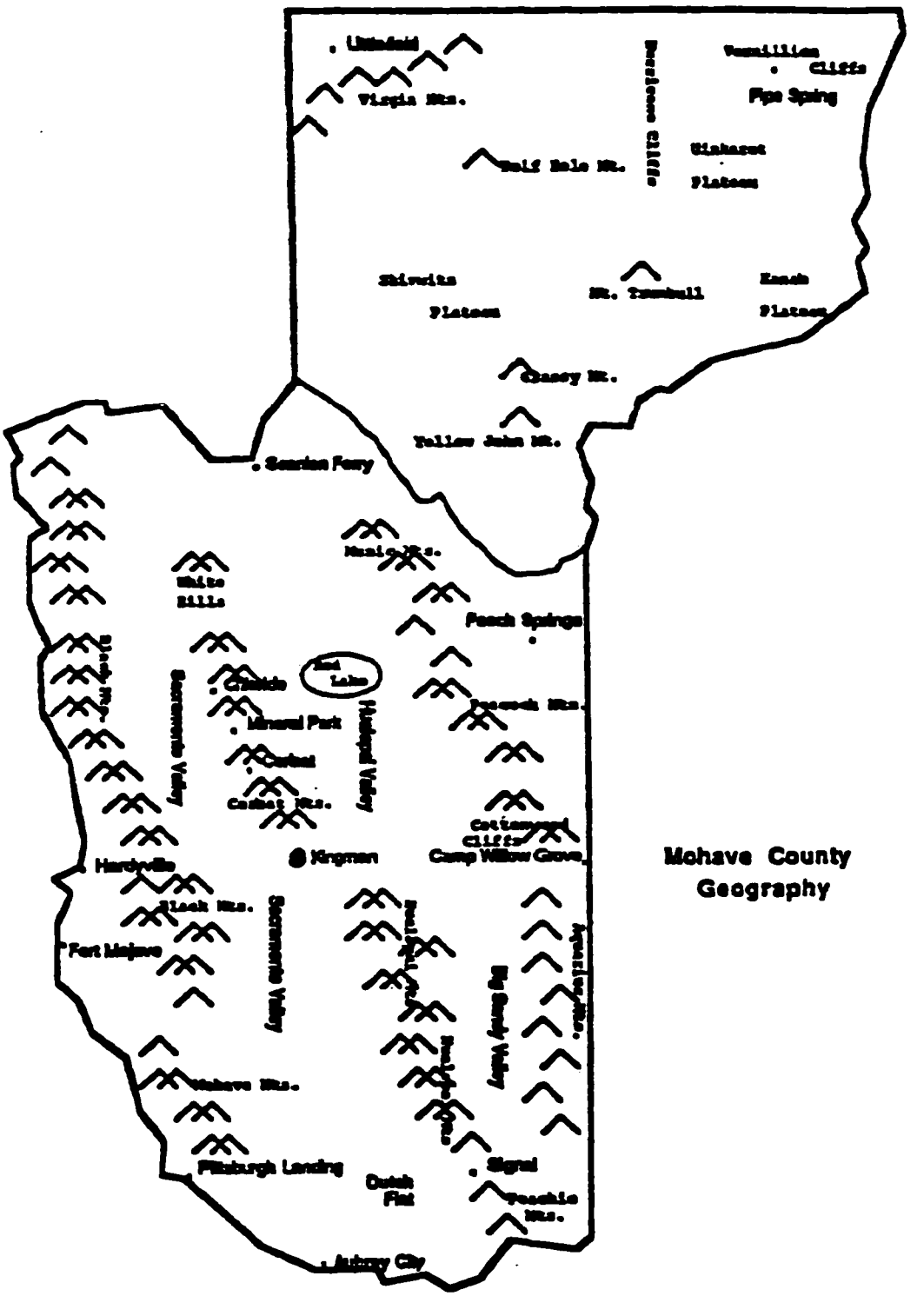
and other printed and manuscript data from the Mohave Museum of History and Arts' library will be used.

The models of urban development utilized by Underwood, Smith, and Miller depicted not only the process of town-building but also the integral part the hinterland played in each case. Underwood linked the evolution of Grand Junction, Colorado to a mixture of economic, political, and social factors along with resources in the surrounding lands. She found that many of the West's nineteenth century towns persisted well into the twentieth century, challenging the premise that the phenomena ended in 1900.[4] Using census data, she discovered that the government's redefinition of "rural" as places with populations under 2,500 eliminated from consideration developing communities.[5] Thus, the change in criteria for calculating what was "urban" rendered many sites like Kingman invisible and under-counted.

Indeed, the small, western town persisted beyond the nineteenth century, its fate dependent on regional economic growth. In fact, Miller used the city-region paradigm to gain insights into "how national economic, technological, and social conditions shaped urban growth in the nineteenth century," emphasizing "the relationship between interregional transportation innovation, urban growth, and changes in trading patterns in the maturation of a frontier or underdeveloped area."[6] While she focused on the connections between Syracuse and Onondaga County in New York, her premise

that the railroad divided Onondaga County into urban and rural components accounted for the similar set of circumstances in Mohave County.

Adding to the approaches of Underwood and Miller, Smith's study of Durango, Colorado contributed data about a mining boomtown. Like Grand Junction and Syracuse, Durango's history represented the rise of another young city transformed by "circumstances and situation."[7] Durango and Kingman, moreover, shared comparable backgrounds of being transshipment centers for mining. Along with the economic developments, Smith's depiction of Durango's reaction to external influences like Populism and Progressivism related well to conditions in Mohave County. Therefore, using primary sources and the models provided by Smith, Miller, and Underwood, this study will follow the social, economic, and political forces that shaped Kingman and Mohave County or "town and hinterland" over an eighty year period.



Mohave County Geography

Map of Mohave County, Arizona

Courtesy of Dan Messersmith, Mohave County Historian

Endnotes

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2. Ibid., 2.

3. Roman Malach, Mohave County Mines (New York: Graphicopy, 1977), 7-9. Additiona trace minerals were bismuth, iron, gadalimite, tellurium, argentite, cinnabar, molybdonite, travertine, soda niter, gypsum, vanadinite, turquoise, tunstates, rock crystal, amethyst, rose quartz, chalcedony, fire opal, chrysocola, zeolite, and yttrolantilite.

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CHAPTER 2

THE FRONTIER: 1860-1880

Life within this desert ecosystem followed nature's rhythms. The indigenous people of Mohave County: the Mohave, Hualapai, Chemehuevi, and Paiutes, adapted over time to the environment. They naturally gravitated to permanent water sources; however, the desert flora and fauna provided only limited possibilities for seasonal foods. Thus, subsistence agriculture, fishing, and trade networks supplemented hunting and gathering activities. Native Americans in this area faced yearly starvation. Except for the occasional bighorn sheep or deer, other, smaller items such as lizards, rabbits, and the three sisters (corn, beans and squash), furnished the bulk of their protein/caloric intake. Along the Colorado River the Indians lived in scattered family groups. Inland, nomadic bands camped seasonally near springs in the mountains' canyons. The environment supported only small, dispersed populations.[1]

When first the Spanish and then the Anglos appeared in northwestern Arizona, they never realized how their activities disrupted this fragile ecosystem. When their horses, for instance, ate the Indians' primary food sources,

mesquite beans, it meant a winter death for some indigenous people. This lack of adequate forage for their animals and the climatic extremes discouraged early Euroamericans from remaining in the area. Even the 1848 discovery of gold in California brought few people across Mohave County. Those who traveled from the southern states avoided the district, instead taking the southern route through Yuma to the gold fields. Nevertheless, this brought many Euroamericans across Arizona and into its history.[2]

There were only two possible crossings of the Lower Colorado River: the site of today's Yuma and Needles. During the gold rush, both Euroamerican miners and settlers encountered open hostility from the Hualapai and Mohave because of the Indians' prior experiences with intruders. After several well-publicized attacks on wagon trains in the late 1850s, the federal government in 1859 ordered Colonel William Hoffman and his troops to establish a fort and safe crossing of the river.[3] Supporting him was Lt. Edward F. Beale and his party who had been surveying a wagon route along the 35th Parallel.[4]

The military presence discouraged further threats from the Mohaves. After a brief period of resistance the Mohaves recognized the determination of the Euroamericans to secure the crossing and sought a peaceful resolution of the conflict.[5] Local army leaders could now turn to other more

pressing concerns such as forage for their animals and relief from the unbearable heat. Indeed, Colonel Hoffman wasted no time writing urgent dispatches to western army headquarters in San Francisco requesting aid.[6] From their homes in Mohave Valley, Native Americans observed the soldiers' obvious distress and decided to bide their time, convinced that the environment would accomplish what war would not.

The Indians underestimated both Hoffman and the national government's commitment to secure the area and develop civilian settlements. In 1859, the military constructed primitive headquarters on the eastern bank of the Colorado River, securing the crossing for travelers to and from California; permanent settlement itself was not immediate. In addition, the federal government sponsored several expeditions (Captain Lorenzo Sitgreaves (1851), Lieutenant Amiel W. Whipple (1854), Lieutenant Edward F. Beale (1857, 1858), Lt. Joseph C. Ives (1857) and Lieutenant George M. Wheeler) to locate transportation routes through northwestern Arizona to funnel traffic into the crossing point.[7] The presence of the military was an irritant to the Mohaves and the Hualapai, who resented White encroachments upon their water and food sources.

As in Utah, the soldiers popularized the search for precious metals. In the 1860s, troops from Fort Mohave were among the first to exploit the county's mineral resources because several of the early companies contained experienced

miners from California. Scouting nearby Silver Creek Wash, these soldiers found surface veins of silver and quickly built stone structures close to their diggings. The soldiers nicknamed this semi-permanent camp "Fort Silver." Here, in their spare time, they spent hours dry-washing their ore and even constructed an arrastra to process it. While "Fort Silver" was never a large operation, it did represent the area's earliest attempts at mineral extraction. Soon the work at Silver Creek expanded to include other claims in the Black Mountains. Prospecting continued up through Union Pass and beyond into the next range, the Cerbats. Enough placer gold and silver appeared to entice civilian miners. Word eventually spread to other camps in the West, and increasingly during the 1860s, both veteran "sourdoughs" and inexperienced prospectors turned their attention to northwestern Arizona.[8]

Historian Rodman Paul has observed that it was common in the Far West for mining operations to center in a hostile terrain or climate, a generalization that fits Mohave County. Moreover, Paul's "cycle of mining" argument suggested that mining areas created competition for claims based on rumors and exaggeration. Once word spread of favorable strikes, a disorderly crowd often rushed into the area. This group usually contained a mixed group of some old and many new miners. The initial rush enabled the original discoverers to

sell less promising claims to tenderfoots. Mining camps then developed with prospectors, miners, and merchants forming the "cutting edge" of the frontier. If the claims "paid-out," the towns "boomed." If they faltered, the settlement went "bust." Altogether, the cycle of mining created a chaotic society.[9] In Mohave County the process began in the 1860s.

Following the firing on Fort Sumter, the Civil War suspended military activities in many western military bases, including Fort Mohave. The drain of troops eastward left travelers and the few remaining miners without much protection. But following President Lincoln's approval of the 1863 Organic Act creating Arizona from the old New Mexico territory, federal commitment of local defense and development increased.[10] This was critical because military protection was a crucial prerequisite to developing Arizona's mineral resources. Since early military surveys of the territory had identified valuable mineral deposits, officials reasoned that Arizona could contribute to the postwar recovery with its mineral resources.

Local boosters also understood that mining alone was not the key to Arizona's advancement. They realized that the Homestead Act of 1862 could help populate the Gila, Salt River, and other valleys where irrigation could make the desert bloom. Their agenda of course was to push Arizona toward statehood as quickly as possible, but they needed diverse economies to attract enough population to achieve it.

At the same time, they secured territorial status and worked for statehood even as the East was at war--much like their counterparts in Nevada, Utah, Idaho, and Montana.

One such enterprising character was John Thomas Moss. Born in Iowa, Moss later served as a Pony Express rider in California. Then in 1863 he moved to Arizona's El Dorado Canyon a boom area that attracted prospectors like twenty-two year old Moss. However, he did little actual mining in the area as Moss concentrated on mining speculation and prospecting. During the few years he spent in the region, Moss staked and sold many claims. With each cash sale he made enough to invest in more properties.[11] Moss ultimately became part of an organization of prospectors, the El Dorado Company, which systematically explored, claimed, and sold mining properties. Mining historian Richard Lingenfelter has argued that miners were gamblers. Not only did they participate in recreational gambling, but the nature of mining itself involved risk. Their involvement in placer or hardrock mining gave them knowledge of the true condition of a mine.[12] Therefore, investing in mining stock and claims was a natural extension of their lifestyle. What made Moss a part of that process and of Mohave County's folklore was his discovery of gold in the newly-formed San Francisco Mining District, which encompassed the Black Mountain range. His "Moss Lode" consisted of twelve claims that he sold to investors for $90,000.[13]

Moss also got along well with local Indians. By learning their languages, he gained an even greater advantage. He visited and traveled with them, and they in turn allowed him to locate potential mining sites. He was also an unofficial diplomat and confidante. In 1864, for instance, Moss escorted Irataba, a Mohave leader, to Washington, D.C.. As both guide and interpreter, Moss introduced Irataba to President Lincoln, Union soldiers, and the East.[14] It was a clever move. Upon their return, word spread among the Colorado River's indigenous people about the larger Euroamerican world. In the process, Moss gained more prestige and additional access to the Cerbat and Hualapai Mountains' minerals. He left Mohave County in 1869 to try his luck in the more prosperous setting of Denver, Colorado. Nonetheless, during his short stay in northwestern Arizona, he accumulated a considerable fortune and set a precedent for other speculators. Moss was one of the county's early entrepreneurs and exploiters.

Historian Ralph Mann has noted that the rush for minerals opened new opportunities for upward mobility to men that were unavailable in towns in the East and Midwest. Mining, of course, appealed to many young males; the potential wealth, romance, and adventure lured many of them westward. For entrepreneurs like Moss, it meant a chance to explore and engage in the lively resale trade. Moreover, thousands of mineral sites were available on public land.

The passion for mining gave men a sense of freedom from the structure and responsibilities imposed on them in established urban areas. It also meant a temporary escape from family and especially parental authority as well as girlfriends pushing for early marriage.[15]

In 1864, Moss and other entrepreneurs benefited from the more responsive government brought by the creation of Mohave County and especially the Arizona Territory, whose first capital was the mining camp of Prescott. From here Governor John Goodwin and the new territorial legislature divided Arizona into four counties, Mohave being one of them. Originally, it contained land in its northwestern tip that became Pah-Ute County, Arizona in 1865 and then part of Clark County, Nevada in 1867.[16] In all by 1879, seven counties existed in Arizona.

As soldiers, farmers, and ranchers increasingly moved into the area, a more permanent trail developed that linked the river to the head of the basin and range and beyond to Prescott. However, despite the Euroamerican activity of the 1860s, their population remained small. Indigenous people still hunted and foraged the land and even worked at Fort Mohave and Camp Beale. But other Indians were not so peaceful. In 1867-1869 the Hualapai bands retaliated against the increasing presence of ranchers and miners. The federal government was already actively launching campaigns to contain Native Americans in the West, and now the War

Department turned its attention to Arizona. After the Civil War, it was General George Crook's assignment to monitor the Hualapai situation. Through careful negotiations, Crook persuaded the Hualapai to move back to their traditional camp near Beale's Springs, which would assure them a reliable water supply. He provided the food and goods needed for three major bands. Nevertheless, Euroamerican intrusion caused hardships, which triggered some Indian raiding. In response, General Crook deployed troops in 1871 to protect White folks and Hualapai from each other.[17]

Tensions rose in 1873, spurred by further racial conflict. The next year local ranchers pressured the Bureau of Indian affairs and army to relocate the county's Native Americans to the Colorado River Reserve near La Paz. After long and serious deliberations, the Hualapai agreed to move. Initially, between 500-600 of them walked to the reserve. Regardless, after a year of starvation and hardships, the Hualapai returned to their former homes. They tried living at the river, but eventually longed for their traditional lands.[18] In order to return, they promised to stop raiding Euroamerican farms and ranches. In the end, President Ulysses S. Grant signed an agreement that allowed them back. After 1875, Native Americans adapted more to the White capitalist system, serving as a temporary labor force for fledgling mining camps in Mohave County.[19]

Between 1860 and 1880, Mohave County went from a desert

wilderness to hinterland, in the process creating a limited window of opportunity for some individuals. The county possessed an untamed environment, an indigenous population, emerging mining and ranching, potential transportation networks, and a core population of determined Euroamericans. Mohave's frontier period favored those individuals who persevered and understood the land's capacities as well as its limitations. It also took both the dreamer and the self-starter to begin the process of realizing the county's potential.

The first step in the development process was to create a functional government. The territorial legislature defined the new county's boundaries, set the rules for electing political representatives, and appointed a circuit judge. Because of its small population, Mohave County had only one council member and one representative in the territorial legislature. An elected board of supervisors ran the jurisdiction and a sheriff maintained order with occasional help from nearby military companies.[20]

The sprawling county contained relatively few Euroamericans. The 1864 census listed only 315 of them, most of whom lived in the Colorado River area. But Mohave County extended far from this waterway in all directions. Just above the western end of the Grand Canyon lay the area known as the Arizona Strip and the Utah border. Nevada and the Colorado River formed its western boundary. To the south

Yuma County and to the east Yavapai County were its remaining borders.

Because the county consisted of 13,393 square miles of land and water, it was important to establish a network of trails and roads to link the main artery of commerce, the Colorado, with the farms, ranches, and mines of the interior.[21] There were, of course, Indian trails whose existence dated back to the recent and distant past. A major thoroughfare connected the river to the Hopi mesas. Another tied the river to the Yavapai camps in central Arizona. Still others ran from the Colorado westward to the Pacific and south toward Yuma. There were also routes carved out by such explorers as Captain Lorenzo Sitgreaves, Francois Xavier Aubry, Lieutenant Amiel W. Whipple, Lieutenant Joseph C. Ives, and Lieutenant Edward F. Beale. As noted earlier, these men helped federal expeditionary parties locate a relatively easy passage across Mohave County to the Pacific Coast. Yet, these trails were easily lost in the shifting, blinding sunlight. Then too, all travel corridors had to follow water sources. This meant that the trails wound through rugged mountain landscapes and across broad, dry desert valleys, past streams or springs. As a result, they were not the most direct pathways.

Despite all of the exploratory work, it was an ambitious merchant, William Harrison Hardy, who established a practical wagon route from the Colorado River to Prescott to give the

county access to distant markets. Hardy was a forty-one year-old New Yorker who used his own resources and a government sanction to establish the trail.[22] Hardy made his fortune as a merchant during the California gold rush. He then reinvested it by expanding the Fort Mohave-Prescott trail into a toll road, equipped with primitive stations for tired travelers. Hardy financed this project by negotiating a contract with the federal government to transport supplies from Fort Whipple near Prescott to Fort Mohave.[23] He also laid out his namesake ferry site, Hardyville, as a river landing, a crossing point, and head of steam navigation on the Colorado. Hardy's course eastward led from the river through Union Pass, crossed the Sacramento Valley and snaked its way up Coyote Pass to Camp Beale's Spring before continuing on to Hualapai Springs and other nodes of activity.[24] Although travelers objected to the tolls and primitive conditions, Hardy's empire was the only link between the Mohave area and Prescott in 1876.[25]

Hardy benefited from the publicity he received in the new Arizona Miner, which vigorously boosted the new county with columns about its fertile lands, rich mines, and the turnpike that made Mohave County accessible to distant markets. As the county grew, the newspaper published stories tracing the development of Hardyville, where by 1864 a warehouse and ferry operation served travelers plying the river and wagon road. The paper also advertised for other

businesses that clustered nearby. A typical advertisement touted the services of Edward Carson, an on-site assayer, notary public, and deeds commissioner for California who assayed ore at "San Francisco" prices while, at the same time, using his legal powers to draw and execute deeds.[26]

In addition to operating his successful transshipment point on the Colorado River and the vital Mohave-Prescott Toll Road, Hardy diversified by investing in mines, cattle/angora goat ranching, freighting, and got into the mercantile business. Hardy also represented his constituents in the territorial legislature and on the Mohave County Board of Supervisors. A consistent advocate of growth, Hardy supported efforts to build a railroad.[27] In fact, state historian George H. Kelly, in his classic 1926 Legislative History of Arizona, credited Hardy with weathering the hardships and dangers of the territory's early days and for later participating in every promotional effort to advance the economic development of both Arizona and Mohave County.[28]

Clearly, the Arizona frontier in the 1860s and 1870s favored entrepreneurs like Hardy who were willing to risk their capital in a wide-open economy. This freedom allowed them to define the county's political and economic agenda without widespread opposition. On this sparsely-populated frontier, economic diversification, like Hardy's, was a necessity. A general profile of the county's pioneers indicates that they brought capital, energy, economic savvy,

and commitment to Arizona. It was a constant struggle, which many men preferred to undertake without wives and family. Indeed, Lingenfelter found that many miners who came West were either single or left their spouses in the East. The commonly held notion was that the mining camp lifestyle was too rough and tumble for women and children.[29] Many of the early arrivals were the solitary emigrants, the first wave of the Mexican and Anglo urbanization process. They came to speculate on the land's mineral wealth and/or ranching potential. Only a handful stayed. In particular, the Mexicans established ranches along Mohave County's southern border, the Bill Williams River. From these bases, they pursued seasonal work in mines in both Mohave and Yuma counties.[30] Euroamericans were a more highly transient population, constantly moving to new strikes. Of course, the back bone of any camp were the merchants who established stores to supply the miners. In Mohave County, as elsewhere, these were the men who remained in the area, supporting churches and schools to give it some measure of stability. They were also the group that sold insurance, posted letters, grubstaked prospectors, and engaged in a variety of other services.

Both ranching and mining were labor intensive and subsistence ventures. The Homestead Act of 1862 enabled any citizen and many aliens to acquire 160 acres of surveyed government land for free. All one had to do was improve the

land with a dwelling and crops for five years. It took about ten years before many of the remote areas of the region began to benefit from the law. For example, in 1866 there were only two farm-ranches in Mohave County.[31] Much the same was true of the Salt River Valley where Phoenix and other towns began to form after 1866. Mohave County not only lacked major valleys like the Salt, Gila, Santa Cruz, but conflicts with the Hualapai from 1867-1873 also discouraged in migration.

When they came in the mid-1870s, the farmers and ranchers boosted the economy, creating a demand for labor and supplies. Early county ranches practiced open range grazing, but droughts, heat, high winds, lack of forage, and floods made early cattle-raising difficult; relatively few steers survived. Worse still, the lack of a transshipment point made driving the herds to distant markets a requirement.[32] This caused additional losses since the markets were often in other states which could be reached only by crossing desert landscapes and perilous Indian lands where hostile braves often pilfered cattle. Early cattle-drives were expensive. In addition, the increased national preference for calves and yearlings, further handicapped the ranchers and taxed their resources. Because early remote ranching was a real gamble compared to the established cattle business in Texas and other places, the industry grew slowly in northwestern Arizona.

Like ranching, mining required water, labor, and tools, as well as assaying and milling facilities, machinery, supplies, and a transshipment point. And, both industries faced limited access to support networks like freighting, good roads, and markets. For most of Mohave County, mules and horses were the only means of transporting ore to the Colorado River. The usual practice was to forward the ore by pack train out to a point where it could be loaded on a wagon for the trip down some toll road to the Colorado. There, boats would transport it to Yuma and then to an ore processing point before going to the San Francisco mint. The procedure was labor intensive, time consuming, and impractical. Arizona prospectors faced numerous problems, including inadequate water supplies to wash their ore and little natural forage for their mules and horses. These disadvantages made it difficult to extract the ore from the mines and transport it out of the hinterland. Because of these problems, mining developed even more slowly than ranching, despite the richness of some claims.

Notwithstanding these drawbacks and risks, the obvious value of some deposits lured miners. The Cerbat Range, thirty-five miles east of the Colorado was an especially favorable environment for prospecting. At 3500 feet, the altitude was high enough to provide cooler temperatures than for those working the river placers in the valley some 3000 feet below. Junipers and scrub oak, though limited, served as fuel and building materials. Water, however, was in short

supply, which foreclosed the possibility of hydraulic mining. Nevertheless, significant placer and quartz operations were underway by 1870, as hundreds of miners filled the camps. Gradually, populations shifted from the river to the mountains, as did political power. After two disastrous fires virtually destroyed Hardyville, voters shifted the Mohave County seat to the mining camp of Cerbat in 1873.[33]

Occasional skirmishes with Hualapai and their allies remained a fact of life into the late 1870s. After military reprisals and temporary relocation, many Hualapai capitulated and became co-opted into the budding, White capitalist economy, where some worked as laborers, cleaning laundry, supplying wood, or hauling ore. In a few cases, tribal members even identified mining veins and ledges in return for consumer goods. This movement of Native Americans into low-paying jobs supplemented their traditional social and economic activities. In some cases, it supplanted them, disrupting their former division of labor. This interaction occurred because many mines and ranches lay near traditional Hualapai encampments. Eventually, the Indian-White relationship settled into a routine of mutual distrust and limited cooperation. Since the Euroamerican population remained small, the Native Americans watched and waited, biding their time. But there was no convenient opportunity to attack in the 1870s as there had been earlier. The proximity of the military at Camp Beale's Springs, along with

the vigilante-type justice of miners and ranchers, kept most braves in check. Moreover, several publicized conflicts between Apaches and Whites throughout Arizona Territory added to the tension in Mohave County.[34]

A major factor promoting mining in the county was the prospect of railroad service. In the 1870s, survey parties determined the best possible routes across Mohave County. In the process, they also evaluated the area's mineral wealth and reported to federal officials. These reports laid the groundwork for future investments in the county. As more miners moved into northwestern Arizona and the value of ore mined dramatically increased, eastern capitalists talked seriously about extending a railroad through the zone as part of a projected transcontinental line to San Diego or Los Angeles. The county's residents speculated that the rail line also included sidings, which meant better transshipment points for cattle, ore, supplies and immigrants.

Like the prospect of securing a railroad, the National Mining Act of 1872 also boosted the extraction industry in Mohave County. This law encouraged mining and emigration to the West by allowing miners to purchase valuable claims on public land for no more than $5 an acre and pay no federal tax on the ore they mined. The individual miner could now purchase twenty-acre plots or extend it to several twenty-acre allotments called group plots. The law reinforced an already active interest in the county's mineral deposits.

Also, the law came about at a propitious moment since Indian wars in the West had dramatically cut mining activity. Yet despite the conflicts with Indians and meager mining profits, both capitalists and miners were willing to gamble on Mohave's mining future.

The manuscript census of 1880 reflects the vibrancy of the county's mining industry. Clearly, there was a trend toward stability and family, and for the first time the numbers of women and children increased. Julie Roy Jeffrey and Elizabeth Jameson in their research on pioneer women in mining camps found that women who came to such places entered a world primarily populated by men who ranged in age and life experience.[35] Jeffrey stated that popular literature alerted women to the dangers and deprivations they would face. In 1856, Eliza Farnham's book, California, Indoors and Out, cautioned readers that only "stronghearted" women should attempt living in mining frontiers.[36] There were a few women at more protected sites in Mohave County like Fort Mohave and Hardyville. The rest joined their husbands in the Cerbat range's mining camps. An "invisible" class of women also populated the area; these were the prostitutes. Proof of their existence surfaced in occasional newspaper columns and pioneer writings. Yet, unlike the Comstock in Nevada where Chinese prostitutes openly listed it as their occupation, their Arizona counterparts did not appear in the census data. All territorial women coped with the same harsh realities as

the men, including rough environments, a disproportionate number of men, and few conveniences. When women came with their husbands, they bought land and built rude cabins, usually tent structures. Though women created cozy homes and practiced "the cult of domesticity," the cost represented lost wages.[37] By creating homes, married couples began the transformation of the bachelor camps into communities.

Like the settling of families, the local newspaper also brought a sense of community to the young camps. This was obvious from reading Anson Hubert Smith's early editions of the Mohave County Miner. In 1879, nineteen-year old Smith traveled from New York where he had served as a machinist apprentice in the Brooks Locomotive Works before a strike during the Panic of 1873 left him unemployed. At sixteen, he returned home and became a printer's devil for the Cattaraugus Republican. Subsequently, his experience gained him other positions in Pennsylvania, first as a press operator and then as an oil reporter. He also worked briefly as a printer-reporter for the New York Times in 1878.[38] Finally, Smith decided to try his luck in the West.

Smith's vagabond experiences in the region were typical of many young men who settled in Mohave County. His travels took him first to San Francisco, Yuma, Mexico, and Tombstone. He even briefly replaced the editor of the Yuma Sentinel before sailing up the Colorado and eventually moving to Mineral Park where he became a representative of the Cerbat

Mining Company.[39] But the area's lack of reduction facilities forced miners to ship their ore to San Francisco at prohibitively high freight rates, which discouraged him.

In 1880, Smith returned to journalism, working as a reporter for the Arizona Miner, the territory's first official newspaper.[40] But he never lost the gold fever, and so the restless Smith eventually left for Globe and then the Vulture Mine near Wickenberg. Two years later, he finally gave up mining and purchased a printing press. He began publishing a weekly paper that reported mining and local news. Smith and the local druggist, James J. Hyde, started the Mohave County Miner in Mineral Park. The first issue appeared on November 5, 1882.[41]

In 1887, the lack of paper, newsprint, and other supplies forced his relocation in Kingman.[42] In addition, as Kingman developed, Smith wanted to be near the county's new hub of national, state, and local news. Unlike many of his counterparts, Smith produced a well-organized paper as he idealistically believed that a major key to any community's growth was its newspaper. In the Miner, Smith covered every mining-related event, gossiped endlessly, and promoted the county shamelessly. His paper was a window to the larger world and a vital link between the hinterland to its major entrepot. This lessened the county residents' sense of isolation in a land where ranches and mining camps were often far from major travel routes and population centers.

Smith's humor and his personal insights helped unite his readers by providing them with his perception of their world. In his early editorials he freely expressed his views. However, as he matured and the paper became more sophisticated, he published less opinionated columns. The Miner evolved into a respectable local newspaper that championed such important causes as statehood, women's suffrage, free silver, and harnessing the Colorado for irrigation and water power. For over fifty years Smith and his employees were fixtures, providing news and encouragement to the growing region, and in the process serving as an indispensable record for the county's history.

The Miner's hinterland comprised hundreds of square miles, which by the 1880s contained dozens of mining camps, farms, and ranches linked to the Colorado by a primitive network of trails and wagon roads. In 1863, when Arizona became a territory, the main towns were river ports near the relatively secure bastion of Fort Mohave. Thus, the county's first seat was Mohave City, which also served as a blow-off, saloon town for soldiers. Adjacent to the fort, Mohave City briefly hosted a ferry in 1862, but oddly, did not appear on the territorial census of 1864. The census taker evidently included the community in his count of Fort Mohave's 119 soldiers and 49 civilians. After all, it was a relatively small, isolated place; in fact, between 1864 and 1870, it actually lost one person (169 people in the fort and town). The reasons for this decline are clear. By 1870, the town

itself died after the army expanded the fort's reservation perimeter to encompass the old community in a partial effort to get rid of it.[43]

Mohave City had suffered from competition when William Hardy established his ferry in 1864, six miles above the fort at the mouth of Silver Creek Wash. Hardy's Landing or "Hardyville" was also a steamboat port and ferry crossing. A year later it boasted a post office, warehouse, an arrastra mill, and fourteen assorted adobe buildings.[44] There were thirty-two people listed in the 1864 census but only twenty-two people in 1870. The decreasing population reflected the fact that it was a small way station. But despite its lack of size, Hardyville became the county's political center. When Fort Mohave annexed Mohave City in 1869 to curb some of its activities, Hardyville became the county seat from 1867-1872.[45]

Fort Mohave represented another important type of activity in the county, providing some measure of security for Euroamericans against Indian attack since 1859. Although it was abandoned briefly in 1861, when Arizona became a territory in 1863, it reopened to protect the Euroamerican population from Hualapai attacks. Despite its strategic location on the Colorado, the fort was not one of the army's more modern structures. In his 1886 text <u>The Martial Experiences of the Colorado Volunteers</u>, Edward Carlson noted that Fort Mohave was a disappointing place in 1863. Located

on a bluff overlooking the Colorado River, the encampment hardly resembled a fort by California's standards. Stationed for a two-year duty at Fort Mohave, Carson described it as consisting of "a few miserable shanties" constructed of cottonwood, brush, and dirt. He was distraught to find that there were no doors or windows and that mud and wind plagued everyone's existence.[46] Moreover, there was little in his estimation to define it as a fort, "No stockade, nor even a fence to keep anyone at a distance."[47] The base's architecture reflected a modification of the typical Mohave Indian's structure. Given the lack of adequate building supplies, cottonwood, brush and mud were appropriate materials. There was no need for a stockade, because, unlike the Apache, the Mohaves posed no serious threat. The area was simply inhospitable to the typical Californian; mining was the only attraction for them in that duty station.

Mohave County's early population reflected the male dominance typical of a mining frontier. By 1864, the population of Mohave stood at 317, of which there were 166 miners, twenty-one teamsters, an assayer, two attorneys, a mineralogist, and eighty-two soldiers to name the more notable occupations.[48] The special census also noted the development of a mining camp at Mineral City in the Cerbat Range that contained sixteen occupants. There were thirteen miners listed along with two laborers and a recorder. They were all solitary males, although the census listed six as

married, indicating that they had left wives at home. Ten were from American states, while the rest were from the British Isles, Canada, and France. The average age was thirty-five, twenty-five being the youngest and a fifty-six the oldest, showing the age range of the residents. The composition of Mineral City's population was typical of the early mining camps.

In 1864, the remainder of the county's Euroamerican residents dwelled primarily in the San Francisco District and El Dorado Canyon. The latter became part of Pah-ute County in 1865. The former represented the Colorado River/Black Mountain mining range. It consisted of fifty-nine men and two women, a mother and daughter. Of the twenty married men only one, a lawyer, lived with his wife. The presence of forty miners and fourteen teamsters, suggested that mining continued during the Civil War. Most of the people were from east of the Mississippi or Europe.[49] Except for the lawyer's two children, the age range was twenty to fifty-five with an average age of thirty-four. This trend toward a slightly more mature, European/eastern United States migration of solitary males persisted for several more censuses.

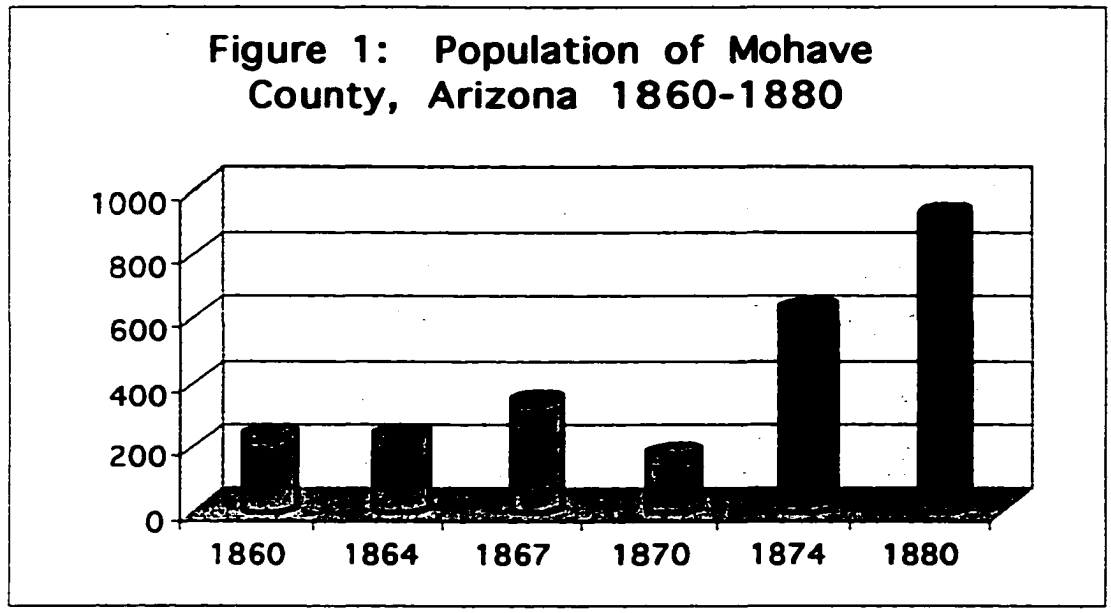
Of all the local mining camps, El Dorado Canyon was the largest. It contained ninety-five men and one woman, who was married to a miner. The other six married men did not have their wives present. There were sixty-eight miners, five teamsters, five farmers, and a herder. The rest pursued

mining-related occupations. This community had a Euroamerican population with no foreign borns listed in the 1864 census. A maximum length of stay at El Dorado Canyon was three years, while two years was the average length of occupation for the Colorado River and Mineral Park communities at the time of the census. Both mining settlements, Mineral City and El Dorado, were very similar in composition.

The 1864 territorial census suggested several factors. The small representation of females was normal for mining and military camps in the 1860s.[50] Because of the Civil War, Indian hostilities, and the desert environment, women were left behind until the area was more secure and comfortable. Also, mining remained a man's domain in that pioneer decade. Women inhibited the mobility of prospectors and drained them of badly need capital. In addition, Indian raids made it unsafe for women to be there.[51] Moreover, it would not be until the enactment of the 1872 Mining Law that miners could obtain enough land to support a family. But even then, the cost of land excluded subsistence prospectors.

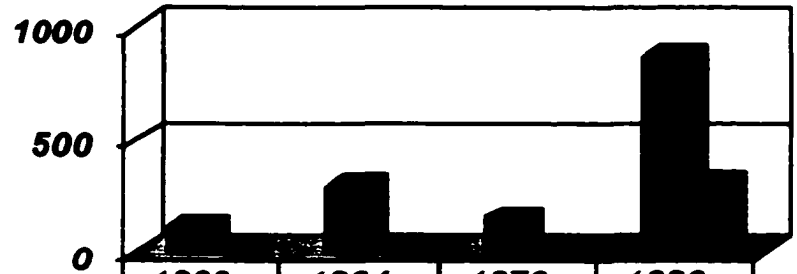
The census data from 1860 to 1880 reflected only the population along the Colorado River. The growing communities outside of the Fort Mohave area received little attention. Several factors accounted for this. Census takers either ignored those places, were unaware of their existence, and/or the place arose between censuses. The following pages provide several charts using census data that depict the

Euroamerican population trends in Mohave County during this time period.



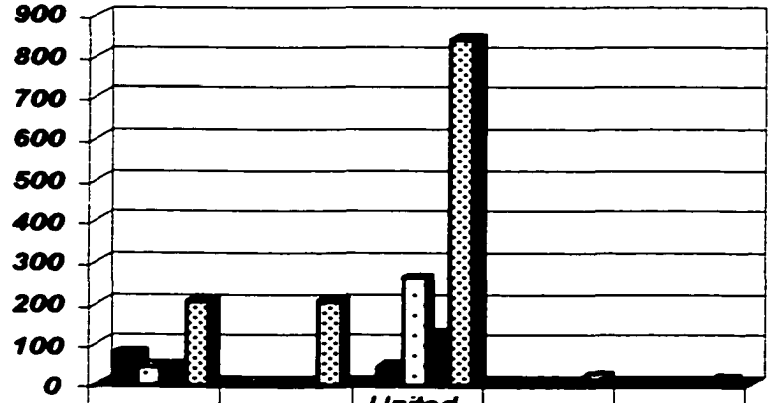
The numbers in Figure 1 reflect the small rise of population during the Civil War years. The decrease in Euroamericans between 1867-1870 indicates the actual impact of the Hualapai Wars on the county's interior. During that time, the population clustered around the Colorado River settlements. Because conflicts with the Mohaves were not as serious, this water highway offered a cheap route for moving ore and supplies. The jump in population in 1874 clearly resulted from diminishing racial tensions as well as the impact of the Homestead Act of 1862 and the 1872 Mining law.

Figure 2:
Males and Females in Mohave County, Arizona 1860-1880



	1860	1864	1870	1880
Males	119	304	162	873
Females	10	13	17	315

Figure 3:
Place of Birth - Mohave County, Arizona 1860-1880



	Europe	Mexico	United States	Canada	China
1860	83	0	46	0	0
1864	46	5	262	4	0
1870	51	0	124	4	0
1880	205	205	839	18	16

The gender comparison of males to females during the same period (Figure 2) supports the theory that the solitary male came first, paving the way for females to follow. The small Euroamerican, female population from 1860-1870 consisted of wives and daughters of soldiers or businessmen. By all accounts prostitutes existed, but they do not appear in the rolls, nor do Asians or Mexicans. The population increase from 1870 to 1880 reflects the counting of Native Americans for the first time, the substantial immigration of miners and ranchers because of the Homestead Act and the 1872 Mining law, and the presence of women and children in greater numbers, representing a change in household structure from the solitary male to the family.

The census data, both federal and, to a limited extent, territorial, include data on many residents's birth places. Figure 3 featured the more prominent categories. Most of the population consisted of emigrants from the United States and its territories. Of course, the parents of Euroamerican citizens were often born in Europe. Residents with origins in Canada, Europe, and the United States indicate that the Euroamerican population was a significant factor in Mohave County from 1860-1880. The 1880 census also included Mexicans (201) and Chinese (16). The latter were all males (average age: 20), who worked as cooks (11) or laundrymen (5) in the mining camps. The Mexican population represented both males (154) and females (49). They lived in primarily in the southern portion of the county in Signal, Bill William Fork,

Santa Maria River, Aubrey Landing, Big Sandy, and Cedar Valley, though the mining camps of Todd Basin, Stockton, Cerbat, Mineral Park, and Chloride listed from two to ten men. While thirty women listed themselves as "keeping house," the majority of men told the census-taker that they were miners (30), farmers (17), farm laborers (52), or teamsters (9). However, they decreased by the 1900 census, marking the decline of silver mining.

The Mexican population swelled in 1880, especially in places like Signal, Arizona, where they found work more readily than in other mining centers which often practiced ethnic discrimination. The Signal census designated them also as farmers with families. Other racial groups like the Chinese appeared in mining camps, mainly as operators of restaurants and laundries. There was no listing of Chinese as a source of labor in the mines. Thus, the foreign born population contributed significantly to the county's growth as cheap labor in mines or in the service sector of mining camps.

The average age of the population in Figure 4 ranged from 25 to 30 years. For the West the median age was 24.2, two years more than the national figure of 20.2.[52] This reflected the large number of young males. Most of these men were miners, farmers, businessmen, soldiers, or laborers. As mentioned earlier, during the 1860s few women lived in mining camps. The limited types of occupations, indicated that

mining had not boomed enough to support a substantial service sector economy in each camp.

Figure 4:
Average Age of Population of Mohave County, Arizona 1860-1880

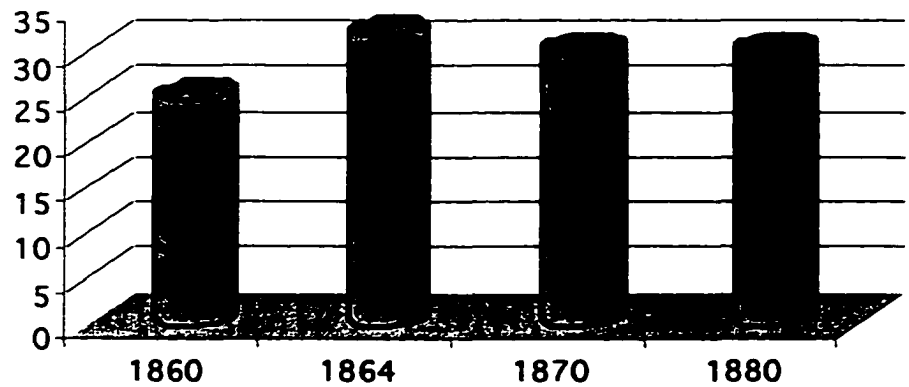
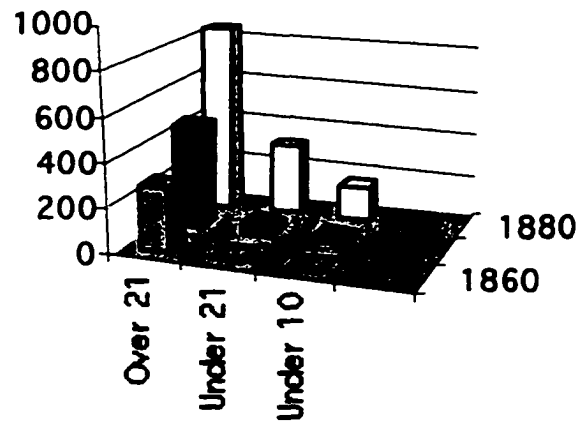


Figure 5:
Age Ranges for Mohave County, Arizona 1860-1880



In Figure 5 the age-range category of the census indicates that from 1867 to 1880 most of the population was over twenty-one.[53] For all age categories, the 1880 census showed a marked increase for those under twenty-one years, demonstrating the change in household structure from solitary males to families. Yet, there was still a strong representation of solitary males, reflecting the mining population.

Indeed, the mines continued to draw single males into the county, as the industry continued to play a central role in Mohave's economy. Even the increased number of families could be partially attributed to mining's need for farms, ranches, and urban services. Local newspapers speculated continuously on the state of the industry and its prospects for stimulating more growth. Production was always a subject of concern. This was due to the fact that the terrain made it difficult to transport equipment or ore in order to develop claims. As the lists of mining strikes printed in the newspaper grew, the reports from Mohave indicated that the ore remained on dumps for lack of a mill or convenient transportation to San Francisco. Readers and visitors confirmed these problems in their correspondence with the editor from places like Cerbat, Mineral Park, and the Colorado River. For example, in 1875 in a published letter from Mineral Park, an unidentified writer lamented that:

> our county has never, during the past two years, presented so gloomy an appearance as it does at

> present. Last spring and winter every one thought we were just stepping out from a night of adversity--dark with disappointed hopes--into the bright morn of prosperity; nay, almost realized hopes. But, notwithstanding the brilliant outlook, we, today, are still 'hanging on the ragged edge of despair' confident that the day must come when 'the camp will come out.'...We have lots of 'Shoal-water capitalists;' they have given this county jaw bone and libitum and infinitum until we just about shared the fate of the Philistines. I tell you, a new mining camp can get along first rate without wrecked mining speculators who through bonding mines and hastening to San Francisco, seek to reassure their largefortunes by selling again at a huge bonus. Any miner in Mohave County who would now bond a mine to the wise-looking owls from 'Frisco' or any other Place.[54]

Indeed, speculation was an on-going problem on the Southwest's mining frontier.[55] Most mines fell into the category of being a "good poor man's mine" if they paid out. Mining speculation was rampant, and investors from San Francisco or the East who financed these diggings demanded results. The out-of-state investors cared little about a county or its miners. The prospectors located claims, obtained what they could, and then sold them. Glowing reports from newspapers and hearsay attracted more capitalists but investments failed to make back the capital expended.

Unfortunately, many of the operations in the Cerbat range required substantial capital. Unlike the easily exploited placer deposits of California's Mother Lode country and the early Gila River diggings, most of the gold and silver in Mohave County were quartz deposits. Hardrock mining was capital intensive requiring extensive supplies of wood for bracing the shafts as well as steam-powered drills,

pumps, and other machinery. Moreover, a piped infrastructure often had to be constructed to deliver water from some distant source, and expensive mills had to be hauled in to process ores that were either physically or chemically entrapped with base elements. This all contributed greatly to the expense. Thus, investors became easily frustrated when dividends were below expectation. The constant threat of capital being diverted elsewhere, in turn, exerted pressure on local miners and especially their corporate employers.

Typical was the McCracken Mine, which began operations when Jackson McCracken and Jack Owens filed claims in August 1874.[56] This shaft and other silver deposits in the southern portion of the county attracted the attention of visitors such as Hiram C. Hodge, who wrote glowing reports about them in his text, 1877 Arizona as it Was; or The Coming Country. He noted that because there was no water at the mine, people located at nearby Greenwood, Signal, or New Virginia camps.[57] Before the McCracken opened, there were only twenty-one people in the district.[58] Since the McCracken-Signal mines looked promising and the miners received good wages, the area soon attracted merchants, mining equipment, packers, teamsters, stage coach lines, and express companies. According to mining historian Rodman Paul, this was characteristic of many mining camps. Paul indicated that the wealth produced by mining booms also created opportunities

for speculators, traders, gamblers, saloon keepers, and prostitutes.[59] Travelers like Hodge lured readers to northwestern Arizona's mines with suggestive prose about a district's potential wealth. To some extent, his claims were accurate because the area experienced a minor boom from 1874-1878, despite the Panic of 1873, but the inevitable decline set in during 1879-1881, and the majority of miners left.

There was a brief revival in the 1880s when investors from San Francisco and the county reopened some properties, but it resulted in little significant production. As the district petered out, many Euroamerican residents left for new boom areas; Mexican miners certainly had the same option. But some of them stayed and engaged in ranching. Because of the scattered nature of the county's pasture and arable lands as well as its mining deposits, the remaining Mexican population dispersed widely across the area to their ranches along the Bill Williams or Santa Maria rivers or to follow cattle herds on the Big Sandy, abandoning Signal, which became a virtual ghost town. As the Miner observed in 1888, "The only live thing in the town...{Signal}...is Moise Levy. He gets feeling good occasionally and whoops along."[60]

Ranching became increasingly important to satisfy the growing demand for meat generated by local mining and distant markets. Adapting to the often inhospitable environment of Mohave County, local ranchers struggled to establish

livestock types best suited to the desert. For example, in the 1870s William Hardy raised angora goats in the mountains around Mineral Park. He considered the high desert ideal for domestic goats because bighorn sheep were indigenous to the area. Indeed, the animals thrived with the result that Hardy marketed their wool in California until the demand for angora declined.[61] During the same period, some men experimented with dairy and sheep ranching. Because of the arid climate and lack of adequate forage, ranchers kept their dairy herds small, producing cheese and butter only for local markets. According to the county's tax records, there were just six sheep ranches, comprising 8,350 animals.[62] Unlike the angora goat herds, the sheep and dairy ventures survived though they never dominated the ranching business.

Euroamerican and Mexican ranchers faced many early problems. Because of the county's climate and topography, much of the land was unsuitable for large-scale cattle grazing or farming. After 1866, grazers began claiming every available parcel of land to accommodate their cattle herds. Original claimants, like the prospectors, came without their families, selecting sites near reliable water sources. Once they built structures and established their herds, their families followed. Informally, they controlled the local industry's scope and development by buying and selling property primarily among themselves. Because of their remote locations and lack of a transshipment point for livestock,

early ranches made little profit, relying on subsistence pastoralism to carry them through the frontier period.[63]

As in other western subregions water rights posed a major problem. For instance, in the Big Sandy area southeast of the Hualapai Mountains, ranchers competed with Native Americans for control of the springs. Confusion over water rights led to violent confrontations. In extreme cases the military intervened. Tensions over water rights eased only after 1869 when the military forcibly moved the Hualapai to a reservation.

Once water supplies became more secure, cattle ranching increased in the 1870s though profits were minimal. Ranching was just as much a gamble as mining. The area's two ranches of 1866 had grown to thirty-one just a decade later.[64] In Mohave County, cash-poor ranchers and farmers took advantage of the Homestead Act of 1862, claiming land bordering rivers, springs, and aquifers in order to irrigate the desert for the specified five year period. In addition to these parcels, railroad land grants provided even more acreage for development. The Atlantic and Pacific Railroad received large grants of pasture, timber, and valley land, which it then sold to farmers, ranchers, and town founders in an effort to amortize its debts and generate significant way-traffic between California and Santa Fe.[65] The dispersal of public lands profited ranchers the most. Since the land provided poor forage, they needed additional ground to

adequately support their herds. The 1877 Desert Land Act, however, increased the amount of space available to individual settlers to 640 acres, providing the larger land base crucial to operating a successful farm or ranch.[66] Unlike the Homestead Act, claimants did not have to reside on the land, although they had to irrigate it for cultivation. In mostly dry Mohave County this was difficult except in natural watersheds such as the Big Sandy area where many of the ranches clustered by 1890. Legislation, of course, also lent itself to fraud. A settler could claim irrigation in many creative ways by digging fake wells or diverting run-off from washes.[67] The lack of adequate oversight was certainly a problem, but, despite their weaknesses, federal land laws greatly promoted ranching in northwestern Arizona.

Not surprisingly, western ranchers were intensely protective of their newly-acquired lands. Across the region, many men actively fenced the open range to keep track of their herds, angering other ranchers who favored open range grazing. Numerous complaints eventually forced Congress to pass a law in 1885 prohibiting the fencing of public lands.[68] This was not a serious problem, however, in Mohave County, because the lack of wood and the cost of supplies discouraged large scale fencing. On the other hand, ranchers aggressively constructed corrals, using whatever materials were available. A combination cottonwood/mesquite/cactus fence was not uncommon. To discourage conflict created by

access restriction and other practices, Congress passed the General Public Lands Reform Act of 1891 providing more oversight and reducing grants to a more manageable 320 acres.[69] It also ended the public auction of land.

Ranching, like mining and commerce formed the triad of activities that drove the county's early economy. During this frontier period, miners, ranchers, and merchants played significant roles in exploiting local resources for profit. Though many took what they could and left, others committed themselves to the county's future. In many ways, Mohave County typified the growth model of Rodman Paul. The county, like the Far West itself, consisted of a series of frontiers, each with its own microhistory of town building, commerce, transportation innovations, and population growth with a corresponding decrease in Indian attacks and hardship, all within the context of rapid mineral development.[70] Along with the ranching industry, these factors contributed to the early growth of Mohave County. Nevertheless, by the late 1870s, because of its peripheral location and because of the demonetization of silver and the Panic of 1873, Mohave County was hardly a boom area. Indeed, many of its residents were "hanging on the ragged edge of despair, waiting for better times."[71]

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29. Lingenfelter, The Hardrock Miners, 9.

30. Roman Malach, Ghosts of the McCracken Mine (Kingman: H & H Printers, 1980), 41-54; Robert L. Spude, "Swansea, Arizona: The Fortunes and Misfortunes of a Copper Camp," Journal of Arizona History (June 1976), 376.

31. Kelly, Legislative History: Arizona 1864-1912, 340-341.

32. May I. Young, "Ups & Downs of Early Cattlemen," Vertical File, Mohave Museum of History and Arts; Mohave County Miner, 10 October 1988.

33. Stanley W. Paher, Colorado River Ghost Towns (Las Vegas: Nevada Publications, 1976), 16.

34. Wagoner, Arizona's Heritage, 181-187. The Camp Grant Massacre, the Battle of Skull Cave, the Battle of Turret Peak, and conflicts with the White Mountain Apaches were widely publicized in the Arizona Miner.

35. Julie Rcy Jeffrey, Frontier Women: The Trans-Mississippi West 1840-1880 (New York: Hill and Wang, 1979), 109-110.

36. Ibid., 109.

37. Lingenfelter, The Hardrock Miners, 9; Elizabeth Jameson, "Women as Workers Women as Civilizers: True Womanhood in the American West," The Women's West, eds. Susan Armitage and Elizabeth Jameson (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1987), 150-151.

38. William Bork, "Anson H. Smith, Arizona Editor," Arizona Historical Review, Vol. 7, No. 2 (April 1936), 74-77.

39. Ibid.

40. Ibid., 76. The Arizona Miner was first printed in 1864, making it the first territorial paper.

41. Ibid.

42. Ibid., 80.

43. Walker and Bufkin, Historical Atlas of Arizona, 32.

44. Ibid., 174.

45. Messersmith, The History of Mohave County to 1912 (Kingman: H & H Printers, 1991), 178, 209.

46. There was an assayer who was thirty-one years old, single and from Hamburg, Germany. He went by the name of E. Carlson and was at Fort Mohave. By 1864, the Territorial Census of Arizona noted that he was at the fort for ten months. His name appeared listed among the civilian population.

47. Messersmith, The History of Mohave County to 1912, 73.

48. Territorial Census of Arizona, 1864. The site of El Dorado inflated the census figures by 96. In 1865, El Dorado became part of Pah-Ute County then part of Nevada due to the annexation of 1866.

49. There was no mention in the territorial census of 1864 of either Mexicans or Asians.

50. Jeffrey, Frontier Women, 111.

51. Lingenfelter, Hardrock Miners, 9-10.

52. Kathleen Underwood, Town Building on the Colorado Frontier (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1987), 20.

53. Age counts were not available for 1860.

54. Weekly Arizona Miner, 27 August 1875.

55. Weekly Arizona Miner, 12 November 1875.

56. Hiram C. Hodge, 1877 Arizona As It Was; or the Coming of the Country (New York: Hurd and Houghton, 1877), 71-73.

57. Hodge, Arizona As It Was, 73; Malach, Ghosts of McCracken Mine (Kingman: H & H Printers, 1980), 3.

58. Territorial Census of Arizona, 1874.

59. Paul, Mining Frontiers of the Far West 1848-1880, 7.

60. Mohave County Miner, 24 November 1888.

61. Weekly Arizona Miner, 28 January 1876.

62. Mohave County Tax Records, 1870-1879.

63. For more on ranching see Paul F. Starr's Let the Cowboy Ride: Cattle Ranching in the American West (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998.

64. Roman Malach, Early Ranching in Mohave County (Kingman: Mohave County Board of Supervisors, 1978), 5-6.

65. William S. Collins, Cattle Ranching in Arizona a Context for Historic Preservation Planning (Phoenix: State Historic Preservation Office, 1996), 42.

66. Alan Brinkley, The Unfinished Nation: A Concise History of the American People (New York: The McGraw-Hill Companies, Inc., 1997), 463. "The Timber Culture Act (1873) permitted homesteaders to receive grants of 160 acres at $1.25 an acre provided they irrigated part of their holdings within three years."

67. Collins, Cattle Ranching in Arizona a Context for Historic Preservation Planning, 42.

68. Ibid.

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70. Paul, Mining Frontiers of the Far West 1848-1880, 7, 11.

71. Weekly Arizona Miner, 27 August 1875.

CHAPTER 3

THE DEVELOPMENT OF KINGMAN AND ITS MINING HINTERLAND: 1880s

"You can be whatever you undertake to be and for that reason you should have a high ideal and then never once give up." Lewis Kingman, 1907.

Everyone knew the Iron Horse would energize Mohave County, but the trains' arrival took years. A 1866 federal charter authorized the construction of a transcontinental along the 35th Parallel to follow Beale's original federally funded wagon road. Unfortunately, the Atlantic and Pacific Railroad Company faced continued financial difficulties, and weakened by the Panic of 1873 filed for bankruptcy that year.[1] This delayed Arizona's portion of the line until 1880. Another company, the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe, supported by capital from Boston, began construction in Topeka, Kansas under the Atlantic and Pacific name and charter. With a renewed purpose, the firm resumed work, pushing into eastern New Mexico in 1878.[2] Two years later, the Atlantic and Pacific (which formally became the Santa Fe in 1897) advanced into Arizona.[3]

Lewis Kingman played a key role in the line's construction across northwestern Arizona and in the founding of his namesake town. At thirty-five, Kingman was one of

several major surveyors and construction engineers for the phase of the railroad slated for Mohave County. He scouted the route, established construction camps, made last minute changes in track location, transported supplies, and recorded day-to-day events.[4] Like many pioneers, Kingman, a Mayflower descendent, born and raised in Bridgewater, Massachusetts, began railroad work on the Stoneham branch of the Lowell Line, while attending classes at an engineering firm. After a failed investment in Pennsylvania's oil fields, Kingman joined on a railroad survey crew in the southwest. As part of his duties, Kingman hunted buffalo and game to feed his crew, a skill he would later need in Arizona. After moving to Cimarron, New Mexico in 1874, Kingman received a government contract to locate a route along the 35th parallel for the proposed railroad. Later in 1877, the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe made him both a locator and engineer.[5]

Kingman's New England work ethic and job experience helped him cope with the challenging task of building across the desolate Arizona wilderness. The relentless desert combined with remote locations far from supply points to strain both laborers and animals alike. Moreover, from the county's eastern boundary moving westward, Kingman had to adjust to steep grades and sizzling heat. He established a rail-siding at Seligman, just outside Mohave County, and others within the county at Peach Springs, Hackberry, near Beale's Springs, Yucca, and Needles, California. Despite the

obstacles, he make steady progress but it took all of his experience and strength to do so.

In May 1880, Kingman's crew had reached as far as Fort Mohave, but working conditions had steadily deteriorated. In addition to the torrid environment, he faced major problems with railroad company management which had won federal approval to determine crossing sites at the river. While officials in Kansas considered their options, Kingman and his crew languished at Fort Mohave. Following months of negotiations with the Interior Department, company executives rejected Kingman's recommendations and chose a location that was subject to annual flooding. Despite objections, Kingman nevertheless led his crew from the river eastward toward Beale's Springs. Because Kingman had to haul water and supplies from the Colorado River, a distance that increased each day, progress was slow. Worse still, it was summer, and both men and animals collapsed from the heat and lack of water. But they persevered. Pressured by company executives and driven by their own pride, they completed they line without further delays and additional expense.

Their success was a tribute to human determination and endurance. Kingman and his crew experienced considerable hardships along the way. He often had to bargain with local residents for rations and burros. Exploiting this opportunity, Euroamericans charged him inflated prices for supplies, a common practice in the western hinterlands.

Determined to come under budget and unwilling to be gouged, Kingman wasted much time searching for cheaper provisions.[6] But despite all of the obstacles, he and his men completed construction in 1882, and the first trains arrived in the following year. Kingman subsequently left Arizona for good.[7] But local residents recognized his contribution to the county's development and honored him by re-naming the nascent community at Beale's Spring for him.

The railroad transformed northwestern Arizona. The Iron Horse linked the county with larger markets in California and the East. In addition, the speed of rail service invigorated the mining industry by lowering transportation costs enough to allow the extraction of even low-grade ore. As a result, hinterland communities moved quickly to connect with the new hub of this fast-rail corridor developing near Beale's Springs.

In his classic work, The Urban Frontier, Richard Wade emphasized that the traditional requirements for a great city were access to water power, fuel sources, farm lands, and a market area of considerable proportion.[8] The Kingman site hardly possessed these prerequisites. Indeed, the solitary box car parked on the site that become Kingman, Arizona hardly portended the prosperous community that would develop there in 1881. But, considering that there were numerous railroad sidings in the West that have remained sleepy whistle-stops to this day, Kingman, when compared to these

places, was moderately successful by the end of the 1890s.

Physiographically, Kingman was at the nexus of two important geologic ranges: the Colorado Plateau and the Great Basin. The major mountain chains in proximity to Kingman are the Hualapais, Cerbats, Musics, Peacocks, and Blacks. The valleys between were interior drainages and quite alkaline. The alkalinity of the soils impacted grass assemblages, which in turn limited foraging. Kingman's altitude, which averaged 3,300 feet, ascends to 8,417 feet in the nearby Hualapai Mountains.[9]

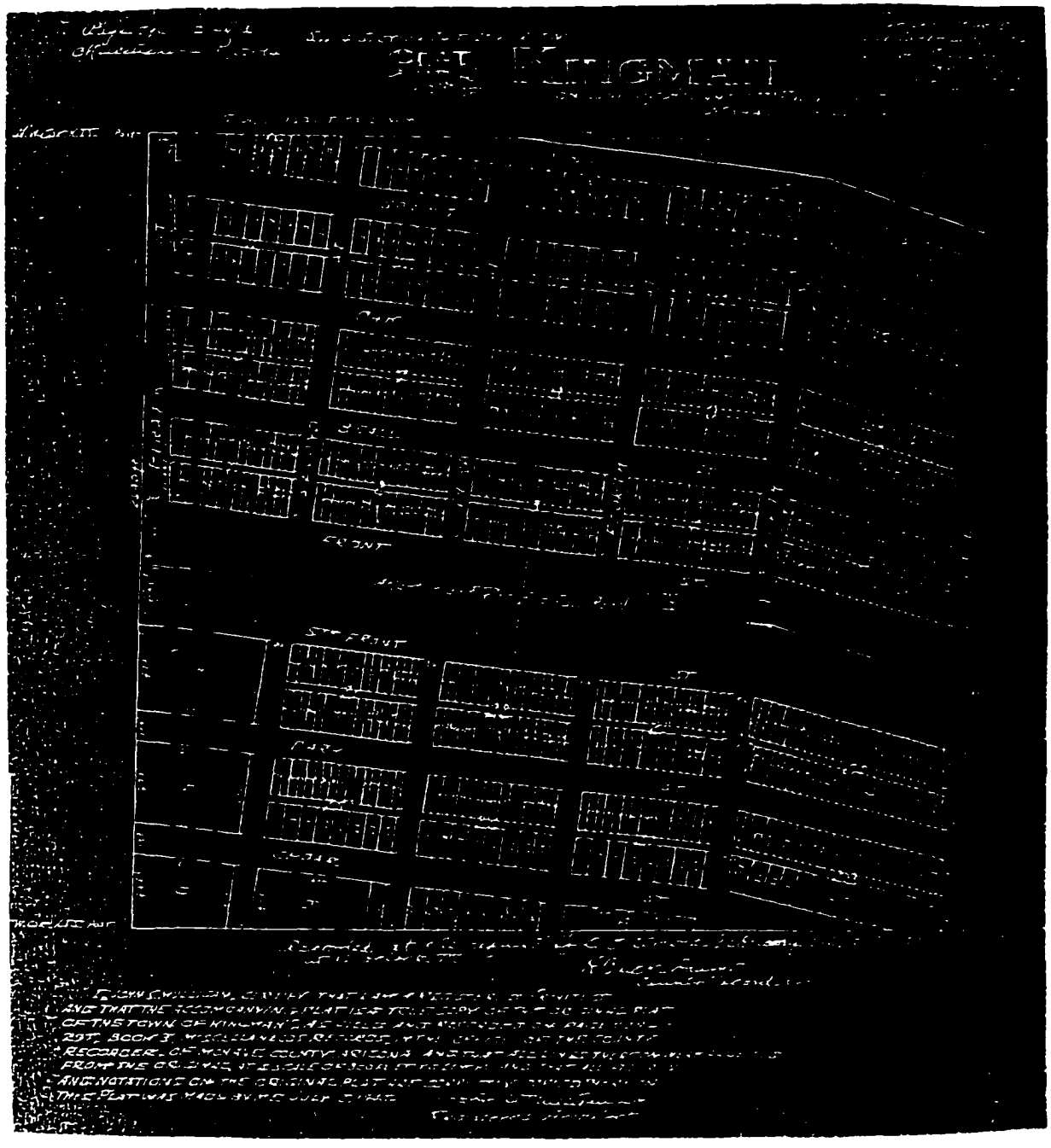
Climatically, the expanse contained a high desert (hot steppe) with components of both upper and lower Sonoran Desert. The compatible flora consisted of juniper, chaparral, sagebrush, scrub oak, pines, grasses, and cacti. The area's major fauna included elk, antelope, deer, mountain lion, havelina, bighorn sheep, reptiles, and various rodents. Because year-round temperature ranges were milder than Phoenix, Flagstaff, Tucson, and many other places, and because rainfall averaged a respectable ten inches, Kingman was one of the most attractive sites in the county.[10]

Geologically, Kingman was more a product of seismic activity. Moreover, in the surrounding mountain ranges, the metamorphic rock from the faulting yielded minerals that distributed gold, silver, and other minerals, and therefore dictated the settlement. There were no mining sites on the neighboring Colorado Plateau because no valuable ore deposits

existed there. Instead, historic settlements on the Colorado Plateau engaged in timber and grazing as economic activities.[11] Ranching also took place on the Colorado Plateau just forty miles east of the town and mining encircled it.

Kingman did not exist before 1882 because it was not a convenient place for serving local mines and ranches. Called "Beale's Springs" by travelers for decades, it functioned merely as a small oasis. It was Lewis Kingman who first established a railroad camp a short distance from the springs. Because of its level terrain, sheltered position, and access to water, this railroad camp was an ideal spot for a rail-siding. As the tiny community attracted new settlers, it acquired several early names, such as Middleton and Shenfield. Conrad Shenfield was a railroad contractor who arrived in 1881 with considerable funds and supplies. By 1883, he had opened a store and blacksmith shop, and freighted supplies with his stable of sixty-two horses and mules. Impressed with the location and its potential for growth, Shenfield applied to the Mohave County Board of Supervisors for the right to lay out a townsite. Following approval, Shenfield along with engineer W. G. Middleton and architectural draftsman Benjamin Spier mapped the original plat, which consisted of thirty-four city blocks. Thanks to the railroad, demand was strong. By 1887, Shenfield had sold 1,300 lots in the nascent community which the Mohave County Board of Supervisors officially named "Kingman" that year.

These leaders boosted the town's fortunes even more when they designated it as the county's fifth seat of government.[12]



Plat Map of Kingman 1886,

Courtesy of the Mohave Museum of History and Arts

Despite the successful sale of real estate, there was little immediate home construction there. Most buyers purchased lots for speculative purposes.[13] However, although construction in the residential portion of town lagged, the small business district boomed. Located immediately north of the tracks with additional space available for future expansion to the south, Kingman enjoyed a lively commerce, thanks to its role as a local transshipment point. As the settlement expanded, boarding houses and cabins for lower income workers also radiated southward with wealthier homes farther out. According to the county tax records, during the first five years of its life, Kingman's real estate values increased. But speculation accounted for this. While land sales were brisk, only a few of Shenfield's customers built structures. Unfortunately, this became a pattern in other boomtowns in the hinterland. Yet, the plat map itself was a good beginning, awarding the town, a modicum of planning that many of its counterparts elsewhere lacked. While other rail-sidings gradually appeared in the county, only Kingman grew into a town of enough size and importance to retain its status as the seat of government. What enabled it to sustain this position was its location and relationship to the hinterland.

In the 1880s, Kingman's physical growth paralleled the north side of the tracks. Normally, businesses clustered near a siding to service the railroad traffic and cargo. It

was just more expedient for both passengers and businesses. Most structures were a combination of canvas tents and rough, wooden frame buildings. More permanent-looking stores of brick and mortar came when the site demonstrated its viability. This took several years to achieve. At first, mining settlements like Chloride and Mineral Park, located near valuable mines, expected to attract much business and investment to themselves. But by 1890, businessmen were surprised when Kingman attracted substantial homes and permanent buildings. Merchants soon realized that proximity to the railroad was cost-effective, allowing them to receive ore and forward supplies to the hinterland: a mutually beneficial situation. Kingman's advantage of having a mild climate and water sources combined with its older oasis relationship to the 35th Parallel's trading routes assured its success.

Construction in Kingman was haphazard due to high demand and the relative lack of building materials. To erect stores and homes, lot owners relied on pirated lumber from mining claims and rocks from nearby hills. The enterprising Shenfield, however, established a general store that supplied wood, canvas, and other items which helped ease the strain. The Atlantic and Pacific's railroad workers were also helpful, connecting railroad cars to fashion a temporary depot and warehouse until the Santa Fe later erected a permanent station.

During the town's initial construction and before a

substantial population even arrived, the aggressive Shenfield petitioned the Mohave Board of Supervisors in Mineral Park for a voting precinct, citing the presence of at least twenty eligible voters and Kingman's potential for attracting even more residents of legal age.[14] His case received additional support in March 1883 when a ceremonial first train arrived, although actual service did not begin until later in October.[15] William Hardy greeted the passengers and offered them a ride in his stage coach. Ever the entrepreneur, Hardy soon established a regular stage line from the railhead to points in the hinterland. Businesses like Hardy's were critical components of Kingman's moderate, but steady development. Also, by connecting the mining camps to the railroad, the stage line facilitated an interdependent relationship between town and hinterland. Because of the growing commerce and expanding population, the board of supervisors granted Shenfield's request.

While the railroad and stagelines made it easier to emigrate to northwestern Arizona, some people came for reasons other than mining or ranching. According to Carl Abbott, many easterners found the concept of pioneering in the Far West invigorating.[16] Since life in Mohave County's hinterland remained rough, the "frontier imagery" it represented led some of them to envision it as the future of the West.[17] Kingman in particular held considerable promise as an emerging railhead and gateway to the hinterland's

developing extraction industries. A growing core of boosters, like Shenfield, Hardy, and Smith, helped to craft an appealing image that attracted emigrants.

Kingman's early boosters were crucial players in its development. Because the local population was small, this elite group often held multiple civic offices, and, as in many western hamlets, economic and political interests often served the same ends. For example, it was Kingman's promoters, who, after some skillful maneuvering, held the election that removed the county seat from Mineral Park to their town in 1887.[18] As landowners, wholesalers, and retailers, they had a major stake in the community's success. To this end, these businessmen moved quickly to acquire seats in the local government as well as on the county board of supervisors. From these positions of power, they wrote ordinances and laws which promoted Kingman's interests and their own.

In addition to these boosters, by the late 1880s the young town benefited from many other factors, including the railroad, cheap minority labor, commerce, and population. Crucial to the success of any town, especially in the arid West, was the reliable supply of pure water. The presence of Beale's Springs was obviously the determinant for the railroad's selection of the townsite. The company's steam locomotives required Kingman's water for their thirsty boilers and a small town needed enough for cooking and

consumption. The town's level terrain was also a consideration, but even more significant was its resource-rich hinterland that generated valuable way traffic for the transcontinental to haul between Chicago and California. Indeed, commerce and the county's sudden proximity to distant markets sparked the development of farms and ranches as well as a mining renaissance. In response, Kingman's businessmen maintained branch stores in the hinterland besides warehouses and larger emporiums in town. This policy enabled them to control prices and curb competition in both areas. Thus, Kingman benefited from the railroad's business in addition to neighboring mining and ranching communities. In time, rail traffic established a symbiotic relationship throughout the county that helped assure the town's future.

When the first trains rolled through Kingman in 1883, passengers glimpsed an emerging frontier community. From its humble beginnings, the area grew steadily. Railroad service guaranteed the rapid development of a service-sector economy. Moreover, the growing population of solitary males and families required temporary lodgings, food sources, saloons, supplies, grub stakes, and medical assistance. Married workers imposed the additional demands of permanent housing, churches, clubs, entertainment, government, professional services, and schools. The presence of families in Kingman marked a permanent level of commitment to building a community that was lacking in most of its hinterland.[19]

Furthermore, travelers represented another market for the town, requiring restaurants, lodging, and entertainment. By the end of the 1880s, as many as twenty-five daily trains passed through Kingman carrying freight and passengers; as a result, the location quickly became Mohave County's business center.[20]

Despite its rough exterior, Kingman's status as a railroad town continued to lure new residents from all around the country. Gradually, more restaurants, hotels, and saloons crowded the north side of the tracks. Arriving emigrants patronized the fledgling hospitality industries before boarding stage coaches to the surrounding country. Miners now regularly sent their ore to the railhead, shipping it to east or west depending on the most favorable rates. The same held true for the cattle industry. As both town and hinterland filled with people, Kingman increasingly became a local crossroads, drawing miners and ranchers from outlying areas who came to shop, socialize or do business.[21]

As in any boomtown, crime was a problem. Fortunately, when Kingman won the county seat, it also became the law enforcement center for the jurisdiction. The sheriff located his office in Kingman and used the town as a base from which he periodically rode off to respond to calls from hinterland communities. He also boarded trains in Kingman to investigate crimes along the line. But Kingman required a lot of his attention as saloons proliferated and especially

after women located their "Rabbit Patch" brothel on the business district's western periphery, making it accessible to both the railroad and patrons from nearby mining camps.[22] For the most part, crimes were minor, consisting mostly of bar fights and petty misdemeanors. The incidence of violent crimes was low. But when a robbery or murder did occur, few suspects escaped, thanks to the harsh environment and support of vigilant citizens. The same was true of local Indians, who lived in the wilderness and rarely caused a problem. However, when a band of Hualapai camped adjacent to town until the late 1890s, the sheriff monitored activities in their camp site, too. Fortunately, the pace of life in the hinterland and Kingman was slow enough that one law official could handle most cases. There was no need for a force of deputies until the twentieth century.

Just as crime was a concern of local residents, so were fires especially in a matchbox community built largely of canvas and wood. Fortunately, conflagrations were infrequent, but any fire along the rail line affected everyone. Most homeowners relied on their wells to douse the flames. There was never enough water or fire-fighting equipment in the early days to battle a blaze. Thus, in June 1888, a fire that began in Fay & Ziemers Saloon eventually destroyed much of Kingman's business district.[23] Though devastated by the incident, businessmen were unwilling to leave, and most quickly rebuilt. Despite this disaster,

however, there were no immediate funds allocated for fire prevention in a town whose small tax base limited expenditures. Because of these events and Kingman's growing demand for water, the railroad responded by constructing a tank near its tracks with a 2-inch supply pipe from Beale's Springs to fill it. Targeted primarily for railroad use, officials sold the remaining water to residents, generating a daily water delivery business.

But the fire and water problems reflected the community's early lack of public services. Sanitation was also an issue, as the absence of an effective sewer system and the presence of animals created an unsanitary environment. The excessive excrement in the streets or near wells due to horses and other livestock was one of the paper's periodic features. While town problems created lively discussions, there was little money spent to resolve them.

Kingman and the county government both largely relied on revenues derived from the hinterland to finance public services. In the 1880s, the railroad's arrival sparked much development in the countryside. Among these activities was a renaissance in mining. Low-cost train service ignited a fever that attracted both experienced and novice miners, entrepreneurs, and treasure hunters. For visitors, it was initially viewed as a speculative venture. Several conditions determined success in the county's mining sectors: access to water, wood, roads, and equipment. Because these

elements were scarce in the 1880s, the hinterland still favored the transitory, solitary prospector or hardrock miner. Unfortunately, because the rumors of rich veins usually proved false, miners moved from one promising site to another. The ability to survive in a desert environment was also a requirement. Hardened miners from other western claims weathered the location's extremes much better than eastern tenderfoots. Because many remote sites lacked water supplies, it was not prudent for individuals or small groups of miners to pursue claims beyond dry-washing. Preferring the independence and excitement of discovery, the prospector after working a site, usually sold it. As elsewhere in the West, claims changed hands frequently, and ultimately it was the outside investors who developed them, establishing mills and hiring labor.[24]

The shift from dry-washing to hard rock mining indicated a more serious effort at extraction. Hardrock mining depended on wood, water, skilled labor, and efficient freighting of ore to market. Only a few of Mohave County's mining districts in the 1880s engaged in productive hardrock mining in the San Francisco and Sacramento districts. Once more, environmental hardships overshadowed the efforts and expenditures. Because of the lack of water and poor roads, few of the mills constructed on-site could operate at full capacity. Moreover, the region's gold veins varied in yield and value per ton. Nevertheless, mining companies

concentrated on gold, because it brought greater profits than the county's silver and copper. Silver was more plentiful, but, following its demonetization and new discoveries in the Black Hills and elsewhere, investors remained leery of the silver market. More often than not, the ore was often left at a dump site in anticipation of better times.

During the late 1870s and 1880s, most mining occurred in isolated areas in the West. Within Arizona, Mohave County possessed some of the more promising sites. But lack of capital, Indian hostility, rough terrain, and poor roads were common obstacles that miners faced.[25] While the military had largely pacified the Hualapai, Mohaves, and Paiutes by the late 1870s, transportation remained a lingering problem.[26] Into the 1890s, the cost of transporting ore to distant processing facilities remained a barrier. In addition, the expense associated with the extraction of silver was still "a drag in the market."[27] Given these problems, most mining camps had to struggle to survive. In the Cerbat Mountain range, Mineral Park, Chloride, and Cerbat emerged as the three most important boomtowns, but not without considerable difficulties.

In 1873, almost a decade before Kingman greeted its first train, the boomtown of Cerbat became the county seat. The event marked a transfer of economic and political power from the Colorado River to the county's interior. Between 1873 and 1876, Cerbat developed into a substantial gold

mining town with several active claims, a court house, a community of over twenty houses, and various businesses, including a saloon, several stores, a butcher shop, assay office, blacksmith stables, restaurant, a post office, and even a cemetery. However, Cerbat's location at the extreme end of the mountain range made it very expensive to transport ores and goods to the river and key east-west trails to the south. Faced with increasing competition from the district's more profitable and favorably located mining camps, Cerbat began losing miners, investors, businesses, and eventually the county seat. Though Cerbat's extraction industry survived for several more decades, it never recaptured its former status.[28]

Attracted by the growing population and mining potential of Mount Ithaca, the supervisors formally moved the county seat next to the boomtown of Mineral Park in 1876. The camp's mineral diversity promised a better future than Cerbat's. Fortunately, Mineral Park had extensive resources, including silver, copper, turquoise, gold, and lead. It boomed rapidly, and by the 1880s contained over twenty-five businesses, a school, and thirty homes.[29] The school's appearance was particularly significant because it symbolized the presence of families with children and a growing sense of civic responsibility. By 1883, 159 men and women voted for school trustees to monitor the education process for the town. The Palace Hotel became a local attraction, serving as

both the hospital and social center. Because Mineral Park was the county seat, officials built a court house and resided in the community. According to the census, Mineral Park contained 145 families and 790 single men, reflecting a significant deviation from the demographic composition typical of standard bachelor camps.[30] As Mineral Park matured, it provided better political, economic, and social opportunities for families.

Yet, as the region's primary mining community, Mineral Park also suffered from its share of problems, including crime, transiency, and isolation.[31] Drugs became an increasing concern in the early 1880s, after an opium den opened in 1882 and lured dozens of young men. In his column in the Mohave County Miner, Anson Smith referred to the drug as the "Chinese Fiddle." He investigated the operation and reported that it was also a brothel or, more colorfully, "a home of plenty...full of damnation bow-wow noises."[32]

While the opium den generated some apprehension, barroom brawls and public drunkenness also drew resident's attention. Heightening concerns was the fact that a Hualapai band still camped nearby. Complicating matters was the role of alcohol in this group. Indeed, more than once, local newspapers complained that the presence of inebriated Indian women was becoming a common sight to the community's White women. Eventually, the county's county board of supervisors became concerned enough to ban Hualapai from wearing guns in

Mineral Park, although alcohol sales remained equal. But growing anxiety over criminal activities, prompted residents to form a vigilance committee to assist the sheriff, and newspapers kept residents informed of their progress.[33]

Despite the lawless element and shoddily constructed line of tents, shacks, and false-fronted buildings, pioneers ignored the rough and tumble side of these frontier societies and concentrated instead on the treasure hidden in their mountainous vaults. The Sacramento Mining District was a typical center of interest for businessmen anxious to begin operations in the Cerbat Mountains. For example, William Grounds, who already owned a ranch and butcher shop, claimed the Lone Star Mine and sold beef there. Grounds' economic diversification was not unusual. As mentioned earlier, Anson Smith had moved from Beale's Springs to mine and print the Miner in Mineral Park. The Watkins' brothers opened their first drug store in the district, and even C.F. Kuencer, assayer and chemist, relocated to the area. Rancher Samuel Crozier lived at Mineral Park while serving as a county supervisor. Lawyer W.D. Blakely arrived in 1871 and later sat on the school board and became a prominent judge. Charles Atchisson, who previously ran a business in Fort Mohave, also operated a store in Mineral Park.[34] After 1883, however, most of these businessmen moved to Kingman where they actively lobbied for the removal of the county seat to the railhead in Kingman.

In addition to Mineral Park, Chloride and Stockton Hill were two other significant settlements in the Cerbat range. The later sprang to life on the eastern side of the mountains in 1863. Prospecting continued for three years until 1866 when Hualapai raids resulted in the deaths of four miners and the temporary suspension of all activity. Frightened Anglos moved closer to military bases or left the county.[35] When operations finally resumed in the 1880s, miners rushed back, pitching tents next to their claims and littering the mountains with shafts, tunnels, and dumps.[36] The Stockton Hill camp was the most promising with gold, silver, lead, and copper deposits. Not surprising, it attracted numerous entrepreneurs. William Lake established a store and post office, while his neighbor, Harley Fay, owned one of several saloons. W.W. Scott grew vegetables and fruit to supply the surrounding population, while a Chinese restauranteur, Moo Soon, fed the miners Scott's produce. But, much like their counterparts at Mineral Park, many of Stockton Hill's businessmen eventually moved to Kingman, as it gradually became the central place of Mohave County. Indeed, Lake and Fay relocated later to Kingman, where the former became the sheriff and the latter built another saloon. Others eventually followed, as Stockton Hill slowly declined. Although after 1883 a stage line tied the camp to Kingman, the former remained a small settlement of single male prospectors who preferred the isolation.[37]

While most camps quickly established buildings and services, there was little thought given to planning for anything beyond immediate needs. Because the national demand for and value of minerals fluctuated monthly, only a few mining camps made it past the "boom" period. The gold veins in the Cerbat Range varied in depth and quality, which made investments there more risky than elsewhere. Silver, copper, and lead, however, were more uniform and attracted more interest. But in general, lack of water and convenient transportation made it difficult for mining camps in the Cerbats to lure the capital necessary to establish mills and other improvements until the railroad came. However, for many camps, even the Iron Horse and improved freighting facilities were not enough to revitalize them.

Urban development was sluggish, because, even though mining prospered in other parts of the Southwest, the extraction industries in northwestern Arizona continued to struggle throughout the 1880s. Most mines went through a series of proprietors, who enjoyed only marginal success before selling out to larger, capital-intensive companies. Since the county's outlying camps were weakened by the lack of a diversified economy, Kingman's emergence as the primary service center and transshipment point in the 1880s gradually pulled commerce away from Mineral Park.[38] But, on the other hand, as the county's businesses shifted to Kingman, a thriving freighting enterprise began connecting the mining

camps to the railroad, which eventually helped to attract the capital necessary to stimulate flagging sites like Chloride in the next decade. Gradually, a symbiotic relationship developed between Kingman and the hinterland camps, as the former became the central place of Mohave County.

On a broader front, Yuma, Yavapai and Pima counties attracted more local and congressional support for making Arizona a state. Unfortunately, the growing national debate over Populism and the gold standard helped to stall this movement and discouraged Mohave's silver mining. Because of its place on the rail line, Kingman's future depended on a rapidly industrializing national economy as well as a prosperous hinterland. But with the repeal of the Sherman Silver Purchase Act in 1893 and the ensuing national panic, most of the county's investors did not receive substantial return on their money. Instead, wild speculation and vanished profits ultimately result in abandoned tailings, open shafts, and ghost towns until the Spanish-American War ended the depression and the twentieth century brought new demands for gold, copper, and even silver. As mining historian Duane A. Smith noted, "The change from 'poor man's digging' to industrial mining came in a twinkling, along with corporate dominance."[39] However, Kingman's boosters remained characteristically optimistic and continued to advertise their town and Mohave County as the most beautiful and promising in the territory.

Endnotes

1. David F. Myrick, Railroads of Arizona (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1998), vii.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid., "Cross Arizona required overcoming almost every conceivable handicap...Money was extremely tight; paychecks were months late. Shootings and lynchings occurred frequently. The great change in topography westward from Williams, where the tracks stepped down from the forested table lands, created severe problems."

4. Lewis Kingman in 1907 at 62-years of age also wrote his autobiography for his children.

5. The Kingman Daily Miner, 17 February 1980, A5-A6. This article is a reprint from The Santa Fe Magazine (April 1917).

6. "Reminiscences of Lewis Kingman Relative to the Location and Construction of the Atlantic and Pacific Railroad," Archieves, Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas.

7. In Yucca the remains of their construction camp lasted until an archaeological survey in 1987. The salvage operation found broken bottles and empty lard, milk, and bean cans littering the site. Tent stakes, a few coins from the period, and a broken pocket knife were all that endured.

8. Richard C. Wade, Urban Frontier (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1959), 10.

9. Aline LaForge, Interview by Author, 28 March 1995, Transcript, Mohave Community College, Bullhead City, Arizona.

10. Jay J. Wagoner, Arizona's Heritage (Santa Barbara: Peregrine Smith, Inc., 1978), 15-37.

11. Ibid.

12. Roman Malach, Kingman-Arizona City in Mohave County (Kingman: Arizona Bicentennial Commission, 1974), 9.

13. John M. Murphy. Vertical Files, Mohave County Museum of History and Arts Library, Kingman, Arizona.

14. Ibid., 6.

15. Myrick, Railroads of Arizona, 52-54.

16. Carl Abbott, "Building Atomic Cities," The Atomic West, ed. Bruce Hevly and John M. Findlay (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1998), 91.

17. Ibid.

18. According to local folklore, some citizens of Mineral Park reamined reluctant to acknowledge the loss of its status, much less the county records. Late one night clandestine visitors removed the documents to Kingman.

19. Eugene P. Moehring, "Profiles of a Nevada Railroad Town, Las Vegas in 1910," Nevada Historical Quarterly 34 (Winter 1991), 469.

20. Mohave County Miner, 27 June 1891.

21. Mohave County Miner, 16 June 1888. Kingman had its first official ball game in June, 1888.

22. Ibid.

23. Mohave County Miner, 23 June 1888.

24. Richard E. Lengenfelter, The Hardrock Miners: A History of the Mining and Labor Movement in the American West 1863-1893 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974).

25. Rodman Wilson Paul, Mining Frontiers of the Far West 1848-1880 (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1963), 136.

26. Mohave County Miner, July 1919.

27. Ibid.

28. Roman Malach, Cerbat Mountain Country: Early Mine Camps (New York: Graphicopy, 1975), 17-19.

29. Mohave County Tax Records, 1880-1887, Mohave Museum of History and Arts Library, Kingman, Arizona.

30. Census of the United States 1880, Population. Arizona, Microform/United States Census Office, T9-36. Washington, D.C.: Census Office, 1880.

31. Paul Long Jr., "Mineral Park: Mohave County Seat, 1877-1887," Arizoniana (Summer 1967), 1.

32. Mohave County Miner, 15 July 1883.

33. Mineral Park, Vertical Files, Mohave Mohave Museum of History and Arts Library, Kingman, Arizona.

34. Mohave County Tax Records, 1880-1889, Mohave Museum of History and Arts Library, Kingman, Arizona.

35. Roman Malach, Chloride: Mining Gem of the Cerbat Mountains (Kingman: H & H Printers, 1978), 3.

36. Dan W. Messersmith, The History of Mohave County to 1912 (Kingman: H & H Printers, 1991), 182.

37. Ibid.

38. Mohave County Miner, 11 November 1932.

39. Duane A. Smith, "The Heritage of the Mining West," Death Valley to Deadwood; Kennecott to Cripple Creek (Western Regional Office: National Park Service, 1989), 11.

CHAPTER 4

KINGMAN AND MOHAVE COUNTY IN THE 1890s

Throughout the 1890s, boosters tried to change Mohave County's frontier image. As the region's primary transshipment point, Kingman was the focus of their campaign. By 1891, the town already contained 300 people with more arriving daily.[1] The newspapers were the principal vehicles for publicizing the subregion's development and articulating local positions on larger issues such as statehood, Populism, Indian schools, nativism, transportation, and the economy. The news, moreover, increasingly contained advertisements from fraternal orders and over twenty businesses plus articles featuring mining and ranching.[2] Though Kingman had begun to thrive, some of the community's leading men still had to work several jobs to survive. The sheriff, for instance, owned an assay office; the probate judge operated a soda works, and the district attorney served as both a teacher and minister.

No one understood Kingman's fledgling economy better than Anson Smith, who himself wore a number of hats, including that of politician, promoter, and editor of the town's Mohave County Miner. Smith used his newspaper to

advance the interests not only of Kingman, but Mohave County, and Arizona, including the latter's case for statehood.[3] He felt strongly that Mohave County could only progress if the territory became a state. Therefore, he set out to tie the county's economic and social development to that of Arizona's.[4]

As the Miner's circulation grew, Smith increasingly issued statements that encouraged people to visit northwestern Arizona's many attractions. To distant readers he portrayed Kingman as "sun-kissed", "picturesque", and "sprightly", with a "salubrious" climate;[5] and the people of the region as law-abiding, intelligent, good natured, big-hearted, and prosperous.[6] Periodically, Smith also emphasized the town's potential as a fruit-growing center, convention site, and the main distribution point for mining and ranching. He also suggested that the county develop a more sophisticated approach to such vital issues as the disposal of railroad/public lands, increasing railroad rates, partisan politics, and economic trends.[7] The overall impression he created was that Kingman and its hinterland were important players in Arizona's struggle for statehood.[8]

The primary goals of local boosters like Smith were to stimulate economic and community development. To this end, promoters in the 1890s set a new growth agenda for Kingman that encouraged emigration, investment, construction, and

industries. Since long-term growth required a sound economic base and stable population, businessmen worked to help the town shed its "wild West" image. As the century drew to an end, columns and pamphlets increasingly touted the dry desert as a haven for arthritics and consumptives as well as a job center and hub for mining and milling interests needing railroad links to distant markets. Indeed, each year as Independence Day neared, local newspapers celebrated Kingman's growth by providing progress reports that underscored the town's role as the financial and business center of Mohave County.[9] This portrayal of Kingman as a vibrant community also signaled outside observers that its frontier days were over.

By its tenth anniversary, Kingman had become the hub of Mohave County's government, commerce, and services. Local tax records reflected this new status, listing a variety of businesses, professionals, organizations and homes scattered around the commercial district, along with a church and school.[10] Visually, the town's environment indicated an advance beyond the pioneer stage. Most structures consisted of adobe, stone, or frame construction with some landscaping. Only a few tents remained. Although the commercial district continued to rely on water piped from Beale's Springs one and a half miles away, most home owners sunk wells for convenience. Demographic figures printed in the Miner indicated that Kingman's population had increased.[11] In

addition to the 250 adults and fifty children, there were 132 registered male voters of whom 86 percent were native born while only 14 percent were foreign born.[12] At the same time, increased population and hinterland traffic generated income that drove this transportation-based economy. For example, in 1891, the county recorder listed profits of over $250,000 for local commerce, to which the railroad and Wells Fargo added $90,000 and the mining industry another $587,327.50.[13] In addition, the railroad facilitated a lively mail-order trade while, at the same time, hauling the produce of hinterland fruit and vegetable farms to markets along the line. From their position in the county seat and railhead, Kingman's entrepreneurs interacted with mining and ranching settlements, maintaining a modest size and steady growth pattern consistent with other transshipment points along the rail line.[14]

There was, however, not as much progress in race relations. Despite the improvements in the 1890s, Indian-White relations remained a concern of Kingman's boosters. Once again, it was the newspapers, the Miner and in 1893 the new Populist organ, Our Mineral Wealth, that reported Indian activities. Because the press catered to Euroamerican readers, it often reflected national biases toward "the other" native peoples.[15] These publications commonly referred to Native Americans as squaws, papooses, bucks, and "red

jokers," characterizing them as wily, crazy, comical, murderous, savage, and drunken.[16] This type of colonialist reporting created stereotypes that shaped the reader's attitudes about the Hualapai and Mohaves which only provided further discrimination.

For the most part, booster rhetoric excluded minorities because they had few opportunities due to the persistence of racial and ethnic intolerance. As noted earlier, the county's Native Americans experienced considerable disruption to their traditional lifestyle in the 1870s. American colonialism, with its political institutions, military forts, mining operations, roads and towns, altered tribal culture, especially the nomadic, subsistence economy. Despite the creation of a reservation northeast of Kingman in 1883, local Hualapai bands camped near the community throughout the 1890s, since cultural attachments continued to draw them there.[17] In addition, mining towns and rail-sidings around the county provided them with opportunities for jobs and places to trade. Thus, the Hualapai bands on Kingman's periphery felt freely interacted within it, but not without some additional conflicts.

It took time for the Hualapai and Euroamericans to adjust to each other's lifestyles, when both cultures competed for the same resources and found each other's customs bewildering. Since Hualapai took temporary jobs as day laborers in different parts of town, their offspring

often trailed along. This sometimes led to disastrous consequences. Toddlers wandered into unfenced yards looking for water or things to play with that residents carelessly left lying about and found items like sharp tools or caustics for cleaning. In 1891, the Miner published two separate incidents in which young Indians drank from containers of ammonia and carbolic acid they mistook for water.[18] While the newspaper expressed genuine concern, such incidents continued until 1900 when the government relocated the children to an Indian boarding school.

By the 1890s, the Indian School Service represented the latest effort to acculturate Native Americans. Officials implemented a program modeled after Captain Richard Henry Pratt's experimental approach with off-reservation paramilitary boarding schools in the late 1870s at Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute, Virginia, and Carlisle, Pennsylvania.[19] In 1882, Congress endorsed Pratt's success by appropriating funds to encourage widespread development of the industrial training boarding school.[20] The experiment, begun in the late 1880s as a way to rapidly assimilate Native American children through education, was soon adopted by the Department of the Interior. However, upon completing their studies, many students returned to their respective reservations instead of entering mainstream American society.

This led congressional leaders to push for a modification of curriculum, favoring an industrial training

program for Indian children.[21] When Thomas J. Morgan became Indian Commissioner in 1889, he proposed compulsory education for reservation children. In the spring of 1890, Morgan sent Superintendent of Indian Schools, Daniel Dorchester, on a western tour to identify likely sites for reservation schools. Dorchester reported that there were several abandoned military forts in northern Arizona that would serve their needs. At the same time, he advocated that the federal government open schools as quickly as possible to diminish the influence of the Mormons' missionary programs.[22] With Dorchester's recommendations in mind, Morgan created both reservation and non-reservation boarding schools in the West.

Several of these were in northwestern Arizona. In 1890, when the military relinquished its occupation of Fort Mohave to the Department of Interior, it became the site of the county's first boarding school. This was a significant event, signaling that a military presence was no longer needed. The next site chosen was in Kingman. By 1895 a separate day-school for Native Americans existed there. Two years later the Miner reported that a new boarding school for Hualapai was under construction near their reservation at Truxton Canyon. Upon its completion in 1900, federal officials relocated Kingman's Indian children to this larger facility.[23] The government then built facilities on the Havasupai reservation in Havasu Canyon and near present-day Parker for the rest of the county's Native American

students.[24] These schools attempted to control the county's Indian children and subsequently their parents, who moved to be near them.

While the county's Euroamerican newspapers applauded efforts to civilize these heathen people, editors, in typical colonialist fashion, bemoaned the continuing savagery of some Indian males. Editors were quick to report criminal acts of abuse, especially against females. They also featured stories about other deviancies including murder, suicide, dementia, assault, paranoia, alcohol abuse, and property crimes, which only damaged the Indians' already fragile image further. The Miner skeptically reported the Hualapai's efforts to resolve these issues.

Typical was coverage of the 1891 arrival of the Ghost Dance. The first Hualapai enactment of the ceremony received considerable media attention, with columnists depicting it as a masquerade or "Devil's Dance" and interpreting it as a traditional cultural practice.[25] In reality, the intent of the dance was to strengthen Native American solidarity with the prediction that its performance would make the Euroamericans disappear, bring a "messiah" who would resurrect the dead, and restore the buffalo. Though no buffalo ever existed in Mohave County, the other purposes or advantages of the Ghost Dance appealed to the Hualapai, giving them the hope of regaining control over their culture by diminishing Euroamerican influence.[26] As the ceremony spread amongst

Western tribes, alarmed Indian agents notified the Bureau of Indian Affairs that they feared uprisings on reservations. Within a few months, a more critical Miner condemned the Ghost Dance.[27] The newspaper even proposed a sunset curfew to discourage Indians from loitering around town and creating trouble.[28]

The appearance of the Ghost Dance indicated that northwestern Arizona's tribes were still hostile to Whites. Mohave County's reservations and Indian schools were little more than containment camps, a situation bitterly resented by both the semi-nomadic bands of Hualapai and the scattered families of Mohave. However, another group, the ranchers, approved of the containment policy due to increasing tensions with Hualapai over missing cattle and grazing rights. Moreover, while ranchers had lost their military market, they had gained Indian schools as new customers. They now pushed for even more containment, preferably the relocation of Indians far enough away to prevent conflict, but close enough to sell beef to Indian agents.

In addition to Native Americans, other minorities also merit attention. The Chinese traditionally competed with Indians for jobs. They entered the West as laborers, first in railroad construction and later in mining. But they quickly became engulfed in controversy over hiring practices. The Southern Pacific Railroad preferred using Chinese rail-gangs from California, while the Atlantic and Pacific favored

Irish from eastern cities. In fact, the Weekly Arizona Miner praised the Atlantic and Pacific for not using Chinese labor.[29] But the newspaper had to accept the fact that shortages of skilled workers had forced Lewis Kingman to use some Chinese to build Mohave County's railroad, and some of these men remained in the area following the line's completion.

Chinese immigrants to the United States initially worked as unskilled or semi-skilled laborers, receiving little status or remuneration for their hard labor. Another option for them was to perform services for their own community.[30] In cities like San Francisco, they clustered in "Chinatowns," which served as job centers and islands of mutual support in a hostile white world. Because of restrictive federal immigration laws, the Chinese could not bring females to the United States. The practice of sending married men to the United States created a population of solitary males who tended to live and work together.[31] Their goals were to seek jobs that would earn them enough money to support their families back in China until they could return.[32]

By the 1890s, Mohave County's economic base consisted of mining, ranching, railroading, and a growing service sector. Minorities, like the Chinese, increasingly found employment in the latter. Because their numbers were few, they did not have the option of working within their own immigrant groups. Earlier in the county's mining history, the Chinese found

that their job security was directly tied to their employer's success. If the company lost profits, they were often the first laid off. Since the solitary Chinese could not afford to take these risks, they increasingly began independent businesses such as restaurants, boarding-houses, and laundries, catering to the needs of the entire population. Though dispersed throughout the county's mining camps and settlements, through merchants they maintained contact with one another and to the larger network of Chinese support services in San Francisco.

Though the 1880 census listed Chinese in every major mining camp, the county's Asian population remained low. By 1890 their numbers dwindled even farther. The Mohave County Tax Assessment Roll, counted only six Chinese that year; of these, three lived in Kingman, where two owned wash-houses and one had a restaurant; three others worked in the hinterland. While their numbers remained small throughout the 1890s, the population of Asians increased slightly by the end of the decade. By 1900, ten Chinese and over seventy Japanese now worked on the county's railroad tracks.[33]

The Chinese in Kingman, unlike the Japanese who tended to be laborers, owned and operated laundries and restaurants. The town's growing number of single white males and travelers were their primary customers for cooked food and clean clothes. In fact, by the end of the decade, the Chinese population, supplemented by additional immigration, owned and

operated most of the eating establishments in Kingman. Furthermore, they lived either behind or beneath their places of work near the railroad tracks, which limited their visibility in town and minimized conflict.[34] They cooked "American" food for customers, saving Chinese dishes for their own consumption. Some establishments even offered additional private rooms for women from the "Rabbit Patch," indicating a supplementary prostitution business.[35] By 1900, Kingman's Asian population working in the service sector rose to include thirteen Chinese and fourteen Japanese. These immigrants remained a vital force in its service industry.[36]

Despite their contributions to Kingman's commerce, the Chinese rarely received fair and equitable treatment in the newspapers. Like its counterparts throughout the nineteenth century West, the Miner was fiercely nativistic. Reflecting the colonialist assumptions of its readers, the newspaper took the superiority of American civilization for granted and denigrated others. Indeed, it commonly referred to Asians as "coolies," or "heathens," and as "celestials." Columns typically dismissed Chinese contributions as minimal.

The cheap Chinese restaurants are making inroads on the hotels of Kingman. The town would be better off without these oriental wayfarers, as they do not benefit a country in the least. They are not producers, but absorb

wealth and in a few years depart for the Orient, there to settle down and live a life of luxury.[37]

The paper avidly supported racial discrimination long after Congress suspended Chinese immigration in 1882. In 1898, for instance, one restaurant's notice openly advertised for "White cooks only." Editorials directly urged people to frequent hotels, "run by White people," and to, "patronize our own race...{to}...keep our money at home."[38] The Miner counseled readers to patronize American businesses and hire American workers. To a large extent, these positions reflected the tensions in United States relations with Japan in 1898 as well as the growing xenophobia of the Far West.

While boosterism and nativism alternately benefited and clouded Kingman's progress, hinterland development was particularly important as the nineteenth century drew to and end. The presence of a growing number of ranchers and miners who not only maintained their own operations but also invested surplus capital maintaining their businesses was a full-time job. Both the Homestead Act and the Mining Law of 1872 required claimants to improve their land and occupy it for five years. With little additional expenditure, more enterprising men known as agriminers could afford to own both ranching and mining properties. These citizens represented some of the more stable and powerful people in the county.

Mining, in particular, continued to dictate the direction of northwestern Arizona's growth. In his work on

Durango, historian Duane Smith noted that the industry played a significant role in the settlement of Colorado and the larger American West, because miners were critical to the urbanization process, especially in remote, untouched areas.[39] Moreover, because gold and silver stampedes attracted people with varying economic expectations and capabilities, not all of them became successful miners. Some of the more disillusioned men moved immediately, while others lingered if the land provided them with additional opportunities. Since urban support services followed significant strikes, this gave miners the time to concentrate on their claims. As profits rose, businesses soon inflated prices of goods and services to cover transportation costs and to capture the miners' income. Those men who brought their families with them were likely to stay longer in a region, making mining also part of the "civilizing" process for the Far West.

The days of the lone prospector challenging the Mohave County wilderness faded quickly in the 1890s. To mine successfully the ore-seekers needed capital. Locating and selling claims was one of their options, dividing and subletting them was another. Each succeeding boomtown in the county attracted new people, ideas, and experiences that helped forge the county's mining culture. This mixed population of native and foreign born people along with their mining expertise determined the success of a venture. Since a promising though unexplored mineral district initially

attracted solitary males, if the right conditions existed, their families soon followed. Once they came, government, businesses, homes, fraternal orders, churches, schools, newspapers, and recreation usually followed. Smith defined this as an urban frontier with a unique pace and magnitude.[40]

In these ways, Mohave County's boomtown period resembled Smith's model and continued throughout the 1890s. True to tradition, few of the mining camps even considered urban planning. Miners used any materials they could find, including timbers and tools from earlier mines, to build their towns. In the throes of mining fever, residents initially cared little about crime or other problems unless they directly threatened profits.

This was evident in the new mining camps that emerged in the 1890s around the county. The most striking occurred in White Hills where a major silver discovery soon created a throbbing new district at the northern end of the Cerbat Range. White Hills quickly captured the public's attention with reports from Kingman, Phoenix, and nation-wide depicting the richness of the ores. Upon closer analysis, White Hills was a new type of boomtown, representing a transition between the county's early frontier and post-1900 extraction industry. Located fifty-five miles north of Kingman, it was one of the county's first large mining camps to benefit directly from the county's improved communication and transportation systems. The magnitude of the find soon

attracted daily stage and wagon service with Kingman that connected White Hills directly to the railroad, facilitating emigration, services, and ore shipments. Communication improved in 1898 when the Temple Bar Consolidated Company linked the two communities to Nevada by telephone, which reduced the isolation and expedited commerce.[41] A year later, construction began on a rail spur from Kingman along the Cerbat wagon route with plans to eventually extend it to points in Nevada and Utah. All of these modern improvements directly contributed to the town's success.

The folklore behind the White Hills' discovery only enhanced its character. By all accounts, it was a Native American, "Hualapai Jeff," who in 1892 first brought a sample of ore containing horn-silver to the mining camp of Gold Basin. There he showed it to a miner, Judge Henry Schaeffer, who paid Jeff to guide him to the site. Impressed with what he found, Schaeffer lost no time in filing on the location. The ore soon attracted the attention of other locals like the county sheriff, W. H. Lake, who also staked out a likely spot. Since most of the prospectors decided to gain title to promising sites and then sell them to outside investors, little extraction initially occurred. While Schaeffer held on to his claims, the rest changed hands, eventually falling into the hands of a syndicate of Colorado industrialists.[42] Within six months, White Hills "boomed," mostly due to speculation on the quality of its surface veins. In 1893,

David Moffat, a Denver, Colorado mining investor, and his partner D. T. Root consolidated most of the claims and formed the White Hills Mining Company.[43]

White Hills was not the traditional northern Arizona camp. One Phoenix reporter described it as not a "bad man's" camp, but rather a center of "brainy" mining where residents even talked about developing a plan for growth.[44] Of course, during the first few months, most miners simply pitched their tents next to their claims and eschewed any semblance of a street grid. Because of the population influx, it proved impossible to implement any plan. Unfortunately, most people took few precautions, building homes and businesses in a large, dry wash that easily flooded during summer rains. But this was a detail easily ignored in the rush to extract the ore.

After people raced to get to White Hills; most found there was no housing. Instead, new-comers used tents or slept in the open air. However, within the first six months the camp boasted five saloons, four boarding houses, 107 houses, a stage line, laundries, restaurants, dance halls, and other services. By December 1892, businesses served over 250 men with more arriving daily. In the next two years, the population of White Hills doubled to more than 500, including several families.

One notable family were the Wares. Their son, John Allen Ware, recorded his experiences in Mohave County. In

June 1898, four-year-old John Ware traveled from Pennsylvania with his uncle to join his parents in White Hills. Ware's mother had tuberculosis. She and her husband had relocated two years earlier so she could benefit from the region's fresh air. His father began as the manager of the White Hills Mining Company and soon became superintendent. Allen Ware estimated when he arrived about 400 people in the town.[45] He noted that White Hills' major investors treated mining as a business operation and viewed diversification within it as a necessity. Because their claims were large, they concentrated on the most promising veins, which allowed the mining superintendent to lease the secondary ones. The company advertised for "honest" miners, individuals carefully screened by the superintendent to work the small amounts that the business could not afford to pursue. As an added incentive, the organization furnished "tools, powder, caps and fuses, assayed their samples, and milled the ore on a fifty-fifty basis."[46] Accordingly, independent miners had the opportunity to rent space and pay for it with a portion of their take. This was convenient, because few independent mine owners or prospectors had the capital to exploit their properties at the level of outside corporate investment. They often sold their holdings after working the surface for a while and became laborers or moved on. However, the leasing process helped defer some of the company's expenses while developing the site and perhaps enhancing its value.

By the mid-1890s, the company directed most of the businesses and activities within the town. To improve extraction it imported a forty-stamp mill from Colorado, which it ran ten hours a day, six days a week. The mill operated on a small, 110 volt, 2 kilowatt generator; although miners mostly used coal oil and candles in hand-drilling.[47] In town, the firm built a nondenominational church, a store, and additional housing for its workers. It also kept a stock of extra silver hardware, lumber, black velvet, as well as muslin for caskets--a practical, but thoughtful gesture. Indeed, mining accidents were all too common, and the mining superintendent, responded to the growing number of families, by presiding over funeral and church services.[48]

White Hills gradually took on the appearance of a permanent town. By 1898, it had a school, boarding houses and even a post office. Unlike many smaller camps, single men in White Hills enjoyed a lively social life. Moreover, married women often held dinners and dances with the approval of the company. The latter also catered to the whims of its more free-spirited employees, informally tolerating a prostitution trade near the mines.[49] For the most part, company-sponsored institutions and the mines' productivity kept White Hills humming till century's end.

Nevertheless, the town lacked many amenities. In 1900, for instance, the town had one telephone line and only two telephones.[50] Worse still, there were no other utilities

available. People, therefore relied on primitive outdoor plumbing, coal lamps, and even bought water from delivery wagons. There was no water for fighting fires other than a small reserve supply allocated for the mines and mill; thus, during conflagrations, residents could do little but try to save lives and possessions.[51] Aside from the business district, most structures lay scattered throughout the settlement, which limited major damage. Unfortunately, as mineral output declined, there was little money to fund improvements.

By 1900, White Hills was clearly in decline. According to the census, there were only ninety-two people in town, a considerable drop from the 200 to 500 residents during the boom period. However, the remaining population provided an informative profile of the camp's final years. For instance, the average inhabitant's age was thirty-six. Of this group there were seventy-seven males and fourteen females, twenty-three of them listing themselves as married. Five of those in the married category had families, but only two married couples claimed any children, while the other three listed additional relatives present. This left sixty-three "single" adults, representing 69 percent of the population. Thus, despite company attempts after 1895 to encourage the emigration of families, most of the mature populace were still single males.

With fewer residents there was even less occupational and ethnic diversity. Census charts indicated only forty-four miners left at the site along with four school-aged children, six housewives, and two mining company officials; the remainder were businessmen. Furthermore, the majority (71 percent) of the people were native-born, 8 percent were Chinese, and 21 percent indicated they were foreign-born. Therefore, after only eight years, White Hill's population was fairly homogeneous and closely resembled the county's mining camps between 1864 and 1890.

Aside from declining deposits, there were other factors that caused White Hills' demise. The Panic of 1893 and repeal of the Sherman Silver Purchase Act in that same year seriously impacted the mineral extraction industry.[52] Like most camps in the Cerbats, the lack of adequate water was also a major factor in its collapse. Investors thought that natural water supplies were on-site, a clever ruse used by locals to lure buyers. Water existed in the area, but only in the deeper mining shafts. Because the cost of pumping it out was prohibitive, there were no viable water sources nearby. This meant that the forty-stamp mill could only run five of its machines, thus operating at a loss.

In addition to economic and water problems, hardrock mining with hand tools failed to yield enough ore needed to sustain the firm's long-term commitment. Therefore, on August 3, 1899 when a flash flood ripped through the dry

wash, it destroyed most of the town and filled many mining shafts.[53] The devastation was so complete that few people could afford to rebuild and the company refused to pump its shafts. Then when the federal legislators adopted the gold standard in 1900, it caused a subsequent drop in silver prices, which discouraged mineral production. Later, in January 1903, the county sheriff auctioned the company's property to a representative of the David H. Moffat Company. In desperation, local newspapers optimistically claimed that great bodies of ore lay untouched at the site.[54] Despite these assertions, predictions of significant operations never resumed and the town quietly faded.[55]

Despite their short life spans, places like White Hills, with their economic development, stimulated the growth of permanent transportation networks in Mohave County. The Santa Fe Railroad, for example, built several rail-sidings that became transshipment points for cattle and ore, which ultimately funneled into Kingman. Because of the widely spaced mining camps and ranches, Kingman-based freight and passenger wagons served most of the hinterland's needs. By 1897, there were at least four stage lines radiating from the town.

The increased traffic finally attracted the attention of railroad officials who held meetings with county businessmen concerning the possible construction of a rail-spur from Kingman to southern Utah. This was crucial since railroads

moved faster and cheaper than slower vehicles. The Miner reported that Denver capitalists favored a route parallel to the Cerbat range that would connect the mining camps and allow easy access from Kingman.[56] Unmoved by the boosterism, executives delayed construction of the Arizona and Utah Railroad until 1899 when the company laid a single track from McConnico just west of Kingman 21 miles up the Sacramento Valley toward the mining boomtown of Chloride.

In anticipation, advertisements in the Miner printed the proposed schedule, detailing the fare and timetables of daily round trips (except for Sunday) from Kingman to Chloride and points in between. Stages connected the last stop at Chloride to White Hills and other destinations. From Utah, places like Rioville, St. Thomas, Overton, and St. George ran additional stages to White Hills two days a week.[57] Responding to these significant improvements, the jubilant Miner boasted that Kingman had become "the distributing point" for the region. With the vision of a genuine booster, the editor then suggested that laying additional tracks farther north would open the Virgin and Muddy valleys of the Arizona Strip for further development.[58] But his was a cracked crystal ball. When the Western Arizona Railroad took over the line, it only extended the tracks three miles beyond Chloride. The reason was clear: a steady decline in the demand for the Cerbat's minerals halted any further progress.

While operating, the trains displaced most of the long-

haul wagon freighting, but not without some local opposition. Several mine owners and businesses in the Cerbat hinterland protested new railroad rates for low grade ore. Taking a stand, they decided to boycott the Santa Fe, even going to the trouble of drawing up a contract with a teamster to haul ore and supplies to and from Kingman. Since the major mining operation, the Tennessee, along with merchants from Chloride supported the effort, they succeeded and the railroad reluctantly lowered its rates.[59] But the railroad faced an additional problem. Except for Chloride, rail-sidings were too far from the mining camps, so freighting remained a necessity. Nevertheless, increased demand for rail services from farmers, ranchers, and miners generated continued profits. By 1906, the Western Railway responded by running six or more full cars round-trip daily, ending the isolation and facilitating the development of the Cerbat hinterland.[60]

The railroad, however, never connected the Arizona Strip to Kingman because there was little to warrant the expenditure. The Mormon communities in the northern part of Mohave County had never boomed because they were ranching not mining communities. Mormon landowners saw little benefit in a rail line from Arizona and turned to other markets in Cedar City and St. George, Utah for their sheep and cattle. Therefore, the railroad never finished the Arizona and Utah line.[61]

In addition to mining, ranching also grew in the 1890s. But it was not easy; there were serious hurdles to overcome. For one thing, a prolonged drought beginning in 1885 plagued the industry. With reduced forage, the livestock on the open range suffered immeasurably. Herds of Texas longhorns and Mexican criollos, though well adapted to the desert environment, yielded nothing but tough meat. Unable to find a national market that paid enough to offset the costs of shipment, ranchers sold them within Mohave County. These men primarily supplied local military bases, Indian schools, mining camps, the railroad, and restaurants. A few enterprising ranchers engaged in vertical integration, becoming their own middlemen by opening slaughter houses and butcher shops. This served to increase profits and facilitate crossbreeding of their stock with shorthorn and Hereford strains.

When the switch to heavier breeds of cattle yielded only a moderate rise in prices, ranchers then resorted to other tactics. First, they bred cattle in the county and shipped them to other states for fattening. Second, they had an option of paying additional fees to graze on public land. But because they had to incur the cost of constructing water tanks and fences, they considered reducing the herd's size. Tragically, the new breeds could not tolerate the conditions of Arizona's desert environment. Moreover, drought and overgrazing threatened the native grasses, allowing mesquite, acacias, creosote, and stag-horn cactus to invade the county.

Because the land and local demand could not support the remaining herds, owners sold them to outside markets. With a national oversupply of cattle, prices dropped from thirty and forty dollars a head to less than ten dollars and the industry floundered.[62]

Despite the unfavorable ranching climate, the territorial auditor's books and tax assessments noted increased counts for sheep, cattle, and horses in the county (See Figures 6 and 7). For one thing, the figures reflected ranching in the Arizona Strip, where drought conditions were not as detrimental. Then too, state assessors provided only estimates of livestock. Even though the numbers were somewhat inaccurate, they reflected part of the dilemma that ranching faced. Other than sheep raising in the northern part of northeastern Arizona, the rest of the local livestock industry was depressed, thanks largely to the Panic of 1893 during which many unemployed Americans could not afford to buy horses or eat beef.

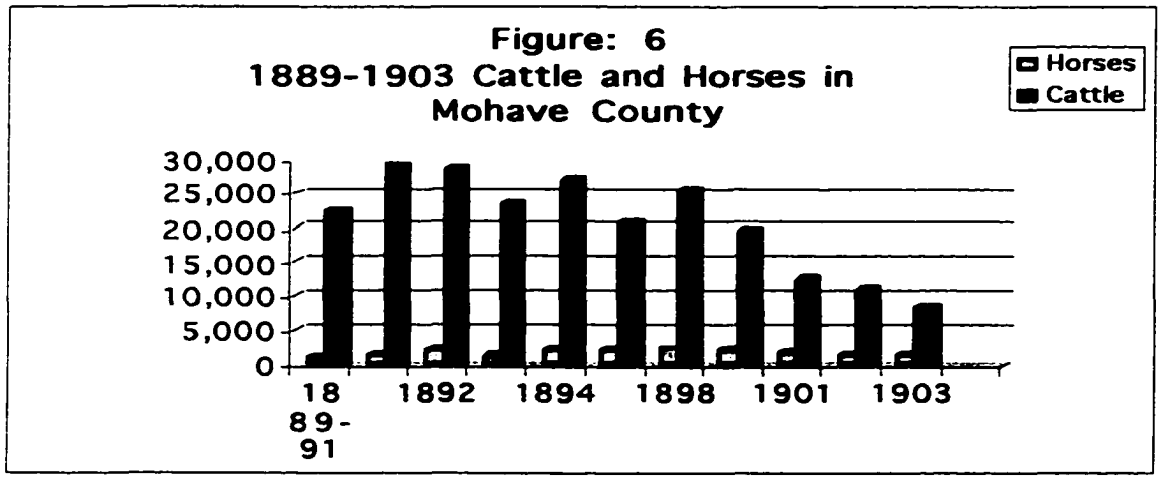
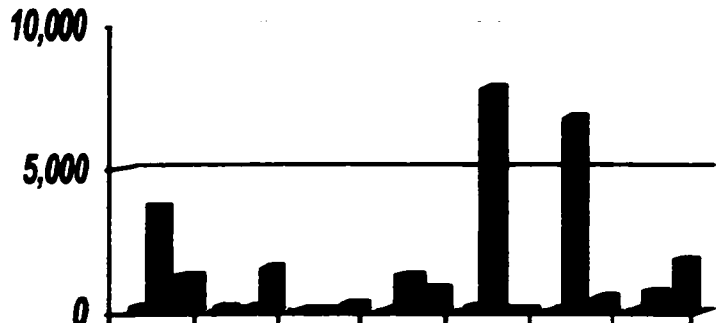


Figure:7
Additional Livestock



	1891	1892	1893	1894	1897	1898	1900
Asses	136	142	94	65	107	88	50
Sheep	3,750	15	0	1,250	7,800	6,800	725
Swine	49	151	103	100	82	87	63
Goats	1,300	1,500	275	900	0	500	1,900

In the hinterland surrounding Kingman, some ranchers chose other options. Several sold their land and left, enabling the more financially secure to buy them out and increase the size of their holdings. This practice circumvented the 1891 General Public Lands Reform Act which had limited the acquisition of public land to just 320 acres per person.[63] Local ranchers became increasingly frustrated, as evidenced by the action taken by pioneer rancher W.F."Bud" Grounds of Hackberry in 1899. Grounds circulated a petition in the county protesting President Chester Arthur's proclamation that set aside the public domain in Mohave County for the use and benefit of the Hualapai. The Miner

endorsed Grounds' efforts, suggesting that the land was worthless as a reservation and better suited for miners and prospectors.[64] While the federal government pushed for even more land conservation, county residents demanded the release of additional public lands and improved grazing rights. Many people felt the government had ignored the economic conditions and interests of northwestern Arizona.[65] This became more obvious to local residents when federal officials acceded to the Hualapai requests to increase the size of their reservation, a move that irritated ranchers. Later actions designed to conserve forage only antagonized the situation.

Ranchers faced additional problems with the railroad, which dramatically increased its shipping rates in the early 1890s. The experiences of Tom Shipp exemplified the rancher's discontent with the rail service. In 1890, Shipp rounded up cattle in the Hualapai Mountains, drove them to Kingman, and shipped them to Kansas City.[66] Because the meat was too tough, it brought a poor price. This factor combined with the Santa Fe's inflated prices decreased profits further. Most ranchers maintained that the high rates created hardships.[67] Eventually, they organized a boycott until the railroad lowered its prices. What finally resolved the situation was the increased demand for meat spawned by the Spanish-American war and the end of the panic. Buyers

from other states came to the county and offered to purchase and ship the livestock. Forced into dealing with middlemen, ranchers barely covered their costs. However, they accepted the solution and shipping resumed.

Gradually, the railroad expanded its operations to accommodate this growth. In 1899, the Miner reported that the Santa Fe transported many carloads of cattle from not only Kingman, but also up the line from Hackberry siding.[68] Since ranching relied on the sale of stock to pay debts and finance the next year's enterprise, the prolonged drought and shipping rates had damaged the cattle trade. After a series of unprofitable years, low-profit ranching was a factor until new railroad connections and infrastructural changes improved its prospects latter in the decade.

Not surprisingly, the depressed status of Mohave County's economy was a favorite topic of its booster press. Anson Smith and Kean St. Charles, who published Kingman's two newspapers, the Miner and Our Mineral Wealth, lobbied their readership throughout the nineties to have one of the papers designated as the town's official publication. Moreover, their spirited competition for readers improved coverage of local, state, and national news. This occurred in the midst of the depression and the national debate over Populist reforms. As Smith and St. Charles increasingly discussed their partisan preferences, politics assumed greater

importance in enacting an agenda that would boost the county's prospects.

As Richard Hofstadter has observed, often the country's minor parties, like the Populist, had a history of supporting special ideas or interests. They functioned not to win or govern, "but to agitate, educate, generate new ideas, and supply the dynamic element in our political life."[69] Mohave's newspapers epitomized Hofstadter's view, as they readily examined the Populist platform and generated considerable activity.

By 1896, Populism had no lack of support in Mohave County. Newspapers helped catalyze the process.[70] St. Charles enthusiastically supported the demand for the remonetization of silver, stressing the plight of miners at White Hills and Chloride as the value of the ore plummeted in favor of gold. White Hills even named a saloon the "Free Coinage."[71] Taking his case to nearby mining districts, St. Charles expounded upon the local effects of the demonetization of silver. Fully cognizant of its impact, many miners relished the attention.[72] But not everyone felt the same way. Since the county also engaged in gold extraction, rival "gold bugs" challenged the Populists, listening attentively to the Republican platform that pushed for the adoption of the gold standard. Although the county remained divided on political issues, Smith and St. Charles continued to rally their readers.

Smith declared the Miner nonpartisan and struck a responsible balance by reporting both Republican and Populist concerns, selectively avoiding the publication of columns that openly attacked federal policies. Concerned about the fate of silver in the county, Smith kept his readers informed about the status of free coinage and its impact on the county's mines. Nevertheless, he questioned silver as a panacea for ending the depression and remained a solid supporter of the White House's agenda for gold. As a Democrat, Smith down played his partisanship to avoid damaging Arizona's crusade for statehood by antagonizing Bryan and the Democrats who controlled many votes in Congress. However, this was not the stance of his fellow Democrat, Kean St. Charles.

In 1892, when the Populist party ran its first presidential candidate, St. Charles had just arrived in Mohave County. Born in Virginia, he grew up among middle class Southerners during Reconstruction. He attended college, but at twenty-one the 1876 Black Hills gold-rush lured him away. While mining, St. Charles supplemented his income by reporting for Deadwood's Daily Pioneer Press.[73] After his Dakota Territory experience, he wandered through the West's mining camps for the next sixteen years. During this period, he also served with the New Mexico Rangers and fought in the Indian wars. But, his real love remained prospecting. In the early 1890s, a local gold boom lured him

to Mohave County at the age of thirty-seven. Soon after his arrival in Kingman, he met a young woman, married her in 1893, and went on to be one of the county's leading citizens.[74]

St. Charles was an outspoken individual best known for his colorful use of language. As a former Southerner turned Westerner, he openly expressed his contempt for strong-arm federal policies and the Republican party's manipulation of the West. Thus, in 1893, he started the newspaper, Our Mineral Wealth, which became his personal sounding board and platform for launching his political career. In particular, the People's Party had captured St. Charles' attention. Finding its doctrine appealing, he actively promoted its causes. His newspaper soon carried the banner, "Populist Our Mineral Wealth" with the subheading: "Only Populist Paper in Arizona."[75] However, when a state rival paper, the Arizona Populist, went into print, St. Charles changed his paper's banner to the party slogan, "Free Coinage...16 To 1."[76] With a character and vocabulary forged in both the Reconstructionist South and mining West, St. Charles was openly critical of the railroad, electric companies, the President, and industrialists, reprinting any Populist article that supported his interests. In 1896, he attended the party's national convention in St. Louis, becoming an ardent supporter of presidential candidate William Jennings Bryan.[77]

Once back in Kingman, the inspired St. Charles decided to run for office in the territorial legislature.

What made St. Charles notorious was his reputation as a political agitator. Typical was his controversial response in 1901 to the assassination of President William McKinley in which St. Charles reprinted an article by United States Senator George L. Wellington of Maryland that clearly expressed no remorse over the President's death.[78] The Kingman correspondent for the Arizona Republican, Henry Ewing, actually sent a telegram to the Phoenix headquarters, charging that St. Charles took pleasure in McKinley's demise.[79] The Republican reacted, printing an article referring to St. Charles as an "anarchistic editor," "pestiferous demagogue," "blatant blatherskite," and a disgrace to Arizona journalism.[80] Moreover, it insinuated that he took bribes while in legislative office and was "a follower of Oscar Wilde," (a homosexual).[81] St. Charles immediately slapped a libel suit against the Republican. It was a dirty trial with newspapers in Kingman and Phoenix exploring every gory detail. St. Charles used his paper to portray himself as a martyr of the Populist cause. Anson Smith responded ambivalently, both chastising St. Charles and defending him as a local citizen confronting considerable odds. In the end, St. Charles prevailed and the Republican hierarchy retreated for the time being.

The notoriety gained from the trial helped fuel his political career. It won him enough support to even elect him to the territorial legislature in 1901 to 1903. Following Arizona's admission to the Union in 1912, he served four more terms in the Arizona Senate.[82] As a Populist turned Progressive, St. Charles supported such issues as women's suffrage, the eight-hour work day, and old age pension laws. He also retained his passion for mining. Ironically, Our Mineral Wealth merged with the Miner in 1918, making St. Charles part of Smith's team.[83]

Thanks to people like Smith and St. Charles, by the end of the nineteenth century Kingman was the political center of Mohave County as well as its commercial hub. The local railroad, board of supervisors, entrepreneurs, and politicians developed the networks necessary to link the subregion with the rest of Arizona and the nation. In addition, the booster press and an increasingly politicized electorate helped create Kingman's reputation as a small, territorial town with large aspirations. But, because of Kingman's location on the periphery of the busy Prescott-Phoenix-Tucson triad, it did not yet receive the recognition it deserved. The boom-bust cycles of mining communities like White Hills along with such episodes as the Kean St. Charles affair, attracted little more than the fleeting interest of Phoenix's press. Yet, local boosters remained convinced of Mohave County's potential. While the national devaluation of

silver temporarily hurt mineral extraction, it encouraged the promotion of the county's other significant minerals: gold, copper, and lead. And, while most ranchers struggled to earn even marginal profits, sheepherding was a bright spot. Ultimately, the Spanish-American War and the end of the Panic of 1893 would boost demand which, in turn, would spur new railroad connections and loosen up bank loans for water tanks, fences, and other infrastructural improvements. By 1900, county residents looked with enthusiasm to the twentieth century as a time to build upon their past accomplishments, and strengthen the county and town's economies.

Endnotes

1. Mohave County Miner, 4 July 1891.

2. Ibid.

3. Estelle Lutnell, "Newspapers and Periodicals of Arizona, 1859-1911," University of Arizona Bulletin No.15, July 1949, 26-27. Anson Smith had sold his interest in the Miner in 1886 and started another called the Walapai Tribune from 1885-1887. In 1891, he repurchased his stock in the Miner.

4. Mohave County Miner, 6 June 1891. "The infant industries of Arizona would grow and thrive at a rapid rate under a state government, and under its fostering care many other beneficial industries would spring up, adding millions of dollars to our assessable property."

5. Mohave County Miner, 4 July 1891.

6. Mohave County Miner, May-July, 1891.
For more on "imaginative geography" and its representations in promotional tracts and colonialist literature, see pages 49-73 in Edward Said, Orientalism (New York: Randon House, 1979). For a more recent, but theoretical view see George L. Henderson, California & the Fictions of Capital (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999).

7. Mohave County Miner, 9 May 1891. Smith editorialized, "It seems too bad to allow millions of acres of land to lay untenanted for the reason of its being unsurveyed. The surveyor general of Arizona should take some steps in this matter, as it concerns the people of the whole territory. Was a survey made the whole railway land grant would becme subject to taxation at a good figure, while at present millions of acres on which private parties have options remain unassessed."

8. Mohave County Miner, 27 June 1891. The newspaper reprinted this from the Flagstaff Democrat, "Our salvation depends upon the admission of Arizona as a state and nothing less...In statehood we see freedom and that is the reason we advocate it. Without statehood the people are in a helpless condition, without a voice as to who their rulers shall be."

9. Mohave County Miner, 4 July 1891.

10. Sanborn Map Company, Insurance Maps of Kingman, Arizona, 1890; 1890 Tax Records, Mohave County. The records noted blacksmith shops, stables, sampling works, hotels, restaurants, laundries, three fraternal orders, three lawyers, three saloons, two barbershops, two newspapers as well as a butcher shop, soda works, drug store, Methodist-Episcopal church, mortician, courthouse, school, railroad station, and over twenty homes.

11. Mohave County Miner, 27 June 1891. This number also also appears on the fire insurance map.

12. "1890 Census for Kingman," 1890 Voter Registration for Mohave County, Vertical Files, Mohave Museum of History and Arts Library.

13. Mohave County Miner, 4 July 1891.

14. Duane A. Smith, "No Risk, No Gain: The Heritage of the Mining West," Death Valley to Deadwood: Kennecott to Cripple Creek (Western Regional Office: National Park Service, 1989), 12.

15. Edward Said, Orientalism (New York: Random House, 1979). An excellent discussioin of how conquering powers regarded native peoples as inferiors can be found in this work.

16. Mohave County Miner, 16 May 1891.

17. Edward H. Spicer, Cycles of Conquest: The Impact of Spain, Mexico, and the United States on the Indians of the Southwest, 1533-1960 (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1992), 272.

18. Ibid.

19. Philip Weeks, The American Indian Experience: 1524 to the Present (Arlington Heights: Forum Press, Inc., 1988), 161-164.

20. Margaret Szasz, Education and the American Indian: The Road to Self-Determination 1928-1973 (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1974), 10.

21. Robert A. Trennert, Jr., The Phoenix Indian School, Forced Assimilation in Arizona, 1891-1935 (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1988), 9.

22. Ibid., 15.

23. Mohave County Miner, 11 December 1897.

24. Flora Gregg Iliff, People of the Blue Water, (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1985), xiv.

25. Mohave County Miner, 23 May 1891.

26. Sharon O'Brien, American Indian Tribal Governments (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1989), 70.

27. Mohave County Miner, 2-30 May 1891; Spicer, Cycles of Conquest, 272-273.

28. Mohave County Miner, 18 July 1891.

29. Weekly Arizona Miner, 25 March 1881.

30. Roger Daniels, Asian America: Chinese and Japanese in the United States Since 1850 (Seattle: University of Washingtn Press, 1988), 18.

31. Ibid., 16-17.

32. Ibid., 16.

33. Mohave County Tax Assessment Roll, 1890.

34. Wong Lum, Interview by Mohave County Historical Society, 22 July 1980, Transcript, Mohave Museum of History and Arts Library, Kingman, Arizona.

35. John Allen Ware, They Wore No Man's Collar (Prescott: Classic Press, 1979), 46.

36. Census: Kingman, 1890, Verticle Files, Mohave County Museum of History and Arts Library, Kingman, Arizona.

37. Mohave County Miner, 9 January 1897.

38. Mohave County Miner, 17 September 1898.

39. Duane A. Smith, Rocky Mountain Boom Town: A History of Durango, Colorado (Niwot: University Press of Colorado, 1992), 12.

40. Ibid., 12.

41. Mohave County Miner, 11 June 1898.

42. Roman Malach, White Hills (Kingman: H & H Printers, 1982), 1.

43. Arizona Republic, 9 December 1892.

44. Ibid.

45. Ware, They Wore No Man's Collar, 1-6.

46. Ibid., 9-10.

47. Ibid., 7.

48. Ibid., 16-17.

49. Ibid., 7-8. "Regarding lights and utilities, I recently read a book written by another...old-time mining engineer...The narratives, furnished by what we call a newcomer to the state, went far afield about White Hills. By his statements we had sewers, street lights, and running water, and electric lights in the houses. What we actually had were ouside toilets for each company house; coal oil lamps, and, for domestic water, two 42-gallon barrels a week to a family of four...Only large cities, in close-in areas, had electric lights at that time. So much for setting the record straight."

50. Ibid., 7.

51. Ibid.

52. Kathleen Underwood, Town Building on the Colorado Frontier (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1987), 24.

53. Malach, White Hills, 15; Mohave County Miner, 5 August 1899.

54. Mohave County Miner, 10 January 1903.

55. With the continued drop in silver prices and the rising cost of living in White Hills, more residents moved away. For example, Ware's father resigned in 1901. Soon afterwards the company closed its doors, leaving only a watchman behind. Some like the Wares moved to Kingman. During World War I, John Ware joined the military. After the end of the war, he entered his father's business and spent the rest of his life in the mercantile trade. By 1907, his former home of White Hills was abandoned except for the occasional prospector or tourist.

56. Mohave County Miner, 21 January 1893.

57. Mohave County Miner, June, 1900.

58. Mohave County Miner, 14 October 1899.

59. Mohave County Miner, 25 May 1901.

60. Mohave County Miner, 17 March 1906.

61. Moreover, national events like the vacillating value of silver continued to impact the county's economy. Furthermore, mining interests shifted to the Gold Road and Oatman districts after 1906. While it existed, it brought Kingman and the Cerbat range closer together. By the thirties, it was no longer cost effective to maintain the route. The Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe closed the line in 1933. However, there were other railroad spurs constructed in the county. In 1904, the Mohave Gold Mining Company of Oatman, Arizona constructed a narrow gauge rail service to link the Leland Mine near Oatman to Milltown's ore processing center and the Colorado River. At completion, the privately funded Mohave and Milltown Railroad ran seventeen miles to the river. The route carried ore to a ferry boat that transported the load to the main rail line at Needles and then beyond. Unfortunately, within a year the cost of constructing the railroad spur exceeded the value of the ore extracted. Unable to continue, the company closed the line in 1905.

62. William S. Collins, Cattle Ranching in Arizona: A Context for Historic Preservation Planning (Phoenix: State Historic Preservation Office, 1996), 26-27.

63. Ibid., 43.

64. Mohave County Miner, 3 June 1899.

65. Ibid.

66. May I Young, "Ups and Downs of Early Cattlemen," Verticle Files, Mohave Museum of History and Arts Library, Kingman, Arizona. This paper represents Young's personal insights into ranching in Mohave County.

67. Mohave County Miner, 10 May 1890.

68. Mohave County Miner, 4 November 1899.

69. Alan Brinkley, Unfinished Nation: A Concise History of the American People (New York: The McGraw-Hill Companies, Inc., 1997), 546-558. Briefly, the Omaha Platform adopted in 1892, endorsed a variety of major reforms, including government ownership of the railroads, long grace periods for mortgage payments, the direct election of United States senators, the Australian ballot, and other measures designed to curb corporate influence and return power to the people. Most Mohave County ranchers and farmers, along with many townsmen supported these ideas. While Kingman's residents split their loyalties between the railroad and hinterland interests, they realized that the railroad would have more local way traffic to haul if these reforms were enacted. Most

importantly, the county as well as the territory supported the most important Populist proposal of all, the unlimited coinage of silver at 16 to 1. This measure, as dramatically emphasized by William Jennings Bryan in 1896, would have ended the demonetization that had put so many Arizona miners out of work and would have jump-started mineral production in Kingman's hinterland.

70. Ibid., 189.

71. Malach, White Hills, 13.

72. Our Mineral Wealth, 2 October 1896.

73. "Kean St. Charles," Who's Who in Arizona (Phoenix: Arizona Survey Publishing Company, 1938-1940), 179.

74. Ibid.

75. Our Mineral Wealth, 15 December 1893.

76. Our Mineral Wealth, 23 August 1895.

77. Ibid.

78. Arizona Republican, 27 September 1901.

79. Henry Ewing, Vertical Files, Mohave Museum of History and Arts Library, Kingman, Arizona. As former Indian agent for the Hualapai, Ewing also served as county assessor, under sheriff, deputy sheriff, and postmaster at Truxton. In 1903, Ewing stood trial for making a profit from his supervision of the Hualapai. Though acquitted the experience broke him; he became mentally ill and lost his sight. He retreated to his mine in Goldroad where he made a pretext of mining. After a mining accident, locals removed Ewing to an asylum near Phoenix where he died. His comments toward St. Charles were perhaps the result of his mental decline.

80. Arizona Republican, 25 September 1901.

81. Mohave County Miner, 26 April 1902.

82. Dan W. Messersmith, History of Mohave County to 1912 (Kingman: H & H Printers, 1991), 200. St. Charles served in Arizona's Twenty-first, Twenty-second, and Twenty-fifth Territorial Legislatures. After Arizona joined the Union, he was elected to the Senate and served in the 6th, 7th, 9th, and 11th State Legislatures.

83. Robert E. Morrow, Mohave County Lawmakers (Kingman: Mohave County Miner, 1968).

CHAPTER 5

URBANIZATION: KINGMAN AND MOHAVE COUNTY - 1900-1930

By the turn of the century, Kingman had changed from a frontier settlement to a thriving urban center. Although the community prided itself as a typical American small town, its desert environment and rough exterior shared little in common with places in the East. Aware of this obstacle, town officials decided that it was time to make improvements. While they concentrated primarily on altering Kingman's image, emerging boom zones throughout the county also commanded their attention. Recognizing that Kingman's development depended on encouraging growth in its feeder communities, the county's board of supervisors and boosters strived for the next thirty years to satisfy the needs of both town and hinterland.

This ensuing period of socio-economic and political change occurred when residents like Kean St. Charles and Anson Smith embraced the new Progressive reform movement spreading across the country.[1] Finding that many of their Populist ideals were embodied in Progressive legislation, the two men actively pursued such concerns as women's suffrage, lower railroad rates, unionizing labor, transportation

networks, urban growth, and the development of natural resources. At the local level, this included Arizona's campaign for statehood. St. Charles served in the territorial legislature from 1901, 1903, and 1909.[2] Assemblyman St.Charles brought these issues forward, while writing fiery editorials in Our Mineral Wealth. Meanwhile, Smith documented their progress and urged local readers to support them. For instance, on the subject of good roads, Smith, under the pseudonym of "town hustler," urged property owners to lobby for more civic construction and promised to solicit additional aid from capitalists to make it happen.[3] He also promoted his other pet projects, including more technological improvements in mineral extraction and a dam for the Colorado River. Both Smith and St. Charles continued to play active roles in the county's economic development.

In its effort to prepare for the challenges posed by growth in the twentieth century, Mohave County had to address several urgent transportation issues, such as upgrading the Santa Fe's tracks and completing the as-yet unfinished Arizona-Utah spur. In addition, new mining properties in the Black Mountains west of Kingman required decent roads to connect them to that town and Needles, California. Third, increased automobiles and truck traffic raised questions abut the ability of the county's transportation network to provide access to all points of activity. As a result, county supervisors increasingly discussed items like speed limits,

auto accidents, bridge building, road construction and maintenance, and money to finance the solutions. Until officials resolved these problems, growth would be limited.

Several events expedited progress on this front. A few resulted from actions taken by the Atlantic and Pacific Railroad that affected northwestern Arizona. In 1897, its directors changed its name formally to the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe (Santa Fe). In the same year, the company relocated its division headquarters from Gallup, New Mexico to Winslow, Arizona, making the latter the only repair center in northern Arizona. By 1916, the division town contained a superintendent, repair crews, engine crews, a twenty-five-stall roundhouse, and a hospital.[4] While still several hundred miles from Kingman, Winslow was a closer source of services and equipment than Gallup. Railroad engineers next surveyed the company's aging rail line. The shortcuts taken during the 1882 construction phase combined with heavy usage and the arid climate had caused the line to deteriorate prematurely. More specifically, the tracks were unballasted, and the wooden ties and bridges were dry and brittle. The situation was dangerous enough that in 1896 the California Limited stopped using the tracks. Faced with the loss of profits and traffic, not to mention the rate of accidents, the Santa Fe's new president, Edward P. Ripley, ordered the immediate replacement of wooden tracks and bridges with metal ones.[5] Although the addition of metal rails and gentler grades

allowed the California Limited to resume its service, major problems soon developed with the bridge spanning the Colorado. In 1899, the company had built a new steel span at nearby Topock, which rerouted rail traffic from Needles. Unfortunately, as the trains became heavier, the bridge began to sag. In response, company engineers in 1910 added a central concrete pier which temporarily resolved the dilemma and enabled rail to resume safely.[6]

The railroad also undertook other improvements that benefited the county after 1900. The Santa Fe initiated a well drilling program at most of its sidings. Since Kingman had an adequate water supply, it did not require further upgrading, although other local sites profited from the project. When the company converted locomotives to oil, both Hackberry and Kingman lost their coal facilities, but gained large tanks for oil storage. However, when it came to additional upgrades, the county obtained little more than promises until the 1920s when the corporation finally double tracked its route across northwestern Arizona. During that phase of construction, the railroad corrected the rails' grade and opened a second line into Kingman on February 12, 1923. Much of the credit for these improvements goes to increased traffic between southern California and the East and to Ripley for his efforts in expanding rail traffic and stimulating further interest in Kingman.[7]

Because of the increased rail traffic, in 1901 Kingman gained a new depot and a Harvey House, enhancing its hospitality, mail order, and shipping business. Accommodations for railroad passengers heading westward were inferior before the construction of Harvey Houses; indeed, opulent travelers had few options for a decent meal or place to spend the night.[8] Eager to exploit this demand, the Santa Fe built a chain of restaurants and hotels run by entrepreneur, Fred Harvey, along its railroad line.

In 1901, Harvey opened a restaurant in Kingman along the north side of the tracks. It was an impressive structure, measuring 111 by 26 feet and featuring a dining room, lunchroom, and second-story dormitory for the waitresses.[9] The building serviced trains twice daily, once for the noon mail train and the other at dinner time. This enterprise immediately benefited the local ranchers who gained another market for their beef in addition to the lucrative one for railroad crews.[10] Both residents and travelers could get a hearty meal in Harvey's dining room for seventy-five cents, which included good service, clean facilities, filtered spring water, ice, and fresh fruit. As word spread, the Harvey House became the focal point of Kingman's social activities, hosting banquets, parties, and Rotary meetings. In time, it became the favorite designation of more sophisticated ranchers, cowboys, miners, socialites, and businessmen.[11]

Because there was a shortage of women in Kingman, the company recruited them out of its Kansas headquarters to serve as waitresses. These "Harvey Girls" resided first above the restaurant and later in boarding houses south of the tracks. Several of the Harvey Girls who came to Kingman later recalled their experiences; these sources provide some valuable insights about the business and life in the town. Katheryne Krause Fergusen, for example, remembered that the young Harvey Girls were socially the "cream of the crop" and often invited to local dances and parties.[12] Although Fergusen later transferred to Harvey's El Garces Hotel in Needles, California, she kept in touch with friends in Kingman.[13]

Another Harvey waitress, Bernice Black McLain of Nebraska, worked in Kingman during the 1920s. Upon arriving, she observed that the town looked primitive. Unaccustomed to the desert, the nineteen-year-old yearned for the Midwest's flowers and grass. After six months, the homesick woman left. But, within three weeks McLain found that she missed the Southwest and begged to come back, remaining with the Harvey chain for a dozen more years before marrying a railroad man and settling in Kingman.[14]

There were others who at first disliked the town only to grow increasingly fond of it. In June 1930, Clara Rebel joined the Kingman establishment. She also disliked the community's appearance, calling it "the jumping-off place of the world."[15] She also noticed that except for the Harvey

House, there was only one other non-Chinese restaurant in town; thus, there was little competition. Though Rebel did not immediately like Kingman, she stayed because the company's western divisions paid well and offered good benefits. For example, after six months, an employee received a one-week vacation, a train ticket to any place along the line, and a meal pass. Though Kingman was "kind of rough" in Rebel's estimation, she said that she most enjoyed serving the town's only fresh cup of coffee to a grateful populace. Over time, she adjusted to her surroundings and began frequenting the community's swimming pool and attending social functions. But three years later when a sharp drop in railroad traffic occasioned by the depression forced the company to temporarily close the restaurant, Rebel left the service, married a local man, and started the Casa Linda Cafe. Like many others, her husband had come to Kingman to mine and improve his chances of surviving tuberculosis. Unfortunately, Kingman's clean air only gave him a few more years. Following his death, Rebel eventually remarried and maintained her proprietorship of the cafe until 1959.[16] But, with the increased use of automobile and rail traffic, the Harvey House prospered, becoming a major focal point for travelers and women, like Fergusen, Mclain, and Rebel.

Along with the Harvey House, local Indian schools provided another nearby market for businesses. These institutions purchased food and supplies from the county's

businessmen, farmers, and ranchers. And these orders only increased after 1900, when the Department of Interior mandated that all Native American children attend such schools.

As noted earlier, the federal government converted Fort Mohave into an Indian training center. This facility, renamed the Herbert Welsh Institute, drew students mainly from the local Mohave tribe. Another school fifty miles northeast of Kingman served the Hualapai. After 1900, both places expanded and received pupils from tribes outside the county, including the Paiute, Chemehuevi, Navajo, Hopi, Pima, and Apache. Though Mohave and Hualapai parents objected to their children leaving home and being exposed to other tribes, they could do little about it. Threatened with incarceration and invasive investigations, most Indian families reluctantly conceded. But while the reservation and Indian school systems cost the indigenous people additional loss of culture and self-esteem, the county benefited from tribal containment.

By 1900, the Herbert Welsh Institute alone counted over 200 students and staff. Because of over-crowding, the government further expanded the old military quarters, building two large dormitories, a bakery, schoolrooms, dining hall, band shell, a superintendents' house and staff accommodations, a water tower, a power plant, barn, and fields for cultivation. By creating a student training program to handle most of the daily maintenance, the

facility's meager staff had the help it needed to operate. The employees maintained order by following a strict schedule of physical and academic education.[17] Because of its model military-style drill team and curriculum, the school attracted visitors from around the nation.

These Indian schools interacted with White groups in the county and served larger capitalist interests by conditioning students for low-paying, low-skilled work in the Arizona's cotton fields, food and ranching industries, and domestic services. Indeed, the staff at the schools took every opportunity for their pupils to associate with residents in surrounding communities. Their military drill teams and bands were often the highlight of celebrations, becoming one of the major features at Kingman's Fourth of July celebrations.[18] As baseball became popular, all of the county schools formed teams and played one another. These events drew large crowds and community approval. Furthermore, the outing program provided opportunities for further Indian-White interaction. At the same time, these schools were also colonialist institutions that acculturated Indian children to Euroamerican society and capitalist needs. For example, the curriculum prepared them for jobs as domestics and field hands event though the national trend for White students was to train them for more specialized trades.[19] These schools reflect the general belief that organization and discipline

through music, athletics, fruitful work was the best solution for Indian acculturation.

Despite inadequate budgets, the dedicated faculty and staff worked to create a positive learning environment in the midst of a desert wilderness. In their diaries and other correspondence that some faculty recorded their experiences, providing a graphic view of the day-to-day struggles behind the successful operation of an Indian school. One teacher in particular, Minnie Braithwaithe of Williamsburg, Virginia, composed a series of letters to her mother that documented her stay at the Herbert Welsh Institute from 1902-1906. Her first note expressed shock at the September heat, barren landscape, and the rugged eleven mile trip from the Needle's train station.[20] Subsequent letters depicted the isolation and the importance of the mail system that kept her in contact with a network of friends and relatives. Using this support system along with mail-order catalogs to buy needed supplies, Braithwaithe spent four years trying to improve her teaching environment. For example, she sent for a tennis net as a part of a plan to beautify the school grounds. Upon its arrival, Braithwaite strung the net from the porch of her quarters to the ground, planted morning-glories for color and shade, and captured the scene with her Kodak camera.[21]

Braithwaite also produced many of the school's social events and more creative lesson plans. One Christmas, for instance, she dressed a Mohave boy as Santa Claus and invited

all the children's relatives to celebrate the holiday. Since parents rarely got to see their offspring, they eagerly attended, welcoming the chance to participate. On another occasion, she had older students saw broom handles in to slices and paint a checker board on cracker barrels. By copying board games, Braithwaite instituted a weekly social hour as a reward for well-disciplined children while also introducing them to Euroamerican popular culture. She carried her creativity into lesson plans, rejecting the prevailing view among the staff that Native Americans had learning challenges. She felt that if an individual could not grasp a concept, the problem was more with the teacher than the student. Thus, Braithwaite designed lessons that appealed to a child's learning style. For example, when told that pupils in her classes could not understand fractions, she had the cook bake fruit pies, divided the pies mathematically into sections, and demonstrated how delicious fractions could be. The students quickly grasped the concept.[22] The methods used by teachers like Braithwaite taught the students important skills like arithmetic, but, at the same time and more insidiously, subtly introduced American culture to the children and their families.

On a larger front, Braithwaite's letters provided additional insights into life along the Lower Colorado River and within Indian schools. Living conditions in Mohave Valley had improved, but the climate was still a challenge.

Whereas residents at the institute lived in structures that had doors and windows, the heat, mud, insects, and dryness were sources of constant complaint. The male pupils especially suffered in the hot summers when they were forced to wear wool uniforms and leather shoes. Arizona's blazing temperatures also resulted in numerous cases of food poisoning from canned goods. Although Indian students cultivated their garden and raised livestock, they also had to rely on some government supplements. And these shipments of canned meat and fruit, due to poor processing, often made everyone ill. Besides food poisoning, influenza, smallpox, and tuberculosis also ravaged the sites just as they did the surrounding White populations. When epidemics occurred, officials sent to Needles or Kingman for a doctor. Like many rural Euroamerican neighbors in northwestern Arizona, there were no local doctors, so they needed to find someone trained in nursing to cope with minor accidents and sickness.

While the Indian schools contributed to northwestern Arizona's development, mining continued to power Mohave County's growth. An article appeared in the July 1904 San Francisco-based Pick and Drill that highlighted the potential value of the region's minerals. Apparently, the county's board of supervisors solicited this study to convince potential investors that technological innovations and transportation improvements made mining a more lucrative venture in Mohave than in many other places. The report emphasized Kingman's role as a jumping-off point for the

area's mines, a validation of the town's growing importance.[23] As the writer C.B. Ellis noted, "Probably no section of the United States had been as much maligned and caricatured as Arizona, nor is there any portion of our country about which people in general have little accurate knowledge."[24]

Ellis also reminded local readers that primitive machinery and weak management had slowed Mohave's past development.[25] He observed that early extraction efforts "took out thousands of dollars, but with that spirit of liberality characteristic of a western miner, spent their money with a lavish hand, and now find themselves without the necessary capital to go deeper, and develop their properties into producing mines."[26] Ellis' solution was that additional capital and better equipment would enable miners to reap greater profits in gold and silver.

To make his point, he cited as an example the Tennessee mine near Chloride. He attributed its relative unproductiveness to the lack of scientific knowledge. Ellis insisted that old and flagging mines like the Tennessee just merely needed capital and machinery to sink deeper shafts, to follow unexploited veins, and better management to locate subsurface water. One by one, he examined the development potential for Chloride, Cerbat, Mineral Park, Todd Basin, Weaver, Minnesota, San Francisco, Maynard, Aubry, Gold Basin, Indian Secret, and other mineral districts. Ellis criticized the pioneer miners who failed to recognize or were not in a

position to fully exploit gold and copper, and instead pursued the more easily extracted silver ores.[27] The optimistic and scholarly tone of the writing was just the endorsement that county boosters wanted.

While the article did not result in a rush of additional capital to Mohave County, Ellis's tract reflected the enthusiasm and determination that characterized its progressive generation. Its members had faith in technology, scientific approaches, and solid management. As Ellis asserted, "There are no longer obstacles or any unfavorable conditions but what the up-to-date, practical and experienced miner can economically overcome, and mining operations can be conducted as economically as anywhere else in the mining West if directed by honest, practical and experienced management."[28] He confidently assured investors that the Mohave County of 1904 no longer contained "walking arsenals," (armed citizens), and that the wild, halcyon days were in the past.[29] He also stressed that the region enjoyed convenient access to the railroad, post offices, telephone, roads, Western Union, churches, Sunday schools, fine public schools, two weekly newspapers, and fraternal orders. In addition, there were now people with skills and expertise from every state in the union represented in northwestern Arizona. Ellis then admonished potential migrants that the rumors of excessive heat and an abundance of reptiles were absurd.[30] The piece was a ringing endorsement of the regions's achievements

and served to direct more out-of-state attention toward the county.

Though former pioneers might have objected to being cast as "uncivilized" and "gun-toting," the progressive tone of the Pick and Drill mirrored the attitude of the county's promoters: a good sales pitch in a widely distributed and respected journal was sound business. By featuring mining as one of its best economic assets, the board of supervisors hoped to encourage more local development. Since this promotion came at a time when the White Hills Mining Company had folded, it was critical to the booster's plan to attract new investors to move Mohave forward.

This effective but occasional approach to promotion pursued by county politicians with help from some area businesses ended in 1904, when these leaders put the job in the hands of the newly-formed Progressive Association, (which changed its name in 1909 to the Chamber of Mines). One of this group's primary aims was to unite the county's mining community. The Miner enthusiastically reported that it was the organization's intent to advertise "our resources to the world, knock the knocker and do everything possible, to interest capital to our latent resources."[31] The Chamber of Mines's actual objective was "to boost the resources of the county, to awaken interest in the resources of the county, [and] to awaken interest in the resources on which the prosperity of the county depends--mining and agriculture."[32]

Together, the newspaper and the Chamber actively promoted the hinterland's development. The town of Kingman became more important in this effort, as its leading businessmen helped create a network of mine owners and operating companies to collect and distribute mining data. From this time on, the town dominated the flow of news and information regarding mineral extraction in northwestern Arizona. The Miner also assumed greater responsibility to its readers and developed a more professional approach. Its new format presented a modern, twentieth century image by compressing coverage of less important personal news and allowing more space for mining.

This reform came just in time, because events quickly fulfilled the expectations raised by C. B. Ellis. On May 14, 1900 a major gold discovery suddenly revived the old San Francisco Mining District. The story began with Jose Jerez, a former captain in the Mexican Army and political fugitive. Earlier in the month, Jerez had received a grub-stake in Kingman from storeowner Henry Lovin and headed for the Black Mountains to search for gold. As local folklore has it, Jerez lost track of his burro. Then, while searching for it, he stopped for water and literally sat on a large vein of gold. The prospector rushed samples back to Lovin, who assayed the ore at an astounding forty ounces of gold per ton. Without delay, Lovin and Jerez revisited the site and staked out several claims.[33] At that point, the newspaper

reported, Lovin immediately optioned their holdings to Joseph Burkhart & Sons for $50,000. Even though Jerez received half the profits, he squandered the money and later committed suicide, but Lovin invested his profit in a branch store in one of the county's new mining settlements and continued to thrive.[34]

But in the twentieth century corporate mining was the key to the industry's future in Arizona and elsewhere. Unlike the hardy sourdoughs like Jerez, only corporations had access to large pools of capital that could finance major operations. Not until the district came under the control of the United States Smelting, Refining and Mining Company did the mines prosper. This firm quickly sank shafts 500 to 800 feet deep, erected a mill, and processed several thousand tons of ore, removing an estimated $7,000,000 in gold.[35] As word spread of the old district's treasure, miners rushed to the Black Mountains, sparking an immediate boom that lasted for several years.

After the initial extraction efforts nearby Gold Road Mining and Exploration Company secured another 210 acres that encompassed at least twelve more claims. Its main focus was the Goldroad vein that occupied an east-west course of 4,500 feet.[36] At this point, the investment of capital, equipment, and energy enabled the firm to discover a zigzag pattern of underground tunnels of more than 3,500 feet in length. Fortunately, the earth was so hard that the mines required little timber to support the tunnels. Moreover, Gold Road

executives quickly invested in the latest technology: a 126 horsepower Ingersol-Sargeant Air Compressor, a specialized mill for regrinding the ore missed by larger meshes, hoisting works, another mill powered by engines, a 500 watt, 16-candle power electric lighting plant, and a cyanide mill.[37] Transportation also improved productivity. Thanks to the boom, a daily stage line soon serviced the site, connecting it to Kingman and, subsequently, by rail to company headquarters in Los Angeles.[38] With the additional installation of telephone and electrical service, the Pacific Coast company more effectively monitored its mining properties than it could have in the nineteenth century. Indeed, the successful use of technology and capital in what became the town of Goldroad, along with the county's transportation and communication infrastructure, reinforced the predictions of boosters that Mohave had a significant mining future.

While mineral extraction flourished, the county benefited enormously because it stimulated other exploration, increased government revenue, and boosted the entire economy. The mining camp of Goldroad was a good example of a twentieth century boomtown. While temporarily referred to as Acme, it was officially renamed "Goldroad" in 1906. As mining increased, a narrow wagon road sliced through the mountains, connecting the site with Kingman on the east and Needles on the west. Since prospectors in the Black Mountains

established many of their camps on uneven terrain, Goldroad began as a tent community and gradually incorporated semi-permanent structures. Because the sourdoughs used a combination of canvas, wood, and stone, with little or no planning, the settlement developed in a haphazard fashion. At one point, Goldroad had a variety of businesses, including an ice cream parlor, tennis court, dance hall, general store, post office, swimming pool, and saloons.[39] By mixing such entertainment facilities as a swimming pool and tennis courts with essential businesses, Goldroad exemplified the diverse look of a modern mining community that catered to the needs of families as well as single men.

Additional strikes after 1901 created the neighboring community of Oatman in 1909, named after a family of emigrants massacred in the territory in 1851.[40] Actually, prospectors had worked the site intermittently since 1863.[41] But like Goldroad, Oatman benefited from improvements in transportation and communication, attracting even more emigrants and services. Another nearby mining camp, Snowball, attracted enough population to boast its own Chinese restaurant and even a local union as well as two saloons and a small group of families.[42] As profitable mining operations increased within the district, prospectors and engineers rushed to reexamine the mineral potential of the remainder of the Black Mountains, causing a considerable flow of labor and capital into the area. Southwest of Snowball,

Vivian appeared after 1903 and quickly secured from such amenities as a post office, stores, and saloons. In the same area, the Leland Lode, first explored in the 1860s, grew from one to eight promising claims by 1910.

The Leland group, like many others in the county, changed hands several times before large-scale production took place. Since promoters often brought in equipment and sponsored exploratory work to demonstrate the mine's value, they quickly attracted investors and miners. However, because the investment process occurred before the actual extraction of ore, it sometimes created an excitement that fostered a boom atmosphere. As gold fever gripped new emigrants, some foolishly invested heavily in claims only to have them later yield low profits. This was the case at the Leland Mine where a company even went to the expense of building a connecting railroad, the Mohave-Milltown line. The company spent so much money on infrastructure that mineral production never covered the costs. Between 1900 and 1910, other firms also spent a fortune on infrastructures only to confront problems with ground water and spiralling costs.[43] The growing reliance on technology and science increasingly consumed more time and money than actual profits. Nevertheless, the Goldroad boom was the key to re-opening the San Francisco District to mining to development.

Mohave County's next significant boom took place in 1909. With increased interest in the Goldroad mining group,

solitary prospectors worked surface placers until they found that veins ran deeper into the earth, requiring the use of modern science and expensive technology. As assays confirmed the ore's value, word spread quickly and dozens of hardrock miners and investors converged on the county from elsewhere in the Southwest. Most of the capital for the district after 1900 came from southern California, a clear manifestation of Los Angeles's growing importance as a capitalist center in the region and of the importance of direct railroad connections with that burgeoning metropolis. When favorable strikes at the Tom Reed and United Eastern mines provided stockholders with significant profits, another wave of emigrants rushed in to offer needed goods and services.[44]

Because most miners lived on their claims in accordance with the 1872 Mining Law, they had the opportunity to improve the site and secure ownership. However, the sheer volume of emigrants created problems because many chose to live on public land without benefit of federal recognition. Aware of their predicament, they petitioned the national government for new home sites. But, citing the terms of the Small Tract Act, the federal officials refused to sell or lease public land. Impatient with this intractable policy and faced with increasing shortages of available land, local businessmen patented and unpatented locations alike began subdivisions without waiting for official decrees. Because most attempts failed to adhere to the government's stipulations for

improving the land, officials rejected many applications for townsites. Although citizens appealed to the county, the board of supervisors, with their traditionally small tax base and lack of funds, found it difficult to cope with the demands created by this sudden explosive growth. And the crisis continued until the onset of the World War I when most of the county's mines suspended operations and the population temporarily declined.[45] The boom-bust nature of mining together with Arizona's traditional dislike for taxes, prevented the county government from adequately funding roads, health facilities, and other vital services.

Besides the problems generated by residential land shortages, the mining boom forced residents to crowd homes, businesses, and services onto any available space. This was the case at the claims near Oatman, Mazona, Oldtrails, and elsewhere. Mazona, for example, developed in 1915 alongside a good wagon road and soon attracted saloons, stores, homes, and a gas station. Unfortunately, a fire at the auto service depot destroyed most of the business district in 1918. Only the brothels and a few homes survived.[46] Once peace in Europe reduced demand for gold and silver and the local mines began to close, Mazona never had the funds to rebuild. Instead, residents moved to the neighboring communities of Old Trails and Oatman. Old Trails grew even larger than Mazona and included a bakery, bottling works, hospital, assay office, school, stores, and homes. In short order, more families

came, taking up all available plots and creating a demand for even more houses, goods, and services, which, once again, overwhelmed county coffers.

Of all the sites mentioned, only Oatman survived the initial boom period because the settlement possessed abundant water, a slightly milder climate, and a central location on the main east-west roadway. Located at an altitude of 3000 feet, Oatman by 1915 already had twenty-five businesses and professionals plus a core population of at least 150 people. The town's promoters boasted that it had a Mormon temple, a barber, eleven mining companies, two assayers, an automobile dealer, and branch stores from Kingman, including Lovin & Withers and the Arizona Stores Company.[47] The presence of the Mormon temple along with Arizona's temperance legislation in 1914, perhaps led to the residents' preference for the cigars, billiards, and soft drinks so often advertised in the Miner. Despite its apparently conservative culture, local men could always frequent the vice centers just down the road in the "red-light district" near Mazona and Old Trails.

Emigrants preferred Oatman because of its quiet atmosphere, climate and service industry. And, as more of them came, there was soon enough children to support a school. Although most families resided in tents, the town constructed a frame building for the pupils. Enrollment, however, fluctuated wildly because the boom-bust nature of mining created a lot of false expectations and declining

incomes, which resulted in considerable movement by working adults. Young, unmarried teachers could not afford to take a job that often terminated when enrollment decreased. But the boom periods often offset these concerns and during these times the school was the educational and social center for the teachers as well as the immediate area.

Oatman endured due to its location on the only improved east-west county road and because the extraction industry continually drew speculators and capital. By 1920, the town contained over seventy-two businesses, professionals, organizations, and a Catholic church.[48] It also possessed hotels, banks, mining companies, stores, a newspaper, telephones, restaurants, movie house, a stock broker, and a society called the Ocotillo Club.

Just as prosperity and growth drew Oatman closer to the county's business and transportation center of Kingman, so did hardship. One incident in particular underscored the relationship between Oatman and Kingman when both fought the influenza epidemic of 1918. The disease struck northern Arizona hard in November and December of that year. The Miner reported that by November 23 over 373 cases had been diagnosed in Oatman alone. Since altitude and cold worsened flu symptoms, both towns were potential candidates for disaster. For some reason, Oatman experienced the brunt of the epidemic. Twenty-five of its residents died in twenty-one days.[49] Later statistics indicated that the town fared

better than officials had feared; though 47 percent of the people contracted the flu, only 7 percent died of it.[50] Fortunately, the quick reaction by county officials, closing schools and other public places, prevented further loss of life. Health administrators in Kingman prepared by designating St. Mary's Catholic Church and the high school's second floor as confinement centers. When the epidemic finally hit Kingman on October 19, the newly appointed Superintendent of Health, Mrs. O. E. Walker, declared an immediate quarantine of the community, established a spraying station downtown, and mandated that every citizen have their nose and throat sprayed daily.[51] Her swift reaction saved Kingman from greater loss, though it did little to cut mortality in more remote places like Oatman.

Despite these precautions, people died throughout the county of the disease or its complications, which included pneumonia, ear infections, meningitis, and toxemia. Owing to the lack of medications to fight the outbreak, newspapers advised readers: "Cover up each cough and sneeze, if you don't you'll spread disease."[52] The Miner reported a certain amount of hysteria. The sheriff even jailed one sufferer to protect him from committing suicide. In Oatman, an unlicensed doctor turned miner was even pressed into practice when the local physician collapsed. The former successfully treated patients by giving them strong laxatives every twelve hours. Luckily, by continually flushing their digestive

systems of toxins, all of the victims survived.[53] Others in more remote camps were less fortunate. As the Christmas holidays approached, residents remained apprehensive, fearing another outbreak.

But, whether a miracle or not, by December 21, 1918 the flu outbreak diminished. This was because it persisted in the nation as a whole and by spring 1919 more than 550,000 perished in the United States alone.[54] Unlike other places in the country, the killer virus did not reoccur in northwestern Arizona. With the crisis over, Kingman's theater, bars, and pool halls reopened Christmas Eve and children returned to school by New Year's Eve.[55] Thanks to the efforts of Walker and other vigilant people, serious loss of life only occurred in Oatman.

The 1918 epidemic raised issues that, as early as 1883, the supervisors of Mineral Park had recognized as important: the need for a modern county hospital, a plan for combating homelessness, and the treatment of infectious diseases. Mohave's health care facilities were primitive at best. For example, Kingman's first hospital was at the Locust Rooming House. It contained a small surgery and few amenities; patients roomed out or stayed in private homes. In 1912, the State of Arizona supplemented the town's offerings by establishing the Florence Crittenden Home to assist destitute, homeless, or depraved women and female children. Later, the Greystone Inn served as a clinic along with a

small county hospital.[56] It only provided minimal care, however, and even lacked plumbing and sanitation. This institution and the adjacent high school shared the same open sewer trench, which emptied effluent onto the surface without any containment. Through lack of oversight, the spot was filthy and posed a further health hazard. It took the flu crisis to gain widespread public support for funding better health care facilities.

In 1920, the epidemic prompted county voters by a margin of 4 to 1 (297 to 90) to approve funding for a modern medical facility. The proposed hospital also meant that patients would be cared for within the county, thereby eliminating expensive trips to the Pacific Coast. After two years of construction, the new county hospital opened in 1922. With 26 beds, an operating room, sterilizing rooms, waiting rooms, x-ray, sleeping quarters for help, a basement dining room, cold storage, superintendent quarters, good plumbing, a boiler, a doctor and nurses, the facility represented a major improvement.[57] But in keeping with the area's traditional opposition to high taxes, spending cuts had to come from somewhere, and welfare recipients paid the price. Indeed, the county poor farm lost most of its land to the new hospital. Located behind the Mohave County Court House, it had originally consisted of a superintendent's residence, a main hall, kitchen, and three rows of thirteen cabins.[58] With a hospital sharing its site and the economy improving,

supervisors reasoned that the poor farm was no longer needed. However, before they formally closed it, the Depression hit. Faced with few alternatives for its indigent population, the county continued operating the facility throughout the 1930s and into the 1940s.[59]

The growth generated by mining and urban development after 1900 extended throughout the county. Because the region lacked a substantial enough population to support basic services like electricity, earlier utility construction had bypassed this market. But after 1905, Kingman in particular became a target for power interests from southern California that specialized in utility development. In 1906, the Los Angeles Desert Power and Water Company convinced the Mohave County Board of Supervisors that the railhead and surrounding settlements would benefit from a powerhouse. The proposed plant would provide power, lights, and water for the town and hinterland communities within a forty-five-mile radius. The firm also explained that the mining sites would profit, cutting their fuel costs in half.[60] Furthermore, the company proposed that it could install electric hoists for even small operations with only a minimal monthly rental fee. The sales pitch was effective and county leaders quickly agreed.

In order to maintain its image as a developing, vital socioeconomic center, Kingman endorsed the power plant as a progressive initiative for both the town and the county.

Local constituents needed no convincing. The county supervisors granted a charter to the company on May 15, 1906 and the firm broke ground the next year.[61] Designed and built by the Tracy Engineering Company of Los Angeles, the power plant took just two years to complete. Since the facility lay close to the tracks, the Santa Fe railroad built a spur to the site to expedite the delivery of material and equipment. Finally, in July 1909, the workers laid utility poles along Fourth Street and westward into the Black Mountains. Within weeks this new system generated electricity for Kingman and Goldroad, instantly cutting costs by replacing expensive gasoline and steam plants.[62]

The introduction of utilities was an another important step toward the boosters' dream of modernizing Kingman. Being a peripheral center, however, Kingman continued to owe much of its development to external investment. Because of this reliance on outside capital, the town and hinterland were also exposed to the whims of corporate mergers and restructuring. For example, the Los Angeles-based Desert Power and Water Plant soon sold its local operation to the W. B. Foshey Company of Minneapolis who in turn conveyed it to Citizens Utilities of Delaware. Despite these shifts in ownership, operations proceeded smoothly. J. E. Perry was the first in Kingman to receive electric-powered lighting, and following his subscription, the obvious advantages of electricity and indoor plumbing quickly attracted more

customers. As demand increased, the plant received additional upgrades in 1927 and 1935 to keep pace with technological advances.

While external capital, utilities and mineral companies helped the county progress, everyone recognized that statehood was the key not only to stronger corporate regulation but to economic growth as well. Achieving statehood was critical for the territory and its counties, because only by having voting representatives on both floors of Congress could Arizona effectively lobby for highways, reclamation, and other federal funding vital to development. As early as 1891, Anson Smith had argued for statehood in the Miner. According to him, it would increase taxable property, secure artisan wells, and build water storage reservoirs. In addition, he contended that Arizona needed the autonomy to pass its own laws without constant federal oversight or as he put it, the "chaperonage of Uncle Sam."[63] In the 1890s, the territorial government had dispatched a Maricopa politician, Marcus Smith, to Congress to propose a statehood bill. Although it passed the House of Representatives in 1892 and again in 1893, the Senate killed it each time. Arizona's newspapers surmised that many eastern Republicans still considered the territory to be an uncivilized frontier, where Hispanics almost outnumbered Anglos, and they also feared that the admission of both Arizona and New Mexico would add more Democrats to the Senate. Statehood also would have

given Populist interests two more senators to support remonetization, a fact which, according to the Miner, also damaged Arizona's chances. Indeed, the federal government's attitude only changed after 1906 when the Southwest's mineral resources, especially gold, were more accessible and in demand.[64]

Finally, in 1911, with the support of President Theodore Roosevelt, whose Rough Riders in Cuba had counted many Arizona volunteers in their ranks, the Republicans in Congress proposed a joint-statehood or super state plan, which would combine Arizona and New Mexico. Arizonans found the concept odious, resulting in the unification of its Democrats and Republicans in opposition. For one thing, the proposition violated the conditions of the 1863 Organic Act that promised separate statehood for each territory. In 1906, the Foraker Amendment resolved the debate by giving citizens of the two territories the chance to decide the issue. While Arizona voted 16,265 to 3,141 against the idea, it passed in New Mexico.[65] Voters in Mohave County also defeated joint-state 417 to 92.[66] Unable to resolve the problem, Arizona's politicians spent the next four years lobbying even harder in Washington for separate status. Thus, on June 20, 1910 President William Howard Taft signed the Enabling Act or Arizona statehood bill, which allowed officials to draft a constitution.[67] In October, the constitutional convention wrote a progressive document

embodying the recall, initiative, and other reforms championed by Wisconsin Governor Robert LaFollette. Arizona became the 48th state on February 14th, 1912.[68]

The fight for Statehood united the Democrats, Republicans, and Socialists who supported progressive principles.[69] In Mohave, the newspapers rejoiced and challenged their new Congressional delegation to prove that Arizona was a worthy addition to the Union. In Kingman forty-eight heavy charges of dynamite celebrated Arizona's new status. At the Elks Opera House, dignitaries made speeches and children sang patriotic songs. In a Main Street parade young Andy Devine, who latter became a Hollywood and television sidekick to Wild Bill Hickock, as well as serving as mayor of Van Nuys for more than twenty years--and whose father incidentally managed the Beale Hotel, proudly carried an American Flag displaying a handmade star denoting Arizona.[70] The fact that Valentine's Day and Arizona shared the same date delighted residents, who considered their admission a marriage made in heaven.[71]

Statehood, though quite independent of the development process transforming Mohave County, nevertheless gave it added momentum. But even before the climactic events of 1910, boosters, businessmen, and capitalists continued their efforts to exploit the resources of the Cerbat Range. While most investors concentrated on the mining properties associated with Goldroad, operations also continued in the

mountains around Kingman. The Sacramento (Cerbat Range) and Hualapai mining districts maintained ore production, but at a less spectacular pace than at Goldroad. This phase of mineral extraction along with the construction of the Arizona-Utah Railroad stimulated growth in the old mining town of Chloride. The line was privately funded in 1899 by Denver capitalists who hoped to increase profits from their mining investments in the Cerbats. It connected Chloride to the Santa Fe at McConnico Mine which was the main switching yard for Kingman at that time. As many railroads hand done in the past, this private company charged higher rates to serve the Sacramento District, which drew local protests and boycotts. In 1906, the Western Arizona Railroad, a subsidiary of the Santa Fe, purchased the railway, stabilized the transportation costs, and ran it until 1933.[72] With cheaper rates and better service, mines with high and low grade ores like the Golconda, Keystone, and Tennessee now increased production and still made a profit.

Dependent upon the mining industry, Chloride prospered again after 1900. The Miner reported that there were "132 mining claims, patented and unpatented, within a circle of a little over two miles of the Chloride postoffice."[73] The mining camp had its beginnings in 1863. Because of conflicts with the Hualapai, miners temporarily abandoned it until 1870. At that time, Chloride was formally established as a town and named after the type of silver found in the

surrounding area. Because of fluctuations in the market place for silver after 1870, the town experienced marginal growth until the railroad spur connecting it to Kingman made it possible to ship ores from the Cerbats reasonably. During this new boom period, Chloride became a city on March 8, 1900. It had been the first town in the county to incorporate and establish a city government. The irony was that Chloride petitioned for incorporation because voters thought it would help promote the patenting of local mines. But, when the county board of supervisors quickly acceded to their request, residents had to act immediately and elect a mayor, five councilmen, city clerk, treasurer, marshal, tax collector, and other officials. However, because the tax base was so small, citizens had to modify their government. A few men assumed most of the civic roles, and for low pay. The justice of the peace, for example, was also the city recorder, while the marshal collected taxes. Some businessmen must have thought twice about their support for a city, once the proactive council immediately passed a blizzard of ordinances, including several bothersome ones requiring all businesses and occupations to secure a license. Just a month after celebrating incorporation, the same citizens met and threatened the council with disincorporation if the over-regulation did not cease.[74] In response, the contrite council curbed its legislative zeal, and Chloride remained a city until 1916.

By the turn of the century, Kingman and Chloride were the major settlements of the Cerbat-Hualapai mountain ranges, containing over 62 percent of the county's 592 registered voters. Chloride's population even increased enough to support a commercial district along its main thoroughfare, Tennessee Street. The same year, the town's newspaper (The Arrow) boasted that it had sixty-two "scholars" enrolled in its school, a clear indicator to potential migrants that Chloride was a family town not a raucous mining camp.[75] Furthermore, its Chinese population also contributed to its needs, offering restaurant and laundry services plus several rental cabins. The city even attracted telephone and electric service along with stage lines and a railroad depot. These improvements in transportation and communication provided greater mobility for residents and easier access for traveling professionals, doctors, lawyers, dentists, and judges who occasionally arrived to serve the community. Chloride also counted its share of fraternal organizations, including the Knights of Pythias and Rebekahs as well as a local union that served as centers for social interaction for the inhabitants. As isolated as it was in the nineteenth century and with only basic community services, Chloride nevertheless attracted additional emigrants and speculators, becoming another vibrant center of civic and mining activity in the county after 1900.

Of course, the automobile helped facilitate the patterns of interaction within Mohave County, particularly for places like Chloride and Goldroad.[76] As the primitive assembly lines of Henry Ford and Ransome Olds rolled off an increasing number of low priced automobiles, this new technology gave everyone in the hinterland an alternative to stage coaches, horses, burros, and the railroad. Yet, both stages and freighting remained viable into the 1920s until the county built enough highways and attracted enough service stations. But Arizonans like Nevadans quickly embraced the car. Even before states and counties used federal funding from the federal highway acts of 1916 (which provided 50-50 matching funds with the state) and 1921 (in which the matching formula was 84-16 for states where public land exceeded 5 percent of the state's total) and the Oddie-Colton Highway Act of 1927 (in which federal government agreed to pay 100 percent of highway costs across federal lands and Indian reservations) to build roads, southwesterners used autos to drive across the desert to obtain supplies, visit town, and convey potential investors to their mining claim for a quick look-see. The hard caliche that characterized Arizona's desert, along with the lack of rain, and the wooden-faced wheels (rubber tires did not appear until about World War I) effectively converted most early cars and trucks into all-terrain vehicles, perfect for traversing the rough desert country of Mohave County.[77]

It was no wonder then that Kingman, Chloride, and Mohave County residents did not take long to adopt cars. Kingman's businessmen quickly addressed the city's lack of service stations by endorsing a delivery wagon system for gas. As car ownership increasingly became the norm it pressured county officials to fund road improvements. They had help from the newly formed Arizona Good Roads Association, which mapped all passable routes. The officials' agenda was to construct thoroughfares that satisfied the county residents and attracted both tourism and trucking. This required extensive negotiations over planning with adjacent counties in other states. Thus, in a meeting with representatives from Needles, Anson Smith proposed a joint effort between Mohave and San Bernardino counties to promote a paved highway that connected them with the coast. This joint agreement enabled a delegation from both states to lobby Congress more effectively.[78] As negotiations continued, consumer demand for automobiles generated several new businesses. By 1916, local Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps revealed several auto barns, service stations, and car sales within Kingman and Goldroad.[79] With its efforts to construct a network of paved roads, Mohave County joined the rest of the nation in its ringing endorsement of the automobile.

The major result of the collaboration between Kingman and Needles was construction of the National Old Trails Highway, which symbolized the national trend for improved

roads and served as a prototype for fabled U.S. Route 66.[80] As ranchers and miners increasingly utilized trucks to transport livestock, crops, and ore, some farmers and Progressive reformers observed that their new means of transportation gave them an alternative with which to challenge the railroad's traditional rate-gouging and its monopoly on shipping. On another front, Progressives fought for passage of the Federal Aid Road Act of 1916 mentioned above, which not only challenged railroad's dominance of hinterland transportation, it also allowed federal oversight for road construction, allowing state and local politicians to determine their primary routes.[81] While this stimulated interest in road construction and in many places created heated intra and intercolonial struggles over highway politics, peace prevailed in northwestern Arizona because Phoenix and Tucson controlled the early budgets. As a result, Mohave County saw little progress, and motorists continually complained that trails were rough and unmarked. Clearly, the area needed a counterpart to the Old Trails road.

As the only year-round surfaced route that tied Chicago to Los Angeles, Route 66 helped create the metropolitan West by linking small towns like Kingman to capitalist cores on both coasts. Begun in 1922 and completed by 1928, the highway took travelers through Valentine, Hackberry, Peach Springs, Truxton, Kingman, Oatman, Needles, and smaller

places which only energized the county's economy. This ribbon of concrete winding through the arid terrain became the vital socioeconomic link the county needed to the nation, giving northwestern Arizona an alternative to the railroad and access by car/truck from Chicago to Los Angeles and points in between.

Moving westward from Chicago, the highway helped revitalize towns along its path by creating a demand for roadside services which resulted in new jobs outside the usual sectors of mining, ranching, and railroading.[82] In Mohave County, for instance, hotels, restaurants, service stations, and a lively tourist trade bordered its route, helping the local economy. Furthermore, the county board of supervisors benefited, gaining supplemental income for improvements and maintenance from the newly-created state gasoline tax. In assessing the situation, the Arizona Good Roads Association reminded citizens that they had achieved all their goals "without calling on the people of the state for one dollar."[83] Route 66 literally catalyzed Mohave County's economic development.

While a major interregional highway running through Mohave County was certainly helpful, Kingman's boosters in the 1920s, anxious to diversify the town's access even further, proposed building an airport. Their initial justification for this project was the Santa Fe's recent contract with the Pennsylvania Railroad's Curtis and Wright

companies for passenger planes. With this in mind, county officials reasoned that the flight path for these and other aircraft to and from southern California would take them over northern Arizona, making Kingman an ideal spot for refueling and refreshment. Momentum only intensified after Charles Lindbergh's visit to Kingman in July 1928 in search of airport locations for his Transcontinental Air Transport Company. To the delight of boosters, he selected a site northeast of town for the airfield. They had been right. Kingman had level ground, favorable air currents, and no obstructions to year-round operations.[84]

Within the year, construction started on a runway and control tower complex complete with the latest radio equipment, a 36,000,000 candle power light, refueling truck, and an " aero car" for passenger transport. Townsmen marveled at the project's rapid progress and welcomed its first airline on May 17, 1929, the day the new facility opened. Hours later, the first plane from Los Angeles arrived, taking only two hours and fifteen minutes. Later that year, Western Air initiated daily service from Los Angeles and Albuquerque. Elated, Kingman's boosters formally dedicated the airport on June 29, 1929 with Lindbergh and his wife as honored guests. In covering the occasion the Miner declared that, "The importance of this advent of scheduled air traffic for the people of northern Arizona and New Mexico is only partially realized."[85] To pioneers like Smith,

airports, highways, electricity, and telephones tied his county to the outside world, which meant improved access to sources of capital and enhanced opportunities for growth. In time, transportation and communication drew greater attention to the county, validating his predictions. Conscious of its new image, Kingman's boosters pushed a beautification campaign. The Miner advised residents to plant more trees and flowers.

While the construction of the powerhouse, Route 66, and airport were a source of community pride and progress, the primitive appearance of their town and the lingering frontier legacy of gambling and prostitution were becoming an embarrassment. Though their traditional clientele were miners and cowboys, the highway, railroad station, and airport represented new sources of revenue from people who might retreat from investing or living in an environment that they considered too primitive.

In Kingman, as in most communities in Mohave County, prostitution flourished at the edge of town. As mentioned early, the "ladies" had operated for years out of the "Rabbit Patch," which had moved from its former location near the tracks to a site northwest of downtown. A variety of characters ran the industry. One of the area's more colorful madames in 1900 was Josie "Black Jack" Harcourt. Black Jack had originally accompanied her husband to Mineral Park in the 1870s. She later separated from him and supported herself as a prostitute and gambler, plying her trade in mining camps

across the Southwest before settling as a madame in Kingman in 1887. Black Jack and other colorful operators in town hardly fit the vision of the thriving industrial city that Kingman's promoters dreamed of. But the brothels continued to thrive until 1941 fed by the traffic of the rails and highway and by Kingman's failure to significantly diversify its economy. Not until the arrival of a nearby army base did Kingman's officials finally close down these house, lest the army declare the town "off-limits" to thousands of servicemen.[86]

While transportation innovations and the debate over prostitution drew the community closer together, it was World War I that really united its citizens. Filled with the war spirit, 1,496 residents joined the Red Cross.[87] They donated blood, participated in scrap drives, knitted sweaters and socks for soldiers. At the same time, local merchants curtailed deliveries of groceries to save on gas. When the governor of Arizona decided to donate bootlegged alcohol to the Red Cross, Mohave County contributed generously to that effort with captured caches of their own, impounded from area stills.[88] Furthermore, when trainloads of troops stopped in Kingman, the townspeople provided them with sandwiches and serenaded them with band music.

Several residents made special contributions to the cause. Super-patriot Roy Fridley often greeted the soldiers with dynamite blasts on a hill south of town.[89] Fridley also

won recognition in 1918 from the United States' and English governments for inventing a technique to counteract poisonous gases on the battle fields. He had originally studied the problem of lead poisoning and noxious gases from silver/lead ores to reduce illness and mortality among miners. In his research, Fridley discovered that a sponge dipped in soda and worn over the nose and mouth prevented asphyxiation from sulfuric and arsenic gases in the deep shafts.[90] He sent the British ambassador the results of his research and three years later the United State's War Department acknowledged his contribution.[91]

The county contributed in other ways to the war, patiently bearing with shortages of vital supplies that the American Railway Association diverted to the military. Unlike other western places, western Arizona suffered a mining decline during the war. Despite the national demand for copper, tungsten, silver, and gold, mining around Kingman soon slowed because there was a shortage of labor, supplies, and railroad cars. Some companies reduced production and stock-piled the ore for the future. Most people took this turn of events in stride, considering it their duty to assist the war effort in whatever way they could.[92] In Chloride, despite rising unemployment, the Miner's Union proudly flew the largest flag in Arizona to demonstrate their support for the Mohave's 372 men in uniform.[93] Ranchers did their part by raising more steers to feed the soldiers at the front.

Because of the improvements in roads and vehicles, this industry no longer relied on railroads for moving its product to market. At the same time, the ranchers' access to trucks and telephones meant more efficient connections to Hackberry and Kingman which diminished their isolation. Grazing remained a lucrative business until droughts and depression in the late 1920s and 1930s finally curtailed its growth.

Thanks to the war, Mohave's relationship with California continued expanding. After 1882, the railroad link with the Pacific Coast, facilitated the transport of emigrants, tourists, and supplies from California to Kingman and other rail-sidings eastward. And because of greater access to rail travel, people and ore could be moved efficiently away from the county. Furthermore, Mohave relied heavily on capital from California to develop its mining industry. Even ranchers after 1900 favored markets in Los Angeles for their cattle and sheep. While the completion of Route 66 challenged the railroad, it also provided greater flexibility in travel westward to the larger cities and points in between. Together, both modes of transit benefited the county after World War I.

Obviously, the ease of travel not only gave Kingman access to the world but also brought the outside world to Mohave County. Asians and Hispanics were two distinct minority groups that also contributed to the economic and social development of Mohave County. Historians Sarah

Deutsch, Mario Garcia, and Jeffery Marcos Garcilzao in their writings on Mexican American experiences provided a context for the Hispanic struggle in the United States. This included the time period from the end of the Mexican-American War (1846-1848) to restrictive immigration legislation in the 1920s. After 1848, the nation increasingly ignored the promises made to Mexicans living in the West. Treated as conquered people, they continually faced loss of property from rulings like the 1891 Court of Private Land Claims which rejected land grants.[94] Furthermore, the widespread use of English left Spanish-speaking populations at a disadvantage in protecting holdings, seeking redress through the courts, and obtaining access to education.[95] This was particularly true of the years following the Civil War. As the labor-intensive industry expanded throughout the country, it created a demand for workers who would willingly accept low-wages. Because of poor economic conditions in northern Mexico and lenient border policies, Mexicans sought these positions. Facilitated by transportation developments like the railroad and later the automobile, they gained access into the West, working as miners, farmhands, and general laborers. The critical need for cheap labor in the United States occurred after 1910, which consequently coincided with the Mexican Revolution years of 1910-1917. Pushed by economic and political circumstances and pulled by recruiters

from American businesses during World War I, large numbers of unemployed refugees crossed the border into the Southwest.

In Arizona along the Bill Williams River, the natural boundary separating Mohave and Yuma Counties, a small group of Mexicans had settled there early in the 1870s. They became the subordinate labor force, working low-paying positions in mining and agriculture. As mining declined in the 1880s around the McCracken-Signal mines, only the few families who had ranches near there or on the range lands of the Big Sandy remained. Census data from the period noted countywide that their numbers dropped from 201 in 1880 to 121 in 1900. Those that stayed pursued farming and herding until the 1904 discovery of copper at Swansea just ten miles south of the Mohave border.

Managers of this new mining property actively recruited Mexicans from the surrounding countryside. Like Sarah Deutsch's findings for Mexican American communities in New Mexico, Hispanic men in southern Mohave County developed seasonal labor strategies, dividing their time between their ranches and mining. With fairly large extended families to support, they often took a female relative with them to cook and do laundry, leaving their remaining kin to tend the livestock and crops. Because most ranches were within a ten to twenty-five mile radius from Swansea, miners and their families could easily travel back and forth. In fact, the Arizona and Swansea Railroad in 1910 linked the town daily to

the Bouse siding and on to Parker, a transshipment point on the Arizona and California Railroad.[96]

Although Swansea lay in Yuma, it was part of the Signal group of mines, encompassing properties in Mohave County. Promoted by Newton Evans of the Signal Company and T. J. Carrigan of the Clara Gold and Copper Mining Company, the operation flagged until they hired George Mitchell in 1907. Mitchell was a Welsh mining developer with a strong background in metallurgy and refining who had run successful operations in Cananea, Sonora in the 1890s and was superintendent of the United Verde Copper Company smelter in Jerome, Arizona.[97] His fluency in Spanish, previous experience with Mexican miners, and willingness to employ them attracted not only local Hispanics but also refugees from the economic chaos surrounding dictator Porifiro Diaz's policies of large corporate agriculture, Mexico's 1906 recession, and its subsequent revolution.

According to Mario Garcia in Desert Immigrants, displaced peasants moved into the desert borderlands drawn by mining, ranching, and railroad construction in the Southwest. From 1880 to 1930, one million Mexicans immigrated to the United States, searching for work in transportation, smelting, manufacturing, retail, construction, and agriculture.[98] In Mohave, the census recorded their occupations as herders, cowboys, gardeners, farmers, day laborers, miners, domestics (women), and by 1910 as section

hands for the railroad. The need for reliable, cheap labor ensured their survival. From small, Mexican enclaves in southern Mohave County, new immigrants gained access to established socioeconomic networks, easing their transition.

Deutsch's study supported this, noting that mining and ranching after 1880 represented a new Euroamerican assault that had caused Hispanics to compete for survival. In Mohave County, as in other places in the Southwest, they filled low-paying jobs vacated by more upwardly mobile European immigrants. Like earlier frontier villages, after 1900 Mexican communities depended on a division of labor which allowed families to succeed. For example, women maintained the domestic sphere and expanded their activities to include farming or ranching, while men labored away from home as miners, cowboys, farm hands, or repaired track.[99]

In Mohave County, Virginia Lopez Lucero described how her family coped with the changing economic and social conditions. Born to immigrant parents on December 18, 1919 in Nogales, Arizona, the Lopez family migrated next to the Bill Williams Fork district. She explained that a "Chinaman" that grew vegetables there gave her father his farm and returned to his country. Soon afterward, her father and older brother sought work at Swansea, taking their wives and children with them. The Lopez women rented adobe-housing in the mining town. Segregated from Euroamerican workers, Lucero explained that they accepted this arrangement because

they did not like the rough ways and cultures of the other immigrant miners. Thus, the women catered to the needs of fellow-Mexicans, cooking and washing for as many as twenty boarders. It paid very little, but it enabled the children to attend school.[100]

Mrs. Lopez's endorsement of education, especially for her daughters, was one of the main reasons for the women kept returning to Swansea each school-year. During this time, Lucero's mother absolutely forbid them from playing with other children (the "White" ones), fearing for their safety. Instead, they socialized only with Hispanic children. Married at ten, Lucero continued to live with her family when her husband found work outside mining. This enabled her to continue her studies and remain in her mother's care.[101]

As mining at Swansea slowed, Lucero's husband and other Hispanics found work with the Sante Fe Railroad at nearby Bouse or Parker. While this provided a measure of security, the Lucero and Lopez families still maintained their ranch, growing sugarcane, corn, alfalfa, tomatoes, pumpkins, and melons. Instead of selling the surplus, they gave it away to friends and relatives, a tactic that earned them respect and gave them access to other cooperative networks among local Mexican Americans. Later, in the 1940s Lucreo's husband and brother secured work with the railroad first at Bouse and then at Wickenberg.[102] While she settled permanently in

Wickenberg, Lucero never forgot how the Mexican mining and ranching communities worked together to survive.

The Lopez-Lucero story substantiates Deutsch's and Garcia's studies of Mexican immigrants and Mexican Americans. Deutsch's research in New Mexico and Garcia's in El Paso found that the development of non-traditional economic and social strategies by men and women enabled Hispanics to maintain control over their ethnic enclaves.[103] Undoubtedly, these were same ones used by Hispanics in the Bill Williams Fork district. Like their counterparts around the Southwest, most of them were unskilled, manual laborers, who had opportunities to move into better-paying, more stable jobs with the Santa Fe Railroad.

Jeffrey Marcos Garcilazo's research, "Traqueros: Mexican Railroad Workers in the United States, 1870 to 1930," traced the development of the Mexican railroad labor culture, including the transformation of the ethnic track work.[104] The Hispanic movement into this occupation reflected the exit of Asians, who had dominated "section hand" employment. For example, according to census data from Mohave County, there were seventy-seven Japanese listed in that line of work in 1900, but by 1910 there were none. Instead, eighty-seven Mexicans now filled these positions, increasing to ninety-two in 1920. Gracilazo's studies supported this, finding that the ethnic succession into better-paying, higher-level jobs occurred throughout the Southwest.[105] With an inexpensive and

abundant supply of Mexican labor at hand, the Santa Fe Railroad Company replaced its more costly Euroamerican workers first with Asians then Mexicans. By 1910, the Dillingham Commission in its investigations of labor conditions confirmed that the Santa Fe was the largest employer of Mexicans.[106] Desperate for work, each succeeding immigrant group made sacrifices, including the acceptance of poor working conditions, status, and pay. Although after World War I the American economy slumped, by then Hispanics dominated track labor, earning it the designation of "Mexican Work."

Like the Mexicans, Asians in the West were an earlier example of American industries' recruitment practices. Answering the growing demand for a cheap labor force by railroad construction and mineral extraction, the Chinese came, expecting good wages and fair treatment. Sucheng Chan's, This Bittersweet Soil, Roger Daniel's Asian America: Chinese and Japanese in the United States Since 1850, and Pyau Ling's "Causes of Chinese Emigration," all depicted the hardships and adaptive strategies developed by Asians immigrants.

Ling stated that the reasons for Chinese immigration might seem peculiar to westerners. Southern China had a long tradition of sending young, peasant males to work in Asia as a way to enhance the families' financial prospects. Unlike Europeans, villages from only two southeastern provinces

(Fukien and Kwantung) sent men away, instructing them to work, earn money, and return home. As sojourners, the Chinese never intended to apply for citizenship or abandon their customs, manners, and dress; prior to their migration to the United States, this was a profitable, status enhancing strategy.[107] Chan expanded Ling's findings, noting that the long tradition of working abroad and dealing with foreigners broke down the "psychological and social barriers posed by Chinese culture against departure from home."[108]

Accustomed to working in foreign countries but unprepared for the anti-Chinese reception, the solitary males quickly developed support networks which in turn led to the creation of Chinatowns. Serving as miners, railroad builders, laborers, cooks, waiters, merchants, servants, laundrymen, gardeners, or farmers, they met the need for a reliable, low-paying work force. However, because of their adherence to cultural practices and willingness to take any work, they were obvious labor competition for Euroamericans and quickly became targets of party politics during economic downturns.

The antagonism extended across the nation, resulting in the first exclusionary laws toward any immigrant group based solely on race.[109] By the 1920s, Chinese Exclusion Acts and the practice of only sending males abroad had effectively established "womanless households." Yet like households in traditional China, their redefinition in the United States as

clusters of "tenants and associated laborers" enabled them to function as production units.[110] However, as the various Chinese exclusion laws had effectively stopped the sojourning practice, there were no new sources to replenish their numbers. They had to rely on each other and more formal support groups in order to survive.

Unfortunately, the outcome of such strategies sometimes had tragic repercussions. Proof of this came in Mohave County with a dramatic attack upon a local Chinese restaurant owner by thugs from San Francisco's Bing Kong Tong who traveled by car from the Bay City to Kingman on October 26, 1926 to murder restaurant owner Tom King, a member of the rival Hop Sing Tong. The Bing Kong Tong quietly entered the kitchen of the Mohave Cafe where Tom King and several co-workers along with young Glen Johnson sat talking. The two groups exchanged a few words before the Bing Kong Tong shot King.[111] Authorities later apprehended them at a police road block in Topock near the Needles bridge.[112] A jury found them guilty in 1928, and four of the men got the death penalty. The newspapers closely followed the colorful trial and subsequent appeals, providing a detailed account of the executions from the perspective of Kingman's Judge H. Francis Murphy.[113] As the Miner observed, "This is the first time in {the} history {of the} Chinese Tong Wars that a Chinaman has ever paid the penalty in Arizona and few there are who have been executed for their crimes against their countrymen in

any of the states."[114] The Bing Kong Tong had murdered Tom King to settle a score between the two Tong groups. However, the event dramatized how highways and faster travel could bring criminals from distant places through Kingman, a nightmare that has plagued more than one Mohave County sheriff since the 1920s.

While the murder and trial shocked Mohave County, most residents felt it was an isolated incident and that their sheriff had done a good job of maintaining order. The case also made the general public aware of the extent of the Chinese network in the rural West. Most Chinese in Mohave led uneventful lives in restaurant and laundry businesses, making useful contributions to the county's economy. Take the case of Charlie and Wong Lum who in 1924 accompanied their father, Jack, to Kingman. Forced by immigration quotas to leave their mother and sister behind, the two boys stayed with their father, attending school, and participating in the community, including attending the Methodist Sunday school classes. The family lived in the basement beneath the City Drug Store on Front Street, while their father ran the Boston Cafe next door until the Great Depression. Wong later noted that in the 1920s there were sometimes thirty to forty Chinese in the county who worked as cooks for mining companies because of their reputations as hard workers.

Of course, they experienced varying degrees of prejudice and discrimination. Some Euroamericans, for instance, took

advantage of the Chinese, asking for credit or refusing to pay them wages. Indeed, their own father worked at the Boston Mine for a full year and was never paid. Another friend, Bill Yee, extended credit and assistance to anyone who asked. But when Yee died in 1928, his family collected none of the outstanding debts. Instead, townsmen gave him a large funeral as payment for his generosity.[115] Charlie Lum asserted that the local Chinese were hard working, honest, and thrifty.[116] The Lum brothers remained in Kingman for many years. In time, Charlie joined the Rotary, Elks, and Lions clubs and had a street named after him in town.[117] Because of men like Yee and the Lums, the Chinese played a useful role in community development both in Kingman and some of the other towns in its hinterland.

The efforts of Kingman's boosters had attracted outside capital and more emigrants to northwestern Arizona. Inspired by booster articles similar to those in the Pick and Drill, investors came and undertook mining operations, but ominously they always took their profits out of the region. Although Mohave benefited from the improvements in transportation, communication, and service industries that these developments generated, there was little thought given to long-term reinvestment in the local businesses or communities. Instead, companies riddled the mining districts with unprotected tunnels, polluted the environment with cyanide, used precious water sources, deposited unsightly tailings,

and generally scarred the landscape. While most townsmen supported Mohave's extraction industry, they failed to consider the long-term implications of polluting the natural environment. Like many others in the past, they saw everything in terms of short-term economic gain. As Mohave continued to develop, clearly there were future problems on the horizon.

The first decades of the twentieth century represented a dynamic new era for Mohave County. The isolation and hardships of the pioneer age continued to diminish as the railroad brought more emigrants, goods, and services to the region. Mohave prospered from increased rail traffic intensified by discoveries of new gold deposits in the mountains near the Colorado River. While mining, ranching, and outside capital continued to direct the course of the county's economy, statehood and Route 66 also shaped its course. Though still a frontier outpost in the eyes of visitors, Kingman and its satellites nevertheless envisioned themselves as typical American small towns. And Kingman dreamed one day of becoming a city. By 1900, as the primary railhead and county seat, the town already spearheaded the county's urban development. Innovations like the automobile, telephone, paved roads, and railways tied the hinterland more firmly to both Kingman and the nation.

Endnotes

1. Alan Brinkley, The Unfinished Nation: A Concise History of the American People (New York: The McGraw-Hill Companies, Inc., 1997), 581-609. Briefly, Progressivism was essentially a series of crusades for order and reform that occurred early in the twentieth century. The "peoples" movement adopted many of the principles of Populism and fought "special interests" or "the excessive power of urban bosses, corporate moguls, and corrupt elected Officials," to enact them. In the spirit of progress, businessmen and professionals of towns across the nation optimistically tried to improve society and curb the excesses of the industrial elite. They intervened on behalf of the "people" to expose "scandal, corruption, and injustice." While attacking corporate organizations and urban political machines, progressives pursued such reform topics as monopolies/trusts, an eight-hour work day, women's rights and suffrage, conservation, child labor, immigration restrictions, prostitution, family disorganization, social justice, social work, bureaucratic inefficiency, scientific theory and expertise, mass-production techniques, labor unions, government loans, city-manager government, the Australian Ballot, direct primary and recall, Temperance, society's moral health, etc. Historians richard Hofstadter, The Age of Reform from Bryan to FDR, and George Mowry, California Progressives, depicted Progressives in the West as small town, White, male, professional elites who combated big-time corporate businessmen and the federal government. Specifically, as Brinkley noted, "the federal government exercised enormous power over the lands and resources of the western states and provided substantial subsidies to the region in the form of land grants and support for the railroad and water projects."

2. Dan W. Messersmith, The History of Mohave County to 1912 (Kingman: H & H Printers, 1991), 200. Kean St. Charles was a Representative in the House of the Territorial Legislature in 1901 and 1903. Elected to the 1909 Council of the Twenty-fifth Territorial Legislature, after statehood St. Charles served int he Arizona Senate during the Sixth, Seventh, Ninth, and Eleventh Legislations.

3. Mohave County Miner, 11 November 1899.

4. Transcontinental Railroading in Arizona 1878-1940 (Phoenix: Arizona State Historic Preservation, 1989), 23.

5. Ibid.

6. Ibid., 23-26.

7. David F. Myrick, Railroads of Arizona (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1998), 199-202.

8. Lesley Poling-Kempes, The Harvey Girls: Women Who Opened the West (New York: Marlowe & Company, 1991, 30.

9. Mohave County Miner, 15 June 1901.

10. Poling-Kempes, The Harvey Girls: Women Who Opened the West, 123.

11. Ibid., 124.

12. Ibid., 100.

13. Ibid.

14. Ibid., 124-125.

15. Clara Rebel Boyd Quartier, Interview by Mohave County Historical Society. 1 August 1980, Vertical Files, Mohave County Museum of History and Arts Library, Kingman, Arizona.

16. Ibid.

17. Minnie Braithwaite Jenkins, Girl From Williamsburg (Richmond: The Dietz Press, Inc., 1951).

18. Mohave County Miner, 4 July 1895-1916. The Fourth of July issues of the newspaper contained references to attendance at the Indian Schools. Numerous articles are found in the paper that commented on the visitation and business of students and staff.

19. Sharon O'Brien, American Indian Tribal Governments (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1989), 76.

20. Minnie Braithwaite to Delia Braithwaite, September, 1902. Courtesy of Dorothy Ross Jenkins, Live Oak, California, June 1994.

21. Interview of Dorothy Jenkins Ross, 20 June 1994 to Diana R. Dever, Live Oak, California. Dorothy, the daughter of Minnie Braithwaite Jenkins, had her mother's letters.

22. Jenkins, Girl From Williamsburg, 1-123.

23. C. B. Ellis, "Mining Industry--Mohave County, Arizona: Operations in the Various Mining Districts--a Legitimate Field for Capital," Pick and Drill, Vol. III, No. 1 (July 1904), 195.

24. Ibid.

25. Ibid., 195, 200.

26. Ibid., 196.

27. Ibid., 196-197.

28. Ibid., 197.

29. Ibid.

30. Ibid.

31. Mohave County Miner, 20 February 1904.

32. Mohave County Miner, 31 July 1909.

33. Messersmith, The History of Mohave County to 1912, 113.

34. Ibid.

35. Ibid.

36. Ellis, Pick and Drill, 200.

37. Ibid., 209-210.

38. Ibid., 211.

39. Messersmith, The History of Mohave County to 1912, 172. Also, locals related the information to Bureau of Land Management's archaeologist Don Simonis and the author prior to the Southwest Gas excavation by the University New Mexico in 1991.

40. Henry P. Walker and Don Bufkin, Historical Atlas of Arizona (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1983), 38. The Oatman family attack occurred in Yuman County. However, two of the younger girls survived as captives and later lived among the Mohave.

41. Stanley W. Paher, Colorado River Ghost Towns (Las Vegas: Nevada Publications, 1976), 18.

42. Roman Malach, Oatman: Gold Mining Center (New York: Graphicopy, 1975), 7. Local folklore attributed the camp to a claim staked out by an African American named Snowball and his Anglo partner.

43. Ibid., 17-18.

44. Ibid., 15.

45. Mohave County Miner, 16 July 1919.

46. Mohave County Miner, July 1919.

47. Arizona State Business Directory (Denver: The Gazetteer Publishing Company, 1920), 321.

48. The state business directory made no mention of the Mormon Temple.

49. Duane A. Smith, Rocky Mountain Boom Town: A History of Durango, Colorado (Niwot: University Press of Colorado, 1992), 103.

50. Mohave County Miner, 5 December 1972.

51. Smith, Rocky Mountain Boom Town: A History of Durango, Colorado, 103.

52. Ibid.

53. Ibid., 58.

54. Jay J. Wagoner, Arizona's Heritage (Santa Barbara: Peregrine Smith, Inc., 1978), 278; Barbara Yost, "1918-19 Flu," Arizona Republic, 30 January 2000, F1. The influenza pandemic killed at least twenty million people around the world. In Maricopa County the sheriff's office distributed contraband whiskey to help ease the symptoms of the flu, an exception to Arizona's prohibition bans. "Less hard hit, Tucson smugly suggested the state legislature convene there instead of Phoenix and taunted its northern neighbor with the notion of moving the capital south." Unlike Mohave County, Maricopa experienced two waves of the influenza, loosing 10% of its 28,000 population.

55. Wagoner, Arizona's Heritage, 278.

56. Mohave County Miner, 5 December 1972.

57. Ibid.

58. Sanborn Map Company, Insurance Maps of Kingman, Arizona, 1890.

59. The minutes from the Mohave County Board of Supervisor's meetings throughout the 1920s and 1930s place the poor farm under the health department. Depending on the demand for its services, funding for the facility fluctuated. As residential and public buildings expanded around it, the living and farming space dwindled.

Despite these factors, the county continued to support the indigent.

60. Mohave County Mines Bulletin No. 1, July 1909.

61. Mohave County Miner, 2 November 1907.

62. Mohave County Miner, 24 July 1909.

63. Mohave County Miner, 9 May 1891.

64. Mohave County Miner, 12 February 1912.

65. Jay J. Wagoner, The Arizona Territory (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1970), 483

66. Mohave County Miner, 17 November 1906.

67. Wagoner, Arizona's Heritage, 262.

68. Ibid., 266.

69. David P. Thelen, The New Citizenship: Origins of Progressives in Wisconsin (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1972).

70. Mohave County Miner, 3 October 1920.

71. Mohave County Miner, 12 February 1914.

72. Messersmith, The History of Mohave County to 1912, 146-150.

73. Mohave County Miner, 20 January 1900.

74. Malach, Chloride: Mining Gem of the Cerbat Mountains, 19.

75. Mohave County Miner, 13 January 1900.

76. Smith, Rocky Mountain Boom Town: A History of Durango, Colorado, 86, 108.

77. Russell R. Elliott, Nevada's Twentieth-Century Mining Boom: Tonapah, Goldfield, Ely (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1966), 32-36.

78. Mohave County Miner, 30 November 1912.

79. Sanborn Map Company, Insurance Maps of Kingman, Arizona, 1916.

80. Susan Croce Kelly, Route 66 (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991), 6.

81. Ibid., 7-8.

82. Smith, Rocky Mountain Boom Town: A History of Durango, Colorado, 108; Route 66 Newsletter No. 3, September 1995.

83. Mohave County Miner, 3 February 1928.

84. Mohave County Miner, 18 May 1928.

85. Moahve County Miner, 17 May 1929.

86. Today, the tombstone and sculpture of Black Jack's parrot is on display at the Powerhouse Restaurant in Kingman.

87. Mohave County Miner, 3 November 1917.

88. Mohave County Miner, 12 December 1917.

89. Mohave County Miner, 3 November 1917.

90. Richard E. Lingenfelter, The Hardrock Miners: A History of the Mining Labor Movement in the American West 1863-1893 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974), 15-16. Additional problems associated with carbon dioxide, quartz dust (silica), and explosives combined with tuberculosis made mining a dangerous occupation.

91. Mohave County Miner, 10 November 1917.

92. Mohave County Miner, 8 December 1917.

93. Mohave County Miner, 22 December 1917.

94. Sarah Deutsch, "Chicano: Frontier and Regional Communities in the Southwest," Major Problems in Mexican American History, ed. Zaragosa Vargas (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1999), 197.

95. Adalberto Aquirre Jr. And Jonathan H. Turner, American Ethnicity: The Dynamics and Consequences of Discrimination (Boston: McGraw Hill, 1998), 144.

96. Robert L. Spude, "Swansea, Arizona: The Fortunes and Misfortunes of a Copper Camp," Journal of Arizona History (June 1976), 380-381.

97. Ibid., 380-381.

98. Mario Garcia, Desert Immigrants: The Mexicans of El Paso, 1880-1920 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981), 3.

99. Deutsch, "Chicano: Froniter and Regional Communities in the Southwest," 194-195.

100. Virginia Lopez Lucero to Bureau of Land Management Representative, 17 March 1999, Lake Havasu Resource Office, Lake Havasu, Arizona.

101. Ibid.

102. Ibid.

103. Deutsch, "Chicano: Froniter and Regional Communities in the Southwest," 196-201; Garcia, Desert Immigrants: The Mexicans of El Paso,1880-1920, 4-6.

104. Jeffery Marcos Garcilazo, "Traqueros: Mexican Railroad Workers in the United States, 1870 to 1930" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, 1995), iv. 54.

105. Ibid., 55.

106. Ibid., 55-56.

107. Pyau Ling, "Causes of Chinese Emigration," Roots: An Asian American Reader, eds. Amy Tachiki, Eddie Wong, Franklin Odo and Buck Wong (Los Angeles: UCLA Asian American Studies Center, 1971), 134-135.

108. Sucheng Chan, "The Chinese Migration to the United States in the Context of the Larger Chinese Diaspora," Major Problems in American Immigration and Ethnic History, ed. Jon Gjerde (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1998), 195-197.

109. Sucheng Chan, This Bittersweet Soil: The Chinese in California Agriculture, 1860-1910 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 2-3.

110. Ibid., 387.

111. Paul Lewis, "the Chinese Contribution," Trails, Rails, and Tales: Kingman's People Tell Their Story, 1882-1992 (Kingman: Mohave Graphics, Inc., 1981), 179. "The Tongs...used to be called a syndicate in 1922. Today, it is more like a union, a family. They are associations, not a Tong anymore...In 1926, Charlie Lum had heard all he needed to know about hate--about onerous taxes levied against none but Chinese, about lynchings and general exploitation. It was pressures

like these that had forced Chinese society to turn inward. The dead certainty that no Chinese could receive justice before an American court, aid from American charities, or loans from American banks, had augmented the power of the alternative system for dispensing these services--the Tong organizations."

112. Mohave County Miner, 23 March 1928.

113. Mohave County Miner, 9 June 1928.

114. Mohave County Miner, 22 June 1928.

115. Wong Lum, Interview by Mohave County Historical Society, 22 July 1980, Transcript, Mohave Museum of History and Arts Library, Kingman, Arizona.

116. Charlie Lum, Interview by Mohave County Historical Society , 20 January 1981, Transcript, Mohave Museum of History and Arts Library, Kingman, Arizona.

117. Paul Lewis, "The Chinese Contribution," 174-179.

CHAPTER 6

QUALITY OF LIFE: KINGMAN AND MOHAVE COUNTY, A DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE - 1900-1930

"Kingman, county seat of Mohave County, is comparatively small in numbers, but in opportunities approaching a well populated city. Centrally located upon the main arteries of transportation and travel, both rail and motor, it is the distributing point for all sections of the surrounding country in every direction and for many miles."[1]

The first three decades of the twentieth century significantly changed Mohave County. During this period, the hinterland produced another series of mining boomtowns thanks to improved technology, the discovery of gold, road building, and fresh capital. These factors not only increased rail traffic, and prompted the construction of Route 66 and the airport, but also promoted significant urbanization in a largely rural land. All these changes altered the county's character. Thus, creating a demographic profile detailing the varying composition of relationships between the populations of Kingman as well as its hinterland, required the use of many sources, including federal census records, fire insurance maps, tax lists, directories, interviews, and newspapers. By using this data, it is possible to show how Mohave's quality of life improved as the county moved toward civic maturity.

Improved planning and funding were crucial to northwestern Arizona's development in the early 1900s. Unfortunately, because of the subregion's immense size and acute needs, there was never enough money for every proposal. To help resolve this problem, the county officials sold bonds to finance special projects and published annually in the Miner lists of delinquent taxpayers and proposed foreclosures. Occasionally, however, a land owner had an agreement with the federal government that superseded the county's authority. This was the case with the railroad, which had received from the government long-term land options on either side of its tracks. Because Mohave relied heavily on compensation from the Santa Fe, late tax revenues restricted urban planning. Though local officials did not challenge the railroad beyond an occasional article in the newspapers, they did hold auctions and foreclose on other real estate parcels. As the transiency rate, abandonment of properties, and forfeiture of real estate increased during of the Panic of 1907 and the war years, the county continued to lose income from delinquent taxes. Therefore, transiency and insufficient operating capital countered the efforts of civic leaders to improve the county's image. Moreover, because of the inherent instability of the mining industry and the lack of sufficient operating funds, urban development suffered. The county needed more outside investment and cheaper rates for freighting and utilities to reduce the high cost of living conditions and increase contact among its communities.

Furthermore, the county's towns and mining camps were not autonomous. They relied heavily on Kingman to service their major transportation and business needs. Although most residents in mining areas had access to a small general store/saloon, they traveled to Kingman once the roads improved. The chance for social interaction as well as the variety of the services offered there regularly attracted settlers, cowboys, and miners. Kingman was also the base for most professions, including doctors, dentists, and lawyers, even after Chloride and Oatman gained enough inhabitants to warrant such civic amenities as a school, church services, deputy sheriff, post office, and fraternal orders. As Kingman developed more commercial services, it continued to draw people from the hinterland communities.

As the Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps illustrate, Kingman grew at a steady pace. Beginning in 1898, construction centered south of the railroad tracks, as a bedroom community began to emerge. Initially, it included twelve dwellings, three cabins, two windmills, and three lodging facilities. The physical layout of the rest of town also changed. Downtown continued to grow along Front Street, with twenty-seven businesses, seventeen stables, and two corrals, and the residential district beyond the business sector gradually became an area of mixed land use, with, the Methodist-Episcopal Church, county jail, court house, school, sixty-seven dwellings, five boarding houses, and twenty-three windmills along with several wells, outhouses, and sheds.

The maps also showed that the town still received water for domestic use from Beale's Springs via a two-inch iron pipe and a 20,000-gallon reservoir that supplied twenty-five water-tanks around the community.[2] Kingman increasingly relied on both windmills and wells to supplement its needs. This suggests a growing trend toward increased independence from the Beale's Springs reservoir and door-to-door wagon deliveries of water. Also, the maps' legend indicates that the town had no fire fighting equipment, a factor that undoubtedly concerned local officials, especially since earlier fires had destroyed the business district several times. Despite this problem, however, Kingman maintained a pattern of steady growth.

The 1901 fire maps reveal additional improvements. For example, water from Beale's Springs now only served the Front Street area and adjacent buildings. Dwellings beyond the commercial district grew to seventy-four, including forty-five windmills, along with tanks for pumping and storing water, that almost doubled the output recorded three years earlier. Besides the increase in water facilities, trade expanded northward down 4th and 5th streets to Beale, the next major street north and parallel to Front. The growth in commercial and residential districts gained additional impetus from the construction just north of the tracks of a permanent train depot and the Harvey House restaurant. In addition, a telephone exchange, eight saloons, three

restaurants, seven hotels/lodgings, the Arizona Central Bank (1904), and twenty-four more businesses crowded near the train depot, catering to the needs of the town and the developing hospitality industry.

Kingman achieved a degree of social cohesion during this period thanks to the efforts of its churches and fraternal organizations. In 1906, St. Mary's Catholic Church built a larger, more imposing structure. This gave the town two denominations, the Methodist-Episcopal and Catholic. At the same time, Kingman now boasted seven fraternal orders for men and women, including the Elks, I.O.O.F., Redmen, Moose, Rebekahs, Eastern Star, and Knights of Pythias. Because of their community service efforts, residents had more opportunities for social interaction and services.

While improved infrastructure and expanded services enhanced Kingman's quality of life, the town's future depended heavily on its private sector to cope with the county's increased population. For example, responding to the growing demand for assay services, several new businesses opened to compete with the Kingman Sampling Company. As the countywide population rose, it stimulated demand for more general and specialty stores. Besides the need for more goods, was the requirement that utilities keep pace with development. Places like the Kingman Bottling Works responded, diversifying into the Kingman Ice, Illuminating, and Water Company. The addition of the Desert Power and Water Company in 1909 and consequent adoption of electricity

in the downtown area replaced outdated kerosene and oil lamps. These businesses played a vital role in bringing modern improvements to the town.

Although the community modernized its infrastructures, it was less progressive in combating fires. With a small volunteer force and primitive equipment, it was fortunate that no major conflagrations occurred early in the century. Still, officials did what they could with the meager revenues they had, purchasing two independent hose carts to use with the water tank/windmill system.[3] The 1910 fire maps reflect these new acquisitions. And they came just in time, because the maps also record almost sixty-seven dwellings, fifty businesses, two churches, sixteen stables, and twelve lodgings/hotels most of which were wood. There were a few new additions, including the Citizens Bank (1914), and the Elks Hall. The Kingman Ice, Illuminating, and Water Company reorganized and changed names again, becoming the City Ice Plant and Brewery. With its trackside location, the plant now advertised that it offered lighting, electricity, fuel oil, and water as well as soft drink and brewing facilities. Except for the new buildings, the streets paralleling the tracks north and south continued to border lots with buildings reflecting mixed land use.[4]

Despite Kingman's growth between 1900 and 1910, officials wanted more development, but the town's remote location and frontier image were disadvantages. As noted

earlier, many outsiders viewed Kingman as a rough, frontier railroad and mining center. For example, Estelle Johnson, a recent arrival from Oregon, complained in 1916 that Front Street still contained shacks, tents, and lean-tos.[5] Johnson was not the only person to note the town's primitive appearance. The frontier character of the county's communities lingered longer because of the desert environment and dependence on the transient nature of mining.

Throughout Mohave's early history, national events victimized the county, including economic downturns in 1893 and 1907 along with the controversy over the demonetization of silver. Once again during World War I, Mohave's mining settlements experienced another slump, but the county's loss was Kingman's gain. While the moratorium on the extraction of nonessential minerals lasted and the railroad restricted travel to soldiers and war supplies, many county residents relocated temporarily to Kingman. Not surprisingly, the contemporary fire maps noted several additional residential and business units. The number of dwellings soared from 67 in 1910 to 199 in 1916, including thirty auto barns. At the same time, the increased use of cars and trucks attracted businesses that specialized in service and sales, including Ford, Desert, and Old Trail garages. Moreover, as roads improved and rail traffic increased, the Brunswick, Beale, and Commercial hotels served more travelers, converting their bars to cigar and temperance rooms.[6] But saloons like the

Bucket of Blood, Elite, and sixteen others disappeared when Arizona's legislature voted to go dry in 1914, costing the town considerable revenue from cowboys and miners.[7]

During the war years, Kingman's growth was steady, but not enough to justify incorporation. Most enterprising individuals took advantage of the town's reasonably priced real estate, building modest structures and leasing space to new arrivals. Residential property was still cheap, with values in 1916 ranging from twenty-five to seventy-five dollars per lot.[8] This promoted development. Because of the bargain prices, for instance, the I.O.O.F. built a large hall that for a time housed the high school.

Many of the town and county's new residents were families. Faced with a growing population of children, Kingman's leaders planned for more classrooms. As early as 1912, the superintendent of schools, Charles Metcalfe, asked the new state legislature to rescind the requirement that towns have at least 5,000 people to qualify for secondary schools. Metcalfe and other representatives from Arizona's sparsely occupied counties quickly introduced this as a bill. When it passed, local officials immediately advertised for construction bids, and in 1929, Kingman opened its first high school/gymnasium complex as well as a new grammar school.[9]

Officials took pride in these accomplishments. They knew that improved water facilities, fire equipment, and schools generated momentum for promotional efforts to

stimulate further development. But the leaders knew that businessmen forming an upper class would also expect certain amenities. Thus with more people in town, there was a growing need for more leisure activities. In response, the Nickell family started the Kingman Country Club and golf course in 1917. Earlier, local workers had created a baseball club that used the town's convenient railroad and highway connections to travel to neighboring communities, and play teams from Needles, Oatman, Goldroad, Chloride, and the Indian schools.[10] At the same time, the Kingman Gun Club inaugurated a target shooting program. Along with its fraternal organizations, country club and sports teams, Kingman also witnessed increased growth of its business sector with new rooming houses and laundries to accommodate workers and the town's first funeral parlor, which now brought the total number of businesses to fifty.[11]

During the postwar period, Kingman's pattern of development continued. The 1923 Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps, indicate that the community built a fire station that housed two paid employees, twenty-five volunteers, and a fine engine. The town supplemented this with twenty-six fire hydrants.[12] These acquisitions finally addressed the threat that a major conflagration had long posed to Kingman's growth. The maps, however, also recorded the town's substantial urbanization in the postwar years, with forty-four streets of varying lengths, including over 547 dwellings

(houses), 61 rental units, 119 businesses, 140 auto barns, four churches, three schools, and other county offices.[13] In addition to these improvements, was the opening of a county library, thanks to the lobbying efforts of the parent-teachers association in 1926. Two years later with community support, the library moved into the former "Little Red School House" and boasted that it had over 1,000 volumes.[14]

While officials concentrated primarily on improving the town's infrastructure, private organizations such as the parent-teachers association and local religious groups addressed other community needs. Several local churches remodeled or built larger structures. St. Mary's Catholic Church, for example, expanded its structure. And St. John's Methodist Church constructed a bigger facility. With more residents, Kingman also attracted other denominations. The First Church of Christ Scientist arrived in town, indicating the growing religious diversity of the community's populace.[15]

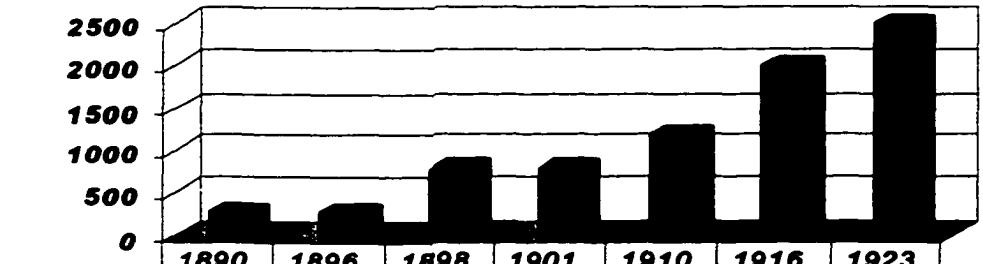
As Kingman offered more businesses and services, it attracted even more residents, and with them came more cars. Indeed, the fire insurance maps from 1910 to 1923 depicted a 467 percent increase in auto-barns from 30 to 140.[16] Because automobiles and trucks were an integral part of most people's lives, the board of supervisors in 1929 authorized more traffic regulations and stop-signs.[17] Furthermore, as the

residential areas spread northward and southward, more developers included access plus space for cars.

Given the increased businesses, organizations, services, and inhabitants, Kingman by the mid-1920s was the major urban center in Mohave County and on its way to achieving civic maturity. Census statistics reflect these changes. The population numbers in the Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps, varied slightly from the federal census and those noted in the business directories because the maps always rounded-off the counts. Using the data from the fire maps, Figure 8 illustrates the steady increase in Kingman's residents.

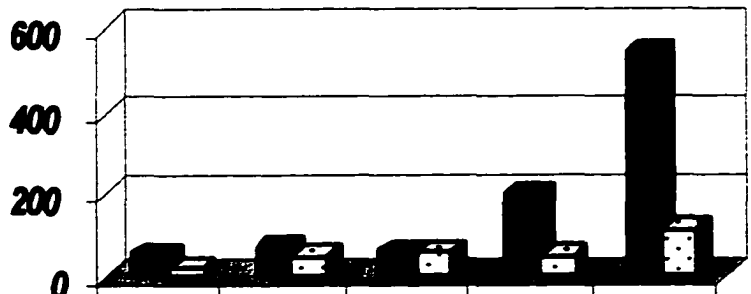
The data from the Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps (Figure 9) for Kingman's population, dwellings, and businesses indicate moderate growth until the 1920s. The expansion of the business sector and housing from 1901 to 1916 underscored the shifting population, new construction, and changing commerce. The federal manuscript censuses from 1900-1920 also reflect these trends.

Figure: 8 - Kingman
Sanborn Fire Insurance Map Population Figures



	1890	1896	1898	1901	1910	1916	1923
Series1	300	300	800	800	1,200	2,000	2,500

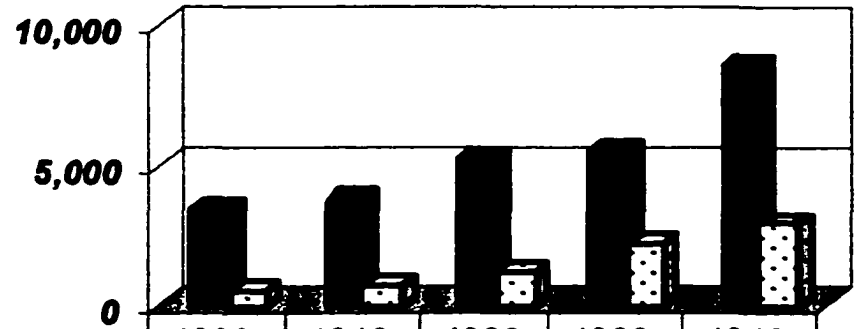
Figure: 9
Kingman, Arizona Sanborn Fire Insurance Map Data on Dwellings and Businesses, 1898-1923



	1898	1901	1910	1916	1923
■ Dwellings	57	74	65	199	547
□ Businesses	27	53	62	50	119

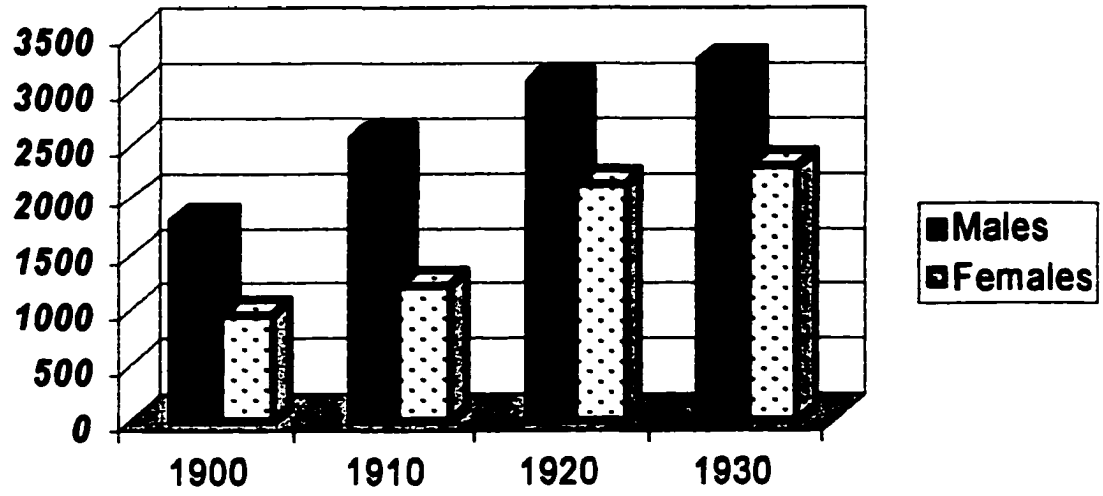
Figure 10 depicts the number of residents in Mohave County and Kingman, based on the 1900-1940 population censuses. Both the fire maps and the censuses show that Kingman maintained gradual, but steady growth. In 1910, the census bureau began to differentiate between urban and rural areas. But because Kingman did not have the requisite number of 2,500 people, it remained "rural" in classification.[18] Ranked as the second largest county in Arizona, Mohave had the least number of residents, and none of its communities qualified for urban status until 1940.[19]

Figure: 10
Census of the United States: Mohave County and Kingman, Arizona



	1900	1910	1920	1930	1940
Mohave County	3,426	3,773	5,259	5,572	8,591
Kingman	530	813	1273	2,275	2,956

Figure: 11
Males and Females in Mohave County 1900-1930



Nevertheless, the census data offer valuable insights into Mohave County's demographics. For example, before 1900 there were more solitary males in the county than females. This trend continued into the early twentieth century. As Mohave's population increased between 1920 and 1930, the ratio of males to females narrowed (Figure 11). From 1900 to 1930 (Figure 12), Kingman's percentage of males averaged 62.5, while females only represented 39.5 percent of the population. The exception was the slight decrease in males present in 1920 (55 percent) and subsequent rise in females (45 percent). By 1930, the number of men increased to 64 percent and women decreased to 36 percent. Despite the urban development, most of the latter still found the area desolate and unappealing. According to local briefs in the newspapers, wives often returned to more temperate climates to stay with friends or family, while their husbands lived alone.[20] At the same time, because mining was an unstable occupation, men often preferred to leave their families behind until they secured permanent jobs and houses. Indeed, many men lived as bachelors (solitary males), a tactic that enabled them to move from one boom area to another until they chose to return home.[21] All the same, the relatively small representation of females reflected a county economy largely geared to solitary males who worked in Mohave's mines, mills, ranches, and farms.[22]

From 1920 to 1930, the population had increased largely because of developments like Route 66 and the mining booms in Chloride and Oatman. While these events attracted additional investors and prospectors to the county, the census data from 1910 and 1920 also included Native Americans, which inflated the figures compared to earlier data that placed them in separate counts. However, since the county only grew in proportion to its economic base, the severe droughts in the 1920s, accompanied by fluctuations in the national economy, affected ranching and mining. These components caused Kingman, Oatman, and Chloride to develop a small core of permanent residents while the rest of the county's inhabitants were more transitory.

Because the hinterland experienced economic fluctuations and attracted a large transient male population, the relationship of males to females in the county, excluding Kingman, showed small, but proportional growth (see Figure 11). Initially, miners attempted to revitalize White Hills and other older claims until Goldroad and Oatman boomed. Despite the implementation of better technology and more capital, investors and miners soon experienced the same problems: lack of water for hydraulic mining, the disadvantages of a remote area, and increasing costs relative to actual profits. While the county listed the value of productive patented and unpatented mines at $3,416,272 in 1922, the latter decreased to $1,190,828 by 1929.[23] However,

the periodic flurries of activity in mineral extraction during the 1920s continually sparked hope among the county's miners and the population increased due to it.

Figure: 12
Males and Females in Kingman
1900-1930

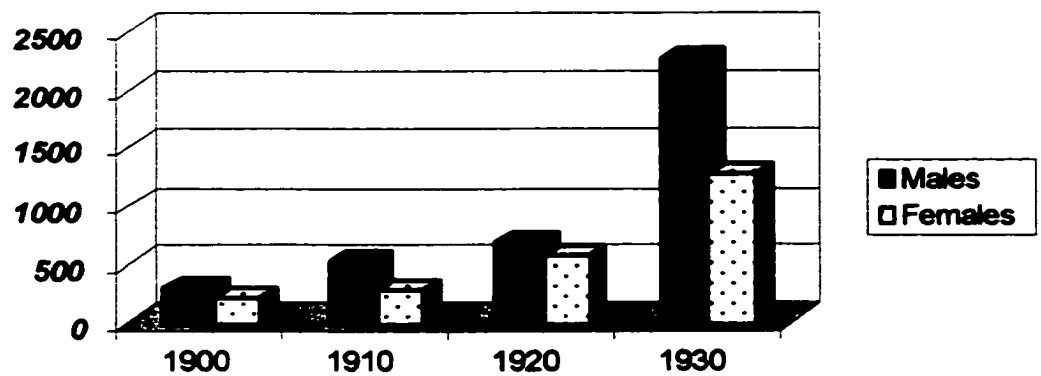


Figure: 13
Males:Females Age Range Kingman
1900-1920

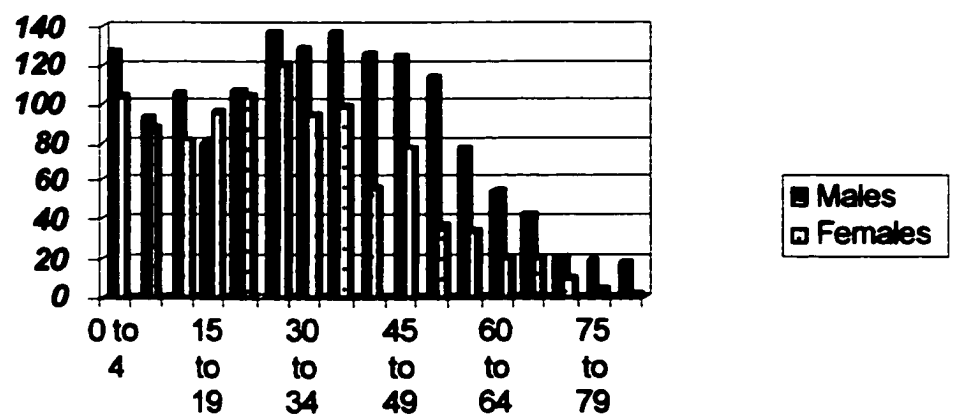
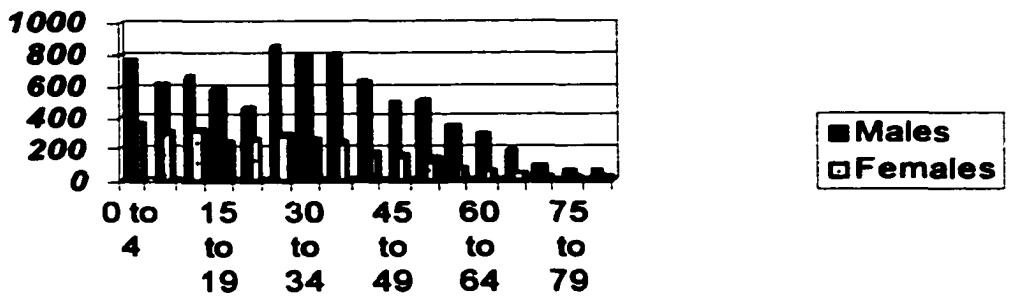


Figure: 14
Males:Females Age Range
MohaveCounty
1900-1920
(not Including Kingman)



*The age-range for Kingman's males and females from 1900-1910 does not include Native Americans.

Figures 13 and 14 detailed the ages of residents in the county. In Mohave County there was a large contingent of people under forty years of age. Indeed, the average-age for both males and females in 1900 was 28.5 in Kingman and 29.46 for the remainder of the county. A decade later, this figure rose to 31 for both sexes, while dropping to 30 in 1920 countywide. Furthermore, in Mohave there was a strong representation of males in the 25-to-35 age ranges. This reflected the presence of solitary males, including Indians. Females under the age of 35 were numerous, but declined after that. As noted earlier, their declining numbers can be accounted for by a variety of factors, including death in childbirth, disease, and accidents, and especially early outmigration.

Figure: 15
Average Age of Females 1900-1920

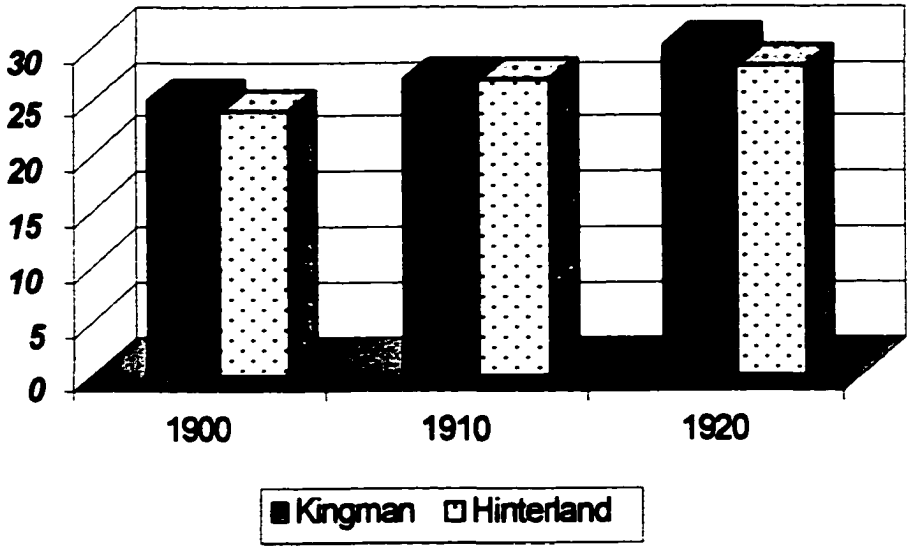
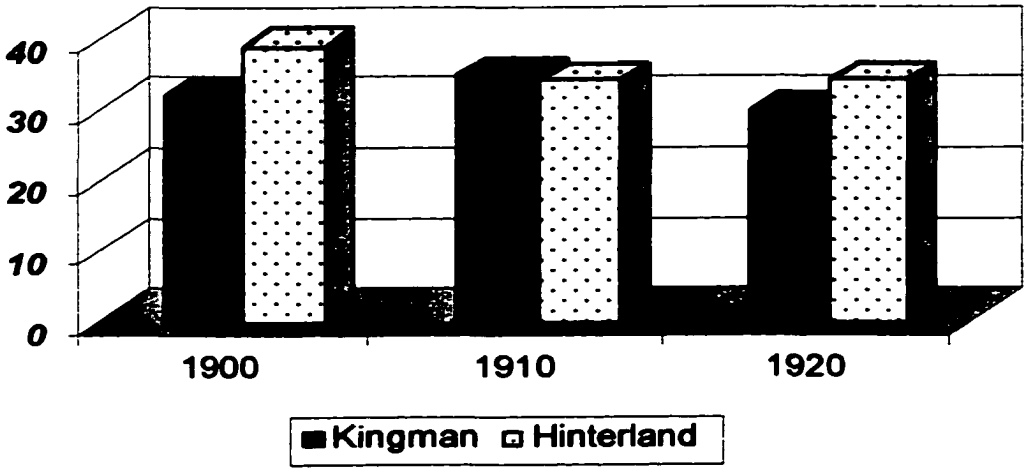
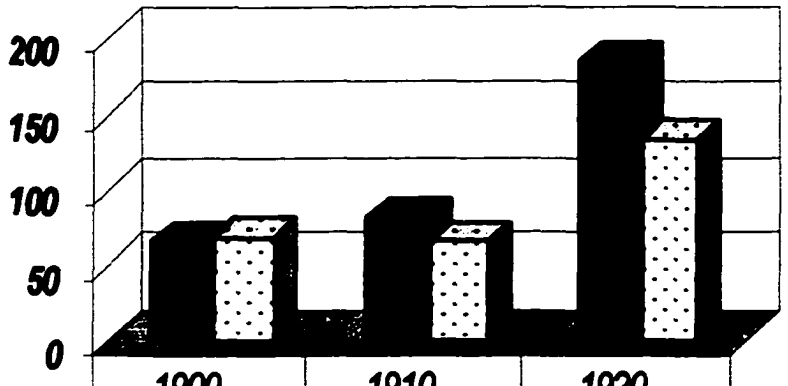


Figure 16:
Average Age of Males 1900-1920



Figures 15 and 16 compare the average age for males and females in both Kingman and the remaining hinterland. The average age for females in both Kingman and the hinterland increased between 1900 and 1920. They ranged between 25 and 30 years of age. For males the average age fluctuated, but not drastically. Their ages fit into the 32 to 35 age brackets in Kingman, suggesting a younger population than their counterparts in the hinterland. Within the hinterland, the men's average age ranged from 34 to 39 years. Even when including Indians in 1920, the figures for men differed little from the average of "30" from 1870-1880.

Figure: 17
Kingman Children Under Fourteen Years
1900-1910

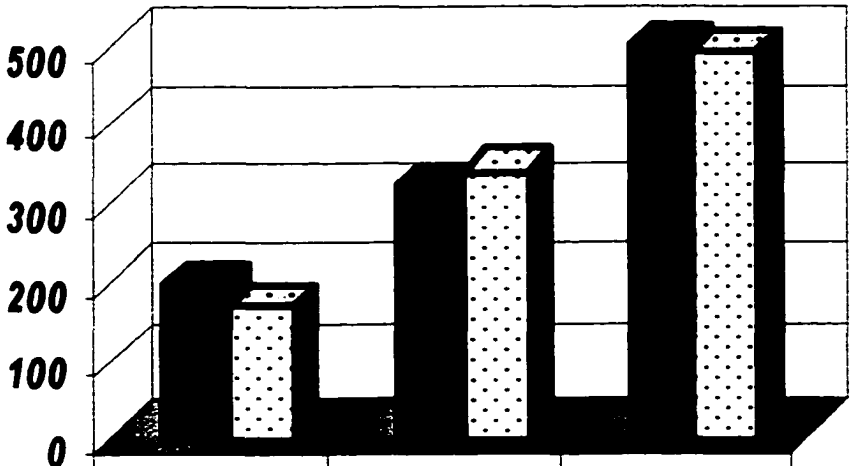


	1900	1910	1920
Males	68	83	185
Females	71	67	135

The health of Mohave County's population helps explain some of these trends. For example, between 1895 and 1914 there were 441 births and 565 deaths. Since there were fewer women and families during that period, the 4:5 ratio is not unexpected. Further, the cemetery burial records for 1866 to 1941 listed 1,049 deaths. Over 900 of the deaths identified the sex of the deceased: 77 percent males and 23 percent females. The higher percentage of male deaths over the forty-six-year period reflected the increased population of men and the danger of their work.

The average age at death for males and females was 46, a shockingly low figure. Since the infant mortality rate was only 6 percent, one can rule that out as a major factor.[24] Tuberculosis killed seventy-nine people from 1910-1919, largely because many consumptives moved to Mohave County in the 1890s to be treated by Dr. J. W. Flinn. The Canadian doctor, who also suffered from it, arrived in 1895 to take advantage of the county's clean, dry air. He soon developed a thriving practice that attracted hundreds of patients northwestern Arizona. But even after he moved to Prescott, many of his patients remained in Mohave County until their deaths, thereby inflating the statistics.[25] The Van Marter Funeral Records from the time also listed such causes of death as suicide, cancer, mining accidents, pneumonia, typhoid, small pox, and measles.[26]

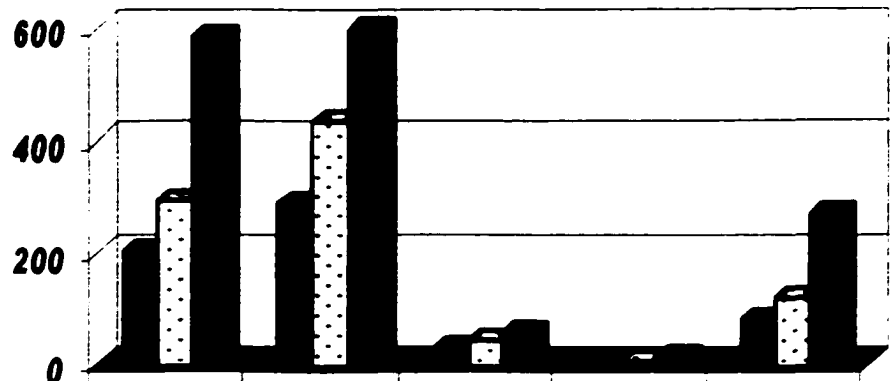
Figure: 18
Mohave County Hinterland Children Under Fourteen 1900-1920



	1900	1910	1920
Males	200	323	497
females	170	341	495

Children also accounted for a significant portion of the region's health statistics. Figure 17 indicates that the number of Kingman's Euroamerican children under fourteen-years-old increased by 1920, favoring males over females (185:135). In the hinterland (Figure 18), figures in the same category increased steadily in the ratio of males to females, leveling out by 1920 (497:495). These charts indicate that the county as a whole showed a steady increase and an even ratio of male to female children.

Figure: 19
Marital Status in Kingman 1900-1920

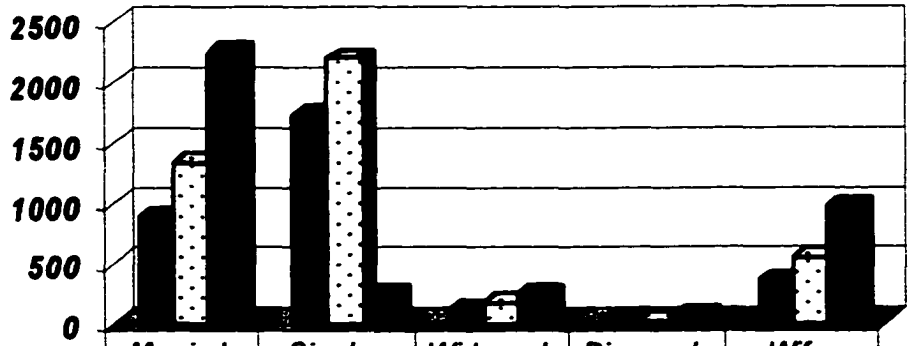


	Married	Single	Widowed	Divorced	Wife
1900	201	288	33	5	81
1910	297	434	45	7	122
1920	587	596	60	20	270

The marital status of Kingman's residents only reflects the non-Native American population. The married and single categories increased in proportion from 1900 to 1920, reaching a balance in the latter year. When the "single" division included unmarried children, the variation in married and single listings disappeared due to mortality related to the 1918 Spanish Flu, mining accidents, and natural increases. On the other hand, from 1900 to 1920 divorces increased at the ratio of 5:20, indicating the stress of World War I and the decline of mining on marriages. The category of "wife" reflected that, of those females who listed themselves as married, 40 percent were wives in 1900 and 46 percent in 1920. Also, in 1900, thirty-nine

individuals listed themselves as married with no spouse present, which increased to forty-seven in 1920. It was a small proportion of the "married" category, but represented the solitary, married individuals who had not brought a spouse to the town.

Figure: 20
Hinterland - Marital Status 1900-1920



	Married	Single	Widowed	Divorced	Wife
1900	893	1739	131	20	374
1910	1347	2,200	192	34	545
1920	2249	252	268	89	971

In Figure 20, the charting of Mohave County's hinterland contained the same criteria as Kingman. Numbers increased in 1920 because it included Whites and non-Whites. Thus, there were 145 married individuals with no spouses present in 1900, a figure that grew to 307 by 1920. The opening of new mining properties in the hinterland accounted for the rise in solitary, married individuals. Otherwise, the proportions for the hinterland were similar to Kingman.

Sf=single female

sm=single male

mf=married female

mm=married male

wf=widowed female

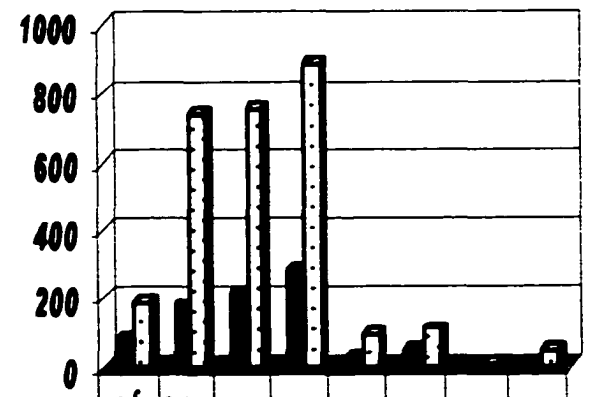
wm=widowed male

df=divorced female

dm=divorced male

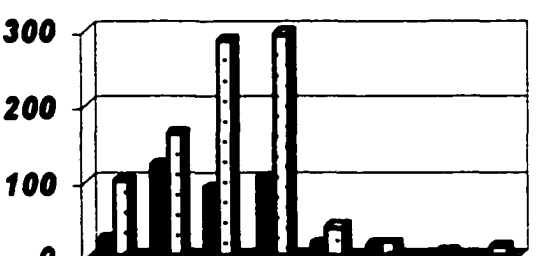
15+ = age

Figure 21:
Marital Relations - Hinterland 1900,1920



	sf 15 +	sm 15 +	mf	m m	wf	w m	df	d m
1900	84	183	213	286	23	49	5	11
1920	186	742	752	896	99	112	18	51

Figure: 22
Marital Relations - Kingman
1900, 1920



	sf– 15 +	sm- 15 +	m f	m m	w m	d f	d m
1900	25	12	93	10	16	3	2
1920	10	16	28	29	17	8	13

By 1920, the larger numbers of males compared to females remained a factor. In age ratios married men were older in both Kingman and the hinterland than married women (43:38 years-old), while "divorced" and "widowed" numbers were higher in the hinterland, indicating the impact of mining accidents, disease, and desertion on marriages. Yet, single females of marriageable age remained consistently a small proportion of the population from 1900 to 1920. The charts, however, do not show that in 1920 the age category for children under fourteen reached a closer balance; there were 677 males and 640 females.[27] Single individuals over fifteen years of age fell into the category of potential marriage partners. Here again, single males fifteen and older maintained their lead as the predominant group, because many of them were miners or mill workers. This accounted for the higher rate of single men, a continuation from the nineteenth century practice. Moreover, by 1920, the number of single men increased considerably.[28] Also, because of improvement in travel, single male miners had an easier time getting to the camps. Despite better transportation and communication, the hinterland's living conditions and climate, as noted earlier, appealed little to women. The transient nature of the extraction industry and its primitive lifestyle continued to discourage the in-migration of women. Census data for households that contained women and children indicate that Kingman had less single males, divorced couples or widows

than the hinterland. Within the mining hinterland, there were more designations of "widowed," "divorced," and "single" males.

As Tables 1 and 2 demonstrate, the overall household structure of Mohave County remained dynamic in the early twentieth century. For one thing, solitary-heads of household (single males/males with no wife present) usually boarded or lodged. Due to the lack of affordable housing, disposable income, and/or job security, most bachelors preferred to rent. Every community in the county contained facilities that catered to boarders. For instance, in the hinterland solitary miners chose tent structures, which were more temporary and portable. At the same time, solitary-females as heads of households remained a small, but gradually growing category. Accidents, disease, and abandonment contributed to the rise in the widowed, divorced, or solitary status of these women. Moreover, the 1920s as a whole showed a slight increase in all categories of marital status as living conditions and the economy improved.

The number of both solitary males and females dropped in 1910 before rising in the 1920 census. At the same time, households containing extended families, also declined slightly due to the Indian schools. Boarding 400 to 450 children at the Truxton and Fort Mohave schools, accounted for the lack of children present in some Native American households. Furthermore, several Hualapai families practiced polygyny in which a man has customarily two or more wives (as

opposed to the polygamy, a practice in which either sex has a plurality of spouses at the same time). Census-takers listed multiple wives under several male-headed of households.[29] While polygamy was also a feature of the Mormon communities of the Arizona Strip, it did not appear as a factor in the census documents. Most Mormons in 1910 and 1920, fearing reprisals, avoided mentioning it to federal officials. These anomalies skewed the statistics for actual nuclear/extended family data.

Table 1

Kingman's Household Structure
1900-1920

	1900	1910	1920
Household Structure/Head of Household			
Solitary male	145	245	122
Solitary female	5	21	38
Solitary male with children	1	4	6
Solitary female with children	11	8	12
Solitary male/extended family	3	3	6
Solitary female/extended family	3	2	8
Married no children present	17	35	69
Married with extended family	16	20	31
Nuclear family	47	68	168
N	248	406	460

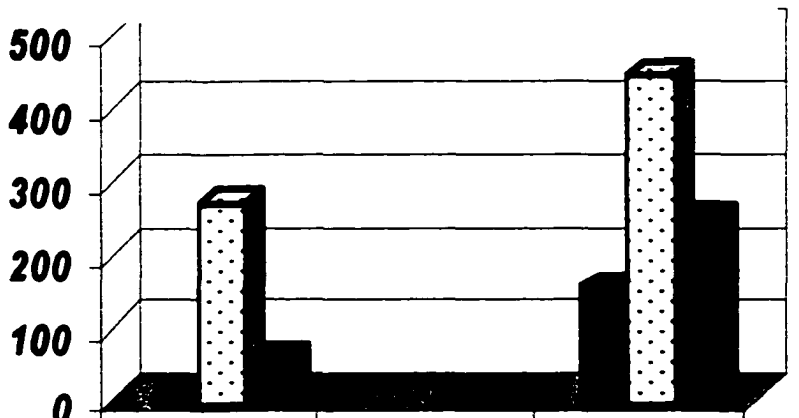
Table 2

Household Structure of the Hinterland
1900-1920[30]

Household Structure/Head of Household	1900	1910	1920
Solitary White male	668	970	780
Solitary Indian male	25	18	25
Solitary White female	32	21	63
Solitary Indian female	1	9	31
Solitary White male with children	0	25	28
Solitary Indian male with children	5	9	20
Solitary White female with children	23	13	30
Solitary Indian female with children	0	0	4
Solitary White male/extended family	1	25	21
Solitary Indian male/extended family	4	1	4
Solitary White female/extended family	0	1	4
Solitary Indian female/extended family	0	0	1
Married White no children present	53	91	191
Married Indian no children present	21	35	50
Married White with extended family	16	52	51
Married Indian with extended family	29	18	11
Nuclear White family	128	182	314
Nuclear Indian family	42	60	87
N	1,048	1,530	1,715

On the other hand, the increase in family units represented the growing stability of communities like Kingman. In the hinterland, Oatman and Chloride had families present, but because of transiency, many failed to appear from one census to the next. However, while they stayed in the county, both nuclear and extended families helped create more traditional communities. State business directories and newspapers from 1910 through the 1920s document a corresponding increase in schools, churches, clubs, fraternal orders, and celebrations as the number of families grew.

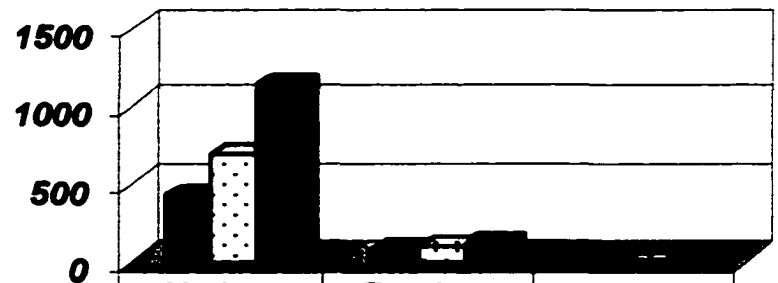
Figure: 23
Mohave County: Lodgers, Boarders, and Roomers 1900-1920



	Kingman		Hinterland
1900	11		158
1910	274		447
1920	61		252

Because of population growth, in 1910 Mohave County experienced increased demand for residential land. As the census indicates, households often listed several solitary individuals as lodgers, boarders, or roomers. The practice of renting spare rooms helped families or widows meet living expenses. Local business directories support the census data, depicting a subsequent rise in lodging and boarding facilities. Several of Kingman's enterprises even advertised separate accommodations for women. To be sure the entire county struggled to provide more rental units to handle the disparate needs of single women, families, and other demographic groups such as consumptives who not only stayed in Kingman, but in Chloride and Oatman as well. After a time, some of these renters married and built homes.

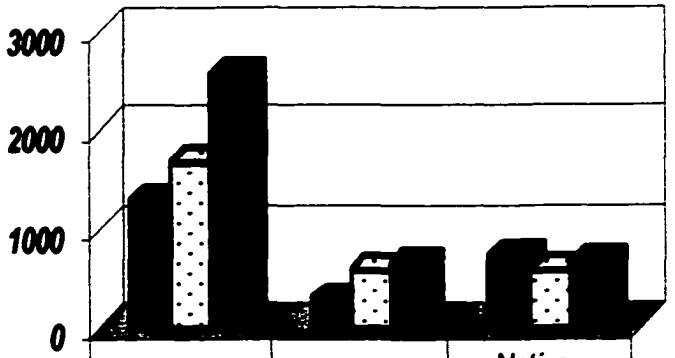
Figure: 24
Ego's Place of Birth - Kingman 1900-1920



	Native Born	Foreign Born	Unknown
1900	435	81	17
1910	688	104	11
1920	1142	117	14

Overall, the housing shortage created by all these groups promoted boarding and new construction, both of which represent a supplementary source of income for locals. Only by the late 1920s, as mining entered a recession that worsened with the crash of 1929, did the number of lodgers and boarders decrease.

Figure: 25
Ego's Place of Birth: Hinterland 1900-1920



	Native Born	Foreign Born	Native American
1900	1317	318	762
1910	1705	610	622
1920	2580	652	694

While growing home ownership and the increased number of rental units reflected one significant factor in the county's development, so were the percentages of native and foreign born residents. Generally, the county contained more native borns residents. From 1900 to 1920, the percentage of this

group in Kingman increased from 82 to 90 percent. At the same time, the number of Kingman's foreign borns fell from 15 to 9 percent. The composition of the hinterland population varied from Kingman's. The hinterland's native borns ranged only from 55 to 66 percent from 1900 to 1920, and between 1900 and 1910, the group climbed from 13 to 21 percent. But following the postwar mining recession, it fell to 17 percent in 1920. Because both Kingman and the hinterland contained more American born inhabitants than foreign borns, the various communities, along with the county seat had more cohesive societies than places like Ely, Nevada and other company towns where labor turbulence and class tensions reached fever pitch during the Red Scare of 1919-20.

Native Americans comprised the majority of the remaining hinterland's population. Their numbers decreased from 1900 to 1910 and recovered by 1920.[31] The reservation system, Indian schools, and disease contributed to this. Also, despite federal efforts to confine them on reservations, several bands of Hualapai continued to inhabit their traditional camps between 1900 and 1910. For example, by the 1910 census there were bands living near Kingman, Chloride, Cerbat, Big Sandy, Cedar Valley, Truxton Canyon, Chemehuevi Valley, and at Indian schools and on reservations. Census-takers may have missed a few more remote groups, because the 1920 census noted that the Indians were only on reservations and Indian schools. From the census, it appeared that the

Hualapai confined to the Truxton-Peach Springs reservation listed themselves as ranchers or doing odd jobs. The Mohaves also engaged in the same pursuits. Both tribes struggled under federal guidelines that forced them to rely on directions from Indian agents. Neither flourished under the reservation or Indian school system. Their occupations were mainly common laborers, including farm work, wood gathering, laundering, or herding sheep or cattle. The boarding of children disrupted the family and destruction of their traditional economy caused dissension within the reservations. Moreover, most of their children silently resented their confinement and carried this attitude into their adult life.[32] Thus, the Native Americans continued to suffer cultural disintegration and loss of self-esteem with little economic expansion.

Additional diversity factors in Mohave County's census data appeared in the foreign born category, particularly regarding the place of birth of the resident's parents. In 1900, 35 percent of Kingman's respondents listed their father as foreign born, compared to 26 percent by 1920. The same decline occurred with their mothers, as the foreign born figure dropped from 32 percent to 24 percent. Kingman's population therefore contained many residents who were native born.

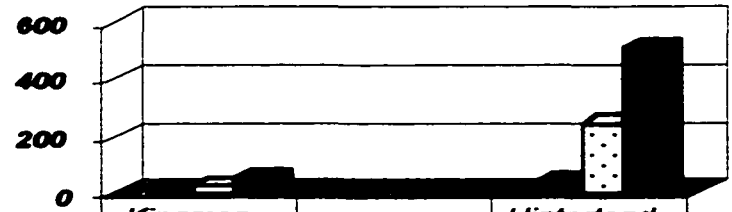
However, among those listed as foreign born countywide, a majority came from Great Britain and Mexico, with the former

comprised largely of Irish and English. In White Hills, particularly, the English invested heavily in the extraction industry. But English and Irish miners along with Germans and Scandinavians inhabited all of the county's mining districts. Yet, the Germans and Scandinavians only accounted for 2 to 5 percent of the population from 1900 to 1920. The Mexican population, though small in Kingman, averaged eighteen individuals per year in 1900 and 1910. The hinterland, of course, with its miners, farmers, vaqueros, and track workers, numbered more. Mexicans numbers ranged from 47 to 511 during peak periods. Sites like Swansea, Goldroad, Signal, and Oatman contained many Mexican miners, because there were no restrictions on hiring them; however, when mining declined, their numbers also decreased. Although Mexican Americans resided in Mohave, they were largely invisible in the census; and appeared only in the place of birth column. However, even in that category it was only possible to identify individuals born in Mexico or whose parents came from there. After the first generation, under race and in place of birth columns, they appeared in the records as "White" and native born.

Figure 25A compares the Mexican population in Kingman to that in the hinterland from 1900 to 1920. While the rural numbers dramatically increase, this is not the case for Kingman. In 1910, only three Mexican families lived in town, the men working as miners (5) or for the railroad (13). Of the eight women listed, three were housewives and the rest

were daughters and one visiting mother. However, the same year in the remainder of the county, 118 persons listed themselves as married, including thirty-four women out of the forty-two females present. Most of the 202 men worked as miners (46), herders (56), section hands (87), construction laborers (20), and vegetable gardeners (9). By the 1920s, there were more people in the hinterland (511) than in Kingman (54). Of the twenty-one females, there were still only nine married and twelve single females. The thirty-two males represented fifteen sons; the rest held a variety of jobs, including mining (3), cowboy (2), and section hand (2). Around the county, the 289 Hispanic males engaged in mining (19), track work (92), and ranching (21). The women (222) were mainly housewives (93), but two listed themselves as teachers. Even more significant was the fact that by the 1920s Hispanics were employed not only in mining and ranching; they dominated track labor. While widely distributed throughout Mohave County, they were a small but growing ethnic force.

Figure: 25A Hispanic Population 1900-1920



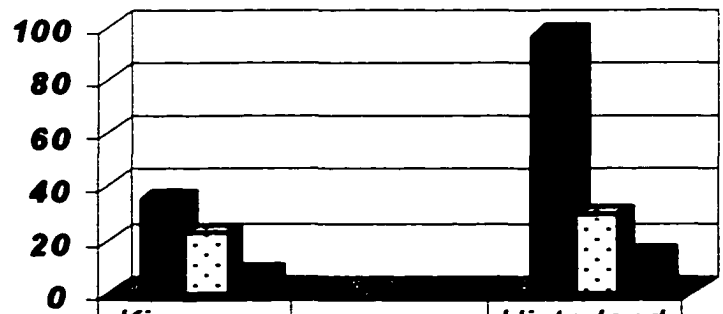
	Kingman		Hinterland
1900	23		47
1910	33		244
1920	54		511

Another culturally diverse group was Mohave County's Asian community. Unfortunately, their numbers declined considerably from the peak of ninety-seven in 1900. That census counted seventy-seven Japanese, most of whom served as section hands for railroad repair and upgrading work. But as railroad operations gradually moved elsewhere their numbers declined. By 1920, only four Japanese remained in Kingman; and the Chinese figures for the same period fell from twenty to four. In the hinterland their numbers went from twenty-nine to fifteen, a drop of 52 percent. Those who remained after 1900, worked within the business sectors as restaurant owners, cooks, waiters, and launderers. Unable to bring their wives because of immigration restrictions, the Chinese males passed jobs between family and friends, a tactic that enabled some to visit China with the assurance that their businesses would remain secure. The Lum brothers typified this trend. As young adults they went to China to marry, but returned to Kingman to reestablish their businesses.[33] Although there were fewer Chinese because of immigration restriction quotas and reduction of railroad employment, they continued to own stores in the county.

As Figure 25B demonstrates, 1900 was the peak year for the presence of Asians in Kingman and the hinterland. The census that year recorded seventy-seven Japanese working as section hands. Brought in by the Santa Fe to repair damaged track, their numbers drop to only two in 1910 and four in

1920; none of which held positions with the railroad. As noted by Jeffery Marcos Garcilazo in his work on Mexican railroad laborers, the Japanese left common labor to enter the service industry or agriculture.[34] With the exception of one Japanese female (Wife) in Kingman in 1920, only Asian males resided within the county. During the same period, the census data indicated that the Chinese were cooks, restaurant-keepers, gardeners, laundrymen, waiters, or hotel-keepers. In 1900 and 1910, there were fifty-one Chinese in the county, declining to fifteen in 1920. Because of restrictive legislation against Asian immigration, death, and the entry of the remaining populations into larger urban areas and the service sector, accounts for the decline in Mohave County.

Figure: 25B Asian Population 1900-1920



	Kingman		Hinterland
1900	35		97
1910	23		29
1920	7		15

Kingman's merchant class not only contained Chinese, but many Euroamerican members as well. As the town grew after 1900, they increasingly opened branch stores in Goldroad, Chloride, and Oatman. According to census data, the general stores of Lovin & Withers and Tarr & McComb also ran general stores in Chloride. In fact, some hired former managers of mining operations. Thus, John H. Ware, former superintendent of the White Hills Mining Company, managed Chloride's Lovin and Withers after 1910, and his son, Allen, was the treasurer and manager of the rival store, Tarr & McComb. Moreover, Kingman's Lovin & Withers established a branch in Goldroad and in Oatman under the direction of John H. Ware.

Both the main and branch businesses survived by catering to the needs of diverse populations. For instance, the Oatman outlet of Arizona Stores Company carried general merchandise and "Navajo" blankets, while the main emporium in Kingman sold mining machinery, hardware, fuels, and automobile/truck accessories. By 1915, Tarr & McComb and other shops diversified their stock, handling hardware, Studebaker wagons and carriages, and Goodrich tires.[35] The boomtowns and mining camps as well as the improvements in transportation and communication made it possible for these businessmen to expand their services and wares for Kingman and its hinterland.

While most merchants were male, by the 1920s the census and business directories noted an increase in female-operated

businesses. Mrs. Mary Sweeny, for example, ran a boarding house in Kingman. In fact, Oatman's hospitality industry boasted several female proprietors. The 1920 Arizona Business and Professional Directory listed seven women managing businesses there. Even Native American women in the hinterland found employment as laundresses; skills learned at the Indian boarding schools enabled them to replace Asians men, who engaged in more lucrative restaurant work or left for larger urban areas. Outside the hospitality industry and laundry, thirty-six other Euroamerican women worked as teachers around the county. Those who taught school responded to newspaper or Indian school advertisements. Most of them taught for a year or two before they married or secured employment in larger urban areas. The census data also noted that there was a farmerette, stockwoman, two postmistresses, and five salesladies. Though some females maintained jobs outside the home, most over eighteen years-of age were merely just "keeping house."

In fact, by the 1920s, there was more job diversification than ever before in northwestern Arizona. Of Mohave County's 3,207 occupations listed in the 1920 census, mining remained the largest category (21 percent), followed by ranching/agriculture (9 percent), transportation and communication (5 percent), laborers (6 percent), and housewives (29 percent). The rest of employed adults engaged in general commerce, education, and public service (70 percent). Kingman retained its position as the center of

subregional commerce, drawing residents from around the county for shopping, entertainment, and the railroad. But after 1926, Kingman and the towns along Route 66 developed more hospitality businesses to cater to travelers. Despite the diversity of commerce, the town and hinterland still relied on mining and ranching for most of their customers until tourism developed after 1920.

Fortunately, as newspaper advertisements can demonstrate, rural customers could count on reasonable prices in Kingman. As the number of businesses increased and railroad rates fell after passage of the Hepburn Act in 1906, competition for patrons benefited everyone. Lovin & Wither's ad slogan, "We Buy By the Car Load," and Arizona Stores Company's, "We sell from one of anything to a car load of everything," reflected the friendly rivalry among merchants to secure customers.[36] Even with inflation (resulting from shipping and handling rates), particularly during World War I, prices were lower then in the nineteenth century.[37]

Between 1900 and 1920, Kingman's economy from 1900 to 1929 gradually improved. It had relied primarily on rail traffic, mining, and ranching, until Route 66 and commercial vehicles brought additional business, customers, and competition for railroads. Merchants even invested some of their surplus profits in the extraction industry. Thus, Kean St.Charles, in addition to his editorial and civic duties, served as president of the Sparta Mining Company. And Henry

Lovin, when not managing his stores and serving as a county supervisor, pursued mining. When the economy was good, men like these promoted further development. The addition of several commercial ventures like the Desert Power Plant and Harvey House teamed with new automobile sales and service centers, improved living conditions. Furthermore, in the late 1920s the hospitality industry received a boost when the airport, Route 66, and the construction of Hoover (Boulder) Dam generated more traffic.

On the periphery of the basin and range environment, Kingman was Arizona's last major stop for the westward traveler. Just west of town, the road dropped 3,000 feet and crossed the arid Golden Valley before winding again upward to Oatman. In the summer, the intense heat made the drive grueling. Worse still, once in the Black Mountains motorists faced narrow, switchback roads. While a few service stations along the route awarded motorists some assistance and a brief respite, anyone unaccustomed to this subregion found traveling from Kingman to Needles before and after Route 66 a challenge.

Compared to its frontier period, however, Mohave County's transportation and communication services had markedly improved, and this promoted emigration. The new arrivals, drawn by mining, ranching, and commercial opportunities, came from almost every state in the union and many foreign countries. Nevertheless, the desert environment and the emigrants' shared experiences tended to create common bonds

among the population. Though the county's mining hinterland still attracted mainly solitary individuals, families came in even greater numbers after 1900. And as more families remained within the entire county, they sponsored new clubs, churches, organizations, and schools. They also supported more leisure activities and national celebrations, like the Fourth of July, which enhanced interaction between Kingman and its hinterland. The gradual presence of more families in the county contributed to its quality of life.

In short, Mohave benefited from changes in the composition of its population. At the same time, the county also faced important challenges. Because the hinterland had undergone another boom-bust cycle in both the Cerbat and Black Mountain ranges, there were increased demands for more funding for civic developments which crowded the agendas not only of the county board of supervisors, but community organizations and fraternal orders as well. Because the county depended on continued growth in mining, ranching, and railroad to fund government, shortfalls affected development. With boosters countywide pushing the importance of progress and anticipating future needs, the county officials tried to accommodate their demands by applying for additional federal aid and selling municipal bonds.[38] Fortunately, these grants along with revenues from the emerging hospitality industry more than offset the income lost to delinquent taxes.[39]

Although the quality of life had improved, fluctuations in the local and national economy continued to threaten progress. Those businessmen who remained in Mohave County knew the limitations of their locale. Their experience with boom-bust cycles kept them wary. Also, their long-standing relations with the railroad and connections with Pacific Coast merchants enabled them to provide the county with necessary goods at reasonable prices. Despite exaggerated claims in the local newspapers about Kingman and its hinterland being "in the forefront of small town America," local businessmen knew their customer base: miners, cowboys, farmers, and ranchers of modest means. Through it all, Kingman maintained its status as an entrepot, providing goods and services for the hinterland. Given these factors, Kingman faced no real competition between 1900 and 1930, in its bid to become the urban oasis for northwestern Arizona.

Endnotes

1. Mohave County Miner, 14 June 1929.

2. Sanborn Map Company, Insurance Maps of Kingman, Arizona, 1898.

3. Sanborn Map Company, Insurance Maps of Kingman, Arizona, 1901, 1910.

4. Ibid.

5. Roman Malach, Kingman-Arizona: City in Mohave County (Kingman: Arizona Bicentennial Commission, 1974), 13.

6. Sanborn Map Company, Insurance Maps of Kingman, Arizona, 1916.

7. Ibid.

8. Glenn Johnson, Interview by Mohave County Historical Society, 1 November 1989, Mohave Museum of History and Arts Library, Kingman, Arizona.

9. Mohave County Miner, 11 November 1932.

10. Malach, Kingman-Arizona, 13.

11. Sanborn Map Company, Insurance Maps of Kingman, Arizona, 1916.

12. Sanborn Map Company, Insurance Maps of Kingman, Arizona, 1923.

13. Glenn Johnson, Interview by Mohave County Historical Society, 1 November 1989, Mohave Museum of History and Arts Library, Kingman, Arizona. Johnson reported that he helped businessman and former superintendent, Charles Metcalfe, lay out plots for a new cemetery. Unfortunately, when town officials could not locate all the surviving relatives, they left some unmarked graves behind. Local folklore contended that bones occasionally littered the high school's football field during spring practices, engendering considerable community indignation.

14. Roman Malach, A Century of Kingman, 1882-1982 (Kingman: H & H Printers, 1980), 60.

15. Ibid.

16. Sanborn Map Company, Insurance Maps of Kingman, Arizona, 1910, 1920.

17. Malach, Kingman-Arizona, 16.

18. Fifteenth Census of the United States: Population (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1933), 7.

19. Ibid.

20. The newspapers often contained accounts of women visiting or moving to stay with relatives in California.

21. Sometimes, married males without their wives present maintained mistresses or housekeepers in mining camps to care for them.

22. What probably accounted for the change was that the town, as seen in chapter five, experienced economic and population fluctuations during mining booms and World War I.

23. Minutes of the Mohave County Board of Supervisors, July 1922, 1929, Microfilm at the Mohave County Museum of History and Arts Library, Kingman, Arizona.

24. Graves and Funeral Records of Mohave County, Arizona 1882 1982 (Kingman: Mohave County Genealogical Society, 1982). Also, the vertical files at the Mohave County Museum of History and Arts Library contain additional lists of burials at remote sites such as Fort Mohave. Not all the cemetery records reflect the known and recorded locations of cemeteries. There are several small plots that have no headstones or records in the county.

25. Malach, A Century of Kingman, 60.

26. Van Marter Funeral Records, Mohave Museum of History and Arts Library, Kingman, Arizona.

27. The data for all these charts was from the United States manuscript census for 1900 to 1920. However, the census-taker sometimes omitted information for some individuals. Native Americans appeared in 1900 and 1910, but usually as a name or label. The 1920 census provided more specific data on Native Americans, yet some still had nothing listed after their name. Also, the filming of the census obscured the information on a few respondents.

28. Again, the increase in single men included counts of Native Americans.

29. Thomas R. McGuire, "Walapai," Handbook of North American Indians: Southewest, ed. Alfonso Ortiz, (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1983), 25-37.
While the census data implied that the Hualapai

practiced polygny, according to McGuire, this was not the case. Thus, the adoptation of polygny might be the result of a reorganization due to a disruption of their traditional familial patterns.

30. Ibid.
The household structure of the Native Americans once more indicates that single male head of households and single males with only children present are not traditional patterns but suggest rather that they are the result of changes that occurred to the family because of contact with Euroamericans and the stress placed on the family due to divorce, death of a spouse, death of a relative, or relocation of a tribal member.

31. The Indian population in 1900 was 762, dipping to 622 in 1910 and rising to 694 in 1920. The Hualapai and Mohave are patrilineal (tracing their lineage through the male head of the clan). The Havasupai, though not included in the census data as they were part of Coconino County's census by 1900, traced their kinship bilaterally.

32. On June 5, 1999 at a meeting on the site of the former Fort Mohave Indian School, former students expressed their sorrow and hatred for the years lost with their family and culture during their incarceration at the facility. Similar testimonials from Haulapai elders at the annual Commitment for Excellence attest to their loss of cultural identity and poor treatment at Truxton.

33. Charlie Lum, Interview by Mohave County Historical Society, 10 January 1981, Mohave Museum of History and Arts, Kingman, Arizona; Wong Lum, Interview by Mohave County Historical Society, 22 July 1980, Mohave County Museum of History and Arts Library, Kingman, Arizona.

34. Jeffery Marcos Garcilazo, "Traqueros: Mexican Railroad Workers in the United States" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, 1995), 50-55.

35. The Mohave County Miner from 1900 to 1920 published advertisements from merchants that highlighted their general offerings and also thier specializations. Branch stores often carried a slightly different line of goods that appealed to ranchers and miners. The newspaper's last section contained several columns devoted to advertisements.

36. Arizona State Business Directory (Denver: The Gazetteer Publishing Company, 1915-16), 346.

37. During World War I, the railroad limited what it carried because of commitments to the military. Mohave County faced shortages, but residents felt that it was their patriotic obligation to conserve.

38. Minutes of the Mohave County Board of Supervisors (July 1920), 1-2. The county held a special election on June 8, 1920 for two propositions: 1). To sell a bond for $300,000 to improve roads and 2). For $80,000 to build the county hospital. Voters approved both propositions.

39. Eugene P. Moehring, Resort City in the Sunbelt: Las Vegas 1930-1970 (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1995), 14.

CHAPTER 7

KINGMAN AND MOHAVE COUNTY: 1930s

"Land of extremes. Land of contrasts. Land of surprises. Land of contradictions. A land that is never to be fully understood...that is Arizona." The WPA Guide to 1930s Arizona.

In the 1930s, Kingman developed into a thriving oasis for travelers and county commerce. Although both the town and its surrounding hinterland retained their frontier appearance, boosters now capitalized on this to attract traffic from Route 66. As a result, new waves of tourists and migrants sought refuge in the county's warm climate and western character. With the onset of the Great Depression, county residents experienced additional changes that reshaped their society.

Certainly, the flow of migrants through Arizona's travel corridors increased due to the Dustbowl, pestilence, mechanization, and the Agricultural Adjustment Act, which flushed tens of thousands of sharecroppers, tenant farmers, and marginal farm owners off the land. Many passed through the state on their way to California while some stayed and worked to pay off their debts or start a new life in the Grand Canyon State. In particular, farmers from the southern

Plains were victims of a severe drought and subsequent crop failures. Many of them ultimately lost their land and moved westward. Those using Route 66 or the Santa Fe Railroad passed through Mohave County on their way to California.[1] Although some of these migrants decided to settle in the hinterland, relatively few chose Kingman. Chloride and Oatman attracted the majority of people looking for work as hardrock miners or prospectors. Kingman, on the other hand, drew individuals for federal relief and recovery employment programs. Because the newcomers had little disposable income, the county profited little from them until the implementation of New Deal projects. Although the county benefited from most government policies, the additional people and the targets selected for assistance challenged the county's self-sufficient, frontier character.

Historically, earning a living in Mohave County always entailed an element of risk. Aside from the benefits derived from the Homestead, Desert Land, and Timber acts, and the 1872 Mining Law, investors and workers relied on private, outside capital to stimulate economic development. Because the county's traditional relationship with the federal government had involved oversight of its land and mineral resources, the New Deal's guidelines and restrictions were not unexpected. The only difference from earlier decades was that in the 1930s the government provided direct financial assistance. So, local officials usually listened politely

but cautiously to representatives from various agencies before accepting their help.

At the same time, acting on federal mandates, New Deal administrators wanted to implement their relief programs as soon as possible. To be sure, they too had some reservations about the viability of some projects for rural Arizona. For instance, employees of the Writer's Program, a division within the 1935 Works Progress Administration (WPA), determined in their needs assessment for Arizona that the state did not yet have a homogeneous population and that residents did not fully appreciate the history and natural beauty around them.[2] Unfortunately, the WPA's study was just a cursory evaluation of the state's financial and cultural resources. To easterners, rural Arizona seemed only to be in the early stages of urbanization; its frontier towns, rugged environment, Indian reservations, cattle and mining industries, and recent advancement to statehood all indicated this. Ironically, these same factors made places like northwestern Arizona prime candidates for the Agricultural Adjustment Act, Civilian Conservation Corps, and other New Deal programs. Despite the reluctance of some of its inhabitants, Mohave received substantial federal assistance and participated in several relief and recovery programs.

As will be shown, the Works Progress Administration (WPA) and other programs also funded research into the development of local tribes, artifacts from ancient

civilizations, fossils, and structures created by shifts in the earth's crust. The subregion attracted this attention because federal officials recognized that since the 1880s the state was the site of many expeditions by anthropologists, geologists, and paleontologists. Indeed, by the 1930s, the Southwest had already made contributions to museums like the Smithsonian Institute in Washington, D.C.. During this exploration process, researchers gave Mohave County only a cursory glance. Except for anthropologist Alfred Kroeber's ethnographic studies of the Mohave and Hualapai Indians and a few archaeological surveys, the area had attracted little attention.[3] Researchers considered most of the county below the Arizona Strip uninteresting compared to the richness of the Navajo and Hopi cultures.

Because of this, boosters like Anson Smith worked even harder at promoting Mohave County's scientific and cultural significance as well as its economic potential in order to qualify for federal water and irrigation projects.[4] One of Smith's visions for the county was to secure Colorado River water for development purposes. As early as 1890, he suggested in his newspaper that the river was an excellent candidate for a dam. When the Newlands Act of 1902 finally created the Bureau of Reclamation and the agency began its first project, the Roosevelt Dam near Phoenix, Smith lobbied state and federal officials to consider a dam for the Colorado. In 1914 he wrote a letter to Franklin K. Lane,

Woodrow Wilson's Secretary of the Interior, outlining his proposal. In response, Lane informed Smith that the idea was "just 50 years ahead of time."[5] Nevertheless, the visionary Smith continued to promote his beliefs in the Miner, feeling stronger than ever that Mohave County needed such an enterprise to develop agriculture and industries.

A decade later, Smith applauded the 1928 Boulder Canyon Act and carefully documented the progress of the dam's construction. On the West Coast, articles in the Los Angeles Examiner echoed Smith's boosterism, referring to Boulder Dam as the catalyst for the fulfillment of the Southwest's dreams.[6] That newspaper even predicted that the reservoir, "Boulder Lake" (Lake Mead), would rival the Great Lakes Ontario and Erie. It also prophesied that the lake's construction would spawn resorts, summer homes, and boat landings. All of these places would award Mohave County a new tourist destination.[7] Responding to these predictions, Kingman's officials began planning for the town's future as a hospitality center for travelers to the dam.

Historians have described how the dam's construction powered the early economies of Las Vegas and Boulder City in Nevada.[8] As their nearest Arizona neighbor, Kingman too served as an ideal hub for routing supplies, workers, and visitors by stage and truck to the dam site.[9] But as the Los Angeles Examiner reported, while members of Kingman's Chamber of

Commerce knew of the county's impending importance, they were not "swept off their feet by land speculation."[10] And they were right. Although the town received some additional business during the initial construction phase, it never experienced the boom atmosphere of its Nevada neighbors until the New Deal began in 1933. The reason was simple: the main transportation corridor for both visitors and construction supplies ran between Salt Lake City and Los Angeles, not through northern Arizona.

However, in the midst of the Great Depression, Kingman paused in 1932 to celebrate its Golden Jubilee. To commemorate the occasion the Miner published a special edition where fact and folklore combined to honor both the town's and the hinterland's rich past. During this jubilee year, the newspaper focused on positive issues such as construction activities of Boulder Dam and downplayed the depression, bootlegging, and the bitter race between Herbert Hoover and Franklin D. Roosevelt. While declaring the Miner nonpartisan, Anson Smith nevertheless supported the Democratic State Central Committee's charges in 1928 that Herbert Hoover had failed to protect Arizona from California's water-hungry officials.[11] In that same year, state Democrats endorsed Alfred E. Smith for President; prompting the Miner to suggest that reprisals would follow if Republicans won.[12] The newspaper dropped its objections to newly-elected President Herbert Hoover when voters in both

Arizona and Mohave County chose Hoover over Smith by a ratio of 3:2.[13] Although President Hoover's administration remained committed to finance Boulder Dam, the Crash of 1929, which cut federal revenues, caused rumors to circulate that construction on the dam would slow down. Smith felt that work might be interrupted under the Hoover administration. In reality, dam construction never ceased. However, food and livestock prices declined throughout the West, generating enough apprehension to sway voters toward Roosevelt's promise of a better economy.[14]

In the 1932 election Mohave County and Kingman voters overwhelmingly supported Franklin D. Roosevelt. Indeed, the New York governor carried the county by a vote of 1,590 to 520, prompting the Miner to lead with the banner, "Roosevelt Wins Presidency-Democrats Landslide in County, State, Nation."[15] Subsequent issues of the paper strongly supported President Roosevelt's New Deal, particularly the PWA's commitment to finishing Boulder Dam. In fact, the Republican press proposed changing the dam's name to Hoover, causing Smith to openly scoff at the idea.[16] Instead, he urged readers to support the New Deal and continued to refer to the dam as "Boulder."[17] Always the booster, Smith liked the growth-promoting feature of Roosevelt's new alphabet agencies. In one column he credited the President with offering a program

"that will be able to put this county on a firm and stable basis within a year."[18]

In fact, the government's dedication to completing Boulder Dam helped strengthen Kingman's economic relationship with southeastern Nevada. For example, the Kingman Motor Company in February 1932 bought the rights from Jerome L. Carrow to initiate regular passenger express to the dam site.[19] In order to facilitate this service, county officials lobbied for a new road to connect Route 66 from Kingman to the state line. In addition, the construction phase of the Boulder Dam Highway (U.S. 93), beginning in January 1934, created jobs for Kingman's residents. Of course, there were some complications. Just seven months later, after pushing through solid rock near the dam, the Weymouth Crowell Company had completed only three and a half miles. Another contractor, the Bevanda Company, began the next phase, promising to open another twelve miles by the end of the summer.[20]

But several months later, Henry Lyons, the federal resident engineer on the Kingman-Boulder Road, informed Kingman's Rotarians that Arizona's legislature had not budgeted enough money for its share of the project. When construction slowed, the rotary responded quickly by doubling its membership to twenty-four and successfully lobbying the state for more funds. Despite the delays these problems entailed, the road eliminated the greatest single barrier to

north-south transportation. Immediately, a stage line commenced service from Kingman to Las Vegas via Boulder City. On one record-setting weekend in 1934, over 2,500 people descended on Kingman to journey to the dam site.[21]

Kingman's business promoters and especially Anson Smith took pride in their promotional roles in securing Congressional funding for the dam. In 1932, President Herbert Hoover even referred to Smith as the "Father of Boulder Dam" and sent him a congratulatory acclaiming Smith's "indefatigable work in advocacy of the development of the Colorado River at Boulder Canyon, from the earliest inception of the idea down to its present process of fulfillment."[22] The next year, Smith celebrated his golden wedding anniversary with his wife, their ten children, and nineteen grandchildren; it also coincided with his fiftieth year in Mohave County and Kingman's jubilee. Smith capped off his celebrations with a visit to the construction site where federal dignitaries acclaimed his tireless campaign for the dam. Standing in the dry river bed and staring up at the immense concrete structure, he felt both vindicated and overwhelmed. Unfortunately, Smith never lived to see the dam's the completion. Exactly one year later, after fifty-three years as editor, politician, local historian, and tireless booster, Smith died on June 19, 1935 as the result of complications and congestive problems from a fall and broken hip.[23] In 1936, as the waters of the mighty Colorado

rose behind the mammoth concrete expanse to form Lake Mead, the Miner showcased it as a fitting tribute to its founding editor, who dreamed of connecting Arizona to Nevada by highway to tighten their common political interests in the subregion. By 1939, an average of 624 cars traveled daily over Kingman-Boulder Road to visit the newly renamed "Hoover Dam."[24]

While construction activities at Hoover Dam after 1932 stimulated tourism and commerce through Kingman, other New Deal programs boosted additional sectors of the town and county's economies. The Public Works Administration (PWA), for example, funded a survey of the Lower Colorado River near Bull's Head Rock in 1935.[25] Concerned about regulating the flow of the discharge from Hoover Dam, PWA officials proposed another dam (Davis Dam) for Mohave Valley. They felt that it would generate power and reclaim lands for both Indian and local residents.[26] Although that dam was not begun until the 1940s, the Miner reported as early as 1932 that there was "not one acre of available land left for homesteading along the Colorado River in Mohave, Cottonwood and Chemehuevis Valleys."[27]

Aside from the PWA's proposals for the Colorado, the New Deal contributed in other ways to Mohave County's economy, including the Federal Emergency Relief Administration, Civil Works Administration, Civilian Conservation Corps, Taylor Grazing Act, and Indian Reorganization Act. The

Reconstruction Finance Corporation (RFC), for instance, allocated money for improving Route 66 across the Hualapai Reservation.[28] The National Re-employment Office opened in Kingman along with the Civil Works Administration (CWA). Together they soon employed 138 men from the county's relief rolls for projects around Kingman, Oatman, Big Sandy, and the Arizona Strip.[29] By 1933, the CWA had aided most of the town's jobless men by finding them additional work in Peach Springs, Hackberry, Goldroad, and Boulder. The CWA also provided coal and canned goods for those too old to work.[30]

Although the New Deal's employment programs assisted Mohave County's White males, initially, there was little directed toward Native Americans. Over the years, improved communication and transportation systems had promoted more contact among the county's tribes. The Hualapai, Mohaves, and Havasupai continued their annual gatherings at Hackberry to honor the dead and share their concerns. Fueled by the findings of the Bureau of Indian Affairs' Meriam Report of 1928, which depicted widespread disease, malnutrition, a short life expectancy, and poverty amongst the nation's tribes, the focus of their meeting changed.[31] In September 1929, they gathered to discuss the state of the Indian Service.[32] The tribes discovered that they shared a common desire to control their reservations and to halt further government corruption and interference in their internal

affairs. At the same time, the tribes sought New Deal help.

As the Native Americans' quality of life deteriorated, the Department of Interior responded by reforming the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA). The first step was to split the division of the human relations and property agencies into separate offices in 1931, which led to subsequent changes in personnel and duties. Although this represented the first major reorganization of the department in fifty years, it had little impact on its field agents, who continued such exploitive practices as permitting local residents to run cattle across tribal lands and fish in their lakes and streams. The same year, Commissioner C. J. Rhoads and his assistant initiated further changes in policy that included raising salaries to recruit more qualified BIA personnel, remodeling of reservation facilities, increased food allowances at boarding schools, and the elimination of heavy labor by school children.[33] Empowered by citizenship, which Indians received in 1924, Mohave County's tribes met frequently to discuss the impact of these changes.

The growing solidarity among Mohaves and Hualapai helped them face additional challenges posed by changing New Deal policies in the 1930s. Rumors had circulated throughout the 1920s about closing Indian schools. In 1929, the Department of Interior finally announced its plans to terminate first the school at Fort Mohave and then the one in Truxton. Although both facilities suffered increasingly from lack of

funding and internal discord, local Whites demanded that the government reconsider its decision because of the multiplier effect the institutions had on the local economy and farm labor market. Nonetheless, by 1933, BIA determined that the schools were too expensive and had outlived their usefulness. Moreover, county residents received further confirmation of its decision when the Interior Department maintained that it would cease forced assimilation of Native American children.[34] As a result, many of Arizona's Indian schools began to close.

The possibility of lost revenue and abandoned buildings dismayed county officials. Their protests only won them a limited reprieve.[35] Because of increasing problems with funding occasioned by the depression and the Hoover and Roosevelt administration's opposition to forced assimilation, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs ordered more school closings. As a result, Fort Mohave shut its doors in 1931; and the Truxton school followed in 1937.

Because of the expected impact of Hoover Dam on the Lower Colorado's environment, river residents wanted to convert the Fort Mohave facility into an administrative headquarters for New Deal programs. Although Congress never created an agency to redevelop the area, the Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA) temporarily utilized the buildings as a camp for transient males. By January 1935, the facility housed forty-five men with plans to accommodate an additional 250.[36] Residents along the river

feared that the homeless would cause problems and pressured the county superintendents to stop the program. Unfortunately, county and federal officials continued to battle over the increasing amount of homeless living there throughout the year. Both sides finally acknowledged that the region would profit better from a school targeting transient young men. In April 1935, after extensive repairs to the structures, classes began for 300 homeless males ranging from twelve to twenty-five years of age.[37] However, because of escalating expenses and a lack of adequate administration, FERA terminated the experiment after six months.[38] So, after seventy-five years of service, first as a military base and then as a boarding school, the federal government finally abandoned the site.

Even before the Truxton school closed in 1937, a decision the Hualapai endorsed, there were several issues that garnered Indian support. Hualapai leader James Fielding, for instance, hired attorneys to pursue tribal land and water issues within federal courts. The Hualapai contended that the railroad and Indian agents, using federal sanctions, had taken more than their allotted share of traditional land and water rights. Fortunately, Roosevelt's appointee was more sympathetic to them than officials of earlier administrations. Fielding and his lawyers effectively argued that the government and private citizens ran cattle on reservation land that competed for resources

with tribal herds. And he insisted that the continued trespassing by White ranchers and the sale of water rights to the railroad threatened their existence.[39]

At the time, Commissioner Charles J. Rhoads praised the Haulapai for their interest and efforts toward independence and self-support. He suggested that they continue to relocate homes on their current reservations, plant gardens, and maintain a few chickens and sheep.[40] While Rhoads inferred that the Haulapai needed to provide documented evidence of land occupation, the soil's poor fertility and the arid climate could not support agriculture. The Hualapai considered his lack of insight callous and offensive. However, after 1932, prospects improved radically for the tribe when the Senate proposed establishing a new relationship with Native Americans. Democratic Senators Burton Wheeler of Montana and William King of Utah reported to the Senate that the Bureau of Indian Affairs maintained too many employees who robbed Indians, particularly in Mohave County, Arizona. King noted that the tribes suffered under Rhoads' administration.[41]

Shortly afterward, a letter from John Collier, an advocate for Native Americans, appeared in The U.S. Daily, warning that the United States could no longer afford to practice political "rapine" toward Native Americans.[42] A year later, under Interior Secretary Harold Ickes' prodding, President Roosevelt appointed Collier Commissioner of Indian

Affairs. The latter immediately attacked the previous assimilation policies and implemented his "Indian New Deal," the Indian Reorganization Act (IRA). This legislation encouraged Native Americans to form their own tribal organizations, adopt constitutions, hire lawyers, and form business corporations. They also received the right to practice their native religions and customs.[43] In May 1934, the jubilant Hualapai issued an open invitation in the Miner to their supporters to celebrate their 1932 victory over Indian agents as well as their reacquisition of tribal land. During the festivities, they expressed their gratitude to everyone who helped them.[44]

Indian and White residents of Mohave County benefited further from the efforts of the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC). The Roosevelt administration developed the CCC in 1933 to provide employment for unmarried, unemployed men between eighteen and twenty-five years of age. Its purpose was to create jobs in forestry, soil conservation, flood control, and other similar public work projects. Once established, the CCC attracted inductees from around the country. Most recruits enlisted for at least six months with a possible two year option. During their service, they received clothing, room, board, medical attention, and a monthly paycheck. Some camps even offered classes to improve academic and vocational skills. At its peak, the program contained 502,000 participants in 2,514 camps nationwide.

From 1933 to 1942, the CCC placed 52,905 men in Arizona's camps.[45]

In Mohave County, the board of supervisors requested CCC help in constructing a park in the Hualapai Mountains as a recreation spot for locals and tourists from southern California. Needing a base of operations in northwestern Arizona, the CCC accepted the proposal. In September 1933, it started recruiting for the county.[46] In the next year, after hiring forty to fifty locals to prepare a camp in the mountains, the first thirty men arrived. In all, seventy-five men built the county's largest CCC site, which consisted of forty-six semi-permanent structures. Most of the first enlistees came from the Tucson training center. While only the more marginal men of the county's unemployed joined the CCC, the agency nevertheless formed a park board comprised of prominent county citizens to assess and prioritize projects. They ultimately asked the corps to improve the road connecting the camp to Kingman, string telephone lines, and build some permanent hiking trails. By July, a full contingent of 235 men, including 35 from Kingman, made Camp Hualapai their temporary home.[47]

Life in the county's CCC camps followed a military routine. The men woke to a bugle, saluted the flag at noon, and slept with taps. They performed specific duties and then had time for planned recreational and educational activities. At the Hualapai Mountain facility, leaders offered additional

instruction in gold prospecting.[48] Emmett Wilkison, who served there from 1936-1937, later recalled that the officials planned sightseeing trips for the men with overnight stays at other CCC camps. Wilkison noted that he had opportunities to travel to the Colorado River and Phoenix. Although there was not much to do in town except see a movie, Wilkison enjoyed his trips to Kingman and developed a love for the county.[49]

Most of the men who served in the Mohave County's CCC were from the Plains or Midwest. In an interview, Wilkison explained that he volunteered for the CCC in Colgate, Oklahoma when he was seventeen. The Hualapai Mountain camp was his first assignment. He recounted that the recruits received rough-fitting army clothing from World War I, regular meals, and $30 to $35 a month depending on one's rank. Typically, men like Wilkison received $15, depositing the rest in a savings account or sending it home to a relative. In return, Wilkison said that they built roads, shoveled rocks, and sometimes did "a little dynamiting." They also had opportunities to hike around old mines and watch the Hualapai Indians gather pinion pine nuts in the mountains. He enjoyed his experience in Mohave County, and maintains the routine and training acquired in the CCC prepared the men for military service in World War II.[50]

Due to the success of the Hualapai Mountain camp, the federal government promised Mohave County several more CCC installations. In May 1935, the Kingman Chamber of Commerce

received a telegram that offered the county seven additional camps.[51] In the end, it also received another large facility at Round Valley and at least four other side camps. The Round Valley site's tents and temporary buildings housed 200 men who constructed roads, water tanks, drift fences, as well as reseeding numerous fields and hillsides. These water and range improvements brought cattle and sheep herders into compliance with the Taylor Grazing Act.[52] These ranchers also acquired a new road from their range land to Hackberry and the railroad, reducing their trip by thirty-two miles.[53]

As the activities of the CCC increased, it opened several temporary side camps. Fifty miles from the original Hualapai mountain installation, the CCC constructed the Hualapai Valley side-camp. After that the agency established another one at Francis Creek. Both facilities engaged in range improvements, including rodent and weed irradiation. For example, the men constructed a fence between the Arizona Livestock Company and Clyde Cofer's ranch, which helped control 6,000 cattle along with 12,000 sheep and horses.[54] And because the area was in a state of prolonged drought, the county received an additional special conservation relief unit, which taught local divisions about constructing earthen dams and dig wells. At a third camp on the Hualapai Reservation, the "Buck and Doe Side Camp," they logged posts for open range fencing projects. The Hualapai contingent that served in the CCC built check dams, reservoirs, truck

trails, and reseeded reservation land. The men also fenced two stock tanks to protect water sources from contamination.[55]

An additional CCC facility near Boulder City, Nevada worked on paleontological and archaeological discoveries. Sites near Pierce's Ferry, Arizona, about ten miles below Hoover Dam, recruited men from Mohave County's installations. One paleontological site, Rampart Cave, contained considerable evidence of animal occupation over the last forty thousand years. The corps received orders to fence the cave's entrance and restrict access. Later, these men recorded archaeological features around Lake Mead that included pit houses, rock shelters, and temporary occupation sites.[56] Although one CCC telephone line crew found pre-Columbian pottery fragments near the Newberry Ranch in Sawmill Canyon, most of the other units in the county found little or nothing of value.[57] Their excavations and site surveys were the first of their kind for northwestern Arizona.

For the most part, local residents welcomed the CCC. For example, ranchers, Mr. and Mrs. John Neal, even invited the Round Valley men to dinner. That encampment soon became the locus of social interaction for nearby ranching families. The unit held monthly dances to entertain them and formed baseball teams that played throughout the county. These dances and games drew crowds, providing additional relief. As the men socialized with local residents, bonds between the two groups strengthened. Thus in 1937, when a severe

blizzard stranded ranchers and miners, the Round Valley and Hualapai camps volunteered to plow roads and transport stranded miners and ranchers to town. Moreover, since these installations ordered supplies from local merchants, they contributed to Kingman's economy, becoming a vital partner in the county's economic recovery.[58]

Mohave County benefited from the CCC's work. Eighty miles of fence and roads, five livestock tanks, rodent and weed irradiation, wells, and earthen dams all contributed to the county's improvement. Furthermore, camps like Hualapai Mountain Park became additional destinations for Kingman's developing tourist industry. Nevertheless, some skeptics expressed concerns about federal intrusions, while others objected to the paperwork and regulations associated with the New Deal programs.[59] Despite the growing interaction with government workers, a few grazers blamed the CCC and especially the Taylor Grazing Act for crippling the county's ranching industry.

The Taylor Grazing Act, of 1934 (TGA) targeted the conservation of public grazing lands. Its goal was to stop overgrazing and soil deterioration on public lands, implement programs for its orderly use, improvement, and development, and stabilize the livestock industry. To accomplish this, the law established the Division of Grazing, an oversight program for the new federal grazing districts. To qualify for the grazing leases, ranchers had to own enough private

land to supply most of their needs. They also paid minimal fees of five cents per animal to cover the program's administrative costs. In addition, ranchers used the forum of the Grazing Advisory Boards to air their concerns. In 1936, confused by the growing federal intervention, local grazers formed the Mohave County Stock Grower's Association to deal with the growing requirements of the TGA. A year later, the association's president, C. L. Cornwall, urged members to remain in the organization and work toward solving their problems.[60] The association existed until 1941, when it became part of the United States Grazing Service. Other groups also eased the transition toward increased federal regulation. The General Land Office (GLO), assumed responsibility for range leases, land exchanges, mineral leases, and land sales. Then in 1939 the GLO created the Range Development Service to plan and administer range improvements.[61]

Aside from increased federal controls over the public domain, county ranchers also had to cope with declining income. Because the Depression hurt the beef market, prices fell from 1930 to 1932 as much as twenty to twenty-five dollars a head. In response the State of Arizona lowered property taxes for ranchers, while county assessors reevaluated the land's value to keep as many grazers solvent as possible. Though federal programs helped to raise beef prices, local cattle only brought in nine dollars per head in

Los Angeles.[62] Plagued by drought, overgrazing, and falling prices, ranchers needed additional help. They received it in the form of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration (AAA) which not only paid ranchers for raising less beef but also financed more fencing, earthen dam tanks, wells, and the stock reduction. The AAA also encouraged ranchers to reseed their pasture lands with native and exotic species.

These federal programs were necessary because earlier programs, such as the 1916 Stock Raising Homestead Act, caused new and pioneer ranchers to expand their spreads and glut the market with meat, which led to overproduction and lower prices after World War I ended and European and military demand for meat fell. Their intense overgrazing and chaining of the land had damaged the fragile ecosystem. Moreover, places in the Arizona Strip, like Grand Wash, lost most of its vegetation due to overgrazing by goats and sheep. With 131 ranchers running 10,523 head of cattle and nearly 50,000 sheep and goats, drought-stricken northern Mohave County sustained permanent damage.[63] The TGA rescued the area by introducing there regulations for range and water usage. But, because ranchers reduced the numbers of cattle and sheep per acre, many of them went bankrupt. Thus, the New Deal not only changed how ranchers used public lands land, but its policies drove some grazers out of business. These events divided the county, prompting some to oppose Roosevelt's environmental and agricultural policies.

Aside from policing land use and improving rural infrastructure and irrigation in the county, the New Deal also helped refinance home mortgages. In August 1935, Federal Housing Administration's (FHA) representative, Albert D. Johnson, met with Kingman residents to explain loan application procedures. After telling the large audience that over 3,500,000 people in the nation's construction industry needed jobs, Johnson observed that 5,000,000 roofs needed repair; one in five homes lacked indoor plumbing; and one-half of those had no central heating. The FHA's goal was to put some of these men back to work by financing home improvements. Within six months the FHA had employed 1,600,000 men in $210,000,000 worth of jobs nationwide. Locally, the agency authorized $4,000,000 alone for Arizona to repair aging structures. Johnson urged Mohave County's residents to apply for these funds to remodel their homes, noting that it was their patriotic duty to stimulate the economy.[64] It was a spirited speech that reassured residents that the federal government cared about rural areas like Mohave County.[65]

Reflecting the tradition of pioneer individualism and the conservative preference for small government, Mohave County officials, like their citizenry, were reluctant to apply for federal funds. Just as FHA representatives like Albert Johnson had to emphasize the importance of homeowners applying for home loans and mortgage insurance, so too other

leaders, some national and some local, had to encourage local politicians to apply for grants and raise the money for matching funds. The latter was especially a problem for obtaining PWA funding, whose programs were vital to cutting local unemployment. Thus in 1935, John J. Cunningham, Secretary of the Mohave County Welfare Board, told Rotarians that the county's relief recipients had dropped from 400 to 200. Although that was good news, Cunningham then explained that the PWA lacked county support and urged them to lobby county and state officials to push for more funding to attract federal job programs.

The mining industry was the first local industry helped by the New Deal. In March 1933, President Roosevelt proposed to abandon the gold standard, which was good news for Arizona's unemployed silver miners. Then in October, he ordered the Reconstruction Finance Corporation (RFC) to buy recently mined gold though at fluctuating prices. For example, in January 1934 he fixed the value of the dollar and set the price of gold at $35 an ounce. Later that year, the Pittman Silver Purchase Act required the treasury to buy one billion dollars worth of silver.[66] All of this came as a pleasant surprise to the Miner which had lobbied relentlessly in the 1920s for the remonetization of silver. In 1933, the Miner told readers that silver was the companion of gold and that the President should coin all domestic silver available for the next four years.[67] Although the silver act was good

news for the county's mines, it came too late for most properties. The cost of new machinery and lumber along with additional regulations exceeded the estimated output. Moreover, the arid climate and lack of water for hydraulic mining were unresolvable problems. Only the county's gold mining companies recovered from the initial shock and pursued their own course; despite Roosevelt's efforts silver extraction failed to rally.

However, the lust for gold profits triggered a new rush during the Depression that attracted more prospectors and investors. The county had desperately needed more capital and larger operations to stimulate the industry, and they came after Roosevelt's actions. Numerous investors developed local claims throughout the decade. Their capital imported supplies, equipment, and scientific methods from other states. But, aside from the property tax revenues they generated for the county and state, most of these new initiatives did little to revive the industry.

Certainly there was a bevy of activity in many of the old sites as well as some newer ones. For example, the King Tut Company imported pipe and welders from Los Angeles. It intended to rework the gravel of the Lost Basin country by piping water from Iron Springs ten and one-half miles away.[68] In 1935, the Oatman Eastern Mining company operated in the Silver Creek area, shipping out for milling fifty to sixty tons of ore per day.[69] Back at the Tom Reed Mine, Walter Lord

and associates acquired a machine that remilled mining dumps to salvage gold dust. Yet, as the Miner reported, "If sufficient water is to be had at any of the diggings of the county, it is believed that this machine could be depended on to effect an immensely high saving of the gold values."[70] Finding a good supply of water, remained the key to any mining venture.[71]

Despite its potential for growth after Roosevelt's switch to a paper currency backed by gold and silver, mining failed to live up to most people's expectations. Only the Tom Reed Mine hit a profitable gold vein in 1930, but its shaft only produced until 1942. Much of Arizona's gold, silver, copper, and trace minerals extracted after 1900 were the result of smelting and electrolytic refining.[72] As war clouds loomed in Europe and fighting raged in China, Congress acted to build up the nation's stockpile of strategic raw materials. When Congress enacted the Strategic Minerals Act in 1939, the United States Bureau of Mines and the Geological Survey departments encouraged massive prospecting for strategic minerals. Congress considered copper, iron, tin, tungsten, zinc, chrome, bauxite, and other trace minerals important for the national mobilization of resources program for World War II.[73] But the exclusion of silver and gold from the list hurt Mohave County.

Given the county's extensive history of mineral extraction, its miners expected recovery. According to the

census their numbers rose from 531 to 1,010 between 1930-1940.[74] However, solitary prospectors barely scratched out a living from their claims, and they greatly inflated the employment figures. Nevertheless, investors continued the practice of developing properties for resale, hoping to recover expenses, make a profit, and get out. Thanks to the Depression, the movement of workers into agriculture and the outmigration to California, the county's mines continued to operate at a reduced level until World War II. The final blow to gold and silver came in 1942 when the federal government ordered the closure of all gold mines in Arizona.[75] Though zinc and lead mines reopened to supply the defense industry, virtually all major mining ceased in Mohave County. Instead, periodic extraction of trace minerals and recreational prospecting were the norm.

Most of the New Deal public works programs for the West concentrated on the construction of monumental projects: dams, irrigation, roads, and fencing. The stabilization of rural economies and the social programs were temporary endeavors, designed to distract the unemployed from their problems by engaging them in meaningful work. While the western states accepted federal aid, their residents, like the ranchers of Mohave County, often resented additional federal interference and reluctantly supported New Deal programs.[76] Rural populations also lacked the funding and experience to sustain these policies. Though the government

spent three times as much on programs in the West than it received back in tax revenues, federal officials never understood that the rural West had a tradition of underdevelopment compared to the industrialized East.[77] New Deal projects, designed to curb further "dust bowl" devastation of environments like those in the southern Plains and midwest or the Navajo Reservation, worked poorly in extremely arid places like Mohave County. Except for land adjacent to the Colorado River, the remainder of the county lacked the funding and water to support permanent irrigation and revegetation projects. And while northwestern Arizona's hospitality industry profited from the network of roads constructed to link Hoover, Parker, and Davis dams, the average citizen received few direct benefits.

By 1939, Kingman remained the county's only viable commercial center and transshipment point, despite aggravating and often costly fluctuations in railroad traffic throughout the 1930s. Fortunately, the town had successfully diversified its economy beyond railroading. Sixty-six mining companies listed their offices in Kingman, and it also continued to host (in 1939) secondary and elementary schools, eight churches, a hospital, twelve civic clubs, seven fraternal orders, a bank, seventeen restaurants, five hotels, the county farm, and over 200 additional businesses and professionals. Enterprises like Valley National Bank survived the Depression, but the other two banks, Citizens

and Arizona Central, closed.[78] Although the loss of their banks was a blow to the local economy, passage of the Glass-Steagall Act of 1933, which established the FDIC to insure depositors' money, stabilized the situation. Locals also support the end of Prohibition.[79] Kingman responded by opening cocktail lounges and liquor stores. Shortly afterward, the Phoenix-Kingman and Boulder City Stage Line advertised itself as "The Boulder Dam Line," offering daily passenger tours, express and freight service to the dam with liquid refreshments at both ends of the line. By July 1939, an average of one thousand vehicles a day used Route 66, marking a 32 percent increase from 1938.[80]

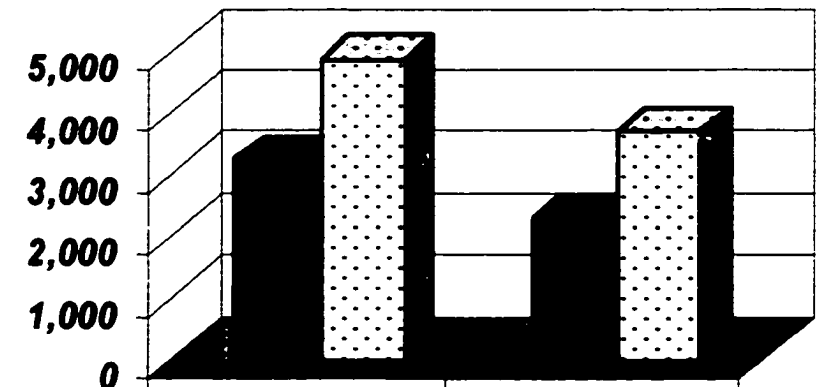
During the war years, the booming defense industry in Los Angeles and the growing popularity of gambling in Las Vegas (the Strip began in 1941) further increased the flow of traffic through town.[81] Commerce thrived enough to enable Kingman's women to be once more active outside the home. They ran the Kingman Public Library, beauty parlors, hospital, guest houses, several service stations, and a woman's wear shop. In public office, Mary E. Carrow was the county recorder, while Hazel Bale served as the deputy superintendent of schools. Two organizations: The League of Women Voters and Business and Professional Women attested to the involvement of the town's females in the community, a trend accelerated by the war and the shortage of manpower after 1941.

Of course, change also resulted in losses. The closing of the Harvey House, an icon of the town's past, impacted the town. The introduction of faster trains in the 1920s and 1930s made stops for refreshments in places like Kingman unnecessary. Although the community felt that it needed the establishment, the lack of railroad passengers doomed the restaurant. The Harvey House had temporarily shut its doors in 1932, only to re-open in 1933. But by 1938, the parent company permanently ended its association with Kingman and closed the place along with twenty-seven other lunch and dining rooms during the 1930s.[82] In the early 1940s, the structure functioned as officer headquarters for construction of the Kingman Army Air Field. It also served as the ideal home for local USO activities.[83] Even after the war, the local American Legion post held meetings in the building until it burned in the late 1950s.

Just as railroad demographics forced the Harvey House to close its doors, so too local demographics also reflected changes in the local economy. Always a thinly-populated area due to its relative lack of exploitable resources, Mohave had the lowest population of any Arizona County by 1930. From 1920 to 1930, there were other factors that contributed to changes in the local economy. By 1930, Mohave had the smallest population of all of Arizona's counties. From 1920 to 1930, it only increased 6 percent compared to 39.4 percent from 1910 to 1920.[84] The county had thirty-five districts

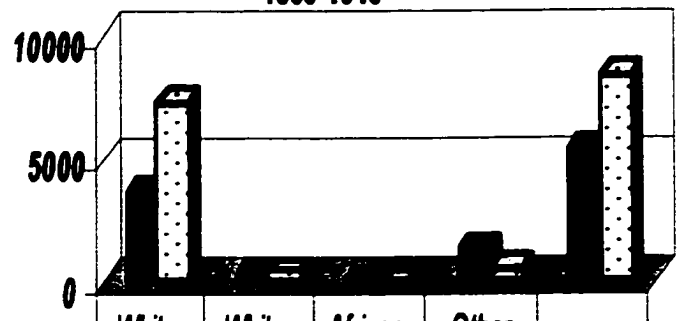
ranging in population from two in District 28 to 2,275 in Kingman. Oatman with 647 people and Chloride with 262 were the second and third largest communities.[85] Migration of farm workers from the South and Midwest dust bowls during the 1930s helped increase the number of Oatman and Chloride's residents. On the other hand, Kingman experienced a 3 percent loss. This changed, however, in the 1940s when the town acquired 17,000 soldiers during World War II when its airport became the Kingman Army Air Field.[86]

Figure: 26
Mohave County's Male and Female Population 1930-1940



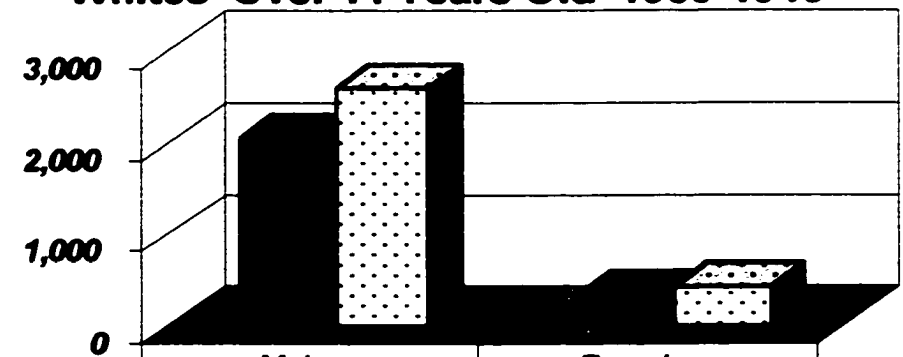
	Males	Females
■ 1930	3,266	2,306
□ 1940	4,881	3,710

Figure: 27
Racial & Ethnic Composition of Mohave County's Populati
1930-1940



	White Native	White Foreign	African America	Other Races	Total
■ 1930	3809	288	0	1475	5572
□ 1940	7523	478	17	573	8591

Figure: 28
Mohave County's Employment Status of Whites Over 14 Years Old 1930-1940



	Males	Females
■ 1930	2,077	369
□ 1940	2,618	454

Table 3

Major Employment Categories of White Workers by Industry from

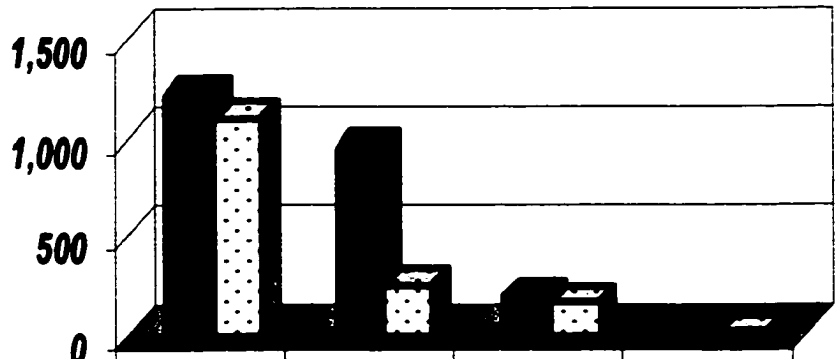
	1930	1940
	males/females	males/females
Professional & Semi-professional	177/97	195/190
Extraction of Minerals	524/7	1007/10
Hotels & Lodging	68/65	48/44
Railroad	192/31	92/1
Trucking & Motor Vehicles	42/21	12/7
Communication	57/10	11/4
Agriculture	524/17	366/9

The economic stimulus provided by the New Deal programs helped to change the composition of Mohave County's population measurably. For example, the ratio of males to females (3:2) in 1930 rose to (4:3) in 1940. In addition, females and males increased their numbers respectively by 45 to 55 percent from 1930 to 1940. Their numbers remained primarily White native borns with a decreasing number of White foreign borns. The decline in foreign borns was due to the national immigration restrictions enacted in 1924, resulting in an increased representation native borns in the county. However, the work force remained a mixture of native and foreign borns. Of this group, (see Table 3), more women

worked outside the home, but male workers retained the greater numbers.

In the categories for employment listed in the 1930 and 1940 censuses, the most remarkable were those in the professional/sem-professional, trucking/motor vehicle, and mineral extraction. All of these showed significant increases. Mohave County expanded its business and professional population, but lost jobs in agriculture. This was consistent with the impact of the drought and the New Deal's environmental emphasis on cutting food production and leaving fields fallow. As agriculture declined, workers sought jobs in the county's towns or mines. Communication-related jobs also fell, but that reflected a redefinition of the category. Some jobs became part of the clerical or semi-professional listing. Hotels and lodging declined as tourism and the railroad's business slumped. However, the number of homes, auto courts, and temporarily shelters increased, accommodating migrants from the hinterland and from outside the county. Automotive-related jobs rose considerably, reflecting their growing importance of roads and traffic in the county. Furthermore, the extraction industry almost doubled in the 1930s because of the early gold rush and prospecting. On the other hand, railroad-related jobs remained the same due to the constant demand for maintenance and customer service, and the onset of the war. The loss of the Harvey House was the only major change other than the depression.

Figure: 29
Marital Status of Mohave County - 1930



	Married	Single	Widowed	Divorced
Males	1,230	954	199	68
Females	1,106	265	177	27

Figure 29 represents Mohave County's marital status the males and females fifteen years or older, accounting for 4,037 people with the status of 545 individuals listed as unknown. According to the 1940 Federal Census, there were 1,649 families in Mohave County with a median size of 2.35. The ratio of married males to females (1.2:1.1) was about even. So the historical trend continued into the 1940s: there were still more single males than females in the county. The increase in the widowed category denoted an aging population, which reflected the largest age category (35 to 54) for 1930. That finding is more significant when comparing solitary males and females: 1219 to 469. Males decisive to maintain a notable lead over females. The total

for solitary individuals (1,688) almost equaled the number of families (1,649).[87] The county's numbers relating to marital status reflected the same diversity for married, widowed, single, and divorced.[88]

During the 1930s, Kingman continued its slow but steady development while its hinterland lapsed into a decline. Indeed, the New Deal's policies, combined with a lengthy and severe drought altered Mohave County's ranching and farming industries. Small holdings totally dependent on agriculture and pastoralism found it difficult to continue. Other properties, that diversified their economic activities, were in better shape, but still struggled. Large spreads had the best chance to weather the situation. Although familiar with the arid climate and periodic droughts, the ranchers viewed the drop in beef prices, fencing of public land, restrictions on public domain, and erosion control practices a threat to their lifestyle. Moreover, the New Deal imposed strict regulations on an industry unaccustomed to direct federal oversight.

The domino effect continued. Those ranchers and farmers unable to endure repeated financial crises or to diversify, lost their land. In the Arizona Strip, many the more recent arrivals abandoned their homes and migrated somewhere else. On the other hand, most of the subregion's Mormon communities endured because of their cooperative practices. But those individuals who traditionally relied on mining suffered when

the extraction industry also declined in the years immediately preceding Pearl Harbor.

Overall though, New Deal policies had improved Mohave County's economy and environment. The construction of Hualapai Mountain Park, faster access to Boulder City, Las Vegas, and Hoover Dam, highway construction, fencing of range lands, revegetation, flood control on the Colorado River, and home loans all boosted the area. In particular, Kingman's budding hospitality industry flowered thanks to increased tourist traffic on Route 66 and U.S. 93. The town also benefited from government spending which stimulated local businesses, employment opportunities, and home improvements. Less helpful was the increased flow of Dust Bowl migrants westward from the South, Midwest, and southern Plains. While most of them continued on to California, some settled in Chloride and Oatman to prospect or seek relief employment, giving the mining communities temporarily new life. Although some ranchers, farmers, and miners failed to profit from the New Deal's programs, others did. The mining fever that had gripped the county since the 1870s as well as open grazing required regulation to save the environment. In the long run, increased federal oversight helped conserve pastoral lands and mineral resources. Thanks to all these events, Kingman by 1939 had become an established oasis in northwestern Arizona. Although it still appeared a little dusty and rugged, the resilient town had once more survived a national crisis and could look forward to a bright future.

Endnotes

1. Donald Worster, Dust Bowl: The Southern Plains in the 1930s (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979), 5. Worster's parents emigrted to the area. He was born in Needles, California.

2. The WPA Guide to 1930s Arizona (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1989), 4.

3. Mohave County Miner, 7 June 1929.

4. Bradford Luckingham, Phoenix: The History of a Southwestern Metropolis (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1989), 5.

5. William Bork, "Anson H. Smith, Arizona Editor," Arizona Historical Review, 7 (April 1936), 82.

6. Mohave County Miner, 15 February 1929.

7. Ibid.

8. Eugene P. Moehring, Resort City in the Sunbelt, Las Vegas 1930-1970 (Reno: University of Nebada Press, 1995), 13; Joseph E. Stevens, Hoover Dam: An American Adventure (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1988), 56-57, 125-130.

9. Moehring, Resort City in the Sunbelt, Las Vegas 1930-1970, 15, 117-157.

10. Ibid.

11. Mohave County Miner, 2 November 1928. The Democratic State Central Committee stated "Mr. Hoover does not believe that our state is entitled to anything and will give us as little as possible...Mr. Hoover means that Arizona must either accept little or nothing in the way of power income from the Colorado or delay any development of the Colorado River by continuing the fight in Congress, or through long drawn out litigation in the Supreme Court of the United States. The election of Governor Smith means a prompt settlement of the whole controversy."

12. Mohave County Miner, 2 November 1928.

13. Mohave County Miner, 9 November 1928. Herbert Hoover won 49,703 to Alfred Smith's 35,924 in Arizona and 1,109 to 732 in Mohave County.

14. Norris Hundley Jr. "The West Against Itself: The Colorado River-An Institutional History," New Courses for the Colorado River: Major Issues for the Next Century, ed. Gary D. Weatherford (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1991), 22-25. Throughout the 1930s California and Arizona argued in the Supreme Court over building the dam partially in Arizona without its permission Arizona had not ratified the Colorado Compact and accused California of taking its share of the water. Considering the political tension engendered by these court cases, Anson Smith's endorsement of Boulder Dam ran contrary to the political agenda of Arizona's legislature.

15. Mohave County Miner, 11 November 1932.

16. Mohave County Miner, 19 May 1933.

17. Mohave County Miner, 5 December 1933.

18. Mohave County Miner, 28 April 1933.

19. Mohave County Miner, 5 February 1932.

20. Mohave County Miner, 6 July 1934.

21. Mohave County Miner, 30 March 1934.

22. Mohave County Miner, 11 November 1933.

23. Mohave County Miner, 21 June 1935.

24. Mohave County Miner, 15 September 1939.

25. Mohave County Miner, 24 May 1935.

26. Ibid.

27. Mohave County Miner, 21 October 1932.

28. Mohave County Miner, 25 Nobember 1932.

29. Mohave County Miner, 1 December 1933.

30. Mohave County Miner, 22 December 1933.

31. Sharon O'Brien, American Indian Tribal Governments (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1989), 80-82.

32. Mohave County Miner, 20 September 1929.

33. Mohave County Miner, 13 April 1931; James S. Olson and Raymond Wilson, Native Americans in the Twentieth Century (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1984), 101-103.

34. Olson and Wilson, Native Americans in the Twentieth Century, 109.

35. Mohave County Miner, 14 June 1929.

36. Mohave County Miner, 11 January 1935.

37. Mohave County Miner, 22 February 1935.

38. Mohave County Miner, 20 September 1935.

39. Chief Jim Fielding to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 10 July 1929, Mohave Museum of History and Arts Library, Kingman, Arizona.

40. Commissioner C. J. Rhoads to James Fielding, 24 October 1929, Mohave Museum of History and Arts Library, Kingman, Arizona.

41. Mohave County Miner, 18 March 1932.

42. John Collier, Executive Secretary, to Editor, The U.S. Daily, 28 August 1932, Mohave Museum of History and Arts Library, Kingman, Arizona.

43. O'Brien, American Indian Tribal Governments, 151-154; Olson and Wilson, Native Americans in the Twentieth Century, 109.

44. Mohave County Miner, 13 April 1934.

45. Roman Malach, Home on the Range: Civilian Conservation Corps in the Kingman Area (Kingman: Speed Print Headquarters, 1984), 5-15.

46. Ibid., 5-7.

47. Ibid., 5-21.

48. Ibid., 21.

49. Emmett Wilkison, Interview by Author, 25 March 1997, Mohave Community College, Bullhead City, Arizona.

50. Ibid.

51. Mohave County Miner, 10 May 1935.

52. William S. Collins, Cattle Ranching in Arizona: A Context For Historic Preservation Planning (Phoenix: Arizona State Historic Preservation Office, 1996), 39. "The Taylor Grazing Act introduced regulatioins on range use and cut access to stock water that many people had taken for granted int he open range era. Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes established Grazing District No. 1 on July 8, 1935, encompassing all of Arizona north of the Grand Canyon National Park and Kaibab National Forest. Land survey and allotment soon followed, forcing reductions in cattle and sheep herds."

53. Malach, Home on the Range, 23.

54. Ibid., 25.

55. Ibid.

56. Ibid., 33-37.

57. Mohave County Miner, 13 March 1936.

58. Ibid., 23-24. In 1937, this unit helped with snow removal and rescue efforts when a record-breaking winter storm stranded ranchers and miners.

59. Gerald D. Nash, The Crucial Era: The Great Depression and World War II, 1929-1945 (prospect Heights: Waveland Press, 1998), 72.

60. C. L. Cornwall, Mohave County, to Members of the Mohave County Stock Grower's Association, Mohave County, 8 January 1937, Mohave Museum of History and Arts Library, Kingman, Arizona.

61. William S. Collins, Cattle Rancing in Arizona, 45.

62. Ibid., 58.

63. Ibid., 38-40.

64. Mohave County Miner, 9 August 1935.

65. Mohave County Miner, 24 May 1935. Yet, attendance was low because on the same night at the high school, Miss Ruth Waley's thespians performed "Growing Pains" to a far larger crowd. While over on the Sandy, farmers attended a meeting of the Arizona State Farm Debt Adjustment Committee to learn how federal agencies could help them.

66. Mohave County Miner, 28 April 1933.

67. Ibid.

68. Mohave County Miner, 20 September 1935.

69. Ibid.

70. Mohave County Miner, 18 March 1932.

71. Mohave County Miner, 24 May 1935.

72. Gerald D. Nash, "Reshaping Arizona's Economy," Arizona at Seventy-Five: The Next Twenty-Five Years, eds. Beth Luey and Noel J. Stowe (Tempe: Arizona State University Public History Program and the Arizona Historical Society, 1987), 135.

73. Melissa Keanne and A. E. Rogge, Gold and Silver Mining in Arizona, 1848-1945: A Context for Historic Preservation Planning (Phoenix: State Historic Preservation Office, 1992), 53-54.

74. Eifteenth Census of the United States: Population Vol. VI Families (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1933), 158; Sixteenth Census of the United States: Population Vol. II Characteristics of the Population (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1943), 374.

75. Keane and Rogge, Gold and Silver Mining in Arizona, 1848-1945, 54; Gerald Nash, The American West Transformed: The Impact of the Second World War (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1985), 7, 21, 30.

76. Richard Lowitt, The New Deal and the West (Norman: Universitiy of Oklahoma Press, 1993), 19-22; Nash, The Crucial Era, 70.

77. Nash, The Crucial Era, 71.

78. Business & Professional Directory of Arizona 1939 (Kingman: Mohave County Miner, 1939), 80-85.

79. Duane A. Smith, Rocky Mountain Boom Town: A History of Durango, Colorado (Niwot: University Press of Colorado, 1992), 117.

80. Mohave County Miner, 11 August 1939.

81. Nash, The American West Transformed, 23, 62-66, 84-87.

82. Lesley Poling-Kempes, The Harvey Girls: Women Who Opened the West (New York: Marlow & Company, 1991), 182, 232.

83. Dan W. Messersmith, The History of Mohave County to 1912 (Kingman: H & H Printers, 1991), 145.

84. Ibid.

85. Ibid., 124.

86. Jerry McLain, "Warbirds Swansong," Arizona Highways (May 1947), 12.

87. Fifteenth Census of the United States: Population Vol. VI Families, 152, 154.

88. Ibid.

Chapter 8

CONCLUSION

In a span of eighty years, Mohave County transformed itself from a thinly populated Indian wilderness to a culturally diverse subregion of the Southwest. In the early 1860s pioneers largely avoided Mohave's hostile environment until the military established posts like Fort Mohave and Camp Beale to ensure their safety. Under the watchful eye of the army, prospectors began to comb the hills for treasure, encouraged by the 1872 Mining Act. At the same time, ranchers from California, New Mexico, Texas, and Mexico acquired grazing land though the Homestead and other land acts in an effort to supply the growing local and regional demand for meat. However, the lack of adequate water for hydraulic mining and agriculture, as well as good roads and an efficient means of transporting ore and animals to market retarded economic development until the Iron Horse came in 1882. The trains not only invigorated Mohave but also gave birth to the railsiding that became Kingman. With its favorable location and good water sources the young town attracted people from the Lower Colorado River, nearby Cerbat Range, and throughout the nation.

Kingman's evolution from siding to town took nearly seventy years. But in many ways, its history paralleled Kathleen Underwood's model for the development of other western towns and their hinterlands and, as will be shown later, resembled the model for regional growth proposed by Gerald Nash. In her research, historian Underwood found that communities like Grand Junction, Colorado developed thanks to a combination of economic and political factors along with the entrepreneurial spirit of local residents and the resource potential of surrounding lands. By examining census data for urban areas with populations under 10,000, and, specifically, rural areas of 5,000-2,500 or less, Underwood found that many of the West's small, nineteenth century towns persisted into the twentieth century. She observed that in 1906, the United States Bureau of Census adopted a rural-urban classification system. Since then, she argued, "any place with less than twenty-five hundred people has been labeled as rural and every other place is considered to be urban."[1] Many sites like Kingman, though listed as rural, were actually developing communities and therefore invisible in statistical studies of small towns.

Underwood's own study served as a useful model for this examination of urban growth in Mohave County. Since most of the county's populated areas fell under the rural classification during census years, the volatile cycle of mining camps and the rise of Kingman as the county seat and

primary center for commerce offered an excellent opportunity to examine the relationship between the county's central place and its hinterland. Like Grand Junction, Kingman owed its development to economic, political, and social forces. Mining, ranching and railroading played key roles in transforming the whistlestop into a transshipment hub. However, the character of its hardworking, enterprising population, including its diverse racial and ethnic groups, made additional contributions. Kingman represented the county's first economically stable community tied by rail to the nation. It also contained the only cheap real estate in the area, a remnant of its past when most of its site was public land. Recognizing the town's growing importance as a hub for commerce and transportation, county voters in 1887 also made it their political center by relocating their county seat from the dying camp of Mineral Park. Since the federal government held jurisdiction over the county's Indian reservations as well as thousands of acres in the public domain, settlers could use the Homestead, Desert Land, and Timber acts, or the Mining Law of 1872 to stake claims and acquire property. Despite the harsh nature of this frontier, development proceeded rapidly because mining and ranching initially attracted transitory, single males, who required little beyond basic supplies, services, and shelters. As prospectors explored the county's mountainous areas, a few promising sites yielded high-grade ore and boomed in the

1860s and 1870s. But relatively shallow deposits of varying grades forced prospectors to migrate from one boomtown to another. Unfortunately, fluctuating national prices of the subregion's minerals, including silver, copper, lead, zinc, and gold, along with the difficulty of dry-washing and cheap transportation of ore contributed to the demise of smaller mines.

Despite their relative isolation, the county's pioneers fought for recognition. Boosters like Anson Smith and Kean St. Charles actively pursued Populist and then Progressive issues, whose implementation would benefit Kingman and its hinterland. They pursued silver coinage, cheaper railroad rates, paved roads, statehood, and the development of the Colorado River's water for irrigation and power. These and other promoters also encouraged local improvements such as a modern water system, fire and police services, paved streets, a library, and schools to make Kingman a cultural and civic oasis.

As the economic, political, and social hub, Kingman contained a small but growing population that exploited its access to the Santa Fe's national markets to extend a small commercial empire over its hinterland. The town used its railroad station and stage connections to become the service center for farms, ranches, and mining camps in all directions. To this end, residents constructed permanent buildings near the tracks which generated jobs in the skilled trades and service industries, including hardware, lumber,

and grocery stores, saloons, hotels, restaurants, and lodging.

Kingman and its hinterland not only contributed to Arizona's fight for statehood but also America's fight "to make the world safe for democracy" in World War I. They did this by promoting the rich gold mines in the Black Mountains east of Kingman. At the same time, an electric power plant based in town generated power for these mineral operations and construction of a road to connect them to the railroad also helped the war effort. As military spending energized Kingman's transportation economy, local residents demonstrated their patriotism by assisting the Red Cross drives, endorsing local Prohibition, as early as 1914, and supporting the war effort.

Following the Treaty of Versailles, outside capital and new scientific mining technology encouraged increased mineral production, which in turn funded a hospital in Kingman and other improvements for Chloride, and Oatman. In 1920, as more people flocked to Kingman and Mohave, local officials, with help from Rotarians, not only maintained the hospital, poor farm, schools, and roads but also funded other projects and services despite increasing demands on county tax revenues.

After 1930, Kingman and vicinity relied less on trains and more on automobiles, which required service stations and improved roads. The adoption of motored vehicles also promoted more interaction among county residents, creating

the need for better transportation networks and motivating officials to pursue federal funding. Road construction and motor vehicles added to the job diversity found in Kingman. Nevertheless, the railroad remained a significant force in the local economy, although, after 1930, there was a shift in the type of work it generated from railroad construction to one of maintenance and shipping. Even labor patterns changed. The traditional use of Indians and Asians as cheap labor ended, as Mexicans and Mexican Americans increasingly became section hands. Even earlier many of the county's Chinese population left mining and railroading for other pursuits, especially restaurants and laundry trades. In Kingman, most of the eateries were owned and operated by them, while the county's other important minority group, the Hispanics, herded sheep, drove cattle, farmed, mined, and became track laborers. While the majority of both Kingman and Mohave's inhabitants were always Euroamericans, minority groups made significant contributions to local development.

With a culturally diverse population, Kingman reached civic maturity in the 1920s and 1930s. While the coveted small-town-America image owed its inception to the railroad, it increasingly relied on the development of federal programs, including Route 66, the construction of Boulder Dam, and the New Deal. The Federal Relief Administration, Civil Works Administration, Works Progress Administration, Civilian Conservation Corps, Taylor Grazing Act,

Reconstruction Finance Corporation, and Indian Reorganization Act catalyzed local building agendas by financing public works and other improvements that the county could not afford to finance. While some objected to more federal intervention in local affairs, the New Deal nevertheless created Hualapai Mountain Park, extended roads into the ranching hinterland, erected fences and stock tanks, eliminated rodents and replanted exhausted grazing lands in addition to finishing Hoover Dam--an invaluable contribution to the landscape. Most residents welcomed the presence of New Deal workers from the Midwest, southern Plains, and the South. Despite the changes during the 1930s, most of the county's inhabitants retained close ties and worked together to plan for future development. Through all of this, Kingman remained the hub of county activity, not only in its role as a service provider but also as the administrative center for New Deal programs that benefited the town as well as Oatman, Chloride, and other locales. Except for Kingman, many of the county's smaller towns faded after 1940, triggered by declining deposits and a recession in the precious metals industry. Indeed, Chloride and Oatman after Interstate 40 bypassed them in the 1960s had become "living ghost-towns" by the 1970s.

The county's Indians fared only slightly better. By 1930, Indian schools, reservations, disease, and years of exposure to Euroamerican society, left the Hualapai and

Mohaves bereft of many traditional elements that defined their existence. Fortunately, an oral tradition and strong sense of family preserved the core of their tribal culture, which they cautiously protected from further legislative invasions. By the 1930s, they still faced declining numbers and constant competition with ranchers for their limited resources. However, they complied with the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 and reformed tribal governments to establish federally recognized lines of communication.

Because the federal government originally divided the reservations into a checkerboard pattern, they lacked the contiguous land necessary to farm or herd. Those that found employment worked as laborers. Moreover, the alarming rate of substance abuse, tuberculous, diabetes, and heart disease silently preyed upon them. The decline in their numbers meant fewer options for marriage partners; former practices of polygamy were no longer viable. Some chose to remain single or married outside of their tribes.

The Indian Reorganization Act's mandate to reform tribal governments based on the federal model, clashed with traditional band and tribal practices. However, the Mohaves and Hualapai complied, maintaining parallel governments, traditional and new, within each tribe. By the 1940s, both the federal government and Native Americans recognized that the New Deal programs had failed to provide each tribe with the education, economic benefits, and autonomy necessary for adequate survival. When Collier left office in 1945, they

faced further relocation and termination policies before President Richard Nixon settled on a program of self-determination for Native Americans.[2]

While the hinterland struggled, Kingman maintained a steady, but nominal growth pattern. The decline of mining and ranching changed its long-term relationship with the hinterland. The extraction industries removed natural resources, but could not restore them. The rugged, depleted terrain could not rebound. This forced promoters and county leaders to link Kingman's future with Route 66 and U.S. 93. The town's proximity to burgeoning Las Vegas, Hoover Dam and the Hualapai Mountain Park enabled the political and business community to develop viable roadside industries that survived thanks to increased tourist and truck traffic.

Kingman's historic role as a transshipment point continued to make it the hub of business and transportation for the rest of the twentieth century. By 1900, the town had emerged as the urban oasis for northwestern Arizona and over the next hundred years it only strengthened its position. The town's strategic location on Route 66 and its embracement of America's new car culture allowed it to function as the primary, "transmitter of civilization to its hinterland."[3] In the 1930s, Kingman had already begun to capitalize on its "Old West" atmosphere and it exploited that role for auto and bus tourists for the rest of the century. In the 1930s, the WPA travel guide popularized this marketing ploy by informing

readers who visited to expect miners, cowboys, and Indians on the unpaved streets; and county and state brochures along with other tourist publicity only reinforced these images further.[4] So that after World War II, Kingman became a gateway to an authentic remnant of the Old West. Following the great crash of 1929, New Deal programs and later defense spending energized Kingman's economy. By 1940, auto courts and cocktail lounges vied for the traveler's business, and the military base at the airport provided an extra boost to the local economy and the railroad. All of these events helped Kingman make the transition from a mining and ranching hub to a service center for tourists and truckers. And following a burst of post-war growth, Kingman finally incorporated in 1952 and became a formal city.

The relationship between Kingman and its hinterland was a critical factor in the county's development process. Both the railroad and Route 66 made Kingman the civic hub. Due to the volatility of mining, the hinterland historically lacked stability. Kingman, as the transshipment center and county seat, was the one constant, catering to the political, economic, and service needs of outlying populations. Though also subjected to the vagaries of national and local economic/political fluctuations, Kingman nevertheless attracted a core population and businesses that provided stability. Still, the town and hinterland's relationship was symbiotic: each depended on the other for growth. So, when

the hinterland's economy and population declined, Kingman suffered too.

But even as the mines gave out and agriculture stagnated because of the lack of water and highways, federal spending came to the rescue. Indeed, northwestern Arizona fit the model proposed by Gerald Nash who argued that federal New Deal and defense spending helped create the modern Southwest. According to Nash, because the West traditionally relied on the East for its economic and cultural sustenance, only when the East experienced renewed prosperity would life improve in western towns and cities. The increased federal capital during the New Deal era sustained small western towns like Kingman until defense contracts transformed their flagging economies and triggered their transformation into pace-setting subregions of the nation.[5] Twentieth century engineering and federal funding produced three dams: Hoover, Davis, and Parker, which promoted local irrigation as well as recreation along the Lower Colorado River. In the late 1940s, a resort business anchored by tiny communities sprouted on Lake Mohave a few miles north of Davis Dam, while a similar phenomenon took place south of the dam. To guard against destructive growth, the Bureau of Land Management, created under the Taylor Grazing Act, assumed active oversight of the county's federal lands in 1948 and controlled the indiscriminate exploitation of the fragile environment.

Mohave County's desert ecosystem retains traces of its frontier period. The mountains still bear the scars of mining shafts, tailings, and mercuric poisoning. In remoter areas, abandoned mining camps and historic dumps are now archaeological sites. The county's basin and range lands continue to reflect the destructive impact of over-grazing as intrusive vegetation, like the salt cedar tree, still compete with native plants for space. However, development has also exerted a positive impact. With dams controlling the Colorado River, spring floods no longer threaten its valley, allowing farms and settlements to line its shores without the historic fear of soil erosion and property loss.

Today, interstate highways bring travelers and some truckers through the region, making Kingman a major service oasis. It is a fortuitous change for the town, because after the 1940s the trucking industry diverted most of the freight away from the railroad. With the loss of the Harvey House and rail business, faster modern trains rarely stop in town, but motorists do. In Kingman and along the banks of the Colorado River permanent, air-conditioned dwellings increasingly dot the available landscape. Since 1980, Laughlin's casino development has spawned acres of recreational vehicle parks that extend from the river eastward almost to Kingman, making the town a bedroom community for workers in the gambling industry. At the same time, the burgeoning gambling metropolis of Las Vegas, America's fastest growing city in the 1980s and 1990s, now

connected by interstate highways to Mohave County, attracts residents from Kingman and the river towns to more recreation, shopping, and services. This includes McCarran International Airport, whose 100-mile distance makes it more accessible than Phoenix, more than 275 miles away. Increasingly, the county's youth look toward this American "city of lights" for educational and job opportunities; although a portion of the county's population also turn to Phoenix or Los Angeles.

Though residents increasing interact with these larger subregional cities, the county continues to draw tourists, retirees, and families from around the nation who enjoy the desert climate and less demanding lifestyle. Kingman is still Mohave County's seat, but may not be for long. With their growing populations, the newer river cities like Lake Havasu and Bullhead City may soon challenge its hegemony. But Kingman must be prepared to play a greater role in shaping the area's political and economic development or yield to a more ambitious rival. In the end, Mohave County remains a fragile ecosystem that requires careful planning by city, county, state, and federal officials to ensure its development. As in the past, the area will require the vision, commitment, and investment of all its residents if it is to meet the formidable challenges of the twenty-first century.

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VITA

Graduate College
University of Nevada, Las Vegas

Diana Roock Dever

Home Address:
410 Church Street
Bullhead City, Arizona 86442

Work Address:
Mohave Community College
Social and Behavioral Sciences
3400 HWY 95
Bullhead City, Arizona 86442

Degrees:
Bachelor of Arts, Social Sciences, 1969
Wayne State University, Detroit

Masters of Liberal Studies, American Culture, 1981
University of Michigan, Ann Arbor

Publications:

William N. Thompson and Diana R. Dever. "The Sovereign Games of North American: An Exploratory Study of First Nations' Gambling Enterprises." Gambling in Canada: The Bottom Line. ed. Colin S. Campbell, Burnaby: Simon Fraser University,1994.

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