“Necessary Guidance:” The Fred Harvey Company Presents the Southwest

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Marisa Kay Brandt
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Abstract

Founded by Frederick Henry Harvey in 1876, the Fred Harvey Company was a family-run hotel chain located along the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe Railroad's tracks. The development of the Fred Harvey Company and the Santa Fe Railroad reveals linkages between changes in transportation and the development of a consumer culture based on advertising. Harvey established pleasant dining houses for travelers on the Santa Fe while allowing the railroad to promote the Harvey Company's offerings. Under his son, Ford Harvey, the company built its tourist business gradually. Ford Harvey asserted more control over the business's growth than his father had, working with his sister Minnie Harvey Huckel and her husband John Huckel to create interesting destinations to draw visitors to the Southwest. They built this expansion on the company's historic strengths – good food in comfortable (and comforting) surroundings – but also embarked on a project to explain the region in a way that was itself comfortable to potential tourists. They put their efforts before a larger audience at California's fairs, miniaturizing the Southwest to make it even more accessible and interesting to fair-goers. Finally, they brought together the elements that they had implicitly been selling and began to provide an experience of tourism that was hostessed from beginning to end. The

Harvey Company created a sense of comfort through its food, advertising, and staging in order to provide a commodified presentation of the Southwest to white tourists. Using promotional materials, constructed environments, and carefully-selected staff members, the Harvey Company made the Southwest more accessible (both literally and figuratively), comfortable, and interesting. I identify this kind of presentation as “hostessing.” Ultimately, the Harvey Company itself would use the word “hostessing” to describe what its employees were doing in the Southwest, but I assert that it was engaged in this activity from the beginning.

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Chapter One:
"A Combination of Hostess and Guide"

"The comparative primitiveness of the Southwest... makes it necessary to provide guidance, and the feminine contingent of careers soon developed furnishing a combination of hostess and guide to the uninitiated."
– Beatrice Chauvenet, Harvey Company "Courier," 1932[1]

When Beatrice Chavenet wrote about the role of a "Courier" in 1932, she was looking back on her short career as a southwestern tour guide for the Harvey Company. Her comments reflected both her own feelings and the business's perspective. By the time she became a Courier in the late 1920s, the Harvey Company had several decades of experience building its success on visitors' desires to visit an unfamiliar place made comfortable and accessible. Chavenet's job as a courier-guide was the ultimate expression of the company's business strategy.

Some authors have conceptualized tourism in the Southwest as selling its landscape, while others have argued that it is the experience of visiting the Southwest that is commodified. My dissertation is a case history which refines these ideas. I argue that the Harvey Company created a sense of comfort

[1] Beatrice Chauvenet, "Modern Pioneers: They Guide the Traveling Public," *The Santa Fe Magazine*, December 1932, 26.

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through its food, advertising, and staging in order to provide a commodified presentation of the Southwest to white tourists.[2] Using promotional materials, constructed environments, and carefully-selected staff members, the Harvey Company made the Southwest more accessible (both literally and figuratively), comfortable, and interesting. I identify this kind of presentation as "hostessing." Ultimately, the Harvey Company itself would use the word "hostessing" to describe what its employees were doing in the Southwest, but I assert that it was engaged in this activity from the beginning.

I bring together the literature of tourism, advertising, and the West to trace the effects of Santa Fe Railroad / Harvey advertising on the development of the Southwest as a tourist destination. Although scholars of tourism have written extensively about the West, and western historians likewise have written extensively about tourism, this study genders the intersection of these two literatures. My dissertation analyses the subtle ways that the Harvey Company's "hostessing" of the Southwest was a crucial component of their

[2] Although I identify these tourists as "white," it is also significant that they were English speaking. The local population in the Harvey Company's territory was a mix of several groups: transplants from the American East who were primarily of European descent and spoke English as their first language; people of Spanish descent who spoke Spanish and traced (or believed they could trace) their ancestry

back to Spain; indigenous peoples, both native to the American Southwest and from various parts of Mexico; and a spectrum of interstitial people of mixed descent. The interplay of racial and linguistic heritage in the region is unique to the Southwest, and my usage of the term white should not be taken to indicate that a simple white/non-white dichotomy is an accurate way to conceptualize racial relationships in the area. The (mostly eastern) tourists who patronized the Harvey Company, however, generally viewed almost all native-born locals as non-white, regardless of how those individuals would have identified themselves. The Harvey Company's staff, too, may have lumped their indigenous and Spanish-speaking workers together, again without regard to how those people self-identified.

campaign to promote the region as a tourist destination. I raise the following questions: How did the Harvey Company's development influence its later efforts in the Southwest? In what ways was its presentation gendered? Why did the company emphasize feminine qualities in this masculinized landscape? To answer these questions, I look to a diverse assortment of sources including Fred Harvey's personal papers, newspaper and magazine accounts (including the Santa Fe Railroad's corporate magazine), oral histories, and both business and personal letters. Because of a fire at the Harvey Company's Kansas City headquarters, I was not able to use any early corporate records or letters sent to the Harvey Company. However, a few of the businesses who worked with the Harvey Company retained archival letters from that period, giving me access to half of these conversations, and they sometimes had other related archival material as well. Fred Harvey's personal papers were preserved in a somewhat haphazard fashion, so that few continuous records (either letters or diaries) are now extant. I also use materials published by the Santa Fe Railroad and the Harvey Company to promote themselves.

The interplay between tourism and advertising is central to this discussion, especially with regard to the perceived authenticity of promoted tourist experiences. The Santa Fe Railroad and the Harvey Company worked to "invent" the Southwest as a region for tourists, and they used all the tools at

their disposal, ranging from conventional advertising to ethnographic volumes to commissioned artwork to world's fair exhibits. When the companies were founded in the mid-nineteenth century, advertising had just begun to exist as a professionalized enterprise; extended trips for leisure travel were still outside the experience of most Americans.

These leisure travelers – tourists – generally sought out interesting experiences that could be had with minimal discomfort. At first glance, the term "tourist" seems to need little definition. However, discussions of tourism are often linked to value judgments; connotations of "tourists" and "tourism" are often affected by these perspectives. A "tourist" has been variously defined as "one who travels for pleasure;" as "a consumer away from home;" "a passive observer of staged spectacles;" or "someone who travels to experience unfamiliar surroundings."[3] In the nineteenth century, tourists were overwhelmingly of European descent and rarely were working class. By the twentieth century, this norm was changing, and by the end of the period

covered by my study, most Americans of all classes undertook at least occasional leisure travel.

[3] Kerwin L Klein, "Frontier Products: Tourism, Consumerism, and the Southwestern Public Lands, 1890-1990," *The Pacific Historical Review* 62, no. 1 (February 1993): 39; Dennis R. Judd and Susan S. Fainstein, "Global Forces, Local Strategies, and Urban Tourism," in *The Tourist City*, ed. Dennis R. Judd and Susan S. Fainstein (Yale University Press, 1999), 14; Marta Weigle and Peter White, *The Lore of New Mexico* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1988), 84; David M. Wrobel, "Introduction: Tourists, Tourism, and the Toured Upon," in *Seeing and Being Seen: Tourism in the American West*, ed. David M. Wrobel and Patricia Nelson Limerick (Lawrence: University Press Of Kansas, 2001), 16.

Criticisms of tourism date back to the beginning of tourism itself in the nineteenth century. Parodies of tourists that highlighted the inauthenticity of tourist attractions were common by the turn of the century.[4] As the middle class grew following the Industrial Revolution, its members adopted the elite custom of travel for entertainment. The word "tourist," first used at the end of the eighteenth century as a synonym for "traveler," was more often a term of derision just fifty years later.[5] These early accounts frequently made a classbased distinction between tourists and "travelers," often couched in language of "authenticity." Rather than thinking of travelers and tourists as two distinct groups, however, since an outside observer would be hard-pressed to differentiate the two, I will focus on the transition from travel to tourism. While *travel* does not need to be promoted as a pastime – it simply occurs as a consequence of other endeavors – *tourism* is a leisure activity. Cindy S. Aron's *Working At Play: A History of Vacations in the United States* provides a well-written look at the development of "vacationing" as a pastime during the nineteenth century and into the twentieth century. [6] Initially, tourism in America was an imitation of European tourism, particularly the European "grand tour." In that tradition, Americans "wanted to see

[4] Cindy S. Aron, *Working At Play: A History of Vacations in the United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 154.

[5] *Oxford English Dictionary Online*, s.v. "tourism," http://www.oed.com/.

[6] Aron, *Working At Play*.

recognizable reminders of historical tradition and to enjoy the benefits of a change in climate, all in elegant surroundings."[7] Tourism in the United States probably began with "the "fashionable tour" from New York City up the Hudson River to Albany and "The Springs," then west by way of the Erie Canal to Niagara Falls," in the early nineteenth century.[8] As tourism grew in popularity and became open to non-elite travelers, however, tourism went hand-in-hand with a quest for authenticity.

Aron finds that tourism's development was concurrent with the growth of a consumption-based economy in the United States. In this case, tourism is the act of consuming experiences, often as a result of advertising. The connection with advertising was one of the chief sources of tourism's negative

associations. Scholars have identified many different points of commodification within the tourist experience: the culture of the southwest[9]; the experience of touring itself[10]; the commodification of leisure;[11] and a commodification of native performers.[12] I argue that these commodifications

[7] Anne F. Hyde, *An American Vision: Far Western Landscape and National Culture 1820-1920* (New York: New York University Press, 1991), 140.
[8] Dona Brown, *Inventing New England: Regional Tourism in the Nineteenth Century* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian, 1997), 16.
[9] Laura Jane Moore, "Elle Meets the President: Weaving Navajo Culture and Commerce in the Southwestern Tourist Industry," *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies* 22, no. 1 (2001): 31; Marta Weigle and Barbara A. Babcock, *The Great Southwest of the Fred Harvey Company and the Santa Fe Railway* (Phoenix, Ariz.; Tucson Ariz.: Heard Museum; Distributed by The University of Arizona Press, 1996), 12.
[10] Judd and Fainstein, "Global Forces, Local Strategies, and Urban Tourism," 1.
[11] Ibid., 14.
[12] Jane C. Desmond, *Staging Tourism: Bodies on Display from Waikiki to Sea World* (Chicago, IL: University Of Chicago Press, 2001), xiiii.

exist within a larger framework which, at least in this case, allowed the Harvey Company to focus on its role as "hostess" to "guests" visiting the Southwest, and to sell that service to travelers.

At the same time as tourism and advertising were developing, "authenticity" was becoming a highly valued quality. Authenticity was one of tourists' goals, but anything that had been advertised (especially if it was promoted as "authentic") was automatically of doubtful authenticity; travelers were aware that some kind of commodification was at work. Therefore, tourists were either, on the one hand, foolish dupes who did not even realize the inauthenticity of their own experiences, or actively destructive, in that their presence brought inauthenticity which marred the experiences of "real" travelers.

Concurrent with the growth of tourism was a rising feeling "that life had become not only over civilized but also curiously unreal... authentic experience of any sort seemed ever more elusive."[13] Therefore, at the same time that more Americans became tourists, there was a rise in American desires to find authentic experiences in all aspects of their lives. The rise of tourism itself, in fact, can be linked to this uniquely modern quest for authenticity. One of the routes that many Americans took to find authenticity was to look to primitive

[13] T. J. Jackson Lears, *No Place of Grace: Antimodernism and the Transformation of American Culture, 1880-1920* (Chicago: University Of Chicago Press, 1994), 5.

and pre-modern societies, and they were increasingly willing to travel in search of these sources of authenticity. Anne McClintock identifies an ahistorical space into which colonized people could be symbolically pushed. This "anachronistic space" became "a permanently anterior time within the geographic space of the modern empire;" as such, it appeared to be the perfect antidote for white Americans desperate to escape modernity.[14]

Advertisers actively catered to these Americans, and advertising rapidly went from a means of distributing information to a highly professionalized industry. Almost as quickly as advertising became a visible part of American culture in the 1890s, a backlash against it developed. Already dissatisfied with many of the cultural changes wrought by the Industrial Revolution, many Americans watched with dismay as popular culture embraced consumption as a significant part of social identity. Ever quick to adapt, the rapidly maturing field of advertising began to tap into Americans' concerns about their increasingly industrialized, consumer-driven society. Images of natural or pastoral scenes were presented through advertising as the antidote to the discomfort many Americans felt towards industrial society.

[14] Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest* (New York: Routledge, 1995), 30.

In *The Image: A Guide to Pseudo-Events in America*, Daniel J. Boorstin provides a now-classic look at constructed events.[15] Boorstin argues that "pseudo-events" or "counterfeit happenings" have come to dominate American culture and society since the 1960s. These occurrences are constructed for maximum effect and publicity and are an outgrowth of a process begun with advertising in the nineteenth century. The Harvey Company's work in the early twentieth century is clearly a forerunner of Boorstin's pseudo-events, if not an early example of them. Harvey employees' work at the Californian world's fairs in the 1910s and in the Grand Canyon in the 1920s, especially, seem to fit his ideas about "counterfeit happenings."

Jackson Lears, *Fables of Abundance: A Cultural History of Advertising in America* and William R. Leach, *Land of Desire: Merchants, Power, and the Rise of a New American Culture* have a wealth of detail about the development of advertising in the United States and on its cultural effects.[16] Both books argue that America's consumer culture became more obsessed with "authenticity" as it matured. Leach asserts that "American consumer capitalism produced a culture almost violently hostile to the past and to

[15] Daniel J. Boorstin, *The Image: A Guide to Pseudo-Events in America* (Gloucester, MA: Peter Smith Publisher Inc, 1984).

[16] Jackson Lears, *Fables of Abundance: A Cultural History of Advertising in America* (New York: Basic Books, 1994); William R. Leach, *Land of Desire: Merchants, Power, and the Rise of a New American Culture* (New York: Pantheon, 1993).

tradition."[17] Lears, on the other hand, finds that as advertising progressed, advertisers "began an unprecedented effort to associate their products with the past."[18] By the beginning of the twentieth century the Harvey/Santa Fe promotions were focused on the Southwest's history, although their joint promotions department was not always concerned with historical accuracy. This development fits with Lears's theory that, in American consumer culture, an increased awareness of advertising led to a heightened desire for authenticity. The Harvey/Santa Fe ads positioned the two companies as

repositories of “traditional” southwestern culture and their southwestern experiences purported to allow visitors to “really see” the “genuine” Southwest.[19] Although neither business’s primary role was as an advertiser, both the Harvey Company and its associate the Santa Fe Railroad became adept at this sort of promotion.[20]

The place where these events occurred is also important. In the settled and “safe” eastern United States, there was no need for the kind of guidance provided by the Harvey and Santa Fe companies. Although individual destinations in the East were marketed as tourist destinations, their advertising

[17] Leach, *LAND OF DESIRE*, xiii.

[18] Lears, *Fables of Abundance*, 382.

[19] Fred Harvey (Firm), “Fred Harvey Hotels: Headquarters for Southwest Outings,” pamphlet, undated , 1, Northern Arizona University; “The Indian-Detour: A New Motor Link in the All Rail Transcontinental Journey,” *The Santa Fe Magazine*, May 1926, 24.

[20] The Harvey Company especially was adverse to advertising and instead relied on the Santa Fe to conduct ad campaigns on its behalf. However, the Harvey Company’s employees worked closely with the railroad and engaged in a variety of promotional activities that skirted the edges of this prohibition.

methods and effects fit squarely into a commodified-experience framework of tourism. In the West – and specifically in the Southwest – travelers needed more reassurance and also a more comprehensive effort to meet their needs.

The debate between “New Western” historians and historians of the frontier is a long-standing one, dating to the mid-1980s. In 1987, the publication of Patricia Nelson Limerick’s *The Legacy of Conquest: The Unbroken Past of the American West* presented a compelling case for a new approach to western history.[21] It set up a dichotomy between the “old” western history, focused on the process of “civilizing” the frontier, and a location-based study of the region’s history. Limerick argued that this approach allows historians to more easily grapple with the effects of race, class, gender, and environmental change. It also permits historians to analyze the way phenomena changed over time in one western location without regard to whether that place could be called a “frontier.”

My study does shift westward from the Harvey Company’s roots in Kansas to its business interests in the Southwest (primarily the region that would become Arizona and New Mexico), but it is not following the frontier. There needed to be enough accessibility to the region for leisure travelers to be able to go there, but the Harvey Company did not become involved in an area

[21] Patricia Nelson Limerick, *The Legacy of Conquest: The Unbroken Past of the American West* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1987).

until that threshold had been crossed, and once its establishments arrived in a given locale they remained long after the “frontier” had moved further west. The period I focus on for the bulk of the dissertation stays stubbornly in one place even as it transitions away from being a “frontier” region. In fact, the trends that I examine in the area show more continuity between the pre- and

post-frontier periods than they show disjuncture, and my dissertation is concerned with these continuities.

There are three primary texts dealing with the Santa Fe Railroad directly; all also devote a fair amount of print to the Harvey Company. The first, Merle Armitage and Edwin Corle's *Operations Santa Fe*, was published in 1948 and is, perhaps, a little too close to its subject matter.[22] While *Operations Santa Fe* is a popular history, *Steel Trails to Santa Fe* (1950) by L. L. Waters gives a contemporary but more scholarly account of the Santa Fe's development. [23] Waters provides detailed information about each step of the railroad's history, including the financial issues that dogged the Santa Fe during the nineteenth century. *Steel Trails* contains exhaustive detail about the Santa Fe's operations, though Waters is somewhat less thorough in his chapter on Fred Harvey and his business. Still, the book is a valuable reference –

[22] Merle Armitage and Edwin Corle, *Operations Santa Fe* (New York: Duell, Sloan, and Pearce, 1948).

[23] L. L Waters, *Steel Trails to Santa Fe* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1950).

probably the best currently available. Keith L. Bryant's *History of the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe Railway* (1974) also offers an overview of the Santa Fe's growth from a scholarly perspective.[24] Bryant's book offers a good balance between academic prose and readability; it is the most accessible of the general books about the Santa Fe.

There are few scholarly works examining the Harvey Company specifically. Lesley Poling-Kempes's *The Harvey Girls: Women Who Opened the West* is probably the best known, but her research on the early years of the company is somewhat spotty.[25] The later chapters of her book, which are based on a series of oral histories she conducted with over seventy-seven individuals (mostly former Harvey Girls), are much more valuable for academic purposes.[26] She shows the varied lives of Harvey Company waitresses and works to demonstrate that they were "contributors to the American story."[27]

The strongest academic offering dealing with the Harvey Company is undoubtedly *The Great Southwest of the Fred Harvey Company and the Santa Fe Railway,* edited by Marta Weigle and Barbara A. Babcock.[28] The essays

[24] Keith L. Bryant, *History of the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe Railway* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1974).

[25] Lesley Poling-Kempes, *The Harvey Girls: Women Who Opened the West* (New York: Marlowe & Company, 1994).

[26] Ibid., xiv.

[27] Ibid., xvi.

[28] Weigle and Babcock, *The Great Southwest of the Fred Harvey Company and the Santa Fe Railway*.

collected in this volume first appeared as part of a symposium accompanying a Heard Museum exhibit: "Inventing the Southwest: The Fred Harvey Company and Native American Art."[29] Representing a variety of viewpoints, these

articles are the best scholarship dealing with the Fred Harvey Fine Arts Collection and the Harvey Indian Department's interactions with Native Americans and tourists.

Three other works deserve special mention: James David Henderson, *Meals by Fred Harvey: A Phenomenon of the American West*[30], William Patrick Armstrong, *Fred Harvey: Creator of Western Hospitality*[31], and Stephen Fried's *Appetite for America: How Visionary Businessman Fred Harvey Built a Railroad Hospitality Empire That Civilized the Wild West.*[32] Excerpts from Henderson's book also appeared in *Hospitality Magazine*. Although Henderson accepted much of the Harvey myth as fact (in part because he relied on Harvey press releases), his study is the first monograph looking at the Harvey Company's history. Armstrong's book – more of a pamphlet, as it is only thirty pages long – is a much more recent work. It provides a concise summary of the Harvey story and, like Henderson's work, is

[29] Heard Museum, Phoenix, Arizona. The exhibit opened on September 29, 1995; the symposium ran from February 9-10, 1996.

[30] James David Henderson, *Meals by Fred Harvey: A Phenomenon of the American West* (Fort Worth: Texas Christian University Press, 1969).

[31] William Patrick Armstrong, *Fred Harvey: Creator of Western Hospitality* (Bellemont, AZ: Canyonlands Publications, 2000); Henderson, *Meals by Fred Harvey: A Phenomenon of the American West*.

[32] Stephen Fried, *Appetite for America: How Visionary Businessman Fred Harvey Built a Railroad Hospitality Empire That Civilized the Wild West* (New York: Bantam Books, 2010).

focused on the Harvey Company itself rather than its waitresses. Journalist Stephen Fried's *Appetite for America* is a lively popular history of the company in which Fried attempts to challenge some of the myths that have surrounded the business while delving into the history of the Harvey family.

There have been fewer works looking specifically at the Harvey Company's advertising and its effects on the Southwest. Patricia A. Curtin, "Fred Harvey Company public relations and publicity (1876-1933)"[33] and Michael E. Zega, "Advertising the Southwest"[34] both are outstanding studies in this area. Curtin's article is a business case history, written with an eye toward expanding our understanding of the modern practice of public relations. Using material from the Heard archives, she carefully builds a picture of the Harvey Company's strategies with a special focus on the 1920s. Zega, on the other hand, emphasizes the earliest era of Harvey and Santa Fe southwestern promotions in the 1890s, before the effects of this advertising were truly felt, and before the Harvey Company began building southwestern resorts in the twentieth century. In her book *All Aboard for Santa Fe: Railway Promotion of the Southwest, 1890s to 1930s*, Victoria E. Dye examines the effects of railroad

[33] Patricia A. Curtin, "Fred Harvey Company Public Relations and Publicity (1876-1933)," *Journal of Communication Management* 12, no. 4 (2008): 359-373.

[34] Michael E. Zega, "Advertising the Southwest," *Journal of the Southwest* 43, no. 3 (Autumn 2001): 281-315.

advertising on the city of Santa Fe, New Mexico.[35] Dye's book is an interesting case study; because she is focused on one city rather than the Southwest as a whole, *All Aboard* does not draw conclusions about the Santa Fe Railroad's promotional efforts more broadly.

Diane Thomas, *The Southwestern Indian Detours: The Story of the Fred Harvey*[36] and Marta Weigle, "From Desert to Disney World: The Santa Fe Railway and the Fred Harvey Company Display the Indian Southwest"[37] both look at the companies' investment in tourism. Thomas's book focuses on the 1920s, the period when the Harvey Company ran its own tour company in New Mexico and Arizona. Weigle's article focuses on images of Native Americans in Santa Fe and Harvey promotional materials from the 1890s through the 1920s, arguing that they commodified Native culture in order to sell railway tickets.

My dissertation traces the development of the Harvey Company from its founding in the late nineteenth century through its twilight years in the midtwentieth
century. During that more than fifty year period, the family business

[35] Victoria E. Dye, *All Aboard for Santa Fe: Railway Promotion of the Southwest, 1890s to 1930s* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2005).

[36] Diane Thomas, *The Southwestern Indian Detours: The Story of the Fred Harvey* (Phoenix, AZ: Hunter Publishing, 1978).

[37] Marta Weigle, "From Desert to Disney World: The Santa Fe Railway and the Fred Harvey Company Display the Indian Southwest," *Journal of Anthropological Research* 45, no. 1, University of New Mexico Centennial 1889-1989 (Spring 1989): 115-137.

grew from a single lunch room in Kansas to spread across the southern half of the American West. Its growth was aided by the success of the Santa Fe Railroad, which formed the Harvey Company's transportation network. However, a core group of Harvey Company employees moved the business beyond simply following where the Santa Fe led. Rather, they were able to construct a tourism-based business model that drove the company's expansion. This group was not opposed to Santa Fe interests – some were nominally Santa Fe employees – but they shifted the Harvey Company's role in promotions away from the purely passive.

The story of the Harvey Company in the Southwest begins with Fred Harvey, the business's founder, in Chapter Two. He focused his business on providing high-quality food in surroundings that would have been comfortable and familiar for travelers. The company's early years are described in Chapter Three; it was a period of expansion for the business and also the beginning of the railroad's efforts to promote itself (and the Harvey Company) through advertising. The growth in that period allowed Fred's son, Ford Harvey, to build a strategy focused southwestern tourism when he took over the family business at the turn of the century. Although Ford directed this tactic, he had a team of trusted employees (including his sister and brother-in-law) who did the bulk of the planning and management for the company's expansion into

southwestern hospitality. Chapter Four looks at their work to publicize the

Southwest as a tourist destination and to build attractions for visitors to the region. The Harvey Company and the Santa Fe Railroad worked together to bring their advertising to ever-greater numbers of potential travelers; their joint exhibits at the two Californian World's Fairs in 1915-1916 gave them that wider audience. World War One also moved many soldiers through the Southwest on the railroad's tracks, widening their exposure still further. In the late 1920s, the Harvey Company reached out to tourists directly with its purchase of a southwestern tour company. The tour companies guides provided a literal "hostessing" for their customers. These developments brought the Harvey Company's promotion of the Southwest to its pinnacle and are discussed in Chapter Five. Finally, Chapter Six examines the Harvey Company's sudden shift away from hostessing the Southwest and concludes with a short version of the company's later history and legacy in popular culture.

Chapter Two:
Growth Years and Growing Comfort

A tourist in 1890, on his or her way home to Boston from California's famously hospitable climate, comfortably ensconced in a gentlemen's "smoker" or a ladies' lounge car, would scarcely have been able to imagine the conditions that had prevailed just fifty years earlier. In the early nineteenth century, cross-country travelers in the United States were faced with an arduous and expensive trip. Travel harnessed animal power, human effort, or the wind. Travel within the United States was slow, and many areas of the country were inaccessible to all but the hardiest travelers.

For cross-country trips on land, especially ones that did not involve resettlement, many Americans chose the stagecoach. Unfortunately, the food at stagecoach stops was notoriously bad, the seats hard, and the trip slow. Traveler Henry L. Wells recalled that "I had always considered the physical essentials to be food and drink" but said that he learned on his stagecoach trip across the United States that instead they were "drinking and food."[38] Another traveler, naturalist John Mortimer Murphy, complained "one of the most

[38] Henry L. Wells, "Staging at Night," *The West Shore* 10 (January 1884): 5, qtd. in Carlos A. Schwantes, "No Aid and No Comfort: Early Transportation and the Origins of Tourism in the Northern West," in *Seeing and Being Seen: Tourism in the American West*, ed. David M. Wrobel and Patricia Nelson Limerick (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2001), 129

tedious journeys that can be made is that on a stagecoach."[39] Travelers were jammed close together with strangers for days on end; coast-to-coast travel was so painfully slow in the 1850s that it could take almost as long as a voyage across the Atlantic under sail.[40]

Early railroad travel not much better. It was both uncomfortable and

slow into the 1860s, with, for instance, the round trip between Kansas City and Santa Fe taking up to a month, in part because only some of the journey could be covered via rail, with passengers switching to stagecoaches in places.[41] It was expensive as well, and even an all-railroad trip did not guarantee comfort. In an 1888 *Scribner's* article looking at the development of rail travel, General Horace Porter recalled that the early railroad passenger:

> was not one to be envied. He was jammed into a narrow seat with a stiff back, … and ventilation in winter impossible. A stove at each end did little more than generate carbonic oxide. The passenger roasted if he sat at the end of the car, and froze if he sat in the middle. Tallow candles furnished a "dim religious light," but the accompanying odor did not savor of cathedral incense. The dust was suffocating in dry weather….[42]

Before the middle of the 1870s, the few dining cars then in operation served sub-standard fare if they had food at all, and lack of refrigeration made dining

[39] John Mortimer Murphy, *Rambles in North-Western America from the Pacific Ocean to the Rocky Mountains, Being a Description of the Physical Geography, Climate, Soil Productions, Industrial and Commercial Resources, Scenery, Population, Educational Institutions, Arboreal Botany and Game Animals of Oregon, Washington Territory, Idaho, Montana, Utah and Wyoming* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1879), 173, http://books.google.com/books?id=N8otAAAAYAAJ&printsec=frontcover#v=onepage&q&f=false.

[40] Lynne Withey, *Grand Tours and Cook's Tours: A History of Leisure Travel, 1750-1915* (New York: William Morrow, 1997), 299.

[41] William Winter, "A Sketch -- the Santa Fe System," *The Santa Fe Magazine*, March 1907, 102.

[42] General Horace Porter, "Railway Passenger Travel," *Scribner's Magazine*, September 1888, 299-300.

on the rails somewhat dangerous as well as unappetizing. These challenges, combined with the low quality and high cost of food at most rail-side eating houses, led passengers to avoid prepared meals altogether and instead bring food from home, even for multi-day cross-country trips.

The Pullmans and dining cars worked together to improve conditions for travelers. First introduced in the 1860s, Pullmans were larger cars that accommodated sleeping berths as well as improved heating and ventilation systems. They were extremely popular with travelers, but not many western railroads had them until the late 1870s.[43]

By the 1870s railroad travelers flocked to railroads outfitted with Pullmans and began to abandon inconvenient, uncomfortable, and dangerous stagecoaches wherever possible. Contrast the conditions encountered by Porter's railroad passenger with the luxuries of the 1880s:

> The vestibuled limited trains contain several sleeping-cars, a dining-car, and a car fitted up with a smoking saloon, a library with books, desk and writing materials, a bath-room and a barber shop. With a free circulation of air throughout the train, the cars opening into each other, the electric light, the many other

increased comforts and conveniences introduced, the steamheating apparatus avoiding the necessity of using fires, the fast speed, and absence of stops at meal-stations, this train is the acme of safe and luxurious travel. An ordinary passenger travels in as princely a style in these cars as any crowned head in Europe in a royal special train.[44]

[43] The Santa Fe's first sleeping cars ran on its Kansas City-Chicago line when it opened in 1888 (Bryant, *History of the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe Railway*, 138.

[44] Porter, "Railway Passenger Travel," 308-310.

Another traveler, Welsh businessman and politician Henry Hussey Vivian, described his "car yacht" (a private Pullman):

At the forward or train end, a kitchen; then a pantry; then a gentleman's lavatory; then two berths, seats during the day, and as good beds as I ever slept in at night; then a drawing-room, with an harmonium and cylinder writing desk, a square table drawing out to a sufficient length to dine ten, arm chairs, ordinary chairs, and a sofa; then a state-room, with large double bed, and a lavatory off it; and last, a saloon or observatory, with a sofa and arm chairs, plate-glass windows the full size of the sides and end, and a door opening on to the outside platform, capable of holding four chairs, and enclosed by an iron railing.[45]

Vivian experienced the very pinnacle of contemporary rail travel – even among the wealthy, few people traveled in such splendor – but that he was able to do so demonstrates the expanded possibilities from the beginning of the century. The transition from travel in uncomfortable and slow stagecoaches to the luxurious accommodations of a specialized passenger train took most of the nineteenth century, but the improvements were striking. Increases in speed were the biggest technological change: the journey from Boston to New York took nearly a week in the 1820s, under a day in the 1850s, and could be made in just a few hours by the 1880s.[46] For travelers, though, affordability, safety, and comfort were probably as important as speed, and by the end of the nineteenth century these had improved just as dramatically.

[45] Henry Hussey Vivian and Henry Hussey Vivian Swansea, *Notes of a Tour in America: From August 7th to November 17th, 1877* (E. Stanford, 1878), 98, http://books.google.com/books?id=jlt6ifIAYfgC.

[46] Brian Solomon, *The Heritage of North American Steam Railroads: From the First Days of Steam Power to the Present* (Pleasantville, N.Y: Reader's Digest, 2001), 37.

The high-pressure steam engine added a much more powerful transportation option to those that existed at the beginning of the nineteenth century; massive efforts to develop transportation corridors expanded the steam engine's reach.[47] Faster travel attracted more casual passenger business to the railroads, but the shift from an unpleasant travel experience to a luxurious one was not simply the result of improvements in transportation technologies. Railroads competed to attract these new travelers, leading to an

arms race of sorts, where businesses fought to provide the most comfortable and accessible travel experience at the lowest price.

The development of the Fred Harvey Company and the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe Railroad traces one strand of this larger transition and reveals linkages between changes in transportation and the development of a consumer culture based on advertising.[48] As America's middle class grew, American popular culture also became an increasingly consumer-based one.[49] These two companies adapted to the changing demands of American travelers during the nineteenth century, but they also continually worked to make travelers feel at home even as they enticed them to leave their familiar surroundings. The evolution of the Harvey Company and its close associate

[47] The steam engine itself was not new technology in the nineteenth century, but the improved version (developed by Richard Trevithick at the turn of the century) allowed the smaller and more powerful engines necessary for travel applications.

[48] The railroad changed its name several times during the nineteenth century, but it is generally referred to as the "Santa Fe Railroad" during this period, and I follow that convention here.

[49] For an in-depth look at the development of a consumption-based culture in the United States, see Lears, *No Place of Grace*; Richard Fox and T. J. Jackson Lears, *The Culture of Consumption: Critical Essays in American History 1880-1980* (New York: Pantheon, 1983).

the Santa Fe Railroad helps explain why they initially began to focus on their customers' comfort but then began to make the travel experience more accessible as well.

Fred Harvey: A "Benevolent Despot"[50]

A Londoner, Fred Harvey was born in the mid-1830s.[51] When he decided to come to the United States in 1850 or 1851, he faced a daunting journey. He was a young teenager traveling alone, and in the 1850s, trans-Atlantic travel was neither quick nor easy. Most immigrants still arrived on sailing ships (steam ships did not become more common until the 1860s) and the passage under sail took six to eight weeks. During that time, immigrants like Harvey could expect to endure unsanitary conditions, inadequate supplies of low-quality food, and cramped living conditions with a marked lack of privacy.[52]

[50] Armitage and Corle, *Operations Santa Fe*, 150.

[51] "Fred Harvey Has Passed Away," *Leavenworth Times*, February 10, 1901. There is a great deal of disagreement in the secondary literature about Harvey's date of birth, and of the exact year he arrived in the United States. His obituary (op. cit.) indicates that he was born in 1836; census records from St. Louis in 1860 seem to indicate that he may have been born in 1834; most secondary sources appear to split the difference, giving his date of birth as 1835 (*St. Louis Census of 1860* ([St. Louis]: R. V. Kennedy & Co., 1860), http://digital.wustl.edu/cgi/t/text/textidx?c=dir;cc=dir;rgn=main;view=toc;idno=cty1860.0001.001, House Number 1573, Family Number 1782). Accounts of his personal history focus on his age (he was clearly a young teenager) rather than the year that he arrived in New York; the differing birth dates account for much of the confusion over his date of arrival in the United States.

[52] Stewart Harvey Jr., Fred Harvey's grandson, unsuccessfully attempted to determine why Fred left home at such a young age. Fred Harvey was the youngest son of a poor family, and it seems likely that his reasons for leaving were primarily economic, though how and why he chose to sail to America is unknown (Stewart, Jr. Harvey, "Fred Harvey's Origins," undated , Leavenworth Historical Society).

Harvey soon found work in New York City, and stayed there for several years.[53] Harvey's next move to New Orleans was likely his first exposure to long-distance travel within the United States. In 1853 or 1854 when Harvey left New York for Louisiana, he had a long journey ahead of him. Though probably not as daunting as his voyage to America had been, this second major move was another substantial undertaking.

According to Harvey Company legend, his trip to Louisiana offended both Fred Harvey's sense of gastronomic propriety and also his English sensibilities. Although no direct records of Harvey's experiences on that journey exist, other travelers registered their dismay. Complaints from visitors to the West provided lively color to magazine and newspaper articles about the "frontier." Travelers claimed that the condition of restaurants found along railroads in the West was disgusting, and that the railroad restaurants themselves were filled with con artists. As writer and journalist Lucius Bebbe colorfully recollected: "Without exception the depot-lunch proprietors of Kansas, Missouri, and Colorado were descendants of the Borgia family. To their talents as poisoners, some of them added those of brigands."[54] Working in collusion with railroad employees, restaurateurs would serve the same partially-spoiled food to passenger after passenger, on train after train, simply setting down a plate knowing full well that the railroad man would blow the

[53] Accounts vary; he worked in some capacity in a restaurant, probably either as a dishwasher or a busboy.

[54] Lucius Morris Beebe, "Purveyor To The West," *American Heritage Magazine*, February 1967, 28.

train whistle as soon as the food was on the table. Thus, passengers were taunted with food they (fortunately) did not even have time to taste.

Harvey only lived briefly in New Orleans before moving again, this time to St. Louis. Accounts vary regarding his chief occupation during his early years there, but by 1860 he was listed in a local business guide as the proprietor of a "merchants' dining saloon," and the 1860 census lists his occupation as "restaurant keeper."[55] With his journey first to the United States and then westward within the country, Harvey joined a multitude of young and ambitious immigrants; unlike many others in a similar position, he seems to have found the land of opportunity when he moved north to St. Louis.

Harvey was sufficiently well-established in St. Louis that in 1859 he was ready to start a family and married Barbara Sarah Mattas.[56] However, the beginning of the Civil War disrupted his business – either because the general unrest in the city made the restaurant business unprofitable, or possibly because he and his partner strongly disagreed about the war (a probably apocryphal story has Harvey nobly siding with the North against his partner, who then put an end to any political turmoil in their partnership by "abscond[ing] with restaurant funds").[57] In any case, during the Civil War Harvey again worked a series of odd jobs, finally finding steady work with the

[55] *Kennedy's St. Louis City Directory, 1860: Including, also, A Business Mirror, Appendix, Co-Partnership Directory, &c., & c.* (R.V. Kennedy & Co.), http://www.rollanet.org/~bdoerr/1860CyDir/1860CD.htm; *St. Louis Census of 1860*.
[56] "Fred Harvey Has Passed Away."
[57] James David Henderson, "Fred Harvey: A Phenomenon of the American West," *Hospitality Magazine*, 1966, section 1, page 8.

Hannibal and St. Joseph Railroad in 1862, thus beginning an association with the railroad industry that would continue for the rest of his life.[58] Harvey was one of the country's first "rolling mail clerks;" his job was to sort mail on the train while it traveled from St. Joseph, Illinois to Quincy, Missouri. Harvey worked nearly non-stop to support his growing family (his first two children – both died young – were born during the early 1860s, and his eldest surviving son, Ford, was born in 1866). In addition to his work for the Hannibal and St. Joseph Railroad, Harvey became a ticket agent for the Chicago, Burlington, and Quincy Railroad in 1866. He also sold advertising for at least one newspaper, and possibly two. [59]

By 1867 or 1868, Harvey had purchased a ranch (which he continued to own until his death), and by the late 1860s he was once again active in the restaurant business as well. His role as a restaurateur is a little murky at this point; his diary contains an 1868 entry reading "I have invested in the American House at Ellsworth $4,485.22," which probably was a reference to an eating house. Around this time Harvey also purchased a large quantity of tables, chairs, and other furnishings that seem to have been intended for a

[58] Harvey was one of the country's first "rolling mail clerks;" his job was to sort mail on the train while it traveled from St. Joseph, Illinois to Quincy, Missouri (Henderson, "Fred Harvey: A Phenomenon of the American West.").
[59] "Diary - covering the period 1867-1868." Harvey was soliciting advertisements for the Leavenworth newspaper, but also made reference to "an agreement dated September 12, 1868, covering services as a traveling agent for Wilder and Sleeper at $3000 a year," though it is unclear whether Wilder and Sleeper was connected to the Leavenworth *Conservative*. On September 15, 1868, Harvey wrote in his diary that "I have today commenced work for the Leavenworth Conservative." These diaries are excerpted by Harvey's grandson Stewart Harvey as a description of Stewart's donation to the Leavenworth Historical Society; unfortunately, most of the diaries themselves appear to have been lost.

restaurant project.[60] Even with these additional drains on his time, Harvey did not drop any of the previously-mentioned business enterprises. His diaries from this period indicate near-constant traveling – Harvey was promoted to General Western Agent for the Chicago, Burlington, and Quincy Railroad in 1865 – and he traveled to cities including "Chicago, Detroit, Buffalo, Philadelphia, Boston, Worcester, Rochester, Albany, and Troy."[61] Harvey was able to bring his wife and young son along with him on some of these trips, so that he had some family life despite being frequently absent from his home, now in Leavenworth, Kansas.

In addition to his rapidly-developing railroad and restaurant experience, Harvey was part of America's burgeoning advertising business. In his role as a

newspaper solicitor he did not write advertising copy, although he was considered an “advertising agent.” Rather, he arranged for advertisements to appear in the newspapers he represented. Advertising agencies were only just beginning to appear in large cities by the 1860s, but even there they primarily existed to negotiate for businesses with newspapers. In this role they bought newspaper space and then traded it, almost as a commodity, to businesses. Agencies functioned as middlemen between advertisers and newspapers just as Harvey did, though he and other newspaper solicitors were employed by the newspapers themselves (agencies were independent of the newspapers).

[60] “Diaries and Other Biographical Material left by Fred Harvey,” Leavenworth Historical Society.

[61] “Diaries and Other Biographical Material left by Fred Harvey”; Henderson, “Fred Harvey: A Phenomenon of the American West,” Section 1, Page 9.

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Harvey’s various business ventures supported each other, since his other position as a ticket agent also dealt with advertising. Ticket agents were primarily responsible for promoting their railroads – they provided information to potential customers in addition to selling tickets. Railroad advertising in the 1860s was still limited to informational brochures, maps, and a few posters, however, and ticket agents did not need to produce any of these basic materials.[62] Harvey did not work for the largest or most powerful railroads (his first railroad employer, the Hannibal and St. Joseph, was nicknamed “the Horrible and Slow Jolts”), but his association with the railroads allowed him to travel extensively starting in the mid-1860s and Harvey developed a wideranging knowledge of the railroad industry based on this experience. He recognized that travelers preferred a high-quality experience even as they traveled through “wilderness,” and by the mid-1870s Harvey was actively involved in running several frontier restaurants.[63]

[62] Railroads were chiefly interested in accomplishing two things with advertising during this time: first, they wanted to move settlers along their rails, westward; second, railroads wanted to sell their land grants to potential settlers. The railroads felt both of these goals were served by hyperbolic brochures, some put forth by the railroads, but many through promoters of individual towns and territories. There was no fact checking in these brochures and they were often wildly inaccurate, placing towns in areas that were almost entirely devoid of white settlements and otherwise distorting the landscape in order to make a particular area look more desirable to settlers. One popular method, employed chiefly by the railroads themselves, although local boosters used it too, was to draw the railroad as an extremely thick line on maps. This had the effect of making towns look closer together, even if the entire rest of the map was drawn to scale. The line representing the railroad would often be thick enough to cover some 15 or 20 miles, a considerable distance, especially if there were no roads connecting two towns. For more on the history of advertising, see Stephen Fox, *The Mirror Makers: A History of American Advertising and Its Creators* (Chicago, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1997).

[63] It is unclear what happened to Fred Harvey’s investment in the American House, however; he does not seem to have taken an active role in its management and apparently sold his stake in the business some time in the early 1870s.

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Through his railroad experience, Harvey saw that collaboration with the railroads could provide better opportunities than a stand-alone restaurant might. Not only would the railroad connection guarantee steady business, but

the joint restaurants would substantially improve travelers' comfort and meet a need that was badly neglected. In 1875 Harvey and a partner, J. P. Rice, opened three eating houses on the Kansas Pacific Railroad (two in Kansas and one in Colorado).[64] Harvey also began making plans to open similar restaurants closer to his home in Leavenworth. He initially pitched an idea for railroad eating houses run in tight collaboration with the railroad itself to his superiors at the Chicago, Burlington, and Quincy railroad. They had been early adopters of Pullman cars and were clearly concerned with passengers' comfort, but they were not receptive to Harvey's proposal, probably because they were beginning to consider adding dining cars to their trains. Instead, in early 1876 Harvey negotiated with Peter Cline to take over management of Cline's lunchroom on the second floor of the Santa Fe Railroad's Topeka depot. After negotiating with Cline, Harvey reached an agreement with the Santa Fe for the rights to run his restaurant according to their train schedule.

Depot Lunchrooms and Finer Dining on the Santa Fe

The Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe Railroad was born when Kansas businessman Cyrus Holliday envisioned a direct railroad connection between

[64] Henderson, "Fred Harvey: A Phenomenon of the American West," section 1, page 9.

Kansas and the Pacific coast. Holliday was one of Topeka's founding fathers and an early promoter of western development. He wanted to build a railroad route with Atchison, Kansas as its eastern terminus, extending not just to the Pacific but also through much of the Southwest. Local railroads, connecting just one or two cities, were quite widespread in the 1850s when Holliday began his planning, but longer rail lines were less common. There was no transcontinental rail route, and there was poor railroad coverage throughout America's frontier regions. Holliday's idea seemed impractical before the Civil War, but after its end a wealth of government funding for similar efforts allowed his company – its investors originally called it the Atchison and Topeka Railroad Company – to begin building.[65]

Although eastern businesses were beginning to experiment with advertising campaigns and what we could now call "branding," these changes had not yet reached Kansas, even in the comparatively forward-looking railroad industry.[66] Railroads followed the precedent set by stage coaches and steamboat companies, neither of which were interested in more colorful forms of advertising. After successfully obtaining government funding through the

[65] For further information about the Santa Fe Railroad's founding and development, see Waters, *Steel Trails to Santa Fe*; Glenn Danford Bradley, *The Story Of The Santa Fe* (Boston, MA: Gorham Press, 1920); Robert Edgar Riegel, *The Story of the Western Railroads: From 1852 Through the Reign of the Giants* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1976); James Leslie Marshall, *Santa Fe, the Railroad That Built an Empire* (New York: Random House, 1945); Armitage and Corle, *Operations Santa Fe*; Bryant, *History of the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe Railway*. The railroad's name officially became the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe Railroad in 1863 (Waters, *Steel Trails to Santa Fe*, 31).

[66] For details on advertising's early years, see Christina Mierau, *Accept No Substitutes: The History of American Advertising* (Minneapolis, MN: Lerner Publishing Group, 2000); Pamela Walker Laird,

Advertising Progress: American Business and the Rise of Consumer Marketing (Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998); Leach, *LAND OF DESIRE*; Juliann Sivulka, *Soap, Sex, and Cigarettes: A Cultural History of American Advertising* (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Publishing, 1997)

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passage of the Pacific Railroad Act, the Santa Fe Railroad began what was a comprehensive promotional campaign for the 1860s: a map with an accompanying brochure showing the proposed route from Atchison, through Topeka and Fort Dodge to Santa Fe and finally on to Los Angeles.[67] They began to construct new rail lines, working especially to satisfy a land-grant requirement that they reach the border with Colorado by 1873.

The railroad reached the Colorado border with just a few days to spare, only finishing that section of track in December 1873. Financially exhausted by this effort, the Santa Fe's investors did not build new rails for the next two years, although they continued to send surveyors to the Southwest to plot out future routes. The Santa Fe also focused on expanding its customer base. As railroads grew in popularity and geographic reach, the amount of time necessary to cross the United States dropped and popular interest in leisure travel grew. The railroads continued to increase passengers' comforts while decreasing ticket fees in a series of railroad price wars. The completion of the transcontinental railroad in 1869 and the growing use of Pullman cars came at just the right moment to make leisure travel accessible and appealing for members of the newly emerging middle class. The Santa Fe took notice of the change in its passenger base, once mostly wealthy travelers or settlers moving westward but increasingly leisure travelers including middle-class tourists.

[67] Bryant, *History of the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe Railway*, 11.

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Eager to capitalize on this shift, the Santa Fe began promoting tourism as part of its advertising. Their advertisements, like the earliest railroad tourism ads (promoting the Union & Pacific and Central Pacific lines), continued to be simple blocks of text.[68] In addition to these advertisements, the Santa Fe's management also recognized that leisure travelers would be pleased by better trackside amenities and began pushing local businesses to cater to its passengers. The Santa Fe was not happy with local efforts, however, and the railroad opened its first depot restaurant in Newton, Kansas, in 1872.[69] By the mid-1870s, the Santa Fe owned several locally-run lunch rooms in Kansas. Peter Cline's Topeka eatery was one such establishment. When Fred Harvey took over its management, the Santa Fe approved the new arrangement, but they did not make any moves to cement a more formal agreement with Harvey. Initially, Harvey's relationship with the Santa Fe was very similar to the railroad's understanding with the other managers of its eating houses.[70] Although the Santa Fe supported his take-over of the Clifton Hotel and its lunchroom in Florence, Kansas, in early 1878, they did not offer any financial assistance.[71] Finally, after he had been managing restaurants for

[68] Schwantes, "No Aid and No Comfort," 134.

[69] L.M. “Mike” Hurley, “Newton, Kansas: #1 Santa Fe Rail Hub, 1871-1971” (Self-published), 15.
[70] For additional information about their other railroad restaurants, see Judith Ann Stoll, “Harvey Girls: Then, Now, and Forever” (MA thesis, Emporia State University, 1995), 22.
[71] It was fairly common for railroads to buy the property and then allow restaurant proprietors to use it to serve food to their passengers. The Atlantic and Pacific Railroad Company, for instance, contracted with Thomas Stackpole and Fred Lincoln to manage some of their restaurants. All their buildings were provided by the railroad “without any cost or expense” to Stackpole and Lincoln (“Atlantic and Pacific Railroad Company Eating House Contract with Thomas Stackpole and Fred Lincoln,” Kansas State Historical Society). It was six years before the Santa Fe finally approved the funds to buy the Florence

the Santa Fe for more than two years, Harvey and the railroad signed a formal contract and Harvey was able to execute the plan he had originally proposed to the Chicago, Burlington, and Quincy.

The railroad still seems to have been unsure about Harvey’s ultimate success, because their first formal contract retained the Santa Fe’s standard thirty-day termination clause, which would allow them to quickly displace Harvey if he displeased them (it was this same clause that the railroad had used to help Harvey oust the original managers of the Clifton Hotel in Florence).[72] However, the Santa Fe never exercised this clause, as Harvey’s restaurants were both quickly popular. According to a local newspaper, less than two months after Harvey took over the management in Florence, “everybody takes breakfast and supper there.”[73] Although conclusive financial records for Harvey’s business in the 1870s have not survived, he was obviously doing quite well: in 1879 he completely rebuilt one location, opened another one (in Lakin, Kansas), and took a buying trip to purchase bespoke furnishings for all three of his “Harvey Houses.”

Harvey began enlarging the facilities in Florence a little more than a year after taking them over, in March 1879.[74] Harvey had the original building

property back from Harvey (“Atchison Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad Company Minutes,” Kansas State Historical Society).
[72] Stoll, “Harvey Girls: Then, Now, and Forever,” 22.
[73] Qtd. in Dee A. Harris, “More Than Beefsteak and a Cup of Coffee: Reinterpreting the Harvey Girls in Kansas” (MA thesis, Wichita State University, 1996), 19
[74] Florence Historical Society, “The First Harvey House” (Florence Historical Society, Florence, KS, undated 2005), 3.

torn down and completely rebuilt to be much grander. To brighten its heavy oak interior, “it was lighted throughout with coal oil lamps and candelabra.”[75] The outside, too, was designed to impress with formal English-style landscaping and fountains flanking its entrance in perfect symmetry. Harvey intended to make the Clifton Hotel (along with its restaurant) in Florence much more extravagant than the simple lunchroom in Topeka. In Topeka, he did not need to attract anything other than casual business going through the train depot or local residents looking for a satisfying meal, but in Florence he needed to convince travelers who might otherwise continue on their way to stop and stay at his hotel.

While the renovations were being completed in Florence, Harvey took a

trip to Europe to purchase furnishings for all three locations. Harvey not only took the time to select linens from Ireland, silver from England, and fine French china, he ordered (for the first time) specially designed Harvey House patterns.[76] Harvey also standardized the look of his dining rooms around this time. The following description of the furnishings in Holbrook was typical of Harvey Houses during the 1870s, '80s, and '90s:

tables were spread with heavy milk-white Irish linen and napkins the size of pillow slips, the silverware shone like a French plate mirror, the clean clear glass goblets were filled with ice and nice clear water, and on the tables were large vases filled with wonderful fresh flowers.[77]

[75] Ibid.

[76] Harris, "More Than Beefsteak and a Cup of Coffee: Reinterpreting the Harvey Girls in Kansas," 19.

[77] Stoll, "Harvey Girls: Then, Now, and Forever," 29.

Harvey's purchases on subsequent European trips indicate that he continued to buy his restaurant furnishings there in order to keep his growing empire supplied. The decorating scheme he established was fairly simple, yet it also signaled a greater elegance than most similar restaurants possessed. Although Harvey generally went alone on his buying trips, his selections became perceived as "feminine;" later accounts often claimed that his wife selected the furnishings.[78] The self-consciously elegant setting helped to set travelers at ease, and stood in contrast to most other rail-side eateries.

These early years were a blueprint for the next decade or so, with Harvey opening new houses as the Santa Fe extended its tracks. One major change to his operations was a gradual shift from using the then-customary male waiters to hiring local women as waitresses. Although a popular (but apocryphal) story has him dramatically switching his hiring practices overnight (following a particularly unpleasant brawl involving the waiters at the Raton, New Mexico Harvey House), this change seems to have occurred at different times at different places, and likely was dictated, in part, by local labor markets.[79] He mostly hired young, unmarried women, but there were at least

[78] See, for instance, Jim Marshall, "The Return of Miss Harvey," *Collier's*, November 17, 1945, 99.

[79] Some accounts put the year of the Raton incident as 1881 (Weigle and White, *The Lore of New Mexico*, 55) but most follow Erna Fergusson's example (she or her friend Tom Gable likely originated the story) and place the incident in 1883 (see Erna Fergusson, *Our Southwest* (New York: A. A. Knopf, 1940), 194; Poling-Kempes, *The Harvey Girls*, 42). In her examination of Harvey Houses in Kansas, Dee Harris found that there were female waitstaff working in Harvey establishments from 1880 on, but that there were also male waiters as late as 1901 (Harris, "More Than Beefsteak and a Cup of Coffee: Reinterpreting the Harvey Girls in Kansas," 6).

some locations with married or older widows as waitresses as well. Hiring women certainly helped him to create a homelike atmosphere in his restaurants, with waitresses taking on a literal hostess role.

Harvey continued to renovate buildings after a location had been proven to be a success, although every Harvey location used fine European furnishings

from the day it opened. The original structures were often in bad shape, and it was not unusual for Harvey or the Santa Fe to have them completely rebuilt. Some locations were rougher than others – Frank Monroe, an early Santa Fe employee, recalled that the Holbrook House (1884) was composed of "six or eight of the worst-looking box cars… the company and Harvey could scare up."[80] Although many contemporary accounts indicate that its interior was surprisingly refined, the physical "building" was simply several boxcars pushed together. Not matter how nice the tablecloths, china, and water glasses, this was clearly not a location that signaled "fine dining." Nor was Holbrook the only "boxcar restaurant" run by Fred Harvey, at least temporarily: the Dodge City Harvey House (1896) was also operated out of defunct railroad cars.[81]

The Emporia, Kansas Harvey House (1880) was probably more typical than either the elaborated-decorated Clifton Hotel or Holbrook's repurposed boxcars. Former Emporia waitress Harriet Cross described it as:

[80] Qtd. in Stoll, "Harvey Girls: Then, Now, and Forever," 29

[81] Henderson, "Fred Harvey: A Phenomenon of the American West," 4:4. The Dodge City House opened in 1896.

> a brick building, [with] train sheds [that] came right up to the roof … built to protect the passengers that got off to come in and eat. It was just right across the street [from the depot]. That was when the House set clear up to the tracks…[82]

Built of sturdy brick, for function rather than style, the building, like many Harvey Houses, belonged to the railroad. Although Harvey owned some of the more luxurious Harvey restaurants and hotels, often the railroad owned the buildings, especially when (as in Emporia) the restaurant was integrated into the depot itself. The railroad also determined their locations, and occasionally moved restaurants from one town to another, as in Lakin, Kansas, where the Santa Fe had the entire building torn down and moved to Coolidge, Kansas when their schedule changed.

The Santa Fe was also responsible for promoting the rail-side eateries along with their other advertising, freeing Harvey to focus on direct improvements to his business. He used high-quality and more refined elements to set his restaurants apart from those of his competitors. It is telling that the locations Harvey actually owned generally had appealing exteriors while the railroad's locations were usually more utilitarian. Harvey had focused on satisfying customers' desire to be comfortable in their surroundings from the beginning, but the railroad was more concerned with increasing their reach through greater track mileage. As far as Santa Fe executives were concerned, niceties like elegant restaurants could wait.

[82] Stoll, "Harvey Girls: Then, Now, and Forever," 61. In other words, both the Harvey House and the Depot were next to the railroad tracks, but they were on opposite sides of the street than ran into town. A roof sheltered passengers as they walked from the depot to the Harvey House.

"Everything Had to Be Just Right"[83]

When the railroad renewed its contract with Fred Harvey in 1896, they stipulated that his eating houses should continue to maintain "the same high standard" to which the traveling public was accustomed.[84] Harvey had worked hard to build that quality and to maintain it even as he expanded his business. His diaries contain many references to personal visits to all of his eating establishments, and Harvey worked tirelessly to hold them all to the consistent standard that he developed in his earliest Kansas restaurants.

During the early 1880s, Harvey traveled almost constantly, dividing his time among visiting restaurants and his ranch in the Midwest, traveling to England on personal business and buying trips for his hotels, and traveling to the East on business for his job as advertising solicitor. Despite Harvey's demonstrated successes, this was a lean time for the railroad, and they did not provide financial support for Harvey's expansion. His continued employment with the Chicago, Burlington, and Quincy Railroad (coupled with his intermittent income from the newspaper and from his interest in non-Santa Fe

[83] "She was a Harvey Girl in 1880," *Hospitality Magazine* .

[84] "Granting Harvey Exclusive Right to Manage and Operate All Hotels, Eating Houses, Lunch Stands, Dining Cars, and News Businesses on the Atchison Topeka and Santa Fe System," contract, September 28, 1896, Kansas State Historical Society The context for this requirement was that their dining cars (though also operated by Harvey) cut into business at his eating houses, so the Santa Fe would pay him an additional surcharge for every dining car meal. That surcharge was to be spent on maintaining the quality of his restaurants.

restaurants) allowed Harvey to finance business developments without help from the Santa Fe Railroad.

In 1882, Harvey's Santa Fe eating houses were finally self-supporting, and he quit his job with the Chicago, Burlington, and Quincy. He also sold his share of the restaurant partnership with J. P. Rice.[85] Harvey kept the ranch, but switched its operations from purely speculative beef production to providing meat for the Harvey House restaurants. The railroad began to recover its financial footing, too, and to recognize the value that Harvey's establishments provided them. In Florence, "three trains passed daily, with an average of fifty persons on each train" and virtually all the passengers ate in Harvey's dining room.[86] The Santa Fe began to make plans to open a resort hotel in Las Vegas, New Mexico to compete with the Southern Pacific's Del Monte Hotel in Monterey, California.[87] In 1880 they formed a holding company (the Las Vegas Hot Springs Company) and purchased the Hot Springs Hotel and surrounding lands.

The Santa Fe began to build a luxury hotel in Las Vegas in 1881, and when it opened in 1882, it was under Harvey's management. For the first time, the Santa Fe paid for the new hotel's constructions costs as well as the land.

[85] He continued to work as an advertising solicitor, however, perhaps because it provided some important business contacts and could be integrated with his other duties without taking too much

additional time.

[86] Florence Historical Society, “The First Harvey House,” 5.

[87] The Del Monte, opened in 1880, was the first western luxury health resort. In 1883, the Antlers Hotel at Colorado Springs (operated by the Denver and Rio Grande Railroad) also competed for health-seeking tourists (B. M. Jones, *Health-Seekers in the Southwest, 1817-1900* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1967), 151).

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The hotel marked a new departure for the railroad in other ways as well. They intended to create an eastern-style luxury resort in what many Americans still saw as a vast wasteland. When the hotel opened, among its guests at its grand opening were 150 people from Boston who were almost certainly brought in by the railroad for the occasion.[88] The Santa Fe, along with several other western railroads, had finally begun to entice leisure travelers from the East to make the cross-country voyage.

The Montezuma was an impressive Queen Anne-style building, much like other elite resort-hotels of the 1880s. Charlie Brant, the hotel’s first maitre d’hotel, recalled that “Harvey determined to make it a model, and an example that he hoped other hotels would copy. He wanted to fix a standard and maintain it no matter what the cost.”[89] Harvey ran the hotel after the blueprint he had already set for himself at Florence’s Clifton Hotel. In addition to the now-standard Harvey linens, flatware, and china, the Montezuma (like Harvey’s other restaurants) served only fresh food, never canned. Brant also ordered exotic foodstuffs for the Montezuma, including luxuries such as sea bass and turtle (brought in fresh via Santa Fe “freezer” cars).

[88] Louise Harris Ivers, “The Montezuma Hotel at Las Vegas Hot Springs, New Mexico,” *The Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 33, no. 3 (October 1974): 206.

[89] “Mrs. Fred Harvey Dies of an Advanced Age: Widow of Noted Dining Car Man: Was Part Owner in the Estate That Runs the System: Changes of Times: How the Railway Eating House Was Revolutionized by Her Husband,” *Springfield (Missouri) Daily Reader*, June 23, 1913.

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By 1883, Harvey owned and managed seventeen restaurants along the Santa Fe’s line.[90] In less than ten years, he had created a thriving and extremely successful restaurant empire. His son, Ford Harvey, dropped out of Racine College in 1884 to assist his father with the family business.[91] Fred Harvey had always had a special relationship with his eldest son, taking him on business trips starting when he was as young as four or five. After he left school, Ford began to work for his father as a supervisor, often taking Fred Harvey’s place in restaurant and hotel inspections all along the Santa Fe line. These inspections formed the backbone of the senior Harvey’s management strategy. His diaries include a variety of detailed notes about the condition and management of his various hotels and restaurants. In one entry, Harvey complains about the Coolidge, New Mexico House: “pastry poor; coffee poor… house generally poor,” though he does not mention a specific cause as he did for the Williams house: “worthless manager” or the restaurant in La Junta: “cooking poor… wants first and second cook.”[92] Harvey was not a hasty man, and he seems to have observed these conditions and taken action

at some later point. For instance, he notes that in Kinsey: “girls have run of storeroom. Cashier should be changed to other point [i.e. Harvey House].”[93] He was remembered as kind by his employees and seems to have been well-

[90] Henderson, “Fred Harvey: A Phenomenon of the American West,” 2:6.
[91] Stewart, Jr. Harvey, “Notes, Stewart Harvey, Jr.,” Leavenworth Historical Society; Armstrong, *Fred Harvey*, 6.
[92] “Diaries and Other Biographical Material left by Fred Harvey.”
[93] Ibid.

respected, if somewhat intimidating. Matilda Thomas, who became a waitress at the Clifton Hotel as a sixteen-year-old, remembered him as “very friendly” and “a nice man,” though at their first meeting he told her “don’t throw the dishes so hard or you’ll break them.”[94]

Harvey paid attention to more than just the personnel at his establishments, often making specific observations about buildings’ physical condition and carefully noting any deficiencies in the furnishings. When he visited the Williams Harvey House, he wrote that it “wants a new floor – very bad” and at another (unnamed) location he noticed “sewage from water closet and kitchen.”[95] Although the sewage problem would likely have been fairly obvious, Harvey’s comments also included small details such as the size of the tables at the La Junta House (he wrote that, while the tables were “five foot square” they only had 71-inch tablecloths and should instead have at least 84-inch cloths).[96] It is difficult to reconcile these remembrances of Harvey with the tales that have him breaking his own furniture or dishes, or rousting marauding cowboys, but fairly easy to see in them the same man who pasted an article titled “Maxims for Business Men” onto the cover of his diary:

> Maxims for Business Men. -- When a person reaches the point where he thinks that he cannot spare any time to examine sources of financial and commercial information, he may safely conclude that his business is not well managed. … When a business man disburses annually for salaries and expenses of travellers to solicit trade, a larger sum than he pays in making his business

[94] Qtd. in Florence Historical Society, “The First Harvey House,” 6
[95] “Diaries and Other Biographical Material left by Fred Harvey.”
[96] Ibid.

> known to the public through other judicious advertising, he may be sure that he ought to reconsider his management. Salesmen should be assisted in their arduous work by well-managed advertising.[97]

What Harvey took from these edicts is unclear. He certainly did not spend much on promotions (leaving that to the railroad), but the advice to continually gather information must have rung true in his ears.[98]

Conclusion

Harvey’s business was extremely profitable by this time – a financial

statement from the Harvey Company's annual report in 1886 shows that they company had made $85,776.97 (over $2.5 million in today's dollars[99]) – but his relationship with the railroad was becoming more difficult as the railroad's financial condition deteriorated.[100] Passenger traffic was still increasing, but the Santa Fe was continually frustrated in its attempts to have a true transcontinental route on its exclusive tracks. The railroad expended a considerable amount of capital toward this effort, and it was finally successful in 1887.[101] Unfortunately, the railroad's drive to expand and complete its

[97] "Diary, 1872," Leavenworth Historical Society.

[98] The "Maxims" themselves are a bit of advertising copy put out by the *New York Mercantile Journal*.

[99] "Tom's Inflation Calculator," http://www.halfhill.com/inflation.html. As of March 23, 2009, Harvey's profits were equivalent to $2,606,728.27, calculated using U.S. Retail Price Inflation (Annual Average).

[100] Armstrong, *Fred Harvey*, 21.

[101] The Santa Fe first completed a transcontinental route in 1881 via Deming, New Mexico. This transcontinental line was accomplished in partnership with the Southern Pacific and ran partially on their tracks. As a result, the Southern Pacific was able to route the more lucrative freight traffic away from the Santa Fe's rails for much of its journey, depriving the Santa Fe of the substantial income generated by this business. The Santa Fe attempted another collaborative route in 1883 through Needles, California, but was again frustrated by the Southern Pacific's ability to direct traffic away from their rails. Finally the Santa Fe purchased a small local railroad – the Los Angeles and San

transcontinental route had driven it deeply into debt. Stockholders began to question the railroad's fiscal health and voiced increasingly loud concerns about the Santa Fe's management. In 1889, the Santa Fe's president, William Strong, was forced out and the railroad entered a period of reorganization and retrenchment.[102]

After the Santa Fe's board chose Allen Manvel to succeed Strong, the railroad's relationship with Harvey became more tenuous. In the turbulent years following Manvel's ascension to railroad president in 1889, he struggled to repair the damage caused by over-optimistic expansion during the Strong years. Manvel deliberately moved away from the railroad's decades-old association with Fred Harvey. Fred Harvey was a personal friend of Strong's and may have simply seemed too much a part of the old way of business, but the likeliest reason for Manvel's distance was Harvey's association with the Santa Fe's rapid growth in the 1880s.

As Manvel sought to avoid bankruptcy he was faced with a sharply diminished stream of capital.[103] Manvel struggled to make the Santa Fe profitable again; he eventually determined that dining cars were crucial to its

Gabriel Valley Railroad – and used their additional track to provide the connection the Santa Fe needed to reach the Pacific. In 1887 the railroad built the last bit of rail connecting the LA&SVG system to their own, allowing the Santa Fe to have a wholly independent transcontinental route at last (Bryant, *History of the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe Railway*, 79; Armstrong, *Fred Harvey*, 17; Robert A. Trennert, Jr., "The Southern Pacific Railroad of Mexico," *The Pacific Historical Review* 35, no. 3 (August 1966): 266).

[102] See Bryant, *History of the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe Railway*, 149-151 for more details about this era of the Santa Fe's history.

[103] For more details of the problems that confronted Manvel, see Ibid., 155-160. During this period,

the railroad industry was vexed by a number of concerns including labor unrest, public dissatisfaction and distrust, and new regulations on its growth and operations. These issues, in the context of the Santa Fe's exuberant expansion, made trouble for the railroad inevitable.
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competitive success. He chose the route between Chicago and Denver (where the Santa Fe competed with the Chicago, Rock Island, and Pacific Railroad Company) for the new Santa Fe dining cars. Arguing that "the public seems to be prejudiced in favor of dining-cars and won't patronize the roads having dining stations as freely as the roads having dining-cars," Manvel ordered the construction of several new "diners" to be used on that line.[104]
Harvey's agreement with the Santa Fe obliged him to keep his depot eateries open even where they operated at a loss, and the already-reduced railroad traffic, coupled with this new challenge, was simply too much. Harvey prepared to counter the railroad's move by preparing a code book for telegraphing messages about the Santa Fe's food operations without its knowledge.[105] After trying to avoid direct conflict, Harvey took legal action in the summer of 1891 when it became clear that the railroad was determined to completely cut him out of its food-service operations despite their contract. In early August Harvey was granted an injunction prohibiting the railroad from "running dining cars upon [Santa Fe] lines west of the Missouri River covered by contract with [Harvey]; from feeding passengers between any of the points upon this portion of its road, and from refusing to stop its passenger trains at [Harvey's] hotels and lunchrooms."[106] A little over a month after he requested

[104] "CAN'T RUN DINING-CARS.; FRED HARVEY OBTAINS AN INJUNCTION AGAINST THE SANTA FE. He Claims to Have a Contract with That Company for the Feeding of Passengers West of the Missouri River," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, August 8, 1891.
[105] "Diaries and Other Biographical Material left by Fred Harvey," Code Book.
[106] "Trying to Enjoin Dining Cars," *New York Times*, August 8, 1891.
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the temporary injunction, Harvey won a decree that "perpetually enjoin[ed] the [Santa Fe Railroad] company from interfering with Harvey's business along the route and compel[ed] the defendant to stop all its trains to enable the passengers to take meals at Harvey's eating-places."[107]
The whole affair could have permanently soured relations between the two companies, but the Santa Fe seems to have accepted defeat gracefully and apparently neither side bore a grudge. Harvey's business could not survive without the railroad, and Manvel quickly moved on to more pressing concerns. When the Santa Fe began running new dining cars in 1892, Harvey managed them. In a departure for both businesses, the Santa Fe began to focus on advertising. Its "California Limited" from Chicago to Los Angeles was the railroad's first express train; the California Limited's initial marketing in 1892 contained the earliest advertising to explicitly promote Fred Harvey's eating houses as an enticement to travelers its rails.[108]
Ultimately, the late nineteenth-century turmoil at the railroad (and the conflict it caused with the Harvey Company) led to the innovations that would

drive both businesses' expansion in the Southwest for the next generation. In their promotion of the southwestern landscape and people, the Harvey Company and the Santa Fe Railroad would move beyond delivering information to prospective travelers to constructing an experience for tourists

[107] "Must Not Run Dining-Cars," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, September 18, 1891.

[108] W.F. White, "SANTA FE ROUTE: To California Passengers," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, November 7, 1892.

and enticing them to desire it. Both businesses continued to expand their focus on customers' comfort, but they began an effort to make their experience more interesting as well. Although Santa Fe president Allen Manvel was unsuccessful in his attempts to revive the railroad's finances (they went into bankruptcy and receivership in 1893), his efforts left a lasting legacy in the Santa Fe's promotions and advertising. During his tenure, Manvel approved a new campaign based on images of the Southwest that would continue to shape the Santa Fe's promotional materials well into the twentieth century.

Chapter Three:
"Awakening an Interest:" Business in an Era of Commercialization[109]

Leaving Atchison we journeyed out into the vast plains, that never can be other than the vast wilderness that they are. We had, or thought we had, a journey of six or seven days before us. But circumstances alter cases: at least they did ours. Two hundred and fifty miles from Atchison we became aware that Indians were more plenty [sic] than usual along the route. This gave us no uneasiness; but soon after the discovery of the bodies of murdered men—some of whom had been captured alive, and undergone the most awful torture, such as the cutting out of tongues and other parts of their persons, then burning them alive—caused us to be continually on our guard.[110]

– *Harper's Weekly*, 1866

Although the sand-storm is generally of short duration, it sometimes lasts for hours, and has been known to rage for days with unabated fury. … In the old days of slow-moving wagon trains it was a menace and a calamity, while even in this era of railroads it brings distress and peril to the traveller. It fills the most carefully protected cars with its stifling dust, blocks the track with heavy drifts, cuts down telegraph poles with its rasp of flinty particles, grinds clear glass into opaqueness, and in a thousand ways renders life miserable and a burden.[111]

– *Harper's Weekly*, 1896

Americans imagining the trip to California from the East Coast at the end of the nineteenth century may have accepted that the dangers presented to mid-century travelers from Indian attacks were distant, but they likely still

[109] J. N. Stewart, "The Advertising Department of a Railroad," *Agricultural Advertising* (August 1904):

32.
[110] "On the Plains," *Harper's Weekly*, April 21, 1866.
[111] "A Sand-Storm of the American Desert," *Harper's Weekly*, October 10, 1896.

subscribed to the idea that the Southwest was a "desolate, wind-blown waste."[112] Burdened with financial and management problems, the Santa Fe Railroad nonetheless spent the 1890s trying to erase both these images from travelers' minds and instead replacing them with pictures of awe-inspiring landscapes, quaint native peoples, and comfortable accommodations.

The railroad's promotions balanced two competing themes as they attempted to highlight what the company saw as the region's most interesting attractions. On the one hand, the West's history of conflict with Native Americans made it seem dangerous to potential visitors; on the other, it was also a major element making the area different from the rest of the country (and thus enticing to tourists). The promotions promised a kind of safe exoticism made accessible by the railroad's hectic growth in the 1880s. The railroad-published guide books increased the Southwest's accessibility in a less literal way as well by allowing a potential visitor to "experience" the trip from the safety of his or her own home before embarking on it for real. The Harvey Company was able to continue its efforts in extending comfortable accommodations to the Southwest; the restaurants' similarity probably helped in reassuring customers that their visits would be pleasant as well.

The Santa Fe's troubled situation in the 1890s initially led to conflict with the smaller but more successful Harvey business. As the decade progressed, however, the two businesses worked together to rebuild the Santa
[112] Ibid.

Fe. The last decade of the nineteenth century was tumultuous for both companies, but it also marked a major turning point for their business strategies and prospects. New management at the Santa Fe helped to overcome tension between the railroad and the Harvey Company, and they emerged at the end of the century with a strengthened business relationship and coordinated business strategies. The evolution of their relationship was a mutual benefit as they shifted their focus from transporting settlers to selling the idea of cross-country travel to a new class of travelers: tourists.

Advertising "Finds" the Southwest

In 1892, the Santa Fe Railroad commissioned photographer William Henry Jackson and painter Thomas Moran to take a trip to the Grand Canyon, with the railroad retaining the rights to mass-produce lithographs from their artwork.[113] Using these images, the Santa Fe launched a campaign focused on bringing tourists to the Southwest. The new campaign, while entirely funded by the Santa Fe, began to advertise for the Harvey Company as well as for the railroad. The Harvey Company had never advertised itself; until Manvel's tenure the railroad had not advertised for them, either. The guidebooks that

were produced for the campaign – *The Land of Sunshine* (1892); *Grand Cañon of the Colorado River, Arizona* (1892); *To California and Back* (1893); and *New Guide to the Pacific Coast* (1894) – taken together represent what would become the backbone of the Santa Fe's advertising campaign for more than twenty years. They continued to appear as reprints until nearly 1920 and though their influence on Americans' views about the Southwest is difficult to measure precisely, it was clearly significant.

Jackson and Moran's images emphasized the beauty and uniqueness of the Southwest and presented Indians as a vital part of the southwestern landscape. The Santa Fe's passenger department produced lithographs of these romantic scenes of the Southwest and its people; the railroad widely distributed them in the urban East as well as in frontier communities. In addition to their reproduction as framed artwork, the railroad used these lithographs in guidebooks promoting the region.

The Santa Fe began to produce new southwestern guides and pamphlets in 1892. Santa Fe Assistant Passenger Agent Charles A. Higgins authored all the longer materials and wrote many of their shorter pamphlets as well. Higgins had begun his employment with the Santa Fe in 1881 as then-Santa Fe president Strong's secretary. When Strong toured the company's new rails in the Southwest, Higgins was at his side. The Massachusetts-born Higgins was smitten with the area. By the time Manvel initiated the campaign to promote it, Higgins had extensive first-hand experience traveling throughout the Southwest. He also had both a scholarly passion for the region and a heart-felt desire to see its virtues put before a wider audience. His position with the

Santa Fe allowed him to pursue both these interests. Higgins was friendly with ethnologist George A. Dorsey, Curator of Anthropology at Chicago's Field Museum, and the two men traveled together for some of Higgins's trips to the Southwest.

For the new campaign, Higgins would accompany several of the Santa Fe artists to the Southwest as their guide. The first artist he travelled with was John T. McCutcheon, an illustrator whose sketches of the Columbian Exposition apparently caught Higgins's eye. Higgins decided to use McCutcheon's artwork in several of the Santa Fe's new guidebooks. McCutcheon recalled that "the plan required that Mr. Higgins and I both make the trip; he to write, I to draw."[114] On the passenger agent's second trip for the promotions, Higgins took Jackson and Moran to the Grand Canyon and its surroundings. By chance, as the group passed through Flagstaff, Arizona on their way back to the East, Higgins met Charles F. Lummis.[115] Lummis, a

[113] At the time, Jackson was a well-known photographer – this would be his last major western commission – but Moran was just establishing himself (Peter Bacon Hales, *William Henry Jackson and the Transformation of American Landscape, 1843-1942* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1988), 187).

newspaper writer and southwestern promoter, would prove a valuable contact for the Santa Fe's advertising department for the next thirty years; he also became Higgins's personal friend.[116]

[114] John T. McCutcheon, *Drawn From Memory: The Autobiography Of John T. McCutcheon* (Indianapolis, IN: Bobbs-Merrill, 1950), 70.

[115] Zega, "Advertising the Southwest," 286.

[116] See Mark Thompson, *American Character: The Curious Life of Charles Fletcher Lummis and the Rediscovery of the Southwest* (New York: Arcade Pub, 2001) for more about Lummis and his efforts to elevate American society by absorbing the values of historical Native Americans.

Because Manvel commissioned these new promotions at the same time as he authorized Jackson and Moran's trip, their images were unavailable for the initial editions of Higgins's work in 1892 and 1893. The first book in this series, *The Land of Sunshine* (1892), was illustrated by McCutcheon, though his work was uncredited; it seems likely that the railroad anticipated replacing these illustrations with Jackson and Moran's more elaborate work as soon as possible.

The book was primarily intended to promote the Harvey-run Montezuma Hotel, claiming that visitors "will find at Las Vegas Hot Springs not only the natural attractions that have been described [here] … but a crowning provision for their comfort and happiness in the luxurious and perfectly appointed" hotel.[117] Higgins's writing encouraged readers to imagine themselves as guests there, suggesting that the visitor:

> Look from the open window of your room in the Montezuma, through which a cool, sweet current is gently blowing. Far below, at the foot of the path that winds along green terraces, a fountain plays among the trees and shrubs of a plaza, behind which, and also to the right, rise steep tree-clad slopes…To the left the vegas stretch away for sixty miles, their undulations softened by distance into an inviting plain of every conceivable shade of green, gilded by the morning sun.[118]

The Santa Fe built the Montezuma in 1882 to replace the Civil War-era army barracks that had previously provided meager accommodations for healthseekers.

The railroad also built a spur line to the hot springs and allowed first-

[117] Charles A. Higgins, *The Land of Sunshine* (Chicago: The Henry O. Shepard Company, 1892), 24, http://www.archive.org/details/landofsunshine00higg.

[118] Ibid., 29.

class travelers on its rails to stop there free of charge. The area's pre-existing popularity, combined with the now-luxurious accommodations and ease of access, made the Montezuma a fashionable resort that was immediately filled to capacity.

While the hot springs at Las Vegas were popular throughout the 1880s, the hotel never made enough money for the railroad to recoup its building

costs, however. The issue was not success, but rather the building's unluckiness with regard to fire. The Montezuma burned to the ground in 1884 and again (after it was rebuilt) in 1885.[119] By the early 1890s, the railroad was still trying to recoup the costs of the hotel's repeated construction and a fickle public no longer found the Montezuma sufficiently fashionable to warrant a special trip.[120]

Land of Sunshine was the Santa Fe's attempt to improve the Southwest's image. It was divided into two sections, the first covering the "health-restoring influences of the climate" in and around the hot springs at Las Vegas, New Mexico, and the second looking at the region's history.[121] The historical section emphasized the "time, not long past, when romance and terror lurked" in the apparently tranquil landscape.[122] This section reflected

[119] After the hotel reopened for the second time, the Santa Fe renamed it the "Phoenix Hotel," but the Montezuma's popularity (despite the fires) prevented the new name from catching on and the railroad soon reverted to using the building's original name (Ivers, "The Montezuma Hotel at Las Vegas Hot Springs, New Mexico," 213).

[120] Jones, *Health-Seekers in the Southwest, 1817-1900*, 166.

[121] Higgins, *The Land of Sunshine*, 20.

[122] Ibid., 29.

contemporary views about the "frontier" and its conquest: the edge of Anglo settlement was a place of both opportunity and violence, one that had been pushed westward until the regions that had once been frontier were as settled and "civilized" as the East.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century the western frontier had seemed limitless – providing a pressure valve for discontented workers and immigrants in the East, cheap land and the promise of success for those who were not afraid of hard work, and inexhaustible natural resources. In the 1890s, however, concerns about the frontier's disappearance became part of the national discourse. If the western frontier was the antidote to the problems of America's industrialization, what would happen once the frontier closed? In 1893 historian Frederick Jackson Turner voiced this concern when he presented his essay on "The Significance of the Frontier in American History" at the Chicago World's Fair. American popular culture, however, continued to be enthralled by the mythic West, and dime novels about the frontier's denizens enjoyed brisk sales. In *Land of Sunshine*, Higgins played to this outlook by incorporating some elements of the imagined western frontier while also emphasizing the region's new-found safety and serenity.

Following *Land of Sunshine*'s publication, the Santa Fe brought out three more books in rapid succession. They all picked up the themes presented in *Land of Sunshine*, extolling the beauty of the region while highlighting the "romance" of its only just-departed more dangerous past. The guides

emphasized that, in the Southwest, "rest, peace, security, everywhere meet the sight," providing a restful alternative to the stresses of modern life.[123] After

Land of Sunshine, *Grand Cañon of the Colorado River* (1892) was the next of Higgins's books to be published, and outwardly the most similar to its predecessor. It is likely that these two publications were written simultaneously. *Grand Cañon* is also just barely longer than a pamphlet and, like Higgins's first book, focuses on the natural beauty of the region; also like *Land of Sunshine*, this second book was published too soon for its first edition to include the newly-commissioned work by Jackson and Moran. *Grand Cañon* was reprinted as soon as the Santa Fe had the new images, however, with a second edition that included them coming out in 1893.[124]

Stylistically, *Grand Cañon* was very different from *Land of Sunshine*, however, and it is possible that it includes material from an older guidebook. It began with several pages of dense description and history in an encyclopedic style that sharply contrasts with the flowery romance of Higgins's previous book for the Santa Fe:

> The Colorado is one of the great rivers of North America. Formed in southern Utah by the confluence of the Green and Grand, it intersects the northwestern corner of Arizona, and, becoming the eastern boundary of Nevada and California, flows southward until it reaches tidewater in the Gulf of California,

[123] Ibid.

[124] The Montezuma's declining revenues likely made the reprint of *The Land of Sunshine* less pressing, and when the railroad finally did bring out a new edition in 1897 it had a different, less whimsical, title: *Las Vegas Hot Springs and Vicinity*.

> Mexico. It drains a territory of 300,000 square miles, and, traced back to the rise of its principal source, is 2,000 miles long.[125]

The sections describing the canyon itself, however, recall *Land of Sunshine*'s romantic voice: "Never was picture more harmonious, never flower more exquisitely beautiful. It flashes instant communication of all that architecture and painting and music for a thousand years have gropingly striven to express."[126]

At the time, there were no Harvey accommodations for Grand Canyon visitors and the Santa Fe's track did not run to the Grand Canyon. Higgins's guide simply suggested "there are several hotels in Flagstaff, and visitors who chance to arrive in town between the regular stage runs … will have no difficulty in spending time agreeably in the interim."[127] Nonetheless, *Grand Cañon*, like *Land of Sunshine*, encouraged its reader to visit the Southwest, taking advantage of the beautiful scenery, bountiful game, and items of historical and archaeological significance.

When the next book in the series, *To California and Back*, was published in 1893 it also highlighted these themes. It was the first Santa Fe publication to use material from Jackson and Moran's trip to the Southwest in 1892; it contained work by several other photographers as well.[128] These

[125] Charles A. Higgins and Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railway, *Grand Cañon of the Colorado*

River, Arizona (Passenger Dept., Santa Fe Route, 1897), 5.
[126] Ibid., 10.
[127] Ibid., 29.
[128] *To California and Back* also had illustrations by J. T. McCutcheon. The other photographers whose work was reproduced in the book are identified as "Curran of Santa Fe, Osbon of Flagstaff, Slocum of

lithographs were able to finally show the actual landscapes Higgins labored to describe in his earlier books. Higgins explained that the book was "in no sense a guide-book" but rather "an attempt to present the merits of a relatively few selected typical features" for prospective travelers.[129] In *To California* Higgins was unconstrained by space – his earlier "guide-books" taken together are only about half the length of this volume. Although his previous two guides were also squarely aimed at cultivating tourist traffic, *To California* fully developed Higgins's goal of writing from the traveler's point of view.

In so doing, he brought sophisticated advertising techniques to the Santa Fe's brochures; by writing from the reader's point of view, Higgins encouraged them to imagine all the scenes he described as if they were experiencing them. He told the reader "you follow" the river's "gentle sweep" and finally arrive at the Grand Canyon where: "you face … a broad underworld that leaches to the uttermost horizon and seems as vast as the earth itself … banded in vivid colors of transparent brilliancy."[130] In advertising, this strategy helped to cultivate a desire to repeat the experience in greater detail. It may also put exotic – and impossibly distant – locales within the grasp of an armchair explorer. In *To California*, when this perspective appeared beside text extolling the ease and affordability of such a trip, it was clearly a call to action on the reader's part.

San Diego, Tabor of San Francisco," Charles A. Higgins, *To California and Back* (Chicago: Passenger Department, Santa Fe Route, 1893), 6, http://www.archive.org/details/tocaliforniaand00keelgoog.
[129] Ibid.
[130] Ibid., 33 & 46.

To California narrated a journey on the Santa Fe from its eastern terminus in Chicago "through Illinois, Iowa, Missouri, Kansas, southeastern Colorado, New Mexico, Arizona and California to the Pacific Coast" and a return trip "by way of Nevada, Utah and Middle Colorado."[131] Higgins again praised the "beautiful Hotel Montezuma," but in this much longer book he focused more on the people of the Southwest and on its landscape than he did on Santa Fe or Harvey initiatives there.[132] His descriptions of the West drew on late nineteenth-century ideas about the region, especially the notion that it once was dangerous but had become tamed but exciting. In *To California*, Higgins continued to balance messages about security with descriptions of historical violence, saying that:

Every scene recounted by romances of Indian warfare had its counterpart along the Santa Fe Trail. The ambush, the surprise, the massacre, the capture, the torture…. Only with the advent of

the railroad did the era of peace and security begin. It is this background that gives New Mexico its peculiar charm to the thoughtful tourist; not alone its tremendous mountain-ranges, its extensive uplands, its fruitful valleys, or its unsurpassed equability of climate.[133]

The Santa Fe's promotional efforts continued to reassure tourists that though the West was thrilling, it was now also safe and comfortable, with all the conveniences of modern life but none of its alienation.

Higgins's *New Guide to the Pacific Coast* (1894), too, acknowledged that "although there still is room and to spare in these three States [Illinois,

[131] Ibid., 5.
[132] Ibid., 18.
[133] Ibid., 17.

Iowa, and Missouri] they no longer wear a marked romantic aspect to the traveler," contrasting that area with the West, where "the active curiosity of the tourist is usually concentrated."[134] Despite its title, the *New Guide to the Pacific Coast* was, like *To California and Back*, primarily a description of what could be found along the Santa Fe's line from Chicago to the West Coast. It was not original to the Santa Fe; it had appeared under the title *Rand, McNally & Co.'*s New Guide to the Pacific Coast : Santa Fé Route*: California, Arizona, New Mexico, Colorado, and Kansas* in several previous editions from 1890-1893.[135] Although Higgins appears to have totally rewritten the text, the illustrations were recycled from the older editions; the work the Santa Fe was commissioning in the Southwest in the early 1890s did not yet appear in the 1894 edition.

In the *New Guide to the Pacific Coast*, Higgins's description of the people of New Mexico was calculated to endear them to Americans disaffected with modern life: "the Mexicans … cling to the old life of the Spanish peasant, as poor, as happy, and as quaint, here and now, as ever it was at home. … They prefer to till the soil by precisely the same methods practiced by their great-grandfathers before them."[136] In a manner typical of the era, however, he

[134] Charles A. Higgins, *New Guide to the Pacific Coast* (Chicago: Rand, McNally & Company, 1894), 9, http://books.google.com/books?id=fts6AQAAIAAJ&printsec=frontcover#v=onepage&q&f=false.
[135] The Rand, McNally, and Company guide was itself a revision of an older work: James Steele, *Rand, McNally & Co.'s Guide to Southern California Direct. Narrative, Historical, Descriptive. With Notes on California at Large.* (Chicago: Rand McNally & Co., 1886), http://books.google.com/books?id=pvy2X_i8nNgC.
[136] Higgins, *New Guide to the Pacific Coast*, 69.

was dismissive of local Indians, emphasizing their decline rather than their modern-day craft or lifestyle.

The United States had fewer Native Americans living in it in the 1890s than at any other time before or since – around 250,000 – and many of Higgins's contemporaries agreed that Native Americans would soon be gone

entirely.[137] White Americans acknowledged a variety of reasons for this disappearance, ranging from total cultural assimilation to the policies of removal pursued by the federal government. In the West, they imagined the region's indigenous population fading away in the face of Manifest Destiny, the idea that America was preordained to expand across the continent from the Atlantic Ocean to the Pacific coast. Many Americans in the late nineteenth century assumed that "real" Indians had a changeless quality, so that any acculturation made Native Americans "not Indian." Because of this assumption, which valued "pure" Native American culture but not any cultural adaptations, Native American culture was sometimes assumed to have been steadily declining due to the influence of Anglo culture. The declension narrative contained an internal contradiction in its denigration of actual Native Americans while simultaneously elevating and romanticizing their culture in its "pure" form.

[137] Clyde A. Milner II, "Introduction," in *The Oxford History of the American West*, ed. Carol A. O'Connor, Martha A. Sandweiss, and Clyde A. Milner II (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 5.

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Higgins, in both his roles as amateur ethnologist and southwestern promoter, subscribed to these cultural assumptions. In his section discussing the Isleta Pueblo, for instance, Higgins explained that "if the train were to pass in the day time a few comely Indian maidens and a shriveled squaw or two would be on hand at the stopping place to offer wares for sale" but that "["the Pueblo Indian"] is not curious. … The daily presence of that disturbing factor the railroad does not affect the profound inertia of his type."[138] Higgins's more positive depictions of Pueblo Indians still assumed that their best days were in the past and that they had been in decline since their first contact with exploring Spaniards. Nonetheless, Higgins was fascinated by Native American life and researched it extensively, both through his studies but also through direct interactions with Indians in the Southwest, especially the Hopi.[139] Overall, the *New Guide to the Pacific Coast*, like the volumes that had preceded it, used common preconceptions about the Southwest to promote the region. Higgins played to the reader's expectations while gently correcting possible misconceptions about the area – that it was a vast desert filled with savages, but also that it was simply a wasteland without any of the comforts of civilization. His works allowed readers to envision a trip to the Southwest that was different enough to be worthwhile while still familiar enough to be comfortable. For the next thirty years, both the Harvey Company and the

[138] Higgins, *New Guide to the Pacific Coast*, 99.

[139] *The Grand Canyon of Arizona: Being a Book of Words from Many Pens, about the Grand Canyon of the Colorado River in Arizona* (Passenger Department of the Santa Fe, 1909), 9, http://books.google.com/books?id=V_Vc-i21lIQC.

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Santa Fe Railroad relied on various iterations of these four books to form the foundation of their promotions.

An Era of Turmoil and Changes

Manvel was president of the railroad just long enough to initiate these advertising developments, but he died before Higgins's writing was even completed. After Manvel's death early in 1893, the Santa Fe's bankruptcy was probably inevitable. His replacement, Joseph W. Reinhart, was not able to keep the company solvent through the stock market collapse that year and in December the railroad entered receivership.[140] The auditors hired by the receivers also found that Reinhart had perpetuated substantial accounting fraud during his brief tenure, probably in an attempt to make the company's financial position appear better than it was.[141]

After the resulting scandal, Aldace Walker emerged as the head of the Santa Fe's receivers. Walker, who had been an Interstate Commerce Commissioner, was able to restore some confidence in the railroad. Following a sale to the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railway Company, the Santa Fe wrote off most of its investments in other railroads (which had been its primary

[140] Reinhart was deeply unpopular with both railroad management and the press; his brief tenure was also beset by labor strife and rate wars with other railroads.

[141] Bryant, *History of the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe Railway*, 165.

means of expansion during the 1880s and 1890s) and shrank dramatically.[142] Walker became the chairman of the newly-reorganized Santa Fe's board of directors. The directors chose Edward Payson Ripley (1895-1920) as the railroad's president. Energetic and popular, Ripley moved quickly to stabilize the Santa Fe.

As the railroad attempted to weather its financial woes, the Harvey Company's business remained strong. The health of its founder, however, began to falter. Fred Harvey had been plagued with stomach upsets and the like from his early twenties. His diaries contain references to "neuralgia [and] headaches" starting in the 1870s and by the 1880s he apparently had to periodically cease work while he regained his strength following these illnesses.[143] Possibly he suffered life-long ill-health as the result of a bout with yellow fever when he lived in St. Louis.

When Ford Harvey left college in 1884 to assist his father, the two men divided their duties in a way that accommodated the elder Harvey's health. Fred Harvey continued to travel on purchasing expeditions for the company and to be the business's public face, while Ford focused on expanding their business and handling problems with the railroad as they arose. In the 1880s Fred Harvey was still traveling extensively on business to Europe, mostly to buy the large quantities of furnishings needed to open new eating houses. In

[142] After the reorganization in late 1895, the railroad was officially the Santa Fe Railway, though I am following convention and referring to it as the Santa Fe Railroad throughout this dissertation.

[143] "Diaries and Other Biographical Material left by Fred Harvey," Diary of 1887.

1887, for instance, Harvey made note of a spring trip to Liverpool and London

that was wholly personal in nature but also a later, summer trip. During the second European trip, Harvey visited Belfast to buy “from J. S. Brown Sons 1,000 cloths and 250 doz. napkins” and later made a journey to France where he purchased wine in Bordeaux and china at La Limoges.[144] This late-summer trip followed Harvey’s standard itinerary for business travel with a mix of business-related socializing and purchasing.

Harvey also traveled extensively within the United States in order to find food that met his exacting standards. Often he was disappointed by the quality available, and the Harvey Company ended up owning not just its own beef ranch but also dairy cattle, chickens (both for their meat and for eggs), and a few turtle ponds (for turtle soup, a Harvey House specialty). When Harvey did contract with food suppliers, it was often for vegetables (he preferred to source those close to the individual restaurants so they could be served fresh rather than canned) or for wild game (venison steaks, antelope, and quail appear frequently on early Harvey menus).[145]

Fred Harvey began to have more severe health problems as he aged and in the mid-1890s was diagnosed with intestinal cancer. By the time the railroad left receivership in 1895, Fred Harvey was so ill that even outsiders were beginning to realize he took a very minimal active part in running his

[144] Although he does not mention where he made the purchase, in his list of expected delivery dates for his July and August acquisitions, Harvey also notes that he expected the “tableware” to arrive in October (Ibid.).

[145] Menus, NAU Collection.

company’s day-to-day operations. Railroad president E. P. Ripley acknowledged as much in an 1896 letter to Harvey, sent just after he had allowed news of his illness to become public (and not long after Ripley became the Santa Fe’s president), writing to Fred that “I … am very sorry to learn of your illness. I have had some talk with Mr. Ford Harvey in regard to matters of mutual interest… I do not think your interests are at all likely to suffer in the hands of your son.”[146] Ripley followed this type-written letter with a handwritten

sentiment: “Fred, Stay ‘til you feel like coming home. You have your life to live and you have worked hard enough – let the boys do it now. You need not be fearful that any advantage will be taken of your absence.”[147]

Various negotiations between the Harvey Company and the Santa Fe Railroad were ongoing at this time, and Ford made decisions with his father’s input. Even while Fred Harvey was outside the United States for extended periods, Ford continued to send him business correspondence and to ask for advice. The senior Harvey generally answered at some length even on minor matters such as how to handle travelers who were unable to leave their cars to eat:

In reference to Mr. Begres’ letters ... I think your answer to him covers the matter fully. I do not believe that the service of lunch

baskets as used on the English railways would suit our people - they are used to something much more elaborate so I believe you had better continue as you have in the past where invalids are unable to come to the dining rooms you will do as heretofore - I

[146] E.P. Ripley to Fred Harvey, May 29, 1896, Leavenworth Historical Society.

[147] Harvey was visiting family in London at the time, and also visiting English doctors. Ibid.

do not believe you can get a lunch basket that will not run into too much money…[148]

After his diagnosis, Fred spent a great deal of time in Europe, but he was always in frequent contact with Ford by telegraph and post.

In 1896, Fred Harvey signed a new contract with the Santa Fe that basically renewed his prior (1889) contract with a few minor changes. Fred Harvey was in Europe during most of the negotiations, and Ford handled the details even though Fred signed the final contract. The negotiations were difficult (taking the better part of a year), mostly because Ripley clearly considered the Harvey Company to be an expendable business associate. As he rebuilt the Santa Fe's finances following its receivership, Ripley was skeptical about the value of Harvey's reputation relative to the potential profits from the eating house business. Ripley wrote to Aldace F. Walker, chairman of the Santa Fe's board of directors, that:

Harvey has made for himself and the road, a great reputation, the eating houses being first-class and deservedly popular [but] there are plenty of good hotel men who would be willing to take hold of it [the concession for food service along the Santa Fe line] and it CAN BE run as well as it ever was, though I should be willing to pay something for the Harvey name.[149]

In another letter to Walker, Ripley admitted that he did not "want to lose Harvey and his prestige," but also pointed out that Harvey's profits

[148] Fred Harvey to Ford Harvey, February 16, 1897, Leavenworth Historical Society.

[149] E.P. Ripley to Aldace F. Walker, January 20, 1896, Leavenworth Historical Society, qtd. in Stoll, "Harvey Girls: Then, Now, and Forever," 41.

came from "an interest which we create and can absolutely control."[150] Ripley wanted to keep Harvey's cut of the profits below twenty-five percent.

The Santa Fe's board was much more confident in the smaller company's contributions, however. For his part, Walker was determined to keep Harvey's services and even advocated that Harvey keep all his profits without giving any to the Santa Fe "as a stimulus to future management."[151] Ripley had capitulated to the board regarding keeping Harvey's services by mid-February 1896, but they continued to negotiate over compensation with the Harvey Company through the spring and summer.[152] In the end, the Santa Fe's board and its president agreed with Ford to give his company fifty percent

of the proceeds from the eating houses and recompensed the Harvey Company for the dining car business. After several years, Ripley would go on to develop a personal friendship with Ford Harvey, and it is not clear whether Ford (or his father) even were aware that the Santa Fe's new president had advocated cutting them out entirely.

When it was finally signed, the new contract indicated the railroad's faith in the Harvey Company and recognized that its interests were aligned with Harvey's: the agreement granted Harvey "exclusive right to manage and

150 E.P. Ripley to Aldace F. Walker, January 30, 1896, Leavenworth Historical Society, qtd. in Jerry Krakow, "Fred Harvey and the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railway, 1876-1919: A Study in Business Relations," unpublished paper, 14, Leavenworth Historical Society

151 Aldace F. Walker to E.P. Ripley, February 6, 1896, Leavenworth Historical Society, qtd. in Krakow, "A Study in Business Relations," 14.

152 Ibid., 15.

operate all hotels, eating houses, lunch stands, dining cars and news businesses" on the Santa Fe system. It also added a clause that the railroad needed to give twice as much notice before closing any Harvey House location (six months rather than three) and another stating that the Santa Fe would compensate Harvey for his dining car operations because "the dining cars will be carried on at a constant loss" and cut into the revenues of his eating houses."[153] Nonetheless, the contract also stipulated that "nothing herein contained shall be so construed as to constitute a partnership between the parties" – perhaps to recognize Ripley's reluctance to sign the contract at all.[154]

Throughout the process, Ford kept his father informed of the negotiations. In August 1896, Fred Harvey wrote to Ford that he had received Ford's letter containing "Mr. Ripley's proposition" and told Ford "I think it is a very fair one."[155] The final contract with the Santa Fe was signed in September following Fred's return from England.

Ford negotiated other business contracts for the company as well and his father clearly respected Ford's judgment. In February 1897, Fred wrote to his son about the company ranch, saying that Ford had "done very well" there; Fred also said he was "quite satisfied with the settlement you made with Mr. Robinson, and glad to know that you arranged with him for three years

153 "Granting Harvey Exclusive Right to Manage and Operate All Hotels, Eating Houses, Lunch Stands, Dining Cars, and News Businesses on the Atchison Topeka and Santa Fe System."

154 Ibid.

155 Fred Harvey to Ford Harvey, August 1, 1896, Leavenworth Historical Society.

longer."[156] Fred Harvey was almost certainly talking about the lucrative contract, awarded to the Harvey Company in late 1896, for management of the St. Louis and San Francisco Railroad's eating houses and dining cars.[157] Both Harveys attempted to woo Robinson and his railroad as it untangled its finances from the Santa Fe in the mid-1890s, but Fred Harvey's involvement was somewhat peripheral to the negotiations.[158] He was in Europe most of the

spring and summer of 1896; in June, he wrote to Ford that:

> If Dave[159] & you desire that we should make a present to Mr. Robinson[160], … I would recommend that we make a present of more value [than the "fine set of linen" Ford had suggested]. I saw a very beautiful case of cutlery (pearl and solid silver) at H. Bro.s and H. London house - a rendering of which I enclose - Mr. Howson very kindly made a special price on the same of $990 delivered in New York - I think this is a present that Mr. Robinson would be proud of…[161]

Although Fred Harvey was involved in discussion about the Frisco contract, Ford seems to have signed it on his father's behalf. Harvey relied on Ford to make decisions that he was too ill to consider, depending on his son more and more as he had fewer periods when he felt well. Fred Harvey continued to manage their European purchasing, although he now had to accommodate his illness. On one trip, Harvey intended to buy paintings for several eating houses, but wrote to Ford that "I did not select the pictures, for I have not felt well enough" but suggested "If you are not in a hurry for these, perhaps I can pick up what would be suitable in London," implying that he expected to improve soon (even if temporarily).[162]

Harvey continued to make frequent trips to Europe, but he increasingly visited relatives and rested, relying on Ford's judgment for purchasing decisions. In the late 1890s, Harvey's trips, both domestically and abroad, began to serve another purpose as he pursued a variety of different treatments, "restorative" locations, and medical advice. Father and son remained in close contact via letters and telegrams, although they had a serious disagreement over Fred Harvey's healthcare.

After having spent many years trying a variety of conventional medical treatments, Harvey consulted a "Chinese doctor" who seems to have been an herbalist. Ford wanted his father to remain with the (western) doctor who had been treating Fred.[163] This series of letters between Fred and Ford Harvey is

[156] Fred Harvey to Ford Harvey, February 20, 1897, Leavenworth Historical Society.
[157] As discussed in E.P. Ripley to Fred Harvey, December 18, 1896, Leavenworth Historical Society.
[158] The "Frisco" was one of many small regional railroads spun off as the Santa Fe recovered from its over-expansionistic period. Initially, many of its board members were affiliated with the Santa Fe. Daniel B. Robinson, who was Vice President of the Santa Fe prior to their 1895 reorganization (and briefly its acting President), became the President of the St. Louis and San Francisco Railroad on June 4, 1896 after the Santa Fe was forced to sell it as part of its reorganization ("News of the Railroads; D. B. Robinson President of St. Louis and San Francisco. To Retire from the First Vice Presidency of the Atchison System-- The Reorganized "Frisco" Road Will Be a Separate and Independent Property--The Atchison Company's Interest Will Be Wiped Out by the Foreclosure Sale," *The New York Times*, June 6, 1896).
[159] Probably David Benjamin, Fred Harvey's close business associate, accountant, and friend.
[160] Daniel B. Robinson, who was Vice President of the Santa Fe prior to their 1895 reorganization (and briefly its acting President), became the President of the St. Louis and San Francisco Railroad on June 4, 1896 after the Santa Fe was forced to sell it as part of their reorganization. (Ibid.).
[161] Fred Harvey to Ford Harvey, June 20, 1896, Leavenworth Historical Society.

noteworthy because it is one of the few occasions in which they seem to have disagreed with each other, though they do not appear to have done so harshly. Both men clearly regretted their argument and sent several letters apologizing

[162] Fred Harvey to Ford Harvey, January 29, 1897, Leavenworth Historical Society.

[163] Ford Harvey to Fred Harvey, September 8, 1900, Leavenworth Historical Society.

after this exchange.[164] The incident stands out because of their argument but it also clearly shows the respect and love between father and son; none of their business-related correspondence indicates significant disagreements of any kind.

When Ripley became president of the Santa Fe in 1896, he brought with him a familiarity with new advertising techniques.[165] He was acutely aware that the public was increasingly scornful of railroads' perceived corruption and wanted to change public opinion quickly. As one of his first initiatives as president, Ripley created an official advertising department within the Santa Fe and promoted passenger agent W. F. White to run it.[166]

Throughout the railroad's upheavals that led to Ripley's arrival, Higgins and the Santa Fe's passenger department had continued the efforts begun under Manvel. Although Jackson and Moran's trip in 1892 was the railroad's primary effort to gather images of the region, the Santa Fe provided partial support to other artists, writers, and photographers. Their work began to

[164] For instance, Fred Harvey sent a letter to Ford saying, in part, that "I appreciate that sometimes I am not reasonable… It does seem that after forty years we ought to be able to bear with one another." [Fred Harvey to Ford Harvey, August 21, 1900]

[165] Ripley was prominently involved in developing the Chicago World's Fair, an experience that likely helped him win the board of director's favor ("RIPLEY, Edward Payson," in *Historical Encyclopedia of Illinois*, vol. 1 (Chicago: Munsell Publishing Company, 1906), 452, http://books.google.com/books?id=htEpAAAAYAAJ&dq=Historical+Encyclopedia+of+Illinois). He was instrumental in selecting the site of the Exposition and was also one of its directors.

[166] White was a long-time railroad employee who had worked in promotions for at least a decade prior to his becoming head of the Santa Fe's advertising department. (He was a Santa Fe Ticket and Passenger Agent since at least 1884. See Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe Railway, *Free Sleeping Cars For Emigrants Carried On Express Trains, and Leaving Kansas City Both Morning and Evening, on the Santa Fe Route* (Topeka: Kansas Publishing House, 1884), 4.)

appear in Santa Fe publications by 1893 alongside Jackson and Moran's lithographs.[167] The railroad also began encouraging writers to travel to the Southwest on their rails; the publicity materials these authors produced were a slightly less formal part of the Santa Fe's overall southwestern campaign.[168] White continued the Santa Fe's new effort to promote the Southwest (he was likely also a contributor to that campaign prior to his promotion). Ford's younger sister, Minnie Harvey Huckel, and her husband John Frederick Huckel were both interested in the Southwest and they probably persuaded Ford to support the Santa Fe's efforts as well. White was soon succeeded by George T. Nicholson. Nicholson was not interested in running the advertising business himself, but recognized Higgins's importance and immediately put him in

charge of advertising for the railroad. Now with greater power and Ford Harvey's support, Higgins began to extend the Santa Fe's efforts in the Southwest. He immediately made plans to frame lithographs of Moran's work with "handsome gilt frames" and in 1896 began distributing them to businesses; they were also placed in schools and homes as well as in Harvey hotels and eating houses.[169]

[167] *To California and Back* was the first Santa Fe publication I was able to identify that uses this new work. As previously noted, in addition to Jackson and Moran's images, it also had work by at least five other artists (Higgins, *To California and Back*, 6).

[168] Francis P. Farquhar, *The Books of the Colorado River & the Grand Canyon*, Reprint. (Flagstaff, AZ: Fretwater Press, 2003), 41.

[169] Edward Hungerford, "A Study in Consistent Railroad Advertising: What Twenty-Seven Years of Advertising Have Accomplished for a Great Railroad System," *The Santa Fe Magazine*, March 1923, 45.

As a continuing promotion, the highly visible artwork attracted attention not just to the railroad but also to the Southwest itself. Moran and other Santa Fe artists highlighted the region's beauty and helped to dispel the popular notion that the area was a vast wasteland. When coupled with the wide distribution of the railroad's guidebooks and pamphlets praising the region, the Santa Fe's campaign was a potent force for shaping popular perceptions about the Southwest.

As new material arrived from the artists and photographers who worked for the Santa Fe, Higgins incorporated it into revised editions of his existing publications. The third edition of *Grand Canyon of the Colorado River, Arizona* (1897) was filled with beautiful artwork by H. F. Farny and F. H. Lungren as well as Thomas Moran, although the text was unchanged.[170] *The Land of Sunshine*, republished in 1897 as *Las Vegas Hot Springs and Vicinity*, was also enriched with striking reproductions of southwestern photography.[171] In fact, Higgins reprinted all four of the Santa Fe's main texts in 1897 and initiated a strategy of reprinting at least one of them annually. Although he did not write much new material after that time, Higgins oversaw various reprints and revisions of his existing work until his death in 1900.

At the very end of his life, Higgins took one last trip to the Southwest with his friend, ethnologist George Dorsey. The display he set up using

[170] Moran's illustrations had appeared in the book's second edition as well.

[171] The photographer (or photographers) whose work was used were uncredited, however.

material gathered on that trip (at the Santa Fe's Chicago ticket office) provided an early example of a successful railroad curio display. After Higgins died in early 1900, the Santa Fe continued to present similar collections of his Hopi artifacts around the country; the Chicago curio's success informed the Harvey Company's exhibits at its hotels as well.[172]

The advertising campaign Higgins began in the 1892 was fleshed out by his successor, William H. Simpson. Ripley chose William Haskell Simpson

(1858-1933) to manage the Santa Fe's advertising after Higgins's death. Simpson, who had joined the railroad as a clerk in 1881, worked alongside Higgins on the Santa Fe's campaigns for many years.[173] Higgins's work focused on promoting the Southwest and Simpson continued this tradition, reworking Higgins's original pamphlets. Simpson also wrote or produced numerous new publications – all enticing tourists to the Southwest. After Simpson's appointment as head of the Santa Fe's advertising department, he operated jointly with the Harvey Company's management.[174]

Ford and Simpson worked well together – they both represented the new generation and had a shared history that went back at least a decade. Furthermore, Simpson and the Huckels were active in midwestern art circles and it seems likely that they knew him through this connection as well. Together, again with encouragement from the Huckels, Ford and Simpson

[172] Zega, "Advertising the Southwest," 297. See Chapter Four.

[173] Judith A. Barter, *Window on the West: Chicago and the Art of the New Frontier, 1890-1940* (Manchester, VT: Hudson Hills Press, 2003), 159.

[174] The Harvey Company was not officially incorporated until 1906.

focused on popularizing the Southwest as a tourist destination. Simpson's special area of interest was in artwork that featured Native Americans. He was also particularly concerned with finding new uses for southwestern artwork and expanded the previous policy of sponsoring artists' trips to and through the Southwest.

Prior to the twentieth century, the only attempt either the railroad or Harvey made to create a tourist destination was at the Montezuma Hotel in Las Vegas, New Mexico.[175] Although the railroad promoted the Southwest for tourists beginning in the early 1890s, they were not explicitly developing destinations, nor were they focused on acting as visitor's hosts. Instead the companies' promotions tried to educate tourists about the region's natural beauty and reassure them of its safety and comfort. Ford Harvey, Ripley, and Simpson collaborated to develop a campaign that would encompass the Southwest's landscape and environment while also promoting their hotels as tourist destinations in their own right. Fred Harvey *was* interested in creating a comfortable, home-like environment for his customers, but was completely uninvolved in promotional work.

Until the end of his life, Fred Harvey maintained an interest in the business, but by the end of the 1890s Ford was responsible for its management. Harvey had good days and bad days – in one letter Fred noted that his doctor said he was "the most sprightly invalid he had ever seen" – but his involvement

[175] The Montezuma was described in *The Land of Sunshine*.

in the business he had founded became marginal.[176] In a letter to Ford in the spring of 1900 Harvey simply noted that he was "glad to know that you did do well last year and that [Santa Fe President] Ripley was pleased."[177] When the

Harvey Company purchased land to build the Alvarado Hotel, Fred remarked that he was "pleased to hear that the company were going to build a hotel at Albuquerque – I should think it seemed a very good property;" he clearly was not involved in the decision to make it a showplace resort-hotel.[178]

Conclusion

Fred Harvey died on the night of February 9, 1901. In his will, Harvey left his business to his son Ford, his wife Sallie, and to his trusted business partner, David Benjamin.[179] As noted in his hometown paper the day after his death:

> Mr. Harvey was a man of remarkable business ability, with a fine capacity for organizing business on a large scale. His conduct of the extensive system of restaurants on the Santa Fe railroad was a masterpiece of commercial enterprise. To equip supply and keep in fine order every day such a multitude of refreshment rooms… required the vigor and comprehensive view of the captain of industry.[180]

[176] Fred Harvey to Ford Harvey, October 4, 1900, v.
[177] Fred Harvey to Ford Harvey, March 6, 1900.
[178] Fred Harvey to Ford Harvey, April 6, 1900.
[179] Fred Harvey, "Fred Harvey," will, Leavenworth Historical Society.
[180] "Mr. Harvey's Death," *Leavenworth Times*, February 10, 1901.

Fred Harvey left "forty-five hotels and eating houses [and] twenty dining cars" to his beneficiaries[181] – a truly amazing accomplishment for an immigrant who arrived as an almost-penniless teenager.[182]

The cultural changes begun in Fred Harvey's lifetime – especially a shift to advertising as part of the promotion of a consumer culture – sped up during the late nineteenth century and came to fruition at the beginning of the twentieth. Both the Harvey Company and the Santa Fe Railroad adapted quickly to these changes and began to use them to their full advantage. Greater numbers of Americans traveled on the Santa Fe's rails, and these new passengers often arrived with low expectations of service (thanks in part to popular accounts of travel on stagecoaches and early trains) and with minimal (or even negative) expectations of the territory they would pass through on the way to their destinations. They expected to find an uninteresting region and to have an unpleasant experience traveling through it.

The rate wars, labor strife, and financial panics of the late 1880s and 1890s altered the way railroads operated; technological innovation also led to faster and more comfortable trips. For travelers, these changes meant more choices at better prices. Express trains such as the Santa Fe's "California

[181] According to Harvey's will, Ford Harvey, Sallie Harvey, and Fred Harvey's partner, David Benjamin, shared responsibility for the business as his executers. Ford continued running the business with Benjamin's help; Sallie received financial support from her son but does not seem to have been involved in the business at all. The executors were charged with running the business for ten years, after which time they were to distribute any remaining money and property to all his heirs (Harvey,

"Fred Harvey.").
[182] "Fred Harvey Has Passed Away."
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Limited" shrunk the journey from coast to coast. Ultimately, the railroad's own advertising successfully convinced Americans that they could expect comfort at an affordable price as they traveled.
At the end of the 1890s, the rougher and less-refined of Harvey's establishments were giving way to new luxury hotels and resorts that would make up the bulk of Harvey's restaurants in the early twentieth century. The railroad, with Ford Harvey's support, began to focus on improving business on its southwestern routes, taking the focus from its home base in the Midwest. The Santa Fe's transcontinental business was growing and new railroad technology no longer required eastern travelers to make stops in Kansas and Oklahoma. Locations like Florence's Clifton Hotel fell victim both to these changes in travelers' tastes and to the railroad's sped-up schedule.[183] Although the Florence location was one of Harvey's most elaborate and successful hotels through the 1880s, in the late 1890s when trains could travel further, faster, there was no need to stop there. Instead, the trains stopped at Newton, Kansas, and on March 31, 1900, the Clifton served its final meal.[184] The Santa Fe's trains did not need to stop in the Southwest, either, but the railroad chose to promote the area itself as a destination. The Harvey Company under Ford's management also moved away from its midwestern roots to focus on the Southwest.
[183] The Clifton was Harvey's second Santa Fe restaurant and first hotel, opened in 1878.
[184] William T. Moran, *Santa Fe and the Chisholm Trail at Newton* (Self-published), 15.
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After his father's death, Ford Harvey took the family business into the twentieth century, expanding its operations while also growing into completely new areas. In many respects, Fred Harvey's business was simply a chain of small restaurants, but Ford's company had a much larger scope. Ford Harvey continued his father's tradition of relying on family members, however, particularly his sister Minnie and her husband as well as Ford's younger brother Byron Harvey. Fred Harvey had had a keen eye for identifying business needs; his son Ford had an eye for creating need where none existed. Under Ford's management, the Harvey Company began to develop resorthotels in the Southwest with the Santa Fe Railroad's full support. At these locations, the two businesses united to provide their first hostessed destinations.
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Chapter Four:
"More than a hotel:" Resort-Building in the Southwest[185]
After breakfasting at the Alvarado, the $200,000 Harvey Hotel, we were shown through the curio rooms – Indian, Spanish and Mexican historic and prehistoric relics. From the railroad the approach to these rooms is lined with Indians

selling pottery. … Within, in a room adjoining one of the curio rooms, an Indian squaw sat on the floor weaving a blanket. … the husband and father was heating a piece of metal over a charcoal fire, which he later, by sturdy hammer blows, fashioned into a salable article.[186]

– F. A. Crawford, *The Santa Fe Magazine*, 1916

These scenes, described by an early twentieth-century visitor to the Harvey Company's resort hotel in Albuquerque, were as far from the selfconscious
elegance of Florence's Clifton Hotel as they were from the rough box-car Harvey House in Dodge City. When the Alvarado Hotel opened in 1902, it was part of a major change in emphasis for the Harvey Company. Now formally run by Ford Harvey, with substantial help from his sister Minnie and her husband John Frederick Huckel, Fred Harvey's restaurant empire was rapidly modernizing.[187]

Although the Harvey Company began to move into the Southwest early in the business's existence with the Harvey House at Raton, New Mexico

[185] Fred Harvey, *El Tovar: A New Hotel at Grand Canyon of Arizona*, 1908, http://www.archive.org/details/eltovarnewhotela00harviala.

[186] F. A. Crawford, "Westward over the Scenic Santa Fe: Being an Account of the Westward Journey of the Topeka Modo's and Orchestra in Their Tour of the Santa Fe Reading Rooms," *The Santa Fe Magazine*, May 1916, 45.

[187] David Benjamin also continued to serve as company vice president.

(1882), the company's early show-piece locations (such as the striking Harvey House in Florence) were located in Kansas. Its first growth spurt in the late 1880s was almost evenly divided between locations in Kansas and New Mexico, but by the time of its second expansionary period in the early twentieth century, the Harvey Company's attention had shifted to the Southwest.

Albuquerque's Alvarado Hotel was the first fully fledged southwestern production designed by the Harvey Company and promoted by the Santa Fe Railroad. It was a new kind of hotel for both businesses, with its architecture, interior design, and exhibits carefully managed so that the hotel itself was a destination for travelers. The Alvarado combined the high standards travelers expected with a southwestern destination "experience" constructed to instruct and inform as well as entice. Moreover, this experience included a comfortable domesticity from the moment a passenger stepped off his or her train, when the company became a virtual hostess for its guests. The hotel's opening in 1902 marked the beginning of a new era of expansion for the Harvey Company and pointed to the direction its growth would take in the twentieth century.

As American society moved toward a consumer culture, the Harvey Company and the Santa Fe Railroad were part of a growing group of

companies that packaged experiences and places as products.[188] In the United States, the industrial revolution expanded the middle class, and these newlymoneyed
Americans craved experiences they associated with luxury.[189]
Leisure travel, once the exclusive domain of the very wealthy, became a part of middle-class life during the nineteenth century.[190] As a result, ever-greater numbers of Americans traveled for relaxation and pleasure.
Tourism expanded with the growth of railroads following the Civil War. Railroad travel was a democratizing force, especially after the late nineteenthcentury
rate wars drove down prices in the 1880s and 1890s. Middle-class Americans took advantage of railroads' cheap fares and long reach to take trips that would have been unimaginably difficult and expensive a generation earlier. The combination of safer, cheaper, and easier travel with advertising campaigns promoting western excursions drove the popularity of such trips. The Santa Fe Railroad and the Harvey Company saw an opportunity to bring these new tourists to the Southwest, which had thus far been an overlooked

[188] In his classic work on American society, Thorstein Veblen examines this transition: Thorstein Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class* (B.W. Huebsch, 1912), http://books.google.com/books?id=t7QJAAAAIAAJ. Railroads were particularly quick to adapt to this cultural change, which occurred just as vacationing became a popular and common American pastime. For examples of other railroads' approaches to this transition, see Richard J. Orsi, *Sunset Limited: The Southern Pacific Railroad and the Development of the American West, 1850-1930* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), Carol Guthrie, *All Aboard for Glacier: The Great Northern Railway and Glacier National Park* (Helena, MT: Farcountry Press, 2004), and Maury Klein, *Union Pacific: Volume II, 1894-1969* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2006).

[189] For more on the development of the middle class in America, see Mary P. Ryan, *Cradle of the Middle Class: The Family in Oneida County, New York, 1790-1865* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983) and Stuart Mack Blumin, *The Emergence of the Middle Class: Social Experience in the American City, 1760-1900* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989).

[190] See Aron, *Working At Play* for a detailed look at the links between the growth of the middle class and the emergence of vacationing as a pastime.

region for vacationing. There they sold a domesticated experience in addition to the travel itself, one that built on the "feminine" hotels of Fred Harvey's lifetime.

"The Beautiful Alvarado Hotel"[191]

In the early twentieth century, the Southwest was still not a popular American vacation place. A *Harper's Weekly* editorial suggested that Americans "would travel more at home [as opposed to Europe] if it was made easier for us to do it" and complained of boredom on trips to the West.[192] The writer suggested that, in order to attract tourism, the trip would need to be not just easier but also "less expensive, and more certainly entertaining" because, although "the intending traveller can be sure he will like London," travel within America offered no such guarantees.[193] By the time this article was published in 1905, the Harvey Company and the Santa Fe had begun to address

these problems on several different fronts.

First the Harvey Company, under Ford Harvey's leadership, rapidly opened several new hotels. This wave of construction began in Kansas with the Arcade Hotel in Newton (1900), quickly followed in 1901 by the Bisonte (Hutchison, Kansas), El Otero (La Junta, Colorado), and El Garces (Needles, California). These hotels, though well-appointed and staffed with typical

[191] "New Mexico: Albuquerque Las Vegas Santa Fe," *Chicago Tribune*, November 29, 1906, 15.

[192] "Comment," *Harper's Weekly*, December 2, 1905.

[193] Ibid.

Harvey attention to detail, were not destinations in themselves and followed the model set by Florence's Clifton Hotel, opened under Fred Harvey's leadership. To open another resort on the scale of the Montezuma Hotel, one that would meet the challenges discussed in the *Harper's* piece, Ford needed help from the Santa Fe.

Late in 1899, Santa Fe President E. P. Ripley and Ford Harvey began to make plans to open a fashionable new hotel in Albuquerque. Ford purchased the land in 1900 and, in consultation with his sister Minnie and her husband John, settled on a southwestern style for this new property.[194] Both siblings had long been interested in the Southwest, and Minnie especially felt that the region needed to be brought to the attention of the wider public. They decided to call the new resort the Alvarado; every aspect of its design – architecture, decorations, and advertising materials – was intended to reflexively remind visitors that they were in the Southwest. Customers were to be enveloped in a southwestern experience from the instant they set foot in Albuquerque.

Architecturally, the Alvarado represented a shift away from the Harvey Company's previous buildings. According to the Santa Fe's publicity for the hotel it was "the first building in New Mexico to revive Spanish tradition" in its architecture.[195] While that sentiment was advertising hyperbole, it nonetheless reflects the designers' intention that the Alvarado be a symbol of

[194] Harvey to Harvey, April 6, 1900.

[195] Qtd. in Virginia L Grattan, *Mary Colter, Builder Upon the Red Earth* (Flagstaff, AZ: Northland Press, 1980), 10.

local architecture. As part of their existing campaign to promote the region, this architectural style played perfectly: it was invitingly exotic to eastern tourists and evoked a "simpler" time that was associated with the quiet authenticity many visitors craved. While the Alvarado's claim to be the first Spanish revival-style building in New Mexico was exaggerated, it was certainly one of the first buildings to be constructed in that style.[196]

Designed by Charles F. Whittlesey of Chicago, the Alvarado's exterior was intended to resemble a Pueblo dwelling re-imagined in the Spanish tradition as an acknowledgement of the dual heritage of the region. The style of the Alvarado and subsequent Harvey hotels in the Southwest (which

continued the aesthetic begun in Albuquerque) was not just Spanish revival but rather a specifically southwestern architecture based on the forms of Spanish mission churches. “Mission Revival” architecture began in California in the 1890s but was adopted by the Santa Fe Railroad at the turn of the century. Whittlesey’s design for the Alvarado drew heavily on those buildings but was distinctly southwestern.

Whittlesey was comfortable working in many styles but was not known for Mission Revival prior to the Alvarado; he likely chose this approach at the prompting of Ford and his sister Minnie. In preparation for the commission, Whittlesey studied the region’s Spanish and Indian influences as well as

196 Jerome Iowa, *Ageless Adobe* (Santa Fe, NM: Sunstone Press, 1985), 83.

Mission churches before drawing up final plans for the building.197 Described as “long and low and picturesque” with “heavy pillars … deep verandas … [and] wide archways,” the Alvarado recalled “Moorish” design to some contemporaries, though the railroad referred to its design as “Mission Revival” from its earliest promotions.198

In addition to the Alvarado Hotel itself, Whittlesey designed an “Indian Building” to house curio exhibits and craft demonstrations. After leaving the railroad depot, travelers went through a passageway directly to the hotel complex. The arcade that connected the train station to the hotel contained the Indian Building, which had an area for museum-quality pieces and a gift (or “curio”) shop as well as space for local artisans to demonstrate their techniques. Upon entering the hotel’s large lobby, the emphasis on southwestern design continued in its “Spanish tile floor,” in the heavy reproduction furniture, and in the scent of piñon, perfuming the air as it burned in the lobby’s fireplace.199 These details were no quirk of the building’s manager, but rather part of the calculated effort to treat visitors as guests with a fully “southwestern” experience.

197 Although Whittlesey was distantly related to William Simpson by marriage, it is unclear whether he became part of the Harvey southwestern team on this account, or for some other reason. The Harvey family had strong connections in Chicago, where Whittlesey was based, and they may have known about him in some other way. See Charles Barney Whittelsey, *Genealogy of the Whittelsey-Whittlesey Family* (C.B. Whittelsey, Press of the Case, Lockwood & Brainard Co., 1898), 322 and 334, http://books.google.com/books?id=IGFbAAAAMAAJ.

198 “New Mexico: Albuquerque Las Vegas Santa Fe,” 15; Fred Harvey (Firm), “Fred Harvey Hotels,” 2.

199 John Willy, “Dropping in on Fred Harvey from the Canyon to Chicago,” *The Santa Fe Magazine*, January 1929, 45.

The group that designed this experience was gathered by Ford Harvey, but Ford did not involve himself in the design decisions for the Alvarado. Instead, he left those details to what would become the core of his southwestern “team:” the Huckels; designer Mary Jane Colter; and Harvey employee Herman Schweizer.200

Minnie and John Huckel married in 1896. At the time of their marriage,

John was working as assistant publisher of *The New York Evening Post*, but he soon became active in his wife's family business.[201] When the Harvey Company took over many of the Santa Fe's newsstands in 1897, Ford acknowledged John's experience with the publishing industry and made him the head of the new department. Both Huckels were interested in the art scene that was developing in the Midwest, where they lived, but they were also attracted to southwestern art and history. They were instrumental in bringing the other two primary members of their group to Ford's attention.

Minnie persuaded her brother to take a chance on Minnesota designer Colter and convinced Ford to bring Colter to the Southwest to work on the Alvarado's interiors after the building was constructed. During her architectural apprenticeship in California in the late 1880s, Colter had become convinced that hewing closely to historical authenticity, tied to the building's location, was the essence of good design. When she left California and

[200] Although Whittlesey was one of the railroad's chief architects, his influence with the Harvey Company was minimal.

[201] "John F. Huckel, Fred Harvey Official, Passes Away," *The Santa Fe Magazine*, May 1936, 15.

returned to her home state of Minnesota, Colter continued to be active in the local Arts and Crafts movement, where she likely encountered Minnie Huckel. Minnie seems to have become Colter's patron and the two women shared a desire to promote buildings and designs that enhanced local traditions and environments.[202]

Colter's time in California had coincided with the publication of Helen Hunt Jackson's *Ramona* and she was among the architects who responded to calls for a new architectural style to complement the rising interest in California's roots created by the book. After its publication in 1884, *Ramona* became an immediate bestseller.[203] The novel traced a tragic romance between its titular character, a half-Native American, half-Scottish orphan, and the dashing Alessandro, a Native American sheep-herder. After they eloped, their lives were filled with hardship caused by mistreatment at the hands of white Californians. Finally, Alessandro went mad with grief when their child died because an Anglo doctor would not go to their home to treat her. Jackson's novel, which she intended to call attention to the condition of California's Mission Indians, instead created intense fascination with the peaceful and bucolic past in which she set the book. Architecturally, this interest led to a

[202] Stewart Harvey, Jr. speculates that only Minnie would have been sufficiently motivated and persuasive enough to overcome Ford Harvey's reluctance in this matter. (Undated manuscript, Leavenworth Historical Society).

[203] *Ramona* has been the subject of multiple motion pictures (the earliest in 1910) and has been in continuous print since its publication.

more vernacular style; it also created a demand for historical myths that shared *Ramona*'s romanticism.

Colter contributed her careful eye for detail to the Alvarado's

meticulously authentic interior. She also developed the tableaux that formed the backdrop for craft demonstrations in the Indian Building. Her efforts at the Alvarado and its Indian Building were subtle, and led to a kind of naturalness that went unremarked by guests, but they gave the Albuquerque a unique atmosphere that was incredibly successful. Colter's designs were welcoming and comfortable even as they functioned within the realm of historical "authenticity" that she favored. Colter's work on the Alvarado secured her a place in the Harvey Company's southwestern designs for the rest of her working life.

Herman Schweizer joined the group of southwestern Harvey employees when the Harvey Company decided to use Native American actors to provide a colorful backdrop at the Indian Building and to drive business to its curio shop. Schweizer had started out as a "butcher boy," selling inexpensive candies and reading material to the Santa Fe's passengers.[204] He was soon managing the lunchroom at Coolidge, New Mexico, where he began a side business buying and selling Navajo silver and rugs to travelers. As a result, Schweizer was familiar with some of the local Navajos and Anglo traders and also had

[204] *Colonial Frontiers: Art and Life in Spanish New Mexico: The Fred Harvey Collection* (Santa Fe, NM: Ancient City Press, 1983), 21.

become friendly with museum staff and ethnographers. During the planning phase, in early 1900, Minnie suggested that the company open a museum showcasing native crafts in Albuquerque and further suggested that her brother hire Schweizer to run it.[205]

By the time of the Alvarado's construction, Schweizer was responsible for planning all the aspects of the hotel that involved native people. He located craftspeople to work at the Alvarado demonstrating their methods and to produce goods for the tourist trade. The Harvey "trading post" at the Alvarado prided itself on selling only authentic, high-quality Indian wares, and Schweizer used his contacts on nearby reservations to secure these goods and guarantee their excellence. Schweizer also selected the items that would go into the Indian Building's museum and curio shop. Initially, the artifacts were the Hopi ones Charles Higgins had gathered on trips with anthropologist George Dorsey.[206] The original idea for the Indian Building was sparked by a temporary display of these items at the railroad's Chicago office; that exhibit's popularity was part of Minnie's inspiration for the Indian Building displays.

The Alvarado's primary attraction was in its southwestern theme and Native American displays; this aspect of the Alvarado's success would likely not have been possible without Schweizer's connections. He was the most important Harvey contact for securing people to work at the Alvarado, using

[205] Bryant, *History of the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe Railway*, 120.

[206] Dorsey, a Harvard-trained anthropologist, became curator of anthropology at Chicago's Field Columbian Museum in 1897. His friendship with Higgins seems to have dated back to his student days.

his relationships with several “Indian traders” and with employees of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Around the time of the Alvarado’s construction, Schweizer introduced John to trader J. L. Hubbell, who had been active on the nearby Navajo Nation lands for many years.

Hubbell was not only a valuable connection for finding performers but also supplied the Harvey Company with more native art and craftwork than any other single source.[207] Although Hubbell was not a Harvey employee, he performed a valuable service that made him nearly indispensible to the Harvey staff working in the Southwest.[208] When Ford pressured them to drop Hubbell as a supplier because of his inability to provide them with billing statements, both John and Schweizer went to great lengths to smooth things over so they could continue to work with him.[209]

Together, the Harvey team labored to create an apparently-natural series of demonstrations to draw tourists to the Alvarado. Schweizer and Hubbell worked to ensure a steady supply of performers and demonstrators to work at Albuquerque and, later, at other Harvey establishments. Schweizer was interested in maintaining a balance between Hopi and Navajo artisans, but his

[207] See Martha Blue, *Indian Trader: The Life and Times of J.L. Hubbell* (Walnut, CA: Kiva Press, 2000) for more details on Hubbell’s colorful life.

[208] Hubbell was not much of a businessman – he was notorious for not managing his accounts accurately – and he had a long-running series of conflicts with the Harvey Company’s accounting department (see Fred Harvey Company to J. L. Hubbell, January 27, 1906, University of Arizona and Fred Harvey to J. L. Hubbell, April 1, 1915, University of Arizona for some of the numerous examples of this correspondence).

[209] Herman Schweizer to J.L. Hubbell, February 27, 1907, U of AZ; John Frederick Huckel to J. L. Hubbell, January 17, 1907, University of Arizona.

overriding concern was to have the right balance of men and women.[210] Too few men, and there would not be a silversmith for the tourists to observe and the Alvarado would need to hire additional local men to do odd jobs, something both Schweizer and John preferred to avoid.[211] Too few women, and the men would miss their wives or girlfriends. Women also were expected to weave or do beadwork, thus completing the Harvey Company’s demonstration of native crafts.

For the effect John and Schweizer were trying to achieve, they felt that a few children provided a quaint touch, but too many were distracting and expensive. The Harvey Company’s staff reasoned that the most crucial performers to the Alvarado’s atmosphere were the silversmiths; weavers and potters were important, too, but silver-smithing was a less common skill. It was difficult to find men who were willing to come to the Alvarado, who had a flair for working in front of audiences, and who could make decent silver jewelry of the type Schweizer preferred. Schweizer was even willing to train likely men to be silversmiths, in one case paying a straight salary (their smiths were usually paid by the piece) so that “he [the smith] can take his time and

make it the way we want it and … we can increase his compensation as time
[210] Both Schweizer and Huckel were constantly negotiating with Hubbell to maintain the balance between Hopi and Navajo workers, and there is much correspondence dealing with these concerns. See, for instance, Herman Schweizer to J. L. Hubbell, March 24, 1906, University of Arizona and Herman Schweizer to J. L. Hubbell, April 14, 1906, University of Arizona.
[211] See Herman Schweizer to J. L. Hubbell, August 11, 1906, University of Arizona and Herman Schweizer to Lorenzo Hubbell, February 6, 1907, U of AZ.
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goes on."[212] Although Hubbell supplied most of the blankets sold at the Harvey shop at Albuquerque, the silver jewelry the curio shop sold was primarily made onsite, making having a skilled smith an important concern. Because of this consideration and because of a smith's central role in setting the scene for tourists, Schweizer was sometimes willing to tolerate men who were less than ideal as employees as long as they were fine silversmiths. For instance, in February 1909 he wrote to Hubbell that he would "prefer not to have Pete and his family and can get along without a silversmith until Charley or some one else may be able to come," but just a few months later Schweizer asked Hubbell to send Pete anyway, even though Pete was making silver goods for Hubbell's trading post and Hubbell apparently did not want to let him go.[213]

Two of the most acclaimed of the Harvey Company's artisans were a couple. Elle and Tom Ganado worked at the Alvarado off and on from the time it opened, along with an assortment of helpers and sometimes several of Tom's grandchildren. The Ganados lived on the Navajo reservation near Hubbell's trading post and Hubbell seems to have been the one to initially suggest that they go to Alvarado as demonstrators. Elle and Tom were weavers; at the Alvarado's Indian Building, Elle also carded and spun wool
[212] Herman Schweizer to J. L. Hubbell, October 14, 1906, University of Arizona.
[213] Herman Schweizer to J. L. Hubbell, February 11, 1909, University of Arizona; Herman Schweizer to J. L. Hubbell, October 20, 1909, University of Arizona.
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prior to weaving it on a demonstration loom.[214] Preparing the yarn for weaving was mostly left to their assistants, however, since the Ganados – especially Elle – were promoted as skilled weavers. According to Harvey advertising materials "of all the Navajos there is no one whose work surpasses that of Elle, of Ganado."[215] Elle received further acclaim and publicity for the Alvarado when she presented President Theodore Roosevelt with a blanket when he was touring the western territories in early 1903.[216]

The potter Nampeyo also worked at Alvarado from its earliest days. Unlike the Ganados, however, she was a well-known artisan before the Harvey Company hired her to demonstrate her art at the Alvarado. In the 1890s Thomas Kean, a trader near the Hopi town of Hano, began to promote her unusual "Sikyatki revival" pottery. Nampeyo focused on using ancient design motifs, including some uncovered in archaeological excavations.[217] Her work was prized by collectors and one of her designs was featured on the cover of a

Santa Fe flyer in 1900 – the first of what would be several decades of stylized Native American designs used as advertising images for the railroad.[218]

[214] "Renowned Navajo Weaver Passes to Happy Hunting Ground," *The Santa Fe Magazine*, February 1925, 42.
[215] Fred Harvey, *The Great Southwest Along the Santa Fe* (Kansas City, MO: Fred Harvey, 1914).
[216] Moore, "Elle Meets the President," 21.
[217] Don D. Fowler, *A Laboratory for Anthropology: Science and Romanticism in the American Southwest, 1846-1930* (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press), 168.
[218] Zega, "Advertising the Southwest," 298.

The Arts and Crafts Movement and the Fred Harvey Indian Art Department

Colter and the Huckels shared an interest in Arts and Crafts design and aesthetic, and they began to promote its look and values in the Harvey Company's southwestern enterprises. A British import, the Arts and Crafts movement emerged in the United States at the end of the nineteenth century. William Morris, one of the founders of the American Arts and Crafts movement, claimed that "apart from the desire to produce beautiful things, the leading passion of my life has been and is hatred of modern civilization."[219] Gustav Stickley, editor of *The Craftsman: An Illustrated Monthly Magazine for the Simplification of Life* and one of the chief advocates of the Arts and Crafts movement in the United States, also promoted the "simple life" as part of the Arts and Crafts sensibility. His United Crafts furniture workshops in Syracuse, New York further popularized these ideas after they opened in 1898, attracting popular interest.[220] Soon, this attitude was shared not just by the cultural elite, but increasingly by many middle-class Americans.

Arts and Crafts enthusiasts' distaste for modern industrialized life appealed to many Americans who had become dissatisfied with what they saw as the superficiality and blandness of modern life. Proponents saw workers as separated from the fruits of their labor by industrial technology and instead embraced the beauty and authenticity of primitive societies. In the movement,

[219] Qtd. in Lears, *No Place of Grace*, 62.
[220] Ibid., 68.

craftspeople were highly respected, especially if they came from premodern traditions or used techniques and designs "unsullied" by industrial life and mores.

In the United States, Arts and Crafts advocates sought simplicity and authenticity that was rooted in American landscapes and cultures. Initially, the movement was strongest on the east coast, particularly in Boston, but it soon had a significant presence in the Midwest, particularly centered around Chicago, where the Huckels encountered it. Colter was attending architecture school in California, another center of Arts and Crafts ideas, when she was first exposed to the movement. Colter especially embraced the notion that regionality should be central to architectural design.

The Harvey Company's move to southwestern design reflected the direction the American Arts and Crafts movement had taken by the end of the nineteenth century. The Chicago art scene in particular was very interested in Native American design at the beginning of the twentieth century; whether Harvey executives helped create that interest or were simply enthusiastic participants is unclear.[221] At the prompting of Minnie and her husband, the Harvey Company officially founded the Fred Harvey Indian Department in 1902. Its purpose was to collect original pieces while also making decisions about which new pieces were authentic and worthy of promotion through sales

[221] Barter, *Window on the West*, examines Chicago art exhibitions and finds a significant upswing in Native American articles and themes starting around the turn of the century.

at Harvey locations. The Harvey Indian Department and the Fred Harvey Fine Arts Collection (a sub-section of the Indian Department founded to preserve outstanding examples of traditional artwork) were both very much in keeping with the Arts and Crafts ideals of their founders.

Schweizer's early experiences buying and selling silver Navajo jewelry made him a natural choice to head up this new effort. Schweizer oversaw the Indian Department from the beginning; his responsibilities included managing the burgeoning Fine Arts Collection. The Department oversaw not just the collection of Native American artifacts and artwork but also all the Harvey company's dealings with Native Americans, the Bureau of Indian affairs, and Indian traders. The new department was headquartered at the Alvarado, and Schweizer moved to Albuquerque before the hotel's opening to manage acquisitions for the hotel complex. John was the Harvey official at the head of both these endeavors, but he was commuting to Albuquerque from Kansas City, and Schweizer was in charge of all day-to-day interactions.[222]

In the 1890s, when his work with southwestern artisans was not yet official, Schweizer was nonetheless more than a middleman. He played a major role in developing the type of jewelry that would be sold to tourists and in establishing the look that became associated with southwestern jewelry. The silver trade in the Southwest dates back to the establishment of United Stateslicensed

trading posts there, established in the hope that access to Anglo goods

[222] Moore, "Elle Meets the President," 22.

would help "civilize" the Navajo. The trading posts on the Navajo reservation also acted as pawn shops; silver jewelry was the most commonly pawned type of item.[223] Many Navajo used silver as a medium of exchange among themselves, so this practice was simply an extension of existing local custom. Silver-smithing was not a traditional Navajo craft, though; its origins were in the mid-nineteenth century as Mexicans taught many of their silver-working techniques to Navajo craftsmen.[224]

Early Navajo jewelry (pre-twentieth century) was generally both large

and heavy.[225] Manufactured for local use, it was rarely purchased by Anglos until Schweizer became interested in it. Not only did Schweizer purchase many items for his own collection (he was a collector of early silver craftwork), but he sold it to other collectors and museums as well. However, Schweizer did not have great success selling the jewelry to tourists and in 1899 he began to commission smaller pieces specifically to sell to visiting Easterners.[226]

Thus Schweizer initiated the production of some of the earliest commercially produced Navajo silver. He first ordered turquoise, cut into a variety of shapes, from a Nevada mine owner. Schweizer then went to a

[223] Leah Dilworth, *Imagining Indians in the Southwest: Persistent Visions of a Primitive Past* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1996), 127.

[224] Ibid., 132.

[225] John Adair, *The Navajo and Pueblo Silversmiths* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1944), 25.

[226] Byron Harvey, III, "Introduction," in *White Metal Universe: Navajo Silver from the Fred Harvey Collection*, ed. E. W. Jernigan and Gary Witherspoon (Heard Museum, 1981), 7.

trading post at Thoreau, New Mexico, and left the turquoise and some silver with instructions to make light-weight jewelry from it.[227] Initially, Schweizer's commissions were quite small, but his jewelry soon came to the attention of the Huckels and the Harvey Company began to sell some jewelry through their newsstands and butcher boys. Schweizer used his extensive connections in the Southwest to obtain raw materials and distribute them to several other trading posts, including Sheep Springs, Smith Lake, and Mariano Lake.[228] The Navajo silversmiths who worked with the trading posts were paid by the ounce for each piece as it was completed.[229]

Although Schweizer specified some aspects of the jewelry's design (such as its size and use of turquoise), he mostly exercised what one contemporary remembered as his "sure taste for the authentic and beautiful."[230] Schweizer selected pieces that exemplified southwestern jewelry, choosing works that emphasized bezel-set turquoise, kachina and thunderbird designs, and strong geometric shapes.[231] Through his role as the region's major buyer, Schweizer had a direct influence on one of the most important changes in Navajo silver-smithing in this era. Instead of producing a specific piece for a certain individual, smiths began producing pieces exclusively for the tourist trade, with a focus on what they thought the traders thought Schweizer wanted.

[227] Adair, *The Navajo and Pueblo Silversmiths*, 25.

[228] Ibid.

[229] Ibid., 26.

[230] Fergusson, *Our Southwest*, 199.

[231] Paula Baxter, "Cross-Cultural Controversies in the Design History of Southwestern American Indian Jewellery," *Journal of Design History* 7, no. 4 (1994): 237-238.

It was an odd filter, because ultimately Schweizer himself was most interested in the beauty of the original Navajo pieces; he just wanted them to be slightly

smaller so eastern tourists would find them more wearable. In the end, much of the jewelry that was produced for sale to tourists was based on Navajo smiths' ideas about buyers' expectations of Indian design. This trend resulted in a distinctive and new jewelry that became part of southwestern style but was not really the "authentic" jewelry buyers claimed to want.[232]

The Harvey Indian Department, through Schweizer, also purchased scaled-down pottery and baskets in addition to jewelry, and similar changes can be seen in those crafts as more goods were produced for tourists rather than local use.[233] Schweizer's role in this transition was at odds with both his personal desires and the Harvey Company's goals. The Fine Arts Collection in particular was intended to preserve Native American designs without altering them. Schweizer, soon known as the "Harvey anthropologist" for his work with Native American artifacts, contributed many important examples of Native American artwork to institutions such as the Field Museum in Chicago as well as to the Harvey Collection.[234] As Schweizer worked to preserve outstanding examples of Native American designs, however, he inevitably influenced future production.

[232] Adair, *The Navajo and Pueblo Silversmiths*, 135.

[233] See Fowler, *A Laboratory for Anthropology*, 345 and Dye, *All Aboard for Santa Fe: Railway Promotion of the Southwest, 1890s to 1930s*, 61.

[234] Barter, *Window on the West*, 153.

Nonetheless, one of the purposes of the Harvey Indian Art Department was to help the public distinguish between quality goods and "cheap" imitations. Schweizer and John both actively fought to promote traditional methods and materials. In 1907, for instance, Schweizer wrote to his contacts at trading posts and reservations to warn them that "cotton warp blankets are again being made on the reservation in great quantities."[235] He went on to assert that, when the Harvey Company originally began selling wool blankets, they "made it a point to keep the general public informed in regard to cotton warp blankets." The rest of his letter outlines the problems the Harvey Company had with cotton blankets, which mostly boiled down to the fact that they were less expensive, which made them popular, but that though they were often marketed as wool "the cotton used in connection with the wool woof will not wear" and so these shoddy imitations tarnished the public's perception of all Navajo blankets.[236]

There were similar issues with cheaply-made silver jewelry, pottery, and baskets: they were less expensive, thus decreasing the chances that a tourist would purchase the Harvey Company's higher-quality goods; they also gave eastern visitors an unfavorable impression of local arts and crafts. Schweizer and John were dedicated to avoiding the sale of these goods in their shops, and much of their correspondence with Hubbell details complaints – thinly veiled

[235] Herman Schweizer to All Concerned, September 12, 1907, University of Arizona.

[236] Ibid.

as in the above letter, or more pointed – about the quality of the items they received from him. Both the Huckels and Schweizer were concerned on an ideological level as well as the obvious financial one. They were committed to the Arts and Crafts ideals that prized authenticity and felt strongly that these "imitation" goods violated those precepts. Selling goods that they felt "cheated" their customers also ran directly against their goal to provide a comprehensively positive experience.

When Colter joined the Harvey group in the Southwest, she immediately grasped these concerns. At the Alvarado, she saw that pieces from Schweizer's collection would help give the hotel the air of authenticity to which they aspired. In the museum area, the pieces were collected together in order to inform visitors about the artwork itself; within the living spaces of the Alvarado, Colter instead artfully arranged them as though they were simple household objects, heightening the sense that hotel customers were guests in a home.[237] On the walk to and from the stations, visitors could purchase pieces of artwork from Indians directly; in the "Indian Building" patrons could watch the construction of rugs, silver, baskets, and pottery; in the museum they could learn about the history and meaning of their designs; in the Alvarado they could interact with pieces in a "natural" setting. Their environment was comfortable and all-encompassing; it piqued visitors' interest in the Southwest while it gave them a frame to understand their entire experience in the area.

[237] *Colonial Frontiers*, vii.

Overall, Colter's design decisions in the Albuquerque hotel epitomize the shared concerns and interests of the Harvey group.

The Alvarado, with its Arts and Crafts-influenced revival design, the Harvey Indian Art Department, and the Fine Arts Collection were all outgrowths of the collaboration among the Huckels, Schweizer, and Simpson. Colter was a late addition but she would also be central to the Harvey Company's expansion into the Southwest, particularly their next project at the Grand Canyon. The Alvarado provided valuable experience for the group and they applied all they had learned to the development on the south rim of the Grand Canyon, which promised to be an important one for the company.

The Harvey Company's Grand Canyon: "A Village Devoted to the Entertainment of Travelers"[238]

After the opening of the Alvarado Hotel in 1902, the main Harvey players in the Southwest turned their attention to the Grand Canyon. The Santa Fe finally completed its spur line to the Grand Canyon (actually to nearby Williams, Arizona) and the railroad was eager to fund another southwestern hotel venture to capitalize on the Grand Canyon's remote grandeur. Like the Alvarado complex, this new development featured both a hotel – called El Tovar – and an "Indian Building" known as the Hopi House. In addition to the

luxurious hotel, the railroad and Harvey Company built budget accommodations, which they named “Bright Angel Camp.” Originally the
[238] Harvey, *El Tovar*.

hotel was to be known as “Bright Angel Tavern” but as the popularity of the Alvarado’s southwestern emphasis became clearer they were persuaded to change the name to something more “southwestern.”[239]
The initial plans for the Grand Canyon buildings were conceived before the Alvarado opened. In light of its success, the Harvey team began to modify their plans for the Grand Canyon. Given the timing of the Alvarado’s opening, however, some parts of the new development were too far along to be changed. Therefore, the construction and design of El Tovar marked the last vestiges of the older Harvey designs, while the Hopi House, which was added to their plans after the Alvarado opened, reflected the company’s new focus on the Southwest.
El Tovar would be the Harvey Company’s largest hotel, costing over $250,000 to construct, and it was to be a cornerstone of the Harvey / Santa Fe complex at the Grand Canyon.[240] Charles Whittlesey, who had designed the Alvarado, was also the architect for El Tovar. Instead of the Pueblo Revival style used in Albuquerque, Whittlesey modeled the Grand Canyon’s hotel on a Swiss Chalet, keeping the building low to the ground to avoid interrupting the visual line of the Canyon’s rim. It resembled a three-story log “cabin,” which
[239] “El Tovar” is not a name of local significance, however. One scholar suggests that Don Pedro de Tobar, “the first white person to hear reports about the existence of the Canyon” is its namesake, and that officials changed the spelling to “Tovar” to cater to teetotalling guests. “El” was added in order to make the name seem more Spanish. (Hyde, *American Vision*, 272-3).
[240] “At the Bisonte,” *The Santa Fe Magazine*, November 1917; Harvey, *El Tovar*, 3.

Harvey promotional materials said “fits the forest around it.”[241] El Tovar’s original furnishings also reflected the gradual transition away from older resort designs: the influence of the Arts and Crafts movement was obvious in the dining room and main lounge, where Stickley Brothers’ originals were the focus, but the other public rooms were decorated much more conventionally. The lady’s lounge, solarium, and music room all featured the same heavy Victorian look as the company’s older resort, the Montezuma.[242]
Colter was the Hopi House’s architect as well as its designer, and she worked closely with the other Harvey team members to make her contribution fully southwestern and “authentic.” In addition to Colter’s work on the project, Minnie and John Huckel provided organizational support through the Harvey Company while Herman Schweizer directed many of the on-site logistics, especially those relating to the Native Americans who were to live in the Hopi Houses as demonstrators. The Harvey team used their work at Grand Canyon village to “frame” the area’s main attraction – the canyon itself. They shifted the emphasis from the setting they had constructed to the natural one just

outside to allow visitors to experience the Southwest's natural wonders in comfort. Although Whittlesey did not utilize the southwestern vernacular in his architecture, he nonetheless focused on helping his hotel to blend into its

241 Fred Harvey (Firm), "Fred Harvey Hotels," 3.

242 Harvey, *El Tovar*, 19.

surroundings. When Colter became involved, she was completely focused on creating an unobtrusive yet carefully thought-out "native" building.

Taking the popular Hopi village at Oraibi as her model, Mary Colter designed her "Hopi House" both to reflect tourists' expectations of native culture and to satisfy their desire for a convenient but "authentic" experience. Built directly across from El Tovar, the Hopi House opened on the first day of 1905. The Hopi House presented part of the Fred Harvey Fine Arts Collection (Navajo blankets that had previously been displayed at the Santa Fe's exhibit in the 1904 St. Louis Fair). It also had replicas of sand paintings, a reproduction Hopi altar (twin to one in the Albuquerque Indian Building), and another "curio" shop. Per Colter's exacting specifications, the Hopi House was constructed of native materials by local Hopi builders. According to Harvey advertising, its exterior was based on the terraced dwellings at Oraibi: "three stories high and … of rough stone" and its interior featured faux mud floors (actually cement), low-ceilinged rooms with adobe-like walls, and furnishings of local Indian and Spanish-American manufacture.[243] The promotional materials for Hopi House emphasized that it was "an exact reproduction of a typical Hopi dwelling of a hundred years ago."[244]

After joining the project, Colter worked with the Huckels and with Schweizer to devise an overarching vision for the complex that shifted its

243 John Frederick Huckel, ed., *American Indians: First Families of the Southwest*, Fourth Edition. (Kansas City, MO: Fred Harvey, 1928), unpaginated.

244 Ibid.

emphasis to the Hopi House. Following the pattern set at Albuquerque, Hubbell was Schweizer's primary contact for recruiting their Navajo and Hopi workforce. Navajo were recruited to camp near the hotel and Hopi craftspeople hired to demonstrate their skills and to live in the upper floors of the Hopi House. During the day, they demonstrated basket-making, weaving, and silver-smithing.

As well as demonstrating crafts during the day, the Hopi House's Native American workforce also gave an evening performance featuring a variety of "traditional" dances and music. This addition provided an extra income stream for the workers. These dances were more than a tourist draw; they also gave the performers more incentive to stay at the Grand Canyon for an extended time. Schweizer and Hubbell struggled to keep a full staff at the Canyon, primarily because of its isolation.

Having a steady supply of reliable Native American demonstrators was

central to what the Huckels and Schweizer were trying to accomplish at the Canyon. They wanted to ensure an authentically southwestern experience in a highly controlled and consistent way. At the Harvey resorts in both Albuquerque and the Grand Canyon they created finely crafted tourist destinations that were intended to be even more authentic than the real thing. Colter handled much of the initial staging of their effort at the Grand Canyon, but it was up to John, Schweizer, and to a lesser extent Hubbell to maintain the effect they had jointly created there.

They had persistent problems with workers leaving at crucial points in their operations, however. In early 1907, for instance, John wrote to Schweizer to complain that "the Hopi House filled with Navajo Indians is inconsistent."[245] John was unhappy; his plan had been to supply the Hopi with clay, so that they could make pottery over the winter when tourists were few. Somehow the clay shipment never arrived, and rather than continue waiting, the Hopi went home. They left just as the tourist season was beginning – they were dissatisfied because of how little money they were making and were bored. In addition to the temporary inauthenticity of having only Navajo at the Hopi House, John fretted that "these Indians are now going back and are dissatisfied and all the rest will hear it and it will make it more difficult to get others."[246]

John also paid careful attention to the gender and age distribution among the Indians who lived at the Canyon. In a letter to J. B. Epp, another Indian trader, John requested replacements for the Hopi who had left, asking for "a group made up as follows: say four men and a couple of women, wives of two of the men, and a young girl who is of age and would wear her hair up and perhaps one or two children, preferably not more than three."[247] He specifically requested a young unmarried woman because the traditional "squash blossom" hairstyle of a Hopi maiden had become a well-known symbol of the local Hopi, and many tourists expected to see it. John was

[245] John Frederick Huckel to Herman Schweizer, January 24, 1907, University of Arizona.
[246] Ibid.
[247] John Frederick Huckel to J. B. Epp, January 24, 1907, U of AZ.

acutely aware that he was assembling props to stage an experience for tourists, and that the success or failure of the Harvey tourist venture rested on his ability to cater to visitors' expectations. Nothing should appear jarring or out of place to their guests.

The Harvey employees chose details of native life that they felt demonstrated "authenticity" and emphasized those elements while downplaying others, for instance requesting that the Navajo women "have and use some of their homemade pots to cook" and asking Hubbell to secure an "old Navaho forge" for the silversmiths to use.[248] The Huckels and Schweizer intended the Hopi House to provide visitors with an exotic but accessible experience, showcasing "the most primitive Indians in the country" whose

rituals “have been practiced by their ancestors for hundreds of years.”[249] At the Hopi House, arts and crafts were on display in all their varying forms: in production, for sale, and on display in a museum-like setting; guests could also observe dances purported to have been practiced for centuries. Thanks to the Santa Fe’s rail and the modern Harvey resort there, the Grand Canyon was one of America’s most accessible natural wonders in the early twentieth century. Their publicity department just needed to convince tourists to visit.

[248] Qtd. in Moore, “Elle Meets the President,” 29.

[249] Harvey, *The Great Southwest Along the Santa Fe*, unpaginated.

Selling the Southwest

William Simpson, the official in charge of Harvey as well as Santa Fe advertising, started planning the Grand Canyon promotions soon after he became head of advertising in 1900. He promoted El Tovar as “more than a hotel… [it is instead] a village devoted to the entertainment of travelers.”[250] John used his connections from his days as an east-coast publisher to promote the Grand Canyon resort; Schweizer used his sharp artistic sensibility to develop stylized designs that could be used in advertising logos.[251]

Simpson sent William Henry Jackson back to the Southwest on a dedicated photographic trip to gather material for the promotions. Jackson, who had based his career around western photography, nonetheless ceded artistic control to the Harvey Company for this trip and produced images to Simpson’s specifications.[252] He had been intermittently producing photographs for the railroad since his Santa Fe-sponsored trip to the Southwest for the railroad’s first campaign promoting the region in the 1890s. Unlike the railroad’s previous photographic campaign featuring the Southwest, these new images were intended to step a tourist through an entire trip to the Grand Canyon. They focused on the exotic (e.g. the “thrilling” Snake Dance) but also

[250] Harvey, *El Tovar*.

[251] Schweizer was particularly interested in the “whirling logs” symbol used in some Navajo designs. Swastika designs appeared frequently in both rug and jewelry designed for the Harvey Company until such symbols were made illegal in 1939 (Frank McNitt, *The Indian Traders* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1962), 235). The “Thunderbird” design was another of Schweizer’s favorites, and it became one of the Santa Fe’s corporate logos at his urging (Harvey, “White Metal Universe,” 7).

[252] Hales, *William Henry Jackson and the Transformation of American Landscape, 1843-1942*, 267.

on the everyday lives of Native Americans and Hispanos in the region. There were photographs depicting the “Wild West,” featuring Kit Carson’s house, an “Apache war party” and many pictures of the Indians in poses both “ceremonial” and everyday.[253]

In addition to Jackson’s photography, Simpson hired painters to showcase the landscape and people of the Southwest. At the same time, he discontinued the railroad’s calendar series featuring the painters Elbridge Ayer Burbank and H. G. Maratta. Although the Chicago art world was fond of both artists (and Burbank was the nephew of railroad president Ripley’s close

friend), Simpson felt that the market was oversaturated, saying “I am especially opposed to calendars, believing that there are too many of them.”[254] He chose instead to focus on newspaper and magazine advertising to reach large numbers of people and on the production of picture postcards.[255] Simpson also began the publication of beautiful high-quality travel booklets. The booklets reproduced some of the most striking southwestern artwork he could acquire.

Simpson understood that a distinctive look for advertising would allow consumers to recognize at a glance materials promoting the Santa Fe. Simpson, like Minnie and John Huckel, was attracted to the Arts and Crafts

[253] Ibid., 266.

[254] *Printers' Ink*, Dec. 10, 1902, pp. 30-32, qtd. in Zega, “Advertising the Southwest,” 305.

[255] These were mostly made by William Henry Jackson's employer, the Detroit Publishing Company (the Detroit Photographic Company until 1904). At the Santa Fe's request, the Detroit Company produced hundreds of different images by many photographers over the next two decades (Hales, *William Henry Jackson and the Transformation of American Landscape, 1843-1942*, 266).

style that was becoming popular at the turn of the century. With their support, Simpson introduced elements of that aesthetic into the Santa Fe's promotional materials. The new style garnered praise, with advertising magazine *Ad Sense* focusing particularly on the half-tone illustrations in the booklets and on their pleasing color palettes.[256] The colors (mostly bold yellows and reds combined with black), lettering, and illustrations used in the Santa Fe's guidebooks published in 1900 and 1901 would define the “Santa Fe style” that would characterize its publications for the next twenty years.[257]

According to Simpson, the Santa Fe was “the first road in the land to take art seriously, as a valuable advertising adjunct” and he claimed that “we have never skimped. We used the very best art that [could] be bought.”[258] In addition to purchases of completed paintings, Simpson began to commission specific work from artists. For these commissioned works, he generally preferred to pay with Santa Fe tickets and sometimes housing. For instance, in 1903, Louis Akin received transportation from New York to Arizona as compensation for his agreement to paint Hopi Indians on his trip.[259] Simpson also employed artists such as Frank Paul Sauerwein who had come to the

[256] *Ad Sense* 12, no. 1 (December 1901): 23; *Ad Sense* 12, no. 5 (April 1902): 298.

[257] Zega, “Advertising the Southwest,” 300.

[258] Qtd. in Hungerford, “A Study in Consistent Railroad Advertising: What Twenty-Seven Years of Advertising Have Accomplished for a Great Railroad System,” 45.

[259] Sandra D'Emilio et al., *Visions and Visionaries: The Art and Artists of the Santa Fe Railway* (Layton, UT: Gibbs-Smith Publishers, 1992), 19. Subsequently, Simpson purchased “El Tovar Hotel, Grand Canyon” (1907) from Akin, which highlighted the incorporation of the Fred Harvey buildings into the landscape of the Grand Canyon; done in pastels, the Canyon provides a soft background to the Harvey hotel and Hopi House in the foreground (Weigle and Babcock, *The Great Southwest of the Fred Harvey Company and the Santa Fe Railway*, 11).

Southwest of their own accord. Sauerwein suffered from tuberculosis and, although he originally moved to New Mexico for his health, he became

enthralled with the landscape. One of his paintings, “The First Santa Fe Train Crossing the Desert,” was reproduced on an early Fred Harvey postcard, and his landscape paintings were for sale at El Tovar at its opening in 1905.[260] By the time El Tovar and the Hopi House were operational, Simpson’s first southwestern promotional campaign was complete. It incorporated the distinctive look he developed for the Santa Fe with a variety of artwork.

When he assumed control of the Santa Fe’s advertising department in 1900, Simpson republished many of the railroad’s southwestern books from Higgins’s work in the 1890s. The Santa Fe’s publications under Simpson’s tenure were tied together by their colors, artistically-designed covers (often featuring hand lettering), and their Native American-themed motifs. In addition to reprinting the four books that were part of Higgins’s original southwestern promotions, Simpson added new works that built on Higgins’s legacy in various ways.

George A. Dorsey’s *Indians of the Southwest* was one of the first of these books. Published in 1903, it had its genesis in a trip Dorsey and Higgins took through “Hopiland” in 1899. Dorsey writes that Higgins asked him to prepare “an account of this land of which we were both so fond,” but that Dorsey did not make good on his promise until he revisited the area with

[260] D’Emilio et al., *Visions and Visionaries*, 19.

Simpson in 1901.[261] *Indians of the Southwest* fit in perfectly with what Simpson, the Huckels, and Schweizer wanted to accomplish: the book was written by an acknowledged expert (Dorsey was the anthropology curator at Chicago’s Field Museum), and it describes in lavish detail (with accompanying illustrations by A. S. Covey) the signature identifying marks of the major native crafts sold at the Harvey Company’s curio shops. Dorsey’s work was educational, but it also promoted the commodification of native authenticity, saying for instance “fortunate the tourist considers himself who to-day is able to buy an old, time-stained basket from the palmier days, when the finished product represented an intrinsic part of the life of its maker.”[262] Interspersed with Dorsey’s informative narrative is an attempt to move away from the idea that Native Americans were vanishing. In *Indians of the Southwest*, however, Dorsey describes their continued presence only to assert that there still are Indians who “retain a vast number of old-time customs and ceremonies of the greatest interest to the tourist” and he maintains a focus on “the tourist” throughout.[263]

Initially Simpson relied on exact reprints of Higgins’s work and simply added volumes on new topics as he was able. Simpson’s work to recruit new writers to this task is illustrated by the history of the book that started out as Higgins’s *Grand Canyon of the Colorado River*. In 1906 Simpson revised it

[261] George Amos Dorsey, *Indians of the Southwest* (n.p.: Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railway System, 1903), 5, http://books.google.com/books?id=xiFKPbM0UV4C.

[262] Ibid., 27.

[263] Ibid., 9.
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and re-titled it “The Titan of Chasms.” Higgins’s essay was published alongside articles by geologist J. W. Powell and southwestern promoter Charles Lummis in a single volume under the title *Titan of Chasms: The Grand Canyon of Arizona*. Three years later, those three articles were reprinted in a new book under the same title but with sixteen additional essays. The added works ran the gamut from a short biography of John Hance (a Grand Canyon “personality”) by novelist Hamlin Garland to an article about the Havasupai by Indian Agent Henry Ewing to a reflective piece about American art and landscapes by Thomas Moran. Some of the articles were reprints, but others (like Moran’s essay) were written specifically for Simpson.

Conclusion

In 1907 John, Minnie, and Schweizer decided that operations were smooth at the Grand Canyon and that they were ready for a major push to promote it. Eager to expose travelers to the stunning views from their facilities there, they plastered the view from El Tovar’s dining room on billboards all along the Santa Fe lines. Simpson worked with them to coordinate a new advertising campaign focused on the Harvey / Santa Fe tourist destinations in the Southwest.

As part of that new effort, Simpson restarted the Santa Fe’s calendar series. He solicited works that were “thematically pleasing and colorfully
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decorative” but not “intellectually challenging.”[264] This new series, unlike the earlier one under Higgins, was carefully calculated to stimulate tourism without any element of ethnography or individual portraiture (Burbank’s specialty in the first calendars). The campaign Higgins designed in the 1890s also focused on romanticized images of the region, but Higgins’s interest in ethnography was reflected in his calendars. Simpson felt that most consumers were uninterested in “intellectually challenging” attention to ethnographic detail and fueled the move away from it to a more generically “southwestern” style for the Santa Fe.

The romantic images Simpson commissioned for the calendars became hugely popular, and many of the elements of the Santa Fe’s advertising material (stylized borders, graphics derived from Indian designs) made their first appearance in the calendars. The book Simpson wrote to promote El Tovar exemplified the components of this style: the cover, designed by Louis Akin, was strongly colored, hand-lettered, and featured a geometric design utilizing Native symbols; inside, the book’s sepia-toned pages interspersed photographs from the Detroit Photographic Company with Simpson’s text.[265] Initially published in 1908, *El Tovar by Fred Harvey: A New Hotel at Grand*

[264] Qtd. in T. C. McLuhan and William E. Kopplin, *Dream Tracks: The Railroad and the American Indian, 1890-1930* (New York: Abrams, 1985), 29. Simpson had disliked the idea of the calendars from the outset, but calendar series in general were enormously popular at this time. The Santa Fe

series continued in one form or another for almost a century (they were finally discontinued in 1993).
[265] This book, like many of the Schweizer-influenced designs, featured the "whirling logs" symbol on both front and back cover. Until Adolf Hitler gave it a new, sinister meaning, many of the Santa Fe's advertising images from this time forward incorporated the swastika emblem.

Canyon of Arizona was reprinted the following year (with minor revisions) and (like most other Santa Fe publications) continued to be reprinted for the next several decades.

The new direction charted by the second generation of Harvey and Santa Fe employees was an obvious success soon after the El Tovar / Hopi House complex opened in 1905, and the two companies continued to open new hotels and resorts following the model established with the Alvarado. That year proved to be a fruitful one; by its end, they had opened or purchased another three southwestern hotels, all with a regional focus. In 1910 there were three more Harvey resorts to add to the chain. With names chosen to reflect the region's heritage – El Ortiz; Fray Marcos; Escalante – they continued the advertising and decorating schemes that had been so successful five years earlier.

Chapter Five:
Hostessing America in the Southwest

Before the largest audience ever assembled in Southern California this section of the country will present in 1915 the wonders which the climate and the people of the southwest have produced. Differing from the San Francisco world's fair in scope, in purpose and the finest details of treatment, the San Diego Exposition presents glories which could not be shown outside of Southern California.[266]

– Board of Supervisors, San Diego County, 1914

In July 1909, San Diego began planning to host a world's fair celebrating the completion of the Panama Canal. The city would be the first American port of call north of the canal and its business leaders saw an opportunity to promote San Diego's orange groves and gentle climate. The city sent official notice to Sacramento a few months later and began its preparations in earnest.[267] By January 1910, however, San Francisco's Chamber of Commerce declared that its city was better suited to hosting such an important event and attempted to persuade San Diego to abandon its effort. The two cities joined forces when New Orleans also announced that it intended to host a fair celebrating the opening of the canal. Their initial agreement included plans for San Diego to hold a smaller fair in addition to San

[266] Board of Supervisors, San Diego County, "San Diego - Panama California Exposition," 1914, http://www.books-about-california.com/Pages/San_Diego_Brochure/San_Diego_Brochure_text.html.
[267] Richard W. Amero, "The Making of the Panama-California Exposition, 1909-1915," *The Journal of San Diego History* 36, no. 1: 183.

Francisco's larger "international" one.[268] In the end, although San Francisco's civic leaders attempted to block San Diego's attempts to attract foreign governments to its fair, both fairs were international in character.[269]

San Francisco's fair was known as the Panama-Pacific International Exposition. San Diego named its fair to reflect the regional focus it embraced: the Panama California International Exposition. The Panama California exposition committee wanted to distinguish its event from the San Francisco fair, which was planned to be in the classic world's fair style made popular in Europe. The Panama-Pacific fair emphasized classical architecture and had a very general focus on "progress." The San Diego fair was highly specific and used the aura of romance surrounding the Southwest to emphasize its uniqueness. Organizers argued that the fairs complemented each other rather than competed; one contemporary explained this dynamic by saying the two fairs were of "different types."[270]

The Santa Fe Railroad, in collaboration with the Harvey Company, presented southwestern exhibits at both fairs. Their exhibits were intended to highlight the Southwest's geography, people, and crafts. By the 1910s, the Santa Fe / Harvey Company efforts to promote the Southwest had been moderately successful, and the fairs presented an opportunity to bring their

[268] The two Californian cities were successful in their united effort to block New Orleans, which did not host another world's fair until 1984.

[269] Ibid., 184.

[270] F. MacPherson, "An Exposition of Progress Will Be That at San Diego," *The Santa Fe Magazine*, June 1914, 35.

message to a larger and more diverse group of Americans. Their combined marketing department was already adept at selling images of the Southwest and the team who had had such great success with the Alvarado and the Grand Canyon once again applied their skills to popularize the tourist Southwest at the fairs. John and Minnie Huckel, Herman Schweizer, and Mary Jane Colter began making plans for their exhibits as soon as the Californian cities announced their plans to host the fairs.[271]

The Santa Fe Railroad, in particular, was well acquainted with the showmanship required to stage a successful exhibition exhibit. Railroad president E. P. Ripley was one of the executive committee members for Chicago's Columbian Exposition in 1893 and the Santa Fe had, under his guidance, enthusiastically participated in most of the major world's fairs held in America from the 1890s onward.[272] The Harvey Company and Santa Fe Railroad's resources in the Southwest would be taxed to their limit by this effort, however. They needed to staff two extensive displays in California while still maintaining their ongoing efforts in Albuquerque and the Grand Canyon. That they were successful – the San Diego fair was even extended for an additional year – shows the value of the experiences their employees had gained running the Albuquerque Indian Building and the Hopi House at the

[271] Colter finally became a full-time Harvey Company employee in 1910 (Grattan, *Mary Colter, Builder Upon the Red Earth*, 104

[272] Ripley was the chair of the Transportation Committee and also a member of the Columbian Exposition's Ways and Means Committee (John Joseph Flinn, *Official Guide to the World's Columbian Exposition* (Chicago, IL: The Columbian Guide Company, 1893), 192, http://books.google.com/books?id=0BEaAAAAYAAJ&d).

Grand Canyon. The effort allowed them to showcase what made their southwestern establishments worth visiting while simultaneously continuing their efforts to "explain" the Southwest to potential visitors.

The "Life of a Vanishing Race" at San Francisco's Fair

As preparations for both Californian fairs commenced, San Francisco and San Diego continued to jostle for sponsors, exhibitors, and recognition. The San Francisco Fair was clearly larger than its San Diego counterpart with "more than 60,000 applicants for space in the exhibit palaces ... [and] 35 foreign nations" committed to attend a year in advance of its opening.[273] San Francisco's Panama-Pacific International Exposition was also very much in the American tradition of world's fairs. Like other major fairs in the nineteenth century, it featured neo-classical architecture, a sometimes-risqué "midway," and a heightened awareness of progress. In addition to commemorating the opening of the Panama Canal, the fair also served to celebrate San Francisco's rebuilding after the 1906 earthquake.[274]

When Emily Post visited the Panama-Pacific Exposition, she exclaimed that "You could begin its description from a hundred different points and miss the best one, you can say one thing about it and the next moment find you were

[273] "Progress Being Made at Panama-Pacific Exposition," *The Santa Fe Magazine*, July 1914, 25.

[274] Burton Benedict, "The Anthropology of World's Fairs," in *The Anthropology of World's Fairs: San Francisco's Panama Pacific International Exposition of 1915*, ed. Burton Benedict (Berkeley, CA: Scolar Press, 1983), 60.

quite wrong."[275] The variety of exhibits made it a value for vacationers trying to experience as much as possible on one trip. In general, world's fairs could provide a cheap holiday, allowing attendees to "tour" countries and areas that they would never have the opportunity to visit. A vital role played by the Santa Fe's exhibits at the fairs, then, was to shape tourists' expectations of the Southwest and encourage them to visit it on future vacations. The exhibit presented two of what its designers considered the foremost "wonders" of the Southwest: the Grand Canyon and its native people.

The Santa Fe Railroad had a major stake in the San Diego fair but it nonetheless was committed to building an impressive concession in San Francisco as well. The Santa Fe was competing with the Union Pacific Railroad, one of the Panama-Pacific Exposition's major sponsors.[276] On their five-and-a-half-acre lot, located in the fair's midway (called the "Joy Zone" in San Francisco), the Santa Fe constructed a miniature Grand Canyon and an accompanying "Indian Village."[277]

The exhibit was set up to provide a sampler of southwestern tourism. Visitors to the exposition could "travel" from San Francisco to the Southwest, taking a fifteen-minute-long ride through the Grand Canyon replica "in a

[275] Emily Post, *By Motor to the Golden Gate* (New York: D. Appleton and Co, 1916), 229.

[276] The Union Pacific Railroad had a very similar concession to the Santa Fe's, highlighting "its" national park, Yellowstone; the Union Pacific built a large replica of the park and its geysers (Benedict, "The Anthropology of World's Fairs," 17).

[277] The San Francisco exhibit was based on a much simpler one the Santa Fe had constructed at the 1901 exposition in Buffalo, New York. That exhibit, which included a diorama of the Grand Canyon, focused more explicitly on advertising the Santa Fe's attractions at the Grand Canyon and the railroad's accommodations at Williams, Arizona.

deluxe coach." These scaled-down railroad cars replicated the Santa Fe's normal passenger cars in every detail except that, since they ran alongside one end of the model Canyon, "outlook may be had from one side only."[278] The railroad employed several strategies to convince visitors that they were seeing the "true" Southwest. Regarding the geography of their replica Grand Canyon, the Santa Fe used "scientific devices" to "show the canyon in its proper perspective and give the visitor a true consumption of its great heights and distances."[279] The idea was to impress fair-goers and to help them imagine how much more impressive the real Grand Canyon would be.

For just twenty-five cents visitors could travel in luxury on the Santa Fe, through safely-exotic "southwestern territory," and still have time to see the geyser at the Union Pacific's model of Yellowstone or the fair's small-scale version of the Panama Canal. The Santa Fe's exhibit, at least, gave visitors an opportunity to come as close as possible to actually going to the Southwest, right down to the supposedly traditional lifestyle of the Hopi who lived in their model village. Placing visitors inside the exhibit, rather than forcing them to observe it from outside a barrier, held tremendous power. The large manufactured "natural wonder"-type displays exploited the discovery that people reacted more sincerely and more powerfully to experiences than to tableaux. Tourists also enjoyed the mere idea that they were viewing

[278] "The Grand Canyon of Arizona at Panama-Pacific Exposition," *The Santa Fe Magazine*, July 1914, 49.

[279] "A Marvelous Replica of the Grand Canyon of Arizona," *The Santa Fe Magazine*, April 1914, 47.

something that was "authentic" and exactly as it would have been had they actually gone to visit the Southwest. The Santa Fe was careful to build this excitement through their publicity prior to the fair's opening.

In the summer of 1914, the railroad announced that it had shipped "cedar trees… several car-loads of cacti, aloes, and desert and mountain sage" and also "'dobe bricks."[280] The plants and imported sandstone was used to recreate the geography of the region, but the adobe bricks were even more significant to the Santa Fe's efforts at the fair. As the railroad's materials put it, these were:

bricks from which will be constructed the Pueblo Indian houses,

which will be occupied by some twenty families, who will live exactly as they lived at home, weaving baskets and blankets, rolling corn for meal in their stone troughs exactly as was done by their fathers and their fathers' fathers for untold generations.[281]

The article goes on to assert that the Indian village would be "as faithful a reproduction" as the model Grand Canyon itself.[282] The railroad made its goal clear – the Indians at the fair would live "*exactly* as they lived at home;" the reproduction was as close to the original as the Santa Fe could make it, even down to the adobe bricks that were somehow better for having been made in Arizona rather than on site.

The Santa Fe worked to emphasize the seriousness of its exhibit, a task made more difficult because it was located in the fair's midway along with

[280] "The Grand Canyon of Arizona at Panama-Pacific Exposition," 50.

[281] Ibid.

[282] Ibid.

attractions like the Panama-Pacific Exposition's "Wild West" show.[283] W.F. Sesser, the Indian Village's manager, said that he intended to make it "a sort of meeting place for friends … as far as possible removed from an amusement feature."[284] The railroad presented its Indian Village as a complement to the more scientific and artistic renderings of Native Americans found on the main fair grounds. The railroad's imported sandstone, formed into an arch over the main entrance to the model village, bore an inscription with the Santa Fe exhibit's title: "The Life of a Vanishing Race." The Santa Fe used the conceit that the Hopi at its Indian Village were a "vanishing race" in order to present them as a living ethnographic display, a clear counterpart to the more serious anthropologic exhibits at the Exposition.

The "Life of a Vanishing Race" exhibit drew on the idea that Native Americans were almost extinct. Of course, many Native Americans (mostly Hopi) were part of the Santa Fe's exhibit, but they nonetheless were seen as part of a rapidly-dwindling people in the eyes of many Anglo Americans.[285] "Indian-ness" had become a fixed and unchangeable image in popular culture. That preconception excluded large numbers of Native Americans because they no longer fit a particular concept of what it meant to be Indian. The accepted

[283] The exhibit was restricted to the "Joy Zone" because it charged admission and hence was classed as a "concession" (Ibid., 49).

[284] Ibid.

[285] For more on the idea that Native Americans were "vanishing," see Brian W Dippie, *The Vanishing American: White Attitudes and U.S. Indian Policy* (Middletown, Conn: Wesleyan University Press, 1982), Philip Joseph Deloria, *Playing Indian* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), and Jill Lepore, *The Name of War: King Philip's War and the Origins of American Identity* (New York: Knopf, 1998), especially pages 185-193.

notion was that Native Americans were dying out or had become so contaminated by modern culture that they were somehow no longer "Indian,"

an idea that first became popular in Anglo culture in the nineteenth century. Native Americans were involved in the creation of this image, too, as they played an active role in the fair working as tourist attractions. They gained clear benefits from participating in the fair – for some, it was a chance to travel, while for others, it was an opportunity to sell their art to a larger audience. Making money through dances, story-telling, singing, or simply "acting Indian" was certainly a part of the appeal, too. Because the American public preferred to see images of Native Americans that met their expectations, the Santa Fe built its exhibit around the public's expectation that they were viewing "an endangered species" and their Native-American employees played along.[286] In a letter regarding a small Chicago fair held just before the Panama-Pacific Exposition, Schweizer stipulated that, while at the fair, "all of these Indians should wear their native costumes…. The men should wear moccasins, velvet shirts, and bandannas around their heads while in the exposition building. They should not wear suspenders."[287] Similar rules were in effect for the company's Native American employees at the other fairs in which they participated.

[286] Phoebe Schroeder Kropp, ""There is a little sermon in that": Constructing the Native Southwest at the San Diego Panama-California Exposition of 1915," in *The Great Southwest of the Fred Harvey Company and the Santa Fe Railway*, ed. Marta Weigle and Barbara A. Babcock (Phoenix, Ariz.; Tucson Ariz.: Heard Museum; Distributed by The University of Arizona Press, 1996), 40.

[287] Qtd. in Barbara A Babcock, "Pueblo Cultural Bodies," *The Journal of American Folklore* 107, no. 423, Bodylore (Winter 1994): 47

The people who lived in the Santa Fe's "Indian village" were the central and defining feature of the Santa Fe's exhibit, despite the expense and size of the model Grand Canyon. The Santa Fe's promotional materials asserted that the residents' "principal occupation is a picturesque and friendly idleness... and [that they] knew little of trade and nothing of commerce or finance...."[288] The railroad's copywriters apparently did not consider the reasons these Native Americans likely had for leaving their homes in Arizona and living at the fair; although the families who lived in the "village" were generally not paid for being there, they clearly had financial motivation and seem to have done a brisk business selling their handicrafts.

When Emily Post took her road trip across the United States in 1915, she ended her journey in California, visiting both fairs held that year. Post recommended that Americans become better acquainted with the Southwest and admitted that she and her traveling companions (Post's son and cousin) were, as she put it, "ignorant" of the region before their trip:

> Imagine people living with all their lives in Cairo never having seen the pyramids. Imagine anyone living in Italy never having been to Pompeii. Yet we, ourselves, to whom the antiquities and wonders of far countries are perfectly familiar, did not even know that the wonders of our Southwest existed![289]

The Santa Fe and Harvey Company employees who organized the companies' joint exhibit at the Panama-Pacific Exposition used their display to inform visitors about the Southwest even as they entertained them.

[288] "The Grand Canyon of Arizona at Panama-Pacific Exposition," 50.

[289] Post, *By Motor to the Golden Gate*, 155.

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Translating Southwestern Culture at the "Painted Desert"

When the San Diego Panama-California International Exposition opened in 1915, the *Santa Fe Magazine* trumpeted that "the whole Southwest turned out in force" for its opening ceremonies.[290] Many prominent Westerners also attended the fair's opening day; although Southwesterners were best represented there, both Oregon and Utah's governors also made the trip. San Diego's fair was the product of a powerful coalition determined to promote the region. As San Francisco and San Diego began preparations for their fairs, both cities marshaled arguments about their distinctiveness and relative merits. After the uneasy compromise in the face of New Orleans' competing challenge left San Francisco to be the host of the state's more traditional world's fair, San Diego's organizers focused on "the wonders which the climate and the people of the Southwest have produced."[291]

This strong regional focus was a departure from previous world's fairs. San Diego could not compete with San Francisco on size or universality, but the area's cultural background provided an opening for San Diego to differentiate itself and draw patrons south from the larger exposition. Local boosters in San Diego wanted to advertise their city and promote growth; the

[290] "San Diego Exposition Opens in Blaze of Glory: Early Indications Are That the Big Fair Will Be a Tremendous Success -- To Be Open Every Day throughout the Year," *The Santa Fe Magazine*, January 1915, 21.

[291] Board of Supervisors, San Diego County, "San Diego - Panama California Exposition."

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Santa Fe Railroad wanted to market the Southwest to tourists particularly. The fair's regional focus dovetailed perfectly with the Santa Fe's own advertising strategy, and the railroad threw the bulk of its organizational power to designing and orchestrating the exhibit in San Diego.

The railroad's Painted Desert exhibit – the name referred to part of the Santa Fe's territory in Arizona – was even larger than its Grand Canyon exhibit in San Francisco. The "Painted Desert" consisted of ten acres that were intended to provide a microcosm of the Southwest's cultural heritage. The railroad brought in sandstone, "desert cedar and cactus and piñon wood," just as they did for their display in San Francisco. They also paid native craftsmen to come to San Diego starting in 1914 in order to build the replicas of traditional dwellings that made up the heart of their display. A *Santa Fe Magazine* article describes the exhibit this way:

the Painted Desert is surrounded by an adobe wall, interrupted now and then by a few rods of cedar post stockade. Through the

middle runs a high artificial mesa, to the side of which lie the exhibits of the Pueblo Indians, to the west those of the wandering tribes.[292]

That the Hopi and Navajo portions of the exhibit closely resembled the Hopi House at the Grand Canyon was no accident – it was designed and constructed by a nearly identical group of people. Edgar Lee Hewett and Jesse Nussbaum were added to the Harvey team from their existing southwestern ventures; Schweizer, the Huckels, and Colter also were active in the Painted Desert's

[292] MacPherson, "An Exposition of Progress Will Be That at San Diego," 34.

design. At least some of the Navajo and Hopi craftsmen who built the hogans and the replica pueblo also worked on the Hopi House and its surrounding dwellings.[293]

The fair's organizers again relegated the Santa Fe's exhibit to the midway (called the "Isthmus" in San Diego), near the fair's north gate.[294] In addition to the Pueblo and Navajo areas, the Painted Desert also featured Apache tipis and a "trading post." It presented native dances of various kinds; its other primary attraction was watching artisans weave, spin, make pottery, and work silver. In his 1916 publication describing the Panama-California Exposition, German artist and critic Eugen Neuhaus called it a highlight of the fair, saying "after wandering down the apparently endless Isthmus, the "Painted Desert" comes as a great surprise, offering a genuine pleasure."[295]

The Panama California Exposition's midway reproduced, in an entertainmentoriented fashion, what the fair's organizers considered to be the highlights of the Southwest. Traveling further down the Isthmus from the Painted Desert at its northernmost end, the Fair visitor could see "an old-time Mexican village, showing the rows of shacks and the Cantina, the little church, the Chinese quarter, the arrival of the stage [coach], the coming of the mining party."[296]

[293] Herman Schweizer to Roman Hubbell, September 8, 1914, University of Arizona.

[294] MacPherson, "An Exposition of Progress Will Be That at San Diego," 34.

[295] Eugen Neuhaus, *The San Diego Garden Fair: Personal Impressions of the Architecture, Sculpture, Horticulture, Color Scheme and Other Aesthetic Aspects of the Panama California International Exposition* (P. Elder and Company, 1916), 47, http://www.archive.org/details/sandiegogardenf00goog.

[296] MacPherson, "An Exposition of Progress Will Be That at San Diego," 35.

The Exposition Committee's goal of promoting the Southwest was reflected throughout the fair: its location, architecture, and exhibit halls all contributed to its strong southwestern flavor. Many visitors praised the way the fairgrounds were integrated into the natural landscape and how they highlighted the region's climate and beauty. Most of all, though, visitors were impressed by the fair's skillful use of architecture. In his guidebook, Neuhaus said the San Diego fair had "a distinct character" because of its architectural style, which revived "the resplendence of the Spanish-Mexican baroque and the more simple form of the Mission style of New Mexico and California, both

associated with the “romantic” events of the early history of America.”[297] Neuhaus, like many of his contemporaries, did not feel the need to spell out exactly what those events were. Although the Spanish occupation of California had been harsh, after the late nineteenth century, many Anglo Americans chose to instead remember the “fantasy heritage” initially popularized by Helen Hunt Jackson’s *Ramona*. The fair’s planners drew on this imagined romantic past in this promotional description of their vision for the fair:

> the Spanish city is one of... tiled domes and fantastic towers, archways from which hang old Mission bells... opening here and there into a cool patio thick with palm and eucalyptus, a fountain plashing, a caballero leaning lazily against the wall and watching the soaring pigeons near the troupe of Spanish dancing girls

[297] Neuhaus, *The San Diego Garden Fair*, xii-xiii.

> whose gay colored skirts are awhirl to the hum of guitar and the click of the castanet.[298]

From its earliest planning stages, the visual effect of the fair was intended to reflect California’s Spanish heritage; planners had decided that “the architectural scheme [would be] uniformly Spanish colonial, the variety of design being furnished a good variety of types of this one school.”[299] Bertram G. Goodhue, a well-known architect from Boston, was hired by the Pacific California Exposition Company to develop a plan for the fair’s buildings; they requested “a Spanish city of the 17th century, its towers and domes glistening in the sun.”[300] The landscaping and physical layout were also designed to complement the Spanish past suggested by the architecture: “the great Plaza... flanked by the old mission buildings, palaces and other Spanish structures, all covered with a riotous growth of vines and flowers and shrubbery... make up the “Spanish city.”“[301]

Creating this atmosphere was a shared effort, with city and state governments and commercial interests (including the Santa Fe/Harvey Company) cooperating with fair organizers. The collaboration was powerful, and centered around both a common regional identity and a specific regional history of the romanticized Spanish past. The exposure that the fantasy

[298] Panama Pacific Exposition Company brochure, “San Diego, All the Year,” qtd. in Phoebe Schroeder Kropp, ““All our yesterdays”: The Spanish Fantasy Past and the Politics of Public Memory in Southern California, 1884-1939” (University of California, San Diego, 1999), 253

[299] MacPherson, “An Exposition of Progress Will Be That at San Diego,” 32-33.

[300] Edgar L. Hewett and William T. Johnson, “Architecture of the Exposition,” in *Papers of the School of American Archaeology*, vol. 32, 1916, 35.

[301] “The Big Fair Ready at San Diego with Many Special Features,” *The Santa Fe Magazine*, December 1914, 22.

heritage received at the 1915 fair popularized it more than any other single event in the twentieth century, and cemented the relationship between the

Southwest (as opposed to just California) and the fantasy heritage in public imagination.[302]

The theme of colonial Spanish romance was elaborated on by several of the state exposition boards. The New Mexico Board eventually accepted exposition committee chairman Ralph Emerson Twitchell's suggestion that their state building should follow "the style of a seventeenth century Spanish mission and monastery."[303] It was designed by the firm of Rapp, Rapp, and Hendrickson, who had also worked for the Santa Fe Railroad, and its style complemented Colter's design for the Painted Desert. Colter's fascination with native cultures and materials was apparent by this time and working with the experienced staff brought together by the Fair committee provided her an excellent opportunity to ground her plans in academic research. Colter was committed to moving beyond simply invoking the Southwest in her designs to thoroughly recreating it.

The fair's two themes, intertwined throughout, were the continuity provided by the romance of the fantasy heritage and the progress and promise of modern life. Taken together, these two strands provided a refrain of orderly

[302] See Matthew F. Bokovoy, *The San Diego World's Fairs and Southwestern Memory, 1880-1940* (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 2005) for an examination of the fairs' influence on the mythic heritage of the region.

[303] Michael Miller, "New Mexico's Role in the Panama-California Exposition of 1915," *Palacio* 91, no. 2 (1985): 14.

progression from a sleepy, pastoral Spanish past to a busy, modern Anglo future. In both these visions, Native Americans served as picturesque backdrops. At the same time, the exposition's planners recognized that Native Americans and their cultures were a popular feature at other world's fairs, and could be used to emphasize the Southwest's uniqueness. The fair's organizers were determined that the Panama-California Exposition would "be a prophecy of more wonderful progress for the future throughout this great American Southwest, while preserving the romance of long gone days."[304]

The exposition committee paired the Painted Desert exhibit with the fair's "Model Farm." Sponsored by several southern California counties, the farm covered five acres and featured a small bungalow "equipped with every improvement" as well as "peach, apricot, fig, olive, and walnut trees."[305] The model house featured such wonders as vacuum cleaners and electricity and was presented as the farmwife's dream. The verdant orchards used the most modern irrigation systems so that "every foot of soil is made to work;" because of the farm's location, its literal fruits of technology were directly contrasted against the supposed primitiveness of the Painted Desert.[306] This juxtaposition was intentional and served as another example of the Panama-California

[304] Qtd. in Kropp, "All our yesterdays," 211.

[305] Esther and Esther, "In and About San Diego," *Santa Fe Magazine*, December 1914, 61.

[306] Ibid.

Exposition's central lesson about the Southwest's future: "Progress, not inertia."[307]

The Santa Fe emphasized the construction of the dwellings in the Painted Desert as a way of stressing the exhibit's authenticity. Neuhaus articulated exactly the impression they were attempting to create:

> It is by no means an ordinary village. Skillfully and with fine regard for effect of genuineness, the habitations of the cliff dwellers and the "Logans" [sic] of the Navajos and the other nomadic tribes are here set up. Even the towering pueblos of the Zuni and Hopi are in evidence. One gets a very real and lasting impression of a unique and old civilization of Indian life with which very few people are familiar.[308]

In San Francisco, the Santa Fe's exhibit was built, in part, by native workers, but the railroad did not emphasize that in its promotional materials. In San Diego, the idea that the Indians were themselves the main attraction was clear in the railroad's publicity. Instead of describing the large quantities of red sandstone the railroad brought in for the exhibit as they had in San Francisco, the Santa Fe's materials proudly declared in June 1914, during the Painted Desert's early construction, that "the first installment of "exhibits" … have arrived in the form of a handful of Indians from the San Ildefonso Pueblo…. These redmen … will complete much of the adobe work before the rest of the tribe arrive."[309]

[307] MacPherson, "An Exposition of Progress Will Be That at San Diego," 29.
[308] Neuhaus, *The San Diego Garden Fair*, 46.
[309] MacPherson, "An Exposition of Progress Will Be That at San Diego," 34.

At the Painted Desert exhibit, Colter, the Huckels, and Schweizer intended to showcase "the mode of living, the industries, the handiwork, the sports and the ceremonials of various wonderful Indian tribes of Arizona and New Mexico."[310] The railroad proclaimed that at the Painted Desert, "we have insisted on accuracy in costumes, in dance steps, in incidental music, in every detail."[311] Newspaper accounts even occasionally asserted that the Painted Desert's residents found their accommodations at the fair to be more authentic than their own homes (which were the original models for the exhibit).[312] At the Painted Desert's gift shop, which sold items produced as part of the exhibit, every visitor could purchase a little piece of this "authenticity" to take home with them.

The interest and excitement surrounding the people who lived at the fair was based on an idea of difference and of "otherness." Native "ceremonies" at the fair were even more obviously staged performances than the dances presented for tourists at the Grand Canyon, but they created excitement nonetheless. Even when they were described explicitly as a spectacle, they did not lose their ability to awe:

> thrilling dramatic episodes taken from the religious ceremonials

of the ancient Aztecs and Toltecs and other mighty races of red men of the past will be reproduced throughout next year by a large cast of actors... at the San Diego Exposition. None of these ceremonials has been held for several centuries, and a few of

310 "The Santa Fe to Have a Marvelous Exhibit at the Exposition in San Diego," *The Santa Fe Magazine*, March 1914, 61.

311 "The Big Fair Ready at San Diego with Many Special Features," 22.

312 Kropp, "All our yesterdays," 284.

them are traced back through 5000 years to a period where the mist of antiquity conceals all knowledge of the dead nations.313

Although the dances were performed by "actors" and their performance billed as a "reproduction," the dances were enormously popular and, provided the actors were Indian (or appeared to be Indian), sufficiently authentic for the fair-going audiences. That the Aztecs and Toltecs had very different traditions from those of the Pueblo and Navajo dancers seems to have escaped public notice.

The San Diego Fair's publicity director called the Painted Desert an "open reservation" that allowed tourists to view Indians "in an environment as natural as their homes."314 He emphasized that the Painted Desert's inhabitants "are not in white man's clothes, but are living just as they have lived and their ancestors have lived for centuries."315 By creating a design and rules for performer-employees that met visitors' expectations that they would be viewing primitives, the Santa Fe railroad positioned itself as a preservationist force. The railroad initially began this process through its advertising, and it as able to use its exhibits at the world's fairs in 1915 to cement the image of an "authentic" Indian – as preserved by the Santa Fe.

313 "The Big Fair Ready at San Diego with Many Special Features," 21.

314 Panama-California Exposition Commission, *Official Guide Book of the Panama-California Exposition, Giving in Detail, Location and Description of Buildings, Exhibits and Concessions, With Floor Plans of the Buildings and Exterior Views* (National Views Company, 1915), 14, http://books.google.com/books?id=-TIPAAAAMAAJ&pg=PP1#v=onepage&q&f=false.

315 At the same time, fair officials did not expect that visitors wanted to see Native Americans wholly untouched by modernity; after a lengthy description of the traditional arts the Indians would participate in, the fair's official guidebook says the Indians would "be seen bringing their wares into the trading post, and exchanging them for food and white man's clothing," although of course the expectation was that they would not wear that clothing while at the fair (Ibid.).

Visitors to the Painted Desert were obviously influenced by its depiction of Native American culture, but the newspaper and magazine articles written about its features were able to reach an even broader audience. In addition to the publicity created by the exhibit itself, the fair ran a "summer school" that heavily featured the Painted Desert's residents as subjects of ethnological study. For five weeks, "a vast pilgrimage of students, teachers, and educational experts" took part in its offerings, including training in "primitive arts with demonstrations by Indian workers."316 Native artisans from the

Painted Desert demonstrated “the existing arts and crafts of the redmen of the Southwest;” summer-school students also had the opportunity to study “the display of old time arts and crafts as practiced by Incas, Mayas, Aztecs, and Toltecs long before the coming of the white men.”[317] For those displays, the summer school took advantage of the exhibition’s more conventional displays of Native American artifacts.

The railroad’s Painted Desert exhibit, with its Native-American residents, was called “one of the most striking features on the grounds.”[318] It was the fair’s primary display of the region’s “fast-disappearing culture,” but its power came partly from the other exhibits. The fair’s “scientific” exhibits provided the context for visitors to the Painted Desert. The Smithsonian’s exhibit (in the Technology Building) as well as the “Indian Arts” Building and

[316] “Flashes From San Diego,” *Santa Fe Magazine*, June 1915, 37.
[317] “San Diego Exposition Jottings,” *Santa Fe Magazine*, July 1915, 36.
[318] MacPherson, “An Exposition of Progress Will Be That at San Diego,” 35.

several of the State exhibition halls featured “skulls, facial casts, and wax figures in “habitat groups”“ as well as Native craft objects from a wide span of time.[319] The Smithsonian exhibit made the fair’s message of racial progress especially clear: it featured models demonstrating “the processes in man’s development through the ages” from early primitive man to “the highly specialized type of the twentieth century.”[320] This display made it clear that the southwestern Indians fit earlier in mankind’s development, and did not belong to the modern era.

Within this context, then, tourists confronted the still-living Native Americans in the Painted Desert exhibit. They could see models and skeletons in the fair proper, but only in the Isthmus could visitors to the fair see living people as part of the exhibit. They were not necessarily interested in the people themselves, but instead focused on their activities.[321] The Santa Fe featured handicrafts prominently in the gift shop set up at the Painted Desert, and were therefore promoting these aspects of Native culture most heavily. The Santa Fe’s position was that:

The eastern tourists would not be interested materially in seeing idle Indians or even in seeing the result of their handiwork. There will be interest aplenty in seeing how the handiwork is

[319] Kropp, “All our yesterdays,” 266.
[320] MacPherson, “An Exposition of Progress Will Be That at San Diego,” 33.
[321] The Painted Desert wasn’t particularly unusual in this regard; at the San Diego fair “the Japanese booths do not display alone the rare products of Japan, but the artists and artisans doing their exquisite wood and ivory carving, the lacquer work, the weaving, the silk embroidery. Russian peasants will demonstrate the Koustarnyi arts. Italians will labor at the fine arts for which Florence and Venice are famous.” (Board of Supervisors, San Diego County, *Panama California Exposition: Entire Year 1915.* ([San Diego, Calif.]: Board of Supervisors, San Diego County, 1914), http://www.books-aboutcalifornia.com/Pages/San_Diego_Brochure/San_Diego_Brochure_text.html).

produced … seeing the partly completed pottery, the carding, the

weaving of the wools.[322]
In other words, the Painted Desert's organizers felt they were catering to tourists' expectations even as they helped to shape them through their selective presentation at the exhibit.
One of the fair's central themes was "processes, not finished products."[323] The Painted Desert's artisans reflected that idea even as they furthered the Santa Fe/Harvey Company's goals of promoting tourism to the Southwest. The Panama-California Exposition's promoters explained that "These outdoor exhibits are examples of the spirit of the Exposition."[324] Tourists did not come to see Native Americans who wore wristwatches, cooked in cast iron pans, or read the daily paper. Native Americans – including the Native Americans at this exhibit – did all these things and more, but visitors preferred not to be reminded that Native Americans lived in the same world as they did, preferring instead to view them as the last remaining relics of a disappearing past.
The fair's message of progress also reflected this tension – the Native American culture it celebrated was the antithesis of the modern Southwest the fair trumpeted. Local boosters and tourists agreed that Native crafts were only authentic when they were primitive and that they were only valuable when they were "authentic." The viewpoint represented at the fair was that the region's

[322] MacPherson, "An Exposition of Progress Will Be That at San Diego," 34.
[323] Ibid., 29.
[324] Board of Supervisors, San Diego County, *Panama California Exposition*.

future was modern above all else: for the Southwest's future to be realized, Native American cultures had to "disappear." The fair's promoters felt, then, that it was important for the public to see "as careful a representation of the fast disappearing culture of the American Indians as it is possible to make it" when they visited the exposition.[325] Like the exposition's organizers, the Painted Desert's planners celebrated native southwestern culture even as they mourned its supposed disappearance.[326]

"Handling the matter:" Harvey/Santa Fe Logistics at the Fairs[327]

By almost any measure, the San Diego fair was a success. Its run was extended for an additional year, while San Francisco's Panama-Pacific Exposition only was open from February to early December, 1915. The San Francisco fair's organizers even sent many of its exhibits to San Diego for that fair's extended run; altogether, more than four million people visited the Panama-California Exposition.[328] The fair's aesthetic permeated southwestern culture and its architectural style became so popular that "after the Panama-Pacific exposition many of the state's most talented and creative architects who

[325] Hewett and Johnson, "Architecture of the Exposition," 40.
[326] These themes were present in San Francisco's fair, too, of course, but the regional focus of the San Diego fair made the tension much more acute.

[327] Schweizer to Hubbell, September 8, 1914.
[328] Bokovoy, *The San Diego World's Fairs and Southwestern Memory, 1880-1940*, 79.
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chose not to design "Spanish Colonial" buildings discovered there was little or no demand for their talents."[329]
The Painted Desert, too, was highly successful. It garnered critical acclaim for its authenticity and "atmosphere."[330] Between their exhibits at the California fairs, the Santa Fe Railroad reached hundreds of thousands of people directly, and the indirect effects of their efforts, though hard to measure, must have been many times larger.[331] Newspaper coverage and word of mouth brought details of their replica Indian villages to many people who had not visited the fair itself. The Santa Fe's investment was large – around $500,000 for both fairs – but they justifiably expected the return on that investment to be many times larger.[332]
By the time of the San Diego and San Francisco World's Fairs in 1915, the Harvey and Santa Fe Railroad companies were engaged in the production of southwestern tourist sites in a substantial way. This experience allowed them to co-sponsor simultaneous living history exhibits at both Fairs while maintaining the tourist sites they had created along the Santa Fe rail lines. Still, staffing these extensive exhibits in addition to their regular operations stretched the Harvey/Santa Fe staff to their limit.
[329] John O. Pohlmann, "California's Mission Myth" (Ph.D., University of California, Los Angeles, 1974), 368.
[330] Neuhaus, *The San Diego Garden Fair*, 47.
[331] The early attendance numbers were very strong, averaging over 5,000 visitors a day; although the Santa Fe did not report later figures, overall attendance at the San Diego fair actually grew over the course of the year ("Sidelights on the Panama-California Exposition," *Santa Fe Magazine*, March 1915, 25).
[332] "News Notes from the Beautiful Fair at San Diego," *The Santa Fe Magazine*, April 1915, 37; "A Marvelous Replica of the Grand Canyon of Arizona," 47.
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The exhibit at the San Diego exposition drew on the Harvey Company's experience with constructing living history spectacles at the Indian Building in Albuquerque and the Grand Canyon's Hopi House. Like those Harvey locations, the Harvey/Santa Fe exhibits at the fairs were tightly controlled efforts, with everything working toward the same goal – providing a flawlessly "authentic" experience. Logistically, Harvey staff, especially Schweizer, had experience setting up both the physical surroundings and recruiting the talent (in this case, Native Americans from several reservations who would be the exhibit's resident artisans). Their connections with Bureau of Indian Affairs agents would also prove invaluable in securing families for the expositions. John Huckel was also deeply involved in the process of designing the exhibit. In a letter to Jesse L. Nussbaum, construction supervisor for the exhibit, Schweizer credited John and Colter for the Painted Desert's design. According to Schweizer, "Mr. Huckel originally had one of our artists in Kansas City prepare a painting [from his specifications]... I asked for help from

Miss Colter... [in] preparing a wax model [and] two or three plaster casts... covering the entire plan."[333] Although he seems to have been extremely modest about it, Schweizer himself was also responsible for the Painted Dessert's success.[334] A 1914 article claimed that the Painted Desert would "reflect everlasting glory on Herman Schweitzer [sic] of Fred Harvey's curio

[333] Qtd. in Kropp, "There is a little sermon in that," 40.

[334] Nussbaum claimed responsibility for the Painted Desert's design and construction in many newspaper stories published around this time, and Schweizer does not seem to have publicly contradicted him.

department in whose brain the idea for this exhibit emanated and who directed its execution."[335] His museum contacts proved invaluable for acquiring the artifacts used in the exhibit, and of course Schweizer's friends at various southwestern trading posts recruited the Indians who lived at the fair.

As they ramped up their preparations for the fairs in 1914, Schweizer was confident, telling Hubbell that "I do not anticipate any difficulty about getting all the Indians I want as a great many have applied to me from different sources," although he assured Hubbell that "I don't want to get any Navajos from any other source but yourself if I can help it."[336] Schweizer went on to lay out their plan for managing their native employees:

I have figured right along on handling the matter exactly as we are handling it here at Albuquerque and at the Grand Canyon. We will want families the same as you've been sending here … I expect to simply enlarge our present force. I will need about five Navajo families for San Diego and about five for San Francisco and I figure if it is Indians who are working at Albuquerque and Grand Canyon [they] will also want to see the fair and I expect to move them about the same as I do the rest of the organization. For instance, after a family has been at San Diego for two or three months, it will be an inducement for them to go to San Francisco, and after they have been in San Francisco, we might send them to the Canyon or back to the reservation, and then we will need a new family… We will deal the start-in gradually.[337]

Schweizer anticipated the same financial arrangement that had worked so well for them in Arizona and New Mexico, where in addition to room, board, and a small salary, the Native American employees made money from "dances,

[335] Esther and Esther, "In and About San Diego," 61.

[336] Schweizer to Hubbell, September 8, 1914.

[337] Ibid.

etc."[338] Schweizer and Hubbell agreed that the situation would be advantageous for the Navajo, and that the only challenge would be in making sure that everyone who wanted to go to the fair got to go at some point.

Schweizer selected Indians for the Harvey exhibits who would appeal to tourists and provide a "picturesque" image. As in their establishments at the

Grand Canyon and in Albuquerque, he was careful to always have at least one silversmith at each fair and to have a good balance of men, women, and children. For the Painted Desert exhibit, Schweizer also decided that a herd of sheep and some ponies and burros would lend an authentic touch. He wanted to give a little extra business to Hubbell (possibly because he was now dealing with traders at several other reservations but wanted to remain in Hubbell's good graces), and requested that Hubbell get "about a hundred goats, good assortment of colors and sizes, and about 100 sheep, consisting of 50 bred ewes and 50 wethers, … and a man to go with them to San Diego."[339] Schweizer explained that he wanted the animals primarily as part of the atmosphere of the exhibit, later telling Parker that he wanted "in the goats a good variety in colors, so that they will look like a typical Navajo herd, and in the sheep … some black sheep among the white."[340]

[338] Ibid.

[339] Although Schweizer laid out some specifics for moving the sheep (and the other livestock he requested at the same time), he left the final decision up to Hubbell, saying "I expect to handle this matter so that there is a profit in it for you so if you've any suggestions better than mine, I will be glad to hear from you." It seems clear that maintaining a long-term relationship with Hubbell was Schweizer's primary motivation (Herman Schweizer to J.L. Hubbell, November 14, 1914, University of Arizona).

[340] Herman Schweizer to F.M. Parker, December 3, 1914, University of Arizona.

When it came to prioritizing among all these different obligations, Schweizer expressed the official ranking this way: "the San Diego crowd is the most important and next is the San Francisco and next the Grand Canyon crowd."[341] Despite the difficulties, Schweizer and the rest of the Harvey team were able to keep operations running smoothly at all their other endeavors throughout the run of both California fairs. The Painted Desert was the most significant location for the Santa Fe/Harvey Company throughout this period, both in terms of the sheer number of people who visited it and in terms of the publicity it generated, but in the long term, maintaining the consistently high Harvey standard at their operations throughout the Southwest was equally essential.

"Dude-Wrangling" Tourists in the Southwest

The Harvey Company's business boomed during the run of the fairs. In the mid 1910s, most passenger travel was still by train and decades of successful advertising campaigns had popularized the Harvey/Santa Fe Southwest. Almost all the Americans who visited either of the California fairs went there by train, and if they chose the southern route on the Santa Fe, all their meals were by the Harvey Company. One former employee recalled that, in 1915, "the travel to the Canyon was so great that Harvey had to put up a

[341] Herman Schweizer to J. L. Hubbell, April 16, 1915, University of Arizona.

circus tent to feed them all."[342] With both California fairs behind it, the Harvey Company once more turned its attentions to the budding vacation

industry in the Southwest. Using the momentum built up by the fairs' successes, the Harvey Company expanded its offerings in Arizona and New Mexico.

After the bump during and immediately after the fairs, there was a decrease in civilian traffic to the Harvey Company's establishments after the United States entered World War One. The Harvey Houses were operating at capacity and then beyond in their efforts to feed the troops, however. Military transports familiarized a large number of people with the region and the Harvey Company itself. One headline in the *Kansas City Star* trumpeted that "Twenty-One Thousand Selective Fed at Station in Ten Days" as the drafted men were transported to training at Camp Funston.[343] The article went on to say that "another contingent of fifteen hundred drafted men will arrive in Kansas City from "somewhere" late this afternoon – just in time for supper."[344] The Harvey system everywhere was mobilized to handle troop transports. Some Harvey Houses, previously closed because their lines were not generally used for passenger traffic, reopened during the war years.[345] In many locations, the Harvey Houses were not big enough to handle the volume of

[342] J. A. Metzger to Carol Naille, May 1, 1988, Northern Arizona University.

[343] "A Harvey Meal for Soldiers: Twenty-One Thousand Selective Fed at Station in Ten Days," *Kansas City Star*, July 26, 1918, 13.

[344] Ibid.

[345] "Along the Trail," *The Santa Fe Magazine*, July 1919, 75.

customers generated by the military. In Los Angeles, for instance, the Harvey House manager was "obliged to build temporary tables and benches back of the dining room on the outside, covering them with canvas and fitting them up with electric lights."[346]

Despite these make-shift conditions, the soldiers, many of whom who would not have visited the Southwest as tourists, were often favorably impressed. The Harvey House in Redlands, California boasted that "we are getting lots of bouquets these days from the soldier boys. They say the Santa Fe passenger service is the best ever, and that the Harvey House eats are like mother used to make."[347] The railroad and Harvey Company joined forces to get volunteer "canteen workers" to help feed the troops; most of these volunteers were wives and daughters of Santa Fe or Harvey workers. An article in the Santa Fe's employee magazine wryly remarked that they "are winning the praise of the soldier boys, judging from some of the letters."[348] The Harvey Company's patriotism was heartfelt, but there were clear financial benefits to rapidly convincing large numbers of young men that Harvey Houses were wonderful places to visit while in the Southwest. For a variety of reasons, then, the company was inclined to make the Harvey dining experience as pleasant as possible given the circumstances.

[346] C. E. Lehmer, L. F. Toensing, and G. W. Jones, "Among Ourselves: Los Angeles," *The Santa Fe Magazine*, March 1918, 84-85.

[347] A. T. Muirhead, "Among Ourselves: Redlands," *The Santa Fe Magazine*, March 1918, 85.

[348] "Among Ourselves," *The Santa Fe Magazine*, September 1918, 92.
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In the summer of 1918, for instance, J. T. Jacobsen, a Harvey Superintendent, arranged for the troops in Los Angeles to have some musical entertainment while they ate. His idea was that they would have "a little remembrance of Harvey House hospitality."[349] The Harvey waitresses were literally hostesses for the soldiers, providing them with "Harvey House hospitality" as well as serving them good food while they listened to the music. Jacobsen and the other Harvey officials who pursued this unofficial promotional policy were successful – during the war, the Harvey Company's business correlated strongly with the Santa Fe's ridership, but after the war, when ridership began to decline, the Harvey business continued to expand.[350] In 1920, when the Santa Fe's passenger numbers were noticeably waning after the demobilization of American troops, the Harvey Company began to diversify its operations further.

In an effort to revive their passenger traffic, the railroad focused on expanding and improving the Harvey House restaurants. At the same time, the Harvey Company extended its newsstand operations and began to focus again on developing new tourist traffic in the Southwest. The Harvey Company also turned to a newer form of transportation: the automobile. In 1920, Ford Harvey hired Major R. Hunter Clarkson to oversee publicity for the Grand

[349] C. E. Lehmer, L. F. Toensing, and G. W. Jones, "Among Ourselves: Los Angeles," *The Santa Fe Magazine*, July 1918, 88.
[350] Waters, *Steel Trails to Santa Fe*, 280.
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Canyon.[351] Clarkson, son-in-law of Santa Fe vice-president Arthur G. Wells, managed promotion for their southwestern operations in addition to his work at the Grand Canyon.

Clarkson immediately began to capitalize on the Grand Canyon's newfound status as a National Park. Clarkson worked closely with the National Park service, and is credited with winning the Grand Canyon contract for the Harvey Company.[352] The Harvey Company had been the Grand Canyon's concessionaire even before it became a national park; after the Grand Canyon achieved National Park status in 1919, their business increased still more.[353] Clarkson was keenly aware that, though the Canyon made money for the Company, it had a great deal of unexploited potential for further tourism. He was hired to expand their efforts along those lines – tourists understandably focused on the Canyon itself, but there were other interesting destinations throughout the region that remained unfamiliar to most visitors.

In 1922, Clarkson argued that "there is one other natural feature of the park as yet practically undeveloped, which, to my mind, is only second in importance to the Canyon itself, and that is its situation in the heart of the Indian Reservation."[354] The Harvey Company was already dominant at the

[351] Although the Harvey Company continued to rely on the Santa Fe's advertising department, by this

time the Harvey Company's publicity department had grown to be large, highly professional, and effective. See Curtin, "Fred Harvey Company Public Relations and Publicity (1876-1933)." for an examination of this bifurcated aspect of the company's promotions.

352 McLuhan and Kopplin, *Dream Tracks: The Railroad and the American Indian, 1890-1930*, 81-82.

353 Grattan, *Mary Colter, Builder Upon the Red Earth*, 114.

354 Qtd. in Philip Burnham, *Indian Country, God's Country: Native Americans and the National Parks* (Washington, D.C: Island Press, 2000), 80.

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Grand Canyon, and Clarkson cemented their control by purchasing picturesque (if dilapidated) hotels and camps and then building higher-quality replacements for them. He also expanded the Harvey Company's automobile fleet so that it could run more scheduled tours to the sights that surrounded their southwestern hotels and began to push for more Harvey operations in the Santa Fe area, which was just becoming known as an artists' colony. The Santa Fe's spur route to the Grand Canyon from Williams, Arizona was the easiest way for visitors to access the Canyon; more than 50,000 passengers took it in 1924.[355] At the same time, the Santa Fe Railroad continued to suffer from diminished passenger traffic elsewhere and used the Harvey Company's popularity to advertise itself, thus further encouraging travel to the Grand Canyon.[356] Clarkson became one of the chief architects of the move to incorporate automobiles into the Harvey Company's business plan. As publicist for the company, Clarkson had an acute understanding of the promotional opportunities that such an effort would create and also saw a clear path to marketing it alongside other Harvey destinations. Clarkson's idea was an outgrowth of existing Harvey offerings: by 1915, several Harvey hotels (including El Tovar at the Grand Canyon) had garages and offered motorcar services to adventurous tourists. In addition to a few short scheduled drives, tourists could rent a car, with chauffeur, and take a trip through the

355 McLuhan and Kopplin, *Dream Tracks: The Railroad and the American Indian, 1890-1930*, 41.

356 Curtin, "Fred Harvey Company Public Relations and Publicity (1876-1933)," 363.

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surrounding countryside. Drivers also acted as tour-guides, giving some local history as they drove. Before the 1920s, however, the Harvey automobile services were somewhat ad hoc, and they received no advertising support. Clarkson wanted the company to move beyond providing cars as a minor benefit to their hotel guests. Instead, he proposed that the Harvey Company run a full-scale tour guide service. He envisioned an inclusive tour package that would be integrated with the Santa Fe's rail schedule, so that tourists could simply add a "Harvey tour" to their railroad ticket. In 1925, Clarkson contacted Erna Fergusson of Koshare Tours to discuss a Harveybranded tour service modeled on her business. Clarkson persuaded Schweizer and the Huckels that the Harvey Company would benefit from owning their own tour service rather than contracting with an outside operator. Although Clarkson was not a veteran of the Harvey Company's efforts to present a

domesticated and accessible image of the region, his decision to acquire this particular business was a logical extension of their earlier work in the Southwest. With the purchase of Koshare Tours in 1926, the Harvey Company began to literally hostess the region. [357]

Fergusson and her friend Ethel Hickey were the guides for the original Koshare Tours, which they had co-founded in 1921. Fergusson (somewhat jokingly) described her Koshare Tours as "dude wrangling," saying that she "dragged tourists all through New Mexico, Southern Colorado, and Arizona to

[357] Grattan, *Mary Colter, Builder Upon the Red Earth*, 153.

see Indians and Indian ceremonials."[358] On the tour, according to her brother, writer Harvey Fergusson, "she takes you out in a high-powered car with an expert driver, … serves you luncheon and afternoon tea, arranges for your accommodations in advance, and introduces you to artists, cowboys and Indians."[359] The Harvey tours, patterned as they were after the Koshare Tours, followed a similar format.

In 1925, as soon as Clarkson began discussing the Harvey Company's tour service with Fergusson, the company hired Roger W. Birdseye to be a "special representative of the advertising department stationed at Santa Fe, New Mexico;" his main duty was promoting the as-yet-unnamed Harvey tour service.[360] Birdseye had moved to Arizona several years previously for health reasons but by 1925 he was well known for his magazine and newspaper articles promoting the Southwest. After he was hired, Birdseye worked closely with Schweizer, Clarkson, and Fergusson. He developed all the publicity materials for the tours and used his media savvy to launch a blitz of advertising across the country.[361]

They were careful to have everything set before unveiling the service in April 1926 "in a score of national publications."[362] Birdseye proclaimed that

[358] Qtd. in Robert Franklin Gish, *Beautiful Swift Fox: Erna Fergusson and the Modern Southwest* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1996), 53.

[359] Ibid., 57.

[360] "Roger W. Birdseye Is Appointed General Advertising Manager," *The Santa Fe Magazine*, January 1937, 25.

[361] "Roger Birdseye's Varied Career Brings Added Color to the Advertising Department," *The Santa Fe Magazine*, December 1933, 39.

[362] Roger W. Birdseye, "The Indian Detour," *The Santa Fe Magazine*, April 1926, 45.

the new excursion – dubbed the "Indian Detour" to emphasize one of its major selling points – would offer to "those who would travel on the crack trains of the Santa Fe an opportunity to break the long all-rail transcontinental journey with a really unusual outing by automobile."[363] Initially, the tour was focused on the area between the Castaneda in Las Vegas, New Mexico and the Alvarado in Albuquerque, with a stop at the small Harvey House in Santa Fe. The tours were either two or three days long, and there were several itineraries to accommodate different proportions of scenery to history.

When the Harvey Company took over Koshare Tours, Clarkson, Schweitzer, and Fergusson redesigned it from the bottom up. The new venture offered multi-day pre-packaged trips with specially trained guides. The Indian Detours used a fleet of automobiles to reach previously inaccessible parts of the region while supplying travelers with a staff to handle all the details of travel and provide insider access to the Southwest. These automobile trips allowed Americans to visit parts of the Southwest they would otherwise only have read about, permitting them to "discover" the Southwest more directly. Fergusson and Hickey had been the sole guides for Koshare, but now the process for locating employees to be guides forced the new business to be more formal in its requirements. The Harvey Company hired accomplished young women to be their tour guides, who they called "couriers." Southwest promoter and journalist Charles Fletcher Lummis described the women who

363 Ibid.

became couriers as "fine, clean, thoroughbred, lovely young women of old families," a description that fit Koshare's owners as well.[364] According to Harvey promotional materials, "members of the Courier Corps [were] chosen from groups of candidates periodically trained and examined by an advisory board of nationally known authorities on the archaeology, technology and history of the Southwest."[365] This training, which was promoted as requiring several months to complete, was complemented by ongoing lectures and informational essays that Couriers were supposed to read and incorporate into their tours.

In a travelogue published in the *Santa Fe Magazine*, John Willy describes meeting a tourist who had recently gone on a Detour trip:

> He said it is a real worthwhile journey, both interesting and enjoyable... he complemented very highly the courier service….
> He said that each Harvey Car has a courier, a trained young woman who speaks the Spanish-language and who is posted on about everything that pertains to Indian life, traditions and customs.[366]

The Detour's employees played a major role in maintaining its atmosphere of fun exoticism; as Willy's narrative indicates, the guides were especially popular. Harvey publicist Birdseye claimed that "no single feature of Harvey Car service has caused more widespread or favorable comments [than the

364 Charles Fletcher Lummis, "The Golden Key to Wonderland," in *They Know New Mexico: Intimate Sketches by Western Writers* (Passenger Department, Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railway, 1928), 7-8, qtd. in Marta Weigle, "Exposition and Mediation: Mary Colter, Erna Fergusson, and the Santa Fe/Harvey Popularization of the Native Southwest, 1902-1940," *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies* 12, no. 3 (1992): 130.

365 Roger W. Birdseye, "A Typical Spanish Rancho "La Posada"," *The Santa Fe Magazine*, November 1930, 24.

366 Willy, "Dropping in on Fred Harvey from the Canyon to Chicago," 48.

Courier Corps]."[367] The couriers were "young women of unusual personality… familiar with the country, speaking Spanish and friendly with the Indians."[368]

Although Fergusson was a guide for Koshare, Fergusson served not as a guide but as an advisor to the Harvey Indian Detours.[369] In that role, she helped train the guides as well as designing their uniforms and routes. Fergusson argued that women were ideal for the business because they treated tourists as they would guests in their own homes.[370] Described as "hostesses as well as guides," the couriers not only helped to set the stage but also provided assistance on how tourists should interpret the people and sights they encountered on the tour. [371] After all, as Birdseye put it, "the Courier is not only responsible for cruise details but becomes a pleasant and informative member of the party."[372]

One thing guides were not responsible for was driving the "Harveycars," as the tour vehicles were called. Because of the rough roads in the area and 1920s-era automobiles' frailties, Harvey Company management decided that the job of driver was too dangerous for women; Detour drivers were exclusively male. Couriers were often called upon to help when their

[367] Birdseye, "A Typical Spanish Rancho "La Posada"," 24.
[368] Roger W. Birdseye, "Harvey Car Motor Cruises," *The Santa Fe Magazine*, July 1929, 23.
[369] Whether this was because Fergusson wanted a more professional role or because she did not match the new courier mold is unclear.
[370] Amy Hurt, "The Koshare Tours: How Two Women Run a Sight-Seeing Business," *Women's Home Companion*, May 1923, 128.
[371] W. J. Black, "Santa Fe through Passenger Service," *The Santa Fe Magazine*, November 1929, 30.
[372] Birdseye, "Harvey Car Motor Cruises," 23.

cars were stuck, however, and they frequently assisted the drivers in freeing the vehicles.[373] Contemporary accounts describe broken axels, bent wheels, and many flat tires. On one occasion, a trip around the Grand Canyon's rim turned dangerous when the car's wheel came off just as it went around a turn: "only the skill of the driver saved the passengers from injury or death" according to one of the terrified occupants.[374] Drivers and couriers sometimes had to dig the cars out of mud. The *Santa Fe Magazine* reported that "Curley" Ennis, the Harvey Company's garage foreman at the Grand Canyon, had an "adventure" trying to free a car that "suddenly sunk into the earth."[375] After "half an hour's heavy work with jack, small trees, and some planks" Ennis was able to raise it enough to see that the car had partially fallen into an underground cave.[376]

The drivers were expected to help set the stage, both in their appearance (their uniforms were designed to highlight the "bright regalia of the West") and in their demeanor.[377] In 1926, tourists also had to be reassured of the safety of the cars used by the Detours and the drivers' "strong silent act" was thought to "inspire… confidence in the tourists."[378] The drivers themselves may have been silent in part because of distaste for their Hollywood cowboy outfits; the in-house magazine for the Santa Fe Railroad teased that "Anyone feeling tired

[373] For a photograph of a courier doing exactly that, see Albert D. Manchester, “Couriers, Dudes, and Touring Cars: The Legend of Indian Detours,” *New Mexico Magazine*, June 1982, 40.
[374] Qtd. in Aron, *Working At Play*, 224.
[375] Adrian Harbin, “A Grand Canyon Thriller,” *The Santa Fe Magazine*, October 1932.
[376] Ibid.
[377] “Here and There on the Indian Detour Harvey Cars,” *The Santa Fe Magazine*, March 1928, 31.
[378] Manchester, “Couriers, Dudes, and Touring Cars: The Legend of Indian Detours,” 44.
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of it all can end his suffering by asking one of the drivers, “where are your spurs?”“[379] Of course, according to the rules of driving safety promoted by the Harvey Company, drivers were not only forbidden to drink or smoke, but also “the driver of a Harvey Car is not allowed to converse with passengers,” an edict that presumably cut down on casual conversation.[380]
Passengers continued to enjoy traditional Fred Harvey fare as part of the Detour. One guest jokingly said that “starting out I did not understand why seven-seated cars were limited to four passengers, but on remembering those banquets at La Fonda it seemed obvious that the Santa Fe transportation company was merely allowing necessary room for expansion.”[381] Overall, though, the popularity of the Detours depended primarily on the atmosphere they helped to create, both in promotional materials tourists encountered while planning their trips and after their arrival in the Southwest.
The Harvey Company promoted the Detours more intensely than it had any other facet of its operations. According to an *Albuquerque Morning Journal* editorial praising the early Detours, the railway and the Harvey Company together promised to spend “... literally hundreds of thousands of dollars... in advertising to make the Southwest known to the rest of the
[379] A. C. Harbin, “Among Ourselves: Grand Canyon,” *The Santa Fe Magazine*, August 1930.
[380] “Eight Hundred Thousand Miles without an Accident: Enviable Record Established by Fred Harvey Motor Bus Drivers,” *The Santa Fe Magazine*, April 1929, 27.
[381] “Indian Detours Charm Eastern Writer: Becomes Enthused And the Country, the Courier Service and Other Novel Features Provided for the Tourists’ Pleasure,” *The Santa Fe Magazine*, January 1930, 32 Although the railroad did not own any part of the Indian Detours, this comment shows that the close relationship between the Santa Fe and the Harvey Company could easily lead passengers to confuse the two.
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world.”[382] The Harvey Company’s promotional efforts extended to the southwestern landscape. Before tourists even arrived, they were primed to recognize the grandeur of the southwestern landscape by Detours advertising materials; on the tour itself, guides talked knowledgeably about the uniquely American beauty of their natural surroundings. One “Detourist,” as the tours’ patrons were called, described his first tour day this way: “at 7:30 in the morning, with the sun just beginning to take the chill from the cold, dry northern Arizona air, we started eastward … on what [was] one of the most scenic and interesting trips in this picturesque state.”[383] This traveler was quoted in a company press release because his comments so clearly reflect the image of the Southwest projected by the Harvey Company and the Santa Fe

Railroad in their advertisements.

Beyond presenting the "picturesque," the Detours advertised that their routes wended through "a new-old land far from the beaten path" where tourists could visit "the ancient Indian pueblos and prehistoric cliff dwellings of the New Mexico Rockies, the old Spanish capital of Santa Fe, and inhabited Indian pueblos... as well as the huge communal ruins... of a cliff pueblo twenty centuries old."[384] Drawing heavily on the fantasy heritage that had become popular throughout the Southwest, the Harvey Company's advertising

[382] Qtd. in McLuhan and Kopplin, *Dream Tracks: The Railroad and the American Indian, 1890-1930*, 41.

[383] Adrian Harbin, "Traversing the Road to Paradise: Glowing Account of an Automobile Journey over the Nava-Hopi Road to Tuba City, Arizona," *The Santa Fe Magazine*, March 1929, 43.

[384] "The Indian-Detour: A New Motor Link in the All Rail Transcontinental Journey," 23.

promoted the idea that the region's romantic history "came alive" on its Detours.

Detourists also emphasized their feeling that they were stepping back into history on the tours. One visitor described his trip by saying: "[we saw] horseback Indians and tiny burros packing firewood to Santa Fe just as they did three centuries ago. Off the beaten path, where our road is soon to take us, the world seems to stand still."[385] The Detours encouraged this sense of a world "frozen in time;" when the Couriers brought "dudes" on the Detours, they talked about archeology and history, not sociology. Thousands of tourists learned the Harvey Company's lessons on these tours. Reporting on her time with the Detours, one woman wrote that "there is a romance about the country traversed by the Santa Fe you do not find elsewhere. [The Detour travels] through fascinating country filled with myth and tradition."[386]

Both while they were on the detour itself and at the evenings at lectures delivered by regional experts, tourists were also taught about Indian art. Like the Harvey Company's earlier efforts at the Alvarado, the Hopi House, and the world's fairs of 1915, this education served a dual function: as it increased general awareness and heightened the desirability of such artwork, it also emphasized the importance of "authentic" and high-quality goods such as those

[385] "The Most Distinctive Motor Cruise Service in the World," *The Santa Fe Magazine*, May 1930, 52.

[386] Mrs. Gilbert J. Bell, "Trails of Today and Yesterday," *The Santa Fe Magazine*, August 1928, 37.

for sale at Harvey trading posts accessible to the detourists.[387] The idea of collecting Pueblo pottery still seemed somewhat eccentric in the mid-1920s. Most Americans only encountered it in museums or as souvenirs; the Detours worked to change that.[388]

According to Koshare co-founder Hickey, she and Fergusson "won the confidence and friendship of the Indians," which they were able to use to open doors for their charges.[389] Fergusson used these connections on behalf of the Indian Detours after the Harvey Company purchased her business. With the Detours, the Harvey Company expanded upon its use of living history

performers, continuing to employ Native American artisans while also positioning its guides – the couriers – as "local" informants who would give tourists entry to both Native American communities and the more elite bohemian artists' communities.[390]

Southwesterners generally cooperated with the Harvey Company in staging events for tourists, although there was always some friction. Locals,

[387] In her study of the Santa Fe Railroad/Harvey Company effects on the town of Santa Fe, Virginia Dye points to the tremendous growth of curio shops there as an indication of "the success of the Santa Fe Railway and Indian Detours in generating business for Indian arts and crafts." She found that, in the twenty-year interval between 1920 and 1940, Santa Fe went from having just four curio shops to boasting eighteen (Dye, *All Aboard for Santa Fe: Railway Promotion of the Southwest, 1890s to 1930s*, 59).

[388] Kenneth Dauber, "Pueblo Pottery and the Politics of Regional Identity," *Journal of the Southwest* 32 (Winter 1990): 579.

[389] Ethel Hickey, "The Snake Dance of the Hopi Mesas," *The Santa Fe Magazine*, December 1922, 46.

[390] For more on the development of Anglo artists' communities in and around Santa Fe, see Keith L. Bryant, "The Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railway and the Development of the Taos and Santa Fe Art Colonies," *The Western Historical Quarterly* 9, no. 4 (October 1978): 437-453, Marta Weigle and Kyle Fiore, *Santa Fe and Taos* (Santa Fe, NM: Sunstone Press, 2008), and Van Deren Coke, *Taos and Santa Fe: The Artist's Environment 1882-1942* (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 1963).

especially Native Americans, frequently had different objectives than the tourists. "Dudes" wanted to see traditional dances at every pueblo, while Native Americans often wanted to sell pottery, rugs, or jewelry. In 1927, after the Detours had been visiting it for about a year, Taos Pueblo attempted to charge admission to the Detour's clients. Unlike many of the other reservations, which produced goods for the crafts market, Taos Pueblo had made little money from the tours. Although Clarkson refused to send tour groups there while they were selling tickets, he eventually worked out a solution that was agreeable to all parties. After this compromise, the pueblo was able to profit from tourists' visits in a less obviously commercial way than an admission fee: while in the pueblo, they were "accompanied by drummers and a young boy dancing to whom they would make voluntary payments at the end of his performance."[391]

Plans were already in the works to center the Detours around Santa Fe at the tour's inception in early 1926, and that fall the Harvey Company purchased La Fonda Hotel on Santa Fe's central plaza and began an extensive renovation and expansion project to turn it into a grand base of operations for the Detours.[392] They announced that Santa Fe was the "point from which radiate the Indian Detour trips" and continued their aggressive promotional campaign

[391] Martin Padget, *Indian country: travels in the American Southwest, 1840-1935* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2004), 198.

[392] "Along the Trail," *The Santa Fe Magazine*, September 1926.

for the tours. [393] In 1927, with the La Fonda construction well underway, "Indian Detours [patronage] … increased 169 per cent."[394] Emily Hahn, who

was working as a courier in 1927, overheard a woman at a party in Santa Fe complain: “the harder it is to get to Santa Fe, the longer we keep it as it is… If only somebody would blow up the whole detour garage and get rid of those horrible buses and all the pesky little couriers...”[395] In spite of this tension, the economic lure of tourism was strong and the Harvey project continued, along with many other regional tourist ventures. The La Fonda renovation was completed in the spring of 1929, and the company’s promotions department proclaimed it “the unique headquarters for the guests of all Harvey car motor services.”[396]

While the Detours were proving themselves to be a worthwhile investment for the Harvey Company, their business from the Santa Fe was diminishing. The first year of the Detours also signaled the beginning of the end for the railroad passenger travel business in the Southwest: 1926 was the first year that more tourists arrived at the Grand Canyon by automobile rather than by train.[397] In 1928, an article in *The Santa Fe Magazine* announced that:

> During February of this year, travel over the Indian-detour showed an increase of 40% over that of the same month a year ago. In fact, there has been a constant increase in the popularity

[393] Leona Browne, “Rediscovery of Old Santa Fe,” *The Santa Fe Magazine*, October 1926.
[394] “Facts,” *New York Times*, October 14, 1928.
[395] Emily Hahn, *Times and places* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1970), 103.
[396] Birdseye, “Harvey Car Motor Cruises,” 24.
[397] Bill McMillon, *The Old Lodges and Hotels of Our National Parks* (South Bend, IN: Icarus Press, 1983), 49.

> of the now famous Santa Fe-Harvey Indian-detour service since its inauguration nearly 2 years ago. This is an especially noteworthy achievement when it is considered that transcontinental business has shown a considerable decline during the past season…[398]

The railroad limped into the Great Depression in this diminished capacity; the financial downturn beginning in 1929 served to further reduce its passenger traffic.

Conclusion

Both the Harvey Company and the Santa Fe Railroad began the 1910s with a sense of energy and optimism. Their businesses were strong and they applied modern business philosophies and advertising strategies to improve it still more. At the Californian fairs, the Santa Fe and Harvey Company expanded and refined the personnel, advertising, and techniques originally brought together at Albuquerque’s Alvarado. The Indian Detours were the ultimate refinement of the companies’ southwestern strategy. Tourism was the main source of income for the Harvey Company by the late 1920s as Americans became increasingly enamored of automobile travel and passenger traffic on the railroads continued to fall. The company promoted its tourist

offerings through the end of the decade, an effort that reached its peak when Clarkson sent one of the Detours' courier-hostesses on a "goodwill mission" to
398 "Here and There on the Indian Detour Harvey Cars," 57.
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the eastern United States.399 Anita Rose was an experienced and popular guide; her appearance, "in regular courier costume" drew publicity in all the cities she visited.400
In the inaugural publicity for the Detours, Birdseye described the trouble the company had taken to evoke the romance of the Southwest, saying that its routes were "carefully chosen for the exceptional variety and beauty of their mountain scenery, the genuineness of their old Spanish-American and Indian life, and their remarkable examples of ruins of a forgotten past."401 The Detours combined elements from previous Harvey ventures – the carefully managed picturesque settings of "exceptional … beauty;" the promotion of "genuine" Hispano and Native American life through handicrafts; the staged spectacle of "forgotten" American history as displayed by living Indians at the world's fairs – and brought them together in a single event. The women tasked with "hostessing" these tours literally performed the activities the company had previously only symbolically or distantly provided: they traveled with "Detourists" to hand-picked exotic (but safe) destinations while supplying them with Harvey picnic baskets and explaining what they saw in accessible terms. The Couriers mediated tourists' experiences in the region in order to give them the most enjoyable trip possible.
399 Thomas, *The Southwestern Indian Detours*, 93.
400 Her "goodwill tour" included stops in Chicago, Cleveland, Boston, and New York ("Here and There on the Indian Detour Harvey Cars," 31).
401 "The Indian-Detour: A New Motor Link in the All Rail Transcontinental Journey," 24.
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The company's southwestern employees had worked together to solidify their version of the region at the fairs, where they literally shrunk the Southwest to make it more easily accessible to tourists. For the "Indian Detours," they transferred those images (and the techniques that had helped create and maintain them) to the more "authentic" setting of the Southwest itself and began to "hostess" the region through their Couriers. When Ford Harvey died at the end of 1928, the family business passed to his younger brother Byron. At that time, the company had over 4,000 employees and served twelve million meals annually in their hotels, dining rooms, and lunch counters.402 The tourist traffic they had built up in the Southwest helped to increase revenues at what would otherwise have been a lean financial time. It looked as though the Harvey Company would be able to escape its business associate's declining fortunes.
402 "Byron S. Harvey Becomes Head of the Fred Harvey System," *The Santa Fe Magazine*, February 1929, 44.
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Chapter Six:
"This Entrancing Picture in a Desert"[403]

The Harvey Company built its tourist business gradually, first establishing itself as a pleasant dining experience for travelers on the Santa Fe and allowing the Santa Fe to promote its offerings. When he became president, Ford Harvey asserted more control over the business's growth than his father had, working with his sister Minnie Harvey Huckel and her husband John Huckel to create interesting destinations to draw visitors to the Southwest. They built this expansion on the company's historic strengths – good food in comfortable (and comforting) surroundings – but also embarked on a project to explain the region in a way that was itself comfortable to potential tourists. They put their efforts before a larger audience at California's fairs, miniaturizing the Southwest to make it even more accessible and interesting to fair-goers. Finally, they brought together the elements that they had implicitly been selling and began explicitly to sell a "hostessed" experience in the Southwest. The 1930s, however, brought a change in management and a shift away from hostessing.

[403] Birdseye, "A Typical Spanish Rancho "La Posada"," 21.

The Harvey Company in Decline

The last major Harvey Company initiative in the Southwest outside the Grand Canyon was the construction of La Posada, an impressive resort-hotel that Ford Harvey intended to cement the business's fortunes in the region. Harvey publicist Roger Birdseye described the resort this way:

> a replica of an old Spanish rancho of a century and a half ago, with Spanish paintings adorning the walls…. … the draperies are designed in colors to match the Painted Desert, and the floors are covered with Indian rugs of old designs.... in the lobby, corridors, and stair landings are numerous pieces of ancient workmanship… The grounds embrace 80 acres in which eight carloads of shrubbery have been planted….[404]

Planned during Ford's tenure and completed under Byron Harvey's leadership, La Posada initially presented a vision for the business's future founded on the Southwest's past. The company called it an "entrancing picture in a desert;" La Posada's rise and decline ultimately would mirror the Harvey Company's fortunes more broadly.

Although Ford originally intended La Posada's construction to solidify the company's commitment to a southwestern business strategy, the Harvey Company entered a period of transition and change just before work on the resort hotel finished. In December 1928, Ford Harvey passed away after a brief illness and his brother Byron became president. Byron immediately signaled a shift away from his brother's tenure when he decided to remain in Chicago rather than moving to Kansas City. Byron and Ford had maintained

[404] Ibid.
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separate offices while Ford was president, with Ford working out of the Kansas City headquarters and Byron working out of the company's new Chicago offices. After he became president, Byron appointed Frederick Henry Harvey vice president; Frederick moved into what had been Ford's offices. This change effectively swapped the offices of president and vice president and shifted the company's most senior management from Kansas to Illinois. Byron also made several other decisions signaling a shift away from the focus on hostessing the Southwest that had been characteristic of Ford's presidency. Prior to his brother's death, Byron was responsible for the Harvey Company's dining car business. One of his first major policy decisions as president was to announce a renewed focus on dining cars and a move away from what he saw as the company's side-business promoting the Southwest. The Harvey Company's dining car service made up an ever-growing portion of its profits; by 1928, the company served more "meals on rails" than in all of its Harvey Houses combined. Although Byron was retreating from his brother's emphasis on the southwestern parts of their business, he did not purge those elements entirely. Late in 1929 the *Santa Fe Magazine* announced that "the name La Posada has been chosen for the new million-dollar Harvey House" and both Santa Fe Railroad and Harvey Company employees soon referred to it as the ""best on the system" Harvey house."[405] The hotel seemed poised to
[405] A. R. Hipkoe and Charles Erickson, "Among Ourselves: Winslow," *The Santa Fe Magazine*, December 1929, 105; R. C. Ducray, "Among Ourselves: Winslow," *The Santa Fe Magazine*, June 1930, 108.
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thrive, and despite his lack of enthusiasm, Byron was willing to see whether it would succeed.

When the Harvey Company began to plan its grandest resort in the late 1920s, Ford was looking ahead to a kind of tourism that focused on automobiles and airplanes, not railroads. He located the hotel in Winslow, Arizona partly because it was a hub for the railroad. It was along Route 66, already a popular transcontinental automobile route even though it was not yet fully paved. Winslow was northern Arizona's largest town and seemed poised to grow still larger and more important. In addition to automotive traffic, Winslow was soon to have its own commercial airport.[406] Stylistically, La Posada would provide a vehicle for a further exploration of the themes Colter introduced at La Fonda: regional authenticity and local history.[407]

Designed when Colter was in her sixties, she reportedly considered La Posada to be her masterpiece. Colter's plans for La Posada exemplified her dedication to authenticity and southwestern heritage: she not only gave the hotel architectural and design details out of the Southwest's past; she also fabricated an in-depth back-story for La Posada to bolster its exotic appeal. According to Colter's tale, the estate was built in the early nineteenth century,

by the family of Don Alphonso de los Pajaros.[408] When the Don needed

[406] Designed by Charles Lindbergh, the new airport opened just before La Posada did.

[407] Decorated under Colter's direction, the newly refurbished La Fonda Hotel (in Santa Fe) opened under Harvey management in 1929.

[408] All descriptions of the La Posada story are from present-day La Posada promotional materials; the current materials were copied directly from the 1930s-era originals.

money following the stock market crash, he sold the estate to the Santa Fe Railroad, who turned it over to Fred Harvey. Her narrative claimed that during the 120-odd years before the estate was sold to the railroad, it was lived in by four generations of the Don's family, who were world travelers and selective collectors. Their eclectic furnishings, artwork, and extensive gardens (all in reality either designed by Colter or purchased by her) remained for modern visitors to enjoy.[409] This fanciful story added to La Posada's charm, and fit in with popular ideas about the region.

When the resort first opened, railroad employees joked that "everyone is anxious to get a glimpse of the interior, which is said to be the latest thing in antique Spanish furnishings."[410] The railroad's promotional materials took Colter's style seriously, however, asserting that:

> in form and style La Posada represents one of the great rancheros of Old Mexico that in many instances for centuries have been the ancestral homes of branches of proud Spanish families. Like them, La Posada is the embodiment of simplicity, spacious comfort, and the interest born of a happy mingling of timeworn homemade furnishings and the richly mellow craftsmanship of old Spain.[411]

Despite all the focus on La Posada's created history and elaborately recreated decorations, the building included more than the resort. Like the

[409] Colter apparently did not account for Winslow's harsher environment and her original plans for the landscaping had to be changed slightly to accommodate it. In the fall of 1930, the railroad built a greenhouse to take care of the various plants and shrubs which officials feared "[would] not stand the winter weather" (A. R. Hipkoe, "Among Ourselves: Winslow," *The Santa Fe Magazine*, October 1930, 93).

[410] Richard Ducray, "Among Ourselves: Winslow," *The Santa Fe Magazine*, April 1930.

[411] "La Posada Hotel Is Latest Facility for Petrified Forest Detour," *The Santa Fe Magazine*, June 1930, 31.

other Harvey / Santa Fe complexes, it also housed the Santa Fe depot and a lunch counter, which by this time was primarily for the use of railroad employees (for the most part, passengers ate in dining cars).[412] La Posada also functioned as a new hub for the Harvey Indian Detours. As its business from cross-country railroad passengers flagged, the Harvey Company stepped up its efforts to lure tourists to the region.

Roger Birdseye worked closely with Schweitzer and the Huckels in this effort. He was initially hired specifically to publicize the Detours, but Birdseye's duties expanded first to encompass southwestern tourism more

generally and then to take over all promotional campaigns for the railroad.[413] Birdseye and Schweitzer worked together on the project, with Schweitzer providing much of the "educational" content of Birdseye's Indian Detours brochures. Birdseye also wrote all the new material for Winslow and La Posada. He was highly aware that, despite their earlier successes, the Harvey Company / Santa Fe Railroad still needed to persuade Americans that the Southwest was worth a visit. He admitted that:

To the vast majority [of tourists], except as they may have seen it from the train window, the Southwest is a terra incognito, a dusty

[412] La Posada apparently had much better facilities for employees than other Harvey Houses, and Santa Fe employees were excited about eating there. (See, for instance, "Along the Trail," *The Santa Fe Magazine*, April 1930, 73.)

[413] Birdseye was promoted to Assistant Advertising Manager for the Santa Fe in 1933, and in 1936 he became general advertising manager ("Roger Birdseye's Varied Career Brings Added Color to the Advertising Department," 39; "Roger W. Birdseye Is Appointed General Advertising Manager."). Birdseye continued to hold that post until his death in 1942 (Dye, *All Aboard for Santa Fe: Railway Promotion of the Southwest, 1890s to 1930s*, 56). [Some sources (e.g. Thomas, *The Southwestern Indian Detours*, 307 and Curtin, "Fred Harvey Company Public Relations and Publicity (1876-1933)," 363) mistakenly claim that Birdseye died in 1933.]

land outside accustomed standards of measurement and just a little frightening in its immensity and apparent emptiness.[414]

Birdseye built La Posada's promotion on the Detours' strategy since he felt they were "an outstanding factor in the development of tourist interest in the Southwest."[415] The addition of Winslow to the Detours' starting points allowed the company to introduce new territory to the "Detourists." However, Byron, concerned with business efficiency, according to his long-time assistant Ephraim Shultz, decided to sell the Indian Detours as part of his re-focusing away from the Southwest.[416] The Detours were financially successful, and Byron seems to have decided to sell them at this juncture both because he could maximize the company's profits and because he felt it distracted from the company's primary purpose. The sale was completed early in 1931, although preparations for the sale had been ongoing for at least several months. The Harvey Company sent out a press release that spring announcing the Detours:

"[had] been acquired by Hunter Clarkson, Inc., with headquarters in Santa Fe. R. H. Clarkson … was general manager of the Santa Fe Transportation Company. The purchase was made in order to extend the operations of the Indian Detours."[417]

Likely because of its close relationship with Clarkson, the Harvey Company allowed him to retain La Fonda as the base of operations and headquarters for

[414] Birdseye, "A Typical Spanish Rancho "La Posada"," 23.

[415] Ibid., 21.

[416] "Intimate Glimpses of Fred Harvey Personalities: Ephraim Oliver Shultz," *The Santa Fe Magazine*, October 1937, 13.

[417] "Along the Trail," *The Santa Fe Magazine*, May 1931.
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the newly-formed Hunter Clarkson, Incorporated. [418] The terms of the sale were private, but the Great Depression must have cut into the tour services' profits and likely would have reduced the sale price even as it increased Byron's feeling that the Detours should be sold.
Byron's decision to sell the Detours to Clarkson proved a good one – the Harvey Company was able to benefit from Clarkson's promotional efforts in addition to its own (and the because the tours were already associated with the Harvey name, the tours' publicity often doubled as Harvey publicity as well). Furthermore, since all the Detours were based out of Harvey hotels, they inevitably attracted tourists to the Harvey locations that had Detour bases. The Harvey Company was also spared the time and expense of managing the Detours themselves and was able to distance itself from the sometimescontentious
tours through Indian pueblos.
New tours originating in Winslow visited the Petrified Forest and Meteor Crater (outside Flagstaff, Arizona) as well as the Painted Desert. In 1930, Winslow had "[a] dozen passenger trains stopp[ing] daily" along with eight commercial air flights and the uncounted visitors who came along the highway.[419] The largest and newest of Winslow's eleven hotels, La Posada captured a substantial share of the tourist traffic.[420] Winslow drew through-
[418] Dye, *All Aboard for Santa Fe: Railway Promotion of the Southwest, 1890s to 1930s*, 54. Clarkson's company continued to offer tours in the Southwest until 1968 (Grattan, *Mary Colter, Builder Upon the Red Earth*, 153).
[419] Winslow Chamber of Commerce promotional materials.
[420] "Along the Trail," *The Santa Fe Magazine*, June 1934.
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traffic as well as tourists, and La Posada attracted celebrities and other wellheeled
visitors.[421] Guests such as the Lindberghs, Clark Gable, and Carole Lombard added a certain cachet to the hotel's reputation.
Although the Great Depression dramatically reduced the Santa Fe's passenger numbers, the Harvey Company's business was fairly strong throughout the 1930s and the Santa Fe continued its reliance on the Harvey Company to draw passenger travel. The relationship between the two businesses remained mutually beneficial; although many Harvey Houses were closed during the thirties, the remaining Houses on the Santa Fe's major lines grew in this period. Consolidation along the line allowed, for instance, the House at Amarillo to become a major meal stop when it was greatly expanded in 1931.[422]
Meanwhile, the Harvey Company's investment in tourism at the Grand Canyon returned profits despite the bleak economic times. Colter's Hopi House continued to be well-liked and increased in popularity as public interest

in seeing “genuine” Indian dwellings grew. After the success of its other ventures at the Canyon, the company began planning a new complex on the canyon’s eastern rim (both El Tovar and the Hopi House were on the western rim). By this time Colter was the primary force behind the company’s aesthetic and had proven her worth many times over in work throughout the

[421] Ibid.

[422] John Moore, “Harvey House Growth in Amarillo: From Small Lunchroom to Dining Establishments Serving Passengers on Several Trains Daily Is Reviewed,” *The Santa Fe Magazine*, April 1931.

Southwest. She therefore had great latitude to design an even more elaborate undertaking.

The new structure was, like the Hopi House, an “authentic reproduction,” this time of a Hopi tower. Colter described her “Indian Watchtower” as a “re-creation.”[423] The Watchtower deviated from the ancient buildings that inspired it with plentiful windows and a generous height of seventy feet; it also had a modern steel and concrete foundation. Colter made these changes from traditional designs in order to allow an unobstructed view of the entire region, making the most of the Watchtower’s prominent location on the Canyon’s rim. She used various methods to de-emphasize these contemporary touches; the Watchtower, like her Hopi House, often passed for an ancient ruin with visitors.[424] After the new building opened in 1933, the Harvey Company reported that “continued increase of business, both by train and auto, has made it necessary to increase the staff at all Harvey facilities” in and around the Grand Canyon.[425]

Byron recognized the value of Grand Canyon tourist traffic and continued adding to the company’s offerings there throughout the decade. In 1935, the Harvey Company opened expanded automobile campgrounds at the

[423] Mary Elizabeth Jane Colter, *Manual for Drivers and Guides: Descriptive of The Indian Watchtower at Desert View and its Relation, Architecturally, to the Prehistoric Ruins of the Southwest* (Grand Canyon National Park, AZ: Fred Harvey Company, 1933), excerpted in Vincent B. Canizaro, ed., *Architectural Regionalism: Collected Writings on Place, Identity, Modernity* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2007), 180.

[424] See Burnham, *Indian Country, God’s Country*, 83.

[425] R. B. Sullivan, “Among Ourselves: Grand Canyon,” *The Santa Fe Magazine*, May 1933, 69.

Canyon; by the end of the year, the manager reported “rush business” at it and also at the rustic cabins nearby.[426] Hopi House and the new Indian Watchtower (along with Bright Angel Lodge, the nearby Harvey hotel) had steady patronage as well.[427] The Santa Fe’s employee magazine proudly announced: “Hurrah! Increased train and tourist business has necessitated the hiring of additional help at La Posada. The lunch room now boasts of twentytwo neat-appearing girls … the most since the new hotel has been open.”[428]

Unfortunately, no amount of advertising and capital investment could reverse the downward trend in passenger travel. Starting in 1923, passenger revenue on the Santa Fe had declined every year; the financial shock late in

1929 worsened the company's balance sheet further.[429] The Harvey Company's various tourist ventures helped to prop up the Santa Fe's leisure segment, but its efforts were still not enough to defy the Depression and changing travel habits. Despite extensive advertising campaigns, La Posada likely never became profitable.[430] In 1935, when the Harvey Company expanded the lunchroom workforce at the hotel, La Posada was at the pinnacle of its success. Within a few years, the company was gradually decreasing its staff and closing off portions of the resort.

[426] Bob Sullivan, "Among Ourselves: Grand Canyon," *The Santa Fe Magazine*, January 1936.
[427] Bright Angel Lodge re-opened, featuring Colter's décor, in 1935.
[428] Charles Erickson, "Among Ourselves: Winslow," *The Santa Fe Magazine*, August 1935, 87.
[429] Grattan, *Mary Colter, Builder Upon the Red Earth*, 59.
[430] See Grattan, *Mary Colter, Builder Upon the Red Earth*.

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The Harvey Company's leadership was dealt several blows in the spring of 1936. In March, John Huckel died after a short illness; just a few weeks later, in early April, the company lost another vice president when Frederick H. Harvey was killed in a plane crash.[431] Their deaths accelerated the pace of change within the business. Byron Harvey officially moved the company headquarters to his office in Chicago and began to close the offices in Kansas City.[432] Frederick Harvey's assistant remembered that the company "began to die with the deaths of J. F. Huckel and Frederick Harvey" and that, after the move to Chicago, "the family atmosphere was completely gone."[433]

Byron started to change the company to adapt to the Depression – he tried to focus the modernized company on dining cars – but his attempts moved the company further away from its core values while ignoring the problem posed by automobiles. For a business built around passenger train travel, however, it was a significant achievement that he was able to bring the Harvey Company through the 1930s without facing bankruptcy. There were even some bright spots. The company proudly announced in 1938 that "there was no depression on tourists at [the] Grand Canyon" and that it was consequently opening two new garages there to service visitors'

[431] "John F. Huckel, Fred Harvey Official, Passes Away"; "Mr. and Mrs. Frederick H. Harvey Killed in Crash of Private Airplane," *The Santa Fe Magazine*, June 1936.
[432] Grattan, *Mary Colter, Builder Upon the Red Earth*, 91.
[433] Earl Keel to Marvin Harris, June 9, 1984, Northern Arizona University. According to Keel, Minnie Huckel had prevented Byron from completing this move when he became president in 1929.

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automobiles.[434] The following year another increase in tourists necessitated more donkeys to take visitors into the Canyon; the Harvey Company announced that, for the sixth year in a row, tourist traffic to the park had grown.[435]

At the same time, many other locations closed as reduced leisure travel led the Santa Fe to run fewer passenger trains. The Grand Canyon had become a major American tourist destination, but the continued economic downturn led

many people to vacation closer to home. Erna Fergusson suggested that the Harvey Company might also be the victim of its own successes:

> as civilizer and educator, Fred Harvey is in some danger of raising the threat to his own supremacy. Every considerable southwestern town now advertises one or two hotels with all the Harvey features: good beds and food, immaculateness, efficient service, and even the Spanish name and architecture, Indian crafts and decorations. They are as standardized as the old golden oak furniture and red carpet ever were, and one advertises itself as the "most unique hotel in the Southwest." They have, too, a curio shop to compete with other shops which line the streets offering "real Indians at work," and articles that run from stamped out tin jewelry to excellent pieces. They all cater to thousands of travelers in their own cars and by motor bus.[436]

As a result of these factors, the Harvey Company was still struggling against increased competition for ever-shrinking numbers of railroad tourists when the United States entered World War Two late in 1941.

[434] "Among Ourselves: Grand Canyon," *The Santa Fe Magazine*, November 1938.

[435] "Among Ourselves: Grand Canyon," *The Santa Fe Magazine*, September 1939; "Among Ourselves: Grand Canyon," *The Santa Fe Magazine*, November 1939.

[436] Fergusson, *Our Southwest*, 204.

During the war, the Harvey Company switched over to a very different kind of customer. The company's advertisements referred to servicemen generically as "Private Pringle" and admitted that "we're trying hard to give real Fred Harvey service to everyone. But with food rationing so severe and train personnel so scarce, there are times we must ask civilian patrons to wait their turn. Sometimes we can't even serve them a meal." The ads went on to thank civilian customers and to assure the public that "When Private Pringle's big job is done we promise you again the Fred Harvey hospitality you have learned to expect."[437] Meanwhile, troop trains filled many Harvey Houses and the company's dining cars fed Mexican braceros as they travelled from Mexico across the Southwest to "help … farmers in harvesting their crops and to aid in the work of repairing … rail lines."[438] Although dining car service and Harvey meal service were up during the war (almost exclusively because of warrelated travel), business at the resort-hotels slowed still more. Clarkson shut down the Indian Detours in response to fuel rationing, which decreased tourist visits along the Santa Fe's lines even further.[439]

The group of Harvey officials and employees who had masterminded the company's southwestern strategy was mostly gone by the war years. Ford Harvey's daughter Katherine Harvey continued to collect Native American

[437] Harvey advertisement, quoted in Jack Mullen, "America's Best Fed Travelers: Fred Harvey's Wartime Performance Surpasses All Previous Achievements in Its History," *The Santa Fe Magazine*, December 1943, 33.

[438] Ibid., 23.

[439] Manchester, "Couriers, Dudes, and Touring Cars: The Legend of Indian Detours," 47.
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artwork on behalf of the Fred Harvey Fine Arts Foundation, but her involvement with the Harvey Company itself was limited.[440] Birdseye died in 1942 and both Schweitzer and Minnie passed away in 1943. Colter was the only one of the old team remaining. When Byron moved the general offices to Chicago after Minnie's death, Colter gave up her Kansas City residence and relocated to her house in California full-time.[441] She entered into a gradual retirement the following year.[442] When the war finally ended in 1945, the Harvey Company's southwestern era had concluded as well.

"Harvey Girls" and American Popular Culture

The Harvey Girls (MGM) is a Technicolored musical celebrating the coming of chastity, clean silverware and crumbless tablecloths to the pioneer Southwest. The bearers of this culture … were waitresses brought out from the East and Midwest 50-odd years ago to staff the Fred Harvey system of depot lunchrooms. As history, this thesis might astonish even the late Mr. Harvey. As light-horse-opera, complete with cowboys, Indians, a rattlesnake, a railroad and Judy Garland in leg-of-mutton sleeves, it has its points.

The railroad involved is the one celebrated in the now-familiar ditty by Johnny Mercer and Harry Warren: "On the Atchison, Topeka and the Santa Fe." Miss Garland rides the railroad and sings the song for all and maybe a little more than it's worth. As one of the Harvey girls, she also fires pistols, plunges wholeheartedly into catfights with dancehall girls and falls in love with the owner of the local gambling den—bold, bad Ned Trent (John Hodiak). At

[440] She briefly held a majority of the Harvey family's stock in the company, but sold it to her uncle Byron Harvey, Sr. (interview with Katherine Harvey in unattributed manuscript, Leavenworth Historical Society). Katherine worked with many of the Harvey artists, including Fred Kabotie (Fred Kabotie, *Fred Kabotie, Hopi Indian Artist: An Autobiography Told with Bill Belknap* (Flagstaff: Museum of Northern Arizona, 1977), 50).

[441] Grattan, *Mary Colter, Builder Upon the Red Earth*, 95.

[442] Colter retired from the Santa Fe's employ in January 1944, but continued to work for the Harvey Company until 1948. Her work as an architect had primarily been for the Santa Fe, but her work as a designer and decorator was mostly for Harvey (Ibid., 95-106).

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bottom, of course, Ned is not too bad, for on the sly he reads Longfellow and admires the rugged scenery. …

In the end virtue, as symbolized by the starched waitresses, triumphs, and the gamblers and besequined light ladies take off, leaving the town at least as pure as any from which the Harvey girls have come.

– *Time Magazine*, January 28, 1946[443]

A "Harvey Girls as refined civilizers" trope was introduced in Samuel Hopkins's novel *The Harvey Girls*. Published in 1942, the book told the nostalgic stories of several women who became waitresses at the Harvey House in the fictional town of Sandrock. Their romances and adventures bridge the time it took for the town to transform from a rough frontier

settlement to a vigorous modern city. When the book was made into an MGM musical in 1945 its themes found a much wider audience. The years between the book's publication and the movie's release had seen both a surge in women's workforce participation and a widespread desire for comforting historical narratives. Hopkins's story (and the film it inspired) provided a narrative that spoke to the changes caused by women's waged work. The mythic story of the Harvey Company "proved" that female workers were no threat to the social order even as it provided a window into a supposedly adventure-filled era. Although the Harvey Company did not explicitly promote its waitresses, its emphasis on hostessing helped pave the way for their popularity. Because it consistently emphasized the way it provided a

[443] "The New Pictures," *Time Magazine*, January 28, 1946, http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,855368,00.html.

comfortably feminine presentation, the Harvey Company's legacy was ripe for a revisioning.

When *The Harvey Girls* musical was released in 1946, things had changed substantially for the real-life Harvey Company. *The Harvey Girls*' catchy "On the Atchison, Topeka, and the Santa Fe" was playing on radios across America, but the Harvey Company itself had entered a sharp decline from its success in the 1920s.[444] The movie celebrated a nostalgic take on the Harvey restaurants (one that, as *Time Magazine* pointed out, would have likely surprised Fred Harvey). Although the Harvey Company was wholly supportive of the production (then-vice-president Byron Harvey, Jr. was a technical consultant on the film and even had a small uncredited role as a train conductor), the musical erased most of the business's carefully constructed images and replaced them with a very different one, shifting popular attention from the wonders of the Southwest to the women who "tamed" it.[445]

When *The Harvey Girls* opened, the *New York Times* called it a "lofty tribute to Fred Harvey's girls" and predicted that it was "certain to prove … [a] hit."[446] In the movie, as in the book, a diverse group of women travel westward to become Harvey waitresses in the rough frontier town of Sandrock.

[444] *The Harvey Girls* won an Academy Award for its score and another for the song "On the Atchison, Topeka, and the Santa Fe." The song was recorded by several different artists including Bing Crosby and the Tommy Dorsey Orchestra; those covers and the musical's version (featuring Judy Garland) persisted on the pop music charts throughout the summer of 1945. The song's popularity doubtless helped promote the film even before its release.

[445] "The Harvey Boy," *Time Magazine*, March 4, 1946, http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,801781,00.html.

[446] Bosley Crowther, "'The Harvey Girls' Opens at Capitol--Musical Stars Judy Garland, Kenny Baker, Ray Bolger and Virginia O'Brien," *The New York Times*, January 25, 1946.

Romance is front and center in both tales, with the book's narrative tension supplied by a conflict between the Harvey House and a corrupt judge who owned the local dancehall. In the film, the dancehall owner is Judy Garland's love interest, providing further drama to the plot. According to Adams's

introductory note to the novel, the story was “told against an authentic historical background” and set in a time when “there were few young women in the Southwestern frontier towns who met the high standards Harvey required of his waitresses.”[447]

More than any company-sponsored promotions, the movie’s popularity fixed an unchanging and fictionalized historical “Harvey House” in the public’s mind. Prior to the 1940s, there were only very rare passing mentions of “Harvey Girls” and they do not appear in the Santa Fe or Harvey Company advertising and promotional materials.[448] The only employees the Harvey Company ever worked to promote were its Detour “Courier” guides, who represented the epitome of its efforts to provide “hostesses” for tourists in the Southwest. It had presented them as bohemian and educated “New Women” – a very different image from the wholesome, proper, and distinctly oldfashioned Harvey waitresses depicted in the musical. Said to have gone West at a time when “there were no ladies west of Dodge City and no women west of Albuquerque,” the Harvey Girls captured popular imagination in the post-

[447] Samuel Hopkins Adams, *The Harvey Girls* (New York: Dell Publishing Company, 1942), n.p.

[448] There are several published poems featuring Harvey Girls, for instance, dating at least as far back as 1912 (J. C. Davis, “Harvey Girls (An Apprciation),” *The Santa Fe Magazine*, July 1912).

war era. They came to represent a specific kind of American West, where the cowboys and Indians of Westerns were tamed by good food, proper manners, and kind women. However, the company’s waitresses embodied its goal of hostessing the region just as much as the Couriers did. The “Harvey Girls’” femininity was popularly accepted to have “civilized” the Southwest, an idea that was a natural extension of the Harvey Company’s efforts there.

The same year the musical came out, Byron’s son, Byron S. Harvey, Junior, became president of the family business.[449] The Harvey Company paid for all Harvey employees to see the film.[450] The company also sponsored an “old-fashioned” Harvey Girl contest to find the modern Harvey waitress who most embodied the spirit of the movie Harvey Girls. The Santa Fe Railroad ran promotions for the movie; both businesses had cooperated with the movie studio prior to the musical’s release as well. The railroad provided “literally thousands of photographs” to help with “the preparation of the sets and background material of the film.”[451] Company executives recognized that the publicity would help their businesses, but it is doubtful that they fully appreciated the long-term effects of the movie’s popularity.

[449] “The Harvey Boy.” At the same time, Byron Harvey, Sr. took a position as chairman of the company’s board of directors.

[450] Brenna Stewart Dugan, “Girls Wanted: For Service at the Fred Harvey Houses” (MA thesis, Texas Tech University, 2008), 66.

[451] Mary Mayer, ““The Harvey Girls”: New Technicolor Musical Film by MGM Is a Fast-Moving Epic of the West,” *The Santa Fe Magazine*, June 1945, 40.

Certain elements of the story, though fictional, became almost

universally accepted as fact. Multiple sources assert that Harvey first hired waitresses after an incident in Raton, New Mexico, where he found the waiters "disheveled from the previous night's bacchanal" and fired them all on the spot.[452] He decided that female waitstaff would be more orderly and biddable and so immediately attempted to hire women to replace the waiters.[453] Because there were so few respectable women in the West, Harvey advertised for these and subsequent waitresses in the East, looking for "young women of good character, attractive and intelligent, age 18 to 30."[454]

According to this narrative, Harvey Girls were not allowed to marry, and they had few opportunities to entertain "gentlemen callers." However, the "young girl from the East who ventures to become a "Harvey Girl" on the Western frontier" was so desirable that most were married before their contracts were up.[455] They then named their first-born sons Fred Harvey.[456] These stories were not widespread prior to the publication of Hopkins's book, and some details (such as the text for Harvey's recruitment ad) appear to have

[452] Lisa Kingsley, "Whistle-Stop Fare," *Country Home* (1992): 138.

[453] In some accounts of this story, it is Fred Harvey's friend or employee Tom Gable who made the suggestion that they hire women – this version originates with Erna Fergusson, although it is unverifiable and uncorroborated by other sources (Fergusson, *Our Southwest*, 194-5).

[454] Florence Historical Society, "The First Harvey House," 5; see also Moran, *Santa Fe and the Chisholm Trail at Newton*, 17; Kingsley, "Whistle-Stop Fare," 138 for identically-worded advertisements.

[455] Cynthia Davies, "Frontier Merchants and Native Craftsmen: The Fred Harvey Company Collects Indian Art," *Journal of the West* 21, no. 1 (January 1982): 120.

[456] Juddi Morris, *The Harvey Girls: The Women Who Civilized the West* (New York: Walker and Company, 1996), 69.

been taken directly from the novel and then repeated in successions of articles about the Harvey Girls until they became part of the historical record.

In the movie and the stories that were based on it, the Harvey Girls were presented as adventurous middle-class women who had a civilizing effect on the frontier. One of the core elements of the story, the conflict that arose from the waitresses' civilizing effects, possibly has its roots in the 1887 Harvey take-over of the eating houses on the Santa Fe Railroad's subsidiary, the Atlantic and Pacific. David Benjamin, one of Harvey's closest associates, oversaw the transition. When he first arrived in Kingman, Arizona, "he found the eating house in the barroom" and at Mojave, California, the small dining room was located above a large gambling parlor.[457] Despite the tales of conflict, other than relatively minor customer complaints about over-charging, bad service, and the like, there does not seem to have been much friction between newly-opened Harvey Houses and local communities. Since most towns that had Harvey restaurants or hotels owed their existences to the railroad, locals tended to be welcoming.[458]

The fictional narrative had a popular message in World War Two-era America; *The Harvey Girls* musical spread the book's themes more widely

still. In the decades after the film's release the waitresses' popularity eclipsed
457 "How Fame Has Been Won for the Harvey Service by Devotion to a Business Principle," *The Santa Fe Magazine*, February 1916, 46.
458 I found one newspaper account of a merchant-led boycott of the Harvey establishment in Trinidad, Colorado, organized in protest of Harvey's use of non-local suppliers ("Marriage of Waitresses," *Springfield (Missouri) Daily Reader*, June 23, 1913).

that of the original restaurants and overshadowed the decline suffered by the Harvey Company. The returning GIs who fondly remembered Harvey waitresses serving their troop transports probably helped popularize the restaurants, but the movie commemorating "the coming of chastity, clean silverware and crumbless tablecloths to the pioneer Southwest" cemented the image of "Harvey Girl" waitresses in American culture.459 This image owed an enormous debt to the Harvey Company's history of providing "hostessed" experiences to its customers.

Conclusion

Fred Harvey built a restaurant empire that provided the foundation for his son Ford's ambitious plan to popularize the Southwest. As the West became more accessible to travelers because of improvements in transportation technology, the Harvey Company increasingly focused on presenting the region in comfortable surroundings. After Ford took over from Fred, he was able to remain true to his father's business ideals and strategies and to continue doing business with Fred's business partners. Ford combined his business acumen with a keen interest in southwestern art and culture and recognized that he could unite these disparate interests to the company's benefit. Both father and son recognized that travelers appreciated the familiarity their business's food and décor could provide.
459 "The New Pictures."

When he officially took control of the Harvey Company at the beginning of the twentieth century, Ford modernized his family business by applying this philosophy to its operations in the Southwest. With the help of his sister Minnie Huckel and her husband John, Ford assembled a group of Harvey and Santa Fe Railroad employees to direct this effort. The Huckels worked closely with Herman Schweitzer and architect Mary Colter to build a series of resort-hotels in the Southwest; William Simpson and his successors built on the advertising developed by Charles Higgins to promote their endeavors. This group collectively brought the Harvey Company into the twentieth century, making it even more successful than it had been under its founder.

The Montezuma Hotel in Las Vegas, New Mexico, constructed during his father's tenure as president, stood as an expensive monument to the Harvey Company's entrée into the business of tourism. Although it was supported by the Santa Fe's first promotional campaign to advance the Harvey Company,

the hotel nonetheless was a financial drain rather than a benefit. The complex that Ford's southwestern team designed in Albuquerque was an altogether different venture. Instead of emulating eastern or European hotels the Harvey Company's promotions emphasized the hotel's southwestern heritage. The railroad advertised the Alvarado and its accompanying "Indian Building" as showcasing the uniquely American history of the region. This new approach
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was so profitable that it served as a model for the company's efforts for the next three decades.

The company expanded the reach of these promotional efforts at the 1915 World's Fairs. Attendance at the San Francisco and San Diego expositions was substantial and the Santa Fe / Harvey Company exhibits were among the fairs' highlights. The displays in California used all the skills, personnel, and experience the Huckels, Schweitzer, and Colter had acquired in assembling the company's earlier southwester ventures. They also provide a microcosm of the methods and priorities of the Harvey team. Assembled with limited time and space, with all materials and actors brought to the fairs from elsewhere in the Southwest, the Harvey employees were forced to focus on the essentials. These touches included environmental elements (rocks and plant life especially) and various emblems of the region's Native American heritage, including some Native Americans themselves.

By the time that declining railroad traffic began to diminish the business's profits in the 1920s, the company's efforts had successfully shaped visitors' expectations of the Southwest, changing its reputation as a dangerous, barren place to one of restful beauty and rich history. Through its promotional efforts, the company explained the Southwest to visitors in a manner that made it more accessible and understandable, and also framed the region so it would be more appealing. The Harvey Company had moved from implicitly acting as a kind of hostess to its customers by providing a pleasurable dining experience
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to orchestrating an entire experience of tourism that was hostessed from beginning to end.

When La Posada was built in 1929, the era of the Harvey Company's greatest successes had already ended. Ironically, the business was not remembered for its persuasive campaign to transform the Southwest into a tourist destination but rather for its waitresses. Their embellished history became widely known after the release of *The Harvey Girls* musical and popular depictions of the women continue to be published today. Brimming with wholesome good cheer, they became a popular post-war icon of the Harvey restaurants as they closed.

The waitresses' renown had its roots in their employer's long-term efforts to provide a tourist experience that was simultaneously interesting and familiar. By making the Southwest comfortable and understandable to its

visitors, the Harvey Company shaped popular views of the region through the 1930s. Then, in one swift move, a new cultural image completely subsumed their carefully shaped message and re-wrote the company's history. However, even with the memory of the Harvey Company's efforts to promote the Southwest superseded by nostalgic versions of their "civilizing" waitresses, the company's legacy remains one of hostessing.
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Future Work

This material suggests some avenues for further research. The Harvey Company's transition from providing food to providing guidance did not happen in a vacuum, nor were the effects of this change limited to the company itself. How did the American project of domestic colonialism in the Southwest influence the Harvey Company's work in the region? How did the Harvey Company's changing needs affect its employees' communities? How did those towns change as a result? A social history of some "company towns" along the Santa Fe's route could help to answer these questions (Newton, Kansas and Las Vegas, New Mexico would make particularly good subjects for case studies). Likewise, an examination of domestic colonialism in the United States more broadly could draw the example of the Harvey Company together with that of other railroads to provide an insightful look at that topic as it played out in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.
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Epilogue

The early 1950s were mixed for the Harvey Company. It capitalized on Santa Fe's renewed popularity as a tourist destination by expanding La Fonda in 1951, and the Santa Fe Railroad stepped in to promote the renovated hotel.[460] As they had during World War Two, troop transports provided wartime business during the Korean War and allowed the restaurants then in business to remain open until the conflict's end in 1953, but business otherwise was greatly reduced from the company's heyday at the beginning of the century.[461] When the elder Harvey died in 1954 his son allowed control of the Harvey Company to pass outside of the family for the first time in its nearly century-long history.[462] After control of the company shifted to a non-Harvey, the new management began to aggressively diversify in order to capture some business from automobile and air travel, expanding into "oases" along the Chicago-area tollway, airport food service, and in-flight meals on Trans World Airlines.

[460] "La Fonda Improvement: Seventy Rooms Added For Accommodation of Guests at Southwestern Landmark," *The Santa Fe Magazine*, May 1951.

[461] John "Grandpa" White, *Fred Harvey: Behind the Scenes at Newton, Florence and Hutchinson. A Detailed Reference About the People Behind the Scenes Accompanied By Some Brief Bits of History and Local Color* (Parker, CO: Flagstop Railbooks Southeastern Educational Systems Inc., 2004), 31.

[462] "Byron Harvey Dies," *The Dallas Morning News*, December 20, 1954.

La Posada continued to operate as a hotel until 1959, at which point it became a division headquarters for the Santa Fe.[463] The once-famous hotel continued to serve as a switching house and administrative center for several decades, with most of its luxurious rooms closed off. The gardens, which had always been expensive and difficult to maintain, were partially allowed to fall into disrepair. After the Santa Fe took over the building in 1960, the Harvey Company's involvement with La Posada ceased. Other Harvey properties were closed and eventually the company's assets were concentrated in the Grand Canyon, the last remnant of its tourist ventures. Soon its only hotels in operation outside the Grand Canyon were the Alvarado in Albuquerque and La Fonda in Santa Fe; most of the firm's remaining business was from dining cars and in the complex at the Canyon. The Harvey Company ceased to operate as a separate entity in 1968 when the Harvey family (which up until that point maintained majority ownership in the firm) sold their collected shares to Amfac, Inc.[464] Amfac focused its attentions on the Grand Canyon and closed the Alvarado almost immediately (in 1969) and La Fonda soon afterward. The Alvarado suffered a swift decline after its closure and was demolished to make way for a parking lot in 1970. La Fonda remained in operation under new ownership; it remains one of the few former Harvey hotels still in business. In the mid-1980s, the Santa Fe offered to sell La

[463] "Along the Trail," *The Santa Fe Magazine*, October 1960.

[464] "Amfac's Wide Swing," *Time Magazine*, July 31, 1972.

Posada to the town of Winslow for one dollar. The town council rejected its offer, on the grounds that maintaining the now aged building would bankrupt Winslow. Finally, in 1992, the irrigation system that served the remaining gardens and lawns failed, and the railway announced that it was going to close its remaining offices in La Posada. Not long after that announcement, the Albuquerque Depot (which housed the rest of what had been the Alvarado resort complex) burned to the ground.[465]

Winslow resident Marie LaMar and some of her neighbors, fearful that their hometown of Winslow, Arizona, would lose its famous landmark like Albuquerque had, banded together to save La Posada. This group of concerned citizens kept up its grounds with a battalion of garden hoses and watering cans until more permanent arrangements could be made. The "Gardening Angels," as La Posada's grounds-keepers came to be called, maintained the resort's plantings while writing grant applications. They soon received state funding that allowed the town of Winslow to purchase La Posada in 1994. The group had so much fun as Gardening Angels that they continued to maintain the property even after it was no longer in jeopardy.[466] Furthermore, many of the women who were involved in the effort to preserve La Posada began to be interested in its history. They had wanted to safeguard it for its historic value,

[465] Robert Strein, John Vaughan, and C. Fenton Richards, *Santa Fe -- The Chief Way* (Santa Fe: New Mexico Magazine, 2001), 104.

[466] In 1997, businessman Allan Affelt purchased La Posada and re-opened it as a hotel after extensive renovations. He also purchased El Garces, another former Harvey hotel located in Needles, California, in 2007.

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after all, and many of them knew next to nothing of its background. As the former "Gardening Angels" learned more about the Harvey Company and, especially, the Harvey Girls, they felt increasingly drawn to the waitresses who worked at this and other Harvey locations throughout the Southwest.

This group came together to form the Winslow Harvey Girls Association (WHGA). The WHGA's members call themselves "Winslow's ambassadors to the world." Their activities focus on the Harvey Girls and the broad history of the Harvey Company. The WHGA gives historical tours at La Posada, describing what Harvey Girls did there, and explaining their history. Representatives also give lectures across the Southwest to a diverse audience including women's groups, historical societies, and patrons of historic train rides. The WHGA has an extensive trunk show, consisting primarily of Harvey china; its offerings take up two banquet tables. Members give a historical lecture everywhere they put on a trunk show.

Their material is strongly influenced by the romantic story put forth in Adams's book and popularized by *The Harvey Girls* musical. They have also used many of the current popular histories of the Harvey Company and Harvey Girls in constructing their presentations. Current WHGA president Peggy Nelson introduces the Harvey Girls this way:

Fred Harvey had restaurants all along the Santa Fe, and he was very very meticulous, he wanted to keep everything just so, and he would make surprise inspections. Well on one of these... he hired men [at that time], that was all he hired... and on one of these surprise inspections, he went to Raton, New Mexico, and

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the night before the waiters had had a brawl. And he came in and the place was all in shambles. It was awful. The waiters were bruised and battered. And he fired everyone, on the spot. And he had a friend with him, his name was Tom Gable. And he turned to his friend, and said, 'Hey Tom, you're my new manager, what're you gonna do?' This was a surprise to him [Gables], he didn't know what was going to happen, [but] he says 'Why don't we hire women? They're better looking, they're hard working, they don't drink.' Fred thought that was a good idea, and so they hired local women. Which was a first.[467]

In her role as a spokesperson for the Winslow Harvey Girls, Nelson relates this history to groups of tourists, mostly at La Posada. She says "I love giving the tours. I didn't think that I would... I thought that I would never, ever, ever give a tour. The more that I learned, the more I wanted to put my two-cents in. 'Wait a minute, I remember this, I read this, I remember this,' and before long

I was giving the tours."[468] Her reading likely included Poling-Kempes's book on the Harvey Girls; Poling-Kempes describes this scene (drawn from Erna Fergusson's *Our Southwest*) very similarly:

The waiters were "carved beyond all usefulness, and the manager was distracted. Fred Harvey had no use for distraction in managers, so he fired that worthy along with his entire force." Mr. Gable became manager the same day, and suggested to Harvey that women might be employed because there were less likely "to get likkered up and go on tears."[469]

After describing how the Harvey Company originally decided to hire female waitstaff at one restaurant, Nelson explains that Fred Harvey determined it was working so well that he wanted to hire female waitresses exclusively:

[467] Peggy Nelson, interview by Marisa Brandt, telephone, March 19, 2006.
[468] Ibid.
[469] Poling-Kempes, *The Harvey Girls*, 42; quotes are from Fergusson, *Our Southwest*, 194-5.

He ... wrote an advertisement and put it in the paper, and it said 'wanted: young women, ages 18-30, of good moral character, to work for Fred Harvey. No experience necessary, wages $17.50 a month. Will train. Liberal tips customary, contact Fred Harvey, Union Station.'[470]

This detail is characteristic of popular representations of the Harvey Girls generally, and similar versions can be found in many books, including Poling-Kempes's *Harvey Girls: Women Who Opened the West*, two cookbooks, a half-dozen or so romance novels, and a pair of paper-doll books that include historical details.[471]

Adams's *The Harvey Girls* contains a fictional help-wanted ad bearing a striking similarity to the one described by Nelson in her narrative. Polling-Kempes includes the advertisement in her books, but there seems to be no historical evidence supporting its existence. Polling-Kempes does not footnote any sources for it, apparently either accepting the story as her informants related it (her book consists primarily of oral histories) or as based in historical detail when it is mentioned in the novel. I, like several other researchers, have been unable to find newspapers running this ad.[472] Furthermore, depictions of the Harvey Girls in most of these popular sources are similarly ahistorical; although they purport to describe a specific historical moment, they run all the

[470] Nelson, interview.
[471] Poling-Kempes, *The Harvey Girls*, 42; George H. Foster and Peter C. Weiglin, *The Harvey House Cookbook : Memories of Dining Along the Santa Fe Railroad* (Atlanta: Longstreet Press, 1992), 75; Adams, *The Harvey Girls*, 10.
[472] Harris concludes that the advertisement is fictional; Henderson cites it as fact, but his footnote refers to a 1950s-era press release from the Harvey Company that could well have been inspired by Adams or the Harvey Girls musical (Harris, "More Than Beefsteak and a Cup of Coffee: Reinterpreting the Harvey Girls in Kansas"; Henderson, *Meals by Fred Harvey: A Phenomenon of the American West*, 20.

details of the Harvey Girls story together as though their uniforms, training, and employment requirements were static for over fifty years. [473]

The Harvey waitresses are not the focus of the cookbooks, which both concentrate on the glamour of early train travel. They illustrate the spirit in which the Harvey Girls are most remembered, however; one asserts that "train travel and the Santa Fe-Harvey hotels comprised a way of life now gone, and those who remember it lament its passing."[474] The romance novels are another story entirely: all five published books are in the sub-genre known as "inspirational romance," which features Christian themes.[475] They are like more-traditional romances but with an added layer of scripture and an emphasis on faith in God not generally found in other similar narratives. These books present the Harvey Houses as havens, protecting women while allowing them to experience a touch of adventure before settling down with a husband.

The popular version of the Harvey Girls story is rich with nostalgia for an old-fashioned kind of femininity, but the persistence of this romanticized image is also bolstered by an awareness of and appreciation for the history of

[473] For instance, Judith Stoll's work with census records in the early Kansas Harvey House shows that married women were being hired as early as the 1910s, although popular sources assert that married women could not be Harvey employees (Stoll, "Harvey Girls: Then, Now, and Forever.".

[474] Foster and Weiglin, *The Harvey House Cookbook : Memories of Dining Along the Santa Fe Railroad*, 130.

[475] One book (Pamela Kaye Tracy et al., *Grand Canyon Brides : Four Harvey Girls Work to Tame the Old West Along the Rails* (Uhrichsville, OH: Barbour Publishing, 2006)) is a collection of four short stories by different authors; one (Colleen L. Reece, *Flower of the West* (Uhrichsville, OH: Barbour Publishing, 1995)) is a stand-alone novel; and the remain three form a trilogy (Tracie Peterson, *A Shelter of Hope* (Minneapolis, MN: Bethany House Publishers, 1998); Tracie Peterson, *Hidden in a Whisper* (Minneapolis, MN: Bethany House Publishers, 1999); Tracie Peterson, *A Veiled Reflection* (Minneapolis, MN: Bethany House Publishers, 2000)).

women in the workforce. The way former Santa Fe employee Norma Milligan describes her interest in the Harvey Girls shows this approach:

> As a railroad worker, we want to remember people who were instrumental in getting us to the stage of things that we're at, where almost half of the population, the employment population of the Burlington Northern Santa Fe, is women. It's a man's industry, and it's a difficult industry to get into unless you have certain capabilities. At the time that Fred Harvey was working with the Santa Fe Railway Company there were no women working with the railroad. He in turn had women come from the East to give them an opportunity to supplement the family income or allowed them a future with a career. Fred [Harvey] opened that door for women that had no opportunity.[476]

Milligan's interest in the Harvey Girls stems from her feeling that the Harvey waitresses were forerunners of contemporary railroad workers, or at least that they helped break down barriers against women holding paid employment. Ironically her perspective is directly at odds with the nostalgic view of the

waitresses, which values them for what has been presented as their traditional values and "purity." These two ideas both elevate the importance of the "Harvey Girls" to the Harvey Company but also to the development of the Southwest more generally.

In 1997 Amfac, which still handled concessions at the Grand Canyon, began to brand imported souvenir items with "Fred Harvey" decades after they had purchased the company and stopped using the name. In response, the Park Service moved to stop what it called a "fraud."[477] The Park Service argued that Amfac's use of the logo was misleading because "the old Harvey name still

[476] Norma Milligan, interview by Marisa Brandt, telephone, March 21, 2006.

[477] Burnham, *Indian Country, God's Country*, 280.

resonates in the Southwest as a marketer of genuine Indian crafts."[478] It had been at least a generation since the Harvey name was used to promote Native goods at all, and nearly half a century since the business's heyday, but the misuse of their name still inspired outrage. Minnie Harvey Huckel, John Huckel, and Herman Schweitzer would all have been pleased.

A few years later, in 2001, the altars that had been on display in Colter's Hopi House and Watchtower were repatriated to the Hopi people.[479] The altars, constructed by ethnologist Henry R. Voth, were reproductions of ceremonial objects, but the recreations were so complete that they were considered "authentic" and deserving of special treatment as Native American artifacts.[480] Colter would likely have been thrilled by this designation, her disappointment that it would take some of her best work out of the public's eye tempered by the knowledge that the Hopis, who she had thought on the brink of extinction, remain a powerful force in the region.

A study of tourism in the Grand Canyon, conducted in 2005, found that it was a global tourism destination as well as an American one, with visitors from all fifty states, Puerto Rico, and forty-one other countries.[481] Two-thirds

[478] Ibid.

[479] They were repatriated under the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA), which was passed in 1990.

[480] For discussion of the complexities of whether the reproduction altars were covered by NAGPRA, see Amanda Zeman, "Preservation and Repatriation: American Indian Sacred Objects and National Historic Landmarks at Grand Canyon National Park," in *Preserving Western History*, ed. Andrew Gulliford (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2005), 151.

[481] Arizona Hospitality Research Center, *Grand Canyon National Park and Northern Arizona Tourism Study* (Flagstaff, AZ: School of Hotel and Restaurant Management, Northern Arizona University, April 2005), v, http://www.nau.edu/hrm/ahrrc/reports/Grand Canyon Comprehensive Final Report.pdf.

of visitors surveyed were visiting other parts of the Southwest in addition to the Grand Canyon, reflecting the region's continued draw as an attraction.[482] The vibrant reds and yellows used in Harvey Company/Santa Fe advertising have faded to more muted shades of pastel teal and pink, but their continued influence in selling the Southwest as an American tourist destination would have been satisfying to the Harvey and Santa Fe employees who were

responsible for this effort in the early twentieth century.
[482] Ibid., vi.

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