"MEALS BY FRED HARVEY":
A PHENOMENON OF THE AMERICAN WEST

by

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PREFACE

When Fred Harvey reached the United States from England in 1850 he began a career comparable to that of any hero of a Horatio Alger novel. In 1876, already a successful businessman forty years of age, Harvey became restaurant and hotel concessionaire for a rapidly expanding western railroad, the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe. Soon "Meals by Fred Harvey" became a prime drawing card for Santa Fe passenger traffic, and Harvey Houses were placed a meal stop apart throughout the railroad system. In 1888 the food service was extended to Santa Fe dining cars.

Fred Harvey's excellent food was served according to strict formula by courteous and attractive waitresses, or "Harvey girls" as they were called. In this triple-threat lay the secret of success. Fred Harvey's amalgamation of cuisine, service, and feminine charm made an impression on the "Wild West" that the region has not forgotten, and Southwestern native arts and architecture have been much encouraged by the Harvey touch. Today the Fred Harvey company is a prosperous and many faceted organization. Its management carefully follows the precepts laid down by its founder--precepts that have reinforced claims of those who have called Fred Harvey "Civilizer of the West."

In an attempt to reveal something of the influence of Fred Harvey upon the American West, I have found it necessary to consider the man as well as the company he created. Accordingly, I have dealt with material relating directly to Harvey as well as that concerned more explicitly with the company. All of this was made available to me by the directors of the Fred Harvey company. I would like to thank Mr. Daggett Harvey for allowing me to use material from the company files, and his secretary, Miss Margaret Anderson, for her helpful suggestions during my research. In the same breath I must thank Robert Harvey Blankenship for his assistance in my Chicago searches. The stylistic and critical revisions of Professor J. A. Carroll, in whose seminar this study was begun, have been of great importance in the writing of this thesis.

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ABSTRACT

In five chapters I have examined important aspects of Fred Harvey--the man and the company. Chapter I is biographical, and in it are covered the years from Harvey's birth in 1835 to the time of his decision to open railroad eating houses in 1875. Chapter II is a consideration of Fred Harvey's creation of the first American restaurant chain. Also treated are various aspects of the highly systematized, smoothly functioning operation. Influence of the Harvey House upon Western society is discussed in Chapter III. It centers around the two establishments that were located at Las Vegas, New Mexico. At the end of Fred Harvey's lifetime the company became involved in the merchandising of Southwestern Indian artifacts, and the creation of a unique form of regional architecture. This is the primary subject matter of Chapter IV. The concluding chapter is a brief summary of the progress and growth of the Fred Harvey company from the time of the founder's death to the present day.

CHAPTER I

BIRTH OF A BUSINESSMAN

"Fate cannot harm me--
I have dined today. . . ."

Sydney Smith

A traveler, standing one afternoon at the Santa Fe depot in Las Vegas, New Mexico, looked with interest at a large, impressive building that dwarfed the nearby ticket office. The massive plastered structure was built in the style of the old Southwestern missions, with wide outside verandas and a partly enclosed courtyard.¹ The shadows beginning to invade the courtyard already crept into its empty fountain, but sunlight still struck the central tower and sign that read "The Castañeda, 1898."² At that moment the Santa Fe Chief arrived for its three-minute Las Vegas stop, and two elderly trainmen leaned from the baggage car to answer a question from the stranger on the platform.

1. Santa Fe Railroad pamphlet entitled "Fred Harvey Meals" (Chicago: Poole Brothers, 1909).

2. This was one of the first of the "high class" Santa Fe station-hotels. Most of them were built in a Southwestern motif and were named with an eye toward historical color--this one was named for Pedro de Castañeda, historian of Coronado's expedition into the Southwest in 1540. Ibid. Fred Harvey post card, circa 1947. See Appendix I for a listing of Harvey Houses, and see Chapter IV for information about Harvey House architecture.

As the Chief began to move, one trainman said: "There were more good looking women working there than any place in this town!" The other nodded and called back: "They served good meals, too."³

Possibly neither realized that their benediction would apply to most of the lunch stands, restaurants, and hotels that had, at one time or another, operated throughout the twelve-thousand mile Santa Fe system.⁴ These establishments, the "Harvey Houses," once had numbered about seventy-five.⁵ Begun in the 1870's by an English-born railroad man from Kansas, they soon became famous for their fine food and for the attractive waitresses who worked in them. The founder's fame might easily have rested upon the fact that he brought good food and pretty girls to the American Southwest, but his touch was also felt in other ways. Because of the merchandising of Indian arts and crafts that became an important part of the Harvey enterprise,⁶ and because of the distinctive indigenous architecture of the Harvey Houses, the

3. Author's conversation at the Santa Fe depot, Las Vegas, New Mexico, June 10, 1965.

4. Santa Fe Timetable (Spring-Summer 1965), p. 17.

5. Hospitality Magazine (Chicago: Fred Harvey), July-August, 1963, p. 4.

6. Byron Harvey III, "The Fred Harvey Collection, 1889-1963," Plateau (The Quarterly Publication of the Museum of Northern Arizona), Autumn 1963, p. 34. The writer, a great-grandson of Fred Harvey, received a Master's degree in anthropology from the University of New Mexico. In 1956 he assisted in re-evaluation of the Fred Harvey collection.

food service took on a broader aspect.⁷ The name of the railroad food concessionaire has long implied more than excellent cuisine. That is the reason the Santa Fe capitalized, as it does today, upon the slogan "Meals by Fred Harvey."

Frederick Henry Harvey was born in England on June 27, 1835.⁸ His antecedents and the details of his youth remain obscure. Charles Harvey is believed to have been his father's name, but whether or not he was an attentive father is open to conjecture.⁹ His mother, Helen Manning Harvey, may have been of Scotch descent.¹⁰ According to family legend, young Harvey was baptized in the Church of England

7. David Gebhard, "Architecture and the Fred Harvey Houses," New Mexico Architect, Vol. IV, Nos. 7, 8 (July-August, 1962), p. 13.

8. This particular birthdate was set with the aid of a birthday greeting to Harvey from Captain Byron Schermerhorn. The letter, dated June 28, 1885, enclosed a poem titled "A Half Century Old." Fred Harvey Files, 80 East Jackson Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois.

9. Author's interview with Daggett Harvey, Chicago, Illinois, May 28, 1965.

10. Letter of Daggett Harvey to Colin Cole, August 25, 1960, Fred Harvey Files. Harold Henderson, "Frederick Henry Harvey," M. A. Thesis, University of Kansas City, 1942, p. 6. This thesis was based largely upon the author's interviews with Fred Harvey's daughter, Mrs. J. F. Huckel, rather than on documentary sources.

at St. Martin's in the Fields in London, and the early years of his life were presumably spent in London.¹¹

In 1850, at the age of fifteen, he boarded a sailing vessel bound for the United States. Reaching New York with cash assets of two pounds,¹² he found his first employment in the Smith McNeill Cafe which was located at 229 Washington Street. In a two-dollars-a-week dishwasher's job he began to accumulate knowledge of the restaurant business. His early experiences in this New York "dining saloon" were to be of greatest importance to the young scullion.¹³

From his diminutive salary Harvey was able to set aside the price of another boat ticket, and this time he looked south and west to the teaming Crecent City of New Orleans.¹⁴ His kitchen experience enabled him to find work in the finest restaurants of that city. The two most

11. Letter of Daggett Harvey, August 25, 1960.

12. Again, this figure is set by family legend.

13. Henderson, op. cit., p. 7. Documentary evidence of this employment has not been found.

14. Indirect evidence that Fred Harvey worked in New York and New Orleans restaurants is abundant. An undated publication from the office of the Fred Harvey Department of Promotion and Public Relations contains the following quotation of Harvey: "I know what to do, I've had experience in the best restaurants in New York and New Orleans. . . ." Cf. the comment of Byron Harvey Jr.: "He [Fred Harvey] began his business career in a New York restaurant and later moved to New Orleans. . . .", from a pamphlet published at Leavenworth, Kansas, on April 27, 1951, a copy of which is in the Fred Harvey Files.

famous hotels of the 1850s were the St. Louis and the St. Charles.¹⁵

Had the young man worked at either place he would have seen wealthy creoles and nouveau riche cotton planters as they mingled at lavish

Quadroon balls and other brilliant fetes characteristic of the period.¹⁶

But New Orleans was also a breeding place of epidemics, and the yellow jack was a frequent and fearful visitor. The great yellow fever epidemic of 1853 killed 40,000 people.¹⁷ Fred Harvey was a victim of the disease, but was able to overcome it.¹⁸ He now traveled north, and it seems strangely fitting that this man whose fame was to be made in the West should enter that section through its great gateway-- St. Louis, Missouri.

The city Fred Harvey saw in 1855 was a bustling and prosperous place of 150,000 inhabitants. The Mississippi was dotted with white paddle-wheelers and the riverfront was a jumble of warehouses and factories.¹⁹ Early in his twentieth year Harvey was a slim, vigorous

15. Herbert Asbury, The French Quarter (New York: Garden City Publishing Co., 1938), p. 140.

16. Ibid., p. 134.

17. Ibid., p. 294.

18. Henderson, op. cit., p. 8, note 10, from his interview with Mrs. J. F. Huckel. According to Daggett Harvey, "The New Orleans episode is family legend." Interview of Daggett Harvey, May 28, 1965.

19. See William Clark Kennerly, Persimmon Hill (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1949), for a picture of the St. Louis waterfront in 1854.

young man with the look of a zealot about him. A chance to manage his own eating place and to use his five years of restaurant experience had become an obsession.

The years between 1855 to 1861 were happy and busy ones for Harvey. He worked as a jeweler and a merchant tailor until he found a partner and had gathered the capital necessary to establish his own dining hall. By 1859 his goal had been reached, for in that year his was listed among the nineteen St. Louis restaurants.²⁰ By that time he had also become a United States citizen, and as the decade of the 1860s approached his prosperity seemed assured.²¹

On January 14, 1860, the pretty Barbara Sarah Mattas became Fred Harvey's wife.²² She was the daughter of Martin Mattas, a Missourian with Bohemian antecedents.²³ Harvey and his petite "Sally" began married life with assets of eight hundred dollars--a sizable stake

20. Daggett Harvey, from "Material Developed in St. Louis, Missouri, Particularly at the Missouri Historical Society, April 21, 1860," Fred Harvey Files. In Kennedy's St. Louis Directories for 1857 and 1859 Frederick Harvey is listed respectively as a jeweler and merchant tailor. In the St. Louis Business Directory of 1859 his name is listed under the heading "restaurants."

21. Citizenship Paper, Fred Harvey Files. This document shows that Frederick Harvey, age 24, became a citizen in St. Louis, Missouri, July 27, 1858.

22. Harvey Family Bible.

23. He died of pneumonia while serving as a Union soldier in St. Louis in the American Civil War. Daggett Harvey, "Material Developed in St. Louis," op. cit.

for a young couple of those days.²⁴ But this auspicious beginning was to end abruptly with the outbreak of the Civil War in 1861, for St. Louis was a city that felt effects of the conflict before many others. On May 9 of that first year of war, Southern sympathizers baited a company of the German home guard and the St. Louis riot was on.²⁵ Harvey sided with the North, but his partner's loyalty lay with the South. It is not surprising, therefore, that the man absconded with restaurant funds and plunged Harvey once again into poverty.²⁶

To recoup his loss, Harvey went to work for Captain Rufus Ford's Missouri River Packet Line which ran from St. Louis to Omaha. This job was of brief duration and was possibly terminated by an attack

24. Henderson, op. cit., p. 10, note 1. These rather personal observations about the young couple were gathered through interviews of Mrs. J. F. Huckel and Mrs. S. C. Parker, Leavenworth, Kansas, April-May, 1942. Estate valuation is from census records in the Newberry Library's Genealogical Department, Vol. 24, page 294, House Number 1573, Family Number 1782, of the 5th Ward, City of St. Louis, County of St. Louis, State of Missouri, Enumerated July 27, 1860. Fred Harvey Files.

25. Bruce Catton, The Coming Fury (New York: Doubleday and Company, 1961), pp. 370-380. St. Louis was the key city in Missouri during opening months of the Civil War. Because of the United States Arsenal located there the secessionist, Governor Claiborne Jackson, began a power struggle with the two foremost Unionists of the state-- Francis P. Blair Jr. and Captain Nathaniel Lyon. This conflict was temporarily resolved in favor of the Unionists when, on May 10, Lyon forcefully took the arsenal from Southern sympathizers. The ensuing fight resulted in the deaths of twenty-eight St. Louis citizens.

26. Henderson, op. cit., p. 10, note. 2.

of typhoid fever.²⁷ Less than a year later, Harvey was hired as a distributing clerk by John L. Bittinger, postmaster at St. Joseph, Missouri.²⁸ In this capacity as mail clerk, Harvey first entered the stage of American history and at the same time began his long association with the railroads of the West.

Two years before Harvey began his clerkship, rapid overland mail service was inaugurated. The Pony Express received mail at the Missouri River and raced it across the continent to make California deliveries. A Missouri railroad, the Hannibal and St. Joseph, made these deliveries to the Pony Express rider. It then picked up his satchels and carried them across Missouri to make connection at the Mississippi with several Eastern railroads. The lading was then

27. Daggett Harvey, interview, op. cit. He called this another family legend. It appears, however, that this took place although chronology is uncertain. Fred Harvey's obituary included the comment that he "worked for the Missouri River Packet Company under Captain Rufus Ford for several years during the Civil War until he was taken seriously ill and suffered a long time with typhoid fever." St. Louis Globe Democrat, February, 1901. A letter to Byron S. Harvey, accompanied by a picture, affirms this also. On April 16, 1958 R. R. Richardson wrote: "Fred Harvey was a partner of my grandfather and old Captain Ford in the Missouri River Packet Line. . . ."

28. Letter from Fred Harvey to W. H. Gordon, June 26, 1884, in the appendix to William A. Davis' The Railway Mail Service, a collection of letters apparently published in the late 1880s. A reprint of this letter is in the Fred Harvey Files.

dispersed to Chicago, New York and other cities.²⁹ With the advent of war the volume of mail increased, and it became more important that delivery be made as rapidly as possible. With these considerations in mind, the chief mailing clerk in St. Joseph, W. A. Davis, proposed a revolutionary idea.

Davis had reasoned that if mail could be sorted while in route to eastern points of dispersal, valuable time would be saved. To accomplish this, a mobile post office should be placed on each run, and the government clerks working in it could have the mail processed by the time the train reached the Mississippi. His idea was accepted, and the first railway mail car was put into operation on July 26, 1862. Clerks appointed to work the St. Joseph to Quincy run were John Patten and Fred Harvey.³⁰

The obvious prosperity of the railroads evidently convinced Harvey that he should again change his employment. He left postal work and joined the Hannibal and St. Joseph--a pioneering Western road called by those who knew it the "Horrible and Slow Jolting." By 1865

29. When service was inaugurated on April 3, 1860, Engineer Addison Clark received a written order along with the first mail packet. It read: "Run wild, Hannibal to St. Joseph, regardless of all trains." He followed instructions and once attained the amazing speed of seventy miles per hour. "It rained hogs and chickens all the way," recalled a rider. Fast Mail, publication of the Burlington Railroad, a copy of which is in the Fred Harvey Files.

30. William H. Davis, op. cit., p. 17.

he had risen to the position of General Western Agent for the North Missouri Railroad.³¹ With this advancement Harvey was transferred from St. Joseph some thirty miles south to Leavenworth, Kansas. The change of residence undoubtedly pleased the Harveys since they had recently suffered a great loss. Their two infant sons had died in an epidemic of typhoid fever.³²

By 1870 it was evident that Leavenworth was to be their final residence. The range cattle industry had begun to prosper and all livestock driven up the Texas cattle trails passed by rail through Kansas on the way to Eastern markets.³³ Fred Harvey profited from the

31. According to the evidence, he worked for the Hannibal and St. Joseph Railroad, the North Missouri Railroad, and the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy Railroad. All three lines were initially separate entities, but in time were absorbed by the "Joy System"--the first great Western railroad ownership group. Railroad magnate James F. Joy of Detroit presided over the complex. The system was loosely knit, over-capitalized, and over-built, and rapidly disintegrated during the panic of 1873. Henderson, op. cit., note 12. Robert E. Riegel, The Story of the Western Railroads (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1926), pp. 102-105.

32. Henderson, op. cit., p. 13, note. 11. According to Daggett Harvey, Fred Harvey had two sons who died in infancy. One was Charles Frederick, the other, Edward Martin. Daggett Harvey, note attached to the top of a letter sent to Mr. Byron S. Harvey, Mr. Stewart Harvey and Mrs. Ralph Mills.

33. For the classic treatment of this topic see Joseph G. McCoy's Cattle Trade of the West and Southwest (Glendale, California: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1940). Of particular importance here is Chapter 19, "The Railroads and the Livestock Traffic," pp. 417-427.

cattle industry in several ways. As general agent for the Burlington lines he learned all aspects of the cattle industry.³⁴ As early as 1867 he owned a ranch, and in 1868 he invested in a hotel that was recently built in Ellsworth, Kansas.³⁵ That ephemeral boom town boasted the largest cattle yards in the state by 1872.³⁶

Harvey demonstrated his remarkable capacity for work and responsibility in these years. Aside from his three jobs that were related to the cattle industry, he was employed as an advertising soliciter for the irascible Dan Anthony's Leavenworth Times and Conservative.³⁷ On extensive eastern junkets for Anthony, he often brought back as much as fifteen thousand dollars in advertising.

In the late 1860s and early 1870s many railroads were built westward, and all of them experienced financial difficulties of one kind or another, most notably in the years following the Panic of 1873. Involved in his railroad, ranching, and newspaper business, Harvey

34. Henderson, op. cit., p. 14, note.16. From Leavenworth City Directory for 1876. Letter to Ed. T. Keller rejecting his application as a cowboy at Fred Harvey's ranch, Fred Harvey's Letterbook, Fred Harvey Files.

35. Diary of Fred Harvey, 1867-68. Entry of November 28, 1868, Fred Harvey Files.

36. William F. Zornow, Kansas; A History of the Jayhawk State (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1957), pp. 152-153.

37. Fred Harvey Diary, op. cit., September 15, 1868: "I have today commenced work for the Leavenworth Conservative," Fred Harvey Files.

necessarily spent most of his time jolting across the countryside on uncomfortable and often dangerous trains. Although not a man easily unsettled by the danger, he must have detested the supremely inadequate eating places en route. He was a perfectionist with epicurean tastes--a truly unfortunate combination in anyone who then traveled the western rails.

On long rides across Kansas he doubtless pondered the lack of dining facilities. Often he had been served vile greasy stew that was to be washed down with a cupful of bitter coffee. More than once he was bilked by conniving trainmen whose procedure was to collect in advance for the meal passengers would get at the next stop. When the customer arrived and had barely begun to eat, the train would pull away from the station and the unnerved diner would have to desert his untouched meal. For this, the crew received a percentage per patron.³⁸ By 1875 Fred Harvey had missed many meals, but in another sense he had had enough.

38. James Marshall, Santa Fe, The Railroad that Built an Empire (New York: Random House, 1943), p. 98.

CHAPTER II

FRED HARVEY: ENTREPRENEUR EXTRAORDINARY

"For a generation Kansas has been
the testing ground for every. . .
fantastic dream of social improvement. . . ."

John J. Ingalls

By 1875 the westward-moving American had thoroughly taken the measure of his hostile surroundings and had accepted certain inflexible laws of survival. The one regarding food was the strictly Darwinian injunction that the fittest man consumed the most food with the least waste of time and motion. Western dining technique consisted of hunching over assorted dishes and stabbing items with unnerving skill, all the while chewing steadily and searching for the next mouthful.¹ Such folkways naturally carried over to railway dining and were further aggravated by lack of facilities, irregular scheduling of stops, and overcharging that stemmed from monopolistic conditions. More than one disjointed arm or gouged eyeball resulted from pell-mell rushes into small roadside lunchstands.² Foreign visitors to America

1. Robert G. Athearn, Westward the Briton (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1953), p. 24.

2. Look Magazine, The Santa Fe Trail (New York: Random House, 1946), p. 146. On this page is a cartoon which depicts Santa Fe passengers fighting their way through the doorway of a small lunch-stand.

leveled bitter diatribes at these customs. One Englishman wrote:

"Hurried, degraded, and miserable you rush back into your carriage after paying some three shillings for the revolting meal. . . ."

Another suggested that trains acted as if ashamed of something they had done so silent their departure, while yet a third warned prospective visitors to be quick because "the conductor, shouting 'all on board' immediately jumps himself on board, and the train moves foreward without any warning."³

Deploing the reprehensive dining habits of his fellow travelers, and not a man to labor his decisions, Fred Harvey took action. By 1875 it appeared that the Burlington agent was to feed passengers of the Kansas Pacific Railroad. He and a partner named J. P. Rice were operating three eating houses on that line.⁴ Two of the establishments were in Kansas, one at Lawrence and one three

3. Athearn, op. cit., pp. 20-25.

4. This has been difficult to establish. Most writers mention "Jeff" Rice and the eating-houses at Wallace, Kansas and Hugo, Colorado. They suggest that Hugo is in Kansas, and that Harvey mysteriously severed relations with Rice. Marshall, op. cit., p. 98. Lawrence Leslie Waters, Steel Trails to Santa Fe (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1950), p. 265. Kansas Pacific time-tables clear up the location of Hugo, and Fred Harvey's Memo Book shows that he was connected with eating houses in Lawrence and Wallace. There is no mention of the Hugo house. Merle Armitage, Kansas West (San Marino: Railroad Publications, Inc., 1963), p. 75. Fred Harvey's Memo Book, 1875-1877. Kansas City Times, February 10, 1901.

hundred and eighty miles west at Wallace, and the third was at Hugo, Colorado, a small town one hundred miles southeast of Denver.⁵ The venture was apparently successful, but Harvey was not satisfied. Perhaps his ideas of management seemed too grandiose to Rice, for no sooner had the Kansas Pacific houses begun to flourish than he began to shop for another road.

Harvey's first thought was of the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy. When he explained his idea to his superiors on the Burlington, they listened tolerantly but refused to entertain it further. Just three years earlier the Panic of 1873 had nearly ruined the line, and its present retrenchment permitted no such hare-brained schemes as the one proposed by the agent. Burlington officials suggested that Harvey try to interest the rapidly expanding Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe.⁶

5. Armitage, op. cit., p. 75. Wallace, Kansas, at one time called the "metropolis of western Kansas," was one of the great frontier towns. Its population in 1955 was only 118, but in the late 1860s and early '70s the population was as much as three thousand. From 1868 to 1869 Wallace was the end of Kansas Pacific track. It was point of departure for railroad supplies, a center for cattle shipments, and recreation center for soldiers at nearby Fort Wallace. Fred Harvey operated his first restaurant in conjunction with the large Wallace Hotel that was erected by the railroad. Fred Harvey is pictured with his staff in front of the restaurant. Western Times, Sharon Springs, Kansas, August 8, 1957.

6. The road was often known by its initials simply as the A. T. & S. F.

In 1876 the Santa Fe was one of the most rapidly expanding American railroads. Under the aggressive leadership of Thomas Nickerson and W. B. Strong it became one of the most strategically important roads in the West.⁷ Jay Gould's southeastern railroad schemes were seriously hampered by the rivalry of the Santa Fe, and the Huntington interests were forced to come to terms when the A. T. & S. F. made transcontinental connections.⁸ Only after Nickerson's death, when irresponsible management and acute business depression of 1893 brought hard times, did the Santa Fe falter and go into receivership.⁹ At the end of that period E. P. Ripley molded the system into the nation's most prosperous and best known railroad. And Fred Harvey rode along all the way.

7. Riegel, op. cit., pp. 179-194.

8. Ira G. Clark, Then Came the Railroads (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1958), pp. 145-150.

9. Marshall, op. cit., pp. 286-295. Nickerson was born at Brewster, Massachusetts, in 1810. His ancestors had been sea captains and for nearly thirty years Nickerson's business was ocean shipping. About 1870 he turned to overland transportation and invested heavily in the Santa Fe. He served on numerous committees of the company and in May, 1873, became the vice president. He was advanced to the presidency a year later and remained in that office for six years. Nickerson began when the company was financially hard-pressed; his judicious leadership established solidarity. He was also a leader in the Atlantic and Pacific, the Sonora Railway, the California Southern, and the Mexican Central. He administered construction of 12,000 miles of the latter. Nickerson was a member of the Massachusetts legislature and was well known as a philanthropist and church leader. He died in 1892. Waters, op. cit., p. 114.

The Santa Fe had initiated its food service two years before Harvey came upon the scene. The general superintendent of the road, a tall man of epicurean tastes named Charles Fessenden Morse, made arrangements with Peter Cline of Topeka for food procurement.¹⁰ On the second floor of the Topeka depot Cline began operations. His service was adequate but not exceptional. Early in 1876 Harvey convinced Thomas Nickerson, then president of the Santa Fe, that he could change railroad dining from torment to pleasure.¹¹ According to legend, this utopian vision overwhelmed Nickerson. He had recently dined in a typical railway beanery!

In the spring of 1876 negotiations between Cline and Harvey were completed. The new owner began operations by closing his lunchroom for two days. During the shutdown it was thoroughly cleaned, and received new linen and silverware. Food of highest quality was brought in, and management was turned over to Guy Potter, a Leavenworth

10. Charles Fessenden Morse was born in Boston, Massachusetts, in 1839, second in a family of four. He earned a B.S. degree at the Lawrence Scientific School of Cambridge in 1857. A colonel in the Union Army, he later operated a plantation in Georgia from 1865 to 1870. He was purchasing agent of the Burlington from 1870 to 1873 and general superintendent of the Nebraska Division of the Burlington until 1874 when he was made general superintendent of the Santa Fe. Harvey may have known him previously in the employ of the Burlington. Henderson, op. cit., p. 63.

11. C. E. Betts, "Brief History of Santa Fe-Fred Harvey Relations, 1876 to 1939," an unpublished memorandum, Chicago, August 4, 1942, p. 1. This memorandum was prepared at request of a Fred Harvey official, and sources for it were from the Santa Fe Files.

resident who had some idea of the standards Fred Harvey expected maintained.¹² Service was excellent, and for thirty-five cents patrons received ample portions of well prepared food. A typical breakfast consisted of steak with eggs, hashed brown potatoes, a six-high stack of pan-sized wheat cakes with maple syrup, and apple pie with coffee for dessert.¹³ The millennium had come! Those in search of Greeley's Golden West thought they had found it in Topeka, Kansas. It has been said the railroad management was so fearful that westward migration would be halted by the Harvey lunchroom that it acted defensively and asked Harvey to open a second further west.

Expansion came late in 1877. In December of that year, at the suggestion of Morse, Harvey visited a hotel recently constructed one hundred miles down the Santa Fe line at Florence, Kansas.¹⁴ Here was the chance he had wanted so long. If the railroad would buy the hotel, he would refurnish it and raise its standard of service.¹⁵ At that time most of the capital and manpower of the Santa Fe was

12. Waters, op. cit., p. 265.

13. Ibid., pp. 101-102. Among the first patrons of the Topeka lunchroom were seventy-six Plains Indians. On November 4, 1876, the group, led by Spotted Dog, Red Tail, and Fast Bear, attracted considerable attention as they dined.

14. Ibid., p. 266.

15. Betts, "Brief History of Santa-Fe-Fred Harvey Relations," p. 1.

tied up in the fierce struggle with the Denver and Rio Grande Railroad,¹⁶ and consequently, the Board of Directors could only promise that if Harvey bought the hotel they would take it off his hands when conditions permitted. The proposition suited all parties concerned, and on January 1, 1878 it was made formal by the first contract between Fred Harvey and the Santa Fe Railroad.¹⁷ Six months later Harvey completed negotiations with J. A. Pike and R. T. Batty, co-owners of the Clifton Hotel, and Harvey opened his first restaurant-hotel.¹⁸

The first step was, again, to upgrade the establishment. English silver and fine Irish linen was brought in, and Harvey lured a high-salaried chef away from the Palmer House in Chicago. The chef's annual salary of five thousand dollars was reputed to be twice as high as that of the next wealthiest man in Florence, the local

16. The "Rio Grande War" was primarily a court battle between the Santa Fe and the Denver and Rio Grande. Any railroad that would build from Colorado to Santa Fe had to pass through Raton Pass. In 1878, after an exciting chain of events, the Santa Fe seized control of the pass. See Armitage, op. cit., pp. 10-15 for an excellent account of this fascinating bit of railroad history. For an extended account see Robert G. Athearn's Rebel of The Rockies (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1962).

17. Betts, "Brief History of Santa Fe-Fred Harvey Relations," p. 4. See Appendix II for the major provisions of the contract.

18. He paid \$5,275 for the hotel. Receipts dated July 1, 1878, show that Harvey paid the Santa Fe \$1,000 in gold for furniture and fixtures, and that he paid J. A. Pike \$4,275 for the building. Fred Harvey Files.

banker.¹⁹ The Clifton Hotel became a showplace and was soon renowned throughout southern Kansas.

The Florence house marked a turning point in the life of Fred Harvey, in the evolution of the Santa Fe Railroad, and in the history of Western dining. That Westerners would respond favorably to the niceties of civilization became manifest when Harvey Houses appeared in other frontier towns. Arrangements between Harvey and the Santa Fe were informal for many years. The contract signed before the Florence house opened was renewed whenever a new lunch stand or hotel opened, and not until 1889 was a further contract necessary. Mutual trust and respect underscored inter-company dealings. When Harvey bought out Guy Potter's hotel in Lakin, Kansas, the Santa Fe moved the building fifty miles west to Sargent where it was re-opened under Harvey management.²¹ By 1883, only seven years after he

19. Lucius Beebe and Charles Klegg, Hear the Train Blow (New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, 1952), p. 378. He was only the first of many well known Harvey House chefs. Years later when the son of Kaiser Wilhelm visited the La Fonda in Santa Fe, he looked up Chef Konrad Allgaier who once cooked in his grandfather's kitchen.

20. "Brief History of Santa Fe-Fred Harvey Relations," op. cit., p. 4. See Appendix III for this most important contract.

21. Guy Potter had been Harvey's first manager in the Topeka lunchroom. He left in 1867 and moved two hundred miles west to open the Lakin Hotel. Waters, op. cit., p. 267. "The railroad eating house has been removed from Lakin, Kansas, to Sargent near the state line." Las Vegas Daily Optic, February 4, 1881. The name Sargent has since been changed to Coolidge. The community is located two miles from the Colorado-Kansas state line on U.S. Highway 50.

opened in Topeka, Fred Harvey controlled seventeen eating places on the main line of the railroad.²²

Harvey meant it when he told President Nickerson that he would institute quality food service. As a means to that end, he paid top prices for high grade foods. Much of it came from local producers who supplied prairie chickens, quail, and butter and vegetables--and marveled at prices paid by discriminating Harvey House managers.²³ In turn, the highest standards were expected of employees. If Harvey's home was in Leavenworth, it was only a home base, for the "boss" continually toured and inspected his growing system. A worthless manager might be fired with little ado, and Fred Harvey might show another the error of his ways by snatching the cloth from a carelessly set table and flinging dishes and silverware to the four corners of the room. The surprise visit was a device brought to the point of perfection by Harvey. In 1881, while on one of his whirlwind tours, he devastated the staffs of several houses. At one point the manager at Las Vegas was "tossed out onto the platform and the dining room equipment followed after him." Harvey was indicted in the local press both for poor management and for his lack of decorum, but answered the charges saying that in difficult circumstances he managed about as well

22. Letterhead from the Fred Harvey office, 1883, Fred Harvey Files.

23. Marshall, op. cit., p. 99.

as a fellow could be expected to.²⁴ Again, this time in Raton, he cashiered the employees of a house. All-male staffs were used at that time, and the night before Harvey's surprise visit several waiters had been "carved up" in a fight and were unable to work. The distracted manager and his help were fired and a new manager appointed. Tom Gable was the replacement, and to him the West owes a considerable debt of gratitude. It was his idea to replace male waiters with the attractive young women who came to be called "Harvey girls."²⁵

In the middle 1880s Harvey service had reached the state of systematized perfection that has made it subject of song, poetry, and legend. An elaborate complex of whistle signals, codes, and rituals was devised, with complete customer satisfaction its goal. The procedure began when the train was still miles from its meal stop. A conductor passed through the cars requesting each passenger's meal preference. This information was given to the engineer, who whistled the order ahead to the Harvey manager. Passengers entering the restaurant were greeted by the melodious tone of a gong sounded by the manager, and by waitresses who began to serve the first course. Table D'hote serving was used and all table settings were supervised

24. Las Vegas Daily Optic, September 12 and 13, 1881. See Appendix IV for complete texts of these articles.

25. This story is attributed to Mr. Tom Gable. Erna Ferguson, Our Southwest (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1940), pp. 194-195.

by the head waitress, or "wagon boss." When diners indicated their preference in beverage the waitress adjusted their cups and moments later the "drink girl" appeared with the order.²⁶ The dining-room manager walked solemnly up and down among the eaters intoning the comforting news that there was no hurry.²⁷ In this way Santa Fe customers endured the hardships of travel across the "wild West."

Prosperity brought added responsibility and more work to Fred Harvey. By 1883 he had brought David and Harry Benjamin into the organization.²⁸ The two brothers, originally from Canada, were subsequently joined by Captain Byron Schermerhorn. These men, led by Harvey, directed the destiny of the chain of railway restaurants that by 1887 extended all the way to central California.²⁹ In that year the small hotels and disreputable lunch-rooms on the Atlantic and Pacific were taken over, David Benjamin was given the monumental task of converting them into Harvey houses. He accomplished this with considerable finesse.³⁰ Extension of Harvey service to Arizona and

26. Marshall, op. cit., p. 102.

27. Jim Marshall, "Pictures from the Movies," Colliers Magazine (November 17, 1945), p. 20.

28. Betts, "Brief History of Santa Fe-Fred Harvey Relations," p. 1. Contract signed by Fred Harvey and David Benjamin, May 19, 1883, Fred Harvey Files.

29. See list of Harvey Houses, Appendix I.

30. Waters, op. cit., pp. 268-269.

California was undertaken at the request of C. W. Smith, vice-president of the Santa Fe. It marked the initiation of an important railroad policy. From that time Fred Harvey operated the lunch counters, dining rooms, and hotels of the entire system.³¹

Harvey followed the principle that as an honest businessman he could expect only a fair profit, but it might be added that in business he was a Jay Gould possessed of a moral sense. As a favored associate of the Santa Fe he never hesitated to take the fullest advantage of his position.³² One who knew him well remarked:

These fellows think they know how to ask for things, but they ought to have seen Fred when he was building up. He used to ask for everything, he asked and kept on asking, and finally he got it. He paid no freight or expenses. He even shipped his help around without paying for them. No wonder he could buy better food than anybody else and serve it cheaper. No local place could compete with him. . . . They still can't.³³

Even Albert Alonzo Robinson, the dynamic general manager of the Santa Fe, was astonished by the opportunism of the Kansan. A letter early in 1884 voiced his plaintive chagrin: "Please note the mileage covered by persons on account of your eating houses in the month of

31. Betts, "Brief History of Santa Fe-Fred Harvey Relations," p. 2. A financial statement from the Fred Harvey Files showed that in 1886 profit was \$85, 776.97 less \$7, 476.48 for wear and tear. Of this Harvey got 75%, Byron Schermerhorn, 12 1/2% and David Benjamin, 12 1/2%.

32. See Appendices II and III for the favorable concessions.

33. Fergusson, op. cit., p. 3.

February [was] 17, 660 miles, which is more than the entire amount of the transportation issued from my office for employees."³⁴

The men who built the Santa Fe railroad were not fools; they had reasons--rather obvious ones--for pampering Fred Harvey. The best explanation for their action appears succinctly on the road's travel folder for 1900: "The dining service under management of Fred Harvey is the best in the world."³⁵ Menus of the day substantiate this immodest claim. These featured terrapin, antelope, quail, canvas-back, blue point oysters, and the Harvey specialty--Kansas City fillet.³⁶ It is no exaggeration to say that the Fred Harvey-Santa Fe collaboration remains one of the most remarkable in railway history.

A second contract between the railroad and its food concessionaire was effected on May 1, 1889.³⁷ Its most important provision granted Harvey exclusive right of food procurement west of the Missouri River. That same year a chain of events was begun that ultimately threatened the decade-old friendship between the companies. When Allen Manvel became president of the Santa Fe in September of

34. Letter of Robinson to Harvey, March, 1884, Fred Harvey Files.

35. Lucius Beebe, Mr. Pullman's Elegant Palace Car (New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1961), p. 20.

36. Appendix V consists of the regular dinner menu used on the westbound Santa Fe express in 1888. Fred Harvey Files.

37. See Appendix II.

1889, he initiated plans for dining car service west of Kansas City that did not include Fred Harvey. In 1891 Harvey secured an injunction to prevent such action, and to keep the Santa Fe from by-passing his eating-houses. After the suit had dragged on for several years, Manvel eased his stand and amicable relations were restored.³⁸

Several explanations of President Manvel's change of heart can be found. There was the "Harvey touch" visible in such things as the faithful use of Irish linen and English silverware, much of which was purchased in Belfast and London by Harvey himself.³⁹ That five kinds of wine were listed on the menu of the first Santa Fe diner out of Chicago would have been considered. More important would have been the observation that the "boss" never ceased his quality checks. The surprise visit was insurance that "his people" were doing all within their power to satisfy the customers.⁴⁰

38. Betts, "Brief History of Santa Fe-Fred Harvey Relations," p. 3. It is interesting that the man who granted the restraining order, Judge W. C. Hook, was a close personal friend of Harvey and was an honorary pallbearer at his funeral ten years later. Newspaper clipping, Fred Harvey Files.

39. Documents detailing these purchases appear in the Fred Harvey Files. One dated July 23, 1895 concerns 170 dozen napkins ordered from John L. Brown and Sons, Belfast, Ireland.

40. Fred Harvey's Diary of 1887 contains many interesting notations about his overseas buying trips and tours of the eating houses.

Had he been more enterprising, Manvel might have paralleled the operation of Fred Harvey's company with that of the railroad. In the nineties both were operated by division, each one under a superintendent.⁴¹ By this time the Harvey Houses formed a unique chain, one so closely supervised and so efficient that major railroads were trying to copy it. Among these were the Union Pacific and the Central Pacific.⁴² Harvey's special refrigerated boxcar was shuttled twice a week between Los Angeles and Kansas City; it supplied the eating-houses with excellent California fruits and vegetables on the eastbound run, and choice Kansas City meats on the return trip.⁴³ Of great interest to railroad men was Harvey's centralized menu service. Bills of fare were planned and printed in Kansas City and then distributed along the system in such a way that a Santa Fe guest never encountered identical selections.⁴⁴ Finally, Fred Harvey's method of food procurement was by now incomparable. For his coffee, he obtained special blends to insure uniformity; for milk, butter and eggs, he ran his own farms; and his managers were permitted to make wholesale purchases

41. W. H. Simpson, "Article for Fred Harvey," circa 1911, Fred Harvey Files.

42. Author's interview with Leslie Scott, June 2, 1965. Mr. Scott is president of Fred Harvey.

43. Author's interview with George Roche, June 2, 1965. Mr. Roche is senior vice-president of Fred Harvey.

44. Ibid.

of local crops of vegetables for distribution throughout the network.⁴⁵

Shortly after the injunction crisis with Harvey, the A. T. & S. F. went into receivership. Even through that period Fred Harvey prospered. His contract was renewed with little argument from the receivers.⁴⁶ After reorganization of the road, President Ripley informed his board of directors that the food concessionaire was earning an inordinate profit. The Santa Fe directors urged Ripley to confer with Harvey, but to retain his services at any cost. Only one meeting was necessary, however, to reveal that the Santa Fe-Fred Harvey spirit of cooperation still existed. Harvey consented to the revision, and the Leavenworth restaurateur signed his final contract with the railroad on December 6, 1899.⁴⁷

Fourteen months later, on February 9, 1901, Fred Harvey was dead at the age of sixty-five. His interests in twelve states included forty-five eating establishments and twenty dining cars.⁴⁸ These were

45. Martin Rapp, interview, June 11, 1965. Mr. Rapp was a chef at the Castañeda Hotel in Las Vegas, New Mexico. He worked there until the hotel was closed and by that time he had been with Fred Harvey for forty-five years. At one time or another he worked in Harvey Houses in Kansas City, Topeka, Newton, Hutchinson, Guthrie, Purcell, Waynoka, Gallup and Winslow. Rapp is now owner and chef of the Home Cafe in Las Vegas.

46. Betts, "Brief History of Santa Fe-Fred Harvey Relations," p. 3.

47. Ibid., p. 6.

48. See Appendix I.

to prosper in the new century, and to stand as a tribute to the foresight and industry of the English immigrant whose love of good food impelled him to bestow his tastes upon the West.⁴⁹

49. It is remarkable that Fred Harvey's highly systematized eating-house and hotel chain was brought to a state of excellence in a decade-and-a-half. In the early 1890s Harvey's health began to fail. His condition steadily deteriorated, and the last few years of his life were spent at various European spas where he attempted to find relief from agonies caused by the intestinal cancer that was to kill him.

CHAPTER III

THE HARVEY HOUSE AND THE WEST

"In Xanadu did Kubla Khan
a stately pleasure-dome decree. . . ."

Samuel Taylor Coleridge

From the year 1876 through three or four decades of the twentieth century, scores of Western plains and high-country towns held in common a unique asset. They all possessed Harvey Houses. A simple reason can be given for what, on the surface, seems to be an astonishing observation--that, with few exceptions, residents of those communities regarded the hotels and eating-places with a nationalistic sort of pride. Harvey Houses played an important and complex role in community life. Their food was invariably good, they accommodated a continuous stream of interesting transients, they brought economic largess, and on weekends they were often social centers that seemed to facilitate frontier matchmaking.

It has been said that Fred Harvey's most popular dish was the Harvey girl. For most Santa Fe employees and Western ranchmen and businessmen, the Harvey waitress was more appealing than the food she served. As eating-houses were opened in the West, Harvey's advertisements for "Young women, 18 to 30 years of age, of good

character, attractive and intelligent" were placed in Eastern and Middlewestern newspapers.¹ No training was necessary for the job because they would have to learn the unique Harvey technique of food service before they began to work.² Although their uniforms were plain black dresses with white "elsie" collars, and while the girls had to promise not to marry for a year, few of them were able to resist the proposals of virile Western bachelors.³ In fact, if one of his waitresses remained single for six months she received the personal congratulations of Fred Harvey.⁴

The stipulation that girls be of high moral character indicated explicitly the conduct that Harvey required of his female employees. They lived in dormitories that were always near their work, and were chaperoned by a matron who enforced their ten o'clock curfew.⁵ If Harvey's advertisements attracted women of independent nature with such descriptions of the West as "unrestrained by the crass stupidities

1. "Fred Harvey History," a mimeographed paper prepared by the Fred Harvey Department of Promotion and Public Relations, circa 1955, p. 4.

2. Author's interview with George Roche, June 2, 1965.

3. Moreover, half of the first six months' salary was forfeited if they broke the promise.

4. Marshall, op. cit., p. 100.

5. One of these dormitories can be seen across the street from the Castañeda Hotel in Las Vegas, New Mexico.

of boiled shirt civilization, " he kept them under a patriarchal eye while they were in his employ.⁶

A considerable literature sprang up about the Harvey girl. The most prosaic rancher was apt to lapse into an impetuous lyricism when his well prepared meal was served by a shapely waitress. Examples of this ethnic literature are numerous. The following is an example:

Harvey Houses, don't you savvy; clean across the old Mojave,
On the Santa Fe they've strung 'em like a string of Indian beads
We all couldn't eat without 'em but the slickest things about 'em
Is the Harvey skirts that hustle up the feeds.

J. C. Davis produced the poem in 1895, and the editor who printed it called it "possessed of the Divine afflatus."⁷

Harvey girls were paid a salary of \$17.50 per month plus room and board--and gratuities. Many of them married well established Westerners, and Harvey often gave parties for such newly-weds. According to the legend propagated by Elbert Hubbard, four thousand babies born of such marriages were named Fred, or Harvey, or both.⁸ That comment cannot be much overstated, for those who remember the Harvey

6. Marshall, op. cit., p. 100.

7. Ibid., p. 101. For other examples of this unique verse see Appendix VI.

8. Elbert Hubbard in The Fra, June, 1901, p. 55.

girls vow that they were very attractive, and that they surely populated and civilized the West.⁹

In the heyday of the Harvey Houses, thousands of their employees followed the principal that their service was to be just "a little bit better" than the best. Their pursuit of this goal has contributed to the great body of legend surrounding the Fred Harvey installations. A favorite story is of the Arizona manager who found himself without chefs in either Williams or Winslow, Arizona. His only course of action was to cook breakfast himself in Williams, catch the fast train to Winslow and cook breakfast there in time to catch another train back to cook dinner in Williams, and get back to Winslow in time to prepare that dinner and make it back to Williams for supper and so to Winslow.¹⁰ Probably the classic tale has to do with the Harvey House in Needles, California. The Mojave Desert climate demanded that Negro waiters be used in place of female employees. They were very religious and thought it proper to meet all trains on the platform singing "His Precious Name." In 1886, however, the Needles manager, Jim Bayless, decided to celebrate a special occasion. Several sections of No. 51 came through, headed for a G. A. R. convention in San Francisco. The manager and his office boy, in the supreme gesture, had organized an

9. Author's interviews with McWenie and Rapp, June 11, 1965, and with Abram Sigel, July 3, 1965, Tucson, Arizona.

10. Fergusson, op. cit., p. 7.

orchestra of Mojave Indian squaws and taught them how to play jew's-harps. They were assembled on the platform and offered "Marching Through Georgia" as each train came in.¹¹

Social life in many Western towns centered around the Harvey House. Evidence of this is abundant in Las Vegas, New Mexico, as that town had two well known Harvey establishments. Las Vegas, in fact, furnishes an ideal view in microcosm of Fred Harvey's western empire. In addition to the usual railroad lunchroom, the town boasted the Montezuma Hotel, a luxury spa near the hot springs six miles from the center of town. Constructed by the Santa Fe in 1882, the Montezuma was reached by way of a specially constructed spur track. The springs drew health seekers and visitors from all parts of the world. Railroad publicity proclaimed it the finest watering-place west of the Alleghenies.¹² Among its celebrated guests were former President and Mrs. Grant, President and Mrs. Hayes, and the Marquis of Lorne, accompanied by his bride, the Princess Louise.¹³ In those tempestuous years of the 1880s one glancing into the Las Vegas Daily Optic might read that on a visit to the Montezuma Mrs. Grant wore "a corn-colored silk dress that

11. Marshall, op. cit., pp. 107-108.

12. "A Magnificent Railway System," The Santa Fe Magazine, vol. 34, no. 6 (June, 1905), pp. 39-40.

13. Milton Callifon, Las Vegas, New Mexico. . . The Town That Wouldn't Gamble (Las Vegas: The Las Vegas Daily Optic, 1962), p. 67.

was the envy of every woman staying at the springs, " or that in town the night had been "a howling wilderness of flying lead" in which "bullets creased the air and sharp reports defied sleep by the law abiding citizens."¹⁴ The anomaly of any sophistication in the frontier West was clearly evident at Las Vegas. Two years earlier, a Denver newspaper frankly refused to accept such a thing as possible. It reported that another Las Vegas hotel had been "opened with a grand ball, " but "the list of the killed and wounded has not been published."¹⁵

Food service for the Montezuma was one of Fred Harvey's greatest responsibilities. When the hotel opened April 17, 1882, every influential person of the area was there, as well as hundreds more from all parts of the United States. It was one of Harvey's first triumphs, for the gala banquet surpassed any the territory had seen. The guests were served a supper of blue point oysters, mountain trout, spring lamb, and duck. Miguel A. Otero, the wealthiest man of Las Vegas, gave the opening address; A. L. Morrison, newly appointed territorial marshal, was toastmaster. Fred Harvey, of course, was the principal speaker. The Fourth Cavalry Band from nearby Fort Union furnished music for the ball that lasted until eight the following morning.¹⁶

14. F. Stanley, The Montezuma Story (Pep, Texas, 1963), p.

15. The Las Vegas Daily Optic, February 9, 1881.

15. Denver Republican Review, February 13, 1880.

16. Las Vegas Daily Optic, April 18, 1882.

When the Santa Fe's Sonora System was completed to Guaymas on the Gulf of California, Harvey contracted with the chief of a local tribe of Yaqui Indians to supply the Montezuma with live green turtles to be kept in tanks until ready for use. The hotel burned twice, and its death knell was rung when the Santa Fe opened a spur line to the Grand Canyon in 1902.¹⁷

Las Vegas was a rough place in 1882. If the Montezuma saw the more cultivated humans of the day, the depot luncheon saw the least polished. To supervise its opening that year, Fred Harvey was on hand. In the midst of the festivities, several cowboys rode their horses into the building and were on the verge of smashing it up when Harvey called out: "Boys, put up your guns." One of them asked, "Who the hell are you?" To this he replied that he was the owner and would set them up a round of free drinks. When another began cursing loudly, the quick tempered Harvey pulled the cowboy off his horse and held him to the floor. "Red John," the leader, was obviously impressed. He instructed his boys to accept the drinks.¹⁸

17. The third Montezuma is now a Jesuit seminary. This treatment of the famous hot springs hotel is necessarily brief. Whoever undertakes a thorough study should not overlook the collection of rare pictures owned by F. Piccarelli of the seminary. An excellent treatment of tourism in the American West is Earl Pomeroy's In Search of the Golden West (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1957).

18. Farmington, New Mexico Sentinal, October 27, 1937.

Harvey's Eastern waitresses must have thought they were in some upper reach of hell after they had encountered a few of the town's rougher characters such as J. J. "Off Wheeler" Harlan, Saw Dust Charlie, William Hedges, Billy the Kid, Pockmarked Kid, Billy Mullin, and Little Jack the Cutter.¹⁹ Things took a turn for the better, however, when God came to nearby Patterson's Dance Hall. On February 7 the Home Missionary Society saved Sadie, Big Hattie, Nervous Jessie, Careless Ida, and Lazy Liz. French Pete, the local gambler, also felt the Spirit and was baptized. The local newspaper reporter, fearing the worst, fled before he suffered a similar fate.²⁰ These were exciting times, and the Harvey House witnessed all of them.

In 1896 the Santa Fe, reorganized under a new president, embarked on a program to upgrade the busiest dining facilities. That year marked the beginning of the extensive line of luxury station-hotels.²¹ The first of these was the Castañeda in Las Vegas. The big adobe building was a center of activity. The town was a division point on the Santa Fe line and was one of the three New Mexico stops.²² Seven dairies around the "Meadow City" supplied much of the Harvey

19. Milton C. Nahm, Las Vegas and Uncle Joe (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1964), pp. 23-24.

20. Las Vegas Daily Optic, February 7, 1882.

21. For other comments on these buildings see Chapter IV.

22. Nahm, op. cit., pp. 20-23.

system, and a sizable quantity of dairy produce was consumed in the large bakery ovens of the Castañeda. In the hotel was kept a \$200,000 silver service that was transported to any Harvey House entertaining a celebrity or dignitary. At the turn of the century thousands of people passed through the station, and a few of them even tried to buy the hotel furnishings. A large oil painting by the Montana artist Charles M. Russell hung in the lobby, but it was owned by one of Fred Harvey's daughters and was not for sale.²³

On June 24, 1899 the Castañeda saw its finest hour. Even a heavy afternoon downpour had not dampened the spirits of several thousand Las Vegas residents who awaited one of America's most popular figures.²⁴ A Santa Fe locomotive came into view and had soon ground to a halt. The grand moment had arrived. As Theodore Roosevelt, wearing his Spanish-American War uniform, stepped from the train that afternoon, the cheering crowd almost swept him off his feet. His Rough Riders, standing at attention, saluted their colonel, and he was escorted to the Castañeda.²⁵ This event marked the first annual

23. Author's interview with John Lawson, June 11, 1965. Lawson is Standard Oil distributor for Las Vegas, and the present owner of the old hotel. He has converted it into an apartment house and hopes to restore it to its former elegance.

24. Lynn I. Perrigo, Historic Sites In and Near the "Meadow City" (Las Vegas: Rough Riders Memorial and City Museum, 1963).

25. Lynn I. Perrigo, Las Vegas and the Rough Riders (Las Vegas: Museum Board of the City of Las Vegas, New Mexico, 1961), p. 14.

reunion of the Rough Riders. Since forty percent of the famous regiment had been recruited in New Mexico, and because Las Vegas offered the most suitable location, all reunions were to be held there.²⁶ Santa Fe steel rails and a Fred Harvey hotel provided the unbeatable combination.

The first two decades of the twentieth century were the "Golden Age" of the Harvey Houses in the West. In those years approximately seventeen large hotels of regional design were completed, and the Grand Canyon hotels were opened. The Montezuma was closed in 1903, but the El Tovar at the rim of the great canyon easily replaced it as a mecca for tourists.²⁷ In 1909, the territorial governor of Arizona, Richard E. Sloan, honored President Taft with a dinner that featured roast saddle of venison, crab flakes salamander, and breast of mountain grouse.²⁸ A 1910 list of dignitaries included Roosevelt, Taft, and such European notables as George Bernard Shaw, Lord and Lady Halifax, Marshal Fosh, and Marconi.²⁹ Most tourists

26. Ibid., p. 14.

27. Herbert Andrew Wisbey, Jr., "A History of the Santa Fe Railroad in Arizona to 1917," M. A. Thesis (Tucson: University of Arizona, 1946), p. 128.

28. Menu, Hotel El Tovar, October 14, 1909. Dinner in honor of President Taft and party given by Governor Sloan of Arizona. Fred Harvey Files.

29. Chicago Evening Post, September 22, 1910.

were guests of the Santa Fe and were for that reason guests of Fred Harvey.

Many of the thousands who had dined with Fred Harvey must have noted with amusement the long controversy regarding one of his most sacred regulations. This was the well known "coat rule." From his earliest days on the Santa Fe it was accepted that all dining room patrons should wear dinner jackets. To insure that no one was turned away because of improper dress, a supply of dark alpaca coats was always kept on hand. For nearly half a century Americans ranging from gunmen to presidents obeyed the rule with some degree of docility. The real test came on September 9, 1921. The next day newspapers reported the incident that undoubtedly delighted readers in one manner or another. "Campbell Russell, Chairman of the Oklahoma Corporation Commission was, in Purcell, denied entrance to dining room because he was coatless."³⁰ The enraged bureaucrat countered the following week by having the Commission set aside the revered rule, but this decision was appealed by the Fred Harvey Company, and three years of litigation ensued.³¹ Fred Harvey was vindicated when Justice Lydick of the Oklahoma Supreme court set aside the ruling of the Commission. The judge pronounced:

30. Kansas City Times, September 10, 1921.

31. From this point, unless otherwise indicated, "Fred Harvey" will refer to the company.

Unlike the lower animals, we all demand the maintenance of some style and fashion in the dining-room, but where to draw the line between the breech-clout and the full dress suit, tailored in Paris or New York, presents a question often affording great difference of opinion and that is the trouble here. . . . To permit the coatless to enter would bring in those with. . . even the shirtless garb that we frequently see when no formality is required. . . . Complaints against such rule. . . are few compared with the storm of protests the abrogation of the rule would ultimately produce.³²

But the coat rule controversy, the festivities of the first Rough Riders' convention, and the jew's-harp rendition of "Marching Through Georgia" were brief episodes in the complex of events which shaped human society in the American West. The Harvey House was an integral part in the history of many Western towns.³³ Memories of shootings, presidential visits, and memories of "seventy-five cent steak dinners" are still much a part of the old houses.³⁴ When powerful diesel locomotives eliminated many stops that had been necessary in the day of the steam engine, the end for the Harvey House was near. Most of the houses were closed by the end of the '40s. The whole story of their demise can be told as a footnote to the coat rule tableau. In Purcell, the Oklahoma town that witnessed it, the Harvey House and the passenger station have given way to a parking lot.³⁵

32. For the complete statement see Appendix VII.

33. Las Vegas Optic, May 27, 1948.

34. Las Vegas Optic, May 28, 1948.

35. Purcell, Oklahoma, Register, September 5, 1957. Dodge City Globe, September 19, 1957.

Exalted language has been used in praising the influence of the Harvey House upon the West. So many writers and politicians have commended their "vital part" in building the region that a cynic might dismiss the statements as mere verbiage.³⁶ The interested skeptic might pause, however, and contemplate those same comments casually made by old-timers who remember when things were different. Or he might muse over the wistful comment made in a newspaper article about a building long abandoned: ". . . its windows all boarded up. . . many pleasant memories of the old Harvey house remain, and the Santa Fe should open this place for no reason than to keep the West alive."³⁷

36. Letter of Howard Pyle, governor of Arizona to Fred Harvey, December 3, 1951. "The people of Arizona are deeply grateful for the vital part the Harvey House has played in the building of this great state."

37. Lovington, New Mexico, Leader, September 5, 1957.

CHAPTER IV
INDIANS, ARCHITECTURE, ETCETERA

"Fred Harvey? Do you know the name?
If not, then your education has been
much neglected."

Elbert Hubbard

Near the end of Fred Harvey's lifetime his reputation as a civilizer of the American West was secure. It was manifest by 1900 that he "kept the West in food and wives."¹ By that time, however, the cultural and social influences of the indomitable restaurateur were being felt in other ways. In the last decade of his life the company and the railroad acted jointly to construct and decorate a series of unique station hotels and to interest tourists in the colorful Indian cultures of the Southwest. Early evidence of the use of Indian motifs in his eating places came in Holbrook, Arizona. There, in 1884, the several box-cars which comprised the lunchroom were painted on the inside in bright colors to give them an Indian-like character. Eight years later, when advertisements for Santa Fe's new California Limited pictured the exotic lands of the Navajo and Hopi, Eastern visitors began to discover

1. Article by Will Rogers for McNaught Syndicate, Inc., 1931, on display in the Fred Harvey Grill, Palmolive Building, Chicago.

the Indian arts.² As the railroad started to advertise the wonders of the Grand Canyon in 1898, plans to publicize indigenous Indian groups were already underway.

It was inevitable that the twentieth-century touring public would discover the beauty of Indian crafts, for the investigations of pioneer American anthropologists already had revealed that numerous Indian ruins in New Mexico and Arizona were valuable historical and scientific properties.³ Public interest in the collecting of Indian artifacts had been generated by the display of materials from the Mesa Verde Cliff dwellings exhibited at the World's Columbian Exposition at Chicago in 1892-93, and many individuals and museum curators were now searching for such items.⁴ To supply these demands the Fred Harvey Indian Department was formed in 1902, and personalities emerged to handle this unusual adjunct. Fred Harvey, who assumed leadership of the company upon his father's death in 1901, appointed his brother-in-law, John Frederick Huckel, to head the department. Both young men were interested in popularizing Southwestern native crafts and eagerly seized the chance to display a large collection of fine pieces when, in

2. Armitage, op. cit., p. 137.

3. Paul Horgan, The Centuries of Santa Fe (New York: E. A. Patterson and Company, 1956), p. 319.

4. Harvey, "The Fred Harvey Collection," loc. cit., p. 35.

1903, the Santa Fe opened its El Tovar Hotel at the Grand Canyon.⁵

The third and most important person in the new enterprise was a former Harvey news agent, Herman Schweizer of Albuquerque. Harvey, Huckel and Schweizer, working together, were largely responsible for the popularization of Southwestern Indian crafts.

Schweizer was the father of the modern Navajo silver industry. As early as 1899 he had commissioned new silverwork for sale to Harvey House customers. "Pawn" silver, some of it very old, was used as a guide in order to achieve authenticity of design.⁶ Credit for the growth of the collection belongs to Schweizer. His was a labor of love. From his headquarters in Albuquerque he scoured the Southwest in search of turquoise-studded jewelry and fine handwoven blankets from the Navajos, and museum-quality basketry from the Pimas and Papagos of Arizona.⁷ To the credit of the company, its buyers never consciously took advantage of the Indians, and only high-grade items were merchandised. Moreover, the presence of a ready market encouraged the Indians to retain knowledge of their ancient skills, and it stimulated them to convert local materials into new artistic specialties.⁸

5. Ibid., p. 34.

6. Ibid., p. 34.

7. Lynn I. Perrigo, Our Spanish Southwest (Dallas: Banks Upshaw and Company, 1961), p. 295.

8. Armitage, op. cit., p. 154.

Working in concert, the Santa Fe and the Harvey company strove to interest tourists in the Southwest. Railroad publicity featured Indian maidens and red mesas while little Navajo boys wrote "Santa Fe all the way" in the desert sand. Meanwhile, ethnologists were purchasing materials for such institutions as the Berlin Museum and George Heye's Museum of the American Indian in New York. George A. Dorsey, the first American to hold a Ph. D. in anthropology, purchased many artifacts for the Field Columbian Museum of Chicago. This activity, as well as favorable railroad rates on shipments, insured profit for the company. In winter months the hard-pressed Indians brought in wagon loads of hand-wrought santos and other irreplaceable crafts to sell to Harvey agents, and in Albuquerque the Navajo rug weavers and silversmiths lived and worked near depot showrooms.⁹

Santa Fe tourist activity was in full swing when the first Indian crafts were merchandised. El Tovar Hotel at the south rim of the Grand Canyon was opened in 1903 and replaced the old Bright Angel Hotel. Both places were heavily advertised as the canyon became the railway's primary tourist attraction.¹⁰ An early advertisement described the accommodations at El Tovar:

Once inside, the traveller will be willing to linger a few moments in the Rendezvous or Nimrod's Cabin. This is a

9. Harvey, "The Fred Harvey Collection," loc. cit., pp. 36-37.

10. Address by Byron Harvey III to the Phoenix Dons Club, December 19, 1963, p. 3.

large room, forty-one by thirty-seven feet, notable for uneven walls of dark stained logs and bulky rafters. In a huge corner fireplace pine knots burn cheerily when the air is chilly. . . Grey Navajo rugs cover the brown floor. There are cosy tet-a-tetes and easy chairs. On an upper shelf repose the heads of the deer, elk, moose, mountain sheep, and buffalo mingling with the curiously shaped and gaudily tinted jars from the Southwest pueblos. . . .¹¹

The same brochure waxed eloquent on the Hopi House:

Several rooms of the Hopi House are devoted to an exhibit of rare and costly specimens of Indian and Mexican handwork. Here is displayed the priceless Harvey collection of old Navajo blankets, winner of a grand prize at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition. Here, too, is a Hopi ethnographic [sic] collection. . . and a Pomo basket exhibit, the finest of its kind in the world. And a room filled with rare buffalo hide shields. . . and a salesroom.¹²

Another attraction that increased Fred Harvey's Southwestern involvement was the Santa Fe "Indian detour." This was exactly what its name implied. Passengers who desired to visit the pueblos of New Mexico detrained at Lamy, New Mexico, boarded Harvey touring cars, and were driven to the elegant La Fonda Hotel in Santa Fe.¹³ The hotel served as headquarters for motor trips to the nearby pueblos and other areas rich in the history of the region.¹⁴ So much a part of the scene

11. Ibid., pp. 5-6.

12. Ibid.

13. Roads to Yesterday--Along the Indian Detour (Fred Harvey, circa 1925). See Peter Hertzog's La Fonda: The Inn of Santa Fe (Santa Fe: The Press of the Territorian, 1964).

14. "Fred Harvey--Facts, Dates, and Figures," unpublished paper, Fred Harvey Files, p. 7.

did the company become that the business projected a distinct image. A Santa Fe artist did a satiric etching which depicted Harvey touring cars, filled to capacity, parked in a close circle surrounding eight Corn Dancers.¹⁵

As railroad tourist business prospered, Herman Schweizer struggled to interest the American public in the displays he had assembled in a room in the Harvey House in Albuquerque. Until the Indian detour became popular in the 1920s, he had to be satisfied with touring the Southwest to gather materials. Admirably suited for this work, the shrewd and tenacious agent built the Fred Harvey Collection. He was often simply called "the Harvey anthropologist." To Schweizer modern ethnologists owe a large debt, for he preserved for their study thousands of specimens of Navajo weaving.¹⁶

Cooperation and cordiality marked all dealings between the Harvey people and the Indians. An example of such amicable relations was seen at the dedication of El Navajo Hotel in Gallup in 1922. Harvey decorators prepared replicas of Indian sand paintings that were to highlight the interior of the building. When the Navajos objected to such use of their religious symbols, the management ordered the

15. Van Deren Coke, Taos and Santa Fe: the Artists' Environment, 1882-1942 (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1963), p. 52.

16. John Adair, The Navajo and Pueblo Silversmiths (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1944), pp. 25-27.

paintings removed immediately in compliance with their wishes. When the Indians learned of this considerate response, they asked that the paintings be left intact but that they be dedicated to the gods with appropriate ceremony. After a day of dancing and feasting the hotel received truly authentic decoration that was acceptable to the Navajo and to their gods.¹⁷

Herman Schweizer's death in the early 1940s coincided with World War II, the cessation of tourist travel, and a general decline in such avocations as the study of Indian cultures. As a result, the Fred Harvey Collection suffered, and those interested in it feared that it might not be maintained. Fortunately, it was ably administered and preserved. Today it represents one of the major sources of regional ethnological material, and plans are under consideration for its permanent housing.¹⁸ Much of the collection is kept at the Grand Canyon, but parts of it have been shown in museums in various parts of Arizona.¹⁹

Until the end of the nineteenth century the Harvey Houses were typically of frame construction and were built with economy and efficiency in mind. About 1900, however, Ford Harvey and Santa Fe

17. "Fred Harvey--Facts, Dates, and Figures," p. 6.

18. Hospitality Magazine (Chicago: Fred Harvey), January-February, 1964, p. 13.

19. Hospitality Magazine (Chicago: Fred Harvey), July-August, 1964, p. 8.

President Edward P. Ripley became interested in patterning new railroad accommodations after the indigenous Spanish colonial-Indian pueblo style of architecture.²⁰ They decided upon a plan which called for construction of a system-wide series of some twenty station hotels, some of which were to be regional in design. Not only were the railroad's architects used, but others such as Louis Curtiss of Kansas City were commissioned to design the buildings and to supervise construction.²¹ The total effect was one of horizontal lines, with relief offered by exposed ceiling beams, inset porches, firewall apertures, and flanking buttresses.²² It must be stressed that these structures were alike only in a general sense, and in fact some of them were strikingly dissimilar.²³ The hotel at Wellington, Kansas, was a good example of eighteenth-century Flemish design; the Bisonte in Hutchinson, Kansas, was structured after a Tudor manor house; the Cardenas in Trinidad, Colorado, was Moorish in design. Numerous smaller hotels were not given distinctive names. They were often of frame

20. Waters, op. cit., p. 279. Several of these buildings were to be constructed in New Mexico towns. F. Stanley has mentioned the role one of them played in community life in his pamphlet The Deming, New Mexico Story (Pantex, Texas, 1962).

21. Fred T. Comee, "Louis Curtiss of Kansas City," Progressive Architecture (August, 1963), pp. 128-134.

22. Waters, op. cit., p. 279.

23. Many of them are still standing, though generally they are in poor state of repair.

construction and were usually off the main line of the railroad.²⁴

The most outstanding hotels were those in the Indian country of New Mexico--at Lamy, Albuquerque, Las Vegas, Vaughn and Gallup.²⁵ All of these were built between 1896 and 1917 in a simplified version of the old Indian-Spanish design.²⁶ This design has been loosely named "Santa Fe style." One interpretor claims that the hotels exhibit an interesting combination of traditional Southwestern elements as well as features from the West Coast bungalow and the Middle West prairie home.²⁷ If this analysis is accepted it can then be truly said that the history of American architecture between 1900 and 1920, when finally written, will accord the Harvey Houses of the Southwest an important place.²⁸

The well known La Fonda Hotel in Santa Fe, opened in 1926, reflects a shift in regional architecture from the "mission" to the "pueblo" motif that has become dominant in New Mexico.²⁹ This shift

24. "Fred Harvey Meals."

25. David Gebhard, New Mexico Architect (July-August, 1962), p. 16.

26. David Gebhard, New Mexico Architect (January-February, 1964), p. 19.

27. Letter of David Gebhard to author, May 5, 1965.

28. Gebhard, New Mexico Architect, 1962, op. cit., p. 16.

29. Gebhard, New Mexico Architect, 1964, op. cit., p. 23.

in style coincided with the popularization of Indian artifacts like those in the collection which Herman Schweizer labored over for so long. It was the Harvey decorator, Mary E. J. Colter, who effected a synthesis of architecture and ethnology. A native of Pennsylvania, she studied architecture and archeology in Wisconsin and joined the company in 1902. She was on hand during much of the station house construction and was personally responsible for most of the Grand Canyon layout.³⁰ A knowledgeable and meticulous decorator, "Old Lady Colter" told them what to do.³¹ She became especially well known for her skillful blending of Spanish and Indian elements in La Fonda and in La Posada Hotel at Winslow, Arizona.³²

The name "Fred Harvey" soon became a byword in an area as far removed from food procurement as either ethnology or architecture. Since 1900 Harvey news stands retailed a great volume of books, magazines, and newspapers. Their clientele came to include such a cross section of the American public that in the 1940s book publishers sometimes used the Harvey sales to guide them in print orders.³³ Credit for the idea of providing good reading matter belongs to Paul Morton.

30. Mary E. J. Colter, Biographical sketch, Fred Harvey Files.

31. Author's interview with Martin Rapp

32. Harvey, address to the Phoenix Dons Club, p. 6.

33. Marshall, op. cit., p. 110.

In 1897, while vice-president of the Santa Fe, Morton concluded that the shoddy magazines, candy, and cigars sold by the railway news "butchers" should be drastically upgraded. The idea appealed to his managerial colleagues, and by December of that year Ford Harvey had engaged Harry H. McCreary to organize an auxiliary to the eating houses. These were to consist of newsstands, or open-counter shops, stocking every need of the passenger except food.³⁴ By 1950 Fred Harvey maintained over one hundred newsstands that dispensed literature which ran the gamut from pocket mysteries to large scholarly tomes.³⁵

It is not easy to gauge the full extent of Fred Harvey's role in making the West more habitable. He helped to populate and to civilize the region, and the company has followed his precepts. The name "Fred Harvey" has long symbolized so many diverse phenomena that it has become one of the imponderables in the history of Western America.

34. "Intimate Glimpses of Fred Harvey Personalities," Santa Fe Magazine (April, 1937), pp. 14-17.

35. "Fred Harvey--Facts, Dates, Figures," op. cit., p. 12.

CHAPTER V
THE LATER FRED HARVEY SYSTEM

"I am glad to learn that business
is keeping up nicely. I hope everyone
of you is still keeping up the
standards while I am away."

Fred Harvey

The dying words of Fred Harvey are said to have been "Don't cut the ham too thin!"¹ The chance that this irreverent legend is true may be slim, but it accurately characterizes the Leavenworth businessman. While his death in 1901 was a blow to the company, there was little disruption in service. Ford Harvey and David Benjamin had carried increasing managerial burdens from the time the founder's health began to fail fifteen years earlier. That Harvey left to his heirs a strong, smoothly functioning business is a tribute to his ingenuity and enterprise. The fact that his death was deplored by many who

1. A cynical public reversed the legend to "Don't cut the ham too thick." In 1960 syndicated columnist Inez Robb innocently repeated the quotation in print, not realizing the company prides itself in "maintenance of standard at all costs." To a rather sharply worded letter from a vice-president, she replied: "Dear Mr. Harvey: You have broken my heart and destroyed the favorite myth of my childhood. How could you? . . . I shall never be able to tell the story again without feeling that I am betraying you. Ah, well, the truth dies hard." Letter from Inez Robb to Daggett Harvey, July 6, 1960, Fred Harvey Files.

knew him is a tribute to his humanity.²

The flush years before 1929 were among the most interesting in the development of the Fred Harvey chain. To simplify procedures of management, Fred Harvey's two sons, Ford and Byron, set up separate offices. Ford, in Kansas City, was responsible for hotels, restaurants and shops, while Byron, in Chicago, managed the railroad dining cars.³ In 1906 the Fred Harvey company was incorporated.⁴ Diversification had become a keynote in the organization. At times the brothers must have wondered if their business was food or tourism. Santa Fe passengers, enamoured of the Southwest, were spending more time en route than ever before. They gaped at the Grand Canyon, flocked up the Indian detour, and they spent money freely for Hopi and Navajo handicraft. Thus the Harvey company prospered in the new decades of the twentieth century.

When Ford Harvey died in 1928 his brother Byron became president and head of the business. Among the changes that came in

2. An old man stopping at the casket said: "Goodbye my dear and best friend." Henderson, op. cit., p. 59. A provision in Fred Harvey's will stipulated that every person in his employ at the time of his death was to receive a lifetime pension equal to his salary at the time of retirement. Fred Harvey Will, Fred Harvey Files.

3. Hospitality Magazine (Chicago: Fred Harvey), July-August, 1964, p. 5.

4. "Ford Harvey," Who Was Who In America, 1897-1942, p. 531.

the next ten years was a shift to the widespread use of dining cars. As a result, two-thirds of the Harvey Houses were closed,⁵ but this was no indication of hard times. Through the 1930s the dining car operation consistently served fifteen million meals a year.⁶ When World War II came, the Fred Harvey system faced the new challenge of feeding servicemen on their way to the Pacific theater.

The food output of the company doubled in the war years. Of the thirty million meals now served annually, eight million were consumed by military personnel.⁷ Thus, at the very time that many long established businesses were suffering from shortages and the exigencies of war, the old Harvey Houses were experiencing a happy revival. Many which had been closed in the previous decade were reopened; all along the line grey-haired Harvey girls were called back into active service; and many Hopi, Navajo and Zuni girls left the reservations to become Harvey waitresses.⁸ The larger installations, such as the Castañeda at Las Vegas, seethed with a constant stream of customers.

5. This percentage is derived from the list of Harvey Houses that forms Appendix I.

6. Marshall, op. cit., p. 111.

7. Herbert A. Belt, "Feeding Travelers in Wartime" (excerpts from a talk given before the Pacific Railway Club, Biltmore Hotel, Los Angeles, June 8, 1944), Fred Harvey Files.

8. Marshall, loc. cit., p. 20. Cf. article in the Wall Street Journal entitled "Fred Harvey System Served Thirty Million Meals to Travelers in 1943."

In an ordinary day, for example, two thousand soldiers were served from the kitchen of the old hotel, and as many as a thousand box lunches were prepared for Mexican nationals.⁹

More subtle changes in American society were taking place. In the Southern states Fred Harvey had, with some distaste, complied with Jim Crow laws. One of the requirements had been that a curtain be hung in the front of each diner in such a manner as to segregate the car. Mores crumbled when hungry soldiers ripped out the partitions, seated themselves in restricted seats, and demanded service.¹⁰

After the war new figures were seen in company management. Byron S. Harvey ascended to the chairmanship of the board, while his sons assumed important positions. Byron Jr. became president,¹¹ Stewart and Daggett vice-presidents. Under the leadership of these men Fred Harvey expanded in all directions. By 1954 new operations

9. Lawson, interview.

10. Henry H. Thomas, interview, June 12, 1965. Mr. Thomas is a dining car waiter on the Santa Fe Chief. He has dispensed Fred Harvey service for more than forty years.

11. He was no ordinary corporation president, for a year earlier he had entered the world of show business. When M.G.M. filmed the motion picture "The Harvey Girls," Byron Jr. appeared as an 1890 A. T. & S. F. conductor. Judy Garland and Angela Landsbury co-starred. While dining offstage one evening he clumsily spilled a glass of buttermilk into Miss Landsbury's lap--an act which ruined any chance of an extended career in the theatre. This movie was taken from a book of the same title. This fiction work is Samuel Hopkins Adams' The Harvey Girls (Cleveland: The World Publishing Company, 1942).

in the West included the Painted Desert Inn and the Albuquerque Municipal Airport. More impressive was activity farther east. In downtown Chicago several restaurants were established, and in the suburb of Hinsdale, a restaurant-gift shop was opened. Perhaps most important was the changed status of the Grand Canyon hotels and eating places. In 1954 all facilities were purchased from the Santa Fe, and a twenty-year concession contract was signed with the National Park Service. More than a million dollars was immediately spent in modernization of the South Rim facilities.¹²

Today one can travel between Cleveland and Los Angeles and all the way enjoy Fred Harvey food served in a variety of unique eating places. Representative are the Kungsholm in Chicago, the Green Gables at Phoenix, and El Adobe at San Juan Capistrano. Stops may be made along the Illinois Toll Highway since restaurants and shops at five locations are operated by Fred Harvey.¹³ The diversity is further demonstrated in large-scale catering for customers like General Motors, the Admiral Corporation, and the Aerospace Corporation.¹⁴ If one is so inclined, he can purchase "private label" Fred Harvey

12. Hospitality Magazine (Chicago: Fred Harvey), July-August, 1963, pp. 13-14.

13. Ibid., p. 14.

14. Hospitality Magazine (Chicago: Fred Harvey), November, 1963, p. 12.

blended scotch whiskey.¹⁵ The newest addition to the impressive Harvey complex is the Los Angeles Music Center, which has two restaurants as well as two refreshment bars.¹⁶

The same cooperation exists today between the Fred Harvey company and the Santa Fe. Most of the old Harvey Houses are only memories, but seventy-two dining cars and sixty-eight lounge cars remain an important part of the railway accommodation.¹⁷ Although company officials have often said that they wished the public were even more critical,¹⁸ and though improved dining car service is stressed in all possible ways, this remains a difficult area in system management.

15. Hospitality Magazine (Chicago: Fred Harvey), November-December, 1964, p. 8.

16. Hospitality Magazine (Chicago: Fred Harvey), November, 1963, p. 10.

17. Roche, interview.

18. Eugene Whitmore, "Customer Good-Will a la Fred Harvey," American Business, July, 1938. Comments overheard by the author while aboard the Santa Fe Chief, June 12, 1965 are illustrative: "The way that station-master [who, when under some strain due to upset schedules, had shouted at his passengers] acted is a reason the trains are having problems. . . ." "The food is terrible. The service is terrible. . . ." "If the Santa Fe is interested in attracting passengers why don't they decorate this car in a Southwestern style? Dress it up so it will appeal to the kids. . . ." "Fred Harvey should disguise one of the bosses and send him around to check up on these diners. . . ." It should be noted that the latter comments were made by two obvious cranks who liked having the chance to complain. The company occasionally receives written complaint about some phase of its service. For an example of one of these letters and of the deft and tactful reply, see Appendix IX.

While railway passenger traffic has fallen off considerably in recent years, the Santa Fe still values the business and intends to keep it.¹⁹

Today Fred Harvey is the sixth largest food retailer in the United States.²⁰ The name is no longer associated solely with that of the Santa Fe, but it still means good food to many people. "We headed for the Harvey House because we knew they would serve us a good meal" is the comment most often given as a sort of unconscious testimonial.²¹ "Meals by Fred Harvey" has stood for many things, and for that reason the name of the founder will not be soon forgotten in western America.

19. Passenger business is up 2.3% over last year--possibly as a reflection of the \$11,000,000 invested in new equipment within the past three years.

20. Author's interview with Daggett Harvey, Jr., June 1, 1965.

21. Author's interview with Mrs. Emma Herrick, April 18, 1965.

APPENDIX I

FRED HARVEY HOTELS, EATING HOUSES,
AND NEWSSTANDS

(From a list prepared by Miss Gerard,
Chicago office, April 19, 1949, with
minor additions and revisions)

<u>Year Established</u>	<u>Location</u>	<u>Type</u>	<u>Year Closed</u>
1876	Topeka, Kansas	Eating House	1940
1878	Florence, Kansas	Hotel	1901
1879	Lakin, Kansas		1880
1880	Coolidge, Kansas		?
1883	Newton, Kansas		?
1883	Hutchinson, Kansas	<u>Bisonte</u>	1946
1883	La Junta, Colorado	<u>El Otero</u>	1948
1883	Las Vegas, New Mexico	<u>Castañeda</u>	1948
1883	Las Vegas, New Mexico	<u>Montezuma</u>	1903
1883	Lamy, New Mexico	<u>El Ortiz</u>	1948
1883	Albuquerque, New Mexico	<u>Alvarado</u>	
1883	San Marcial, New Mexico		1930
1883	Rincon, New Mexico		1933
1883	Deming, New Mexico		1929

<u>Year Established</u>	<u>Location</u>	<u>Type</u>	<u>Year Closed</u>
1883	Wellington, Kansas		?
1883	Arkansas City, Kansas		1933
1883	Wallace, New Mexico		?
1887	Williams, Arizona	<u>Fray Marcos</u>	?
1887	Barstow, California	<u>Casa Del Desierto</u>	?
1887	Winslow, Arizona	<u>La Posada</u>	?
1887	Needles, California	<u>El Garces</u>	1948
1887	San Bernardino, California		?
1895	Ash Fork, Arizona	<u>Escalante</u>	?
1895	Trinidad, Colorado	<u>Cardinas</u>	1933
1895	Seligman, Arizona	<u>The Havasu</u>	?
1895	Gallup, New Mexico	<u>El Navajo</u>	?
1895	Kingman, Arizona		1938
1896	Dodge City, Kansas	<u>El Vaquero</u>	1948
1896	*St. Louis, Missouri ¹		1930
1896	*Afton, Oklahoma	Newsstand	1930
1896	*Birmingham, Alabama	Newsstand, lunchroom	1930
1896	*Cape Girardeau, Missouri	Newsstand	1930

1. These establishments (indicated by an asterisk) were on the St. Louis and San Francisco, or "Frisco" as it was commonly known. The line was not a part of the Santa Fe system after reorganization of that railroad in 1897.

<u>Year Established</u>	<u>Location</u>	<u>Type</u>	<u>Year Closed</u>
1896	*Fayetteville, Arkansas	Newsstand	1930
1896	*Fort Scott, Kansas		1930
1896	*Francis, Oklahoma		1930
1896	*Hugo, Oklahoma		1930
1896	*Joplin, Missouri	Newsstand	1930
1896	*Madill, Oklahoma	Newsstand	1930
1896	*Memphis, Tennessee	Newsstand	1930
1896	*Monett, Missouri	Newsstand	1930
1896	*Okmulgee, Oklahoma	Newsstand	1930
1896	*Paris, Texas	Newsstand	1930
1896	*Rogers, Arkansas	Newsstand	1930
1896	*Sapulpa, Oklahoma		1930
1896	*Snyder, Oklahoma		1930
1896	*Springfield, Missouri		1930
1896	*Tower Grove, Missouri	Newsstand	1930
1896	*Tulsa, Oklahoma	Newsstand	1930
1897	Galveston, Texas		1938
1899	Dearborn Station, Chicago		
1900	Mojave, California		1935
1900	Merced, California		1935
1900	Bakersfield, California		1948

<u>Year Established</u>	<u>Location</u>	<u>Type</u>	<u>Year Closed</u>
1900	Los Angeles (Old Station)		1939
1900	Fresno, California	Newsstand	1923
1900	Stockton, California	Newsstand	1923
1903	El Tovar, Grand Canyon		
1904	Carlsbad, New Mexico		?
1904	Raton, New Mexico		?
1906	El Paso, Texas		1948
1907	Belen, New Mexico		1935
1910	San Diego, California	(lunch room closed)	1936
1911	Houston, Texas		1948
1914	Kansas City, Missouri		
?	**Amarillo, Texas ²		
?	**Ardmore, Oklahoma	Newsstand	?
?	**Bartlesville, Oklahoma	Newsstand	?
?	**Beaumont, Texas	Newsstand	?
?	**Brownwood, Texas		1938
?	**Canadian, Texas		1939
?	**Chanute, Kansas		1931

2. Opening dates for these installations (indicated by two asterisks) are not available. The dates would probably cover a thirty-six year period, however, since in 1879 a Santa Fe station existed in Emporia, Kansas, and not until 1914 did the railroad build to Purcell, Oklahoma.

<u>Year Established</u>	<u>Location</u>	<u>Type</u>	<u>Year Closed</u>
?	**Cleburne, Texas		1931
?	**Clovis, New Mexico	<u>Gran Quivira</u>	?
?	**Colorado Springs, Colorado		1938
?	**Dallas, Texas		1923
?	**Emporia, Kansas		1937
?	**Fort Worth, Texas		1933
?	**Gainesville, Texas		1931
?	**Guthrie, Oklahoma		1930
?	**Lawrence, Kansas	Newsstand	?
?	**Oklahoma City, Oklahoma	Newsstand	?
?	**Purcell, Oklahoma		1935
?	**Rosenberg, Texas		1923
?	**San Francisco	Ferry Building, Newsstand	?
?	**Silsbee, Texas		1923
?	**Slaton, Texas		?
?	**Somerville, Texas		1932
?	**Sweetwater, Texas		1933
?	**Syracuse, Kansas	<u>Sequoyah</u>	1936
?	**Temple, Texas		1933
?	**Vaughn, New Mexico	<u>Las Chavez</u>	?
?	**Waynoka, Oklahoma		1937

<u>Year Established</u>	<u>Location</u>	<u>Type</u>	<u>Year Closed</u>
?	**Wichita, Kansas		1935
1925	Chicago Union Station		
1926	Santa Fe, New Mexico	<u>La Fonda</u>	
1930	Cleveland Union Station		
1933	Strauss Building		1938
1938	San Francisco Bus Terminal		?
1939	Hollywood Restaurant		?
1947	Painted Desert Inn		
1948	Albuquerque Airport		
?	East St. Louis		?
?	Amory, Mississippi	Newsstand	?
?	Enid, Oklahoma	Newsstand	?
?	Henryetta, Oklahoma	Newsstand	?
?	Muskogee, Oklahoma	Newsstand	?

APPENDIX II

THE FIRST CONTRACT BETWEEN
THE SANTA FE AND FRED HARVEY

The first formal contract of record with Fred Harvey is the one dated January 1, 1878, which covered only the operation of the dining room at Florence, Kansas. The contract ran for a term of five years, or until January 1, 1883. The Santa Fe agreed that it would stop its through mainline passenger trains for two meals per day at this dining station, and "on a failure to do so by change in the place of dining, or if dining cars are placed upon the line," it would take over the house and pay Harvey at the price fixed in the agreement. This contract was renewed and supplemented at various times, but there is no record of any further formal contract until that of May 1, 1889.¹

1. "Brief History of Santa Fe-Fred Harvey Relations," p. 4.

APPENDIX III

THE SECOND CONTRACT BETWEEN
THE SANTA FE AND FRED HARVEY

The contract of May 1, 1889 between the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad Company and Fred Harvey ran for a term of five years. It granted to Fred Harvey the exclusive right, with some minor reservations, to manage and operate the eating houses, lunch stands, and hotel facilities which the company then owned, leased, or was to lease at any time in the future upon any of its railroads west of the Missouri River, including all lines then leased or operated in the name of the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe. Coal, ice, and water were to be provided by the railroad; employees and supplies were to be hauled free. Profits, arising from the operations were to go to Fred Harvey in full for all services rendered by him in such business.¹

1. "Brief History of Santa Fe-Fred Harvey Relations," p. 4.

APPENDIX IV

FRED HARVEY'S SURPRISE VISIT:

SEPTEMBER 11, 1881

EATING ESTABLISHMENT EXCITEMENTS

Whooping It Up in Sad Shape for a Well-Known Hotel Proprietor

Fred Harvey, proprietor in power of the eating houses along the Santa Fe road, is having a terrible time of it and seems to be gaining an unsavory reputation. Immediately upon his return from New York on Saturday, Mr. C. C. Cunningham, manager of the Depot hotel, resigned, and Charlie Prindle, the ever-popular, over-worked, never complaining night clerk followed suit yesterday at the Hot Springs hotel. Harvey is said to have acted so outlandishly "off" that Manager Keller, the best man in his employ, kicked over the traces and packed his trunk. At Deming things have gone wrong and at Callahan, the manager, was tossed out onto the platform and the dining room equipment followed after him in quick order. Inquiry unfolds the tale. It is stoutly claimed that the houses have been poorly supplied with provender and that Harvey is to be blamed all around for not running his houses in better shape. The grub was poor--so poor in fact that the beef stake [sic] was fairly alive with little crawling things commonly called maggots. A conspiracy was entered into last week to gut the Depot hotel dining hall, but the manager "got onto" the racket in season to prepare such a good supper that the kick couldn't be made consistently that night and the house was spared. We are not the one to charge Harvey with any misdemeanor, but think he has shown a lack of proper decorum, and hope, for the sake of his reputation, that things will run smoother in the future and that his name will not be contaminated by town talk, as it has been for the past forty-eight hours.¹

1. Las Vegas Daily Optic, September 12, 1881.

HARVEY HEARD

As is quite natural Mr. Fred Harvey, proprietor of the railroad eating houses, after receiving the mild impeachment in last night's OPTIC, comes to the front with his side of the story. Out of justice to the man, we are disposed to give all the space he desires, having no particular fight to wage against him. He says that the trouble is incited by chronic howlers and it's only a question as to whether he, or the railroad employes, shall dictate the management of his houses. To go into details, Cunningham was let out on incompetency, Prindle was discharged by somebody named Snyder for disobeying orders and Keller left of his own accord, arising from instructions in the kitchen, given by Mr. Harvey. Of the trouble at Deming, Harvey had no official notification and could say nothing about it. The gentleman states that it's no easy task to operate half a dozen of hotels here in New Mexico where the market is so far distant, and believes he has ability to get along with detrimental circumstances about as well as the next fellow. That's all.²

2. Las Vegas Daily Optic, September 13, 1881.

APPENDIX V

SEVENTY-FIVE CENT DINNER MENU ON WESTBOUND

PASSENGER TRAINS IN 1888

Blue Points on Shell
English Peas Au Gratin
Filets of Whitefish, Madeira Sauce
Potatoes Francaise
Young Capon, Hollandaise Sauce
Roast Sirloin of Beef au jus Pork with Applesauce
Salmi of Duck Queen Olives
Mashed Potatoes Boiled Sweet Potatoes Elgin Sugar Corn
Turkey Stuffed Cranberry Sauce
Baked Veal Pie English Style
Charlotte of Peaches, Cognac Sauce
Prairie Chicken, Currant Jelly
Lobster Salad au Mayonnaise
Sugar Cured Ham Pickled Lamb's Tongue
Beets
Celery French Slaw
Apple Pie Cold Custard a la Chantilly Mince Pie
Assorted Cakes Bananas New York Ice Cream
Oranges Catawba Wine Jelly Grapes
Edam and Roquefort Cheese
Bent's Water Crackers French Coffee

* * * * *

APPENDIX VI

POETRY IN PRAISE OF THE HARVEY GIRL

I have seen some splendid paintings in my day,
And I have looked at faultless statuary;
I have seen the orchard trees a-bloom in May,
And watched their colors in the shadows vary;
I have viewed the noblest shrines in Italy,
And gazed upon the richest mosques of Turkey--
But the fairest of all sights, it seems to me,
Was the Harvey girl I saw in Albuquerque.¹

If Harvey Food
Has won the World, The one
Who Won
Is the Harvey Girl

One crisp December Morn--
Chilly was the day,
I sat behind my coffee
In a Harvey House Cafe.
Fred's coffee is a nectar--
A beverage supreme,
And the girl who serves it
Adds glamour to my dream.
Since Congress made amendments
And set aside the toddy,
Harvey has a substitute
To cheer us, soul and body.

1. Leiger Mitchell Hodges in the Philadelphia North American, May 5, 1905.

The aroma most enticing,
Blending with the steam,
The face across the hazy cup--
The vision of a queen.
I like my morning coffee,
Before the busy noon,
When she has time to chatter.
While I dally with my spoon.
All dressed in spotless linen,
Her hair all in a curl,
So purely sweetly winning,
Is the happy Harvey girl.²

2. John Moore in The Amarillo Globe, December 24, 1931.

APPENDIX VII

FROM THE DOCKET: THE COAT RULE CONTROVERSY

The record shows that Fred Harvey supplies coats to all his patrons who have none, and who desire to eat in the dining room. The rule requiring the wearing of coats is applied equally to all, and all are equally capable of complying therewith, and it is therefore not discriminatory.

The obstinate patron who, by refusing to wear a coat, pays at the lunch counter a higher price for a meal than he would pay in the dining room, must charge his loss to his own stubbornness and bear his self-inflicted injury without complaint of discrimination.

Society in America has for years assumed jurisdiction to a great extent to dictate certain regulations of dress in first-class dining-rooms, and these conventions of society cannot be entirely ignored, without disastrous results to those who serve a metropolitan public in such capacity. Civilized society has developed the masculine attire from the breech-clout to the coat and trousers. Always a part of the masculine garb, and often a major portion of feminine dress, is worn as an adornment to satisfy the conventions of society rather than for bodily comfort and protection. Unlike the lower animals, we all demand the maintenance of some style and fashion in the dining-room, but where to draw the line between the breech-clout and the full dress suit, tailored in Paris or New York, presents a question often affording great difference of opinion and that is the trouble here. . . .

To abrogate this rule and require the dining-room manager to draw the line of dress at mere cleanliness would lead quickly to personal disputes over differences of opinion. To permit the coatless to enter would bring in those with the sleeveless shirt, and even the shirtless garb that we frequently see where no formality is required. Man's coat is usually the cleanest of his garments, and the fact that he is required to wear a coat serves notice that decorum is expected and creates a wholesome psychological effect.

Fred Harvey equips these dining-rooms with the most luxurious furnishings, pleasing to the trained and appreciative eye, satisfying to the esthetic taste, and places the patrons amidst surroundings best calculated to stimulate the appetite. Food seldom elsewhere excelled is served by well garbed and efficient attendants. Certainly it is not amiss to require the gentleman who would there dine to don a coat for twenty minutes, as he sits in front of the cooling electric fans always there afforded. Our nation's chief executive has recently well said that "a true citizen of a real republic cannot exist as a segregated, unattached fragment of selfishness, but must live as a constituent part of the whole society, in which he can secure his own welfare only as he secures the welfare of his fellowmen." Complaints against such rule, by those unwilling momentarily to endure a slight discomfort, out of regard for the feelings, tastes and desires of others are few compared with the storm of protests the abrogation of the rule would ultimately produce.¹

1. Waters, op. cit., pp. 277-278, Supreme Court of Oklahoma (229 Pac. 428, 1924). Henderson, op. cit., Appendix XII.

APPENDIX VIII

ELBERT HUBBARD'S EULOGY TO FRED HARVEY

Fred Harvey? Do you know the name? If not, then your education has been much neglected.

Fred Harvey used to run a restaurant. He ran it so well that the Santa Fe railroad folks got him to establish a line of restaurants along the road from Chicago to California, and also down into Texas. Some say that the Santa Fe made Fred Harvey, but the fact is, Fred Harvey had a little something to do with making the Santa Fe Railroad.

Fred Harvey set a standard of excellence! It is a terrible thing to acquire a Fred Harvey reputation.

Where the name, Fred Harvey, appears, the traveling public expects much. It may be on the desert of Arizona, a hundred miles from water, but if it is a Fred Harvey place, you get filtered spring water, ice, fresh fruit and every other good thing that you can find at the same season in the best places in New York or Chicago. How the miracle occurs you do not know--it is a Fred Harvey concern--that is enough!

And so this man, Fred Harvey, has educated thousands of young men and women, and showed them how to meet people, how to serve them without boring them, how to speed them on their way in gladness.

Fred Harvey is dead, but his spirit still lives. The standard of excellence he set can never go back. He has been a civilizer and benefactor. He has added to the physical, mental and spiritual welfare of millions. No sermon can equal a Fred Harvey example--no poet can better a Fred Harvey precept. Fred Harvey simply kept faith with the public. He gave pretty nearly a perfect service. I did not know Fred Harvey, but I know this: he must have been an honest man, a good man--for the kind of a business a man builds up is a reflection of himself--spun out of his heart. Man, like Deity, creates in his own

image. I take off my hat to Fred Harvey, who served the patrons of the Santa Fe so faithfully and well, that dying, he yet lives, his name a symbol of all that is honest, excellent, hygienic, beautiful and useful.¹

1. Elbert Hubbard's Eulogy to Fred Harvey, Fred Harvey Files, circa 1907.

APPENDIX IX

LETTERS CONCERNING THE CONDITION OF
MULES AT THE GRAND CANYON¹

Dear Sirs,

Recently my husband and I had our vacation on the South Rim of the Grand Canyon. While we were there we rode the mule trail to Phantom Ranch. Stayed overnight and returned to the rim the following day.

The purpose of this letter is to register a statement concerning the condition of the mules which we depend upon for our safe travel.

I do not pretend to be an authority on the proper conditions for healthy mules but it seemed to me inhumane to see these beasts as they were. The appearance is noticed first. Rough, shaggy, and dirty coats. Their hair is in need of being brushed as it kept coming off all over everything. Some had manure stains and some had sores and scars of past sores--indicating mis-use or mistreatment. Upon inquiry I was lead to understand that the proper feed for this type of animals is grass--they are getting green hay. While riding behind other mules it is quite unpleasant because of the gas that is passed along the way. It would seem to me that all these conditions would shorten the lives of these animals and in some cases endanger the riders. . . .

I am inquiring further to find if Arizona has a Humane Society, and if I find one I intend informing them of these same conditions. . . .

Sincerely,

Mrs. Paul A. Farber

1. These letters were written during the fifteen days between May 14 and May 29, 1965. Fred Harvey Files, 1965.

Dear Mrs. Farber:

Thank you for your letter of May 14, 1965 regarding your trip. . . .

The mules are shaggy looking as they have not shed all of their winter coat, and it will be the early part of June before they are sleek looking. However, there was no excuse for them to be dirty looking, and I can assure that they are brushed clean especially underneath the saddle each day.

None of our mules, when used, have sore backs. . . . Our mules get the best feed that money can buy. . . and we welcome the Humane Society or the National Park service to inspect our stock at any time. . . .

Thank you again, for taking the time to write us on this matter. . . .

Yours truly,

J. M. Cunningham
Operating Manager, Transportation

Dear John:

I think your reply to Mrs. Paul A. Farber's letter about the condition of our mules is excellent--both tactful and lucid. However, you neglected to answer one of her complaints. She makes this comment: "While riding behind other mules it is quite unpleasant because of the gas that is passed along the way."

Don't you think it would have been true Fred Harvey service if we had assured her that, from now on, all of our mules would be corked while they were making the trail trips? Of course, this might have a ballooning effect on the mules and perhaps we could introduce a new service--"Take a Muleycopter to the bottom of the Canyon!"

Daggett Harvey

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