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NATIONAL REGISTER

National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation Form

This form is used for documenting multiple property groups relating to one or several historic contexts. See instructions in *How to Complete the Multiple Property Documentation Form* (National Register Bulletin 16B). Complete each item by entering the requested information. For additional space, use continuation sheets (Form 10-900-a). Use a typewriter, word processor, or computer to complete all items.

___ New Submission ___ Amended Submission

A. Name of Multiple Property Listing

Historic and Architectural Resources of Route 66 through New Mexico

B. Associated Historic Contexts

(Name each associated historic context, identifying theme, geographical area, and chronological period for each.)

Automobile Tourism across New Mexico, 1926-1956

C. Form Prepared by

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D. Certification

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, as amended, I hereby certify that this documentation form meets the National Register documentation standards and sets forth requirements for the listing of related properties consistent with the National Register criteria. This submission meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR Part 60 and the Secretary of the Interior's Standards and Guidelines for Archeology and Historic Preservation. (☐ See continuation sheet for additional comments.)

SHPO 10-4-93

Signature and title of certifying official Date

Historic Preservation Division, State of New Mexico

State or Federal agency and bureau

I hereby certify that this multiple property documentation form has been approved by the National Register as a basis for evaluating related properties for listing in the National Register.

for Beth L. Savage 11-22-93

Signature of the Keeper Date of Action

Historic and Architectural Resources of Route 66 through NM
Name of Multiple Property Listing

New Mexico
State

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Provide the following information on continuation sheets. Cite the letter and the title before each section of the narrative. Assign page numbers according to the instructions for continuation sheets in *How to Complete the Multiple Property Documentation Form* (National Register Bulletin 16B). Fill in page numbers for each section in the space below.

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Paperwork Reduction Act Statement: This information is being collected for applications to the National Register of Historic Places to nominate properties for listing or determine eligibility for listing, to list properties, and to amend existing listings. Response to this request is required to obtain a benefit in accordance with the National Historic Preservation Act, as amended (16 U.S.C. 470 *et seq.*).

Estimated Burden Statement: Public reporting burden for this form is estimated to average 18.1 hours per response including the time for reviewing instructions, gathering and maintaining data, and completing and reviewing the form. Direct comments regarding this burden estimate or any aspect of this form to the Chief, Administrative Services Division, National Park Service, P.O. Box 37127, Washington, DC 20013-7127; and the Office of Management and Budget, Paperwork Reductions Project (1024-0018), Washington, DC 20503.

E. Statement of Historic Context

AUTOMOBILE TOURISM ACROSS NEW MEXICO 1926-1956

Route 66 holds a special place in American popular culture. It has come to stand for the collective tourist experience, especially in the American West. Much of the attraction the highway holds arises from the nostalgia growing out of the thrill of adventure on the open road. Yet a close study of Route 66 as it passes through New Mexico reveals much more. It reveals the history of road building and movement across a varied and difficult terrain from the earliest settlement along the 35th Parallel and how early efforts at developing transportation across a great, often empty space gradually evolved to a federal highway system. It also reveals how as the automobile grew in popularity people began to take to the open road in increasing numbers and how businesses grew up along the roadside to cater to their needs. These stages of road development and the commercial architecture it inspired provide the framework for this historic context.

The Physiography of the 35th Parallel

More than any of the other seven states it crossed, New Mexico presented highway engineers with a variety of landforms. Elevations ranged from 3800 ft. where the road entered the state at Glenrio on the Texas line to over 7200 ft. at the Continental Divide. As Route 66 made its way across the state, a course of 399 miles (506 miles prior its straightening in 1937), it crossed over three of the state's four physiographic regions The eastern third took it through the Pecos and Canadian Valleys of the Great Plains Province; the middle third through the Basin and Range Plateau; and the western third through the Intermountain Plateau. The varied landforms marking these regions confronted early road builders and users with a range of obstacles and challenges.

Of course, the early state highway engineers were not the first to confront these obstacles. Native American hunting and trading parties, Spanish explorers and settlers, and, by the mid-nineteenth century, American army expeditions and settlers moving

to the California gold fields had negotiated their way along portions of the corridor. In fact, it was the very nature of these landforms and their topographical features that had served to shape an east-west transportation corridor in the first place. While alignments of specific trails, rail and automobile roads would change, the same general pattern of east-west flow of people over the land remained. For this reason the term, "corridor," is a particularly useful one, denoting a traditional passageway shaped by paths of least resistance in a land marked by great physical barriers.

Historically, a principal east-west corridor through New Mexico has run close to the 35th Parallel. Both in the eastern and western thirds of the state river valleys cut through north-south mountain and mesa barriers, providing natural paths for movement. These valleys formed by the Canadian River and Rio Puerco of the West permitted travellers to take advantage of their gently sloping gradients to move in a direct path across the landscape. The middle third of the state, however, composed of a series of basin and range formations forced these early east-west travel patterns to deviate widely from the parallel. Here the traces of the corridor would fragment. Some travellers would zigzag along the parallel, following portions of north-south valleys such as the Rio Grande and Pecos; others would skirt the plateau. All attempted to make use of the few passes facilitating east-west movement across the region. Well into the twentieth century, these natural barriers continued to force travellers to deviate from the 35th Parallel.

Related to the topographical features were geological considerations. Just as steep, sandy escarpments along riverbeds stymied wagons and railroads, early road builders were faced with adapting to a range of soil types. In areas where surface gravel or limestone was readily available for makeshift crushing plants, construction went smoothly. But in other areas marked by caliche or igneous rock, surface materials posed challenges that limited the quality of early roads. So substantial were the differences that these various materials produced that early state highway directives developed a topology of road types based on soil and drainage characteristics and their varying

construction characteristics (New Mexico State Engineer [NMSE] Biennial Report 1914:15-17). Route 66 would cross over many of these surface types, presenting roadbuilders with serious engineering problems.

As the Great Plains and their rich gravel surface gave way to the Canadian Valley at the Texas line, the corridor passed just below the northern edge of the Caprock. Here the broad upper slopes of the valley are comprised of sand dunes formed by the prevailing northwesterly winds rushing up the Caprock and depositing sandy grains at its base. In the low spots caliche dominates. The sand and caliche characteristics of the land east of Tucumcari would prove an obstacle to early road construction. In the absence of gravel, caliche roadbeds would pack well when they were saturated but raise clouds of dust during heavy use in the dry season. Summer rains rendered them dangerously slippery. The failure of builders to mix the various strata of heavy and light caliche sufficiently would make the roadbed susceptible to potholes. Compounding the challenge facing roadbuilders in Quay County were incisions such as Revuelto and Plaza Larga Creeks. Mere trickles for much of the year, these broad-bedded streams could become muddy torrents as rain washed off the Caprock and flowed toward the Canadian River. Waters rushing up against their sandy banks would create erosion, weakening the abutments protecting the approaches to the bridges. While references to bridge washouts appear frequently in district maintenance reports, more frequent references concern washed-out bridge approaches and the need to stabilize stream banks with rock or concrete abutments.

Even on level ground the absence of ample gravel supplies made early road construction difficult. The natural lake lying just east of Tucumcari, for example, would often overflow during wet seasons, flooding the road as it approached the town. In the absence of a solid raised gravel bed, the road often remained water-logged for days. In an effort to avoid long delays during particularly rainy seasons, road officials were faced with hiring local men and their teams of horses to pull motorists through the quagmire or, as they sometimes did, constructing corduroy bridges made of railroad ties to permit crossing (NMSE Biennial Report

1923-24:np). As a result of these poor soil conditions, the early roads east of Tucumcari required a constant maintenance patrol and, even then, were often a reason why travellers well into the 1930s were advised to avoid using Route 66.

West of Tucumcari the road's path rose as the corridor made its way along the shallow valley defined by the sandstone mesas near Montoya and Newkirk. While limited amounts of gravel were sometimes available west of Montoya, broad drainages such as Parajito Creek lining the valley floor were the sources of flooding. They required extensive culvert construction and constant shoulder work to avoid erosion damage. Here, builders tried to mix locally available blue shale and sand and then cover it with the small amounts of gravel available to form a compacted surface referred to as macadam. Named after John McAdam, the Scottish engineer who perfected this surfacing technique, it formed a well-compacted bed during dry weather but became slippery when the shale became wet. Compounding the difficulties posed by soil limitations was the close parallel course of the Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific Railroad (CRI&P). While road site location crews generally relied on the alignment decisions made by the earlier railroad builders and built early roadbeds along the railroad right-of-way, the close proximity of the two alignments was not without its liabilities. The cuts flanking the track that had been made to build up the railroad grade often served to trap water, especially in areas with few drainage culverts. Situated on a lower grade often less than thirty yards from the tracks, the road would flood as the higher railroad grade formed a dam preventing water from escaping into Parajito Creek.

West of Cuervo the road veered southwest away from the railroad, joining the Ima-Santa Rosa road that skirted the northern edge of Sunshine Mesa. Here caliche could be combined with local gravel to form a good aggregate for road-building. The uneven terrain of the mesa's slopes, however, led the road over a series of arroyos where heavy rains caused shoulder erosion requiring much culvert and rock abutment work. Later, in the late 1930s, asphalt was mined six miles north of Santa Rosa and used to pave local portions of the highway.

Descending the mesa, the road dipped into the sandy Santa Rosa Sink just south of the Blue Hole and then wound northwest through the town to cross the Pecos River. In the earliest years of automobile travel, motorists simply forded the river at a point not far above the railroad bridge. Even in later years with the construction of a bridge, the Pecos River was capable of flooding the highway. The climb out of the sink on the west side was precipitous and given to much bank erosion as it wound around the sandstone bluffs lining the river. A good supply of surface rock from the escarpment, however, enabled crews to maintain it with periodic grading.

West of Santa Rosa lies the Basin and Range Plateau. Characterized by a north-south pattern of several wide alluvial valleys punctuated by various chains of the Southern Rocky Mountains, this landform division presented a different series of challenges to roadbuilders. The generally arid portion along the 35th Parallel lying between the Pecos River and the Sandia Mountains had had little early settlement. Although a wagon road existed connecting the Estancia and Rio Grande Valleys, the early railroads and automobile roads made no effort to cross out of the Estancia Valley to the east. Instead they skirted it, passing southwesterly toward Abo Pass or northwesterly toward the Pecos River Valley and Glorieta Pass.

It wasn't until the 1930s that the road would be straightened through the Basin and Range Plateau both to the east and west of Albuquerque. Aided by more advanced road building machinery and booster-inspired state mandates, engineers would complete the road passing through these sparsely-inhabited spaces. Following an earthen trace cut in the mid-1920s, the Santa Rosa cutoff would cross over the limestone ridges of Palma Hill and Las Tapias Mesa and then descend into the silt-filled Estancia Valley. From there it connected with the old Estancia-Albuquerque wagon road, climbing the gentle eastern slopes of the Sandias and dropping down through the fractured-rock fault known as Tijeras Canyon into the Rio Grande Valley at Albuquerque. Once the Rio Grande was spanned at Old Town in 1931 and the Rio Puerco spanned fifteen miles to the west in 1933, the road would follow the Laguna cutoff west out of the city. In

contrast to the problem of finding suitable aggregate to construct a stable roadbed that appeared in the relatively flat Great Plains Province, the Basin and Range posed the challenge of overcoming a series of climbs and descents.

In the interim, the road followed a course along the Pecos River Valley toward the old land grant community of Anton Chico and then north toward Romeroville, just a few miles south of Las Vegas. At Romeroville early Route 66 would once again rely on the precedents of wagoners and railroad builders. It followed the traces of the Santa Fe Trail, paralleling the tracks of the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad (AT&SF) through narrow Glorieta Pass before turning northwest to Santa Fe. As it crossed the Pecos near Dilia then recrossed it again at San Jose del Bado en route to the pass, the road passed over a largely limestone surface. When crushed and mixed with caliche available from borrow pits along eroded hillsides near the roadway, the limestone compacted to form a good road surface.

For eleven years Route 66 followed this circuitous route before continuing west. The route coincided with over 120 miles of the north-south running Camino Real. While political and economic factors would prolong this unusually long overlap of an east-west and a north-south highway, it was one initially determined by the limits that landform and geology imposed upon early transportation. It was simply easier to adhere to already established pragmatic patterns of movement across the landscape than it was to attempt to create new roadways through isolated areas.

Just below Santa Fe lay the steep La Bajada Hill, part of the eroding base of the Ortiz Mountains rising to the east. With its drop of over 800 ft. in less than a mile and a half, the road descending the hill stood as the most celebrated achievement of the early horse and wagon-era of road building in New Mexico. The veneer of gravel overlying the basalt rock, however, aided the construction project. With the addition of sand drawn from the nearby Rito Santa Fe, the surface rock provided the necessary materials for penitentiary inmates to use a cut-and-fill method to carve out twenty-three hairpin curves and erect outer protective rock walls.

Below La Bajada the road traversed the alluvial slopes of the Rio Grande Valley leading to Albuquerque and south to Los Lunas. Although the arroyos interspersed with the fans were capable of flooding following sudden downpours, the granite and sedimentary rocks composing the fans provided a rich aggregate for gravel road surfaces. In fact, the fans lent themselves to early cut and fill projects such as the Big Cut south of Tonque Arroyo in which road builders cut a sixty-foot deep gash through a fan, using the alluvium they removed to build the access grades to the cut. Built before the numerically-designated federal highway system created in 1926, the Big Cut continued to serve the north-south portion of Route 66 through the early 1930s.

The Rio Grande had long been an obstacle slowing east-west movement along the 35th parallel. The broad, heavily-silted floodplain through which the river flowed in its often braided pattern was prone to shift its course during flooding. The sandy escarpment on the west side had restricted easy movement west of the valley, shaping the growth patterns of the communities along its banks on a north-south axis. As Albuquerque grew with the development of the east-west wagon route, these obstacles continued to affect road locations. The military expeditions developing the Ft. Smith Road to California found the nearby sandhills represented "the worst part of the road to California" (Jackson 1965:253). Most wagon trains traveled south to Isleta Pueblo, where it was easier to cross the Rio Grande and where the escarpment presented a gentler grade (Sherburne 1988:123).

Even with the coming of the railroad in 1880, those soil and landform limitations persisted. Railroad siting parties also moved south to Isleta before heading west. Later, the early road would remain in the valley all the way to Los Lunas before it found a suitable breech in the escarpment and joined the railroad right-of-way above the valley floor. A few miles to the west coursed the Rio Puerco, usually a silt-laden trickle of a stream but one capable of rushing torrents during heavy rainfall. While the river bed was also a good source for gravel, so prone was it to flooding and erosion that a bridge engineer labeled it "another Chaco Canyon in the making" and speculated that if it continued to wash out bridge abutments roads of the future might

need to descend into its canyon and climb out on the other side (New Mexico Highway Journal [NMHJ] April 1925:1). West of the Rio Puerco the road entered the Rio San Jose Valley with its sandy floor extending across much of the Laguna Reservation. As the elevation rose west of Cubero, the basalt capped mesas flanking the valley offered readily available aggregates for easier road building.

Near Laguna the Basin and Range Plateau gives way to the Intermontane Plateau, an area marked by sandstone mesas and igneous rock masses. The next obstacle was the lava-flow, or malpais, lying south of Mount Taylor. Formed by volcanic flow coming from cones twenty miles to the south, the malpais was marked by ropey lava with gas bubble holes and water saps, or collapsed lava tubes. For early road builders these features would prove to be one of the greatest barriers to construction. While they were able to crush the tough igneous rock at roadside crushing plants, it did not compact easily and required mixture with other materials. Crossing the malpais required bringing in loads of earth and gravel and then compacting it slowly to fill in all of the interstices on the rock face. Additionally, the razor-sharp rock rapidly disintegrated the early solid rubber tires and quickly punctured the frail pneumatic tires that followed in the early 1920s. While the railroad was able simply to blast out a grade through the malpais, early road builders found themselves skirting it near McCarty's and then quickly crossing it at its narrowest point near Horace as the road moved toward Grants.

From Grants to Gallup the early road followed the railroad right of way up and over the Continental Divide. With the upper Rio San Jose flowing eastward from the Divide and the Rio Puerco of the West flowing westward through Gallup and to the Arizona border, road builders had access to surface gravel along much of the western portion of the road. Only as it neared Campbell Pass at the Divide did clay predominate with the clay flats near Thoreau requiring an addition of sand to stabilize the slippery effect of the wet clay. The descent down the valley of the Rio Puerco of the West offered gravel from nearby borrow pits. In its lower portions west of Gallup where the river becomes heavily

silted, the early road moved away from the eroded valley floor, clinging to the foot of the red sandstone cliffs lining the north side of the valley.

As the corridor passes down the Rio Puerco, just to the east of Gallup stands a hogback extending over ten miles along a north-south axis. Certainly it is not the most striking topographic feature along the east-west corridor. In fact, few travellers even recognize it after having gazed at the spectacular red sandstone cliffs that line the north side of the Rio Puerco Valley for most of a thirty mile stretch extending to the Arizona border. Yet, this thin monolith furnishes perhaps the most immediate and definitive reminder of the effects that the varied landscape of New Mexico imposed on late nineteenth and early twentieth century transportation. Just as Campbell's Pass over the Continental Divide, Glorieta Pass, and, eventually, Tijeras Canyon would constrict movement along the corridor, the Hogback would serve as a funnel. Through its narrow quarter mile breech early wagon roads, the railroad and then the automobile road passed. Almost as if it were a spinal cord through which all of the body's sensory systems are channelled, early communications lines and fuel pipelines also passed. Only with the greatly expanded building technology of the late twentieth century and the interstate highway system would engineers have the capacity to alter the landscape, removing a portion of the monolith with high-powered explosives.

When Route 66 was first designated its boosters publicized its first "scientific" qualities, noting its "great arc" from the Midwest heartland to the Pacific shores of southern California. It did, in fact, resemble an arc as it curved southwesterly from Chicago through Missouri to southeastern Kansas. And it did adhere to a relatively straight line along the 35th Parallel as it stretched from Oklahoma across the Texas Panhandle and through New Mexico and Arizona and on to Los Angeles. When scrutinized more closely, however, it was also a New Mexico highway with many twists and turns during its first decade. The explanation for these substantial deviations from the 35th Parallel are reminders of the limitations marking early road building. New Mexico's varied terrain imposed a

topographical determinism that would limit road building possibilities well into the twentieth century.

Railroad Antecedents

In May, 1933 the U.S. Highway 66 Association held its annual convention in Amarillo, Texas and elected Roy H. Smith of Tucumcari as its president. Smith's ascendancy marked the recognition of a lifetime of working for better roads along the 35th Parallel. He recalled that just after the turn of the century he first came to New Mexico Territory riding a mule-drawn wagon. Traversing wagon roads along the alignment that Route 66 would eventually assume, he came with his family to homestead land in what would become Quay County. The seventeen days that it took the Smith family to travel from near Sayre, Oklahoma to eastern New Mexico were marked with hardships, particularly the mud in which their wagon repeatedly mired. Settled near Tucumcari, Smith devoted much of his adult life advocating the need to improve roads. First he became a leader in the Ozark Trail Association and, later, secretary-treasurer of the Postal Highway Association which succeeded the Ozark Trail organization. Smith recalled that the main goal of these early groups was to get property owners to remove the gates that blocked free access to the roads and, later, to assist in grading of the road. As he prepared for the presidency, Smith found himself presiding over a group that could claim responsibility in working to develop a highway that was "well-drained and graded and an all weather route practically all the way" (Albuquerque Journal 5/23/33:np).

The account of Smith's experience offers a helpful perspective on the evolution of roads across the 35th Parallel in New Mexico that would culminate with the designation of Route 66 in 1926. While the geographical features marking the 35th Parallel had lent themselves to east-west movement along the corridor since prehistoric times, it was only beginning in 1858 with the passage of the Army Appropriations Act that an effort began to shape an east-west roadway. The result of several survey expeditions conducted in the decade following the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848, the quarter of a million dollar appropriation

was designated to construct bridges and improve stream crossings from Ft. Smith, Arkansas to Albuquerque and to prepare a road west from Albuquerque to California along the 35th Parallel (Jackson 1965: 251).

Even as the government began to assume this leading role in the construction of western roads, the next generation of transportation began to set its sights on the West. During the Civil War, Congress began to shape the pattern that western railroad development would assume, offering the AT&SF generous grants of public land in Kansas in exchange for a prompt laying of tracks to the Colorado line. Three years later, in 1866, Congress struck a similar arrangement with the Atlantic and Pacific Railroad (A&P), granting public lands along a proposed route from Springfield, Missouri to California. In less than a decade, the vision of a transportation corridor along the 35th Parallel had evolved from wagon road to what many writers would refer to as the "iron finger of civilization."

Of course, the vision of a railroad did not easily transform into the reality of steel rails crossing the territory. Cyclical economic patterns with prolonged depressions in the early 1870s and then again in the early 1890s, internal corporate difficulties, and the challenges of crossing Rocky Mountain passes slowed actual construction, and it wasn't until April, 1880 that the AT&SF finally reached Albuquerque. By March, 1881 lines had been extended down the Rio Grande Valley and connections made with the Southern Pacific at El Paso and Deming along the 32nd Parallel to complete the nation's second transcontinental route. Meanwhile, the A&P which had passed into receivership and, after various corporate shifts, emerged in 1880 under the control of the AT&SF. In July, 1881 the tracks were completed into the Arizona Territory giving the AT&SF a westward route along the 35th Parallel.

Characterizing each of these early railroad construction efforts was the extensive support of the federal government in the form of land grants. In exchange for promoting a transportation form that would advance national goals such as improved mail delivery, more rapid shipment of military goods and increased

commerce, the government's land subsidy offered the railroad companies an opportunity to recoup their investment in the form of land development. Such development included mining, timbering, and the promotion of townsites. Along its 35th Parallel route, for example, the AT&SF would sell lands in the Zuni Mountains that would lead to major timbering operations including the production of millions of railroad cross ties. Similarly, the railroad opened the development of the coal fields around Gallup. Under subsidiary companies, such as the New Mexico Town Company, the railroad would plat and develop the towns of New Albuquerque, Grants and Gallup. In between these towns, appeared numerous villages, some originally envisioned as centers for various extractive industries that never materialized or grew up elsewhere, others simply water tank and side track sites. The wagon roads connecting this line of settlements would later become the basis of the state's first generation of automobile roads.

Within two decades, similar railroad development had occurred in the eastern portion of New Mexico. While crossing this area commanded less of the urgency than did the earlier efforts to link California with the rest of the nation, private promoters, such as Charles B. Eddy, developer of extensive irrigation projects in the Pecos Valley, nevertheless envisioned the potential the railroad held for homesteading and further townsite development in that nearly empty land. Eddy's El Paso and Northeastern (EP&NE), which had advanced northward to Carrizozo and the timber of the Sacramento Mountains, advanced further north in 1901 to connect with the CRI&P at Santa Rosa. Later, after another economic downturn in 1903, the CRI&P would complete an eastern branch from Tucumcari to Amarillo in 1910. As with the development of the railroad towns in the western portion of the state, Eddy also developed subsidiary companies aimed at townsite development. Unlike the western experience, however, other speculators not directly connected to the railroad companies also developed townsites. The result was that by 1901 both Santa Rosa and Tucumcari had been platted and were small tent communities spawned by the arrival of railroad and cheap homesteading land.

Thus, in the two boom periods of New Mexico railroad

building history in which eighty percent of all tracks were laid, much of the route that US 66 would assume was also drawn (Myrick 1990:xviii). The first period extended for thirty-one months from December, 1878 when the AT&SF entered the territory at Raton Pass to July, 1881 when its western branch crossed into Arizona; the second from 1901 to 1910 when the CRI&P entered eastern New Mexico through to Santa Rosa and later extended its Amarillo branch east from Tucumcari to Texas. If one were to consider the earlier "S" in the road as it snaked from Santa Rosa to Romeroville then to Santa Fe and down to Los Lunas before heading west to Laguna, its entire length with the exception of the portion from Santa Rosa to Romeroville and the descent down La Bajada Hill was defined by the railroad.

Several considerations pertinent to the genesis of Route 66 emerge from this synopsis of railroad construction along the 35th Parallel in New Mexico. First is the pattern of government involvement in the financing of transportation. Just as it had appropriated money to construct a wagon road, the government supported the development of much railroad construction in land grant subsidies. By 1916 the government would resume its active role in advancing new transportation forms with the initiation of its matching funds to state highway departments. By 1926 and the advent of the numerically-designated federal highway system, this support would assume the form of annual appropriation. Later, during the Depression, grants for road construction and improvements would become a major means of priming the nation's economic pump. Finally, the Interstate Highway Act of 1956 would mark the culmination of this federal subsidy of road transportation.

Second is the matter of route selection and its effect on the siting of early roads. Railroad construction imposed a more exacting set of demands on route selection than the wagon roads that preceded it. The transition marked a shift from travel over what Thomas Schlereth has termed "natural roads," or the well-drained, passable ground of "nature's geography" to the "new road" required by heavy machines (Schlereth 1985:3). Grades, for example, could not exceed three per cent, and steam engines required frequent sources of good water and repair shops along

the route. These considerations resulted in a more scientific approach to site location, one that early road builders would also use. In the words of Rufous Carter, a design engineer for the highway department in the 1930s, following the railroad gave highway builders "easy grades and easy curves" by following "the other guy's knowledge" (Carter, 1992).

As a result of the alignment decisions made by the railroad siting parties, the wagon roads of the railroad era generally used the right-of-way, paralleling the tracks. The homesteaders and workers working in the extractive industries near the tracks would gradually come to form a loose line of settlement determined by the location of the railroads. Many of the small communities shown on early railroad maps bear the names first assigned to them as railroad stops. Later, many of these small trading and shipping centers added gas stations, garages and cafes along the road that would become Route 66. In the process their names sometimes changed, and their locations shifted slightly as they became more oriented to the road. Coolidge in McKinley County, for example, is first shown as Guam, and Prewitt as Baca. In Valencia County, Correo, a post office and cafe stop along the highway, appears a mile west of Suwanne, the name the AT&SF assigned the site. Early highway department descriptions of portions of Route 66 as "old wagon roads" usually refer to the roads linking these railroad-era settlements lining the tracks along the 35th Parallel.

A third issue is the role of the railroads' subsidiary companies and other promoters in platting and developing townsites. Locations were, in part, based upon practical matters of repair shop locations as well as the railroads' needs to transport freight and passengers profitably. Tucumcari, New Albuquerque, and Gallup grew, for example, as a result of decisions to locate major repair shops there. Other communities such as Grants, Thoreau, New Laguna, Santa Rosa, Newkirk, Montoya, and San Jon grew as shipping points. These villages were oriented to the tracks that were their lifeblood. Their main streets often consisted of a single line of businesses facing on the railroad tracks. A linear business district consisting of mercantile stores, hotels and cafes, saloons, a bank, and other

businesses faced the tracks with residences located on parallel blocks to the rear. As towns like Albuquerque and Gallup grew, a business grid developed, with streets lining both sides of the tracks.

Since the early east-west road generally paralleled the rail road tracks, in most instances it also entered these communities along the railroad commercial strip. At first, the businesses serving railroad workers and passengers also served early automobilists. The railroad hotels and cafes of Gallup located along what was then Railroad Avenue and those along Parker Avenue in Santa Rosa served both railroad and automobile clientele as well as townspeople. With the railroad and early road paralleling each other and located within a few blocks, the normal growth pattern was simply an extension of the commercial area along the same axis. Livery stables and businesses selling wagons added garages and gasoline sales as well as parking spaces for automobiles. As the number of motorists increased these new services began to stretch away from the depot. By the early 1920s, some auto camp grounds, even farther removed, began to offer additional services for motorists such as gas, groceries and meals. This gradual extension of automobile-related businesses would comprise the earliest automobile strip.

The absence of this parallel pattern would alter growth pat terns in Tucumcari and, later, in Albuquerque. Because of the northeast-west alignment of the CRI&P's main track into Tucumcari, the road that would become Route 66 entered the town several blocks south of the commercial district along Gaynell Avenue. At first, automobilists found it necessary to leave the highway and seek the railroad-oriented commercial district to find food, gas and lodging. The 1917 Texas-New Mexico Mountain Highway (TNMMH) Guide Book, for instance, reminds travellers to "turn right with Second Street" to find the recommended Vorenberg Hotel (TNMMH 1917:11). Likewise, the 1919 Ozark Trails Route Book notes that the road passes "through the edge of the city in its straight course, west," and advises motorists to look for the O.T. Monument "pointing the way down Main Street" (Ozark Trails Route Book 1919:36). While Tucumcari's central business district would continue to be oriented to the railroad

(and to US 54 which parallels the CRI&P [now Southern Pacific] tracks westward to its junction with US 66 about a mile west of the downtown), the city's growth pattern after the 1920s was south toward Gaynell Avenue.

In the case of Albuquerque, the traditional parallel alignment of road and railroad shifted only with the straightening of Route 66. Prior to 1937, the major routes, the Camino Real, or US 85, as well as US 66, passed through the city along a north-south axis. Using the Fourth Street alignment, as well as south Second Street briefly, the two roads paralleled the AT&SF tracks four blocks to the west. A business district with a grid pattern had emerged with Railroad Avenue, renamed Central in 1912, perpendicular to the railroad serving as the main street. As the number of automobiles registered in New Mexico grew from a few hundred in 1910 to 18,000 in 1920 and 82,000 in 1930, garages sales outlets, and other automobile related businesses appeared along Fourth Street (NMHJ March 1931:20). City directories through the 1920s show that tourist-related businesses were also concentrated along Fourth Street with automobile campgrounds, cafes, curio shops and stores appearing in increasing numbers both north and south of the commercial grid. This first automobile commercial strip in Albuquerque illustrates how the automobile had begun to reshape an essentially railroad city by the early 1920s.

As if to reinforce the shift from railroad to automobile, the straightening of Route 66 in 1937 contributed to a more striking realignment of the city's commercial patterns. Now the city's two major highways, US 85 and 66, formed a cross, meeting at Fourth and Central. Along with the residential suburbs and commercial district that began to develop on the city's East Mesa, tourist-related facilities quickly appeared on Central Avenue. In 1935, for example, city directories list nineteen tourist camps, sixteen of which were situated along Fourth Street and only three on East Central. By 1938, the numbers were nineteen and fourteen respectively; and by 1941, twenty-eight and thirty-seven. Symbolizing how in a mere quarter of a decade Route 66 had evolved from a tag-along trace encroaching on the railroad's right-of-way and occasionally timidly crossing its

grade was the Central Avenue underpass. In 1938, the city received federal funding to remove the railroad tracks as an obstacle to the east-west flow of traffic on Route 66.

The railroad construction along the 35th Parallel encouraged several forms of economic development that would prepare the way for the rise of automobile tourism along Route 66. The extractive industries, especially timber cutting and coal mining, contributed to the operation of the railroad and accounted for much settlement along the 35th Parallel. Mercantile stores and trading posts serving the lumber and mining camps also appeared along the side tracks in places like New Laguna and Thoreau. Later, as the first roads developed, many of these businesses would also cater to motorists. They offered campgrounds, garages, gas stations as well as curio items along with their general merchandise.

The railroads, especially the AT&SF also sought income through the promotion of tourism. From its entry into the territory in 1879, tourists had travelled aboard the railroad to view the Southwest. In those early decades of tourism, many tourists were of the upper class. They would travel to a specific destination such the Montezuma, the railroad's posh resort hotel in Gallinas Canyon above Las Vegas, where they would remain for a few weeks and then return to their homes. Increasingly, however, the ideal of travel began to change as an emerging middle class also began to explore the West.

The increased interest in visiting the Southwest owes to number of factors ranging from changes in Americans' work habits and attitudes toward leisure time to changing perceptions toward Nature. Additionally, the turn of the century also marked the emergence of the power of advertising to create markets and shape popular consumption habits. One such example was the marketing efforts of the AT&SF. As the railroad struggled to compete with other western railroads in the late 1890s, building more branch lines to reach more raw materials and ship more goods, its new president, E.P. Ripley began to consider the potential of advertising the tourist potential of the line's territory. By 1900, he had appointed William Haskell Simpson as

the director of promotional operations. Simpson's efforts are well discussed in several studies (Thomas 1978; McLuhan 1985). Beginning with the opening of a spur line to the South Rim of the Grand Canyon in 1901 that would serve the company's El Tovar Hotel (1905), Simpson introduced a series of innovative, well-publicized advertising campaigns designed to induce tourists to travel aboard the AT&SF and visit the Southwest.

Coming during a period in which the proliferations of photo graphic images began to broaden how people viewed their world, the campaign relied upon images of this heretofore distant and exotic land to attract tourists. It employed the well-known western photographer, William Henry Jackson, to publicize its southwestern routes. One marketing device consisted of Jackson installing a gallery in a railroad car that could be exhibited in city after city. Included were photographs of landscapes depicting exotic floral and fauna, geological wonders, and Indians, or the "first Americans" as railroad publicists referred to them. On other occasions, Jackson would ride the California Unlimited giving magic lantern shows to the passengers. As the railroad developed its series of railroad hotels under the management of Fred Harvey along its western lines, it also contracted with the Detroit Publishing Company, with whom Jackson worked, to publish hundreds of postcard images under the Fred Harvey label.

Beginning in 1907, the railroad also initiated a mass distribution of calendars. Richly illustrated with paintings and photographs of beautiful vistas and emphasizing the blend of Indian and Hispanic cultures, these annual giveaways transformed the popular thinking about the Southwest. No longer the American Desert, an obstacle impeding movement to the riches of the Pacific Coast, now it became the repository of some of the nation's most remarkable scenery, a region awaiting discovery. Coinciding with the AT&SF's marketing efforts was the appearance of inexpensive, easy-to-operate Kodak cameras. Now everyone could experience the splendor of the region and provide visual evidence of that experience. This combination of photography and the calculating advertising of the railroad publicists made the Southwest a popular destination.

This opening of the Southwest to mass tourism based on aggressive advertising culminated with the inception of the Harvey Indian Detours in 1926. Fred Harvey had seen the potential of promoting his railroad-based hotels and dining rooms with automobile tourism as early as 1915. Four years before the Grand Canyon became a national park, he added tent facilities for motorists driving to El Tovar. Later, in 1921, Erna Fergusson and Ethel Hickey independently ran the Koshare Tours in Santa Fe. They offered automobile trips to railroad travellers who wanted to visit many of the places they had seen in the photographs that drew them to Southwest in the first place (Thomas 1978: 75). It remained for Harvey to go into business with Major Hunter R. Clarkson to develop a system capable of taking thousands of rail road travellers and placing them in automobiles and buses for a few days of touring and then returning them to continue their train trip.

Hiring Fergusson to train the couriers, as the female guides were called, Clarkson developed a set of itineraries that permitted tourists to leave the railroad at Las Vegas, tour northern New Mexico for a fixed number of days and then board another train in Albuquerque. Eastbound travellers might move in the opposite direction. Even as they ventured out to isolated areas the tourists, or "dudes" as they were termed to denote their wealth and their often eastern urban backgrounds, were given first-class treatment. They were chauffeured in White buses or in Packard or Cadillac touring cars called "road Pullmans." In order to broaden the range of itineraries and in order to make sure that the "detourists" arrived in time to meet their trains, the Harvey organization pressed New Mexico officials to improve the state's roads. Much of the impetus to widen the hairpin turns on La Bajada Hill, for example, came from Clarkson. Just before the first season of the detours, Clarkson accompanied by Governor Arthur Hannett and State Highway Engineer James French drove from Santa Fe to Albuquerque. So difficult were the turns for the White touring buses that French had road crews widen the turns before the tour season began (Thomas 1978:55).

Although the tours fell victim to the Depression and manage-

ment changes, the rise of private automobile touring and finally World War II, they helped to prepare the way for New Mexico's highway system and Route 66. Not only did they provide the impetus for the state to improve some of its roads, they also demonstrated the potential that automobile tourism held for the state. By the mid-1930s as Route 66 was about to be straightened, New Mexico was actively seeking the automobile tourist, advertising in national magazines, training port-of-entry personnel in a state-run visitor's bureau training school, and pointing to its ability to accommodate tourists. Admittedly, the facilities that served the "detourists" were catering to a different class of traveller than were many who motored west in the years following the heyday of the Detours. The personnel trained in those earlier businesses, however, the trading post operators, hotel workers, and tourism promoters, had received much of their early experience serving the "detourists." In that sense, the Detours went a step beyond displaying the Southwest from the limited perspective of a fixed railroad grade and depot hotel court yards. They served to create the makings of a tourist industry that would shift to serving motorists travelling along Route 66.

The Beginnings of Route 66: Early Automobile Roads

The next generation of construction along the 35th Parallel corridor marked the coming of the automobile. Just as the military wagon roads and railroads before it, the automobile road would require a substantial infusion of federal aid before it could become a viable interstate system. Beginning with the Federal Aid Post Road Act of 1916, the federal government began to supply individual states with funding to construct highways. One aspect of the federal government's entry into national road building was the numerical designation of a nationwide federal road system. Various state and local roads were spliced together and assigned a number selected by a committee made up of members of the American Association of State Highway Officials (AASHO). As a result of this effort, put into effect in 1926, a series of discreet roadways in eight different states were united under a

single number to create US 66. Thus began a history that would last officially for fifty-nine years to 1985. Since the last twenty-nine years of that history are largely an account of the eclipse of Route 66 by the Interstate Highway System legislated in 1956, the real story of the road spans a period of only thirty years. That period can further be broken into four sections, the pioneer period dating from 1926 to the recovery programs of the New Deal beginning in 1933, the Depression-era highway improvement projects extending to 1941, the period of neglect during World War II, and the decade following the war in which the highway gained renown as an popular icon of American mobility but also began to show evidences of its eventual demise.

Automobiling in New Mexico has a history that predates the federal highway system and Route 66 by fifteen years. The patterns of road construction, road boosterism and tourism, and the gradual growth of layers of road bureaucracy emerge in the period 1921-1925. Prior to statehood, the territorial government's role in road improvements was modest. In 1903 the Territorial legislature appropriated $5,000 to the penitentiary superintendent who used convict labor to work on selected roads, especially a scenic highway that was never completed between Las Vegas and Santa Fe. By 1908, convict laborers were assigned to work with a crew of Cochiti Indians to rebuild the La Bajada Road, an important link between the Rio Arriba to the north and the Rio Abajo to the south. The $1,000 for the Indian laborers came from the Indian Service, marking a policy in which the federal government assumed the costs for roads on federal lands that would serve to reduce the state's share of road building costs in the decades that followed.

The results of the improvement to the La Bajada road had both local and regional implications. The road was initially constructed by the army in the 1860s. It had a twenty-eight percent grade in some portions (Carter 1980:1). After the needs of the army had ceased, the road remained important for the farmers below the hill who brought their produce to sell in Santa Fe. When the grades were reduced to no more than eight percent following the work, transporting goods became much easier. These improvements also encouraged inter-city automobile travel in New

Mexico. In 1909, Col. D.K.B. Sellers, an Albuquerque car salesman and later the city's mayor, promoted the first auto race from Albuquerque to Santa Fe. The winning time was nine and a half hours over the approximately sixty-mile course. More important, the through road encouraged other promotional efforts. By 1910, Sellers had organized the Ocean-to-Ocean Highway Association with the goal of developing a passable road from Kansas City to Los Angeles (Ripp 1985:B-1)

These efforts involving both public and private groups would characterize many of the decisions about road building prior to 1926. Government road building initiative existed mostly at the county level. A Territorial Good Roads Commission created in 1909 followed by the State Highway Commission after statehood worked with county road commissions to coordinate inter-county roads. Through the 1910s much effort was devoted to centralizing road building decisions. After the infusion of federal money beginning in 1916 required the creation of a State Highway System, the State Highway Engineer became the central figure in determining work priorities on inter-county roads.

James A. French undertook this job in New Mexico. Appointed in 1912, French typified a new class of professional road builders emerging throughout the country just as the popularity of the automobile grew. This group assumed prominent roles in state highway departments and provided the leadership in the federal government's Bureau of Public Roads. In 1914, these professionals formed the AASHO. They worked to improve the nation's standard of roads through such efforts as planning the federal road numbering system in 1925. Most came from civil engineering backgrounds. They developed administrative skills as well as the vision to transform a growing network of state and federal highways. In shaping a national road system that could accommodate the private automobile, as well as trucks and buses, they would help transform the way Americans defined work and leisure. But vision required new road building technologies--technologies capable of evolving with the improvement of the combustion engine machines that would travel over them.

French's early years were devoted to shaping a system that

existed at first on paper and only gradually became realized with the actual building of roads. Characteristic of the rational outlook that his class brought to state highway departments, French emphasized the "scientific" aspects of highway work. While he rarely issued public criticism of the counties' road building efforts, implicit in his message was the need for decisions about roads to be made by those who were "fitted by training or experience for the work at hand" (NMSE Biennial Report 1915-16:28). By 1914, he had succeeded in recommending a network of official state highways. He envisioned a network connecting county seats and other important towns with a series of intercounty highways. The system sought to distinguish between roads of local and of state importance. In so doing, French hoped to maximize his department's limited funds, devoting them to roads that benefitted all of New Mexico (NMSHD Biennial Report 1945-46:9-11; Pratt 1988:197-212).

His recommendation of 1914 designated several state highways. Twelve years later, portions of some of these roads would be connected and assigned the federal number 66. Only in hindsight, however, does this connection become evident, for in 1914 the most important thoroughfare shaping the state's road patterns was NM 1. Extending from the old Santa Fe Trail point of entry at Raton Pass on the Colorado border down through Las Vegas and Santa Fe, the road assumed the approximate alignment of the historic Camino Real as it passed down the Rio Grande Valley to El Paso. On the 1914 map it appears as the principal artery to which all other roads connect. The physical limitations of the Basin and Range Plateau in the northern half of the state precluded any direct east-west roads, leaving what now appears to be a notable void west of Santa Rosa to Moriarty. The most direct east-west road was NM 19 connecting Clovis with Belen. From the central Rio Grande Valley two roads extended west to Arizona, NM 5 from Socorro and NM 6 from above Los Lunas to Gallup. Near the 35th Parallel in the eastern portion of the state, NM 3 arcs from Glenrio southwesterly through Santa Rosa to Las Cruces; and NM 20 passes through Santa Rosa, connecting Roswell and Las Vegas.

The emphasis given to the Camino Real and the relative unim-

portance attached to the east-west corridor is apparent in early state efforts to publicize its roads and in the initial list of roads included in the first Federal Aid Projects. In 1915, the state issued a booklet entitled Through New Mexico on the Camino Real (NMSHC 1915). Using a series of eight strip maps similar to those developed by the Southern California Automobile Club ten years earlier, the booklet offered motorists a 500 mile tour south from Raton to El Paso. It also included a travel essay for the route and photographs depicting the road's scenery and examples of its engineering merits including the road's descent at La Bajada and bridges across the Rio Grande. Notably, east-west roads remain ancillary, mere feeder roads extending away from the Camino Real to the margins of the strip maps.

Much the same emphasis appears in an essay entitled "Development of New Mexico's Highway System" included in the state's promotional booklet distributed at the Panama-Pacific Exposition in San Diego in 1915 (NM Board of Exposition Managers 1915:58-68). Describing El Camino Real as a "great road" that "has been the backbone of all real, practical or tentative highway systems in the State," the essay treated other roads as "east and west shoots from the parent stem." The east-west "shoots" offered were the Panhandle-Pacific route along NM 19 from Willard to Clovis and on to Amarillo and the Ocean-to-Ocean Highway from Socorro to Arizona. Almost as an after-thought, the writer acknowledged "another route westward" that was variously referred to as "the Northern Arizona Route" or the "Grand Canyon Route" or the "western Extension of the Camino Real." He further assured readers that the road now "avoids the difficult sands of the Rio Puerco" with a modern steel span bridge and by following an old right-of-way of the Santa Fe line.

The following year, the federal government began to add its influence to state road building. With the 1916 Federal Aid Road Act, or Shackleford Bill, Congress appropriated $75 million over the next five years to be dispersed among the states. Monies were to be used for the construction of roads to be selected based on a compromise formula including both low cost rural roads in the poorer states and paved thoroughfares in the wealthier states. With it provision to provide ongoing funding over sev-

eral years, the legislation made the federal government an active partner in road construction. Two years later the Office of Public Roads was elevated to bureau status in the Department of Agriculture and became known as the Bureau of Public Roads (BPR).

In 1919, Thomas H. MacDonald was selected to head BPR. Leaving his position as Chief Engineer of the Iowa State Highway Commission, he was much like James A. French, a visionary engineer with a gift for administration and long range planning. The policies that he created on the national level served to shape much of New Mexico's road building patterns. By 1921, MacDonald had streamlined the federal government's role in the distribution of highway aid money so that each state was able to designate seven percent of its certified public road mileage for inclusion in its system of Federal Aid Highways. Referred to as Federal Aid Projects (FAP), these road sections became the major arteries of the state's road system.

Initially, New Mexico received an allowable mileage of 3,808 (NMHD Biennial Report 1945-46:12). The state received additional mileage because of the Federal Reservations such as national forests and tribal lands located in New Mexico. The result was that rather than receiving a fifty percent match for its Federal Aid System, the state's allotment from 1921 through 1941 was about sixty-two percent. While there were limits placed on what a state could spend per mile of road construction as well as road standards that evolved as technologies improved, in general each state was free to spend its share of the federal aid money as it saw fit on constructing, but not maintaining, its roads in the system. New Mexico's concern in the early years of federal aid was the requirement that the state match the federal monies or lose them. In 1922, voters approved a constitutional amendment permitting the state highway department to sell bonds to raise money to meet the match (Pratt 1988:242). A combination of the bonds, mill levies, licensing fees and gasoline taxes comprised the highway department's revenues.

When it made its initial selection of roads for inclusion in the Federal Aid System, the highway department included all of what would initially become US 66 except for the portion east of

Tucumcari to the Texas border. Although research has uncovered no rationale for this decision, most likely the road was seen as less important than the more popular routes running from Amarillo to Clovis and along the CRI&P trunk line from Kansas through Dalhart, Texas into Tucumcari. The first traffic counts conducted by the state highway department in 1923 indicate the relative lack of traffic on roads near Tucumcari (NMHJ 2/24:19). Whereas average traffic over a ten hour period during the six month period from June through November 1923 averaged 419 between Raton and Maxwell, 204 between Las Vegas and Santa Fe, and 90 between Vaughn and Ft. Sumner, all FAS roads, it was only 57 between Montoya and Tucumcari. Not until 1926 would the Tucumcari-Glenrio portion be added to the FAP system.

Inclusion as an FAP was no guarantee that a road would receive immediate construction work. New Mexico, like so many other large western states, found itself at a disadvantage in developing its road system simply because of all the miles between its isolated communities. In an effort to recognize this problem and to compensate for it, the Bureau of Roads developed a "stage construction policy" whereby states were not required to complete a section of road before moving ahead to another section (DOT 1976:113). This policy permitted, for example, an initial grading and draining of a section that could be financed with federal funds, and then returning to the section at a later date, sometimes years later, to improve curve grades, make necessary realignments, and add a final surface. The "stage construction" policy developed by MacDonald offers a striking example of the rational planning measures he brought to the federal road system.

Such a policy made much sense in New Mexico for it enabled engineers to construct at least an earthen grade over the designated routes, and sometimes even benefit from the compaction that traffic provided, before returning to make later improvements. For this reason, many of the FAP contracts initially let in the 1920s along road portions that would become a part of US 66 are listed as reopened (REO) in the 1930s when they were realigned and surfaced. In response to the "stage construction policy," French's successor as State Highway Engineer, W.C. Davidson

developed a hierarchy of road types in New Mexico. Based on the native materials used, they included concrete, crushed stone, gravel, caliche and graded earth (NMHJ 5/28:6-7). Thus, in the first decade of federal involvement, the State Highway Department had developed a method for the systematic improvement of its FAP roads over an extended period.

Also affecting State Highway Department resource decisions were private booster groups. Never having the funding available to the Bureau of Roads and never having the authority vested in state highway departments, these early boosters groups nevertheless played a prominent role in encouraging the development of early roads. Much of their work involved marshaling public support through favorable press reports and lobbying. Ultimately, these good roads groups would form an influential network that reached to automobile and parts manufacturers, Congress, boosters in local communities, and, informally, to state highway departments. Some of these regional groups would promote private high way associations that would encompass portions of what became Route 66. Later, they would be directly involved in the designation of Route 66 and the formation of the Route 66 Association.

The first private efforts to encourage road improvements in New Mexico appeared with the Good Roads Associations at the beginning of the 1910s. Tracing back to similar efforts by the League of American Wheelmen in the 1890s who lobbied for improved roads for bicyclists, groups of automobilists formed in several New Mexico cities by 1910. Focusing their efforts on improving local roads, they often publicized their efforts by arranging motor trips to neighboring cities. The Las Vegas Good Roads Association, for example, encouraged heavyweight boxer Jack Johnson to drive a portion of the Scenic Highway to Santa Fe as a way of publicizing their efforts. On other occasions the group drove several cars to Santa Rosa to demonstrate how their efforts had helped to improve roads (Albuquerque Morning Journal 6/8/12). In November 1910, Albuquerque boosters led by Col. Sellers hosted representatives from the Touring Club of America. After promoting the city's facilities, they accompanied the group as it drove south to Isleta and then departed for Gallup and California (Albuquerque Morning Journal 11/11/10-11/16/10:np).

The clubs of the various cities also held an annual state meeting and sent representatives to national conferences. At the state meetings delegates would share their motoring exploits and push their campaigns for improved roads. The rhetoric of those meetings provides a measure of how local promoters, many of them civic leaders, envisioned the state's potential for economic development through improved roads. At the Fourth Annual Convention in 1915, for instance, a McKinley County representative, Sam Bushman, cited the seventeen hour trip Gallup's four car entourage had made to reach Albuquerque. Admitting that McKinley County was "a little late in awakening to the necessity of good roads," Bushman asserted that except for "sand at places" the road was better than the group had expected (Proceedings of New Mexico Good Roads Association 1915:43) During his address, the Albuquerque representative, John Lee Clark of the Commercial Club told the group that because the city was the geographical, railroad and commercial center of the state it should also be the permanent convention center of the club. Clark's boosterism was a harbinger of the active marketing of Albuquerque as a crossroads city in decades to come.

This convention coincided with the first annual meeting of the State Association of Highway Officials, the group representing the State Highway Department and the various county road commissions. Their meeting together reveals the close relationship between private and public concerns for improving the state's roads. The convention's keynote address by one of the state's leading figures, Ralph E. Twitchell, is also significant as an indicator of the directions the state's road building program would take. First, Twitchell advocated a number of progressive ideals as they related to road building. He urged substitution of political with scientific considerations in the letting of road contracts with a standard procedure for the advertising of contracts and awarding them to the lowest bidder. He advocated the need for uniform road taxes in each county and the need for each county to hire a civil engineer as county highway commissioner. He also endorsed James A. French's efforts to have the state highway engineer coordinate all inter-county road projects. Turning to specific construction projects, Twitchell reemphasized the importance of the Camino Real as the "main

artery of commerce between our urban and farming communities," and stressed the need for continued work between La Bajada and Albuquerque and between Las Vegas and Glorieta. He then told his audience that "if any considerable travel is to be expected.... from Isleta to Gallup and points in Arizona" a bridge over the Rio Puerco was imperative (Proceedings of New Mexico Good Roads Association 1915:12-13).

Similar efforts to promote good roads continued over the next ten years. In 1918, Gallup mayoral candidate Arthur Hannett included as a plank in his platform a promise to pave the city's main streets. Making good on his promise, Hannett then appointed a Gallup Good Roads Committee to publicize the city's paved main street as part of an effort to attract cross-country motorists (Noe 1991:5). In Albuquerque, the Commercial Club had given way to the Chamber of Commerce by 1920, but the promotional efforts remained the same. Throughout the early 1920s, the organization's minutes show a concern with presenting Albuquerque as a good place for motorists to stop. A 1920 resolution called for the Chamber to provide detour signs to help travellers navigate their way through the city and to designate its building as "automobile headquarters" (Chamber of Commerce Minutes 1920:195). A year later the Chamber agreed to give the New Mexico Automobile Club a desk in its lobby in order to "care for" tourists.

At the same time, the organization assumed an advocacy role, pressing the State Highway Department to repair "the main arteries entering the city," which it described as in "most deplorable condition and exceedingly dangerous" and urging the construction of a scenic highway to Santa Fe along the east side of the Sandia Mountains. It also asked the AT&SF to lower its rate on shipping asphalt to the city in hopes of lowering the cost of paving city streets. Finally, the Chamber of Commerce undertook a series of campaigns aimed at advertising the city. In the absence of a fall agricultural fair which had bolstered local business, it contributed to promoting a New Mexico Harvest Festival in 1920, the forerunner to two other events the Chamber would promote over the next twenty years, the short-lived First American Pageant (1928-31) and the restoration of the State Fair (1938). In 1922, it printed 25,000 copies of a booklet treating

the state's tourist attractions "with a special write-up of Albuquerque" (Chamber of Commerce Minutes 1922:254).

Efforts such as these inevitably led to rivalries as communities along two separate roads found themselves competing for the same growing tourist market. In Gallup's case, rivalry arose with Socorro and St. John's, Arizona located along NM 5 and its extension into Arizona. By 1921, Gallup's boosters were staging automobile races from Albuquerque to Holbrook in an effort to show the road through Gallup as the shorter, better route. When the Gallup route proved to be shorter, the local newspaper not only celebrated Gallup's position along the shortest route to California but reminded readers that it offered motorists "the privilege of passing over the most wonderful scenic route in the whole Southwest" instead of the "barren desert road by way of Magdalena, Springerville and St. Johns, a route several hundred miles further" (Gallup Independent 3/3/21). Concerned about the same threat of losing traffic to the east-west route through Clovis and Socorro, the Albuquerque Chamber of Commerce contributed to the erection of "signs at strategic points encouraging tourists to come by way of Albuquerque from the East and West."

Another influence in both the promotion of better roads and inter-city rivalries was the private highway association. This movement was inspired by the efforts of Carl G. Fisher, builder of the Indianapolis Speedway. Fisher envisioned a coast to coast highway system in 1912, and, in the absence of public funding, sought private supporters. By 1913, Fisher and his supporters, many of them influential figures in the nascent auto industry, formed the Lincoln Highway Association. Seeking subscriptions from the public, the group laid out a trans-continental route from New York to San Francisco. With their limited funds, they built small sections, or "seedling miles" of the road themselves, hoping that much like the earlier object lesson demonstration road sections built by the Office of Public Roads local and state governments would fill in the gaps (DOT 1976:83).

While much grander in its scope than many of the regional

highway associations that it inspired, the Lincoln Highway Association provided a model that would spawn over 250 such organizations by 1925. Characteristically each association used the subscriptions it sold, usually to boosters with business interests along a proposed route, to prepare route guidebooks that provided motorists with descriptions of the route, advice, and advertisements for various tourist services along the route. Most groups also developed a trailmarker which displayed the association's logo, often in the form of its initials, and was posted on trees, rocks, telegraph poles, or in some instances, obelisks the association erected at important intersections.

The interstate routes that these associations spliced together were the forerunners of the federal numbering system begun in 1926. While each association boosted a particular route, many did belong to the Associated Highways of America, a group promoting the need for a national highway system. Although their period of importance was less than fifteen years, they pointed the way to the interstate roads that became possible as the federal government assumed a more active role in building the nation's highways.

All portions of the various state roads along the 35th Parallel in New Mexico were included in at least one private highway association. Perhaps the best known was the National Old Trails Highway, a series of roads that approximated several of the nation's best known historic wagon trails. It grew out of an earlier good roads' effort in 1912 to connect the old Cumberland Turnpike to St. Louis with the Boone's Lick Road across Missouri and then to connect those roads with the Santa Fe Trail. The Old Trails Highway emerged as part of a promotional effort to draw motorists to California for the exposition planned in San Diego (Albuquerque Morning Journal 1/4/12:4). Marked by 18x24 inch diamond-shaped markers with blue lettering on a white background, the highway came down the Camino Real and then went west at Isleta to Gallup and the Arizona border. At the same time, another highway promoted as the Santa Fe to Grand Canyon to Needles Highway assumed the same roadway from Santa Fe westward (Pratt 1988:214).

In the eastern portion of the state at least four private highway associations were designated on sections of what would become Route 66. One was the Panhandle-Pacific Highway which entered New Mexico at Nara Visa and then moved southwest through Tucumcari, Santa Rosa and Vaughn. Coinciding with it along the same stretch of road was the Atlantic and Pacific Highway. Entering the state at Glenrio and passing through Tucumcari to Santa Rosa and then north to Las Vegas were sections of two other associations, the Texas-New Mexico Mountain Highway (with its blaze the initials NMTMH) and the western branch of the Ozark Trails Highway (with its blaze the initials OT), later known as the Postal Highway. Given the signs that each association provided, one can imagine the confusion that motorists must have felt in the late 1910s as they made their way from Tucumcari to Santa Rosa trying to sort out the four different private highway signs. While four separate highway markers do not compare with the eight different highway markers cited as the most excessive example of their proliferation, they do underscore a major reason for the urgency state highway officials felt when they met in 1925 to plan the federal numbering system (DOT 1976:109).

A brief look at two private highway association guidebooks conveys a clear sense of what Route 66 was like in the decade prior to its designation. The NMTNH extended from Amarillo to Las Vegas with an extension to Taos. Its president was Robert Taupert, an active Las Vegas booster who had promoted the Jack Johnson-Jim Flynn heavyweight title fight in Las Vegas in 1912. The 1917 guidebook appeared in the form of a 4x11 inch thirty-three page booklet. It contained a three page essay prepared by the State Land Office proclaiming New Mexico "The New Mountain Mecca of American Motor Tourists and Playground of the Southwest" (NMTMH Log Book 1917:3). Also included were advertisements for tourist facilities and other businesses located in the towns along the road. Ads for San Jon, for example, were placed by the San Jon Garage and Transfer Co. ("We don't wish you any hard luck, but in case you have it--call us), the Ozark Hotel ("A convenient drive for your night stop from either Amarillo or Las Vegas.") and C.L. Owen and Co. General Merchandise, offering cold drinks, gas, oils and tires.

Most important for the motorist was the actual road log offering mile by mile descriptions of the road's movement across the landscape and instructions for following it. The extent of the details reveal how confusing cross-country travel was in 1917. The portion from Glenrio to San Jon reads as follows:

72.0 GLENRIO, store, hotel, garage, phone, water; go south to
72.4 Turn right and head toward railroad.
73.5 Turn left.
74.5 Bridge, follow railroad on right.
76.4 Avoid left.
76.9 ENDEE, phone, water, stores, postoffice, turn right with phone lines to
78.3 Lane.
79.2 Long bridge.
79.6 WATER, good spring on left.
80.2 Avoid left, cross railroad and turn left.
80.4 Bridge.
80.6 Turn right to lane.
83.2 Avoid right, straight ahead lane.
85.0 Avoid left.
85.2 Avoid right, straight ahead with Bard City station on left.
86.2 Avoid left, straight ahead with lane and phone line.
89.2 Turn left with phone line.
89.7 Turn right and straight ahead to
90.6 SAN JON, phone, water, postoffice, stores;

The log for these eighteen miles of the road contains five turn instructions and identifies at least fourteen landscape features the motorist needed to note to assure himself that he was on the designated road. Notably, it also identifies four sources of water as well as three communities offering tourist services. These details suggest how much the element of adventure was a part of early regional motoring. The main road was often indistinguishable from other traces. Unpredictable automobiles might require repairs or water every few miles. For an Easterner venturing into an area that had achieved statehood only

five years earlier, these minute instructions were more reassuring than tedious. Seen from another perspective, however, the details suggest how important it was for early motorists to experience all of their surroundings. Only by observing them carefully could they successfully navigate through this new landscape. Rather than the sameness motorists perceive with contemporary high-speed travel, early motorists had to recognize the differences on the land.

In contrast, the Ozark Trails Route Book published two years later contains far fewer directions and details about the road but offers more information about the communities along the road. Extending from St. Louis to Las Vegas, New Mexico, the OT had many branches, each offering, as the book notes, a different travel experience. Included in the entry for San Jon on its western branch is the brief note "You are now in the land of the COWBOY. Welcome Ozark Trailers" (OT Route Book 1919:36). On the opposite page is a full page ad for the Fourth Annual Tucumcari Cowboys Round-up. The only direction the guidebook offers the motorist is to note the OT monument pointing the way to Tucumcari's Main Street. While it is doubtful that the road had improved enough in two years to explain the complete elimination of directions found in the 1917 guidebook, one might assume that Ozark Trail travellers had gained two years of travel experience and were able to read the now more-used main road. More advertising signs for local businesses and more evidence of the main-travelled road left by two years' worth of motorists probably made its course more obvious.

A striking feature of this route book is that it acknowledges that "National Highways are coming" and that the OT Association is "organized to promote legislation" for them (OT Route Book 1919:3). Assertions such as these suggest that rather than seeing themselves as permanent organizations, many of the good roads associations saw their role as a temporary promotional role that would diminish as the federal government assumed the leadership in road improvements that they expected it to. No doubt these association boosters also envisioned that with the federal government assuming a more active role in developing a national highway system their businesses along the

roadside would also increase.

An alternative to the primarily promotional booklets of the individual private highway associations was the annual publication of the Automobile Blue Book, a Chicago-based guidebook. Using its own road inspectors, the company had devised a unique numbering system for all of the road portions included in its guidebook. While the books did included a few advertisements for tourist services, the ads were noticeably fewer than in the private associations' books. It also offered brief descriptions of the larger communities along the routes. Road entries in the guidebook briefly described road conditions for each section and offered limited directions to the motorist. Route 474, for instance, extended from Amarillo to Vaughn, a length of 224 miles. On the eve of the federal highway numbering system, the 25th Anniversary issue described the road as "Pavement, gravel and dirt, some which is poor" (Automobile Blue Book 1926: 454). In contrast to the NMTNH log issued nine years earlier with its nineteen mileage point entries, the blue book offered six entries from Glenrio to San Jon:

71.3 Glenrio, N.M.; end of road at sta.
Left across RR.
71.7 Right-hand road at gate; right.
76.3 ENDEE, right-hand road at store. Right.
88.5 End of road; left.
89.0 Right-hand road; right.
89.9 SAN JON, at P.O. Keep ahead.

The contrasting approaches that the three guidebooks took to presenting the same eighteen miles of road in Quay County illustrate the chaotic inter-city travel of the American West prior to the development of the federal highway system. The enormity of developing a rational system of modern, well-maintained roadways would require decades. Even then road planning would usually find itself trying to catch up to the improvements and new capabilities of automobiles as well as larger and heavier buses and trucks.

The efforts of Congress and the BPR to involve the federal government in long term planning of a national road system beginning in 1916 is evidence that national leaders already understood that the early automobile was not simply a rich person's toy but the mode of private transportation that would reshape much of American society. Henry Ford's introduction of the Model T in 1912, a $650 car built for everyman, was evidence enough of that trend. As the number of vehicles registered in the nation burgeoned from 187,000 in 1910 to 2,227,000 in 1920 and 4,265,000 in 1925, a second-hand market also emerged (Rae 1965:238). Also, World War I demonstrated the inadequacies of the nation's roads for the rapid movement of troops and materiel. This wartime scare also contributed to the national resolve to improve the roads. It resulted in the drawing of the Pershing map of 1922, the first blueprint for a national highway system. All of these factors, along with the pressure of the various good roads associations and the pressure of the AASHO, prompted the Secretary of Agriculture in 1925 to appoint a committee of federal and state highway officials to develop a uniform method of numbering and marking a national highway system.

US 66: The Pioneer Years: 1926-1932

By the fall of 1925, the committee had developed a numbering system for 96,626 miles of the nation's roads. At the heart of the system was a grid in which principal north-south roads would end in "1" or"5" and principal east-west roads would end in "0." The result would be twenty base longitudinal roads and ten base latitudinal roads. US 1 would line the East Coast; US 101 the West Coast. US 2 (to avoid a confusing "0") would parallel the Canadian border; US 90 the Mexican border. Lesser roads would be assigned numbers in between based on their location. While everyone agreed that Chicago and the American heartland needed a direct connection with Los Angeles, the problem arose as to which number it should receive. It wouldn't be an entirely north-south road, nor would it be an entirely east-west road. The great arc which the promoters of Route 66 would extol didn't fit neatly into the grid. The debate as to how to resolve the issue was one of the most complex and time-consuming of the board's entire

work.

The parties and issues involved are amply treated in a history of the highway's origins (Scott and Kelly 1988). Essentially, the conflict arose in Missouri where the road arcs north. Kentucky and Virginia, to the east, insisted that US 60 be directed eastward consistent with the grid plan. Oklahoma, led by its highway commissioner Cyrus Avery, and Missouri wanted US 60 to extend north to Chicago. While the dispute was centered in the Midwest, it also affected the entirety of the proposed route. While the debate continued with telegrams, letters and visits exchanged between the state officials and the BPR, the preparation of annual highway maps moved ahead as usual. As a result, between December, 1925 and August, 1926, the road that would become US 66 was designated as US 60; what would become US 60 was designated as US 70. Based on this assumption, some commercial maps, including the 1926 edition of the Rand McNally Auto Road Atlas, depicted US 60 passing through Tucumcari, Santa Rosa, Santa Fe, Albuquerque, Los Lunas and then on to Gallup.

By August, 1926 the disputing parties had found a solution. US 60 would pass through Kentucky to Newport News, Virginia, connecting the East Coast with Riverside, California--just as the east-west base roads were intended to do. And the Chicago to Los Angeles road would become US 66. When the BPR finally published its map of the new federal route system, the great arc of Route 66 was evident. As it straightened along its western two-thirds, it followed a course along the 35th Parallel, gradually dropping south across western Arizona and California to Los Angeles on the 34th Parallel. The only notable aberration for this pattern was the erratic line it made in New Mexico where it shot northward then southward before stabilizing on its direct path. While this deviation was never the topic of interstate debate in the initial routing of the road, it would prove to be a lingering issue in New Mexico.

The effects of federal designation in New Mexico were multiple. Some would manifest themselves quickly; others, like the straightening issue, would unfold over the next decade. One obvious consequence of the new designation was the standardiza-

tion of road signs. The white United States shield outlined and lettered in black appeared along the road as did the array of diamond, octagonal, circular and square warning signs. Where federal highways overlapped, the primary route appeared above the other, so that between Romeroville and Los Lunas US 85, the Camino Real was placed above US 66. At the same time, the now outdated private highway association signs were gradually removed either by the associations themselves or by the highway department and souvenir hunters. In 1926 New Mexico also decided on a symbol designating state road markers. The next year the Zia sun that already appeared on the state flag began to appear along the roadside and on state license plates (NMHJ 3/27:12).

Road construction and maintenance took longer to change. The Blue Book's description of the routes comprising Route 66 presents a picture similar to the state's highway maintenance patrol reports filed throughout the mid-1920s. As already noted, the section from Glenrio to Santa Rosa was listed as "pavement [probably in Amarillo, the eastern end of the section], gravel and dirt, some which is poor." The Santa Rosa to Romeroville portion was described as "Gravel, sandy dirt and stone. Some stretches of unimproved prairie roads which are apt to be poor after long dry spells or during rain"; and the Romeroville to Santa Fe section as "Gravel with some dirt." The section from Santa Fe to Albuquerque was listed as "Pavement, gravel and dirt," as was the section from Albuquerque to Gallup (Automobile Blue Book 1926:470, 484, 108, 109, 129). The references to pavement pertain to portions of the road in Gallup, Santa Fe, and Albuquerque where the pavement extended north to Bernalillo.

The State Highway Engineer's report of 1927 offers a more quantitative sense of Route 66 at its inception. With the inclusion of the Tucumcari to Glenrio portion of the road in 1925, the entire length of Route 66 in the state, 506 miles, was included in the FAP system. Of those miles, twenty-eight were concrete and seven were scheduled to receive a concrete surface. 232 had received a gravel or rock surface with thirty-four more scheduled to receive it. Finally, 205 were listed as unimproved to FAP Standard (NMHJ 11/27:15). Based on the standards adopted by the

BPR in 1924, forty percent of Route 66 implicitly lacked one or more of several elements. Road standards required a width of eighteen feet or more with adequate pull-offs, reduced road crowns (a problem created as a result of grading in which the aggregate was pushed toward the crown and then compacted by traffic), and widened, elevated curves based on what engineers referred to as "assumed design speed," and grades of no more than 6%. They also required that bridges be at least twenty-two feet wide, that the road provide a sight distance of three hundred feet and that grade crossings, then the source of ten percent of highway fatalities, be eliminated (US DOT 1976:128).

Clearly the "stage construction policy" endorsed by the BPR applies to New Mexico's completion of Route 66. Rather than setting the impossible goal of rushing to complete a single highway at the cost of ignoring sections of other roads that needed basic improvement, the state would make modest improvements on as many miles of substandard road as its funds permitted. An analysis of State Highway Department records of FAP completions along Route 66 places the "stage construction policy" within the context of the highway's pioneer years. Beginning with the first FAP let along those portions of road that would become Route 66, approximately 483 miles of road were constructed between 1920 and 1934. (The other twenty-three miles include miles of the road on federal lands such as the Pecos National Forest near Glorieta and Indian reservations in which the federal government paid one hundred percent of the costs.) The total costs for all of these first stage projects were approximately six million dollars. Prior to 1933 when the large influx of federal relief monies accelerated road building, approximately 195 miles of the total mileage were actually brought to a final paved stage.

Typically, FAP contracts were let to private contractors through a bidding process. Contracts varied in size and scope. The smallest was FAP 88-C let in 1928, costing thirteen thousand dollars for .1 mile of bridge construction across the Rio Santa Fe at the foot of La Bajada Hill. The largest was FAP 127 let in 1930-32 and costing $450 thousand for 41.5 miles of grading and surfacing from Tucumcari to Glenrio. At least 36 FAPs were let along Route 66 with some broken into two or more separate con-

tracts differentiated by letters following the FAP number. Using "stage construction" many FAPs were reopened (REO) in the 1930s as the state sought to upgrade road sections from gravel to pavement.

During this pioneer period of Route 66, much of the work done along the road reflects the state's efforts to bring a more scientific approach to road building given the financial constraints it faced as a poor state. The technology of the period was one marked by transition. Machinery was available in the form of surplus World War I trucks that the federal government had given to state highway departments, and contracting companies were gradually beginning to supplement their horse and mule teams with mechanized vehicles. Maintenance and construction reports list most crews as using both. Emphasis lay on efficiency so that road alignment decisions were often based on the availability of nearby aggregates for building the road grade. Engineers would generally try to obtain fill from borrow pits located within the usually 120 feet-wide right-or-way, using cut and fill procedures. In those instances much of the material could be handled by wheelbarrows and fresnos, heavy horse-drawn scrapers. Sometimes, however, it was necessary to dig the borrow pits on private land, paying royalties to the owners, and to haul the material using teams of horses and wagons (NMHJ April, 1926:1).

Another state effort to stretch its road building budget appeared in its efforts to develop an asphalt-like mat called an oil mix. Although a single oil coating had already been tried on the road between Canoncito and Pecos, the practice of mixing oil with the aggregate to form a windrow and then spreading it with a grader was new (NMHJ Feb. 1927:13). First tested on the portion of Route 66 extending from Isleta to Los Lunas and west to Rio Puerco, the oil-mix surface was designed to provide a low cost means of saving roads that were experiencing excessive use. With the designation of Route 66, use of the road rose. The number of vehicles traveling between Albuquerque and Gallup at a point west of Los Lunas climbed from 486 per day during September, 1926 to 676 during October, 1928 (NMHJ Oct. 1926:13; Dec. 1928:17). Research had shown engineers that road use higher than 500 vehicles per day, not to mention fifteen-ton trucks,

destroyed rock and gravel roads and contributed to a hopeless dust problem. This loss through deterioration, estimated at $1,000 per mile annually, encouraged engineers to look for a low cost alternative. The oil-mix road cost an additional $1,600 per mile, enabling the department to recoup its investment in less than two years (NMHJ July 1928:8).

Similarly, Route 66 was also the site of several bridge-building projects using creosote timber bridges that proved more economical than the previously popular untreated timber bridges. Noting that the earlier bridges often rotted within ten years and that maintenance was constant, particularly with the stress placed on piles, trestles, and abutments, engineers argued that creosote-treated timber would give bridges a forty year life, similar to that of railroad bridges. These structures were less expensive to construct. They were also more suited to smaller stream and arroyo crossings than steel-spanned bridges such as the Parker through truss bridge built in 1921 across the Pecos River at San Jose del Bado. A striking feature of these creosote-treated timber bridges was their laminated or strip decks that replaced the earlier use of planks. The new design eliminated much of the springing that had occurred with planks under the weight of heavy trucks. Another feature was the use of a woven wire guard fence with steel angle rails. Several creosote-treated timber bridges in eastern Quay County and the one across the Rio Santa Fe at La Bajada stand as reminders of bridge construction during the pioneer period of the highway.

Mrs. Norma Myers recalls the pioneer period of road construction (Norma Myers 1992). Her father, Edgar F. Whitlock, was a road contractor who worked on sections of Route 66 in Quay and Guadalupe Counties between 1926 and 1931. During that time Mrs. Myers lived in temporary roadside camps as her father's crew constructed road sections. The Whitlock crew consisted of about fifty workers, many of them World War I veterans. Mrs. Myers recalls that there were few turnovers because "Daddy took care of his crew." Some had wives, but none other than Whitlock had children with them. Most workers brought their own wagons and tents. The company equipment consisted of six teams of horses with four horses per team, a portable cook shack, various wagons

including a water wagon, and road implements such as fresnos, wheelbarrows, four=man roller=compressors, hand tools and other materials that might be needed to build culverts and small timber bridges.

Upon receiving a contract, Mr. Whitlock would pack his family and their belongings into a Chevrolet touring car and drive to the work site where he set up a camp. Preferably he sought sites near water tanks along the railroad tracks where he used the water for his wagon and for the crew's cleaning needs. The camp cook prepared meals for the crew, and a stable hand cared for the horses and mules, grazing them on nearby grasses when possible. Mrs. Myers recalls that her father always kept a goat with the team animals, believing that its presence kept them healthy. The crew worked from daybreak to sunset, taking time for a large noon meal. Evenings were considered private time with the men taking baths in their large tin tubs. During the day the children and their mother remained near the tent. When the crew was working on Route 66 there were few cars. Noting the irony of a construction crew using largely horse and manpower to prepare a road for automobiles, Mrs. Myers notes that motorists were friendly, often waving to her and her sisters as they passed. At night, many of the tourists would "camp along the roadside under trees, if there were any" but remain apart from the Whitlock crew.

Mrs. Myers' recollection of tourists along Route 66 introduces a dimension of the road's history that has perhaps contributed more to the fame of this particular highway than any other factor. While the matter of the construction of the road explains its physical evolution, it is the history of its use and the roadside businesses catering to its users that has shaped the stories and created the myths surrounding Route 66. During the pioneering period, Americans were taking to the highway in increasing numbers. As the number of cars grew, more and more Americans began to travel West. What Mrs. Myers saw as a child from the side of Route 66, state traffic counts and local business people were also beginning to realize==automobile tourism represented a golden opportunity for New Mexico.

State traffic surveys done between 1926 and 1932 show that New Mexico had the second highest rate of out-of-state, or "foreign," vehicles in the West with annual averages around 37%, just slightly lower than Arizona's (NMHJ various issues 1926-1932). Counts at Endee and at Thoreau and Gallup show that "foreign" plates on Route 66, however, ranged from between 53% and 79% during this period with the South Central states and California supplying over 65% of the traffic.

In 1932, state highway analysts developed a classification system based on road use. The road portions receiving the greatest use, the Class "A" and "B" roads, included Route 66 from Bernalillo to Los Lunas, the sections of US 60 near Clovis and US 80 near Las Cruces. The highest concentration of "foreign" cars was on the southern route, US 80 (NMHJ May 1932: 22-24). Route 66 would never rank as the most used FAP road in the state, but would always rank as a heavy-use road with one of the state's highest percentages of "foreign" cars.

The lengthy breakdown of traffic statistics suggests that the "scientific" approach to highway management extended well beyond simply building roads better. By 1927 the state had raised its gasoline tax to five cents per gallon. Needing a source of revenue to match the FAP grants, legislators reasoned that a higher gasoline tax would force out-of-state motorists to bear a much greater portion of the state's tax burden than were they to raise the cost of vehicle licenses. In addition to relishing the idea of non-residents helping to build and maintain the state's roads, planners and boosters were also becoming more aware of the impact of tourist dollars in the state's economy. Using a formula based on the average number of occupants per car and the average money each person spent, State Highway Department planners estimated that in 1927 710,000 motorists visited the state, spending over $16 million (NMHJ November 1927:11).

Planners also recognized that in order to realize these rosy figures, much promotional work remained. The survey revealed that almost two-thirds of these "foreign" motorists were "interested largely in crossing the state in the shortest

possible time and by the shortest and best route attainable." It was those just passing through, the writer concluded, that "all public spirited agencies in the state should endeavor to interest." Attracting them would result in "splendid advertising coming from a wider knowledge of New Mexico and her marvelous resources." As if to reinforce the link between tourist attractions and good roads, the same article expressed hope that those motorists who had "traversed the inundated Bluewater flats in August and September" of 1927 would learn that the state had awarded a contract to improve that section of Route 66 and that come next year's rainy season motorists might "travel high and dry above the flooded country"(NMHJ November, 1927:12).

As growth in automobile tourism prompted the emergence of roadside businesses aimed at tourists. During these pioneer years of Route 66, several types of businesses altered their traditional forms to meet the new demands imposed by the cross-country motorist. Among them were livery stables, trading posts and mercantile companies, restaurants and hotels. During the 1920s these businesses with their roots in the wagon and railroad era of the late nineteenth century gradually began to transform, bringing with them new occupations, an altered roadside environment, and a new vocabulary for naming the new experiences associated with automobile travel.

Livery stables and stores that had begun to sell gasoline and do repair work on cars began to give way to specialized service stations and garages. As refining companies began to create networks of gasoline station outlets, pumps were relocated away from the roadside to permit easier access to the stations and to service bays. Canopies and restrooms began to appear as amenities for motorists became a part of marketing campaigns in which the gasoline companies gave away maps showing not only roads but the locations of their stations along those roads. As their numbers increased, these garages and service stations began to spread away from the center of the towns, becoming an important ingredient in the emerging automobile commercial strip.

In rural areas, more stores and trading posts appeared along the side of the road. Some, like the Domingo Trading Post,

already catered to local customers as well as to railroad travellers stopping to visit nearby Santo Domingo Pueblo and simply added motorists to their clientele. Others, such as Homer Jones' Thoreau Trading Post, opened to take advantage of the growing stream of cars passing along the highway. For Jones, who had come to Thoreau as a bookkeeper for the sawmill, the road created a new occupation, that of a "tourist trader" who drew his income largely by selling rugs, silver, skins and pinon nuts obtained from nearby Navajos to passing tourists (Heggem 1992). Many of these rural stores would continue to sell gasoline at the roadside where their porches faced directly on the road.

It also became apparent that the hotels located near the railroad depots were inadequate for motorists. The problems of parking a car for the night, the desire of many motorists to cut costs by camping, and the generally more informal and private lifestyle associated with motoring made hotels less appealing. In the 1920s, private campgrounds proliferated along Route 66. While some motorists were content to camp along the side of the road similar to those Mrs. Myers saw as a young girl, others wanted the security of a designated area that offered running water for bathing and cooking. Gradually, instead of merely providing a space for a tent and a washroom, the design of many of these campgrounds evolved as they began to furnish small rooms and then adjoining garages. In the process, the terms used to designate them also evolved from "camping ground" to "campground" to "tourist court." While a few campgrounds appeared in rural areas, such as the popular Arrowhead Campground near Canoncito or the Red Arrow Campground at Thoreau, most were located along the highway near the cities. In Albuquerque, for instance, one "camping ground," the Open Air Hotel, was listed in the 1922 city directory; by 1930, fifteen "tourist camps," all located along the Routes 85 and 66 alignment, were listed.

While most of these pioneer-era tourist camps have disappeared, portions of some of them remain in Santa Rosa, La Bajada, Bernalillo, and Albuquerque. Illustrative of these early camps was the one operated by Herb and Mary Walden at the foot of La Bajada Hill. In 1925 Walden, a mechanic, opened a service station and built a few small tourist cabins where he also sold

"tourist supplies." His wife had grown up in the village, and the bottom of the hill with its treacherous hairpin curves had always been a stage stop. Using his Dodge truck, Walden made a good living rescuing overheated cars and hauling passengers up the hill when their Pickwick buses had overheated. While advertisements painted on the faces of the rocks lining the steep ascent advertised camps in Santa Fe and Albuquerque, the breathtaking hill left the Waldens with enough faint-hearted tourists anxious to pull off the road at the foot of the climb. As improvements came to the state's highways, La Bajada Hill was realigned in 1932 with the new road moved three miles to the east to the alignment now used by Interstate-25. Recalls Mrs. Walden, "My husband was lost after the road went away. He was a mechanic and he had to become a farmer. He could never understand it. We needed that road" (Ripp 1988:B-1).

Many of the businesses along Route 66 also benefitted from the growth of tourism spurred by the promotional efforts of the community organizations and the Route 66 Association. Since 1922 businessmen in Gallup had promoted the Inter-tribal Indian Ceremonial, an event occurring late each summer. Meant to bring together diverse tribes and their ceremonies and cultures, the event was envisioned as a magnet that would draw tourists to the community. Over time it would become one of the events defining the tourist experience along Route 66 in New Mexico, receiving support and official designation from the state. So successful was it in promoting Gallup that Albuquerque boosters initiated the short-lived First American Pageant to create a similar tourist attraction. The revival of the State Fair that followed the demise of the pageant represents a more successful promotional effort inspired, in part, by the Ceremonial.

The Albuquerque Chamber of Commerce also began to emerge as a leading booster of Route 66 as leaders began to see the possibilities of promoting the city to motorists. When the highway was first designated, the city was along the route, but not in a strategic position to attract tourists. Both Santa Fe and Las Vegas, just a few miles up the Camino Real from where Route 66 joined it, were more closely positioned to the scenic northern part of the state. Albuquerque was simply a stopping place along

the north-south corridor, a place between the "City Different," as Santa Fe already called itself, and the wonders of "The Heart of Indian Country," as Gallup billed itself. Although early promoters referred to the city as a crossroads, it wasn't until the late 1920s that boosters, led by the Chamber, actively began to transform it into a true crossroads.

In fact, it may be that its campaign to bring about the straightening of Route 66 was a key lesson in developing the promotional skills that would lead to much of the city's growth and prosperity beginning in the mid-1930s. Obviously the 1926 alignment of Route 66 was one based on the pragmatic use of existing roads. Logic called for a straight route along the 35th Parallel. When Arthur T. Hannett, the former mayor of Gallup, became the Democratic governor in 1924, he recognized that logic. After losing his re-election bid to Republican Richard C. Dillon in the fall of 1925, Hannett decided to act upon that logic--as well as to exact a certain revenge for his loss--by issuing a midnight order to the highway department to cut a grade from Santa Rosa to Moriarty. Although a 1925 state law created such a road, Hannett undertook his actions against the protests of the largely Republican businessmen located in the small towns along US 60 and their leader, US Senator Holm Bursum from Socorro. The new route threatened their businesses, offering a potentially short, straight route for US 66. Then Albuquerque, not Santa Fe or Socorro, would become the principal crossroads city in central New Mexico.

Hannett's efforts, however, didn't begin to gain momentum until 1931 when the Santa Rosa cut-off, as it was called, and then, in 1933, the Laguna cut-off from Albuquerque directly west to Laguna were finally included as FAPs. Some, including Hannett and E. B. Bails, an engineer for the highway department at the time, argued that a combination of the resistance of boosters in Santa Fe and the small towns along US 60 and the "somnambulistic" behavior of Albuquerque's business community explain the delay (Hannett 1964:163, 277). Certainly, the efforts of Bursum and Governor Dillon, who upon assuming office promptly created a Maintenance School for the highway department and located it in his hometown of Encino, contributed to the stalling. So may have

the Depression which within three years would also limit the construction of new roads.

The validity of Hannett's assertion about Albuquerque's lack of initiative remains more problematic. Some Chamber of Commerce minutes are missing from the late 1920s, and it is not until 1929 that a consistent record of the Chamber's actions is available. These records show an active effort to lobby the State Highway Commission, urging completion of both cut-offs (Chamber of Commerce 1929:434). Over the next few years, efforts to coordinate the promotion of roads and tourism become more evident in the annual reports of the organization's committees. The Tourism Committee cited its efforts to keep tourists "within the State for longer periods" by providing more advertising brochures. Meanwhile the Roads Committee cited its policy of cooperating with state and federal agencies rather than launching its own initiatives and pointed to the inclusion of the Santa Rosa cut-off within the FAP system as a result of its efforts (Chamber of Commerce 1932:np). Moreover, during the late 1920s, Clyde Tingley, who in his capacity as chairman of the City Council was the city's nominal mayor, was also a maintenance supervisor for Highway District 3 which included the cutoff and lobbied for their completion.

Contributing to the efforts of these civic booster organizations was the Route 66 Association. From the moment the agreement was reached in November, 1926 to designate the road as Route 66, its promoters were actively engaged in promoting it. Leadership came from Cyrus Avery, the Oklahoma highway commissioner who had negotiated the designation of Route 66 and another Ozark Trail Association activist, John T. Woodruff. By February, 1927, they had convened delegates from five of the road's eight states in Tulsa and formed a group whose goals were to work for swift completion of paving the entire highway and publicizing it to increase its use (Scott and Kelly 1988:23). To give the road more appeal, the group designated it "The Main Street of America," a sobriquet appearing on guidebooks, maps, and postcards over the next fifty years.

During 1927, the fledgling group also held meetings in

Springfield, Missouri, Amarillo and Albuquerque in order to share their aspirations for the highway with local boosters. With the leadership travelling along Route 66 in a Pickwick bus "fitted up like a Pullman sleeper," they descended on each community, drumming up the support of the community as well as subscriptions from local businessmen (Tucumcari News Oct. 13, 1927:1). The visit to Albuquerque was marked by the distribution of a copy of a travel magazine, Nation's Highways, with a feature article on Albuquerque. Seeking to show the Route 66 Association that it deserved the attention it was receiving, the city prodded the state to open the Sandia Crest highway ten days early so that the visitors could see Albuquerque's "great attraction for tourists" (Albuquerque Journal Oct. 10, 1927:5). The same editorial praised the association for working "energetically to make this route from St. Louis to the coast one of the best," noting that "realization of their dream is now in sight with the route either paved or permanently surfaced for the entire distance."

Although this optimism about the quality of the road would prove premature, it did contribute to the upbeat promotional tone encouraged by Avery and his association. Plans were discussed to develop a Transcontinental Airlines route aligned with the high way, and Avery also spoke of the association's plans to support the Great Transcontinental Footrace proposed by promoter C.C. Pyle. Avery hoped that race would generate publicity for the highway and also show the nation that more money was required to improve its roads. The following spring Pyle's "bunion derby" did take place as 275 runners set out from Los Angeles for New York. They did, in fact, follow Route 66, but bypassed towns that refused to supply funds. The race passed through New Mexico in April, 1928. Since Albuquerque had chosen not to contribute to the race, the entourage bypassed the city, and then, as if in anticipation of the realigned road cut up through Tijeras Canyon and into Moriarty where children were dismissed from school to watch the runners go by (Davis 1992).

Such optimism and ballyhoo tended to obscure some of the issues that surrounded Route 66 in New Mexico during its pioneer years. The ongoing debate concerning the cut-offs did arise at the Albuquerque meeting. J.D. DeHuff, secretary of the Santa Fe

Chamber of Commerce, dismissed talk of the Santa Rosa cutoff not ing "Santa Fe has the things the travellers want to see" (Albuquerque Journal Oct. 11, 1927:1). Within four years the Route 66 Association would state its support of the cut-off, but in 1927 there is no evidence of its position on this most important debate within New Mexico.

Of concern for smaller communities along Route 66 without a strong tourist base was not so much the matter of finding the resources to construct a new alignment for this cross-country highway as it was finding the resources to improve local roads. Road-related articles in the Tucumcari News illustrate this underlying concern. Most articles celebrated the designation of Route 66 and noted its potential for the town's future growth. They noted the trips boosters made to Route 66 Association meetings and recorded the first campground located south of town on Route 66 (Tucumcari News Aug. 25, 1927:3). Appeals to people's civic spirit to become more involved in highway promotion appeared frequently, and the paper noted with great satisfaction when Tucumcari successfully hosted a Route 66 Association convention in 1930, using the Princess Theater for the meeting and a Phillips 66 truck to broadcast the events to the townspeople (Tucumcari News May 24, 1930:1).

Tucked in between these notices celebrating the highway, how ever, were editorials questioning the commitment of the state's sparse road construction resources to inter-regional highways when local roads also required work. One editorial conceded that "cross-state highways are good for the garages, for the hotels" but feared that they would weaken the other businesses contributing to the vitality of Tucumcari (Tucumcari News Dec. 30,1926:8). Another editorial taken from a letter by S. Omar Barker, a longtime northern New Mexican writer lamented spending "millions" for highways "largely to take care of tourists" but ignoring county roads "used by old settlers with their flivvers" (Tucumcari News Aug. 8, 1929:8). Both editorials identify key economic tensions. Their resolutions would have great bearing on the futures of small towns along Route 66. As patterns of development were altered by the new highway and the growth of roadside services, there was the promise of economic boom--a

promise that the growth and popularity of the road over the next thirty years would fulfill. Yet even with the promise of a roadside prosperity, an uneasiness existed over whether the roadway might ultimately undermine small towns' economic independence.

US 66: The Depression Years: 1932-1941

Concerns about the potential harmful effects of Route 66 on local economies quickly subsided as the nation's economy tumbled into a prolonged depression. For the towns lying along Route 66, the highway became a lifeline in a deflated, cash-scarce economy. The story of Route 66 in New Mexico during the Depression is one of paradox. On one hand, the period was one of economic hardship, unemployment, and social displacement. This was especially true for the hundreds of thousands of tenant and homestead farmers from the Southern Plains, victims of prolonged drought and agricultural change. The westward exodus brought on by these events resulted in a migrant stream flowing across Route 66. The experiences of that migration were forever fixed in the American mind by Dorthea Lange's images in An American Exodus and by John Steinbeck's words in The Grapes of Wrath.

On the other hand, the government's response to the Depression created a period marked by massive public spending in which federally-funded projects were designed to revive the nation's economy. Road building, in particular, was seen as a way to put men back to work, and emergency funding far in excess of the funding for the FAPs of the 1920s resulted in highway improvements throughout New Mexico. Projects funded by CCC and WPA monies were also used to create jobs in towns along the highway. Some of these projects resulted in the creation of roadside municipal attractions, such as parks with lakes and swimming pools, which benefitted not only townspeople but tourists. Town promoters used these new public facilities to induce tourists to spend a night in the town. This priming of the pump led to the creation of jobs along the road where the number of tourist courts, garages, stores, and cafes serving travellers

as well as road workers proliferated. As road building and roadside businesses grew, so did associated bureaucracies such as bureaus within the State Highway Department, the State Police, and promotional associations.

The paradox was also evident in the people travelling the highway. As the nation's economy worsened, Route 66 became a corridor for the displaced. Along with US 80 across southern New Mexico, it became the major route of exodus for those fleeing the failing agricultural economy of the Southern Plains. In 1934, natural disaster followed on the heels of economic disaster as the great dust storms blew millions of tons of topsoil off the same land. These storms uprooted even more people, forcing them to flee the land. At the same time, a segment of the American population kept its jobs and took vacations, giving rise in the mid-1930s to a boom in tourism along Route 66. Likewise, cross-country trucking became more important as railroads discontinued many of their lines. No matter what group people fit into, when they set out on the road they required services. For many New Mexicans, it was the increased movement across Route 66 that enabled them to remain where they were by opening businesses to meet the needs of the tourists and the displaced along the highway.

Although the stock market crash had occurred in 1929 and the Hoover administration had already begun to use increased highway appropriation as a way of trying to stimulate the economy, it wasn't until the Roosevelt administration began to implement its "New Deal" that highway construction began to boom. With federal monies increased for the fiscal years 1931-33 and with supplemental emergency loans made to states so that they would have the funds to match their federal shares, some of the worst areas of Route 66 were improved during the Hoover years. In 1928 the road was realigned in eastern Quay County, eliminating two grade crossings between Glenrio and Endee. Similarly, in 1932, the section between Santa Fe and Algodones was paved and La Bajada straightened with the old road turned back to Santa Fe County for maintenance. The State Highway Commission also began a policy of requiring roadside businesses to obtain permits and to pay for road crews to build drainages and turnouts from the road

(Seligman June 8, 1931:np) These steps marked efforts to streamline Route 66 that would continue until they were interrupted by World War II.

Booster groups in towns along the highway continued to put pressure on the State Highway Commission to improve particular sections of the road. Louis Hahn, an Albuquerque promoter who was also head of a splinter group of the Route 66 Association, the Boulder to Grand Canyon Highway Association, emphasized the need to place an oil surface on sections from Bluewater to Guam and Newkirk to Cuervo. Booster groups all along the highway advocated speedier work on the two cutoffs. Although the commission had succeeded in designating both cutoffs as FAPs by 1933 and had constructed the state's largest single span Parker truss bridge across the Rio Puerco west of Albuquerque as well as a bridge across the river on Central Avenue in Albuquerque, it was reluctant to request money to complete the cutoffs themselves because of the money the BPR had already spent to improve the existing alignment (Seligman June 8, 1932:182).

Of particular concern along Route 66 were matters of safety, especially the need for grade crossings. Paralleling miles of track, the early roads had necessarily crossed and recrossed the railroad to reach the towns and villages the railroad had created. Over time, grade crossings in New Mexico had taken a tremendous toll in human life. Most costly was an accident at a crossing near Isleta Pueblo in which a mail train ploughed into a Pickwick-Greyhound bus, killing twenty passengers (Albuquerque Journal April 11, 1930:1). Fatal accidents had also occurred at other crossings along Route 66, including those at Horace and Grants. Traditionally the railroad and the state had divided the costs of building separations, a practice codified into law in 1929. Although this practice, in effect, enabled the state to meet its half of the costs exclusively with federal funds using the railroad's portion as its match, separation construction had been slow along Route 66. Only those at Santa Rosa, Algodones and McCarty's predated 1932. Finally an angry exchange of telegrams between BPR Chief MacDonald and Governor Seligman in the fall of 1932 prompted action (Seligman 1932:np). Reminding Seligman that now separation projects were entirely

funded with federal emergency monies, MacDonald threatened to withhold funding to other state projects if New Mexico did not comply with federal demands to construct a grade separation at Grants.

FAP 113-B proceeded quickly after that, a reminder that the State Highway Department so needed BPR monies that it "always found a way to get along" with the federal agency (Carter 1992). After 1933, similar projects and other improvements accelerated as a result of a sequence of legislation aimed at putting people to work. The National Recovery Act of 1933 brought almost $6 million to New Mexico for road construction. The Hayden-Cartwright Act of 1934 shifted the status of the earlier emergency loans to states to outright grants and brought almost $3 million more to the state. The first Federal Emergency Relief Act (FERA) of 1935 brought $2.8 million to New Mexico for grade crossing elimination projects. Finally, a second Hayden-Cartwright Act in 1936 granted additional monies to eliminate grade separations, either with crossings or the relocation of highways. (SHD Biennial Report 1945-46:11-12)

These monies enabled the highway department to eliminate all grade crossings through the construction of bridges such as those at Manuelito, Grants, Horace, Correo, Laguna and the subway in Albuquerque. In other instances the road was realigned to eliminate crossings. The long stretch of Route 66 that had previously paralleled the AT&SF from Prewitt to near the Continental Divide on the north was now realigned to the south of the railroad. Likewise, the road was realigned across the Laguna Reservation with a larger bridge added across the Rio San Jose at Old Laguna. At the west end of the reservation, the village of Cubero was bypassed.

Accompanying these realignments was the completion of the two cut-offs. The December, 1937 edition of The New Mexico Highway Journal (combined with The Conservationist in July, 1931 to form New Mexico [NM]) announced in bold print "U.S. 66 Opened to Travel: New Program is Planned." New Mexico finally had its first completely paved highway, the two-lane blacktop version that most veteran travellers of Route 66 remember. The zigzag

506 mile route had been straightened to a 399 mile route. Predicting the paving of other federal highways, the article noted that the efforts marked "the greatest road building program in its history." Governor Clyde Tingley proclaimed, "We expect that these new roads will not only increase travel to New Mexico but will greatly increase travel within the state" (NM Dec. 1937:31).

The effects of the completion of Route 66 were substantial in several ways. In becoming a dust-free thoroughfare with a more scientific alignment that included wider, banked curves, safety guards, and white center lines, the highway cut a straight, more efficient course across the landscape. It began to shift from a road dominated by its environment to one beginning to dominate it. The older route just east of Laguna, for example, had wound its way around a mesa, dominated by the imposing red sandstone bluff, and then descended a grade to cross the Rio San Jose on a bridge just slightly above the river. In contrast, the 1937 road ascended the same mesa on a grade created by extensive dynamiting and then crossed the river on a new bridge with its bed twenty feet above the river. Near Manuelito, the new grade abandoned the Rio Puerco floodplain, climbing a gradual grade that wrapped around the foot of Devil's Cliff. East of Albuquerque where the Laguna cutoff came through Tijeras Canyon, the 1937 road, its grade still visible and primitive by today's interstate standards, was lifted out of the floor of the canyon and placed on a cut hewn out of the sloping canyon wall. In the years to come, even that engineering marvel would seem inadequate as the sharp cut became known locally as "Dead Man's Curve."

Not only did the changes brought about by the new road alter the immediate landscape, they also affected roadside economies. The realignment west of Prewitt removed Route 66 from the main street of Thoreau. Businesses such as the Thoreau Trading Post and the Red Arrow Campground found themselves "looking at the traffic passing by on the other side of the railroad," and were forced to relocate or close (Heggem 1992). Along the new cutoff sections of the road, roadside services were suddenly needed. Gas stations sprang up along the Santa Rosa

cutoff portion of the highway, giving rise to entirely new roadside communities such as Cline's Corner and Palma Hill. Buford, a hamlet a half mile north of Moriarty, suddenly found itself on Route 66. Soon the Crossley Garage and Cafe, the first two businesses along the new road, were joined by others as the entire community of Moriarty began to gravitate northward. Aligned along a section line, the road was soon lined with cafes and garages.

In larger towns along the highway, the growth of roadside businesses marked the first extension of the tourist-related commercial strip. In Gallup, for instance, the expansion of the number of businesses along Route 66 began to stretch the city's east-west axis. The campgrounds of the highway's pioneer period had extended no more than a half-mile from the center of the city marked by the AT&SF depot and Fred Harvey's El Navajo Hotel. Most of the campgrounds were located between the highway, closely paralleling the railroad tracks, and Coal Avenue, the main commercial street one block to the south. Most of the early tourist services, like the small railroad hotels, were circumscribed within a grid formed by the east and west junctions of Coal Avenue with Route 66, boundaries referred to locally as the "Ys." In 1937, the construction of the El Rancho Motel and some gas stations beyond the east "Y" and the Log Cabin Motel beyond the west "Y," marked the beginning of a commercial strip that today exceeds thirteen miles in length.

Similarly, Albuquerque's reorientation from a linear city to a cruciform city accelerated (McCann 1942:60). Suburban growth had already begun to occur in subdivisions near the University of New Mexico in the 1910s and 20s, and a small commercial strip extended along Central Avenue as far as Girard Avenue. With the realignment of Route 66 onto Central Avenue, the East Mesa began to transform. In 1937 federal monies were used to begin constructing buildings at the new State Fair grounds on East Central. At the same time Central was widened to six lanes all the way to the grounds, and work was begun on the subway under the railroad (Biebel 1986:64). These many improvements attracted commercial developers along the new highway. A commercial block including the Lobo Theater began east of Girard

Avenue. Farther east, beyond the commercial strip catering to the area's new suburbs, roadside businesses catering to tourists began to appear. Although the Aztec Court had been built in 1932, catering to tourists coming into Albuquerque from US 60 at Willard and then through the canyon on what was then US 366, it wasn't until 1937 that large numbers of tourist-related businesses began to fill the roadside.

Similar patterns appeared to the west of the city. Although a bridge had been built across the Rio Grande at Central Avenue in 1931, no direct link with Route 66 existed until the road was completed in 1937. During the early 1930s, the newly formed Middle Rio Grande Conservancy District had developed a recreational lake with swimming and boat racing, using flood control diversions from the Rio Grande. By the late 1930s, Tingley Beach had become a popular park, with "foreign license cars ... always to be found at the beach" (Albuquerque Progress July, 1936:1. With Route 66 passing directly west, the El Vado Court opened that same year with other businesses soon forming the nucleus of a West Central commercial strip. Several tourist courts and a few gas stations and curio shops dating to the Depression-era history of Route 66 remain in Albuquerque and Gallup as well as in some of the smaller communities along the highway.

The changes altering both the course of Route 66 and its roadside had significant effects on the lives of New Mexicans living near the highway. Longtime New Mexicans contend that most people in the state fared comparatively well during the Depression. They note that few had much to lose to begin with but also note that state leaders, especially Governor Tingley (1935-38), seemed adept at obtaining federal money for work projects, or at least publicizing the funding they did secure. In some cases, projects such as Five Mile Park west of Tucumcari and the Santa Rosa City Park benefitted not only those who worked on the project and their community but travellers on Route 66 who found the parks with their pool and lake a diversion from the hours spent on the road. The completion of these parks and of Route 66 itself lend veracity to those assertions about Tingley's adeptness, at least at public relations if not grantsmanship.

Although State Highway Department policies had long tried to encourage the employment of those most needing it, especially World War I veterans, FERA policies added impetus to those practices. Regulations stipulated that contracts include a minimum number of man-hours using workers referred from the U.S. Re-employment Service. Jobs were extended to more workers by limit ing the number of hours for each worker to 130 per month (SHD Biennial Report 1945-46:15). Contracts included penalties for projects that failed to meet those work requirements. As a result, work was done by hand on many projects that would have otherwise been done with machines. Rufous Carter, design engineer for several projects along the Santa Rosa cutoff, remembers incidents when "overhaul" work, entailing moving earth more than three hundred feet and requiring machinery to do it, was actually performed manually as "free haul," so that workers could accumulate hours by using wheelbarrows to move the earth (Carter 1992). Reflecting on those days, none who lived through the Depression criticize such practices. Rather they point to highway work as the only thing that prevented them from joining the stream of jobseekers moving west along Route 66. Recalls Frank Davis, "When the bean crop failed in the valley in 1934, the only thing that saved us was the road jobs" (Davis 1992).

For others, jobs appeared in the form of new businesses along the side of Route 66. The range of roadside services that would define the tourist experience along Route 66 until the advent of the large franchise motels and restaurants that appeared in the mid-1950s emerged during this period. As campgrounds evolved into tourist courts, downtown restaurants into drive-in cafes, and gas stations into service stations with garages, jobs were created along the road. The economic attraction of the road was compelling. Growing up in the Estancia Valley where the drought had undermined the dry bean farming, Joe McComb's family tried to farm but with little cash always found themselves "owing half of the bean crop to the creditor" (McComb 1991). When the cutoff came, "it meant ready cash; that's why seven gas stations shot up in Buford and men who tinkered with farm equipment suddenly became car mechanics."

The same response echoes across all of Route 66. Herman

Armijo, operator of the Wagon Wheel Texaco Station, notes that his father had been a sheep herder but with the opening of the Santa Rosa cutoff left herding to operate a gas station at Palma Hill (Armijo 1991). Adolfo Serrano, owner of a Santa Rosa auto parts store that is a converted gas station he built and also lived in with his family in 1935, recalls, "I could see there would be a living to be made out of selling gasoline. I began with $400, 300 gallons of gas and four cases of oil" (Serrano 1991). Similarly, Tony Leone, a well-digger in Gallup, decided that operating a motel offered more promise and borrowed money to buy property along Route 66. He then transported logs from several dissembled rustic cabins near the Continental Divide, reconstructed them, and opened in July 1938 in time for the Intertribal Ceremonial (Leone 1992). Mrs. Leone remembers that her husband hadn't even completed the cabin steps before tourists filled his cabins. As he rented enough rooms to begin paying back his loan, he added a line of units to the east to expand his business. In each case, these veteran Route 66 entrepreneurs assert that opening a business along the road involved taking a chance with the small funds they had. Yet, all also feel that taking the chance bettered their economic lives.

As they reflected on their own economic conditions, they could look to those travelling the highway to gain perspective Residents of Quay County recall that they both pitied and empathized with them. Some note that they didn't refer to the people on the road as Okies but as "people down on their luck." Many also note that they didn't see themselves as that different from those displaced families. After all, they also had homesteaded their land only a generation before and knew how vulnerable they were to dust storms and crop failure (White 1992). Fern White left her family's farm on the Caprock and went to San Jon to work in her aunt's California Cafe in the mid-1930s. There the menu included hamburgers, chicken fried steak, Irish stew and homemade pies. Often, Mrs. White notes, her aunt simply gave food to the poor people passing through. In Tucumcari, Sheriff Claude Moncus regularly cruised several miles on either side of the town each evening, especially in winter months, picking up any families stranded along the road. He then put them up and fed them, often at his own expense, at the county jail before sending them on

their way (Moncus 1992).

Farther west in Torrance County, Frank Davis recalls that prior to the straightening of the road in 1937, Okies often took the flatter southern route from Santa Rosa to Vaughn and Willard rather than going north by Santa Fe. At Willard they cut north through the Estancia Valley to Moriarty, often stopping in the valley to find work during the bean harvest (Davis 1992). In Gallup, the Depression brought movement in both directions. In 1932 a contingent of the bonus army of World War I veterans marching toward Washington spent a night at a campground operated by another veteran. A year later, during strikes in nearby coal camps, organizers and strikebreakers travelled the highway, facing police roadblocks and national guard troops. Later, gas station operators often gave Okies five free gallons of gas for which they were partially reimbursed by a local relief fund. Done in part to help Okie families, the five gallons also guaranteed that Holbrook, not Gallup, would be the next town to serve them (Noe 1988:28).

Between the Okies heading west to seek a new start and tourists seeking the wonders of the Southwest, traffic along Route 66 rapidly increased. Traffic counts at Endee in 1928 and at the Texas line in 1936-37 and again in 1941 show that the average daily traffic rose from 211 in 1928 to 300 in 1936-37 and 970 in 1941. East of Gallup, the numbers for the same period rose from 556 to 724 to 1,551 (NM State Highway Department Traffic Census 1930, 1936-37, 1941). The number of "foreign" vehicles, recorded only in 1936-37 and 1941, rises from 200 to 698 at the Texas line, and from 360 to 1,096 east of Gallup. In a decade the traffic on Route 66 increased at least 300% while the percentage of out-of-state cars ranged from 50% to over 66%. These statistics suggest the degree to which travel, particularly tourist travel, increased along Route 66 during the Depression. Once again, the highway would never carry the volume of interstate traffic found on US 80 west of El Paso or US 60 near Clovis, but it consistently ranked near the top, carrying among the highest percentages of out-of-state vehicles.

Encouraging this increase in tourist travel were a variety

of promotional efforts. As noted, various Chambers of Commerce and the Route 66 Association advertised communities along the highway as well as the highway itself. During the Depression these efforts continued, especially with efforts in 1938 to add the name, Will Rogers Highway, to Route 66 (Tingley 1935-38 Highway Dept.Cor.:np). This effort would surface again in 1952 with Warner Studio's release of the film, "The Will Rogers Story" (Scott and Kelly 1988:168). Increasingly, however, the state became the largest promoter of tourism and of its major highways. Advocating the importance of improving the state's highways, State Highway Engineer, Grover Conroy noted the importance of the "Tourist Dollar," stating "Filling stations, tireshops, supply houses, cabin camps, and hundreds of small enterprises employing thousands in gainful occupations are all the result of improved highways" (NM April, 1936:31).

Conroy's sentiments reflected those of Governor Tingley who had been an active promoter of tourism as mayor of Albuquerque in the late 1920s. In his capacity as Superintendent of Maintenance for Highway District 3, Tingley had accompanied Governor Hannett in 1926 on a motor tour of the prospective cutoffs. He recognized the potential they held for his Albuquerque, but he also recognized what they could do for New Mexico, a state, as he put it, "needing only roads to become a tourist paradise" (Fergusson File #16:276). During those pioneer years of Route 66, he built up a network of supporters who shared his enthusiasm for good roads. Out on the road, encouraging workers and dispensing favors to his loyalists, Tingley was in his element, doing a job that "brought together two of [his] predilections--handling men and machinery, moving dirt" (Fergusson File #16:215). When he went to Santa Fe in 1935, his philosophy of active government and tourist promotion were shaped by his experiences along Route 66.

With Tingley in Santa Fe, many of the same figures who had worked to promote Albuquerque through the Chamber of Commerce in the late 1920s and early 1930s moved into state government taking their sharpened promotional skills with them. Clyde Oden former Chamber of Commerce president and mayor, became the chairman of the State Highway Commission; Ward Hicks, an advertiser who had planned many of the Chamber's ad campaigns, was assigned the

advertising account for the new State Tourist Bureau under Joseph Bursey (Tydeman 1991:211). Beginning with a budget of $50,000 in 1935, the office grew steadily during the late Depression years, expanding its budget to $135,000 in 1940, the year the state celebrated the Coronado Cuarto Centennial (Severns 1951:22-24).

The efforts of the Tourist Bureau were varied and successful. Traffic counts and surveys of tourist-related businesses in 1940 showed that the state's gasoline tax collections rose almost a half million dollars over 1939 and that tourists spent $80 million annually (State Tourist Bureau Official Bulletin July-August 1941:7). Using some remarkable artwork done by Willard Andrews, Hicks conducted an aggressive promotional campaign, placing ads for New Mexico in at least twenty-three national magazines by 1937(New Mexico State Tourist Bureau Report 1937:np). The ads resulted in over 20,000 inquiries to which the Tourist Bureau responded with state road maps and other brochures. The state also distributed thousands of postcards, many of which tourists used to send messages proclaiming the joys of travel in the state. Each year, beginning in 1931, the State Highway Department issued a state roadmap for tourists. Most striking in the issues dating from the late 1930s are the cover illustrations depicting a background filled with spectacular scenery, or cowboys or Native Americans. The tourist's access to these marvels is reinforced with the inclusion of an automobile with a tourist nearby, usually taking a photograph, or making a purchase of native art, or contemplating the grandeur of the scene. By 1937, the Tourist Bureau had also begun to place the rustic point-of-interest markers along the highways.

The state also used the promotion of tourism to turn a serious public relations blunder to its advantage. In 1935, the state legislature passed a bill creating ports of entry. Twenty-two entries along the major roads entering the state were established, including two along Route 66 at Gallup and Glenrio, the latter which was shortly moved to San Jon. The intent of the ports of entry was to have a station where inspectors could monitor commercial vehicles entering the state, performing such

tasks as issuing hauling licenses, inspecting livestock and liquor, and taxing imported gasoline. At first temporary frame structures were used, but gradually the state built permanent structures such as the two, now razed, stone buildings that stood at Gallup and San Jon by 1942. During the late 1930s, monthly receipts along Route 66 ranged between $600 and $4600, considerably less than ports such at Anthony, Hobbs and Clovis which were closer to the oil fields and main interstate hauling routes (Tingley, Ports of Entry 1935-39:np).

Soon after their inception, however, these ports of entry became embroiled in controversy. Seen by many out-of-staters as police checkpoints, they began to earn New Mexico a bad reputation, prompting the Chicago Daily Tribune to advise motorists to avoid New Mexico and Arizona "because of the strict port of entry laws in these two states" (Chicago Daily Tribune March 30, 1937:np). Noting that the states had been accused of "harassing pleasure traffic and imposing unjust fees on tourists," the article described motorists as "resentful of the inquiries and inspections" to which they were subjected and advised that with the warmer weather motorists could safely take northern routes for their cross-country trips.

In their zeal to enforce state codes on interstate commerce, port of entry guards had, in some instances, questioned motorists, looking for riders who, much like Preacher Casey with Steinbeck's Joad entourage, may have paid money to a driver to share trip expenses and thereby violated commercial carrier laws. Following the article in the Chicago Daily Tribune, letters came to New Mexico from AAA offices in other states, gasoline company travel bureaus, the Route 66 Association as well as prospective tourists uneasy about visiting New Mexico. Most of Tingley's replies denied assessing "any fee of any kind on tourists" but admitted that if people were operating vehicles they didn't own they might have been subjected to "delay and embarrassment." Tingley then assured his reader that "in order to obtain a class of men who can meet the tourists with the courtesy to which these invited guests are entitled" the state had initiated a training school and that the ports of entry would

become "ports of welcome."

The port of entry controversy offers insight to how Route 66 was changing during the Depression. The small stream of adventuresome motorists using the road during the pioneer era had given way to a flood of motorists. The people fleeing west were joined by middle-class tourists who continued to take vacations, especially by the mid and late 1930s as the Depression began to lift. Swelling this flow were early inter-state truckers, as well as New Mexicans more easily able to move around their own state. With this diversity of people using Route 66, it is no wonder that memories of that period recall both displacement brought on by poverty and nature and the joys of a motoring vacation along a dust-free surfaced highway. Perhaps the significance of Route 66 during the 1930s is that it had become a highway wide enough to accommodate a broad range of users.

US 66: The War Years: 1942-45

In 1946, Albuquerque Progress devoted one of its monthly features to an assessment of what needed to be done to enable the city's economy to recover from the war. Turning its attention to commerce and tourism, the magazine identified the deterioration of Route 66 as one of the major problems. Noting the ruts created by trucks hauling wartime materiel and the four year period in which little attention had been paid to maintaining the road, the article expressed the hope that roadwork would receive a priority.

Like most states, New Mexico had seen road construction and maintenance screech to a halt following the Japanese attack at Pearl Harbor. Even as the nation anticipated entering the war and began diverting steel and other materials its war machine would require for defense contracts in 1940, road building surged ahead. In New Mexico 1,143 miles were constructed in 1939 and another 609 in 1940 (SHD Biennial Report 1945-46:24). Although Route 66 had been completely surfaced in late 1937, improvements continued with shoulder widening, the widening and reconstructing

of bridge approaches, as well as general roadway improvements. In order to complete the road in 1937, contractors had paved some sections using only a one inch bituminous penetration surface on gravel and stone beds. The immediate effect was the dust-free Route 66 that greeted motorists in late 1937 and enabled New Mexico to avoid being the last state to complete its portion of the highway. The long term effect of this rush to complete paving projects, however, was that portions of the hastily paved road were particularly vulnerable to the damages created by wartime trucking.

The Federal Aid Highway Act of 1940 had provided New Mexico with $2.5 million for fiscal 1942. The state hoped to match this through $4 million in debentures the legislature authorized in 1941 (SHD Biennial Report 1945-45:21). At the same time, building along Route 66 moved ahead with many tourist services opening in 1941. And then everything stopped. Car production dropped from 3.8 million in 1941 to .2 million in 1942 (DOT 1976:147). Tires, gas and parts were rationed; the speed limit was lowered to 35mph; construction along the highway came to a standstill. As travel decreased, so did the state's gasoline tax revenues that it used to maintain its roads.

Along Route 66 merchants no longer had the stream of motorists that had drawn them into business just a few years earlier. At first panic set in. Longtime Navajo trader LeRoy Atkinson recalled that when rationing began, "I went out in front of our store and I looked up and down that highway and the only thing I could see coming was one of those eighteen-wheel trucks, and I thought,'My God, what are we going to do?'"(Scott and Kelly 1988:78). In Atkinson's case, the solution turned out to be wholesaling the crafts to jobbers in New York and the emergence of the first boom in southwestern crafts in the East. For others, the war meant a shift in the economic patterns of the roadside (Fig. 35). Pauline Bauer, a second generation motel operator in Albuquerque, recalls that her father was constructing a court just as the war began. When he managed to find materials enabling him to complete it, he immediately rented all of his rooms to the wives and families of servicemen stationed at nearby Kirtland Field (Bauer 1991). In Gallup,

courts filled with military personnel travelling to duty stations.

Although most troop movements across the country were made with trains, many of these groups still needed to move the supplies which the troops would require before going overseas. The roadway that Route 66 later became had been designated as a strategic cross-country highway beginning with the Pershing map in 1922. With military convoys and other shipments moving through New Mexico regularly, the director of the state's Division of Courtesy and Information (the euphemistic designation given to the old Port of Entry Board after the 1937 incident) issued a directive instructing inspectors to clear any wartime shipments "with no delay whatsoever" (Mills, Ports of Entry 1939-41:np). The directive concluded, however, advising inspectors, if possible, to obtain the address of the main office of each vehicle's company so that the state could try to make "proper collection for which our Law provides."

At the same time that the state was instructing its inspectors to facilitate the movement of materiel by speeding trucks on through, the trucking industry was also exerting pressure on states to overlook overweight trucks. Much as it had done during World War I with an earlier generation of trucks, many with solid rubber tires, the trucking industry appealed to patriotism and wartime shortages to convince state authorities to look the other way. At the outset of the war, the AASHO and the Public Roads Administration (PRA, the bureau succeeding the BPR in the late 1930s) had agreed on uniform truck weights and sizes. Loads were set at 18,000 pounds per axle, 30,000 pounds gross weight for a four wheel truck, and 40,000 pounds on trucks of three or more axles (DOT 1976:145). Yet, even as the agreement was reached, truck manufacturers, geared to wartime production, were turning out trucks easily capable of exceeding the limits. These heavier trucks and the precedents set permitting overweight shipments in the name of winning the war would be the basis for the post-war debate over raising limits even higher. They were also the basis for the rutting that occurred on Route 66, particularly those sections that had received only the thin bituminous penetration surfacing five years earlier. Given these

circumstances, it's unlikely that even had the highway department been able to maintain its pre-war level of maintenance personnel would Route 66 have avoided substantial damage.

Highway traffic counts for the wartime years offer a vivid picture of how the war transformed Route 66. At the Texas border, traffic dropped from 970 per day in 1941 to 758 in 1942, 720 in 1943 and 633 in 1944 (NMSHD Planning Surveys 1941-44). At the Arizona border, traffic dropped from 1540 per day in 1941 to 1069 to 682 then rose to 821 in 1944. Despite these precipitous drops, out-of-state traffic remained significant. In all instances, it accounted for over 50% of all traffic, ranging from a low of 52% at the Texas border in 1943 to a high of 71% at the same border in 1942.

In contrast to the significant drop in overall traffic, the drop in commercial traffic, including buses and trucks, was less. At the Texas border the number of commercial vehicles remained constant at 164 per day in 1941 and 1942, then dropped slightly to 150 in 1943, before dropping to 93 in 1944. At the Arizona border the number surged from 148 in 1941 to 228 in 1942 and then dropped to 142, then 129 in 1943 and 1944. Thus, throughout the wartime years, commercial carriers composed a much higher percentage of traffic on Route 66 than they had at any time before the war. This rise in trucking had begun during the 1930s when increased efficiency based on improved roads and coordinated scheduling had enabled the industry to halve the time of the railroad on hauling freight (Openheimer 1962:45). By the late 1930s, trucks could offer overnight service to anywhere in the state. Because of its central location, Albuquerque became the center of the industry with Route 66 the industry's main artery as the bulk of shipping moved east and west. Before World War II more goods were shipped west, and trucks found themselves "deadheading" east. With the development of West Coast wartime industries, the pattern would reverse after the war

With more and more trucking around Albuquerque, sections of Route 66 in the middle of the state proved vulnerable, prompting the concerns raised in Albuquerque Progress in 1946. Other problems would soon arise as the war wound down. The decision

made in the late 1930s to construct the subway for Route 66 under the AT&SF tracks in downtown Albuquerque had also stipulated that the city must maintain the highway's alignment on Central Avenue in order to receive federal funds for the project. Already, city leaders had begun to see the congestion created when the main commercial street of a growing city was also serving as a transcontinental thoroughfare. Their proposal to avert further congestion was to route the highway north of the city along what is now the Lomas Boulevard alignment. When this proposal was rejected, Central Avenue was forced to serve its dual purpose. Along the more distant commercial strips, the problem remained less pressing until after the war. But downtown, especially with the growing numbers of trucks using Route 66 and also requiring terminal services in Albuquerque, the problem compounded. When the war ended, automobile traffic returned to Route 66 in unprecedented numbers. The traffic counts that were once seen as a sign of the promise of prosperity along the highway soon became harbingers of its eventual collapse under the weight of overuse.

Route 66: The Golden Age: 1946-1956

Six months after the end of World War II, Jack D. Rittenhouse got into his 1939 American Bantam coupe and set out from the Loop in downtown Chicago en route to the municipal pier at Santa Monica, California. His goal was to drive the entire length of Route 66, all 2,295 miles, and to provide a guide that would offer "helpful features" to others travelling the road. By late 1946, he had self-published A Guide Book to Highway 66. Paying attention to mileages between towns, historic points of interest and landscape and topographic features, Rittenhouse offered his readers data on towns, lodging, dining, the availability of car services, and road conditions. His main concern was to provide information "to the regions between large centers," for it was these open portions that he felt would raise the greatest uncertainties for motorists. In his introductory

chapter, Rittenhouse informed his readers that the guidebook's inclusions of garages, cafes, service stations, hotels and courts was not an endorsement of them but simply a notation to help the motorist. His list now offers a valuable catalogue of roadside properties dating to the mid-1940s.

Dividing the journey into nine sections, Rittenhouse treated Route 66 through New Mexico in two of those sections. The 299-mile leg from Amarillo to Albuquerque treated the eastern portion of the state; the 250-mile leg from Albuquerque to Holbrook, Arizona the western portion. For Rittenhouse these two sections elicited much enthusiasm. Eastern New Mexico brought the motorist into the "true west" with "legendary mountains," a climb to an altitude over 7,000 feet and finally a trip across cattle ranges and "past the haunts of Billy the Kid and other outlaws" into Albuquerque. Westward awaited a "fabulous land" with "ancient pueblos, volcanic lava flows, the Continental Divide, Indian reservations... and many Indian trading posts" (Rittenhouse 1946:67).

Although he printed only 3,000 copies of his guidebook, the perspective he offered of the highway as it passed through New Mexico was one that thousands of other motorists who travelled along Route 66 over the next decade would come to know. Even though sections of the "war-worn road" still awaited repair, for Rittenhouse such concerns paled when compared to the thrill that accompanied the "realization that 'we're on the way,' which the motorist feels as he eases the car away from the curb and heads out of town" (Rittenhouse 1946:9).

Perhaps a similar realization prompted songwriter Bobby Troup to write the lyrics to "Get Your Kicks on Route 66." Travelling the highway west to California the same year as Rittenhouse, Troup made the trip in a 1941 Buick that would consume seventy-five quarts of oil during his ten-day trip from Pennsylvania. Despite post-war disrepair that left Route 66 "possibly the worst road I've ever taken in my life," he also found excitement in the adventure of moving across the landscape, eating and sleeping at the cafes and courts that beckoned him with their flashy neon (Scott and Kelly 1988:149).

In the slang of the day, motoring west offered "kicks."

The highway that had seen tourists disappear during the war years suddenly sprang back to life. The patterns that had characterized Route 66 in New Mexico during the late Depression years, ongoing improvements to the road itself and an increase in the tourist-related businesses along the roadside, resumed. The striking similarity of those pre-war and post-war patterns shaping the cultural landscape of Route 66 would persist well into the 1950s. In fact, the quickness with which tourism and its roadside building resumed in 1946 despite tremendous inflation of construction costs following the lifting of rationing restrictions suggests that the war, in the short run, merely interrupted a process well under way by 1938. By the early 1950s, that process would begin to evolve as the two-lane highway and the smaller scale and modest services offered by roadside businesses were surpassed. The Interstate-Highway Act of 1956 would culminate the federal government's response to that shift, signaling the creation of an entirely different type of cross-country road. Likewise the growth of franchise restaurants and motels built on a much larger scale would signal a marked shift in the pattern of roadside businesses.

According to longtime Grants oilman, C.H. "Bud" Gunderson, "After the war there was a traffic jam" on Route 66 (Scott and Kelly 1988:148). The jam on Route 66 consisted of all elements of an American society thankful that the war had ended and anxious to return to doing the things they had decided they loved most while waiting out the war. One such thing was driving their automobiles. GIs, their young families, other young people freed from the fear of the draft, factory workers for whom rationing had forced saving money, Okies who had found prosperity on the West Coast during the wartime year, writers like Rittenhouse and Troup, the entire range of Americans contributed to creating the golden years along Route 66.

Despite the feeling of relief that followed the end of the war, the effects of the war lingered. Irate travellers complained about the conditions along the highway. One unhappy tourist complained to the governor, describing the section of

Route 66 near Thoreau as a "monument to the backwardness of New Mexico.... that is the source of annoyance and indignation to all motorists." Such complaints prompted the state's AAA manager to advise then Governor Mabry that motorists' reports concerning the same section were so "highly unfavorable" that "many will travel great distances to avoid that particular piece of road" (Mabry SHD Correspondence 1948:np). Other concerns arose in the eastern portion of the state as the State Highway Department tried to find ways of implementing PRA recommendations for a shorter, more efficient route from Glenrio to Tucumcari. Ideally, the straightened alignment of the new route would relocate it three miles north of San Jon, threatening the village's economic base. When pressure arose as the result of a write-in campaign from the citizens of San Jon, the department modified its alignment to keep the road in San Jon (Mabry SHD Correspondence 1947:np).

Increasingly, however, the inadequacies of the two lane road were becoming apparent. Overcrowded conditions and the drivers themselves began to make Route 66 a dangerous road. Whether it was the afternoon sun glaring in drivers' eyes as they drove west across the dangerous stretch from Glenrio to Tucumcari, a slow-moving truck climbing Sedillo Hill, or Turtle Rock standing just off the shoulder at a sharp turn east of Laguna, Route 66 challenged even the most careful of drivers. Don Tyrack, who drove gasoline trucks along the highway in the late 1940s, recalls that "as trucks and cars became larger and faster the bridges seemed to become narrower" (Tyrack 1992). Inexperienced drivers hurtling into the Rio Puerco Valley at high speeds often found themselves entering the rigid steel frame of the twenty-two feet wide Parker truss bridge and unable to judge the tight fit, especially when meeting a tractor trailer coming in the opposite direction. Limited sight lines and liability concerns made truckers unwilling to use their lights to signal that a motorist could pass them, but some impatient motorists tried anyway, making the road more risky. Flossie Rice-Hall, whose husband received the first wrecker license along the western portion of Route 66 in 1947, argues that eastbound travellers were particularly prone to falling asleep in New Mexico. Asserting that "it was not the road so much, but the people," Mrs. Rice-Hall notes that many motorists would drive as

far as they could before stopping to sleep and that western New Mexico, 700 miles from Los Angeles, was where fatigue overcame them (Rice-Hall 1992).

While the reasons explaining why the highway was so dangerous vary, the inescapable fact remains that more and more cars were filling it. Traffic counts showing the annual daily average at two rural locations, one west of Tucumcari and another east of Grants, indicate this rise in highway use. Using the peak pre-war year of 1941 as a basis, they show that traffic in the two five year periods following the war increased by 63% in 1950 and then by almost 250% in 1955 near Tucumcari. Near Grants, traffic increased by 63% in 1950 and then by over 250% in 1955. While the uranium boom at Grants helps to explain the larger increase in total traffic and the related drop in the percentage of out-of-state traffic, Route 66 was carrying even greater numbers of cross-country motorists.

	W. of Tucumcari		E. of Grants	
Year	Average	% out-of-state	Average	% out-of-state
1941	1359	54	1645	62
1944	874	54	849	60
1950	2137	70	2628	60
1955	3308	73	4393	57
1960	4326	70	6098	51

(NMHD Highway Planning Survey)

Admittedly, the State Highway Department was working to alleviate many of the dangers along Route 66. Beginning in 1949, several projects to improve the highway began. Long stretches of the two lane road leading into and through its major towns were widened to four lanes with gutters and curbs. By the early 1950s Route 66 in Gallup, Grants, Santa Rosa and Tucumcari consisted of a wider street permitting easier driving conditions for motorists looking for and making sudden turns to the tourist-related businesses lining those thoroughfares. The resulting commercial strips with their wide boulevard appearance and the motels, gas stations, cafes and curio shops with their neon signs lining them assumed much of the form during this period that they present to contemporary motorists.

Similarly Albuquerque, which already had four and six lane portions of Route 66 along East Central Avenue, saw the highway widened at both edges of the city and shielded left-turn dividers added eastward to Wyoming Blvd. The highway through Tijeras Canyon was widened to four lanes as was the portion going up Nine Mile Hill. At the same time, a second span was added to the Rio Grande Bridge to accommodate the increasing number of local vehicles crossing the river as businesses and subdivisions expanded to the west bank of the river.

Despite these stopgap efforts, the problem dragged on. With Route 66 mandated to remain on Central Avenue, by the early 1950s the consequences of this decision were painfully obvious. Average daily traffic on Central Avenue climbed from about 20,000 vehicles in 1949 to almost 24,000 in 1952 (Albuquerque Planning Commission 1953:8). Planners noted the confusion created by trying to have Central "serve two masters," those of a "through, cross-town route" and "essentially a business street" when it was clearly the latter. Planners also fretted that the new, double-span Central Avenue Bridge just west of the city's newly annexed Oldtown area could "ever be fully utilized" as long as the street systems leading to it were inadequate (Albuquerque Planning Commission 1953:19). Projecting ahead, planners wondered if perhaps Menual Blvd. or Mountain Road might furnish a by-pass route that could then be connected with the bridge.

With less jargon and more humor, Erna Fergusson also looked at the relationship Route 66 struck with the state's largest city. Motorists were prone to "dash unsuspecting into a town that seems to have ways in, but none out" (Fergusson 1947:4). "Every motor car, jalopy, jeep, truck, trailer, moving van, ambulance and hearse between Kansas City and Los Angeles, El Paso and Denver" seemed to jam Central and Fourth where the absence of "well- thought out controls" confused drivers. For Fergusson the road west out of Albuquerque was "tortuous" as it made its way "among the usual eating, sleeping, dancing, and drinking places up onto the West Mesa, now sprouting houses in the modern way" (Fergusson 1947:8). The one element of the city that had somehow escaped these "motorists, passing through like driven refugees" was the old plaza, a "quiet backwater for enjoyment."

Calling it "the most untouched [plaza] in the Southwest," Fergusson wondered whether the tourist trade that had recently "found it" would alter it "to make quick money at all costs" or whether they would "preserve it as a fine example of the old" (Fergusson 1947:7).

Fergusson's commentary on Route 66 through Albuquerque provides a good measure of the road and roadside during the highway's golden era. The businesses catering to tourists proliferated after the war but followed much of the same pattern their predecessors had used before the war. With the exception of franchise gasoline stations, many of which followed programmatic blueprints offered by the brand with whom the owner/operator had agreed to buy gas, the vast majority of roadside businesses represented the small investment and building decisions of their owners. According to building permits for Albuquerque included in Albuquerque Progress from 1934 through the mid-1950s, many owners of roadside businesses also acted as contractors and then operators. The example of the Leone family building the Log Cabin Motel in Gallup in 1938 occurs frequently in the accounts of other business people along Route 66. Pauline Bauer and her husband purchased the La Puerta Lodge in Albuquerque in 1954 when the couple who had built it separated (Bauer 1991). Lillian Redman's husband purchased the Blue Swallow Motel in Tucumcari in 1952 from the estate of the ranching couple who had built it in 1948 and then died in a small plane accident (Redman 1991). Wallace Gunn and his wife operated the Villa de Cubero near Cubero with Mr. Gunn running the gas station/trading post/cabin on the south side of the highway and Mrs. Gunn the cafe across the road on the north side (Ripp 1985:np).

The degree to which this close relationship of the owner-operator with his property along Route 66 persisted is evident in census data examining the tourist court trade. A survey of tourist camps in 1935 showed that of the 213 listed in New Mexico all of them were owner-operated (U.S. Dept. of Commerce 1935:3) In 1948, 537 are listed with 527 owner-operated (U.S. Dept. of Commerce 1948:11.02). Statistics also show that most of these courts drew heavily upon the operators' families, employing only

580 outside employees. Interviews with tourist court operators of the early 1950s suggest that these figures are reasonably accurate. With courts rarely having more than twenty units and more frequently having seven to twelve units, usually one chambermaid was sufficient. Most often the family would maintain the grounds and go about its business during the day, returning to the motel office at mid-afternoon to register guests through the evening hours (Bauer 1991; Betts 1992; Leone 1992; Redman 1991).

Gas stations, curio shops and cafes in urban areas often employed higher percentages of workers, while those in rural areas tended to use family members. Claude Myers, for example, visited New Mexico in 1952, driving across Route 66 from St. Louis. When a cousin working for Leroy Atkinson at the Box Canyon Trading Post offered him a job, he remained there to work for the next three years. The staff consisted of the cousin, his wife, Mr. Myers, a bookkeeper and a local Navajo whom Mr. Myers refers to as Navajo Joe (Claude Myers 1992). Together they operated three Chevron gas pumps, a cafe and a curio store, working from 7am to 7pm. Mr. Myers recalls that Navajo Joe usually operated the gas pumps and that on occasions a local Navajo woman would come to the trading post and weave at a loom set under a ramada in the back of the property. The exhibition proved popular with tourists, usually causing them to linger at the trading post and make more purchases. The staff also bought crafts from nearby Navajo families, selling them in turn to tourists.

As more and more people drove Route 66, more of these small entrepreneurs were drawn to the side of the road. Charles Garrett Wallace who built the DeAnza Motel and Coffee Shop on East Central Avenue in 1938 recalled that he "saw the need for motels" with the convenience they offered people along the busy road (Ripp 1985:np). After the war, the need was even more pressing, and more businesses appeared. As the competition increased, urban strips became longer with those in Tucumcari, Santa Rosa, Moriarty and Grants stretching several miles and those in Gallup and Albuquerque extending over ten miles.

These strips appeared even more elongated as a result of the advertising signs business people relied on to attract customers. While the State Highway Department had fought since the late 1920s to remove billboards from the state's roads, their efforts were ineffective as business owners convinced local authorities to overlook enforcing codes in order to sustain these important elements of the local economy. Billboards depicting the "Fat Man" advertised the Club Cafe on both sides of Santa Rosa for miles, and signs for the Cliff Dwelling Trading Post at the Arizona border lined the highway west of Gallup. So ubiquitous were they that billboards remain a fixture of the cultural landscape of the American highway of the 1950s. In a pre-franchise age they alerted motorists to each roadside business. With less standardized products, the billboard carried much of the burden of attracting customers. If they were pleased with what they found, many customers would habitually return to the same business on subsequent trips (Myers, 1992).

In addition to alerting motorists to the services awaiting them in the town ahead, billboards also drew attention to businesses along isolated rural sections of the highway. Usually offering a combination of services including gas, groceries, food, curios, and sometimes cabins, some of these rural businesses became the roadside attractions that many people associate with the tourist experience along Route 66. Referred to collectively sometimes as "snake pits," many relied on an unusual or freakish exhibit to lure motorists. In their mildest form, they offered a buffalo or a Navajo weaver or dancer to draw customers, as did the Box Canyon Trading Post. The Foutz grocery and gas station between Laguna and Albuquerque offered a tame bear that, after a customer had purchased a bottle of soda, would remove the cap with his teeth (Rice-Hall 1991). The Longhorn Ranch between Cline's Corners and Moriarty offered stagecoach rides, dancing girls, and a line of concrete block buildings with false wood fronts imitating a movie-set western town.

Ironically it was the very success that Route 66 was experiencing that would determine its eventual demise. With more motorists on the road, their demands for safer, less-congested cross country roads added to the pressure for a more modern

highway system. As early as the Federal-Aid Highway Act of 1944 (FAHA) Congress had provided for the National System of Interstate Highways, a system designed to include 40,000 miles primary highways. Although it was not initially envisioned as being an entirely limited-access system, increasingly congested roadsides made it evident that any substantial improvements would require separating the road proper from its commercial roadside. With its realization prolonged by high construction costs following World War II, the Korean Conflict, and then congressional debate over its final form, the Interstate Highway Act didn't become law until June, 1956. Under the new law a self-perpetuating National Highway Trust funded by user taxes ranging from gas to truck taxes would underwrite 90% of the construction costs of the new system with the states picking up the other 10%.

The implications of the new highway project for Route 66 were substantial. It meant that the new limited-access road would be realigned, bypassing towns and cities and eliminating short and long commercial strips alike from its route. Replacing the two-lane road would be a divided, limited-access road with a wider, right-of-way. It would be free of commercial billboards and introduce a new set of highway signs. Most important for highways, such as Route 66, with a strong identity, an entirely new set of route numbers reversing the old latitudinal and longitudinal numbering system would take effect. In New Mexico, the black and white US 66 shield would give way to the red, white and blue I-40 shield. Replacing the old roadside would be clusters of tourist-related businesses located at exit and entrance ramps. At best the old commercial strip would become an appendage designated as "Business 40"; at worst some sections of the old road would be abandoned.

The Route 66 Association and local booster groups tried to respond to the plans. Some efforts, such as booklets and postcards equating Route 66 with I-40, implied that the new road presented a marriage between old and new. Other efforts, such as the anti-bypass movement sought to mitigate the damage merchants felt a drastic realignment would create by working with engineers to route I-40 close enough to the towns so that

motorists would still use the services they offered. Ira Smith headed the committee in Santa Rosa and succeeded in relocating the proposed route so that it had three exits as it passed closely by the town rather than seven miles to the north (Smith 1992). In Gallup, the community also advocated a close-in option, sacrificing some older blocks of commercial and residential properties in order to keep the new highway near the Route 66 commercial strip. Grants, Tucumcari and Moriarty saw their commercial strips along Route 66 bypassed, accessible only with on-off exits at both ends of the strips. In Albuquerque where the city's tremendous growth had created a sprawl across the East Mesa to the foothills of the Sandias, right-of-way acquisition was costly and time-consuming. The result was a realignment of the east-west corridor with a seventeen mile long bow-like formation with Route 66 and I-40 separated by almost two miles in the middle of the bow.

In rural areas the effect of the new highway was often swift. As portions of it were completed, the first a ten-mile section east of Cline's Corners, many roadside businesses quickly closed, especially if they were bypassed with no nearby access ramps. Others near ramps, such as the Flying C and the complex at Clines Corners survived, gradually increasing and modernizing their operations. Many buildings dating to that last generation of Route 66 roadside businesses as well as others pre-dating World War II continue to stand. Their level of use or state of neglect offers evidence of how the interstate system has not only altered the landscape of the highway but the economic life of rural roadside America as well.

Since the last sections of the I-40 to be completed were the by-passes around the larger towns, the commercial strips in the town retained the feeling of the golden age of Route 66 well beyond 1956 when the fate of the road was determined. In fact, it wasn't until 1985 that US 66 was decertified. Since then, local grassroots efforts including those of a statewide Route 66 Association of New Mexico formed in 1989, of local merchants, and of preservationists and others interested in retaining evidence of a rapidly disappearing aspect of American popular culture have worked to preserve vestiges of Route 66. The resources available

to them are numerous and varied; many are threatened. Many examples of the roadside architecture constructed from the late Depression through the golden age remain, albeit with alterations in structure and changes in use and repair. Together with those less numerous properties that remain relatively unchanged, they create a cultural landscape reminiscent of the highway prior to the interstate.

F. Associated Property Types

Outline of Property Types

1. Historic Sections of Route 66
2. Tourist Courts and Motels
3. Gas Stations
4. Cafes
5. Curio Shops/Trading Posts
6. Municipal Roadside Attractions
7. Route 66 Rural Historic Districts

1. Historic Sections of Route 66

Description:

Although Route 66 was decertified in 1985 and many miles of its alignment have been erased with the construction of Interstates 40 and 25, much evidence of the earlier road remains in New Mexico. Most often, this evidence appears in the form of road segments that were used during some of the years in the period of significance, 1926 to 1956. These segments vary in length, ranging from two to twenty miles, and contain a number of structural elements associated with road building during that period, including culverts, guard rails, curbing, bridges, grade separations, centerline markers, right-of-way and Federal Aid Project boundary markers, as well as the road's original cross-section template (comprised of cut banks, fill slopes, road bed, and grade). Most segments are also flanked by associated properties, or their remains, including tourist courts, gas station, cafes, and curio shops and trading posts. (Many of these associated properties are not included in this nomination because they do not meet eligibility requirements.) All of these road segments offer ample evidence of how Route 66 appeared to early motorists as they crossed New Mexico.

With the coming of the interstate highways, the long continuous road that was once US 66 became fragmented. Depending upon local needs, some segments continued to receive local use while others were abandoned. As a result of these subsequently

varied uses of old US 66, the road segments treated in this Multiple Property Submission fall into three sub-types.

Subtype: Abandoned Segments of US 66

These segments are no longer maintained and appear today in varying degrees of disintegration brought on by natural forces. Some are still passable by automobile while others are not. Without maintenance and use these segments have essentially become archaeological sites, furnishing largely unaltered examples of road construction during years included in the period of significance. Dating to road construction projects mostly completed in the 1920s and 30s, these road segments offer a number of structural elements associated with construction during that period including bridges and culverts, as well as the road's original cross-section template.

Subtype: Rural, Locally Maintained Segments of US 66

These segments have been turned back to county road departments or local agencies and receive maintenance sufficient for local use by farmers and ranchers. Although the needs of these local users have resulted in routine maintenance such as patching or, in some instances, turning deteriorating paved road portions back to a gravel surface, these segments remain largely unchanged as to structural elements and original cross-section template.

Subtype: Rural, State Maintained Segments of US 66

These segments continue to serve as local or frontage roads and are still maintained by the New Mexico State Highway and Transportation Department and, in some cases, included within the state highway numbering system. Since these segments receive higher levels of use than the rural, locally maintained segments, they have often received higher levels of maintenance including surface sealing and replacement of some structural elements. All segments, however, follow alignments and contain a majority of structural elements dating to the period of significance. These segments also have, in general, a higher concentration of

associated roadside properties as a result of the businesses serving now a largely local clientele.

Significance:

From the time it became a part of the first numerically-designated federal highway system, Route 66 has been significant as an inter-regional highway connecting the Midwest with southern California. Across it passed a cross section of American motorists--the early "gypsying" tourist, displaced farmers migrating to California, military convoys, war-weary GIs discharged from the military, middle class tourists, truckers and bus passengers. Having served this array of travellers representing the broad spectrum of the American population, Route 66, as represented by its remaining segments, is important for what it reveals about the rise of automobile travel, especially tourism, as an important element in the general theme of transportation in America from 1926 to 1956. As the highway gained recognition in novels, songs, and a television show bearing its name, it became the nation's best known highway, and remains as a symbol of individual mobility and automobile adventure on the open road. Although the highway has been decertified, it plays a significant role in the American popular culture, and portions of it continue to draw tourists.

The remaining sections are also significant as reminders of early engineering and workmanship associated with road building during the first three decades of the federal highway system. Properties included in each of the three subtypes of road segments reveal the progression of road building techniques including bridge and culvert construction, template improvements, and the addition of safety features from the mid-1920s to the eve of the interstate highway system.

Registration Requirements:

For a segment of former Route 66 to be eligible for listing on the National Register under Criterion A in the area of transportation and the rise of automobile tourism and Criterion C

in the area of road engineering and construction it must retain a high degree of integrity of association, location, design, material, workmanship, setting and feeling. While not all of these criteria apply equally to each of the road segment subtypes, all enter into determining the eligibility of each road segment.

Integrity of association and location requires that the property served as a portion of US 66 during some of the years included in the period of significance, 1926-56, and that its alignment must be verifiable with New Mexico State Highway As Built Construction Plans and Maps. Slight deviations from the original location, as in the case of the realignment of a small section of the road segment for greater road safety, do not make an otherwise eligible segment ineligible.

Integrity of design, material and workmanship pertains to the physical features of the road and includes elements such as the original cross-section template and original structural elements such as bridges, culverts, and guard rails. In the case of those portions that have had gravel spread over their former paved surface to facilitate local maintenance and those that have been resurfaced or had bridge or culvert replacements as part of the normal maintenance necessary to permit them to serve as frontage and local roads, original materials have often been replaced or covered over. This weakening of material integrity does not render a road segment ineligible if other aspects of integrity are high.

Integrity of feeling and setting applies to the degree to which a road segment recalls the automobile travel experience across New Mexico during the period of significance. The length of road segments and the surrounding landscape are determinants in measuring these areas of integrity. Sections must be long enough to convey the sense of a continuous road across a largely rural state marked by a varied terrain. Also contributing to the test for integrity of setting and feeling is the presence of other properties historically associated with the early road including roadside commercial properties serving motorists and nearby, and often parallel, railroad grades.

2. Tourist Courts and Motels

Description:

Long distance travel across New Mexico required that motorists spend nights on the road. Prior to the designation of Route 66 in 1926 and continuing for a few years thereafter, camping either along the road or in municipal and, increasingly, private campgrounds offered the only alternative to staying in less convenient and more expensive hotels. Soon campgrounds began to offer more amenities in the form of what John Jakle terms "cabin camps" (Jakle 1981:38). By the late 1920s, some campground proprietors began to join their cabins together, using a continuous facade to link alternating garages with lodging units. During this period, some campground operators also sold gasoline and groceries. By the late 1930s, tourist courts and motels, as they were increasingly called, began to evolve as a building form, using modest decorative elements of regional styles to signal their function. This trend continued into the early 1950s, resulting in the motel as a key component in the commercial strips lining US 66.

Typical of cabins of the first decade of travel along US 66 were those found in the Red Arrow Campground at Thoreau. Arched in a crescent plan around a trading post catering both to motorists and local Navajos, groups of cabins with adjoining garages offered motorists a bed and a stove. At first, travellers were expected to supply their own bedding, but over the years competition resulted in campgrounds providing sheets and a cooking stove. In the middle of the Red Arrow Campground located to the rear of the trading post was a washroom with hot water provided each evening for the guests (Herman 1992).

Many of these early structures were inexpensively constructed with locally available materials such as lumber and adobe. The remains of a wood frame cabin with board and batten walls at Barton and the frame and stucco cabins at the foot of La Bajada are the only extant examples of the free-standing cabin era along Route 66. Later cabins dating to the late 1930s, such as those at the Log Cabin Motel in Gallup or the Villa de Cubero at Cubero

would use the earlier free-standing cabin plan, but both provided either detached or attached garages.

By the late 1930s, cabin operators began linking their discreet units together, using the continuous roof to create enclosed spaces for motorists' cars. Those working in the campgrounds recall that motorists preferred having their cars close to their cabin doors and that having the cars sheltered made it easier to start them on cold mornings (Herman 1992; Serrano 1992). Along US 66 in New Mexico this new building form gradually became known as a "tourist court," a usage that first appeared in the Albuquerque City Directory in 1938. Although the term "motel" would achieve the most popular usage during the 1950s and 60s and appears in the neon signs of many of the courts along US 66, the use of the earlier term persisted. The 1955 Albuquerque City Directory lists sixty-four "tourist courts" and only thirty-four "motels" along the highway.

Typically these tourist courts followed various spatial arrangements: a single row, row-on-row, L, narrow U, wide U. Often their growth was incremental with additions sometimes appearing as discreet buildings. Nevertheless, the two or three buildings were unified spatially, stylistically, and economically and are treated as a single property. As owners earned enough to repay their initial loan, they then added additional units. In cities, such as along Central Avenue in Albuquerque or Railroad and Coal Avenues in Gallup, more compact arrangements such as the row-on-row or narrow U prevailed perhaps as a function of frontage property costs. These courts were often located on or close to the roadway whereas the courts in smaller towns such as Tucumcari, Santa Rosa and Grants were usually set back fifty or even a hundred feet from the road. Typically, the number of units in an urban tourist court was less than twenty, and rarely more than thirty. In rural areas, the number of units was notably less such as the four-unit courts at Endee and Newkirk or the original eight-unit court composed of four duplexes at Villa de Cubero.

The spatial arrangements of the tourist court also provided for offices and, usually, a residence. The majority of offices appear near the entrance to the property, either as the front

unit of a row or as a discreet unit surrounded by the parking lot, where the operator could monitor the arrival and departure of guests. Many owners note that during the early part of the day they could tend to the business of operating a court, cleaning rooms, laundering sheets, and keeping records. Then by mid-afternoon they would return to the office desk, remaining there until they had rented all of their rooms. During the summer travel months, especially during the post-war years, they were often full before dark (Betts 1991). Gas pumps and cafes, if they were included in the composition of the complex, also appeared near the front as in the cases of the Coronado Court in Santa Rosa and the El Campo Court in Albuquerque. By the late 1930s, some owners began to include a second story residential section above the office, especially in Albuquerque where a combination of higher property values and the popular Pueblo Revival Style with its characteristic set-back massing encouraged a second story. In other communities, separate residences were placed at the rear of the property.

Within the larger court compounds were open spaces unused by cars. Often these rectangular or half-moon spaces were landscaped to create small patio gardens with grass, shade trees and chairs and perhaps a swing or slide for children. These amenities helped to create a fleeting sense of community that many tourists of the 1930s, 40s and early 50s fondly recall. In these patios enclosed by the court emerged a common space reminiscent of the Hispanic building tradition and its use of the plaza. Motorists would gather there to discuss their cars' performances and to exchange information about the road. The court yard enabled Henry Miller to strike a friendship with motel owners' children "who play all day in the court" while he waited several days at a West Central motel in Albuquerque for his car to be repaired in 1941 (Miller 1945:196). Similarly, Mrs. Leone recalls the care her husband gave to his flower beds and the compliments guests offered as they sat on their porches at the Log Cabin Motel in Gallup in the 1940s (Leone 1992). In the years following the period of significance, motel complexes using much greater spaces would locate the obligatory swimming pool in this area.

Since tourist courts offered the advantage over hotels of access to cars and privacy, cars were parked first in garages and, later, in front of each unit. With interspersed garages, many earlier courts included only small entry porches in front of each unit or pair of units. Later, as most longtime motel operators explain, the cost of maintaining garages became prohibitive and many began to fill in the garages to create additional lodging spaces (Bauer 1992). As facades became unified without garages, individual entry porches were replaced with continuous portals. Many portals appear as additions, perhaps the result of owners seeing the advantage of offering customers protection from the Southwest's intense summer sun.

Despite their use of modest materials such as frame and stucco and, later, concrete blocks and the fact that most of the motels were built using similar utilitarian plans so that owners could cash in on the profits they felt the roadside offered, many of the exteriors of the tourist courts along Route 66 articulated a southwestern theme that made them a reinforcing if not memorable part of the southwestern travel experience. Of the 160 motels surveyed, the vast majority possess modest stylistic details of the Southwest Vernacular Style. Most within this category are flat-roofed or have a shed roof disguised by irregular parapets that often articulate the alternating pattern of garage and lodging units. Most original walls were of white or earth-tone stucco, prompting many tourists to confuse the stucco finish for adobe. Entries and windows, double hung until the mid-1930s and metal casement thereafter, were often accented with tile hoods.

The second popular ornamental style was the Spanish-Pueblo Revival Style. Here, again, modest ornamental elements such as stepped second story residences over offices, vigas, canales and portals with corbels over post supports conveyed the romance of the Southwest to the tourist. Two other discernable styles are evident in a small minority of the courts constructed during the period of significance. One is the Moderne Style characterized by a modest use of details such as curved walls, often with decorative horizontal molding, rounded and glass block windows, and stepped massing of the second story. Another is what shall

be termed the Log Cabin Rustic Style characterized by a broad pitched roof with eaves, a cribbed log and chinked mortar exterior, a log framed porch and large exterior stone chimneys.

A common accessory to all of the motels were signs used to attract a tourist cliental cruising the commercial strip at thirty-five miles an hour. Most important was the mostly neon signage placed conspicuously on the property near the road. Either free-standing or incorporated into the building, usually near the office, these signs announced the name of the motel and its amenities. At first, the word "modern" signalled hot and cold running water; later a snow- capped mountain signalled air-conditioning; and later "TV," and then, by the late 1950s, "Color TV" became part of the signs' message. Likewise neon often outlined the court's parapet. Much as the regional architectural styles that conveyed a sense of place to tourists, names also evoked the Southwest with Spanish references such as El Vado, El Rancho, La Mesa, Spanish Gardens or El Oriente predominating. Many of the Spanish-Pueblo Revival Style courts also used Pueblo names such as Tewa, Zia or Zuni to draw attention to the complexes' building style. Others used nearby place names such as the Conchas Motel in Tucumcari, Sandia in Albuquerque and the Mt. Taylor near Cubero as a means of associating the business with the tourist's interest in discovering his new landscape and the place names on it.

Seen as a growth industry, motel construction usually received quick bank financing. According to Jakle's analysis one of the effects of the 1954 tax code was to accelerate depreciation of motels so that after eight or ten years "when amortization payments became greater than depreciation allowances" owners were encouraged to sell their motels (Jakle 1981:43). This explanation may account for many of the alterations given to motels still standing along Route 66. With little incentive to maintain them, owners would let them deteriorate to the extent that new owners had little choice than to give them major renovations which often included new facades using superficial elements of styles currently in vogue. Slump block walls with extruded mortar and, later, rustic board and batten facades have replaced many of the original stucco walls. Likewise many courts

now have pitched or mansard roofs with late 1950s-era exaggerated moderne porte cocheres. By the mid-1950s motels along Route 66 had moved to the next phase of their evolution, two story motor inns with more than forty units and owned by an absentee investment group rather than the on-site operators.

Significance:

Courts dating to the period of significance are rapidly disappearing. Of the ninety-eight courts and motels listed in the 1955 Albuquerque City Directory along Route 66, for example, the survey showed that only forty-eight remain. While greater percentages remain in other communities, their numbers are also diminishing, and many have lost their historic integrity through major alterations. These remaining courts are significant as reminders of the earlier stages of a property type that emerged as a response to early automobile tourism. They are also significant as evidence of the spatial arrangements, building techniques, materials and styles associated with motels in the Southwest during the period of significance.

Registration Requirements:

To be considered eligible under Criterion A, tourist courts and motels must convey a high degree of association and feeling connecting them with the roadside services related to the rise of automobile tourism along Route 66 in New Mexico. To be considered eligible under Criterion C they must exhibit a high degree of integrity based on location, setting, design, and materials characteristic of tourist court construction along Route 66 in New Mexico. A single alteration such as the in-fill of a few garages, the replacement of a sign, or the addition of a porte cochere in the 1950s, will not necessarily disqualify a property if other elements continue to convey its historic character based on the other criteria.

3. Gas Stations

Description:

Much like the tourist court, of which it was sometimes a part, the gas station is a property type that evolved as the need for gasoline grew with the popularization of the automobile. Both John Jakle and Daniel Vieyra trace the evolution of the modern gas station, developing morphologies to show the phases it has gone through from its curbside origins to its current form marked by an oversized canopy covering multiple pump islands and small convenience stores called "travel centers" (Jakle 1978; Vieyra 1979). During the period of significance several types of gas stations appeared along Route 66 in New Mexico. They ranged from the curbside pumps which persisted along rural sections of the road at least through the late 1920s to what Jakle refers to as the modest "house" and its elaborations, culminating in the 1940s and early 50s with the "oblong box." As the norms for gas stations have changed and roadside property values have increased, many gas stations have been razed or altered as their functions have changed.

The distribution of gasoline along the early roads of New Mexico presented logistical problems characteristic of large, sparsely-populated western states. Gasoline was first shipped to distribution points by rail. Then it was distributed in large metal drums and sold at grocery stores, garages, automobile dealerships and other outlets. Richardson's Store in Montoya, already listed on the National Register of Historic Places, illustrates that early combination of commercial activities. In the larger towns and cities along the highway, the advent of gravity-based gas pumps led to the rise of filling stations and the appearance of franchise gas stations even before the designation of Route 66. In contrast, rural gas stations were often slower to install tanks with some trading posts simply storing their bulk gasoline in metal drums and using spigots to transfer it into motorists' gas tanks (Fernandez 1992). In these rural areas the franchise stations of the large gas companies rarely competed with the trading posts and other small operator-owned stations buying gas from jobbers and often selling

it at a cent or two discount below the price in the franchise stations.

By the 1930s, the network for distributing gasoline had become much more systematic with underground tanks installed and franchise-designed stations located in all of the major towns along Route 66. Late in the decade, much of the gasoline distribution along Route 66 originated at Prewitt just east of the Continental Divide where petroleum from oilfields in the nearby San Juan Basin was refined. In the 1950s, a pipeline from Texas to Albuquerque was completed, centralizing much of the distribution (Tyrack 1992).

As the gasoline distribution network became more centralized,so did the nature of the gasoline outlets. With greater competition between the oil companies during the Depression, emphasis shifted from simply filling a car with gas to offering complete service. These new service stations employed designs provided by the oil company whose gas they sold. In their early stages, most designs offered little more than a prefabricated "house" with a canopy. Many of these structures consisted of metal walls with enamel surfaces and of a hipped roof extending over a drive-up lane to a pump island. The Herman Garage in Thoreau, which opened in 1935 as a Magnolia Station in Grants, represents such a design. In 1938, the station was moved to Thoreau along the newly realigned portion of Route 66 as it approached the Continental Divide.

In the late 1930s, new streamlined, functional structures using styles developed by industrial architects, such as William Dorwin Teague who designed the prototype Texaco model in 1937, appeared along Route 66. These stations represented the oil companies' efforts to attract customers based upon a packaging and marketing plan that would lead motorists to associate a product with a building's specific design. Small ornamental details such as the parallel fins extending across the canopy of a Texaco station or the moderne-style tower at the core of a Standard station became roadside markers. Combined with the free road maps that the gas companies offered at the station and

through their travel services, gas stations using company-supplied designs tried to instill a sense of product loyalty among travellers.

By the mid-1950s, the gas station had again evolved, this time to a "small box," often with a canopy. During this period, the Streamlined Moderne Style with its restraint and efficiency gave way to a derivative style, sometimes called exaggerated moderne, with canopies canted at oblique angles and supported by elaborately trussed metal support posts. Numerous examples of the oblong box some with streamlined and others with exaggerated modern elements are common along Route 66. Unlike the tourist courts whose architectural styles evoked the Southwest, gas stations rarely deviated from the national norms of the industry. A few service stations along Route 66 were built in the Southwest Vernacular Style, and photographs show that some stations were built in the Pueblo Revival Style; but these were the exception, and few stand today.

Common to all of these variations on the oblong box form were basic service station characteristics. In addition to concrete pump islands and, usually, a canopy, stations consisted of an office and sales section and one or more service bays, or "lubritoriums." The office was usually enclosed with large fixed commercial windows, often with an outward vertical slant during the exaggerated moderne period of the late 1950s. Office doors often had a transom as did those of restrooms which appeared, at first, in back of the office and, in later years, along the exterior sides of the building. Early bay doors were often sliding wood panel doors with a single light. By the late 1930s, overhead doors with multi-light horizontal panels had become common. Repair pits were gradually replaced by car lifts in the bays.

In the New Mexican cities and towns located along Route 66, the location and spatial arrangement of gas stations was typical of towns and cities elsewhere with the ideal station location being a corner lot offering easy access to pump islands and service bays and a sufficient turning radius for cars. As commercial strips extended away from the urban nucleus, gas

stations were often one of the first businesses to mark the expansion. Owners on the periphery were quick to exploit motorists' apprehension about the long stretches of desolate miles along the highway. Signs announcing "last chance before the desert" and other warning were not uncommon.

The location of service stations along rural Route 66 in New Mexico reveals a pattern based, in part, on topographical considerations. Every summit in the basin and range portion of Route 66's course had at least one gas station at the roadside. Joe McComb, an employee at Comer's Service Station at the top of Sedillo Hill in the mid-1940s, argues that eastern motorists unaccustomed to mountain ranges and uneasy about over-heated engines in the summer and snowstorms in the winter often stopped at these stations for services other than gas. He recalls that as a young attendant he stayed busy pouring water in radiators and attaching snow chains (McComb 1991). At other summits such as the Continental Divide and Cline's Corners, entire service complexes offering both garage services and cafes thrived during the 1940s and 50s when cars' performances were less reliable. By specializing in what the gasoline services industry termed "TBA," tires, batteries, accessories, many owners of rural gas stations found a livelihood along the highway.

As marketing strategies, symbolized by the evolution of the gas station's form, have changed, many of the old stations have been razed and replaced by a station in the latest style on the same site. Other stations have gone out of business as a result of recent environmental regulations requiring the removal of old gasoline storage tanks. Those gas stations dating to the highway's period of significance that do remain no longer sell gas. Instead, they have other functions along the commercial strip in urban areas, serving as parts stores, used car lots, detailing shops or even restaurants and jewelry shops. Rural gas stations are more often vacant and in deteriorating condition as a result of being bypassed by the interstates.

Significance:

The remaining gas stations dating to the period of significance are important as reminders of a property type that emerged in response to the rise of automobile tourism. Located along both urban and rural segments of Route 66, they recall a period of tourism in which motorists depended upon a more frequent distribution of stations to offer gas and necessary services to less reliable automobiles. They are also significant for their locations, plans, styles and materials and how they reveal the earlier stages of the evolution of the modern service station.

Registration Requirements:

To be eligible under Criterion A in the area of transportation a gas station must illustrate a clear association and convey a strong feeling of early automobile tourism along Route 66. To be eligible under Criterion C, it must be a good example of the design, materials, and spatial arrangement of its property type as it appeared along Route 66 in New Mexico. Since few gas stations dating to the period of significance remain, all of those from that period have been examined closely to determine their eligibility. Those with additions of repair bays to the building that do not detract from the integrity of the original building as it faces the highway are considered eligible if they have an otherwise high degree of integrity. Likewise, those whose current function is no longer that of a gas station are evaluated on the basis of the degree to which the property continues to recall its historic function. Since selling gasoline was one of several commercial activities at many trading posts and curio stores, those properties are classified as trading posts/curio shops rather than gas stations.

4. Cafes

As increasing numbers of motorists took to America's early highways, they also sparked a change in how Americans ate. Eating and driving soon became bound together as parts of a single

experience (Belasco 1979; Liebs 1985; Langdon 1986). Motorists travelling along the early state roads that would become Route 66 were limited in their choices. Those who preferred "gypsying" camped and prepared their own meals, often cooking canned goods which gave rise to the term "tin can tourists." Many of the early campgrounds, and then the first courts, provided tourists with a kitchen or at least a stove. The alternatives for the motorist in the 1920s were few. Hotel dining rooms and downtown cafes, both of which were much less convenient for cross-country motorists, were more closely associated with railroad travel and generally offered heavy fare that didn't mix well with the open air travel of a touring car. By the 1930, alternatives began to appear along the highway including foodstands and cafes catering to cross-country motorists. Some offered drive-in service, anticipating the rise of the fast-food drive-ins that would emerge at the end of Route 66's golden age. Because of this rise in franchise restaurants, few restaurants dating to the highway's period of significance have survived, and those that remain have under gone substantial alterations to conform to the society's changing norms for roadside food.

Just as the Harvey Indian Detours contributed to improvements in portions of the Route 66 roadway, the spread of Harvey House restaurants along the AT&SF line offered motorists travelling Route 66 during its pioneer period better choices than motorists had along other western highways. Before his death in 1901, Fred Harvey had laid the groundwork for a dining system that anticipated many motorists' needs, including quick service, convenience and well-prepared food (Langdon 1985:6-8). Las Vegas, Lamy, Santa Fe, Albuquerque and Gallup all had Harvey restaurants available to Route 66 motorists. Their practice of receiving meal orders from train passengers as the train approached the station affected motorists who benefitted from their habit of prompt service as well. Other dining choices during that period included tea houses and other hotel dining rooms, both of which catered primarily to local customers.

As the commercial strip began to expand, roadside foodstands were an important part of it. Cafes, as they were usually called in the Southwest, appeared in the larger towns, some in downtown

~~districts, but many~~ more along the strip. Even before the straightening of Route 66, East Central Avenue in Albuquerque emerged as the first strip offering drive-in service. The Triangle Cafe and Pig Stand both appeared in the late 1920s. The former also sold gas, but both offered a menu featuring barbecue and fountain services, and both were roadside buildings oriented to the automobile with off-street parking. A few years later, the Iceberg, a drive-in stucco structure built to resemble an iceberg, appeared a block to the east of the Triangle. In 1932, the Cottage Bakery, resembling a romantic thatched English cottage and anticipatory of the domestic style that would soon characterize the Toddle House restaurant chain, appeared. By the 1940s Central Avenue was lined with automobile-oriented drive-ins and cafes. Rather than using a flamboyant symbolic architecture which Robert Venturi refers to as a "duck" style, most of these buildings simply reflected the popular commercial styles of the time. Thus many buildings from this period incorporated streamlined moderne elements, especially glass blocks, curved windows and pylons for signs.

In other communities and rural areas cafes also appeared. Use of eclectic styles was generally more restrained than in Albuquerque. The Ren-de-vous in Tucumcari, for example, used glass block, curved walls and windows, and neon trim to articulate a modest use of the Moderne Style. Those in rural areas were unadorned structures with a few Southwest Vernacular Style details for ornamentation. The cafe at the Villa de Cubero, for example, modestly mirrored some of the more elaborate details of the trading post across the highway, featuring a stepped parapet and a tile portal across its facade. Later, drive-ins with canopies for curbside service appeared, although few of those dating to the period of significance have retained a high degree of historic integrity.

More than other property types, cafes and foodstands dating to the period of significance have virtually disappeared from the Route 66 roadside. The advent of fast-food franchises has resulted in the razing of these earlier structures and replacing them with programmatic franchise structures on these valuable commercial sites. In rural areas cafes associated with gas

stations at interstate exits, such as those at Cline's Corners and the Flying C have been heavily remodeled or replaced with new structures during the interstate era. One interesting development that will need more study is the independent family restaurant dating to the late 1950s and early 1960s. Several dating from this period are built in the Exaggerated Moderne Style and represent an alternative to the franchise restaurants that are now supplanting them. Although they do not fall within the period of significance of this study, researching and preserving some of their best examples will be necessary in order to retain an important element of the evolving commercial strip.

Significance:

These remaining cafes and restaurants dating to the period of significance are important as reminders of how a new property type emerged to meet the needs of automobile tourism along US 66 in New Mexico. Their plans, designs, and settings are also significant as reminders of how the builders of these early foodstands were experimenting with new architectural forms as they reoriented the traditional downtown commercial cafe to the roadside.

Registration Requirements:

In order for a restaurant or cafe to meet eligibility requirements under Criterion A, it must retain a clear feeling and association with Route 66 during the period of significance. Although the function of some cafes may have changed, to be eligible under Criterion C they must retain sufficient elements of location, design, and materials. Although Route 66 was straightened only in 1937 to pass through Albuquerque on an east-west axis, the development of Central Avenue as an early commercial strip was already underway in anticipation of the eventual realignment. Properties pre-dating the actual straightening of the highway but then catering to a Route 66 clientele during the years of significance beginning in 1937 are considered eligible.

5. Curio Shops/Trading Posts

Description:

Although this property type embraces a varied range of functions, the common element uniting all of the individual properties included in this group is the sale of southwestern artifacts to tourists along Route 66. Many of the properties within this category at one time or another have been the site of multiple functions, including those of gas station and garage with wrecking services, tourist court, grocery store, manufacturing site for Indian artifacts, and trading center for nearby Pueblo and Navajo Indians. Whether they are located in cities or rural areas, most of these properties are built in a regional style that readily signals to the motorist their association with the Southwest and its Indian cultures. In general, the term "trading post" is one used in the western half of the state especially in rural areas near Indian reservations. While the term is also used in Albuquerque, the more frequent term found in towns and in the eastern part of the state applying to this property type is "curio" or "Indian arts" store. The trading post along Route 66 has its roots in the late 1920s as entrepreneurs beginning to see the potential the highway held for business sought to combine local trade with providing tourist services. Many of the trading posts dating to the period of significance have closed as a result of the development of the interstate; others, however, continue to operate.

Railroad tourism in the Southwest not only provided passengers with the opportunity to see regional scenery and cultures; it also provided them with the opportunity to buy Indian artifacts. Stops along the AT&SF at Albuquerque and Gallup were timed to permit passengers to buy crafts from Indians who had spread their wares along the walkways to the Harvey hotels near the depots. Inside the Alvarado Hotel in Albuquerque was the Indian Room offering additional crafts for sale. Later the Harvey Indian Detours provided opportunities for the detourists to purchase crafts at the pueblos and villages which the tours visited. During the railroad era, the trading post at Domingo Station had served as a trade point in which Pueblo crafts were

exchanged for supplies and, in turn, sold to tourists.

With the exception of the trading posts located at a few key railroad stops, however, a traditional barter system limited by a system of credit or scrip prevailed at most trading posts. With the coming of cross-country motoring, however, trading post economics began to change in the late 1920s. Motorists supplied an infusion of cash which greatly improved business at some roadside trading posts. It enabled traders to continue their trade with local Indian craftsmen, buying crafts at wholesale prices and selling them at retail prices. Early traders such as Homer Jones at Thoreau, and the Richardson, Atkinson and Kirk families in Gallup began to see trading posts along Route 66 as an alternative to trading exclusively on the reservations, or as the means to a new livelihood (Heggem 1992; Richardson 1992).

As they opened businesses along Route 66, many traders began to offer additional services. Trading post gasoline pumps served not only tourists but also the growing number of Indians who purchased trucks in the 1930s. Groceries and, sometimes, a post office also became a part of some operations. The Villa de Cubero, built in 1937 using the plans that had been used to construct the now altered trading post at Old Laguna illustrates how this diversification led some trading posts to become what one might call a rural service complex. S.S. Gotlieb, a local trader and state senator, had operated a mercantile store in the village of Cubero dating to before the designation of Route 66. In 1937 when the road was realigned and bypassed old Cubero, Gotlieb obtained the plans from fellow merchant, Sigfried Abraham, at Laguna and had the Mediterranean Style trading post constructed along the new highway. In addition to including a grocery and gas pumps, Gotlieb set aside a wing of the building to display pottery for which he had traded groceries with nearby Acoma and Laguna Indians. At the same time, he constructed four duplex cabins with attached garages in a crescent to the rear of the trading post and a cafe directly across Route 66.

Urban curio stores were less diversified, relying exclusively on the sale and, sometimes, manufacture of crafts. In Albuquerque at least two curio stores, Maisel's Trading Post and Bell's

Trading Post also included a manufacturing area to the rear of the showroom where Indian craftsmen worked with silver, turquoise and petrified wood. As a means of attracting tourists, many of these urban stores relied upon Pueblo Revival Style buildings or, at least, Indian-inspired murals on their facades. Bell's Trading Post and the Enchanted Mesa Indian Arts building follow the tradition of the now razed Wright's Trading Post to signal their function through their form. In the case of Maisel's, architect John Gaw Meem incorporated multiple display windows and a recessed entry to create a front consistent with the street wall but used a hybrid Southwest-Art Deco Style upper facade featuring Indian-styled murals to signal the building's function.

Related to the curio shop but often offering only lower quality Indian crafts or mass produced replicas was the roadside attraction and all-purpose store. Sometimes referred to disparagingly as "tourist traps" or "snake pits," these businesses relied extensively on billboard advertising and gimmicks to lure motorists off of the road. Sometimes the attraction was snakes; other times a buffalo or an Indian dancer. The original roadside attraction/curio shop along the New Mexico portion of US 66 was the Cliff Dwellings, an imitation Indian ruin set in a sandstone cliff at the New Mexico-Arizona border. Opened in the early 1930s by an Arizona entrepreneur who called himself "Indian Miller," the Cliff Dwelling offered tourists a quick convenient glimpse of a southwestern building type, albeit contrived, that they might not otherwise see. This sub-type of the curio shop proliferated after World War II when businesses with such names as the Longhorn Ranch, the Frontier Museum, Ft. Yellowhorse, and the Cobra Gardens cropped up along Route 66. Often announced miles in advance by billboards announcing their gimmick and items for sale, they were often little more than concrete block structures fronted by gaudily-painted walls, fort-like palisades, or rustic board and batten facades. These properties represent the most ephemeral of roadside businesses and were among the first to fail with the advent of the interstate.

Significance:

The trading post/curio shop is a significant property type as a reminder of the commercial impact of automobile tourism along Route 66. As the early Indian traders diversified to include the tourist in their market, and as urban businessmen began to cater to automobile tourists' desire to take home reminders of their trips to the Southwest, the trading post/curio shop became an important element along the side of Route 66. In their most traditional function as a trading center they offered one of the few places where Indian and tourist would meet, be it purchasing groceries and gas, or buying and selling crafts. In their most superficial function, they revealed the degree to which P.T. Barnum's dictum about Americans' gullibility applied to the tourist.

This property type is also significant as a reminder of how roadside traders attempted to incorporate southwestern building styles or ornamental motifs into what were essentially large commercial buildings as a means of signaling to motorists the function of the building.

In recent decades, the curio shop as a property type has undergone several changes. Many shops in Albuquerque are now located in Old Town. A block removed from Route 66, this contemporary tourist attraction, prior to the mid-1950s, was a community plaza with only a few curio shops. Its transformation, along with the interstate, has resulted in the removal of many curio shops from Central Avenue. Likewise, in recent decades many commercial buildings in downtown Gallup have become jewelry and crafts outlets. While these buildings date to the 1920s and earlier, few of them were curio shops during the highway's period of significance.

Registration Requirements:

To be eligible under Criterion A a curio shop/trading post must have a clear association with and convey a feeling of its role as a curio shop/trading post along US 66 during the period of significance. To be eligible under Criterion C it must convey

a high level of historic integrity based upon its location, setting, design, and materials.

6. Municipal Roadside Attractions

Description:

Although the historic context of this report focuses on Route 66 and how it reflects the rise of automobile tourism in New Mexico through the history of the development of the road and tourist-related buildings along the roadside, WPA and CCC projects in New Mexico constitute an important related element during the period of significance. Not only did federal relief monies stimulate road improvements and lead to the complete paving of the highway; they also enabled communities along the road to undertake projects that benefitted both townspeople and tourists. Developing these municipal amenities enabled towns to extol them as a part of their effort to encourage motorists to spend a few additional hours or a night in the town before moving on.

Federal agencies were involved in the development of projects that benefitted tourists even before the New Deal. In 1931, the Middle Rio Grande Conservancy District working with the Army Corps of Engineers created what became known as Tingley Beach. Although it wasn't until the straightening of Route 66 in 1937 that cross-country motorists passed directly by the swimming lake, it became a popular recreational spot for the citizens of Albuquerque as well as tourists seeking to cool off after a long day of summer travel. During the Depression, WPA-funded projects developed similar recreational sites in Tucumcari and Santa Rosa. These projects created jobs for local unemployed workers. When they were completed they became the site for local picnics and outings. At the same time, they became attractions which local promotional groups were able to offer tourists as an inducement to spend a night in one of the communities' tourist courts.

Both Five Mile Park four miles west of Tucumcari and Park Lake in Santa Rosa are adjacent to what was Route 66. Both were designed to use water from nearby springs or wells to feed a large pool in Tucumcari and a lake in Santa Rosa. Both also use the Pueblo Revival Style for the parks' associated buildings, a large community hall at Five Mile Park and a bathhouse at Park Lake. Both also are landscaped using locally-quarried stone so that visitors were able to develop a strong sense of place as they swam, noting the use of the stone in the surrounding walls and terraces.

Significance:

These municipal roadside attractions dating to the New Deal are significant because they serve as reminders of how WPA and CCC projects not only provided work for local people but enhanced the public facilities small communities were able to offer tourists. In the early 1920s, many communities had provided free municipal campgrounds for pioneer motorists. When private camping grounds and then tourist courts replaced them, the municipal role in promoting tourism through providing public spaces for tourists diminished. Public projects such as these marked the gradual return of local governments to that early role, a practice common today with towns' promotion of parks, open spaces, museums, and special events. With their picnic and swimming facilities, both public parks enhanced their towns for those passing through.

Both of these municipal attractions continue to operate. Although the pool at Five Mile Park is no longer used, the Tucumcari Lions Club maintains the park, now known as Apache Wells Park, and community events such as the annual high school reunion are staged there. Park Lake continues to be an important picnic and swimming site in Santa Rosa.

Registration Requirements:

To be eligible under Criterion A, properties within this category must possess a high degree of historic integrity based upon their location and setting, and they must also demonstrate a clear association and feeling of their role as a tourist attraction during the period of significance of Route 66.

7. Route 66 Rural Historic Districts

Description:

Although the completion of Interstate 40 through New Mexico has resulted in the virtual disappearance of automobile tourists along most remaining rural portions of Route 66, some of the road segments that remain retain roadside businesses recalling the period of significance of automobile tourism along the highway. Many of these businesses offered a range of services to tourists. These multiple services which included a combination of gas, food, lodging, groceries and Indian crafts resulted in a business complex referred to in the historic context discussion as rural service complexes. Their successors along today's interstate highways include large multi-service truck stops and motor lodge/restaurant complexes with small adjacent shopping malls or service station/travel centers. Combined with historic portions of the road, these early rural service complexes constitute a Route 66 rural historic district.

Common characteristics of the early rural service complexes along Route 66 were their relationship to the highway, their spatial arrangement, and their building styles. Most often they were set back from the two-lane highway at least fifty feet with a gasoline pump island in front of the commercial building. A wide frontage area permitting motorists sufficient space to slow down and get off the road as well as offering an informal parking area extended to either side of the island. If courts were included, they often were arrayed in a crescent to the rear of the store or in a linear unit to the side. Cafes were sometimes

located within the commercial building but often were located in a discreet structure. Residential structures were discreet and located to the rear of the property or attached to the rear of the commercial building. Most buildings incorporated decorative elements from various regional building styles, ranging in modest uses of the Southwest Vernacular Style to more ornate uses of the Mediterranean Style. Signs announcing the business were located near the road as well as on the facades of the buildings and were important accessories.

Significance:

The Route 66 rural historic districts composed of one or more rural service complexes along the side of the road and the highway itself are important reminders of the motoring experience through New Mexico during the period of significance. They reveal how the rise of automobile tourism led to the development of rural roadside businesses. They also reveal how local merchants oriented their businesses to the road and how they relied on regional building styles to signal the function of their buildings to motorists.

Registration Requirements:

To be eligible under Criterion A, a Route 66 rural historic district must possess a high degree of integrity of association and feeling reflecting the rise of automobile tourism along Route 66 during the period of significance. To be eligible under Criterion C two elements must be present. A district must contain a high percentage of contributing structures that convey the location, design, and materials used in rural commercial construction; and it must contain a segment of the road reflecting the building technology and structural elements associated with road building during the period of significance.

G. Geographical Data

The architectural and historic resources of US 66 in New Mexico encompass all of the alignments used by Route 66 as well as adjacent associated properties and extend through Quay, Guadalupe, Torrance, San Miguel, Santa Fe, Sandoval, Bernalillo, Valencia, Cibola and McKinley Counties. Although some remaining segments of former Route 66 have been abandoned, or exist only as local and frontage roads and have no route numbers, several segments have now been assigned state highway numbers or bear local names in various communities. Those sections include: Business I-40 or Tucumcari Boulevard in Tucumcari, Quay County; Business I-40 or Will Rogers Boulevard and Parker Avenue in Santa Rosa and NM 156 and US 84 in Guadalupe County; Business 1-40 in Moriarty and NM 333 in Torrance County; Business 1-40 or Central Avenue in Albuquerque and NM 333 and 314 in Bernalillo County; NM 314 and 6 in Valencia County; Business I-40 or Santa Fe Avenue in Grants and NM 124, 117 and 122 in Cibola County; Business 1-40 or 66 Boulevard in Gallup and NM 122 and 118 in McKinley County; NM 313 in Sandoval County; Cerrillos Road, Galisteo, Water and College Streets in Santa Fe and NM 50 in Santa Fe County; and NM 63 and US 84 in San Miguel County.

H. Summary of Identification and Evaluation Methods

The multiple property listing for the historic and architectural resources of Route 66 in New Mexico is based upon an inventory of highway segments and tourist-related properties conducted by David Kammer during 1991-92 and a resulting report delivered to the State Historic Preservation Division in October, 1992. Carrying out the field survey of the resources of Route 66 associated with the rise of automobile tourism in New Mexico entailed surveying all tourist-related properties along all existing roadways that served as part of Route 66 between 1926 and 1960. (The New Mexico Department of Tourism which also funded the inventory requested the cut-off date of 1960.) It also included surveying portions of the road itself that were a part of the highway between 1926 and 1941. In all, 557 properties were surveyed using the New Mexico Historic Building Inventory (HBI) form.

Property types were determined, in part, by the discussion of "highway resources" offered in the report, "Trails, Rails and Roads," prepared for HPD, by a preliminary reconnaissance survey conducted by David Kammer, William Tydeman and Chris Wilson, and in consultation with HPD staff (Pratt 1988:291-321). All of the properties surveyed, with the exception of 107 commercial buildings previously surveyed by architect Greg Hicks in Gallup and used as the basis for the survey of 66 Boulevard and Coal Avenue between the "Ys," were determined to fall into seven property types: former segments of Route 66, tourist courts and motels, gas stations and garages, cafes and restaurants, curio shops and trading posts, municipal roadside attractions and Route 66 rural historic districts. Initially, project team members had not anticipated the municipal roadside attraction property type, but interviews with local citizens in the towns where this type is located indicated its importance to the communities' business sector which depended upon automobile tourism. Other highway resources cited in Pratt's report including objects such as billboards and signs, structures such as ports of entry and rest stops, and commercial strips are not included as potentially eligible property types because existing examples not included in the inventory, do not fall within the period of significance, or

no longer retain a sufficient degree of historic integrity.

Determining the historic context was based largely upon the archival research, numerous interviews with those who had worked, lived or travelled along Route 66, and the results of the inventory. An ongoing issue during the project concerned determining the period of significance. Project team members and HPD staff are aware of the National Register's general eligibility requirement of fifty years of age for a structure, a requirement that would provide a convenient cut-off date of 1942 when the nation shifted all of its efforts to fighting World War II and highway construction and automobile tourism virtually ceased. Yet the survey as well as research and interviews revealed that the pattern and styles of construction found in the development of tourist-related roadside businesses before the war resumed in 1946 with little change.

This pattern, characterized by small-scale owner-operator investment in cafes, curio shops, gas stations, and tourist courts continued into the mid-1950s, coinciding with the golden age of tourism along Route 66. These same sources also indicated that changes in roadside construction anticipated the Interstate Highway Act of 1956 by about three years. The good indicator of this shift, for example, appears in changes occurring in the property type of the tourist court. The one-story plan that rarely exceeded twenty units and often included garages between units and employed elements of regional architectural styles such as the Pueblo Revival or Southwest Vernacular Styles persisted until the mid-1950s. Then a larger scale of investment and entreprenurship appeared, bringing with it a shift to two-story complexes characterized by a standardization of styles. As a result of this sustained pattern of construction extending well into the postwar era, it was determined that the period 1926-1956 most accurately reflects the period of significance. Those few individual properties constructed after 1943 and included in the Multiple Property submission have been evaluated as significant and worthy of designation in hopes of recognizing and protecting them from a trend that removes many older commercial properties well before they are fifty years old.

The Criteria for Evaluation and Criteria Considerations as stipulated in the 1991 publication "National Register Bulletin No. 16B" have been the basis for determining the areas of significance for each property type. Criterion A stipulates that properties be "associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history" . The road and tourist-related buildings along the roadside qualify were evaluated under Criterion A for their significance in the areas of transportation and the development of roadside commerce. Criteria C provides that properties "embody a distinctive characteristic of a type, period or method of construction... or that they represent a significant and distinguishable entity whose components may lack individual distinction." Properties were evaluated under Criterion C for what they reveal about early methods of road construction and the emergence of a vernacular roadside architecture.

The Criteria also provide a test for historic integrity based upon "location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling and association." Although not every individual test applies equally to each property, as a group the items on this list pro vide the basis for assessing the eligibility of each property under consideration.

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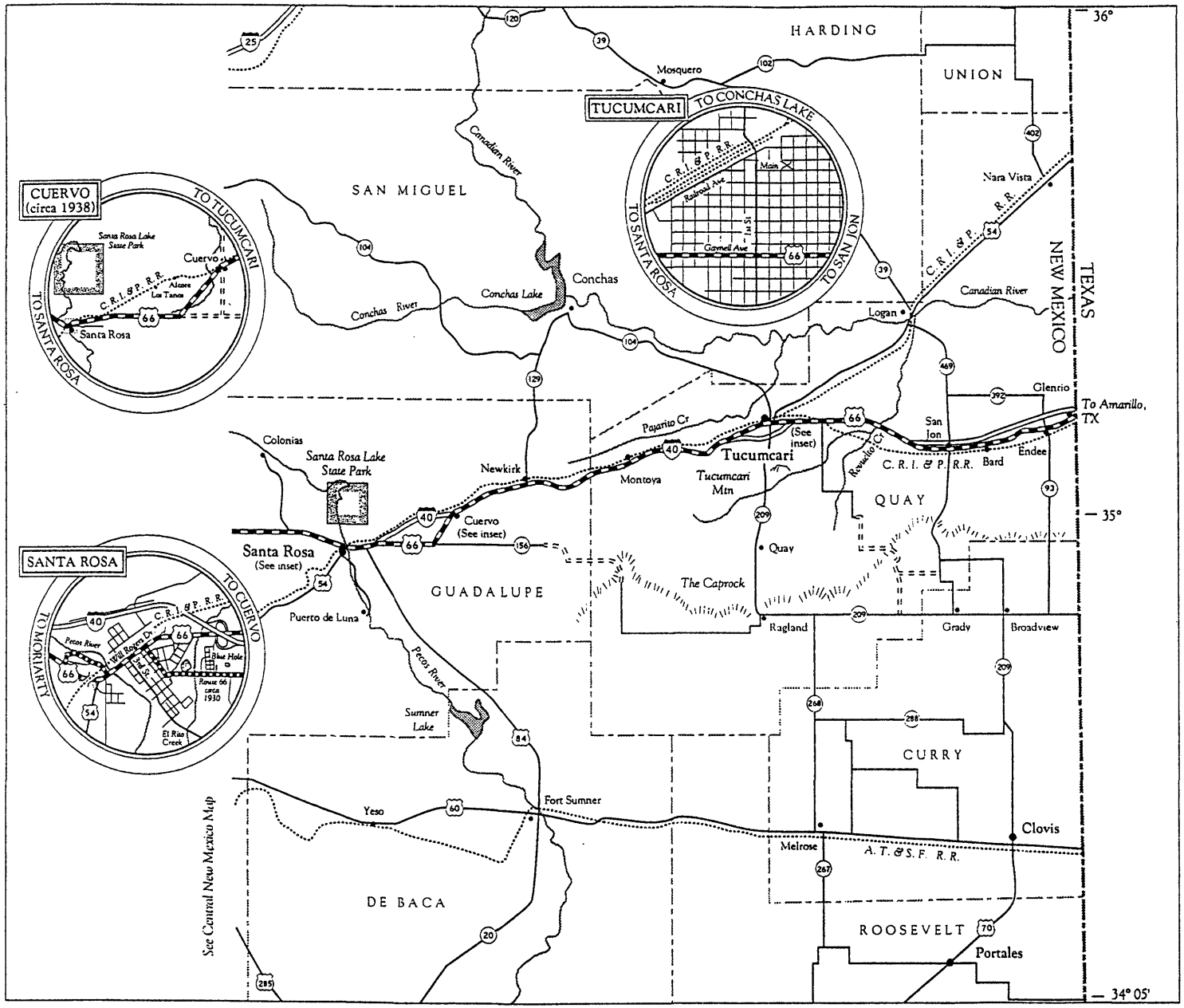

Route 66

Eastern third through New Mexico

Scale in Miles

0 10 20

Legend

- Route 66
- Interstate Highway
- Grade Separation
- Other Highway
- Dirt Road
- Railroad Track
- State Line
- County Line
- Continental Divide
- River
- McIntosh • Small Towns
- Grants ● Large Towns
- *Albuquerque* O Major Cities
- Forest Service/ Wildlife Refuge Boundary
- Indian Reservation
- Land Forms

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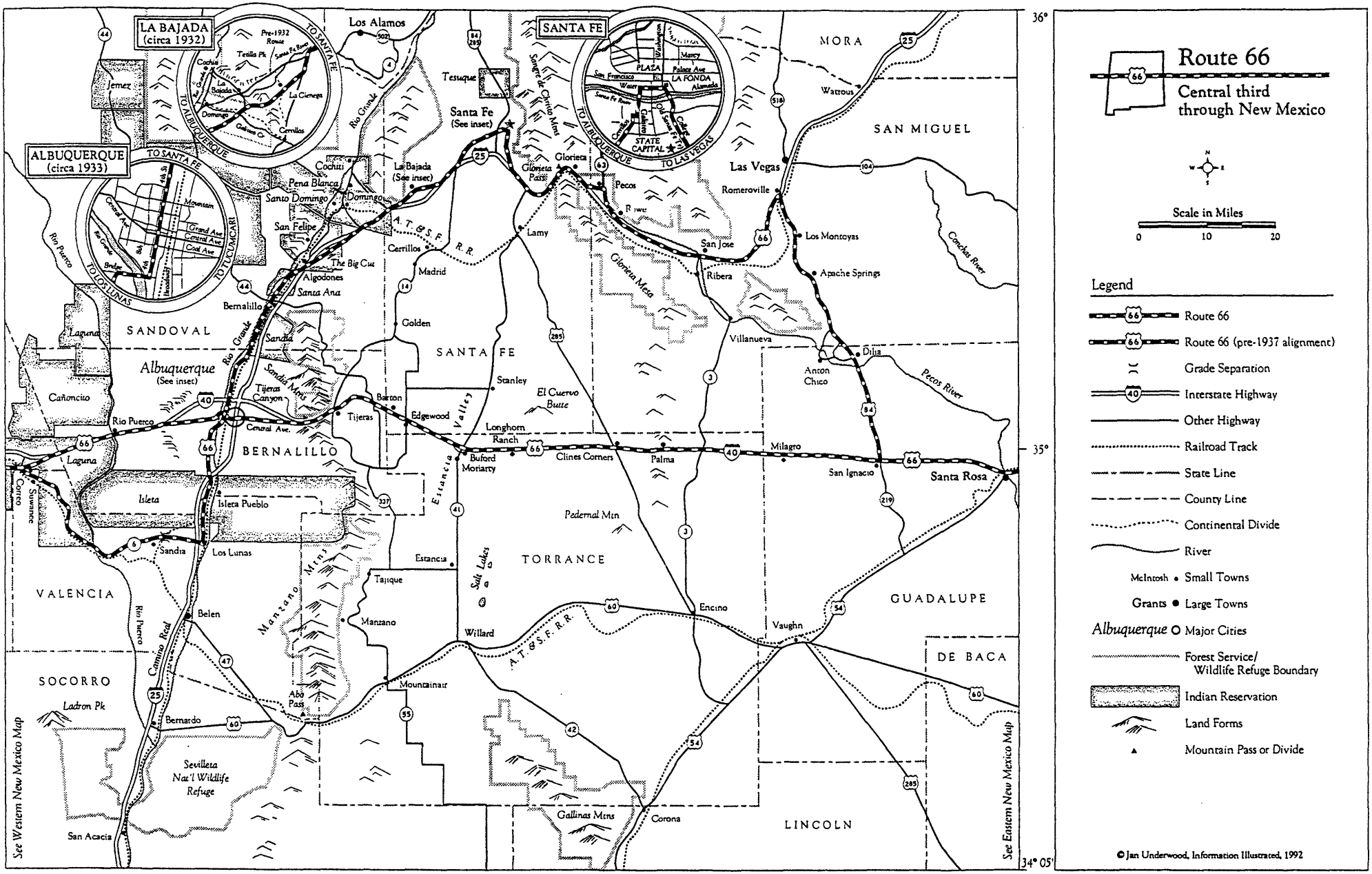
Route 66
Central third through New Mexico
Scale in Miles
0 10 20
Legend
Route 66
Route 66 (pre-1937 alignment)
Grade Separation
Interstate Highway
Other Highway
Railroad Track
State Line
County Line
Continental Divide
River
McIntosh Small Towns
Grants Large Towns
Albuquerque Major Cities
Forest Service/ Wildlife Refuge Boundary
Indian Reservation
Land Forms
Mountain Pass or Divide
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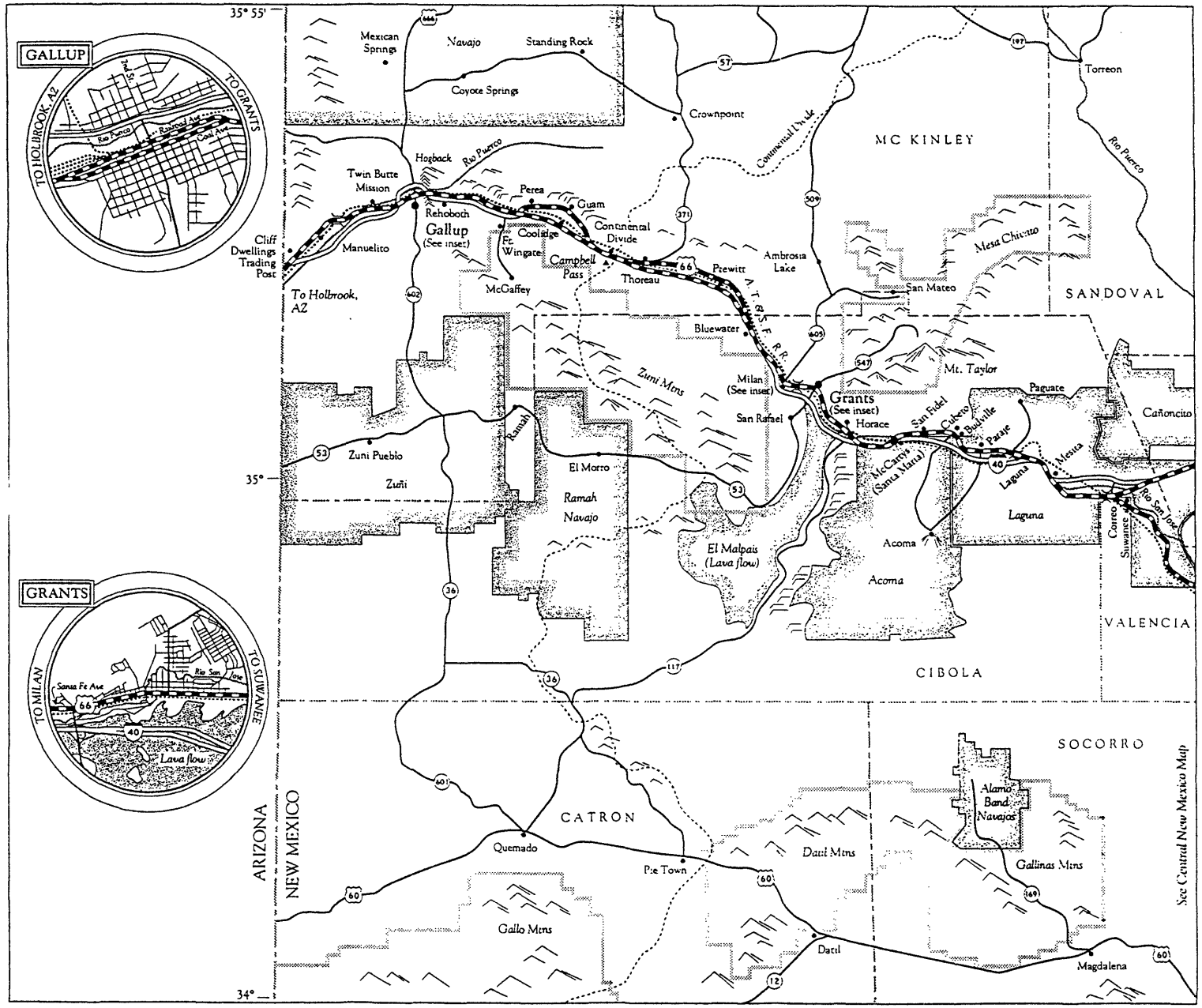
LA BAJADA (circa 1932)
ALBUQUERQUE (circa 1933)
SANTA FE
Los Alamos
Tesuque
Santa Fe (See inset)
La Bajada (See inset)
Glorieta
Pecos
Las Vegas
Romeroville
San Jose
Ribera
Villanueva
Los Montoyas
Apache Springs
Dilia
Anton Chico
Wattrous
Lamy
Cerrillos
Madrid
Golden
Stanley
El Cuervo Butte
Barton
Edgewood
Tijeras
Tijeras Canyon
Bernalillo
Algodones
Santa Ana
San Felipe
Santo Domingo
Cochiti
Pena Blanca
Albuquerque (See inset)
Rio Puerco
Laguna
Cañoncito
Isleta
Isleta Pueblo
Los Lunas
Sandia
Belen
Bernardo
Sevilleta Nat'l Wildlife Refuge
San Acacia
Ladron Pk
Abo Pass
Mountainair
Manzano
Tajique
Estancia
Willard
Buford
Moriarty
Longhorn Ranch
Clines Corners
Palma
Encino
Vaughn
Milagro
San Ignacio
Santa Rosa
Corona
Gallinas Mtns
Pedernal Mtn
Salt Lakes
Estancia Valley
Glorieta Mesa
Glorieta Pass
Sangre de Cristo Mtns
Manzano Mtns
Sandia Mtns
Conchas River
Pecos River
Rio Grande
Rio Puerco
Central Ave.
Grand Ave.
Coal Ave.
Mountain
Bridge
Woodward
Camino Real
A.T.&S.F. R.R.
TO SANTA FE
TO ALBUQUERQUE
TO TUCUMCARI
TO LOS LUNAS
TO LAS VEGAS
PLAZA
LA FONDA
STATE CAPITAL
Palace Ave
Marcy
Alameda
Water
Galisteo
Cerrillos
Santa Fe River
Pre-1932 Route
Tesilla Pk
La Cienega
Domingo
Galisteo Cr.
Jemez
SANDOVAL
BERNALILLO
SANTA FE
TORRANCE
VALENCIA
SOCORRO
LINCOLN
GUADALUPE
DE BACA
SAN MIGUEL
MORA
See Western New Mexico Map
See Eastern New Mexico Map
36°
35°
34° 05'



Route 66

Western third through New Mexico

Scale in Miles

0 10 20

Legend

- Route 66
- Route 66 (pre-1937 alignment)
- Grade Separation
- Interstate Highway
- Other Highway
- Dirt Road
- Railroad Track
- State Line
- County Line
- Continental Divide
- River
- McIntosh • Small Towns
- Grants ● Large Towns
- Albuquerque ○ Major Cities
- Forest Service/ Wildlife Refuge Boundary
- Indian Reservation
- Land Forms
- ▲ Mountain Pass or Divide

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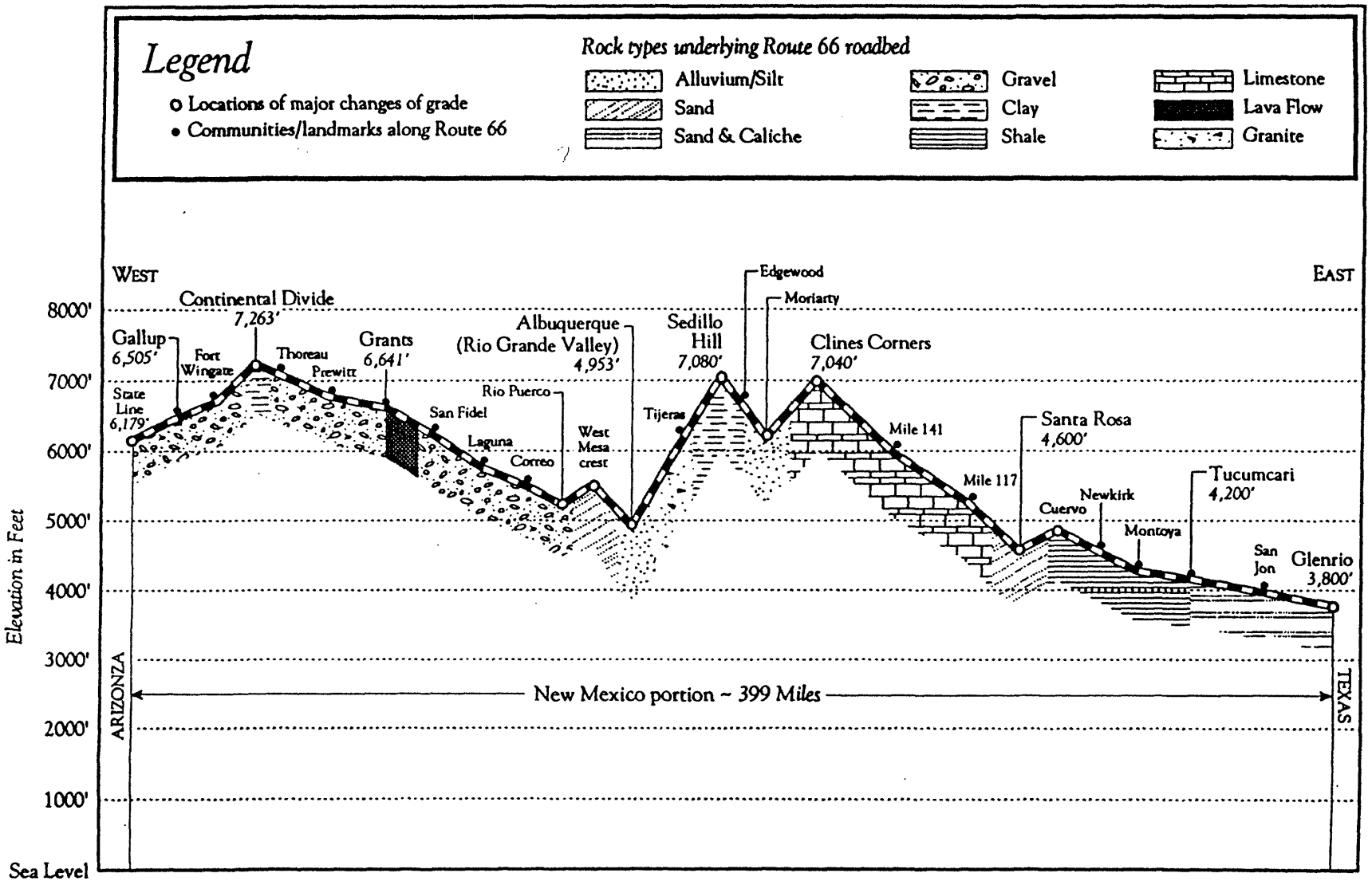

Fig. I Cross-section of the 1938 alignment of Route 66.