

Children of the Mother Road

Route 66, Regional Transformation, and Community Identity in Northwestern Arizona

1882-1989

by

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## ABSTRACT

This dissertation explores the role transportation infrastructure played in regional and community development in northwestern Arizona from 1882 to 1989. Transportation infrastructure undergirds the economic viability and development of most American regions and communities. In northwestern Arizona, following a process familiar throughout the American West, the initial construction of railroad transportation infrastructure fundamentally transformed the area from sparsely populated space to an industrialized region centered on railroad created townsites. Although critical to regional development and growth, U.S. Route 66 was added well after the initial railroad period. In total, regional transformation occurred in four phases: Railroad, Route 66, I-40, and post-bypass. For regional residents, Route 66 was the most important phase transforming railroad created spaces into functional communities. Yet, despite maturing as communities, each of these towns also struggled with the same racial and class divides as the larger nation. From the early railroad period, through WW2, tourism was present in the region, but an ancillary part of the economy focused on visiting environmental attractions like the Grand Canyon. After WW2, it became more important as regional industrialism faded and traffic levels rose on Route 66. However, as long as Route 66 remained a primary highway, tourism retained its focus on the environment. As much as the construction of transportation infrastructure provided initial access to the region and founded towns, the later regional highway and railroad bypasses cut-off many of these communities from the source of their economic livelihood. Regional towns lucky enough to be integrated into the new interstate highway system like Kingman profited and grew; towns bypassed by the interstate and railroad withered and were forced to reinvent



themselves to survive. This post-bypass reinvention took the form of a non-environmental focused mythic tourism connected to an emerging national Route 66 nostalgia movement that envisioned the lost Route 66 as representative of a better, more authentic America. The association with the national Route 66 nostalgia myth successfully attracted tourists but came at the cost of regional communities losing a more realistic understanding of their past and becoming disassociated from their previous community identity.

## DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to my wife Meredith for her patience enduring the graduate school process, supporting me in ways too numerous to count, and for being willing to print and collate multiple draft copies of this document.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

There are a number of people and organizations I would like to acknowledge who assisted in the research and writing of this document. The Sharlot Hall Museum and Archive and their archive staff assisted in some of the earliest research for this dissertation. Also, the Special Collections and Archives of the Cline Library at Northern Arizona University and the archives staff at NAU were instrumental in researching the history contained in this dissertation. Many of the sources used in this work came from the Cline Library Archives, and the archives staff was particularly helpful including granting me special access to the archive after it was closed to research due to the Covid-19 Pandemic. The digital collections of the Library of Congress and the New York Public Library and the staff of those organizations were also instrumental in completing this research. The family of Max Millett through the Max Millett Family Endowed Fund, the Grand Canyon Historical Society, the School of Historical, Philosophical, and Religious Studies at ASU and the ASU Graduate school all provided grant funding that greatly assisted in completing the dissertation. An acknowledgment is extended to my committee for guiding me through this process, and to Amelia Brackett for providing moral support and feedback on this dissertation. An acknowledgement is also extended to the people of northwestern Arizona whose stories are contained within. Finally, a special acknowledgement to Ona McFarlane for reading my article on Route 66 and being willing to ship me boxes of sources from her husband's research on Route 66, and to the late Tom McFarlane for staving off the silences and preserving so many historical sources on Route 66 in Arizona.

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## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

On December 18, 1995, Angel Delgadillo Junior received a Christmas card. Receipt of a Christmas card seven days before the holiday was not unusual – nor were the contents. The sender, Inge Schardt, wished Angel, proprietor of the Seligman Barber and Gift Shop, and his brother Juan, proprietor of the popular Route 66 Snow-Cap Drive-in, a Merry Christmas and a happy New Year. However, the card went on to remind Angel how they met. “We met you at November 18, 1995, and we sang together the song “Get Your Kicks on Route 66.” It was a great day for us.” Inge and her husband Gloadwig had visited Seligman, Arizona located in northwestern Arizona as Route 66 tourists that November. Route 66 had been decommissioned ten years earlier, and the Santa Fe railroad had also left Seligman in 1985. Since then, the town hung on through tourism centered on Route 66, and the Schardts were one of many tourists who visited the town each year to see the old road. Tourists like the Schardts often met Angel or Juan Delgadillo and forged personal connections with the two remaining town boosters in Seligman. As nondescript as the Christmas card was, one aspect was striking. Inge and Gloadwig Schardt did not hail from Chicago, or St. Louis, or from anywhere else in the United States. Their home address was in Bochum, Germany, and they had travelled across the Atlantic Ocean and much of the United States to visit a defunct road in a shrinking town numbering less than 500 residents.<sup>1</sup> Angel Delgadillo Junior had been instrumental in reinventing the town around tourism connected to the popular American myth of Route 66 after the town had been bypassed by I-40 in 1978. His international

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<sup>1</sup> Inge Schardt, Christmas Card to Angel Delgadillo, December 18, 1995



visitors like the Scharchts were evidence that his efforts at mythic tourism reinvention, begun out of necessity, had borne fruit.



Figure 1. The Christmas Card the Scharchts sent Angel Delgadillo Junior in 1995. Courtesy of the Cline Library, Northern Arizona University.

Such is the power of myth. It can motivate a couple from Germany to go to considerable time and trouble to visit a small town in the middle of nowhere to see the remnant of a decommissioned highway. Myth in this setting is entangled with cultural nostalgia and iconography. As myth can have variable definitions, it is important to

define how the term is being used in this context. Norman Klein, in *The History of Forgetting: Los Angeles and the Erasure of Memory* defines myth as a collectively imagined story based on aspects of an event or place that people either want to be true or fear is true. Klein documents how the perception of and commonly accepted history of “slum” neighborhoods in Los Angeles was based more on non-Hispanic White professional-class fears about slums than the reality of the neighborhoods themselves. Despite this, the imagined or mythical history of these neighborhoods influenced the very real freeway building in the 1960s that obliterated many of these neighborhoods.<sup>2</sup> In the case of this history, myth is defined along similar lines as a collectively imagined past based on fears and desires rather than historical fact. Specifically in terms of the Route 66 myth, in popular definition, Route 66 represents a slower, better way to travel associated with classic American cuisine, fun road trips, and the golden age of post-war industrial American prosperity. The reality of travel on Route 66 was one of congestion, danger, and racism – particularly in the post-war period. Route 66 became so clogged with traffic in the 1960s that it garnered the dark nickname “bloody 66” due to the high volume of serious traffic accidents. Likewise, few Black motorists remember Route 66 fondly due to rampant discrimination at travel businesses and dangerously racialized policing in most towns along the highway. However, the Route 66 myth ignores this reality. In its place it incorporates aspects of cultural nostalgia for supposed simpler times while folding in the iconic status of Route 66 and its role as representative of a past “authentic America” to give enhanced power to the myth. While other threads of cultural nostalgia and other

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<sup>2</sup> Norman M. Klein, *The History of Forgetting: Los Angeles and the Erasure of Memory* (London: Verso, 1997), 1-26.

remnants of old highways exist, they lack the iconic status of Route 66. It is possible to drive an intact section of U.S. 80 in southern California for example, but that road lacks the iconography and mythic pull of Route 66. There are no songs, movies, or television shows about U.S. 80.

As such, for the Schardts, their interest in the road was the product of the Route 66 myth. Cultural production in the form of national events, movies, television shows, books, and popular songs created the myth of the open road, fun road trips, and Route 66 as the authentic America. This cultural production and the myths they created was then exported internationally, made its way into the hands of people like the Schardts, and prompted their international pilgrimage to the last remaining section of Route 66 in late 1995. As cultural geographer Arthur Krim documented, over its lifetime, Route 66 transitioned from functional infrastructure to American cultural icon. This transition favored myth over reality. As noted, much of this transition was facilitated by cultural production such as Bobby Troupe's song "Get Your Kicks on Route 66." First recorded by Nat King Cole in 1946, it was subsequently recorded by numerous recording artists including a number of European bands like the Rolling Stones.<sup>3</sup> By 1995, Route 66 was an international symbol of Americana. In this context, Route 66 symbolized a particular vision of America grounded in an Anglo-White majoritarian view that idolized pre-Civil Rights postwar America, pre-Environmental Movement non-emission controlled automobiles, and dealt in reimagined sexualized pre-Women's Movement gender stereotypes. Despite these issues, mythic Route 66 became an international symbol of

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<sup>3</sup> Arthur Krim, *Route 66: Iconography of the American Highway* (Santa Fe: Center for American Places, 2005), 3-12.

America. As such, it was no accident that the Schardts travelled 5,750 miles to sing Troupe's song with Angel Delgadillo Junior on a remaining remnant of Route 66.



Figure 2. The cover from a brochure promoting a classic car rally through the region in 1995. The brochure tied into both Route 66 cultural production and mythologized gendered 1990s re-imaginings of 1950s female car-hops. As a family owned and operated diner, the Snow-Cap Drive-In pictured did not have waitresses who wore the outfits depicted. From the author's collection.

It was also not accidental that the Schardts were tourists who found themselves in Seligman. Unlike in most areas along Route 66's course where the new interstate was built over the old road obliterating any traces of Route 66, the decision to bypass Seligman left a portion of old Route 66 available for visitation by tourists like the Schardts. In other places, much of Route 66 was rebuilt to interstate standards early in the interstate program. The portion of the highway from Chicago, Illinois to St. Louis, Missouri had already been upgraded to near interstate standards with a limited-access divided highway design prior to the passage of the 1956 Federal Highway Act that ushered in the interstate-highway era and doomed Route 66. Many of the design specifications for the interstate highways were modelled on State of Missouri highway improvements, and Missouri famously claimed the first interstate highway mileage by

simply renumbering Route 66 as I-55.<sup>4</sup> By 1964, interstate highway construction had been in full swing for eight years, state highway departments were actively building new interstates over the existing remaining portions of Route 66, and much of Route 66 was gone. In an effort to reduce travel times between major cities the new interstate designs favored shorter straighter routes whenever possible. This often resulted in new routes that bypassed more circuitous routes in favor of direct routes between cities. In northwestern Arizona this resulted in the adoption in the 1960s of “Route A” for Interstate 40 that bypassed much of Route 66 in Arizona including Seligman. The bypass left old Route 66 intact through Seligman as the new interstate highway was constructed south of the older highway.<sup>5</sup> As an abandoned road, it could be later repurposed as a tourist attraction for visitors like the Schardts.

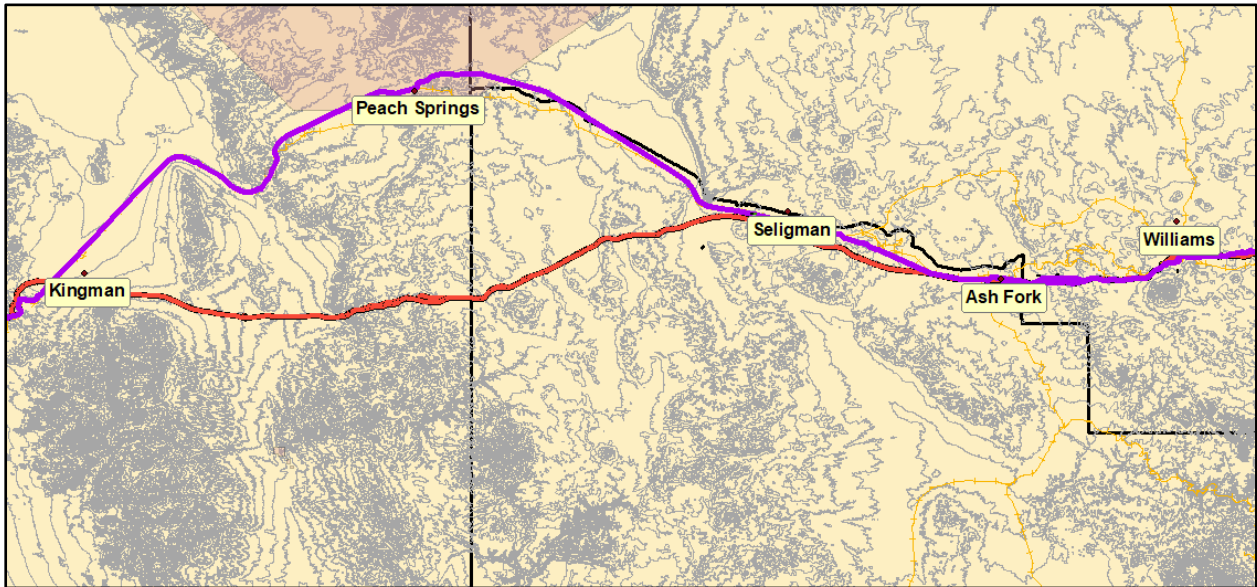


Figure 3. Route A (in red) bypassed much of the region and routed I-40 through the formidable Juniper Mountains to the south leaving a portion of Route 66 intact (purple). It took 10 years longer than expected to carve an artificial canyon for I-40. Geographic Information System generated map by the author.

<sup>4</sup> Frank Norris, “The Twilight of Route 66: Transitioning from Highway to Freeway, 1956-84,” *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* 43, no. 3 (2015): 312-327.

<sup>5</sup> “Interstate Route A Gets Endorsement,” *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), November 17, 1959, “Proposed Interstate 40 Would Bypass Seligman,” *Arizona Daily Sun* (Flagstaff, AZ), November 17, 1959.

Long before Route 66, northwestern Arizona was no stranger to tourism. Tourism in the region is as old as the infrastructure that opened the region to settlement by outsiders well before Route 66 or the interstate era. Famously inaccessible prior to the construction of the first rail line through the region, the mountainous, difficult high-desert terrain stretching from the ponderosa pine forests just west of Flagstaff, Arizona to the Colorado River saw few Spanish, Mexican or American visitors prior to the railroad. Largely Native American space before the 1870s, it took concerted U.S. Army conflict with the indigenous Hualapai people culminating in the Hualapai War fought between 1865 and 1870, the forced relocation of the Hualapai out of the region after the war, and the construction of a rail line in the early 1880s to facilitate American settlement from the east.<sup>6</sup> After the construction of the first rail line in the area by the Atlantic and Pacific railroad in 1882, settlers and tourists began arriving almost immediately. The initial draw for tourists was the natural environment of the region – particularly the Grand Canyon. Late nineteenth century tourists seeking the sublime travelled to the Peach Springs stop on the Atlantic and Pacific line and its successor the Santa Fe railroad and endured a rough four-mile wagon ride to get a glimpse of the Grand Canyon.<sup>7</sup>

Even for these early tourists, a different kind of mythic tourism was a part of their experience. Their travel by rail regularly included stops with displays of Native American cultural rituals and opportunities to purchase Native American artwork. These Native

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<sup>6</sup> Jeffrey P. Shepherd, *We are an Indian Nation: A History of the Hualapai People* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2010), 1-44.

<sup>7</sup> “Peach Springs Trading Post,” *NPS.gov*, Accessed February 7, 2021, [https://www.nps.gov/nr/travel/route66/peach\\_springs\\_trading\\_post.html](https://www.nps.gov/nr/travel/route66/peach_springs_trading_post.html). “South Rim: Grand Canyon Railway Depot,” *ASU.edu*, Accessed February 7, 2021, [http://grandcanyonhistory.clas.asu.edu/sites\\_southrim\\_railwaydepot.html](http://grandcanyonhistory.clas.asu.edu/sites_southrim_railwaydepot.html).

American performances and artwork sales were facilitated by the railroad and its partner the Fred Harvey Company to appeal directly to affluent railroad tourists from the east. Many were actively seeking escape from the industrialized society of the east, and Fred Harvey actively marketed Native American culture to these tourists as material proof of the splendor of pre-modern handiwork in opposition to industrial dreariness.<sup>8</sup> These offerings, however, were mythical representations often specifically constructed for the benefit of tourists and their pre-conceived notions of “authentic” Native American culture. These displays often consisted of amalgamated aspects of Native American culture from outside the area that blended aspects of Plains Indians, Navajo, and Hopi culture. The indigenous people of the area, the Hualapai, were often drafted as actors in these displays without the artwork or performances reflecting their true culture and despite Peach Springs location inside the Hualapai Tribal Reservation.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> Kathleen L. Howard and Diana F. Pardue, *Inventing the Southwest: The Fred Harvey Company and Native American Art* (Flagstaff, AZ: Northland Publishing Company, 1996), 1-22.

<sup>9</sup> Erika Marie Bsumek, *Indian-Made: Navajo Culture in the Marketplace, 1868–1940* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2008), 1-14, Jeffrey P. Shepherd, *We are an Indian Nation: A History of the Hualapai People* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2010), 1-44.



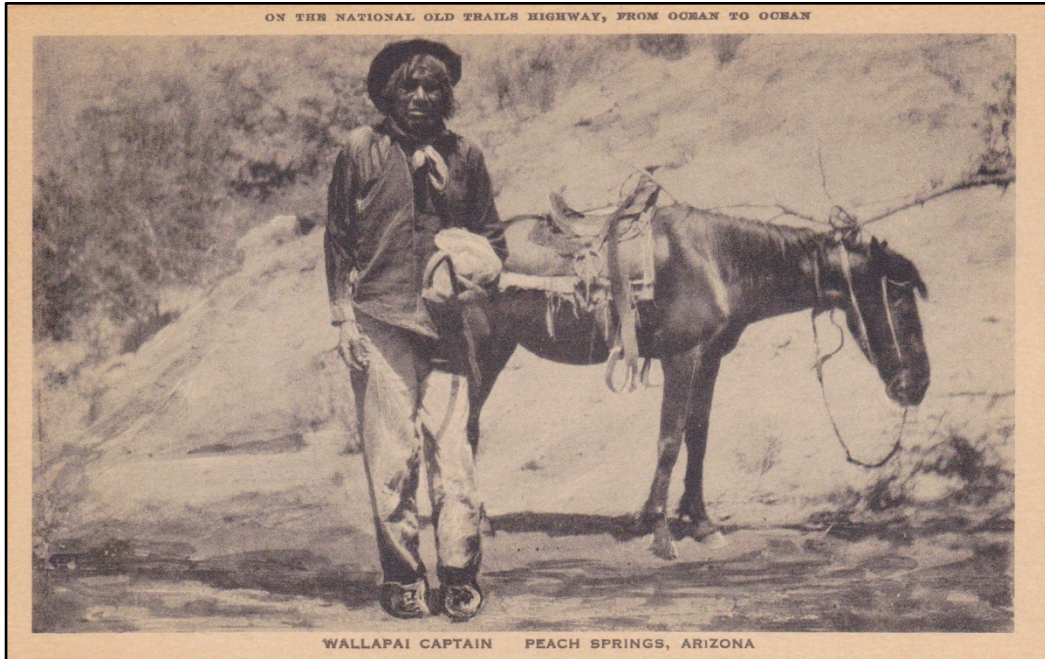


Figure 4. Postcards like this were sold to railroad tourists incorporating tourist conceptions of Native Americans. The Hualapai did not have military ranks or a hierarchy. Labels like Captain were assigned by Anglo-Whites. This postcard was printed by The Albertype Company of Brooklyn, NY around 1900. Postcard from the author's personal collection.

The next stage in the infrastructural development of the region was roads. Despite this addition of new infrastructure, the arrival of roads and highways in the region in the twentieth century did little to change the nature of settlement and tourism in the region. The majority of visitors to the region were still outsiders passing through or tourists. A smaller contingent settled in the area. Those that did settle did so because each town was linked to industrial opportunity. Throughout the early twentieth century the majority of settlers and visitors still arrived by rail. The earlier construction of the railroad had two effects: to enable tourism and to facilitate settlement at industrially strategic locations useful to transit operations or natural resource extraction.

Highways did bring a new kind of tourism – auto-touring. However, these tourists were still oriented around seeking out the natural environment of the region. As early local highways transitioned to become part of early Route 66, the highway had a



supplemental role in facilitating visitation to the region. The local economies of the townsites in the region were primarily oriented around railroad operations and resource extraction like many communities throughout the American West. Route 66 tourism traffic supplemented these local economies without taking a significant role in the economic life of the communities. Over the course of the twentieth century, however, communities along Route 66 in the region converted from industrial economies with supplemental tourist industries to communities dominated by the tourism industry – a fate also shared by many small towns in the American West.<sup>10</sup>

Like many communities and regions in the American West, as long as the original industrial purpose of each town remained viable, tourism remained an ancillary aspect of the economy. However, as the original economic basis of the region faded as the mines, forest product factories, and railroad maintenance facilities closed in the postwar post-industrial era (for example, the Saginaw Manistee wood products factory in Williams shown in Figure 5 below), a new economic orientation centered exclusively on tourism took hold. This tourism focus, unlike earlier tourism primarily centered on the environment, was grounded in Route 66 myth. Decidedly local in definition, each community in the region developed their own flavor of mythic tourism to keep their economies viable. These new origin stories ignored the long industrial railroad and resource extraction histories of the region in favor of a “never was” version steeped in American nostalgia and Route 66’s iconic place in a mythical lost “authentic America” designed to lure in tourists off of I-40. Highways like Route 66, initially built to facilitate

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<sup>10</sup> Hal K. Rothman, *Devil’s Bargains: Tourism in the Twentieth Century American West* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1998), 10-28.

travel through the region and aid its industrial output, transitioned from functional infrastructure to tourist attraction.



Figure 5. This 1920 photograph of the extensive Saginaw Manistee wood products factory reveals the original focus of the Williams' economy. The factory closed in 1942. Courtesy Cline Library, Northern Arizona University.

This view of Route 66 and the communities along it representing a lost “authentic America” is a mythic interpretation. It glosses over thornier questions such as authentic of what and for whom? In offering an idealized view of pre-Civil Rights postwar America, this mythic interpretation ignores the nuances and complications of the historical era it harkens back to without necessarily offering a clearer definition of what the legacy of Route 66 contributes to American history. Nevertheless, like most myths, the Route 66 myth contains a core fact. Route 66 was important regionally and nationally since highways, like much infrastructure, are essential for community and regional viability. In the case of northwestern Arizona, the creation of permanent settlements went hand in hand with the arrival of transportation infrastructure. Subsequent changes to this

foundational infrastructure had significant consequences for the residents of the region. This history concentrates on the ability of infrastructure to “make and un-make” a region.

The history examined here, although specific to northwestern Arizona, represents a process present in other areas as well. In the American West, the pattern often went like this: railroads and early highways opened up a region for settlement and made it economically viable for industrial or resource extraction purposes.<sup>11</sup> Once the natural resources were depleted or the dominant industry declined, the region was abandoned by outside corporate concerns and federal policy makers. Particularly in terms of transportation infrastructure, new highway and railroad configurations often played as much of a role in unmaking American Western communities as the fading of their industrial or resource extraction industries. In California, the Mohave Desert region followed a similar arc to northwestern Arizona. Railroad and Route 66 infrastructure initially made the Mohave Desert region accessible, resource extraction industries used this infrastructure and faded later, and finally railroad reconfiguration and I-40 construction bypassed it for a straighter route from Los Angeles to Needles, California. Once thriving railroad and highway travel stops, towns like Ludlow and Bagdad became ghost towns when they were bypassed by the railroad and the highway. Far from the American Southwest, in the Pacific Northwest towns like St. Andrews, Washington founded by the Great Northern Railroad thrived until bypassed by Route 2 in 1926. In turn, towns like Waterville, Washington – bustling with Route 2 traffic and travel

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<sup>11</sup> Frank D. Lewis, "Farm settlement on the Canadian Prairies, 1898 to 1911," *Journal of Economic History* (1981): 517-535. Frank D. Lewis and D.R. Robinson, "The timing of railway construction on the Canadian prairies," *Canadian Journal of Economics* (1984): 340-352.

business, were eclipsed by Interstate 90 and the towns along its route.<sup>12</sup> As with northwestern Arizona, these regions often turned to tourism as a means of reviving their economies only for the shift to tourism to have significant negative effects on community identity. As each community reoriented around tourism, the original reason for settling the town and the complicated, multifaceted aspects of community identity that evolved over time was replaced by a tourism focused community identity. If the tourism identity marketed to tourists was significantly different than the foundational community identity, community residents could find themselves alienated from the community they thought they knew.<sup>13</sup>

Through the examination of the development of a specific region through transportation infrastructure construction, its use for industrial purposes and tourism, and its later transfiguration into mythic tourist attraction, the complex interplay between transportation infrastructure, regional and community development, and tourism-focused myth making in many areas of the American West is made clear.<sup>14</sup> As in much of the American West, although the people of the region certainly used this infrastructure for their own purposes, they ultimately did not control it. Similarly, they did not control the large outside national actors that built the initial infrastructure and made decisions about

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<sup>12</sup> Erik Johnson, "The Evolution Of Interstate 90 Between Seattle And Missoula," *Eastern Washington University*, Last modified October, 2006, <http://nwhighways.amhosting.net/intersta.html>

<sup>13</sup> Rothman, *Devil's Bargains*, 10.

<sup>14</sup> The interplay between infrastructure, regional and community development, and tourism has been examined by numerous historians. For examples, see William Cronon, *Nature's Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West* (New York: Norton, 1991). Richard White, *The Organic Machine: The Remaking of the Columbia River* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1995). Warren James Belasco, *Americans on the Road: From Autocamp to Motel, 1910-1945* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1979). Christopher Wells, *Car Country* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2012). Marguerite S. Shaffer, *See America First: Tourism and National Identity, 1880-1940* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2001).

its later reconfiguration. Similarly, even as regional residents later gained partial control over now abandoned infrastructure for tourist-industry development purposes, the success of regional, community, and individual attempts at reinvention were similarly shaped by factors outside of the control of regional residents.

In tracing the role of transportation infrastructure in the making and subsequent unmaking of this region, this work contributes to previous historical work in, transportation history, tourism history, studies on place attachment, environmental history, race and ethnicity studies, and the history of the American West. In transportation history, this work makes a substantial contribution to this field and extends the work of historians such as Christopher Wells, James Belasco, and others. Christopher Wells' *Car Country*, and Warren James Belasco's *Americans on the Road: From Autocamp to Motel 1910-1945* both investigate the rise of automobiles in America in the twentieth century.<sup>15</sup> This work leverages and extends Wells and Belasco's primarily urban elites focus by discussing the adoption of automobiles within the context of a rural regional transformation. This work also contributes to the field of tourism history leveraging and extending the work of historians such as Marguerite Shaffer and Hal Rothman. Marguerite Shaffer's *See America First: Tourism and National Identity 1880-1940* investigates the significant role tourism played in constructing an American national identity. This history builds on Shaffer's work and provides a significant look into evolving local community identity driven by tourism. Similarly, Hal Rothman, in his book, *Devil's Bargains: Tourism in the Twentieth Century American West* explores the

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<sup>15</sup> Warren James Belasco, *Americans on the Road: From Autocamp to Motel, 1910-1945* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1979). Christopher Wells, *Car Country* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2012).

negative consequences to community identity spawned from the adoption of tourism industries to save local economies. This work expands on Rothman's work by providing a deep analysis of the double-edged sword of economic transition to tourism at the regional level and the role that myth plays in both economic development and the undermining of earlier industrial-focused community identity.<sup>16</sup> This work also contributes to and extends literature on attachment to place such as Thomas Dublin and Walter Licht's *The Face of Decline: The Pennsylvania Anthracite Region in the Twentieth Century* and for-profit corporations' non-attachment to place such as Jefferson Cowie's *Capital Moves: RCA's Seventy-Year Quest for Cheap Labor*. This history builds off of these works and extends the examination of residential attachment to place and corporate non-attachment to place into the American West.<sup>17</sup> In environmental history, this dissertation connects to works such as *Nature's Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West* by William Cronon and *The Organic Machine: The Remaking of the Columbia River* by Richard White that look at how natural geographies contributed to the shaping of human societies and in turn how human efforts modified and hybridized natural systems into a type of "second nature."<sup>18</sup> This work also contributes to and extends race and ethnicity studies by leveraging works such as Jeffrey P. Shepherd's *We are an Indian Nation: A History of the Hualapai People* and Gretchen Sorin's *Driving While Black: African American Travel and the Road to Civil Rights*. The region was a meeting place

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<sup>16</sup> Hal K. Rothman, *Devil's Bargains: Tourism in the Twentieth Century American West* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1998). Marguerite S. Shaffer, *See America First: Tourism and National Identity, 1880-1940* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2001).

<sup>17</sup> Thomas Dublin and Walter Licht, *The Face of Decline: The Pennsylvania Anthracite Region in the Twentieth Century* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2005). Jefferson Cowie, *Capital Moves: RCA's Seventy-Year Quest for Cheap Labor* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1999).

<sup>18</sup> William Cronon, *Nature's Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West* (New York: Norton, 1991). Richard White, *The Organic Machine: The Remaking of the Columbia River* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1995).

for Native Americans, Latinos, African Americans and Anglo-Whites where some settled and some were travelers, but all were deeply affected by the racial and ethnic currents coursing through American society at the time. This history makes its contribution by providing a deep regional focus to illuminate racial discrimination within transportation systems and their effects inside and outside of the rural regional communities involved.<sup>19</sup> Finally, this work leverages foundational works in the history of the American West such as Patty Limerick's *The Legacy of Conquest: The Unbroken Past of the American West* and Richard White's *Railroaded: The Transcontinentals and the Making of Modern America*. By focusing on the role of transportation infrastructure in the development of a western region, this history builds off these works and also expands the literature on the development of the West through a regional case study.<sup>20</sup>

Despite the rise and fall of many communities in the region that came to be defined by Route 66 at the heart of this examination, this is not a purely declensionist history. Rather it is an examination of how the addition of transportation infrastructure transformed and continued to transform a region economically, industrially, socially, and later mythically. This examination is based on extensive archival research focused on the corporate documents, personal papers, and correspondence of numerous corporate entities and regional residents who played significant roles in regional development. It

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<sup>19</sup> Jeffrey P. Shepherd, *We are an Indian Nation: A History of the Hualapai People* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2010). Gretchen Sorin, *Driving While Black: African American Travel and the Road to Civil Rights* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2020).

<sup>20</sup> Patty Limerick, *The Legacy of Conquest: The Unbroken Past of the American West* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1987). Richard White, *Railroaded: The Transcontinentals and the Making of Modern America* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co, 2011).

also utilized historical geographic information system analysis to analyze maps, census, and other quantitative data to illuminate significant change over time in the region. Likewise, digital historical research techniques such as text-mining were used to examine newspaper archives to analyze numerous years of regional newspaper publication. This thorough research revealed that some of the communities in the region benefitted initially by Route 66 only to lose those benefits later. Some communities never benefitted throughout the Route 66 period. Others benefitted initially and continue to benefit today. Running through each of these histories is the common thread of how the configuration of the transportation infrastructure in the region influenced how a given community connected to the national and international economy and subsequently developed as a community.

The focus on myth prevalent in discussions about Route 66 obscures this fundamental aspect. The focus on mythical authentic America, on kitschy road side attractions, or on road trip lore hides the foundational and existential role infrastructure like Route 66 played in community development and growth. The direct connection to the national economy provided by Route 66 for the communities along its path significantly guided community development as did later disconnection. Similarly, the role tourism played in this development as industrialism faded was fundamental throughout the period. The transformation of Route 66 from functional infrastructure to tourist attraction shaped community outcomes with lasting impacts on the people in the region. The abandonment of Route 66 as a functional road and the triumph of Route 66 myth in the national consciousness forced many community residents to choose between a short list of poor options. Choices included leaving declining communities, sticking



with their community as originally defined and hoping for the best, or reinventing their community to align with the national Route 66 myth to attract tourists. The mythical identities crafted by these towns out of economic necessity attracted tourists, but came at the cost of regional communities losing a more realistic understanding of their past and becoming disassociated from their previous community identity.

The chapters that follow trace the history of one stretch of Route 66 in Northwestern Arizona. The chapters illustrate in detail how the myth surrounding Route 66 differs significantly from the actual history of the area. This is unfortunate since, despite how the pop-history myth and Americana cultural allure of Route 66 has a powerful hold on national and international conceptions of the old highway, it obscures other stories with deeper meaning. Stories about the role of infrastructure in regional development; stories about community development in unlikely places; stories about those communities struggling with race and class issues as they developed; stories about the people who stayed in the region after its glory days, not just those who left or passed through; stories about the companies that abandoned the region and the deep effects post-industrialism had on its people; stories of resilience in the face of decline.

As an example, consider Route 66's last day in northwestern Arizona. In Seligman, like the other towns in the region, September 21, 1978 unfolded like any other day. Early that Thursday morning, motor vehicles and large trucks began to hurtle through town just after dawn. The incessant torrent of vehicles continued into the evening. Crossing Chino Avenue, as Route 66 was known in town, was almost impossible by car or on foot. Mirna Delgadillo recalled the feeling of taking her life in her hands as a high school student trying to cross Chino Avenue to get to her job at her

uncle Juan Delgadillo's restaurant, the Snow-Cap Drive-in. Seligman High School was north of Chino Avenue. The Snow-Cap Drive-In was on the south side of Chino Avenue (Route 66). Crossing Route 66 could be life threatening. "Crossing the street was like taking your life into your hands, because there was so much traffic. And I remember that. It's like you have to take time to figure out, Okay, I'm gonna go after this car."<sup>21</sup>

This was hardly a unique experience for most residents. Local restaurants, gas stations, and other shops were typically jammed with travelers all day. By the evening, the motels were full. Between the multitude of railroad passengers, railroad employees, and automobile travelers passing through town every day, local business boomed. Local spending by these visitors pumped over \$1 million into the local economy annually and had for some time. Most days had unfolded like September 21, 1978 since the end of World War Two. Construction of a new replacement for Route 66 south of town had commenced in 1960, but it had been slow going. Blasting a path for I-40 through the solid-granite Juniper Mountains south of town had proven more difficult than federal highway engineers had anticipated. For most in Seligman, the bustle of handling the daily influx of travelers over-shadowed the looming, yet continually delayed, bypass of town by a new interstate highway. However, on Friday September 22, 1978, the section of I-40 bypassing Seligman opened to traffic in the early morning. Cross country highway traffic through town ceased immediately.<sup>22</sup> The daily influx of motor vehicles did not come. Chino Avenue, difficult to cross before the bypass, became an empty road. Restaurant tables sat empty. Gas station pump motors that hummed all Thursday fell silent Friday.

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<sup>21</sup> Mirna Delgadillo, 2007, Interview by R. Sean Evans, February 19, Item number 78541, transcript, Route 66 Oral History Project, Cline Library Northern Arizona University, Flagstaff, AZ.

<sup>22</sup> "Cutoff by Interstate Doooms Route 66," *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), September 23, 1978, p. 1.

Many motels, their large neon signs beckoning to weary travelers the night before, lay dark and vacant. Had the Scharchts visited Seligman twenty years earlier in 1975, Angel Delgadillo Junior would not have had time to sing “Get Your Kicks on Route 66” with them. The Scharchts would have been lucky not to wait for service at any given Seligman business.<sup>23</sup> Route 66 souvenirs would have been hard to come by as most businesses in town serviced the practical needs of travelers.<sup>24</sup>

The end of Route 66 in northwestern Arizona meant adjusting to a new reality. Businesses in town hung on as best they could by focusing on railroad employees.<sup>25</sup> That was not to last either. As early as the 1930s, the Santa Fe Railroad had been investing in new diesel locomotives. By the 1950s they boasted having the most diesels of any railroad.<sup>26</sup> Simultaneous investments in new track and electronic railyard switching were also quickly modernizing the Santa Fe. By 1956, the Santa Fe had completely converted to diesel locomotives prompting the closing of the steam locomotive-oriented roundhouse at Seligman. Maintenance for all diesel locomotives consolidated to Barstow, California closing the remaining maintenance facility in Winslow, Arizona.<sup>27</sup> Electronic track switching eliminated on-the-ground switchmen. Continuously welded rail allowed trains

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<sup>23</sup> Angel Delgadillo, 2007, Interview by R. Sean Evans, February 19, Item number 78541, transcript, Route 66 Oral History Project, Cline Library Northern Arizona University, Flagstaff, AZ.

<sup>24</sup> <sup>24</sup> Pat Haigh Stein, "Seligman Commercial Historic District," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 2005), Section 7, 8, 9.

<sup>25</sup> Angel Delgadillo, 2007, Interview by R. Sean Evans, February 19, Item number 78541, transcript, Route 66 Oral History Project, Cline Library Northern Arizona University, Flagstaff, AZ. Mirna Delgadillo, 2007, Interview by R. Sean Evans, February 19, Item number 78541, transcript, Route 66 Oral History Project, Cline Library Northern Arizona University, Flagstaff, AZ.

<sup>26</sup> “Santa Fe Buys Four Big Diesels,” *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), March 3, 1940, p. 12. “Santa Fe Buys 31 New Diesels,” *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), May 4, 1939, p. 46. “Santa Fe Orders 21 More Diesels,” *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), September 17, 1948, p. 15. “Santa Fe Purchases Diesel Locomotives,” *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), June 26, 1940, p. 36.

<sup>27</sup> “Roundhouse Rubble,” *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), March 26, 1962, p. 8.

to travel faster.<sup>28</sup> Reductions in passenger service shifted rail business to freight hauling. Increasingly, much like interstate automobile travel, this freight moved between major cities. The Santa Fe prioritized reducing travel time between major cities on the line by introducing the Super-C train that could move between Chicago and Los Angeles in under 40 hours.<sup>29</sup> Reducing freight transit time required reducing the number of stops and train crew changes. In the early 1980s, the Santa Fe ran a series of experiments eliminating Seligman as a division stop for crew changes. Determining these experiments successful, the Santa Fe eliminated Seligman as a division point and railroad stop on February 8, 1985.<sup>30</sup> Within seven years, Seligman went from non-stop traffic on Route 66 and daily train stops, to no traffic, no trains, and no customers. Its life sustaining transportation infrastructure bypassed, the town quickly hemorrhaged businesses, jobs, and people.

Seeing nothing left for her in town, Mirna Delgadillo left Seligman in the 1980s. Her father Angel Delgadillo Junior and his older brother Juan, both business owners in town, stayed – determined to save their businesses and their hometown. Their strong attachment to place led them to try anything to keep the town their father had emigrated to from Mexico in 1916 alive. It was Angel that led the reorientation around Route 66 mythic tourism in an attempt to save the town. The Schardts international visit in 1995 was proof of his success. By 1998, inspired by her father’s tenacity and missing home,

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<sup>28</sup> “Santa Fe Sees ‘Improvement’ During 1961,” *Arizona Daily Sun* (Flagstaff, AZ), December 30, 1961, p. 4. “The Santa Fe, a Partner in Progress,” *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), March 27, 1976, p. 67.

<sup>29</sup> “The Super C,” *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), April 15, 1973, p. 319.

<sup>30</sup> “Railway Lowers Boom: Seligman is Cut as Stop,” *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), January 24, 1985, p. 70. Fred Smith, “Last Stop: ‘Rails’ depart, Leaving Seligman to Fend for Itself,” *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), February 8, 1985, p. 2.

Mirna Delgadillo returned to Seligman to help manage her father's and uncle's businesses as well as raise her own children amongst family.<sup>31</sup> What was an impediment to the efficient flow of traffic to federal highway engineers, and an unnecessary stop on an express freight line to the Santa Fe, was home and hearth for the Delgadillo family. Abandoned by road and rail, the Delgadillos and many like them refused to abandon the region created by rail and road. What follows is that story.

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<sup>31</sup> Mirna Delgadillo, 2007, Interview by R. Sean Evans, February 19, Item number 78541, transcript, Route 66 Oral History Project, Cline Library Northern Arizona University, Flagstaff, AZ.

## CHAPTER 2

### NOT EXACTLY EDEN: THE REGION AND THE RAILROAD

“Starting at daybreak, we resumed our search, and passing through a great deal of pretty country, we came upon a ravine, at least what seemed one at the commencement, but which on further examination proved a level and beautiful pass through a range of sandstone mountains. The prospect was tempting, although it evidently led us far from home, and our animals, if no better success attended us, were surely to die from under us for the want of water . . . however, trusting to luck I determined to try it . . . it seemed to cleave the mountain . . . and opened into a wide valley of some twenty-five miles in length and ten in breadth, covered in grass so green that it seemed we must find water in it . . . here we found an easy path and going through it and turning to the northward, we encamped on the dry bed of a stream having travelled nearly fifty miles. The day was hot and dusty, and during this time we had watered our animals once with about four quarts each, and their distress was painful to witness. It was evident something must be done speedily, or we should lose every animal we had, and perhaps our own lives, for we knew nothing of the character of the country we had to traverse between us and camp, or whether, indeed, it was passable at all.” – Lt. Edward F. Beale, September 22, 1857.<sup>32</sup>

When Lt. Beale’s survey party emerged from the narrow ravine into the grassy valley, they had already discovered a fundamental quality of northwestern Arizona; water was hard to come by. Rainfall averaged only 13 inches a year.<sup>33</sup> As they surveyed the

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<sup>32</sup> Lewis Burt Lesley, *Uncle Sam’s Camels: The Journal of May Humphrey’s Stacey Supplemented by the Report of Edward F. Beale (1857-1858)* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1929), 229-230.

<sup>33</sup> “Monthly Total Precipitation for SELIGMAN, AZ,” National Weather Service, Accessed September 18, 2018, <https://w2.weather.gov/climate/xmacis.php?wfo=fgz>.

vast valley confronting them, they were about to discover something else; the Chino Valley was considerably larger than the 25 mile length Lt. Beale estimated. Three times larger. At 700 square miles, Lt. Beale's party was only two-thirds of the way across the valley when they camped near the dry stream bed that night. Lt. Beale could be forgiven for mistaking the green grass in the valley as a sign of abundant water. As a visitor, charting one of the first American road surveys through the area, the terrain, its weather, and the region's supply of water was unfamiliar. He did not know that the grass was only temporarily green due to monsoon rain. He also could not know that the valley lacked any sources of perennial surface water. Likewise, he could not know it lacked ground water too. With a loose, thin layer of topsoil covering a deep bed of volcanic rock, Lt. Beale had stumbled into an inhospitable dry valley situated in the dead center of northwestern Arizona. The limited amount of rainwater that fell in this valley as biannual monsoon rain quickly drained down washes to the south or sunk through the volcanic rock into river basins. Lt. Beale and his party would have to traverse another 25 miles of dry valley, negotiate the narrow pass through Red Mesa, and enter the Aubrey Valley farther west before finding water again at Peach Springs. In the Chino Valley in late September in 1857, hot, dry, and dusty was the order of the day.

In the 1850s, despite the United States successfully acquiring northwestern Arizona as part of the Mexican Cession at the end of the Mexican-American War, few American settlers from the eastern United States had entered the region. Much of the newly acquired southwestern United States was populated mainly by indigenous groups and a few former citizens of Mexico. It was not an easy place to traverse and certainly not a place for tourists. With the exception of a few "mountain men," outside visitors to the

area consisted largely of U.S. Army survey parties. Beale had been tasked with surveying and then constructing a wagon road through the area. Other Army expeditions were focused on surveying possible routes for building a railroad through the region. Far from a place of sublime beauty or authentic Americanness, it was clear that intervention was required to make this inhospitable region possible to travel through safely. Settlement, regional development, and ancillary activities like tourism through the region were dependent on the development of infrastructure.

The arrival of the railroad first opened this region to development. Beginning in 1882, the Atlantic and Pacific railroad built the first rail line through the region. Evolving in fits and starts tied to both the daunting environment in the region and the financial volatility of railroad construction, the necessary transportation systems, water systems, and power systems were eventually constructed by the Atlantic and Pacific and successor railroads like the Santa Fe Pacific. While images from 1945 to 1970 of Route 66 dominate the way people think about travel in this region today, looking back at the role of the railroad shows that it was actually far more important to how northwestern Arizona developed. It was the railroad that made—and later unmade—the region far more than the road.

In 1857, Lt. Beale and his party struggled mightily to navigate and survive the inhospitable environment nearly dying of dehydration on multiple occasions. Vesta Davis Higgins, traveling through the region as a tourist in 1905, had a very different experience. Writing an account of her solo travels through Arizona for the *Arizona Republic* on November 10, 1905, Higgins wrote, “After resting at the Apache House [Holbrook, AZ], a cozy, home-like little hotel, I took the Santa Fe train at 7 the next morning, arriving at



Williams the next afternoon, but missing connection with the Grand Canyon train, I had a few hours in which to look about the little breezy stirring western town.” After spending the afternoon shopping in Williams, Higgins took the evening train to the Grand Canyon. “At six I was on the Canyon branch train . . . at 11 we pulled in and went directly to a hotel and to bed.”<sup>34</sup> 48 years earlier, Beale’s all-male party camped near a dry creek bed worried whether they would survive the following 24 hours due to lack of water. In 1905, Higgins travelled farther in one day than Beale ever did in a day, and she did so in general comfort by herself and slept in a modern hotel room each night. Describing her morning, Higgins wrote, “The next morning, after a shower, I saw a most wonderful effect produced as the mist rose and formed into little cloudlets.”<sup>35</sup> Higgins casual mention of her hotel shower substantiates the impact infrastructure made in opening the region. Where Beale and his party barely survived their trek due to lack of water, Higgins sought out the sublime as a tourist in modern comfort. Describing her first viewing of the Grand Canyon, Higgins wrote, “without any warning the earth opened before me. I stood upon the brink of what seemed to be a bottomless pit. The suddenness, the surprise, the revelation rooted me to the spot. With a gasp I raised my eyes and the whole magnificence of the Grand Canyon burst upon me.”<sup>36</sup> Beale mentioned the beauty of the green grass in the valley not as an appreciation of the sublime, but as a hopeful sign of readily available water. Higgins expounded in her account on the sublime grandeur of the Grand Canyon, blissfully unaware of the massive transportation and hydrologic

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<sup>34</sup> Vesta Davis Higgins, “The Grand Canyon, Mightiest Wonder: A Woman’s Description of her First and Subsequent Impression of That Huge Gash in the Face of Nature,” *Arizona Republic (Phoenix, AZ)*, November 10, 1905.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid.

engineering efforts that went into her casual hotel room shower on the rim of the Grand Canyon.

### The Region: Is it Passable at All?

The region Beale traversed in September, 1857 and Higgins toured in November, 1905 included the area between the Arizona Divide (a watershed boundary demarcating the divide between rivers that flow west to the Colorado River or east toward the Gila River), and the Colorado River (which marks the border between Arizona and California). It is the far northwestern quadrant of Arizona. It is bordered on the south by a series of steep pre-Cambrian granite mountain ranges that mark the divide between the high-desert Colorado Plateau and the low desert basin and range of central and southern Arizona. The Colorado River divides it from California and the Mohave Desert to the West, and the Grand Canyon divides it from the higher elevation Arizona Strip north of the canyon that borders Utah.

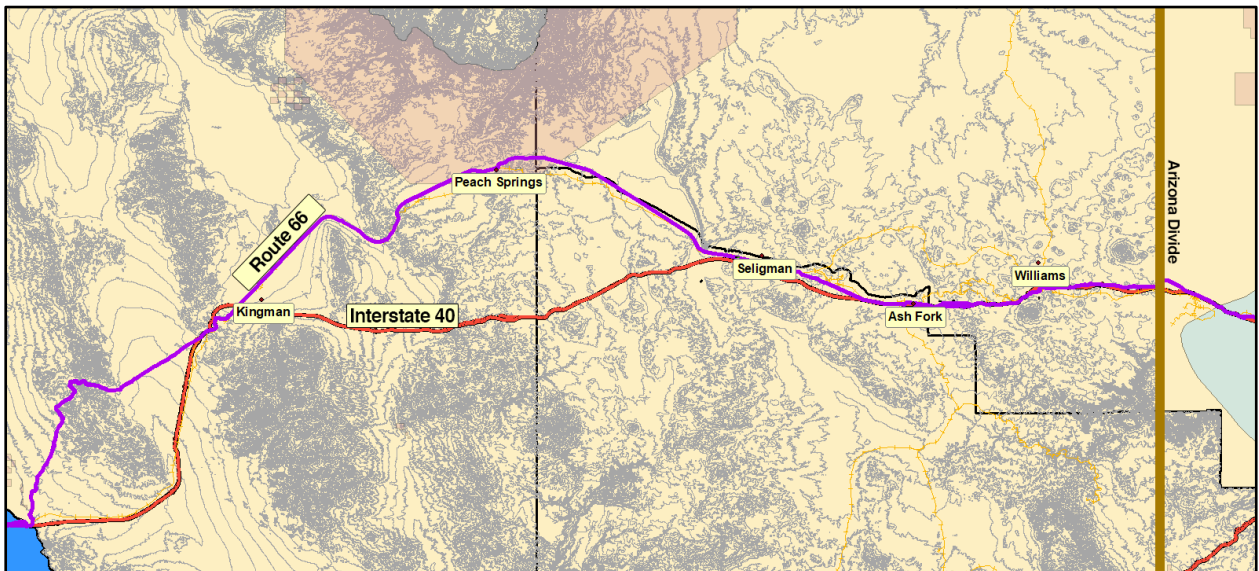


Figure 6. The map above displays the region. It ranges from the Arizona Divide in the east to the Colorado River in the west (blue water). Towns within the region are labeled with the future paths of Route 66 and I-40 indicated.

This region differs significantly from northeastern Arizona which is generally flatter and contains more readily available water. In the northwestern portion of the state, jagged mountain ranges, narrow passes, and inhospitable valleys dictate a more difficult twisting naturally determined travel path through the region. The area under examination is not a named region in itself. Rather it consists of a number of named forests, grasslands, valleys, canyons, draws, washes and mountain ranges that mark the path Lt. Beale traversed and later the Atlantic and Pacific Railroad used to chart a rail line through the area. The earliest railroad surveys for what was the Atlantic and Pacific Railroad and later became the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe Railroad or simply the Santa Fe Railroad, envisioned a straighter, more direct route through the area similar to modern I-40.<sup>37</sup> However, the daunting geography of the mountain ranges in the region proved too difficult for late-nineteenth century railroad construction capabilities. As such, much like the original indigenous people of the area and early wagon-train settlers, the railroad was compelled to follow the natural conduit through the region created by the interlocking system of valleys, canyons, and washes.<sup>38</sup> Specifically, this path and surrounding region includes the Kaibab National Forest, Ash Fork Draw, Lockett Draw, Railroad Canyon, Big Chino Wash, the Aubrey Valley, the Hualapai Indian Reservation, Truxton Wash, Truxton Canyon, the Hualapai Valley, the Sacramento Valley, and the

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<sup>37</sup> Hoffman, J. D, Jefferson Davis, Amiel Weeks Whipple, J. C Ives, Selmar Siebert, and United States War Department. *From the Rio Grande to the Pacific Ocean: from explorations and surveys*. [Washington, D.C, 1859] Map. <https://www.loc.gov/item/98688421/>.

<sup>38</sup> *Atlantic And Pacific Railroad Company. Map showing the location of the road and the land grant of the Atlantic and Pacific R.R. in Arizona ... in New Mexico*. [N.P, 1883] Map. <https://www.loc.gov/item/98688586/>. "Map of the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe Railway System," *Railway Stocks and Bonds*, vol. 86, January, 1908, p15.

Black Mountains. Modern towns in the region include Williams, Ash Fork, Seligman, Peach Springs, and Kingman.

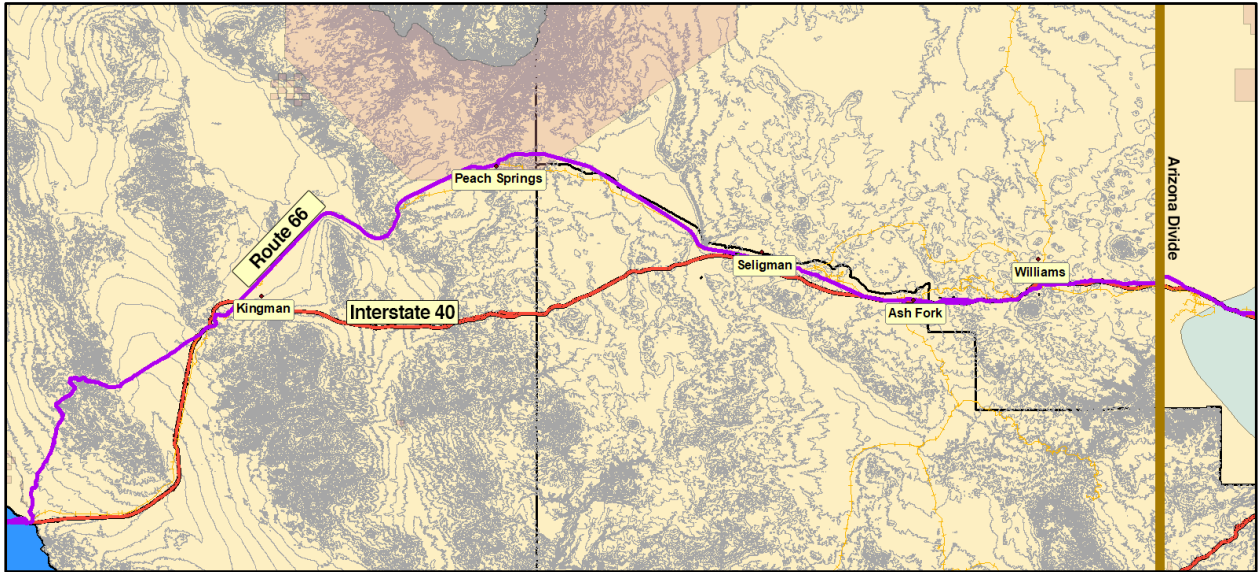


Figure 7. Regional map with modern town names and highways included for reference. The Hualapai Reservation is highlighted in pink. The railroad and Route 66 both largely followed the natural migration path used by the Hualapai.

This route has been a natural migration path through the area for centuries. The Hualapai, the indigenous people in the area, used this route to traverse their ancestral land ranging from the Colorado River in the west to the Coconino National Forest in the east. Later, Spanish and Mexican explorers used the route for surveys and trade with Native-Americans. Later still, Anglo-Americans, first led by U.S. Army efforts including Lt. Beale's survey, charted the area eventually establishing a wagon road, rail corridor and finally Route 66 and I-40.<sup>39</sup>

### Regional Natural History

The path all travelers follow through this area began forming more than 65 million years ago during the early Cenozoic Era (66 million years ago to the present).

<sup>39</sup> "The Final Kick: Route 66 Decertified," *Arizona Republic*, June 28, 1985, p21. Fred Smith, "Route 66 Will Be Put on State's Historic List," *Arizona Republic*, November 21, 1987, p27.

Tectonic activity along the Aubrey and Toroweap Faults began the long process of separating the Colorado Plateau from the Great Basin and Arizona's Lower Basin. Active tectonic shifting began approximately 65 million years ago and continued through 5 million years ago raising the ancient seabed of the Paleozoic Era creating the Colorado Plateau and collapsing the lands to the west creating the Basin and Range. Still seismically active, disruptions along this fault occurred as recently as 3,000 years ago. The various tectonic disruptions during this long span of time raised the main body of the Colorado Plateau and fractured the margins of the plateau.<sup>40</sup>

The northwesterly edge of the Colorado Plateau marks the northern edges of much of the travel path examined here variously followed by the Hualapai, the Santa Fe Railroad, and later Route 66. Volcanic activity in the area beginning approximately 8 million years ago further altered the region. Moving east to west, flat persistent lava-flows covered the older sandstone formations from Williams to Seligman creating the thinly top-soiled flat grasslands present today. This relatively level area contrasts sharply with the older, taller sandstone mesas west of Seligman marking the Aubrey Fault and the beginning of the western margin of the Colorado Plateau. These mesas give way to more flat land consisting of ancient sandstone from the Paleozoic seabed ranging from Seligman to Peach Springs. Fault activity from 16 million to two million years ago created more level sandstone from Peach Springs to the Cottonwood Mountains. Ancient

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<sup>40</sup> Garrett Jackson, "Tectonic Geomorphology of the Toroweap Fault, Western Grand Canyon, Arizona: Implications for Transgression of Faulting on the Colorado Plateau," (Open-File Report, Arizona Geological Survey, Tucson, AZ, 1990), 1-5, Garrett Jackson, "The Toroweap Fault: One of the Most Active Faults in Arizona," *Arizona Geology* 20, no. 4 (1990): 7-9, N.H. Darton, "A Reconnaissance of Parts of Northwestern New Mexico and Northern Arizona," (Bulletin 435, U.S. Geological Survey, Washington D.C. 1910), 1-25. Lon Abbott and Terri Cook, *Geology Underfoot in Northern Arizona* (Missoula: Mountain Press Publishing, 2007), xi, 1-8. Halka Chronic, *Roadside Geology* (Missoula: Mountain Press Publishing, 1983), 194-201.

granite from 1.6 to 1.8 billion years ago makes up most of the Cottonwood Mountains west of Peach Springs with more recent volcanic activity adding volcanic rock to these mountains on their eastern edge approximately 11 to 38 million years ago. Passage through these mountains is via Truxton Wash and Truxton Canyon. Truxton Canyon terminates into the Hualapai valley. Low and flat, the Hualapai valley consists of alluvial deposits dated to less than 2 million years ago.<sup>41</sup> Marking the location of a more violent volcanic eruption, Kingman sits on volcanic rock approximately 11 to 38 million years old and is the location of the Peach Springs Tuff, one of the largest volcanic eruptions known. The eruption occurred approximately 18.5 million years ago. The eruption had a force 625 times greater than the 1980 eruption of Mt. Saint Helens, and spread volcanic material across 13,000 square miles.<sup>42</sup> The Cerbat Mountains, just to the west of Kingman, consist of more ancient granite. These mountains give way further west to the Sacramento Valley, which like the Hualapai Valley, consists of more recent alluvial deposits. Taken together, the Hualapai and Sacramento Valleys are possible old riverbeds of the Colorado River. Exiting the Sacramento Valley in the west, the Black Mountains consist of more volcanic rock dating to 11 to 38 million years ago.<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>41</sup> Lon Abbott and Terri Cook, *Geology Underfoot in Northern Arizona* (Missoula: Mountain Press Publishing, 2007), xi, 1-8. Halka Chronic, *Roadside Geology* (Missoula: Mountain Press Publishing, 1983), 194-201. Ron Blakey and Wayne Ranney, *Ancient Landscapes of the Colorado Plateau* (Grand Canyon: Grand Canyon Association, 2008), 103-120. Edwin McKee and Raymond Gutschick, *History of the Redwall Limestone of Northern Arizona* (Boulder: Geological Society of America, 1969), 1-4. "The Geologic Map of Arizona," *Arizona Geological Survey*, Accessed January 30, 2020, <http://data.azgs.az.gov/geologic-map-of-arizona/>

<sup>42</sup> Lon Abbott and Terri Cook, *Geology Underfoot in Northern Arizona* (Missoula: Mountain Press Publishing, 2007), 135-148.

<sup>43</sup> Garrett Jackson, "Tectonic Geomorphology of the Toroweap Fault, Western Grand Canyon, Arizona: Implications for Transgression of Faulting on the Colorado Plateau," (Open-File Report, Arizona Geological Survey, Tucson, AZ, 1990), 1-5, Garrett Jackson, "The Toroweap Fault: One of the Most Active Faults in Arizona," *Arizona Geology* 20, no. 4 (1990): 7-9, N.H. Darton, "A Reconnaissance of Parts of Northwestern New Mexico and Northern Arizona," (Bulletin 435, U.S. Geological Survey, Washington D.C. 1910), 1-25. Lon Abbott and Terri Cook, *Geology Underfoot in Northern Arizona*

Route 66 travelers traversed this area through the daunting Sitgreaves Pass – 3,586 feet in elevation and attained through negotiating a narrow series of jagged steep switchbacks. This intimidating, dangerous stretch of road often proved too much for cross-country motorists who often hired locals to drive their vehicles through it for them. This section of road would later be abandoned by the state of Arizona when rising traffic drove the accident and fatality rate too high. The southern margin of this region and transit path is fenced by three Pre-Cambrian granite mountain ranges – The Hualapai, Aquarius, and Juniper Mountains.<sup>44</sup> I-40 cuts through these granite mountains on its current route. Originally forecast to be complete no later than 1968, it took until 1978 to complete blasting an artificial canyon through these mountains due to the daunting elevations and dense granite.<sup>45</sup>

Dry and sunny, the region averages less than 13 inches of rain annually most of which falls December through March.<sup>46</sup> Most of this area is between 4,000 feet and 6,000 feet in elevation. The Aubrey Cliffs, which can be seen rising to the north of Route 66 between Peach Springs and Seligman, Arizona are strikingly taller at 6,600 to 7,300 feet.

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(Missoula: Mountain Press Publishing, 2007), xi, 1-8. Halka Chronic, *Roadside Geology* (Missoula: Mountain Press Publishing, 1983), 194-201. Ron Blakey and Wayne Ranney, *Ancient Landscapes of the Colorado Plateau* (Grand Canyon: Grand Canyon Association, 2008), 103-120. Edwin McKee and Raymond Gutschick, *History of the Redwall Limestone of Northern Arizona* (Boulder: Geological Society of America, 1969), 1-4. “The Geologic Map of Arizona,” *Arizona Geological Survey*, Accessed January 30, 2020, <http://data.azgs.az.gov/geologic-map-of-arizona/>. “Peach Springs Topo Map in Mohave County,” *Topozone.com*, Accessed January 30, 2020, <https://www.topozone.com/arizona/mohave-az/city/peach-springs/>. “Vital Highway 66 Link to be Completed Oct. 1,” *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), August 28, 1952.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid.

<sup>45</sup> Tom Lewis, *Divided Highways: Building the Interstate Highways: Transforming American Life* (New York: Viking, 1997), ix-xiv. “Peach Springs Bypassed as I-40 Bypass between Ash Fork and Kingman Opened,” *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), September 23, 1978.

<sup>46</sup> “Monthly Total Precipitation for SELIGMAN, AZ,” *National Weather Service*, Accessed September 18, 2018, <https://w2.weather.gov/climate/xmacis.php?wfo=fgz>. Garrett Jackson, “Tectonic Geomorphology of the Toroweap Fault, Western Grand Canyon, Arizona: Implications for Transgression of Faulting on the Colorado Plateau,” (Open-File Report, Arizona Geological Survey, Tucson, AZ, 1990), 5

These cliffs mark the crumbling edge of the Colorado Plateau. The region is semi-arid with two short rainy seasons in winter and summer with approximately 20% of the total precipitation accumulating as snow. Temperatures range from 28 to 45 degrees in winter to 70 to 95 degrees in summer. Desert plants predominate below 5,000 feet in elevation and Juniper, Pinion, and Ponderosa Pine are present above 5,000 feet.<sup>47</sup> Briefly green in the spring, the grasslands of these valleys turn golden brown by May with the region staying mostly sunny and dry until the next winter.

The region is notably devoid of surface water. Rivers, streams, and washes are not perennial running mostly during the brief rainy seasons. Larger washes, streams, and creeks like Diamond Creek on the Hualapai Reservation and Big Chino Wash near Seligman drain into the Colorado and Verde Rivers respectively. The remaining water drains rapidly through the ground via the volcanic rock and sandstone into deep inaccessible aquifers or, in the north and west, through foundational limestone into the Colorado River as it cuts through the Grand Canyon.<sup>48</sup>

Ground water supplies are scarce and found deep underground. The massive C-Aquifer underlies the Colorado Plateau throughout this region as far west as Peach Springs. The aquifer yields potable water at depths of 3,000 to 3,200 feet throughout the eastern Colorado Plateau as far west as Flagstaff. The C-Aquifer is largely dry in the west with the exception of small isolated perched water deposits of varying depths and quality.

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<sup>47</sup> Garrett Jackson, "Tectonic Geomorphology of the Toroweap Fault, Western Grand Canyon, Arizona: Implications for Transgression of Faulting on the Colorado Plateau," (Open-File Report, Arizona Geological Survey, Tucson, AZ, 1990), 5. Donald Bills, Marilyn E. Flynn, and Stephen Monroe, "Hydrology of the Coconino Plateau and Adjacent Areas, Coconino and Yavapai Counties, Arizona" (Scientific Investigations Report 2005-5222 Version 1.1, U.S. Geological Survey, March 2016), 9-12.

<sup>48</sup> Donald Bills, Marilyn E. Flynn, and Stephen Monroe, "Hydrology of the Coconino Plateau and Adjacent Areas, Coconino and Yavapai Counties, Arizona" (Scientific Investigations Report 2005-5222 Version 1.1, U.S. Geological Survey, March 2016), 1-9.



Flagstaff takes most of its water supply directly from the C-Aquifer with Williams relying on wells tapping perched water deposits.<sup>49</sup> Ash Fork has no groundwater access and relies on hauled water stored in a municipal tank.<sup>50</sup> Seligman, devoid of ground water locally, takes its water from two wells several miles south of the community which tap into the Big Chino Aquifer south of the region. This water is delivered via a pipeline and pumping system originally built by the Santa Fe Railroad to a centralized storage tank where residents fill individual water containers via a standpipe.<sup>51</sup> On the Hualapai Reservation, Peach Springs, Truxton, and the Valentine Agency are served by the Truxton Aquifer – A smaller aquifer bound by the Cottonwood Mountains and the Colorado Plateau. The geography of this area traps runoff from the plateau and the mountains into a circular lower-lying area contained within the boundaries of the Hualapai reservation. This aquifer is closer to the surface and marked by a number of

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<sup>49</sup> Donald Bills, Marilyn E. Flynn, and Stephen Monroe, “Hydrology of the Coconino Plateau and Adjacent Areas, Coconino and Yavapai Counties, Arizona” (Scientific Investigations Report 2005-5222 Version 1.1, U.S. Geological Survey, March 2016), 1-12. E.H. McGavock, T.W. Anderson, Otto Moosburner, and Larry Mann, “Water Resources of Southern Coconino County,” (Government Report, U.S. Geological Survey, 1986). “C-Aquifer Monitoring Program,” *U.S. Geological Survey*, Accessed January 31, 2020, [https://www.usgs.gov/centers/az-water/science/c-aquifer-monitoring-program?qt-science\\_center\\_objects=0#qt-science\\_center\\_objects](https://www.usgs.gov/centers/az-water/science/c-aquifer-monitoring-program?qt-science_center_objects=0#qt-science_center_objects).

<sup>50</sup> “Ash Fork Development Association Articles of Incorporation” (Articles of Incorporation, Arizona Corp[orate Commission, June 15, 1967). “By-Laws of Ash Fork Development Association Inc,” (Corporate By-Laws, Ash Fork Development Association, April 16, 2014). “About Us,” *Ash Fork Water Service*, Accessed January 31, 2020, <https://ashforkwaterservice.com/about-us>.

<sup>51</sup> Jason Long, “Community Water System 2018 Electronic Filing Receipt” (Community Water System Report for Water System Number 91-000607.0000, Aubrey Water Company, May 2019), 1-2. “Arizona Unsubdivided Lands Public Report for Westwood Ranches Phase I” (Arizona Unsubdivided Land Report, Diamond 7 Ranch, LLC, March 1994), 1-11. Sara Appel, “Sewer Line Improvements in Yavapai County,” *Civic Business Journal*, Accessed January 31, 2020, <https://www.civicbusinessjournal.com/tag/yavapai-county/>. “Entity Information Aubrey Water Company,” *Arizona Corporate Commission*, Accessed January 31, 2020, <https://ecorp.azcc.gov/BusinessSearch/BusinessInfo?entityNumber=02383636>. “Registry of Wells in Arizona,” Arizona Department of Water Resources, Accessed January 31, 2020, <https://gisweb3.azwater.gov/WellReg>.

active springs.<sup>52</sup> The reservation is the only inhabited area where a significant amount of water is available locally and where the recharge rate exceeds demand. Farther to the west, Kingman relies entirely on groundwater and takes water from the Hualapai Valley and Sacramento Valley Aquifers respectively. These shallower desert valley aquifers are under stress with some projections predicting exhaustion in approximately 50 years.<sup>53</sup>

#### Indigenous History: The Hualapai in the Region

Despite the forbidding nature of the terrain, the arid conditions, and lack of easily available water supplies, humans have lived in and transited the region for hundreds of years. An early group of humans who inhabited and moved through this region are the Hualapai. Pre-European contact, the Hualapai occupied the land from Seligman west to the Colorado River and from the Bill William river south of Interstate 40 north to the Arizona border with Nevada and Utah.<sup>54</sup>

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<sup>52</sup> Donald Bills and Jamie Macy, “Hydrogeologic Framework and Characterization of the Truxton Aquifer on the Hualapai Reservation, Mohave County, Arizona” (Scientific Investigations Report 2016-5171 version 2.0, U.S. Geological Survey, December 2017), 1-10.

<sup>53</sup> Jeremy Jacobs, “It was the ‘Land of the Free.’ Then the Water Disappeared,” *eenews.net*, Accessed January 31, 2020, [https://www.eenews.net/special\\_reports/when\\_the\\_wells\\_run\\_dry/stories/1060110247](https://www.eenews.net/special_reports/when_the_wells_run_dry/stories/1060110247)

<sup>54</sup> Jeffrey P. Shepherd, *We are an Indian Nation: A History of the Hualapai People* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2010), 20-23. Leanne Hinton and Lucille Watahomigie, editors, *Spirit Mountain: An Anthology of Yuman Story and Song* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1994), 12.

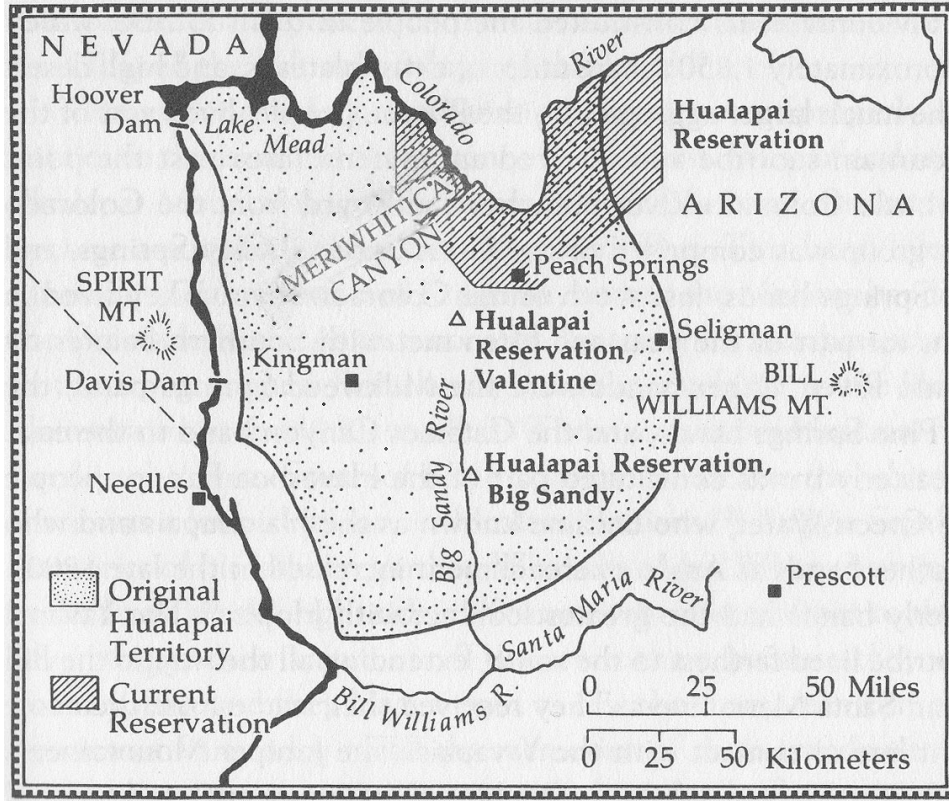


Figure 8. Original Hualapai territory versus the current reservation. From Hinton and Watahomigie, *Spirit Mountain*, 12.

Traditionally, the Hualapai were a semi-nomadic people who engaged in hunting, gathering, cultivation, and ranching. The Pai continuously harvested agave, yucca, and selé – common plants found in the area. In the summer, these plants were augmented with prickly pear fruit, and in the fall, they gathered piñon nuts as a winter staple. These plants were supplemented with meat from a variety of native wild game. The Pai also gathered a number of local herbs for use as medicine. They did not build permanent settlements but utilized portable lean-to structures enabling movement as needed seasonally. Prior to American settlement, the Hualapai were grouped in decentralized Pai bands comprised of extended families and known by the geographic location they occupied. They were aware of and actively traded with a number of other Native

Americans including the Mohaves to their west, the Yavapai to their south, and the Utes to their north. As a decentralized grouping of clan-based bands, each band occupied different areas in the region, including the Juniper Mountains, Hackberry Springs, Cataract Canyon, present-day Kingman, and various points along the Colorado River. One of these bands of Hualapai occupied the land surrounding a grouping of groundwater springs that later became known as Peach Springs.<sup>55</sup>

The arrival of the Spanish in the New World had a muted effect on the Hualapai. Spanish explorers, missionaries, and traders made very few forays into this region all the way through Mexican independence in 1821. Difficulties with Apaches and other Native American bands in central and southern Arizona prevented the Spanish from moving in large numbers as far north as Hualapai land. However, through trade with Mohave, Yavapai, and Hopi, the Hualapai were introduced to Spanish manufactured goods and animals. Through these same trade networks, the Hualapai were also introduced to European diseases like smallpox and measles. The adoption of ranching European animals like sheep, pigs, and goats and the use of horses for transportation fundamentally altered Hualapai society including land-use and how they moved through the region.<sup>56</sup>

Mexico's independence from Spain in 1821 did little to alter the lack of direct contact between the Hualapai and European settlers. Preoccupied with the same ongoing conflicts with tribes farther to the south, few Mexicans made it directly into the area. However, Anglo-American explorers began making forays into the area beginning in the 1820s. The first sustained direct contact between the Hualapai and Europeans was

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<sup>55</sup>Jeffrey P. Shepherd, *We are an Indian Nation: A History of the Hualapai People* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2010), 18-25

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, 25-28.

between Anglo-American “Mountain Men” and the Hualapai. These interactions were still sparse. They mainly consisted of hiring individual Hualapai as guides through the region or trading with larger groups of Hualapai. One of these mountain men, William “Bill” Williams travelled into the region in the 1830s. Bill Williams Mountain near Williams, Arizona, as well as the town itself, is named for William “Bill” Williams.<sup>57</sup>

Contact with white Americans increased after the Mexican-American War. Beginning in the 1850s, a series of American expeditions entered the region. In 1851, Captain Lorenzo Sitgreaves led a U.S. Army expedition through the area surveying a potential route for a railroad line. Sitgreaves party was met with ongoing resistance from various Hualapai bands. Additional military survey missions occurred in 1853 and 1854. In 1857, Lt. Edward F. Beale led an expedition to chart a course for a wagon road from the Upper Rio Grande Valley through northern New Mexico and Arizona and into California. The route of the road through northern Arizona was based on a trail used by the Mohave and Hualapai to traverse the region. However, Beale, like other Army commanders held a dim view of the Hualapai and only employed Anglo-white guides such as local mountain men rather than indigenous guides. This racialized-preference for guides, and their lesser knowledge of the terrain, often put expeditions like Beale’s road building mission at risk. Nevertheless, Beale completed his road, and beginning in 1858 Anglo-American settler wagon trains began entering the region in repeated attempts to displace the Hualapai and establish settlements. These wagon trains met with escalating resistance and conflict from the Hualapai who sought to defend their villages, crops, and livestock. However, the harsh terrain and lack of water provided an often greater foe to

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<sup>57</sup> Ibid., 28-29.

American settlement than the Hualapai. Many settler wagon trains were lost or forced to turn back due to lack of water. Anglo-American settlers driving livestock herds through the area were in a constant desperate search for surface water. This put them into even greater conflict with the Hualapai for the few water springs providing readily available surface water. Water spring control and access governed the ability to transit the area.<sup>58</sup>

This conflict led to war between the Hualapai and the U.S. Army. The Hualapai War raged from 1865 to 1870. At its conclusion in 1870, the Army forced resettlement of the Hualapai outside the region. The Hualapai, however, successfully defied resettlement and returned to the region in 1875.<sup>59</sup> Upon their return, however, they found much of their land occupied by American settlers. For example, the water source at Peach Springs had historically been an important source of sustenance for the Hualapai. However, on their return they found white settlers had established settlements near the spring, a pattern that was repeated elsewhere. Some of these settlers had migrated to the area as part of wagon trains now defended by federal troops. Others were former soldiers. These soldiers originally arrived in the area as part of the U.S. Army military presence actively displacing the Hualapai to support their replacement with Anglo-white settlers. One example is William T. Latchford. Latchford originally came to Arizona as an enlisted soldier in the U.S. Army. Originally stationed at Camp Lowell in Tucson, Latchford redeployed to northern Arizona. Upon discharge, Latchford initially settled in Ash Fork,

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<sup>58</sup> Ibid., 29-31. Charles Bailey, *Disaster at the Colorado: Beale's Wagon Road and the First Emigrant Party* (Logan, UT: Utah State University Press, 2002), 45-57. Lewis Burt Lesley, *Uncle Sam's Camels: The Journal of May Humphrey's Stacey Supplemented by the Report of Edward F. Beale (1857-1858)* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1929).

<sup>59</sup> Jeffrey P. Shepherd, *We are an Indian Nation: A History of the Hualapai People* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2010), 29-44.

Arizona and married Sara Neils in 1884. Later William and Susan Latchford moved to Seligman Arizona and homesteaded on 155.5 acres just south of the town.<sup>60</sup>

Fearing the loss of their ancestral lands, the Hualapai began lobbying the federal government for a reservation. The federal government, noting the failure of the forced relocation and the difficulty the Hualapai were having sustaining themselves in land increasingly controlled by white settlers, granted them a reservation in 1883 amounting to about one-sixth of their ancestral lands. The establishment was immediately contentious as white settlers in the area complained about the loss of their land claims. Likewise, the railroad claimed its land grant gave it control of much of the land and water in the area. Allies of the Hualapai in the federal government argued that the Hualapai had a more rightful claim to the land and water than either the white settlers or the railroad, and the establishment of the reservation was sustained.<sup>61</sup>

#### Transiting the Region Before the Railroad

Nature made the region difficult to traverse. Restrictions were numerous, but the Hualapai successfully navigated them and moved through the region timed to the seasons. On the westernmost edge of their ancestral lands the Colorado River and neighboring Mohave provided a formidable natural barrier and cultural constraint respectively. When ranging east from the Colorado through to the Kaibab National

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<sup>60</sup> Ibid., 45-50. Bailey, *Disaster at the Colorado*, 2002. William T. Latchford, Camp Lowell, Arizona Territory, August, 1871, National Archives and Records Administration (NARA); Washington, D.C.; Returns from U.S. Military Posts, 1800-1916; Microfilm Serial: M617; Microfilm Roll: 653. William T. Latchford and Susan Neils, marriage certificate, January 22, 1884, Yavapai County Clerk's Office, page 173. William T. Latchford, voter registration, Yavapai County Recorder, August, 1888. Homestead File Application Number 1397. Final Certificate Number 491. William T. Latchford, June 4, 1898, Prescott, Arizona, Land Office; Records of the Bureau of Land Management, Record Group 49; National Archives Building, Washington, DC.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid., 51-60.

Forest, natural geography dictated the only viable footpath west to east.<sup>62</sup> The region's formidable mountain ranges to the north and south constrained human and animal populations alike. Mountain ranges like the Juniper Mountains to the south were too steep and jagged to be traversed safely confining movement to within the natural passes available. Within these passes narrow canyons further constrained movement. Even the more open valleys were marked on their edges by soaring cliffs which dictated treading the prescribed passageway nature allowed through the region.<sup>63</sup> This was true for bi-peds and quadrupeds alike, however, and the track through the interlocking valleys, washes, and canyons in the region decreed the migration of wild game as well. As such, these same valleys, washes, and canyons became hunting grounds for the Hualapai with indigenous hunting practices shaping wildlife populations.<sup>64</sup> The region's notable lack of water likewise further constrained human and animal populations. Traversing the region, for humans and other animals, had to be timed to the availability of water. As such, the Hualapai kept detailed inventory of every natural spring, seasonal wash, and tank (a geographic term for a circular low point in the terrain where water collected after rains) in the area including the cyclical condition of each.<sup>65</sup> Movement through the area was

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<sup>62</sup> Jeffrey P. Shepherd, *We are an Indian Nation: A History of the Hualapai People* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2010), 20-24.

<sup>63</sup> Lon Abbott and Terri Cook, *Geology Underfoot in Northern Arizona* (Missoula: Mountain Press Publishing, 2007), xi, 1-8. Halka Chronic, *Roadside Geology* (Missoula: Mountain Press Publishing, 1983), 194-201.

<sup>64</sup> Shepard, *We are an Indian Nation*, 22.

<sup>65</sup> The availability of water was and is one of the primary criteria for residing in the region. Details on the Hualapai's extensive knowledge of hydrology in the region largely comes from Anglo-white explorers and settlers who used them as guides. See Sheppard, *We are an Indian Nation*, 1-54 and Charles Bailey, *Disaster at the Colorado: Beale's Wagon Road and the First Emigrant Party* (Logan, UT: Utah State University Press, 2002), 45-57.



timed to the availability of water within the corridor as much as the route was dictated by geology.

The first Anglo-white attempt to create a route through the area faced similar constraints. On foot and camelback, Lt. Beale's non-industrialized road building expedition was forced through the same easily navigated footpath. Beale's expedition attempted a slightly more intrusive but still modest modification of the environment during construction of the wagon road. This "construction," however, merely consisted of clearing large rocks from a 10-foot wide path to allow easier navigation by wagons. Depending on the number of rocks in a given area, Beale's construction crew would either simply move them to the side or in some cases lined the path with them to mark the way. A tombstone engraver on the expedition used his stone carving skills to cut markers into large stones to sign the way or identify important natural features such as water springs. The modest nature of this environmental modification is shown with the rapid disappearance of Beale's road after it fell into disuse. Beale's Wagon Road was abandoned shortly after the arrival of the railroad. The road faded from collective memory for over 100 years. Out of sight and mind and receiving no maintenance, most evidence of its existence quickly eroded by natural processes. Despite pioneering work by historians in the area to reclaim the route, surviving evidence of its existence consists only of a few of the carved stone markers and a small section of the route still marked by rows of stones on either side in the Kaibab National Forest.<sup>66</sup>

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<sup>66</sup> United States Department of Agriculture Forest Service, "Beale Wagon Road Historic Trail," RG-R3-07-5, Williams Ranger District Kaibab National Forest, 2013. Bailey, *Disaster at the Colorado*, 23-35. United States Department of War, "The Report of Mr. Beale relating to the construction of a wagon road from Fort Smith to the Colorado river," 35<sup>th</sup> Congress, 1<sup>st</sup> Session, Ex. Doc. No. 42, March 9, 1860.

## The Railroad and Regional Environmental Transformation

The creation of industrial travel routes through the area made a deeper and more lasting impact on the environment. Beginning with the construction of the railroad, the environment was heavily modified to support industrial travel infrastructure with significant impacts on hydrology, erosion, and wildlife habitat. The railroad was the first of these more extensive modifications. Striking west from Isleta, New Mexico in September 1880, the Atlantic and Pacific Railroad laid track quickly across the flat high-desert of the Colorado Plateau. By September of 1881, the railroad had pushed across eastern Arizona and was working its way through the forests near Williams.<sup>67</sup>

Most of this construction involved preparing the roadbed and laying tracks. Constructing the roadbed for the railroad track was the most direct modification of the environment caused by this construction. Railroad crews began by clearing the way of any obstacles. In the areas east of Flagstaff this largely consisted of moving rocks. However, a significant number of desert bushes, cactus, and native grasses would have also been removed. Within the region, at higher elevations clearing the path meant clear-cutting dense groves of white-fir, spruce, or ponderosa pine; at lower elevations it meant cutting through juniper pine stands and removing cholla, prickly-pear, and other high-desert plants. Once clear, the roadbed path would be dug out and leveled in preparation for construction of the raised roadbed to hold the tracks. This process would have disturbed soils to an approximate depth of two feet and an approximate width of 26 feet. In the open country, two 26 foot paths would have been cleared a varying distance from

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<sup>67</sup> Keith L. Bryant, Jr, *History of the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe Railway* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1974), 85-90.

each other to facilitate two-way rail traffic. Near a siding, station, or in areas where the geography required running the lines closer together, a single 40-foot roadbed would have been cleared with the eastbound and westbound tracks placed six-feet apart.<sup>68</sup>

After clearing and exaction of the roadbed path, the subsoil would be compacted and subgrade material, typically gravel, would be added. In the open desert such as in eastern Arizona, this subgrade would be built up slightly less than a foot above ground level, and then a thin layer of ballast – typically no more than 6 inches, would be laid down. Eight-foot railroad ties would be embedded into this ballast and iron rails affixed atop the ties. In areas with looser, wetter soil or rocky landscapes where the ground would not drain, however, the roadbed would be built up an additional two feet above ground level with a much thicker layer of ballast to allow for additional drainage away from the tracks.<sup>69</sup> From Williams at the eastern edge of the region through to Kingman in the west, a combination of loose soils, rocky terrain, and poor drainage, required the more extensive elevated track throughout the region.

Although local conditions often dictated both routing and construction technique, once constructed, the rail line made significant impacts on the local ecology. All along the line, any natural vegetation in the way would have been destroyed to make way for the railbed. In the Kaibab National Forest near Williams, this meant clear cutting a path over 100 feet wide through the ponderosa pine forest to accommodate two 26 foot wide road beds along with sidings and other ancillary infrastructure within the railroad right of way. Farther west near Seligman, this meant clearing the more sparsely populated juniper

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<sup>68</sup> “AT&SF standard ballast sections,” *Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe Railway Collection*, Kansas Historical Society, KSHS DaRT ID 56680, Item Number 56680, Call Number MCA D06 F051.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*

pinus along with a number of desert plants including cholla, yucca, and prickly pear. In all cases, the habitat these native plants provided to local wildlife was lost driving animal communities dependent on this flora away from the railroad path.<sup>70</sup>

The very nature of the construction process, however, had its greatest impact on the soil. Building the rail line required disturbing hundreds of miles of soil as the work crew dug out the path for the railroad. This process both disturbed the soil creating new soil erosion issues along the edges of the line while simultaneously compacting the soil underneath the line impacting hydrology and wildlife. During construction of the line, the subsoil had been compacted as much as possible before the subgrade and other layers were added. As the line came into operation, however, additional compaction occurred due to the weight of trains operating on the line. A typical steam locomotive of the early railroad period used in the region could weigh over 90,000 pounds. Locomotives used in the region in the early twentieth century exceeded 110,000 pounds. The Santa Fe used heavier, more powerful locomotives due to the steep elevations trains climbed regionally. Freight and passenger cars added additional weight to trains. Burrowing wildlife found the soil underneath the line impenetrable. Water drainage over or underneath the line was blocked. Hydrological drainage patterns were significantly altered after rail line construction as runoff was now channeled through ditches on either side of the track into culverts directing its flow along new lines than existed before railroad line construction.<sup>71</sup>

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<sup>70</sup> Ibid. Also, the rail line, now part of the BNSF Railway system, is still in operation throughout the area. It follows the original line through much of the region. Multiple field site visits were made by the author to sites along the route in the region documenting the clear-cut path of the rail line in the region. See “Milowski site visits field notes and photographs”, documentation collected by author, Field visits 2017 – 2020. Also see selected photographs of the rail line and highway pathways in the Appendix.

<sup>71</sup> “AT&SF standard ballast sections,” *Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe Railway Collection*, Kansas Historical Society, KSHS DaRT ID 56680, Item Number 56680, Call Number MCA D06 F051. “Steam engine diagrams and blueprints,” *Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe Railway Collection*, Kansas Historical

The rail line also presented a formidable barrier to animal migration. As an elevated line with steep banks and ditches, the railroad served as a natural fence preventing some animals from crossing. For hooved animals like deer and elk in particular, the railroad tracks and ties acted as an unintended cattle guard preventing crossing. This fencing effect divided animal populations north and south of the line with significant impact on animal populations and predator activities. In some cases, the rail line redirected migration along its east-west orientation by serving as a conduit where wildlife moved along the easier to navigate cleared land along the line. Wolves and coyotes, in particular, began utilizing rail lines for easier movement. In forested areas, the clear-cut for the rail line created edge habitats exposing nesting birds and other forest wildlife. Predators redirected their movements to take advantage of these edge habitats. Prey also adapted their nesting and range habits to avoid these same predators.<sup>72</sup>

Industrial pollution was another environmental change introduced with the rail line's construction. The steam locomotives used in the region during this period burned large amounts of coal. The 1888 Class 16 locomotive in use along the line immediately after construction carried six tons of coal in its tender. By the early twentieth century, the new Class 265 locomotive carried 12 tons of coal in its tender.<sup>73</sup> These locomotives consumed fuel quickly requiring refueling often. The burning of all of this coal released

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Society, KSHS DaRT ID 221763, Item Number 221763, Box 535 Folder 2. Milowski, "Field Notes and Photographs," 2017-2020.

<sup>72</sup> Priscila Silva Lucas, Ramon Gomes de Carvalho, Clara Grilo, "Railway Disturbances on Wildlife: Types, Effects, and Mitigation Measures" In: L. Borda-de-Água, R. Barrientos, P. Beja, H. Pereira (eds) *Railway Ecology* (New York: Springer, 2017), 81-99. "Rail Transportation," *The Environmental Literacy Council*, Accessed May 5, 2020, <https://enviroliteracy.org/environment-society/transportation/rail-transportation/>

<sup>73</sup> "Steam engine diagrams and blueprints," *Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe Railway Collection*, Kansas Historical Society, KSHS DaRT ID 221763, Item Number 221763, Box 535 Folder 2.

large amounts of industrial pollutants into the local environment including mercury, lead, sulfur dioxide, carbon-dioxide, nitrogen-oxide, particulates, and other heavy metals. All of this pollution, with the exception of carbon-dioxide, was heavier than air. As such it would have eventually settled into the soil and leached into the water affecting plant, wildlife, and humans in the region. Although coal was the dominant fuel in the 1880 – 1920 early railroad period, some locomotives burned a newer emerging alternative fuel – petroleum. The 1888 Class 1 locomotive burned oil to make its steam. Requiring 14,000 pounds of oil to fill its tender-tanker it proved more difficult to operate and was passed over in favor of ubiquitous, proven, easy to refuel coal-fired locomotives which then dominated railroad operations until the postwar diesel era.<sup>74</sup>

Railroads could not run without people. Particularly in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, steam engines required water, fuel, and tending as often as every 25 miles. As a result, the Atlantic and Pacific Railroad established a number of towns through this region dedicated to specific railroad functions as they built their rail line across the region. The railroad moved quickly across northwestern Arizona establishing multiple operation points with attached platted townsites in the region in 1882. Peach Springs was focused on exploiting one of the few available surface water supplies in the region.

Others like Williams, Ash Fork, and Kingman served as junctions with branch lines to the

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<sup>74</sup> “Coal Power Impacts,” *The Union of Concerned Scientists*, Accessed May 5, 2020, <https://www.ucsusa.org/resources/coal-power-impacts>. “How Coal Works,” *The Union of Concerned Scientists*, Accessed May 5, 2020, <https://www.ucsusa.org/resources/how-coal-works>. “Coal and the Environment,” *United States Information Administration*, Accessed May 5, 2020, <https://www.eia.gov/energyexplained/coal/coal-and-the-environment.php>. United States Department of Health and Human Services Center for Disease Control, “Sulfur Dioxide,” CAS 7446-09-5; UN 1079, Atlanta, GA, 2019. “Sulfur Dioxide,” National Library of Medicine of the National Institute of Health, Accessed May 5, 2020, <https://pubchem.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/compound/Sulfur-dioxide>. “Steam engine diagrams and blueprints,” *Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe Railway Collection*, Kansas Historical Society, KSHS DaRT ID 221763, Item Number 221763, Box 535 Folder 2.

Grand Canyon, Prescott, and regional mining concerns respectively. Situated between Ash Fork and Kingman, Seligman Arizona, which was established by the Atlantic and Pacific's successor the Santa Fe Pacific in 1897, became the heart of regional railroad operations serving as an industrial townsite focused on locomotive maintenance, train-car configuration, and as the division point for rotating train crews.<sup>75</sup>

For all of these places, the lack of readily available water supplies in the area was a problem. Steam locomotives used large quantities of water to operate and needed to refill their water tanks regularly.<sup>76</sup> To satisfy this requirement, the Santa Fe had built towns and stations with watering facilities approximately every 25 to 35 miles.<sup>77</sup> However, with perennial springs few and far between, and rivers and washes with only seasonal flows, regular water supplies necessary for railroad operations were scarce. Similarly, most of these towns lacked an easily accessible groundwater supply or a natural surface water supply forcing the railroad to haul water from Flagstaff to various holding tanks along the line. The Santa Fe extended considerable engineering resources to secure and develop water supplies in around the Flagstaff area to supply water to the various railroad stations in the region.<sup>78</sup> This, however, was not a practical solution to the long-term needs of the railroad. To solve the water-supply problem, the Santa Fe began

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<sup>75</sup> "The City and the County," *Weekly Journal-Miner* (Prescott, AZ), August 25, 1897. Kline, R. C. *Map Showing Leases at Seligman, Arizona*. Vol. 1" = 100' Atchison, Topeka, & Santa Fe, Railway Company, 1919.

<sup>76</sup> Frank M. Swengel, *The American Steam Locomotive: The Evolution of the Steam Locomotive*, (Davenport, Iowa: Midwest Rail Publications, 1967).

<sup>77</sup> Five stations covered the 132 miles from Williams to Kingman in northwestern Arizona. The distance between these stations averaged 26.4 miles. See "Williams to Kingman Arizona," *Google Map*, Accessed February 21, 2020, <https://www.google.com/maps/dir/Williams,+Arizona+86046/Ash+Fork,+Arizona+86320/Seligman,+Arizona+86337/Peach+Springs,+Arizona+86434/Hackberry,+AZ/Kingman,+Arizona>.

<sup>78</sup> "General Historical Documents," creators City of Flagstaff, Atchison Topeka and Santa Fe Railway Co., Phoenix National Bank, Phoenix Savings Bank, courtesy Flagstaff City-Coconino County Public Library, obtained from <https://azmemory.azlibrary.gov/digital/collection/p17220coll4/id/4>.

building a system of dams throughout the region to impound seasonal water flows through canyons and washes and secure a reliable persistent water supply. The impoundment of most of the regional water runoff had significant negative effects on the riparian areas in the region now cutoff from seasonal water flow. The first of these dams was built at Williams, Arizona at a cost of \$50,000 in the mid 1890s. The Williams Dam was a masonry dam that impounded seasonal mountain snowmelt run-off creating a 40,000,000 gallon reservoir.<sup>79</sup>



Figure 9. Williams Dam in 2020. The masonry dam is in general poor condition today and actively weeps water through the face of the dam. Daniel Milowski, Williams Dam, 2020. Author's personal collection, Tempe, AZ.

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<sup>79</sup> "Territorial Items," *Weekly Republican* (Phoenix, AZ) June 10, 1897. "Water Storage," *Arizona Daily Star* (Tucson, AZ) July 16, 1897. "Johnson Canyon Dam," *The Coconino Sun* (Flagstaff, AZ), March 12, 1898. Joe Gelt, "Holding Back the Waters: Dams as Water Resource Monuments," *Arroyo* 9, no. 2 (1996): 6. "Track and Tie," *The Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), December 28, 1897. "All Over Arizona," *The Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), March 12, 1898.



The Williams Dam was the first of many dams built by the Santa Fe in this region. In 1897, the railroad began construction on another dam across Johnson Canyon near Ash Fork, Arizona. The railroad operations at Ash Fork, Arizona were hamstrung by the lack of water in the area ever since the railroad built the Ash Fork siding. The complete lack of ground or surface water in the Ash Fork area had necessitated hauling up to 90,000 gallons of water a day by railroad tank car 45 miles from the nearest water supply. This water was crucial for refilling the steam locomotives at Ash Fork. The distance between Flagstaff and Peach Springs, the only two places with readily available water, was too great for a steam locomotive to make it without refilling with water at Ash Fork. Attempts at drilling ground water wells had been unsuccessful. The porous volcanic and sandstone rock running throughout the area up to the Grand Canyon facilitated ground water drainage down into the Colorado River rather than being retained in local aquifers where it could have been accessed by well drilling. To solve this problem, Chicago civil engineer F.H. Bainbridge suggested the construction of a steel dam in Johnson Canyon, four miles east of Ash Fork. The railroad was receptive, and working together with the railroad's chief engineer James Dunn, Bainbridge designed a steel dam that could create a 36 million gallon reservoir. This dam featured a unique design utilizing steel as the primary construction material. The dam was larger and more complex than Williams Dam measuring 300 feet wide and forty-six feet high. The dam structure was made up of a row of twenty-four triangularly-shaped steel beams ranging from 12 feet to 42 feet high mounted in concrete foundations. The dam foundation was concrete integrated into natural stone. The 3/8-inch thick, 8-feet long, and 9 feet wide steel plates making up the face of the dam were sunk into the concrete foundation and

riveted on to the beams on upstream face of the dam at a 45-degree angle. Unique to the design was the lack of a spillway. Instead of an engineered spillway the dam was engineered to allow flow of up to 6 feet of water over the crest of the dam. Completely filled, the dam impounded water behind the dam for over 3,000 feet. The Santa Fe handled all aspects of the construction of the steel dam at Johnson Canyon directly but contracted with the Wisconsin Bridge and Iron Company for the steel components used in the dam's construction. Designed to impound snowmelt runoff from the mountains surrounding Johnson Canyon, the dam was completed in February 1898 and had filled to capacity by early March 1898. Steel dams did not become a widely utilized construction design. Only three are known to have ever been constructed globally, and Bainbridge Steel Dam in Ash Fork is one of only two known to still exist.<sup>80</sup>

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<sup>80</sup> "Johnson Canyon Dam," *The Coconino Sun* (Flagstaff, AZ), March 12, 1898. National Park Service, Historical American Engineering Record, Written historical and descriptive data field records, Ash Fork Steel Dam, Johnson Canyon, Ash Fork Vicinity, Yavapai County Arizona, HAER AZ-90, U.S. Department of the Interior, Washington, DC. Terry S. Reynolds, "A Narrow Window of Opportunity: The Rise and Fall of the Fixed Steel Dam." IA. *The Journal of the Society for Industrial Archeology* 15, no. 1 (1989): 1-20. Accessed June 8, 2020. [www.jstor.org/stable/40968160](http://www.jstor.org/stable/40968160). Marshall Trimble, *Images of America: Ash Fork* (Chicago: Arcadia Publishing, 2008), 76.



Figure 10. Known today as Bainbridge Steel Dam, the dam designed by F.H. Bainbridge is one of only two remaining steel dams in the world. Shown here from behind, the large reservoir is visible with the top of the steel dam visible in the background. The concrete abutments built into the bedrock are visible on either side. The Santa Fe Railroad called the dam simply Dam No.1. Photograph: Daniel Milowski, Bainbridge Steel Dam, 2020. Author's personal collection, Tempe, AZ.

The Santa Fe also built three dams near Seligman impounding season flows through the Big Chino Wash. The Santa Fe hired the contracting firm B. Lantry & Sons to build Pan Dam just east of Seligman, Seligman Dam just south of Seligman, and Canyon Mouth Dam farther to the southwest of Seligman. The firm quarried rock locally for the dams at two sites – Rock Butte and Holbrook. Construction of these dams had an oversized effect on the local economy. Long-time homesteader William Latchford

reported to the *Weekly Journal-Miner* in Prescott, Arizona on August 25, 1897 that that the construction activity in Seligman employed around 500 workers.<sup>81</sup>

Canyon Mouth Dam was the largest of the three dams built in the Seligman area and the largest of the dams built by the railroad in the region. Canyon Mouth Dam was over 857 feet long and 58 feet high. It was capable of holding a two-years supply of water for railroad and community needs in the area – approximately 80 to 100 million gallons. Taking approximately six-months to build, it was completed in early September during the latter part of the Arizona monsoon season and the reservoir behind the dam quickly filled with what the railroad estimated was a four-month supply of water despite capturing only a portion of the seasonal runoff.<sup>82</sup>

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<sup>81</sup> “The City and the County,” *Weekly Journal-Miner* (Prescott, AZ), August 25, 1897. “All Over Arizona,” *The Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), June 13, 1897. “Territorial Items,” *Weekly Republican* (Phoenix, AZ), September 9, 1897. “The Latest News!!,” *Weekly Journal-Miner* (Prescott, AZ), June 16, 1897. “Chalcedony Park,” *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), December 10, 1897. “Territorial,” *The Flagstaff Sun-Democrat* (Flagstaff, AZ), September 9, 1897. “Track and Tie,” *The Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), December 28, 1897. “All Over Arizona,” *The Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), March 12, 1898. “Local News,” *Williams News* (Williams, AZ), September 10, 1904.

<sup>82</sup> “All Over Arizona,” *The Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), June 13, 1897. “Territorial Items,” *Weekly Republican* (Phoenix, AZ), September 9, 1897. “The Latest News!!,” *Weekly Journal-Miner* (Prescott, AZ), June 16, 1897. “Chalcedony Park,” *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), December 10, 1897. “Territorial,” *The Flagstaff Sun-Democrat* (Flagstaff, AZ), September 9, 1897. “Track and Tie,” *The Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), December 28, 1897. “All Over Arizona,” *The Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), March 12, 1898. “Local News,” *Williams News* (Williams, AZ), September 10, 1904.



Figure 11. Canyon Mouth Dam in 2020. The dam formerly completely impounded the Big Chino Wash south of Seligman. Today the reservoir is dry. However, deep wells were sunk south of the dam into the Big Chino Aquifer to supply water to Seligman. Photograph: Daniel Milowski, Canyon Mouth Dam, 2020. Author's personal collection, Tempe, AZ.

Near Flagstaff, the Santa Fe also contracted Lantry & Sons to build a dam across Walnut Canyon to impound snowmelt. The Walnut Canyon dam was built from locally quarried rock and was capable of storing 50 million gallons of water. The Santa Fe commissioned a number of additional dams throughout the Flagstaff area to impound the more readily available water around the San Francisco Peaks and co-opt it for railroad purposes. All of these dams supplied water to railroad operations through gravity-driven pipelines. The line from the Johnson Canyon to Ash Fork was seven miles long and the pipeline from Canyon Mouth Dam to the Seligman railyard was six miles long.

Construction of these dams and pipeline networks cost the Santa Fe \$500,000 in 1898 –

slightly more than \$13,000,000 today.<sup>83</sup> If Peach Springs was an early prized, if contested regional site, due to its access to readily available water, the subsequent construction of railroad dams throughout the region alleviated the lack of water to a degree throughout the area. The construction by the railroad of this industrial hydrologic infrastructure, as well as the construction of the rail line itself, made the modern region and opened it to outside settlement to a degree not possible before the railroad.

### The Railroad and Community Development

The arrival of the railroad in the region had a profound impact on settlement. Although not completely foundational for all towns in the region, the railroad played a major role in accelerating the development of fledgling townsites or creating towns from scratch. Williams and Kingman – unlike Peach Springs, Ash Fork, and Seligman – were originally settled by Anglo-whites just prior to the arrival of the railroad. Abundant natural resources like timber or minerals played a role in attracting settlement to these communities prior to the ease of access provided by the railroad.

Despite some fledgling non-indigenous settler community development prior to the arrival of the Atlantic and Pacific in 1882, most of the region was practically

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<sup>83</sup> Inflation calculations are only available back to 1913 as the federal government only calculates currency inflation from the creation of the Federal Reserve forward. However, 1913 is only 15 years after the construction of the last of the Santa Fe railroad dams and the inflation calculation serves to inform the reader of the large investment made by the railroad in this water harvesting infrastructure. See “CPI Inflation Calculator,” *Bureau of Labor Statistics*, Accessed February 19, 2020, <https://data.bls.gov/cgi-bin/cpicalc.pl?cost1=150000&year1=191301&year2=202001>. “Johnson Canyon Dam,” *The Coconino Sun* (Flagstaff, AZ), March 12, 1898. “All Over Arizona,” *The Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), June 13, 1897. “Territorial Items,” *Weekly Republican* (Phoenix, AZ), September 9, 1897. “The Latest News!,” *Weekly Journal-Miner* (Prescott, AZ), June 16, 1897. “Chalcedony Park,” *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), December 10, 1897. “Territorial,” *The Flagstaff Sun-Democrat* (Flagstaff, AZ), September 9, 1897. “Track and Tie,” *The Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), December 28, 1897. “All Over Arizona,” *The Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), March 12, 1898. “Local News,” *Williams News* (Williams, AZ), September 10, 1904.

inaccessible to outsiders prior to the railroad's arrival. The region became a target for more active settlement and community development after the construction of the railway. However, the "towns" that the railroad created in the region were more a suggestion than a reality at first. Certainly, in the case of Seligman, significant infrastructure and railroad facilities were constructed when the Santa Fe built the town from the ground up in 1897. For others, the railroad stop and railroad platted street grid, was more an invitation to begin economic and community development rather than a functional community. Some of these places, like the stop at Pico would never develop into anything more than a lonely siding – a place for steam locomotives to take on water and sheep ranchers to load their flocks. Others began developing into communities after the railroad's interventions.

Peach Springs was an outlier in regional community development. For the Hualapai, the Peach Springs area had always been an important place of habitation. In terms of Anglo-White settlement, Peach Springs became a place of settlement only after the Hualapai Wars concluded in 1870. After the Hualapai defied forced relocation in 1875 and returned to Peach Springs, it became contested space. In 1883, with the establishment of the Hualapai Reservation, it became Hualapai land again. The establishment of the reservation forced many changes to Peach Springs. The Santa Fe railroad lost its land grants after a lawsuit brought by the Hualapai. The loss of control of this land ended the ability of the Santa Fe to drive town development by leasing or selling lots to potential business owners. The Santa Fe also lost control of the groundwater at Peach Springs. The Santa Fe downsized its operations in town to a small passenger depot without any type of Fred Harvey hotel or food service. The loss of control also prompted the Santa Fe to build a branch line to the Grand Canyon at Williams which decreased the

level of economic activity in Peach Springs. The railroad still maintained steam locomotive watering facilities in the town through an arrangement with the Hualapai that provided some employment. However, for many of the early Anglo-White residents the transfer of control to the Hualapai sparked a general exodus of these settlers from the town.<sup>84</sup>

## Williams

Williams was one of two towns founded just prior to the arrival of the railroad. Situated on the western edge of the Coconino National Forest with ample timber resources and seemingly abundant surface water, the area around Williams was first explored by Anglo-white fur trappers prior to the acquisition of the land by the United States after the Mexican-American War as part of the Mexican Cession with the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo on February 2, 1848. One of these early explorers was Bill Williams. An early American resident of the area, Bill Williams assisted in the earliest American topographical surveys of the area. Although both Bill Williams Mountain and the townsite of Williams were named after him, Anglo-American ranchers were the founders of the town of Williams. The earliest of these ranchers moved into the area in 1869. Sam Ball moved into the area originally as a prospector. He established a claim and by the late 1870s had built a ranch. In 1876, he entered into a joint venture with John Rogers Vinton to develop another ranch at what would become the Williams townsite. The ranch occupied the southern half of the townsite later surveyed by the railroad. In 1878, Charles Thomas Rogers left Prescott and herded several head of cattle

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<sup>84</sup> Sheppard, *We are an Indian Nation*, 45-114.



north settling near the base of Bill Williams Mountain. Later that year in November 1878, Rogers bought out Vinton and Ball and established a permanent ranch for his cattle operation at the site. He built a home and established permanent residence at the ranch in 1880. The ranch became a sought after stop for travelers passing through prompting Rodgers to establish services for travelers. A post office was established in 1881 with Rogers serving as the first postmaster of Williams. That same year, another early resident, Cormick E. Boyce, opened a store and began lending money to other new residents to establish businesses. Boyce served as the town's second postmaster in 1887 and as a county supervisor when Coconino County was established in 1891. Boyce also constructed the town's first brick building, the Grand Canyon Hotel. Beginning in the late 1870s, within 15 miles of the Williams townsite, a multitude of ranchers operated in the area actively involved in cattle and sheep ranching. By the time the railroad arrived in early 1882, Williams was already an established town with 50 homes, three stores, and three saloons.<sup>85</sup>

The arrival of the railroad transformed Williams from a small but growing community of ranchers to a major site of railroad operations, industry, and retail business. Much of this was due to the entrepreneurial activity of Rogers. Already established as the postmaster for the area, Rogers settled on establishing a townsite on his ranch lands and selling lots within it. In early 1882, Rogers had laid out streets, divided his land into lots, and was leasing building sites to the influx of new residents generated by the arrival of the railroad. Rogers early arrival in the area, however, worked against him. He had come

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<sup>85</sup> Patrick Whitehurst, *Images of America: Williams* (Charleston: Arcadia Publishing: 2008), 7-11. James R. Fuchs, "A History of Williams, Arizona: 1876 – 1951," Master's Thesis, (University of Arizona 1952), 29-37.

to the area prior to the region being officially surveyed by the United States Land Office. As such, his title to the land was disputed by both other early settlers and the railroad. As most of his ranch lay in an odd numbered section (section 33), and Congress had granted odd numbered sections in the region to the railroad, Rogers lost title to most of his land except for a few town lots that lay outside of the railroad's land-grant in 1892. The railroad, however, continued Rogers' work and surveyed and platted a complete townsite within their land-grant section at Williams. The railroad utilized Williams as a base of operations for continuing construction across northern Arizona. As such, the population surged with railroad employees – all of whom needed places to live and businesses to serve their needs spurring continued business and community growth.<sup>86</sup>

The 1890s saw Williams grow from a rail stop with a small but growing business district into one of the larger towns in the region. Initially this growth was due to the railroad. As the railroad built out freight handling operations in Williams and continued building the line west, most of the railroad workers lived in Williams. However, another industry, lumber, began to contribute more to the town's growth in the 1890s. As early as 1882, a sawmill had been established just southwest of Williams. This mill primarily produced railroad ties. Later, in 1891, another larger mill was established in the same area to provide railroad ties and bridge timbers for the branch line under construction connecting the main line to Prescott. However, in 1893, the Saginaw Lumber Company of Saginaw Michigan acquired the timber rights to thousands of acres of forest land around Williams. The company commenced that same year on construction

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<sup>86</sup> William S. Greever, *Arid Domain: The Santa Fe Railway and its Western Land Grant* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1954), 1-43. Whitehurst, *Williams*, 11-13. Fuchs, "A History of Williams, Arizona," 42-59.

of a wood products factory. Rather than a simple sawmill focused on railroad needs like earlier operations, the Saginaw Lumber Company plant in Williams produced all types of lumber products. The plant itself was an extensive operation with multiple buildings dedicated to the processing of raw logs and the manufacturing of all types of wood products. By late 1893, the plant was in full operation. Early the following year in January 1894, the Saginaw Lumber Company added a wooden box manufacturing plant to its existing wood products operations. In turn, in recognition of the booming lumber business in Williams, the railroad expanded its freight handling operations to include a 100-foot long platform capable of loading all types of lumber products for shipment nationwide. The railroad also enlarged the rest of its operations, and by 1896 had built out an 8-stall roundhouse with turntable, a freight house with a box car platform, a telegraph office, and a formal depot. By late 1894, the Saginaw Lumber Company had two competitors in town with the J.M. Dennis Lumber Company and the Clark and Adams Lumber Company opening lumber operations in town. The establishment of these industrial operations swelled the population of Williams considerably. By the end of 1894, The Saginaw Lumber Company had 300 employees in Williams. Overall employment in the lumber industry was approximately 500 employees in 1894. The bankruptcy of the Atlantic and Pacific Railroad in 1896 caused the lumber industry to become the main employer in Williams. In 1899, the Saginaw Lumber Company merged with the Manistee Lumber Company, also of Saginaw Michigan, to become the Saginaw

Manistee Lumber Company. The company's main operations were now in Williams with corporate headquarters in Chicago, Illinois.<sup>87</sup>

The Atlantic and Pacific's successor, the Santa Fe Pacific Railroad, reorganized operations along the line including eliminating Williams as a division point in favor of Seligman, Arizona in 1897. The Santa Fe dismantled the roundhouse at Williams and reassembled it in Seligman. With the exception of local freight handling operations, the Santa Fe shutdown all other railroad operations in Williams. Williams would later regain some of its railroad focus, however, when the Santa Fe built a branch line to the Grand Canyon originating in Williams in 1901.<sup>88</sup>

Powered by lumber industry growth the City of Williams and particularly its small business community also continued to grow. By 1895, the population was approximately 600 with the majority of these residents lumber company employees. In addition to some remaining railroad workers, the balance were business owners, their families, and employees. Gus Polson and his brother, for example, opened a large mercantile store in Williams in 1894. The store quickly grew to be one of the largest retail operations in Williams requiring movement to a larger building in 1895. By 1898, the Polson Brothers General Merchandise store was the largest business in town outside

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<sup>87</sup> "Saginaw & Manistee Company," *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), November 15, 1899. Saginaw Lumber Company to Saginaw & Manistee Lumber Company, "Bill of Sale" (Contract, Chicago, IL, 1899), Northern Arizona University Cline Library Special Collections, MS 266, Series 3, Box 15, Folder 19. "THE SAGINAW LUMBER BOOM (1850-1894)," *Michigan History*, Accessed June 18, 2020, <http://michiganhistory.leadr.msu.edu/the-saginaw-lumber-boom-1850-1894/>. "Quick History of Saginaw (1899-1950)," *Michigan History*, Accessed June 18, 2020, <http://michiganhistory.leadr.msu.edu/quick-history-of-saginaw-1899-1950/>. "Saginaw and Manistee Lumber Company Collection, 1893-1954, Historical Note," *Arizona Archives Online*, Accessed June 18, 2020, [http://www.azarchivesonline.org/xtf/view?docId=ead/nau/Saginaw\\_manistee\\_lumber\\_84.xml](http://www.azarchivesonline.org/xtf/view?docId=ead/nau/Saginaw_manistee_lumber_84.xml). Fuchs, "A History of Williams, Arizona," 108-111, 116-118

<sup>88</sup> Fuchs, "A History of Williams, Arizona," 108-111, 116-118. Whitehurst, *Williams*, 75-84.

of the lumber companies. Similarly, M.J. Kennedy also opened a general store in Williams during this time that offered a wide variety of goods to local residents in direct competition with the Polson brothers. In addition to mercantile stores, hospitality businesses proliferated. Multiple saloons, hotels, and restaurants opened in town. In 1892, an entertainment venue, The Williams Opera House, was opened by Samuel E. Patton providing a venue for traveling musical acts and theatrical troupes, social clubs, and local social events like the railroad conductors annual ball.<sup>89</sup>

Although the Santa Fe branch line to the Grand Canyon was not constructed until 1901, many of the customers of these hospitality businesses were tourists – particularly tourists desiring to visit the Grand Canyon. Tourists travelled by train to Williams, and then took a stagecoach to the Grand Canyon. W. W. Bass was an early entrepreneur who operated a stagecoach line running from Williams to the Grand Canyon in 1894.<sup>90</sup> On September 11, 1895, the *Weekly Journal-Miner* newspaper in Prescott, Arizona announced that the Reverend H.A. Thompson, A.P. Walbridge, Fred Dysart, C.T. Root and Charles O. Austin, all prominent citizens of Phoenix, returned to Williams from a trip to the Grand Canyon on Bass’s stagecoach. The paper stated that the party were “well pleased with the trip” and would return to Phoenix the next day via stagecoach.<sup>91</sup> Many of the tourists in the region in the 1890s were members of the growing middle class business and professional communities in Phoenix and other cities nationwide with the means to take vacations.<sup>92</sup>

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<sup>89</sup> Fuchs, “A History of Williams, Arizona,” 124, 148-152, 173. Whitehurst, *Williams*, 15-17, 21, 26, 75.

<sup>90</sup> “Personal Mention,” *Weekly Journal-Miner* (Prescott, AZ), August 15, 1894.

<sup>91</sup> “Friday’s Daily,” *Weekly Journal-Miner* (Prescott, AZ), September 11, 1895.

<sup>92</sup> Cindy Sondik Aron, *Working at Play: A History of Vacations in the United States* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999).

By the first decade of the twentieth century, Williams had grown to a town of about 1,500 people. It also had a developed, but still growing, business community combined with the continued economic input of major timber industry employers. Legally, however, Williams was still not an officially incorporated city. There had been attempts to incorporate Williams throughout the 1890s. The most successful attempt in 1895 resulted in the Yavapai Board of Supervisors approving incorporation for the town. However, paperwork issues with the filing allowed opponents of incorporation to sue and get the incorporation struck down in court. Incorporation was attempted again in January, 1901. One of the main arguments for incorporating was that an incorporated city could levy taxes to provide city services like fire protection which Williams lacked. However, the incorporation drive was unable to convince the required two-thirds of local residents to sign the petition. Ironically, on July 2, 1901 fire broke out in a downtown store at 2:30 AM and spread rapidly to other buildings. In less than an hour, 36 businesses, two hotels, and ten homes burnt to the ground. Without a fire department, residents were resigned to waiting for the fire to burn itself out. As dawn broke and the fire began to subside, only the brick-construction Grand Canyon Hotel and two stores contained within remained. The disaster produced an immediate change in sentiment among local residents about incorporation. Within days a new petition for incorporation had been submitted to the county board and the town of Williams was officially incorporated on July 9, 1901.<sup>93</sup> Incorporation made Williams unique in the region as it was the only town within this region to incorporate before World War Two and only one of two towns – the other being Kingman – to ever incorporate.

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<sup>93</sup> Fuchs, "A History of Williams, Arizona," 154-157.

Newly incorporated Williams continued its 1890s trajectory after incorporation. The town quickly recovered from the disastrous fire that had sparked incorporation with most businesses quickly rebuilding. New economic contributors were also added to the town. By 1901, the Santa Fe had built a branch line to the Grand Canyon and the railroad's partner, the Fred Harvey Company, had built luxurious accommodations and facilities to service tourists at the Canyon. In short order, Williams became a bustling hub of tourist travel with many tourists disembarking in Williams, staying overnight, and then continuing on their trip to the Grand Canyon the next day. The Fred Harvey Company built a Fred Harvey House in Williams – the Fray Marcos Hotel – to accommodate travelers. The hotel featured luxury accommodations and fine dining in its attached restaurant. In addition to the Grand Canyon Hotel that had survived the fire, several local business operators opened their own hotels to compete for the burgeoning tourist traffic in Williams.<sup>94</sup>

Civic life also evolved as Williams adjusted to becoming a formal town. With incorporation came city government and ordinances. Beginning in 1901, the city council began passing a series of ordinances. The first established tax levies to establish needed city services such as a fire department and law enforcement. The city also passed ordinances to license businesses of all types. Likewise, the first building requirements and zoning were enacted. The city also grew in terms of civic organizations. The growth in civic organizations was fueled by the emergence of an Anglo-White business elite who also took on leadership roles in the community. A number of civic organizations had

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<sup>94</sup> Whitehurst, *Williams*, 15-72. Fuchs, "A History of Williams, Arizona," 55-58. Carl and Miles Cureton. Interview by Teri A. Cleeland. Oral History Interview. Williams, AZ, November 5, 1991

been organized in the years immediately preceding incorporation including a veterans of the Grand Army of the Republic club, Knights of Pythias lodge, the Williams trap shooting club, a municipal band, and a literary club – all of which grew in size and importance after incorporation. Shortly after incorporation, in 1907, the Williams Woman’s Club was organized. Its first president was Mrs. A.R. Montgomery. At its founding, the club had over 40 members. The Woman’s Club was affiliated with the Arizona Federation of Woman’s Clubs which had been organized in 1901 and admitted to the national General Federation of Woman’s Clubs in 1902. The Williams Woman’s Club was only the second Woman’s Club organized in northern Arizona and one of the earliest Woman’s Club organized in the state. Its members tended to come from the Anglo-white business elite of the town and their organization engaged in civic improvement activities. The emergence of this civic club was an important sign of Williams’ growth and maturation as a fully formed formal community during this period. It was also a notable marker of the role of women in community development in northern Arizona. The club engaged in multiple civic development efforts such as development of a library and support of schools. By the early 1920s, Williams featured a number of other nationally affiliated civic clubs including a Masonic lodge, a Rotary club, and a Boy Scouts troop.<sup>95</sup>

Although many members of the emerging entrepreneurial class and civic organization membership were early Anglo-White residents, entrepreneurial activity was not limited to Anglo-white businessmen. From the founding of Williams through the

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<sup>95</sup> *Arizona Federation of Women’s Clubs Collection*, (Williams 1903-1954), Cline Library Special Collections, Northern Arizona University, NAU.MS.113, box1, folders 3, 11. Fuchs, “A History of Williams, Arizona,” 146-147, 157-160, 255-257.



1920s, there was a sizable Chinese population in Williams. The use of Chinese labor in railroad construction throughout the west is well documented. While some of these laborers simply moved on to the next job site, and many moved back to China after a stint of railroad labor, some Chinese immigrants settled in the emerging railroad towns throughout the west including towns like Williams. In Williams, these Chinese entrepreneurs tended to be laborers with families who decided to stay and open a business to take advantage of the growing economy in the town. Many of these Chinese entrepreneurs operated restaurants in Williams. Others operated laundry services. The restaurant owners operated all types of establishments serving mostly American cuisine. Although able to successfully operate businesses in the community, the Chinese population was excluded from membership in the civic organizations in town.<sup>96</sup>

Rising anti-Chinese racism nationally and locally took their toll on this nascent minority business community in Williams. With the passage of the Chinese Exclusion Act in 1882, new Chinese immigration was curtailed. Railroad labor firms, however, continued supplying Chinese labor to the railroad recruiting from local Chinese populations in California. However, anti-Chinese resentment within the burgeoning railroad workers union movement as well as hardening local attitudes produced increasing levels of discrimination and violence toward these workers. Chinese run businesses were also impacted. In the first two decades of the twentieth century, the

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<sup>96</sup> Carl and Miles Cureton. Interview by Teri A. Cleeland. Oral History Interview. Williams, AZ, November 5, 1991. Felice Burghardt. Interview by Teri A. Cleeland. Oral History Interview. Williams, AZ, May 13, 1989. Fuchs, "A History of Williams, Arizona," 106, 174. William L. Withuhn, *Rails Across America: A History of Railroads in North America* (New York: Salamander Books, 1993), 35-42. Richard White, *Railroaded: The Transcontinentals and the Making of Modern America* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co, 2011), 30, 227-228, 288, 293-314, 335, 372.

Chinese population in Williams, including business owners, were increasingly accused of being opium addicts or harboring secret opium dens within their businesses. Many locals claimed that every Chinese business had an opium den in the back. Local newspapers in Williams and Flagstaff lamented the scourge of opium dens and lack of severe punishment for supposed opium users. Anglo-white patrons began avoiding Chinese businesses reducing profitability or driving them out of business outright. Where over 20 Chinese owned and operated business existed in the 1890s, none remained by the 1920s. The Chinese population in Williams also moved away with over half returning to China and the remainder relocating to friendlier locations within the United States like San Francisco.<sup>97</sup>

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<sup>97</sup> Ibid.

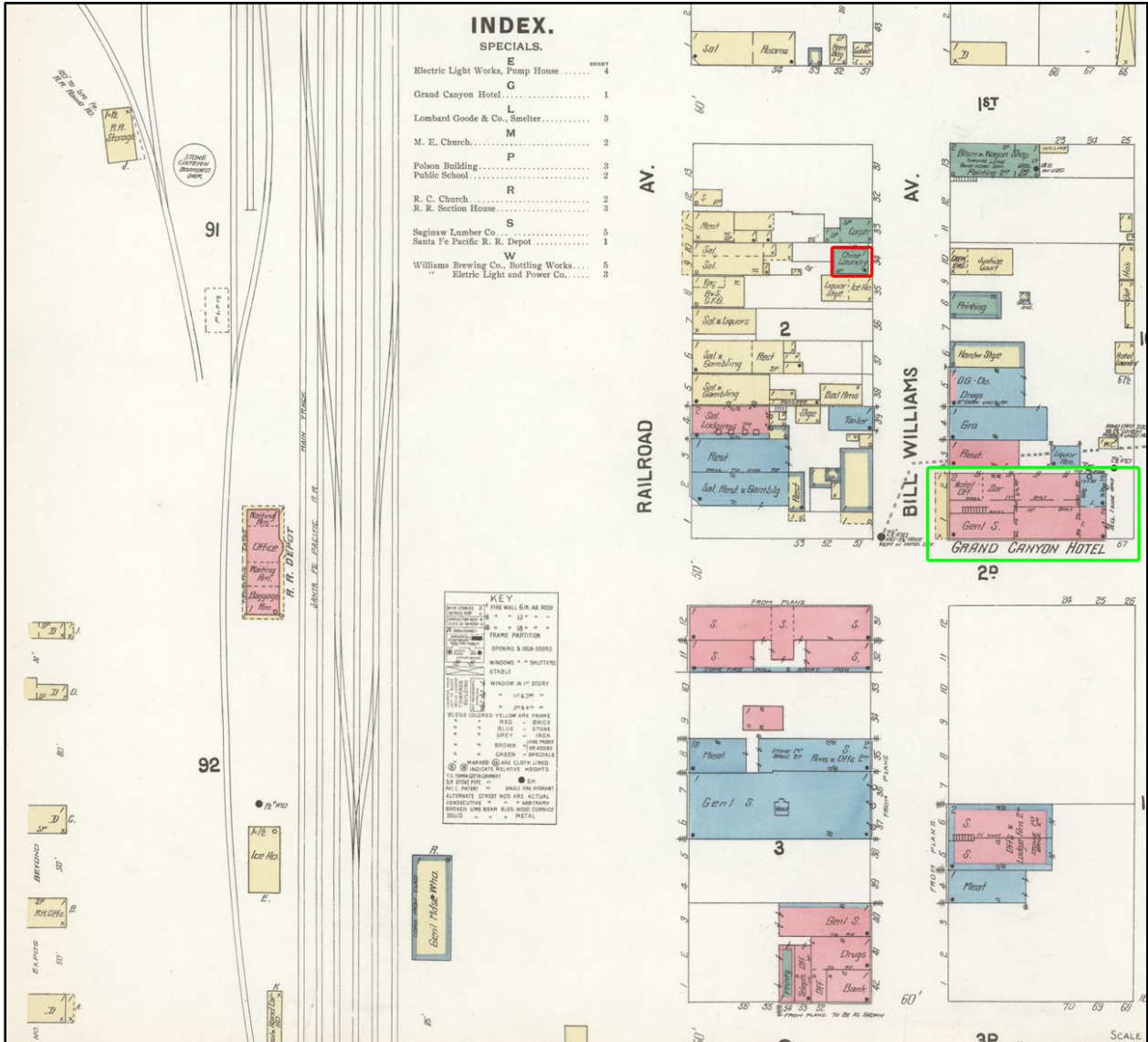


Figure 12. A Sanborn fire insurance map of Williams from 1901. The location of the Grand Canyon Hotel is marked in green and a Chinese owned laundry is marked in red.

## Kingman

Much like the Williams area, the valleys and mountains surrounding Kingman were initially settled prior to the arrival of the railroad. Wide expanses of grazing land, multiple natural springs, and extensive mineral reserves including silver, gold, lead, zinc, and turquoise made the region attractive to Anglo-white settlers. Just prior to the Civil

War, the area around Kingman had been opened to Anglo-White settlement from the east by the construction of Beale's Wagon Road. U.S. Army Lieutenant Edward F. Beale was ordered to construct a wagon road through the Southwest along the 35<sup>th</sup> parallel to connect the upper Rio Grande Valley in Texas to California. This project brought him through the Kingman area in 1857. The construction of the road brought the U.S. Army into almost constant conflict with the Hualapai who opposed the intrusion into their territory. After the road opened to travelers, the conflict extended to include Anglo-white settlers as well. As the conflict escalated, the U.S. Army established Fort Mohave where Beale and his contingent had established a crossing point for the Colorado River. Anglo-white settlement, and the U.S. Army presence in the area, were temporarily interrupted by the Civil War. However, by 1865, the Army and Anglo-white settlers had returned to the area. The continuing influx of settlers, combined with the permanent presence of Army troops lead to an escalating series of conflicts that developed into the Hualapai Wars. Throughout the remainder of the 1860s the U.S. Army battled the Hualapai in what became known as the Hualapai war lasting from 1865 to 1870. The Army finally conquered the Hualapai in early 1870. In order to secure the lands around Kingman for Anglo-white settlement, the Army forcibly relocated the Hualapai to a camp at La Paz (modern-day Ehrenberg).<sup>98</sup>

With the Hualapai contained, Anglo-white settlement accelerated. Settlers quickly established cattle ranches and mining concerns throughout the valleys and mountains surrounding Kingman. Cattle ranches were established throughout the Sacramento and

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<sup>98</sup> Jeffrey P. Shepherd, *We Are an Indian Nation: A History of the Hualapai People* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2010), 30-40.

Hualapai Valleys. The low, flat alluvial-deposit valley floors supported extensive grazing land throughout each valley. Multiple natural springs proliferated within the low-lying valleys, and groundwater wells could be established at shallow depths. The mineral resources of the area, however, drove most of the settlement and development in the area. The Black and Cerbat Mountain ranges were ripe with veins of silver, gold, and other minerals. Multiple mines were established throughout both these ranges. Newspaper accounts from the 1870s indicate there were more than 29 active mines in the Cerbat Mountains just north of Kingman producing large quantities of high-grade gold and silver ore. Although Kingman did not exist, the mining towns of Cerbat and Chloride were growing rapidly and featured a number of businesses catering to miners. These growing mining towns continually competed with each other to become the new county seat for Mohave County.<sup>99</sup>

Although the ranches and mines in the area were producing significant resources, getting this output to market was a significant barrier to economic development in the region. Cattle had to be herded overland on difficult and dangerous cattle drives to the nearest marketplace. Ore had to be trucked by wagon to steamship ports on the Colorado or overland to Prescott for sale limiting shipments to only the highest-quality ore. These difficulties alleviated considerably when the Atlantic and Pacific Railroad extended their line through the Hualapai Valley and established a siding near Beale's Spring on the Beale Wagon Road in late 1882. The rail stop and siding was named Kingman after

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<sup>99</sup> Shepard, *We Are an Indian Nation*, 45-54. "Local Intelligence," *The Weekly Arizona Miner* (Prescott, Az), December 13, 1878. "Letter From Mohave County," *The Weekly Arizona Miner* (Prescott, Az), February 18, 1876. "Mohave County," *The Weekly Arizona Miner* (Prescott, Az), June 5, 1874. "Mohave County," *The Arizona Sentinel* (Yuma, AZ), May 31, 1873. "Mineral Wealth of Mohave County," *The Weekly Arizona Miner* (Prescott, Az), May 19, 1882.

Lewis Kingman, a surveyor for the railroad who led the construction efforts across northern Arizona.<sup>100</sup>

The siding immediately began to grow and by early 1883 featured a restaurant, hotel, saloon, and stable in addition to the rail road siding. By late 1884, Kingman had a railroad depot, three general stores, three restaurants, three saloons, a drugstore, a blacksmith, a carpentry shop, a lumber yard, a butcher shop, and two stables.

Entrepreneurs capitalized on Kingman's rapid growth during this period. Joanna and Harvey Hubbs established the Hubbs House Restaurant in 1886. The Hubbs House, along with most of Kingman, burnt down in a serious fire in 1888, however, the restaurant and the rest of the town was rebuilt by 1890. Reflective of its importance to multiple active mining operations in the area, the fledgling town also had two assay offices. By 1887, despite Cerbat and Chloride's earlier efforts, Kingman had been selected by county voters to be the new Mohave County seat and a county courthouse was completed in 1890. Kingman's growing importance to the surrounding region spurred more business investment in the town. In 1896, the Kingman Mercantile Company opened a large two-story brick building to house their large store. In 1897, Howard H. Watkins opened a drug store with his wife Jesse. Likewise, Jack Maddux opened a blacksmith shop in town in the late 1890s. In 1899, a branch line to Chloride was completed furthering developing Kingman as a distribution point for the mineral wealth of the region. Reflecting this growth, The Fred Harvey Company built a hotel and restaurant in Kingman in 1901.<sup>101</sup>

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<sup>100</sup> Dan W. Messersmith, *Images of America: Kingman* (Charleston: Arcadia Publishing: 2010), 8-11.

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid.*, 10-14, 17, 24-25, 38-39.

Like Williams, early Kingman was plagued by a series of disastrous fires. Fire destroyed most of the buildings in town in 1888, 1898, 1900, and 1906. Each time the town rebuilt. However, after the 1906 fire the town engaged in a more robust reconstruction effort with the construction of multiple brick buildings. The Santa Fe rebuilt the depot creating a more expansive brick structure. This substantial business investment continued through the early decades of the twentieth century. By 1920, the town featured extensive freight handling and warehouse facilities, an enlarged depot and Harvey House, and an electrical power station providing power to both the railroad and the town. The town also now featured multiple hotels, restaurants, drug stores, and mercantile companies including the expansive Central Commercial Company which opened in 1918. The Central Commercial Company offered retail goods comparable to the offerings in big city department stores.<sup>102</sup>

All of this initial investment in Kingman attracted migration to the town as it had in Williams, Seligman, and the other communities in the region. One of these new residents was William Tarr. Tarr arrived in Kingman in February of 1892 to take the Station Agent position for the Atlantic and Pacific Railroad at the Kingman station. Tarr came to Kingman from New Mexico bringing his large family including several teenaged sons. Tarr worked as the station agent at Kingman for three years before being reassigned to the Peach Springs station in 1895. Tarr, his wife, and his three younger daughters

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<sup>102</sup> Ibid., 15, 25-26, 34-35, 49-51. "A Carload of Studebakers," *Mohave County Miner* (Mineral Park, AZ), January 24, 1914. "J.A. Tarr," *Mohave County Miner* (Mineral Park, AZ), February 1, 1913. "This Week J.A. Tarr & Co.," *Mohave County Miner* (Mineral Park, AZ), March 27, 1915. "Ford: The Universal Car," *Mohave County Miner* (Mineral Park, AZ), December 9, 1921.

Mary, Ella, and Lizzie went with him, but his sons, now mostly of age, stayed in Kingman.<sup>103</sup>

His oldest son, Nathan Tarr trained as an electrician in Kingman. In early 1897, he took a job working as an electrician at the mines in White Hills in the Mineral Park mining district north of Kingman. Due to his electrical skills, he was also put in charge of the telegraph system serving the mines. In the summer of 1897 Nathan Tarr married Helen Tolman in Kingman. The newlyweds made their home in White Hills. William Tarr, Junior, Nathan's younger brother, moved to White Hills later that summer and took a position with the mining camp general store. In the fall of 1897, Nathan Tarr and his wife Helen moved back to Kingman.<sup>104</sup>

Once in Kingman, Nathan Tarr assumed the position of forwarding agent for the White Hills mining concern. In March of 1898, Nathan Tarr assumed his father's old position as a Kingman station agent for the railroad. By May, Nathan Tarr had accepted a position as bookkeeper for the Kingman Mercantile Company. In July of 1898, Nathan Tarr went into business for himself opening a merchandise brokerage office. His new business placed orders for all types of merchandise for Kingman residents and handled all shipping and delivery arrangements. The business dealt in everything from commodities like hay, grain, livestock feed, and coal to placing orders for manufactured goods. The company even handled ore shipments from local mines. Operating simply at first out of

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<sup>103</sup> "Town and County News," *Mohave County Miner* (Mineral Park, AZ), February 6, 1892. "Local and Personal," *Mohave County Miner* (Mineral Park, AZ), January 19, 1895. "Local and Personal," *Mohave County Miner* (Mineral Park, AZ), June 8, 1895.

<sup>104</sup> "Local and Personal," *Mohave County Miner* (Mineral Park, AZ), February 20, 1897. "Local and Personal," *Mohave County Miner* (Mineral Park, AZ), April 3, 1897. "A Wedding," *Mohave County Miner* (Mineral Park, AZ), June 12, 1897. "Local and Personal," *Mohave County Miner* (Mineral Park, AZ), June 26, 1897. "Local and Personal," *Mohave County Miner* (Mineral Park, AZ), September 11, 1897.



the Kingman station, Tarr eventually moved into a small, rented office nearby. In the late summer of 1898 Nathan Tarr took over the Western Union Telegraph service in Kingman adding it to his list of business services and operating it out of his office. He also acted as a notary public in addition to continuing his brokerage services.<sup>105</sup>

Nathan Tarr's brokerage business continued to grow becoming a major supplier to mines, businesses, and residents in the area. Seeking to expand even further, Nathan Tarr took on a business partner, Harry McComb and renamed his business Tarr and McComb. By 1908, Tarr and McComb built their own building and opened a mercantile store while continuing to offer brokerage services. By 1913, Tarr and McComb had grown into a substantial retail operation which carried a wide variety of goods from clothing to heavy equipment.<sup>106</sup>

Nathan Tarr's younger brother, Jesse Tarr, also went into business for himself in Kingman. Jesse Tarr learned photography and opened a photography studio on Oak Street in Kingman in 1900. Tarr specialized in landscape photography and offered framed landscapes of the Kingman area and the Grand Canyon for sale in his studio.<sup>107</sup> His

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<sup>105</sup> "Local and Personal," *Mohave County Miner* (Mineral Park, AZ), September 11, 1897. "Local and Personal," *Mohave County Miner* (Mineral Park, AZ), March 26, 1898. "Local and Personal," *Mohave County Miner* (Mineral Park, AZ), May 7, 1898. "Local and Personal," *Mohave County Miner* (Mineral Park, AZ), July 2, 1898. "Local and Personal," *Mohave County Miner* (Mineral Park, AZ), July 9, 1898. "N.W. Tarr General Forwarding Agent and Merchandise Broker," Advertisement, *Mohave County Miner* (Mineral Park, AZ), July 16, 1898. "Local and Personal," *Mohave County Miner* (Mineral Park, AZ), August 13, 1898. "Articles of Incorporation," Legal Advertisement, *Mohave County Miner* (Mineral Park, AZ), December 10, 1898.

<sup>106</sup> "Local and Personal," *Mohave County Miner* (Mineral Park, AZ), February 29, 1908. "Hay, Grain, Feed," Advertisement, *Mohave County Miner* (Mineral Park, AZ), July 31, 1909. "Local and Personal," *Mohave County Miner* (Mineral Park, AZ), June 11, 1910. "For Studebaker Mountain Stages," Advertisement, *Mohave County Miner* (Mineral Park, AZ), October 22, 1910. "Hay, Grain, Feed," Advertisement, *Mohave County Miner* (Mineral Park, AZ), December 10, 1910. "Goodrich Tires," Advertisement, *Mohave County Miner* (Mineral Park, AZ), February 1, 1913.

<sup>107</sup> "Local and Personal," *Mohave County Miner* (Mineral Park, AZ), December 1, 1900. "Local and Personal," *Mohave County Miner* (Mineral Park, AZ), June 7, 1902.

photography studio proved unsuccessful, and Jesse went to work for his brother Nathan managing the telegraph service in Kingman. On May 15, 1906, Jesse Tarr married Elsi Van Marter in Kingman. The young couple bought a home in Kingman and Jesse continued managing his brother's telegraph service.<sup>108</sup> His brother Nathan transformed his brokerage service into a retail mercantile operation in 1908 and by 1909 was selling all types of manufactured goods and commodities including fuel oil, lubricating oil, and gasoline. Jesse Tarr also became involved in the emerging automobile economy in 1909. He purchased a touring car and offered livery services while still managing the telegraph service. His livery services mainly consisted of shuttling mining executives from Kingman to the numerous mining operations in the Black and Cerbat Mountains near Kingman. He also transported refined bullion, along with armed guards, from mine mills to the numerous assay offices in Kingman.<sup>109</sup>

The Tarr family, and specifically Nathan and Jesse Tarr, are emblematic of the Anglo-White settlers who came to the region early and became part of the Anglo-White business elite. Kingman struggled with the same race and class issues as the other communities in the region including defacto segregation. Members of the business elite largely drove the structure and enforcement of the racial hierarchy in Kingman. The business community in Kingman, however, unlike in Williams, remained solely focused on resource extraction industries and correlated retail and business services. Despite the

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<sup>108</sup> "Local and Personal," *Mohave County Miner* (Mineral Park, AZ), December 23, 1905. "Local and Personal," *Mohave County Miner* (Mineral Park, AZ), June 2, 1906. "Tarr- Van Marter Wedding," *Mohave County Miner* (Mineral Park, AZ), May 19, 1906.

<sup>109</sup> "Mines of the County," *Mohave County Miner* (Mineral Park, AZ), July 31, 1909. "Local and Personal," *Mohave County Miner* (Mineral Park, AZ), June 11, 1910. "Great Bars of Bullion," *Mohave County Miner* (Mineral Park, AZ), December 10, 1910. "Local and Personal," *Mohave County Miner* (Mineral Park, AZ), January 14, 1911.

extensive business and community growth in Kingman, the community did not develop a fledgling tourism industry. In a pattern that would continue throughout the twentieth century, Kingman's economy remained primarily focused on heavy industry and transportation.

#### Ash Fork

Unlike Williams and Kingman, community development began in earnest in other towns in the region only after the railroad platted the rail stop and townsite. By October 1882, the Atlantic and Pacific Railroad tracks had made it approximately 20 miles west of Williams. The railroad established a siding in this location for freight loading. The siding, located near a grove of ash trees at the fork of Ash Creek, became known as Ash Fork. Near this siding, a stagecoach stop for ferrying passengers south to Prescott and Phoenix was established. Likewise, as traffic at the siding grew, entrepreneurs began opening small business to cater to railroad workers and passengers. One of these entrepreneurs was Cooper Thomas Lewis. Originally from Illinois, Lewis had originally settled in Prescott, Arizona in 1872. After hearing about the new siding in Ash Fork, he moved to the area and built a saloon, livery stable, and store just south of the tracks. Others followed suit with a small townsite developing in short order.<sup>110</sup>

However, the larger cities of central Arizona--Prescott and Phoenix--lacked any connection to rail north or south. Despite their larger size, and Prescott's status as the territorial capital, these cities had to rely on stage coach service to connect them to either

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<sup>110</sup> Marshall Trimble, *Images of America: Ash Fork* (Chicago: Arcadia Publishing, 2008), 7, 15, 31. *Ash Fork Community Profile* (Government Document, Arizona Department of Commerce, 3800 N. Central Avenue Phoenix, Arizona: 1991)

the Union Pacific or Atlantic and Pacific railroads. Not sitting well with the residents of Prescott, local residents under the leadership of Tom Bullock raised \$300,000 in 1885 to build a rail line connection to the Atlantic and Pacific main line – The Prescott and Central Railroad. The route chosen linked Prescott to the Atlantic and Pacific main line 24 miles west of Ash Fork at a location that became known as Prescott Junction (just south of present-day Seligman). Although this route provided the straightest route from Prescott north to the railroad line, the route was prone to flooding as it ran directly through the Big Chino Wash. Suffering from poor management and unreliability, the Prescott and Central Railroad went bankrupt by 1893. Two years previously in 1891, the Atlantic and Pacific Railroad began construction of their own branch line to Prescott in the canyon running due south from Ash Fork. The route through this canyon, later dubbed Railroad Canyon, ran along higher ground and was less prone to flooding. The line reached Prescott in 1893 and Phoenix in 1895 linking Ash Fork directly to the state's two largest cities and the territorial capital.<sup>111</sup>

The connection between the main line and the territorial capital led to exponential growth in the amount of freight and passengers travelling through Ash Fork. All of this increased economic activity sparked a development boom in the tiny town. The construction of the branch line to Prescott and Phoenix led the Atlantic and Pacific to build an expansive depot in Ash Fork. The new passenger depot was built of red Coconino sandstone and was similar in amenities and comfort to the depot in the more

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<sup>111</sup> Trimble, *Ash Fork*, 15, 23.

established towns like Flagstaff. The town added other businesses near the depot including a number of saloons and restaurants.<sup>112</sup>

The area around Ash Fork also began flourishing as a sheep and cattle ranching area. James Pitts moved from Flagstaff in the early twentieth century and established a cattle ranch near Ash Fork. Pitts was born in 1869 in Polk County, Missouri. His father had tried farming in Missouri but was unsuccessful. He moved the family to Texas and tried farming and then ranching but was unsuccessful at both. His father eventually found work as a ranch hand in Texas and was able to save enough money to join a wagon train first to Austin, Texas and then to Chamberino, New Mexico where in 1880 he bought 160 acres and tried ranching. This attempt was also unsuccessful, and his father moved the family again joining a wagon train to Tombstone, Arizona. While in Tombstone, Pitt's father heard about the employment opportunities available working for the railroad in northern Arizona. Striking out again, this time by themselves, the family journeyed through Apache country in the White Mountains, and despite the risks involved, made it safely to Flagstaff where Pitt's father secured employment with the railroad. James Pitts grew up in Flagstaff, moved to Ash Fork in his early thirties, established a cattle ranch, and married Ella Foley on April 6, 1904. Pitts would later open a mercantile store in town.<sup>113</sup>

James Pitts was not the only rancher establishing operations in Ash Fork. Eugene Campbell, originally from Winslow, Arizona also moved into the area during this time

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<sup>112</sup> Ibid., 6-7, 16.

<sup>113</sup> Ibid., 6-7. *James Pitts personal memoir*, (Uland, CA: unpublished, 1937), Cline Library Special Collections, Northern Arizona University, MS15, box1, folder1. *Photograph of James Pitts and family in front of ranch with handwritten description on back*, (NAU Photo #513-5, James A Pitts Collection), Cline Library Special Collections, Northern Arizona University, MS15, box1, folder1

frame and started a large sheep and cattle ranching operation near Ash Fork. Campbell would later rise to be president of the Arizona Wool Growers Association and have a prominent role in northern Arizona livestock operations as president of the Ash Fork Livestock Company.<sup>114</sup>

The first Ash Fork railroad depot burnt down in 1905. It was replaced by a much larger grander depot and a Fred Harvey Company hotel – the Hotel Escalante in 1907. Fred Harvey was a partner of the Santa Fe railroad who operated restaurants and hotels near or within Santa Fe depots. At smaller stops they operated lunch counters and small dormer hotels. At larger more important stops they operated fine dining restaurants and luxurious hotels. In a sign of the importance of the Ash Fork stop, the Hotel Escalante was far more opulent and expansive than the previous functional but comfortable railroad depot. Built at a cost of \$250,000, it was constructed completely of cast concrete and offered plush single and double rooms with private baths. It featured an opulent lobby and rotunda with luxury appointments and a full-service restaurant. The Hotel Escalante quickly became the economic and social hub of Ash Fork. Within four years of the hotel’s completion, Ash Fork featured 11 additional upscale restaurants with buildings valued at \$1,000 or more and fixtures and stock worth \$750 or more. The hotel itself kept stock on hand in excess of \$5,000 and was able to cater to all classes of railroad passengers.<sup>115</sup>

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<sup>114</sup> *Ash Fork Livestock Company Collection*, (Ash Fork, 1969), Cline Library Special Collections, Northern Arizona University, NAU.MS.233, box1, folder 10.

<sup>115</sup> “Value of Hotel and Saloon Property in Yavapai County,” *Weekly Journal-Miner* (Prescott Arizona), July 26, 1911. “Heard on the Streets,” *Arizona Daily Star* (Tucson, Arizona) May 29, 1907. Trimble, *Ash Fork*, 16.

New businesses in Ash Fork were not limited simply to hotels and restaurants providing food, drink and lodging to railroad passengers. H.L. Wilson opened the Baby Grand Theatre in Ash Fork. The theater had a stage and motion picture projection system and provided both live and filmed entertainment to Ash Fork residents and travelers. It had a player piano that was synchronized to the theater's projector, but could also be used by live musicians. The theater, with a seating capacity of 200, was large given the size of the town. Many of its customers would likely have been railroad travelers. The facility was amply appointed and utilized electric power for all lighting and equipment operation. Ash Fork, however, lacked a centralized electric power generation and distribution system at the time. Like the Hotel Escalante and several other businesses in town, the Baby Grand Theater generated its own electricity. The theater did this with a 7.5 kilowatt gasoline powered generator.<sup>116</sup>

The business boom in Ash Fork set off a cycle of rampant land speculation in the town. An analysis of property deeds and sales of city lots during this time period shows lots within the town site often selling within a few months of their original purchase for ten times their purchase price. Much of this activity was also driven by outside speculators. Parties from Illinois and Missouri would purchase lots directly from the Santa Fe railway and a few months later turn around and sell them to buyers for huge

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<sup>116</sup> Conditional Sale H.L. and Nellie M. Wilson to A.C. McCoy of Theatre, (Business sale contract, Ash Fork, Arizona, 1922), 1-4. "Ash Fork has Holiday Tuesday," *Williams News* (Williams, Arizona), November 14, 1919. "Daddy Makes Big Hit in Ash Fork," *Williams News* (Williams, Arizona) February 4, 1921. "Mr. and Mrs. H.L. Wilson," *Williams News* (Williams, Arizona) December 15, 1922.

markups. Lots originally purchased for \$40 from the Santa Fe would sell in a few months for \$450 to \$750.<sup>117</sup>

Similar to other communities in the region, Ash Fork, in addition to hosting bustling entrepreneurial activity during this period, was also a major center of working class labor. Despite all the entrepreneurial activity in town, the primary employer in the area was still the railroad. The majority of residents worked for wages from the Santa Fe. Likewise, as in the other towns in this region, their employment was racially and ethnically segregated. Despite this, readily available employment with the railroad and railroad-traveler retail businesses continually drew residents into Ash Fork and other towns in the region from throughout the United States and Mexico. Anglo-White migrants typically had more employment options while Latino migrants were typically relegated to laborer jobs on the railroad. For example, Otto Schwanbeck, a former hard rock miner from Colorado who contracted miner's lung, came to Ash Fork in 1918 seeking employment. Schwanbeck worked in Ash Fork restaurants as a waiter serving railroad travelers until his death in 1919 – an occupation unavailable to Latinos in Ash

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<sup>117</sup> Santa Fe Pacific Railroad Company Warranty Deed (Property deed, lots 19 and 20 in block 14, Ash Fork, Arizona), June 29, 1910. Northern Arizona University Cline Library Special Collections, Monte and Rozella Montgomery Collection, AHS-ND-908, box 1, folders 1-4. Territory of Arizona Warranty Deed (Property deed, lots 19 and 20 in block 14, Ash Fork, Arizona), December 23, 1910. Northern Arizona University Cline Library Special Collections, Monte and Rozella Montgomery Collection, AHS-ND-908, box 1, folders 1-4. Santa Fe Pacific Railroad Company Warranty Deed (Property deed, lot 19 in block 5, Ash Fork, Arizona), October 24, 1911. Northern Arizona University Cline Library Special Collections, Monte and Rozella Montgomery Collection, AHS-ND-908, box 1, folders 1-4. Santa Fe Pacific Railroad Company Warranty Deed (Property deed, lots 20 and 21 in block 5, Ash Fork, Arizona), April 10, 1911. Northern Arizona University Cline Library Special Collections, Monte and Rozella Montgomery Collection, AHS-ND-908, box 1, folders 1-4. Territory of Arizona Warranty Deed (Property deed, lots 20 and 21 in block 5, Ash Fork, Arizona), February 5, 1912. Northern Arizona University Cline Library Special Collections, Monte and Rozella Montgomery Collection, AHS-ND-908, box 1, folders 1-4. Territory of Arizona Warranty Deed (Property deed, lots 19, 20 and 21 in block 5, Ash Fork, Arizona), September 25, 1915. Northern Arizona University Cline Library Special Collections, Monte and Rozella Montgomery Collection, AHS-ND-908, box 1, folders 1-4.



Fork.<sup>118</sup> In contrast, Pabo Pena also came to Ash Fork seeking work. Pena immigrated to Ash Fork from Mexico around 1910 and worked on the railroad and then later on the highway as a manual laborer.<sup>119</sup> Despite their disparate origins, throughout this period, the majority of Ash Fork and other regional residents were laborers. The business elite, solidly Anglo-white, often did not reside in town.<sup>120</sup>

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<sup>118</sup> “Otto Schwanbeck Family Tree,” Created by Daniel Milowski, *Ancestry.com*, Last accessed February 28, 2021.

<sup>119</sup> “Pabo Pena Family Tree,” Created by Daniel Milowski, *Ancestry.com*, Last accessed February 28, 2021.

<sup>120</sup> Most lots and businesses were owned by outsiders as far away as Chicago. See Santa Fe Pacific Railroad Company Warranty Deed (Property deed, lots 19 and 20 in block 14, Ash Fork, Arizona), June 29, 1910. Northern Arizona University Cline Library Special Collections, Monte and Rozella Montgomery Collection, AHS-ND-908, box 1, folders 1-4. Territory of Arizona Warranty Deed (Property deed, lots 19 and 20 in block 14, Ash Fork, Arizona), December 23, 1910. Northern Arizona University Cline Library Special Collections, Monte and Rozella Montgomery Collection, AHS-ND-908, box 1, folders 1-4. Santa Fe Pacific Railroad Company Warranty Deed (Property deed, lot 19 in block 5, Ash Fork, Arizona), October 24, 1911. Northern Arizona University Cline Library Special Collections, Monte and Rozella Montgomery Collection, AHS-ND-908, box 1, folders 1-4. Santa Fe Pacific Railroad Company Warranty Deed (Property deed, lots 20 and 21 in block 5, Ash Fork, Arizona), April 10, 1911. Northern Arizona University Cline Library Special Collections, Monte and Rozella Montgomery Collection, AHS-ND-908, box 1, folders 1-4. Territory of Arizona Warranty Deed (Property deed, lots 20 and 21 in block 5, Ash Fork, Arizona), February 5, 1912. Northern Arizona University Cline Library Special Collections, Monte and Rozella Montgomery Collection, AHS-ND-908, box 1, folders 1-4. Territory of Arizona Warranty Deed (Property deed, lots 19, 20 and 21 in block 5, Ash Fork, Arizona), September 25, 1915. Northern Arizona University Cline Library Special Collections, Monte and Rozella Montgomery Collection, AHS-ND-908, box 1, folders 1-4.

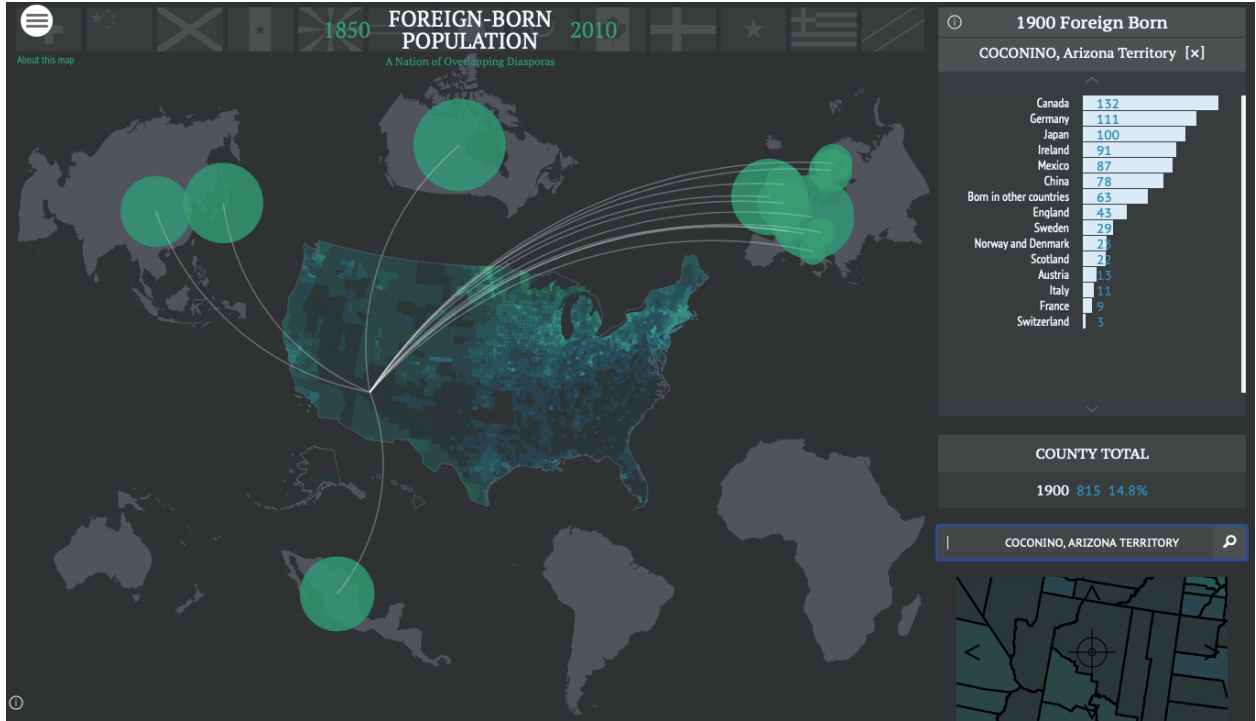


Figure 13. This map shows foreign-born migration to Coconino County, which contained Ash Fork in 1900. Although Canadian and Western European migration is prevalent, the county shows large numbers of migrants from Japan, China, and Mexico. Courtesy the American Panorama Project, Digital Scholarship Lab, University of Richmond.<sup>121</sup>

## Seligman

As in Ash Fork, an initial investment by the railroad created Seligman as well and fostered its growth. Despite this similarity, Seligman was founded much later than other towns in the region. Although Seligman claims a history dating back to the construction of the original Atlantic and Pacific rail line in 1882, its origin and location actually date to the later reconfiguration of the railroad as the Santa Fe Pacific after the failure of the earlier Atlantic and Pacific. The Atlantic and Pacific railroad built a rail stop approximately two miles south of present-day Seligman in 1882. In 1885, the Atlantic

<sup>121</sup> Robert K. Nelson, Scott Nesbit, Edward L. Ayers, Justin Madron, and Nathaniel Ayers, "Foreign-Born Population, 1850-2010," *American Panorama*, ed. Robert K. Nelson and Edward L. Ayers, accessed February 28, 2021, <https://dsl.richmond.edu/panorama/foreignborn>.

and Pacific renamed the stop Prescott Junction due to its new purpose as the junction connecting the Atlantic and Pacific main line with the Prescott and Arizona Central Railway which ran to Prescott, the Arizona territorial capital, and on to Phoenix. The Atlantic and Pacific, a subsidiary of the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad, struggled with low income due to poor land sales and little freight volume resultant in mounting mortgage debt throughout the 1880s and 1890s. It finally went bankrupt due to the Panic of 1893 temporarily interrupting railroad service. The Atlantic and Pacific's parent company, the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad reorganized its failed subsidiary as the Santa Fe Pacific Railroad. It also reorganized railroad operations along the line. The Atlantic and Pacific lost many land grants in the bankruptcy which allowed local ranchers to stake claims to former Atlantic and Pacific land. Before the reformed railroad could reassert its operations, local rancher William Latchford filed a claim on a quarter section that included the former Atlantic and Pacific station Prescott Junction. As such, the Santa Fe Pacific rerouted the line and built a new town named Seligman two miles north of the former station. The new town name was in honor of one of the new railroad's financial backers, the Boston-based Seligman family. The railroad reorganized and rerouted the main line including eliminating the previous division point where trains had to change crews at Williams, Arizona and dismantling the Williams roundhouse. The railroad designated Seligman, Arizona as the new division point and built a new switchyard and roundhouse there in 1897.<sup>122</sup>

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<sup>122</sup> "The Prescott and Arizona Central Railway," Legal Advertisement, *The Commercial & Financial Chronicle* (New York City, NY), February 16, 1889. Ralph Mahoney, "Ash Fork's Flagstone Rates High on the Market," *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), September 12, 1954, p. 16. "The Santa Fe, a Partner in Progress," *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), March 27, 1976, p. C13. "Seligman, Arizona History," *Seligman Chamber of Commerce*, Accessed September 18, 2018,

The Santa Fe made good use of the wide-open land surrounding Seligman building a large switchyard, a roundhouse, repair facilities, cottages for railroad workers, a depot, reading room, warehouses, and a hospital.<sup>123</sup> The Fred Harvey Company, a chain of restaurants and hotels along the Santa Fe line, built a hotel or Harvey House named the Havasu House in 1905.<sup>124</sup> The Santa Fe also platted a small three block long by two block wide townsite and offered lots for lease. By 1919 Santa Fe records show 60 leases for business lots in the town of Seligman housing a variety of businesses and private residences. Despite this growth, Seligman was not an incorporated town. In fact, the townsite was owned completely by the Santa Fe railroad. Lots could be leased but not purchased in early Seligman.<sup>125</sup> The lack of incorporation precluded generation of a local tax base, formation of a city council, and the development of other civic amenities and organizations in the railroad dominated town.

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<http://www.seligmanazchamber.com/History.46.0.html>. James R. Fuchs, "A History of Williams, Arizona: 1876 – 1951," Master's Thesis, (University of Arizona 1952), 108-111, 116-118. Patrick Whitehurst, *Williams* (Charleston: Arcadia Publishing, 2008), 75-84. William T. Latchford, voter registration, Yavapai County Recorder, August, 1888. Homestead File Application Number 1397. Final Certificate Number 491. William T. Latchford, June 4, 1898, Prescott, Arizona, Land Office; Records of the Bureau of Land Management, Record Group 49; National Archives Building, Washington, DC. "Santa Fe Pacific Middle Division and a New Townsite," *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), December 11, 1897. Keith L. Bryant, *History of the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe Railway* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1974), 84-95, 97-100, 116-117, 148-172, 184-185. Pamela Berkman, *The History of the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe* (Greenwich: Bison Books, 1988), 20-33.

<sup>123</sup> "The City and the County," *Weekly Journal-Miner* (Prescott, AZ), August 25, 1897. Kline, R. C. *Map Showing Leases at Seligman, Arizona*. Vol. 1" = 100' Atchison, Topeka, & Santa Fe, Railway Company, 1919.

<sup>124</sup> *Ibid.*, Atchison, Topeka, & Santa Fe, Railway Company. *Seligman Station Plat*, edited by Atchison, Topeka, & Santa Fe, Railway Company. Vol. 1" = 100'. Los Angeles, CA: Atchison, Topeka, & Santa Fe, Railway Company, 1930. Atchison, Topeka, & Santa Fe, Railway Company. *Harvey Girls, Seligman, Arizona*. 1920 – 1929. Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe Railway Company Records Collection, Kansas Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas.

<sup>125</sup> Kline, R. C. *Map Showing Leases at Seligman, Arizona*. Vol. 1" = 100' Atchison, Topeka, & Santa Fe, Railway Company, 1919.

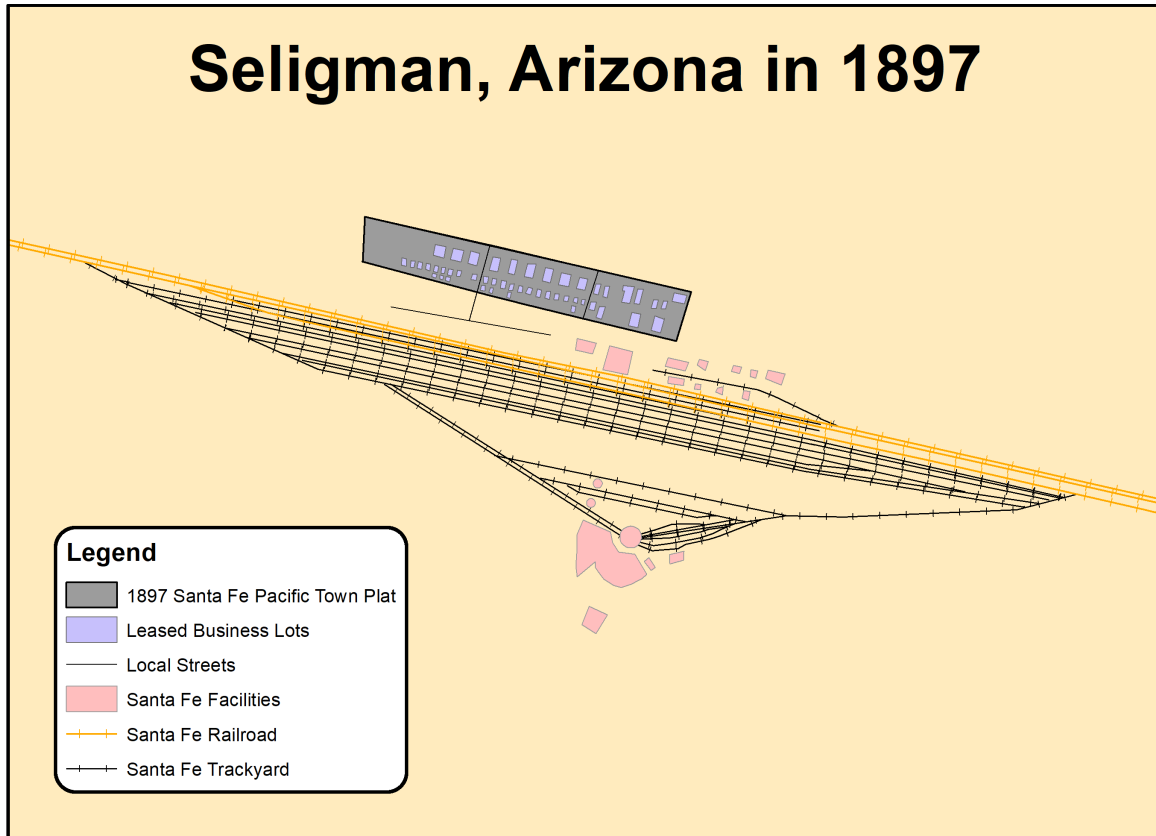


Figure 14. This geographic information system generated map shows the original plat of Seligman as built by the Santa Fe railroad in 1897. The Santa Fe built out an extensive track yard, maintenance facilities, and passenger and freight handling operations. All of the original townsite was owned by the railroad with lots available for lease only.<sup>126</sup>

Although primarily a base of operations for the railroad, Seligman developed a fledgling tourist industry as well. One of the new small businesses in town catered to an emerging technology and new class of tourists – automobiles and auto-tourers. In May of 1915, Charles S. Greenlaw, a lumbermill owner residing in Flagstaff, Arizona, opened the Seligman Garage. The business offered automotive repair services and rental cars to railroad tourists.<sup>127</sup> In a nod to the sparse automobile traffic of the time, the Seligman

<sup>126</sup> *Seligman, Arizona in 1897*, Scale 1:100, based on Kline, R. C. *Map Showing Leases at Seligman, Arizona*. Vol. 1" = 100' Atchison, Topeka, & Santa Fe, Railway Company, 1919, Tempe, AZ: Daniel Milowski, April, 2021. Using ArcMap GIS. Version 10.8. Redlands, CA: Environmental Systems Research Institute, Inc, 1992-2021.

<sup>127</sup> "Seligman News," *Williams News* (Williams, AZ), May 13, 1915, p. 4.

Garage also offered blacksmith services to local ranchers and the railroad.<sup>128</sup> Needing to attend to his lumbermill, Charles S. Greenlaw put his son, Charles A. Greenlaw, in charge of the garage.<sup>129</sup>

During this early automobile period, automobile travelers along the road were mostly tourists. These automobile tourists, or auto-tourers, were typically upper middle-class Americans with the money and resources to take vacations. As educated professionals working in offices in cities, the appeal of auto-touring was in seeking out wilderness challenges to test their personal mettle and their cars through enduring the difficulty of cross-country travel. Given the primitive condition of most American roads at the time, cross-country auto-treks were often a test of endurance. Auto-tourists often fancied themselves neo-pioneers attempting to stave off the perceived ill-effects of modern city life through enduring personal hardship in nature. These tourists began supplementing the local economies of towns like Seligman through purchasing food and supplies, and staying overnight in hotels or simply camping in the open countryside.<sup>130</sup>

Tourists were encouraged to seek out American destinations for vacations, particularly in the American West, by the See America First Movement. See America First was a national movement led by community boosters across the country, domestic tourism promoters, Department of the Interior and later national park officials, and railroad and automobile company leaders that encouraged Americans to spend their

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<sup>128</sup> "For Sale," Advertisement, *The Coconino Sun* (Flagstaff, AZ), September 29, 1916, p. 12. "Marriage Certificate," (Government Document, Book 3, page 352, Coconino County, Arizona, Recorded January 2, 1917). "Greenlaw-Stork," *Williams News* (Williams, AZ), January 4, 1917, p. 1.

<sup>129</sup> "Marriage Certificate," (Government Document, Book 3, page 352, Coconino County, Arizona, Recorded January 2, 1917). "Greenlaw-Stork," *Williams News* (Williams, AZ), January 4, 1917, p. 1.

<sup>130</sup> Warren James Belasco, *American on the Road: From Autocamp to Motel, 1910-1945* (Baltimore, John Hopkins University Press, 1979), 3-40.

tourism dollars visiting American locations.<sup>131</sup> Although not explicitly articulated by See America First proponents, the arguments of the See America First movement connected to aspects of American republican mythology and national identity. Within this framework, tourism, particularly Western tourism, helped to reconcile virtuous agrarian republican mythology with the reality of the emerging industrial, corporate-driven, urban nation.<sup>132</sup> First Western boosters, and then a far more successful partnership between the railroads and the National Park Service, promoted tourism as an act of patriotism. These efforts encouraged Americans to visit the natural wonders of America like the Grand Canyon in an effort to know their own country and develop a sense of national pride. These efforts further redefined the natural world in the Western United States from harsh wilderness needing conquering to scenic wonder needing visitation. Through this, tourism became a type of virtuous consumption that reconnected urban elites to the original republican virtues of America through visiting the natural wonder of the United States.<sup>133</sup> Subsequent promotion efforts in the inter-war period cast escaping to nature through tourism as a rite of passage required for virtuous citizenship.<sup>134</sup> Tourists themselves internalized these messages adding aspects of defining self-identity to pastoral tourism.<sup>135</sup>

Auto-touring and the See America First movement, although not steeped in the Route 66 Americana myth that impacted the region later, were still heavily based in

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<sup>131</sup> Marguerite S. Shaffer, *See America First: Tourism and National Identity, 1880-1940* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2001), 1-6, 130-168. Warren James Belasco, *Americans on the Road: From Autocamp to Motel, 1910-1945* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1979), 3-40.

<sup>132</sup> Shaffer, *See America First*, 5-6.

<sup>133</sup> *Ibid.*, 7-39.

<sup>134</sup> *Ibid.*, 219.

<sup>135</sup> *Ibid.*, 264.

myth. This myth was based in the natural wonders of the American West, seeking out the sublime in nature, republican mythology, and reconnecting with America's mythologized pioneer roots. The pioneer myth was a particular focus of auto-touring. Famed historian Frederick Jackson Turner had published his Frontier Thesis in 1893. It posited that the process of western frontier pioneers taming the "meeting point between savagery and civilization" had turned Europeans into Americans with a unique American culture based on self-sufficiency and hard-work. Turner went on to declare the frontier closed based on 1890 census data regarding the availability of land and raised concerns about the future of American culture.<sup>136</sup> Turner's concerns dovetailed with other American cultural concerns including the fate of men and masculinity in an increasingly urban America. These concerns, in some historians' views, led to among other things America's entry into the Spanish-American War and creating an empire in the late 1890s.<sup>137</sup> Concerns with the softening of Americans due to easy urban living led many middle-class Americans to purchase early automobiles and test their mettle in the American West traversing poor roads and harsh conditions while traveling cross-country. As most transportation infrastructure in the early twentieth century was railroad-oriented, poor roads, few facilities, and fragile machines gave automobile tourists ample opportunities to test their pioneer skills.

Given the fragile nature of automobiles during this time, these automobile tourists frequently had to seek out replacement parts and repairs at local facilities like the

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<sup>136</sup> Patty Limerick, *The Legacy of Conquest: The Unbroken Past of the American West* (New York: W,W, Norton & Company, 1987), 20-21.

<sup>137</sup> Kristin L. Hoganson, *Fighting for American Manhood: How Gender Politics Provoked the Spanish-American and Philippine-American Wars* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998).



Seligman Garage. On December 11, 1915, the Seligman Garage got one of its first automotive customers. Frederick William Koehler Junior, a saloon owner from Silverton Colorado auto-touring with his sister Burna, drove 82 miles on the National Old Trails Road – an automobile enthusiast route that ran across the United States and right through Seligman. They had car trouble just outside town and purchased car repair services from the Seligman Garage. Unable to secure a hotel room, the pair stayed overnight in the garage.<sup>138</sup>

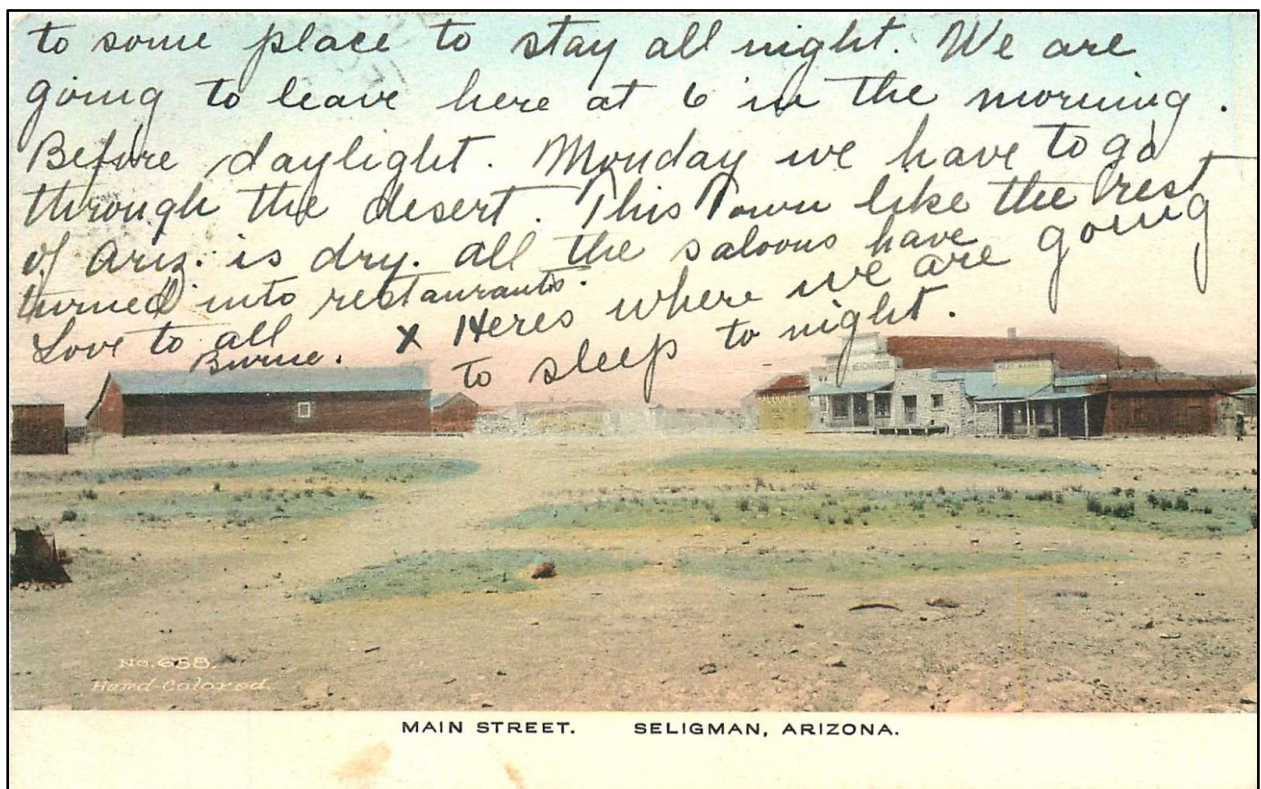


Figure 15. On December 12, 1915, after staying the night in the Seligman Garage, Burna Koehler mailed this postcard from Ash Fork, Arizona, the next town west on the National Old Trails Road, to her mother. She detailed their mishap near Seligman while auto-touring. The X on the postcard marks the location of the Seligman Garage on the edge of town. The rocks and plants in the roadway approaching Seligman indicate the overall quality of many local roads during this period. Postcard from author's personal collection.

<sup>138</sup> Burna Koehler, Postcard to F.W. Koehler, December 12, 1915. 1910 United States Census, San Juan, Colorado, 1B. 1920 United States Census, La Plata, Colorado, 58A. National Old Trails Road Association, *The National Old Trails Road*, April 1913, Archive, U.S. Department of Transportation Federal Highway Administration.

In 1915, however, Seligman was primarily oriented around the railroad. The railroad provided most of the jobs and brought in most of the travelers and hence contributed the most to the economic life of the town. The National Old Trails Road was not an official road. It was an auto-touring route amalgamated by automobile enthusiasts. The route had been glued together from everything from local city roads to railroad right-of-way. In Seligman, auto-tourers arrived by following the Santa Fe tracks into town. Maps from this time show no roads in or out of town. Chino Street, Seligman's main street and the future route of Route 66 through town, simply terminates at either end of the three block town. It was the railroad that employed most residents, brought in even more railroad employees daily as part of normal operations, and also brought in most of the travelers. The spending of the railroad, its employees, and its customers contributed the most to the economic life of the town. The Harvey Company's Havasu House, for example, was located right next to the depot and catered exclusively to railroad travelers. Similarly, the majority of other businesses in town derived most of their business from the railroad, its employees, and its customers. Business locations close to the intersection of Railroad Avenue and Main Street near the Santa Fe depot, or a location on the block just west of the intersection of Main Street and Chino Avenue directly behind the Santa Fe Depot and the Havasu House, were key. The only other hotel in town was located cater-cornered from the Havasu House, and the bars, restaurants, and other retail alternatives to the Santa Fe and Fred Harvey Company options at the station filled the remainder of both blocks.<sup>139</sup> Given the infrastructure configuration within the town in the

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<sup>139</sup> Pat Haigh Stein, "Seligman Commercial Historic District," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 2005), Section 7, 8, 9.

early twentieth century this was predictable.<sup>140</sup> Roads and automobiles were not a significant part of the transportation system makeup in Seligman.<sup>141</sup> Seligman residents and business owners would not expect to get much business from a road that was more an idea than a reality. Looking east from the Seligman Garage in 1915, only the Santa Fe Railroad's tracks and open land would have been visible.

Although a real highway was yet to come, rails were a reality in 1915. Seligman existed due to an initial investment in hydrologic and transportation infrastructure by the Santa Fe, and the railroad continued investing in infrastructure in Seligman. A few years prior to the opening of the Seligman Garage, the Santa Fe upgraded its local operations and the built environment of Seligman itself. In 1912, the Santa Fe Railroad kicked off a building boom in Seligman with the construction of a new machine shop. The new facility was a steel-frame structure measuring 300 by 280 feet. Within it, the railroad installed all new machinery for repairing locomotives at a cost of \$15,800. Additionally, the railroad overhauled the locomotive turntable and roundhouse. The railroad also built an electric power plant in Seligman at a cost of \$7,550. The electric power plant was part of a community-wide electrification project initiated by the Santa Fe to completely electrify their operations and the entire town. The Santa Fe built transmission lines to supply electric power and light to all of their yards, shops, and facilities. In addition, the railroad electrified homes and businesses in town.<sup>142</sup> With the completion of the electric

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<sup>140</sup> Burna Koehler, Postcard to F.W. Koehler, December 12, 1915. "The Quest for a National Road," *Federal Highway Administration*, Accessed April 6, 2018, <https://www.fhwa.dot.gov/infrastructure/trailsc.cfm#2>. Kline, R. C. *Map Showing Leases at Seligman, Arizona*. Vol. 1" = 100' Atchison, Topeka, & Santa Fe, Railway Company, 1919.

<sup>141</sup> Ibid.

<sup>142</sup> "Machine Shops in Course of Construction," *Weekly Journal-Miner* (Prescott, AZ), December 25, 1912, p. 5.

power plant and transmission line system, the Santa Fe finalized the foundational infrastructure it built for the town that began with the earlier dams, reservoirs, water pumping system, street grid and corresponding waterlines. The infrastructure the Santa Fe built made the town viable for continued economic and community growth. But it did so at a cost: the railroad owned the town and would control its fate.

All of this investment fueled community and business growth in Seligman. By 1912, Seligman had grown to a population of 300 residents.<sup>143</sup> The railroad investment and population growth fueled additional business growth and outside investment. The Harvey House expanded and received a new manager at this time reflecting the Fred Harvey Company's parallel investment in the town. Real estate investment also boomed during this period as land speculators from the east looked to acquire titles to homesteads in the area. Likewise, W.H. Wisecarver, the local carpenter and builder received several contracts to build new homes in the new railroad-created Western Addition subdivision in Seligman. He also received a contract from an investor to remodel a large building at Second Street and Main Street to turn it into a saloon and café.<sup>144</sup>

The economic investment in Seligman by large outside entities like the Santa Fe Railroad and the Fred Harvey Company began attracting the interest of local investors too. With the Santa Fe's projects occurring close to the Christmas holiday, Michael McBride, owner and operator of the McBride Mercantile Company, laid in a large consignment of Christmas goods to sell to town residents – mostly railroad workers flush

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<sup>143</sup> *Arizona Business Directory* (Denver: Gazetteer Publishing Company, 1909), 471, Arizona Historical Society Book Collection, courtesy Arizona Historical Society, Phoenix, AZ, obtained from <http://azmemory.azlibrary.gov/>.

<sup>144</sup> "Machine Shops in Course of Construction," *Weekly Journal-Miner* (Prescott, AZ), December 25, 1912, p. 5. "Seligman," *Arizona Business Directory* (Gazetteer Publishing Company, 1909-1910).

with additional pay from the railroad's expansion. In January of 1914, James A. Pitts, of the James A. Pitts & Company mercantile store in nearby Ash Fork, Arizona bought out Michael McBride's mercantile store. Pitts had met McBride years earlier when McBride worked as a clerk for C.E. Boyce's Mercantile Store in Williams, Arizona and Pitts was still ranching near Ash Fork. By this time, the larger commercial operation of James Pitts was well known in northern Arizona. Pitts bought McBride's store on a 5-year promissory note and paid \$40,000 for McBride's store.<sup>145</sup> By 1922, James A. Pitts & Company was joined by the Stambrook Commercial Company in the competition for mercantile business.<sup>146</sup>

The area around Seligman attracted investment too. A number of investors established cattle operations around Seligman. Cattle ranches were started by J.H. Bishop, A.C. Burnett, A. Sanford, and others. Larger entities like the Morrow Livestock Company also had cattle operations in the area.<sup>147</sup> The cattle operations drove out many of the Native American and Mexican-American sheep farmers who had been ranching in

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<sup>145</sup> "Machine Shops in Course of Construction," *Weekly Journal-Miner* (Prescott, AZ), December 25, 1912, p. 5. "Pitts & Co. Buy Out McBride," *The Coconino Sun* (Flagstaff, AZ), January 9, 1914, p. 6. *James Pitts personal memoir*, (Uland, CA: unpublished, 1937), Cline Library Special Collections, Northern Arizona University, MS15, box1, folder 1.

<sup>146</sup> "Butter Crust Bread," Advertisement, *The Mohave County Miner and Our Mineral Wealth* (Kingman, AZ), June 23, 1922, p. 5.

<sup>147</sup> A multitude of cattle ranches and livestock companies were operating in Seligman during this period. All of them advertised frequently as the business was highly competitive. Papers like the *Coconino Sun* would have multi-pages spreads dedicated to these ads. See "J.H. Bishop, Seligman, Arizona," Advertisement, *The Coconino Sun* (Flagstaff, AZ), August 3, 1917, p. 9. "J.H. Bishop, Seligman, Arizona," Advertisement, *The Coconino Sun* (Flagstaff, AZ), November 30, 1917, p. 7. "J.H. Bishop, Seligman, Arizona," Advertisement, *The Coconino Sun* (Flagstaff, AZ), April 19, 1918, p. 7. "A.C. Burnett, Seligman, Arizona," Advertisement, *The Coconino Sun* (Flagstaff, AZ), November 5, 1915, p. 9. "A.C. Burnett, Seligman, Arizona," Advertisement, *The Coconino Sun* (Flagstaff, AZ), September 15, 1916, p. 9. "A. Sanford, Seligman, Arizona," Advertisement, *The Coconino Sun* (Flagstaff, AZ), October 12, 1917, p. 7. "A. Sanford, Seligman, Arizona," Advertisement, *The Coconino Sun* (Flagstaff, AZ), March 29, 1918, p. 9. "Morrow Livestock Company, Seligman, Arizona," Advertisement, *The Coconino Sun* (Flagstaff, AZ), January 21, 1916, p. 9.

the area.<sup>148</sup> The cattle operations were extensive enough that the Santa Fe Railroad built a large cattle loading facility in Seligman.<sup>149</sup>

Existing businesses in Seligman sought to expand as well. The Seligman Garage advertised in late 1916 for an investor to purchase a one-third interest in the garage. In particular, Charles Greenlaw, Jr. wanted more than a financial partner. The advertisement specifically called for an investor who understood how to do automobile repairs.<sup>150</sup>

Harold Sykes bought into the garage and added battery and tire sales to the garage's services.<sup>151</sup> Charles Greenlaw later sold the rest of his interest in the garage to his cousin

James A. Lamport Jr. and moved to Phoenix.<sup>152</sup> Much like the Greenlaw family, the Lamports were major figures in the northern Arizona business community. James A.

Lamport Senior, a surveyor by trade, had been involved in much of the development of northern Arizona surveying for the railroad and platting towns along the Santa Fe line.

Lamport's role in Seligman was oversized as he not only platted most of the town but was a major land-holder in the area. Lamport platted major additions to the town in 1910 and 1928. Lamport's 1910 addition doubled the size of the original Santa Fe townsite adding a two by three block section to the town immediately east of the Santa Fe depot.

Lamport's 1928 addition added another one block by three block section of lots immediately east of Lamport's 1910 addition. Lamport owned these additions outright

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<sup>148</sup> Angel Delgadillo, 2007, Interview by R. Sean Evans, February 19, Item number 78541, transcript, Route 66 Oral History Project, Cline Library Northern Arizona University, Flagstaff, AZ.

<sup>149</sup> Kline, R. C. *Map Showing Leases at Seligman, Arizona*. Vol. 1" = 100' Atchison, Topeka, & Santa Fe, Railway Company, 1919.

<sup>150</sup> "For Sale," Advertisement, *The Coconino Sun* (Flagstaff, AZ), September 29, 1916, p. 12.

<sup>151</sup> "Local Brevities," *The Coconino Sun* (Flagstaff, AZ), July 25, 1919, 16.

<sup>152</sup> "Sell Guy Sykes Some Accident Insurance," *The Coconino Sun* (Flagstaff, AZ), May 26, 1922, p. 5.

"Lamports Mark 50<sup>th</sup> Anniversary," *Chula Vista Star-News* (Chula Vista, CA), December 28, 1969, p. 9.

"Local Brevities," *The Coconino Sun* (Flagstaff, AZ), February 16, 1917, p. 10.

and was subsequently heavily involved in real estate dealings in Seligman during this period. Lamport's additions were attractive as they were the only parts of Seligman where buyers could purchase lots rather than lease them from the railroad.<sup>153</sup> James A. Lamport Sr, like Charles Greenlaw Sr, represented outside investors from larger more established communities who made significant investments in Seligman driving economic growth. By 1920, Seligman had a population of 566 – almost double the population in 1912.<sup>154</sup>

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<sup>153</sup> "Pioneer Patent was Issue to a Pioneer," *Weekly Journal-Miner* (Prescott, AZ), August 24, 1921, p. 5. "Local Brevities," *The Coconino Sun* (Flagstaff, AZ), December 20, 1918, p12. "Public Records Compiled by the Prescott Title Company," *Weekly Journal-Miner* (Prescott, AZ), October 27, 1920, p. 7. "Public Auction Sale," *Mohave County Miner* (Mineral Park, AZ), October 27, 1917, p. 6. "Public Records," *Weekly Journal-Miner* (Prescott, AZ), July 31, 1918, p. 6. J.A. Lamport, *J.A. Lamport's Addition to Seligman, Arizona*, Scale 1:100. Prescott, AZ: Yavapai County Recorder, March 29, 1910. J.A. Lamport, *Lamport Addition to the J.A. Lamport's Addition to Seligman, Arizona*, Scale 1:100. Prescott, AZ: Yavapai County Recorder, August 10, 1928.

<sup>154</sup> Fourteenth Census of the United States, State Compendium, Arizona: Statistics of Population, Occupations, Agriculture, Irrigation, Manufactures, and Mines and Quarries for the State, Counties, and Cities, United States. Bureau of the Census, U.S. Government Printing Office, 1924, 13. *Arizona Business Directory* (Denver: Gazatteer Publishing Company, 1909), 471, Arizona Historical Society Book Collection, courtesy Arizona Historical Society, Phoenix, AZ, obtained from <http://azmemory.azlibrary.gov/>.

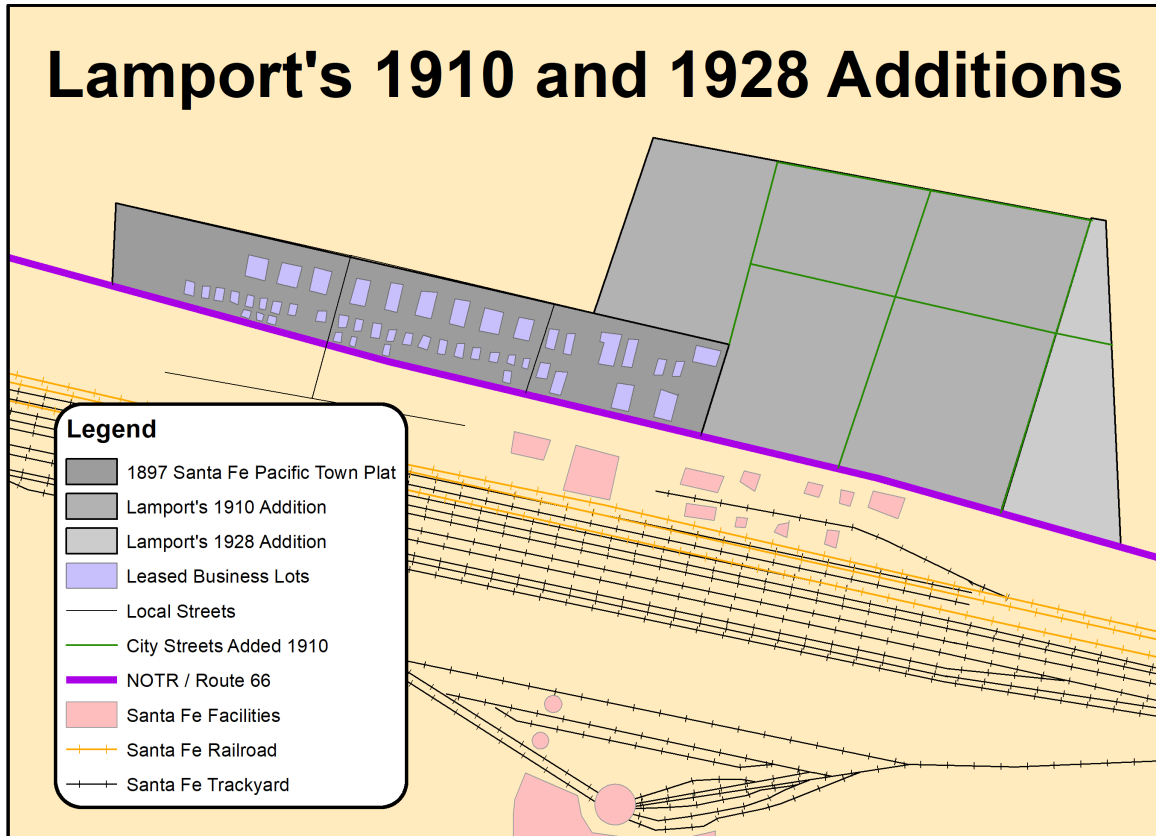


Figure 16. This map shows the original Santa Fe platted Townsite with Lamport's 1910 and 1928 additions. Lamport's additions more than doubled the platted size of the town and would become the locus of future commercial development – particularly after WW2.<sup>155</sup>

All of the economic growth spawned from big investments in infrastructure improvements and real estate development began attracting residential migration to the town. Some of these migrants came long distances to take part in booming Seligman. One of these new residents was Angel Delgadillo, Sr. On April 12, 1916, Angel Delgadillo, Sr. and his wife Juana crossed into the United States from Mexico at the Laredo, Texas border crossing. Originally from Jalisco, Mexico, Angel Delgadillo, Sr. had been a

<sup>155</sup> *Lamport's 1910 and 1928 Additions*, Scale 1:100, based on Kline, R. C. *Map Showing Leases at Seligman, Arizona*. Vol. 1" = 100' Atchison, Topeka, & Santa Fe, Railway Company, 1919, J.A. Lamport, *J.A. Lamport's Addition to Seligman, Arizona*, Scale 1:100. Prescott, AZ: Yavapai County Recorder, March 29, 1910. J.A. Lamport, *Lamport Addition to the J.A. Lamport's Addition to Seligman, Arizona*, Scale 1:100. Prescott, AZ: Yavapai County Recorder, August 10, 1928. Tempe, AZ: Daniel Milowski, April, 2021. Using ArcMap GIS. Version 10.8. Redlands, CA: Environmental Systems Research Institute, Inc, 1992-2021.



railroad machinist in Mexico. In the United States he found work as a laborer on the Santa Fe railroad, and later landed an assistant machinist job in the roundhouse in Seligman.<sup>156</sup>

Despite this initial employment success, however, railroad employment was often unstable for many railroad workers including Angel Delgadillo, Sr. Seligman, as a railroad town, was not immune from the labor unrest rampant in the railroad industry in the early twentieth century. In 1922, the “Big Four” railroad unions authorized a strike in opposition to the Santa Fe deploying armed guards on railroad property. The strike was focused on railroad operations in eastern California and western Arizona to increase its effect. The operations at Barstow and Needles, California and Kingman and Seligman, Arizona, if shut-down, created a bottleneck that could essentially halt train traffic in the West. When railroad workers went out on strike in July 1922, passengers and freight were stranded in Seligman, Winslow, and Kingman. Trains could move neither east nor west without these operations up and running. However, in addition to being a site of labor strife, Seligman was also a segregated town in the 1920s. During the strike, the Santa Fe railroad attempted to bring in African-American strike-breakers. Despite the crippling effects of the strike on the local economy, the train-car of African-American strikebreakers were met by an angry Anglo-white mob in Seligman which included local business owners who refused to let them off the train. The strikebreakers met a similar

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<sup>156</sup> Angel Delgadillo, 2007, Interview by R. Sean Evans, February 19, Item number 78541, transcript, Route 66 Oral History Project, Cline Library Northern Arizona University, Flagstaff, AZ. Angel Delgadillo, “Marriage Certificate” (Civil Marriage Registration, Hacienda de Ciénega, Jalisco, México, 1903), 24. The National Archives and Records Administration; Washington D.C.; *Nonstatistical Manifests and Statistical Index Cards of Aliens Arriving at Laredo, Texas, May 1903 - November 1929*; NAI: 2843448; Record Group Title: *Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, 1787-2004.*; Record Group Number: 85; Microfilm Roll Number: 019. “Arizona Shop” (Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railway Company Records, Employee Records, Topeka Kansas: Kansas State Historical Society).

fate in Kingman and Winslow. The local National Guard unit, which had been used to control labor unrest before, also refused to deploy on strike duty due to the railroad's use of African-Americans as strike breakers.<sup>157</sup>

The strike raged on through the hottest part of the summer from mid-July to mid-August 1922. Bowing to pressure from President Warren G. Harding and facing imminent violent suppression of the strike by federal forces, the railroad unions withdrew support from the striking shop-men and trackmen who initially had been encouraged to go on strike by the unions. Lacking their union's support and portrayed as acting without union authority, many of the striking workmen lost their jobs. Job loss fallout from the strike hit Latino laborers particularly hard. Angel Delgadillo, Sr. was one of the many striking workers who lost his job with the railroad.<sup>158</sup>

As the racialized reaction to the African-American strike-breakers had demonstrated in 1922, Seligman was a community strictly divided by class, race, and ethnicity. Latinos laborers like Angel Delgadillo Sr. were restricted on where they could live, work, and shop. Latinos could only shop at the railroad store, and due to low wages often had to charge purchases that were later deducted from their pay trapping them in a cycle of debt. After the strikers were cut loose by their union, the powerless laborers lost

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<sup>157</sup> 'Negro Strikebreakers Refused Place at Needles Shuttled Across Arizona Like Men Without Country; Are Still Going,' *Weekly Journal-Miner* (Prescott, AZ), July 19, 1922, p 1.. "Winslow Sheriff Asks for Troops," *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), July 18, 1922, p 1. "Winslow Seeks Guardsmen to Maintain Order," *Arizona Daily Star* (Tucson, AZ), July 18, 1922, p. 1.

<sup>158</sup> "Big-4 Administer 'Knock-Out' To Santa Fe," *Bisbee Daily Review* (Bisbee, AZ), August 11, 1922, p. 1. "Trainmen Tie-Up Santa Fe Lines," *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), August 11, 1922, p. 1. "Winslow Sheriff Appeals to Governor for Aid of Troops; Campbell Orders Out Battery," *Bisbee Daily Review* (Bisbee, AZ), July 18, 1922, p. 1. "Striking Santa Fe Train Crews Outlawed by Brotherhood, Trains Begin to Move, Mail Arrives and Strike End Indicated," *The Coconino Sun* (Flagstaff, AZ), August 18, 1922, p. 1. Angel Delgadillo, 2007, Interview by R. Sean Evans, February 19, Item number 78541, transcript, Route 66 Oral History Project, Cline Library Northern Arizona University, Flagstaff, AZ.

their positions with the railroad creating severe economic hardship for most of them. Perhaps realizing that his situation was precarious but also sensing opportunity, Angel Delgadillo Sr. had previously used his meager savings to purchase a lot in Seligman on Railroad Avenue near the depot in Lamport's 1910 addition. Angel, with the help of his wife Juana, hand built an adobe building.<sup>159</sup> Angel Delgadillo capitalized on the racial discrimination and segregation prevalent in Seligman by opening a pool and gambling hall in his new building in 1923 catering to Mexican-American and other excluded groups. The pool hall found rapid success as it provided a previously unavailable social space to the marginalized in Seligman. Delgadillo later expanded his business to include a barbershop and grocery store – also services previously unavailable to excluded groups.<sup>160</sup> In towns throughout the region, similar to other segregated areas of the country, regional communities like Seligman began developing a parallel business community to the Anglo-white owned businesses that made up the majority of the business community throughout the area. This parallel business community provided services to marginalized residents unable to procure them elsewhere.

Despite the labor unrest and segregation issues, all of the continued investment activity in Seligman contributed to the sustained growth of the town. Dependent on the railroad for investment, local spending by railroad workers and railroad travelers, and access to basic necessities like water from outside the area, but a growing community, nonetheless. In the early decades of the twentieth century, and years before the arrival of

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<sup>159</sup> Angel Delgadillo, 2007, Interview by R. Sean Evans, February 19, Item number 78541, transcript, Route 66 Oral History Project, Cline Library Northern Arizona University, Flagstaff, AZ.

<sup>160</sup> Angel Delgadillo, 2007, Interview by R. Sean Evans, February 19, Item number 78541, transcript, Route 66 Oral History Project, Cline Library Northern Arizona University, Flagstaff, AZ.

Route 66, Seligman was a thriving community and an important stop on the Santa Fe line.

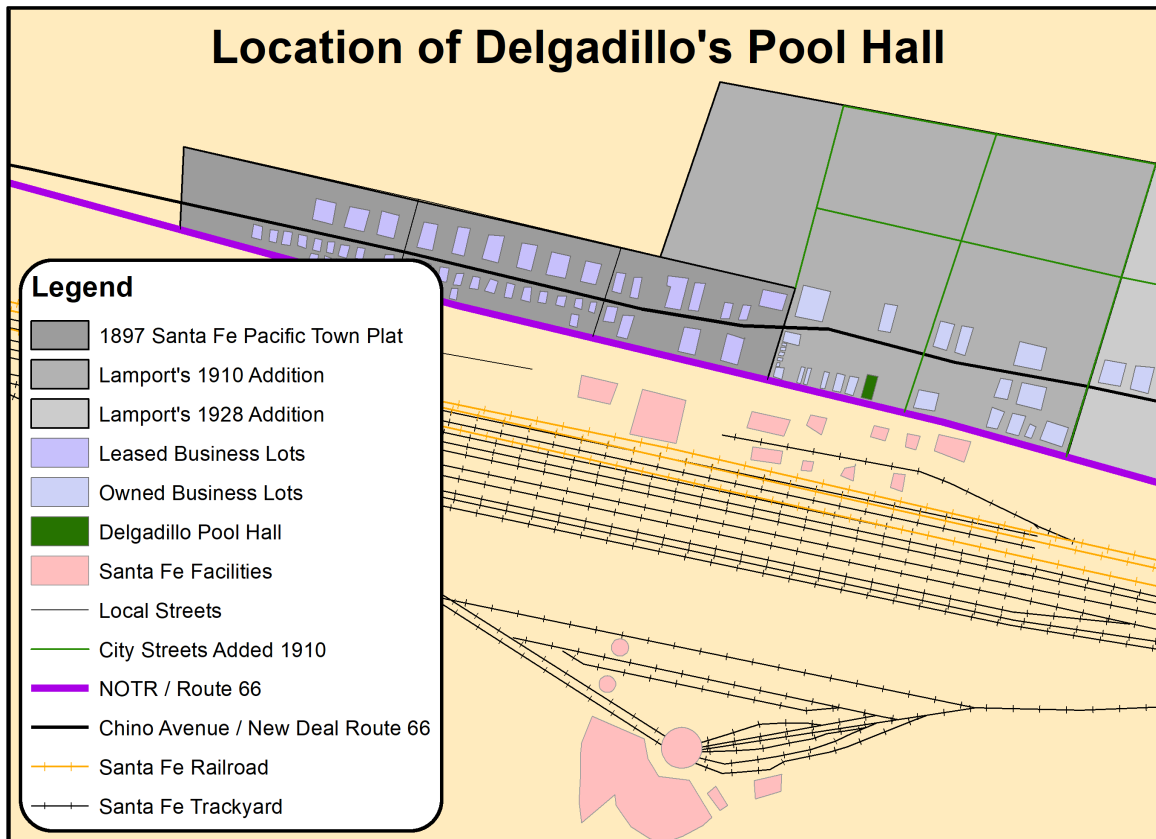


Figure 17. This geographic information system generated map shows the location of Angel Delgadillo's Pool Hall. The pool hall provided both essential services and a social gathering space for the marginalized in Seligman. It is located in Lamport's 1910 addition as the Santa Fe owned all lots in the original townsite and only leased lots to Anglo-white business operators.<sup>161</sup>

<sup>161</sup> The oldest surviving plat map from 1919 also lists the lease holders for the lots within the Santa Fe owned townsite. See Kline, R. C. *Map Showing Leases at Seligman, Arizona*. Vol. 1" = 100' Atchison, Topeka, & Santa Fe, Railway Company, 1919. *Location of Delgadillo's Pool Hall*, Scale 1:100, based on Kline, R. C. *Map Showing Leases at Seligman, Arizona*. Vol. 1" = 100' Atchison, Topeka, & Santa Fe, Railway Company, 1919, J.A. Lamport, *J.A. Lamport's Addition to Seligman, Arizona*, Scale 1:100. Prescott, AZ: Yavapai County Recorder, March 29, 1910. J.A. Lamport, *Lamport Addition to the J.A. Lamport's Addition to Seligman, Arizona*, Scale 1:100. Prescott, AZ: Yavapai County Recorder, August 10, 1928. Pat Haigh Stein, "Seligman Commercial Historic District," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 2005), Section 7, 8, 9. Tempe, AZ: Daniel Milowski, April, 2021. Using ArcMap GIS. Version 10.8. Redlands, CA: Environmental Systems Research Institute, Inc, 1992-2021.

## Regional Development by 1920

Throughout the region, by the early 1920s, each town exhibited varying levels of community development, but were active participants in the larger economic and social development of the United States. Williams was the most established and railroad independent of these communities. Although railroad employment was important to the economy, the Williams' economy was more diverse and not as solely focused on railroad operations. It had a thriving lumber industry featuring extensive industrial lumber product manufacturing facilities and several lumber retailers. Similarly, the town harbored an extensive tourism industry thanks to its railway junction with the branch line to Grand Canyon National Park. Tourists visiting the Grand Canyon had to disembark from the transcontinental route at Williams and often spend the night in town before departing for the Grand Canyon on the branch line train the next day. The town's lumber industry was a major employer attracting immigration into the town from throughout the United States and beyond. It also fostered an increasingly diverse population including African-American, Latino, and Asian-American workers. Although, the town lacked the formal strictures of Jim Crow, an informal system of segregation existed that routed Black, Asian, and Latino workers into specific jobs and restricted where they could shop and live. Community enforced discrimination later largely drove the Asian population out of Williams.<sup>162</sup> Incorporating early, Williams established itself as the leading community in the region with the most economic clout, employment opportunities, and social opportunity. The white business class sat at the top of this community directing the

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<sup>162</sup> Carl and Miles Cureton. Interview by Teri A. Cleeland. Oral History Interview. Williams, AZ, November 5, 1991. Felice Burghardt. Interview by Teri A. Cleeland. Oral History Interview. Williams, AZ, May 13, 1989. Whitehurst, *Williams*, 7-9, 11-92.

economic and political decisions of the town to the benefit of themselves and their constituents. They also provided the de facto structure and enforcements necessary to establish and maintain the segregation and restricted social hierarchy fully present by the early 1920s.<sup>163</sup>

Ash Fork was similarly well established as a community with a thriving local economy and developing social structure. Although Ash Fork lacked industrial diversity and alternative large employers to the railroad, its function as the junction between the Santa Fe main line and the branch line to Phoenix ensured a steady stream of railroad passengers bringing travel and tourist dollars into the local economy. Ash Fork featured a modest but diversified retail economy catering to railroad travelers and to a lesser extent local residents and ranchers from the surrounding region. The star of the Ash Fork economy during this time, however, was the extensive Fred Harvey Company establishment the Hotel Escalante. It was both one of the most extensive and finest hotels on the Santa Fe line and the bustling hub of the Ash Fork economy. Travelers transiting to and from Phoenix often spent the night in the hotel and were the main source of customers for the small town's local businesses. Outside owned businesses were largely the rule in Ash Fork as most other business were owned by outsiders. Less diverse than Williams, Ash Fork split hard along Anglo-white and Latino lines. Following a similar de facto but socially enforced pattern, the divide between the Anglo-white and Latino residents in Ash Fork was stark.<sup>164</sup>

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<sup>163</sup> Ibid.

<sup>164</sup> Trimble, *Ash Fork*, 7-52. *James Pitts personal memoir*, (Uland, CA: unpublished, 1937), Cline Library Special Collections, Northern Arizona University, MS15, box1, folder1.

Seligman was still a growing community by the early 1920s. Not as fully formed or well established as Williams, Ash Fork or Kingman, the Seligman economy was still growing adding businesses catering to railroad travelers and employees as well as new sources of customers like automobile tourists. The railroad dominated life in early Seligman to a much larger degree than other towns in the region. The Seligman economy was almost solely dependent on the railroad for its lifeblood. The railroad had built the town itself and employed most of the residents in its extensive industrial operations just south of town. It also literally owned the land under town resident's feet as it continued the practice of only leasing lots in town well past the 1920s, rather than selling the lots like in Ash Fork, Williams, and Kingman.<sup>165</sup> Likewise, the mobile railroad employees disembarking in Seligman supplied the majority of customers to local businesses. Lacking the junction points enjoyed by both Williams and Ash Fork, there was little reason for most Santa Fe passengers to disembark in Seligman. However, as the division point in the region for the Santa Fe Railroad, Seligman enjoyed a steady stream of railroad employees from other areas forced by railroad labor rules to disembark in Seligman for mandatory rest periods.<sup>166</sup> This captive customer base fueled much of the Seligman economy well beyond the early twentieth century. Seligman did enjoy some tourist activity, however, with the burgeoning auto-touring movement providing automobile tourist customers to the local economy. Like Ash Fork, Seligman split along Anglo-white and Latino lines. Latino railroad workers and their families endured more

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<sup>165</sup> Kline, R. C. *Map Showing Leases at Seligman, Arizona*. Vol. 1" = 100' Atchison, Topeka, & Santa Fe, Railway Company, 1919.

<sup>166</sup> Angel Delgadillo, 2007, Interview by R. Sean Evans, February 19, Item number 78541, transcript, Route 66 Oral History Project, Cline Library Northern Arizona University, Flagstaff, AZ.

obvious harsh forms of discrimination in Seligman including deep restrictions on commercial and social venues open to them in the town as well as stark discriminatory practices against their children in the public schools. Also, as the 1922 railroad strike illustrated, Seligman was an unfriendly place to African-Americans – a trait that would last well into the Civil Rights era.<sup>167</sup>

Kingman was a bustling regional mining hub during this period. Extensive earlier investment by the Santa Fe Railroad had followed a similar pattern where the railroad invested heavily in its own operation in the town, and the town and its residents benefitted from this railroad investment. By the 1920s, Kingman was the junction point of branch lines servicing a multitude of local mining operations. It was also the last stop on the line before crossing over the Colorado River and moving on to Needles, California. As such, it served as a local freight gathering hub for the mining, ranching, and produce operations in the Sacramento and Hualapai valleys as their outputs were bundled up for shipment to growing Southern California.<sup>168</sup>

In total, from the 1880s to the 1920s, the region had developed from a footpath and wagon road into a fully developed railroad transit corridor with several well developed towns serving the needs of the railroad, various industries, and travelers alike. This railroad-facilitated transformation had extensively re-engineered the natural environment despite the strict constraints imposed by the natural terrain and lack of

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<sup>167</sup> Angel Delgadillo, 2007, Interview by R. Sean Evans, February 19, Item number 78541, transcript, Route 66 Oral History Project, Cline Library Northern Arizona University, Flagstaff, AZ. Luz Delgadillo Moore, 2015, Interview by Katrina Parks, *The Women on the Mother Road*, Winslow, AZ, Accessed November 24, 2018, <http://www.route66women.com/portfolio/luz-delgadillo-moore/>. “Negro Strikebreakers Refused Place at Needles Shuttled Across Arizona Like Men Without Country; Are Still Going,” *Weekly Journal-Miner* (Prescott, AZ), July 19, 1922, p 1.

<sup>168</sup> Messersmith, *Kingman*, 7-49.



water. To that end in particular, every available water source had been impounded and put in service of the environmental transformation required by industrial development. Socially, these towns reflected all of the major currents and social issues coursing through American society in the 1920s including the nadir of racial and ethnic relations present at the time. Through it all, the railroad played a dominant factor in community development, structure, and control. However, beginning in the early 1920s, changes in American transportation preferences and subsequent federal action would introduce a challenge to this railroad dominance and fundamentally alter the essence of each of these communities.

In particular, the most profound change that impacted the region was the rise of automobiles as a preferred means of travel for many Americans. This preference would facilitate continual growth in automobile based tourists coming to the region. Automobile-based tourists, in turn, encouraged new developments in the make-up of the local businesses and services available to tourists in the region. Automobile service businesses would proliferate in number particularly as federal support for better road building grew. With the advent of the first modern federal highways, automobile travelers, including tourists, and the local businesses that served them would begin to chip-away at the dominance the railroad exerted over each community in the region. The rising automobile travel and tourism sector would allow these communities to begin to chart a new railroad independent, automobile dependent course for themselves and the region as a whole.

## CHAPTER 3

### DIRT TRACK TO ASPHALT RIBBON: EARLY ROUTE 66

The day before Independence Day in 1920, the Kingman newspaper, the *Mohave County Miner and Our Mineral Wealth*, ran an article discussing the national debate regarding federal funding for road building. The paper noted that the poor condition of roads significantly damaged automobiles, in particular causing premature tire wear, as motorists struggled to navigate the substandard system of county roads. The paper quoted the American Automobile Association which claimed that poor roads caused the destruction of 40 million tires a year costing American automobile owners \$1 billion annually. The article concluded by stating that the “cost of building a national system of roads that would produce the least possible wear and tear on automobiles would be balanced by the decreased expense for tires.”<sup>169</sup> In the column next to the article, Mohave County ran a legal notice advertisement regarding a bond issue dedicated to financing the construction of county roads.<sup>170</sup>

Six days later, the Williams newspaper, *The Williams News* ran an editorial urging the city to construct a municipal campground for automobile tourists. In particular, the paper urged the city to supply running water and ample systems for garbage and sewage disposal for travelers to the region. The paper opined that such a camp would “induce many a weary tourist party to stop over in the town for several days rest and that, of course, would add business for the local merchants.” The paper also noted that many

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<sup>169</sup> “Roads Hard on Auto Tires,” *Mohave County Miner and Our Mineral Wealth* (Kingman, AZ), July 3, 1920.

<sup>170</sup> “Order for Sale of Road and Hospital Bonds,” Legal Advertisement, *Mohave County Miner and Our Mineral Wealth* (Kingman, AZ), July 3, 1920.

tourists did in fact camp in town without the convenience of the sanitary services such a camp could provide and that this unsanitary camping proved the need for a municipal auto camp.<sup>171</sup>

In the summer of 1920, the passage of the 1921 Federal Highway Act was still a little over a year away. As in much of the country, as the Mohave County bond-issue advertisement evidenced, road building was still a decidedly local affair. Counties built local roads with whatever local funds and expertise was available. As counties typically lacked road building resources, this situation produced the general poor state of public roads that the newspaper's article lamented. In the region, automobile use had steadily grown in the first decades of the twentieth century, but road building and road improvement had not. With the fate of federal funding uncertain, and the demand for better roads locally mounting, Mohave County's bond-issue was an attempt to reconcile the increasing preference of county residents and cross-country travelers in general to use automobiles with the earlier lack of investment in building roads.<sup>172</sup> Similarly, the editorial in the *Williams News* revealed another issue specific to automobile tourism beyond poorly built roads. The auto-tourists of the period who fancied themselves neo-pioneers proving their mettle in the wilderness were making a mess most places they went. They tried the patience of local residents in towns throughout the American West and specifically in the region. As most towns lacked robust overnight accommodations equipped to handle automobiles and sufficient services to match the needs of automobile

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<sup>171</sup> "Camping Ground Needed," *Williams News* (Williams, AZ), July 9, 1920.

<sup>172</sup> The history of the evolution of road building from unprofessional local affair to federally funded effort led by professional engineers is extensive and spans the period from 1880 to 1921. See Christopher Wells, *Car Country* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2012).

travelers, tensions between local residents and automobile tourist outsiders often ran high.<sup>173</sup> The lack of specific services for automobile travelers and tourists in the region would provide an opportunity for entrepreneurs in each community to open new automobile-oriented businesses offering these needed services to automobile travelers, and to begin developing a local economy and community independent of the railroad and solitary large employers.

In popular American conception, Route 66 is envisioned as a flowing expanse of paved blue-ribbon highway adorned with stunning southwestern scenery, neon-sign festooned small towns, and chrome and red-leather barstool equipped diners serving up classic American road food. It originated as an un-official haphazard dirt track that served a few intrepid motorists poorly, offered few services along the way, and did not play a major role in the economy of the region. Yet, the initial stages of road advocacy and early road building included important decisions that ultimately paved the way for Route 66 to emerge. The emergence of a real highway, even in its most basic configuration, created new economic opportunities for the communities in the region – particularly around developing a tourism industry.

### Road Policy and Road Building

Much of the lack of investment in roads was due to the massive investment in railroads that transpired over the previous 40 years. By the early twentieth century, multiple transcontinental rail lines had been completed and railroad service was widely

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<sup>173</sup> Christopher Wells, *Car Country* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2012), 65-104. Warren James Belasco, *Americans on the Road: From Autocamp to Motel 1910 – 1945* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1979), 7-70.

available within the region and throughout the country. Williams, Ash Fork, Seligman, Peach Springs, and Kingman were all connected by rail to each other and the nation. Likewise branch lines existed to the Grand Canyon to the north and Phoenix to the south. The Santa Fe line also connected the region to Albuquerque, Saint Louis, and Chicago in the east and Los Angeles and San Francisco in the west.<sup>174</sup> This connection by rail created little practical need for connection by road. Each town in the region had a grid of city streets, of course, but most of them simply ended at the edge of town petering out into horse paths leading to the various ranches surrounding each community.<sup>175</sup> Earlier cross-country roads like Beale's Wagon Road had been abandoned and forgotten in the 1880s when the railroad arrived. This configuration served town residents in the region well allowing easy traveling and shipping and receiving of goods as needed by rail. Likewise, ranchers could both conduct business in town, pick up goods shipped in by rail from the depot, and load their livestock directly onto freight cars utilizing the many livestock sidings built specifically for this purpose. Of the two groups, the lack of good roads impacted ranchers more as seasonal weather conditions could make rural trails impassable periodically. However, the nature of ranch work required presence on the ranch most of the time allowing for trips to town to be delayed until trail conditions improved.

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<sup>174</sup> "Map of the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe Railway System," *Railway Stocks and Bonds*, vol. 86, January, 1908, p15. Christopher Wells, *Car Country* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2012), 3-34.

<sup>175</sup> This was true of most rural communities in the United States at the time. Seligman is a particularly good example with all streets terminating into open desert at the edge of town. See Kline, R. C. *Map Showing Leases at Seligman, Arizona*. Vol. 1" = 100' Atchison, Topeka, & Santa Fe, Railway Company, 1919. Wells, *Car Country*, 3-34.

As such, by the 1920s, although divergent in level of development, industrial focus, and dependence on the railroad, each community in the region shared a common trait – they all lacked connection by a formal road to each other and the larger region. In 1920, Route 66 did not exist. The primary mode of transportation in to and out of each of these communities was by rail. Despite this fact, automobiles were a visible and continually growing presence in each of these communities. At first, auto-touring brought automobile tourists to the region – an activity popular with early automobile enthusiasts who tested their car’s abilities and their own by travelling cross-country over rickety local roads. The creation of the National Old Trails Road, a popular auto-touring route, and the running of the road along the Santa Fe line through the region by Good Roads movement advocates in 1913 had ensured the presence of these tourists in each of these communities.<sup>176</sup> However, by 1920 automobiles and trucks were in frequent use by town residents throughout the region as well, and a significant automobile-oriented service infrastructure had begun to develop in each town despite the lack of an official federal highway.<sup>177</sup> This feedback loop between automobile-oriented travel and business development in support of servicing this travel contributed to a groundswell of local support joining the growing nationwide call for more formal, extensive road building

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<sup>176</sup> National Old Trails Road Association, *The National Old Trails Road*, April 1913, Archive, U.S. Department of Transportation Federal Highway Administration.

<sup>177</sup> “Modern Crankcase Cleaning Service” (Advertisement), *Williams News* (Williams, AZ), December 10, 1920. “Ordinance No. 92,” *Williams News* (Williams, AZ), April 26, 1917. “Business Growing Rapidly,” *Williams News* (Williams, AZ) September 10, 1920. “Articles of Incorporation of Desert Garage Company,” *Mohave County Miner* (Mineral Park, AZ), July 4, 1914. “Maxwell the Wonder Car” (Advertisement), *Mohave County Miner* (Mineral Park, AZ), May 29, 1915. “Harry Haskin and Mr. Tolbard Constructing Garage,” *Mohave County Miner* (Mineral Park, AZ), March 28, 1914. “Seligman News,” *Williams News* (Williams, AZ), May 13, 1915.

efforts throughout the United States.<sup>178</sup> The passage of the 1921 Federal Aid Highway Act and its creation of a formal interstate highway network ensured this trend continued. The later creation of Route 66 in 1926 and its routing through each town only furthered the trend.

The City of Williams was typical in the region. In 1920, the *Williams News* carried multiple ads for automobile service industries including service garages, filling stations, and auto parts dealers. In a nod to the degree to which automobile use had become a regular part of daily life and work in Williams, the *Williams News* also carried ads and notices from automobile dealers announcing the delivery of new automobiles and trucks for sale.<sup>179</sup> By contrast, just ten years earlier, articles in the *Williams News* mostly reported on automobiles as a curiosity. The paper carried articles on local excursions in automobiles to nearby natural wonders like the Grand Canyon by visiting tourists, dramatic accounts of automobile accidents, and coverage of automobile exhibitions such as automobile races.<sup>180</sup> By 1920, the articles regarding automobiles as a novelty had disappeared in favor of coverage indicating their accepted presence as a normal part of life. In a nod to the growing importance of automobile-oriented businesses to the local

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<sup>178</sup> Highway Improvement Road Movement is Growing,” *Williams News* (Williams, AZ), January 7, 1915. “High Value of Good Roads,” *Williams News* (Williams, AZ), January 7, 1915. “Roadmakers Got Busy,” *Mohave County Miner* (Mineral Park, AZ), February 14, 1914. Christopher Wells, *Car Country* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2012), 130-131.

<sup>179</sup> Williams Garage, “Modern Crankcase Cleaning Service,” advertisement, *Williams News* (Williams, AZ), January 2, 1920. The White Garage, “Willard Storage Battery,” advertisement, *Williams News* (Williams, AZ), January 2, 1920. The White Garage, “Headquarters for Automobile Tourists,” advertisement, *Williams News* (Williams, AZ), July 16, 1920. “Carload of Overlands,” *Williams News* (Williams, AZ), May 21, 1920. “The White Garage,” *Williams News* (Williams, AZ), July 9, 1920. The White Garage, “Stutz Touring Car For Sale,” advertisement, *Williams News* (Williams, AZ), July 30, 1920.

<sup>180</sup> “A Natural Born Poet,” *Williams News* (Williams, AZ), February 2, 1907. “Had a Fine Trip,” *Williams News* (Williams, AZ), April 27, 1907. “Henry F. Ashurst’s Uncle Killed,” *Williams News* (Williams, AZ), August 17, 1907.

economy, the City of Williams went as far as to pass specific ordinances to facilitate the growth and development of automobile service businesses in the city.<sup>181</sup>

Despite the growing clamor for road building in the first two decades of the twentieth century, there was little agreement over who should build roads, how they should be paid for, how they should be built, or where they should be built. Nineteenth century federal roads were mere poorly funded and constructed dirt wagon tracks, and there were very few of them. Federal road building of any kind prior to 1921 was intermittent and minimal at best. After the Civil War, the federal government abandoned even these feeble road projects in favor of financing railroads. Construction of new roads and maintenance of existing roads fell to state, county, and local units of government. In towns, municipal governments could levy property taxes to finance street construction and maintenance. This resulted in streets ranging in design and quality from brick paved with curb and gutter all the way down to simple dirt graded roads. A handful of the more populous and wealthy states in the east had formal state road departments. However, for the majority of places, road building and maintenance, to the extent that it happened at all, was the province of county government – as the Mohave County bond issue evidenced.<sup>182</sup> This resulted in a patchwork quilt of roads throughout the United States where quality and hence drivability varied widely. Within the region, for example, the section of the National Old Trails Road in Coconino County was generally considered

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<sup>181</sup> “The White Garage,” *Williams News* (Williams, AZ), July 9, 1920. “Business Growing Rapidly,” *Williams News* (Williams, AZ), July 9, 1920. Williams Auto Supply Company, “Dirt in Your Engine Oil – Get Rid of It!,” advertisement, *Williams News* (Williams, AZ), December 3, 1920. Fred Harvey, “The Inside Facts on a Dirty Job!,” advertisement, *Williams News* (Williams, AZ), December 10, 1920. “Ordinance Number 92,” *Williams News* (Williams, AZ), April 26, 1917.

<sup>182</sup> Wells, *Car Country*, 28-32. Tom Lewis, *Divided Highways: Building the Interstate Highways, Transforming American Life* (New York: Viking, 1997), 7-9.



well-built and well maintained. However, the section through Yavapai County a few miles to the west was considered so poor to be almost impassable. The poor quality of the road in Yavapai County resulted from the county prioritizing its limited road funds for roads in the southern part of the county near Prescott where the majority of the population lived. Coconino County's major population center was Flagstaff, which the National Old Trails Road ran right through.<sup>183</sup> This difference in population center created divergent road maintenance priorities creating widely fluctuating road conditions on a coast to coast through route like the National Old Trails Road.

The continually increasing demand for better roads and federal assistance in funding road building finally led to action in the early 1920s. The 1921 Federal Aid Highway Act was passed into law on November 9, 1921. In addition to providing federal funding for road building, the Act elevated the federal office in charge of previously minimalist federal road building efforts buried within the Department of Agriculture to the status of a federal bureau creating the federal Bureau of Public Roads. The Bureau was in charge of setting standards for federal road construction and distributing federal funds to approved federally funded road projects. Under the 1921 highway bill the federal government picked up 50% of the cost of building a given federal aid road. However, that left each state needing to provide the remaining 50% of construction costs. Despite the state funding requirement, there was explosive demand for federal roads. By the end of 1921, less than eight weeks after the bill's passage, the federal Bureau of Public Roads

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<sup>183</sup> "A Mistake," *Williams News* (Williams, AZ) July 30, 1914. "Yavapai Defeating State Road Bonds," *Williams News* (Williams, AZ), July 30, 1914. National Old Trails Road Association, *The National Old Trails Road*, April 1913, Archive, U.S. Department of Transportation Federal Highway Administration.

distributed over \$75 million in road funds – a sum greater than all previous federal road funding.<sup>184</sup>

Passage of the Federal Aid Highway Act of 1921 gave the BPR vastly increased funding, greater control over road routing and technical specifications, and responsibility for making a national road system a reality. To accomplish this, the BPR partnered with the American Association of State Highway Officials to map out the new road network. After a lengthy planning period, including a fight over which federal highway would get the number 60, the AASHO approved the new highway map of federal highways in October 1926.<sup>185</sup>

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<sup>184</sup> There had been limited federal demonstration projects completed prior to 1921 that demonstrated the latest techniques in road building, but typically only produced a mile or two of improved road. Likewise, the previous 1916 Federal Aid Highway Act allocated only \$75 million for the entire nation with no mechanism for additional funding once that amount was spent. The 1921 bill authorized the federal government to pay for 50% of the cost of any given road project without a total cap on highway spending. See U.S. 67<sup>th</sup> Congress, Session 1, Public Law No. 87, *Federal Aid Highway Act*, Washington: Government Printing Office, 1921. “\$200,000,000 FOR Roads.; Senator Townsend’s Highway Bill Said to Embody Harding’s Views,” *The New York Times* (New York, NY), May 1, 1921. “The Dream of Good U.S. Highways That is Coming True Today,” *The Washington Herald* (Washington, D.C.), January 15, 1922. “Brief History of the Direct Federal Highway Construction Program,” *Federal Highway Administration*, Accessed May 14, 2020, <https://www.fhwa.dot.gov/infrastructure/blazer01.cfm>. “Federal Highway Act of 1921,” *Federal Highway Administration*, Accessed May 14, 2020, <https://www.fhwa.dot.gov/infrastructure/hwyhist04f.cfm>. John Williamson, *Federal Aid to Roads and Highways Since the 18th Century: A Legislative History* (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Research Service, 2012), 6. Lewis, *Divided Highways*, 15-18. Wells, *Car Country*, 125-129. Kelly, *Father of Route 66*, 112, 126, 130, 137.

<sup>185</sup> “New Location of Federal Roads to Encourage Motor Touring,” *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ). February 6, 1927. Tom Lewis, *Divided Highways: Building the Interstate Highways, Transforming American Life* (New York: Viking Penguin, 1997), 13-19. Susan Croce Kelly, *Father of Route 66: The Story of Cy Avery*, (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 2014), 127-176. William Kaszynski, *The American Highway: The History and Culture of Roads in the United States* (London: McFarland & Co: 2000), 55-64.

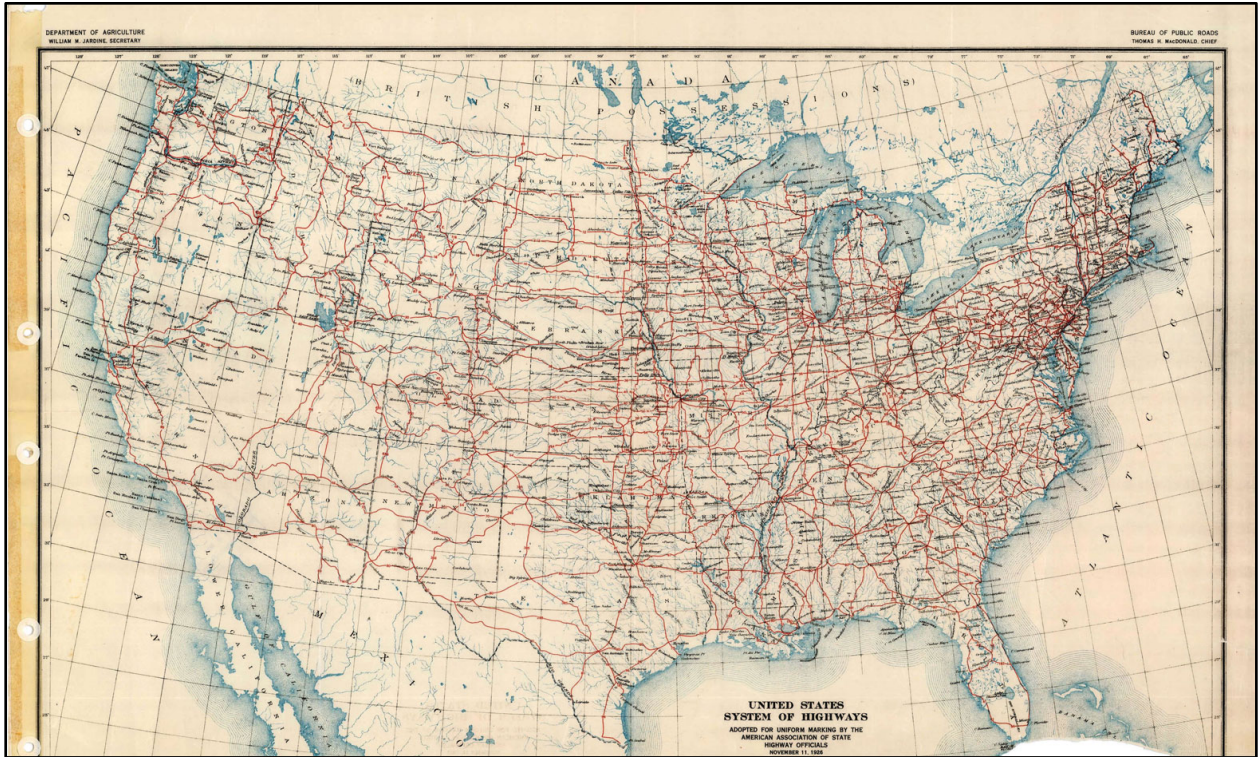


Figure 18. The new system of interstate highways approved by the American Association of State Highway Officials and the Bureau of Public Roads in 1926. Image courtesy of the American Association of State Highway and Transportation Officials.

The new system called for a series of coast to coast and border to border routes.

These routes would lose the names associated with earlier coast to coast routes in favor of a uniform numbering system. North-South routes would have odd numbers beginning with 1 on the east coast and ending with 101 on the west coast. East-West routes would have even numbers beginning with two along the northern border and ending with 80 along the southern border. Some of these new federal highways followed the routes of the previous auto-touring routes. The portion of the National Old Trails Road through the Southwest, including towns in the region like Williams, Ash Fork, Seligman, Peach Springs, and Kingman, became one of these highways. Like many of the other auto-

touring routes, the National Old Trails Road was an East-West route that ran from coast to coast. Much of the eastern section of this alignment became part of U.S. Route 40.<sup>186</sup>

In the Southwest much of the National Old Trails Road followed the mainline of the Santa Fe railroad. Arizona already had two east-west routes assigned to it - one through central Arizona and one along the southern border. It also had a north-south road in the system, U.S. Route 89, linking Tucson to Phoenix and the two east-west routes to each other. Initially, the southwestern portion of the National Old Trails Roads was omitted from the new federal system. In general, the highway bill called for north-south and east-west routes. However, nothing prevented additional directional routing. Likewise, “connector routing” was allowed to connect through routes to each other. A number of midwestern highway officials advocated for a road connecting their states to growing southern California. However, this required diagonal northeast to southwest routing.<sup>187</sup>

One of these officials, Cyrus Avery, head of the Oklahoma Highway Commission and a founding member of AASHO advocated for a new route that would connect many midwestern cities left out of earlier routing decisions. Primarily focused on ensuring as many federal highways as possible ran through Oklahoma, Avery promoted a route connecting Chicago to Los Angeles as the shortest route from the Midwest to Los Angeles. The new proposed federal highway followed the Santa Fe Railroad’s entire route from Chicago, Illinois to Santa Monica, California – hitting every town in the region previously not connected by a highway along the way. Avery and the other

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<sup>186</sup> Ibid.

<sup>187</sup> Ibid.

associated highway officials originally advocated that the highway be given the number 60. Route numbers ending in zero, however, were highly coveted. The zero indicated a coast-to-coast through route that most state officials believed would bring more traffic and travel-related business to their state. 60 was one of the last unassigned numbers ending in zero and led to a dispute with Kentucky Governor William J. Fields. Fields wanted the number 60 for an east-west route running from the east coast through Kentucky to the west coast. The dispute threatened to derail implementation of the new highway numbering system. After much discussion, the issue resolved in Kentucky's favor. This caused an interruption in the overall number system, however. Since the highway numbers increased as they went south, the route favored by Fields ran through Phoenix in the Southwest and now had the number 60. Likewise, U.S. Route 70 ran south of U.S. Route 60, and U.S. Route 80 ran along the southern border of Arizona. Similarly, the numbers 40 and 50 ran on routes north of Arizona. As such, there was no available number ending in zero for the Chicago to Los Angeles route. Officials at the BPR noted that the Chicago to Los Angeles route was not actually a coast to coast route and proposed the secondary connector route number 62. Unhappy with the assignment of one of a number of available nondescript connector route numbers ending in two, Avery had his staff search through the available numbers for an alternative. Under the new federal numbering system, secondary and connector routes could have any type of doubled even number from two through eight. The general idea had been to start with two and work up through the numbers as needed. However, Avery wanted a number that made his route stand out from other roads in the system. Among the unassigned numbers still available for regional routes was one that Avery remarked had a nice ring to it. Avery proposed

using this number for his Chicago to Los Angeles route to fully resolve the numbering conflict, finalize the map, and release it to the public. The other AASHO officials agreed to the change unknowingly birthing an American icon. The southwestern highway beginning in Chicago running through northern Arizona and terminating in Los Angeles at the end of the Santa Monica Pier became Route 66.<sup>188</sup>

The adoption of the final routing of the federal highway system in 1926 was both a big step forward and a development that had nominal impact on the ground. It was notable in its movement toward the modern highways of today. However, in another sense, the map impacted little in terms of the nature of these roads on a state by state or county by county basis. Some states aggressively moved forward with new road building maximizing newly available federal aid. Cyrus Avery, as an example, had aggressively pursued routing multiple federal aid roads through Oklahoma. As head of the Oklahoma State Highway Commission, he wasted no time in moving forward with rapid construction of these roads.<sup>189</sup> In other states, construction moved at a slower pace. Due to the federalist nature of the federal highway aid, how much road conditions changed on the ground was still largely a local affair. In northern Arizona, this translated into a highway that still varied greatly depending on where you were on the road.

Despite the growth in the importance of automobile usage and related automobile business in the state and northwestern Arizona specifically, Arizona failed to invest in highway construction as robustly as other states. The Bureau of Public Roads certified the

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<sup>188</sup> Tom Lewis, *Divided Highways: Building the Interstate Highways, Transforming American Life* (New York: Viking Penguin, 1997), 13-19. Susan Croce Kelly, *Father of Route 66: The Story of Cy Avery*, (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 2014), 127-176. Kaszynski, *American Highway*, 55-62.

<sup>189</sup> Kelly, *Father of Route 66*, 111-126.

new network of interstate routes qualified for federal financing in 1926. Four of these interstate routes ran across Arizona – Routes 60, 66, 70, and 80. Another, Route 91, ran through the extreme northwestern portion of Mohave County. In other states, highway departments had capitalized on the new federal funding bill and route certification by engaging in extensive road construction and paving projects. Much of Route 66 in other states had not only been constructed quickly in the late 1920s but was also hard-surface paved.

However, in Arizona, all highways, let alone hard-surface paved highways, were underfunded and construction was slow. So much so that in 1927, Governor Hunt sent a formal warning to the Arizona State Legislature that it was not following the federal highway law and the state was in danger of losing all of its federal highway funding. On February 7, 1927 Governor Hunt sent a formal letter to the legislature advising them of correspondence between the state highway department and the Bureau of Public Roads. Hunt detailed in his letter that the Bureau of Public Roads had stated that continued failure to enact or amend state highway legislation to comply with the requirements of the new federal aid law would cost the state its allotment of federal aid appropriations. Hunt also included a report from the state highway engineer outlining state noncompliance. The engineer's letter indicated the specific issue was the failure to allocate funds towards interstate highway projects covered by the federal aid bill that routed through Arizona. Four projects were highlighted as particularly in need of action by the legislature: Highways 66, 70, 80, and 91 – most of the federal highways in Arizona. The engineer

stated that \$50,000,000 in funding over 15 years would be required to build and maintain these roads.<sup>190</sup>

The situation in Arizona resulted from Arizona's failure to update its approach to funding highway construction. Despite the passage of the new federal aid highway bill in 1921 and the certification of the federal highway map in 1926, Arizona continued treating road construction as a largely local, county affair. It had created a state highway department in response to the law, but it continued the practice of tasking counties with being the main funders and builders of roads. This issue was pointed out in the Bureau of Public Roads correspondence with the state highway engineer. In the correspondence, the Bureau noted that the federal law required states to spend 60% of their highway funding on the primary federal system. However, the Bureau noted that Arizona only spent 41.5% on the primary system with the balance spent on secondary roads – almost the exact reverse of what the federal law required. This reversal was symptomatic of the continued county funding structure. With counties footing most of the bill and doing all of the work, counties preferred to support the secondary roads utilized by the majority of their residents. In a January 18, 1927 letter to the Arizona state highway engineer, Bureau of Public Roads engineer C.H. Sweetser called out this issue stating, "Where funds are provided by counties it often occurs that certain interstate connections possess no interest to the county concerned, and these counties are unwilling and often financially unable to share in the cost of improvement of these connections." At an earlier AASHO meeting in November 1926, Secretary of Agriculture William Jardine spoke to this issue in some

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<sup>190</sup> "Hunt Tells Legislature State May Lose Federal Road Aid," *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), February 8, 1927.



states directly noting, “So long as any state fails to provide state funds for such roads the development of the main state and interstate roads along strictly economic lines will be hampered.”<sup>191</sup>

In what was likely an attempt at shaming the state into compliance, the Bureau additionally noted that Arizona’s neighboring states of Utah and Nevada had made substantial investments in their federal road projects which were either already built to federal specifications or under robust construction. The Bureau noted that all the Nevada and Utah roads were considered in good drivable condition by the Bureau and motorists alike. However, the Bureau noted that the Nevada and Utah state highway departments were also fielding numerous complaints about the condition of the federal highways once a motorist left Nevada or Utah on one of them and entered Arizona.<sup>192</sup>

In particular, in its letter the Bureau singled out the complete lack of work on Route 91. This highway was an important connection between Los Angeles and Las Vegas, but was of marginal value to the residents of Mohave County Arizona. The Bureau in its correspondence reminded the Arizona Highway Department that federal funding was dedicated to interstate routes and that states had an obligation to build and maintain highways to the federal standard for all federal routes running through their states even if the route was not particularly useful to state residents. “It is fully recognized that this particular road may be of very little direct service to Arizona as a state, lying as it does north of the Colorado River and in the extreme corner of the state, but we must also recognize, I think, that the contribution of aid from general taxation for

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<sup>191</sup> Ibid.

<sup>192</sup> Ibid.

road construction in the states is largely for the purpose, as the law clearly states, of securing correlation and continuity in interstate road building and the states should be willing to meet this requirement of the law in the same spirit with which they accept allotments of aid on internal road construction.”<sup>193</sup>

Governor Hunt had been belatedly made aware of the ongoing dispute between the Bureau of Public Roads and the State Highway Department. Alarmed at the potential loss of federal funds, he inquired directly with the department. State Engineer Lefebvre responded, indicating that the highway department did indeed have plans for road building projects that would address all of the Bureau’s concerns but that funding from the state legislature was the issue. Pulling no punches, Engineer Lefebvre made his frustrations with the legislative funding situation clear. “The laws under which we are working at the present time are of the hand-to-mouth character. We have no systematic method of funding our highways. Under our present system of dividing our state funds into 14 parts and making them county funds, we will never complete our interstate connections.” The Governor took the issue directly to the legislature which was in session at the time. He implored them to act immediately to address the Bureau and the State Engineer’s concerns and devise appropriate funding to meet the state’s obligations under the federal highway law. The Governor’s request elicited no comment from either house.<sup>194</sup>

It also elicited little funding. In 1929, two years after the funding issue was brought to the attention of the legislature, the legislature published the State Highway

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<sup>193</sup> Ibid.

<sup>194</sup> Ibid.

Department budget for 1929-1930. The \$50 million in funding over 15 years as earlier specified by the BPR required an annual allotment to interstate roads of approximately \$3.3 million. Yet the 1929-1930 budget for interstate road construction fell short at \$2.8 million. A vast improvement over the previous county driven system, but short of what was required. The shortfall required picking winners and losers. The big winner in the budget was Maricopa County – home to the state capital and the largest population concentration in the state. Its allotment of interstate road funds exceeded the combined funding for all interstate roads in northwestern Arizona.<sup>195</sup> As such, investment in developing Route 66, in particular paving it, lagged behind and dragged out into the 1940s.<sup>196</sup>

Given this funding shortfall, throughout the late 1920s and continuing into the early 1940s, early Route 66 through Arizona was little more than a dirt track – particularly in northwestern Arizona. Andrew Wolf recounted driving from Kingman to Flagstaff in 1932 stating, “Highway 66 was just a wide track, no paving on it. When I drove from Kingman to Flagstaff I didn't travel on one inch of pavement, it was all gravel road and there would be turn-outs. If you saw another car coming, you'd have to turn out and let it go by.”<sup>197</sup> The need to pull to the side to allow an oncoming car to pass was a direct result of the locally determined construction variations allowed by the 1921 highway bill and the minimalist approach to road building throughout the West and

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<sup>195</sup> “Arizona State Highway Commission Budget For Arizona State Highway Department Fiscal Year 1929-1930,” Legal Notice, *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), June 8, 1929.

<sup>196</sup> Road Map of the Western States, Automobile Club of Southern California, 1936. Western States, American Automobile Association, 1939. Western United States Planning Map, Rocky Mountain Motorists, Inc., 1941. Map of Arizona and New Mexico, Shell Oil Company, 1942.

<sup>197</sup> Andrew L. Wolf, interview by Susan L. Rogers, January 8, 1976, NAU.OH.28.43, Item No. 38190, transcript, Colorado Plateau Archives, Cline Library Special Collections, Flagstaff, AZ.

particularly in Arizona. The 1921 highway bill required federal aid highways to be surfaced roads, but did not require an asphalt or concrete paving surface. Gravel, asphalt, and concrete surfaces were allowed as long as they were fully macadamized. Likewise, the bill's specifications did not address items such as road width, provision of shoulders, passing lanes, curb and gutter, and other road features. As such roads in one state could incorporate two paved lanes of traffic with full shoulders, and roads in another state could be a single gravel lane with turnouts to allow cars to pass.<sup>198</sup>

Although Arizona state residents were enthusiastic about roads, a small state population left state funds for road building wanting. Under federal rules, Arizona had to provide 50% of the funding for federal roads in the state – a daunting task in thinly populated Arizona. As sparse population translated into light traffic, Arizona opted to build roads to the lower gravel standard to stretch road building funds as far as possible. This policy reserved more expensive features such as asphalt paving for only the most highly travelled routes. As the majority of the population in Arizona was concentrated in central and southern Arizona, asphalt paving was reserved for these more travelled sections of roads. As such, lightly populated northwestern Arizona made do with minimalist narrow gravel roads.<sup>199</sup>

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<sup>198</sup> U.S. 67<sup>th</sup> Congress, Session 1, Public Law No. 87, *Federal Aid Highway Act*, Washington: Government Printing Office, 1921.

<sup>199</sup> "Paving and Utilities to be Extended," *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), December 25, 1927. "Large Street Paving Program in Prospect for Phoenix During Coming Year," *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), December 25, 1927. "Five Miles of Paving are Laid on Globe Streets at Cost of Nearly \$300,000," *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), December 25, 1927. "Completion of Van Buren Street Paving Will Close Last Link in Fine Highway," *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), December 25, 1927. "Plan Paving of New Link in Arizona Highway," *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ) December 25, 1927. "Yuma County Second in State in Mileage of Paved Highways," *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), December 25, 1927. "College City Live Valley Community," *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), December 25, 1927. "Thousands of Autos Enter State Yearly," *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), December 25, 1927. "Southwest News Notes," *Casa Grande Dispatch* (Casa Grande, AZ), December 16, 1927.

## The Environmental Impact of Highways

Until the federal road building era, the primary environmental impact of automobiles in the region was limited to automobile pollution. Automobile infrastructure impacts were limited. The National Old Trails Road, utilizing simple earth roads, dirt trails, and railroad right of way added little direct impression on the local ecology as the effects had been largely incurred during construction of the earlier rail line. Automobile pollution was not trivial, however. It incorporated automobile exhaust pollutants including carbon monoxide, and environmental impacts related to the transportation and storage of gasoline, oil, and other lubricants – particularly the proliferation of underground gasoline storage tanks built to varying quality levels and not regulated until the 1980s.<sup>200</sup> However, road building after 1926 brought much greater road-connected environmental impacts to the region.

Similar to the construction of the rail line, the construction and eventual paving of Route 66 required far more intrusion on the land. In many cases, efforts to comply with federal standards required moving the road away from the railroad right away and clearing new land for the wider realigned road bed. To support a paved surface, the road bed was excavated deeper and compacted intensely much like the rail line track bed. For an asphalt road of this era, the roadbed was excavated to a depth of six inches below surface grade. The subsoil was then intensely compacted similar to the subsoil prep for

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<sup>200</sup> Wells, *Car Country*, 203-213. Martin Melosi, “Energy Use and the Internal Combustion Engine,” *The Automobile and the Environment in American History*, Accessed May 27, 2020, [http://www.autolife.umd.umich.edu/Environment/E\\_Overview/E\\_Overview4.htm](http://www.autolife.umd.umich.edu/Environment/E_Overview/E_Overview4.htm). “Underground Storage Tanks,” *EPA*, Accessed May 27, 2020, <https://www.epa.gov/ust/frequent-questions-about-underground-storage-tanks>. “Evolution of Storage Tank Standards,” *Comm Tank*, Accessed May 27, 2020, <https://www.commtank.com/news/storage-tank-standards-evolution/>.

the rail track bed. Over this compacted subsoil layer, six inches of cement was poured. The concrete base was then covered with crushed stones. These stones were then covered in asphalt and rolled smooth into a binder layer averaging an inch and a half thick. This binder layer would wear a slight crown with the layer slightly thicker in the middle of the road and trailing thinner toward the edges to allow for drainage. Ditches on either side would be dug below the level of the roadbed to allow for effective water drainage. Reinforced concrete bridges were employed over washes, ravines and canyons. These structures typically employed a simple arch design and used round steel bars integrated into the concrete structure of the bridge to give the structures extra rigidity and weight carrying capacity. Similarly, concrete culverts underneath the roadway directed water drainage away from the road along newly engineered channels.<sup>201</sup>

This more extensive engineered roadway had far greater environmental impact than the previous earthen roads that preceded it. Much like the impacts of constructing the rail line, sizable land clearing occurred with extensive destruction of plant life and soil disturbance. Likewise, the roadbed was denser and more intrusive to wildlife. Like with the rail line, borrowing wildlife could not penetrate the road bed. Also, the road, like the rail line, served as a barrier to animal movement further dividing animal populations to the north and south. Animals that dared to cross the road were often hit by cars and trucks impacting animal migration and population. Likewise, the increase in automobile traffic facilitated by the improved road magnified the impact of automobile pollution on the local environment.<sup>202</sup>

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<sup>201</sup> Petroski, *The Road Taken*, 34-40.

<sup>202</sup> Wells, *Car Country*, 213-217. "The Environmental Impact of Roads," *Environmental Science*, Accessed May 27, 2020, <https://www.environmentalscience.org/roads>. Martin Melosi, "Auto Emissions and Air

## Regional Economic Development

A generally similar macro-economic structure developed within each community in the region from the start of the twentieth century through the period leading up to World War Two. Each community had been initially created or substantially enhanced by the railroad. The original townsite experienced early growth as residents moved to these communities attracted by railroad employment, and others had formed businesses to serve railroad travelers and local residents. By the early twentieth century, each community had settled into an economic structure marked by a single, large employer or industry dominating the local economy. These economic drivers tended to focus on resource extraction or transportation. In Williams, the lumber industry fueled most of the economic activity in the town. In Ash Fork and Seligman, the railroad served as the prime mover. In Kingman, the mining industry was the bedrock of the local economy. Notably, Peach Springs diverged from this model. The Hualapai's successful establishment of a reservation and challenge of the railroad's land and water claims led the railroad to abandon much of their early investment in Peach Springs. Seeking more favorable accommodations elsewhere, the railroad invested in Williams as the new route to the Grand Canyon. Its heavy investment in dams and reservoirs throughout the region outside of the Hualapai reservation lessened its need for Hualapai water resources and simultaneously gave it greater control over the other communities. The economy in Peach Springs suffered as a result with small scale ranching and subsistence farming coupled

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Pollution," *The Automobile and the Environment in American History*, Accessed May 27, 2020, [http://www.autolife.umd.umich.edu/Environment/E\\_Overview/E\\_Overview4.htm](http://www.autolife.umd.umich.edu/Environment/E_Overview/E_Overview4.htm).

with low volume trade in traditional handcrafts to tourists becoming the main sources of income.

Automobile usage and businesses servicing automobiles were a continually growing presence in the region beginning early in the twentieth century. Despite the lack of action and adequate funding from the state legislature for road building, automobile usage had become integrated into the daily activities of Arizonans and the economic lifeblood of the state. In particular, automobiles and automobile-related services had become integrated into the fabric of the local communities of northwestern Arizona by the 1920s. Throughout the region, the economies of each community increasingly featured automobile-oriented businesses that capitalized on the growing interest and usage of automobiles by travelers, tourists, and local residents while also representing a fledgling countervailing force to the dominant players in the local economy.

The region also experienced an increase in automobile enabled tourism in the early twentieth century. This allowed each community to begin developing a supplemental tourism industry. Beginning in the years leading up to World War One with a spartan but growing cadre of automobile enthusiasts testing their automobiles out West, automobile tourism experienced significant growth in the region particularly during the inter-war years. Tourists had visited the area ever since the railroad initially opened the region to outside settlement. However, in the late nineteenth and first two decades of the twentieth century, these tourists had primarily been railroad travelers. However, after the creation of the first interstate highways by the 1921 Federal Aid Highway Act, the number of tourists arriving by automobile steadily increased – particularly as more highway mileage was paved. As an increasing number of tourists with automobiles



arrived in the region, local entrepreneurs began opening automobile-oriented businesses in each community supplementing the economies of their towns even while they were still largely driven by a primary industry.

The growing importance of the developing automobile-oriented sectors of the local economy was a common trait shared by all five communities in the 1920s. Although this new economic sector was critically important to community development, it also incorporated national and local racialized thinking. As in most aspects of life, racial discrimination towards African-American automobile travelers in the United States was rampant in the inter-war years. This was the case nationally and in the region. Several Black entrepreneurs launched travel guides to assist Black motorists on successfully navigating long-distance travel and finding places to refuel, eat, and sleep including along highways like Route 66. Many of these guides launched in the early 1930s and included publications such as the *Travel Guide*, *Grayson's Guide: The Go Guide to Pleasant Motoring*, and *The Negro Motorist Green Book*. Of these guides, the *Green Book* was the most popular eventually rising to a readership of over two million.<sup>203</sup> A review of Black traveler guidebooks found no listings for any Black traveler friendly independently owned and operated auto-camps, motels, hotels, or service stations in the region in the years leading up to World War Two with two notable exceptions. The Fred Harvey Company's hotels and restaurants are listed throughout the Southwest as serving African-Americans. As many of these operations also sold gasoline, the Fred Harvey Company

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<sup>203</sup> Gretchen Sorin, *Driving While Black: African American Travel and the Road to Civil Rights* (New York: Liveright Publishing, 2020), 215-249. Candacy Taylor, "Why Black American are Not Nostalgic About Route 66," *The Atlantic*, Last modified November 3, 2016, <https://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2016/11/the-roots-of-route-66/506255/>.

establishments were the sole oasis for African-American travelers in search of food, gas, or lodging in most communities in the region. Williams, Ash Fork, Seligman, and Kingman all had active Fred Harvey establishments listed in Black traveler guidebooks from the 1920s through the 1950s.<sup>204</sup>

Peach Springs, however, did not have a Fred Harvey Company hotel or restaurant. However, it is the only community listed in the 1920 to 1940 period that had independently owned businesses that served Black travelers. The Qumacho Inn, a combined restaurant and motel, is listed. In addition, the Shell Oil gas station in Peach Springs also served Black travelers.<sup>205</sup> As Peach Springs was the only community not governed by Anglo-Whites during this period, and these businesses operated at the behest of the Hualapai Tribal Government, they took a notably different attitude towards Black travelers.

Otherwise, for Black travelers prior to the modern Civil Rights era, the region was mostly full of sundown towns. Long time Kingman resident Betty Grounds recounted that the common attitude in town was “colored boy, don’t let the sun go down on you in Kingman.”<sup>206</sup> In terms of the racial and ethnic discrimination that was prevalent within communities in the region, Seligman serves as a useful case study. Life in Seligman for non-Anglo-Whites was limited by racial discrimination. Latino railroad laborers were restricted to shopping at the railroad store. Laborer wages, particularly for Latino

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<sup>204</sup> National Park Service Route 66 Corridor Preservation Program, *Route 66 Properties Listed in Black Traveler Guidebooks*, National Park Service, Washington D.C., GPO, 2014, Accessed May 29, 2020, <https://ncptt.nps.gov/rt66/wp-content/uploads/2015/07/Rt66GreenBookSurvey.pdf>.

<sup>205</sup> Ibid.

<sup>206</sup> Ibid. Betty Grounds, Interview by Robert W. Smith, Oral History Interview, Kingman, AZ, July 8, 2011, Capturing Arizona’s Stories Collection, Arizona State Library, Phoenix, AZ.

laborers, often ran out before the next payday. The railroad store allowed laborers to charge purchases which the Santa Fe deducted from their next paycheck often trapping Latino laborers in a debt cycle. Latino residents of Seligman were also excluded from Depression relief efforts including food distribution available to other struggling residents. In school, Latino children also faced discrimination. Angel Delgadillo Senior, a recent migrant from Mexico, had children in the Seligman schools in the 1920s and 1930s. His children were often singled out for speaking Spanish as a first language, and subjected to humiliating punishments like paddling and having to stand with their nose touching the chalkboard for speaking Spanish on school grounds or in class.<sup>207</sup> By contrast, Hosea Lanier, an Anglo-White former farmer from Texas, moved his family to Seligman in 1935 escaping the Dust Bowl. Hosea Lanier's young children were also enrolled in Seligman schools just like the Delgadillo children. However, as Anglo-white children they did not face the same punishments inflicted on the Latino children. Unlike in Williams where the school system had the resources to maintain segregated schools, Seligman had a single school. Luz Delgadillo and Fay Lanier, born the same year, would have been in the same class yet faced radically different educational experiences.<sup>208</sup>

Despite rampant racial disparities in each community, due to each town having a primary employer, resident laborers of various racial and ethnic backgrounds were equally dependent on these main employers and often worked side by side. Despite the

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<sup>207</sup> Angel Delgadillo, 2007, Interview by R. Sean Evans, February 19, Item number 78541, transcript, Route 66 Oral History Project, Cline Library Northern Arizona University, Flagstaff, AZ. Luz Delgadillo Moore, 2015, Interview by Katrina Parks, *The Women on the Mother Road*, Winslow, AZ, Accessed November 24, 2018, <http://www.route66women.com/portfolio/luz-delgadillo-moore/>.

<sup>208</sup> 1930 United States Federal Census, Kingman, AZ, 7B. 1940 United States Federal Census, Seligman, AZ, 5B.

Anglo-White business elite seeing themselves on the top of the racial and economic order, they were equally dependent on primary employer payrolls for customers and business income. This communal economic dependence varied in configuration by community. In Williams, a single employer, the Saginaw-Manistee Lumber Company of Saginaw Michigan primarily fueled economic life in the town providing the majority of jobs, residential income, and even basic services. As most residents were laborers, many Anglo-White and Latino laborers were equally dependent on the lumber mill for work. However, given its control of the economy and status as a large corporation headquartered outside of the region, the local Anglo-White business elite that owned the retail and other businesses in town were also dependent on Saginaw-Manistee payrolls for customers with money to spend. A downturn in lumber mill employment for any reason affected all other economic players in the community. Ash Fork and Seligman, likewise, were dependent on the railroad. The Santa Fe provided the largest number of jobs to Anglo-White and Latino laborers despite the deeply segregated nature of these towns. Likewise, in each town local businesses were reliant on railroad payrolls for continued viability. In addition to the payroll income directed into the local economy, the railroad also brought numerous railroad passengers and their spending into the economy. Kingman was not as dependent on the railroad for employment. However, the mining industry led the economic life of the town just as single large employers controlled the others. The mines provided the largest number of jobs in the community – predominantly laborer jobs. As in other regional communities, despite the segregated nature of Kingman, Anglo-white and Latino laborers worked side by side in regional mines. Although no given mining operation had primacy over the Kingman economy, the

aggregate of all of the mining operations in the Kingman area provided a steady flow of spending into the town which fueled the community's growth and made the Anglo-White business elite dependent on mining payrolls. In 1920, the economic dominance of a single industry and the ubiquitous nature of the railroad was a fact of life few questioned in the region. Similarly the racial, ethnic, and class hierarchy in each town was often simply accepted.

### Williams

Williams residents robustly adopted automobiles between 1920 and 1940, and demand for new automobiles remained high driving growth in automobile dealerships. By 1930, The Hock Motor Company, a large auto repair garage in Williams, had added new automobile sales to its business as an authorized Ford dealer. Sales were brisk and the new dealership received multiple automobile shipments monthly.<sup>209</sup> The Hock Motor Company was not alone in this business. The previous year, one of their competitors, another repair garage named the White Garage, had become a Chevrolet dealership.<sup>210</sup> The White Garage had been active in the automobile repair business since the earliest arrival of automobiles in the region. Like many early repair garages, by the late 1920s they were actively engaging in new car sales as well. The White Garage, however, was not the only Chevrolet dealership in town. Another Chevrolet dealership, Campbell Chevrolet, had been selling new Chevrolets and used cars since 1927.<sup>211</sup> The West End Garage, another automobile repair business in Williams, also added new car sales. The

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<sup>209</sup> "Local Garage Pushed to Supply Demand for Cars," *Williams News* (Williams, AZ), April 25, 1930.

<sup>210</sup> "White Garage Takes Chevrolet Agency," *Williams News* (Williams, AZ), February 1, 1929.

<sup>211</sup> "C.Y. Campbell, Local Dealer," Advertisement, *Williams News* (Williams, AZ), December 16, 1927.

West End Garage became a Dodge dealership and advertised new cars for sale in 1927.<sup>212</sup> Not all repair garages in Williams added new car sales, however. The Williams Motor Company, another early automobile repair garage in Williams, remained solely engaged in the repair business. The owner of the Williams Garage, G. M. Hunter struggled to compete with the growing combination automobile dealer – automobile repair businesses. He was forced to reorganize his company and bring on a new business partner, R.A. Carver in early 1926.<sup>213</sup> The Williams Motor Company had struggled to compete with the quickly emerging automotive leaders of Ford, Chevrolet, and Dodge and their aligned dealers. However, although Ford, Chevrolet, and Dodge were well known automobile brands that survived into the twenty-first century, the American automobile market of the 1920s was a high growth market that featured far more American automotive brands than available today. Automobile brands like Nash, Auburn, Oakland, Studebaker, Willys-Overland, and Hupmobile competed for auto sales alongside Ford, Chevrolet, and Dodge. The reorganized Williams Motor Company, in a nod to the rapidly changing automobile services market in Williams, finally added new car sales to their business line as well taking on a Hupmobile dealership in Williams.<sup>214</sup> Yet, in likely recognition of the working-class industrial nature of Williams in the 1920s, automobile shoppers who wanted a more upscale automobile than a Ford, Chevrolet, or Dodge were out of luck in

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<sup>212</sup> “The Fastest Four in America,” Advertisement, *Williams News* (Williams, AZ), August 5, 1927. “West End Garage,” Advertisement, *Williams News* (Williams, AZ), May 17, 1929.

<sup>213</sup> “Announcing Change of Ownership of Williams Motor Company,” Advertisement, *Williams News* (Williams, AZ), January 8, 1926. “Notice of Sale in Bulk,” Legal Advertisement, *Williams News* (Williams, AZ), March 26, 1926.

<sup>214</sup> “Hupmobile Six,” Advertisement, *Williams News* (Williams, AZ), May 28, 1926.

Williams. These shoppers had to go to nearby, larger Flagstaff to shop at a Buick or Cadillac dealership like the Pilkington Motor Company.<sup>215</sup>

In addition to businesses aimed at selling automobiles to Williams residents, Williams also began to develop an automobile tourist service industry. These local businesses consisted of establishments like auto camps where motoring tourists could affordably spend the night. These new tourist oriented businesses were founded by the same business and civic elite involved in opening automobile dealerships. One of these local Williams businessmen was Thomas Henry Cureton. Cureton was an early resident of Williams who participated in the town's transition into the automobile-oriented economy. Born in Red Point, Missouri in 1875, Cureton attended normal school in Cape Girardeau and Warrensburg, Missouri completing a degree in pedagogy in 1897. After graduation, Cureton took a teaching position in Montana. Cureton married Nellie King in 1903, and later moved to Lawrence Kansas to attend the University of Kansas and completed his bachelor's degree in 1906. Following completion of his degree, Cureton moved to Williams and took a job teaching in the public schools and rose to the position of superintendent of schools. Cureton worked in education for over 40 years retiring in the late 1930s. Cureton was also active politically. He was a significant civic leader in Williams in the 1920s and 1930s. He served as a leader in the Boy Scout troop in Williams, and was a member of the Odd Fellows Lodge. He was also active in the Temperance movement and worked to fight bootlegging and illegal saloons in Williams

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<sup>215</sup> "Buick for 1928," Advertisement, *Williams News* (Williams, AZ), September 9, 1927.

during the Prohibition era. He was also active politically and represented Williams in the legislature.<sup>216</sup>

In the 1920s while still working in the Williams schools, Thomas Cureton opened Cureton Camp – a motor camp catering to Route 66 travelers. Located on Route 66, the camp offered cabins, groceries, gasoline, and automotive services. Cureton began construction of his motor camp in the summer of 1925, building 30 cottages at his camp each with its own garage. Cottages with garages were a new innovation in motor camps that gave travelers a more secure way to store their automobile and luggage. Cureton also built a shower-bath facility with four shower-baths with running hot and cold water and a self-service laundry at the camp. The camp rented cabins to Route 66 auto travelers for one dollar a night. Each cabin included a bed, linens, cook stove, wood fuel, and a table and chairs. Each cabin also had a sink and toilet with water supplied from the camp’s groundwater well. Cureton noted to the *Williams News* that he was very pleased with the motorist traffic his camp was receiving even before it was completed. Given Williams’ location, Cureton’s partially completed camp benefitted from both cross-country and Grand Canyon bound tourist traffic. Cureton completed the camp in the fall of 1925 and experienced business volume above his expectations. During the camp’s first full year in 1926, the camp continued to grow and was already exceeding 50% occupancy. A review of the Cureton Camp guest register from the summer of 1926 reveals these travelers’

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<sup>216</sup> Carl and Miles Cureton. Interview by Teri A. Cleeland. Oral History Interview. Williams, AZ, November 5, 1991, Cline Library Special Collections, Northern Arizona University, Flagstaff, AZ. “Odd Fellows Celebrate Anniversary,” *Williams News* (Williams, AZ), May 6, 1921. “Boy Scouts Off on a Big Camping Trip,” *Williams News* (Williams, AZ), July 29, 1921. “Coconino Teachers at State Convention,” *Williams News* (Williams, AZ), December 31, 1920. “Summer School Bulletin is Out,” *Williams News* (Williams, AZ), May 27, 1921.



origins. The majority were from California and Arizona, but some hailed from as far afield as Brooklyn, New York, Minneapolis, Minnesota, Oxford, Mississippi, and Seattle, Washington.<sup>217</sup>

Cureton Camp was located just inside the Williams city limits at the junction with the road to the Grand Canyon. By the spring of 1927, business at the camp was booming. Cureton reported bookings at his camp well in excess of 100% over the previous year. The camp had even experienced growth over the winter months. In January, 1926, Cureton had only rented seven cottages in the entire month. In January, 1927, he rented 80. February was even better with 67 rentals in 1926 and 169 in 1927. By 1929, Cureton had competition. In addition to his camp, three other motor camps operated in Williams. Hubert Clark and his wife Clara had moved to Williams in 1928 from Los Angeles. They had opened Clark Camp on Route 66. Clark Camp had 25 cabins featuring one and two bed configurations. Like Cureton, the Clarks also operated a service station at their camp although, unlike Cureton's, the Clark's service station was a franchised Conoco station. Franchised gas stations were a new trend in the late 1920s that offered a competitive edge to service station owners as the owners benefitted from the national marketing done by the gasoline companies regarding claims of gasoline and service quality.<sup>218</sup>

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<sup>217</sup> "Cureton Camp Ground Nearing Completion," *Williams News* (Williams, AZ). August 14, 1925. "Business Above Expectations at Cureton Camp," *Williams News* (Williams, AZ), November 5, 1926. Cureton Camp Guest Register, July – September, 1926, Cline Library Special Collections, Northern Arizona University, Flagstaff, AZ, MS314, Box 2, Folder 4. Warren James Belasco, *Americans on the Road: From Autocamp to Motel 1910 – 1945* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1979), 129-173.

<sup>218</sup> "Surprising, Gratifying – What a Dollar Buys at Cureton Camp," *Williams News* (Williams, AZ), December 11, 1931. "Cureton Autocamp has Many Tourists," *Williams News* (Williams, AZ), March 4, 1927. *Hubert Clark Jr. personal memoir*, (Williams, AZ: unpublished, 1993), Cline Library Special Collections, Northern Arizona University, MS314, box 2, folder 3. Wells, *Car Country*, 174-175.

Although Cureton's camp was well regarded by motorists in terms of qualities and amenities, newer operators offered even more services and luxurious accommodations. Thurston's Hotel-Cottage Camp offered all stone construction cottages with central heating, running hot and cold water, and private baths in each cottage. Some of the cottages also included a kitchenette. Unlike Cureton's camp at the edge of town, Thurston's camp was located in the center of the city offering convenient access to all of the restaurants and other businesses in Williams. Like Cureton's camp, Thurston's also operated a service station selling gasoline and other automotive supplies. A noted competitive edge at this camp was the free grease rack offered to overnight customers for performing needed lubrication or other maintenance tasks on their automobiles. In order to stay competitive, Cureton began a large remodeling of his camp cottages in 1930. He enlarged the cabins to offer two beds each and reapointed and repainted each cabin inside and out. Cureton also added a restaurant so customers would not have to leave the camp and drive into downtown for food.<sup>219</sup>

These auto-camps also faced competition from traditional hotels. The Grand Canyon Hotel, formerly the Boyce Hotel and the only surviving business of the disastrous 1901 Williams fire, was a thriving traditional hotel catering to railroad and automobile travelers. Similarly, the Button Hotel was a well-appointed hotel offering travelers comfortably appointed rooms with private baths, running hot and cold water, and steam heat. The Button Hotel was a popular hotel in Williams that was typically booked to capacity every night requiring advance reservations. The Cherokee Hotel in Williams

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<sup>219</sup> "Tourist Find Ample Accommodations Here," *Williams News* (Williams, AZ), January 11, 1929. "Spring Renovating at Cureton Auto Camp," *Williams News* (Williams, AZ), April 25, 1930.

also competed for overnight traveler business with other hotels and the auto-camps in Williams. The Cherokee Hotel was one of the larger hotels in Williams and featured larger rooms and personalized concierge services not available elsewhere.<sup>220</sup>

Unlike traditional hotels like the Grand Canyon Hotel, motor camps like Cureton Camp were a product of the auto-touring movement in the early twentieth century. Part of the Good Roads Movement, auto-tourers fancied themselves neo-gypsies who were reconnecting with their pioneer roots by enduring the harsh traveling conditions of driving on primitive roads in rural areas and camping along the way. However, most of these auto-tourers were also middle to upper class people used to creature comforts. As more of these motorists engaged in travel, entrepreneurs, like Cureton, Clark, Thurston and others, stepped up to provide more comfortable accommodations and other services to these travelers. The proliferation of auto camps like Cureton Camp led to substantial automobile-driven business and community growth in towns like Williams. Traditional hotels, however, also competed for automobile traveler business in addition to their existing railroad traveler business. Many Williams hotels began offering free parking and other automobile traveler services like selling automotive supplies to attract automobile travelers.<sup>221</sup>

Growth in the automobile travel service economy was not limited to auto camps and hotels, however. A number of stand-alone gasoline stations opened in the 1920s catering to the growth in automobile traffic through Williams. Most of the auto camps

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<sup>220</sup> “Grand Canyon Hotel One of City’s Best Known Hostelries,” *Williams News* (Williams, AZ), December 2, 1927. “Button Hotel in Williams has Atmosphere of Home,” *Williams News* (Williams, AZ), December 2, 1927. “Morgans are Making Cherokee Hotel a Most Popular Place,” *Williams News* (Williams, AZ), December 2, 1927.

<sup>221</sup> Belasco, *Americans on the Road*, 41-70.

also had a gasoline station. Likewise, many auto-repair businesses and mercantile stores also sold gasoline. However, a number of Williams businessmen opened gasoline stations that limited their services to selling gasoline, oil, and other automotive fluids. The first of these opened in 1921 at the corner of the road to the Grand Canyon and the National Old Trails Road. Before he opened his auto camp, Robert Thurston opened a gasoline station in downtown Williams next to the Sultana theater. Unlike earlier service stations, Thurston's gas station was a branded station for the Continental Oil Company offering exclusively Conoco branded oil and gasoline.<sup>222</sup>

Likewise, automobile repair garages also proliferated throughout Williams. Early repair garages like the Williams Garage were joined by numerous competitors offering a variety of independent and branded automobile service. One of these was the Hock Motor Company. An authorized Ford Garage offering officially sanctioned "Ford Service," the Hock Motor Company carried a full line of Ford parts in stock. The company had arrangements with other distributors to source parts for other automobiles as well. The company offered a full line of repair services from standard maintenance to intensive repairs. The Hock Motor Company was the largest repair facility in Williams in the late 1920s capable of servicing 65 cars simultaneously. The company also operated a tire service and were dealers in Goodyear and Firestone tires. Automobile traffic was so heavy through Williams in the early 1920s that the police were required to direct traffic throughout town to avoid multiple traffic jams. As in most towns along early motor

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<sup>222</sup> "Country Items," *Williams News* (Williams, AZ), September 23, 1921. "Thurston's Service Station and Auto Camp Well Known," *Williams News* (Williams, AZ), December 2, 1927. "Thurston to Build 18 New Cottages," *Williams News* (Williams, AZ), March 29, 1929. "Red Crown Gasoline: There's a Dealer Near You Who's a Specialist on Miles," Advertisement, *Williams News* (Williams, AZ), June 19, 1925.

routes, the highway through Williams routed right through the heart of downtown becoming Main Street for the duration of its route through the city limits. The congestion caused by this arrangement along with the rising volume of cars resulted in multiple accidents. In response to this, the Hock Motor Company offered a twenty-four hour wrecker service in Williams capable of rendering accident response and towing service for automobile accidents in Williams and the surrounding area.<sup>223</sup>

While the establishment of automobile dealerships, motor courts, and gas stations was a significant economic development, it was primarily a focus of the business elite in Williams. During the same period when entrepreneurs were establishing new automobile oriented businesses, working class migrants came to Williams seeking out work where ever and how ever they could find it. Reuben Dial came to the Williams area to work in ranching. Born in Tarply, Texas in 1894. Reuben Dial was orphaned at age 13 by a flu outbreak, and was taken in by his family's sole surviving adult member, his mother's sister Ethel Hudspeth. Dial's aunt Ethel married Dr. K.O. Butler shortly afterward and Dial moved with the new couple to Harper, Texas. Dial lived in Harper until leaving to attend business school in Tyler, Texas. After completing business school, Dial moved to Seligman and then Valle near Ash Fork to work on a sheep ranch with his uncles Harvey and Tom Hudspeth. Dial continued to work in ranching until enlisting in the Army during World War One. Dial spent his military enlistment in Laredo, Texas for the duration of the war. While enlisted, Dial married his high school sweetheart Vera Livingston on May

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<sup>223</sup> "Hock Motor Company Service All Makes of Automobiles," *Williams News* (Williams, AZ), January 11, 1929. Carl and Miles Cureton. Interview by Teri A. Cleeland. Oral History Interview. Williams, AZ, November 5, 1991, Cline Library Special Collections, Northern Arizona University, Flagstaff, AZ. Belasco, *Americans on the Road*, 41-70, 105-128.

1, 1918. After the war, Reuben Dial returned to northern Arizona wife his new wife and continued ranching. The couple's first child, daughter Louise, was born on November 28, 1919. Louis contracted spinal meningitis and died shortly before her first birthday. The couple had another child three years later, Thomas Eugene. In 1927, the couple had second daughter, Roma. After initially renting several different houses for his family to live in while he ranched, Dial purchased a home for his growing family on Fourth Street in Williams from local banker John Smart. His third daughter Ann was born in 1933 in the family home.<sup>224</sup>

In 1927, Reuben Dial sold his sheep herd and used the capital to pursue a business opportunity in Williams. Dial invested in a grocery store partnership with H.L. Harkey. The business grew rapidly and Dial eventually took complete ownership of the business renaming it Dial's Market. Dial established strong ties in the business and larger community of Williams. Dial was active in the Williams Rotary Club, the Knights of Pythias Lodge, the Chamber of Commerce, participated in planning city events, was elected to the Williams City Council in 1934, and served on the Williams School Board in 1939.<sup>225</sup> Dial, like many members of the business class in Williams, developed a strong attachment to place as they worked to build their businesses and the community.

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<sup>224</sup> Roma Jane Vincent, *Roma Jane Vincent to Hugh Clark, February 25, 1993*. Northern Arizona University Cline Library Special Collections, *H.A. Clark Collection*, NAU.MS.314, Manuscripts 1880-1990, box 2, folder 5.

<sup>225</sup> Ibid. "Sixty Years of Progress Discussed," *Williams News* (Williams, AZ), September 11, 1931. "Reuben Dial Puts on Dance-Music Program," *Williams News* (Williams, AZ), April 12, 1935. "Reuben Dial Elected to the Town City Council," *Williams News* (Williams, AZ), January 26, 1934. "Rev. Elver Prays for Peace," *Williams News* (Williams, AZ), November 12, 1936. "Plans Started for Great Celebration," *Williams News* (Williams, AZ), May 10, 1929. "A Needed Job Well Done," *Williams News* (Williams, AZ), August 31, 1939. "New Officers Elected," *Williams News* (Williams, AZ), February 21, 1936. "Knights of Pythias," *Williams News* (Williams, AZ), December 16, 1927.

Despite the onset of the Great Depression, Dial's business continued to grow through most of the 1930s. However, as growth opportunities were few in the 1930s, the growing economy of Williams proved attractive to larger competitors. The larger and well known Babbitt's Market based in Flagstaff had expanded into Williams in the 1920s. In 1938, however, Pay'n Tak'it, now Safeway, opened a store in Williams. The national chain store was able to offer lower prices and a greater selection of goods than Dial's Market. Likewise, Reuben Dial's liberal credit policies left him with a large number of un-collected delinquent accounts. The combination of bad debt and fierce competition forced Dial into bankruptcy. Immediately after the bankruptcy, Dial attempted to return to his native Texas. A combination of friction with his aunt and uncle providing temporary housing and a strong attachment to Williams as a place prompted Dial to move his family back to Williams.<sup>226</sup> Dial's connection to place with Williams informed most subsequent large decisions in his life.

Upon his return to Williams, Dial took a position in the meat department of Babbitt's Market. While working at Babbitt's, Dial rented a commercial building across from the Santa Fe freight depot. He converted the back to living quarters for his family, and his wife Vera opened a second hand store in the front commercial space. The second-hand store was unsuccessful, and Vera Dial closed it and took a position managing the Coffee Pot Café in Williams. While working at the café, Vera heard about a café for sale in Gila Bend. Despite Dial's strong attachment to Williams, economic necessity forced his hand. The Dials negotiated a deal to buy the café, and the family again moved away

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<sup>226</sup> Roma Jane Vincent, *Roma Jane Vincent to Hugh Clark, February 25, 1993*. Northern Arizona University Cline Library Special Collections, *H.A. Clark Collection*, NAU.MS.314, Manuscripts 1880-1990, box 2, folder 5.

from Williams to Gila Bend in 1941.<sup>227</sup> Dial is representative of a number of regional residents who moved into the region in the early twentieth century and adopted it as their new home. These regional transplants developed a strong attachment to place, civic pride, and interest in community building that they carried with them throughout their lives. Although economics forced Dial to periodically move out of Williams, his attachment to place would continue to bring him back to the community including returning from Gila Bend after World War Two. This desire to stay in their adopted community was typical of many of these transplanted residents even after economic shocks reduced the viability of their adopted home towns.

Although the bustling Saginaw-Manistee Sawmill operation, the Grand Canyon National Park excursion industry, the railroad, and the growing automobile-traveler service industry continued fueling migration to Williams after the creation of Route 66, older occupations continued to lure new residents to the area – if only temporarily. Agriculture in the 1920s had fallen on hard times throughout the United States, forcing many former farmers and agricultural workers to seek new opportunities in agriculture in another. Two of these agricultural migrants were Charles Reed and his son Durward. Both arrived in Williams in the early 1920s with markedly divergent tenures in the region.

Durward “Dude” Reed came to Williams as a child. Born in 1909, Reed moved to Williams with his family in 1921 at the age of 12. His childhood was marked by instability as the family’s continual financial instability made basic subsistence precarious and necessitated multiple relocations. Reed’s father Charles Reed had been a

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<sup>227</sup> Ibid.



farmer in Oklahoma and then Arkansas, but like many farmers in the early twentieth century had a difficult time making agriculture profitable. After the failure of the farm in Arkansas, Charles Reed came to Williams seeking work with his large family in tow. The elder Reed's financial troubles continued in Williams and he and his wife Bessie soon made plans to flee their Arizona troubles and move on to another location. With four other children, three under the age of 10, Dude Reed's father Charles made arrangements with Gus Polson, head of a local sheep ranching family, for Dude Reed to stay and work for them in exchange for room and board. Dude Reed's family then left him in Williams and eventually settled in California.<sup>228</sup>

Reed paid for his room and board by performing chores at the Polson ranch house. He made additional money by shining shoes in a local barber shop and performing pickup and deliveries for a laundry and dry cleaning service. Given the poor condition of local roads and the sprawling nature of the Williams area, his on-foot delivery work earned Reed 50 cents a trip. As a young adult, Reed left the Polson ranch and found work in Williams making deliveries for a local grocery store. While working at the market, Reed met 18 year old Ida Bell Bowdoin who was working as a checker at the store. Ida's parents had recently moved to Williams from Greenwood, Arkansas. The fellow former Arkansans made an instant connection and married on December 21, 1929. His son Durward Glenn Reed was born on September 10, 1930.<sup>229</sup>

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<sup>228</sup> Dude Reed. Interview by Hugh Clark. Oral History Interview. Williams, AZ, March 22, 1993, Cline Library Special Collections, Northern Arizona University, Flagstaff, AZ. The National Archives in St. Louis, Missouri; St. Louis, Missouri; WWII Draft Registration Cards for Arizona, 10/16/1940-03/31/1947; Record Group: Records of the Selective Service System, 147; Box: 103.

<sup>229</sup> Dude Reed. Interview by Hugh Clark. Oral History Interview. Williams, AZ, March 22, 1993, Cline Library Special Collections, Northern Arizona University, Flagstaff, AZ. "Ida "Belle" Reed," *Williams News* (Williams, AZ), February 14, 2001. "Marriage Certificate," (Government Document, Books 6, 7, 8, 1928-1935, Coconino County, Arizona, Recorded December 21, 1929). "Standard Certificate of Birth,"

Despite working for a grocery store, Dude Reed maintained his connection to the ranching industry in Williams. He saved his earnings from his grocery delivery job and purchased 800 acres of ranchland 10 miles outside Williams. Despite investing in ranching, Reed continued working at the grocery store. He eventually moved up from deliveries to butcher while continuing to develop his ranch. His continued work in the retail grocery business, however, was out of necessity. Unlike earlier, more well established ranchers, despite his ranch being profitable Reed was never able to turn ranching into a fulltime occupation. He continued working as a meat cutter in local groceries, and his wife Ida continued working as a cashier to make ends meet. Ida eventually secured a more lucrative position as a clothes buyer for the Babbitt's Department Store in Williams. The couple's retail income sustained them with the ranch providing supplementary income.<sup>230</sup>

Reed's wife Ida was active in the civic life of the town. Ida was an active member of the Friendship Club – one of many active civic organizations in Williams. She became a vocal advocate for children in Williams and was instrumental in facilitating the construction of the first community swimming pool in Williams. Her continued advocacy for children earned her the nickname "Grandma Belle" from town residents. With their main employment in town, the couple never resided at the ranch maintaining a small residence in Williams where Dude Reed lived until his death in 1997 and Ida Reed until

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(Government Document, Bureau of Vital Statistics Arizona Department of Health, Williams, Coconino County, Arizona, Local Registrar No. 75, State File No. 100, Filed September 13, 1930).

<sup>230</sup> "Ida "Belle" Reed," *Williams News* (Williams, AZ), February 14, 2001. "Out of the Past," *Williams News* (Williams, AZ), November 23, 2006. Larry Hendricks, "Technology Changing Cowboy Life," *The Arizona Daily Sun* (Flagstaff, AZ), September 27, 2009. 1910 United States Census, San Juan, Colorado, 1B. 1930 United States Census, Williams, Arizona, Enumeration District 3-6, Sheet 11A. 1940 United States Census, Williams, Arizona, Enumeration District 33-24-B, Sheet 7A. "Another Year's Shipping Done," *Arizona Daily Sun* (Flagstaff, AZ), November 22, 1971.

her death in 2000.<sup>231</sup> The Reed's experience in Williams followed the general trajectory of the region – particularly as much of their early married life before the war took place during the Great Depression. From the 1930s forward, natural resource extraction occupations like ranching became less and less a part of the economy and services industries like retail, transportation, and tourism took center stage economically.

Automobile services companies in Williams like the auto camps, gas stations, repair shops, and dealerships were local businesses. So were the numerous other retail establishments like Dial's Market. Still other businesses involved in real estate development or food service were also owned by local residents. Some of these local businesses were aligned with national corporate entities, but most were owned and operated by local businessmen. All of these businessmen were members of the local civic community. Business owners like Thomas Cureton were actively involved in the local community and civic organizations. Cureton served multiple roles as an education leader, civic organizer, and politician. Others like Hubert Clark moved their families to Williams which then became deeply connected to the community through multiple generations. These businessmen were interested in developing and growing the local community. Many of them participated in specific community growing campaigns like the Trade at Home Use Arizona Products campaigns. This campaign, an initiative of the Arizona Industrial Congress got its start in 1922 as a response to the post-World War One recession in America. The Trade at Home Use Arizona Products campaign continued

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<sup>231</sup> "Ida "Belle" Reed," *Williams News* (Williams, AZ), February 14, 2001. "Durward Reed," *Williams News* (Williams, AZ), March 6, 1997. *Arizona - White Pages and Yellow Pages - Williams – September thru July 1956*. Arizona, - 1956. *Arizona - White Pages and Yellow Pages - Williams – 1993-1995*. Arizona – 1995.

through the 1920s as a way to grow local business in the state. The movement attracted much attention and had the support of a variety of businesses across the state as well as prominent politicians and civic leaders.<sup>232</sup> In communities like Williams it was adapted to encourage local residents to buy from local businesses rather than order what they needed from out of town and have it delivered via railroad. The emerging automobile-oriented businesses in Williams were enthusiastic participants in the campaign including the White Garage, White Service Station, Thurston's Motor Camp, and Cureton Camp. Non-automobile businesses were also participants including the Williams Quality Bakery, Williams Hardware, and Babbitt Brothers Trading Company.<sup>233</sup> For the local business elite, activities like the campaign combined with participation in civic organizations fostered a strong sense of community pride and attachment to place that contributed to and helped shape residents' sense of community identity.

### Seligman

The impact of the arrival of automobiles and highways in the region varied across communities in the area. In Seligman, the arrival of Route 66 played out a little differently than it had in Williams. At first, not much changed in Seligman due to the

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<sup>232</sup> "Trade at Home Use Arizona Products," *Williams News* (Williams, AZ), May 19, 1922. "Arizona Celebrates Trade at Home Week," *Arizona Daily Star* (Tucson, AZ), March 15, 1925. "Arizona is Using Own Timber in Home Building," *The Coconino Sun* (Flagstaff, AZ), November 10, 1922. "Civic Groups Co-Operating in Movement," *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), March 17, 1930. "Governor Phillips Urges All to Trade at Home," *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), March 17, 1930. "H.B. Watkins Points Out Benefits Arising from Home Trading," *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), March 17, 1930. "Holds Buying at Home to be Essential," *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), March 17, 1930. "Strictly an Arizona Product," Advertisement, *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), March 17, 1930.

<sup>233</sup> "White Garage Keeps Many a Dollar in the Old Home Town," *Williams News* (Williams, AZ), March 21, 1930. "White Service Station is not a Bit Hoggish," *Williams News* (Williams, AZ), March 21, 1930. "Attractive Camp Ground a Community Builder," *Williams News* (Williams, AZ), March 21, 1930. "How to Build More Richer Communities," *Williams News* (Williams, AZ), March 21, 1930. "Williams Made Bread Wholesome Delicious," *Williams News* (Williams, AZ), March 21, 1930. "Department Store Makes Trading at Home a Very Great Pleasure," *Williams News* (Williams, AZ), March 21, 1930. "Want Good Hardware? Williams Hardware Has It," *Williams News* (Williams, AZ), March 21, 1930.

creation of the new highway. The coming of the road did not have the immediate entrepreneurial effect it did in Williams. Route 66 was still a dirt road. Economic life in Seligman was still oriented around the railroad. Few businesses of any kind opened in Seligman in the 1920s. Most of the 1920s business activity that did happen was focused on the residents of Seligman and railroad customers. Additionally, private home building saw increased activity. However, Seligman gained one automobile-oriented business when a Standard Oil of California (Chevron) bulk gasoline distribution plant opened in 1920. As in other regional communities, oil companies were increasingly muscling out independent distributors in favor of handling this business directly.<sup>234</sup>

However, businesses along the new highway benefitted somewhat from the increased traffic the road brought in to Seligman. Route 66 entered Seligman in 1926 along Railroad Avenue to the benefit of businesses on the road. Angel Delgadillo, saw an incremental increase in business from the new highway, as did existing automotive businesses on Railroad Avenue like the Seligman Garage and the Shell Oil gasoline distributor. The majority of the businesses in town, however, continued to derive most of their business from the railroad. Proximity to the intersection of Railroad Avenue and Main Street near the Santa Fe depot, or a location on the block just west of the intersection of Main Street and Chino Avenue directly behind the Santa Fe Depot and the Fred Harvey Company Hotel Havasu House, was vital. The only other two hotels in town were located at each of these important intersections, and the bars, restaurants, and other

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<sup>234</sup> Pat Haigh Stein, "Seligman Commercial Historic District," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 2005), Section 7, 8, 9.

retail alternatives to the Santa Fe and Fred Harvey Company options filled the remainder of both blocks.<sup>235</sup>

However, attracting railroad passengers with limited time to shop or eat between rail stops was not the only goal of business proximity to the railroad operations. Pulling railroad employees into these businesses was equally if not more important. Seligman was a major center for railroad operations in northwestern Arizona. In addition to functioning as a railroad stop, Seligman was a center of industrial activity for the railroad. A little over ten years prior to the establishment of Route 66, the railroad had invested heavily in Seligman with a new machine shop, roundhouse, and electric power plant. Seligman was a major service point for steam locomotives capable of completely rebuilding them. Seligman also had an icing station for repacking refrigerated produce shipments from California. It also served as the division point for the railroad marking the border between Pacific and Mountain Standard Time, and the point where train crews swapped out to comply with train crew working hour regulations. The outcome of all this railroad activity for the local economy was the presence in town of a large pool of railroad employees frequenting local businesses. In addition to the railroad employees permanently based in Seligman, division point status ensured an additional several hundred railroad employees in town on a daily basis patronizing local businesses.<sup>236</sup>

Other than the Havasu House operated by the Fred Harvey Company, most of these businesses were locally owned and operated “mom and pop” businesses. For these families, their continued success directly supported the subsistence of the family. Some

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<sup>235</sup> Ibid.

<sup>236</sup> Angel Delgadillo, 2007, Interview by R. Sean Evans, February 19, Item number 78541, transcript, Route 66 Oral History Project, Cline Library Northern Arizona University, Flagstaff, AZ.

of these business owners, such as James Lamport of the Seligman Garage, came from wealthy families and certainly had additional resources at their disposal. However, others who did not come from wealth and only had their business income, existed more hand to mouth. For example, in 1927, one year after the formal routing of Route 66, Angel Delgadillo, Senior had seen some success operating his pool hall. Over the previous five years, the addition of a barbershop and grocery service to the business had added to his success. His business operation became the economic center of the Latino community in segregated Seligman. Prohibited from frequenting most of the Anglo-white businesses in Seligman, his business was both essential service and social hub of the community. More personally, in addition to the larger Hispanic community, his family depended directly on the success of the business. Unlike, James Lamport, Angel Delgadillo did not have extended family financial resources to tap into if needed. As such, the continued success of his fledgling business was key to the family's survival. Despite being more affluent, Latino automobile travelers in the 1920s were subject to the same segregation practices as Latino residents in Seligman. As such, Delgadillo's business was an important stop for these travelers.<sup>237</sup> With the establishment of Route 66, the increased business from Route 66 travelers could only help.

#### Ash Fork

As much as the arrival of Route 66 sparked new economic activity in towns across the region, the railroad was still the prime economic driver in many regional

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<sup>237</sup> 1930 United States Federal Census, Seligman, AZ, Enumeration District 13-28, Sheet 6B. 1940 United States Federal Census, Seligman, AZ, Sheet 5B. Angel Delgadillo, 2007, Interview by R. Sean Evans, February 19, Item number 78541, transcript, Route 66 Oral History Project, Cline Library Northern Arizona University, Flagstaff, AZ.

communities. Similar to Seligman, Ash Fork continued its orientation around the railroad after the arrival of the highway. Its function as the transfer point between the branch line from Phoenix and the main Santa Fe line guaranteed a steady flow of railroad passengers to its hospitality and retail operations. The town did see modest growth in automobile-oriented service businesses. The routing of a new federal-aid highway as part of New Deal stimulus spending, Route 89, from Phoenix to Ash Fork cemented Ash Fork's role as the junction point for automobile traffic to or from Phoenix. By 1927, the town had two auto-camps, two repair garages, and a single gas station. By the early 1930s, New Deal stimulus spending paved Route 66 through Ash Fork and the town added two new motels and another gas station. However, restaurant and retail stores far outnumbered automobile-oriented businesses just as they had in the first two decades of the twentieth century.<sup>238</sup> Civic development in Ash Fork lagged far behind larger towns like Williams and Kingman. The town was still unincorporated in the late 1920s and remained unincorporated through the 1930s and into the World War Two period. Lack of incorporation meant a lack of formal government institutions like a fire department, city council, or police. Sitting in the northernmost portion of Yavapai County, the community could not even claim branches of the county government within its borders. Similarly, Ash Fork lagged behind in the development of civic organizations tasked with building the community. The town lacked fraternal organizations like a Masonic Lodge. The community did not even form a chamber of commerce until 1939. Coincidentally, the

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<sup>238</sup> Sanborn Fire Insurance Map from Ash Fork, Yavapai County, Arizona. Sanborn Map Company, Oct, 1927. *Road Map of the Western States* (Los Angeles: Automobile Club of Southern California, 1936). Sanborn Fire Insurance Map from Ash Fork, Yavapai County, Arizona. Sanborn Map Company, Oct - Aug 1931, 1931. Trimble, *Ash Fork*, 66-71.



same year the Ash Fork business elite formed the chamber of commerce, the wives of these businessmen formed the Ash Fork Women's Club – the town's first true civic organization. The Women's Club focused on building a town library. Membership, however, was strictly segregated with only Anglo-White women allowed to join the club.<sup>239</sup>

## Kingman

As much as either the railroad or the highway fostered economic development across the region, some towns' economic focus on resource extraction pre-dated either transportation system. Like many of the communities in the region, Kingman was largely dependent on a single industry. Similar to Williams, Kingman's economy was focused on resource extraction – specifically mining. The mines in the Kingman area pre-dated the town itself. Kingman had been established as a railroad stop and freight siding by the Atlantic and Pacific Railroad in 1882 both to take advantage of the natural water supply at Beale's Spring, but also to capitalize on the mining shipping business which had been going to steamship companies on the Colorado River. Although many of the earliest mines were the work of solitary prospectors, by the early twentieth century mining in the Kingman area was dominated by eastern corporate mining companies which owned mines through the United States. By the 1920s, despite being unincorporated, the investment of these large mining companies had fueled growth making Kingman one of

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<sup>239</sup> "Ash Fork Civic Body Convenes," *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), January 18, 1940. "Ash Fork Chamber Discusses Highway," *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), March 4, 1939. "West 66 Towns Hold Meeting at Ash Fork," *Williams News* (Williams, AZ), March 2, 1939. Arizona Federation of Women's Clubs Directory and Yearbook, Arizona Federation of Women's Clubs Collection, Cline Library Special Collections, Northern Arizona University, NAU.MS.113, box1, folder 9.

the largest communities in the region. At 2,500 people, it had a population almost equal to that of Williams.<sup>240</sup>

Like Williams and other communities in the region, in addition to the mines which provided the main source of economic activity Kingman had also begun developing an automotive services industry. Early automotive entrepreneurs like Jesse Tarr had developed a number of businesses like his automobile service garage and Ford dealership. By the early 1920s, Tarr had been joined by competitors like the Old Trails Garage, Highway Garage, and Mohave Garage. Likewise, Tarr's dealership had competitors. By 1921, the Old Trail's Garage had added an Oldsmobile dealership to its business. The Highway Garage followed with a Chevrolet dealership. In addition to established service garages adding new car dealerships to their existing businesses, a number of stand-alone automobile dealers opened in Kingman in the early 1920s selling automotive brands like Studebaker, Maxwell, Durant, Dodge, and others. Lacking the tree cover and cool mountain air of Williams, Kingman lacked the numerous auto-camps Williams featured. The city did have a number of hotels available to auto travelers, but many lacked adequate parking for cars. To remedy the situation, the Mohave Garage opened a combined parking lot and auto-camp on an empty city lot near their garage. Treeless and surrounded by urban buildings, it mainly saw use as a parking lot.<sup>241</sup>

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<sup>240</sup> Messersmith, *Kingman*, 8-21. Sanborn Fire Insurance Map from Kingman, Mohave County, Arizona. Sanborn Map Company, Mar, 1923. Sanborn Fire Insurance Map from Kingman, Mohave County, Arizona. Sanborn Map Company, Mar, 1916. Map. Sanborn Fire Insurance Map from Kingman, Mohave County, Arizona. Sanborn Map Company, Sep, 1910. Map. Sanborn Fire Insurance Map from Kingman, Mohave County, Arizona. Sanborn Map Company, Oct, 1901. Map.

<sup>241</sup> Sanborn Fire Insurance Map from Kingman, Mohave County, Arizona. Sanborn Map Company, Mar, 1923. "Local and Personal," *Mohave County Miner* (Mineral Park, AZ), February 1, 1913. "J.A. Tarr & Co.," *Mohave County Miner* (Mineral Park, AZ), October 11, 1913. "The Good Maxwell," Advertisement, *Mohave County Miner and Our Mineral Wealth* (Kingman, AZ), July 28, 1922. "Oatman Men Take Over Garage Here," *Mohave County Miner and Our Mineral Wealth* (Kingman, AZ), March 13, 1920.

Kingman's development of garages, automobile dealerships, and service stations was similar to automobile-oriented developments in other communities. However, Kingman played an oversized role in the introduction and distribution of petroleum products in the region. Early in the century, Nathan Tarr, Jesse Tarr's older brother, went into business for himself opening a merchandise brokerage office. The business dealt in everything from commodities like hay, grain, livestock feed, and coal to placing orders for manufactured goods. The company even handled ore shipments from local mines.<sup>242</sup> The business grew rapidly becoming a major supplier to mines, businesses, and residents in the area. Seeking to expand even further, Nathan Tarr took on a business partner, Harry McComb and renamed his business Tarr and McComb. By 1908, Tarr and McComb built their own building and opened a mercantile store while continuing to offer brokerage services. By 1913, Tarr and McComb carried all types of automotive products including auto parts and tires in their store.<sup>243</sup>

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"Studebaker is the Buyer's Choice," Advertisement, *Mohave County Miner and Our Mineral Wealth* (Kingman, AZ), May 12, 1922. "Just a Real Good Car," Advertisement, *Mohave County Miner and Our Mineral Wealth* (Kingman, AZ), May 12, 1922. "Traveling Time for the Car," Advertisement, *Mohave County Miner and Our Mineral Wealth* (Kingman, AZ), May 12, 1922. "Oldsmobile Prices Greatly Reduced," Advertisement, *Mohave County Miner and Our Mineral Wealth* (Kingman, AZ), September 2, 1921. "Proven by Millions of Miles," Advertisement, *Mohave County Miner and Our Mineral Wealth* (Kingman, AZ), March 13, 1920. "Camping Grounds Ready for Motorists," *Mohave County Miner and Our Mineral Wealth* (Kingman, AZ), May 22, 1920. "Old Trails Garage," Advertisement, *Mohave County Miner and Our Mineral Wealth* (Kingman, AZ), September 11, 1920. "Mohave Garage," Advertisement, *Mohave County Miner and Our Mineral Wealth* (Kingman, AZ), April 17, 1920. "Chevrolet News Bulletin," Advertisement, *Mohave County Miner and Our Mineral Wealth* (Kingman, AZ), January 10, 1920.

<sup>242</sup> "Local and Personal," *Mohave County Miner* (Mineral Park, AZ), September 11, 1897. "Local and Personal," *Mohave County Miner* (Mineral Park, AZ), March 26, 1898. "Local and Personal," *Mohave County Miner* (Mineral Park, AZ), May 7, 1898. "Local and Personal," *Mohave County Miner* (Mineral Park, AZ), July 2, 1898. "Local and Personal," *Mohave County Miner* (Mineral Park, AZ), July 9, 1898. "N.W. Tarr General Forwarding Agent and Merchandise Broker," Advertisement, *Mohave County Miner* (Mineral Park, AZ), July 16, 1898. "Local and Personal," *Mohave County Miner* (Mineral Park, AZ), August 13, 1898. "Articles of Incorporation," Legal Advertisement, *Mohave County Miner* (Mineral Park, AZ), December 10, 1898.

<sup>243</sup> "Local and Personal," *Mohave County Miner* (Mineral Park, AZ), February 29, 1908. "Hay, Grain, Feed," Advertisement, *Mohave County Miner* (Mineral Park, AZ), July 31, 1909. "Local and Personal,"

The business also became a bulk oil and gasoline dealer. The Union Oil Company of California and the Standard Oil Company of California had both established oil and gasoline depots at the Kingman railroad station. Tarr and McComb, in a continuation of their role as a brokerage service, contracted with local businesses and mines to supply them with fuel oil, lubricating oil, and gasoline. Tarr and McComb's fuel dealing was not limited to the Kingman area, however. The firm contracted with businesses large and small throughout northwestern Arizona supplying oil products as far east as Flagstaff.<sup>244</sup> However, as the oil industry matured throughout the 1920s, Tarr and McComb lost out on their lucrative oil products distribution business. Acting as exclusive oil products dealers for the region in the early 1910s, by the late 1920s they had been replaced by direct sales from oil companies. In 1928, Union Oil and Standard Oil contracted directly with large industrial and mining concerns for bulk sales, and facilitated retail distribution through a network of licensed oil company branded service stations.<sup>245</sup> Despite the loss of their oil products business, Tarr and McComb continued to operate their retail mercantile store,

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*Mohave County Miner* (Mineral Park, AZ), June 11, 1910. "For Studebaker Mountain Stages," Advertisement, *Mohave County Miner* (Mineral Park, AZ), October 22, 1910. "Hay, Grain, Feed," Advertisement, *Mohave County Miner* (Mineral Park, AZ), December 10, 1910. "Goodrich Tires," Advertisement, *Mohave County Miner* (Mineral Park, AZ), February 1, 1913.

<sup>244</sup> "Hay, Grain, Feed," Advertisement, *Mohave County Miner* (Mineral Park, AZ), March 8, 1913. "Crude Oil," Correspondence between Tarr & McComb Inc. and Arizona Lumber and Timber Company, December 4, 1913, Cline Library Special Collections Northern Arizona University, Flagstaff, AZ, MS266, Series 3, Box 12 Folder 52. "Contract," Contract, Tarr & McComb Inc., December 8, 1913, Cline Library Special Collections Northern Arizona University, Flagstaff, AZ, MS266, Series 3, Box 12 Folder 52.

<sup>245</sup> "Contract," Contract, Tarr & McComb Inc., December 19, 1916, Cline Library Special Collections Northern Arizona University, Flagstaff, AZ, MS266, Series 3, Box 12 Folder 59. "Contract," Contract, Union Oil Inc., August 15, 1923, Cline Library Special Collections Northern Arizona University, Flagstaff, AZ, MS266, Series 3, Box 12 Folder 59. "Contract," Contract, Union Oil Inc., August 15, 1926, Cline Library Special Collections Northern Arizona University, Flagstaff, AZ, MS266, Series 3, Box 12 Folder 59. "Dealer's Quantity Purchase," Contract, Standard Oil Company of California Inc. August 15, 1927, Cline Library Special Collections Northern Arizona University, Flagstaff, AZ, MS266, Series 3, Box 12 Folder 53.

and acted as brokers for eastern manufacturers, particularly of heavy mining equipment, into the 1950s.<sup>246</sup>

As with other communities in the region, the continued economic development fueled by each community's major industry, combined with new growth from the emerging automobile services industry, spurred not only economic development in Kingman but also civic development. Beginning in the early decades of the twentieth century, but expanding in the 1920s, Kingman developed a number of civic organizations. These included a chamber of commerce, Odd Fellows Hall, American Legion chapter, and a Masonic Lodge. In addition to these male civic organizations, as in Williams, Kingman developed female civic organizations. Kingman featured a Woman's Club which organized only a year after the Woman's Club in Williams. Similar to the club in Williams, the Kingman Woman's Club consisted of the wives of the business elite. The club focused on building other civic institutions in the community such as the public library. Kingman also had a local chapter of the Rebekahs, a female auxiliary to the Odd Fellows, which also engaged in similar community building efforts. Unlike in Williams, where the early incorporation of the town allowed local boosters to serve on the city council, as an unincorporated town, civic organizations like these were the primary outlet for civic engagement and development. An example of this in action is the unified campaign for the construction of a federal building in Kingman. The acquisition of a federal building was seen by the town's elite as a marker of the growth and significance of their community. The combined efforts of the members of the various

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<sup>246</sup> "Town's General Store Plays Important Role," *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), September 14, 1952. "Pick Your Color and Place Your Entry at the Following Fuller Paint Dealers," *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), April 26, 1955.

civic organizations to advocate for construction of a federal building was ultimately successful when the Federal Government built a large federal building in Kingman in 1936 to house a new federally run post office and other government offices.<sup>247</sup>

### The Region During the Great Depression

As Andrew Wolf's harrowing drive from Kingman to Flagstaff on the single lane gravel Route 66 in 1932 illustrated, the routing and construction quality of Route 66 regionally changed little from 1926 through 1932. The highway remained a minimally constructed difficult to navigate gravel road into the 1930s. Likewise, the burgeoning automotive sector in the region was growing, but hampered by Route 66's minimalist nature. The arrival of the Great Depression in the region changed both the economy and the road in the region. In terms of the economy, the Great Depression weakened each primary employer in the region. The Saginaw-Manistee Lumber Company in Williams and the mines in Kingman both faced lowered demand for their products. This, in turn, reduced freight shipments on the Santa Fe. These primary employers responded by laying off workers causing rising unemployment in each town in the region. Conversely, New

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<sup>247</sup> "Kingman Dedicates their New Federal Building," *Williams News* (Williams, AZ), March 13, 1936. "Work is Pushed on New Building," *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), October 12, 1935. "Masons Entertain Grandmaster Moyers," *Mohave County Miner and Our Mineral Wealth* (Kingman, AZ), October 20, 1922. "Odd Fellows Officers Installed Wednesday," *Mohave County Miner and Our Mineral Wealth* (Kingman, AZ), July 7, 1922. "Odd Fellows and Rebekah Anniversary," *Mohave County Miner and Our Mineral Wealth* (Kingman, AZ), April 21, 1922. "American Legion Dance Tomorrow," *Mohave County Miner and Our Mineral Wealth* (Kingman, AZ), March 11, 1921. "Grand Master of Masonic Lodge is Entertained Here," *Mohave County Miner and Our Mineral Wealth* (Kingman, AZ), April 15, 1921. "Shrine Auditorium Dedication to be Elaborate Affair," *Mohave County Miner and Our Mineral Wealth* (Kingman, AZ), February 11, 1921. "American Legion Opened its New Headquarters Last Night," *Mohave County Miner and Our Mineral Wealth* (Kingman, AZ), January 8, 1921. "Armistice Day Program Arranged by American Legion," *Mohave County Miner and Our Mineral Wealth* (Kingman, AZ), October 30, 1920. "Kingman Tennis Club is Formed," *Mohave County Miner and Our Mineral Wealth* (Kingman, AZ), May 8, 1920. "Dance at Odd Fellows Hall This Evening," *Mohave County Miner and Our Mineral Wealth* (Kingman, AZ), January 24, 1920. "Kingman has Chamber of Commerce," *Weekly Journal-Miner* (Prescott, AZ), February 3, 1915.

Deal spending programs enacted to combat the economic effects of the Depression finally enabled Route 66 to graduate from gravel track to a functional paved highway. The upgrade of the road enabled new growth in automobile and travel services businesses during the Depression, and also set the stage for the explosion of traffic and automobile-oriented business growth post-war.

1932 saw a change of political direction in the United States with the election for Franklin Delano Roosevelt. FDR took a very different approach to the economic turmoil that had enveloped the nation since the Stock Market Crash of 1929 and the onset of the Great Depression. Rejecting the laissez-faire policies of his predecessor Herbert Hoover, FDR enacted a series of stimulus programs in his first 100 days in office known as the New Deal focused on providing as much direct aid and economic boost as possible to struggling Americans. Road construction projects were ready-made stimulus projects as they required an enormous volume of labor and materials. Likewise, each project was highly localized. As such, road construction projects across the United States became an integral part of New Deal economic stimulus spending. As part of New Deal efforts, the federal government set aside the 50/50 funding formula and picked up the majority of the construction costs. This led to a boom of road improvement and paving projects – particularly throughout the West.<sup>248</sup> Arizona was no exception. Route 66, largely one lane and gravel in 1932 throughout Arizona, was straightened, widened, and paved. In the nine year period between 1933 and 1941, Route 66 in Arizona was paved across the state. Within towns, this reconstruction effort resulted in realignments that straightened Route 66 to eliminate multiple in-town turns to stay on the route. At first these efforts were

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<sup>248</sup> Lewis, *Divided Highways*, 22-24. Wells *Car Country*, 129

concentrated in eastern and central northern Arizona with the road paved from Holbrook to Flagstaff. The northwestern region was paved from the Colorado River east. Within the region, improvements came at a slower pace with the final stretch of narrow gravel road between Seligman and Peach Springs being widened and paved right before America's entry in to World War Two.<sup>249</sup> Other stimulus projects like the Civilian Conservation Corps and later military spending also made up the federal response to the Depression in the region.

The Great Depression hit Williams particularly hard. Its economy largely dependent on lumber, job losses at the plant rippled throughout the town crashing through families and local businesses alike. In the interwar years, the health of the Saginaw Manistee Lumber company and the health of the town were one and the same. In 1929, the peak year for output and employment at the plant, the company employed one-third (33%) of the population in Williams. By the end of 1931, the company had let four-fifths of its employees go and only employed seven percent of town residents. The plant had been completely closed in 1931 since sales had slowed considerably and abundant product inventory had stocked up in the lumberyard unsold. The company told the *Williams News* in January of 1932 that they planned to open the mill in March of that year. This was not, however, to make more product. Rather, the sawdust and waste wood supplies used to power the Saginaw Power Company's electric generating plant were running low. As the power company, a subsidiary of the lumber company, was under

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<sup>249</sup> Road Map of the Western States, Automobile Club of Southern California, 1936. Western States, American Automobile Association, 1939. Western United States Planning Map, Rocky Mountain Motorists, Inc., 1941. Map of Arizona and New Mexico, Shell Oil Company, 1942. Angel Delgadillo, Interview by R. Sean Evans, February 19, 2007, Item number 78541, transcript, Route 66 Oral History Project, Cline Library Special Collections, Northern Arizona University, Flagstaff, AZ.



contract to supply electric power to the town, Saginaw Manistee managers planned to open the wood products plant in March to grind up their unsold inventory into fuel for the power plant.<sup>250</sup>

Economic prospects in Williams improved in 1934 when Williams was selected as the divisional headquarters for Civilian Conservation Corps. The Civilian Conservation Corps, or CCC, was a New Deal era stimulus program focused on providing employment to unemployed men. The CCC, was tasked with various natural resource conservation and improvement projects like building campgrounds in National Forests, constructing forest roads for the Forest Service, and building and improving amenities in the National Parks. In what would increasingly become an important aspect of Williams economic future, the CCC chose Williams due to its location. Sitting at the junction of Route 66 and the road to the Grand Canyon, Williams provided easy access to Grand Canyon National Park, Petrified Forest National Monument (elevated to national park status in 1962), and the national forests of northern Arizona. The CCC built several camps for CCC work crews and a formal divisional headquarters with offices and other operations buildings. The CCC also leased several houses in Williams for housing CCC officers and their families.<sup>251</sup>

Additionally, after reaching a low point in 1932, employment at the Saginaw Manistee plant rebounded in the mid to late 1930s as the company more successfully

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<sup>250</sup> 1929 Census of Manufactures, Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Saginaw Manistee Lumber Company Collection, Northern Arizona University Cline Library Special Collections, MS 84, Box 12, Folder 432-434. 1931 Census of Manufactures, Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Saginaw Manistee Lumber Company Collection, Northern Arizona University Cline Library Special Collections, MS 84, Box 12, Folder 432-434. "Status Quo of Leading Industries," *Williams News* (Williams, AZ), January 29, 1932.

<sup>251</sup> "Williams, CCC Divisional Headquarters," *Williams News* (Williams, AZ), April 27, 1934.

navigated the turbulent economic waters of the Great Depression. However, employment never regained the peak levels of the late 1920s. Although the tempestuous sales environment of the 1930s was a continuing problem for the company, the lumber company was equally if not more concerned about the troubling timber inventory situation in the Williams area. The company owned outright approximately 70 million board feet of timber which in normal times was roughly a two year supply. Given lowered demand due to the Great Depression, this supply could be extended, but the company needed to find additional timber supplies if it was to remain in operation in Williams long-term.<sup>252</sup>

From the company's earliest days in Williams, it had engaged in a continuous series of land purchases with area homesteaders to acquire new timber lands. Through the same period, it had engaged in a series of land swaps with the Forest Service exchanging logged land for new tracts of virgin timber. By the 1930s, however, a combination of fewer private land owners with available private timber lands and new policies at the Forest Service focused on conservation and preservation of national forest land made acquiring new timber land more difficult. In 1934, the company executed land purchases with the few remaining private land owners with available timberland. In addition, the company also engaged in continual correspondence with the Forest Service regarding acquiring more Forest Service land. In what was likely a move to exert public pressure on the Forest Service, the company executives gave an interview to the *Williams News* in

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<sup>252</sup> 1930 - 1941 Censuses of Manufactures, Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Saginaw Manistee Lumber Company Collection, Northern Arizona University Cline Library Special Collections, MS 84, Box 12, Folder 432-434. "Lumber Industry May Prove Perpetual," *Williams News* (Williams, AZ), June 9, 1933.

June of 1933 where they stated that forest products operations at the mill, and hence continued employment, could likely be continued indefinitely if the company was able to access Forest Service land as needed.<sup>253</sup>

However, three months earlier on March 27, 1933, *A National Plan for American Forestry*, also known as the Copeland Report, had been submitted to Congress. The report called for more direct active management of Forest Service lands with a focus on conservation and in some cases preservation of these lands rather than the previous focus on facilitating resource extraction. Among other things, the report called for an emphasis on scientific management based on research, a sustainable approach to the management of public lands that conserved the land for future generations, and the creation of a dedicated workforce to implement conservation projects. The dedicated-workforce provision served as the inspiration for the Civilian Conservation Corps which later came to directly benefit Williams.<sup>254</sup>

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<sup>253</sup> Property Deed “Amundsen to Saginaw Manistee Lumber Company,” 5/27/1921, Saginaw Manistee Lumber Company Collection, Northern Arizona University Cline Library Special Collections, MS 266, Box 13, Folder 66. Property Deed “Babbitt-Polson to Saginaw Manistee Lumber Company,” 6/4/1921, Saginaw Manistee Lumber Company Collection, Northern Arizona University Cline Library Special Collections, MS 266, Box 13, Folder 67. Property Deed “Babbitt-Polson to Saginaw Manistee Lumber Company,” 12/31/1921, Saginaw Manistee Lumber Company Collection, Northern Arizona University Cline Library Special Collections, MS 266, Box 13, Folder 68. Correspondence, “Saginaw Manistee Lumber Company to U.S. Forest Service,” 4/19/1921, Saginaw Manistee Lumber Company Collection, Northern Arizona University Cline Library Special Collections, MS 266, Box 16, Series 3, Folder 124. “Quotation of Statutes and Correspondence with the Secretary of the Interior relating to the Reconveyance of Lands to the United States,” 1902, Saginaw Manistee Lumber Company Collection, Northern Arizona University Cline Library Special Collections, MS 266, Box 15, Series 3, Folder 10. Property Deeds, 1934, Saginaw Manistee Lumber Company Collection, Northern Arizona University Cline Library Special Collections, MS 43, Box 1, Folder 7. “Lumber Industry May Prove Perpetual,” *Williams News* (Williams, AZ), June 9, 1933. Gerald W, Williams, “The USDA Forest Service: The First Century,” U.S. Forest Service Publication (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Agriculture, United States Forest Service, 2005), 66-77.

<sup>254</sup> Anthony Godfrey, “The search for forest facts: a history of the Pacific Southwest Forest and Range Experiment Station, 1926-2000,” U.S. Forest Service Publication (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Agriculture, United States Forest Service, 2013), 167-234. Gerald W, Williams, “The USDA Forest Service: The First Century,” U.S. Forest Service Publication (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Agriculture, United States Forest Service, 2005), 66-80.

The plan was adopted enthusiastically as policy by the new Roosevelt administration, and aspects of it, like the dedicated workforce which became the CCC, were implemented right away. In addition, many of the conservation programs were also implemented including the change in management approach to Forest Service land. This change resulted in programs like the 50 Year Plan which required logging to follow conservation principles on Forest Service land that allowed the cutting of mature end-of-life trees only. The basic premise of the plan was by selectively logging mature trees, a continual supply of maturing trees was guaranteed. The result for forest product companies like the Saginaw Manistee, however, was a dramatic reduction in available raw materials. Throughout the remainder of the 1930s, the company engaged in continual correspondence with the Forest Service lobbying for additional land exchanges for timber cutting. In what was likely another thinly veiled attempt at stirring up public pressure on the Forest Service, the Saginaw Manistee issued a statement in 1936 that the mill would probably only run another three to four years and Forest Service policy was to blame. The Saginaw Manistee had some success with this lobbying effort and profitably negotiated land exchanges with the Forest Service in 1938, 1939, and 1940. However, the company was still obligated to follow the new Forest Service conservation practices.<sup>255</sup>

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<sup>255</sup> “Lumber Industry May Prove Perpetual,” *Williams News* (Williams, AZ), June 9, 1933. “Uncertain of Life of Local Industry,” *Williams News* (Williams, AZ), February 7, 1936. Anthony Godfrey, “The search for forest facts: a history of the Pacific Southwest Forest and Range Experiment Station, 1926-2000,” U.S. Forest Service Publication (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Agriculture, United States Forest Service, 2013), 167-234. Gerald W, Williams, “The USDA Forest Service: The First Century,” U.S. Forest Service Publication (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Agriculture, United States Forest Service, 2005), 66-80. Correspondence, “Saginaw Manistee Lumber Company to U.S. Forest Service,” 1938-1940, Saginaw Manistee Lumber Company Collection, Northern Arizona University Cline Library Special Collections, MS 43, Box 1, Series 1, Folders 7, 13, 14, 15. Property Deeds, 1938-1940, Saginaw Manistee Lumber Company Collection, Northern Arizona University Cline Library Special Collections, MS 43, Box 1, Series 1, Folders 7, 13, 14, 15.

The reality, however, was that easily logged tracts of timberland were simply running out. The Saginaw Manistee had been clear cutting timber land in the area since 1899. Throughout most of that period, conservation practices were non-existent. The company, in a way, had been engaged in a sort of terraforming of the landscape. The company would clear cut a tract of land to extract timber resources, and then resell the cleared land to ranchers as pasture land for cattle and sheep. By the late 1930s, most of the remaining prime timberland in the area was south of Flagstaff – far from Williams. New Forest Service rules prohibited the Saginaw Manistee from logging in the Coconino National Forest and hauling the raw logs to Williams for processing. The company was left with few options. By the early 1940s, the available timber from earlier purchases and land exchanges was running low. In 1941, the Saginaw Manistee Lumber Company purchased the operations and assets of the Flagstaff-based Arizona Lumber and Timber Company renaming them the Saginaw Manistee Lumber Company. On February 21, 1942, J.J. Scanlon, manager of the Saginaw Manistee’s Williams operations sent a letter to C. E. Siddell President of the Saginaw Manistee Lumber Company in Chicago. In the letter, he recommended shutting down the Williams plant by April 1<sup>st</sup> at the latest. He noted that the remaining inventory of lumber would be used up by the end of February and all of the machinery of the mill could easily be transported to Flagstaff. In the end, the mill held on until the end of April, 1942. Mill operations recorded their last day of payroll April 30, 1942.<sup>256</sup> Logging and sawmill operations had been part of the Williams

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<sup>256</sup> Property Deed “Saginaw Manistee Lumber Company to R.H. Kennedell,” 7/6/1923, Saginaw Manistee Lumber Company Collection, Northern Arizona University Cline Library Special Collections, MS 266, Box 13, Folder 71. Property Deed “Saginaw Manistee Lumber Company to Albert s, Johnson,” 11/24/1923, Saginaw Manistee Lumber Company Collection, Northern Arizona University Cline Library Special Collections, MS 266, Box 13, Folder 73. “Uncertain of Life of Local Industry,” *Williams News* (Williams,

area since before the town's founding in the 1880s. As America entered its first full year of World War Two, the rip-saws fell silent and Williams faced an uncertain future.

Although federal policy changes in the 1930s played a role in creating economic uncertainty in Williams, for other communities in the region, federal policy created economic growth. In Seligman, New Deal federal stimulus spending on highway projects transformed the community's relationship to Route 66. Although the earlier arrival of the highway did not change much in Seligman, Great Depression related federal stimulus spending on Route 66 brought great change to the community. As part of federal stimulus spending, the remaining unimproved federal highways were realigned, rebuilt, and paved.<sup>257</sup> In Seligman, Route 66, which had followed the course of the Santa Fe railroad into Seligman along Railroad Avenue was realigned to follow a straighter more direct alignment along Chino Avenue.<sup>258</sup> The diversion of traffic away from his poolhall, combined with lower business due to the Great Depression, forced Angel Delgadillo Senior into bankruptcy. He closed the pool hall, and like many economic refugees during the Great Depression, made preparations to pack up his family and leave Seligman

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AZ), February 7, 1936. Bill of Sale, "Arizona Lumber and Timber Company to Saginaw Manistee Lumber Company," May 16, 1941, Saginaw Manistee Lumber Company Collection, Northern Arizona University Cline Library Special Collections, MS 43, Box 1, Series 2, Folder 22. Bill of Sale, "Arizona Lumber and Timber Company to Saginaw Manistee Lumber Company," May 16, 1941, Saginaw Manistee Lumber Company Collection, Northern Arizona University Cline Library Special Collections, MS 43, Box 1, Series 2, Folder 23. Correspondence, "J.J. Scanlon to C.E. Siddell," February 21, 1942, Saginaw Manistee Lumber Company Collection, Northern Arizona University Cline Library Special Collections, MS 43, Box 1, Folder 16. Payroll Ledger, April 30, 1942, Saginaw Manistee Lumber Company Collection, Northern Arizona University Cline Library Special Collections, MS 43, Volume 19.

<sup>257</sup> Tom Lewis, *Divided Highways: Building the Interstate Highways, Transforming American Life* (New York: Viking Penguin, 1997), 22-23.

<sup>258</sup> Atchison, Topeka, & Santa Fe, Railway Company. *Seligman Station Plat*, edited by Atchison, Topeka, & Santa Fe, Railway Company. Vol. 1" = 100'. Los Angeles, CA: Atchison, Topeka, & Santa Fe, Railway Company, 1930.

Atchison, Topeka, & Santa Fe, Railway Company. *Seligman Station Plat*, edited by Atchison, Topeka, & Santa Fe, Railway Company. Vol. 1" = 100'. Los Angeles, CA: Atchison, Topeka, & Santa Fe, Railway Company, 1935.

Arizona for hope of better economic prospects in California.<sup>259</sup> Music, however, played a role in composing a different outcome. Hank Becker, a Santa Fe Railroad employee and band leader of the Hank Becker Orchestra, employed two of Angel's sons in his band. Angel's son Juan played trombone and his son Jue played banjo in Hank's band. Upon learning that he was about to lose two of his musicians, Hank Becker used his influence at the railroad to get Angel's son Juan a job as a laborer with the Santa Fe. Juan's newly found railroad income, combined with the brother's wages from playing weekend gigs with Hank's band, allowed the family to stay in Seligman.<sup>260</sup>

The rerouting of the highway benefitted other business owners. Six new businesses opened on Route 66 in Seligman after the highway rerouting in 1933 including Dr. Conner's Garage, Olson Chevrolet, Donovan's Garage and Wilkinson Motors. All of the new businesses were automobile-oriented businesses.<sup>261</sup> Additionally, business operators with greater financial resources took advantage of the improved highway by relocating their operations along the new route. The Seligman Garage, for example, originally located along Railroad Avenue near Delgadillo's Pool Hall, moved to a new larger, prominent location right behind the Fred Harvey Havasu House on Chino Avenue on the new alignment of Route 66 in 1934. James Lamport's greater financial resources allowed him to purchase a large lot and build a larger building for his automobile service business along the new route of the highway. Also, like many of the

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<sup>259</sup> Angel Delgadillo, 2007, Interview by R. Sean Evans, February 19, Item number 78541, transcript, Route 66 Oral History Project, Cline Library Northern Arizona University, Flagstaff, AZ.

<sup>260</sup> Angel Delgadillo, 2007, Interview by R. Sean Evans, February 19, Item number 78541, transcript, Route 66 Oral History Project, Cline Library Northern Arizona University, Flagstaff, AZ.

<sup>261</sup> Pat Haigh Stein, "Seligman Commercial Historic District," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 2005), Section 7, 8, 9.

automobile service businesses in other towns in the region, Lamport added new car sales by taking on a Studebaker dealership at the new location. In total, three businesses near Delgadillo's Pool Hall moved to new locations on Route 66 in Seligman.<sup>262</sup> In 1935, Seligman also saw new hospitality businesses Kincaid's Diner, The Rainbow Café, and The Deluxe Motel open along Route 66.<sup>263</sup>

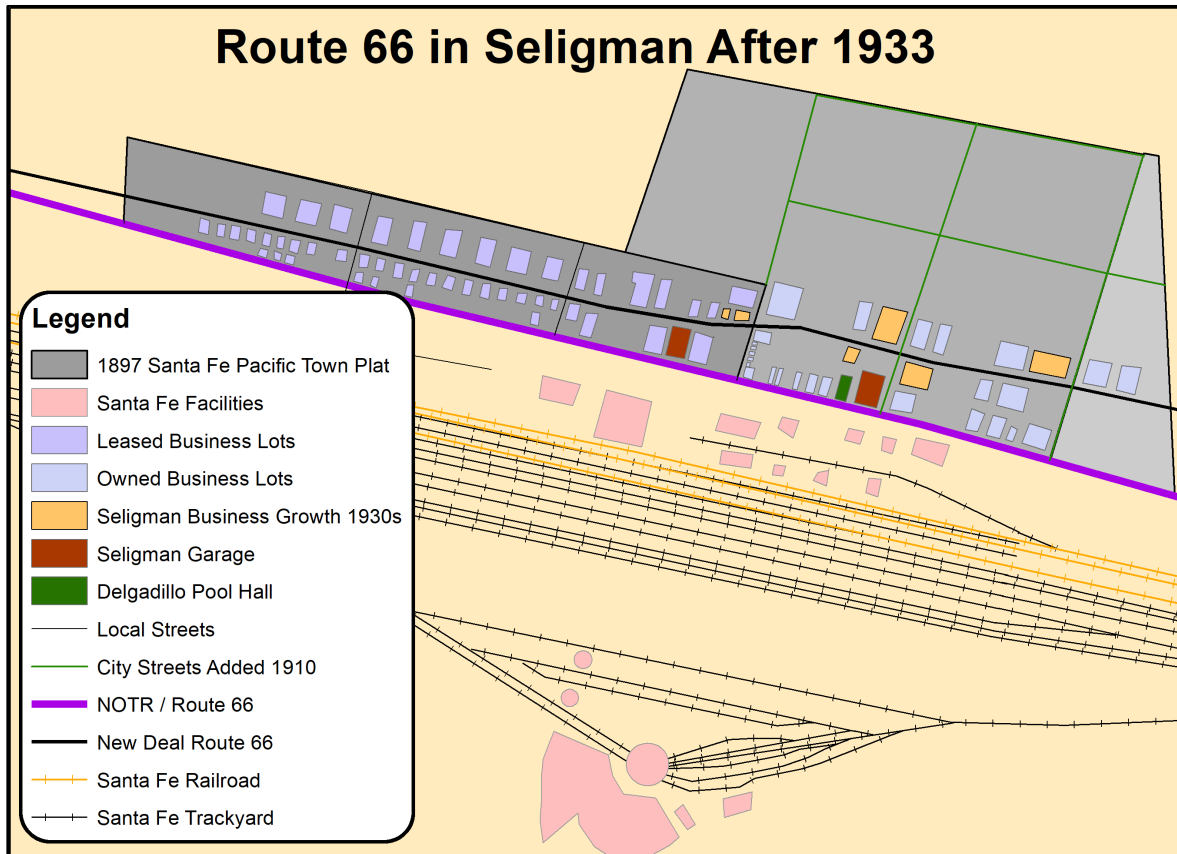


Figure 19. This geographic information system generated map shows Route 66 in Seligman after the reroute down Chino Ave in 1933. Multiple new businesses opened after Route 66 was straightened and paved. The Seligman Garage moved to a new location on the new road. Delgadillo's Pool Hall did not have the resources to move and closed.<sup>264</sup>

<sup>262</sup> Pat Haigh Stein, "Seligman Commercial Historic District," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 2005), Section 7, 8, 9.

<sup>263</sup> Ibid.

<sup>264</sup> *Route 66 in Seligman after 1933*, Scale 1:100, based on Kline, R. C. *Map Showing Leases at Seligman, Arizona*. Vol. 1" = 100' Atchison, Topeka, & Santa Fe, Railway Company, 1919, J.A. Lamport, *J.A. Lamport's Addition to Seligman, Arizona*, Scale 1:100. Prescott, AZ: Yavapai County Recorder, March 29, 1910. J.A. Lamport, *Lamport Addition to the J.A. Lamport's Addition to Seligman, Arizona*, Scale 1:100. Prescott, AZ: Yavapai County Recorder, August 10, 1928. Pat Haigh Stein, "Seligman Commercial Historic District," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form (Washington, DC: U.S.



The Great Depression hit Kingman hard in a similar fashion to its onset in Williams. The pronounced economic slowdown in the early years of the Depression calcified demand for metals and other minerals forcing many mines in the area to close. Some of the larger mines soldiered on through the 1930s but in a reduced capacity. The resulting unemployment and loss of mine spending created a pronounced business downturn in Kingman leading to business failures including the abrupt failure of the local bank. Growth in automotive traffic along Route 66 created some new economic stimulus. Kingman added new automobile-oriented businesses due to the newly paved Route 66 like the White Rock Motor Court, a new motel just east of Kingman featuring 22 cabins each with a carport. Similarly, the Gypsy Gardens, latter the Coronado Motel, opened with a 25 unit capacity. The Walapai Court was also a new motel. The arrival and paving of the highway also inspired Kingman resident Arthur Black to open a bus company providing bus service along Route 66. By 1940, the completion of U.S. 93, another New Deal highway stimulus project, had connected Kingman to Las Vegas prompting Arthur Black to offer bus service to Hoover Dam and Las Vegas.<sup>265</sup> Despite the increase in automobile travel and tourism businesses in Kingman, the community did not develop as robust an automobile tourism orientation as Williams. Like Seligman, Kingman's automobile oriented businesses were primarily focused on travelers passing through or on

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Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 2005), Section 7, 8, 9. Tempe, AZ: Daniel Milowski, April, 2021. Using ArcMap GIS. Version 10.8. Redlands, CA: Environmental Systems Research Institute, Inc, 1992-2021.

<sup>265</sup> Messersmith, *Kingman*, 34-36, 37, 49-54. J.S. Coupal and C.H. Dunning, "Fifth Annual Report," State of Arizona Department of Mineral Resources Annual Report (Phoenix, AZ: State of Arizona Department of Mineral Resources, 1944), 10-11. "US v. CENTRAL EUREKA MINING CO.," *Findlaw.com*, Accessed June 26, 2020, <https://caselaw.findlaw.com/us-supreme-court/357/155.html>. Cindy L. Myers and James W. Garrison, "Kingman Multiple Resource Area," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1986), Section 7, 8.

servicing automobiles used by local residents or businesses – particularly mining concerns.

Despite the addition of some new automobile travel services businesses, the Kingman economy in general suffered throughout the 1930s from the continued, pronounced poor economic conditions. The final blow to the Kingman economy came in 1942 when the War Production Board issued its Limitation Order L-208 ordering gold and silver mines to shutdown to preserve manpower and supplies for the war effort. As most of the mines in the Kingman area were precious metal mines, the order effectively cancelled the mining industry in Kingman overnight. Like in Williams, as America entered World War Two, Kingman's economy had been upended.<sup>266</sup>

Fortuitously for Kingman, the federal action that put the local economy in a tailspin was alleviated by federal action that caused it to soar to new heights. The same year the federal government shut down the mines, the United States Army-Airforce chose Kingman as the site for a major airbase. Kingman Army-Airforce Base was established as one of the primary training bases for B-17 crews. This decision was based in part on Kingman's long proven history with aviation. Walapai Field in Kingman was built in 1918 by local aviation enthusiasts. By early 1919, it was used by Army aviators as a fuel stop. As interest in aviation grew, a second airfield, Berry Field, was built. Celebrity aviators like Charles Lindberg and Amelia Earhart made appearances in Kingman

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<sup>266</sup> Messersmith, *Kingman*, 34-36, 37, 49-54. J.S. Coupal and C.H. Dunning, "Fifth Annual Report," State of Arizona Department of Mineral Resources Annual Report (Phoenix, AZ: State of Arizona Department of Mineral Resources, 1944), 10-11. "US v. CENTRAL EUREKA MINING CO.," *Findlaw.com*, Accessed June 26, 2020, <https://caselaw.findlaw.com/us-supreme-court/357/155.html>. Cindy L. Myers and James W. Garrison, "Kingman Multiple Resource Area," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1986), Section 7, 8.

promoting aviation. By 1929, Transcontinental Air Transport company, later Transcontinental and Western Air (TWA), established Port Kingman, a passenger service airport with a hard surfaced concrete runway, as a regular stop on its transcontinental passenger air service. The typically clear skies and dry conditions that made Kingman ideal for civilian aviation also made it attractive to the military. The military had been regularly using Port Kingman as a stopping point for fighter and bomber aircraft. With the outbreak of war, the Army-Airforce commenced building a large multi-runway airbase just north of Kingman on Route 66. The base was an extensive undertaking and included multiple barracks, a base hospital, and support buildings including enlisted and officer clubs and a commissary in addition to all of the air support infrastructure. Thousands of new recruits trained to become B-17 pilots and crew members at the base. The federal investment in the base, and corresponding military and GI spending in town, provided Kingman an economic reprieve – at least temporarily.<sup>267</sup>

#### Community Development by World War Two

As America entered World War Two, each community in the region exhibited disparate levels of community development. Williams, the oldest community and the only one officially incorporated was the most developed. Incorporation had facilitated the development of formal institutions like fire and water departments, schools, and a zoning board. In addition to the formal political development of the city, a number of civic institutions including a chamber of commerce and civic organizations had developed. In

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<sup>267</sup> Messersmith, *Kingman*, 55-64, 83, 88-97. “Kingman Army Airfield,” *Cornerstone Environmental*, Accessed June 26, 2020, <https://www.cornerstone-environmental.com/publications/item/kingman-army-air-field>.

addition to male civic groups like the Masons and the American Legion, Williams featured the oldest and largest women's civic organization. The Williams Women's Club, made up of the female elite of the town, had been formed in 1908 and was involved in a number of civic boosting activities including developing the Williams Public Library. Civic development and inclusion in larger community life was not available to all Williams residents, however, as segregation along racial and ethnic lines was prevalent in Williams.

With the permanent closure of the Saginaw Manistee Lumber Company mill, Williams faced an uncertain future. Its main employer was gone leaving those not pulled into the war effort unemployed. Tourism had looked like a bright spot for Williams in 1940, but with the descent into active participation in the war in late 1941 tourism and travel had come to a standstill. With the closure of the plant in early 1942, the immediate prospects for Williams looked bleak.

By contrast, Ash Fork and Seligman only benefitted from America's entry into the war. Beginning in 1942, both communities saw massive increases in railroad traffic as military troop and equipment movements brought hundreds of new customers into town daily. Harvey Houses like the Escalante in Ash Fork and the Havasu House in Seligman were bustling from open to close serving meals to troops. Both communities were not nearly as civically developed as Williams. Both were unincorporated and lacked the formal institutions of an official town. Likewise, neither had the level of civic organizations as Williams. Seligman and Ash Fork had recently organized chambers of commerce in 1939, but these were reactive in nature combating efforts by larger cities like Phoenix to divert railroad and highway traffic away from the communities.

Kingman, its gold mines closed by the war effort, was fully on a war footing. The economic blow that could have been due to the closure of the mines was offset by the local economy reorienting around Kingman Army-Airforce base. At least for the remainder of the war, Kingman's economic life was secure. Its civic life, therefore continued as well. Kingman exhibited a level of community development much closer to Williams. Although still unincorporated, the town was the county seat of Mohave County and benefitted from housing the formal government institutions of the county such as the sheriff's department and county courts. Similarly, by 1936 Kingman featured a federal building housing regional offices of multiple federal agencies. Like Williams, Kingman also had developed civic building organizations earlier with a chamber of commerce formed in 1915 and multiple civic organizations formed like the Masonic Lodge. Although lacking the formal status of an incorporated town, Kingman resembled Williams to a large degree due to its level of community development and the presence of formal governmental institutions of the county, state, federal government, and now United States Military.

Although each community in the region exhibited divergent levels of community development by the war, they all faced a similar existential threat – maintaining the economic health of their community. Williams had lost its main economic engine and needed a new one. Kingman had also lost the heart of its economy, but had received a transplant through the opening of the airbase. Seligman and Ash Fork still had their economic prime driver, the railroad, but needed to keep it.

With the economy on a war footing by early 1942, tourism, an emerging diversifying economic force in each community was temporarily absent. The auto-tourers

testing their mettle out West and the scenic tourists seeking out natural western wonders like the Grand Canyon were no longer able to travel and provide supplemental income to local businesses. The Great Depression had already dampened travel volume. At the same time, idealized motivations for tourism began losing steam. As trips to the Grand Canyon become commonplace, southwestern tourism myths involving seeking the sublime devolved into simple vacations. As highways had been paved, automobiles had become sturdier, and the overall ability to travel by car had become easier, the early twentieth century auto-touring myths involving testing one's personal rigor against automobile travel hardships fell out of favor. Auto-tourers, for example, could hardly claim they were acting as hardy pioneers as they motored down newly paved roads in reliable cars during the day, and slept in modern hotels and quickly improving motels at night.

New travel and tourism myths, centered around the act of travel by automobile and highway itself, would not emerge until after the war. Bobby Troupe's song "Get Your Kicks on Route 66" celebrating a Route 66 road trip, would be composed on his post-war celebratory road trip in 1946. In the interim, each community had to weather World War Two and await what followed. As America emerged from World War Two, each community in the region would be presented with new opportunities for growth and development even as larger economic and political forces condensed to form a storm front of economic peril for each community.

## CHAPTER 4

### AMERICA'S MAIN STREET TO BYWAY: ROUTE 66 POSTWAR

In 1947, the National U.S. 66 Highway Association, a booster organization formed shortly after the establishment of Route 66 to promote travel and tourism on the highway, released a brochure titled *Drive U.S. 66*. The brochure declared Route 66 the “Shortest, Fastest, year-round Best Across the Scenic West.” A nationally focused publication for travel agents and tourists, the inside of the colorful multi-page brochure promoted major tourist stops along the entire length of Route 66 with detailed photographs. On the first page inside the brochure, each town in the region was featured prominently – particularly Williams which the Association labelled the “Gateway to Grand Canyon.” One of the taglines on the cover of the brochure promoted Route 66 as the “Grand Canyon Route.” The copy in the brochure declared Route 66 “one of the best known highways in the United States, certainly in the West. Movies have been made along it, and books have been written about it . . . For the best trip across the West drive U.S. 66 ALL THE WAY.”<sup>268</sup>

In March, 1949, Vera Roden did just that. She published an article in *Motor News*, the official publication of the AAA affiliated Automobile Club of Michigan, documenting her family trip down the length of Route 66. In the article, Roden praised the many scenic tourist attractions available along the way, especially in Arizona. While in Arizona, the family took numerous side-trips to places like Petrified Forest National Monument, Oak Creek Canyon, the Grand Canyon, and Hoover Dam. Roden also

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<sup>268</sup> *Drive US 66* (Clinton, OK: National U.S. 66 Highway Association, 1947).

promoted the affordability of the trip for an average family, particularly if the family opted to stay each night in inexpensive motor courts. She noted these motels increased in number and quality in the West. She cautioned travelers to arrive in the early afternoon at intended stops as the motor courts often filled up well before evening. Roden concurred with the National U.S. 66 Highway Association in its assessment of Route 66 as the “Best Across the Scenic West.” She wrote in her article, “Route 66 is well-marked, it bypasses cities, it has no dangerously steep mountain grades, and the wide roadbed is smoother than a great many of Detroit streets.”<sup>269</sup>

Vera Roden was likely inspired to take her family vacation on Route 66 by the emerging multi-source national marketing effort focused on Route 66 tourism. The consensus of many tourism promoters postwar was Route 66 offered the western-bound tourist numerous advantages. In 1946, Jack Rittenhouse published his popular turn-by-turn *A Guidebook to Highway 66*. The Association published their promotional brochure *Drive U.S. 66* in 1947. Duncan Hines published his best-selling *Vacation Guide: Good Places to Spend an Enjoyable Vacation* in 1948. It featured a section on Arizona including stops along Route 66. By the mid-fifties, national travel and tourism companies like Greyhound and Fred Harvey were also promoting Route 66 as the best way to experience the scenic West. Fred Harvey worked in concert with the National Park Service to promote vacations to the Grand Canyon via Route 66. In 1956, the National Park Service launched its Mission 66 program to completely modernize road, utilities, campgrounds, and other infrastructure at national parks including Grand Canyon National Park to handle the massive increase in automobile-based park visitors. The southwestern

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<sup>269</sup> Vera L. Roden, “Westward-Ho Dough,” *Motor News* 31, no. 9 (1949): 8-9, 27.



United States, Arizona, and especially the Grand Canyon, were typically centerpieces of these tourism efforts. Much like with the See America First Movement prior to the war, postwar Route 66 focused tourism had its genesis in outside groups actively promoting Route 66 vacation travel. Also, like the See America First Movement, this initial promotional push to see the scenic American West by highway was facilitated by a loosely connected collaboration between national transportation companies like Greyhound and the Santa Fe railroad, national hospitality companies like Fred Harvey, national oil and gas companies, the National Park Service, and local community boosters situated along Route 66. Less railroad oriented than the previous tourism movement, this movement actively encouraged tourism via automobiles and busses on Route 66.<sup>270</sup>

The results of these national marketing efforts were noticed in the region. Tourism and travel oriented businesses saw a marked increase in business immediately postwar. The *Williams News* had difficulty keeping up with writing articles on all the new motor-courts opening in town, and noted in a November, 1948 article that tourism had become the town's number one industry. The paper stated the motel industry led the sector, taking the place of the timber industry as the town's largest employer. Motels serving travelers in Williams also drove over a million dollars a year into the local economy. The paper identified Route 66 as the source of this travel-derived bounty. Regional residents from all walks of life also noticed the growing volume of travelers and

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<sup>270</sup> *Drive US 66* (Clinton, OK: National U.S. 66 Highway Association, 1947). *The Grand Canyon Beckons* (Chicago: Fred Harvey, 1956). *Now Thru-Bus Service over Scenic Route 66* (Cedar Rapids, IA: Russell's Guides, 1957). Jack D. Rittenhouse, *A Guide Book to Highway 66* (Los Angeles: Jack D. Rittenhouse, 1946). Duncan Hines, *Vacation Guide: Good Places to Spend an Enjoyable Vacation* (New York: Adventures in Good Eating, Inc, 1948). "Mission 66: Birth of the Modern National Park," *National Park Service*, Accessed March 13, 2021, <https://www.nps.gov/subjects/southfloridacollections/introduction-mission-66-exhibit.htm>. Marguerite S. Shaffer, *See America First: Tourism and National Identity, 1880-1940* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2001), 1-6, 130-168.

tourists right after the war. Many regional residents also perceived postwar travelers were different than the earlier cohorts from the 1920s and 1930s. Angel Delgadillo recalled that throughout the 1930s, many of the travelers on Route 66 coming through Seligman were economic refugees. “Back in the thirties, it was the Oakies--just history. Going into business, I didn’t get too many there.” The new postwar travelers, he recounted, were more affluent. Some were relocating to take new jobs in growing southern California, but many travelled just for fun. Regardless, they all had more money to spend than most of the pre-war travelers, and there were more and more of them seemingly every day. “there were 9,000 automobiles using this street, Route 66, some summer days.”<sup>271</sup> The travelers and tourists crowding Route 66 throughout the region created a travel-oriented boom. Regional residents like Angel Delgadillo and his brother Juan both opened businesses along Route 66 in the early 1950s to capitalize on the travel boom. They were mirrored in this effort by residents throughout the region.

The explosive increase in tourism along Route 66 was welcome economic news in the region. Just prior to World War Two, the larger regional communities had both lost their main industrial employer. In Williams, the Saginaw Manistee Lumber Company shut down in 1942. In Kingman, the closure of the mines due to the war was alleviated by the creation of Kingman Army-Airfield. In both communities, war spending combined with the military draft alleviated much of the economic dislocation. Many unemployed men in Williams and Kingman had been removed from the community when drafted into

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<sup>271</sup> “Motel Industry Grows from Nothing to Million Dollar Industry in Few Years,” *Williams News* (Williams, AZ), November 18, 1948. “Mt. Williams One of Newest Courts in Williams,” *Williams News* (Williams, AZ), January 22, 1948. Angel Delgadillo, 2007, Interview by R. Sean Evans, February 19, Item number 78541, transcript, Route 66 Oral History Project, Cline Library Northern Arizona University, Flagstaff, AZ.

military service. Also, the military highway convoys and troop trains moving through each town brought hundreds of soldiers daily into each community where they spent hard currency in the restaurants, service stations, and other travel services businesses.

Tourism, which had been growing in importance to Williams even before the closure of the forest products plant, had declined during the war. However, through the spending of military travelers, the tourist businesses in Williams were well situated to capitalize on the upswing in tourist postwar. Kingman, never a popular tourist attraction before the war hoped to hold onto its airbase and the economic stimulus it provided the town. Ash Fork and Seligman, completely oriented around railroad transportation profited through the war years from the same military travelers that had helped lift Williams and Kingman. The travel services businesses had done well serving the constant flow of troops, and these same businesses saw a return to civilian travel, particularly automobile travel, as the potential next lucrative boom.

The postwar period from 1945 through the 1978-1984 period when each town was bypassed by I-40 represented a time of mixed outcomes for each community. The 1945 to 1965 period marked a golden-age of Route 66 travel business expansion for communities in the region. Multiple new travel-services businesses were founded in each community during this time significantly expanding the degree to which travel and tourism drove the economy of each community. This business expansion was also more socio-economically and racially diverse. Members of marginalized communities or the working class moved into the business elite in each town. Conversely, for some regional residents – particularly those not in the business elite in these towns – the 1965 to 1978 period represented a period of diminishing quality of life as the ever increasing volume of traffic

reduced some community residents' ability to safely and easily live in their own town. Route 66 became a hazard to motorist and pedestrian alike with continually rising traffic accidents and fatalities. Arizona Highway Department attempts to alleviate traffic issues in the region, which primarily consisted of highway widening projects, further reduced residential quality of life for some residents. Beginning in the mid-1960s, the Arizona Highway Department widened Route 66 in each town to two lanes in each direction while removing traffic bottlenecks like stop signs. The result was more cars driving through each town at higher speeds with no controlled intersection or crosswalk to facilitate pedestrian safety. Finally, beginning in 1978, the bypass of the region by I-40 took effect starving the tourist and travel services dependent towns of the primary highway motorists driving down Route 66 that were the source of much of their economic wellbeing.

#### The Rise of Route 66 Postwar: An Uneven Golden Age

The rapid close of World War Two and the quick end to war production did not immediately foreshadow an explosion in American prosperity and automobile travel and tourism. The seemingly abrupt end to the war on August 14, 1945 freed American industry, particularly American automobile manufacturers and motor fuel producers, to convert back to peacetime production. National attention became focused on peacetime conversion back to automobile manufacturing as successful resumption of domestic production would help ensure full employment in American manufacturing and stave off fears of a return to economic depression. Employment in the American automobile industry had doubled and its economic output had tripled during the war through government contracts for war production of fighting equipment. On August 16, 1945, the United States government announced war production cutbacks of \$2.5 billion a month for

the remainder of 1945. American automobile manufacturers responded by immediately laying off thousands of factory workers.<sup>272</sup>

The mass layoffs did not sit well with the president of the United Autoworkers, R. J. Thomas, who called for the industry to resume civilian automobile production immediately and aim for production of 10 million automobiles a year industry-wide. Automobile production before the war had been the largest section of the American industrial economy with production of four million units a year and an annual economic contribution of \$3 billion a year. Economists Nicholas Crafts and Peter Fearon in a 2010 study published in the *Oxford Review of Economic Policy* compared industrial outputs and declines during the Great Depression and the Great Recession and found that the economic boom of the 1920s had been led by the automotive sector peaking at 4.5 million cars in 1929. Although output fell 75% during the 1930s, the automotive sector still led the economy with output of over one million automobiles a year.<sup>273</sup>

Although a postwar production goal of 10 million units a year was ambitious, it was not far off the estimated total pent-up annual demand for automobiles in the immediate postwar period. For over three years during the war, civilian automobile production was completely shut down. Additionally, during the war due to accidents and obsolescence, almost three and a half million passenger cars had been scrapped. Likewise, almost seven million automobiles, while still in service, were functionally

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<sup>272</sup> “Automobiles in the Postwar Economy,” *CQ Researcher*, Accessed March 24, 2021, [http://library.cqpress.com/cqresearcher/document.php?id=cqresrre1945082100#H2\\_3](http://library.cqpress.com/cqresearcher/document.php?id=cqresrre1945082100#H2_3).

<sup>273</sup> Nicholas Crafts and Peter Fearon, “Lessons from the 1930s Great Depression,” *Oxford Review of Economic Policy* 26, no. 3 (2010): 285-371. “Automobiles in the Postwar Economy,” *CQ Researcher*, Accessed March 24, 2021, [http://library.cqpress.com/cqresearcher/document.php?id=cqresrre1945082100#H2\\_3](http://library.cqpress.com/cqresearcher/document.php?id=cqresrre1945082100#H2_3).

obsolete and would have been scrapped if replacements were available. The total repressed demand for new automobiles postwar was estimated at up to nine million new automobiles annually for at least the first five years postwar. All quota limitations on raw materials and automobile production were lifted by the U.S. government on August 24, 1945. The heads of the various automobile manufacturing companies in the United States predicted the robust re-emergence of their industry quickly after the war.<sup>274</sup> The automobile industry's collective prediction proved prescient. By 1955, the number of automobiles registered in the United States had doubled over the 1945 number with most of these representing new purchases. With rising postwar prosperity, more leisure time, and new cars, millions of Americans took to highways like Route 66 on vacation visiting tourist attractions like the Grand Canyon and the beaches of southern California.<sup>275</sup> These vacation trips, coupled with the mass migration of Americans to the sunbelt postwar, brought more and more travelers through the region to the economic benefit of each regional community.

These travelers were overwhelmingly White. While non-Hispanic White Americans were actively courted by automobile manufacturers, gasoline companies, national tourism promoters, and local businesses all along Route 66, Black travelers were actively harassed and discriminated against all along Route 66. In many Route 66 communities, particularly small towns like the ones in northwestern Arizona, Black motorists often could not buy gas, eat in restaurants, and stay in motels. This

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<sup>274</sup> "Automobiles in the Postwar Economy," *CQ Researcher*, Accessed March 24, 2021, [http://library.cqpress.com/cqresearcher/document.php?id=cqresrre1945082100#H2\\_3](http://library.cqpress.com/cqresearcher/document.php?id=cqresrre1945082100#H2_3).

<sup>275</sup> "Route 66 Overview," National Park Service, Accessed March 24, 2021, [https://www.nps.gov/nr/travel/route66/route66\\_overview.html](https://www.nps.gov/nr/travel/route66/route66_overview.html).

discrimination was not new and had existed since Route 66's inception. A partial remedy evolved with the publication of Black motorists' travel guides beginning in the 1930s. These guides continued publication postwar assisting Black motorists travelling by car to find places to refuel, eat, and sleep including along Route 66. Of these guides, the *Green Book* was the most popular and rose postwar to a readership of over two million.<sup>276</sup>

Reviewing these travel guides revealed northwestern Arizona was not particularly welcoming to Black travelers and tourists. No tourist destinations like Grand Canyon Caverns, a popular underground cave attraction just outside of Seligman, were listed. No gas stations are listed either. The one notable exception is that some of the guides list the Harvey House in each regional community. This provided at least one location for Black travelers to eat and sleep in each regional community. The Harvey Houses all closed in the region between 1950 and 1955 eliminating these rest stops for Black travelers. Counterintuitively, although Kingman itself was a sundown town particularly hostile to Black travelers, beginning in 1955 the *Green Book* listed the White Rock Motel near Kingman as a place that served Black travelers. The motel was outside the city limits east of town on Route 66. The motel also had a restaurant, so Black travelers at least had access to one place to eat and sleep in the region after 1955.<sup>277</sup>

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<sup>276</sup> Gretchen Sorin, *Driving While Black: African American Travel and the Road to Civil Rights* (New York: Liveright Publishing, 2020), 215-249. Candacy Taylor, "Why Black American are Not Nostalgic About Route 66," *The Atlantic*, Last modified November 3, 2016, <https://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2016/11/the-roots-of-route-66/506255/>.

<sup>277</sup> Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, Manuscripts, Archives and Rare Books Division, The New York Public Library. "The Negro Travelers' Green Book: 1955 International Edition" New York Public Library Digital Collections. Accessed March 26, 2021. <https://digitalcollections.nypl.org/items/2a146d30-9381-0132-f916-58d385a7b928>. Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, Manuscripts, Archives and Rare Books Division, The New York Public Library. "The Travelers' Green Book: 1960" New York Public Library Digital Collections. Accessed March 26, 2021. <https://digitalcollections.nypl.org/items/a7bf74e0-9427-0132-17bf-58d385a7b928>. Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, Manuscripts, Archives and Rare Books Division, The New York Public Library. "Green Book: 1962" New York Public Library Digital Collections. Accessed March 26,

Economically in the region and nationally, the 1945 to 1965 period represented a period of unprecedented growth and prosperity for automobile travel-service businesses. Nationally, within three years of the end of World War Two in 1948, there were over 26,000 motels in the United States – twice the number in 1939. An additional 15,000 motels were built by 1952. Most of these motels were individually owned small establishments like the family-owned motels or motor courts that proliferated throughout the region. Seligman, for example added six new motels to its cadre of automobile travel-services businesses between 1945 and 1965.<sup>278</sup> In the region, these new businesses also represented economic mobility for local residents. One of the new motels that opened in this period was the Supai Motel opened by Hosea Lanier. Lanier was an employee of the Central Commercial Company mercantile store in Seligman. A failed Dust Bowl farmer who had moved to Seligman in the early 1930s, Lanier worked in the mercantile store for over twenty years before branching out with his own entrepreneurial venture in 1956. His new motel catered to the ever-growing Route 66 traffic offering luxury appointments, air-conditioning, and wall-to-wall carpeting.<sup>279</sup>

The explosion in motels nationally and regionally corresponded with an even larger surge of gasoline stations. By 1970, gasoline stations nationally numbered over

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2021. <https://digitalcollections.nypl.org/items/786175a0-942e-0132-97b0-58d385a7bbd0>. National Park Service Route 66 Corridor Preservation Program, *Route 66 Properties Listed in Black Traveler Guidebooks*, National Park Service, Washington D.C., GPO, 2014, Accessed May 29, 2020, <https://ncptt.nps.gov/rt66/wp-content/uploads/2015/07/Rt66GreenBookSurvey.pdf>.

<sup>278</sup> Warren James Belasco, *Americans on the Road: From Autocamp to Motel, 1910 – 1945* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1979), 170. Pat Haigh Stein, "Seligman Commercial Historic District," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 2005), Section 7, 8, 9.

<sup>279</sup> "Funeral to be Conducted Today in Prescott for Hosea Lanier," *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), March 28, 1959, p. 14. *Supai Motel. RT66-2116*. 1956. James R. Powell Route 66 Collection, Newberry Library, Chicago. Accessed April 27, 2018.



216,000 with most independently owned and operated. These stations were typically affiliated with a national brand of gasoline, but were independent local businesses also typically family-owned and operated. Seligman added a new Shell-affiliated gas station in 1961 in addition to the existing Standard Oil of California (Chevron) station and a competing Texaco station. Kingman added Shell, Mobile, and Associated gasoline affiliated stations during this period as well.<sup>280</sup>

One of the biggest areas of economic expansion for communities in the region related to growing postwar travel on Route 66 was the proliferation of local restaurants. Nationally, the postwar period saw a large expansion in diners and other fast-food eating places oriented around automobile travelers. In and around big cities, many of these restaurants were part of the emerging chain-restaurant industry dominated by players like Howard Johnson's and the fast-growing McDonald's restaurants. In the region, however, the earlier orientation around locally owned and operated independent restaurants continued. Kingman added several new cafes including the Lockwood Café, the Casa Linda Café, the Jade Café, and the City Café. Seligman also saw new restaurants open including the Copper Cart Restaurant in 1951 and the Black Cat Bar in 1963. Some of these new restaurants also represented economic opportunity for previously marginalized community residents. In 1953, Juan Delgadillo opened the Snow Cap Drive-in in Seligman along Route 66. His father, Angel Delgadillo Senior had previously operated a pool hall and grocery that catered to the segregated Latino population in Seligman in the

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<sup>280</sup> William Kaszynski, *The American Highway: The History and Culture of Roads in the United States* (London: McFarland and Company, 2000), 176. Pat Haigh Stein, "Seligman Commercial Historic District," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 2005), Section 7, 8, 9. Dan Messersmith, *Kingman* (Charleston: Arcadia Publishing, 2010), 80-81.

1920s. In a marked difference, Juan Delgadillo's Snow-Cap Drive-In was operated by a new Latino businessman but due to business realities in the 1950-1965 period largely catered to majority non-Hispanic White travelers and tourists traveling along Route 66.<sup>281</sup>

The 1965 to 1978 period, however, marked a turning point in terms of the increasing automobile traffic growth and the economic prosperity it brought to the region. While the increasing automobile traffic continued to benefit local business owners, the increasing traffic led to a weakening of quality of life for some residents in the region. The economy of each community became increasingly oriented around servicing travelers. At the same time, the increase in traffic caused more local issues for residents – particularly traffic accidents. By the mid-1960s, Route 66 had garnered the unfortunate nickname Bloody 66 – particularly in the southwest and Arizona where the road was the narrowest. Traffic accidents and fatalities became a regular occurrence as automobiles collided with each other on narrow rural stretches of the highway, rear-ended each other in town, and ran over local residents just trying to cross the street.<sup>282</sup>

Seligman is a case in point. Crossing Chino Avenue, as Route 66 was known in town, was almost impossible by car or on foot. Mirna Delgadillo recalled the feeling of taking her life in her hands as a high school student trying to cross Chino Avenue to get

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<sup>281</sup> Angel Delgadillo, 2007, Interview by R. Sean Evans, February 19, Item number 78541, transcript, Route 66 Oral History Project, Cline Library Northern Arizona University, Flagstaff, AZ. Dan Messersmith, *Kingman* (Charleston: Arcadia Publishing, 2010), 77-79. Pat Haigh Stein, "Seligman Commercial Historic District," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 2005), Section 7, 8, 9.

<sup>282</sup> "Four Injured in Car Collision," *Williams News* (Williams, AZ), May 10, 1945. "Five Inured as Car Upsets on Road South of Town," *Williams News* (Williams, AZ), July 20, 1950. "Early Morning Wreck Hospitalizes Four," *Williams News* (Williams, AZ), August 17, 1950. "Washington Pair Injured in Accident," *Williams News* (Williams, AZ), November 16, 1950. "Two Injured in Auto Accident," *Williams News* (Williams, AZ), April 6, 1950. "Swiss Injured in Auto Wreck," *Williams News* (Williams, AZ), October 19, 1950. "Williams Man Badly Injured in Accident," *Williams News* (Williams, AZ), March 29, 1951. "Hospital Briefs," *Williams News* (Williams, AZ), July 16, 1959. Burke Johnson, "Route 66 a transient Way of Life," *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), August 15, 1965.

to her job at her uncle Juan Delgadillo's restaurant, the Snow-Cap Drive-in. Seligman High School was north of Chino Avenue. The Snow-Cap Drive-In was on the south side of Chino Avenue (Route 66). Crossing Route 66 could be life threatening. "Crossing the street was like taking your life into your hands, because there was so much traffic. And I remember that. It's like you have to take time to figure out, Okay, I'm gonna go after this car."<sup>283</sup> In the region, the Arizona Highway Department responded by widening Route 66 along particularly dangerous sections in rural areas and in each town in the region. In Seligman, as in the other towns in the region, this required obtaining property easements and in some cases condemning property to widen the road. The Delgadillo family with multiple properties along Route 66 in town granted easements to the highway department to widen the road. The Black Cat Bar had to purchase the lot behind it and build a new building as the old building was condemned for highway widening. This widening project, however, resulted in more cars travelling through town at faster speeds. Similar results occurred in Ash Fork and other regional communities.<sup>284</sup> From the mid 1960s until

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<sup>283</sup> Mirna Delgadillo, 2007, Interview by R. Sean Evans, February 19, Item number 78541, transcript, Route 66 Oral History Project, Cline Library Northern Arizona University, Flagstaff, AZ.

<sup>284</sup> "Four Injured in Car Collision," *Williams News* (Williams, AZ), May 10, 1945. "Five Inured as Car Upsets on Road South of Town," *Williams News* (Williams, AZ), July 20, 1950. "Early Morning Wreck Hospitalizes Four," *Williams News* (Williams, AZ), August 17, 1950. "Washington Pair Injured in Accident," *Williams News* (Williams, AZ), November 16, 1950. "Two Injured in Auto Accident," *Williams News* (Williams, AZ), April 6, 1950. "Swiss Injured in Auto Wreck," *Williams News* (Williams, AZ), October 19, 1950. "Williams Man Badly Injured in Accident," *Williams News* (Williams, AZ), March 29, 1951. "Hospital Briefs," *Williams News* (Williams, AZ), July 16, 1959. Burke Johnson, "Route 66 a transient Way of Life," *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), August 15, 1965. Angel and Juana Delgadillo, "Right of Way Contract" (Legal document, Seligman, AZ, 1964), 1-2. MS466, 2016.35, Box 10, Cline Library Northern Arizona University, Flagstaff, AZ. Angel Delgadillo, 2007, Interview by R. Sean Evans, February 19, Item number 78541, transcript, Route 66 Oral History Project, Cline Library Northern Arizona University, Flagstaff, AZ. Marshall Trimble, *Ash Fork* (Charleston: Arcadia Publishing, 2008), 72. , Pat Haigh Stein, "Seligman Commercial Historic District," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 2005), Section 7, 8, 9.

the region began to be bypassed in 1978, the rise of Route 66 was good for business, but detrimental to community life in the towns in the region.

### The Rise of I-40: The Dawn of Interstates and the Twilight of Route 66

Although unknown to regional residents at the time, dramatic changes were afoot in the transportation infrastructure sustaining the region that would come to threaten the viability of the region itself. The original highway system had seen tremendous growth in vehicle traffic from 1926 to 1956. As a result, the original two-lane roads were in poor condition and in need of rebuilding. Likewise, the large increase in traffic on these roads had led to a corresponding dramatic increase in traffic accidents. Grassroots demands to do something about the state of U.S. roads was building again. At the same time, interest in Washington was building to do something more with roads than mere repaving. The military's experience in World War Two, particularly the contrast between France's muddy roads and Germany's autobahns, had proven the centrality of larger, federally engineered roads to national defense. The economic growth facilitated by the adoption of automobiles, trucks, and highways had cemented automotive infrastructure as a driver of economic development. The need to rebuild roads, emerging Cold War defense concerns, and economic growth priorities led to the Federal Aid Highway Act of 1956. The act called for the creation of a new system of limited access divided highways that would prioritize reducing travel times between major cities and increasing highway safety. Shortening travel time between cities and limiting access would have a significant negative effect on small towns cut-off from access to the system. However, the creation of this massive new highway system provided a big boost to truck shipping putting railroads at a competitive disadvantage. The project to create a new system of interstate

highways would prompt massive changes in the operation and configuration of railroads as they lost business and scrambled to complete.<sup>285</sup> In 1945, however, the communities in the region were still trying to recover from the twin impacts of Depression and war with an unclear path forward. Traffic on Route 66, and the economic boost it brought into each community, provided waymarking for economic and community development postwar. Losing this traffic to massive highway infrastructure change was unimaginable in the region.

Despite looming changes in highway infrastructure, the regional focus on automobile traveler service businesses proved prescient. The existing and newly added automobile traveler oriented businesses in the region were highly profitable. Traffic, automobile and railroad, was responsible for the success of these new businesses. However, the new Federal Highway Act, contained provisions that threatened the continuation of the flow of traffic through the region vital to sustain these businesses. As local business owners in small towns like Williams, Seligman, and Kingman began to fully understand the implications of the design requirements of the new highway act, particularly the requirements to reduce travel time between major cities by bypassing small towns, their initial support for the new highways cooled and opposition to the act began to grow.<sup>286</sup>

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<sup>285</sup> Tom Lewis, *Divided Highways: Building the Interstate Highways, Transforming American Life* (New York: Viking Penguin, 1997), 71-124, 286.

<sup>286</sup> "Anti-bypass Bill Sought." *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), November 15, 1963, p. 5. "Bypass Threat Countered," *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), November 30, 1957, p. 15. "Hearings on Bypass Plans Outlined by Senator Hayden," *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), August 16, 1956, p. 5. "Proposed Interstate 40 Would Bypass Seligman," *Arizona Daily Sun* (Flagstaff, AZ), November 17, 1959, p. 1.

By August of 1956, as specific details of the new highway plan became clear, northern Arizona residents became concerned that their cities would be bypassed in favor of quicker travel times to Los Angeles. Senator Carl Hayden, running for re-election during 1956, sought to re-assure constituents at a candidate forum in Winslow, Arizona (east of Flagstaff on Route 66) that any proposals to bypass towns would be subject to public hearings and that changes could be made to proposed highway routes based on local input.<sup>287</sup> Arizona Senator Barry Goldwater, at a separate meeting, also assured concerned constituents that public hearings would be held before any bypass plan was finalized.<sup>288</sup> Despite these assurances, local concerns grew leading the Arizona Highway Commission to pass a resolution in November, 1957 demanding the Federal Bureau of Public Roads certify the existing route of U.S. Route 66 as the new route for I-40.<sup>289</sup>

Instead, a Phoenix engineering firm was contracted to conduct an economic study of routing options for I-40. The report, released on November 17, 1959, proposed four possible routes for I-40 only one of which demonstrated routing I-40 along the current path of Route 66. Far from recommending the current route of Route 66 for the new highway, the report endorsed the first option, Route A, as the best option. Route A proposed routing the highway in a straight line between Flagstaff and Kingman completely bypassing Seligman and Peach Springs. This recommendation was based on a cost-benefit analysis that determined Route A produced the greatest economic benefit for

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<sup>287</sup> "Hearings on Bypass Plans Outlined by Senator Hayden," *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), August 16, 1956.

<sup>288</sup> "New Roads Help City Interests," *Arizona Daily Star* (Tucson, AZ), September 21, 1956.

<sup>289</sup> "Bypass Threat Countered," *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), November 30, 1957.

the money invested particularly noting the economic benefit to Kingman, Arizona.<sup>290</sup> Controversy raged throughout early 1960 about the proposal culminating in a formal hearing held in Kingman on August 3, 1960.<sup>291</sup> During the hearing, Route A was opposed by business owners from Seligman who stated it would severely harm their businesses. No representatives from Peach Springs attended the meeting. The hearing proved heated when William Coxon, outspoken head of the Arizona Motor Hotel Association accused the Bureau of Public Roads of having illegally pressured state officials into deciding on the bypass route before the meeting.<sup>292</sup>

However, since the federal government was providing 90 percent of the funding for the new highways, they exerted considerable control over the project. State highway officials had to do what federal officials wanted if they wanted federal highway funds.<sup>293</sup> For Seligman and Peach Springs, this was a problem. Federal designers wanted to bypass most of the looping route through the Chino and Aubrey Valleys in favor of the straighter route direct from Flagstaff to Kingman. Despite fierce local opposition, Route A, the design option for I-40 that bypassed Seligman, Peach Springs, Truxton, and Hackberry was approved on August 24, 1960 by the Arizona State Highway Commission.<sup>294</sup>

At first, although bypassed on paper, life went on as before in towns like Seligman and Peach Springs. Although federal officials originally estimated that the

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<sup>290</sup> "Interstate Route A Gets Endorsement," *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), November 17, 1959, "Proposed Interstate 40 Would Bypass Seligman," *Arizona Daily Sun* (Flagstaff, AZ), November 17, 1959.

<sup>291</sup> "Hearing on Route Set August 3 on Seligman-Kingman Interstate," *Arizona Daily Sun* (Flagstaff, AZ), June 24, 1960.

<sup>292</sup> "Groups Ask Work on 66," *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), August 4, 1960.

<sup>293</sup> Lewis, *Divided Highways*, 95-124.

<sup>294</sup> "Interstate Route A Gets Endorsement," *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), November 17, 1959, p. 10. "Hearing on Route Set August 3 on Seligman-Kingman Interstate," *Arizona Daily Sun* (Flagstaff, AZ), June 24, 1960, p. 3. "Commission OK's Highway Bypass," *Arizona Daily Star* (Flagstaff, AZ), August 25, 1960, p. 16.

construction of the entire interstate highway system would be complete in 12 years, actual construction of the interstate highways took much longer.<sup>295</sup> The section in northwestern Arizona slated to bypass towns like Seligman in the region ran into construction delays due to the difficult terrain in the area. Regional communities initially benefitted from this delay. Construction of I-40 proceeded quickly through northeastern Arizona all the way to Flagstaff. Likewise, construction of I-40 east from California quickly cut through the flat Mohave desert to the Colorado River. The bypass of the Chino and Aubrey Valleys loop of Route 66, however went slowly as the pre-Cambrian granite of the Juniper Mountains proved a formidable obstacle.<sup>296</sup>

To keep traffic moving, highway officials built an exit off of I-40 over two miles long that connected travelers back to the old Route 66 just east of Seligman. Travelers then continued on Route 66 through Seligman and up to Peach Springs before looping back down through Hackberry and connecting back to I-40 just east of Kingman.<sup>297</sup> This kept traffic humming along Route 66 through towns like Seligman well into the 1970s.<sup>298</sup> Despite this temporary reprieve, however, the plan to bypass most regional communities

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<sup>295</sup> Lewis, *Divided Highways*, ix – xiv.

<sup>296</sup> “Arizona Road Map,” *Arizona Highway Department*, 1965. “United States Western States Map,” *Union 76 Oil Company of California*, 1969. “Arizona- New Mexico Map,” *American Automobile Association*, 1971. “Western States Highway Map,” *American Automobile Association*, 1976. “Arizona Interstate Progress,” *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), June 28, 1964, p. 2.

<sup>297</sup> “Road Body to Mull Coffee-Stop Pros, Cons.” *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), August 16, 1967, p. 19. “Arizona Road Map,” *Arizona Highway Department*, 1965. “United States Western States Map,” *Union 76 Oil Company of California*, 1969. “Arizona- New Mexico Map,” *American Automobile Association*, 1971. “Western States Highway Map,” *American Automobile Association*, 1976.

<sup>298</sup> Angel Delgadillo, 2007, Interview by R. Sean Evans, February 19, Item number 78541, transcript, Route 66 Oral History Project, Cline Library Northern Arizona University, Flagstaff, AZ. Mirna Delgadillo, 2007, Interview by R. Sean Evans, February 19, Item number 78541, transcript, Route 66 Oral History Project, Cline Library Northern Arizona University, Flagstaff, AZ.



was set. Once the bypass was complete, the effects of the traffic diversion would be felt abruptly in the region.<sup>299</sup>

The regional threat posed by the highway bypass ran in tandem with significant changes to railroad infrastructure in the region . As early as the 1930s, the Santa Fe Railroad had been investing in new diesel locomotives. By the 1950s they boasted of having the most diesels of any railroad.<sup>300</sup> Simultaneous investments in new track and electronic railyard switching were also quickly modernizing the Santa Fe. By 1956, the Santa Fe had completely converted to diesel locomotives prompting the closing of the steam locomotive-oriented roundhouse at Seligman and watering facilities at Peach Springs. Maintenance for locomotives was consolidated to Barstow, California also prompting the closing of locomotive maintenance facilities in Winslow, Arizona.<sup>301</sup> Electronic track switching eliminated the need for on-the-ground switchmen. Track upgrades using continuously welded rail allowed trains to travel faster.<sup>302</sup>

In a troubling sign for regional communities like Ash Fork, however, passenger and freight volume on the Santa Fe also declined postwar. As in World War One, truck shipping had become an import aspect of freight shipping during World War Two. With the transcontinental highways all paved before the start of the war, truck shipping became even more viable. The main source of truck freight in Arizona were agricultural commodities from central Arizona. As truck shipping gained in popularity, these trucks

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<sup>299</sup> "Cutoff by Interstate Dooms Route 66," *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), September 23, 1978, p. 1.

<sup>300</sup> "Santa Fe Buys Four Big Diesels," *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), March 3, 1940, p. 12. "Santa Fe Buys 31 New Diesels," *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), May 4, 1939, p. 46. "Santa Fe Orders 21 More Diesels," *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), September 17, 1948, p. 15. "Santa Fe Purchases Diesel Locomotives," *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), June 26, 1940, p. 36.

<sup>301</sup> "Roundhouse Rubble," *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), March 26, 1962, p. 8.

<sup>302</sup> "Santa Fe Sees 'Improvement' During 1961," *Arizona Daily Sun* (Flagstaff, AZ), December 30, 1961, p. 4. "The Santa Fe, a Partner in Progress," *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), March 27, 1976, p. 67.

loaded freight at farms in central Arizona and drove out on Route 60 or Route 70, not Route 66. Truck shipping only accounted for a portion of the decline in freight shipments through Ash Fork, however.<sup>303</sup>

More problematic to freight shipping through the region was the configuration of the Santa Fe's main and branch lines. The main line, after leaving Ash Fork, had to negotiate a series of steep grades on its way to Williams. This required coupling additional locomotives to provide enough power to pull the trains up the steep grades. Additionally, the branch line from Phoenix, like the main line as it left Ash Fork, routed on a series of steep switch backed mountain grades that also required extra locomotive power to climb the grades. Furthermore, as a combined passenger and freight line, trains leaving central Arizona stopped at numerous towns along the way extending the transit time to Ash Fork. Once in Ash Fork, the freight cars loaded on the branch line had to be recoupled to a main line train in Ash Fork adding additional shipping delay.<sup>304</sup> The additional locomotives, the additional fuel they burned, and the extended shipping times made shipping freight on the Santa Fe less convenient and more expensive than on other rail lines or truck services operating in Arizona.

The decline in passenger and freight volume through Ash Fork in the early postwar period began affecting the region immediately. By 1950, passenger volume on

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<sup>303</sup> Ibid. Arizona Points of Interest and Touring Map, Chevron Oil Company, 1946. Map of Arizona and New Mexico, Shell Oil Company, 1947. Arizona Map, Arizona State Highway Commission, 1950. Western United States Map, Automobile Club of Southern California, 1951.

<sup>304</sup> Douglas E. Kupel, "ASH FORK: Transportation and Town-Building in Northern Arizona," *The Journal of Arizona History* 39, no. 2 (1998): 155-74. Trimble, *Ash Fork*, 73, 83-107. "Market Movement," *Tucson Daily Citizen* (Tucson, AZ), June 20, 1946. "Railroad Fare Increase Request Inflation Sample," *Arizona Daily Sun* (Flagstaff, AZ), September 21, 1956. Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe Railway System Map, *Railway Stocks and Bonds*, January, 1908.

the Phoenix to Ash Fork trains had dropped to less than 12 passengers a day. By early 1950, the Santa Fe petitioned the Arizona Corporate Commission to reduce its service from three passenger trains a day to one. The initial request was refused by the commission, but by 1952, the Santa Fe had succeeded in reducing its passenger service to a single evening passenger train.<sup>305</sup>

The Santa Fe continued throughout the 1950s attempting to reconfigure its service in the region to become more competitive. In the late 1950s, the Santa Fe petitioned the Federal Interstate Commerce Commission for permission to modify the configuration of their rail system in central and northern Arizona. Fundamental to the Santa Fe's plans was rebuilding the branch line from Phoenix to Ash Fork along a route with fewer steep grades that also bypassed most towns between Phoenix and the main line including Prescott. Similarly, the Santa Fe proposed rebuilding the main line from Crookton west of Ash Fork to Williams east of Ash Fork to run ten miles north of Ash Fork to avoid the steep mountain grades of the existing line – bypassing the town entirely. The Commission approved the Santa Fe's petition, and the railroad completed the Crookton to Williams bypass in 1960. In a related blow to Williams, the bypass also diverted main line traffic out of Williams. The Santa Fe built a new depot, Williams Junction, three miles east of Williams to facilitate loading freight and passengers from Ash Fork and Williams on the rerouted main line. The new Phoenix to Ash Fork branch line route was

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<sup>305</sup> "Santa Fe Asks Permit to Cut Train Service," *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), March 10, 1950. "Santa Fe Plea to Trim State Service Rejected," *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), March 30, 1950. "Service Cut by Santa Fe is Approved," *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), April 18, 1950. "Postal Service Left in Lurch by Speed," *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), December 2, 1952. Douglas E. Kupel, "ASH FORK: Transportation and Town-Building in Northern Arizona," *The Journal of Arizona History* 39, no. 2 (1998): 155-74. Trimble, *Ash Fork*, 73, 83-107.

completed in 1962 diverting traffic away from all central Arizona communities including Prescott. It allowed freight and passenger trains to run direct from Phoenix to the main line. Passenger service was subsequently eliminated completely in 1967.<sup>306</sup>

Reductions in passenger service shifted more of the Santa Fe's business to freight hauling. Increasingly, much like interstate automobile travel, this freight moved between major cities. To meet this need, the Santa Fe prioritized reducing travel time between major cities on the line. The railroad introduced the Super-C freight train that could move train cars between Chicago and Los Angeles in under 40 hours.<sup>307</sup> This required reducing the number of stops and bottlenecks along the way. The railroad began experimenting with moving trains faster to reduce the number of train crew changes required. As a national corporate entity with little attachment to the region or what their presence in the region provided economically to regional residents, the Santa Fe, like most national corporations focused on its own business needs – specifically reducing its presence in the region.<sup>308</sup> In the early 1980s, the Santa Fe ran a series of experiments evaluating the effects of eliminating most stops in the region and dropping Seligman as a division stop

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<sup>306</sup> "Santa Fe Seeking Permission to Relocate Track in Arizona," *Arizona Daily Star* (Tucson, AZ), May 12, 1959. "Santa Fe Traffic on New Line Dec. 19," *Williams News* (Williams, AZ), December 15, 1960. "Santa Fe's New Bypass Route Ready," *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), April 17, 1962. "New Santa Fe Cutoff Opened: 'Extra 31' Closes Out Prescott Passenger Run," *Arizona Daily Star* (Tucson, AZ), May 1, 1962. "Last Train from Williams," *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), November 3, 1967. Douglas E. Kupel, "ASH FORK: Transportation and Town-Building in Northern Arizona," *The Journal of Arizona History* 39, no. 2 (1998): 155-74. Trimble, *Ash Fork*, 73, 83-107.

<sup>307</sup> "The Super C," *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), April 15, 1973, p. 319.

<sup>308</sup> Jefferson Cowie, *Capital Moves: RCA's Seventy Year Quest for Cheap Labor* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1999). "Railway Lowers Boom: Seligman is Cut as Stop," *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), January 24, 1985, p. 70. Fred Smith, "Last Stop: 'Rails' depart, Leaving Seligman to Fend for Itself," *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), February 8, 1985, p. 2.

where trains changed crews. Determining these experiments successful, the Santa Fe made formal plans to eliminate most stops in the region.<sup>309</sup>

However, not all infrastructure changes in the region posed an existential threat to communities in the region. Some communities benefitted from infrastructure configuration changes. Kingman faced an uncertain economic future in the immediate postwar period. The construction of the Kingman Army Airforce base had saved the local economy as Kingman's gold and silver mining was shut down by the war effort. The subsequent construction of a large auxiliary air field for the Kingman base, Yucca Army Airfield south of Kingman had further aligned Kingman's economy with the war effort. This investment by the federal government into military aviation infrastructure had piggybacked off of Kingman residents' early investments in civilian aviation infrastructure which had established the Kingman area as highly suitable to aviation activity. The military activity in Kingman during the war had yielded other infrastructure improvements as well. The railyard and depot in Kingman saw substantial upgrades to expand its capacity to store and ship military supplies and transport troops. Numerous military convoys utilized Route 66 delivering continual automotive business to Kingman. All of this federal investment in transportation infrastructure played a pivotal role in reversing Kingman's economic uncertainty and seeding Kingman's quick growth in the postwar period.

Still, in the immediate postwar period, now that the war was over the fate of these airbases was uncertain. Kingman residents hoped to hold on to the bases as the spending

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<sup>309</sup> "Railway Lowers Boom: Seligman is Cut as Stop," *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), January 24, 1985, p. 70. Fred Smith, "Last Stop: 'Rails' depart, Leaving Seligman to Fend for Itself," *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), February 8, 1985, p. 2.

by the federal government and Army service members was central to the viability of the local economy. However, the World War Two build up left the United States with far more military bases and equipment than pre-Cold War post World War Two government officials thought necessary. To deal with the surplus, President Truman established the War Assets Administration by executive order on February 2, 1946. On February 26, 1946, the WAA received one of its first facilities when the U.S. Army-Airforce deactivated Kingman Army Airforce base and transferred it to the WAA. The WAA renamed it Storage Depot 41 and prepared the former base for a new mission – scrapping over 7,000 former fighter and bomber aircraft deemed no longer needed. Surplus military aircraft from across the United States, including brand-new aircraft just off the assembly line, were flown to Storage Depot 41 to be sold or scrapped. Acting like one of the earlier area mines, the scrapping operation at the airbase generated 70 million tons of aluminum through 1948.<sup>310</sup>

With its scrapping mission complete, the airbase was given to Mohave County. The county leased the facility to George Steinke with a contract to develop the airbase into the new Kingman Airport. The county closed the older Port Kingman airport and donated the land to the Elks Club to build a fairground. The new, much larger airport constructed out of the old airbase could service all types of aircraft including commercial passenger planes. Arizona Airlines established operations at the airport offering daily scheduled air service to Phoenix. Buildings not of use to the airport were taken by the

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<sup>310</sup> “Destination Oblivion,” *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), October 8, 1971. Dan Messersmith, *Kingman* (Charleston: Arcadia Publishing, 2010), 83. 99-101. “Records of the War Assets Administration,” *Archives.gov*, Accessed July 18, 2020, <https://www.archives.gov/research/guide-fed-records/groups/270.html#270.1>

county for use as offices and storage. The base hospital was leased to a private company which opened a sanatorium in the former military hospital. However, the airbase property also included over 4,000 acres of land surrounding the airport infrastructure. In a move that would prove critical to Kingman's future development, the county established an industrial park with the open land in 1951 to encourage industrial development in Kingman.<sup>311</sup>

The addition of the airport infrastructure and subsequent industrial park courtesy of the federal government was only one of two significant transportation infrastructure investments Kingman benefited from in the immediate postwar period. The Army had been quite frustrated with the 1926 routing of Route 66 through Sitgreaves Pass and the Black Mountains. The narrow, heavily switch-backed, steep road was incapable of handling military trucks. Army convoys either had to be loaded onto railroad flatcars at the Kingman Depot for transport by rail to Needles, California, or use the gravel state road that ran along the Santa Fe tracks through the Mohave Valley. This road eventually reconnected with Route 66 right before the Colorado River bridge. Postwar, truckers and the rising number of automobile travelers also became frustrated with the narrow twisting road west of Kingman with many opting to skip the western part of Route 66 in favor of Route 60 or other southern routes in Arizona. Pressure mounted from all sides including the National U.S. 66 Highway Association for the State of Arizona to do something about Route 66 west of Kingman. In 1949, the state agreed to reroute Route 66 west of Kingman to follow the Santa Fe railroad route through the Mohave Valley. The state

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<sup>311</sup> "Big Expansion Planned for Kingman Base," *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), September 14, 1947. Don Campbell, "Industry Prefers Fresh Breath Too," *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), October 8, 1971. "UA Team Makes Study for Mohave," *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), March 8, 1974.

invested \$3 million in a brand new highway, which while pre-interstate, approached future interstate standards. The wide, multilane highway featured curves of less than one percent and grades no greater than four percent. The highway was optimized to facilitate truck traffic. As it approached Kingman, the new highway continued routing along the railroad route skirting the east side of Kingman rather than plunging through the middle of it in another anticipation of future interstate design standards. This allowed the free flow of traffic through Kingman while still providing motorists and truckers easy access to Kingman automobile service businesses and the railroad depot. The new highway was completed in 1952.<sup>312</sup> The new highway, combined with the airport and industrial park, were major infrastructure investments in Kingman by the federal government and State of Arizona that served as the foundation for economic growth in Kingman postwar.

In the 1950s, Kingman was a fast growing community. By 1960, state planning for interstate 40, the proposed replacement of Route 66, was well underway. The growth of Kingman did not go unnoticed by state highway planners. Nor did the state's relatively recent significant investment in the new road south of Kingman. Route A, the chosen path for I-40, was particularly favorable to Kingman. It bypassed most of the towns between Flagstaff and Kingman and drove all traffic into Kingman. The new highway plan routed the road to the north of town connecting Kingman Airport and the industrial park to the interstate. It then looped west of the city and aligned with the current path of Route 66 south of Kingman. The plan called for upgrading Route 66 along its current

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<sup>312</sup> "Route 66 Group Cites Need for Paving, Aligning Road," *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), April 29, 1948. "New Road to Replace Rugged Section of 66," *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), June 11, 1949. "Dangerous Sector of Route 66 Eliminated," *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), June 10, 1949. "Vital Highway 66 Link to be Completed October 1," *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), August 28, 1952.



path south of town to interstate standards. Most of the towns in northwestern Arizona had been vehemently opposed to the decision to use Route A as it meant cutting them off from highway traffic. Kingman boosters, however, were enthusiastic about the plan. When state planners chose Route A as the official path for I-40, they noted the specific economic benefits to Kingman.<sup>313</sup> In less than 15 years, Kingman had benefitted from three transportation infrastructure investments with the donation of the airbase property to the county, the reroute and upgrade of Route 66, and the favorable decision on interstate routing. These infrastructure investments would turn Kingman into the leading local economy in the region.

#### Regional Economic and Community Change Postwar

The explosive growth in the use of automobiles nationally combined with the regional infrastructure changes drove economic and community change positively and negatively regionally. In terms of community and economic development, the continuous stream of cars headed west did much to rebuild the postwar economies of the communities in the region. The significant reorientation around automobile traveler services, however, coupled with a continuing dependence on the railroad, would set up many communities to grow for a time only to falter as the foundational infrastructure in the region was reconfigured.

#### Williams

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<sup>313</sup> "Interstate Route A Gets Endorsement," *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), November 17, 1959. "Hearings on Bypass Plans Outlined by Senator Hayden," *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), August 16, 1956. "Commission OK's Highway Bypass," *Arizona Daily Star* (Tucson, AZ), August 25, 1960. "Interstate to Bypass Seligman," *Arizona Daily Sun* (Flagstaff, AZ), August 24, 1960. "Proposed Interstate 40 Would Bypass Seligman," *Arizona Daily Sun* (Flagstaff, AZ), November 17, 1959. "Hearing on Route Set August 3 On Seligman-Kingman Interstate," *Arizona Daily Sun* (Flagstaff, AZ), June 24, 1960. "Anti-bypass Bill Sought by Group," *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), November 15, 1963.

For Williams, the reorientation of the economic and community life of the town had begun before the beginning of the war. The arrival of Route 66 created new economic opportunities in Williams like in much of the larger region. The 1930s and the onset of the Great Depression prompted a shift away from resource extraction industries as the primary drivers of economic growth – particularly with the end of lumbermill employment in 1942. In their place, new growth industries like automobile services, retail, and tourism became more important to the economy. These new business opportunities prompted many local residents to participate in these new industries.

However, the town was forced to scramble right as America entered the war to ensure the continuation of basic services due to the abrupt departure of the Saginaw Manistee. The continued operation of corporate owned and run institutions like the Williams Hospital or the Saginaw Power Company were dependent on continued corporate presence in the town. The Saginaw Manistee Lumber Company had closed its Williams operations in 1942. This closure included all of the manufacturing operations at the plant along with affiliated services like the electric power plant and the hospital. Thankfully for the town, the power plant was of interest to other corporate entities. The Saginaw Manistee negotiated the sale of the power plant to an electric utility company shortly after the plant closure in Williams.<sup>314</sup> The hospital, however, had no takers. Health care in the 1940s was far different from the corporate for-profit models that emerged in the later twentieth century. Most hospitals in the early twentieth century were local government entities, run by non-profit benevolent organizations like churches, or

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<sup>314</sup> Saginaw-Manistee Lumber Company, "Contract," (Legal Contract, Williams, AZ, 1943), Cline Library Special Collections, MS43, Box 1, Series 1, Folder 16.

were private corporate entities in company towns. As such, there was no ready corporate buyer ready to jump in and purchase the Williams Hospital.

To remedy the situation, community members rallied to form the Williams Hospital Association. This civic organization raised funds to purchase the hospital from the lumber company and retain the staff to operate the hospital.<sup>315</sup> After the war, the hospital association raised funds to replace the aging lumber company era facility with a new one.<sup>316</sup> The hospital association hired Aubrey Thompson, formerly the hospital administrator in Holbrook, Arizona, to become the first administrator of the new Williams Hospital. The new hospital opened in 1950 just as postwar traffic was swelling on Route 66. Due to the massive increase in traffic in the 1950s on what was a narrow twisting two-lane highway, Route 66 gained the dark nickname “Bloody 66” due to the high number of traffic accidents along the route. The new hospital in Williams was a primary provider of trauma services to automobile accident victims in the 1950s. Maxine Thompson, a nurse at the Williams Hospital in the 1950s, recounted having patients housed in gurneys along the hallways due to the high volume of accidents. Due to the high volume of cases, the hospital had six surgeons on staff. As the only hospital in the region at the time, the facility took in patients from Ash Fork, Seligman, Peach Springs, and Kingman.<sup>317</sup>

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<sup>315</sup> “Articles of Incorporation of Williams Hospital,” Legal Advertisement, *Williams News* (Williams, AZ), November 25, 1943.

<sup>316</sup> “Hospital Contributions,” *Williams News* (Williams, AZ), March 31, 1949. “Tentative Date Set by W.H.A. for Dedication of New Building,” *Williams News* (Williams, AZ), March 17, 1949.

<sup>317</sup> Maxine Thompson Kindle. Interview by Hugh Clark. Oral History Interview. Williams, AZ, February, 1993, Cline Library Special Collections, Northern Arizona University, Flagstaff, AZ. “Tentative Date Set by W.H.A. for Dedication of New Building,” *Williams News* (Williams, AZ), March 17, 1949. “Four Injured in Car Collision,” *Williams News* (Williams, AZ), May 10, 1945. “Five Inured as Car Upsets on Road South of Town,” *Williams News* (Williams, AZ), July 20, 1950. “Early Morning Wreck Hospitalizes Four,” *Williams News* (Williams, AZ), August 17, 1950. “Washington Pair Injured in Accident,” *Williams*

The high volume of accident cases at the local hospital was fueled by the high volume of automobile travelers on Route 66 postwar. Some of these travelers were families relocating from the northeast and Midwest to the sunbelt and others were tourists. Even before the mill closure and the war, tourism had been an important part of the Williams economy. With the war over and the mill long closed, Williams residents looked to the tourism and travel sector as a potential new foundation for their community's economy. As the main route to the Grand Canyon, Williams was well positioned to profit from tourism. The development of a significant tourism industry in Williams had begun before World War Two. An article on December 1, 1938 in the *Williams News* ran with a front page headline reading, "Williams is Proud of Newest Industry."<sup>318</sup> The article emphatically declared the importance of the tourist industry to the town and went on to feature extended coverage of the town's latest automobile traveler businesses.<sup>319</sup> On December 5, 1940 the *Williams News* ran a front page story with a large full-page headline reading "Visions Tourist Traffic to be Million Dollar Industry."<sup>320</sup> The article covered an economic analysis sponsored by the local Rotary Club that found that the tourist industry had been the fastest growing industry in Williams between 1920 and 1940. The analysis compared the growth of the tourist industry to the payroll of the Saginaw Manistee Lumber Company over the same period and found that the lumbermill payroll had been flat over the period whereas tourist industry payroll,

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*News* (Williams, AZ), November 16, 1950. "Two Injured in Auto Accident," *Williams News* (Williams, AZ), April 6, 1950. "Swiss Injured in Auto Wreck," *Williams News* (Williams, AZ), October 19, 1950. "Williams Man Badly Injured in Accident," *Williams News* (Williams, AZ), March 29, 1951. "Hospital Briefs," *Williams News* (Williams, AZ), July 16, 1959.

<sup>318</sup> "Williams is Proud of Newest Industry," *Williams News* (Williams, AZ), December 1, 1938.

<sup>319</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>320</sup> "Visions Tourist Traffic to be Million Dollar Industry," *Williams News* (Williams, AZ), December 5, 1940.

which included all automobile service businesses, had grown substantially. This led the analyst to conclude that the tourist industry was driving all the economic growth in Williams and that, given the present rate of growth, the industry was capable of generating a million dollars in local spending annually.<sup>321</sup> By 1948, the motel industry alone in Williams contributed over a million dollars to the local economy.<sup>322</sup> The paper all but declared Williams economic and employment problems solved in 1948 when it ran a triumphant headline announcing, “Williams Prospers with Decade of Growth: Lumber Mill Removal Fails to Halt Rise of a Bigger Williams.”<sup>323</sup> The article touted the growth of the tourism industry in Williams and its rise to the number one industry in Williams. It cited tourist traffic to the Grand Canyon as one of the leading drivers of tourism in Williams and enthusiastically announced the development of a downhill ski area in Williams as a potential new growth driver for tourism in Williams.<sup>324</sup>

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<sup>321</sup> Ibid.

<sup>322</sup> “Motel Industry Grows from Nothing to Million Dollar Industry in Few Years,” *Williams News* (Williams, AZ), November 18, 1948.

<sup>323</sup> “Williams Prospers with Decade of Growth: Lumber Mill Removal Fails to Halt Rise of a Bigger Williams,” *Williams News* (Williams, AZ), January 22, 1948.

<sup>324</sup> Ibid.

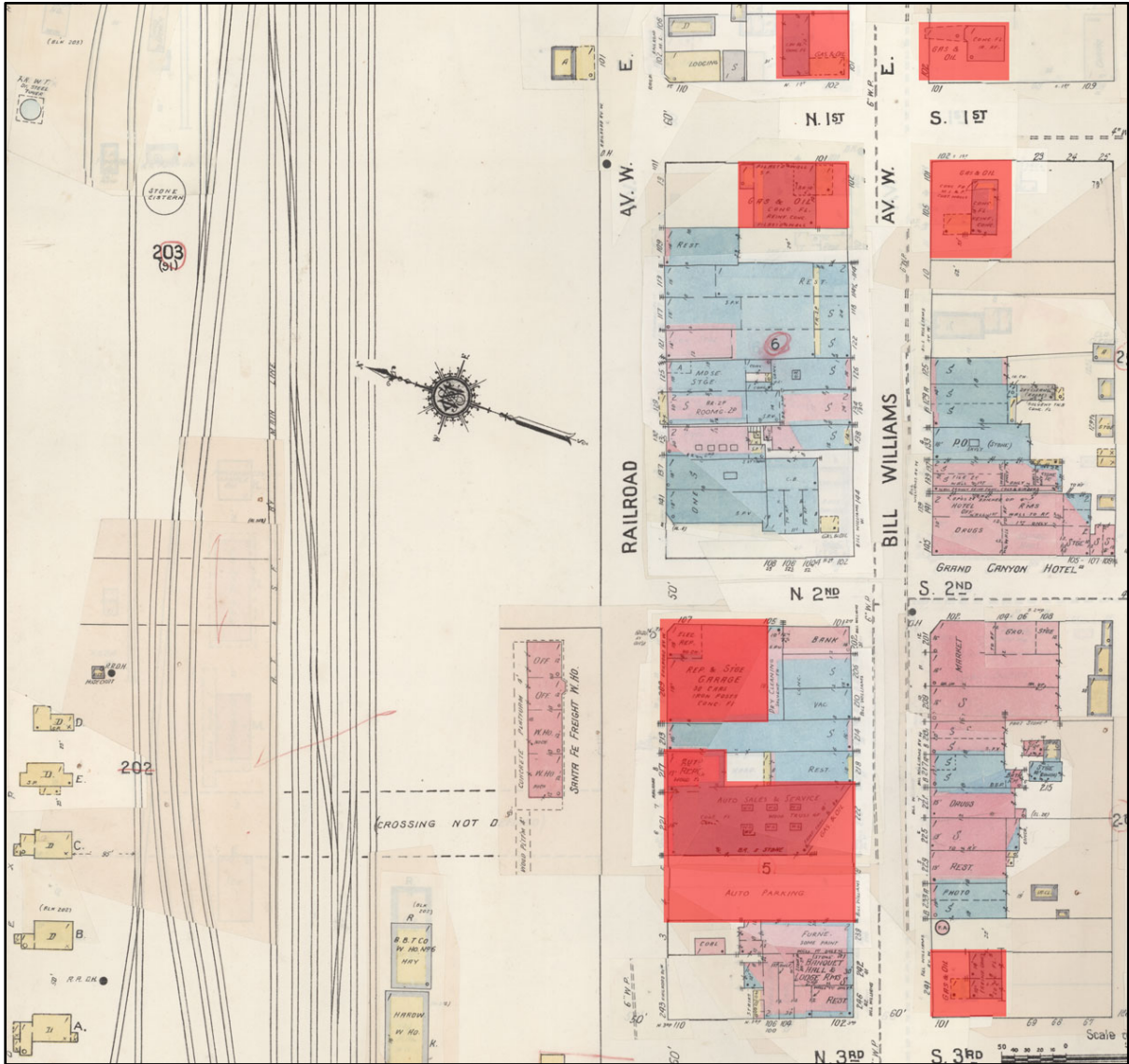


Figure 20. A Sanborn fire insurance map for Williams from 1948. The proliferation of auto-services business downtown are highlighted in red. Map courtesy Library of Congress.

The tourism industry continued to factor heavily in the town's economy and sense of itself as a community throughout the 1950s with the paper again declaring tourism the number one industry in Williams in 1956 and 1961.<sup>325</sup> This was not mere boosterism. The 1948 Sanborn Fire Insurance Map for Williams documented 14 motels in Williams. The

<sup>325</sup> "From 0 in the Year 1904 to No. 1 Industry in 1956," *Williams News* (Williams, AZ), March 22, 1956. "From 0 in the Year 1904 to No. 1 Industry in 1961," *Williams News* (Williams, AZ), May 8, 1961.

*Williams News* counted 22 motels in Williams in 1956 – a 57% increase.<sup>326</sup> As traffic volume continued to grow on Route 66, the number of automobile traveler service businesses continued to grow making them a primary employer in Williams.

Throughout its history, Williams elicited a strong sense of community for many current and former residents. The economic growth in Williams postwar reinforced this strong community identity and even attracted some former residents to return. The Dial family was an example. The family had moved away from Williams to Gila Bend due to economic hardship during the Great Depression. The opportunity to purchase a café in Gila Bend and right their wobbly finances had been too powerful a draw to keep them in Williams. The Café in Gila Bend was a money maker and almost immediately ended the family’s hard times. Strategically situated between the Luke Army-Airforce Gunnery Base and the bases of the 77<sup>th</sup>, 81<sup>st</sup>, and 103<sup>rd</sup> Infantry Divisions during World War Two, the café was continually busy serving meals to Army troops. Despite the café’s financial success, for Reuben Dial, life in the low desert in Gila Bend gnawed at him. In 1944, Dial sold the café and again moved his family to Texas. Dial attempted to build a new café back in Harper, but was unable to secure enough building supplies. The failure at building a new business and renewed friction with his Texas relatives, combined with a desire to return “home” to Williams, prompted another move back to Arizona. The Dial family returned to Williams in 1945 and purchased the Coffee Pot Café. However, running the café proved too much for Dial and he sold it to John Mills in 1947. Dial then took a job as a night clerk for the Williams Police Department where he worked until his

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<sup>326</sup> Sanborn Fire Insurance Map from Williams, Coconino County, Arizona. Sanborn Map Company, Oct - Jul 1948. “From 0 in the Year 1904 to No. 1 Industry in 1956,” *Williams News* (Williams, AZ), March 22, 1956.

retirement in 1962. Dial renewed his civic connections to Williams postwar becoming active in a number of civic organizations in town including joining the Williams Masonic Lodge.<sup>327</sup>

Dial represented the first generation of “highway” residents in the region. Born in the last decade of the nineteenth century, Dial like many in his generation adopted Williams as his home. Dial also originally came to Williams to work in sheep ranching, one of the many resource extraction industries in the Williams area. These industries were dependent on using the land to produce commodities and the railroad to ship them. The highway came to Williams when Dial was an adult. As the Williams economy evolved away from commodity production and towards automobile-dependent services like tourism and personal transportation, Dial’s occupation evolved as well operating multiple retail operations servicing travelers and tourists. When Reuben Dial sold his café to take a job with the city, Williams was on the verge of a booming golden-age for Route 66 automobile travel oriented businesses. It was second-generation “highway” residents of the Williams area like his daughter Roma who experienced this boom.

For Roma Dial, Williams was her home town. Other than the brief family stints in Texas and three-year foray to Gila Bend, she spent her childhood in Williams. In the summer of 1940, Roma got her first job working at the local movie theater selling popcorn. There she met Charlie Vincent. The two grew close over the summer and started

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<sup>327</sup> Roma Jane Vincent, *Roma Jane Vincent to Hugh Clark, February 25, 1993*. Northern Arizona University Cline Library Special Collections, *H.A. Clark Collection*, NAU.MS.314, Manuscripts 1880-1990, box 2, folder 5. “Law Officers Attend FBI School,” *Williams News* (Williams, AZ), August 24, 1961. “Retirement Party Fetes Reuben Dial,” *Williams News* (Williams, AZ), March 8, 1962. “Eastern Star Holds Installation Ceremonies,” *Williams News* (Williams, AZ), January 3, 1946. “Grandmaster of Masons Honored with Dinner,” *Williams News* (Williams, AZ), June 12, 1952. “Mrs. McNelly Hostess to Tuesday Club,” *Williams News* (Williams, AZ), May 12, 1955.



formally dating during the winter of 1940. The considerable age gap between the two-- Roma was in eighth grade and Charlie was a senior in high school--caused parental consternation on both sides. However, the family's move to Gila Bend and Charlie's enlistment in the Navy after Pearl Harbor seemingly settled the matter. Charlie, however, received a medical discharge from the Navy in 1942 due to issues with a poorly healed broken arm. Seeking out Roma in Gila Bend after his discharge, the two resumed their relationship and were married in December of 1942. Roma was 15 years old. The couple relocated to Williams and Charlie began working for the Safeway Grocery store.<sup>328</sup>

As the war progressed, Williams was a major site of troop movements. Military convoys moved troops and equipment through town by rail and highway. Watching all of this military activity as a civilian, Charlie Vincent grew restless wanting to participate directly in the war effort. He convinced the Navy to take him back and shipped out for the Pacific in 1943. He fought in multiple naval campaigns in the Pacific Theater remaining in the Navy until his discharge at the end of the war.<sup>329</sup>

Roma's brother Gene had also enlisted in the war effort. Gene joined the Army-Airforce. After washing out of pilot training he was trained as a tow-reel operator and then later as a radio operator. Home on leave with orders to ship overseas, Gene was an early casualty of the dramatic increase in traffic fatalities on Route 66 which began in 1945 when he was killed in an automobile accident on Route 66 on August 12, 1945. Gene's death prompted Charlie to receive an emergency leave order to attend the funeral

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<sup>328</sup> Roma Jane Vincent, *Roma Jane Vincent to Hugh Clark, February 25, 1993*. Northern Arizona University Cline Library Special Collections, *H.A. Clark Collection*, NAU.MS.314, Manuscripts 1880-1990, box 2, folder 5.

<sup>329</sup> *Ibid.*

in Williams. After the funeral Charlie did not return to his ship but was sent to the naval base on Treasure Island to await discharge. Upon discharge, he returned to Roma in Williams. The couple's first child, Thomas Eugene, was born in May of 1946. A second son arrived in April of 1948.<sup>330</sup>

To support his young family, Charlie got his old job back with the Safeway Grocery store. Needing something more lucrative, Charlie worked his way into a clerk's job on the Santa Fe railroad. Recognizing Charlie's talent for figures, his supervisor told him he should be an accountant. Charlie took some classes and opened an accounting business in Williams. The business proved profitable and grew. Profits from the accounting business allowed Charlie and Roma to invest directly in the now booming automobile services industry in Williams. In addition to his accounting business, Charlie opened a Shamrock and a Shell Oil service station. He also opened a bakery.<sup>331</sup>

In 1966, Charlie sold all his businesses to finance his bid for a new service station franchise opening in town. Union Oil bought his Shamrock station and converted it to a Union Oil owned station. Shell Oil did the same for his Shell-licensed station. These gas station conversions were representative of the trend towards chain service stations replacing independent stations postwar.<sup>332</sup> Competition for the new gasoline station franchise was fierce but Charlie was confident he would win the business only to lose out in the final round. After losing out on the new business, Charlie heard about a well-paid

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<sup>330</sup> Ibid.

<sup>331</sup> Ibid. "Charles Vincent Buys Shamrock Station," *Williams News* (Williams, AZ), September 16, 1965. "Merry Christmas, Bill Williams Shell," Advertisement, *Williams News* (Williams, AZ), December 20, 1962.

<sup>332</sup> William Kaszynski, *The American Highway: The History and Culture of Roads in the United States* (London: McFarland and Company, 2000), 176-178. Roma Jane Vincent, *Roma Jane Vincent to Hugh Clark, February 25, 1993*. Northern Arizona University Cline Library Special Collections, *H.A. Clark Collection*, NAU.MS.314, Manuscripts 1880-1990, box 2, folder 5.

accounting position available with the Rockwell Corporation in Mississippi from his brother-in-law.<sup>333</sup> By 1966, automobile travel services businesses like gas stations and motels were beginning to transition from “mom and pop” businesses to corporate run chains. Likewise, federal efforts on highways had already put the future of Route 66 businesses in doubt. The federal government had passed the new highway bill in 1956 and was actively constructing new interstates along different routes than the old highways throughout Arizona. Ash Fork had already been largely bypassed by I-40 four years earlier.<sup>334</sup> With doubt about Williams future in the air and a potential well-paid opportunity available in Mississippi, Charlie applied for the job and got the position. He moved the family to Grenada, Mississippi in the winter of 1966.<sup>335</sup>

Roma’s mother had died just before in November of 1966. She went into the hospital for routine surgery and three days into her recovery went into cardiac arrest and died. Roma’s father, now suffering from dementia, required daily care. Roma moved her father with her family down to Mississippi. Her father only agreed to leave Williams if Roma promised to bury him in Williams when he died. Reuben Dial died on February 6, 1974 and was buried in Williams on a Sunday, February 10<sup>th</sup>.<sup>336</sup> His strong place

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<sup>333</sup> Roma Jane Vincent, *Roma Jane Vincent to Hugh Clark, February 25, 1993*. Northern Arizona University Cline Library Special Collections, *H.A. Clark Collection*, NAU.MS.314, Manuscripts 1880-1990, box 2, folder 5.

<sup>334</sup> Warren James Belasco, *Americans on the Road: From Autocamp to Motel, 1910 – 1945* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1979), 169-172. Marshall Trimble, *Images of America: Ash Fork* (Charleston: Arcadia Publishing, 2008), 8. Tom Lewis, *Divided Highways: Building the Interstate Highways, Transforming American Life* (New York: Viking, 1997) 118-127, 141-142.

<sup>335</sup> Roma Jane Vincent, *Roma Jane Vincent to Hugh Clark, February 25, 1993*. Northern Arizona University Cline Library Special Collections, *H.A. Clark Collection*, NAU.MS.314, Manuscripts 1880-1990, box 2, folder 5. “Charles Vincents Moving to Mississippi,” *Williams News* (Williams, AZ), August 18, 1966.

<sup>336</sup> Roma Jane Vincent, *Roma Jane Vincent to Hugh Clark, February 25, 1993*. Northern Arizona University Cline Library Special Collections, *H.A. Clark Collection*, NAU.MS.314, Manuscripts 1880-1990, box 2, folder 5. “Reuben Dial Services Sunday, February 10,” *Williams News*, February 7, 1974.

attachment to Williams as an adopted home lasted until his death. Conversely, Roma and Charlie Vincent, like many World War Two generation Americans, were willing to trade attachment to place for economic opportunity elsewhere. Their move to Mississippi was motivated by financial considerations and paralleled the national trend of moving to sunbelt locations for economic opportunity. Whereas her father was willing to sell a lucrative business in Gila Bend to return to Williams, Charlie and Vincent sold their Williams businesses and moved out of their hometown for economic opportunity and did not return. Moves like this fueled a good portion of the upswing in traffic on Route 66 and the national desire to build a new highway system that facilitated faster movement between cities.

The Dial's exit from Williams took place across the backdrop of the rapid replacement of Route 66. Construction of I-40 was largely complete from the New Mexico border to Flagstaff by 1968.<sup>337</sup> Likewise, Ash Fork had been bypassed six years earlier with devastating results to the local economy that business leaders in Williams knew well.<sup>338</sup> With the lumber industry gone, tourism and automobile traveler services were the primary economic drivers of the local economy right when the Arizona Highway Department finalized their plans to replace the delivery mechanism that brought those travelers to Williams.<sup>339</sup> What followed was a long, divisive, convoluted path toward the community finally being bypassed by I-40. Long after every other town in the region had met their I-40 fate, Williams was the last town on Route 66.

Seligman

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<sup>337</sup> Arizona New Mexico Map. American Automobile Association, 1971.

<sup>338</sup> Trimble, *Ash Fork*, 73, 83-107.

<sup>339</sup> "FHA Approves Williams Interstate Bypass Design," *Williams News* (Williams, AZ), October 9, 1977.

Similar to other regional communities, the postwar period brought much change to Seligman. Early investors like the Lamport family faded from the town's history. Everett Lamport, Seligman Garage owner James Lamport's son, did not return to Seligman after the war. He went to college on the G.I. Bill, earned a doctorate in physics, and took a position with the University of Chicago. James Lamport's daughters all married and settled in southern California. James Lamport retired from operating the Seligman Garage in 1947. Lamport sold the business to local cattle rancher Tom Cook and moved to Chula Vista, California.<sup>340</sup>

The Laniers and the Delgadillo's however, continued on in Seligman. Hosea Lanier continued to manage the Seligman location of the Central Commercial Company. Angel Delgadillo, Senior continued work as a cement worker on local building projects.<sup>341</sup> Hosea Lanier's son Jack Lanier initially returned to Flagstaff after the war taking a position at Babbitt's Mercantile Store in the Meat Department. Jack had married Minnie Leah Buchanan prior to his military service. In June of 1951, Jack Lanier, his wife Minnie, and their children Toni, Janice, and Jacque returned to Seligman when Jack took a position with the Seligman Garage.<sup>342</sup> Juan Delgadillo returned to Seligman after the war and resumed his position with the Santa Fe Railroad.<sup>343</sup>

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<sup>340</sup> "Lamport's Mark 50<sup>th</sup> Anniversary," *Chula Vista Star-News* (Chula Vista, CA), December 28, 1969, p. 9. "Ashfork's Flagstone Rates High on the Market," *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), September 12, 1954, p. 16. "Wed in Oak Creek Rites," *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), October 19, 1946, p. 5.

<sup>341</sup> Angel Delgadillo, 2007, Interview by R. Sean Evans, February 19, Item number 78541, transcript, Route 66 Oral History Project, Cline Library Northern Arizona University, Flagstaff, AZ. "Hosea Lanier," The National Archives at St. Louis; St. Louis, Missouri; *World War II Draft Cards* (Fourth Registration) for the State of Arizona; Record Group Title: Records of the Selective Service System, 1926-1975; Record Group Number: 147; Box or Roll Number: 032

<sup>342</sup> "News of Arizona Communities: Williams," *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), June 28, 1951, p. 9. "Jack Lanier" (Marriage Certificate, County Marriage Records. Arizona History and Archives Division, Phoenix, Arizona), August 31, 1940.

<sup>343</sup> Angel Delgadillo, 2007, Interview by R. Sean Evans, February 19, Item number 78541, transcript, Route 66 Oral History Project, Cline Library Northern Arizona University, Flagstaff, AZ. Mirna Delgadillo, 2007,

Much of the change in Seligman was driven by the large increase in migration to the Southwest postwar. In the early 1950s Americans were flocking to southern California. Los Angeles county saw 400 people arrive in the county every day.<sup>344</sup> Numerous other families chose to vacation along Route 66. For both groups, Route 66 provided the main route west. Americans jammed the road on their way to claim a portion of the southern California good-life or see scenic wonders like the Grand Canyon on vacation. This brought all of them right through regional towns like Seligman.

Unlike members of the earlier White business elite like James Lamport who cashed out of Seligman in the early postwar period, Juan Delgadillo saw an opportunity with the increased traffic to cash-in to the business community in Seligman. His path to business ownership was not easy. While working his railroad job, he gathered scrap lumber scattered across the Santa Fe yard and brought it back to a lot he purchased along Route 66. On his off-days, he used the scrap lumber to build a rudimentary restaurant building which became the Snow-Cap Drive-In. Juan's brother Angel Delgadillo Junior, also entered the local business community. After graduating from high school and barber college in 1947, he resuscitated his father's old barber chair and opened a barbershop first in his father's old building on Railroad Avenue and later on Route 66 one block west of brother Juan's restaurant. He found success giving haircuts to the railroad workers coming off-shift at the Santa Fe's division point for train crews in Seligman.<sup>345</sup>

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Interview by R. Sean Evans, February 19, Item number 78541, transcript, Route 66 Oral History Project, Cline Library Northern Arizona University, Flagstaff, AZ.

<sup>344</sup> Tom Lewis, *Divided Highways: Building the Interstate Highways, Transforming American Life* (New York: Viking Penguin, 1997), 71.

<sup>345</sup> "Seligman Works Way Into Road Lore," Arizona Republic (Phoenix, AZ), May 3, 2009, p T4. Mirna Delgadillo, 2007, Interview by R. Sean Evans, February 19, Item number 78541, transcript, Route 66 Oral History Project, Cline Library Northern Arizona University, Flagstaff, AZ. *Angel Delgadillo, Jr. High*

Hosea Lanier, like Juan Delgadillo, sought to capitalize on the upswing in automobile traffic along Route 66. At the age of 63 he branched out on his own and opened the Supai Motel.<sup>346</sup> Like much of Seligman, the Supai Motel had its origins in abundant available open land. A large parcel of land sat open across the street from the Central Commercial Company. From his perch in the Central Commercial Company store, Hosea eyed this open tract for over 20 years. On February first, 1956, Hosea Lanier and his son Jack finally took action and purchased 2.74 acres of land fronting U.S. Route 66 from the Arizona State Land Department. The purchase price was \$7,272.72 to be paid in yearly installments of \$191.38.<sup>347</sup> Built over the summer of 1956, the motel boasted of individual air conditioners by Frigidaire, Franciscan-style furniture, tile baths, and carpeted floors. The Supai Motel claimed to be the newest and finest motel in town.<sup>348</sup> From the outset, the motel featured a large roadside neon sign sporting the name of the motel in green and pink script that towered over the motel office. The sign was back-lit by a parallelogram whose bottom bar housed the word “Vacancy” in bright red neon. Looping out of the top of the bright, boxy shape was an arrow that sprouted up and out toward the road before curving back in to point in the direction of the motel office. Blinking lights festooned the arrow moving in a pattern from the top of the sign toward the arrow’s pointer visually pushing the eye toward the motel. In 1956, the Supai Motel

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*School Diploma and Barber College receipt, 1947.* Northern Arizona University Cline Library Special Collections, *Angel Delgadillo papers*, NAU.MS.466, box 6.

<sup>346</sup> “Funeral to be Conducted Today in Prescott for Hosea Lanier,” *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), March 28, 1959, p. 14.

<sup>347</sup> “Certificate of Purchase,” (Property Deed, Yavapai County Recorder’s Office, Prescott, AZ, 1974).

<sup>348</sup> “Funeral to be Conducted Today in Prescott for Hosea Lanier,” *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), March 28, 1959, p. 14. *Supai Motel. RT66-2116*. 1956. James R. Powell Route 66 Collection, Newberry Library, Chicago. Accessed April 27, 2018.

joined eight other motels competing for traffic in Seligman. Catching the motorists' eye was essential.<sup>349</sup>

The motel was a success. Hosea enjoyed only a brief portion of this success, however. After being ruined by the onset of the Dust Bowl drought, fleeing with his family and the few possessions they had left for Arizona, working for years as a department store employee, and finally reclaiming some financial independence as a business owner, Hosea died March 25, 1959.<sup>350</sup> Hosea's son Jack took over operating the business for his elderly mother after his father's death. Jack died 341 days after his father – March 1, 1960.<sup>351</sup> Loree sold the motel later that year.<sup>352</sup> The surviving Laniers left Seligman for Phoenix never to return.

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<sup>349</sup> This description is based on my personal experience staying in the motel multiple times. Postcards from the late 1950s, however, show that the motel has changed little in appearance since 1956. See *Supai Motel. RT66-2116*, Postcard, 1956, James R. Powell Route 66 Collection, Newberry Library, Chicago. Accessed April 27, 2018. 1962 Flagstaff Telephone Directory White Pages (Flagstaff, AZ: Mountain States Telephone and Telegraph, 1962), 36.

<sup>350</sup> "Funeral to be Conducted Today in Prescott for Hosea Lanier," *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), March 28, 1959, p. 14.

<sup>351</sup> "Jack Lanier," *Applications for Headstones for U.S. Military Veterans, 1925-1941*. Microfilm publication M1916, 134 rolls. ARC ID: 596118. Records of the Office of the Quartermaster General, Record Group 92. National Archives at Washington, D.C.

<sup>352</sup> "Certificate of Purchase," (Property Deed, Yavapai County Recorder's Office, Prescott, AZ, 1974).





Figure 21. Seligman in 1971. By the early 1970s, Seligman had a robust economy oriented around multiple automobile-traveler services businesses and the Santa Fe Railroad. Postcard courtesy James R. Powell Route 66 Collection, Newberry Library, Chicago, IL.

Despite the Lanier family's personal tragedy, businesses like the Supai Motel were successful. This success was driven by the constant convoy of traffic through town on Route 66. It did not last, however. On September 22, 1978, the section of I-40 bypassing Seligman was opened to traffic. Highway traffic through town ceased immediately.<sup>353</sup> Chino Avenue, difficult to cross most days before the bypass, became an empty road. Restaurants full to capacity all-day the day before sat empty. Gas pumps continually whirring the day before, fell silent. Businesses catering to auto-travelers hung on as best they could by focusing on local business and railroad employee customers.<sup>354</sup>

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<sup>353</sup> "Cutoff by Interstate Dooms Route 66," *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), September 23, 1978, p. 1.

<sup>354</sup> Angel Delgadillo, 2007, Interview by R. Sean Evans, February 19, Item number 78541, transcript, Route 66 Oral History Project, Cline Library Northern Arizona University, Flagstaff, AZ. Mirna Delgadillo, 2007, Interview by R. Sean Evans, February 19, Item number 78541, transcript, Route 66 Oral History Project, Cline Library Northern Arizona University, Flagstaff, AZ.

The interstate bypass was a major blow to Seligman's economy. Local food, travel, and service businesses struggled to survive. They carried on by reorienting themselves around railroad workers. The Supai Motel began renting rooms for eight hours at a time to disembarking train crews needing a place to rest until their next shift. Angel Delgadillo Junior's barbershop almost exclusively serviced railroad workers cutting hair for four to five railroad workers a day on average. This economic activity came to an abrupt end when the Santa Fe abandoned Seligman. The Santa Fe eliminated Seligman as a division point and railroad stop on February 8, 1985.<sup>355</sup> As Jefferson Cowie illustrated in *Capital Moves: RCA's Seventy-Year Quest for Cheap Labor*, corporations have little attachment to place. When their business needs change, they quickly abandon regions to adjust to their own business priorities with little consideration for the impact on regional residents.<sup>356</sup> In terms of the impact on Seligman, within a few years it went from having bumper to bumper traffic on Route 66 and 200 to 300 railroad workers in town on a daily basis to no cars and zero railroad workers.<sup>357</sup> The loss of railroad employee spending, however, proved fatal to the town's economy. By 1985,

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<sup>355</sup> "Railway Lowers Boom: Seligman is Cut as Stop," *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), January 24, 1985, p. 70. Fred Smith, "Last Stop: 'Rails' depart, Leaving Seligman to Fend for Itself," *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), February 8, 1985, p. 2.

<sup>356</sup> Jefferson Cowie, *Capital Moves: RCA's Seventy-Year Quest for Cheap Labor* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1999).

<sup>357</sup> "Seligman Works Way Into Road Lore," *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), May 3, 2009, p. T4. "Railway Lowers Boom: Seligman is Cut as Stop," *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), January 24, 1985, p. 70. Fred Smith, "Last Stop: 'Rails' depart, Leaving Seligman to Fend for Itself," *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), February 8, 1985, p. 2. Angel Delgadillo, 2007, Interview by R. Sean Evans, February 19, Item number 78541, transcript, Route 66 Oral History Project, Cline Library Northern Arizona University, Flagstaff, AZ. Mirna Delgadillo, 2007, Interview by R. Sean Evans, February 19, Item number 78541, transcript, Route 66 Oral History Project, Cline Library Northern Arizona University, Flagstaff, AZ.

railroad employee spending in town was injecting over a million dollars in revenue into the town's economy annually.<sup>358</sup> The loss of this income was not easily replaced.

### Peach Springs

As the situation in Seligman indicated, the highway bypass had disruptive effects on regional communities. For many towns, residents were all too aware of the potentially dire situation their communities faced post-bypass. For example, the Hualapai and most outside observers were aware of the devastating effect the future I-40 bypass would have on the travel and tourist trade which provided their main source of income.<sup>359</sup> However, due to construction delays on the bypass, Peach Springs would not be actually bypassed until September 22, 1978 like Seligman.<sup>360</sup> In the interim, the travel service economy continued relatively unchanged. Analysis of Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railway plat maps of the town indicate that with the exception of a reduction in size of the Arizona Department of Transportation Highway facilities located in the town, the service businesses focused on travelers remained unchanged between 1954 and 1978. These businesses included multiple motels, cafes, and service stations. Likewise, Peach Springs had a hotel, grocery store, clothing store, and trading post.<sup>361</sup> Many of these businesses

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<sup>358</sup> Helen Pearson, "Non-Stop Train Run Cuts Community's Income," *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), October 32, 1983. "Santa Fe Stops Using Seligman," *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), February 8, 1985. "Railway Lowers Boom: Seligman is Cut as Stop," *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), January 24, 1985.

<sup>359</sup> Ibid.

<sup>360</sup> "Cutoff by Interstate Dooms Route 66," *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), September 23, 1978.

<sup>361</sup> *Active Commercial Enterprises in Peach Springs, Arizona*. Scale 1:4,103. Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railway Company Peach Springs Station Plat, Albuquerque Arizona Division, Arizona Station 24063 + 00 to 24116 + 00. Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railway Company Peach Springs Station Plat, Albuquerque Arizona Division, Arizona Station 24063 + 00 to 24145 + 00. "Route 66 in Northern Arizona," Google Maps, Accessed April 6, 2018, <https://www.google.com/maps/place/AZ-66,+Arizona/@35.3873174,-113.6886771,10z/data=!4m5!3m4!1s0x80cda6df8cffffd9:0xccb014c1fa4d9581!8m2!3d35.5217412!4d-113.4528915>. Tempe, AZ: Daniel Milowski, April, 2018. Using ArcMap GIS. Version 10.5. Redlands, CA: Environmental Systems Research Institute, Inc, 1992-2016. See Appendix A for a view of the map.

were tribal owned such as the Hualapai Trading Company which, in addition to general merchandise and foodstuffs for travelers, also sold Hualapai arts and crafts.<sup>362</sup> Private businesses also existed in Peach Springs like the Qumacho Café.<sup>363</sup>

If the railroad built the town, and Route 66 made it grow, Interstate 40 killed it. The Peach Springs bypass section of I-40 was opened to traffic after a ribbon cutting ceremony on Friday, September 22, 1978 – 18 years after the approval of the Route A bypass. Although it is common to think of economic decline as being a gradual process, it is difficult to overstate the degree to which the new interstate immediately affected businesses along the bypassed section of Route 66. Businesses that had been quite busy the day before went hours without a customer on the first day of the bypass. That night, for the first time in decades, motels in Peach Springs and all along Route 66 in northwestern Arizona sat empty.<sup>364</sup>

The effects of the bypass were immediate, cumulative, and long lasting. Peach Springs, farthest from the new interstate suffered decline quickly. In a little over a year, the service businesses in Peach Springs had gone out of business and unemployment reached 50%.<sup>365</sup> Unemployment climbed to two-thirds by 1984 due to the bypass.<sup>366</sup> A comparison of Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railway plat maps from before the bypass with 2018 map data demonstrates that of the 32 viable businesses present in Peach Springs in 1978, only two businesses remained. Both tribally owned, they included a

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<sup>362</sup> “Highway Crossroad Town is Home for Hualapai,” *Arizona Daily Sun* (Flagstaff, AZ), June 28, 1971.

<sup>363</sup> *Peach Springs, AZ – Qumacho Inn. RT66-2128*. 1949. James R. Powell Route 66 Collection, Newberry Library, Chicago. Accessed April 27, 2018.

<sup>364</sup> “Cutoff by Interstate Dooms Route 66,” *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), September 23, 1978.

<sup>365</sup> “Christmas Trees and the Reservation,” *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), December 20, 1979.

<sup>366</sup> “Lifeblood Flows at Sluggish Pace Along Old Artery,” *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), October 11, 1984.

tribal grocery store catering to tribal members and the Hualapai Lodge, the only remaining travel and tourism-oriented business left in Peach Springs.<sup>367</sup>

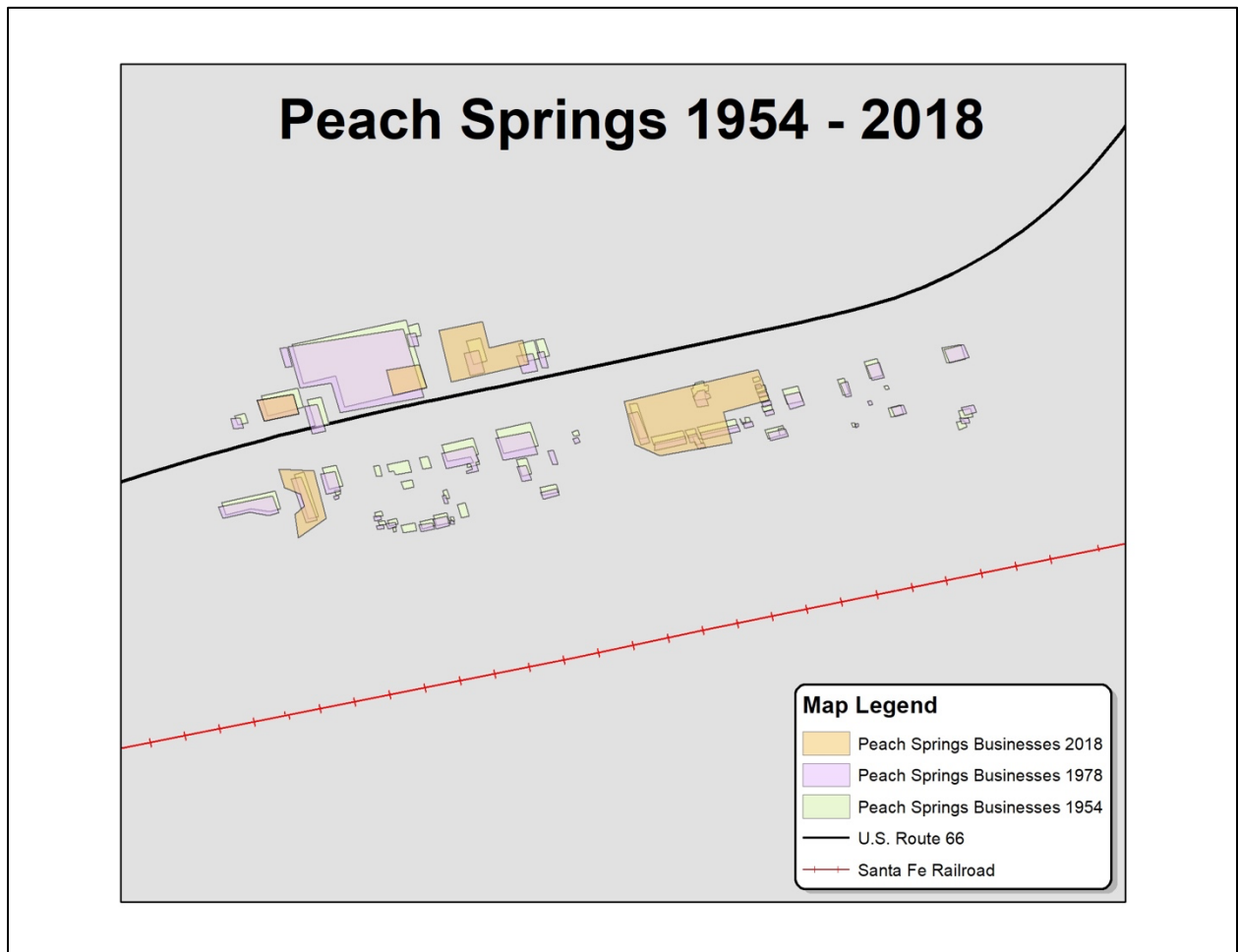


Figure 22. This geographic information system generated map shows the change in active businesses in Peach Springs, Arizona from 1954 to 2018. The three layers indicate little change between 1954 and 1978 with a steep decline in active businesses by 2018. Peach Springs, Arizona was bypassed by I-40 in 1978 with most businesses declining within one year of the bypass.

<sup>367</sup> *Active Commercial Enterprises in Peach Springs, Arizona*. Scale 1:4,103. Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railway Company Peach Springs Station Plat, Albuquerque Arizona Division, Arizona Station 24063 + 00 to 24116 + 00. Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railway Company Peach Springs Station Plat, Albuquerque Arizona Division, Arizona Station 24063 + 00 to 24145 + 00. "Route 66 in Northern Arizona," Google Maps, Accessed April 6, 2018, <https://www.google.com/maps/place/AZ-66,+Arizona/@35.3873174,-113.6886771,10z/data=!4m5!3m4!1s0x80cda6df8cffffd9:0xccb014c1fa4d9581!8m2!3d35.5217412!4d-113.4528915>. Tempe, AZ: Daniel Milowski, April, 2018. Using ArcMap GIS. Version 10.5. Redlands, CA: Environmental Systems Research Institute, Inc, 1992-2016.

This economic decline led to the near financial collapse of the Hualapai tribe and the Peach Springs community. In a dramatic example, in October of 1982 all of the inmates in the tribal jail were released when the Hualapai Police force walked off the job after being told of lay-offs. At that time, the tribal treasury had only \$5,000 in it which was far less than what was required to pay the 389 tribal government employees including police officers. Grant money from the federal government resolved the situation restoring law enforcement operations to the reservation.<sup>368</sup> The economic uncertainty also initiated a period of political instability on the reservation. The early 1980s saw a contentious series of recall-fueled elections for tribal chief and tribal council positions.<sup>369</sup>

#### Kingman

The postwar period and the effect of the interstate bypass played out very differently in Kingman. Up to this point, Kingman had been unincorporated. Kingman served as the county seat of Mohave County, but was not an officially incorporated city in its own right. The airport and industrial park had been county led initiatives. However, following the war, there was a growing movement advocating for Kingman to incorporate. This movement was led by businessmen and city boosters including most notably Herb Biddulph who owned an automobile dealership in town. The movement to incorporate was successful and Kingman incorporated as an official city in 1952. Biddulph served as its first mayor.<sup>370</sup>

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<sup>368</sup> "Tribe Orders Return of Prisoners Freed in Police Walkout," *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), October 5, 1982.

<sup>369</sup> "Tribal Vice Chairman Unseated in Runoff," *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), September 17, 1985.

"Hualapais Rule Recall Election Illegal," *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ) May 22, 1985.

<sup>370</sup> Messersmith, *Kingman*, 111.



Figure 23. Downtown Kingman and Route 66 in the mid-1950s. Postcard courtesy James R. Powell Route 66 Collection, Newberry Library, Chicago, IL.

Incorporation put formal structure behind the management of the city and particularly its economic development efforts. Working in tandem with the county, Kingman boosters began putting considerable effort behind attracting industrial investment in Kingman. These economic development efforts began to pay off quickly. In 1955, the Ford Motor Company purchased the decommissioned Yucca Airfield south of Kingman from the federal government. Using the abandoned runways, taxiways, and roads of the airfield as well as many of the former buildings, Ford established the Ford Proving Grounds at the Yucca site. The mid-1950s saw a marked change in automobile manufacturing as fast high-performance automobiles became the driving force of American automobile sales. Ford established the proving grounds at the old Yucca base to test their latest high-performance models. Now connected by a new segment of Route 66, the old airfield was easily accessed by truck or rail as the airfield already had a rail

siding. Ford could easily truck or rail ship vehicles to the site for testing, and executives could fly into Kingman via regularly scheduled air service to observe the tests. The Ford Proving Grounds employed over 150 employees many of whom where engineers who moved to Kingman from other Ford locations. The influx of new families prompted a building boom south of town with new subdivisions quickly built out to house the new families.<sup>371</sup>

Kingman's lead in economic development began to clearly emerge in the 1960s. General Cable Corporation, a large multinational telecommunications wire and cable manufacturer built a 200,000 square foot factory on 56 acres at Kingman's industrial park in 1966. Citing the ease of highway and rail transport and readily available land at the industrial park, General Cable built a large factory and later expanded it in 1979. Plastics manufacturer Tucker-Cosco also built a factory in Kingman as did trucking container manufacturer Bertolini Engineering. The mining industry surrounding Kingman also revived when the Duval Mining Corporation opened a large copper and molybdenum mine north of Kingman in 1964. The Santa Fe built a spur line to the mine, and Duval shipped the ore to mills in Kingman for processing. Similarly, International Minerals and Chemical Corporation opened a feldspar mine in the Cerbat Mountains north of Kingman. The company trucked the ore from the mountains to a processing plant they built in Kingman.<sup>372</sup> By the early 1980s, Kingman had become a major center of

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<sup>371</sup> "Ford Proving Grounds Plan Dedication," *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), January 23, 1956. Messersmith, *Kingman*, 88. "Ford's Yucca Proving Grounds Dedicated" *Williams News* (Williams, AZ), March 1, 1956. "Try the V-8 that smashed 30 world records in one day," Advertisement, *Arizona Daily Sun* (Flagstaff, AZ), March 13, 1956. "Adlai May Win Majority of Ballots In Mohave," *Arizona Daily Star* (Tucson, AZ), October 22, 1956. Map, State of Arizona. *Arizona Road Map* [paper]. 1:20. Phoenix: Arizona Highway Department, 1965.

<sup>372</sup> "\$10 Million Factory to Rise in Kingman," *Arizona Daily Sun* (Flagstaff, AZ), November 23, 1966. "\$10 Million Kingman Plant," *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), November 23, 1966. "Industry Moving



manufacturing and transportation in northwestern Arizona. Unlike many of the communities in the area which dreaded the eventual bypass of Route 66 and the subtraction of that transportation infrastructure from their local economic models, business leaders in Kingman looked forward to the completion of I-40. The more the trucking companies, manufacturers, and automobile travelers in the Kingman area did not have to deal with the slow narrow antiquated Route 66, the more the economy of Kingman stood to benefit.

### Race and Ethnicity Postwar

Issues of race and ethnicity like segregation plagued the region from the outset. Racial and ethnic discrimination severely limited minority residents' prospects as much or more than class differences. Availability of employment, income, education, and access to services were all affected by the racialized attitudes present throughout the region. Despite the rising prosperity postwar in the region, the individual experiences of regional residents were deeply affected by residents' attitudes – particularly the business elite – towards race and ethnicity. Decision making around infrastructure configuration changes was also not immune to racial and ethnic bias. Similarly, racialized non-infrastructure federal policy making towards the marginalized like Native Americans affected their ability to advocate for inclusion in the infrastructure changes occurring in

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North," *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), June 29, 1969. "Cable Maker," *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), December 1, 1967. "UA Team Makes Study for Mohave," *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), March 8, 1974. "Kingman Cable Firm to Expand," *Tucson Citizen* (Tucson, AZ), December 17, 1979. Bernie Wynn, "Industries Lured to Rural Arizona," *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), February 9, 1979. Steve Daniels, "Mohave will issue \$4 million in bonds for Kingman plant," *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), February 20, 1980.

the region. In terms of examining race and ethnicity issues in the region postwar, Peach Springs and Williams serve as useful case studies.

The absence of representatives from Peach Springs at the contentious I-40 bypass meeting in 1960 that sealed the bypass fate of communities in the region was likely due to the Tribe's focus on another, more pressing existential issue – Termination. Beginning immediately after WWII, there were rumblings in congress about finally “resolving” the “Indian Issue.” These efforts resulted in passage of HR 108 in 1953. This law called for the termination of all tribal entities and the end of the “government to government” relationship between Native American tribes and the federal government. Public Law 280, passed in the same year, allowed the extension of state and county governmental control over tribal land and law enforcement. The Hualapai joined with other tribes across the United States to oppose these efforts and were very active in fighting implementation of termination measures. This high level of activity was despite the enormous strain termination programs, such as formal relocation which funded tribal members to leave the reservation, put on the resources of the Hualapai as they worked to maintain tribal integrity. In addition to termination, during this time the federal government also created the Indian Claims Commission which required Native Americans to settle all outstanding claims against the federal government regarding land and other treaty rights. The Hualapai fought termination, dissolution through relocation, and worked on land settlement issues with the ICC through the 1950s and 1960s<sup>373</sup>

Federal termination policy, much like the design plans for the interstate highway system that required bypassing as many small towns as possible, does not appear to have

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<sup>373</sup> Shepherd, *We are an Indian Nation*, 143-151.

taken local concerns into account. As such, the Hualapai were not the only ones opposed to termination policy. There were specific cases such as the Klamath in Oregon or the Menominee in Wisconsin, where local governmental and private interests were ready, and likely eager, to take over tribal lands through termination. However, in Arizona, termination was met with indifference or even opposition by newspapers, individuals, private organizations, and state and local governments. An editorial in the *Arizona Republic* shortly after the termination bill was passed cautioned that moving forward quickly on enacting what termination allowed could end up being costly to the state.<sup>374</sup> Another editorial in the *Prescott Courier* advised Native Americans to organize and actively fight termination. The Prescott editorial wrote that “there is apprehension among the tribesmen that injustices will result when they are forced to come under local regulation. Ample grounds for such fears readily are apparent.”<sup>375</sup>

Individuals, Native American and white, opposed termination as well. Recounting the history of federal efforts to “help” Native Americans, Hopi tribal member Daisy Albert, in a letter to the editor in the *Arizona Daily Sun*, wrote that Native Americans “can learn a lot from our struggle for existence and self-respect,” and asked regarding PL 280, “How much longer will the Great White Father continue to play the two roles of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde with the Indians of America?”<sup>376</sup> Estelle Aubrey Brown, in a letter to the editor in the *Arizona Daily Sun* urged amendment of the law to restore Native

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<sup>374</sup> “Haste Could Be Costly,” *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), December 12, 1953.

<sup>375</sup> “Indians Should Organize,” *Prescott Courier* (Prescott, AZ), Reprinted in the *Yuma Daily Sun* (Yuma, AZ), November 19, 1953.

<sup>376</sup> “Letters to the Editor,” *Arizona Daily Sun* (Flagstaff, AZ), March 9, 1954.

American sovereignty so nothing would be done without the consent of the tribes themselves.<sup>377</sup>

Likewise, Arizona's Native American tribes united early to fight against termination efforts. Testifying in 1955 before a hearing held by members of the Indian Affairs Subcommittee of the U.S. House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs which included Committee Chairman Stewart Udall of Arizona, the tribes testified in unison about their opposition to PL 280 and the need to amend the law.<sup>378</sup> Native American affiliated groups such as the Arizona Association of Indian Affairs also opposed termination and supported the need to restore tribal sovereignty.<sup>379</sup>

State government also opposed federal termination efforts with a majority of the Arizona Commission on Indian Affairs voting against the state taking any action on initiatives authorized by PL 280. Instead, the commission supported a proposed amendment by Arizona Senator Barry Goldwater requiring consent from an Indian tribe before state or local jurisdiction was exercised over tribal lands.<sup>380</sup> However, in all likelihood, state and local governmental opposition had more to do with the increased expense of having to directly administer tribal land than opposition to the elimination of tribal sovereignty.<sup>381</sup>

In the end, the federal government, specifically the United States Supreme Court, weakened their own case for termination. In a 1959 ruling, the Supreme Court reaffirmed

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<sup>377</sup> "Adds Plea," *Arizona Daily Sun* (Tucson, AZ), March 3, 1956

<sup>378</sup> "Indians Oppose State Controls," *Arizona Daily Star* (Tucson, AZ), August 31, 1955.

<sup>379</sup> "Indian Unit Backs Papago Mineral Rights Claim," *Arizona Daily Star* (Tucson, AZ), January 15, 1955. "Indian Affairs Group Again Asks Papago Mineral Rights," *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), January 15, 1955.

<sup>380</sup> "States' Authority over Indians Opposed," *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), April 23, 1955.

<sup>381</sup> Shepherd, *We are an Indian Nation*, 148.

the status of an Indian reservation as an independent nation significantly undermining the legal basis for HR 108 and PL 280.<sup>382</sup> In an Arizona State Supreme Court ruling more specific to the Hualapai's struggles with termination, the Arizona Supreme Court ruled that implementing PL 280 was unconstitutional. As such, any state efforts around termination would require an amendment to the Arizona Constitution before they could be implemented.<sup>383</sup> Efforts to continue implementing PL 280 federally did continue through the 1960s but faded as the decade wore on and the U.S. Congress tilted away from 1950s era initiatives like termination and toward civil rights legislation in the 1960s.<sup>384</sup>

Federal efforts at termination and the tough choices it forced upon the Hualapai are another example of the federal government's contentious relationship with the Hualapai. Other communities, like Seligman or Kingman, being free from other federal distractions, were able to fully focus their lobbying efforts on the interstate project. The Hualapai, however, being intimately intertwined with continually changing federal policy that directly affected their status as a tribe and the lives of individual tribal members were forced to divide their time between multiple federal initiatives. Likewise, these federal proposals went beyond the effects of typical government programs as they threatened the Hualapai's community, sovereignty and ultimately identity. While Seligman residents may have feared loss of economic vitality due to the freeway bypass, they were not

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<sup>382</sup> "Reservations Almost Like Independent Nations," *Tucson Daily Citizen* (Tucson, AZ), June 24, 1960.

<sup>383</sup> "Change of Constitution Needed on Indian Issue," *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), March 3, 1960.

<sup>384</sup> "Indians to Hear Candidates," *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), August 7, 1964. "Congress Eying Aid to Tribes – Constitutional Rights Studied," *Arizona Daily Star* (Tucson, AZ), November 19, 1964.

"Registering Navajos May be a Problem – Scattered Over Huge Area, Indifferent to Vote," *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), April 4, 1965.

threatened by a potential loss of their identity as south-westerners, Arizonans, or white Americans. The Hualapai, however, faced both the loss of economic opportunity from the freeway bypass and the loss of their status and identity as a people due to federal termination efforts. Forced to choose between focusing on their economic livelihood or their identity as a people, the interstate project necessarily took low priority.

The Hualapai would not turn their attention to the details of the I-40 project until the early 1970s – well after the final routing decisions were made and construction was well underway. With the route set, the Hualapai advocated for an exit off the interstate for Peach Springs.<sup>385</sup> Seligman, due to construction delays on the bypass route that required reconnecting I-40 south of town to Route 66, had received an exit in 1967. This two-mile link connected Seligman to the interstate and routed exiting I-40 traffic through the town, along the remaining portion of Route 66, and then back onto I-40 in Kingman.<sup>386</sup> After two-years of intense lobbying, Peach Springs was granted an exit off of I-40. The exit, however, was 25 miles south of the town and forty miles east of the only road leading back to Route 66. Although technically a Peach Springs exit, in reality it was an exit to nowhere. Unlike Seligman’s exit, the Hualapai could only hope that Peach Spring’s exit, once complete, would encourage travelers to visit their community. However, given the long distance over mountain roads required, it was unlikely the exit would deliver much traffic to Peach Springs.<sup>387</sup>

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<sup>385</sup> “Hualapais to Get Road,” *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), January 20, 1972.

<sup>386</sup> “Road Body to Mull Coffee-Stop Pros, Cons,” *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), August 16, 1967.

<sup>387</sup> “Hualapais to Get Road,” *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), January 20, 1972. “Interchange OK’d at Peach Springs” *Arizona Daily Sun* (Flagstaff, AZ), January 20, 1972.

Regionally, issues of race and ethnicity continued to manifest through segregation. This was particularly true of Williams where parallel segregated communities developed for Anglo-white residents versus Latino residents. The multiple economic opportunities available to Roma Vincent and her husband, including the opportunity to leave for better opportunities elsewhere when the economic fortunes of Williams became problematic, were not available to many non-Anglo-White residents of Williams. Hispanic residents of Williams faced discrimination in all aspects of life – particularly education and employment. Felice Burghardt, Frank Ornelas’s daughter graduated from Williams High School in 1940. Her experience in the Williams schools was traumatic. Although formal segregation in Arizona schools was not mandated by state law, school districts in Arizona operated under “local option” laws. These regulations allowed school districts wide latitude in how they organized their schools and treated various school-age populations within their communities. As such, segregation of Latino and Anglo-white school children was rampant throughout Arizona. This practice was often justified by citing the English language proficiency issues of Latino students. However, the practice resulted in blatant discrimination against Latino students including poor quality education, harsh – often abusive – disciplinary practices, and overcrowding. Felice Burghardt’s experience in the William’s schools reflected this discriminatory environment as the schools enforced strict segregation of Anglo-white and Latino student populations throughout her school years. Anglo-white students, taking their cue from the exclusively Anglo-white teachers in the Williams schools, reinforced these discriminatory practices on a peer social level. Trying to use a resource or simply straying into an area reserved for Anglo-white students often resulted in swift schoolyard

vigilante justice. Felice recounted one such incident in elementary school. “I’ll never forget one time, I dared, and I went to the swings. It was my birthday. It was real cold, it was November the 20th. I’ll never forget that. My mother had bought me a new coat and a new hat. It was one ”of those plush coats. And along comes one of the [Anglo-white] boys and he threw me off and I got mud all over my coat.”<sup>388</sup>

Upon graduation, she found her employment prospects similarly restricted. Again, although Arizona lacked formal segregation laws, the Anglo-white business community in Williams enforced strict defacto segregation on customers served and employees hired in Williams. The Wagon Wheel Lodge, a Williams area restaurant, for example, would not allow Latinos to enter the building. Similarly, most employers large and small simply would not hire Latinos. The only options available to Felice were back-kitchen restaurant work, janitorial jobs, or domestic service. Felice understood the social hierarchy and who was limiting her options, but was trapped in a rigidly enforced segregated labor market. “It was the people that discriminated us. We graduated from high school and we couldn't go out and say well I'm gonna go work at Babbitts or I'm gonna go work” at Safeway—it was Pay 'N Take It at that time. We had to go to the cabins and clean the cabins, wash toilets, that's what we did, or wash dishes. Nothing else was open for us at that time.”<sup>389</sup>

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<sup>388</sup> Felice Burghardt. Interview by Teri A. Cleeland. Oral History Interview. Williams, AZ, May 13, 1989, Cline Library Special Collections, Northern Arizona University, Flagstaff, AZ. Matriza De La Trinidad, “”To Secure These Rights”: The Campaign to End School Segregation and Promote Civil Rights in Arizona in the 1950s,” *Western Historical Quarterly* 49, no. 2 (2018): 155-183. Jeanne M. Powers, “Forgotten History: Mexican American School Segregation in Arizona from 1900–1951,” *Equity & Excellence in Education* 41, no. 4 (2008): 467-481. Ellis O. Knox, “Racial Integration in the Public Schools of Arizona, Kansas and New Mexico.” *The Journal of Negro Education* 23, no. 3 (1954): 290-95.

<sup>389</sup> Felice Burghardt. Interview by Teri A. Cleeland. Oral History Interview. Williams, AZ, May 13, 1989, Cline Library Special Collections, Northern Arizona University, Flagstaff, AZ.



In addition to limited employment options, discriminatory employment practices were rampant in Williams. Most Latinos in Williams, male and female, were relegated to manual labor employment in construction, janitorial, or service jobs. Within these jobs, discrimination was also pervasive particularly in terms of rates of pay. “I was getting 25 cents a day working at the Mills Café and I quit there because this other girl there came from Oklahoma and she and I went downtown because we had gotten our checks. I looked at her check and her check was way more than mine. I asked her how much she was getting a day and she said 50 cents. I went back to Juanita and told her that I’m getting 25 cents a day and she comes here from Oklahoma and she's getting 50 cents, but then she’s white, isn't she? That’s when I really knew what it was being white and being Mexican. Juanita was white with a Hispanic name. I said you can have your job and you can have your money, too. So, I went to Arnold's and Arnold started paying me \$3.25 a day.”<sup>390</sup>

Employers like Arnold’s Café, however, paid a price for hiring Latinos and paying them more. The Anglo-white community in Williams avoided these establishments. Arnold’s Café catered largely to soldiers travelling on troop trains and other community outsiders travelling by rail or car on Route 66. Felice recalled having a particular fondness for out of town travelers from California. “The people that I found the nicest people to serve were the people from California because they didn't care what you were. As long as you were clean and as long as you served them, they didn't care.” In a role that it would play throughout the region, The Fred Harvey Company was also a

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<sup>390</sup> Felice Burghardt. Interview by Teri A. Cleeland. Oral History Interview. Williams, AZ, May 13, 1989, Cline Library Special Collections, Northern Arizona University, Flagstaff, AZ.

provider of equal service and employment opportunities in Williams. Its hotel, the Frey Marcos, employed Latinos and served customers of all backgrounds at its hotel and café. These customers, however, were primarily out of town customers traveling by rail.<sup>391</sup> The decline and eventual elimination of passenger rail service in the region removed the Harvey Houses further limiting employment and service options for minorities in Williams and other towns in the region.

Even the diversification of business ownership in the region did little at first to change the segregated nature of the region. Despite Juan Delgadillo being Latino, to make the Snow-Cap Drive-in a success meant catering exclusively to Anglo-white travelers perpetuating racial and ethnic limitations.<sup>392</sup> Businesses catered to customers and customers voted with their feet creating an economic feedback loop that reinforced segregation. It would take the passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Bill to begin breaking down the system of regional segregation that plagued regional residents and travelers alike.

#### The Region after 1980

Each regional community began the 1920s with a similar economic configuration – a single large industrial employer and a small but growing automobile services industry. These same communities exited the 1970s with a similar but diminished economic configuration – no large employer and an imperiled automobile services

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<sup>391</sup> Felice Burghardt. Interview by Teri A. Cleeland. Oral History Interview. Williams, AZ, May 13, 1989, Cline Library Special Collections, Northern Arizona University, Flagstaff, AZ. National Park Service Route 66 Corridor Preservation Program, *Route 66 Properties Listed in Black Traveler Guidebooks*, National Park Service, Washington D.C., GPO, 2014, Accessed May 29, 2020, <https://ncptt.nps.gov/rt66/wp-content/uploads/2015/07/Rt66GreenBookSurvey.pdf>.

<sup>392</sup> Angel Delgadillo, 2007, Interview by R. Sean Evans, February 19, Item number 78541, transcript, Route 66 Oral History Project, Cline Library Northern Arizona University, Flagstaff, AZ.

industry. Kingman was a notable exception. Beginning in the 1940s, each community saw their main industry, employer, and economic driver leave – typically due to macroeconomic forces well beyond the community’s control. Williams lost its main employer right before the war and reinvented itself around tourism. Ash Fork was created by the railroad and thrived as long as it was present. The town quickly declined when the railroad abruptly departed, and its smaller automobile services industry was bypassed early by I-40. Seligman, injured economically by the I-40 bypass in 1978 and dependent on the railroad from its inception, held on to its original main employer the longest, but withered quickly when it departed in 1985. Peach Springs lost the Santa Fe the earliest and never regained another primary employer. It slowly rebuilt its economy around automobile services only to confront federal efforts to terminate its peoples’ very identity. Fighting an existential battle distracted the community from federal highway building efforts and their consequences with devastating results for the economic life of the town. Kingman, the mining boom town turned military aviation center tried to hold onto its military base, but saw it decommissioned. However, successful incorporation as a city gave Kingman the tools to advocate for redevelopment. Successful economic development efforts in the 1950s turned Kingman into a major truck shipping and manufacturing hub capitalizing on its location as a nexus where major highways and rail lines converged. The fortuitous routing of I-40 through town rather than bypassing it further cemented the community as a growing manufacturing and shipping center. The post highway bypass era would prove to be a pivotal time for the region where each community chartered its own divergent path.

For regional communities other than Kingman, survival meant reinvention. Kingman was the big infrastructure winner with all highways and rail lines in northwestern Arizona congregating on it. Kingman did not need to reinvent itself to survive. It had multiple large high-wage employers. Its transportation service industry was not only intact, but enhanced from the interstate-era infrastructure changes in the region.

For the other regional communities, the infrastructure change, specifically the bypass and decommissioning of Route 66, cut each community off from the steady flow of through traffic and tourists that had powered their economies since 1945. Attracting these customers to town had never been an issue prior to the bypass. Through travelers and tourists just showed up in each town on the only road available through the region. Now they had to be actively courted. Wooing potential customers, now primarily tourists, to town would require more than just offering gasoline and a place to eat and sleep. That was easily found on the interstate. The need to entice tourists to stop in town required transforming bypassed communities from places to pass through to destinations worth visiting in their own right. This reinvention would take different forms in each community with transformative implications for civic identity. After 1985, the process that morphed Route 66 from functional infrastructure to tourist attraction, and regional communities into iconic places steeped in 1950s nostalgia and representative of a mythical lost “authentic America” began.

## CHAPTER 5

### A NEW HIGHWAY, A LOST ROAD, AND AN UNCERTAIN FUTURE

Angel Delgadillo Jr. was frustrated. It had been eight years since Seligman had been bypassed by I-40 in 1978. The railroad had left town the previous year. It was 1986 and business in town had ground to a standstill. Half the people who used to live in Seligman had left. Doing something significant to revive Seligman's fortunes was crucial. However, despite being president of the Chamber of Commerce and a community leader, he had been unable to get other business leaders to act. Delgadillo had discussed his idea for a tourism campaign centered around Route 66 for six years. Few members of the Seligman Chamber of Commerce were interested. There was universal agreement that tourism was the way to revive the town's economy, but little agreement on what tourism in Seligman looked like. Conversation at Chamber of Commerce meetings typically focused on promoting the same tourist attractions that other towns were focused on such as Seligman's proximity to the Grand Canyon. However, Williams was closer and served as the junction point with the road to the Grand Canyon off of I-40. Other tourist attractions considered included Havasupai Falls and Flagstaff. None of these were located in Seligman. Havasupai Falls was miles north deep in the Grand Canyon and why would a tourist stay an hour away in Seligman to visit Flagstaff full of its own motels?<sup>393</sup>

However, in 1986 the town residents were preoccupied preparing for a centennial celebration as many believed the town was turning 100 years old. The centennial they were preparing to celebrate with a ten-day festival was actually for Prescott Junction, the

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<sup>393</sup> Angel Delgadillo, 2007, Interview by R. Sean Evans, February 19, Item number 78541, transcript, Route 66 Oral History Project, Cline Library Northern Arizona University, Flagstaff, AZ.

Atlantic and Pacific's old stop that predated the Santa Fe and Seligman – the town the railroad built from scratch in 1897. The remains of Prescott Junction lay buried under I-40 approximately two miles south of town. The town George Washington Pittock, correspondent for the *Arizona Republic*, predicted would be an important new community in 1897 was confused about its past and unsure of the proper path forward.

Angel Delgadillo Jr. was undeterred. Bowing to reality, he tabled his continuing push for a Route 66 oriented tourism campaign for Seligman and participated in the centennial celebration with the rest of the members of the Seligman Chamber of Commerce. The centennial celebration completed; Delgadillo renewed his campaign for a Route 66 focus for tourism efforts in Seligman. However, the rest of the Seligman Chamber of Commerce remained unconvinced. Delgadillo shopped the idea around to other towns. He met with the vice-president of the Kingman Chamber of Commerce who reacted favorably. Delgadillo later received an official letter from the Kingman Chamber of Commerce endorsing the idea. Chamber of Commerce members in Seligman remained skeptical. Delgadillo continued advocating for a tourism campaign centered on Seligman's history with Route 66 over the ensuing months. Finally, after little success persuading the Seligman Chamber of Commerce, Delgadillo called an independent meeting scheduled for February 18, 1987 at the Copper Cart Restaurant. Delgadillo invited 34 business leaders; 15 showed up for the meeting. After nine years of wrangling, Delgadillo prepared to pitch his idea for Route 66 nostalgia tourism one last time.<sup>394</sup>

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<sup>394</sup> Ibid.



Figure 24. The Copper Cart in its heyday in the early 1960s. It was later served as the launching point of the Historic Route 66 Association. It did not survive to see the benefits of Route 66 tourism in Seligman. Postcard courtesy Newberry Library.<sup>395</sup>

The Seligman Chamber of Commerce's reluctance to embrace a new tourist identity for Seligman was not unusual. Most of the towns in the region did not have to cultivate a specific tourism identity prior to the bypass. Tourists, like all other motorists, simply showed up in town as Route 66 was the only highway through the area. Motorists might be travelling through the area for tourism or for other reasons. Either way, they were a captive audience of the automobile services businesses in the area and the transportation infrastructure that brought them there.

However, now with Route 66 abandoned and the area bypassed by I-40, each community in the region was faced with defining a new path forward socially and

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<sup>395</sup> Copper Cart Restaurant, postcard, circa 1960, James R. Powell Route 66 Collection, Curt Teich Postcard Collection, Newberry Library, Chicago, IL.

economically for their town with little federal or state support for how to accomplish such a monumental task. Some of these communities were better positioned than others to compete for tourists. Williams' location as the highway junction to the Grand Canyon, and its focus on tourism since the 1940s, situated it to dominate the Grand Canyon tourist trade. However, other communities that had been primarily industrially oriented just a few years ago like Seligman were less prepared to reorient the economy in their communities around tourism. Angel Delgadillo Junior had personally witnessed a trickle of tourists wandering into town to glimpse the now defunct Route 66 and thought he was on to something with Route 66 tourism potentially saving the town. He later recounted, "they begin to trickle in here, talking about--men and women, they all sound the same--talking about 'when my father,' 'when my mother went to California, this has got to be the highway that they used.' That's when the world began to talk to me. Grown men in their thirties, forties, fifties, sixties, 'when my parents went to California, this has got to be the highway.'" Delgadillo believed if he could harness this interest, it could provide an economic path forward for Seligman.

The interest in Route 66 nostalgia tourism that Angel Delgadillo sought to tie into to revive Seligman's economic fortunes began well before Route 66 was decommissioned in 1985. It, like many of the forces that shaped the region's options over the years, also began outside the region entirely. Concerns about the consequences of interstate construction and growing opposition to continuing interstate highway construction emerged in the mid-1960s. Beginning in New Orleans in 1964, historic preservation activists and neighborhood activists banded together to fiercely oppose construction of Interstate 310 through the heart of historic New Orleans that would have



destroyed much of the French Quarter. Freeway protests like the efforts in New Orleans quickly spread to urban areas across the country. Concerns about American history being lost through the destruction of historic neighborhoods throughout the country at the hands of highway planners fueled growing political opposition to the interstate program. There were also mounting concerns that interstate construction in cities was taking place at the expense of minority communities. In a dramatic turn against the interstate program, Pennsylvania's senior senator Joseph Sill Clark declared on the senate floor in 1966 that the interstate program was being "operated by barbarians." As mayor of Philadelphia in the mid-1950s, Clark had witnessed state highway planners cut wide swaths through historic neighborhoods and pave over prized city parks in the name of faster commutes from the suburbs.<sup>396</sup>

This concern over the loss of historic neighborhoods and cultural assets through interstate construction, although originating in cities, spread throughout the country. It followed the larger trend of declining trust in government and government planning that emerged in the late 1960s and grew quickly during the tumultuous 1970s. By 1972, the highway lobby, a consortium of state governors, their highway departments, and industries involved in highway construction began to fracture. In 1972, the National Governor's Conference passed a resolution calling for highway trust fund money to be made available for general transportation needs including transit.<sup>397</sup>

This questioning of federal highway planning in the face of cultural loss sparked an interest in documenting what remained of the American roadside culture that had

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<sup>396</sup> Tom Lewis, *Divided Highways: Building the Interstate Highways, Transforming American Life* (New York: Viking, 1997), 179-210.

<sup>397</sup> *Ibid.*, 211-222.

developed in the first half of the twentieth century, but was quickly getting bypassed or erased by interstate construction. Warren H. Anderson, a visual artist and University of Arizona professor, published *Vanishing Roadside America* in 1981. The book encapsulated a collection of colored pencil drawings Anderson exhibited at the Phoenix Art Museum based on roadside signage from the old highway system. Anderson travelled many old U.S. highways in the 1970s including Route 66 as they were being consumed by interstate construction and made drawings of the roadside signage used to attract travelers to the service stations, restaurants, and motels along the highways. In the introduction to the book, Anderson wrote, “the prismatic pencil drawings in this book are a response to a trend away from regionalism and individualism in advertising along the highways and streets of America.” Anderson went on to write about why this was significant. “Federal enactment contributed to the demise of these regional roadside artforms . . . Accordingly, many of the small towns were also bypassed, and the localized related travel businesses also disappeared.” For Anderson, however, it was what replaced them that was the real issue. “A national homogeneous highway community, lacking regional charm and individuality, has replaced the friendly network of motor courts and motels of the thirties, forties, and fifties. The intimacy and sense of uniqueness, so apparent in the old signs have all but vanished.”<sup>398</sup>

Anderson’s book was followed in 1982 by John Baeders’s *Gas, Food, and Lodging*. Baeder’s book consisted of a collection of curated postcards gathered from travel-oriented businesses along the old highways including Route 66. Like Anderson’s

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<sup>398</sup> Warren H. Anderson, *Vanishing Roadside America* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1981), 11-12.

book, Baeder's work cultivated a sense of loss in relation to the old highways, the bypassed towns, and the many defunct businesses. Baeder specifically stated this in the introduction stating, "This is not a book of postcards or about postcards. This is a book about feelings . . . feelings that are evoked by postcard images – images that are a distillation of our culture; a reflection of our society; and a document of the growth of the great American roadside."<sup>399</sup> The sense of loss pervading these works reflected a larger sense of nostalgia for a perceived lost but better version of America. Civil rights conflict, the Vietnam War, the oil crisis, Watergate, and economic stagnation had recently put the nation through a series of cultural shocks. Many Americans, safely tucked away in homogeneous nondescript suburbs, or decimated urban neighborhoods divided by interstate expressways longed for earlier times when things had seemed better. *American Graffiti*, a film about a mythical night of small-town car cruising and good times set in 1962, was released in late 1973, nominated for an Academy Award for Best Picture, became the best-selling film of the mid 1970s, and spawned a sequel in 1979.<sup>400</sup> All of this cultural angst and nostalgic longing fueled some Americans to seek out places like Seligman to reconnect with their lost past just as the original auto-tourers did in the early decades of the twentieth century. This longing for a mythical lost past was also exactly

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<sup>399</sup> John Baeder, *Gas, Food, Lodging* (New York: Abbeville Press, 1982), 9.

<sup>400</sup> "American Graffiti," *IMDB.com*, Accessed March 14, 2021, <https://www.imdb.com/title/tt0069704/>.

what Angel Delgadillo Junior was hoping to tap into to revive the fortunes of his home town.

This need to reorient around tourism would come at a high cost for some towns in terms of community identity. Prior to the interstate era, each community in the region was economically oriented around industrial operations and transportation, and had a community identity defined internally by town residents. They did not have to maintain a marketing identity for outsiders. Post interstate, only Kingman could still make this claim. For the other regional communities, some level of community reinvention was required. For Williams, tourism was already a part of their community identity. For Seligman, tapping into American cultural nostalgia to grow a tourism economy meant redefining the community around a tourism identity that could be sold to outsiders – not the actual community identity understood by town residents.

#### Post Interstate Transportation Infrastructure: The Unsteady State

Regardless of how one felt about the interstates versus the older highways, what had been lost culturally, or how tourism affected community identity, within the region the physical transportation infrastructure path was set. No new transportation infrastructure projects would be added after 1984. With the elimination of the division point in Seligman, Santa Fe trains still stopped in Kingman, but nowhere else in the region. Amtrak trains still stopped at Williams Junction, but Santa Fe freight trains whistled through to Chicago. Likewise, Route 66 was officially decommissioned in 1985 marking both the end of an era and the last big change to transportation infrastructure configuration regionally. Except for infrequent routine maintenance, no large

transportation infrastructure construction projects, routing changes, or road retirements would disrupt the area. In some ways, with the configuration of transportation infrastructure in the region set, it is possible to view the area as having entered a transportation infrastructure equilibrium or steady state. Although future infrastructure changes could be possible, none occurred in the region in the remainder of the twentieth century. More pointedly to this history is the profound but unequal impact the addition of I-40 had on regional communities. Given the unequal effects the addition of I-40 and the subtraction of Route 66 had in the region, a more accurate description would be that the region had entered an unsteady state.

The region existed in an unsteady state since the addition of I-40 was not wholly negative or positive for communities in the region. Rather it was a conduit of economic activity that some communities benefitted from immediately, some would never benefit from, and others would learn to exploit to varying degrees of success. Additionally, the subtraction of Route 66 had similar unequal effects benefitting some at the great expense of others. To examine the unsteady state the region found itself immersed in beginning in the late 1970s, it is helpful to look at select communities as case studies as their economic and social development follow widely divergent paths beginning when I-40 neared completion in the 1980s. Specifically, Kingman, Seligman, and Williams serve as useful case studies to examine the different economic and civic outcomes experienced by communities in the region due to federal infrastructure investment and disinvestment in the postwar period.

Kingman was the big winner regionally having not just avoided the Route 66 highway bypass, but benefitting from an enhanced connection to national railroad and

highway transportation infrastructure due to its position on I-40 as the junction of the new interstate, U.S. 93, old Route 66, and the Santa Fe railroad. Unlike other bypassed communities, Kingman became a major point on I-40 with the new interstate following the same route south of Kingman as older Route 66 had been upgraded to interstate standards. The main routing change, the bypass of the portion through downtown, still benefitted Kingman. It provided a ready-made “business loop” through the community, dictated logical exit locations for the interstate, and created new business areas around the interstate exits. All of the infrastructure additions and enhancements in Kingman coalesced to make the city a ready-made logistics hub. The transportation infrastructure investment in Kingman subsequently factored heavily into the town’s economic development in the new I-40 era.

The other communities in the region experienced vastly different outcomes. Seligman and Peach Springs suffered severe economic decline almost immediately. Peach Springs, over 25 miles from the nearest exit found it impossible to make the new highway infrastructure work for its needs. Seligman, much closer to the interstate still struggled mightily, but attempted economic adaptation to the new highway and railroad circumstances. Williams, however, avoided the bypass the longest. Construction of the interchange that would bypass Williams became caught up in construction delays and legal challenges into the mid-1980s. Unlike Seligman, however, its economy had reoriented around tourism long before the arrival of I-40. However, in the I-40 age, Williams would face new economic struggles precipitated by outside corporate interests similar to its economic challenges in the interwar years. In total, this unsteady state would

come to define the region economically and socially in the waning years of the twentieth century.

### Transportation Infrastructure and Economic Development

The region's unsteady state was due in part to how investment in new transportation infrastructure specifically affects rural areas. In general, investment in transportation infrastructure is seen as a pecuniary positive that facilitates economic growth. Transportation infrastructure projects are usually initially proposed based on their economic development potential and measured for indications of success in economic development terms. One of the primary reasons touted by President Eisenhower for the necessity of building the interstate system in the 1950s was enabling economic growth.<sup>401</sup>

However, in terms of economic development, transportation infrastructure behaves differently in rural versus urban areas. A 2012 study performed by the Thomas Jefferson Program in Public Policy at the College of William and Mary found that transportation infrastructure projects have decidedly different economic stimulus effects in the short-term versus the long term. In the short-term, transportation infrastructure projects generate on average roughly double the economic output of the initial investment spent during construction. In other words, for every dollar spent on road construction, two dollars is generated in correlated economic activity where the construction project is located. This short-term stimulus effect takes its form in construction jobs generated, supplies acquired, and services purchased along with the aggregated spending of the

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<sup>401</sup> Tom Lewis, *Divided Highways: Building the Interstate Highways, Transforming American Life* (New York: Viking, 1997), 85-88.

workers employed by the project. However, in the long-term – defined here as a twenty year period – for every dollar invested in highway transportation infrastructure, only \$0.35 is returned in economic benefit. This is in marked contrast to other types of infrastructure. Over the same twenty year period for example, for every dollar invested in municipal water and sewer systems, \$2.03 is returned in economic benefit.<sup>402</sup>

Much of this has to do with the difference in these types of infrastructure projects. Unlike municipal water and sewer systems which exist almost entirely within urban areas, most highway mileage is rural. Although it may have been the intent of I-40 construction to shorten the highway mileage between Los Angeles and Chicago by bypassing most of northwestern Arizona, the vast majority of highway mileage is still rural. As such, the user density to construction cost ratio is much lower. For any given mile of highway, the potential number of users to generate economic output is subordinate to urban infrastructure. An urban water system, by contrast, has a higher user density per block than many rural highways have per mile raising the ability of the investment in that infrastructure to provide a significant return on investment.

This is not to imply that investment in highways does not generate significant economic growth. Rather, where the highway is located, and the type of highway constructed factors heavily into the return on investment of highway infrastructure. A 1992 economic study looked at the benefit of investing in four-lane divided highways (the interstates) in Indiana. Examining the 1980 – 1988 period, the study found that investment in these highways generated net positive results. On average, the investment

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<sup>402</sup> Isabelle Cohen, Thomas Freiling, and Eric Robinson, “The Economic Impact And Financing Of Infrastructure Spending” (Report, College of William & Mary Thomas Jefferson Program in Public Policy Williamsburg, Virginia, 2012), 1-36



in interstate highways generated 18 new jobs per mile in the counties where the interstate highways routed. Likewise, in these counties, the interstate highways generated a \$419,000 increase in wage-income per mile – in 1988 dollars. This was only true, however, for the interstate highways. When all highways were factored in, wage-income increase dropped to \$66,500 per mile.<sup>403</sup> Clearly not all highways created similar economic benefits. In the 1980s, connection to an interstate highway provided positive economic growth outcomes like Kingman experienced. Disconnection from an interstate highway, as Seligman, Peach Springs, and Ash Fork discovered, resulted in significant economic contraction.

The uneven or unsteady economic effect interstate highways had on rural economies was related to the interstate highway's construction redistributing economic activity. Rather than increasing economic activity uniformly across their routes and distributing it evenly, interstates contributed to economic growth only within communities connected to the interstates. In a further blow to disconnected communities, interstates produced an economic shifting effect where existing economic activity in non-interstate connected areas was reallocated to communities connected to the interstate. In a 2000 economic study looking at the entire interstate system and its economic effects on rural counties, researchers found that rural counties did not benefit evenly from interstate construction. In counties where an interstate highway ran through the county and at least one community was connected to the interstate, economic activity increased up to 10%

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<sup>403</sup> Paul C. Lombard, Kumares C. Sinha, And Deborah J. Brown, "Investigation of the Relationship Between Highway Infrastructure and Economic Development in Indiana," *Transportation Research Record* 1359, (1992): 80-81.

on average. In adjacent counties with no interstate connection, economic activity decreased up to 10%. Contraction in retail service industries was particularly severe with an up to 12% contraction on average. Decline in retail trade was higher due to a documented “leakage effect” where retail businesses moved to communities connected to the interstate and better able to capture automobile travel business. Conversely, in interstate connected communities, economic activity increased across the board in all industries, but economic activity in manufacturing and retail services saw particularly noticeable growth.<sup>404</sup> As the study indicated, direct connection to the interstate was important. Communities connected to the interstate like Kingman were not only configured to keep and grow the economy they already had, but were also positioned to take economic activity from other non-connected communities. With the national transportation infrastructure reconfigured around interstate highways, direct connection to these economic arteries became essential. Communities cut-off from these arteries necrotized. Communities connected to these arteries flourished.

### Kingman Case Study

Kingman was one of these connected communities. The interstate bypass around Kingman was completed in 1980. Configured as more of a loop road than a bypass, however, the routing of I-40 through Kingman complemented and enhanced the local economy well. Approaching Kingman from the East along the north side of town, the interstate entered Kingman just to the south of the Kingman Airport and industrial park.

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<sup>404</sup> Chandra, Amitabh, and Eric Thompson. “Does Public Infrastructure Affect Economic Activity?: Evidence from the Rural Interstate Highway System.” *Regional Science and Urban Economics* 30, no. 4 (2000): 457–490.

The airport and industrial park were fronted by an enhanced portion of old Route 66 with divided highway construction. A major interchange at the junction of I-40 and old Route 66 provided easy commercial truck access to the industrial park from I-40. Continuing westward, I-40 provided another full interchange at Stockton Hill Road which became Mohave County Road 20 out of town. This interchange provided direct access to the revived mining activity in the Cerbat Mountains. Crossing the rest of the northern edge of town, I-40 then looped west and south of the town providing a beltline highway encircling the city. This beltline highway portion provided another full interchange on the southern edge of the city at the junction with U.S. Route 93 running from Las Vegas to Phoenix. I-40 then continued south along the 1952 alignment of Route 66 now upgraded to interstate standards providing a full exit every 16 miles and two exits at Yucca and the Ford Proving Grounds.<sup>405</sup> This configuration fully connected Kingman to the national economy.

There had been some local disagreement about the routing of I-40. In particular, its potential impact on automobile traveler service businesses located directly on the in-town portion of Route 66 was debated.<sup>406</sup> However, by the 1980s, the benefits to Kingman of the configuration of I-40 around Kingman were clear. I-40, a major cross country trucking route, was directly connected to the Kingman industrial park. Additional direct connections to the mining district north of Kingman and U.S 93 networking in Las

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<sup>405</sup> AAA Western States Road Map. American Automobile Association, 1980. AAA Western States and Provinces Road Map. American Automobile Association, 1984. "Mohave County Boosterism is Attracting Industries," *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), March 13, 1979. "Northland News Spotlight," *Arizona Daily Sun* (Flagstaff, AZ), June 22, 1980.

<sup>406</sup> Betty Grounds, Interview by Robert W. Smith, Oral History Interview, Kingman, AZ, July 8, 2011, Capturing Arizona's Stories Collection, Arizona State Library, Phoenix, AZ.

Vegas and Phoenix traffic further cemented Kingman's status post-bypass as a growing manufacturing and logistics hub. Kingman had been granted significant transportation infrastructure connectivity through fortuitous federal decision making and investment. The city and county wasted no time in engaging in boosterism to take advantage of it.

The State of Arizona assisted Kingman, other incorporated cities in Arizona, and counties throughout Arizona in this modern boosterism when it passed legislation authorizing the formation of local Industrial Development Authorities. The legislation, initially passed in 1968 and expanded in 1974, allowed a city, county, or combination of the two to form an Industrial Development Authority with the power to issue tax-exempt industrial development bonds to private entities seeking financing for economic development projects. Successful applicants receiving the bonds from the Industrial Development Authority could then sell the bonds to banks, private investors, or the public to finance the development project. The applicant benefitted from a much lower interest rate than would have been available through conventional financing, and the Industrial Development Authority, and its city and county backers, benefitted from the local economic growth generated by the development project. Mohave county, in partnership with the city of Kingman, formed an Industrial Development Authority in the late 1970s.<sup>407</sup>

The Kingman/Mohave County Industrial Development Authority was particularly aggressive in its use of industrial development bonds. In late 1977, the Mohave County Industrial Development Authority prepared to issue \$1.75 million in industrial

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<sup>407</sup> "Mohave Bond-Sale OK is Expected," *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), January 12, 1978. "Mohave backs proposal for mall," *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), May 2, 1978. "An Idea Run Amok," *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), January 29, 1979.

development bonds, not to attract an industrial employer, but to attract a K-Mart store. K-Mart, the second largest national retailer at the time proposed building a K-Mart store in Kingman that would generate 100 new jobs. The project was in partnership with Tucson-based developer Jeffrey Tamkin. Tamkin would be the recipient of the bonds and then be tasked with building a store to K-Mart's specifications. The bonds would be paid back through a lease deal with K-Mart structured over 25 years.<sup>408</sup>

This development move proved controversial, however. The legislation passed by the Arizona legislature authorizing Industrial Development Authorities envisioned the special financing powers to be used to attract industrial development – which most Arizonans assumed meant manufacturing. Critics of the Kingman K-Mart deal called foul citing the issuance of bonds for a retail store a violation of the legislation authorizing the Industrial Development Authority. The critics further contended that the issuance of industrial development bonds to the benefit of a large national retailer put smaller local retailers at a disadvantage. The proposed location of the development also angered downtown business owners as the store was to be located at the junction of I-40 and Route 66 on the north edge of town. Downtown business owners were concerned the large retail store would pull shopping traffic out of downtown. These business owners found an advocate in County Supervisor Mabel Bailey who initially opposed the project.<sup>409</sup>

However, the K-Mart project was the first economic development project attempted by the Mohave County Industrial Development Authority. The Authority was

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<sup>408</sup> “Mohave Bond-Sale OK is Expected,” *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), January 12, 1978.

<sup>409</sup> *Ibid.*

not willing to give up on their first project. Several months of local political wrangling ensued as the project continued moving forward. Despite the controversial nature of the project, the K-Mart store got a boost from Frank Mangin of the State Office of Economic Planning and Development when he stated to the *Arizona Republic* that the 100 jobs the project would create in Kingman would have more local impact than a similar project in a larger city and that it also would prevent “trade leakage” to another city along I-40. Stating she still had deep reservations about the project, County Supervisor Mangin voted to approve the project along with the rest of the county board at a meeting on January 8, 1978. The project still faced legal hurdles including needing approval from the State Attorney General. However, with the Mohave County Industrial Development Authority aggressively behind the project, local opposition overcome with the county board vote, and a boost from the state Economic Planning and Development office, the Attorney General approved issuance of the bonds on January 13, 1978 – Friday the 13<sup>th</sup>.

The controversy surrounding the K-Mart project did not dissuade the Mohave County Industrial Development Authority from continuing to aggressively pursue economic development projects for Kingman – even if it required a liberal interpretation of the meaning of the word industrial. On May 1, 1978, the Mohave County Industrial Development Authority announced plans to issue \$2.3 million in industrial development bonds to finance the construction of a shopping mall for Kingman. The bonds would benefit a California retail developer for the construction of an 80,000 square feet enclosed shopping mall at the intersection of Stockton Hill Road and Detroit Avenue near the previously funded K-Mart project. Critics of the project pointed out that retail development was already booming in the area and was not in need of development

assistance. The California developer even admitted that government financing of this type was illegal in their home state of California. However, the Mohave County Industrial Development Authority cited the Attorney General's previous precedent allowing the use of the bonds for retail development projects, and touted that the project would create 150 jobs, create a payroll of \$1.2 million, and generate \$30,000 in annual sales tax revenue for the city.<sup>410</sup> Although intended to attract industrial manufacturing to the city, in a few short months, the Mohave County Industrial Development Authority was quickly establishing Kingman as a regional retailing hub. With its prime position at the intersection of I-40 and U.S. 93, the highway infrastructure greatly expanded the reach of these retail operations. Residents in the region cut-off from I-40 by the bypass still used the bypassed section of old Route 66 as their main connection to retail services like gasoline, groceries, clothing, and durable goods. Driving east along old Route 66 from any of these communities only took you to other bypassed towns with a similar dearth of services. Driving west out of these communities led to the intersection of I-40 and old Route 66 and the new Kingman K-Mart, mall, and other retail services. Kingman's infrastructural positioning made it a magnet for regional retail commerce. Similarly, communities west of Kingman along U.S. 93 were retail-commerce bound to Kingman all the way to Hoover Dam.

Although Kingman and Mohave County's aggressive economic development tactics had met with little successful resistance at the state, county, or local level, the Mohave County Industrial Development Authority ran into a more formidable opponent at the federal level. The Federal Aviation Administration inherited the responsibility for

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<sup>410</sup> "Mohave backs proposal for mall," *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), May 2, 1978.

adjudicating federal responsibilities with the former airbase that had become Kingman's airport and industrial park. As part of its role, the FAA had reserved final approval authority over any transaction involving the former airbase facility and the surrounding 4,000 acres of land that had been deeded to the county after World War Two. The county and the FAA had been in repeated conflict over development of the former airbase property.<sup>411</sup>

At issue was how funds generated from the sale of land surrounding the airport could be used. The Mohave County Industrial Development Authority wanted to use the funds to make improvements to the industrial park such as building roads, water lines and sewer mains. The FAA, however, maintained that funds generated from the sale of land around the airport could only be used for improvements to the airport property itself. The conflict took on renewed urgency in October of 1978 when the Mohave County Industrial Development Authority tried to quickly complete its master plan for the industrial park in advance of final negotiations with several industrial firms looking to locate facilities within the industrial park. Before the Mohave County Industrial Development Authority could enter into final negotiations it had to complete its master plan for the industrial park which included new subdivisions of the land surrounding the airport. Specifically, it sought to section off 800 acres of the 4,000 acre airport land and divide it into individual industrial lots that could be sold to manufacturing firms. The master plan called for proceeds from the sale of this land to be used to build water and sewer lines into the 800 acre section to eliminate the need for individual wells and septic systems at each

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<sup>411</sup> "Mohave to ask lawmaker's aid in speeding industrial park project," *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), October 21, 1978.



property. Seeking resolution of the situation, the Mohave County Industrial Development Authority attempted to enlist the entire Arizona congressional delegation to override the FAA's restrictions. Unlike with previous local critics and opponents, however, the Mohave County Industrial Development Authority's effort to get a favorable outcome from the federal government was unsuccessful, and the restrictions remained in place.<sup>412</sup>

The restrictions imposed by the FAA hampered local economic development efforts. Shortly after losing its battle with the FAA, county officials moved aggressively to re-acquire a 265-acre parcel of land adjacent to the airport that was not under FAA jurisdiction. The parcel had been sold in 1961 to real estate developers for a housing development that the developers never built. Citing conditions in the sale agreement that stipulated the developers needed to begin development within three years, the county took the developers to court and won a judgment to buy back the \$250,000 parcel for \$34,742. Likewise, in order to continue to develop the 800-acre subdivision at the industrial park, the Mohave County Industrial Development Authority sought out a \$250,000 state Economic Development Authority grant to build the needed water and sewer lines. The grant was awarded, and the water and sewer line improvements were completed in early 1980.<sup>413</sup>

The continual focus on development paid off as the Mohave County Industrial Development Authority began attracting significant manufacturing operations to the industrial park. By 1980, the industrial park had attracted an aircraft part manufacturer, a

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<sup>412</sup> Ibid.

<sup>413</sup> "Mohave to regain 265-acre parcel adjoining airport," *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), November 24, 1978. "Mohave to ask lawmaker's aid in speeding industrial park project," *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), October 21, 1978.

food container manufacturer, a plastics manufacturer, and a truck parts manufacturer. Likewise, General Cable Corporation, which had been an early tenant in the industrial park building its first plant in 1967, committed to a major expansion. On December 17, 1979, General Cable announced it was closing down production in plants in California, Massachusetts, and Tennessee and moving the production to their Kingman plant. The expansion transformed the Kingman plant into a 24-hour a day operation generating multiple new jobs in Kingman. The attraction of new industries to the industrial park did not come without cost and effort, however, The Mohave County Industrial Development Authority had to issue over \$10 million in industrial development bonds to attract the investments in the industrial park.<sup>414</sup>

The continual governmental financing of retail and industrial projects in Kingman and the surrounding area was not without controversy. The sitting county board was extremely supportive of using the powers of the Mohave County Industrial Development Authority to attract new business to Kingman regardless of how broad the Mohave County Industrial Development Authority's mission and authority had to be interpreted to facilitate economic development. In a nod to how loosely the county board was willing to interpret the economic development rules for the Mohave County Industrial Development Authority, in an interview with the *Arizona Republic*, Mohave County Supervisor Jim Sterling said, "anything that puts people to work is an industry".<sup>415</sup> Clearly there were

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<sup>414</sup> "Mohave County Boosterism is Attracting Industries," *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), March 13, 1979. "Cable Firm to Expand," *Tucson Citizen* (Tucson, AZ), December 17, 1979, "Mohave will issue \$4 million in bonds for Kingman plant," *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), February 20, 1980.

<sup>415</sup> "'Industrial' development questioned in Mohave," *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), December 22, 1980. "An Idea Run Amok," *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), January 29, 1979.

few limits on projects, industry, or aggressive tactics when it came to economic development in Kingman in the late 1970s and early 1980s.

The aggressive stance taken by the county board in the late 1970s generated continual if unsuccessful criticism from local residents and business owners opposed to government involvement in financing private business construction projects. The unsuccessful nature of this criticism changed somewhat in 1980 when a new county board of supervisors was elected that included supervisors opposed to the aggressive use of Mohave County Industrial Development Authority financing to attract local investment. The new board was in reaction to the aggressive non-industrial bond financing the Mohave County Industrial Development Authority had engaged in the late 1970s. Between 1978 and 1980, the Mohave County Industrial Development Authority issued \$15 million in industrial development bonds to finance everything from the K-Mart store, to a supermarket to a car dealership. This bond financing was on top of the millions in bond financing issued to attract actual industrial operations to the industrial park. The State of Arizona determined in 1980 that no other industrial development authority in Arizona had been so aggressive and used industrial bonds so extensively for non-industrial purposes.<sup>416</sup>

The new supervisors vowed to halt the Mohave County Industrial Development Authority's use of industrial development bonds to finance almost any type of economic development project. Jim Schultz, one of the new county board supervisors most opposed to how the Mohave County Industrial Development Authority had operated vowed to oppose any use of industrial development bonds for anything other than attracting

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<sup>416</sup> Ibid.

industrial economic development projects. The change in composition of the county board created a heretofore unseen split between the board and the Mohave County Industrial Development Authority. Although, the Authority was an independent government agency, it still needed the approval of the Mohave County Board of Supervisors to issue industrial development bonds. The Mohave County Industrial Development Authority was quick to assert its independence, and claimed the authority granted it by the legislature allowed it to consider almost any type of economic development project. The Authority also threatened legal action if the board tried to obstruct its economic development mission. Ultimately, however, the revolt of the county board was short-lived. A sustained economic recession set in in the summer of 1981, deepening in 1982. Economic stimulus, not rage at potentially out of control economic development projects, became the focus of all politicians at the local, state, and federal level. In Arizona, independent development authorities across Arizona came to be seen as the ticket out of recession and unemployment. The split between the county board and the Mohave County Industrial Development Authority faded and the Authority was back to funding all types of development projects in Kingman in the early 1980s.<sup>417</sup>

The disputes over the proper role for the Mohave County Industrial Development Authority in Kingman speak to how transportation infrastructure, and by extension, all infrastructure, often serve as economic development tools within a community and the

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<sup>417</sup> “‘Industrial’ development questioned in Mohave,” *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), December 22, 1980. “IDAs help industries relocate here,” *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), February 28, 1983. “Bond issue OK’d to finance hospital purchase,” *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), October 16, 1984. Richard C. Auxier, “Reagan’s Recession,” *Pew Research Center*, Last updated December 14, 2010, <https://www.pewresearch.org/2010/12/14/reagans-recession/>. “Recession of 1981-82,” *Federal Reserve History*, Accessed July 26, 2020, [https://www.federalreservehistory.org/essays/recession\\_of\\_1981\\_82](https://www.federalreservehistory.org/essays/recession_of_1981_82)

larger nation. Kingman residents were in a position to disagree about the proper way to finance economic development in their community because there was interest from national economic actors to invest in Kingman. This interest in investment was due in no small part to the “good bones” that the earlier investment in railroads, highways, and airports by outside entities provided the community. Kingman residents could argue about whether government funding was necessary for business development because business development was occurring. Critics of the Mohave County Industrial Development Authority ‘s investment in the K-Mart and the mall could point to non-government financed development happening in Kingman as evidence to prove their point that government assistance was not needed. Moreover, these Kingman critics could disparage local government industrial investment in a way that residents of Seligman or Peach Springs could not. No one, private entity or government, was investing in Seligman and Peach Springs. Easy access to rail and truck shipping is critical for manufacturing. Aggressive economic development tactics aside, General Cable would not have located a major plant in Kingman, and later closed three other plants across the country in favor of the Kingman plant, if the community lacked robust highway and rail connection. The other manufacturers that followed General Cable in investing in operations in Kingman also would have likely passed over the community for a more connected location if Kingman lacked necessary infrastructure. Kingman emerged in the 1980s as a growing industrial and retail hub in the region due to private and federal investment in transportation infrastructure. William Cronon, in his work *Nature’s Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West* documented how in the nineteenth century Chicago was able to bind large areas of the Midwest and its natural resources to Chicago

feeding its development as an industrial center. These rural hinterlands, as Cronon called them, sent natural resources to Chicago. Chicago then used these resources in manufacturing and distributed the manufactured goods back to the surrounding hinterlands.<sup>418</sup> Acting like a miniature version of the nation's largest metropolises, Kingman bound the other communities in the region to its economy drawing regional residents in for retail services and jobs. Raw materials mined from regional mountains came into Kingman for processing and were shipped out as processed goods and commodities.<sup>419</sup> All of this activity was facilitated by Kingman's location sitting at the center of a regional hub and spoke network binding the region to Kingman

#### Seligman Case Study

If Kingman was a case study in economic development success in the late twentieth century due to fortuitous outside investments in transportation infrastructure, Seligman was a case study in the opposite. Outside actors subtracted transportation infrastructure from Seligman and its economy. The economic study conducted in 2000 on the effects of the construction of the interstate system on rural communities had been clear: bypass of a community by the interstate system was a net negative by all economic measures.<sup>420</sup> As much as aggressive successful economic development in Kingman

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<sup>418</sup> William Cronon, *Nature's Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1991).

<sup>419</sup> This hub and spoke economic model for cities has been explored in a number of historical contexts – mostly notably by William Cronon in *Nature's Metropolis*. Although Kingman is hardly a Chicago or Phoenix, within the region it began acting as a regional hub on a scale appropriate to its size much like Chicago acted as a regional and national hub on a much larger scale appropriate to its stature in the nineteenth and Twentieth centuries. See William Cronon, *Nature's Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West* (New York: Norton, 1991).

<sup>420</sup> Chandra, Amitabh, and Eric Thompson. "Does Public Infrastructure Affect Economic Activity?: Evidence from the Rural Interstate Highway System." *Regional Science and Urban Economics* 30, no. 4 (2000): 457–490.

spawned internal community division, economic contraction in Seligman tore at Seligman's very existence. Even having avoided highway bypass and benefitted from highway investment, Kingman's success was due in no small part to coordinated aggressive action to further the development of the community by a number of local governmental bodies. These same agencies could respond aggressively in recessions too. Seligman lacked all of these as an unincorporated town. In the eyes of most governmental bodies and private enterprises, Seligman was not even really an official place.

Residents in Seligman struggled with what to do after the double-bypass of I-40 and the departure of the Santa Fe. The subtraction of both sustaining pieces of transportation infrastructure cut the town off from its connection to the national economy with immediate severe consequences. Automotive and truck traffic, which had been instrumental to economic growth in the postwar period, ceased so abruptly that many businesses went out of business within days. Remaining businesses reoriented around servicing railroad employees exclusively but when the Santa eliminated Seligman as a division point, that economic base was also lost.<sup>421</sup> As an unincorporated town, there was no city government to facilitate a coordinated response. Many different ideas for redevelopment from tourism to attracting a factory operation were floated but failed to gain traction as residents scrambled to do something.

After the I-40 bypass but before the Santa Fe's departure, there had been an initial attempt to organize the community to prevent further economic deterioration and in the

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<sup>421</sup> "Railway lowers boom: Seligman is cut as stop," *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), January 24, 1985. "Seligman Welcomes Train Crews," *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), December 1, 1983. "Layovers resume," *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), December 3, 1983. "Santa Fe is resuming layovers at Seligman after non-stop runs," *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), December 3, 1983. "Cutoff by interstate dooms Route 66," *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), September 23, 1978.

words of the organizing petition, “keep the community in a competitive position.” On November 17, 1980, Gary Oglesbee, the manager of the regional freight office in Seligman, circulated a letter calling for a community wide meeting. The letter was widely addressed to “all community organizations and individuals interested in planning, coordinating, and participating in development of our town of Seligman.” In the letter, Oglesbee stated that after speaking with many members of the town, the general consensus among residents was that the town needed a coordinated plan of action regarding economic development.<sup>422</sup>

Also, in the letter, Oglesbee disclosed that he had attended a meeting with Yavapai County planning officials earlier on November 13, 1980 and that these officials had stated in the meeting that there were federal and state grants available for local economic development for communities that develop a comprehensive plan for economic development. Oglesbee asserted that such a plan needed to be discussed at a community-wide meeting that he had scheduled for December 4, 1980 at 7 PM in the high school cafeteria. The meeting was necessary, according to Oglesbee, to ensure Seligman receives, “our share of federal, state, and county funds (our money).” Oglesbee asked for two representatives each from every civic organization in town including the Chamber of Commerce, Seligman Schools, the Seligman Woman’s Club, and local churches, as well as all concerned citizens, to attend. The main agenda item for the meeting would be to organize the Seligman Community Association.<sup>423</sup>

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<sup>422</sup> Garry Oglesbee to residents of Seligman, correspondence, November 17, 1980.

<sup>423</sup> Ibid.



Attached to the letter was a map documenting a new comprehensive plan for Seligman. Hand drawn by Oglesbee, the map displayed an aggressive vision for economic development in Seligman. The plan included construction of a community golf course and artificial lake where Seligman Dam and reservoir had been located previously. It also featured a large mobile/modular home subdivision in the land between the southern limit of the town and I-40. In a move similar to what Kingman had pursued, it called for an industrial park in the former Santa Fe roundhouse and maintenance yard space. The plan also called for extensive new single family home subdivisions, a rodeo grounds, two new elementary schools, and a community center. The plan also showed extensive expansion of commercial space on both sides of the existing commercial center as well as the addition of three new commercial centers including one at the intersection of I-40 and the Seligman exit. Most ambitiously, the plan called for extensive road building in the community with several new thoroughfares to provide access to these new developments and a ring road encircling the entire town.<sup>424</sup>

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<sup>424</sup> Ibid.

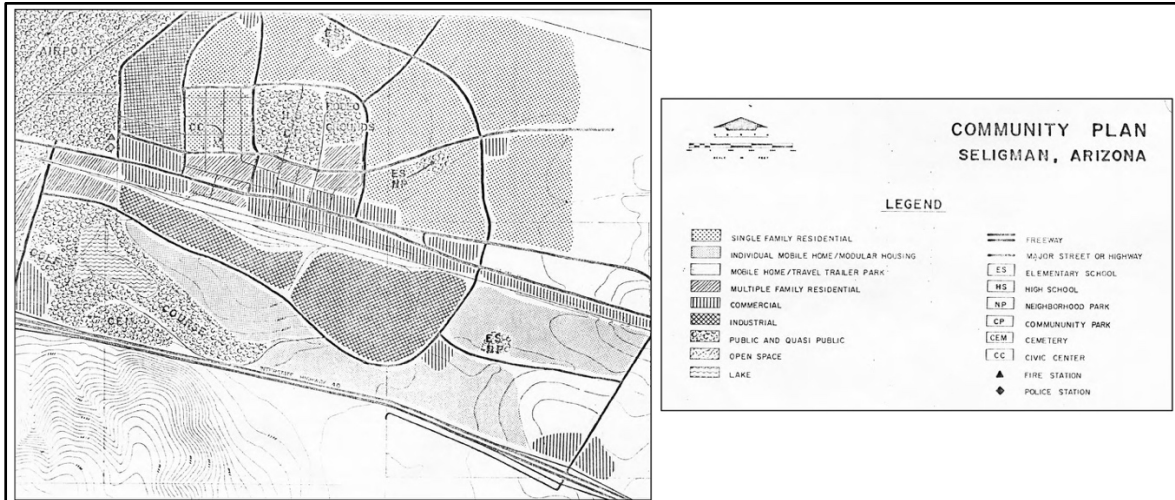


Figure 25. This map of the proposed Community Plan for Seligman was included in the materials circulated to residents. The development plans proposed were extensive. Map courtesy Cline Library Archives, Northern Arizona University.

The December meeting was a success and at a subsequent meeting on January 5, 1981 the Seligman Community Improvement Association Inc. was formed. It was officially incorporated later that year on March 23, 1981. The organization bylaws stated three purposes for the organization: to provide a forum to discuss community problems and discuss solutions, to enhance and promote quality of life in Seligman, and to act as a non-governmental liaison between Seligman residents and local, state, and federal governments.<sup>425</sup> The last provision was key as Seligman remained unincorporated. Unlike Williams and Kingman which had an incorporated city government to advocate for the community, Seligman remained a census-designated-place rather than a city with most of its land still owned by the Santa Fe Railroad.

The Association held its first regular meeting on February 2, 1981 at 7 PM in the high school cafeteria. The agenda included appointing local civilian representatives to the Yavapai County Sheriff's Office's Citizens Committee and to the Yavapai County Board

<sup>425</sup> "By-Laws of the Seligman Improvement Association," (Legal document, Seligman, AZ, 1981), 1-3.

of Supervisors. Gary Oglesbee served as President and led the meeting. Additional Association members were put in charge of a street lighting plan, airport planning, and interstate signage. Angel Delgadillo was put in charge of developing a plan for zoning. The association continued to meet monthly throughout 1981.<sup>426</sup> The association, however, made little progress due to a lack of funds or a unified city government to help drive change. The Association stopped filing required quarterly and annual reports in 1982 and was declared inactive by the Arizona Corporate Commission on August 10, 1984.<sup>427</sup>

The decline in Association activity in 1982 is around the same time the Santa Fe began its series of experiments with eliminating Seligman as a railroad stop and division point for train crews. Beginning in 1982 through the end of 1984, the Santa Fe Railroad ran a series of tests regarding eliminating Seligman as a stop. The tests examined the feasibility of eliminating freight operations and eliminating Seligman's status as the division point on the main line where trains were required to stop and change crews. Given the rising importance of moving freight quickly between major cities eliminating unnecessary stops was important to the railroad. The Santa Fe's continuous investment in faster trains and automated equipment since the 1950s meant trains could travel farther before train crews reached their maximum hours. Deeming their experiments successful, the Santa Fe eliminated Seligman as a rail stop on February 5, 1985. Santa Fe employees like Gary Oglesbee were relocated to other Santa Fe locations. The population of Seligman was cut in half, and its base of available business customers dwindled to almost

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<sup>426</sup> "Agenda" (Document, Seligman, AZ, January – May, 1981), 1

<sup>427</sup> "Entity Information: Seligman Community Improvement Association," *Arizona Corporate Commission*, Accessed July 26, 2020, <https://ecorp.azcc.gov/BusinessSearch/BusinessInfo?entityNumber=01372066/>.

nothing. On February 4, 1985, there would have been approximately 300 Santa Fe employees in town due to freight operations and train crew changes. On February 5, 1985 there were none.<sup>428</sup>

Multiple businesses closed in the years immediately following the Santa Fe's exit. The town's attempt at redefinition around tourism featuring local attractions like the community's proximity to the Grand Canyon and Flagstaff failed to resonate with tourists or the remaining local businesses. Finally, on February 18, 1987, Angel Delgadillo, Jr., now president of the Seligman Chamber of Commerce, called a meeting. Fifteen local residents attended the meeting held at the Copper Cart restaurant in Seligman. At that meeting, Angel Delgadillo, Jr. proposed reorienting Seligman around Route 66 tourism. The residents in attendance each chipped in \$10 and formed the Historic Route 66 Association. The name echoed the older but now defunct U.S. 66 Highway Association, commonly known as the Route 66 Association, which had been formed in 1927 to promote tourism and travel on Route 66. Despite being proposed by Seligman resident Angel Delgadillo and founded in the Copper Cart restaurant in Seligman, Seligman quickly lost control over the Association. The Kingman Chamber of Commerce, an early backer of the Association, lobbied for the Association to be headquartered in Kingman. With more resources including the ability to provide office space and staff, the Association quickly moved operations to larger, more prosperous Kingman.<sup>429</sup>

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<sup>428</sup> "Railway lowers boom: Seligman is cut as stop," *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), January 24, 1985. "Seligman Welcomes Train Crews," *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), December 1, 1983. "Layovers resume," *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), December 3, 1983. "Santa Fe is resuming layovers at Seligman after non-stop runs," *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), December 3, 1983.

<sup>429</sup> Angel Delgadillo, 2007, Interview by R. Sean Evans, February 19, Item number 78541, transcript, Route 66 Oral History Project, Cline Library Northern Arizona University, Flagstaff, AZ. Susan Croce Kelly, *Father of Route 66: The Story of Cy Avery* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2014), 189-212.

Now headquartered in Kingman, and having the backing of the Kingman Chamber of Commerce and City of Kingman, the Association lobbied the state to designate the bypassed section of Route 66 between Seligman and the Colorado River a historic highway – placing Kingman right in the middle of the proposed historic highway. The state complied and in April of 1988 Seligman and Kingman hosted a dedication ceremony for the historic highway designation. Multiple activities were planned for the dedication weekend that began on Friday April 22, 1988. The weekend began with a dinner, ceremony, and dance in Seligman. In another nod to the history of Route 66, Will Rogers, Jr, son of the famed American humorist Will Rogers, was the Grand Marshall of the weekend festivities. Will Rogers, Sr. had been heavily involved in the early promotion of Route 66 and became strongly associated with the highway. On Saturday, a classic car “fun run” from Seligman to Kingman was scheduled. However, unusually harsh late winter weather including snow, driving rain, and low temperatures put a damper on the event. In a mixture of snow and rain, Governor Rose Mofford kicked off the festivities on Saturday morning with a ribbon cutting across the highway in Seligman. The poor weather, however, caused many participants to cancel their participation and the “fun run,” which had anticipated several hundred attendees, limped to a start with 153 participants. The weather related poor attendance almost ended the Historic Route 66 Association before it started. The Association had been counting on proceeds from ticket sales and “fun run” registrations to pay for the multiple expenses incurred putting on the weekend dedication ceremony. Badly in debt, the Association had to plead with members and advertisers in its newsletters to send in membership dues and advertising commitments early. Several fundraisers held over the summer put the Association back

on solid financial footing. Despite the rocky start for the Association and Route 66 themed tourism in the area, by the summer of 1988, the businesses that remained in Seligman saw a dramatic increase in tourism related business. Seligman's reinvention as the birthplace of Route 66 nostalgia was underway.<sup>430</sup>

Not all remaining businesses in town benefitted equally, however, from the turn toward Route 66 nostalgia tourism. The Copper Cart Restaurant, where the initial Chamber of Commerce meeting was held, went out of business. Its building was later taken over by outside entrepreneurs and turned into a gift shop.<sup>431</sup> Primarily, the businesses clustered around the intersection of Route 66 and Main Street, the closest intersection to the two-mile long exit off of I-40, did well. These included Juan Delgadillo's Snow Cap Drive-In, the Black Cat Bar, and Angel Delgadillo's Barbershop – now a gift shop. A few of the 1950s era motels managed to survive as well – catering to tourists wanting to spend the night in an authentic Route 66 motel.<sup>432</sup> In the new

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<sup>430</sup> "Historic Route 66 Association of Arizona Route 66 Report," (Document, Kingman, AZ, 1988), 1-4, MS-37, Box 1, Folder 1, Sharlot Hall Museum, Prescott, AZ. "Historic Route 66 Association of Arizona April Newsletter," (Document, Kingman, AZ, 1988), 1-4, MS-37, Box 1, Folder 1, Sharlot Hall Museum, Prescott, AZ. "Historic Route 66 Association of Arizona May Newsletter," (Document, Kingman, AZ, 1988), 1-4, MS-37, Box 1, Folder 1, Sharlot Hall Museum, Prescott, AZ. Angel Delgadillo, 2007, Interview by R. Sean Evans, February 19, Item number 78541, transcript, Route 66 Oral History Project, Cline Library Northern Arizona University, Flagstaff, AZ. "Family of the Mother Road," *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), July 22, 1990, p. 63. "Still Getting Kicks on 66," *Arizona Daily Star* (Tucson, AZ), August 28, 1992, p. 72. "Scenic Stretch of Route 66 is Still Kicking," *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), June 26, 2010, p. 56. "Get a Few Kicks Along Route 66," *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), January 13, 2013, P. CL1. "Caves, Soda Shop Along Mother Road," *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), July 13, 2014, p. CL1. Kelly, *Father of Route 66*, 189-212.

<sup>431</sup> "Turn On: Seligman Street Lights to Shine Again," *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), July 16, 1987. Yavapai County, Warranty Deed, Ana Wayman-Trujillo, County Recorder. B-4320, P-741, Number 3925224, Yavapai County, Arizona: Yavapai County Recorder's Office, 2005. Document, <https://yavapaicountyaz-web.tylerhost.net/web/web/integration/document?DocumentNumberID=3925224>, Accessed July 28, 2020.

<sup>432</sup> Angel Delgadillo, 2007, Interview by R. Sean Evans, February 19, Item number 78541, transcript, Route 66 Oral History Project, Cline Library Northern Arizona University, Flagstaff, AZ. "Family of the Mother Road," *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), July 22, 1990, p. 63. "Still Getting Kicks on 66," *Arizona Daily Star* (Tucson, AZ), August 28, 1992, p. 72. "Scenic Stretch of Route 66 is Still Kicking," *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), June 26, 2010, p. 56. "Get a Few Kicks Along Route 66," *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ),

economic model of nostalgia tourism, tourists driving on I-40 could exit the freeway, have a quick Route 66 experience, and then quickly get back on the interstate.



Figure 26. The Snow Cap Drive-In in 1994. Juan and Angel Delgadillo were two of the primary beneficiaries of Seligman's move to Route 66 tourism. Photo by Tom McFarlane, author's personal collection, Tempe, AZ.

The uneven benefits of Route 66 tourism for Seligman businesses was due in part to a marked difference in the type of tourists who actually came to Seligman to see Route 66 versus the type of tourists Angel Delgadillo and regional residents had originally imagined coming to Seligman to see Route 66. As originally proposed, the Historic Route 66 Association was focused on promoting a revival of American tourism on Route 66. The Association and its members envisioned recapturing American tourists still vacationing by car in the Southwest by encouraging them to slow down, exit the interstate, and experience Route 66. What they actually netted, however, was decidedly more international in flavor.

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January 13, 2013, P. CL1. "Caves, Soda Shop Along Mother Road," *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), July 13, 2014, p. CL1. Kelly, *Father of Route 66*, 189-212.

As the Historic Route 66 Association promotional activities and advertising increased, the Association began to attract media coverage across the United States. Although the “fun run” event continued in the 1990s as a more local affair, the Association membership began to increasingly include members from all across the United States and internationally. Most of these members never actually came to Arizona, but paid membership dues to subscribe to the newsletters and receive updates on Route 66. Tourists that did venture into Seligman, increasingly came from far flung locations with the specific purpose of visiting the “authentic Route 66.” In addition to far-flung American origins like Washington and Pennsylvania, these nostalgic “authentic Route 66” seekers also came from Germany, France, Belgium, Sweden, Switzerland, the United Kingdom, and Japan. Often arriving on tour busses, these international tourists were from Las Vegas and other nearby vacation destinations. With Kingman’s easy highway access to Las Vegas, and quick connection to Seligman by I-40, tour bus operators could load Las Vegas tourists in the morning, whisk them to Seligman for their Route 66 experience, and return them to their hotel rooms in Las Vegas in a single day. Outgoing and always the Seligman promoter, Angel Delgadillo Jr. embraced the international interest in Route 66. Many of these international tourists felt they made a personal connection with Angel Delgadillo Jr. sending letters, postcards, and even Christmas cards from their home countries.<sup>433</sup>

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<sup>433</sup> “Historic Route 66 Association of Arizona November/December Newsletter,” (Document, Kingman, AZ, 1993), 1-4, Author’s personal collection, “Historic Route 66 Association of Arizona January/February Newsletter,” (Document, Kingman, AZ, 1994), 1-4, Author’s personal collection, “Historic Route 66 Association of Arizona March/April Newsletter,” (Document, Kingman, AZ, 1994), 1-4, Author’s personal collection, “Historic Route 66 Association of Arizona May/June Newsletter,” (Document, Kingman, AZ, 1994), 1-4, Author’s personal collection, “Historic Route 66 Association of Arizona July/August Newsletter,” (Document, Kingman, AZ, 1994), 1-4, Author’s personal collection, “Historic Route 66 Association of Arizona September/October Newsletter,” (Document, Kingman, AZ, 1994), 1-4, Author’s



In a striking example of the growing international reach of Route 66 nostalgia tourism, the August, 1993 newsletter of the Historic Route 66 Association carried an item about receiving a copy of Hisroshi Hanamora's book, *Route 66 – The American Legend*. Hanamora, a photographer from Tokyo, Japan, published the coffee table photography book documenting his trip down the abandoned section of Route 66 in northwestern Arizona. The newsletter editor stated their appreciation for receiving a copy despite the fact that no one in the Association office could read the book as it was printed entirely in Japanese. Similarly, the book was for sale only in Japan. The same edition of the newsletter listed addresses for three international Route 66 associations – two in the Netherlands and one in France. The newsletter also listed new members in Germany, Switzerland, the Netherlands, Japan, and the United Kingdom. This was in addition to new members from across the United States – most of whom hailed from outside Arizona.<sup>434</sup>

The growing popularity of Seligman and Arizona's remaining portion of now abandoned Route 66 internationally is an example of what Arthur Krim described as the highway's transition from fact to symbol. In *Route 66: Iconography of the American Highway*, Krim describes a cultural process where physical things, in this case transportation infrastructure, transition through cultural production like movies, books,

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personal collection, "Historic Route 66 Association of Arizona November/December Newsletter," (Document, Kingman, AZ, 1994), 1-4, Author's personal collection.

<sup>434</sup> "Historic Route 66 Association of Arizona November/December Newsletter," (Document, Kingman, AZ, 1993), 1-4, Author's personal collection. Heinz and Monica Haenggi to Angel Delgadillo, Jr., correspondence, December 18, 1995. Erich and Angela Kocetz to Angel Delgadillo, Jr., correspondence, February 22, 1997. Mrs. Donald R. Maloney to Angel Delgadillo, Jr., correspondence, June 27, 1988. Mrs. Lawrence Seligman to Angel Delgadillo, Jr., correspondence, February 27, 1988. Les Foss to Angel Delgadillo, Jr., correspondence, August 7, 1987. Arne Alnihn to Angel Delgadillo, Jr., correspondence, May 14, 1989. Atelier Philippe Salaun to Angel Delgadillo, Jr., correspondence, November 15, 1989. CH. Venken MJ Buvens to Angel Delgadillo, Jr., correspondence, October 25, 1995.

and songs from their reality in fact to a new reality as a symbol of cultural values like small town Route 66 as the “authentic” America. In Route 66’s case, its factual reality began in the auto trails age as part of the National Old Trails Road and the beginning of America’s mass adoption of the automobile. This fact-based reality continued through the federal road era and ended with the bypass of the final section of the road as it was eclipsed by I-40. As a fact-based object, Route 66 was an industrial transitway focused on facilitating national commerce. However, the symbolic reality of the road began in the 1930s with historical events like the Dust Bowl and cultural production like the novel *Grapes of Wrath*, song “Get Your Kicks on Route 66,” and the television show “Route 66.” This cultural production transitioned the road in popular consciousness away from practical motorway to cultural symbol.<sup>435</sup>

In particular, this cultural production associated Route 66 with cultural values like authenticity, worthiness, youth, vigor, fun, earnestness, pioneer spirit, and the romantic West. As cultural products, these novels, songs, television shows, and movies could cross borders taking these new “Route 66 values” with them. Much like American movie westerns made the cowboy a universal symbol of Americans, these cultural products made Route 66 a symbol of youth, fun, and personal reinvention and renewal.<sup>436</sup> Its symbolism was not universal. It was decidedly white and male. When Route 66 was either eliminated or bypassed, a new set of cultural products added nostalgia and loss to the cultural values associated with Route 66. Book’s like Quinta Scott and Susan Kelly’s *Route 66: The Highway and its People* and Michael Wallis’s *Route 66: The Mother Road*

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<sup>435</sup> Arthur Krim, *Route 66: Iconography of the American Highway* (Santa Fe: Center for American Places, 2005), 3-14, 95-128.

<sup>436</sup> *Ibid.*, 95-128.

firmly established this “what have we lost?” narrative within Route 66 iconography. Published in 1988 and 1990 respectively, just shortly after the final bypass of Route 66, each book traversed the entire length of Route 66 documenting stories of struggling small towns, authentic “real” Americans, and abandoned places.<sup>437</sup> These narratives dug into previous Route 66 values reflecting these supposed more “authentic” places in a 1950s hue that was also overwhelmingly white and male, short on Civil Rights complications, and long on stereotyped gender roles. Hisroshi Hanamora’s coffee table book, published in 1993, was an international reflection of this American cultural symbolism.

For Seligman, however, and the Route 66 Historical Association specifically, this symbolism translated into successful commercial tourism despite its disconnection from fact. This success was not universal within the town – some succeeded but many did not. It also did not resemble what the originators had envisioned – rather than bringing back the 1960s it created something wholly new. Relying on tourism to revive a local economy after a primary industrial employer leaves was examined by historian Hal Rothman in *Devil’s Bargains: Tourism in the Twentieth Century American West*. In the book, Rothman declares tourism a devil’s bargain. Rothman outlines how tourism was often touted as a cure-all that could heal the economic ills of communities in the West that lost the economic pillars that originally supported their economy. According to Rothman, it becomes a devil’s bargain, however, since the development of a tourist economy rarely works out as the originators hope. Rather than saving the town as is, tourism often sets in motion a redefinition of the community that undermines and replaces the original

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<sup>437</sup> Quinta Scott and Susan Kelly, *Route 66: The Highway and its People* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1988), Michael Wallis, *Route 66: The Mother Road* (New York: St. martin’s Press, 1990).

community members and their sense of place. This often involves a new set of outside economic actors who redefine the community's sense of place around the tourism mission making it unrecognizable to original residents.<sup>438</sup> In the case of Seligman, few of the original Chamber of Commerce members at that February, 1987 meeting remain in the community. The Delgadillo family are the primary hold outs. The Copper Cart Restaurant where the meeting was held went out of business as did many others. Most of the gift shops that arose after 1987 were founded by outsiders. Many historic structures are owned by investors from Phoenix, California, even France.<sup>439</sup> The population, at 445, is half of what it was before the highway bypass and railroad departure.<sup>440</sup> Most telling of all, however, is the complete erasure of the town's connection to the railroad – the originator and prime mover of the community. BNSF, created by the merger of the Santa Fe and Burlington Northern railroads in 1995, demolished all of the railroad structures in the town in 2008.<sup>441</sup> The Route 66 nostalgia marketed at the remaining gift shops and diners in town is long on classic cars, road trip imagery, and 1950s nostalgia, but silent on the railroad's role in the community.

As such, the town existed post-1987 in a synthetic state. Its long connection to the railroad forgotten. The reality of Route 66 travel distilled into a tourist version easily

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<sup>438</sup> Hal K. Rothman, *Devil's Bargains: Tourism in the Twentieth Century American West* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1998), 10-28.

<sup>439</sup> "Yavapai County Interactive Map, Parcel 301-26-015," *Yavapai County*, Accessed July 28, 2020, <https://gis.yavapai.us/v4/map.aspx?search=>. "Yavapai County Interactive Map, Parcel 301-26-016," *Yavapai County*, Accessed July 28, 2020, <https://gis.yavapai.us/v4/map.aspx?search=>. "Yavapai County Interactive Map, Parcel 301-26-056," *Yavapai County*, Accessed July 28, 2020, <https://gis.yavapai.us/v4/map.aspx?search=>.

<sup>440</sup> "USA Towns in Profile: Seligman CDP, Arizona," *StatsAmerica.org*, Accessed July, 8, 2020, <http://www.statsamerica.org/town/>

<sup>441</sup> Bruce Colbert, "Railroad Tearing Down Seligman Harvey House," *Daily Courier* (Prescott, AZ), April 13, 2008. Jeremy Thomas, "Old Seligman Harvey House: End is Near," *Tucson.com*, Last modified April 16, 2008, [https://tucson.com/news/state-and-regional/old-seligman-harvey-house-end-is-near/article\\_2ca44c95-5061-5a2b-9b51-244c8901aea6.html](https://tucson.com/news/state-and-regional/old-seligman-harvey-house-end-is-near/article_2ca44c95-5061-5a2b-9b51-244c8901aea6.html)

digested in a few hours just off the interstate. The reality of Seligman's arc of creation by the railroad, local community building, long complicated relationship with the railroad, and the economic hardship brought on by the railroad's departure was buried under a thick layer of 1950s Americana and Route 66 nostalgia. This hidden history, however, was typical of many communities in the West. Steamboat Springs, Colorado hides an origin in ranching and berry farming beneath its reinvention as a skiing retreat for the wealthy.<sup>442</sup>

Similarly, the synthetic nature of the tourist and nostalgia experience in Seligman has a long history in America. As Erika Marie Bsumek documented in *Indian-Made: Navajo Culture in the Marketplace, 1868–1940*, while the reality of American policy towards Native Americans in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was one of destruction, the American public, particularly in the east, were often disconnected from this harsh reality. In the region, the Hualapai had been forcibly relocated after the Hualapai Wars in the late 1870s to make way for railroad construction and white settlers. This cleared the way for development of Kingman's mining resources and capturing the water supplies at Peach Springs. Rather than developing an understanding of the reality of American policy towards Native-Americans like the Hualapai, eastern White Americans became fascinated with artifacts of supposedly "authentic" Native American culture. This "authentic" indigenous culture, however, often took the form of synthesized cultural productions and objects that were often highly inaccurate but catered to the majority culture's nostalgic conception of what Native American culture was like. The Hualapai, despite successfully defying relocation and returning to the region, found the

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<sup>442</sup> Rothman, *Devil's Bargain*, 171-173.

railroad firmly in place and their ancestral lands occupied.<sup>443</sup> Subsistence needs forced many into participating in synthetic Native American tourist activities for railroad tourists. The faux-Route 66 experience marketed in Seligman runs along a similar road. The factual reality of life in the region along the road is muted in favor of a performative Route 66 experience marketed to tourists.

This thin veneer of nostalgia concealing a deeper hidden history was typical of many communities in the West. Where nothing but a railhead existed in the 1880s, and a nascent community began developing in the first decades of the twentieth century, by the late 1950s, a fully formed community existed. Dependent on transportation infrastructure for its continued survival, certainly, but as viable a southwestern community as any other at the time. It did not last. Seligman's viability crumbled at the onslaught of new national actors and projects that fundamentally altered the built environment at the heart of Seligman's existence. The railroad, so foundational to the creation of the town, transformed into an express freight line between Los Angeles and Chicago abandoning Seligman. The road, so instrumental to connecting Seligman to the rest of the country post-war became obsolete. New interstates, focused on quickly connecting big cities by automobiles, bypassed the town and many like it. On the surface, an outsider could interpret Seligman's successful reinvention around Route 66 tourism as a success. The active businesses along Route 66 bustle with tourists particularly in the summer months. This perception is quickly dispelled if a tourist steps off Route 66 into the rest of the town. Less than two blocks off Route 66 abandoned business buildings and houses

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<sup>443</sup> Erika Marie Bsumek, *Indian-Made: Navajo Culture in the Marketplace, 1868–1940* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2008). Shepard, *We Are an Indian Nation*, 1-55.

crumble into their foundations. Outside of the small tourism district, the economic decline of Route 66 is evident. The lone gas station in town charges double the average rate per gallon for gasoline. Groceries can only be acquired in Kingman.<sup>444</sup> Despite the cheery 1950s Route 66 nostalgia marketed to tourists along Route 66, the reality just off the road is one of poverty and decline. Seligman, cut off from its transportation infrastructure lifelines and industrial employers, withered.

### Peach Springs Comparison

The case of Seligman and its reaction to the highway bypass warrants a brief examination or mini-case study of its neighbor to the west, Peach Springs. For all the communities in the region, the addition or subtraction of transportation infrastructure had significant economic consequences. In the case of Kingman, the addition of I-40 was largely positive. It was largely negative, due to the bypass, for Seligman and Peach Springs. However, Seligman gained at least one asset in the form of a freeway exit that allowed I-40 motorists to access the town without going too far out of their way. The exit was long – two miles in length – but easily deposited motorists in Seligman with equally easy access back to I-40. This exit had not been built for Seligman. It had been built out of necessity given I-40 construction delays through the Juniper Mountains and the need to connect motorists back to Route 66.<sup>445</sup> Nevertheless, the Seligman community used this infrastructure to their advantage post-bypass to lure tourists.

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<sup>444</sup> The author has made many site visits to Seligman. The overall decline of the town is evident anywhere off of Route 66. Housing is old and in poor condition, and abandoned buildings outnumber in-use structures. Viable employment and basic services are few. Access to groceries is a problem for most regional communities including Seligman. Residents have to drive to either Kingman or Flagstaff to acquire basic necessities.

<sup>445</sup> “Road Body to Mull Coffee-Stop Pros, Cons,” *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), August 16, 1967.

Peach Springs was not as lucky. The town was too far from I-40 to enable an easy-off, easy-on tourism strategy. More importantly, however, Peach Springs did not get any other assistance navigating the bypass. Racialized federal policy through much of the early interstate period was actually focused on terminating the Hualapai Tribe's existence rather than helping them cope with the change in highway infrastructure. Arizona state policy and attitudes toward the Hualapai were no better. Indifferent at best, the state was lukewarm to federal termination efforts, not out of support for the Hualapai tribe, but because the state did want responsibility for dealing with them directly.<sup>446</sup>

This is in contrast to Seligman, where in June 1978, Governor Bruce Babbitt visited the town in-person, met directly with Seligman residents, and promised to use his "clout as governor" to get the Arizona Department of Transportation and the Arizona Department of Tourism to financially assist the community. This state commitment was later reflected in Governor Rose Mofford's attendance at the inaugural Seligman "fun run" tourist event. No such state support was afforded to Peach Springs and the Hualapai.<sup>447</sup> In fact, Governor Babbitt became an active foe of the tribe's post-bypass

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<sup>446</sup> Jeffrey P. Shepherd, *We are an Indian Nation: A History of the Hualapai People* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2010), 143-151. "Haste Could Be Costly," *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), December 12, 1953. "Indians Should Organize," *Prescott Courier* (Prescott, AZ), Reprinted in the *Yuma Daily Sun* (Yuma, AZ), November 19, 1953. "Indians Oppose State Controls," *Arizona Daily Star* (Tucson, AZ), August 31, 1955. "Indian Unit Backs Papago Mineral Rights Claim," *Arizona Daily Star* (Tucson, AZ), January 15, 1955. "Indian Affairs Group Again Asks Papago Mineral Rights," *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), January 15, 1955. "States' Authority over Indians Opposed," *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), April 23, 1955.

<sup>447</sup> "Babbitt offers 'clout' to tiny, cut-off town," *Arizona Daily Star* (Tucson, AZ), June 25, 1978. "Historic Route 66 Association of Arizona Route 66 Report," (Document, Kingman, AZ, 1988), 1-4, MS-37, Box 1, Folder 1, Sharlot Hall Museum, Prescott, AZ. "Historic Route 66 Association of Arizona April Newsletter," (Document, Kingman, AZ, 1988), 1-4, MS-37, Box 1, Folder 1, Sharlot Hall Museum, Prescott, AZ. "Historic Route 66 Association of Arizona May Newsletter," (Document, Kingman, AZ, 1988), 1-4, MS-37, Box 1, Folder 1, Sharlot Hall Museum, Prescott, AZ. Angel Delgadillo, 2007, Interview by R. Sean Evans, February 19, Item number 78541, transcript, Route 66 Oral History Project, Cline Library Northern Arizona University, Flagstaff, AZ. "Family of the Mother Road," *Arizona Republic*



economic redevelopment efforts. This difference in support reflected the continuation of racialized transportation and economic development policy at the federal and state levels.

The lack of federal or state support was not due to lack of need. For the town of Peach Springs and the Hualapai Tribe, the bypass of Route 66 had been devastating. The sudden loss in business caused most of the local businesses in town to close. Tribal residents had to go to Seligman or Kingman for basic supplies. Unlike Seligman, Peach Springs' location over 25 miles from the nearest I-40 exit meant little Route 66 tourism would come through town.<sup>448</sup> Anticipating that the interstate bypass would harm them economically, the Hualapai had attempted to stave off the economic ruin of their town through the pursuit of a new infrastructure development project.

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(Phoenix, AZ), July 22, 1990, p. 63. "Still Getting Kicks on 66," *Arizona Daily Star* (Tucson, AZ), August 28, 1992, p. 72.

<sup>448</sup> *Active Commercial Enterprises in Peach Springs, Arizona*. Scale 1:4,103. Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railway Company Peach Springs Station Plat, Albuquerque Arizona Division, Arizona Station 24063 + 00 to 24116 + 00. Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railway Company Peach Springs Station Plat, Albuquerque Arizona Division, Arizona Station 24063 + 00 to 24145 + 00. "Route 66 in Northern Arizona," Google Maps, Accessed April 6, 2018, <https://www.google.com/maps/place/AZ-66,+Arizona/@35.3873174,-113.6886771,10z/data=!4m5!3m4!1s0x80cda6df8cfffdf9:0xccb014c1fa4d9581!8m2!3d35.5217412!4d-113.4528915>. Tempe, AZ: Daniel Milowski, April, 2018. Using ArcMap GIS. Version 10.5. Redlands, CA: Environmental Systems Research Institute, Inc, 1992-2016.

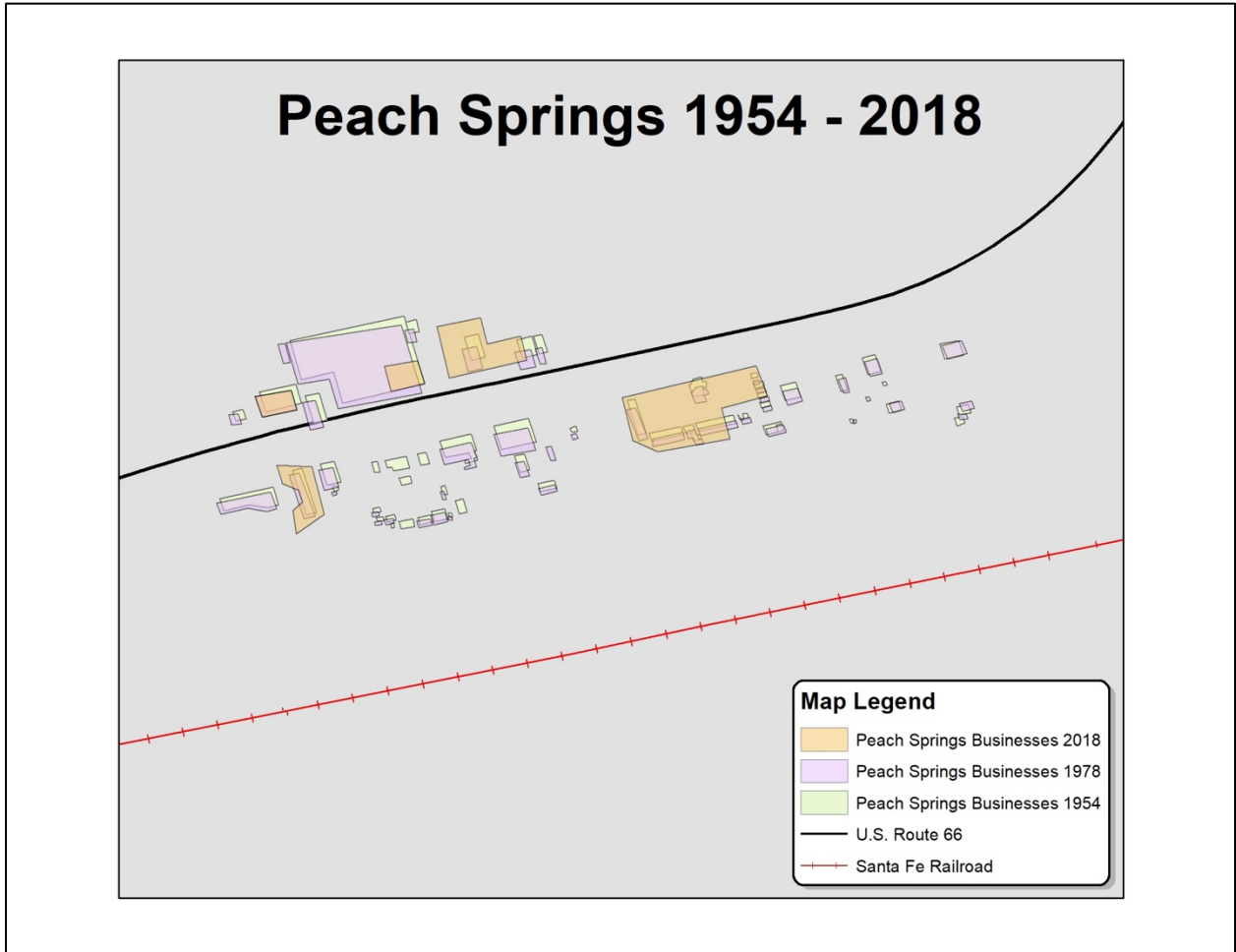


Figure 27. This map shows the change in active businesses in Peach Springs, Arizona from 1954 to 2018. The three layers indicate little change between 1954 and 1978 with a steep decline in active businesses by 2018. Peach Springs, Arizona was bypassed by I-40 in 1978 with most businesses declining quickly after 1978.

Beginning in the early 1960s, while still battling federal termination and other issues, the Hualapai began pursuing development of a hydro-electric dam at Bridge Canyon on the Colorado River. Bridge Canyon was a narrow, high-walled section of the Grand Canyon on the Hualapai reservation. The Tribe sought to build a high-walled dam at the site to generate electricity for sale and serve as a water reservoir and recreation site for tourists.<sup>449</sup> The Bridge Canyon Dam site had been proposed by various parties

<sup>449</sup> "More Water Earmarked for State's Cities, Towns," *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ) February 7, 1962. "Bridge Canyon Dam Big Hope for Hualapais," *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), June 16, 1966. "Progress

beginning early in the twentieth century. James Pitts, the politically connected regional resident who owned stores in Seligman and Ash Fork had taken Interior Department officials on a tour of the dam site in 1915 promoting it as an ideal site for a reservoir to supply water and electric power to the region.<sup>450</sup> Proposals and plans for a dam at Bridge Canyon continued throughout the twentieth century into 1950s and 1960s.



Figure 28. James Pitts (in driver's seat) with Interior Department officials touring the proposed Bridge Canyon Dam site in 1915. Photo courtesy of the Cline Library Archives, Northern Arizona University.

Tribal leadership saw the Bridge Canyon Dam as their best opportunity for economic development. However, environmental interests, led by the Sierra Club, opposed the dam due to its potential effects on Grand Canyon National Park. As the

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Report," *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), July 1, 1967. "Hualapais Push Bridge Canyon Dam," *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), September 15, 1967.

<sup>450</sup> Photograph, *Bridge Canyon Near Peach Springs*, 1915, James A Pitts Collection, Cline Library Special Collections, Northern Arizona University, MS15, box1, folder1

reality of the interstate bypass loomed over their community, Tribal leaders came to see Bridge Canyon Dam as the only means to reorient their economy away from the travel service businesses they knew they would lose when the bypass was complete. At a Hualapai Tribal Council Meeting on September 14, 1967. The council directed the Tribe's attorneys to take whatever steps were necessary to build the dam.<sup>451</sup>

The Hualapai continued to advocate for its construction throughout the interstate bypass construction period and even more intensely directly after the bypass. Environmental groups like the Sierra Club continued to oppose the dam project. The Bridge Canyon Dam proposal was finally abandoned when Arizona Governor Bruce Babbitt, shortly after the bypass was completed, formally opposed the dam ending any real chance the dam would be built.<sup>452</sup> As such, the Hualapai lost their travel service economy and their economic plans for the future nearly simultaneously. These twin losses were due to government infrastructure reconfiguration initiatives planned from afar, reflecting the priorities of the majority, and implemented with indifference to local consequences to the tribal community. Unlike in Seligman, no 'gubernatorial clout' was offered to assist the Hualapai Tribe by Governor Babbitt after his formal opposition ended the dam project and the Hualapai's economic development plans.

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<sup>451</sup> "More Water Earmarked for State's Cities, Towns," *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ) February 7, 1962. "Bridge Canyon Dam Big Hope for Hualapais," *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), June 16, 1966. "Progress Report," *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), July 1, 1967. "Hualapais Push Bridge Canyon Dam," *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), September 15, 1967. "Hualapai Tribe Rejects Plans to Boost Grand Canyon Tourism," *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), April 6, 1980. "The Walapai: A Sad Chapter in Indian History," *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), July 10, 1980.

<sup>452</sup> Ibid.

## Williams Case Study

As construction of I-40 advanced in the 1970s through northwestern Arizona, the case of Williams was unique. Unlike Seligman, it had lost its main industrial employer before the war. Subsequent attempts to revive industrial logging and wood processing in Williams had all ended unsuccessfully. Its economy had largely become dependent on automobile travelers and tourism for revenue since the Saginaw-Manistee Lumber Company wood products plant closed in 1942. However, by 1974 the source of much of the town's tourist income, Route 66, was itself in jeopardy in Williams. In early 1974, the Arizona Highway Department announced it was ready to discuss preliminary plans for the I-40 bypass of Williams. Announcement of the plans was significant as the bypass was designed to divert all highway traffic off Williams' remaining portion of Route 66 and deprive Williams' tourist and automobile services businesses of the steady captive stream of customers through town. The highway department secured time on the June 13, 1974 Williams City Council Meeting to discuss their plans.<sup>453</sup>

That June city council meeting proved to be a busy night; the agenda was packed. It included swearing in three new city councilors, voting on a new mayor, approving new city hires, voting on improvements to city hall, the community center, and a city park, approving traffic control measures, and voting on a subsidy for the private Williams Ambulance Service. All of those items were in addition to hearing from the Arizona Highway Department about the preliminary bypass plans. The council was also to hear

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<sup>453</sup> "Hoffman Selected Williams Mayor," *Arizona Daily Sun* (Flagstaff, AZ), June 14, 1974.

from a young but studious 23 year old man from Phoenix about a new tourist attraction proposal.<sup>454</sup>

Outgoing mayor Floyd Malone called the meeting to order. City Clerk Laura Cole swore in the three new council members. Immediately after the new council was seated, Mayor Floyd Malone called for a vote on a new mayor. City Councilor Jim Hoffman, a local Williams businessman, won the vote. Malone handed the gavel to Hoffman, and in his first act as mayor Hoffman called on the representative from the Arizona Highway Department to make his presentation. Arizona State Highway Department Engineer Ray Demetri approached the dais and provided a lengthy explanation on the department's "split-diamond design" for the highway exits that would encompass the I-40 bypass of Williams. The plan called for providing two exits for Williams – one at Second Street and one at Airport Road. Noticeably absent was an exit to Highway 64 – the highway to the Grand Canyon. Second Street and Airport Road were only eight blocks apart, but the highway department favored a direct connection between I-40 and the airport. A representative of the Northern Arizona Council of Governments recommended putting the bypass design in the City's comprehensive plan which would be up for a vote at the next council meeting. After hearing the presentation of the plan, the council took no action.<sup>455</sup>

Up next was the proposed tourism plan. Robert Bohannon of Saratoga Transportation in Phoenix approached the dais. He spoke to the council about his plans to revive passenger train service between Williams and the Grand Canyon. His proposal

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<sup>454</sup> Ibid.

<sup>455</sup> Ibid.

called for leasing the tracks and stations from the Santa Fe Railroad, buying a diesel locomotive and some passenger cars, and opening an excursion train with daily service to the Grand Canyon. He concluded his presentation by imploring the council “don’t give up the idea of a tourist train,” and asking them to include his proposal in the comprehensive plan. Again, the council took no action.<sup>456</sup>

The June 1974 city council meeting in Williams provided insight into the state of transportation infrastructure investment in the region by the mid 1970s and its impact on communities in the area. By 1974, with the notable exception of the section that would bypass Seligman and Peach Springs, I-40 was mostly complete across Arizona. With the exception of the Seligman bypass, interchanges remained unbuilt for only Holbrook, Winslow, Williams, and Kingman. Plans were already in place for the bypasses of Holbrook and Winslow. An economically advantageous plan has been made much earlier for connecting Kingman to I-40 as a major I-40 stop. That only left finalizing plans for Williams. With I-40 complete on either side of town, interstate traffic was throttled through Williams clogging the town with traffic. Hundreds of over-the-road trucks hurtled through the town every day.<sup>457</sup>

The railroad had abandoned Williams in the 1960s. Passenger and freight trains had been routed to Williams Junction three miles away since 1962. The Santa Fe branch line to the Grand Canyon had been abandoned since 1968. Decades of federal investment in highways and Americans’ steadfast embrace of the automobile postwar led to ever declining passenger volume on the run to the Grand Canyon as tourists preferred to drive

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<sup>456</sup> Ibid.

<sup>457</sup> California, New Mexico, Arizona, Nevada, Utah, Colorado Road Map. Shell Oil Company, 1975. “Interstate Route A Gets Endorsement,” *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), November 17, 1959.

to the park rather than take the train. Unprofitable as a passenger line and unnecessary as a freight line, the Santa Fe finally pulled the plug on July 30, 1968.<sup>458</sup>

The self-billed “Gateway to the Grand Canyon” was more dependent on the automobile tourist volume through town than ever. The local economy was completely dependent on it with local businesses making most of their money during peak Grand Canyon tourist season in the summer. The two presentations at the June 1974 city council meeting would be harbingers of Williams’ fate in the post-I-40 bypass world. The twin sagas of the halting dance towards a freeway bypass and the torturous track towards reviving passenger rail service to the Grand Canyon would dominate life in Williams and headlines throughout the state throughout the late 1970s and well into the 1980s. Both star-crossed projects would also come to redefine Williams and its economy in ways that few Williams residents imagined in 1974.

Planning for the Williams bypass continued in earnest throughout 1974. By May of 1975, the Arizona Department of Transportation had completed the Draft Environmental Impact Statement for the bypass and circulated it for comment. At the end of September 1975, the Arizona Department of Transportation scheduled a public meeting in Williams on October 8<sup>th</sup> to discuss their bypass plans with the public. By this time, the plan had evolved to include three exits for Williams over the two previously planned. The exit at Airport Road had been eliminated in favor of an exit in east Williams

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<sup>458</sup> “Santa Fe Traffic on New Line Dec. 19,” *Williams News* (Williams, AZ), December 15, 1960. “Santa Fe’s New Bypass Route Ready,” *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), April 17, 1962. “New Santa Fe Cutoff Opened: ‘Extra 31’ Closes Out Prescott Passenger Run,” *Arizona Daily Star* (Tucson, AZ), May 1, 1962. “Last Train from Williams,” *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), November 3, 1967. Al Richmond, “Grand Canyon Railway,” National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1998), Section 7, 8, 9.



at the road to the Grand Canyon. The exit at Second Street remained, and an exit on the western edge of Williams had been added. The biggest concern in Williams was on the bypass's potential effect on local businesses, but there was no vocal organized opposition like there had been earlier over the Route A bypass of Seligman and Peach Springs. In May 1976, the Arizona Department of Transportation announced work on the Williams bypass would begin in February of 1977. In November 1976, state transportation officials announced they expected construction on all aspects of the interstate highway system throughout Arizona to be completed by 1981.<sup>459</sup>

With the plans for the Williams bypass seemingly set, residents of Williams, local business owners, the city council, and others interested in Williams' continued development turned to how to prepare for this change. One of these parties was Phoenix resident Robert Bohannon. Bohannon had continued in his quest to restore passenger rail service between Williams and the Grand Canyon, and by 1976, had secured endorsements from the city council, Williams, Rotary Club, and the Williams Chamber of Commerce. Bohannon's plan continued to involve leasing the track and stations from the Santa Fe and buying a diesel locomotive and a few passenger cars to run on the line. In an interview with the *Arizona Republic*, Bohannon stated, "I am not planning on using a steam engine, but rather recreating a mid-Thirties streamliner that is diesel powered. That's nostalgic and should have a potent appeal." Bohannon predicted that with 50%

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<sup>459</sup> "Williams Bypass Studied," *Arizona Daily Sun* (Flagstaff, AZ), May 7, 1975, "Williams Bypass Meeting Scheduled for October 8," *Arizona Daily Sun* (Flagstaff, AZ), September 30, 1975, "Williams Bypass Meeting," *Arizona Daily Sun* (Flagstaff, AZ), October 6, 1975, "Williams Bypass Work to Begin in February," *Arizona Daily Sun* (Flagstaff, AZ), May 26, 1976, "Arizona expects to finish interstate highways by '81," *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), November 18, 1976.

occupancy throughout the summer season the rail line could show a profit and relieve automobile congestion at Grand Canyon National Park.<sup>460</sup>

By 1977, however, Bohannon had competition. An investor group led by Don Prenovost, the former State Railroad Safety Inspector for the Arizona Corporate Commission, announced plans to revive passenger service to the Grand Canyon as well. Prenovost, now owner of a printing company in Phoenix, had direct ties to railroading and the Santa Fe having been a long time locomotive engineer on the Santa Fe line before working for the Corporate Commission. Prenovost's new railroad venture also had investment backing including national radio broadcasting personality Arthur Godfrey. Most notably, Prenovost told the Williams City Manager Jack Bradshaw at a December 1977 city council meeting that his group had an agreement with the Santa Fe Railway for the use of railroad track and facilities on the Grand Canyon line. Prenovost also told Bradshaw that his group planned to have rail service up and running by April 1, 1978. Something that made Prenovost's plan particularly attractive to the Williams City Council was Prenovost's plan to use steam locomotives for the new rail service. Steam locomotives were considered by many to be more of a tourist attraction. Bohannon's earlier plan for a diesel based rail line quickly lost ground to Prenovost's proposal to not only revive passenger rail service to the Grand Canyon, but revive the romance of the steam locomotive era.<sup>461</sup>

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<sup>460</sup> "Train to canyon proposed," *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), January 4, 1976

<sup>461</sup> "It's Agreed: An Overpass is Needed," *Arizona Daily Sun* (Flagstaff, AZ), September 1, 1970, "Safety inspector quits rail post," *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), May 19, 1972. "ACC Aide to Quit," *Arizona Daily Star* (Tucson, AZ), May 20, 1972, "Williams Railroad a Possibility," *Arizona Daily Sun* (Flagstaff, AZ), December 16, 1977, "Williams Rail Service Hearing Set Saturday," *Arizona Daily Sun* (Flagstaff, AZ), January 18, 1978, "Meeting set to discuss plan for train service to Canyon," *Arizona Daily Star* (Tucson, AZ), January 18, 1978, "Williams, Grand Canyon Rail Service Possible by April 1979," *Arizona Daily Sun* (Flagstaff, AZ), January 23, 1978.

Part of the attraction of Prenovost's steam locomotive rail plan was the recognition in Williams that the town would need to do more to compete for tourist dollars after the I-40 bypass. In recognition of this reality, the Williams City Council launched a downtown improvement project in September 1977 focused on cleaning up the downtown area to make it more attractive to tourists. In explaining the rationale for the project Williams City Manager Jack Bradshaw noted the impending I-40 bypass and stated, "we had better begin now to make the town attractive enough that the tourist can be drawn off the main highway into the community."<sup>462</sup>

However, the impending bypass was already delayed. Although the Arizona Department of Transportation had predicted starting construction in February 1977, the Federal Highway Administration did not approve the state's bypass plan until October 1977. Although delayed, the \$22 million plan had been approved largely as proposed with three exits, overpasses over all other roads and the Santa Fe railroad tracks, and support for two-lane traffic in each direction. Despite approval, no new construction start date was announced by the Arizona Department of Transportation.<sup>463</sup> However, ADOT did throw their support behind the plan to revive passenger rail service to the Grand Canyon. At a public hearing held by the department board on December 19, 1977, Arizona Department of Transportation planner Ed Granger outlined competing plans by Bohannon and Prenovost for restoring passenger rail service. Charles Montooth, director of the Rail Passenger Association of the Southwest called for ADOT to support the plans for restoring passenger rail service. The hearing was part of a comprehensive state

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<sup>462</sup> "Williams spruce-up proposed," *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), September 20, 1977.

<sup>463</sup> "FHA Approves Williams Interstate Bypass Design," *Arizona Daily Sun* (Flagstaff, AZ), October 9, 1977.

railroad plan ADOT was developing for Arizona Governor Wesley Bolin which was to be submitted to the Federal Railroad Administration the following year. If approved by federal authorities, the plan would make federal funds available for state rail projects. The board incorporated the rail plans presented at the meeting into the state plan with a recommendation that the proposed passenger rail lines to the Grand Canyon be thoroughly investigated.<sup>464</sup>

On October 2, 1978, Don Prenovost, now President of Grand Canyon Railroad, Inc., appeared at the Coconino County Board meeting and presented his company's formal plans to restore passenger rail service between Williams and the Grand Canyon. Prenovost requested the board's formal endorsement and support for the project. Williams Mayor Bob Eddingfield, Williams City Manager Jack Bradshaw, and Coconino County Assessor Jack Lunsford also spoke in favor of the proposal. The proposal called for the company to make a \$6 million investment in the project which included constructing a new depot in Williams, upgrading the existing railroad tracks to the Grand Canyon, and restoring the old Grand Canyon Depot. Prenovost stated the project would create 125 fulltime jobs and an additional 275 seasonal jobs. Prenovost stated he expected the project would be funded entirely by private investments, but that the U.S. Farm and Home Administration had also tentatively approved a 90% loan guarantee. Acknowledging that he had indicated earlier that the line would be running by April, 1977, Prenovost admitted reviving the rail line had been more difficult than expected. However, at the board meeting he stated unequivocally that rail service now would be up

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<sup>464</sup> "ADOT Expresses Support for Grand Canyon Rail Line," *Arizona Daily Sun* (Flagstaff, AZ), December 20, 1977.

and running by April, 1979. The county board enthusiastically threw its support behind the project. With the formal backing of the board, Pronovost's company filed official paperwork to secure the tentatively approved FHA loan guarantee.<sup>465</sup>

Prenovost, sensing project success and in need of capital, sold his Phoenix printing company in November 1978 to devote his efforts fulltime to the new railroad venture. However, on April 1, 1979, the day rail service had been promised to start, Grand Canyon Railroad Inc. announced they had encountered financing issues and the project would be delayed by at least a year. The Santa Fe had agreed to sell the track and right-of-way to the company, but the company had encountered difficulty raising money from private investors. Company president Don Prenovost revealed plans to apply for a \$2.7 million federal grant to buy the track and keep the project going. In May 1979, the Williams City Council passed a resolution for the city to apply for a federal Housing and Urban Development grant in support of the project. The \$2 million grant would be used to buy the Grand Canyon rail line track from the Santa Fe. Williams city officials met with HUD officials in Washington, D.C. in July of 1979 to lobby the agency to secure the funding. Key to the city's lobbying pitch was a locally conducted survey that indicated that 40% of Grand Canyon visitors would leave their cars in Williams and ride the train if train service were available. Regional HUD officials were also in support of the grant application. HUD approved the now \$2.75 million grant application on the stipulation that the City of Williams provide matching funds. The city attempted to provide matching

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<sup>465</sup> "Firm will revive steam railroad," *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), October 3, 1978. "Proposed Steam Railroad Gets Supervisors' Okay," *Arizona Daily Sun* (Flagstaff, AZ), October 3, 1978. "Railroad Backers Submit Papers," *Arizona Daily Sun* (Flagstaff, AZ), October 5, 1978. "Minutes Board of Supervisors Coconino County," (Government document, Flagstaff, AZ, October 2, 1978).

funds in the form of municipal bonds, but a significant unfavorable change in money-market interest rates in the fall of 1979 left the city unable to get financing. Although committed to the rail project, and specifically, Grand Canyon Railroad's steam locomotive plan, the city could not provide the required matching funds and the grant fell through. Grand Canyon Railroad Inc., left without financing to continue its project, failed. With the loss of the HUD grant, the first of many attempts to revive passenger rail service from Williams to the Grand Canyon ended.<sup>466</sup>

Just as the hopes of reviving passenger rail service to the Grand Canyon from Williams were ending, the long stalled Williams I-40 bypass project was finally moving forward. The bypass plan had been approved since late 1977. However, the Arizona Department of Transportation had not been able to come to terms with the local owners of most of the land the department needed to acquire in order to begin construction on the bypass. Declaring their negotiations with the land owners at an impasse, the department filed suit in Coconino County Superior Court. Seven suits were filed against individual Williams area land owners. Holding over 70 acres of needed land in total, the land owners included prominent members of the Williams business community including the owners of the local paper, the *Williams News*. At issue was the amount the state had offered per acre. The state had appraised the land at \$2,000 an acre. The individuals listed in the suits wanted \$8,000 an acre. Edward Kelly, head of land acquisitions for the

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<sup>466</sup> "Partner buys graphics firm," *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), November 26, 1978, "Railway Hits Snag," *Arizona Daily Sun* (Flagstaff, AZ), April 1, 1979, "Canyon rail link delayed," *Tucson Citizen* (Tucson, AZ), April 2, 1979, "Williams Council Adopts Railroad Fund Resolution," *Arizona Daily Sun* (Flagstaff, AZ), May 11, 1979, "Williams Representatives to Meet with HUD Officials," *Arizona Daily Sun* (Flagstaff, AZ), July 13, 1979, "Williams request grant to buy railroad line to Grand Canyon," *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), July 19, 1979, "Interest rates stall Grand Canyon rail line," *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), November 10, 1979.

highway department, indicated the state's offer was based on accepted appraisal rates and that the department had successfully acquired land from smaller land holders, the Kaibab National Forest, and the Santa Fe Railway. Coconino County Superior Court Judge J. Thomas Brooks scheduled hearings for all seven lawsuits for January 8, 1980. Judge Brooks informed the defendants to come prepared to show why their property should not be condemned. With the lawsuits filed, ADOT announced a March, 1980 start date for the Williams bypass project. Although not as quickly as ADOT predicted, the court ruled in favor of the state. With the land acquired, ADOT announced bid solicitations for the first-phase of the three phase construction project on April 16, 1980 to be opened May 16, 1980. The state Transportation Board declared it would award the contract to the lowest bidder at its meeting on May 19, 1980. Completion of all three phases was predicted on June 30, 1982. The state awarded the \$14.6 million first phase contract to the Washington Construction Company of Phoenix.<sup>467</sup> First proposed in 1974, the Williams bypass finally transitioned from future plan to active project six years later.

With the bypass now under construction, Williams residents turned to what the bypass would mean to their community and how best to prepare. Unlike the fear and apprehension that categorized other regional communities' reactions to the I-40 bypass, the mood in Williams was largely optimistic. Many residents cited the big advantage of no longer having hundreds of semi-trucks lumber through town day and night. As the last community to be bypassed, the entire volume of the considerable I-40 traffic hurtled

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<sup>467</sup> "State wants land near Williams condemned for bypass," *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), December 6, 1979, "I-40 to bypass Williams?," *Tucson Citizen* (Tucson, AZ), December 7, 1979, "State soliciting bids for Williams bypass," *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), April 16, 1980, "Phoenix-Mesa rail service termed unfeasible," *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), June 12, 1980, "Northland News Spotlight," *Arizona Daily Sun* (Flagstaff, AZ), June 22, 1980.

through town every day. The large volume of through traffic negatively impacted the tourist experience in Williams as well as daily life. Many business owners cited Williams location as the access point to the Grand Canyon as reason not to worry about the impending bypass. Some business owners reported plans to move their locations to the I-40 interchanges. In all, local residents agreed that the bypass might hurt business somewhat, but their location as the access point to the Grand Canyon guaranteed their survival. Ethel Crain, longtime owner of the Hacienda Motel and Restaurant in Flagstaff summed up the attitudes of most Williams residents in a 1980 interview with the *Arizona Republic* stating, “I think it’s going to help Williams . . . but, if we didn’t have the Grand Canyon, it could very well become a ghost town.”<sup>468</sup>

Civic and business leaders in Williams agreed with the general community sentiment. Jim Alexander, president of the Williams Chamber of Commerce stated there would likely be a negative impact on business at first, but that the bypass would benefit the town in the long run. Williams Mayor Bob Eddingfield echoed the Chamber’s position and stated publicly that new projects the city was pursuing would assist Williams in adapting to the highway change. The primary economic development projects pursued by the city included establishing an industrial development commission, promotion and expansion of the Bill Williams Ski Area, and continued pursuit of the revival of passenger rail service to the Grand Canyon. The Mayor was a particularly strong advocate of efforts to restore passenger rail service to the Grand Canyon stating in a 1981 interview to the *Arizona Daily Sun* that despite the demise of the Grand Canyon Railroad

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<sup>468</sup> “Williams hopes for best when I-40 passes town,” *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), November 17, 1980.



project, passenger rail service was “looking like it it’s going to become a reality” and that the service could have a “drastic impact on Williams.” In total, city leaders were optimistic about Williams’ future. This sentiment was echoed strongly by the local business community. Sally Perkins, owner of the Coffee Pot Café and an executive board member of the Williams Chamber of Commerce, also stated in an interview to the *Arizona Daily Sun* that in Williams, “the mood is good. It’s pulling the town together. Most people are optimistic about it.” Another point of general agreement in Williams was that no one, business owner or resident, would miss the constant stream of semi-trucks.<sup>469</sup>

Williams Mayor Bob Eddingfield’s confidence that restored passenger rail service to the Grand Canyon was imminent proved misplaced. The Grand Canyon Railroad had only recently failed in 1980. The mayor’s optimism, however, was based on a group of outside investors from California who had formed a new venture in 1981 focused on restoring passenger rail service to the Grand Canyon. The new company, Grand Canyon Railway Company, even secured enough investment and mortgage financing to purchase the railroad tracks and right-of-way between Williams and Grand Canyon National Park from the Santa Fe Railway. Grand Canyon Railway Company paid \$3.05 million for the railroad assets. In addition, the company purchased 60 acres in Williams for construction of a new depot, hotel, and restaurant. The company looked to acquire rolling stock including steam locomotives and announced the rail line would be in operation by April 4, 1982. Like the earlier, Grand Canyon Railroad, however, the Grand Canyon Railroad

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<sup>469</sup> “Williams hopes for best when I-40 passes town,” *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), November 17, 1980, “Williams Taking Steps in Preparation for I-40 Bypass,” *Arizona Daily Sun* (Flagstaff, AZ), February 15, 1981. “Supervisor Has Faith in Williams Future,” *Arizona Daily Sun* (Flagstaff, AZ), March 30, 1981.

Company encountered trouble raising additional capital and the company fell into receivership.<sup>470</sup>

The plan for renewed passenger train service to the Grand Canyon was revived again in 1983 when Railroad Resources, Inc. announced plans to revive the rail service and connect it to resorts it planned to develop on land in Williams and just south of the national park. Railroad Resources Inc. was a Phoenix company that brokered deals in surplus railroad property. It acquired the 64-mile rail line from another company, National Railroad Constructors which had exercised an option to buy the land in a demolition contract the company had with the Santa Fe to rip up the Grand Canyon railroad tracks. Railroad Resources Inc. purchased the line one day before National Railroad Constructors was set to begin demolition of the tracks.<sup>471</sup>

Railroad Resources Inc's plans for the new rail service were extensive. The company envisioned a \$20 million development project that included fully restoring the passenger rail lines with period coaches and steam locomotives and resorts at both ends of the line that included luxury amenities. The company's plan also called for developing a theme park in Williams. The company contracted with well-known Phoenix real estate development firm Del E. Webb to develop a master plan for the rail line, resorts, and theme park. In announcing the contract with Del E. Webb, Railroad Resources Inc. noted the project was not definite as financing for development had not been secured. In the

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<sup>470</sup> "Track bought for canyon train," *Tucson Citizen* (Tucson, AZ), August 7, 1981, "Notice of Special Execution of Real Property," Legal Advertisement, *Arizona Daily Sun* (Flagstaff, AZ), June 16, 1985, "Notice of Special Execution of Real Property," Legal Advertisement, *Arizona Daily Sun* (Flagstaff, AZ), June 23, 1985.

<sup>471</sup> "Phoenix Company Buys Grand Canyon Railroad," *Arizona Daily Sun* (Flagstaff, AZ), August 17, 1983. "Buyer rescues Grand Canyon rail line," *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), August 17, 1983. "Ride the canyon railroad," *Arizona Daily Star* (Tucson, AZ), September 14, 1983.

first definitive move towards making the plans reality, in November 1983 Railroad Resources Inc. contracted National Railroad Constructors to clear and clean the tracks they had purchased from the Santa Fe. In December 1983, Railroad Resources Inc. announced passenger rail service to the Grand Canyon would commence on Labor Day 1984. On January 15, 1984, however, Railroad Resources Inc. requested a loan from the Coconino County Board to continue developing the railroad. Citing the economic stimulus benefits to the county, the county board approved a \$2 million dollar loan to Railroad Resources Inc. on January 16, 1984. By January 1985, however, the Labor Day 1984 start for railroad operations had been missed. Railroad Resources Inc. pushed out the opening date for train service to 1986, and the cost of the project ballooned to \$40 million. Railroad Resources Inc. desperately sought out new financial backers for the project. The search for financial backers went international when the company approached the Triad Group for financial backing – a holding company owned by the Khashoggi family of Saudi Arabia. The Triad Group expressed some interest but did not make a firm commitment to the project. In a sign of the burgeoning scope and expense of the project, in May 1985 Railroad Resources Inc. acquired 488 acres for \$1.46 million for the site of the proposed theme park and depot in Williams. By August 1985, the company revealed it had been in default on its payments to the Santa Fe for the railroad right of way since December 1984. The Santa Fe began pursuing repossession of the railroad tracks. Likewise, Del E. Webb announced legal action to pursue unpaid debts for its master planning work for the resorts and theme park. Railroad Resources Inc. went into receivership and the company's assets were sold at a Trustee's Sale on November 18,

1985.<sup>472</sup> In eleven years, three separate attempts at adding railroad infrastructure and a major tourist attraction to the Williams economy to offset the impending I-40 bypass had failed. The capital requirements for building out the required infrastructure were too great for small business entrepreneurs and local governments to bear.

All of the drama with the various attempts to renew Grand Canyon passenger rail service took place across the backdrop of ongoing drama with the Williams I-40 bypass. The bypass had been scheduled to be completed in 1982, but had run into repeated delays. However, phase one and phase two were finally wrapping up in March 1982. The Arizona Department of Transportation awarded the final phase three contract for paving and guard rail installation to the Tanner Companies of Phoenix. The \$6 million final phase was to be completed by January 1983. By November 1982, with a lengthy summer strike by unionized workers and changing ADOT specifications, the phase three project for the Williams bypass was seriously behind schedule. ADOT now projected an August 1983 completion. In February 1983 the Tanner Companies filed suit against the Arizona

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<sup>472</sup> “Ride the canyon railroad,” *Arizona Daily Star* (Tucson, AZ), September 14, 1983. “Unit of Webb Corp. agrees to oversee Canyon rail project,” *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), October 19, 1983, “Del Webb Planning Railroad Project,” *Arizona Daily Sun* (Flagstaff, AZ), October 19, 1983, “Del E. Webb,” *Arizona Daily Star* (Tucson, AZ), October 19, 1983. “Thanks to Del Webb,” *Arizona Daily Star* (Tucson, AZ), October 21, 1983. “Economic Boost For Northland,” *Arizona Daily Star* (Tucson, AZ), October 26, 1983. “Williams,” *Arizona Daily Sun* (Flagstaff, AZ), November 6, 1983, “Canyon rail service likely by Labor Day,” *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), December 6, 1983, “Labor Day start planned for rail service to Grand Canyon,” *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), December 6, 1983, “Canyon railroad to run by Labor Day,” *Arizona Daily Star* (Tucson, AZ), December 7, 1983, “Supervisors to Consider Block Grant Funds Request,” *Arizona Daily Sun* (Flagstaff, AZ), January 15, 1984, “Supervisors Approve Loan,” *Arizona Daily Sun* (Flagstaff, AZ), January 16, 1984, “Officials May Announce Plans For Railroad Financing Soon,” *Arizona Daily Sun* (Flagstaff, AZ), January 30, 1985. “Railroad Firm Buys 488 Acres,” *Arizona Daily Sun* (Flagstaff, AZ), May 12, 1985, “Canyon railroad acquires site for Williams depot, theme park,” *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), May 14, 1985, “Rail firm behind in payments,” *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), August 6, 1985, “Canyon-to-Williams steam train service is sidetracked,” *Tucson Citizen* (Tucson, AZ), August 6, 1985, “Williams-Grand Canyon train may be late; firm is in default,” *Arizona Daily Star* (Tucson, AZ), August 7, 1985, “Notice of Trustee’s Sale,” Legal advertisement, *Arizona Daily Sun* (Flagstaff, AZ), October 1, 1985.

Department of Transportation over the department's changing specifications and conflicting requirements in their contract. Work on the final phase of the bypass ground to a halt with it only 22% complete. Legal wrangling ground on through 1983. On Friday the 13<sup>th</sup> 1984, Maricopa County Superior Court Judge Morris Rozar ruled in favor of the Tanner Companies and released the company from their obligations under the contract citing ADOT's changing specifications as breach of contract. ADOT awarded a new construction contract to a different vendor on April 1984, and the Williams bypass finally opened for traffic on October 8, 1984 – ten years after initially being proposed.<sup>473</sup>

During the bypass construction saga, the City of Williams had prepared for the eventual completion of the bypass. The city had proceeded with forming an Industrial Development Authority similar to Kingman. The city also set new property tax rates to ensure proper revenue for city operations and promotional efforts. The city also engaged in a beautification effort. It renamed Second Street Grand Canyon Boulevard and planted 120 trees along the boulevard to create a scenic entrance to the city. Completion of the bypass would create an exit at the former Second Street that the city planned to make a grand parkway into downtown Williams. The City, however, still sought renewal of the rail line to the Grand Canyon as a central tourist attraction to secure the tourist economy of the city post-bypass. The Mayor of Williams had even personally visited Washington

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<sup>473</sup> "\$6 million pact to complete I-40 across state awarded," *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), March 20, 1982. "Williams Bypass Behind Schedule," *Arizona Daily Sun* (Flagstaff, AZ), November 3, 1982, "Paving pact for last 6-mile section of I-40 is voided after long dispute," *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), January 14, 1984. "I-40 nearly complete," *Arizona Daily Star* (Tucson, AZ), September 29, 1984, "I-40 Williams Bypass Celebration Scheduled Saturday," *Arizona Daily Sun* (Flagstaff, AZ), October 12, 1984.

D.C. to lobby federal officials about reviving the old Santa Fe line to the Grand Canyon.<sup>474</sup>

However, three companies had attempted to revive the Grand Canyon passenger rail service. Each attempt had faltered as the entrepreneurs involved ran out of money. Startup costs for reviving the old rail line were significant, and the Santa Fe's asking price for the rail assets – which had been considerable in any year – had risen to over \$3 million by the late 1980s. A revival of the rail line seemed out of reach to the city and local business owners. Now after the 1984 highway bypass, although not as dramatic as the business downturn in Seligman, the economy in Williams had stagnated making a new tourist attraction important to a revival of the town's fortunes. Yet it seemed the revival of the railroad was not possible.

Nevertheless, in 1988 a new entity, Grand Canyon Railway announced plans to revive passenger railroad service to the Grand Canyon. Local residents and statewide media were skeptical after the three dramatic failures of earlier attempts to revive the railroad. Grand Canyon Railway's Public Relations Director Lois Klein was repeatedly grilled by the *Arizona Republic* in a December 14, 1988 interview about the funding for the plan as funding had been the downfall of the previous three attempts. Klein refused to disclose the company's funding source but assured the paper the project was "for real." Klein's declaration proved accurate as the company quickly purchased the rail line from the Santa Fe for cash. In short order it purchased the old depot and Fred Harvey hotel in Williams as well. It also began construction on a new \$20 million resort complex in

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<sup>474</sup> "Williams Council Sets 71 Cents Rate," *Arizona Daily Sun* (Flagstaff, AZ), August 14, 1983, "120 Trees Planted," *Arizona Daily Sun* (Flagstaff, AZ), October 23, 1983, "Williams Mayor Visits Washington, D.C. Officials Concerning Canyon Railroad," *Arizona Daily Sun* (Flagstaff, AZ), April 12, 1981.

Williams, refurbished the railroad tracks, and restored the 1901 Santa Fe Railway Depot at the Grand Canyon. By October 1988 the project was nearing completion. Also, in October, a *Tucson Citizen* article on the railroad revealed wealthy Scottsdale, Arizona businessman Max Biegert as the source of the new railroad's funding. Biegert had become wealthy in the immediate postwar period founding a crop dusting company, Biegert Aviation, using surplus airplanes purchased from places like Storage Depot 41 in Kingman. After selling the crop-dusting business, Biegert founded Houston, Texas based National Childcare Centers – a nationwide chain of daycare centers. In the early 1980s, Biegert sold National Childcare Centers for several hundred million dollars to multinational services firm ARA Services. After the sale, Biegert, a train enthusiast, heard about the demise of Railroad Resources Inc. when the company assets were put up in a Trustee's Sale. Possessing the resources to completely self-finance another go at the Grand Canyon railroad project, Biegert founded Grand Canyon Railways Inc. and purchased the railway assets. Biegert also self-financed the entire \$15 million development project to bring the railway back online. Unlike the numerous earlier attempts, the self-financed Biegert successfully restored passenger train service to Williams. The company ran its first train to the Grand Canyon from Williams on September, 17, 1989.<sup>475</sup>

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<sup>475</sup> "Another proposal for Canyon train", *Arizona Daily Sun* (Flagstaff, AZ), December 20, 1988, "Railroad plans unveiled for Grand Canyon, *Arizona Daily Star* (Tucson, AZ), December 14, 1988, Canyon train is planned – 'for real'" *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), December 14, 1988, "Canyon rail service for tourists planned after 20-year halt," *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), December 14, 1988, "Williams-Grand Canyon rail-line plans stoked up," *Tucson Citizen* (Tucson, AZ), October 11, 1988. "Grand Canyon train on the right track," *Arizona Daily Sun* (Flagstaff, AZ), December 12, 1988, "Canyon train 'thinks it can'" *Arizona Daily Sun* (Flagstaff, AZ), August 10, 1988, "ARA Services hurdles into a major new era," *The Philadelphia Inquirer* (Philadelphia, PA), January 16, 1984. "The Story of the Grand Canyon Railroad," *Grand Canyon Railway*, Accessed July 26, 2020, <https://www.thetrain.com/press-kit/background/>. "Mighty fleet launched to fight worms," *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), July 23, 1976. "Air of Mystery,"

After multiple attempts, Williams finally had the major tourist attraction it sought to rejuvenate its economy. The multiple failures had proved the difficulty of adding new transportation infrastructure into the area and the necessity for deep funding sources to successfully complete such a large project. It also proved how, despite the desires of regional residents and civic leaders for such a project, it was beyond their abilities to make it happen. Even Coconino County could not facilitate financing such a project. Similarly, with rail service to the Grand Canyon not high on the federal transportation infrastructure project list, the project foundered. It took a private investor with the financial resources to fund the entirety of the project to restore passenger railroad service to the Grand Canyon.

However, Williams came to find that the Grand Canyon Railway was not the panacea the town had envisioned. The large investment came to dominate the local economy becoming one of the largest employers. Having fully restored the Frey Marcos Harvey Hotel and built their own large resort, the tourists that frequented the railroad did not stay in non-railroad motels. The addition of a full-service RV park by the railroad further cut into local business. With the resort offering multiple restaurants, railroad tourists were less inclined to venture out into Williams to frequent the 1950s era downtown diners. Most of the jobs added by the railroad were low-paid service jobs.<sup>476</sup> The railroad increasingly became an island on to itself.

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*Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), October 12, 1997, "Biegert Aviation," *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), September 13, 1959, "Tucson Aerial Gunners Leave for Worldwide Weapons Meet," *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), October 4, 1959, "Grand Canyon train riding high again," *Santa Maria Times* (Santa Maria, CA), February 3, 1991. "Rain fails to dampen festivities," *Tucson Citizen* (Tucson, AZ), September 18, 1989.

<sup>476</sup> "Just chuggin' right along," *Arizona Daily Sun* (Flagstaff, AZ) September 23, 2001, "Grand Canyon Railway ride offers adventures along the way," *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), December 10, 2000, "All Aboard," *Tucson Citizen* (Tucson, AZ), December 30, 1991, "Entrepreneurs on track with tourist trains,"



Williams, Like Seligman, experienced the devil's bargain Hal Rothman documented . The railroad was too large a project for local residents to pull off. Even outside entrepreneurs could not manage to successfully finance and complete such a large tourism project. However, once an outside investor with the resources to successfully complete the project entered the picture, that investor controlled the project. Not dependent on the city or outside financing, Max Biegert could do as he pleased. He reoriented the project around what it took to make it profitable. Not what residents in Williams wanted. The long desired steam locomotives wistfully remembered by local residents were abandoned in favor of practical diesel locomotives. The major tourist attraction that city officials envisioned as an integral part of a coordinated plan to revitalize the city's economy became oriented about what was good for itself. The resort, RV park, and restaurants were designed into the railroad property to capture tourist revenue for the railroad. Operating a railroad to bring in tourists to spend in other Williams businesses was not part of the operating plan. As Rothman indicated in *Devil's Bargains*, this process of outside actors supplanting the original intentions of city boosters and residents is typical of tourism development in small towns in the West. The outside corporate entity, through its tourism operations, transforms the original vision of tourism and the local economy away from the original community resident intended

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*Arizona Daily Star* (Tucson, AZ), September 29, 1991. "Railway's ties to city draw cry of conflict," *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), May 17, 2005, "Williams City has a grand vision," *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), May 17, 2005, "Williams New Old West," *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), February 1, 2004, "Williams Guarding 'Gateway,'" *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), February 1, 2004, "Williams Financial Conflict Probed," *Arizona Daily Sun* (Flagstaff, AZ), June 2, 2005.

model. In its place, the outside actors establish a new model that suits its own ends without regard to the larger social and economic impact on the community.<sup>477</sup>

For Williams, this would have large implications for the viability of the town post-bypass. Williams and Kingman began the postwar period approximately the same size at about 3,000 residents each. Kingman, well connected by multiple transportation infrastructure options which facilitated development of a robust industrial economy, grew to a population of over 20,000 by the end of the twentieth century. Williams remained stagnant at about 3,000 people. Dominated by a large tourism entity, Williams remained fully economically oriented around tourism – just not tourism it controlled locally. Williams, seemingly always at the mercy of a large external economic actor would eventually come full circle. By 2006, Max Biegert had grown his initial \$15 million investment into an entity that generated over \$40 million in revenue a year. In March 2006, Biegert put the Grand Canyon Railway up for sale. Stipulated in the sale offering was that the successful buyer had to purchase the entire operation. Xanterra Parks and Resorts, an operator of multiple resort and concession properties across the United States including most hotels and concessions in the National Parks was the winning bidder. Xanterra, the new name for the Fred Harvey Company, essentially repurchased its former Frey Marcos Harvey House with the acquisition. The builder of the first corporate owned hotel that competed with all local hotels in Williams in the early twentieth century now

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<sup>477</sup> Hal K. Rothman, *Devil's Bargains: Tourism in the Twentieth-Century American West* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1998), 10-49.

owned the national corporate hotel competitor to all the locally owned motels in Williams in the early twenty-first century.<sup>478</sup>

### The Unsteady State

The second half of the 1980s had proven a pivotal time for communities and residents in the region. A century of transportation infrastructure addition and subtraction had come to a close. The initial addition of transportation infrastructure in the 1880s that created the region when the Atlantic and Pacific Railroad built the first rail line, the machinations of the Santa Fe as it built towns and transformed commerce, and the addition and subsequent reconfiguration of automobile highway and rail travel that had highly modified each community was over. In terms of transportation infrastructure, from 1984 forward, only routine maintenance periodically interrupted what was now a set configuration.

A new community economic development status quo had also emerged. Kingman was firmly established as the industrial and retail hub of the region. With a foundation built on solid connections to interstate highways, regional highways, expanded freight rail operations, and aviation, Kingman's aggressive economic development efforts paid off in the form of domination of industrial development and retail trade in the region.

Retail stores that had expanded operations into branch stores in Seligman, Ash Fork, and

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<sup>478</sup> Sanborn Fire Insurance Map from Kingman, Mohave County, Arizona. Sanborn Map Company, Mar - Sep 1948, 1948. Sanborn Fire Insurance Map from Williams, Coconino County, Arizona. Sanborn Map Company, Oct - Jul 1948, 1948. "Williams, Arizona Population: Census 2010 and 2000 Interactive Map, Demographics, Statistics, Quick Facts," *Censusviewer.com*, Accessed July 27, 2020, <http://censusviewer.com/city/AZ/Williams/>. "Kingman, Arizona Population: Census 2010 and 2000 Interactive Map, Demographics, Statistics, Quick Facts," *Censusviewer.com*, Accessed July 27, 2020, <http://censusviewer.com/city/AZ/Kingman/>. "Xanterra Parks to buy Grand Canyon Railway," *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), January 26, 2007. "Grand Canyon Railway has a buyer," *Arizona Daily Star* (Tucson, AZ), September 23, 2006.

elsewhere retreated to Kingman content to have area residents come to them. Industrial operations like the Santa Fe that used to dominate the economy in places like Seligman concentrated their operations in Kingman capitalizing on the factory operations with freight to ship.

The new configuration of transportation infrastructure firmly relegated the other communities in the region into a zero-sum competition for tourists – the only viable economic development option remaining to them. The celebration marking the opening of the I-40 bypass in Williams is illustrative. Williams was the last town on Route 66 to be bypassed. On Saturday October 13, 1984, two days after the I-40 Williams Bypass opened to traffic, the town held a celebration to mark the end of Route 66. The celebration began with a parade and sky-diving demonstration and ended with a street dance on old Route 66 – something that would have been impossible the previous Saturday. The town even flew in Bobby Troupe, writer of the famous song “Get Your Kicks on Route 66” to perform his iconic song at the festivities. Despite what had already happened economically and civically to Ash Fork, Seligman, and Peach Springs, residents of Williams were oddly optimistic at the celebration. Speaking to a reporter for the *Arizona Republic* covering the celebration, Chamber of Commerce Manager Eric Eikenberry enthusiastically stated, “Now we can be a nice, sleepy mountain town.” Speaking more practically, restaurant owner John McNabb said to the same reporter that at least the semi-trucks would no longer fling mud onto the patio of his restaurant. Continuing, he stated, “maybe people will start sitting there – if they pull off the freeway

into Williams. But we can't tell until we go through a summer."<sup>479</sup> The competition to get motorists to exit the freeway had only just begun, and Williams needed to concoct a winning formula to attract tourists. Much as it had since the 1940s, the formula in Williams involved tourism and specifically Grand Canyon tourism. With the eventual opening of the Grand Canyon Railway, Williams finally had a centerpiece to hand their Grand Canyon tourism identity upon. Unlike in Seligman, this identity was still roughly in line with Williams community identity since the departure of the timber industry in 1942. The railway was not locally owned, however, putting Williams continued viability in the hands of outside entities as it had been through much of the town's history.

The new economic reality in the region was that the national economic models behind transportation infrastructure policy and projects no longer favored small rural places like Williams, Seligman, and others with the exception of the few that happened to fit into the larger national and increasingly international economic model. Kingman's strategic location integrated it into a national transportation infrastructure model prioritizing swift movement of goods and services between Los Angeles and the Midwest. In addition to factories, national trucking companies were a prime tenant in the Kingman industrial park. Williams' forest resources were depleted. Seligman's purpose as a maintenance hub for steam locomotives and a crew layover stop was obsolete. The future belonged to mega-hubs like Los Angeles and hinterlands like Kingman bound to them.

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<sup>479</sup> "All things must pass," *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), October 14, 1984. 'Glorious Farewell to Old Route 66,' *Arizona Daily Sun* (Flagstaff, AZ), October 14, 1984, "Route 66 comes to the end of the road with elaborate ceremonies in Williams," *Arizona Daily Star* (Tucson, AZ), October 14, 1984.

That left the other communities in the region in need of a new reason to exist. Communities that failed to reinvent themselves failed. Ash Fork was an early casualty of transportation infrastructure realignment. Bypassed by the railroad and the highway in the early 1960s, the town faded quickly. Largely a ghost town by the 1970s, in November 1977 a transient family living in an abandoned building rigged up a makeshift stove to keep warm and sparked a fire that quickly spread to other abandoned downtown buildings. Within 12 hours, most of downtown Ash Fork burnt to the ground.<sup>480</sup> With little economic activity to fuel regrowth, Ash Fork entered the 1980s with a handful of residential homes and a few nominally community connected businesses clustered around the I-40 exit.

Kingman had no need for reinvention, and Williams continued its orientation around tourism and the Grand Canyon. Seligman, cut-off from connection to modern infrastructure that would allow it to attract industrial employers, and confronted with the stark fate of Ash Fork, chose reinvention around tourism to revive its fortunes. Lacking the natural environment amenities of Williams, however, required devising a different tourism identity. This identity, centered on Route 66 myth and being the physical embodiment of the supposed lost “authentic America,” meant abandoning the town’s deep railroad history and arresting its tourism identity in a mythic version of small-town 1950s America. The reinvention around tourism stopped further decline, but did not return the town to its former glory. As such, Seligman became another example of the devil’s bargain tourism was for western towns abandoned by the industrial economy. It

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<sup>480</sup> Marshall Trimble, *Ash Fork* (Charleston: Arcadia Publishing, 2008), 73, 103.

transformed local community identity into something foreign without completely delivering on economic revival.<sup>481</sup>

In many ways, Seligman's community identity had become a performance provided by local residents for the benefit of tourists. Many residents likely desired their high-paying railroad jobs back. Instead, they eked out a living reenacting a "never was" version of 1950s Route 66 and American roadside culture. In describing the new orientation around Route 66 tourism, the tourists who visit the town, and what it means to town residents, Angel Delgadillo Junior stated "they come here because they want to. They're looking for the America of yesterday. This town still looks much like when I was a little boy. It's America of yesterday. And we the people, and the buildings, are a part of it--American of yesterday."<sup>482</sup> Due to the changes wrought by the interstate program, Kingman got to remain viably connected to the national economy, Ash Fork and Peach Springs declined, Williams was disconnected from the road but continued as the gateway to the sublime, and the residents of Seligman became caught in performance art of their own making trapped in a mythical version of the past.

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<sup>481</sup> Rothman, *Devil's Bargains*, 10.

<sup>482</sup> Angel Delgadillo, 2007, Interview by R. Sean Evans, February 19, Item number 78541, transcript, Route 66 Oral History Project, Cline Library Northern Arizona University, Flagstaff, AZ.

## CHAPTER 6

### CONCLUSION

Route 66 long ago transitioned into American mythology. As iconic as the name is, the road itself faded into memory in 1985.<sup>483</sup> Much of it faded away much earlier beginning in the late 1950s. The original usage and meanings of the road are so distant from present conceptions of it that the mythos has become a more salient reality now. Most Americans, if asked about Route 66 will offer up descriptions of muscle cars, malts shops, quaint small towns, and southwestern scenery. The 2006 Pixar animated movie *Cars* encapsulates much of the myth surrounding Route 66. In the movie, Lightning McQueen, an aspiring race car who values speed, winning, and glory, finds himself unexpectedly detoured in the sleepy Route 66 town of Radiator Springs. Through a series of mishaps that force him to slow down and spend time in the Route 66 community, McQueen realizes that life is about the journey, not how fast you get to your destination.<sup>484</sup> This animated encapsulation of the Route 66 mythology of travel on the road being “half the fun” is foundational to Route 66 mythology. The movie has a slight grounding in reality – Radiator Springs was modelled on Peach Springs, Arizona. However, the movie, like numerous other examples of Route 66 mythology presents a “never-was” version of what life was like along the road for residents and travelers alike.

Communities in the region survived by tying their economies into this nostalgia to promote tourism to their towns. They did this not by tying complete versions of their own

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<sup>483</sup> “The Final Kick: Route 66 Decertified,” *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), June 28, 1995.

<sup>484</sup> “Cars,” *IMDB.com*, Accessed April 21, 2020,  
[https://www.imdb.com/title/tt0317219/plotsummary?ref\\_=tt\\_ql\\_stry\\_3#synopsis](https://www.imdb.com/title/tt0317219/plotsummary?ref_=tt_ql_stry_3#synopsis)



complicated histories into the nostalgia, but by disregarding much of their history in favor of a nationalized, fictionalized Route 66 that never existed. A Route 66 of burgers and fries, malts and milkshakes, fun care-free road trips, muscle cars like Mustangs and GTOs, good times and prosperity. Never mind that on the real Route 66 packed “mom and pop” diners and two-pump gas stations made travel on crammed highways slow and difficult, and fueled development of drive-through restaurant chains and multi-pump self-service gas stations.<sup>485</sup> Never mind that the Williams hospital packed in accident victims in the hallways as six surgeons frantically tended to the injured on “bloody 66.” Never mind that by the time the Mustang and GTO made their debut in 1964, much of the old highway system had already been replaced. Interstate construction had been in full swing for eight years and much of Route 66 was already gone. Never mind that when Nat King Cole first recorded Bobby Troup’s “Get Your Kicks on Route 66” in 1946, Cole and his band couldn’t get restaurant service or even buy gas in most of the segregated sundown towns along Route 66 in the region including Williams, Ash Fork, Seligman, and Kingman. Never mind that this nostalgia had nothing to do with the railroad so instrumental in creating and destroying the region. Never mind that when Route 66 was a real road, the goal for many was not to stop for burgers, malts, or kicks. The goal was: get through, push on, get to Los Angeles as quickly as possible – a goal better suited to I-40.

Route 66 mythology has become so disconnected from the reality of the original highway and the regions it traversed that invoking it no longer requires any association with the places tied to the actual road. K-Mart, when introducing their Route 66 brand of jeans held the announcement event not in Chicago, or St. Louis, or Los Angeles or any of

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<sup>485</sup> Kaszynski, *The American Highway*, 176-183.

the smaller communities along the actual road. Instead, their ad campaign launched in New York City – in Times Square – about as far from the physicality of the actual road as you can get.<sup>486</sup> This disconnection served to obscure the embedded history of the regions and communities along Route 66 including northwestern Arizona. It also obscured the history of the transportation infrastructure policy decisions that brought regions like northwestern Arizona into being with infrastructure construction, and later abandoned the region to the detriment of most communities along the route.

The history of these infrastructure decisions is important, however, because it illuminates both the tensions in American society about the proper role of public and private investment in local regions, and the potential need for public or private assistance to regions of the country abandoned by new investments in transportation infrastructure and industry elsewhere. This history reveals how private and public investment when properly calibrated can be a positive force for growth in local communities. Conversely, disinvestment decisions indifferent to local needs can bring ruin to local communities – particularly in rural areas. The railroad and later Route 66, even in their original forms, were a monument to the engineered West. The railroad fundamentally transformed the region environmentally, culturally, and geospatially and opened it to American settlement for the first time. Route 66 later fundamentally reoriented travel within the region. Route 66 freed travelers from the boundaries of rail stop constraints and the limits of railroad timetables. Automobile travelers along the route were free to pursue their destination on their own terms – at least as long as they were White. Route 66 also freed communities in

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<sup>486</sup> Arthur Krim, *Route 66: Iconography of the American Highway* (Santa Fe: Center for American Places, 205), 3.

the region to pursue community development on their own terms out of the shadow of the railroad's dictates. The railroad and highway also served to attract industrial employers to the region providing a lucrative economic base for each community. As long as this infrastructure was in place and the industrial employers using it were operating, the communities in the region were broadly viable economically despite continual socio-economic struggles. There were strikes in railroad towns, lay-offs in lumber mill towns, and racial and class issues throughout the region. It was the broad loss of industrial employment, and the public and private shift in infrastructure decisions that bypassed the region that put the area on the road to ruin.

The construction, addition, and later subtraction of transportation infrastructure transformed the region economically, industrially, socially, and later mythically. Some of the communities in the region came into existence just before the railroad. The addition of the railroad and later Route 66 allowed those communities to develop and become leading towns in the region. Williams was settled by ranchers just prior to the railroad's arrival. The town was aided in development by the coming of the railroad and Route 66 only to lose those advantages later. Likewise, Kingman, was also settled just prior to the railroad's arrival. It gained from the initial arrival of both the railroad and Route 66 and subsequent reinvestment in both sets of infrastructure. Unlike other regional communities, Kingman continued to profit from infrastructure investment as the one regional town connected to I-40. Ash Fork, Seligman, and Peach Springs were created by the railroad. Each experienced ancillary benefits from the addition of Route 66, and each experienced severe economic decline when bypassed by road and rail. Running through each of these community histories is the common thread of how the configuration of the

transportation infrastructure in the region influenced how a given community connected to the national and international economy and subsequently developed as a community.

The focus on myth prevalent in discussions about Route 66 in the general public, by writers and other cultural producers, and also by current residents of Route 66 regional communities obscures this fundamental aspect. The focus on a supposed mythical authentic America, on kitschy road side attractions, or on road trip lore hides the foundational and existential role infrastructure like the Santa Fe Railroad or Route 66 played in community development and growth. The direct connection to the national economy provided by the railroad and Route 66 for the communities along its path significantly guided community development as did later disconnection. Similarly, the role tourism played in this development as industrialism faded was fundamental throughout the period. The erasure of the railroad and the transformation of Route 66 from functional infrastructure to tourist attraction shaped community outcomes with lasting impacts on community economic health and identity. For example, Seligman was a railroad founded town economically focused on the railroad throughout its most viable period. It clings to life today arrested in a faux-1950s automobilia tourist stop identity despite many residents' actual strong identification with the railroad. The railroad had always been the prime employer in town. The railroad shaped the lives of families like the Delgadillos. For Angel Delgadillo Junior, it was his oldest brother Juan's job with the Santa Fe that allowed the family to stay in Seligman after his father's business went bankrupt during the Great Depression. It was this same railroad employment that allowed Angel to grow up in Seligman and claim it as his home town. It was these same railroad wages that financed Juan Delgadillo's creation of the Snow Cap Drive-in in 1953. It was

railroad employees who provided the customers that made Angel Delgadillo Junior's barbershop a success. In a 2007 oral history interview, Angel Delgadillo Junior still recalled fondly his railroad customers. "There were always railroad men here. I used to cut four or five of the railroad men's hair a day. They used to spend time here playing pool . . . That's when I was the busiest, before Santa Fe quit us." When the Santa Fe eliminated Seligman as a division point and railroad stop on February 8, 1985, Angel Delgadillo Junior's barbershop and most other businesses in town lost most of their customers. Most businesses closed and people began to leave town. Residents determined to stay in Seligman and save the town faced long odds and few options.<sup>487</sup>

The abandonment of Route 66 as a primary highway, the railroad's bypass of the region, and the triumph of Route 66 myth in the national consciousness forced many community residents to choose between a short list of poor choices. Options included leaving declining communities, sticking with their community as originally defined and hoping for the best, or reinventing their community to align with the national Route 66 myth to attract tourists. Given the problematic aspects of the region's history, particularly its issues with race, an outsider might ask why residents would want to stay and either embrace their original historical identities or craft new tourist-oriented identities. For insiders, even the members of marginalized groups in these towns, residents' attachment to place was powerful. Mirna Delgadillo, daughter of longtime Seligman resident Angel

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<sup>487</sup> "Railway Lowers Boom: Seligman is Cut as Stop," *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), January 24, 1985, p. 70. Fred Smith, "Last Stop: 'Rails' depart, Leaving Seligman to Fend for Itself," *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), February 8, 1985, p. 2. Angel Delgadillo, 2007, Interview by R. Sean Evans, February 19, Item number 78541, transcript, Route 66 Oral History Project, Cline Library Northern Arizona University, Flagstaff, AZ. Mirna Delgadillo, 2007, Interview by R. Sean Evans, February 19, Item number 78541, transcript, Route 66 Oral History Project, Cline Library Northern Arizona University, Flagstaff, AZ.

Delgadillo Junior summed up her father's commitment to Seligman and her community's eventual willingness to align with the national Route 66 myth by stating, "all this has evolved from not wanting to move, not wanting to live somewhere else." Similarly, many residents took pride in their community identities as railroad or timber towns despite those industries fleeting attachment to these communities.<sup>488</sup> Attachment to place, either in terms of sentimental attachment to one's hometown, or nostalgic attachment to their role in former driving industries like timber or railroading, kept many regional residents in place searching for an option to preserve their homes.

For many of these communities, alignment with the mythical Route 66 identity was required to take part in Route 66 tourism – one of the few remaining promising economic options for these communities. Williams, a long-time center of environmental exploitation, became identified not only with mythical Route 66, but with virtuous consumption of the natural environment. The reorientation harkened back both to the earliest days of environmental tourism in Williams, and the town's long-time dependence on an outside employer – this time in the form of Grand Canyon Railway operator Xanterra the renamed Fred Harvey company of its early railroad days. Seligman, a long-time center of railroad operations, became identified strongly with the national myth of Route 66 as the physical embodiment of the lost "authentic America." The mythical identities crafted by these towns out of economic necessity, however, suppressed regional

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<sup>488</sup> Angel Delgadillo, 2007, Interview by R. Sean Evans, February 19, Item number 78541, transcript, Route 66 Oral History Project, Cline Library Northern Arizona University, Flagstaff, AZ. Mirna Delgadillo, 2007, Interview by R. Sean Evans, February 19, Item number 78541, transcript, Route 66 Oral History Project, Cline Library Northern Arizona University, Flagstaff, AZ. Carl and Miles Cureton. Interview by Teri A. Cleland. Oral History Interview. Williams, AZ, November 5, 1991, Cline Library Special Collections, Northern Arizona University, Flagstaff, AZ. "

and community historical narratives connected to their actual histories that are far more compelling and instructive for regional residents, Arizonans, and Americans than the mythical identities marketed in local gift shops. Engaging with the history of an assembly line configured wood products factory and the extensive old growth timber clear cutting operation supplying it with raw materials in Williams, Arizona requires not just regional residents but all Americans to rethink how we conceptualize where industrialism took place in the United States, its impact on human communities, and the varied environmental impacts it had on the regions in which it operated. Confronting the history of the racially charged railroad labor strikes in Seligman, Arizona forces these same Americans to reconsider where we place historical issues like labor strife and segregation. This reassessment, although difficult, yields a more complete assessment of American history and reveals how many issues that are thought of regionally like industrialism (northeast) or segregation (southeast) occurred in multivariant ways throughout the United States.

Despite the compelling case to be made for these communities to engage with their actual histories, by the mid-1990s the myth of Route 66 was in ascendance. Angel Delgadillo Junior had formed the Historic Route 66 Association in the Copper Cart Restaurant in Seligman in 1987. It was the first regional Route 66 tourism association of its kind. By 1995, there were similar organizations in Illinois, Oklahoma, Texas, California, and other states. Museums dedicated to Route 66, existed in Kingman as well as in Barstow, California, Pontiac, Illinois, and multiple locations in Oklahoma. In addition to newsletters and promotional items for these associations and museums,

national publications had formed like *Route 66 Magazine* dedicated to everything Route 66 – except historical accuracy.<sup>489</sup>

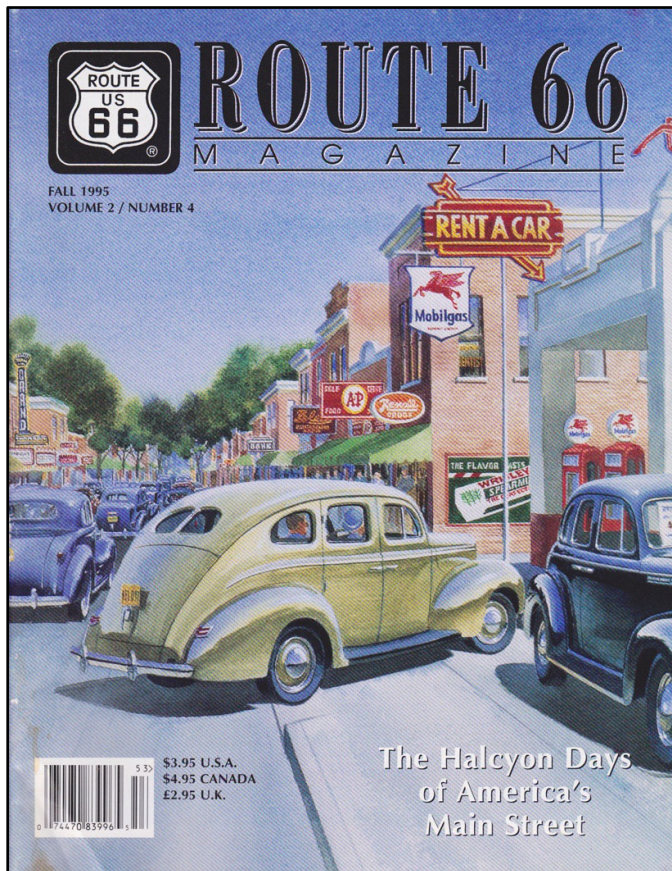


Figure 29. Route 66 Magazine from 1995. This issue was dedicated to remembering the "Halcyon Days of America's Main Street." Author's personal collection, Tempe, AZ.

Three years after Angel Delgadillo founded the first Route 66 historical association, Michael Wallis published his popular history on Route 66, *Route 66: The Mother Road*. Far from attempting to dispel the myth of Route 66, the first sentence of

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<sup>489</sup> "The 66 News!," (Document, Springfield, IL, 1993), Author's personal collection, Tempe, AZ. "Roadsigns: The Newsletter of the California Historic Route 66 Association," (Document, La Verne, CA, 1993), Author's personal collection, Tempe, AZ "Oklahoma Route 66 Association Trip Guide," (Document, Oklahoma City, OK 2001), Author's personal collection, Tempe, AZ. "Arizona Route 66 Museum," *Mohave County Historical Society*, Accessed March 21, 2021, <https://www.mohavemuseum.org/az-route-66-museum.html>. "Welcome," *Barstow Route 66 Mother Road Museum*, Accessed March 21, 2021, <http://www.route66museum.org>. "Route 66 Museum," *Visit Pontiac*, Accessed March 21, 2021, <http://visitpontiac.org/2192/Route-66-Museum>. "Oklahoma Route 66 Museum," *Oklahoma Historical Society*, Accessed March 21, 2021, <https://www.okhistory.org/sites/route66>. *Route 66 Magazine* Vol 2, No. 4, 1995, Author's personal collection, Tempe, AZ.



Wallis's book read: "Route 66. Just the name is magic." He elaborated on the magical theme in the opening pages writing, "Route 66 is a soldier thumbing home for Christmas; an Okie family still looking for a better life. It's a station wagon filled with kids wanting to know how far it is to Disneyland . . . It's yesterday, today, and tomorrow. Truly a road of phantoms and dreams, 66 is the romance of traveling the open highway. It's the free road."<sup>490</sup> Free for whom was left undefined. Wallis did, however, connect deep into the myth of Route 66 representing a lost authentic America. "Route 66 means a time before America became generic . . . There were no diet soft drinks or imported waters. People drank straight from the tap and sipped iced tea brewed by the sun, or guzzled bottles of cold beer . . . America seemed more innocent. Billboards on the highway were legal; hitchhiking was safe; Nobody knew about cholesterol."<sup>491</sup> Wallis's view of authenticity advanced a particular version of an authentic or correct America that was decidedly anti-urban, anti-global, and Anglo-White. Given the existence of African-American travel guides like the *Green Book* aimed at African-Americans with the means to own cars, it is difficult to imagine an African-American safely hitchhiking on Route 66. The book's foreshadowing of Donald Trump's successful 2016 presidential campaign theme "Make America Great Again" is hard to ignore. Wallis connected his history explicitly to the growing mythology around Route 66 stating, "Route 66 means motion and excitement. It's the mythology of the open road . . . When people think of Route 66, they picture a road to adventure."<sup>492</sup> Missing from Wallis's assessment of Route 66 was the actual lived experience of the residents of Route 66 towns as thousands of motorists jammed their

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<sup>490</sup> Michael Wallis, *Route 66: The Mother Road* (New York: St. Martin's Press: 1990), 2.

<sup>491</sup> Ibid.

<sup>492</sup> Ibid.

streets every day; the discrimination faced by African-American, Asian, Latino, and Native American residents and travelers along the road; the economic history that indicated a strong preference from regional residents for livelihoods not connected to nostalgia and tourism; the reality that it was St. Louis born, college educated urban professionals like Wallis living in Miami and writing for the *New York Times* that had demanded interstate highways with faster connections between cities and doomed the supposed rural authentic America lamented in his book.

Despite the contradictions and omissions in Wallis's history, it became a best seller. As a lucrative genre, there were other authors with their own books that reinforced the Route 66 mythology before Wallis in the 1980s and after in the 1990s, and 2000s. Quinta Scott published two photo-essay books on Route 66, *Route 66: The Highway and its People* and *Along Route 66*. Michael Witzel published the simply titled *Route 66*. Arcadia Publishing launched its *Images of America* series and published numerous titles on Route 66. Tom Teague, president of the Route 66 Association of Illinois, published *Searching for Route 66*, a travelogue of his trip which attempted to retrace the path of Route 66 after it was decommissioned.<sup>493</sup> Of these, Wallis's book remains the most well-known and popular.

This cultural production around the Route 66 myth and tourism promotion connected to it had an effect far and wide. Route 66 tourism increased throughout the

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<sup>493</sup> Quinta Scott, *Route 66: The Highway and its People* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1988). Quinta Scott, *Along Route 66: The Highway and its People* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2000). Michael Witzel, *Route 66* (St. Paul: MBI Publishing, 1996). Tom Teague, *Searching for 66* (Springfield: Samizdat House, 1991). "Images of America," *Arcadia Publishing*, Accessed March 21, 2021, [https://www.arcadiapublishing.com/series/images-of-america-book-series?sort=PublicationDate\\_desc&page=198](https://www.arcadiapublishing.com/series/images-of-america-book-series?sort=PublicationDate_desc&page=198).

1990s. Seligman, Arizona businesses struggling to survive in 1987 reported increased business and the need to hire staff by as early as 1988. By 1995, the Historic Route 66 Association of Arizona had graduated from a hand-typed four-page newsletter distributed to a handful of members to a professionally color printed and bound newsletter rife with custom line-art and photographs. Angel Delgadillo Junior had received letters from Route 66 tourists he met from Belgium, France, Germany, Sweden, Switzerland, and the United Kingdom – in addition to multiple domestic locations across the United States. Over an 18-month period from January 1992 to July 1993, 4,467 tourists visited Angel Delgadillo Junior in his barbershop turned gift shop and signed his guestbook – a little under half (2,180) were from outside the United States.<sup>494</sup>

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<sup>494</sup> “Historic Route 66 Association of Arizona April Newsletter,” (Document, Kingman, AZ, 1988), 1-4, MS-37, Box 1, Folder 1, Sharlot Hall Museum, Prescott, AZ. “Historic Route 66 Association of Arizona May Newsletter,” (Document, Kingman, AZ, 1993), Author’s personal collection, Tempe AZ. P. Poliart to Angel Delgadillo, February 17, 1988, MS466, Box 6: 2016.35. D.R. Maloney to Angel Delgadillo, June 27, 1988, MS466, Box 6: 2016.35. Les Foss to Angel Delgadillo, August 6, 1997, MS466, Box 6: 2016.35. Arne Albihn to Angel Delgadillo, May 14, 1989, MS466, Box 6: 2016.35. Holger Pramann to Angel Delgadillo, August 8, 1988, MS466, Box 6: 2016.35. Angel Delgadillo, 2007, Interview by R. Sean Evans, February 19, Item number 78541, transcript, Route 66 Oral History Project, Cline Library Northern Arizona University, Flagstaff, AZ. Tom McFarlane, *Tally of Visitors Who Signed A, Delgadillo’s Notebook (January 1992-July 1993)*, 1993, Author’s personal collection, Tempe, AZ.

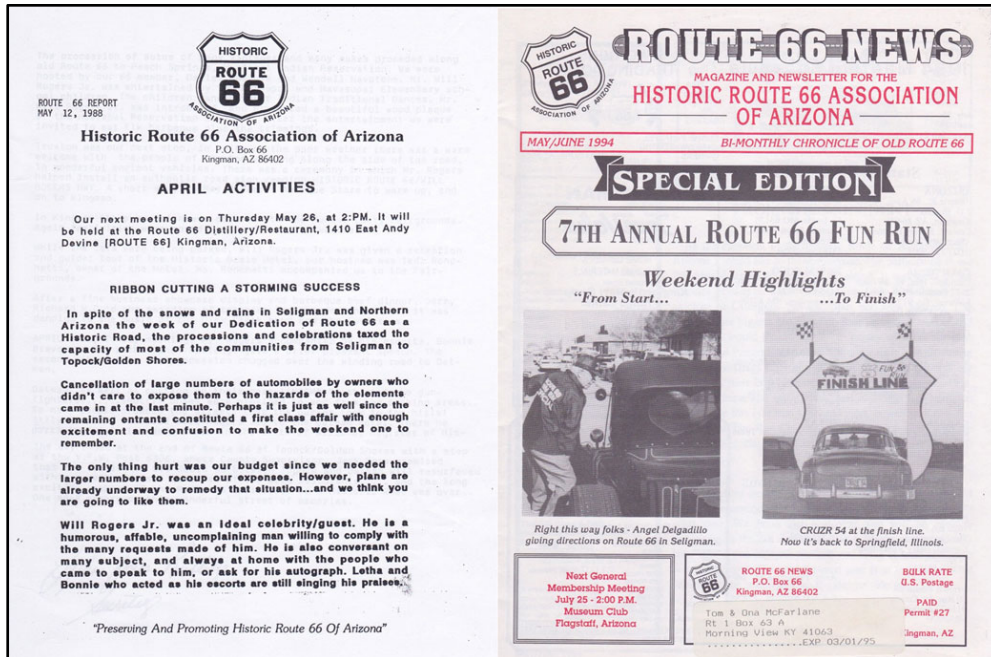


Figure 30. The Historic Route 66 Association newsletter in 1988 on the left and 1994 on the right.

One of the tourists Angel Delgadillo Junior met was Tom McFarlane. McFarlane worked in publishing as a graphic artist, print designer, and later executive in Cincinnati Ohio. McFarlane read many of the books published about Route 66 in the early 1990s and became captivated with the idea of travelling the length of the old road, documenting what was left, and publishing maps for tourists wanting to seek out what remained of Route 66. McFarlane, with his wife Ona, started a home-based business dedicated to creating these maps called Main Street Publishing.<sup>495</sup>

Setting off in the spring of 1992, the McFarlanes traversed the country from Chicago to Los Angeles hewing as closely to Route 66's path as possible. Much of this involved travel on interstates. The couple drove whatever remaining portions of the old road they could find, and stopped in many of the former Route 66 small towns. In

<sup>495</sup> Tom McFarlane to Martin Zanzucchi, February 2, 1994. William S. Collins to Tom McFarlane, January 27, 1994., Ona McFarlane, "Route 66," e-mail messages to Daniel Milowski, November 8, 2018.

Arizona, their trip diverted them off of I-40 at Seligman where they stopped and met Angel Delgadillo Junior. McFarlane told Delgadillo about his idea for creating state driving maps of Route 66 for tourists. Delgadillo was supportive. Over the course of two years, McFarlane researched and refined his idea. He made a presentation to the Historic Route 66 Association of Arizona at their January 1994 meeting and received their official endorsement. McFarlane continued researching Route 66 documenting remaining road sections, enduring businesses, community historical data, and local historical artifacts from restaurant menus to old maps to postcards. He eventually amassed over five shipping crates worth of materials. McFarlane managed to produce a draft of one map through his partnership with the Historic Route 66 Association of Arizona. The draft map documented Route 66's path through Arizona and all of the current and former towns along the way. In the margins were notes about additional documentation to be added including current and former routes of the railroad, current and former local businesses, and information about local flora and fauna. However, between his full time work and other commitments, he was unable to make the venture work and abandoned it in late 1996.<sup>496</sup>

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<sup>496</sup> Tom McFarlane to Martin Zanzucchi, February 2, 1994. William S. Collins to Tom McFarlane, January 27, 1994. Tom McFarlane, *Route 66 in Arizona*, 1996., Shirley Bellmore to Tom McFarlane, January 25, 1994. Shirley Bellmore to Tom McFarlane, January 26, 1994. Shirley Bellmore to Tom McFarlane, March 2, 1994. Ona McFarlane, "Route 66," e-mail messages to Daniel Milowski, November 8, 2018.

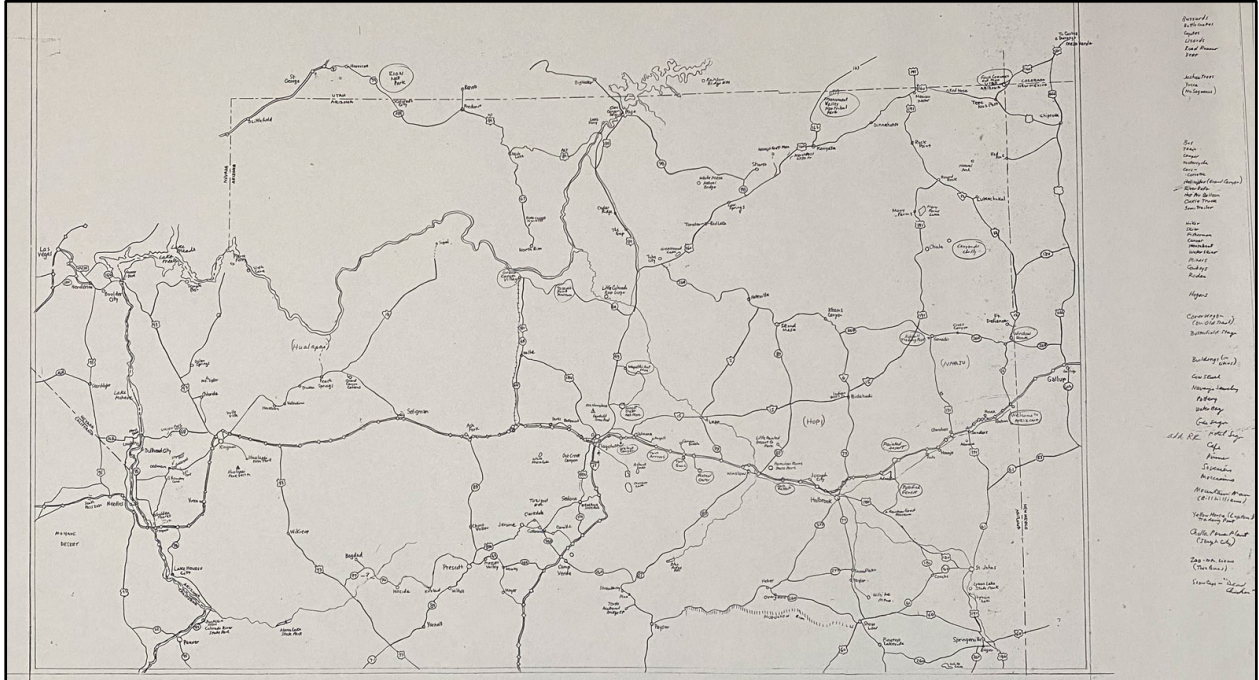


Figure 31. Tom McFarlane's draft map of Route 66 in Arizona. The map represented an important amateur historian contribution to the history of the region and Route 66. Tom McFarlane, *Route 66 in Arizona*, 1996. Author's personal collection, Tempe, AZ.

Although unsuccessful commercially, McFarlane's work was important. His research amassed a critical store of records and data that otherwise would have been lost. As Michel-Rolph Trouillot documented in *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History*, mere record creation is not enough for sources to make it into the historical record. The sources must be archived so that historians have access to them.<sup>497</sup> Without McFarlane's meticulous research and documentation effort, the records he collected would have been silenced – lost to history. Also, his work creating the map bridged the gap between popular history based on myth and more accurate history based in data. Although aimed at tourists, the map documented the real road, the real communities along the road, the historic industries that made them viable, and the railroad which

<sup>497</sup> Michel-Rolph Trouillot, *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1995).

founded the region initially. Although the map could be used by tourists it is also a valuable historical record for historians in its own right. McFarlane's efforts also speak to the desire of history seeking tourists for authenticity. Places like National Park Service historic sites are popular because visitors can engage with more comprehensive historical information. Most tourists fully understand that Route 66 is not magical as Wallis represents it and often want the authentic history – which can be as compelling as myth.

McFarlane's map also serves as one of the many sources supporting *this* history. As research began on this project, the author was invited to write an op-ed commenting on pending legislation in congress to designate Route 66 a National Historic Trail. The National Park Service operates a historic trail program providing conservation, development, and interpretation services to sites along migration paths of historic significance. The Santa Fe Trail and Oregon Trail are examples. The pending legislation would add Route 66 to the set of officially designated historic trails managed by the National Park Service. That article, "Could new legislation lead to a Route 66 economic revival?" published in *The Conversation*, was picked up widely by national and international magazines, newspapers, and news services. The article was read by Ona McFarlane who reached out to the School of Historical, Philosophical, and Religious Studies at Arizona State University to get in contact with the author. In her initial correspondence, Ona, now widowed, described how she had been "investigating the best way to find a 'Forever Home' for boxes of Route 66 books, maps, etc. that my late husband and I collected about The Mother Road while on The Mother Road." After much correspondence, Ona shipped five shipping crates worth of historical sources on Route 66

to the author along with one cylindrical mailing tube.<sup>498</sup> In the tube was the draft map of Route 66 through northern Arizona. Following in Tom McFarlane's footsteps, the research for this project began.

The history of Route 66 and the communities along it is deep and complex. It shares much in common with the larger history of the American West and the United States as a whole. It reveals how Route 66, rather than being an icon of good times and road trips or emblematic of a mythical better but lost authentic America, was an essential piece of infrastructure that undergirded the development of regions and communities across the country. Specifically in northwestern Arizona, it followed on the initial work of the railroad to support the continued development of industrial town sites that were at one time important to large national companies like the Santa Fe railroad and the Saginaw-Manistee Lumber Company. Its decommissioning also highlights the existential role infrastructure plays in American community life, and how when infrastructure is fundamentally reconfigured to favor certain communities over others, negative consequences inevitably follow for communities left out of the new configuration. This bypass effect also highlights how the policy decisions made by national public and private entities rarely offer up any "what's next" plans or resources for the communities upended by disconnection. Left to their own devices, tourism is a widely used but problematic fallback.<sup>499</sup> Community identity based on long held connections to vocation

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<sup>498</sup> Ona McFarlane, "Route 66," e-mail messages to Daniel Milowski, November 8, 2018. "Could new legislation lead to a Route 66 economic revival?" *The Conversation*, June 29, 2018, <https://theconversation.com/could-new-legislation-lead-to-a-route-66-economic-revival-98601>

<sup>499</sup> Rothman, *Devil's Bargains*, 10-15.



and purpose and attachment to place are redefined to appeal to tourists leaving residents living in a place they no longer recognize as their own.

In Seligman, for example, the Seligman Chamber of Commerce had been lukewarm to Angel Delgadillo Junior's idea about reorienting the town around Route 66 tourism. The Chamber's rebuff of the idea was based in a desire to not redefine the entire identity of the town. Tourism was accepted as a potential source of business revenue, but most residents' conception of it was the same type of environmental tourism that had occurred in Seligman for decades. Even though Angel Delgadillo's advocacy for redefining the town around Route 66 tourism could be interpreted as disregard for the effects of redefining Seligman's identity, he was still angry about what had happened to his home town and the need for reinvention. In a 2007 interview he stated, "I was angry for years, because of the bypass." In her own 2007 interview, his daughter Mirna provided more detail on her father's feelings on what happened to his hometown. "After the town got bypassed by Interstate 40 . . . it became very dead here. And people were moving out of town. And then unfortunately Santa Fe also decided they were no longer going to use us as a layover . . . So my dad just--he was very mad at his government for basically throwing us to the wayside. He felt like no one really cared about us." Seligman's identity for almost a century was tied to its purpose as a railroad center and Route 66 travel stop. The outsider decisions to bypass the town, particularly by the town's founding entity the Santa Fe railroad, appeared as a betrayal to community residents who had dedicated their lives to the town.<sup>500</sup>

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<sup>500</sup> Angel Delgadillo, 2007, Interview by R. Sean Evans, February 19, Item number 78541, transcript, Route 66 Oral History Project, Cline Library Northern Arizona University, Flagstaff, AZ. Mirna Delgadillo, 2007,

Despite this perceived betrayal, and the response of many community residents to simply leave, for others a strong attachment to place kept them in the region. Community identity and attachment to place can keep people in areas where economic decline would suggest they leave. The residents of the former industrial landscapes of the northeast United States are an example. For residents who stay, however, remaining in their community is about more than mere economics.<sup>501</sup> For northwestern Arizona and most of its communities, with the notable exception of Kingman, its best economic days were in the past after 1984. For about half the region's residents this meant leaving the area. For those who stayed, remaining in the region was about family and attachment to place. Seligman, and specifically the Delgadillo family's experience is illustrative. Mirna Delgadillo recalled her father's struggles to save the town and his own initial decision to leave:

“For ten years he talked about this [Route 66 tourism]. And people would say, ‘Aw, Angel ... (hems and haws).’ So no one really paid attention, you know, to his idea . . . And basically the only reason my dad came up with this idea was so he didn't have to move. I mean, he had no idea that all this would evolve afterwards. I remember one day he came home and he sat us all at the dinner table, and my dad told us that we were probably going to have to move. And we cried. We all sat there and we cried.”<sup>502</sup>

Far from being a glassy-eyed town booster razor focused on redefining Seligman, Angel Delgadillo Junior realistically considered leaving Seligman like half the residents of the town had already done. He went as far as to announce it to his family. According to

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Interview by R. Sean Evans, February 19, Item number 78541, transcript, Route 66 Oral History Project, Cline Library Northern Arizona University, Flagstaff, AZ.

<sup>501</sup> Thomas Dublin and Walter Licht, *The Face of Decline: The Pennsylvania Anthracite Region in the Twentieth Century* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2005), 1-8.

<sup>502</sup> Mirna Delgadillo, 2007, Interview by R. Sean Evans, February 19, Item number 78541, transcript, Route 66 Oral History Project, Cline Library Northern Arizona University, Flagstaff, AZ.

Mirna Delgadillo, it was his family's reaction to the decision to leave and their strong attachment to their hometown that changed his mind:

“And my dad later on told us, from that meeting, from when we were crying, he decided that we were not going to move, that we were going to stay here. So in his passion, and the love for his family, and the love for his town, he went out there, and he and fifteen other people formed the Historic Route 66 Association of Arizona”<sup>503</sup>

The redefinition of communities in the region around mythic Route 66 tourism was a choice forced upon community residents by the need to choose between attachment to place and leaving the community. It was a choice fraught with its own concerns about what embracing the Route 66 myth meant for the communities' identities long-term. It was also a choice containing stark options for area residents: choose embracing the myth or leave.

It was also a choice forced upon regional residents from the outside. Regional residents had no real say over the choice of Route A that ran I-40 to the south and bypassed much of the region. Regional residents also had no say in the Santa Fe's decisions to bypass the area either. If, in Michael Wallis's words, Route 66 is “yesterday, today, and tomorrow,” then the public and private policy decisions that bypassed the region and left it reeling from disconnection ignored the region's contribution to yesterday, provided it with few good choices about surviving today, and offered it an existentially uncertain tomorrow.

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<sup>503</sup> Ibid.

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