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Branding the Southwest: A Preservation Plan for the Fred Harvey Houses

Patrick W. Kidd

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**BRANDING THE SOUTHWEST:
A PRESERVATION PLAN FOR THE FRED HARVEY HOUSES**

Patrick W. Kidd

A Thesis

in

Historic Preservation

**Presented to the Faculties of the University of Pennsylvania in
Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements of the Degree of**

Master of Science in Historic Preservation

2010

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This work is dedicated to all those who strive to preserve and promote our rich rail heritage and to make it available to future generations.

We owe you our thanks.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Introduction.....	1
Why the Harvey Houses Should Be Preserved.....	3
Fred Harvey Builds His Business Empire.....	6
The Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe Railway and Fred Harvey Join Forces.....	12
Fred Harvey and the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe Expand Into The Southwest.....	22
The Development of Tourism in the American Southwest.....	28
Creating Corporate Identity: “Fred Harvey” And The “Santa Fe”.....	34
The Use of Architecture To Create A Corporate Image in the Southwest.....	39
The Harvey House Experience In The Early Twentieth Century.....	44
The Second Generation of Harvey Houses as Expressions of Romanticized Southwestern Regional Architecture.....	54
<i>La Castañeda</i>	59
<i>Alvarado</i>	63
<i>El Ortiz</i>	74
<i>La Fonda</i>	76
<i>Fray Marcos</i>	85
<i>El Garces</i>	88
<i>La Posada</i>	91
The Current State OfThe Five Remaining Harvey Houses.....	99
<i>La Castañeda</i>	100
<i>Fray Marcos</i>	102
<i>El Garces</i>	105
<i>La Fonda</i>	106
<i>La Posada</i>	108
Considering Preservation On A Regional Scale.....	111

Cultural Landscapes, National Heritage Areas, And American Preservation Practice.....	114
Western NHAs And Relevant Precedents For The Development Of A Railroad-Focused NHA.....	119
Crafting a Railroad-Focused NHA.....	125
Creating Broader Links to Rail Heritage.....	136
Conclusion.....	141
Endnotes.....	150
Bibliography.....	168
Index.....	176

LIST OF FIGURES

Fig. 1: Map of the study area.....	5
Fig 2: Fred Harvey (SFEM v10, n6).....	6
Fig. 3: ATSF bridge over the Colorado River (SFEM v9, n6).....	9
Fig. 4: The first Harvey House, Topeka, KS (SFEM v10, n3)	13
Fig. 5: ATSF-FHC “Results” cartoon (SFEM v9, n3).....	13
Fig 6: FHC dairy, Del Rio, AZ (SFEM v10, n3).....	14
Fig. 7: Staff of the Belen, NM Harvey House (SFEM v9, n1).....	15
Fig. 8: Lobby of El Ortiz (UAZSC).....	16
Fig. 9: Staff of the FHC Central Office (SFEM v10, n3).....	18
Fig. 10: Edward Payson Ripley (SFEM v9, n12).....	22
Fig 11 Cartoon of the ATSF at the Raton Pass (SFEM v9, n9).....	23
Fig. 12: The first train from Lamy to Santa Fe (SFEM v17, n2).....	23
Fig. 13: Roundhouse and rail yard at Winslow, AZ (SFEM v17, n10).....	25
Fig. 14: Thomas Moran landscape of the Grand Canyon (Berke, 46).....	32
Fig. 15: “Corporation with a Soul” banner (SFEM v9, n12).....	36
Fig. 16: Kiln-fired brick at Belen, New Mexico (Author).....	40
Fig. 17: Patio at La Fonda in Santa Fe (UAZSC).....	48
Fig. 18 Lunchroom at La Posada (Berke, 177).....	49
Fig. 19: Dining Room at La Posada (UAZSC).....	49

Fig. 20: Guestroom at the Harvey House in Barstow, California (Melzer, 92).....	50
Fig. 21 Harvey Girls' living quarters, Las Vegas, NM (Author).....	52
Figs 22-23: Floorplans of the Belen, NM Harvey House (Melzer, 67).....	52
Fig. 24: Mary Jane Colter, age 23 (NPS).....	54
Fig. 25: Cover of Mission San Luis Rey (SFEM, Dec 1915)	57
Fig. 26: The California Building (Van Slyck).....	58
Fig. 27: La Castañeda seen from across the main line tracks (UAZSC).....	61
Fig. 28: Las Vegas Depot (Author).....	61
Fig. 29: South arcade of La Castañeda (Author).....	61
Fig. 30: Curio Shop at La Castañeda (Author).....	63
Fig. 31: Alvarado from across the tracks (Berke, 122).....	66
Fig. 32: Indian Building at the Alvarado (Berke, 55).....	67
Fig. 33: The Indian Room at the Alvarado (Berke, 54).....	67
Fig 34: Herman Schweizer (UAZSC).....	67
Fig. 35: Gardens at the Alvarado (Melzer, 51).....	69
Fig. 36: Planted interior court at the Alvarado (Melzer, 62).....	69
Figs. 37-38: Governor's Palace, Santa Fe, before and after "Santa Fe treatment" (SFEM v9, n7).....	72
Fig. 39: Presentation sketch of El Ortiz (UAZSC).....	76
Fig. 40: Main entrance of El Ortiz (UAZSC).....	76
Fig. 41: <i>Placita</i> of El Ortiz (UAZSC).....	76

Fig. 42 John Gaw Meem addition to La Fonda (Author).....	80
Fig. 43: La Fonda suite designed by Mary Colter (UAZSC).....	80
Fig. 44: Plan of ground floor, La Fonda (Melzer, 45).....	80
Fig. 45: La Fonda <i>portales</i> with removable glass doors (Author).....	81
Fig. 46: View of La Fonda from the plaza (UAZSC).....	81
Fig. 47: Main entrance of La Fonda from the Santa Fe Trail (Author).....	81
Fig. 48: Exterior entrance to the Indian Room (Author).....	81
Fig. 49: Indian Lecture Lounge, La Fonda (Author).....	81
Fig. 50: Fireplace in the Portales Lounge, La Fonda (Author).....	81
Fig. 51: La Fonda Christmas Menu, 1931 (LFHC).....	82
Fig. 52: Ad for the Panama-California Exposition (SFEM v9, n1).....	84
Fig. 53: Varied Industries Building (SFEM cover, June 1915).....	85
Fig. 54: Trackside elevation of the Fray Marcos (Author).....	87
Fig. 55: Window, Fray Marcos (Author).....	87
Fig. 56: Lobby of the Fray Marcos (UAZSC)	87
Fig. 57: Indian Room at the Fray Marcos (UAZSC).....	87
Fig. 58: Trackside facade of El Garces (UAZSC).....	90
Fig. 59: Fountain in the interior court of El Garces (UAZSC).....	90
Fig. 60: Lobby, El Garces (UAZSC).....	90
Fig. 61: Guestroom, El Garces (UAZSC).....	90

Fig. 62: Postcard view of La Posada (LPH).....	91
Fig. 63: Facade of La Posada facing old Route 66 (Author).....	91
Fig. 64 : Plan of the ground floor of La Posada (LPH).....	93
Fig. 65: Train station at La Posada (Author).....	93
Fig. 66: Arcade connecting the station and the hotel, La Posada (Author).....	93
Fig. 67: View of La Posada and trackside lawn (Author).....	95
Fig. 68: View down the Cinderblock Alley, La Posada (Author).....	95
Fig. 69: View from the ballroom/lounge into the hall and beyond (Author).....	95
Fig. 70: Ballroom/lounge, La Posada (Author).....	95
Fig. 71: Vestibule of a guest room, La Posada (Author).....	96
Fig. 72: Sunken walled garden, La Posada (Author).....	97
Fig. 73: Fountain in the sunken garden, La Posada (Author).....	97
Fig. 74: <i>Portale</i> along the Cinderblock Alley, La Posada (Author).....	97
Fig. 75: Wrought-iron wishing well that once stood in the garden, La Posada (UAZSC)....	97
Fig. 76: Archway leading to the “natural” landscape area, La Posada (Author).....	97
Fig. 77: Cottonwood grove, La Posada (Author).....	97
Fig. 78: Mary Colter, c 1950 (NPS).....	99
Figs: 79-82: Current building conditions, La Castañeda (Author).....	102
Fig. 83: Current condition of the stairhall, Fray Marcos (Author).....	104
Fig 84: Former hotel wing with missing balcony, Fray Marcos (Author).....	104

Fig 85: Damage to the concrete, Fray Marcos (Author).....	104
Fig. 86: Covered patio, La Fonda (Author).....	108
Fig 87: Indian Lecture Lounge, c 1930s (UAZSC).....	108
Fig. 88: Fireplace in the Indian Lecture Room (Author).....	108
Fig. 89: New formal garden and parking area, La Posada (Author).....	111
Fig. 90: Trains on the BNSF main line (Author).....	125
Fig. 91: The main line at Lamy, NM (Author).....	127
Fig. 92: Lamp post banner, Las Vegas, NM (Author).....	128
Fig. 93: Lamp post design, Albuquerque, NM (Author).....	129
Figs. 94-95: The former locomotive shops at Albuquerque, NM (Author).....	130
Fig. 96: New development across from the Albuquerque Railyard (Author).....	130
Fig. 97: Interior view of the locomotive shops, Albuquerque, NM (Harvey House Museum, Belen, NM).....	130
Figs. 98-99: View of the redeveloped Santa Fe Railyards (Author).....	131
Fig. 100: Interpretive panel, Santa Fe Railyards (Author).....	131
Fig. 101: Park at the southern end of the Santa Fe Railyards (Author).....	131
Fig. 102: Former ATSF station, Santa Fe (Author).....	131
Fig. 103: Railroad mural on the side of a Winslow building (Author).....	132
Fig. 104: ATSF boxcar (Author).....	132
Fig. 105: Brochure for the Harvey House Museum at Belen, NM (Author).....	133
Fig. 106: Sign directing drivers to the Harvey House Museum (Author).....	133

Fig. 107: Mock-up of a Harvey Girl’s bedroom (Author).....133

Fig. 108: Chef’s coat worn by one of the employees at Belen Harvey House (Author).....133

Fig. 109: Lamp post banners promoting Route 66 heritage, Albuquerque (Author)..... 137

Fig. 110: Image of “Good Indians” from the *Santa Fe Employes [sic] Magazine*
(SFEM v17, n3).....143

Fig. 111: “Etiquette” advice for visiting an American Indian community
(ACVB, 2009).....143

Fig. 112: Butterfly dancer from Ohkay Owingeh/San Juan Pueblo in
ceremonial attire (ACVB, 2009).....143

Fig. 113: Folklorico dancer (ACVB, 2009)..... 144

All figures come from the sources listed below. In the above listings, the information within the parenthesis cites the source.

(Author) Patrick W. Kidd. All photos were taken in January 2010

(ACVB) Albuquerque Convention and Visitors Bureau’s *Official 2009 Visitors Guide and Vacation Planner*

(Berke) Berke, Arnold. Mary Colter: Architect of the Southwest. New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2002.

(LFHC) La Fonda Hotel Collection, The New Mexico History Museum, Fray Angélico Chávez History Library, Santa Fe, NM.

(LPH) La Posada Hotel Brochure, courtesy of Allan Affeldt

(Melzer) Melzer, Richard. Images of America: Fred Harvey Houses of the Southwest. Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2008.

(NPS) National Park Service: Grand Canyon National Park Museum Collection. From the Mary Larkin Smith Collection and the Alvina Zimmerman Collection

(SFEM) *Santa Fe Employes [sic] Magazine*, University of Michigan courtesy of Google Books

(UAZSC) University of Arizona Special Collections, Fred Harvey Collection Exhibit, available online at <http://harvey.library.arizona.edu/>

(Van Slyck) Van Slyck, Abigail. “Mañana, Mañana: Racial Stereotypes and the Anglo Rediscovery of the Southwest’s Vernacular Architecture, 1890-1920.” *Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture* Vol. 5 (1995): 95-108.

INTRODUCTION

Having grown up on the East Coast, I had never heard of Fred Harvey or his “Houses” until the summer of 2009, when I was interning with Amtrak’s Great American Stations Project (GAS). GAS, which falls under Amtrak’s Department of Government Affairs, was started in order to assist municipalities interested in renovating or restoring their historic rail depots; it has created a clearinghouse for information about rehabilitation financing, legal and design issues, and compliance with the Americans with Disabilities Act. Since Amtrak does not own the majority of the stations in its network, the program benefits the company by helping communities improve the stations which it serves, while also providing municipalities with readily available information tailored to their needs.

As part of the GAS internship, I researched the history of stations along the *Sunset Limited* route running from Los Angeles to New Orleans, and in doing so, came across the Harvey Houses that had once graced El Paso Union Station and the depot at Deming, New Mexico. Reading descriptions of the fine meals and service that could always be expected at a Harvey establishment piqued my curiosity, and I began to investigate the company and the man who gave it his name. Casual research led to the realization that many of the original Harvey Houses had fallen to the wrecking ball since the mid-twentieth century and the decline of passenger railroads in the United States. Although many parties today acknowledge the important role that the Harvey Houses played in the developing West, their future is all but certain; in fact, the so-called Havasu in Seligman, Arizona was demolished in 2008.

How to start thinking about a collective preservation policy for these buildings, many of which were important architecturally, socially, culturally, and economically to their communities and region? That question helped lead me to this thesis. The other piece of the

puzzle came from the buzz generated by plans for high-speed rail in the country. Long the dream of American rail enthusiasts, this idea came a little closer to fruition with the backing of President Barack Obama through his *Vision for High-speed Rail in America* and an initial investment of \$8 billion. Between the talk about sleek new trains, tracks, and stations, it seemed more important than ever to look back to our rich rail heritage and the existing infrastructure to better understand which older elements might be incorporated into a new high-speed rail system. While we look to the future, the past can be our guide, especially since the United States had a passenger rail service that was among the best in the world.

Once a common sight throughout the Midwest and Southwest, today many Harvey Houses have been lost; yet their images surprisingly live on in the memories of our elders, the last living generation to have actually interacted with the buildings and the employees who had established the Fred Harvey Company (FHC) as the paragon of American hostelry and food service in the twentieth century. With their passing, that last direct link will be lost, but thankfully, scholars such as Leslie Poling-Kempes have recorded their recollections on paper for the official record. Their stories are also handed down to children and grandchildren, forming another generation with an appreciation for the Harvey heritage and the impact that it had on their loved ones.

WHY THE HARVEY HOUSES SHOULD BE PRESERVED

The remaining Harvey Houses should be preserved for a number of reasons. First, they hold architectural significance, particularly those in the Southwest. These were some of the first major public buildings to exhibit the aesthetic *mélange* typically referred to as the Mission, Pueblo, and Spanish Revivals, popular as the nineteenth century gave way to the twentieth. A number were designed by the leading architects of their day, and were major commissions that received the full attention of their creators. Second, the Harvey Houses were among the first structures built in many railroad towns, and became social centers where not only travelers but also townspeople mingled and gathered to learn the local news.

Third, the Romantic aesthetic employed in their architecture and interior design was an essential tool in the marketing of the Southwest as a potential tourist destination. The “great” Harvey Houses of New Mexico and Arizona were specifically built to attract overnight tourists to a relatively unknown sector of the country, a move which increased the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe Railroad’s (ATSF) bottom line. The rise of tourism and the ATSF and FHC’s roles in this process would in part lead to the recognition and designation of numerous state and national parks in the region. Fourth, the Harvey Houses represent the rise of modern business practices developed and perfected by the FHC and still implemented by businesses today. The emphasis on standardization, a complex geographically tiered management system, and development of brand identity through architecture and a strong corporate image were all concepts early employed by the FHC.

While Harvey Houses stretched from Chicago to Los Angeles, the term can refer to various types of establishments. A Harvey House might simply be a lunchroom, or a lunchroom paired with a more formal dining room, as was the case with the initial Harvey Houses that

opened in Topeka and Florence, Kansas in the early 1870s. As the enterprise grew and the passenger business became more important to the ATSF, large Harvey Houses that included hotel rooms along with the eateries became common from southwestern Kansas to Southern California. The greatest of these Harvey Houses were built in New Mexico and Arizona to attract tourists to the Southwest over the ATSF main line. In many cases, they were designed as self-contained units equipped to satisfy the traveler's every need.

A number of Harvey Houses were built in and around the southern rim of the Grand Canyon, with access by train from Williams, Arizona. These structures are important, and the earliest located there dating to 1905—El Tovar—was designed by Charles Whittlesey in a rustic style that became ubiquitous in early twentieth century national park architecture. The structures at the Grand Canyon form their own sphere of influence, and can be considered a distinct group of Harvey Houses; in fact, while under FHC control, they were run as a separate unit, apart from the other properties within the FHC dossier. Due to this history, they are not addressed directly in this thesis. Extensive information about these properties can be obtained from National Park Service documents.

This thesis focuses on the “great” Harvey Houses, the tourist oriented hotel and eatery structures that provided a base for those wanting to explore the Southwest in greater depth. Limiting the study to New Mexico and Arizona seems reasonable, as the Raton Pass, which marks the border of Colorado and northeastern New Mexico, is a natural barrier that presented itself as a serious obstacle to ATSF surveyors and engineers as they built the railroad west. Needles, California sits on the border with Arizona, and forms the western limit to the study area (Fig. 1). By the early twentieth century, California's boosters had established a strong, Romantic, myth-filled past for that state which set it apart from the rest of the Southwest in the popular mind; in addition, most of the Harvey Houses in California were

eating-houses only, with the complexes at Needles and Barstow alone approaching the luxury and scale of those further east.

With the geographic area defined as the ATSF main line from Raton, New Mexico, to Needles, California, and excluding the Harvey Houses of the Grand Canyon, this thesis recommends a preservation plan for the five remaining properties at Las Vegas and Santa Fe, New Mexico, Winslow and Williams, Arizona, and Needles, California.

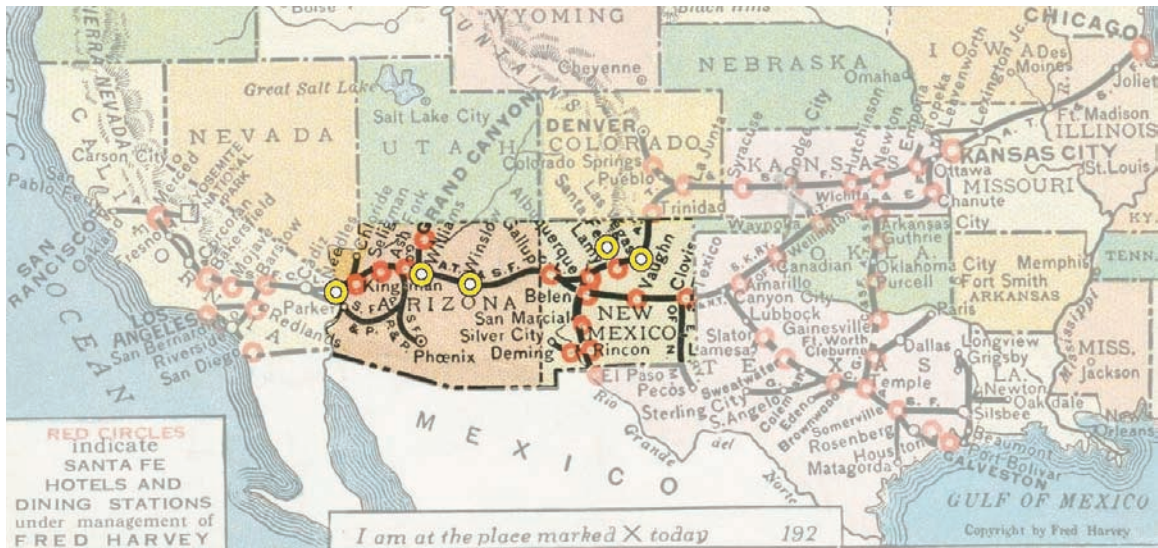


Fig. 1: The study area covers the former ATSF main line running from the Raton Pass in northeast New Mexico to Needles, California, which sits on the border with Arizona. This area includes five former Harvey Houses (yellow circles), but does not consider those at the Grand Canyon.

FRED HARVEY BUILDS HIS BUSINESS EMPIRE

The Fred Harvey Company was the result of a mid-life career move by its founder, an English immigrant who arrived in the United States in the decade prior to the Civil War (Fig. 2). In many ways, the story of Fred Harvey exemplifies that of the “self-made man,” an image that became popular during the Victorian Era. Surprisingly, although he founded a business that would become one of the most important hostelry and restaurant enterprises in the country, little is definitively known about Harvey’s early life. According to family history, he arrived in the United States around age seventeen by way of New York City in the early 1850s. He left behind his parents and siblings who were in perilous financial straits after his father’s failure in the tailoring trade. Recent Harvey scholar Stephen Fried believes that the lack of financial resources at home, coupled with possible drafting into the British army, may have spurred the son’s departure.¹ Family

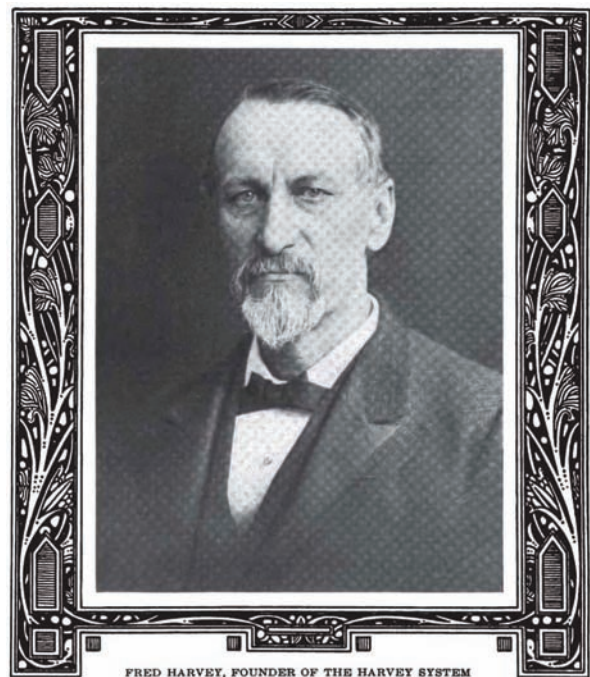


Fig 2: Fred Harvey at the end of the nineteenth century when his company was well established.

legend recounts that Harvey arrived in New York City with only two English pounds to his name, necessitating immediate entry into the working world in order to shelter and feed himself.²

Harvey found employment at Smith and McNell, a well known eatery located across from the Washington Street Market, a prime source for fresh foodstuffs in Manhattan that stretched over a number of blocks on the Lower West Side. Harvey

started out as a dishwasher, but quickly worked his way up to waiter and then line-cook, experiencing the many facets of restaurant labor and management.³ Smith and McNell operated twenty-four hours a day, and bustled at night when the market was at its busiest. With access to fresh foods and a large potential clientele, the restaurant became popular with the dealers, farmers, and customers who interacted with the market.⁴ In a setup that would foreshadow Harvey's own system of restaurants, Smith and McNell ran two eateries under one roof: a ground floor eating hall that focused on cheap, wholesome meals costing fifteen cents, and an upstairs dining room that catered to a higher class clientele.⁵

Within a year and a half, Harvey boarded a boat and headed for New Orleans in search of new opportunities, but the only thing he found was yellow fever, which struck the city in an 1853 epidemic. The city did not appeal to him, and he moved north to St. Louis within the year, where he again worked in a restaurant and by 1858 had taken the oath of citizenship.⁶ It was in St. Louis, the nation's largest frontier town, that Harvey opened his first restaurant with a partner in 1859.⁷ Unfortunately, St. Louis was also a city in the middle, on the border between North and South, putting it in a precarious situation once the Civil War broke out in 1861. Although the state decided not to secede, its pro-Confederacy governor began to raise his own militia, resulting in violence that lasted weeks, disrupting the life of the metropolis.⁸ Harvey had been "appalled by the slavery that surrounded him on all sides" in New Orleans, and thus became a Union sympathizer once loyalties had to be declared.⁹ In contrast, Harvey's business partner was a Confederate supporter, and after a short time of trouble between the two, the partner skipped town with all the profits, leaving Harvey with nothing.

In order to support his then young family, Harvey took various positions, including one as mail clerk across the state in St. Joseph, Missouri, which had only been connected by railroad

in 1859 to the towns of the east. St. Joseph was also the new eastern terminus for the Pony Express, which Harvey would experience firsthand in his mail clerk role. Due to increased postal use during the war, the chief mail clerk in St. Joseph proposed sorting mail aboard a railcar; by summer 1862 the operation was in order, and Fred Harvey participated in the experiment.¹⁰ Here he inevitably saw in action the efficiency of the railroad and the postal service, his position but one in a larger organization made up of many individuals who had to collaborate closely in order for the system as a whole to function smoothly.

Though the initial “rail post office” did not last long, Harvey’s exposure to the railroad would influence his future career path, as he quit the postal service and joined the Hannibal and St. Joseph Railroad and subsequently worked for a number of western rail lines throughout the 1860s and 1870s. As a general agent for the Burlington lines, he became acquainted with the workings of the cattle business, which was a major economic force within Kansas where the trails from the south met the rail yards that would carry the livestock to the processing plants of the Midwest and the East.¹¹ Learning the details of the cattle trade would benefit him in the decades to follow, as he established extended supply networks to serve his hotels and restaurants; the FHC would be known for its fine cuts of beef, perhaps a direct link to Harvey’s early involvement in the trade.

During the 1870s, Harvey juggled railroad work, management of a cattle ranch which he had purchased in 1867, part ownership in a hotel, and stints as a traveling advertising salesman for the *Times and Conservative* of Leavenworth, Kansas, where he had finally settled in 1865.¹² The side job in advertising would again prove valuable a decade later as Harvey established his own chain of eating-houses, and collaborated with the ATSF to effectively market them to customers. Selling advertising meant that Harvey often had to travel to bigger urban centers

to the east, and the most efficient way to do so was by train.

First constructed in the United States in the 1830s, railroads had faced great demands during the Civil War, moving troops and supplies across vast distances to meet the needs of modern warfare. This required coordination, and the attempts to streamline services over hundreds of miles highlighted the disjointed state of the railroad system, which was more a collection of regional networks than a national one. A standard track gauge did not exist; cars could not be easily transferred to service over various trackage; and signaling and other safety devices were uneven across the railroad landscape. The post-war years saw the introduction of

stronger steel rail; construction of bridges to cross important barriers such as rivers and ravines; and improvements in signaling¹³ (Fig 3). By the 1880s, busier rail lines required greater coordination of increasing

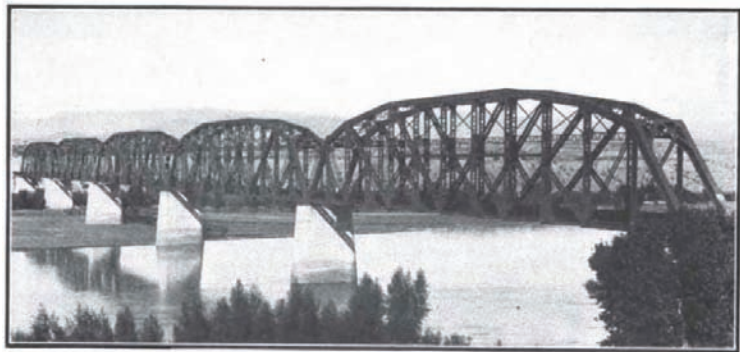


Photo by I. I. Sturgeon
THE BEAUTIFUL BRIDGE ACROSS THE COLORADO RIVER AT PARKER

Fig. 3: *At the beginning of the twentieth century, the AT&SF, like many railroads, carried out an extensive infrastructure improvement program.*

freight and passenger movements, resulting in the introduction of standardized time which was eventually adopted by the federal government and is still used today. A push for a standard gauge followed, a project largely completed by the late 1880s.¹⁴ Technological innovations like air brakes and improved couplers increased the safety of the railroad for employees as well as passengers.¹⁵

In addition to physical development and improvements, railroads in the post-war era were redefining business practices, as railroad companies grew into some of the largest corporations in the country. Alfred Chandler notes in his respected study of American

managerial history, "...the operational requirements of the railroads demanded the creation of the first administrative hierarchies..." and included innovations in accounting to keep company financial records in order.¹⁶ He continues, "[Railroads] were the first American business enterprise to build a large internal organizational structure with carefully defined lines of responsibility, authority, and communication between the central office, departmental headquarters, and field units; and they were the first to develop financial and statistical flows to control and evaluate the work of many managers."¹⁷ This was the environment of change and innovation that Harvey witnessed on the railroads of the 1870s, and many of the managerial practices then instituted would come to play a role in the operation of his own business, which would stretch from Chicago to Los Angeles.

While riding the rails, Harvey certainly experienced the discomfort of early passenger cars and the lack of any type of services to accommodate riders' needs. Passenger coaches, especially on the frontier, were simple wooden cars with hard, non-reclining benches that were one's seat and bed for the entire journey. Although crowded cars might become stuffy, opening the windows was not advisable, as ash from the engine might blow in and dirty one's clothes, and make it difficult to breath in the cramped quarters. For warmth in colder locales and for cooking purposes, there might be a stove at one end. Dining cars were not introduced in the more populated East until the 1870s, and would not be added to trains west of the Mississippi River for two more decades. Smart, experienced riders knew to bring blankets and pillows to render the wooden benches more comfortable for sleeping, and they packed baskets of non-perishable foods to last the entire journey, as meal stops could be both infrequent and high-priced for low quality forced upon a captive audience. Frequent breakdowns meant that schedules were more reliable on paper than in action. Basically, a rail passenger at mid-nineteenth century had to be prepared to fend for himself.

Drawing on his experiences in the restaurant and railroad industries, Harvey developed a proposal for a system of eating-houses to be located along the rail lines. These establishments did exist, but most were not known for either quality or value. Especially on the frontier, foods served tended to come from cans, or were items that could be easily preserved, such as salted or smoked meats; the chance of receiving a fresh glass of milk, a platter of vegetables, or a serving of fresh fruit was slim. Stories abound of eating-house managers and train conductors in cahoots to swindle customers of their dollars. Passengers would be allowed to step off the train, order, and pay for a meal at a stop, only to be hustled back onto the cars just as their plates were served. The restaurateurs recycled the victuals for the next trainload of hungry riders, splitting the profits with the conductor.¹⁸

Considering the possibilities for a lucrative business in a well-run, family-friendly, inviting network of trackside eating-houses, Harvey entered into a partnership in 1875 to operate three cafes along the Kansas Pacific Railroad.¹⁹ While the business succeeded, disagreement over its future caused Harvey and his associate to part amicably, Harvey taking control over the small trio. Solely in command, he began to dream about expansion, approaching his superiors at the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy Railroad, but they turned him down, suggesting instead that he talk with the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe, a small railroad with grand designs on the American Southwest and Pacific Ocean ports. In hindsight, it was a decision that the Burlington lines probably came to regret.

THE ATCHISON, TOPEKA, AND SANTA FE RAILWAY AND FRED HARVEY JOIN FORCES

The dream of a continental railroad linking the Atlantic and Pacific coasts of North America originated in the early days of railroading. It was not until the 1850s, after the United States' success in the Mexican-American War—with the gain of Mexican territory in what is now the Southwest and California—that these plans could be realized. The proposed route was highly politicized by the division between slave and non-slave holding regions, each wanting the line for itself. During the early 1850s, the Department of War conducted a series of surveys to determine potential routes across the country; by the last decade of the century, each of these paths would be occupied by a transcontinental railroad.²⁰

A late player in the transcontinental race was the ATSF, founded in Atchison, Kansas in 1859, the vision of Colonel Cyrus K. Holliday. After the interruption of the Civil War, and a long search for investors willing to gamble on the profitability of a rail line to the sparsely populated Southwest, construction began in 1869, the same year that the first transcontinental railroad was completed at Promontory Point in Utah Territory.²¹ As the ATSF slowly moved southwest across Kansas, boomtowns rose up alongside it, taking advantage of the cattle trade and new opportunities for the shipment of agricultural products. Young and rough, most of these places, such as Dodge City, were known for violence and vice, and the sudden juxtaposition of people from varied social and economic backgrounds.

By 1876 when Fred Harvey approached the ATSF about his eating-house concept, the line stretched from Kansas City, Missouri to Pueblo, Colorado Territory, providing an important link to the western frontier.²² Meeting with Thomas Nickerson, president of the railroad, Harvey made a convincing argument that he could take over the ATSF's recently established food service and do a better job. The first Harvey-run eating-house opened in Topeka in spring of that year, and

for thirty-five cents, a diner could order a breakfast of “steak with eggs, hashed brown potatoes, a six-high stack of pan-sized wheat cakes with maple syrup, and apple pie with coffee...”²³

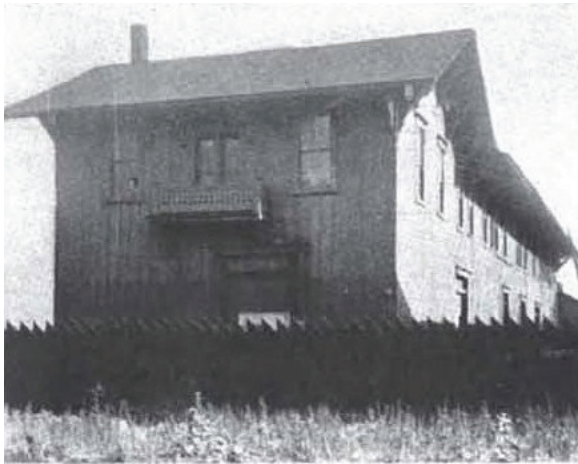


Fig. 4: *The first Harvey House was located on the second floor of this wooden structure in Topeka.*

(Figs. 4 and 5). Set with silver and linen, the dining room became an instant success among passengers and residents. Riding high, the next year Harvey opened his first dining room and hotel down the line at Florence, Kansas. Showing his commitment to high culinary quality and standards of service, Harvey managed to lure the chef of Chicago’s famed Palmer House Hotel to his

new facility; a generous salary helped matters.²⁴

Within seven years, Harvey had opened seventeen eating-houses on the ATSF main line, never having signed a formal legal contract with the railroad.²⁵ Much of the success of the partnership stemmed from the strong personal relationship between Nickerson and Harvey; contracts were only introduced when the operation became too large and complex to run without a set agreement between the two business entities. The relationship was unusually close, in that the ATSF built the structures used by Harvey, while he furnished them and installed the necessary equipment to run the kitchens. The railroad also moved Harvey employees as



Fig. 5: *Humorous cartoons like this one populated the pages of the ATSF’s company magazine. It well summed up the partnership between the railroad and the FHC.*

well as supplies for free, while Harvey provided discount meals to ATSF employees, who became a regular fixture of what were becoming known as the “Harvey Houses.”

FHC scholar James David Henderson described Harvey as “a consummate manipulator, but one who was possessed of a moral sense”; like any businessman, profits were important to Fred Harvey, but not at the expense of his reputation.²⁶ Success for either party meant that they had to trust in one another, as they both had a stake in the future of the venture. After almost a half-century together, the editors of the ATSF’s company magazine would write, “The Santa Fe has done a great deal for Fred Harvey—and Fred Harvey has done a great deal for the Santa Fe. It is one of the finest examples of teamwork in the world—it demonstrates remarkably how cooperation helps everyone who cooperates.”²⁷

Harvey was careful to source his foodstuffs locally to ensure quality, which was the backbone of his business and reputation.

If the manager of one location came across a good deal, he was allowed to buy in bulk to provide supplies to the other houses along the line. Quality aged meats, eggs, cheeses, milk, and other products were provided for the



Fig 6: The FHC’s network of dairies that supplied the Houses with fresh milk and cheese included this location at Del Rio, Arizona.

Houses from the FHC’s own dairies and ranches (Fig. 6). To keep staff members on their feet, Harvey toured the chain, making surprise visits to ensure that everything met his standards. Stories abound of him turning over tables that were improperly set or where crystal was smudged.²⁸ Customers were to receive the same level of service no matter the location.

A unique feature of the FHC was its waitresses, nicknamed “Harvey Girls.” In time, these hard-working women in conservative black and white uniforms became a symbol of the company, inspiring many a poem and song from lonely Western men, and even a 1944 movie featuring Angela Lansbury and Judy Garland (Fig. 7). Early on, Fred Harvey had hired men to run his establishments, as was common at the time. As a famous tale goes, in 1883, the servers at Raton, New Mexico got into a brawl and were unable to report for work the next day. Harvey promptly fired them all, believing that their ungentlemanly behavior damaged



Fig. 7: *The Harvey Girls’ standard black and white uniform is seen in this picture of the staff at the Belen, New Mexico location, c 1914. With no hotel rooms, Belen was considered a small House.*

the image of the company. His new manager hired young, local women, who apparently charmed the local townspeople. With this success, Harvey began to advertise in the East and Midwest for “women 18 to 30 years of age, of good character, attractive and intelligent” to serve contracts lasting six, nine, or twelve months.²⁹

In the late nineteenth century, female employment, especially waitressing, still held allusions to prostitution.³⁰ The FHC was sure to provide an environment that was suitable for its female employees, allowing them to accept a job without fear of public shame or a questioning

of their morals. The Harvey-run establishments were highly domesticated spaces, as their name suggests—they were not Harvey “Inns” or “Hotels,” but “Houses,” a domain that since the mid-nineteenth century had come under the purview of women.⁴ With their lobbies and public



Fig. 8: *The Mary Colter designed lounge or “living room” at El Ortiz in Lamy, New Mexico included a fireplace, throw-rugs, and art-objects, which all provided an air of acceptable domesticity.*

spaces designed to resemble domestic parlors through their finishes and furnishings, the Harvey Houses were havens of domesticity and refinement in an area of the country better known for the rough and ready lifestyles of cowboys and frontier settlers⁵

(Fig. 8). The design and layout of

the Houses “establish[ed] an image of gentility and protection, a *homelike world*, a turn-of-the-century phrase that connoted the extension of domestic moral values into the world at large.”⁶

Once hired, the women came under the control of the Harvey system; focused on customers, this meant being ready to serve numerous trains per day, and preparing for each one in the hours between meals. Six or seven day work-weeks left little free time. By controlling where they lived, what they wore, and how much free time they had, the FHC maintained the wholesome and respectable character of the women. For loyalty in service, the Harvey Girls were well provided for, receiving free lodging run by the FHC, clean uniforms, meals, and travel privileges on the ATSF.⁷ Some women went west to earn money to help out their families; some sought adventure and the opportunity to travel; others looked for husbands. Hundreds of reasons brought thousands of young women west over many decades

and the Harvey Girl became a defining feature of the Southwestern travel experience. By the early twentieth century, the typical Harvey Girl made approximately \$25 a month, not including tips.⁸

Pullman Porters, another workforce strongly tied to the railroads, made only \$10 more per month, excluding tips. The porters, all African-American men, were often supporting wives and children back home, paying for familial lodging, covering food bills, and maintaining their extensive collection of required uniforms, all expenses which the Harvey Girls did not have to take into consideration.⁹ In retrospect, the Harvey Girl salary and experience was “undoubtedly at the top of their profession’s pay and personal treatment scale.”¹⁰ Many women renewed their contracts and stayed on for another year or two, some remaining longer; opportunities for advancement were limited to service positions, such as being in charge of the dining room. The Harvey House managers were almost exclusively male, and worked their way through the chain, gaining larger Houses with each promotion.

The key to efficient service tailored to strict train schedules relied heavily on a proven system perfected by Harvey and much emulated. As the train approached the eating-house, the conductor took orders on board, sending them ahead so that the staff and chefs could begin to prepare the multi-course meal. As the train approached the station for the thirty minute meal break, the waitresses began to lay down the first course as the head waitress directed patrons to the correct table.¹¹ Many customers remembered the drink code: the waitresses took drink orders, specifically positioning the cup on the saucer to indicate what beverage was preferred while another server came around with pitchers of milk, coffee, and tea. Uninitiated customers who fiddled with their cups might not receive the drink they had requested.

To keep customers happy and expectant, cross-country travelers never encountered the same dish twice for the duration of their trip, as the company staggered its meal planning to provide diversity and best showcase local ingredients. From the FHC offices in Kansas City, memos went out to the houses, including menu plans and notes on changes to service standards. Like many large corporations at the turn of the twentieth century, the FHC relied on a central office to keep the system functioning smoothly both internally and in conjunction with the ATSF (Fig. 9). A Harvey House that consisted of dining facilities only would have included the cooking staff, waitress, busboys, manager, and others depending on need—a full roster of up to forty persons.¹² Multiplied by the forty-five Houses that were operating by 1901, the growing staff in Kansas City kept busy administering payroll, recruiting employees, and sourcing materials for the far-flung operation. All correspondence was signed “Fred Harvey,” noting the leader’s presence in all matters.



Fig. 9: Like many new corporations at the beginning of the twentieth century, the FHC established a central office (in Kansas City, Missouri) from which the company was directed. Above, employees pose for a photo for the ATSF company magazine.

To ensure that standards were enforced during his absence, Harvey took a cue from the railroads. He broke down his chain of restaurants into geographic sections, much like the railroad “divisions,” over which a manager kept an eye; this was especially important as the business grew and Harvey could not make all of the surprise inspections himself. In 1883, brothers Harry and David Benjamin joined the FHC, taking on management responsibilities just as the organization spread into the Southwest; Captain Byron Schermerhorn joined the team soon after. In 1887, the FHC took over meal service on the ATSF’s subsidiary line in New Mexico and Arizona, and on into California; David Benjamin was put in charge of bringing the existing facilities into line with FHC expectations.¹³ This expansion came at the request of the railroad president, cementing Harvey’s control over the majority of the rail line. “Meals by Fred Harvey” became the signature of the ATSF in its national advertising, the name of the founder taking on a symbolism for quality and attention that remains to this day.

The Benjamin brothers and Schermerhorn played an increasingly important role in the 1890s, as Harvey’s health began to fail, prompting trips to various specialists, as well as a journey to Europe, to find treatment for his intestinal cancer.¹⁴ Trained by Harvey himself, they were trusted to run the enterprise in his absence. By 1889, the FHC had signed a new contract with the ATSF, giving the concessionaire full control of eating establishments west of the Missouri River associated with the railroad. Two years later, the FHC would add dining cars to its services as they were introduced on the ATSF lines.¹⁵ Despite changes in leadership at the railroad brought on by the reorganization of the business after it went into receivership due in large part to the 1893 financial panic, the relationship between the FHC and the ATSF was reaffirmed, providing a strong base as the twentieth century dawned.

Fred Harvey died in 1901. Rather than weaken in the absence of his strong personality and dynamic leadership, the company continued to grow and entered a new era of expansion

and prosperity, for Harvey had groomed those under him, as well as his sons, to take the reins. A few years after his passing, noted artist and commentator Elbert Hubbard wrote a moving eulogy for a man he had never personally met, a poignant sign of Harvey's impact on the American West:

“Fred Harvey used to run a restaurant. . . . 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! Where the name. . . appears, the traveling public expects much. . . his spirit still lives. The standard of excellence he set can never go back. 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. . . I take off my hat to Fred Harvey. . . a symbol of all that is honest, excellent, hygienic, beautiful and useful.”¹⁶

At the time of his death, the FHC operated forty-five dining establishments in twelve states, as well as twenty dining cars that served passengers between Chicago and Los Angeles on the ATSF's premier cross-country routes.¹⁷ The reorganized ATSF under the direction of President Edward Payson Ripley emerged strong, confident, and most importantly, solvent. The railroad was ready to resume an active expansion in the Southwest to increase its profit line; a vital piece of this strategy would include a prominent role by the FHC. The fates of the ATSF and FHC rested in one another's hands; steady, strong leadership within both organizations would safeguard their collective interests.

Today, in a world where the commercial and retail environment is dominated by national and international chain stores and services of every type, the Harvey achievement does not seem unique, but upon further reflection, its impact was indeed immense not just on the restaurant and hotel business, but also as an example of an efficiently run, large national operation. James David Henderson notes that it is “remarkable” that the groundwork for the FHC chain of eating-houses and hotels was formed in less than fifteen years, considering that Fred Harvey had few comparable businesses from which to take inspiration or guidance. At

the time, the broad reach, financial power, and permanence of the railroads began to foster early chain businesses that could serve passengers over entire regions.¹⁸ Harvey's business vision drew on the various backgrounds in railroads, restaurants, ranching, and advertising that he gained over a lifetime and much of its success can be attributed to his personal drive and ambition.

FRED HARVEY AND THE ATCHISON, TOPEKA, AND SANTA FE EXPAND INTO THE SOUTHWEST

The groundwork for the era of the “great” Harvey Houses—the hotel and dining complexes that catered to both tourist and local alike, and which catapulted the FHC to the apex of American hostelry—was laid in the last few years of Fred Harvey’s life, and very much at the encouragement of the ATSF, which had gained a new president, Edward Payson Ripley. Described as a “man of enormous energy and great sentiment,” Ripley had worked his way up through various railroads, steadily moving west as his reputation increased (Fig. 10). Taking over a system that “needed not only a physical refurbishing, but the rebuilding among its people of the old Santa Fe spirit,” he possessed a long-term vision to grow and strengthen the railroad after the financial debacle of the early 1890s, and his two-decade tenure at the helm would ensure that much of it came to fruition.¹⁹



Fig. 10: *Edward Payson Ripley restructured the ATSF after the financial difficulties of the 1890s, and subsequently led the company until 1920.*

The ATSF had entered New Mexico Territory in late 1878, after a near-violent battle with the rival Denver and Rio Grande Railroad for control of the Raton Pass, the easiest access across the mountains that ran along the Colorado-New Mexico border (Fig. 11). By summer of 1879, trains reached Las Vegas, spurring new growth. Although Santa Fe was in name the destination of the ATSF, it was never placed on the main line through the state, as topography worked against it; by February 1880, it was served by a branch line from Galisteo Junction²⁰ (Fig. 12). The ultimate destination became Albuquerque in April 1880, the rails

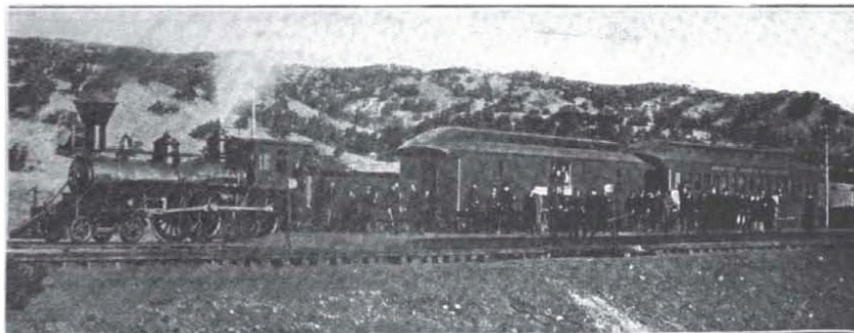


Fig 11 (top): This cartoon from the Santa Fe Employees [sic] Magazine emphasizes the hurdle presented by the mountains of northeast New Mexico as the ATSF moved west; the Raton Pass was coveted by the ATSF and its competitors. Fig. 12: The first train from Lamy to Santa Fe, February 9, 1880.

following the gentle course of the Rio Grande River. In March of 1881, the ATSF met the Southern Pacific in Deming, creating the nation's second transcontinental line; but this was not satisfactory to the ATSF, as it desired its own line to the ports of Southern California, which were monopolized by Southern Pacific.²¹

In order to obtain the right-of-way to California, the ATSF entered into agreement with the struggling St. Louis and San Francisco Railway, which had control over the right-of-way from Albuquerque to California at the 35th Parallel, originally granted by Congress to the Atlantic and Pacific Railroad in 1866. Financially struggling, the St. Louis and San Francisco entered into an agreement with the ATSF in 1880 to jointly own and finance the Atlantic and Pacific and to build the line west.²² In August 1883, the railroad reached the Arizona-California border, having raced through the desert as quickly as possible on its way to the coast.²³ At first glance, the western portion of the New Mexico Territory and much of the Arizona Territory seemed to offer little in the way of potential business opportunities for the railroad, as the arid land could not support extensive agriculture or ranching which undergirded the shipping operations of the ATSF. Trade from California was the goal.

Towns were established along the line through New Mexico and Arizona, as steam engines were complex machines that demanded periodic cleaning and a refilling of their water tanks about every one-hundred to one-hundred and fifty miles. This limitation resulted in the establishment of rail yards with locomotive shops, water tanks, coal storage structures, and other facilities at a consistent distance along the line, and each segment became known as a division²⁴ (Fig. 13). Some of the towns, or division points, were more important than others. Albuquerque, which was situated about midway on the line from Chicago to Los Angeles, became a point where train crews were switched and employees could take advantage of other services, such as the company hospital.²⁵

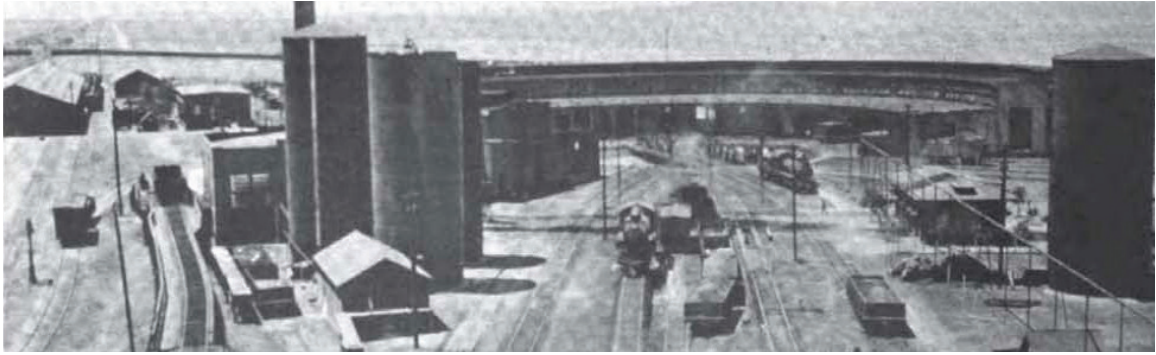


Fig. 13: *View of the roundhouse and railyard at Winslow, AZ (c. 1923), described as the quintessential railroad town.*

Many of these early towns featured eating-houses that were hastily thrown up as the railroad moved west. Old photographs show Victorian structures imported from the east, shipped along the rails. Most had deep eaves to protect travelers from the sun, and decorative detail included mass produced bargeboard and other trim typical of the time. Inexpensive, the prefabricated structures could be easily constructed and deconstructed as necessary. These were the eating-houses that the FHC took over in 1887, and which David Benjamin had reorganized and brought up to company standards. The process often followed Fred Harvey's original method: the restaurant would be closed for a few days and scrubbed from top to bottom. Irish linens made for the company in Belfast would be imported, as well as English silver, much of which Harvey acquired on trips to London. Competent chefs from more established towns would be recruited, as well as a group of Harvey Girls to run the meal service.

By the late 1890s, many of these establishments were showing wear and tear, as they had not been built to last but a generation. Ripley, having successfully taken control of the reorganized ATSF and completed its transition out of receivership, sought a new image for the railroad. He wanted to strengthen its presence in the Southwest as the railroad of choice for transcontinental passengers between Chicago and California, who then had a number of routes to choose from, including the Union Pacific and Southern Pacific. Ripley oversaw

the completion of a route to San Francisco, further challenging the monopoly that Southern Pacific had over California.²⁶ Examining the relationship with Fred Harvey, Ripley questioned the terms of the business agreement, but after meeting with Harvey in person, concluded that the service was worth retaining, signing a new contract in 1899.²⁷ This would be the foundation for a new era of growth for both companies, one of which was overseen by Fred Harvey's sons and his close associates.

Like most of the nation's first railroads, the ATSF received federal land grants when its route was registered with the government. These grants were then to be sold to settlers in order to help finance construction costs. The federal government typically gave a railroad a 100 foot wide right-of-way that was exempt from territorial taxation. The land grants consisted of "alternate, odd-numbered sections for twenty miles on either side of the line in the states and forty miles in the territories...the railroad [had to] earn the land by actually building its line..."²⁸ Thus a patchwork of railroad-owned land paralleled the tracks, providing impetus for the company to establish settlements and sell the property.

The ATSF's Southwestern competitor, the Southern Pacific, viewed itself as a "land distributor and colonizer... [its] land grant and settlement policies aimed at fostering small-scale family farms."²⁹ This was especially true for its lands in Southern California, where the railroad "collected and disseminated vital agricultural information," gathering data about temperatures, rainfall, soil conditions, water resources, and distributing this information at no cost to potential settlers in booklets, and later in its own *Sunset* magazine.³⁰

The ATSF, however, was not in such an advantageous position, as much of its land grant in New Mexico and Arizona covered desert and arid highlands with inadequate water resources to support agriculture or even extensive ranching that might decimate the fragile

vegetation. As William Greever noted in his study of the ATSF land grants, “The [railroad] never sought settlers for its grants. It knew that the area was too arid...and too crowded with interloping ranchers for much space to be available for additional stockmen.”³¹ In keeping with the paternalistic attitude that the Southwest belonged to the ATSF, the railroad was also careful to preclude “unethical sales campaigns” that might colonize parcels only to see unknowing settlers fail for lack of natural resources.

Since widespread settlement of its land did not seem feasible, and ranching did not provide sufficient freight income, Ripley and the railroad began to consider the tourist possibilities of the area, which would include large hotels to allow for long stays. The relationship with the FHC on a good foundation, the responsibility of running the resorts, almost self-contained worlds onto themselves, would fall to Fred Harvey’s successors. The era of the “great” Harvey Houses was underway, and would continue until the Great Depression dampened the national tourism market.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF TOURISM IN THE AMERICAN SOUTHWEST

Tourism in the American West had been encouraged since the first transcontinental railroad was completed in 1869; a journey that would have taken weeks prior to rail transport might now be accomplished in a few days. Historians of tourism such as John Sears believe that as America struggled to create a national culture in the Early National period, its people turned to the land to help define their identity.³² Natural wonders such as Niagara Falls or the landscapes of the Hudson Valley and White Mountains of New Hampshire were presented as appropriate foils to Europe's ancient ruins, and were often endowed with spiritual significance appropriate to the Romantic Age, in which nature was revered as a work of God far greater than anything man could produce. Often times, religious terminology was bestowed upon these natural monuments, "[a] religious meaning [that] was broad enough to appeal to people of any persuasion. In a pluralistic society they provided points of mythic and national unity."³³

As the railroads opened up the Western interior, stories of its natural wonders made their way back east, often accompanied by etchings of majestic mountains, endless prairies, and bubbling natural springs that were splashed across the front pages of periodicals such as *Frank Leslie's Illustrated*. The scale of these natural features far outweighed anything to be witnessed east of the Mississippi, only adding to their mysterious and mystic qualities. In the 1860s the Union Pacific Railroad—then making plans for the first transcontinental rail line—sponsored famed artist Alfred Bierstadt on a journey along its proposed route which included Yosemite Valley. His large, luminous canvases as well as sketches reproduced in periodicals became strong advertisements which the railroad used to gain the financial backing of Eastern businessmen and to create excitement about the possibilities of travel to the West.³⁴ The Union Pacific's sponsorship of established artists to create images of its service region started a trend emulated by competitors.

Tourism as a mass phenomenon available to the rising middle class was dependent upon and developed concurrent with the “infrastructure of the modern nation-state—a strong and active national government, an established geographical territory, a national transportation and communication network, and a national market,” all features which the United States rapidly developed after the Civil War in an effort to reunite the nation.³⁵ Many nationalists believed that the factionalism that had divided geographic regions leading up to and during the war could be dampened by strengthening physical and psychological ties between the far-flung landscapes that spanned the continent. Tourism was a way in which residents of one region could come to know the physical highlights and cultural nuances of fellow citizens living thousands of miles away, and first-hand touristic experiences could be shared with others through the post or by the telegram, which followed the tracks west. Tourism scholar Margueritte Shaffer notes the belief that “by consuming . . . the sights and scenes that embodied the essence of America . . . tourists would become better Americans.”³⁶

In order to advance economic development in the West, a loose coalition of business interests formed “See America First,” a promotional campaign which especially encouraged the East Coast elite to travel west instead of taking customary trips to Europe; boosters decried the funds spent each year on travel abroad when that money could in their opinion be better used to develop the west and educate Americans about their own land.³⁷ Charles Fletcher Lummis, editor of the *Los Angeles Times* and owner of a magazine about southern California called *Land of Sunshine*, spent a lifetime advocating recognition of California and the Southwest. His prodigious writings, colored with Romantic language and references, included numerous articles and books that surveyed the landscapes and cultures of the area.

Lummis wrote of the “America First” movement: “My hope is that I shall live to see Americans proud of knowing America, and ashamed not to know it. . . . If we would cease

to depend so much upon other countries for our standards of life and thought, we would have taken the first step toward an Americanism which would certainly be becoming and patriotic.”³⁸ Although Lummis and his fellow promoters had the enthusiasm to mount a tourism and development campaign, their lack of capital and communication prevented them from sustaining a long-term program, and “See America First” would ebb and flow over the last two decades of the nineteenth and into the first two of the twentieth century.³⁹

The only western organizations that had the power to develop tourist facilities were the railroads, which could ship in materials and laborers, and eventually the tourists. As *The Architectural Review* noted in 1913, “The profit from [rail] traffic makes it possible for certain of the railways to establish excellent hotels at many points where private enterprise in such a large scale would be impossible. . . .”⁴⁰ The ability to construct facilities in such remote locations was proudly touted by the railroads, but as hostelry historian A.K. Sandoval-Strausz observes, “Americans built hotels to welcome *themselves* into areas where they did not already live. . . .” upsetting the patterns of local populations in the West including American Indians, longtime Hispanic residents, and newer Anglo arrivals.⁴¹ Within a few years of one another, each major western railroad would develop tourist facilities: Northern Pacific focused its efforts on newly formed Yellowstone Park, Great Northern advertised Glacier Park, and the ATSF capitalized on the scenic wonders of the little known Grand Canyon. Through comprehensive advertising campaigns, the railroads inundated Midwestern and Eastern communities with images of the wonders of the West, often sending free lithographs, calendars, and cards to schools and government facilities for ostensibly educational reasons.

Although the competitors were all known for their fine facilities that took on forms from rustic alpine lodges to Spanish villas, the ATSF early on gained recognition from design professionals for its hotels of “the better and most modern types. . . .”⁴² Owen Wister, well-

known early author of Western-themed literature, praised the FHC and the ATSF, writing, “The Santa Fe...most fitly wove the historic association into its life as a modern railway, nourishing itself with what it found in its path...and giving thereby more distinction in character than any other American railway...[the ATSF has a] reputation for seeing that beauty and fitness are not incompatible, and are likely to put as much money in your purse as mere ugly utility will.”⁴³ The ATSF had deftly associated itself with the history and beauty of the Southwest, and in doing so, positioned itself as *the* railroad of the region.

Tourism became a profitable endeavor for the railroads because of the growth of the nation’s industrial and commercial sectors, which created a new middle class. Whereas leisure travel prior to the Civil War was reserved for the wealthy elite, primarily residents of the older Northeastern cities, economic expansion toward the end of the century, coupled with the development of concepts such as paid vacations, allowed a broader segment of the population to explore the nation. A roundtrip transcontinental rail ticket that may have cost \$300 in the 1870s or 1880s became extremely affordable by the 1890s, when overexpansion of the railroads resulted in ruthless price wars that dropped prices to as low as \$30 before they stabilized around \$50 at 1900.⁴⁴

Railroads became expert advertisers for their market regions, using multiple media channels to convey their message. The ATSF began to extensively feature Southwestern landscapes in its advertising campaigns, emphasizing the sparse and beautiful desert environment which would have been foreign to the majority of Americans living in the wetter and greener eastern portion of the continent. Western boosters such as Lummis continually emphasized supposed links between the climates of California and the Southwest with those of Italy and Spain, a European connection adding cache to this distant corner of the country. American Indian figures were coupled to the Southwestern images; instead of appearing as the

“blood-thirsty savages of lore,” artists began to paint them as sympathetic figures of vanishing cultures—cultures which rail travel made appear tantalizingly close.

The ATSF also began to commission well known artists to paint scenes of the territory through which the railroad passed. Often times, these artworks were exchanged for a free travel pass and accommodations, allowing an artist to stay for weeks or months and take advantage of the famed light that the desert environment offers. Many early scenes were of the Grand Canyon, which advertising staff Hispanicized by referring to it as the Grand or Gran Cañon. Thomas Moran spent many winters out West, describing it as “a country flooded with color and picturesqueness, offering everything to inspire the artist...”⁴⁵

The ATSF early purchased the rights to one of Moran’s large paintings of the Grand Canyon, quickly reproducing it as a lithograph; gold framed copies graced ATSF stations all the way to Chicago, and others were given to schools and government facilities, a perpetual piece of advertising that strongly associated a Southwestern image with the ATSF⁴⁶ (Fig. 14). The



Fig 14: *Thomas Moran’s landscapes of the Grand Canyon helped make the natural wonder known to the American people. The ATSF prominently used many of Moran’s images in its advertising.*

railroad's long time advertising director, William Simpson, encouraged ATSF management to set aside permanent funds to purchase individual paintings so that it would own the rights to reproduction.⁴⁷ This suggestion would set the groundwork for an extensive corporate collection of fine artwork for which the ATSF became known; the FHC would also acquire select pieces for its hotels.

To encourage tourism, by the late 1890s, the FHC and the ATSF began to think about an elaboration of their restaurant and hostelry infrastructure. This rethinking of the FHC system ushered in the second generation of Harvey House complexes. Whereas many of the first Houses had been hurriedly constructed or inserted into existing buildings that were rather utilitarian wooden structures, the next wave of Houses was carefully planned to visually impress the visitor and help create a unified identity for the railroad and the FHC.

CREATING CORPORATE IDENTITY: “FRED HARVEY” AND THE “SANTA FE”

The ATSF and the FHC were not alone in their efforts to create personal identities; rather, their attempts paralleled a similar movement among many of the nation’s emerging companies. The large corporations which are commonplace today were born out of the Industrial Revolution and its rapid transformation of the communication, transportation, and financial sectors of the economy in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. The development of these sectors from regional to national systems allowed companies to expand their infrastructure to serve customers far from their home bases. While this growth fueled profits for stockholders, it could also create alienation between the company and its customers, as well as internally.

For generations, commerce had primarily been local in nature—an arrangement in which shop owners or providers of services inhabited the communities in which they did business, and were therefore personally known to their neighbors. The creation of larger corporations changed that dynamic; customers interacted with company agents, or on a more basic level, with simply the products. As business historian Roland Marchand wrote, “The traditional potency of the family, the church, and the local community suddenly seemed dwarfed by the sway of the giant corporations. This momentous shift in the balance of social forces created a crisis of legitimacy for the large corporations.”⁴⁸

Management structures within corporations also differed from those of a small business in which all employees worked together; instead, corporate systems created levels of management and departments that often worked independently of one another. The company owner and the lowliest employee had a small chance of personally meeting, creating internal disconnect. Between 1895 and 1904, over 1800 small companies were subsumed in mergers that resulted in 157 new entities, demonstrating the pace of change in the business world.⁴⁹

As the operating structure of companies became more anonymous, there was a need to “[rise] above mere commercialism and [remove] the taint of selfishness” then becoming associated with big business, exemplified by the rising fascination with “robber barons” and federal efforts to curb oligopolistic practices.⁵⁰

To combat the growing gap between corporate staff and the public, many companies undertook large public relations campaigns to convince customers of their concern and appreciation for their support. This effort included extensive advertising in the print media, as well as corporate magazines and giveaways such as posters. Companies turned to the inspiring stories of their founders, an action echoed in the continued use of the “Fred Harvey” name for decades after the founder’s death, on everything from stationary to exclusive products offered by the FHC such as its famed coffee blend.

Fred Harvey’s life story was molded into that of the approachable “self-made man” to be emulated by his peers and admirers. The idea of the “self-made man” was popularized by contemporary Victorian writers like Horatio Alger. In Alger’s idealized stories aimed at young boys, his characters are “manly and self-reliant...kind and generous...and [whose] true aim[s are] respectability.”⁵¹ These stock characters were usually poor street children who through hard work and a great deal of luck made it to the top of their fields, becoming valued members of upper middle class society. Wealth and influence were not nearly as important as “respectability” in the eyes of their families, friends, and communities.

In various official accounts of Harvey’s life, the same anecdotes and images consistently appear, painting an image of Harvey as a struggling young immigrant boy who worked hard, believed in honesty and personal responsibility, and subsequently used these traits to rise to the top of his profession. His hard-nosed dealings with the ATSF, including lawsuits to retain

exclusive control over food concessions, were quietly pushed to the side. The crafted public persona of Fred Harvey—the “self-made man” who cared above all about the wellbeing of the customer—remained a warm image that personalized the far flung corporation whether in the metropolis of Chicago or an isolated desert hamlet.

Similar to General Electric’s use of the friendlier initials “GE,” the ATSF became the “Santa Fe,” emphasizing its history in the Southwest rather than its Kansas origins.⁵² By associating itself so closely with the trusted Fred Harvey persona, the ATSF benefited from the



Fig. 15: *At a time when suspicions about corporations were high, the ATSF worked hard to craft its image as a caring and responsible company. This banner was made by the townspeople of Ardmore, OK, site of an explosion at the ATSF railyard; the railroad immediately settled with the victims and their families.*

aura of honesty and caring that came to represent the FHC to the national public. The railroad was happy to portray itself as one of the major forces behind the growth in population of the Southwest, noting that “No

other single factor has been nearly so important as the Santa Fe in the development of New Mexico [and Arizona].”⁵³ As a “corporation with a soul,” the ATSF assisted communities along the rail line; in one case chronicled in the *Santa Fe Employees [sic] Magazine*, the editors proudly described how the company’s engineering department had designed a set of school buildings in Winslow, Arizona⁵⁴ (Fig 15).

In addition to newspaper and magazine advertising, made cheaper and more widespread by the increasing mechanization of the printing process, corporations seeking to brand themselves in the public imagination also looked to architecture. A prominently sighted and well-designed headquarters building constructed to the highest standards could associate

a company with qualities such as steadfastness, timelessness, and quality. Financial companies, especially banks, early mastered this lesson, often using Greek and Roman temples wrought in stone to signify their strength and reliability; detailing such as rusticated basements and elaborate iron grillwork over windows expressed the security of such institutions.

A distinctive building, while serving as a physical landmark within a city, could also be used to represent a company on everything from letterheads to packaging, as demonstrated by structures such as the New York Life Insurance Building. Constructed in 1926 for the eponymous company which has continuously occupied it, the image of the structure's gilded pyramidal roof is still used today to represent the company in print and television advertising. The permanence of a large commercial office tower was especially important for businesses that dealt in more abstract fields, such as insurance—in which no tangible product could be associated with the company.⁵⁵

By the first decade of the twentieth century, the nation's leading corporations recognized the value of possessing a majestic headquarters building, and many rose in lower Manhattan, which had established itself as the country's financial center. Upstart companies that had grown quickly or new entities that emerged from consolidations also understood the prestige that an illustrious property could provide, for "becoming a highly visible architectural presence in the city marked a critical turning point, for now the enterprise began to exercise some [visual] control over its urban surroundings."⁵⁶

Many architects sought to bring attention to their creations by employing giant orders that visually played with scale, using intricate detailing and showy materials such as marble, or featuring strong elements such as towers, often with complicated rooflines that distinguished one shaft from another at a great distance. By appropriating soaring towers, often associated

with religious buildings and other institutions of civic power, such as town halls, commercial enterprises knowingly used their structures to express the new dominance of business over the lives of Americans.⁵⁷

Whereas many corporations were able to focus their attentions on a singular headquarters structure in a major urban center such as New York City or Chicago, other companies with various branch offices spread throughout the country looked to a unified visual language to create a cohesive image that in turn acted as a form of branding. This strategy could be as simple as constructing the same stock building wherever an office was located or using a prominent color scheme, to the development of individual structures that all shared common architectural elements.

THE USE OF ARCHITECTURE TO CREATE A CORPORATE IMAGE IN THE SOUTHWEST

During the late 1890s, the ATSF and FHC decided upon the latter method to create a consistent image for their stations and hotel/eating-house complexes across the Southwest; this extensive building program lasted until the Great Depression. During those three decades, many of the elaborate Harvey Houses for which New Mexico and Arizona became famous would rise along the rails, in associated architectural languages ranging from the Mission to Spanish to Pueblo Revivals, or an amalgam of all three.

The distinctive lines, massing, and motifs of these related languages came to be strongly identified with the ATSF and the FHC, and featured prominently in company advertising. The decision to revamp the Harvey Houses and many of the stations along the right-of-way occurred at a time of great variety in American architecture, in which various styles, often imported from Europe, were put forth as viable choices. In the quest to be fashionable, styles changed seemingly overnight, leading to cries for the development of a truly “American” architecture. Stations in the great cities of the East and Midwest approximated French chateaus, rambling shingled structures domestic in character, and Gothic palaces. For directors of the ATSF, the opportunity to define the railroad’s identity presented itself through the architectural language to be chosen for its new stations and the Harvey Houses.

The attempt by the ATSF to visually distinguish itself from competitors did not occur in isolation, for “few boards of directors missed the advertising potential of depots, and by 1910 most firms had developed paint schemes instantly recognized by the general public... standardizing shape and color proved marvelously effective in boosting public recognition of a railroad company,” with one railroad company superintendent describing his similar stations as “heralds.”⁵⁸ Often these paint schemes also extended to the rolling stock, easily identifying

a line at a distance. For railroads that invested heavily in creating a tourist market, the design of the station complex was very important, as it was the primary point of interaction between the traveler and the railroad. Many programs extended beyond the depot itself to include distinctive landscaping.

By the end of the nineteenth century, great debate was developing in the West and Southwest about the qualities and precedents that defined an appropriate regional architecture. Boosters such as Charles Lummis and George Wharton James happily advanced the conversation in the press. Prior to the arrival of the railroads, most communities in the Southwest were limited in construction and design by the availability of local materials, such



Fig. 16: *The railroad brought new materials to the Southwest, such as kiln-fired bricks like this one from trackside at Belen, New Mexico.*

as adobe. American Indian groups had long used earthen construction in their structures, but the Spaniards introduced the idea of forming adobe blocks, which were stronger and could be made in batches. Scarce wood was used mainly for roof beams and lintels.

In the north, dry laid stone was also employed to spectacular affect at sites such as Chaco Canyon and Mesa Verde, both of which provided inspiration to later generations of regional architects. The arrival of the railroads in the 1880s brought new materials which became widely available—fired brick, tin roofing, and kit houses of wooden manufacture⁵⁹ (Fig. 16). In the more populated New Mexico territory, these items were incorporated into traditional structures, provoking the disapproval of advocates for traditional construction, most of whom were transplants from the East.

Many of the new materials were embraced by local people. A sloping tin roof

represented an improvement over the typical flat roofs; although precipitation was not of great quantity, it tended to come in short bursts which were better deflected by the new roofing. The greatest advocates for retaining traditional adobe construction and architectural language were persons like Lummis, who viewed the region through a Romantic prism, and were attracted to it because it was “the Great American Mystery...the United States which is *not* the United States...Sun, silence, and adobe—that is New Mexico in three words.”⁶⁰ Scholar Abigail Van Slyck claims that “[the] southwestern revivals [were] less the *discovery* of the Southwest as an existing cultural landscape and more the *invention* of the Southwest as a fictive landscape that was constructed by Anglo-American newcomers.”⁶¹

A group of artists from the East had “discovered” the Southwest through word-of-mouth. Painters such as Thomas Moran and Eanger Irving Couse who enjoyed ATSF-FHC-funded trips west not only displayed their works in the principle shows of the East and Midwest, but they also described their experiences in articles and in conversation with fellow artists. The rise of modern mechanized print-making and a lessening demand for commercial illustration financially hurt artists in the major cities of the East, causing them to look for cheaper locales where they could continue their work but spread their incomes further.⁶² The small communities of California and the Southwest attracted artists, and towns like San Juan Capistrano, Taos, and Santa Fe became known as arts colonies by the beginning of the twentieth century. While many artists were solely winter residents, enjoying the fine light and colors of the desert country, a large contingent made these communities their permanent abodes, and therefore took an interest in their development.

In early articles in architecture and design magazines such as the *Craftsman*, residents of the art colonies described their local landscape, and often their homes, decorated with Navajo rugs, baskets, simple wooden furniture, and typical interior features such as a beehive fireplace

flanked by benches. Black and white photographs guided readers in their own decorating efforts. The emphasis on the rustic, handmade, and regional qualities of these carefully crafted environments was in keeping with the sensibilities of the Arts and Crafts movement then gaining popularity.

The Arts and Crafts movement was based on the ideas of English writers such as A.W. N. Pugin and John Ruskin who advanced the idea that architecture had the power to restore the morals of men which were being destroyed by the rise of industrialization and the uniformity which it favored. Ruskin advocated for the honest use of materials, meaning that they could be easily identified for what they were and that their true function was visible; unnecessary ornament was discouraged. He also argued for appropriate regional design that took into account local precedent, incorporating but not copying its key ideas. William Morris led the next generation of English artisans, and influenced American architects like Frank Lloyd Wright and designers such as Gustav Stickley and Elbert Hubbard. Stickley built upon Morris' concepts of social reform through design, particularly in home furnishings, though he was not adverse to employing machine made elements in his work to make it accessible to a larger audience.

The attention given by the Arts and Crafts community to the vernacular was in keeping with the growing interest in regional architecture. The founders of one of the nation's most influential contemporary firms—McKim, Mead, and White—had spent a season studying the early colonial buildings of New England, reinterpreting historic details and motifs and incorporating them into new Colonial Revival structures for which the firm became well regarded. Frank Lloyd Wright looked to regional landscape for inspiration; his experience of the flat Midwestern prairies influenced his early houses, whose strong horizontal lines and massing hugged the earth. Local vegetation revealed itself in abstracted decorative forms.

Other designers turned to European vernacular traditions, seeing no problem in transporting these motifs to another continent.

THE HARVEY HOUSE EXPERIENCE IN THE EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY

By the mid-twentieth century, the *Santa Fe New Mexican* reported, “One by one, most of the little red eating-houses of fifty years ago have been rebuilt and refurnished in what should probably be called the *Fred Harvey style* (emphasis added),” indicating a contemporary acknowledgement of the company’s effort to shape its own image in the popular imagination.⁶³ The railroad and the FHC masterfully created a loosely standardized experience for their customers so that guests knew what to expect on each trip, and could tell friends about the quality of their stay, therefore encouraging more business for the companies.

American hotels since colonial days had been known for their public character, in which lobbies acted as the extended living room of a community. Important business and social meetings often took place there, adding animation which in turn gave hotels the reputation as centers for news and gossip. While many informal gatherings occurred in the most public areas, important events in the life of a town might also be recorded in the ballroom or salon, reserved for paying customers. Civic organizations often held annual charity events which attracted a wide crowd. In the late nineteenth century, this “public” nature marked American hotels as distinct from their European counterparts, which had moved toward greater privacy for guests.

For generations, patrons gathered together for meals, usually around one table, and the meals were included as part of the room and board. It was not until the early twentieth century that the “European plan” was introduced, separating the costs of a room and victuals, allowing guests to venture out on their own in search of nourishment.⁶⁴ The “American plan” remained standard until the 1910s, and lasted in many parts of the country until mid-century. Fred Harvey, like other hoteliers of his time, started his hotels on the American plan, but

by the 1910s, the FHC was experimenting with the European plan, and at times, the same property offered both options.⁶⁵ It was not until the onset of the Great Depression that the European plan became the accepted standard within the system and the country at large.

Located far from established urban centers, early tourists might have expected the Harvey House room rates to reflect this fact; considered some of the finest hostelries between Chicago and San Francisco, the FHC priced its rooms at a level comparable with some of the coasts' most famous institutions, such as the Plaza Hotel in New York City and the Fairmont in San Francisco, both of which survived into the twenty-first century. Unlike their marble and gilded cousins, the Harvey Houses offered not opulent decoration, but rather allowed their natural surroundings to enchant guests. Simple furnishings in wood and decorative pieces including wool Navajo rugs and American Indian ceramics projected an informal feeling of a retreat, but one that provided immaculate service to care for a guest's special needs.

According to the 1909 Baedeker's guide to the United States, the Harvey Houses at Las Vegas and Albuquerque, New Mexico, only in operation a few years, offered rooms from \$3-5 on the American plan.⁶⁶ The upper middle class had gained the trappings of the modern leisure class, such as vacation time and the ability to travel large distances at a reasonable price, but extended travel to a place such as the Southwest would not have been achievable every year. A round trip ticket on the *California Limited* or one of its siblings from Chicago to the West Coast cost roughly \$50 at the start of the twentieth century.⁶⁷ Add onto that the cheapest room at the Alvarado for two weeks at \$3 a day, and suddenly the entire bill for one person was almost \$100 not including day trips or trinkets to take home. This would have been a substantial investment; in 1910, the average yearly salary in America was \$700.⁶⁸ While the trip might be accessible to upper middle class professionals such as teachers, lawyers, doctors, and business persons making more than the average salary, others were left out, such

as a domestic servant making only \$240 a year.⁶⁹

The cohesive experience offered by the FHC was a development in modern business practice, and was controlled by employees at the central office who determined what the encounter should be like. An efficient national hierarchy of management allowed that standardized experience to be carried out in towns thousands of miles apart from one another, but was also flexible enough to enable managers on the ground to take into account local needs and traditions in dealing with communities and guests. To keep the company running smoothly and producing a consistent product, periodicals like the *Santa Fe Employes [sic] Magazine* kept employees informed about goings-on at towns all along the line.⁷⁰ Harvey Girls and House managers often moved from one location to another, gaining knowledge and learning about the larger network. The friendly persona of Fred Harvey lived on long after the man— in corporate mythology he was the father of an extended family where the members were rewarded for hard work and loyalty.

The standardized sensory experience was not what we associate with chain hotels today in which every room has the same furniture, wallpaper, and pictures on the wall; rather, it was tailored to each location, with a general unifying theme that ran across the chain. The layout of the rooms at La Fonda and La Posada might be similar, but the antiques and other furnishings spoke to local cultural traditions. Although railroad depots received uniform designs by the end of the nineteenth century—the same model might be used in countless towns based on population—the ATSF and FHC consciously chose to pursue individual architectural distinction for each of their hotels, unifying them instead through interior finishes and materials, which often meant adhering to an Arts and Crafts aesthetic.

Within the world that the ATSF and FHC created and controlled for tourists, variety

was purposefully injected to keep the journey fresh and exciting. On a traveler's way west, the partners ensured that he did not eat the same meal twice by staggering menus on the dining cars; Harvey Girls in nearly identical uniforms displayed hospitality, but also shared their individual interests in friendly banter; American Indians encountered at the curio shops, or "Indian Rooms," performed the same types of activities—making pottery, weaving blankets—but were from local tribes; and Indian Detours automobile tours allowed guests to pick the sites they wanted to visit from a preset list.

Apart from the train itself, tourists most interacted with the FHC at the Houses.⁷¹ As some of the first examples of Mission, Pueblo, and Spanish Revival architecture in the Southwest and nation, they fired the imagination of visitors, and contributed to the creation of a Romanticized past that appealed to outsiders, and attracted transplants from other sections of the country. Many of the leading architects of the Midwest and West had a hand in their design, furthering the development of these professional fields in the Southwest. At a time when elite East Coast firms dominated the pages of architectural journals, the Harvey Houses and larger ATSF depots put the Southwest on the map.

Bustling with visitors from all parts of the nation, and from foreign locales, the Harvey Houses also managed to retain strong ties to their home communities. Lunchrooms became the gathering spot where locals caught up on the news and discussed affairs. Civic organizations and clubs held events in the dining and ballrooms, establishing traditions in which the Houses figured prominently. Houses adapted to local conditions: at Santa Fe, the rule that all men had to wear a jacket was dropped in the dining room as a nod to the bohemian artistic community that favored the patio at La Fonda (Fig. 17). This connection to local communities is part of the reason that the Harvey Houses, many now empty, retain meaning for residents; grandparents and parents passed down memories of their interactions with the buildings and their staffs that

painted a picture of strong community pride in having the “best” House on the line.

While the hotels were created by some of the leading architects of the day and therefore reflected their designers’ thinking about appropriate representations of the Southwest, they also had to be planned to efficiently house overnight visitors, and more importantly, accommodate large crowds of diners that had limited time to consume a three or four course meal. Space planning was essential, especially on the ground floors where the dining facilities were located. In this regard, the Harvey Houses reflected contemporary thoughts about hotel design, which was then being reconsidered by leading hostelrys based on the changing desires of the newly traveling middle class, as well as the influence of European practice imported to America through the experiences of upper class Americans who holidayed on the Continent.

The general price of a trip West was considerable, but in a smart business move, Fred Harvey did offer patrons various price options for services such as meals, which were either prix-fix



Fig. 17: Many Harvey Houses became the social centers of the towns in which they were located. The patio at La Fonda in Santa Fe was especially popular with local artists.

or à la carte, and offered in two different settings. The lunchroom usually consisted of a horseshoe-shaped counter with stools, and perhaps a few tables on the periphery; patrons had to sit together at a crowded counter in forced socialization (Fig. 18). The Harvey Girls remained inside the horseshoe, with the main serving stations located at the center for ease of access. Dining rooms, available in most medium to large Houses, allowed for a more private experience, in which guests received their own table, and the dress requirement, including

jackets for men, meant that a more “civilized” clientele usually occupied this space (Fig. 19).

Dining spaces meant to serve a large number of patrons also had to be simple to maintain; subsequently, most of the lunchrooms had marble countertops and tiled floors,



both of which allowed for easy cleaning. Wooden paneling on the walls tended to be of uncomplicated design, in keeping with the Arts and Crafts aesthetic pursued by the architects and designers, and again was easy to wipe down and polish. The emphasis on cleanliness was a Harvey hallmark, and was further embraced through simple décor such as light cloth curtains that allowed the sun to enter rooms, a departure from the heavy fabrics and wallpapers which had marked the Victorian age.



Fig. 18 (top): *The lunchroom at La Posada featured the typical full length counter with central serving station. The tiled surfaces were easy to clean. Fig. 19: The Dining Room had tables of various sizes set with linens, silver, and crystal.*

Hotel layout generally achieved two goals: quick access from the tracks to the dining areas for passengers stopping for a meal, and the placement of guest rooms away from the tracks to keep noise

and smoke at a distance. At every Harvey House location, the lunchroom and dining room were a short, direct walk from the platform, whereas the lobby might be in the middle of the building or as far from the tracks as possible, separated from the activity of the trackside by

the dining zone. Many of the Harvey Houses incorporated courtyards, forecourts, porches, or lawns that separated the guestrooms from the tracks.

Early Harvey Houses were true to their period in that while rooms may have been private, communal bathrooms were common, following European precedents where all guests shared a bathroom in the hall. This might be as simple as a bathroom that could accommodate one person at a time in the smaller hotels, or possibly two larger facilities for each sex (Fig. 20). The question of sanitary facilities was of importance to the architectural community, and

it was frequently discussed in trade publications such as *The Architectural Review*. A 1913 article on railroad hotels described the debate: “About twenty years ago one bathroom to five rooms was about the greatest number permissible...at the present time... all rooms [are] made communicating, each provided with a bath wherever possible,



Fig. 20: This view of a guestroom at the Harvey House in Barstow, California shows the standard washstand in the corner; communal bathrooms were located down the hall.

and commodious closets to every room.”⁷² It was not until the 1920s and the purchase and enlargement of La Fonda in Santa Fe that private ensuite bathrooms became common, but this does not mean that older properties were necessarily retrofitted.

Apart from guest accommodations, the FHC had to consider housing for its workers, particularly the Harvey Girls, who were generally young and single. At a time when formal employment—outside of domestic tasks, education, and health care—was considered “a social and economic transgression” by middle class women, the FHC successfully attract thousands

of them to travel into the unknown.⁷³ Many were drawn to the waitressing jobs because of the security that they offered, including company housing watched over by a “house mother” who ensured that their virtue stayed intact by monitoring their activity.⁷⁴

At the end of the nineteenth century, waitressing remained vaguely associated with prostitution, especially in small western outposts, so it was vital that the FHC maintain the image of its wholesome, respectable young women.⁷⁵ In order to uphold this ideal, the FHC offered good, comfortable housing at each of its locations. As jobs that were only held for perhaps six months to a few years before the women returned home or got married, the effort to find short-term housing as a single woman would have been a burden; making the process easier for them allowed the FHC to boast of the benefits of the job, which also included free uniform cleaning and meals.⁷⁶

Lodging for the Harvey Girls varied from one location to the next, but all premises were expected to remain neat and clean, and most Girls shared a room with a fellow worker. At La Castañeda in Las Vegas, New Mexico, the women lived across the street from the hotel, above a store; at La Fonda in Santa Fe, rooms were provided in the basement of the hotel near the mechanical areas and the laundry; and at Belen, New Mexico, they lived on the second floor of the Harvey House which had dining facilities only (Fig. 21). At Belen, the women had rooms of roughly 160 square feet, with double windows overlooking the tracks and depot. Access was from a back staircase that started in a staff dining room located behind the kitchen which also had a door that opened onto a small patio away from the main entrance to the lunch and dining rooms (Figs. 22-23).

This commitment to employees was in stark contrast to the lodging offered to Pullman Porters, another group of railroad workers known throughout the country for their

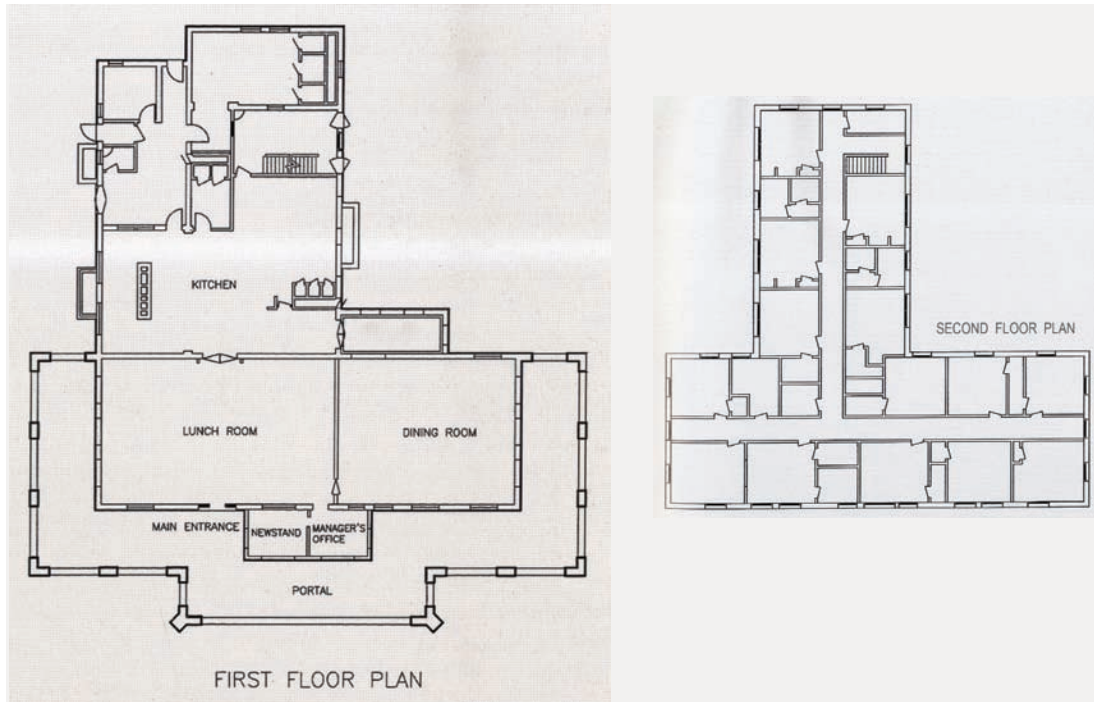


Fig. 21 (top): *The Harvey Girls at La Castañeda* had to cross the street to go to work; they lived above a set of stores within sight of the hotel. Figs 22-23: *The floorplans from Belen* show the simple layout of the House: eating areas facing the tracks with the kitchen behind; the Harvey Girls lived upstairs, as did the manager and his family.

service aboard Pullman luxury railcars. The porters valued their jobs, as they were some of the highest paid positions that an African-American man could achieve, especially when generous tips were included, although the job included long hours, extended absences from home, and the fulfilling of every wish put forward by customers.⁷⁷ Unlike the Harvey Girls, the men were considered more self-sufficient, and in the early years of the service in the late-nineteenth century, they had to find their own lodging at the end of their run. Often this meant navigating the racial restrictions of cities and towns, particularly when traveling south of the Mason-Dixon Line. Where the company did provide lodging, it was generally of poor quality, ranging from bunk beds crowded into a Pullman office, or makeshift beds on an old rail car located in the yard.⁷⁸

THE SECOND GENERATION OF HARVEY HOUSES AS EXPRESSIONS OF ROMANTICIZED SOUTHWESTERN REGIONAL ARCHITECTURE

Against a national backdrop of architectural development and debate, the large Harvey House complexes rose along the main line during the first three decades of the twentieth century, and were therefore able to draw on the intellectual foundation put down by the leading practitioners and scholars. David Gebhard has argued repeatedly that the rather simple geometric shapes and forms, with particular attention paid to their massing, volume, and lines, made the Harvey Houses early examples of the influence of the Modern movement in American architecture.⁷⁹ It is debatable though, whether contemporaries would have equated the Harvey Houses with the work of more outright Modernists such as Irving Gill, who later in his career eschewed almost all superficial ornament in favor of spare compositions.

The Houses almost always retained some degree of whimsy and romance, especially in their interiors which were often the product of Mary Colter, known for her humorous touches (Fig 24). Colter was educated within the Arts and Crafts-based artistic community of Minneapolis-St. Paul, where she taught freehand and mechanical drawing at the Mechanic Arts High School.⁸⁰ In addition to her teaching, she was an active member in the local arts community, pursuing metal working and allied arts. Asked by the FHC to work on its “Indian Room” at Albuquerque’s Alvarado in 1902, Colter made her mark with a skillful blending of Spanish and American Indian design aesthetics with modern influences.⁸¹ Colter nurtured



Fig. 24: *Mary Jane Colter at age 23, c 1892.*

a life-long interest in American Indian art and culture, providing a base of knowledge from which to draw inspiration.⁸² From the first days, she displayed “her great creative imagination, phenomenal energy, [and] youthful spirit,” and over the course of her half-century long career with the FHC and ATSF, she also revealed her “Colorful temperament and salty method of expression.”⁸³ Colter knew what she liked and wanted and apparently was not afraid to speak up in her male-dominated profession.⁸⁴

The architecture that came to be associated with the Southwest over the course of the twentieth century sprang from three “revivals”—the Mission, Pueblo/Santa Fe, and the Spanish. The first was inspired by the recent ruins of colonial Spanish missions in California; the second by a renewed interest in the structures built by American Indians in northern New Mexico and influenced by Spanish colonists from the sixteenth century on; and the third by the imagined luxury of buildings associated with Romantic notions of Spanish dons ruling over Nueva España, or Mexico. Architects and designers borrowed elements from all three to create buildings they believed to be sensitive to regional history and culture. Strict adherence to one design language proved rare. To understand the development of the “second generation” Harvey Houses, for the purposes of this thesis it is important to review not just the Houses which are still standing, but a few others which are now gone. These early buildings set influential design standards that were followed by architects throughout the second wave of House construction.

Mission Revival

Early admirers of the Spanish missions of the California coast were struck by their history and their ability to act as a link to an established Hispanic culture—a European heritage to equal that of the East Coast. Deconsecrated after Mexico won independence from Spain,

most of the structures had been sold off and stood abandoned.⁸⁵ “Discovered” a half century later by Anglo arrivals such as Lummis, the now ruined buildings held Romantic possibilities.⁸⁶ As early as the 1870s, the Southern Pacific Railroad employed journalist Benjamin Truman to write promotional literature describing the missions “framed in a landscape unlikely to mar the thoughts which this stately ruin will inspire, as one looks upon its noble towers, its ruined, grass grown stairs.”⁸⁷ Travelers such as George Wharton James devoted entire volumes to the buildings, describing their architecture and history in great detail, often including tales of dashing conquistadors and American Indians, while novelists like Helen Hunt Jackson used the missions as backdrops in their fictional stories. (Fig. 25).⁸⁸

California scholar Phoebe Kropp argues that the transplanted Anglo-Americans who composed the new elite of towns such as Los Angeles were able to co-opt the Spanish past and make it their own, the final act in this process being the defeat of Spain in the Spanish-American War of 1898. The passing of Spain as a power firmly put the Spanish heritage in the past where it could not threaten to overtake the present, Anglo culture; this also allowed it to be manipulated and reshaped to fit current needs.⁸⁹ The missions had become “a confirmation of American conquest... ‘outposts of our first civilization.’”⁹⁰ David Gebhard, noted scholar of Southern Californian architecture, considered the Mission Revival style favored by the ATSF and the FHC to be just as much “an artificial creation... a myth created by newcomers...” as the other “Neo-isms,” or “revival” styles that caught the fancy of architects and designers at the turn of the twentieth century.⁹¹ The fact that the region had European roots did not hamper cooption; European civilization had already tamed California and Anglos were simply building on this success.

Interest in mission architecture and history was great enough by the 1890s to influence the design of the California state building at the World’s Columbian Exhibition of 1893 held in

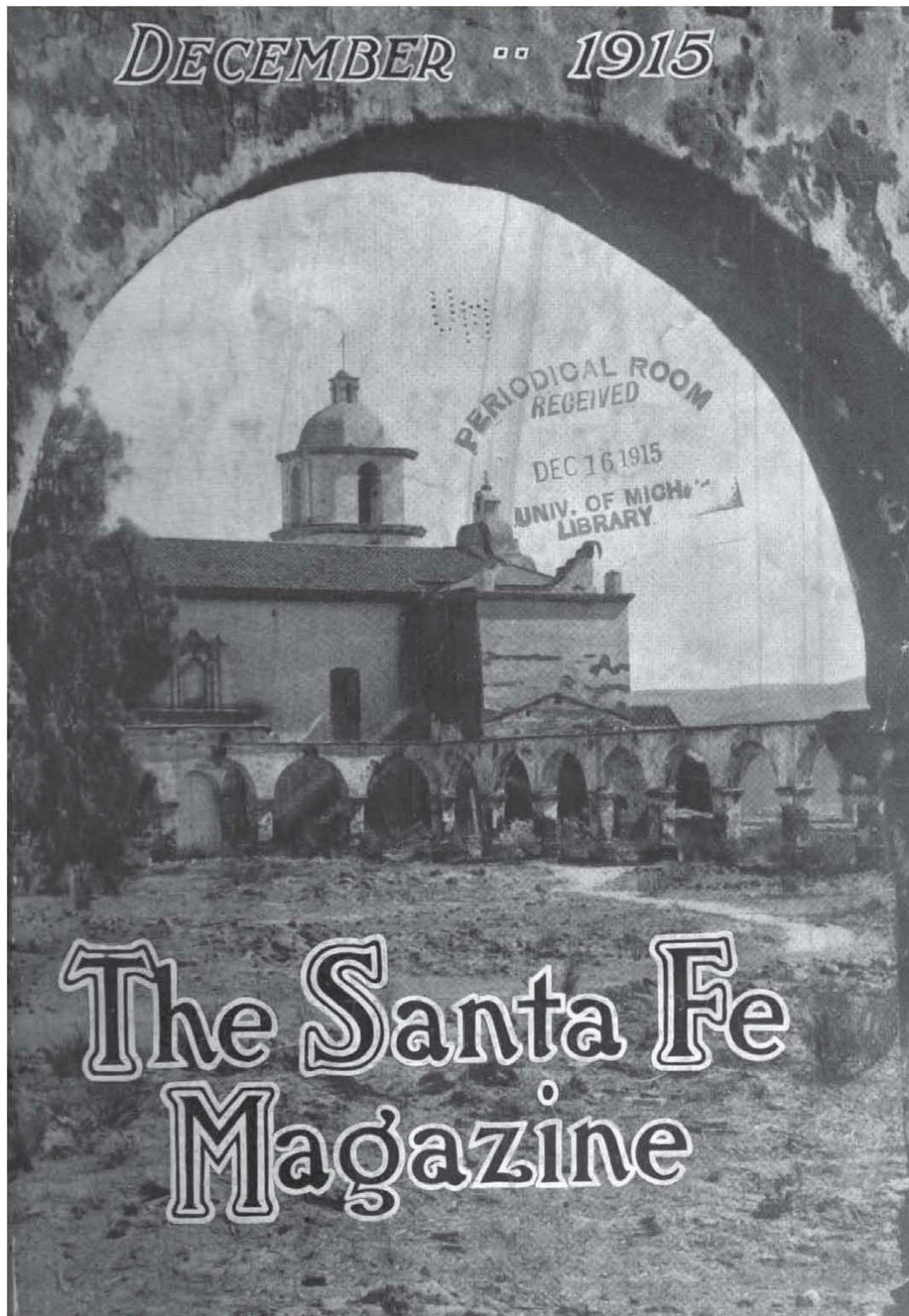


Fig. 25: This romantic image of Mission San Luis Rey graced the cover of the ATSF's company magazine. The missions were often featured on the cover, as were natural wonders, many of which became national and state parks.

Chicago (Fig. 26). Many of California's best known architects proposed designs for the structure, but the winning commission was submitted by A. Page Brown, a former student of McKim, Mead, and White who had moved to San Francisco in the late 1880s. Brown's office used the mission ruins as inspiration for the building, but was not slavish in its use of the motifs; rather than an archaeologically correct "mission," Brown and his design team chose elements which they thought would be most effective in grabbing public attention, combining them to create a picturesque and functional structure that could accommodate



Fig. 26: *California Building at the World's Columbian Exposition*

the necessary exhibition halls.⁹² The building featured towers reminiscent of those found at various mission sites. Large arched passageways ran the length of the structure, but were not open-air as would have been found out west. One entrance was capped by a large *remate*, or gable finished with a curving, undulating edge; but around the corner another was topped by a neoclassical pediment supported by columns with ionic capitals. For heightened visual effect, the entire composition was crowned by a dome which rose from a dominating, central square tower.

For many visitors to the fair, Brown's structure was their first physical contact with the state, no matter how accurate a depiction of California architecture. The image of its stuccoed walls and red tiled roofs would remain with people, firmly tying the "mission" aesthetic to the state. One of the visitors to the exposition was Edward Payson Ripley, who had also been a director of the fair, serving on its executive committee while vice-president of the Chicago, Milwaukee, and St. Paul Railroad. Ripley and his contemporaries were credited with securing

the exposition for the city.⁹³ It is highly likely that Ripley would have seen the California building first hand, and this experience may have influenced him after he became president of the reorganized ATSF in 1896 and the decision was made to use the Mission Revival as the primary design language for new stations and the Harvey Houses. At the popular fair, Ripley would have witnessed the power that a unified architectural creation held over the minds of the public.

La Castañeda: Las Vegas, New Mexico

The first grand trackside Harvey House was La Castañeda at Las Vegas, New Mexico, and it followed many of the trends noted above. Opened in early 1899, it replaced a small lunchroom facility.⁹⁴ At the time, Las Vegas was a thriving municipality in the northeast corner of the state with a strong base in sheep and cattle ranching, as well as wool shipping intensified by the arrival of the ATSF some two decades earlier.⁹⁵ Originally centered on the early nineteenth-century plaza, the town had developed a second “downtown” when the railroad arrived in 1879, and this was where the hotel was located. The ATSF hired Los Angeles-based Frederic Louis Roehrig, an architect skilled in revivalist language, to design the Harvey House. As the first of the larger, more luxurious, “second-generation” Houses, it would set a precedent subsequently followed by other designers.

Cornell-educated Roehrig is well known for Castle Green, an annex to the famed Hotel Green in Pasadena, which also opened in 1899, an important commission that most likely influenced choices made regarding the Las Vegas building, which is a much more restrained relation to its showy California cousin.⁹⁶ Roehrig’s addition to the Hotel Green was constructed to directly serve the ATSF’s *California Special*. Although not owned by the railroad, the hotel’s proprietors sought a direct rail link, which the architect provided through

an extended porte-cochère in the Castle Green addition.⁹⁷ The annex combined Spanish and Moorish motifs, featuring balconies, verandahs, domes, arches, and two seven-story circular corner towers topped by red tile conical roofs.⁹⁸ Pasadena was a prime wintering spot for East Coast and Midwest elites, and the Hotel Green was certainly at the pinnacle of the resort hotel industry for which the area was known. Pasadena too was a center of the West Coast Arts and Crafts movement, with famed practitioners such as the Green Brothers and others who specialized in architecture, furniture-making, and allied arts.

At Las Vegas, Roehrig introduced what is considered the first Mission Revival building in New Mexico, at a cost of \$110,000, a substantial investment by the ATSF in a town far from its larger bases in Chicago, Kansas City, and Los Angeles⁹⁹ (Fig 27). At first glance, the structure appears quite large and impressive, but on further investigation, the observer notices how much of that sense of grandeur is achieved through Mission detailing, such as the arched arcade that wraps around the east façade facing the tracks and the south elevation that looks toward the neighboring depot.

The Las Vegas station sat across a lawn from La Castañeda, and was not physically connected to the hotel; cohesive station-hotel complexes only became standard on the ATSF lines after La Castañeda. The 1898 depot which stands today replaced an earlier wood-frame structure put up in 1881¹⁰⁰ (Fig 28). The Las Vegas station is based on a standard floor plan used across the country which included sex-segregated waiting rooms separated by a central core containing the manager's office and restrooms; a freight storeroom occupied the southern end. The exterior features a hipped roof with dormers and deep eaves—especially important in the heat of the Southwest. A projecting bay indicated the location of the station manager's office, as it allowed him to view trains in the distance and subsequently prepare the passengers and freight for boarding. The ATSF staff architect who completed the structure modified it to



Fig. 27 (top): *La Castañeda* seen from across the main line tracks soon after its completion. The two remates over the wings and the extensive arcades are defining features of the facade.



Fig. 28 (bottom): *The Las Vegas Depot* sits to the south of the hotel, to the left and out of the frame of the top photo. Like many ATSF-built stations in the Southwest, it has an outdoor waiting room marked by the large archway on the left of the building. The station was recently restored and serves passengers of Amtrak's Southwest Chief.

Fig. 29 (middle): Passengers staying at *La Castañeda* would have walked up these stairs to the far end to access the lobby. The lunchroom would have been at the corner, a short walk from the platform.



better fit the local context, including a red tile roof, and topping the manager's bay with a *remate* and inlaid cross decoration. Although incorporating Mission motifs, the façade was red brick, and not the stucco which became more common as the Mission style spread across the region.

At a depth of roughly 12 feet, La Castañeda's arcades significantly enlarge the area of the first floor, and immediately alert the visitor that the building is more reminiscent of Mediterranean prototypes than the common English examples known back East. Viewed from the west, it is clear that Roehrig focused all of the detailing on the track-facing east façade, as that would have been the "front" door of the hotel. If the Mission Revival motifs could be stripped away—the arcades, prominent full story *remates* on each wing, and the red-tiled roof—all that would remain would be a rather standard brick hotel with a "C" floor plan. The Spanish-inspired aesthetic does not extend into the interior as it would in successive Harvey Houses; the Romantic vision was limited to the exterior. Interestingly, although many later Mission style structures were coated with stucco or cement applied to resemble stucco, Roehrig left bare the buff brick facades of La Castañeda.

The 51 seat lunchroom was the first space that meal-stop passengers would have reached, located in the south wing; those who favored the dining room would have had to follow the arcade to the far end of the landscaped forecourt, which it overlooked.¹⁰¹ The north wing housed offices, the kitchens, which included large ovens that produced bread for other locations along the line, and a walk-in safe where an extensive \$200,000 silver service was stored—worth more than La Castañeda cost to build and furnish.¹⁰²

Overnight guests arriving by train would have proceeded up the stairs to the raised arcade, continuing to the southwestern corner of the building to access the lobby (Fig. 29).

Inside, this public space was dominated by a large wooden staircase illuminated by a skylight. The ceiling was of pressed tin typical of the period's commercial structures, and doors were topped by maneuverable transoms that allowed for airflow. Before reaching the staircase, visitors passed by a Curio Shop, where American Indian crafts could be purchased; the Curio Shop came into its own a few years later at the Alvarado in Albuquerque (Fig 30).



Fig. 30: *The Curio Shop can be seen in the corner where the staircase ascends to the hotel rooms on the second floor.*

Roehrig wisely removed the majority of the 38 guest rooms to the back of the structure, across a forecourt which separated them from the platform. A fountain was later installed in this court, and would have helped soften the noise from the lines. Studying the floor plan, the second story is a typical double-loaded corridor model. A few rooms had their own bathtubs and toilets, but most only contained a sink. Full bathrooms were located down the hall and shared with other guests.

Alvarado: Albuquerque, New Mexico

Following the success of La Castañeda, the FHC and the ATSF planned a similar hotel complex for Albuquerque which they named the Alvarado. It was long considered the “jewel in the crown” until it was torn down in 1970, the last in a series of Harvey structures to go the way of the wrecking ball. Some mention of the Alvarado must be made, as it was probably the best known of the Harvey Houses and was an example of Mary Colter’s first work for

the firm. The Alvarado was completed in 1905, the same year that El Tovar opened at the south rim of the Grand Canyon. The concurrent projects were designed by the same man, Charles Whittlesey, but were grounded in rather different aesthetics. El Tovar resembles an alpine chalet, in which log slab siding and native stone foundations and piers play a prominent part; the varying rooflines make it known from a distance. The design would influence later structures in what became a national monument in 1908, and a national park in 1919; today Whittlesey's contributions are considered the basis for the "official" rustic architecture used in the national parks until the mid-twentieth century.¹⁰³ The Alvarado, in turn, is in keeping with the Spanish and Mission motifs then becoming prominent in railroad structures built along the main line.

By 1900, Whittlesey had already practiced architecture for over fifteen years, primarily in Chicago, and was a skilled designer who had apprenticed under Louis Sullivan. He worked for the ATSF as chief architect of hotels and stations for five years, based in the major ATSF division point of Albuquerque; he then moved on to Los Angeles where he supervised the construction of the ATSF Railroad Employees Hospital, as well as the Hotel Wentworth in Pasadena and Harvey Houses in Southern California. He finally settled down in San Francisco towards the end of his career.¹⁰⁴

Whittlesey was a strong advocate for the use of reinforced concrete, then a new product that was gaining popularity in the Southwest. Unlike adobe, which generally required thick walls to provide the strength needed to support floor or roof beams, reinforced concrete was touted by industry leaders as a perfect material that closely resembled adobe, but which was much stronger, occupying only a fraction of the floor space of an adobe wall of the same strength. A colleague noted that Whittlesey was "relentless in his supervision of concrete work," much of it predating the better known experimental structures which Frank Lloyd

Wright, another Sullivan apprentice, built in Southern California in the late 1910s and 1920s drawing on Central American influences.¹⁰⁵

As early as 1895, Charles Fletcher Lummis commented on the appropriateness of stucco and concrete as a suitable aesthetic substitute for adobe.¹⁰⁶ Industry trade pamphlets informed customers of the durability of concrete, its adaptability of shape when poured in wooden forms, and its cost-effectiveness. In areas where flash-flooding was common, adobe could be damaged by the sudden rush of water, but not so with concrete. Concrete too could be tinted to take on various colors, much as adobe varied in hue based on the minerals within the selected clay, a factor which endeared it to Arts and Crafts architects who saw it as a direct reflection of local conditions.

Appealing to this aesthetic, boosters noted that the raw state of concrete after the wooden form boards had been removed was akin to the natural roughness of the adobe construction completed by the Franciscan missionaries working with limited available materials. Publications such as the *American Builders Review* also saw a direct correlation between the increased interest in Mission architecture and concrete construction, producing numerous articles on the subject.¹⁰⁷ Underlying all the discussion was the paradox that a modern material was being most used in buildings that looked to the past for inspiration instead of to the future.¹⁰⁸ In its most stripped down incarnations, concrete was well suited to the almost Cubist, early Modernist designs produced by architects such as Irving Gill in Southern California; its application to Mission revival structures in the hands of experts like Whittlesey gave concrete construction needed exposure.

Coated in pebble-dash concrete stucco, the Alvarado was the first fully unified hotel-depot complex in the FHC system in which the two components were physically connected

to one another. Stepping off the train, passengers would have encountered a series of arcades across the east elevation. Behind these the most prominent architectural feature was a three-story pavilion with corner towers resembling the *campanarios* of Mission Santa Barbara or San Buenaventura, with stepped walls above the roof line, and crowned with small domes (Fig. 31). The principle portion of the hotel mirrored the “C” plan of La Castañeda, again distancing the eighty-eight guest rooms from the commotion of the platform area.¹⁰⁹ The two wings of the “C” were also crowned with large *remates* like their Las Vegas predecessors, but Whittlesey punctured them with arched openings, lightening their effect and providing further surfaces for sun and shadow to play upon. Other decoration included openings reminiscent of the starburst window on the façade of Mission San Carlos Borromeo.



Fig. 31: This idyllic view of the Alvarado from across the tracks implies that it is in the middle of the countryside; in reality, a commercial district lined the bordering streets. The depot is marked by the tower to the left; the Indian Room is indicated by the two arches capped with a *remate* along the arcade; and the main hotel complex is known by its central structure with the corner towers.

Two features introduced at the Alvarado—the “Indian Room” and a garden landscape—signified its status as the most important Harvey House on the line, located at the half-way point between Chicago and Los Angeles. The “Indian Room” was a curio shop where passengers and guests could purchase American Indian and Hispanic crafts such as pottery, textiles, and baskets; it also contained a small museum showcasing the finest art pieces which formed the nascent FHC corporate collection¹¹⁰ (Fig. 32-33). As early as 1909, travel guides such as Baedeker’s noted its “interesting collection of the ‘Arts and Crafts’ of the Moki, Zuni,



Fig. 32 (top right): *The Indian Building* faced the tracks so that passengers could get off the train and have a look at the goods sold inside; American Indians often sold products in front of the shop. Fig. 33 (bottom): *The Indian Room* was set up in a casual way to encourage customers to interact with the products. Fig. 34 (top left): Herman Schweizer travelled the Southwest to find goods and treasures for the network of Indian Rooms as well as for the FHC corporate art collection and those of wealthy clients like William Randolph Hearst.

Navajo, Apache, and Pima Indians.”¹¹¹ The Indian Department of the FHC was established in 1901, the idea of Fred Harvey’s daughter, an avid collector; it sought to provide guests with opportunities to buy high-quality, authentic goods, and in doing so, ensure FHC dominance over this emerging market.¹¹² With Herman Schweizer, described as “[having] that gift of the gods, a sure taste for the authentic and beautiful,” at its helm for the next four decades, it became a major force in the Southwestern American Indian crafts trade¹¹³ (Fig. 34).

Trains stopped at Albuquerque for at least thirty minutes because it was a division and crew change point; continuing travelers had enough time to step off the train and explore the Alvarado. Mary Colter was hired to set up the “Indian Room,” strategically located by Whittlesey on the arcade leading from the depot to the hotel, forcing overnight guests to pass by it.¹¹⁴ She arranged the merchandise as if it were in a private home, allowing buyers to imagine how it might look in their own living quarters. This was an unusual method of display at a time when most stores kept merchandise in cases that had to be opened by sales staff; its influence is still felt today.¹¹⁵ The space even had that quintessential Arts and Crafts symbol of domestic happiness, the *inglenook*, as well as other built-in furniture. The entrance to the store was marked by its own *remate* and a large circular plaque with a Zuni god of war¹¹⁶ (see Fig. 32). Postcards and pamphlets produced over the decades would depict American Indian craftspersons sitting outside the Indian Shop, blankets spread on the ground and covered with their goods.

The other feature firmly established at the Alvarado was the garden (Figs 35). From photographs and printed materials, La Castañeda apparently always had a front lawn of lush green grass, but it was simply clipped. At the Alvarado, elaborately planted grounds buffered the buildings from the platform, offering a bit of verdant paradise in the high desert landscape. This aspect was played up in the interior courts, which were graced by fountains

and protected from the desert winds by the arcades and main hotel buildings (Fig. 36). Some twenty years after its debut, an expansion and refurbishment of the hotel also gave further attention to the gardens, which were redesigned by Paul Thiene, who had worked on the San



Fig. 35 (top): *The trackside gardens in the early twentieth century were lush and included many plant varieties.* Fig. 36: *The planted interior courts featured fountains to cool the air and drown out the noise of the tracks.*

Diego Exposition.¹¹⁷

In the June 1915 issue of the ATSF's company periodical, *Santa Fe Employes [sic] Magazine*, well-regarded archaeologist and Santa Fe civic booster Sylvanus Morley gave Edward Payson Ripley complete credit for pushing the railroad to use Mission, Spanish, and Pueblo Revival architecture for important company buildings.¹¹⁸ Morley spent much of his own life promoting the use of a "Santa Fe" style of architecture in New Mexico, based heavily on his own work with the School of American Archaeology at

Santa Fe, for which he had studied sites inhabited by the Anasazi people and other regional American Indian groups.¹¹⁹

Morley recalled, "The chief credit for this renaissance [of regional architecture] rests with ...Ripley...As much as twenty years ago, when the question of building hotels and stations along the route of the Santa Fe system arose, he perceived the historical propriety

of following the native architecture of the Southwest...the order went forth that [mission] architecture was to be followed...”¹²⁰ He continued by crediting the ATSF with the “artistic and commercial” development of Southern California through the use of mission style architecture. Above all, Morley even then recognized that the ATSF’s branding through architecture and design “netted her millions of dollars in advertising and publicity.”¹²¹ The ATSF was not the only Western business to appropriate the mission style for its own image-making attempts; the Southern Pacific and Union Pacific, the two other major transcontinental competitors of the ATSF, also began building mission influenced depots in the years immediately following the World’s Columbian Exposition.

Pueblo/Santa Fe Revival

While the Mission Style was heartily embraced by Arts and Crafts artisans in the West, and encouraged by figures such as Stickley in the East, regional division began to appear in the first decade of the twentieth century. In part this was due to New Mexico and Arizona’s increased demand for statehood, which finally came in 1912, long after many of their more northern neighbors. Boosters began to worry that the Southwest—defined as New Mexico and Arizona—was not distinguishable in the public mind from California, which garnered much attention for its citrus groves, rich irrigated farmland, and Pacific resorts. The semi-arid and desert landscapes of New Mexico and Arizona, as well as its rich mix of American Indian, Hispanic, and Anglo cultures contrasted sharply with California’s idealized Mediterranean image.

The Mission Style architecture popularized at Las Vegas and Albuquerque soon faced opposition from those who considered it to be too closely associated in the public mind with California. In an attempt to better define Santa Fe and New Mexico, which locals were happy

to point out had a longer history of European settlement than California, regional activists turned to design to foster a stronger regional identity.¹²² In the above-mentioned article, Morley summed it up: “When it became apparent...however appropriate California mission architecture might be for California, it was hardly the ‘correct thing’ for New Mexico, which had an equally distinctive and beautiful architecture of her own...”¹²³ As Morley and his friends were eager to highlight, where California primarily possessed uninhabited ruins of structures built by European colonists, New Mexico, especially in the Rio Grande River Basin, boasted ancient, inhabited American Indian pueblos.

There were also spectacular large ruins, such as the recently “discovered” structures at Chaco Canyon, or those of Mesa Verde over the state line in Colorado. Much of the older construction in Santa Fe was of adobe and wood timbers from the region, limiting the capital’s growth to two or three stories as imposed by the qualities of the natural materials at hand. The visual unity provided by a common material and color palette was threatened by the importation of foreign materials such as brick, iron, and steel. Bohemians and artists from the East who had made Santa Fe their home in the last decade of the nineteenth century decried the destruction of the “picturesque” town that had first attracted them to the region.

Located at a distance from the major rail transportation corridor of the Southwest and its broad connections from coast to coast, Santa Fe experienced economic decline. By 1912, city leaders formed the Santa Fe City Planning Board, one of the first in the country, tasking it with identifying programs to revitalize the municipality.¹²⁴ Morley was one of the first appointees, and part of his job was to find alternative ways to promote the town’s “individuality.” He and associates such as artist Carlos Vierra, a founding member of the local art colony, and Edgar Lee Hewett, also an archaeologist, anthropologist, founder of the Museum of New Mexico, and first director of the School of American Archaeology, began to consider how

local architecture and design could be codified to protect the aesthetic character of Santa Fe. The influx of newcomers with the railroad had already changed the character of the town, resulting in the destruction of old adobe buildings and their replacement with new structures using materials imported from the East.¹²⁵

Morley believed that Santa Fe's traditional architecture, which could be used to revitalize the town as a tourism hub, was at the risk of being destroyed more quickly than he and his friends could save it. He would succinctly describe "proper" Santa Fe/Pueblo Revival architecture in the *Santa Fe Magazine*, listing five "important characteristics" such as an emphasis on horizontal lines and a natural, earth-tone color palette.¹²⁶ Morley provided examples of structures that had received what he termed the "Santa Fe treatment"—renovation that superficially transformed an aesthetically non-conforming building into a pueblo-like structure (Figs. 37-38).



Figs. 37-38: Morley showed how the Governor's Palace on the Santa Fe Plaza had received the "Santa Fe treatment," stripping it of neoclassical elements gained during the Territorial Period and replacing them with regional design elements.

To expose the public to their ideas about "proper" regional architecture, Morley and his associate Jesse Nussbaum organized the Old-New Santa Fe Exhibit in the fall of 1912. Backed by the city, the chamber of commerce, and the School of American Archaeology, the program was set up in the Museum of New Mexico at the old Governor's Palace. Here visitors could examine drawings of existing and proposed structures in the Pueblo style, and walk around architectural models.¹²⁷ Nussbaum, a photographer, undertook a survey of the older, colonial Spanish sections of Santa Fe, documenting typical architectural details such as wood

capitals and carved door panels.¹²⁸ Morley even asked the ATSF for assistance in creating the show. In a letter to the corporation, he wrote that the exhibition team believed that one of the new FHC hotels near the capital was “the best exponent of Santa Fe Style as applied to modern construction,” but the ATSF politely declined his advances.¹²⁹

Interestingly, as the City Beautiful movement was at its height in the rest of the country, encouraging a moral, political, and physical renovation of the nation’s towns and cities, Santa Fe turned away from its design recommendations. Most City Beautiful projects drew inspiration from the Grand Court at the World’s Columbian Exposition, which featured a central basin surrounded by monumental, neoclassical buildings that were architecturally unified, creating a cohesive urban space. The fair showed that cities, by using modern innovations, could be hygienic and welcoming. The architectural language of neoclassicism imparted grandeur and a sense of respect for the activities that occurred inside these structures. Although the buildings at the fair were mainly exhibition halls, the City Beautiful boosters transferred the qualities of the original monumental structures to the institutions of civic life: city halls, libraries, museums, and arts facilities. Ultimately, Santa Fe rejected the City Beautiful aesthetic due to its expense and the proposed destruction of existing historic fabric.¹³⁰

Within a decade, the city’s image-making efforts had reaped benefits: an ATSF tourist brochure claimed, “We can build a hundred Chicagos—but all American genius cannot build a Santa Fe...swathed with mystery, heroism, reverence and Romance...”¹³¹ It went on to note that before the English had settled in great number on the East Coast, Santa Fe was already an established center, which continued into the present day, the city being a “center of Art and Scholarship” due to the founding of the New Mexico Art Museum and the School of American Research.¹³² Morley and his contemporaries were praised, although not specifically named, as “enlightened example...to bend the necessities of modern Progress so they shall not play

vandal to the historic quaintness, picturesqueness and individuality which [are]...the greatest actual assets[s] of the ancient capital.”¹³³

The text clearly acknowledges the attempt to temper contemporary change by turning to traditional aesthetic models, in the hope that society would be influenced by its physical surroundings. By using historic precedents, Santa Fe and the region avoided becoming as “standardized and interchangeable as Ford parts with 10,000 other American towns.”¹³⁴ The phrase itself harkens back to the arguments put forth by the leading proponents of the Arts and Crafts three decades earlier, praising the individual and handcrafted over the mass produced and mass designed objects peddled across the country.¹³⁵

El Ortiz: Lamy, New Mexico

The two Harvey Houses in and around Santa Fe were appropriately designed in accordance with the principles set forth by Sylvanus Morley and his associates. If the Alvarado was the largest House in the system, El Ortiz at Lamy was one of the smallest and most intimate. Located at the juncture of the main line and the branch to Santa Fe, Lamy was a small village which did not demand a large hotel, as the hostelries of Santa Fe were the main attraction for visitors. The 1910 El Ortiz replaced a small lunchroom built in 1883, and was designed to resemble the home of a Mexican nobleman, replete with fine furnishings and finishes.¹³⁶ For this project, the ATSF turned to Louis Curtiss of Kansas City, where the FHC was headquartered.

Curtiss followed in the footsteps of Whittlesey, designing over thirty depots, Harvey Houses, and other railroad structures.¹³⁷ The architect may have trained at the Ecole des Beaux Arts in Paris or perhaps in an atelier, but little is known of his early years. Arriving in Kansas City in 1887, within two decades he had risen to the top of the profession within the state, and

his immediate works preceding El Ortiz were remarkably modern, incorporating early glass and metal curtain walls, a far cry from the heavy, masonry and concrete structures he would build for the ATSF.¹³⁸ Although destroyed long ago and not included in the preservation plan proposed in this thesis, El Ortiz deserves some mention as it was the first House to move away from the Mission detailing of La Castañeda and the Alvarado, instead emphasizing the more horizontal lines of the emerging Santa Fe school.

The façade was divided into two asymmetrical sections that were visually joined by a porch. To the northeast was a projecting pavilion with a shallow, arched roof that faded into the background in favor of its mate on the south end, which was slightly higher and crowned by a stepped pediment. The wall uniting the two pavilions was broken in the middle, the parapets displaying different pitches (Figs. 39-40). *Vigas* were used on this central wall, casting strong shadows onto it and the porch below. Ornament was kept to a minimum, the most notable example taking the form of a cross in a circle on the northeast pavilion, the symbol of the ATSF. Elaborate diagonal bracing on the full height of the doors brought attention to the entrance pavilion, as well as the placement of two large, metal lanterns hanging from *vigas* framing the set of doors. Close-up, the visitor noticed the rough hewn logs used in the roof framing of the porch; this continued on the interior patio of the hotel, where the logs were also made into columns topped by horizontal, carved capitals in the Santa Fe manner. The courtyard garden was the heart of the building, and the ten guestrooms opened up onto it, inviting guests to use it as an extension of their quarters (Fig. 41).

Mary Colter designed the interior spaces, which included a small lunchroom. In the lobby, she incorporated one of her signature fireplaces, marked by a parabolic arched opening reminiscent of those on the fireplaces introduced by the Spanish colonists (see Fig.8, p16). Richly toned woodwork and brass accents, especially in the lighting fixtures, emphasized the

hand-made, rustic quality of the interior scheme as a lived-in, family home. Famed writer Owen Wister wrote of his stay: “I found a little gem of architecture, a little clean haven of taste and comfort. [El Ortiz] was like the private house of someone who had lavished thought and care upon every nook. . . . In the patio of this hacienda pigeons were picking in the grass by the little center fountain. . . . a little oasis among the desert hills.”¹³⁹



Fig. 39 (top): Presentation sketch of El Ortiz as viewed from across the tracks. The depot still stands to the left and out of the frame of this drawing. Fig. 40 (bottom, left): The main entrance included numerous windows to allow light into the lobby. Fig. 41: The inner placita featured a fountain and portales constructed of rough-hewn logs.

La Fonda: Santa Fe, New Mexico

Though El Ortiz was a fine introduction to the Santa Fe area, the capital demanded a bigger and finer hotel in keeping with the image that it wished to project to outsiders. Of the “great” Harvey Houses still standing, La Fonda in Santa Fe ranks as one of the most celebrated, and has been in continuous use as a major hotel since it opened in 1919. It remains somewhat

of an anomaly among the Harvey Houses, as it was not located on the main line. When the ATSF bypassed the New Mexican capital in 1880, Lamy became the primary stop in the region, but with Santa Fe as the established metropolitan area, the junction point never had reason to grow; travelers simply covered the twenty miles to Santa Fe where they conducted business or pursued recreational activities.

Acknowledging this fact, the FHC and the railroad purchased La Fonda in 1925.¹⁴⁰ An inn had stood on the southeastern corner of Santa Fe's plaza since the seventeenth century, undergoing renovation or partial rebuilding every generation. In response to municipal efforts to attract residents and tourists, starting with the efforts of Sylvanus Morley and associates in 1912, a group of investors decided to construct a new hotel on the site in 1919, hiring Rapp, Rapp, and Hendrickson of Trinidad, Colorado. Isaac Hamilton Rapp, considered the primary designer in the partnership, is credited as one of the originators of the Santa Fe style of architecture, having used it in a number of buildings in southeastern Colorado before his engagement on the La Fonda project. I.H. Rapp was particularly drawn to the missions of the Southwest, using the church at Acoma as inspiration for many early works, including the New Mexico Building at the San Diego Exposition; this in turn influenced his design for the Museum of New Mexico in Santa Fe.¹⁴¹ For city boosters looking to promote that identity for the city, the architect seemed a perfect fit.

The hotel designed by Rapp, Rapp, and Hendrickson replaced the adobe structure that had stood on the site with a multi-tiered, forty-six room creation that echoed the buildings of the Taos Pueblo. Where much of Pueblo Revival architecture eventually became very linear and at times spartan, Rapp's La Fonda retained flowing lines at the parapets that mimicked the handmade detailing of actual adobe buildings. Other features included the now typical protruding wood rafters, or *vigas*, wooden Santa Fe capitals, and a balcony over the vestibule

entrance, as well as a small walled garden. Windows of various shapes and sizes punctured the walls, emphasizing the asymmetrical, picturesque massing of the structure while flooding its interior with the light for which New Mexico was so famous.

After only a few years in operation, financial difficulties forced the investors to shutter the hotel, and two years later it was purchased by the ATSF to be its base of operations in the city, which displayed rich possibility as a prime tourist destination. The FHC planned to use La Fonda as a principle overnight stop on its Harvey Car Detours, trips through the region by car that introduced tourists to towns and archeological sites off the beaten path. Thus, expecting more visitors, the FHC needed to increase the capacity of the hotel, and in 1928, work began on an extension as well as a remodeling of the original spaces. The ATSF turned to John Gaw Meem, an engineer and relatively inexperienced architect who had come to Santa Fe in 1920 for his tuberculosis, subsequently developing an interest in design as he toured the town and region. His explorations led to a lifelong interest in the local missions, and he was a strong advocate for their preservation.

Meem was a good choice for the project: enthusiastic about local traditions, interested in the techniques of the past, and young and green enough to be highly influenced by Mary Colter, with whom he was paired on the project. With twenty years as an interior designer and many successes produced for the FHC, Colter knew what she liked and had the experience to bring her ideas to fruition.¹⁴² During the design phase, Colter offered suggestions about space planning and gave advice on radiator and closet door placement, preferred hardware, and hundreds of other little things.¹⁴³ Based in Kansas City, Colter worked on her designs, consulting Meem in letters as well as face-to-face meetings at critical points in the construction schedule. No detail went unattended, and those involved in the design process discussed everything from floor plans to whether signs used in the hotel should be illuminated.¹⁴⁴ From

existing correspondence, Meem appears to have regarded Colter as a respected colleague and mentor, and many of her suggestions were incorporated into the final design.¹⁴⁵

Creating a structure intended to relate to its setting, Meem and the FHC certainly were aware of design trends in other cities, often discussing work done by other top architects and interior designers, looking to draw applicable lessons to create a modern, efficient hotel.¹⁴⁶ Meem was sent to the Mission Inn in Riverside, California to study its layout and design features, but later in the drafting process, Colter expressed concern that the initial design for the Indian Lecture Lounge too closely resembled spaces there, and at the same meeting, she urged Meem to design “for this one place only.”¹⁴⁷

Meem conceived an addition to the south of the existing hotel, tripling the total number of rooms (Fig. 42). Dominated by a six storey tower based on mission precedents, it anchored the addition and added a distinctive punctuation to the low Santa Fe skyline. Where Rapp’s composition had been irregular and picturesque, Meem’s displayed a distinct regularity and linearity that would come to define his future work. A double corridor plan, the similar floor plans lined up vertically and were expressed in the regular rhythm of windows and buttresses on the exterior stuccoed walls (Figs. 43-44). By the late 1920s, it was necessary to rethink how the guest rooms were laid out; communal bathrooms were no longer acceptable at a hotel of quality, so all of the new rooms and suites had their own private bathrooms.

Once complete, the public spaces of La Fonda became the gathering spot for Santa Fe society. Following Harvey House precedent, the heart of the building was the patio with its tiled fountain; the surrounding verandahs or *portales* could be glassed in during the winter for increased space, but during the warmer months, the patio opened directly into the lobby and lounge, acting as a key component of the natural ventilation system¹⁴⁸ (Fig. 45, and see Fig. 17, p. 48).

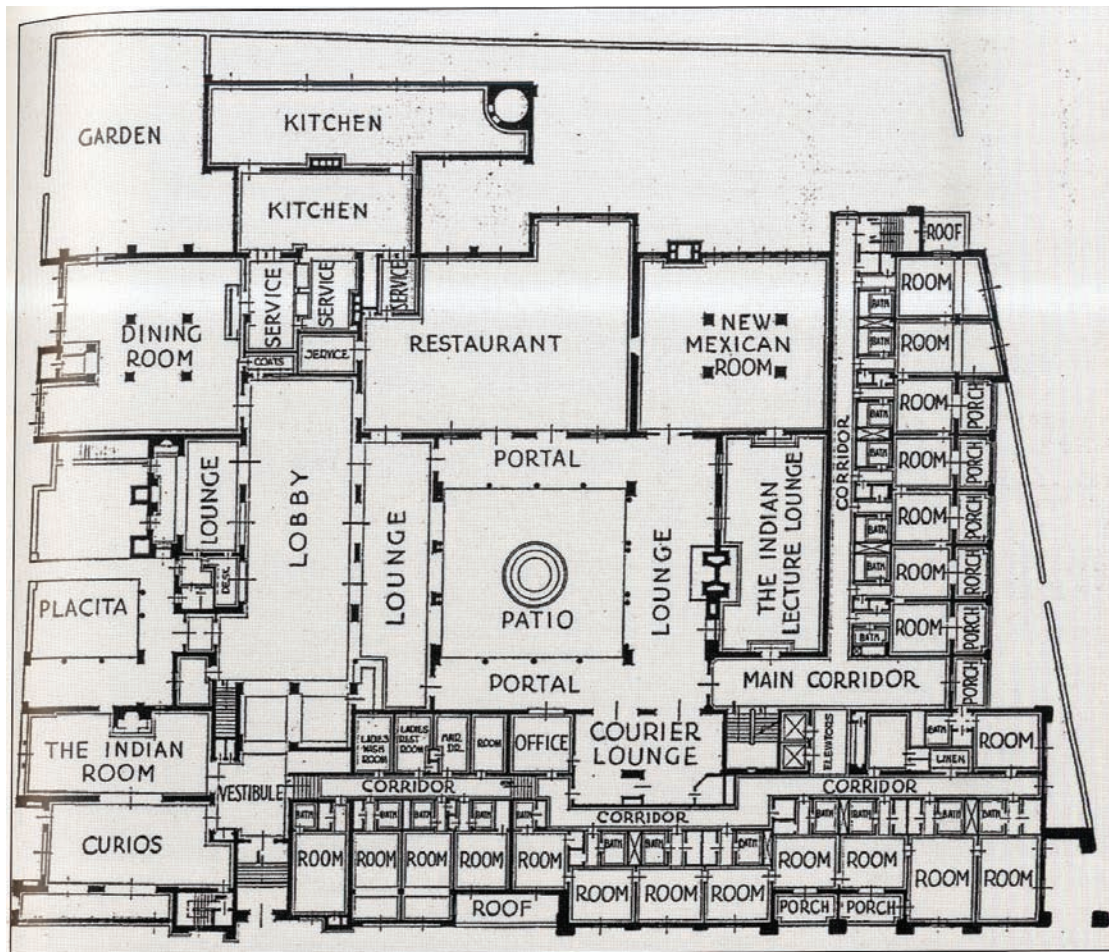


Fig. 42 (top left): *La Fonda's* height is mitigated by a series of stepbacks from the low-lying plaza facade to the prominent six-story tower that marks the John Gaw Meem addition. The greater regularity of the bays on this portion of the building gives an idea of how the rooms are stacked. Fig. 43 (top right): A suite designed by Mary Colter included a fireplace and sitting area. Fig. 44: The floorplan shows that the patio was the heart of the building. The principle public spaces on the first floor were in the original structure, while Meem's addition contained guestrooms. The garden was later removed and a garage added to that end of the property.



Fig. 45 (top): The portales included removable glass doors so that they could be enclosed in winter. Figs 46-48 (second row, l-r): View of La Fonda from the plaza; the main entrance off of the historic Santa Fe Trail; the door to the Indian Room on the corner facing the plaza. Figs 49-50 (bottom row, l-r): The Indian Lecture Lounge still retains its original painted map, fireplace, and some furnishings. The doorway leads to the New Mexican Room; The fireplace in the Portales Lounge is visible from the lobby on the other side of the patio, a sightline which Mary Colter purposefully chose to take advantage of.



Unlike all other Harvey Houses where the lunchroom and dining room were important spaces in constant use, here they served a regular clientele as well as visitors. In the center of Santa Fe, the enlarged La Fonda was designed to have a ballroom to host large events.

Interestingly, the lobby was located toward the center of the hotel, with access off two streets. This allowed prime street frontage to be given over to income-producing shops; the Indian Shop dominated the corner facing the plaza (Fig. 46-48). Public spaces like the lobby were decorated in the Spanish Revival style, mixing antiques and new pieces into one comprehensive vision. The lobby had a ceiling of rounded wooden beams, highlighting the natural and rustic qualities of the material. Punched tin, starburst lanterns lighted cozy nooks where guests could read or write a letter home.

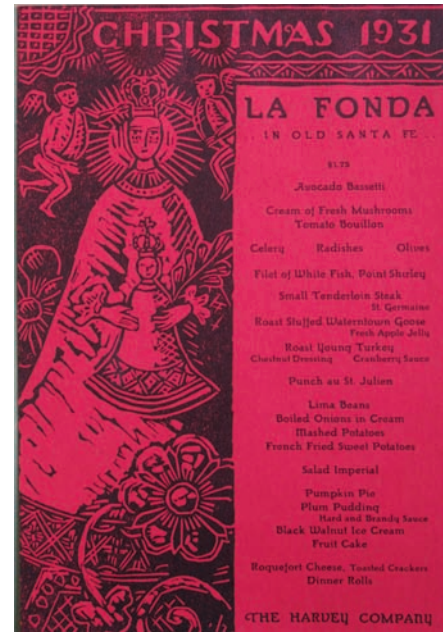


Fig. 51: *La Fonda's beautiful menus and other paper goods were designed by local artists.*

Beyond the patio one found the main rooms devoted to the Indian Detours, including a Couriers Lounge and a Lecture Room where participants could view materials on the region and attend lectures about local culture (Fig. 49-50). Colter created a room reminiscent of a Renaissance era Great Hall, complete with carved wooden ceiling, musicians' balcony, and fireplace with terracotta bas-reliefs. A large painted map of the region depicted the Indian Detour routes and major sites. Colter hired local artists to work on such pieces, as well as murals and furnishings located throughout the hotel, appropriate in a town known for its artistic circles.¹⁴⁹ The trend continued for decades, as most of the menus and other paper products were illustrated by woodcuts made by Santa Fe artists¹⁵⁰ (Fig. 51).

Spanish Revival

As the simplified lines and volumes of the Pueblo style gained in popularity in the Southwest, an alternative presented itself in the highly embellished architectural aesthetic known as the Spanish Revival. Admired for its free use of surface decoration, its lasting influence would be more strongly exhibited in Southern California than the Southwest. The Spanish Revival had similar origins to the nascent interest in the Mission Revival: a world's fair. With the Panama Canal completed in 1914, ideas were floated to hold a fair on the West Coast the following year, and a competition developed between San Francisco, the West's biggest city and its commercial hub, and San Diego, the first major American port to be reached by ships coming through the canal and up the Pacific coast. Eventually both cities would hold fairs, San Diego unwilling to bow down to the pressure asserted by its larger rival (Fig. 52).

Bertram Goodhue, the principle designer of the San Diego event—the Panama-California Exposition—was an architect from New York who had long partnered with Ralph Adams Cram.¹⁵¹ The two practiced in a wide array of styles typical to the period: Gothic, Byzantine, and Spanish Revivals, the last of which became Goodhue's signature as he left the partnership and started his solo career in the early 1910s. Goodhue once explained in a *Craftsman* article, “We have no typical climate in America, no typical landscape, or for that matter, typical civilization,” making an argument for a variety of regional architectures suited to climate and historic precedents.¹⁵²

For the fair site in Balboa Park, Goodhue designed a gleaming Spanish village approached by a dramatic arched viaduct that crossed a deep canyon, heightening the sense of arrival for the visitor. Shady arcades and reflecting pools invited the fairgoer to linger and explore the surroundings. The chosen architectural language was influenced by the architect's

San Diego Panama California Exposition

Your Opportunity to see California and Her Great Exposition

Celebrating the Opening of the Panama Canal

SOMETIME during 1915 you will contemplate a trip—to lake or mountain, seashore or camp.

All the fun, the recreation, the health you count upon will be yours, plus a wealth of knowledge on the garden spot of America, if you come to California and her great expositions, San Diego and San Francisco. 1915 is the "year of decision" and California is the land of opportunity. You must see Southern California.

When the cold winds chill you to the bone, and the flowers and grass are gone at home, pack a trunk and bring the family to San Diego. Take advantage of the low railroad rates. You can live in San Diego cheaper than you can at home, whether you stay a week or a lifetime.

Perhaps—very likely in fact, you will find here freedom from your struggle for financial independence.

And the Exposition! San Diego has built an exposition which does not remotely resemble any other exposition past or present. It is a dream city of the old world—a paradise of multi-colored flowers and verdant foliage.

The buildings house no rows of tiresome exhibits of finished products. Instead, they throb with action. The development of manufacturing as a science is shown. Apparatus, machinery, tools, instruments from the big plants of the world have been transplanted to show you how the things you use and wear and eat are made.

Five hundred miles to the North lies San Francisco where during the greater part of 1915 will be held another Exposition, also celebrating the opening of the Panama Canal, presenting to the world many features differing from the Exposition Beautiful—the two supplementing one another. When California celebrates, the Golden State's enthusiasm requires two outlets.

Ask your railroad ticket agent for the facts, then
Get Your Ticket to San Diego

"Hacer lo que tu, 1915
 Oh! España,
 Nunca sonaste."
 —Cervantes. All the Year

"To do what thou
 O Spain, did
 never dream."
 —Cervantes. Year

KEY AND CRAFT BUILDING

SOME COVERED PERGOLAS OVERLOOKING THE PACIFIC

Fig. 52: Throughout 1915, the Santa Fe Employees [sic] Magazine featured articles depicting the wonders of the San Diego and San Francisco fairs, although the Panama-California Exposition received greater attention. This ad depicts the images associated with California's Romanticized past.

sketching trips to Mexico some fifteen years earlier, where he had been enchanted by the rich sculptural ornamentation commonly referred to as the Churrigueresque; entire facades



Fig. 53: *The Varied Industries Building at the San Diego Fair exhibited the exuberant ornamentation that marked many Spanish Revival designs.*

might be encrusted with figures and swirling movements in stone.¹⁵³

Goodhue's skillful and popular use of surface decoration cemented its acceptability in the architectural canon of the region (Fig. 53). Architects actively pursuing regionally-inspired designs now had three languages to choose from: Mission, "Santa Fe" or Pueblo, and Spanish Revivals. Many designers freely blended elements of all three, and perhaps incorporated features adapted from other Mediterranean locales, especially Italy. In

the quest to adapt "local" architecture to modern needs, generations of designers at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century indeed developed an altogether new architectural language that remained fluid, in which various characteristics such as the overall lines, massing, enclosure of volume, and surface decoration could be manipulated as the architect chose in order to produce visual delight.

Fray Marcos: Williams, Arizona

Two Harvey Houses designed by the same architect were aesthetically related to the Spanish Revival, but lacked the decorative ornamentation usually associated with the work

of better known practitioners in that style such as Goodhue or Addison Mizner in Florida. The Fray Marcos and El Garces might be better thought of as Mediterranean Beaux-Arts, displaying a crisp neoclassicism with Italian influences. The Fray Marcos was constructed at Williams, Arizona, a small town which acted as the junction point for the Grand Canyon Railway. This short line took visitors to the south rim of the Grand Canyon where the FHC ran a large operation including various hotels, gift shops, and day-tour options. For those visitors wishing to make an extended stay at the Canyon, the FHC offered a twenty-two room hotel at Williams which replaced an earlier eating-house.¹⁵⁴ The ATSF hired Santa Barbara-based architect Francis W. Wilson to design the new Harvey House, which opened in 1908. Santa Barbara was then developing as a center of Mission and Spanish Revival architecture, to which Wilson contributed greatly, designing the Southern Pacific Depot according to Mission Revival norms. The town cemented its three-decade affair with the Spanish Revival with the completion of the Santa Barbara County Courthouse in the late 1920s.

Although Wilson frequently worked with the more elaborate Spanish Revival language, the Fray Marcos is in the style of a pared down Mediterranean villa with neoclassical overtones such as classical balustrades and shady arcades support by paired Tuscan columns (Fig. 54). Craftsman touches are evident too, especially in the windows, in which the upper sash features double “X” muntins. The windows are framed by heavy surrounds with prominent squared corners on the upper edge (Fig. 55). Following in the footsteps of the Alvarado, the construction is of reinforced concrete, the largest such structure in Arizona when it was finished.¹⁵⁵ In keeping with the advice of concrete manufacturers and designers, the concrete was left in a rough state. The imprint of wood formwork boards is still visible, providing a rustic feel and a visual reference to adobe or stucco. Inside, the floors were tinted and scored to resemble clay tile. Landscaping around the building seems to have been limited to well-

kept lawn, perhaps the greater investment being reserved for El Tovar and the other Harvey structures at the Grand Canyon.

The interior was strongly influenced by Craftsman ideals, and wood predominated in both the finishes, mainly paneling, as well as furnishings similar to those produced by Gustav Stickley and his followers. The heavy concrete ceiling beams were stenciled to take on the appearance of wood, particularly in the lobby which was dominated by a large staircase (Fig. 56). There was a lunchroom, large dining room, wood paneled bar, and newsstand. The Indian Room centered on a massive stone fireplace laid with random ashlar blocks. Original photos



Figs. 54-55 (top row, l-r): The trackside elevation of the Fray Marcos is marked by paired Tuscan columns and a parapet with recessed panels; the windows all have surrounds with emphasized top corners. Figs 56-57 (bottom row, l-r): The lobby was centered around the staircase. The check-in desk is visible in the distance, as is the mission-style furniture produced by companies like Stickley; the Indian Room was dominated by a large stone fireplace flanked by settles that invited customers into the space.

show it surrounded by large Craftsman-inspired stand-alone, covered settles with side cutouts reminiscent of Continental European Art-Nouveau pieces (Fig. 57). Strong ties with Colter's original Indian Room at the Alvarado are apparent in the layout of the space and the types of furniture used to display the actual crafts for sale.

Upstairs, each room had at least one window with views of the mountains, and the interior surfaces appear to have been covered by wallpapers or fabrics covered in motifs similar to those promoted by William Morris; the exposed concrete was hidden from view, perhaps considered too "cold" and impersonal to be left unadorned in a domestic space. Communal bathrooms were located at various points along the halls; these were in use until the hotel closed in the 1950s, as the concrete construction made retrofits an expensive proposition.

El Garces: Needles, California

Further down the line 175 miles to the west, another Harvey House was being constructed in Needles, California, just over the border from Arizona; here the ATSF crossed the Colorado and a division point sprung up to provide for engine maintenance. El Garces, with 29 guestrooms, 73 seat lunchroom, and 140 seat dining room, was a boon to the small town, opening in 1908 and replacing an earlier eating-house that had burned down.¹⁵⁶ According to the *Santa Fe Magazine* of March 1915, the dining facilities fed over two thousand patrons a day.¹⁵⁷ Designed by Francis W. Wilson, El Garces shares many similarities with the Fray Marcos, including full concrete construction. It is also a cohesive complex, in that the station, hotel, and dining facilities are under one very long roof.

Much like its sibling in Williams, El Garces shuns overt references to the Mission or Spanish Revival in favor of a subdued Neoclassical design adapted to local conditions where sun and heat exposure were factors that had to be addressed, as Needles sits in the

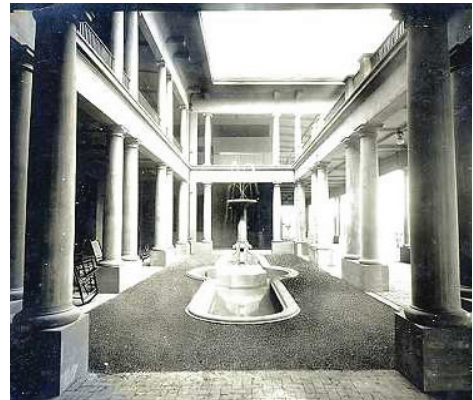
Mojave Desert. A long rectangular structure, it is wrapped on all sides by deep, 20-foot-wide verandahs supported by paired columns; on the ground floor they are Doric and on the second story, Ionic, keeping within the prescribed classical hierarchy (Fig. 58). The verandahs created a shady spot for guests to sit and admire the mountain and desert views with the hope of catching a breeze. At the roof level, prominent eaves supported by squared brackets extend over the verandahs and Juliet balconies, and the parapet above is broken by raised sections that correspond with the placement of the pillars. The Juliet balconies are placed within each bay, between sets of columns; curved and supported on squared brackets like the eaves, they help relieve the rectilinear qualities produced by the columns and the heavy roofline.

The entrance was located in a court sandwiched between two projecting wings and an arcade facing the tracks, and originally it featured a fountain with a long pool that emphasized the horizontal nature of the hotel building (Fig. 59). The pool was surrounded by clipped grass, and the combination of flowing water and vegetation must have provided arriving guests a welcome break from the heat of the desert. Later, the fountain was replaced by a newsstand that resembled a pergola suited to a garden setting. Overall, the Mediterranean Beaux-Arts exterior treatment conjures up images of colonial-era hotels found in tropical climates from Panama to Vietnam.

The lobby centered on the staircase, descending to the ground floor between two squared columns. Where the Fray Marcos adopted Craftsman style wood furniture, in this warmer climate, wicker furnishings predominated (Fig. 60). Chandeliers in metal, probably copper, displayed five pendants hanging from brackets with sinuous curves. Most rooms were carpeted, covering the concrete floor slab. Wicker and wood pieces provided an appropriate air of domesticity, while access to the verandahs signaled a transition to a more public sphere (Fig. 61). Guestrooms followed the familiar model of having a simple lavatory, but the bathrooms

were located down the hall.

Landscaping at El Garces concentrated on palm trees, one of the first things to spark the interest of the traveler; where other Houses may have used a few palms in their gardens, here they were abundant, adding to the “tropical” feeling present in the hotel’s architecture. To the south of the complex was a large, three-fourth of an acre park planted with palms and other shade trees, further buffering El Garces from the desert and the town around it, much like the gardens defined the extent of the Alvarado in Albuquerque. Views from the upper verandah would have been to palm tree crowns and the distant mountains, a far cry from the landscapes of the East Coast and Mid-West, and created to entice these visitors.



Figs. 58-59 (top row, l-r): *The trackside facade of El Garces shows similarities to that of the Fray Marcos, but the Juliet balconies add a sinuosity that its Williams cousin lacks; the fountain in the interior court was soon replaced with a money-making newsstand.* Figs. 60-61 (bottom row, l-r): *The lobby had high ceilings to allow the hot desert air to rise. Wicker or rattan furniture would have remained cool and comfortable in the hot climate, unlike leather or fabrics; the bedrooms were spacious and light-filled, but not grand.*

La Posada: Winslow, Arizona

While none of the Harvey Houses approached the elaborate Spanish Revival structures produced by Goodhue, La Posada at Winslow, Arizona did incorporate elements common to the style, such as decorative wrought iron balconies and window grills. The building is a prime example of the intermingling of the three Revival aesthetics. It sits low to the ground, and the emphasis on simple volumes recalls the Pueblo style, while its arcades along the south façade are reminiscent of those at California missions such as Purísima Concepción (Figs. 62-63). If Mary Colter was influential at La Fonda, she finally received the biggest commission of her long FHC career when she was given full design control over La Posada, which opened in May 1930.¹⁵⁸ In the years to follow, the Great Depression, World War II, and changes in personal travel all took their toll on the railroad and tourism; La Posada was the last “great” Harvey House



Fig. 62 (top): Postcard view of La Posada trackside soon after it opened; the trees are young and new, and the rambling nature of the building's design is evident. Fig. 63: The facade facing old Route 66 originally had a turnaround to accommodate guests who arrived by car instead of train.

to be constructed.

At Winslow, Colter designed the building, chose the furnishings, and created a landscape plan—a total, highly personal creation from one of the Southwest's most influential designers. It was also a step forward

for Colter because although interior design was a field in which women were prominent by 1930, architecture was still dominated by men. She had contributed to the architectural design

of many Houses over her career, but never received official credit on paper as she was neither formally trained nor registered as an architect. Located south of the Navajo reservation and within driving distance of the Petrified Forest and the Grand Canyon, Winslow made sense as the location of a major hotel complex. The town was also a major division point, overseeing traffic between Belen, New Mexico and Barstow, California, making it truly dependent on the ATSF and its jobs.

While it has been said that Colter designed all of her projects with particular, local stories in mind that guided her creative vision, La Posada has the most detailed story to be found, involving a family of Spanish colonial origins building a homestead in the New World, each generation adding its own touch and treasures, expanding the property, until tragedy strikes. They must give up the estate—house, gardens, antiques—but the FHC enters the picture, buying the property and promising to retain its domestic qualities and watch over the family heirlooms as it converts the house to hotel use. Highly publicized stories like this emphasized the Romanticized past used by the FHC and ATSF to market the Southwest. The comfortable undercurrent of domesticity was also stressed through the idea that La Posada was not just a hotel, but a very personalized family space open to select visitors.

Using this story as her base, Colter designed a sixty-two room hotel with a series of interlocking wings that gave the appearance of a rambling country estate (Fig. 64). A centrally located tower with an octagonal upper story provides a vertical emphasis to an otherwise horizontal mass. The Spanish Revival structure is covered in stucco and minimal decoration limited to ironwork including some window grills and balconies, as well as Santa Fe style wood capitals on the western loggias. The stucco and red tile roofs unify the structure as one unit, and patios and sunken gardens set between wings create interesting private zones.

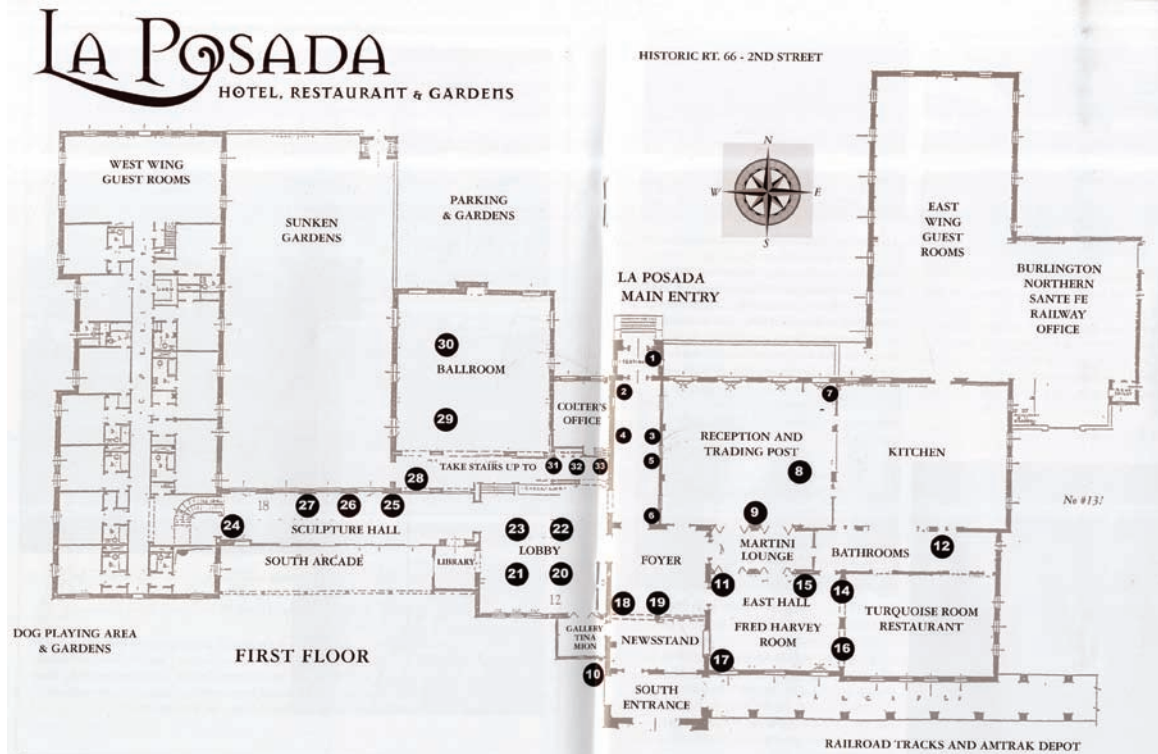


Fig. 64 (top): The plan of the ground floor shows the core public axis of the complex and the wings which house the guest rooms; the arcade leading to the train station is at the lower right. Figs. 65-66 (l-r): The train station has the original Colter-designed chandeliers; the arcade wraps around the depot and runs along the facade past the former lunchroom.

The train depot is to the southeastern end of the property, and appears to be an outbuilding linked to the main house by an arcade that runs along the south façade to the main entrance (Figs. 65-66). This portion along the arcade originally was the lunchroom, seating 116; spatially this arrangement makes sense, as it segregates the railroad functions from those of the hotel. Only the depot sits trackside, the rest of the complex being set back 80 to 100 feet from the platform area by a walled lawn (Fig. 67). To further provide for the

comfort of guests, Colter placed the majority of the guest rooms in wings that ran northeast, perpendicular to and away from the busy tracks. Areas closer to the rail lines and parallel to them consisted primarily of the dining areas, lobby, and a long hallway. For those traveling by automobile, a forecourt on the north façade provided service at the main door, a hallway connecting the entrances for rail and automobile arrivals.

La Posada's interior is a series of interconnected volumes that flow into one another through the use of various types of arches, including parabolic ones reminiscent of the fireplace openings commonly used in New Mexico (Fig. 68). The lobby features the stairs, marked on the exterior by the placement of the tower. Originally these stairs wrapped behind the check-in desk, and a shorter flight took the visitor to the ballroom/lounge, which is raised about six feet above the level of the lobby. Standing in one spot often affords views into two or three areas, heightening the sense of activity as well as mystery, as one wonders what is happening in the next room (Fig. 69). The skilled manipulation of space, floor heights, and sightlines encourages unexpected encounters and the observation of activities from afar—the arches frame scenes as living tableaux. These experiences can only play out in a public space, and Colter created the perfect stage set for all the actors in the drama.

Colter's trademarks abound, such as the skillful mix of Spanish, Mexican, and Southwestern furnishings, and the placement of a large fireplace in the ballroom/lounge visible from the lobby and hall running toward one of the guest wings (Fig. 70). Colter loved fireplaces and the power they had to bring strangers together around them; in fact, fireplaces were often the first elements she planned in a space.¹⁵⁹ Her attention to detail extended down to the floor coverings. Colter worried about the hard surfaces in a poured-concrete building and the reverberation of sound. She desired tile in the hallways but thought it too hard and loud. Instead, she solved her dilemma by using a modern product—thick cut, colored



Fig 67 (top left): *The building is separated from the tracks by a wide lawn.* Fig. 68 (top right): *Parabolic arches are found throughout La Posada, and this one frames the view down the Cinderblock Alley to the west guest wing.* Fig 69 (bottom left): *An arch from the ballroom/lounge gives an elevated view into the hall and beyond that, another small gathering space.* Fig 70 (bottom right): *The ballroom is centered on a fireplace and is well lighted by numerous windows. The concrete ceiling is a modern take on one of wood beams.*

linoleum—that approximated the look of tile and maximized guests’ comfort.¹⁶⁰

Each room or suite was entered through a paneled wood door that led into a small vestibule; both the bathroom and the walk-in closet opened onto this space, thus accommodating the utilitarian functions of the guest room in one zone (Fig. 71). Beyond the vestibule was the main room, usually featuring a bed, desk, dresser, and chair; suites also had a fireplace as well as larger pieces of furniture such as a sofa or settee. This layout of vestibule and main room was similar to the work done at La Fonda a few years before, and may have been reworked at La Posada to ease the process of figuring out the arrangement of



Fig. 71: *The vestibule of a guestroom. The closet is to the right, and the bathroom to the left.*

furnishings. Although regional Romanticism reigned in every other part of the hotel, the bathrooms were typical of the 1920s-30s, covered in black and white tile with porcelain fixtures, including a full bathtub. These spaces met all expectations of modern sanitation and hygiene then admired at a time when urban and rural reformers were on a mission to provide these services to all citizens.¹⁶¹

Surrounding the hotel, Mary Colter envisioned over eleven acres of gardens, by far the largest of any within the Harvey system. Around the house there would have been a lawn and more formal plantings in keeping with the imaginary history of the house as the estate of a wealthy family. French doors on the arcades allowed for a transition between inside and outside. Whimsical touches such as a wrought iron well head were executed, as well as some paths in stone. A low stone wall surrounded this portion of the property. To the west was another, higher stone wall with a gate leading to tennis courts and a “pasture” where the family would have kept animals; this land was left in a more natural state, with tall grasses. Colter had planned to use mainly native vegetation, reserving lush, greener plants for the sunken garden on the north side of the hotel (Figs. 72-76).

Sheltered from the hot desert winds by the Cinderblock Alley and a northern wall, this garden had its own protected microclimate, and featured a flagstone patio dominated by a fountain which used a piece of petrified wood from the nearby Petrified Forest as its basin. Stepping down about three feet, the garden gave over to native plantings in a center bed and others running along the sides of the hotel. Unfortunately, many of the larger gardening



Figs. 72-73 (top, l-r): The sunken walled garden on the north side of the building is protected from harsh desert winds; Colter used a petrified log as the fountain's basin in reference to the nearby Petrified Forest. Figs. 74-75 (middle, l-r): The south side of the building features a grassy lawn overlooked by a portico along the Cinderblock Alley; this lawn once had a wrought-iron wishing well that gave the garden a fanciful air. Fig 76 (bottom left): An archway leads to the "natural" area beyond the formal gardens. Fig. 77 (bottom right): The western acres of the property are marked by large cottonwood trees that have witnessed the site's evolution over the past 80 years.

plans never came to fruition, as the hotel opened as the stock market crashed in 1929. The areas immediately surrounding the building received some treatment, but those further out were left in a more natural state. The most visible reminders of Colter's landscape vision are perhaps the large cottonwood trees that dominate the western end of the property (Fig. 77).

THE CURRENT STATE OF THE FIVE REMAINING HARVEY HOUSES

The current conditions and uses of the remaining five “great” Harvey Houses vary greatly, as the buildings themselves and the towns in which they are located have weathered great change in the last sixty years. By mid-twentieth century, all but one of the Houses had closed: competition from automobile and airline travel, the financial slump of the Great Depression and World War II, the growth of cheap and convenient roadside motels, and changing leisure demands took their toll on the railroad and the FHC, which could not react fast enough to counter these forces. In the ultimate irony, in 1957, the hotel portion of the Harvey House in Gallup, New Mexico was destroyed to make way for an enlarged Route 66; two decades later, Interstate 40 to the north replaced Route 66, bypassing every town that the railroad had brought to life a century before.¹⁶² In his memorial to the Gallup Harvey House, El Navajo, John Hungerford of the *Los Angeles Times* poignantly and perceptively wrote, “...more than ever did we realize how changing times have removed the need for the railroad eating-house and hotel...”¹⁶³ An era had passed.

Even La Posada, only opened in 1930, had closed by 1957, its antiques and furnishings, assembled with great effort by Colter, dispersed at a 1959 fire sale conducted by the ATSE. Hearing of the sale, Colter reportedly said, “Now I know there is such a thing as living too long.”¹⁶⁴ No matter how glamorous their pasts, once they started to consistently lose money and their tourism promoting function was no longer viewed as valuable by the railroad, the Houses were forced to close. Only La Fonda has continued in its original function, likely due to its unique location in the heart of Santa



Fig. 78: Mary Colter at age 80, c 1950. Within a few years, she would see some of her greatest commissions destroyed or seriously altered.

Fe, where it is still a sought-after hotel. The FHC sold it in 1968 to a local businessman and his wife, and it is now in the hands of their children who are actively thinking about how to best preserve its heritage while adapting to meet the demands of modern hostelry practice.¹⁶⁵ Although the buildings themselves were shuttered or destroyed, their memory continued to live on, and would inspire the next generation of Southwesterners to advocate for the revival of those still standing.

*La Castañeda: Las Vegas, New Mexico*¹⁶⁶

La Castañeda was purchased in 1956 by one John Lawson, who saved it from demolition. At auction, the railroad had sold the property to a demolition company, and Lawson stepped in, offering to buy the building for the same purchase price.¹⁶⁷ Although details are now lost, apparently Lawson understood some of the historic value of the hotel which led to his unusual effort to acquire it. Over a ten year ownership, Lawson converted the guestrooms into apartments, installing modern features such as kitchens and bathrooms, made possible by the fact that many of the interior walls were not load bearing. Part of the ground floor was rented to the federal government as office space.¹⁶⁸ Almost two decades later, Don and Marie Elhd purchased the property, which had sat vacant for eight years after Lawson was no longer able to properly maintain it. Marie Elhd had grown up in Las Vegas, but moved to California as a young adult; on a return visit, her husband fell in love with the hotel and convinced her that they should make an offer. As an interior designer, Don Elhd had the knowledge to stabilize and restore the structure, and hopes were high for its future; a 1985 article in the *Albuquerque Journal* detailed the Elhds' plans to renovate La Castañeda, which included reopening the billiards room and lunchroom areas as a restaurant and nightclub. Ground floor space in the northern wing was imagined as shops.¹⁶⁹ At the time, working on the project by himself, Elhd estimated that he would need another ten years to complete the work.

The long-term plans of Don Elhd were derailed by personal problems, which led to divorce, his wife receiving the hotel in settlement. Marie Elhd continues to operate the bar and lives upstairs in the south wing; the rest of the structure is empty, as she grew tired of managing the rental apartments. Although Elhd recognizes the historic value of the building for its connection to Fred Harvey as well as the Rough Riders and other figures of the Old West, she has no interest in restoring the structure or partnering with other business persons to do so.¹⁷⁰

Marie Elhd has placed La Castañeda on the market numerous times over the past decade, but has never sold it although offers have been made.¹⁷¹ This condition may reflect the mixed signals given by Elhd, who claimed, “I want to sell it,” but in the next breath said, “I could stay here the rest of my life.” Elhd specifically cites security concerns, noting that “It can be scary to be here by myself,” as Fred Harvey and railroad aficionados periodically walk up on the verandahs, try the doors, and peek in the windows, leading Elhd to the conclusion that with a future owner, “It almost shouldn’t be private.” She is also aware that the preservation community is keeping abreast of current and future plans for the property, noting that a future owner would have to be careful about how to handle reuse in the principle public spaces on the ground floor.

According to inspections prepared for interested buyers, the property is in good structural condition, but all basic systems—plumbing, electric, heating—would need to be completely replaced at an estimated cost of \$2 million dollars, making potential purchasers wary of unexpected cost overruns.¹⁷² One of the most appealing elements to interested parties is the active liquor license, which would transfer with the property. A cursory survey of the exterior shows mortar loss in numerous places along the arcades, and wood rot in the eaves, particularly on the west façade. The interior wood ceiling of the arcades is completely missing

in a number of locations, allowing birds and other animals access to the crawl space. Water stains are visible on the *remates* of the east façade, suggesting that water is not properly drained from the roof. Gutters are disconnected at the ground level, allowing water to pool around the foundation after sudden storms typical of the region (Figs. 79-82).



Figs 79-82 (l-r): *La Castañeda* currently suffers from mortar loss and roof drainage problems; threats to wood rafters; wood rot; and no gutter connections to move water away from the foundations.

Recently, proposals for the space have included use as the principle campus of a local university’s culinary program, to include a restaurant and perhaps condos on the upper story, and as student housing for another local college, but no plan can proceed until the seriousness of Elhd’s intent to sell can be established. Magee Poler, director of the Las Vegas Citizen’s Committee for Historic Preservation (LVCCHP), an independent preservation organization focusing on public education, says, “*La Castañeda* is part of our town pride... there is a sadness that nothing happens with it.”¹⁷³ If a future buyer surfaces who is serious about renovation and adaptive reuse, the organization is more than willing to offer its advice, as is the state preservation office. As of today, the future of the building is uncertain.

Fray Marcos: Williams, Arizona¹⁷⁴

The Fray Marcos is owned by Xanterra Parks and Resorts, a hospitality business that

purchased the remaining concessions of the Fred Harvey Company in 1968, mainly consisting of properties located within the national parks. Xanterra took over the Grand Canyon Railway (GCR) in 2007 from Max and Thelma Biegert, who had reopened it in 1989 after twenty-one years of abandonment.¹⁷⁵ The Fray Marcos, now referred to as Williams Depot, reopened by fall of 1989 to serve as the southern terminus of the heritage railroad. The hotel portion had closed in 1954, although a part of the depot was maintained for national passenger rail service and the Grand Canyon service until it ended in 1968.

Once reactivated, the Williams Depot was documented by a preservation firm in preparation for an application as an historic landmark. The result was a recommendation for a phased rehabilitation which has been underway for more than a decade. The depot currently serves an average of 250,000 visitors a year, and many renovations were undertaken with them in mind, such as the installation of restrooms on the western end of the structure in the former loading/freight room, which included filling in part of the arcade.

On the first floor, the original Indian Room is now part of the GCR gift shop, and still prominently features the massive stone fireplace and hearth. This area adjoins the main entrance and the ticket counter. The former lunchroom under the Biegerts functioned as a railroad museum and contained exhibits on Fred Harvey. This material has recently been removed and will form part of the collections of the Arizona State Railroad Museum planned for a nearby site. During the Christmas season, a “Polar Express” room is installed for the popular rail service; otherwise, the space remains as storage. Remnants of the floor and wall tile work are visible, showing the black, white, gray, and yellow color scheme, portions of which date to a 1925 renovation. Adjoining the lunchroom is the old lobby and stair hall, which has been modified and reconfigured; it serves as the main access to the office space in one of the former guest wings (Fig. 83). The original concrete floor tinted and scored to

resemble clay tile remains in the lobby and is in sound condition.

The GCR offices occupy both the first and second floors. The office space was renovated in 2007 when Xanterra arrived, and focused on the mechanical and service systems. In the future, Xanterra would like to renovate the rest of the former hotel area as offices, or possible an extension of the current hotel facility which is located to the south of the Williams Depot, but the seven inch thick concrete walls present a formidable renovation challenge that would add much expense.¹⁷⁶ None of the rooms have private bathrooms, so they would need to be added if the hotel option was chosen. Lead paint removal and other common issues with older buildings also apply.

Exterior work remains, including the restoration of two track side balconies on the projecting wings, as well as the restoration of up to twenty nine windows that have been bricked in over the years by various owners (Fig. 84). The preservation document specifically states that the “exterior should not be stuccoed,” as the uneven poured concrete surface was a favored treatment at the time the building was constructed for its supposed aesthetic similarity to stucco. Cracking and spalling of the exterior concrete surfaces must also be addressed to prevent further damage (Fig. 85).



Figs 83-85 (l-r): The stairhall has been divided by false walls; both of the former hotel wings are missing the balconies that were beneath the grouped windows, and other windows have been filled in; damage to the concrete is visible on the platform facade.

*El Garces: Needles, California*¹⁷⁷

As of winter 2010, El Garces is in a state of limbo, the recent renovation work at a standstill. The building stood empty for nearly six decades after it closed in 1949. In the first decade of the twenty-first century, a plan was put forth by the town of Needles to transform the large complex into a regional draw to include a reactivated hotel space with a restaurant and lounge, as well as a museum and visitors center highlighting area attractions and history. The proposed hotel redesign was guided by Alan Affeldt and Tina Mion, owners of La Posada, who with the support of the local government, hoped to duplicate the success they had experienced in Winslow, Arizona.

Fifty-three guest rooms were proposed, but in order to provide bathrooms in each room and do the least damage to the original structure, it was decided to place these new facilities on the second storey verandahs; each room would gain a bath and a private verandah. Construction work began in 2007 with non-structural demolition on the interior, and the laying of new interior concrete sheer walls and a floor slab a year later. Affeldt acts as project manager, overseeing the redesign and renovation and giving advice on the business aspects of such a project, learned from his own experience. The city still retains title to the property, although Affeldt has a purchase option. Unfortunately, without title, Affeldt cannot take out loans to cover expenses, and without a strong business plan, the municipal government is in a similar situation.

The project partners have sought federal rehabilitation tax credits to assist in the project, but the strict rehabilitation guidelines attached to such monies have made them unavailable. Federal administrators are adverse to the plans to enclose the upper verandah, since this was originally a public promenade; “privatizing” this area is considered detrimental

to the historic character of the building. The proposed enclosure of the central patio has also created opposition. Describing the tax credit process as “operationally obtuse,” Affeldt does not know how individual bathrooms—a standard feature of any modern hostelry—can be inserted without encroaching on the verandah. Complete reorganization of the interior space is also difficult and costly because of the solid concrete construction, and this would result in the complete loss of the historic layout. The impasse means that the project cannot move forward, and as Affeldt says, “[It] is a missed economic opportunity.”

*La Fonda: Santa Fe, New Mexico*¹⁷⁸

La Fonda is the only Harvey House which has been continuously run as a hotel since it was sold by the FHC in 1968. Santa Fe businessman Sam Ballen purchased the property that year, and his children continue to operate the hotel to this day. As the Harvey years came to an end, La Fonda began to show signs of wear, and the Ballens have continued to renew important public spaces and modernize the infrastructure to meet the demands of contemporary travelers. La Fonda is included as a contributing building in the Santa Fe National Historic District, but the Ballens resisted individual listing or national landmark status due to the restrictions concerning exterior changes. In all the work that the management has carried out, it has shown an eye for business while being sensitive to the history of the building and its place within Santa Fe’s historic landscape. Local architect Barbara Felix, who oversees the rehabilitation program, believes that most people are drawn to the hotel because it is “Romantic, other-worldly,” qualities attributed to the Colter period. Rather than try to return the building to the Harvey period, the owners strive to maintain the spirit of the place, while allowing for change.

When projects are contemplated, Felix and her staff turn to the extensive photo archive,

John Gaw Meem job files, and original blueprints to examine past finishes and treatments, and have drawn inspiration from Colter's "clean, crisp aesthetic" which they try to interpret for today's market. For example, the central patio was enclosed during Sam Ballen's tenure, and recently underwent a facelift. The old patio was a step down from the surrounding *portales*, and Felix wanted to raise it to eliminate the change in elevation, which had proven hazardous. She sought out stone similar to the original flagstone that had come from a now closed quarry at Lamy. The original fountain tiles were found and reinstalled when construction began.

The heavy roof structure was replaced with a lighter version with sturdy wood supports appropriate to the Arts and Crafts basis of Colter's work, and skylights above allow more natural light to filter in to the patio's restaurant as well as the surrounding *portales* as it did when the patio was open to the air (Fig. 86; also see Fig. 17, p. 48). New French doors that separate the patio from the *portales* were "aged" so that they would not contrast greatly with the rest of the existing woodwork. In most cases, following common preservation practice, Felix is careful to distinguish between new and old fabric, but ensures that they harmonize. Other spaces such as the Indian Seminar Room remain remarkably intact, and an inventory lists the original Colter era furnishings which are dispersed throughout the public areas and the guest rooms (Figs. 87-88). The exterior of this high-class hotel in the heart of historic Santa Fe is well maintained, and presents no visible problems.

Currently, the management would like to create a rehabilitation masterplan that takes into account modern building code requirements that will guide future interventions.¹⁷⁹ Due to the economic downturn that began in 2009, resources have been shifted to address the improvement of guestrooms in order to increase future revenue through higher rates; part of this plan includes the spatial rearrangement of twenty rooms to create larger suites for the luxury market.



Fig. 86 (left): *The patio was covered years ago, but the roof structure has recently undergone a facelift to lighten its appearance and make it more airy.*

Fig 87 (bottom left): *The Indian Lecture Lounge as it looked in the 1930s. While most of the furniture is now gone, the basic structure of the room remains the same. The space is now used for special events.*

Fig. 88 (bottom right): *The fireplace in the Indian Lecture Room still has its original terracotta bas-reliefs of American Indians*



*La Posada: Winslow, Arizona*¹⁸⁰

La Posada had only been open to guests for twenty-eight years when it was closed by the ATSF and FHC in 1957. Subsequently, it became offices for the railroad, needed because Winslow was the control point for train operations between Belen, New Mexico and Needles, California. The furnishings sold off, the ATSF gutted large portions of the interior, filled in archways, and chopped the bigger rooms into smaller spaces filled with the necessary computer equipment to control rail operations. By the late 1980s, rumors began to circulate that the ATSF was ready to move out of the building, and probably would demolish it.¹⁸¹ This threat called local citizens to action; the director of the Old Trails Museum a few blocks away believed that “to save La Posada was to save the town,” which had always been rather dependent on the railroad due to its status as a division point.

Local activists Janice Griffith and Marie LaMar began a campaign to bring attention to the building and its possible fate, organizing interested citizens into a volunteer grounds maintenance crew, and telling the story of La Posada to anyone who would listen.¹⁸² After a few years, efforts paid off when the National Trust for Historic Preservation included La Posada on its 1994 list of Most Endangered Buildings. Fortuitously, current owner Allan Affeldt and his wife heard about the building from the coverage it received in National Trust publications. With a background in liquid architecture—specifically concrete—Affeldt was drawn to the building based on its construction method. Intrigued, Affeldt consulted with local authorities to think about the future of the old hotel.

In the meantime, Griffith and LaMar worked with the city to apply for Transportation Enhancement grants from the Federal Highway Administration, eventually winning \$1 million to put toward restoration.¹⁸³ Two barriers stood in the way: ownership and cost. The ATSF had never put the building on the market, and full restoration was estimated at over \$12 million. Undaunted, Affeldt, supported by town officials, spent three years negotiating with the railroad, finally coming to an agreement in 1997 in which he could purchase the building and the twenty acre parcel, provided that the railroad could continue to use the east wing rent-free for ten years, and also retain its large radio tower. Luckily, although gutted and chopped up with false walls, the building shell was in good structural condition. The final purchase price was set at the value of the land only, as the building was deemed unimportant.¹⁸⁴

In what Affeldt refers to as “geographic red-lining,” he and his partners were unable to secure a business loan or mortgage to raise capital for the renovation; this was also partially due to his lack of experience in the hotel industry. Therefore, the new owners took out personal loans and “maxed out [their] credit cards” to get work started. Needing to generate revenue while also renovating the building, five rooms in the tower were quickly redone and opened in

late 1997 to paying guests. Fourteen years later, the property is still a work in progress, although over that period, a restaurant and bar were opened in the former lunchroom, the western wings were completely renovated and opened, and the gardens immediately surrounding the hotel were replanted and redesigned to accommodate parking and event areas.

All work is undertaken after a thorough review of archival materials, which include photographs, original blueprints, and oral histories. Understanding that running a hotel is indeed a business that must suit contemporary travelers, Affeldt strives to maintain the style and intention of Colter's vision by reinterpreting it for today. For example, in refurnishing the hotel, Affeldt and Mion sought a mix of antique and contemporary Mexican rustic furnishings that fit into the back-story that Colter gave La Posada; Mion's contemporary paintings hang throughout the hotel. Future plans include completion of renovations to the eastern wing now that the ATSF has left after its ten year term expired. An art gallery to showcase Tina Mion's work and that of regional artists is also on the drawing board.

CONSIDERING PRESERVATION ON A REGIONAL SCALE

The owners of the five remaining “great” Harvey Houses of New Mexico and Arizona clearly understand their historic and cultural value as early examples of Mission/Pueblo/Spanish Revival architecture, remnants of the railroad and early tourism era, and reminders of a famed dining and hotel chain that influenced how the nation and world viewed the Southwest. Once the FHC and the ATSF ceased operating these establishments, many descended into a state of disrepair, the exception being La Fonda.¹⁸⁵

How can contemporary preservationists conceptualize a framework for their future that is not tied to the fortunes of the railroad? Today these properties are still accessible by train, as Amtrak’s daily *Southwest Chief* replaced multiple ATSF services; although on a transcontinental



Fig. 89: The owners of La Posada have converted a portion of the grounds into a new formal garden and a parking area.

rail route, most visitors arrive instead by car along old Route 66 or from Interstate 40. This means that the properties must adapt to serve this audience, a lesson quickly learned by the owners of La Posada (Fig. 89).

A first step toward preservation is usually the listing of a structure on the National Register of Historic Places, so that the buildings are recognized as nationally significant and are also eligible for preservation tax credits that can help encourage restoration and reuse. La Posada, the Fray Marcos, and El Garces are on the National Register as individual properties, and La Castañeda and La Fonda are included as contributing buildings in National Register Districts.

One of the overarching questions of this thesis is whether there is a way to preserve and promote these buildings as a group, and not simply individual units separated by many hundreds of miles. As “pearls in a chain,” the Harvey Houses never stood in isolation, but were part of a larger system, one which was intimately tied to the railroad, and in a broader sense, to the development of the American Southwest. Prior to the Great Depression, American railroads had reached their greatest mileage, crisscrossing the nation with over 250,000 miles of track, 100,000 more miles than are in service today.¹⁸⁶ In 1920, railroad companies directly employed over two million persons, roughly 1 in 50 Americans, but the impact was much larger than the individual workers.¹⁸⁷ Many railroaders were men supporting families in which wives stayed at home, and often extended family members were part of the larger household. The size of the average household in 1920 was a little over four persons, so it can be extrapolated that railroading directly impacted 8 million citizens, or 1 in 13 Americans; factor in indirect economic impacts and the role of railroads in the national life and economy quickly grows stronger.¹⁸⁸

It is time for preservation professionals and other parties interested in the future preservation of the Harvey Houses to begin thinking about how connections can be made between them to ensure their long-term sustainability as sites that are well interpreted, accessible to the public, and capable of supporting one another. While all of the properties promote their FHC heritage through methods such as a blurb in a brochure or a section on a website, the individual owners see no value in promoting one another, as they are not in close physical proximity. This is especially true of La Fonda, which maintains a loyal clientele and is able to take advantage of Santa Fe’s strong tourism market. The FHC story alone does not bring in the majority of customers, though it is an essential part of each building’s story.

A joint advertising campaign between the La Fonda and La Posada might encourage

visitors to stop at both hotels, but the roughly three hundred and fifty mile distance would likely be a deterrent to most travelers. In order to think about the Harvey Houses as one network, it is necessary to look beyond the buildings themselves and to the common landscape that they share, which includes proximity to the railroad and Route 66, locations in towns made prominent by the railroad, nearness to important national parks and landmarks, and natural settings amidst the deserts of the Southwest.

CULTURAL LANDSCAPES, NATIONAL HERITAGE AREAS, AND AMERICAN PRESERVATION PRACTICE

One of the ways that American preservationists have approached the need to recognize places within their larger context is through the idea of “cultural landscapes,” which the National Park Service (NPS) defines as “a geographic area, including both cultural and natural resources and the wildlife or domestic animals therein, associated with a historic event, activity, or person or exhibiting other cultural or aesthetic values.”¹⁸⁹ The NPS further clarifies this definition by describing four types of cultural landscapes, each one emphasizing an individual quality such as purposeful design or ethnographic resources.¹⁹⁰ Recognized cultural landscapes have been further highlighted through the NPS’s National Heritage Area Program, which provides monetary and planning assistance to organizations that promote the recognition and careful management of cultural landscapes.

According to the NPS, National Heritage Areas “are places where natural, cultural, historic and scenic resources combine to form a cohesive, nationally important landscape arising from patterns of human activity shaped by geography.... [which are] representative of the American experience through the physical features that remain and the traditions that have evolved in them....continued use...by people whose traditions helped to shape the landscape enhances their significance.”¹⁹¹ NHAs are therefore cultural landscapes that most often continue to evolve through the lives of the people who call them home. NHAs offer much greater flexibility than do national parks, which generally focus on a particular historic, cultural, or natural resource. Recognizing the special value of certain cultural landscapes, the NHA program allows people to determine how to manage change in a way that does not eliminate the features which originally made the place significant. All NHA participants come together because they believe in the value of protecting and promoting the history, culture

and natural features of an area.

Initiated in 1984, the NHA program is administered by the NPS, which advises groups on how to organize their NHA, identifying key themes that connect people and places across the landscape over time. Most NHAs are researched and proposed by local populations, emphasizing the link between residents and their surroundings. As of 2010, there are forty-nine designated NHAs, and they range in diversity from historic transportation routes like canals to Civil War battlefields and historic sites across the state of Tennessee.¹⁹² Their size also varies greatly: the smallest is the ten-mile long Augusta Canal NHA in Georgia, and the largest is the Tennessee Civil War NHA which includes the entire state, at over 42,000 square miles.¹⁹³ The physical resources included within our NHAs are diverse, ranging from small towns to farmland and countryside; some stress historic resources such as buildings or sites where historic events took place, while others emphasize how Americans have shaped the land to meet their needs over many generations.

Management structures can be non-profits created specifically to run the NHA, universities, state or local governments, or other entities. Although there might be one management team, most NHAs effectively bring together business owners, residents, local and regional government officials, and non-profit groups to consider strategies and initiatives for economic development and revitalization, cultural research and interpretation, natural resource protection and management, preservation of historic sites, and identity creation and promotion. As a grassroots effort, it is imperative to craft a management team that includes people from the region with diverse backgrounds, who are able to view proposals from different viewpoints and squelch charges of elitism put forth by NHA detractors.¹⁹⁴

Despite an emphasis placed on the management of historic, cultural, and natural

resources, NHAs do not have any control over local or state land-use laws such as zoning, but may advocate for particular statutes that will positively impact the stated goals of the NHA.¹⁹⁵ Land-rights advocates have fought against NHAs, viewing federal involvement at the local or state level as an intrusion over local rights of self-governance; this stance can be especially strong in the American West, which has traditionally eschewed federal presence in a region where it already owns great swathes of countryside under the control of various agencies within the Department of the Interior.

Although the federal government owns little if any property in NHAs, critics see the program as “federal zoning..., and a popular tool for slow-growth activists...in the name of historic preservation and environmental conservation.”¹⁹⁶ The fear is that increased federal presence will intimidate local governments into changing zoning and land-use statutes to conform to the wishes of NHA administrators and those in charge of the federal purse-strings. Ultimately, local governments speak for the voters—residents—and would be unlikely to go against the wishes of those who put them in office.¹⁹⁷ Additionally, NHA management teams are prohibited from using federal funds to purchase land.

The NPS oversees the NHA program, “providing technical, planning and limited financial assistance.”¹⁹⁸ The degree of NPS involvement varies greatly from one organization to the next. For example, the staff of the John H. Chafee Blackstone River Valley NHA in Rhode Island and Massachusetts is mainly composed of NPS rangers, and the NPS Regional Director for the Northeast Region sits on the NHA’s Commission; on the other hand, the staff of the Rivers of Steel NHA in western Pennsylvania includes no NPS workers.¹⁹⁹

An NHA can receive no more than \$1 million per year from federal sources, generally through NPS grants, although individual sites or programs within the NHA may apply for grants

through other federal programs such as the Federal Highway Administration's Transportation Enhancement program. Officially, NHAs may only receive federal funding for their first ten to fifteen years of operation, to help establish the NHA; subsequently, they are to become self-sustaining, although many of the first examples have requested and received funding beyond their "sunset" period.²⁰⁰

Due to its unofficial status within the NPS, the NHA program has encountered numerous criticisms, as noted above, particularly from property rights groups and fiscal conservatives who view the ambiguity of the program and its lack of performance metrics as evidence of the waste of taxpayer resources. In 2004, the Government Accounting Office (GAO) reported to the Senate Committee on Energy and Natural Resources about methods that could improve the accountability of the NHA program. Ultimately, the GAO found that "no systematic process exists for identifying qualified candidate sites and [designation]; sunset provisions have not been effective in limiting federal funding; the NPS cannot determine how much federal funds have been provided to the areas or whether these funds are being spent appropriately; and the NPS has not developed results-oriented performance goals and measures...for the agency's heritage area activities."²⁰¹

To rectify these concerns, the GAO suggested that the NPS "develop consistent standards and processes for reviewing areas' management plans; require regions to review areas' financial audit reports; and develop results-oriented goals and measures for the agency's activities and require areas to adopt a similar approach."²⁰² While these recommendations were studied, NHAs continued to be designated by Congress, as the relatively low cost and its "feel-good" nature make the program easy to support by elected officials looking to produce tangible results in their home districts.

To be considered for NHA designation, a proposed area must complete a feasibility study, and the NPS provides a guide that describes the basic features of such a report. The suggested sections of a feasibility study include: Definition of the Study Area; Public Involvement Strategy; Determination of the Region's Contribution to the National Heritage and Development of Potential Themes; Natural and Cultural Resources Inventories, Integrity Determinations, and Affected Environmental Data; Management Alternatives and Preliminary Assessment of Impacts; Boundary Delineations; Heritage Area Administration and Financial Feasibility; and Evaluation of Public Support and Commitments.²⁰³ The research required for the report provides an opportunity for backers to interact with the local population and gauge support for the NHA concept, encouraging modification where necessary to gain stakeholder support.

WESTERN NHAs AND RELEVANT PRECEDENTS FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF A RAILROAD-FOCUSED NHA

Of the forty-nine NHAs as of 2010, only twelve are located west of the Mississippi River, and federal officials and western preservation, conservation, and cultural heritage groups have pushed to establish new NHAs. Many of the existing or proposed NHAs for the Southwest stress the mix of cultures and peoples that populate the region, represented in its architecture, food, arts, and literature. Ranging from semi-arid to desert, the role of life-giving water is recognized in the region's major rivers, which support unique habitats for flora and fauna, and supported human settlement from ancient to modern times.

The movement in the West received a setback in 2000 with the authorization of the Yuma Crossing NHA in southwestern Arizona. Lack of communication with residents left people out of the planning process, and many landowners—particularly farmers—were surprised to discover that their land was included in the proposed NHA. This caused a backlash, as these disaffected stakeholders turned to their local officials and Congressional delegation to fight against the boundary, and succeeded in dramatically shrinking the designated area from twenty-two square miles to four square miles along the Colorado River.²⁰⁴ NHAs are supposed to be grassroots efforts, the Yuma case highlighting just how important it is to gain support from a diverse array of stakeholders before proceeding with designation; the completion of the feasibility study is designed to encourage this type of interaction.

Besides Yuma Crossing, there is one other designated NHA in the study area: Northern Rio Grande. This NHA, established in 2006, is situated in north central New Mexico along the upper Rio Grande River.²⁰⁵ It was created to acknowledge and celebrate the various cultures which have shaped the region, as well as the river which attracted them; therefore, emphasis is also placed on the role of the Rio Grande in shaping the landscape and its part in local and

regional ecosystems. A non-profit group based in Española acts as the coordinating body for the NHA, which “encompasses a mosaic of cultures and history, including the Jicarilla Apache, 8 Pueblo tribes, the descendants of Spanish colonists...and newcomers of diverse backgrounds...”²⁰⁶ This new NHA is still working to strengthen its identity and is currently seeking input from local residents about which aspects of the area and its people and history should be displayed.

In addition to these two designated NHAs, a third received recognition from the US House of Representatives in the fall of 2009, and is at present preparing itself for designation by the Senate.²⁰⁷ The Santa Cruz Valley Heritage Alliance envisions the NHA covering a 3,325 square mile area roughly thirty miles wide running from Tucson, Arizona to the border with Mexico, with the Santa Cruz River acting as its spine.²⁰⁸ The NHA will stress the role of this river and the various ecosystems that it supports, such as bird habitats and migration routes, and desert farming and ancient irrigation systems. Abutting the border with Mexico, the interesting mix of local cultures in the borderlands is highlighted, as well as the changing political and military relationship between the two nations.²⁰⁹

Reviewing the range of subjects covered in the existing NHAs, it is fair to question how a new area focused on the ATSF railroad and the communities and landscapes along its right-of-way is even viable or necessary. To examine this issue, it is prudent to turn to the list of current NHAs to look for precedents as well as gaps in the types of themes covered. At present, there is no NHA which focuses solely on the role of the railroad in shaping American life; but a few NHAs incorporate rail lines and rail related activities:

Oil Region NHA At this NHA in northwestern Pennsylvania, the Oil Creek and Titusville Railroad operates as a tourist excursion line, running about thirteen miles through

Oil Creek State Park.²¹⁰ The line is owned by the non-profit Oil Creek Railway Historical Society, one of the many partners involved with the NHA; in 2006, it carried over 540,000 passengers. In the future, the Perry Street Station will feature exhibits about the impact of oil on the region and nation.

Hudson River Valley NHA This NHA, designated in 1996, produced a booklet in conjunction with *New York by Rail*, a magazine about train riding in New York State published in partnership with Amtrak. The booklet was inserted into the magazine, and made available in train stations across the state, as well as online. The articles describe the Amtrak routes in New York, highlighting the history of towns along the rails as well as providing directions to historic sites and information about cultural festivals. The routes are broken down into smaller segments to make them manageable for the weekend traveler. The management team at Hudson River Valley NHA believes “As passengers learn more about the nationally-significant resources of the Hudson River Valley, they will be encouraged to explore the region and take advantage of all it has to offer...regional tourism and local economic development will benefit from visits...”²¹¹

Lackawanna Heritage Valley NHA Located in northeastern Pennsylvania, this NHA is highlighted by Steamtown National Historic Site, a rail complex and museum devoted to the steam engine and Pennsylvania’s rich rail history. Visitors can tour the Locomotive Shop to see how machinery is maintained and repaired. Advocates hold that “The combination of a working railroad yard and a world-class railroad museum gives...visitors... [the chance] to step back in time with an understanding that is unique in America.”²¹²

In addition to NHAs which explore themes about railroading, six areas focus on the history of canals, which were some of the nation’s first major infrastructure improvements,

many dating to the early nineteenth century.²¹³ In fact, the Illinois and Michigan Canal National Historic Corridor in Illinois was the first NHA designated by Congress in 1984. Canals provide a useful model for thinking about an NHA focused on a railroad because the two pieces of transportation infrastructure act in much the same way: they are the major historic and physical component of the NHA, but more importantly, they act as the spine around which towns and associated structures such as taverns and lock keepers' houses are organized—without the canal, the other development most likely would not have occurred. This is in many ways parallel to the founding of towns along the rail lines to support its operations; created, organized, and designed by rail companies, their origins have been forgotten with the passage of time. Most of the canal based NHAs include interpretive schemes that focus on the technology of the canal itself, especially the locks; life along the towpath, including canal workers and townspeople; and how the canal fits into its natural surroundings. Many include boat rides and other “living history” experiences.²¹⁴

The Erie Canal NHA is perhaps the most useful canal centered area with lessons that can be applied to a proposed railroad NHA in New Mexico and Arizona. Stretching across New York State, the NHA focuses on the canal structure, but equally acknowledges the numerous towns that grew up along its path and forever shaped the development and settlement of upstate New York. The canal served not just New York State and ultimately the port of New York City, but connected to the Great Lakes System, therefore becoming an important component of a regional and national transportation network, much like the railroads. The Erie Canal NHA produced a wonderful and comprehensive *Preservation and Management Plan* that covers preservation strategies, natural resources conservation, recreational opportunities, economic revitalization, tourism possibilities, and a detailed implementation schedule. Case studies highlight how these components can be woven together to benefit communities.²¹⁵

Susan Calafate Boyle of the NPS acknowledges the difficulties of describing and protecting vernacular cultural landscapes, of which transportation routes such as trails, highways, rivers, and railroad lines are prime examples.²¹⁶ The process followed by the NPS for determining the significance of cultural landscapes has a strong base in that used to evaluate historic structures, as modern preservation theory and practice has its origins in the early campaigns mounted to save particular physical landmarks such as the homes of famous persons, or buildings where important historical events took place.

Expanding one's scope of understanding to include a linear landscape that might be hundreds of miles in length can be a difficult leap to make. Add to this the concerns of numerous state, country, and local governments through which the landscape runs, and management of the vernacular landscape corridor becomes rather complex, with hundreds of stakeholders that need to be consulted. As Boyle notes, "These resources pose major challenges to managers. They have been used for centuries, often have several periods of significance, represent multiple uses and cultural values, are part of ethnographic landscapes, and are subject to the priorities of numerous owners and jurisdictions."²¹⁷

As of 2010, five NHAs cross state lines, with the Gullah/Geechee Cultural Heritage Corridor stretching along the Atlantic coast from southern North Carolina to north Florida, applying to territory in four states.²¹⁸ Although coordinating activities across state lines would seem a challenge, it does not have to be if partners learn to communicate effectively and set priorities together. Dan Bolognani, Executive Director of the Upper Housatonic Valley NHA in Connecticut and Massachusetts, whose NHA has been "running regional programs for about 10 years," remarked that, "[We] haven't given much thought to the state lines. Our committees consist of residents from both states, and [they] work on programs without regard for state lines. . . . we're constantly on the road and in touch with people from all points within

the heritage area.”²¹⁹

CRAFTING A RAILROAD-FOCUSED NHA

Railroad scholar Colin Divall notes that “a proper appreciation of the significance of any particular railway site will only be gained by seeing it in the round, as both the product of, and an influence on, wider social circumstances.”²²⁰ For a cultural landscape focused on a rail line, the tracks themselves may be a prime historical resource, but they lack meaning without taking into account the wider context. The rails were usually laid to take advantage of natural



Fig. 90: *The BNSF main line remains a heavily used freight and passenger rail corridor that is also popular with train enthusiasts.*

features such as rivers and streams which allowed a line to be planned along the path of least resistance; other natural features were reshaped to allow a more direct path—such as the rail embankments formed to create a level, well-drained surface for the track bed.

An NHA focused on the impact of the ATSF railroad in the Southwest would certainly follow the rail lines as its key organizing structure. The majority of the main line running from Raton, New Mexico to Needles, California has retained its original right-of-way, and represents locational continuity for over 130 years. When asked if it had a preservation plan in place for structures along its right-of-way, Burlington Northern Santa Fe Railroad, successor to the ATSF, responded, “We have donated or sold most of the old depots to the communities in which they are located or to historic organizations that had the financial means to restore them... Structures that BNSF still owns and our right of way are not available for inclusion in any historic preservation areas as they are active properties and are expected to remain so indefinitely.”²²¹

BNSF is a profit-seeking business at its core, and sees no advantage in pursuing a preservation strategy to boost its own image among the communities it serves. Whereas the ATSF carried freight, its public face was as a passenger railroad, and it carefully cultivated its image to attract and keep paying customers. BNSF is solely a freight operation that answers to its business clients; it may very well be seen and heard in hundred of communities, but it generally remains out of the public consciousness since people do not interact with it on a personal level (Fig. 90). Therefore, BNSF has no incentive to participate in a preservation plan under current conditions. It would be up to NHA organizers to develop a relationship with the railroad and determine appropriate avenues for discussion on the subject.

Many modern railroads are happy to donate or sell structures which are no longer in use, such as old passenger depots, as they generally do not wish to expend funds to maintain buildings which produce no revenue. Also, financially, the buildings have depreciated to the point that on paper they have little value, whereas the land on which they sit may have gained in value.²²² Therefore, giving away the building or selling it at a reasonable cost, and perhaps demanding relocation, are often done to boost the railroad's financial health, with good publicity a secondary benefit. Donation has the added value of a tax deduction for the company.

Simply because BNSF expresses little interest in participating in a NHA does not mean that the idea will not work; the boundaries of the NHA could follow various outlines. The boundary could extend x feet/miles from the track itself, anything falling within that buffer being incorporated into the NHA. Any county through which the rail lines run could be included in the area, which might make it easier for local jurisdictions to work together on the project; the large square mileage of some western counties could make this an unwieldy option, as the tracks may cross a small portion of the total land areas. Or perhaps there is a

middle option that takes into consideration a buffer zone x feet/miles out from the right-of-way and also allows municipalities along the lines to include themselves in the NHA, which would then incorporate their official borders. The railroad might also be persuaded to take part and think about its built and cultural heritage if encouraged by participating communities; the NHA places no true restrictions on railroad property, and involvement would give BNSF easy publicity and help build local relationships with towns and residents.

Physical features of the right-of-way would need to be considered as essential elements of the heritage area, including berms and embankments shaped by man and imposed on the landscape, as well as more standard features such as bridges, viaducts, and tunnels. Fortunately, both Arizona and New Mexico have conducted surveys of state-wide railroad properties, focusing on buildings.²²³ These reports are now almost two decades old, and should be updated to include current information and to take into account important changes to the landscape wrought by the railroad, such as cuts through steep terrain. The Arizona state report observes that not all historic fabric is necessarily visible. In towns founded to service steam locomotives, the switch to diesel in the mid-twentieth century made many of their repair shops and similar structures obsolete; most were subsequently abandoned and left to decay or torn down. The evidence of the railroad past may not be only above ground, but also below it in the form of archaeological sites that should be catalogued and explored as part of a preservation program.²²⁴

The vegetation along the right-of-way would also hold importance, as in remote areas, it is rather undisturbed by human occupation and may demonstrate a high state of integrity, free from competition by non-native, invasive species



Fig. 91: The main line passes through diverse natural landscapes such as these mountains near Lamy.

(Fig. 91). When thinking about western landscapes, Boyer highlights the value of considering “typical” features of the land as viewed by early settlers and visitors to the region, including wide-open vistas that populate early descriptive writings and drawings. In places along the rail line, it will be worthwhile to protect view sheds to important man-made and natural features which were significant markers for travelers.

By including towns established by the ATSF— Gallup and Grants in New Mexico, and Winslow and Williams in Arizona—and others greatly influenced by the arrival of rail, such as Las Vegas and Albuquerque, New Mexico, the NHA could also take on the role of an economic development tool.²²⁵ Many of these smaller towns, established to support the needs of steam engines, including water, maintenance, and repair, or to take advantage of natural resources such as timber, coal, and minerals, saw a decline in population and wealth as they were bypassed by diesel engines or the natural resources were exhausted.

Inextricably tied to the railroad, their form and presence tells the story of this important mode of transportation and men associated with the railroad, such as “Railroad Avenue,” the railroad in daily life. For Las Vegas, which existed prior railroad created new sectors Spanish or Mexican settlements Anglo-America, designed to promote commerce (Fig. 92). are most apparent in a place like on bridging the Gallinas River,

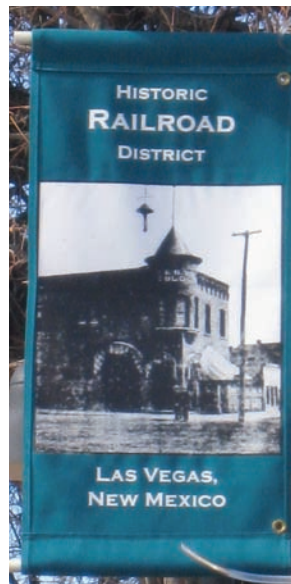


Fig. 92: *Las Vegas promotes its history through lamp post banners.*

industry. Most are named after and their streets bear names highlighting the dominance of cities such as Albuquerque and to the arrival of the ATSF, the distinguished from the original by rigid street grids typical of speed the subdivision of land and These physical manifestations Las Vegas, where to save money the railroad ran its line a mile

east of the old plaza at the center of town, prompting a building boom around the tracks and in effect creating two towns, one centered on the plaza and the other on the tracks.²²⁶ The new town's grid ran diagonal to that of old town, physically denoting the difference.

Cities such as Albuquerque are thinking about new ways to approach their rail history (Fig. 93). As a major division point with extensive locomotive shops, a grand Harvey House, and freight storage depots, Albuquerque's rail yard was and is a defining feature of the downtown area. First established by the Atlantic and Pacific Railroad in the 1880s for locomotive repair shops and offices, it was later enlarged by the ATSF from the 1910s onward.²²⁷ The railroad was one of the city's largest employers, and the



Fig. 93: Albuquerque promotes its rail heritage in many ways, including these lamp post designs.

yards and the surrounding area saw much activity until the mid-twentieth century when the switch to diesel engines demanded new maintenance facilities. After years of declining use, the rail yards were shuttered in the 1990s.²²⁸

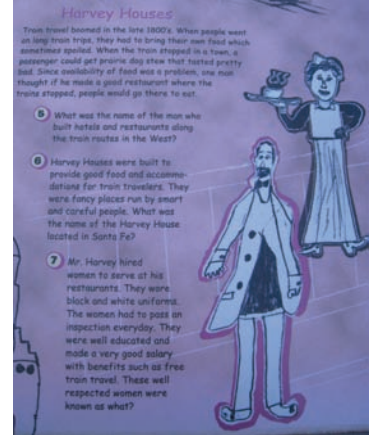
The city purchased the twenty-seven acre site in 2007, and is currently considering various redevelopment scenarios focused on mixed-use²²⁹ (Figs. 94-97). The large industrial buildings, described by Albuquerque city planner Ed Boles as “the twentieth century reality of the railroad...and major industrial architecture,” offer large open volumes about fifty feet in height which could be configured in multiple arrangements.²³⁰ The general scheme involves a home for the Wheels Transportation Museum, “a volunteer-run, non-profit organization whose mission is to preserve history, educate the public in the history of transportation, and provide...visitors with an opportunity to experience travel as it used to be.”²³¹

Santa Fe has recently completed the transformation of its rail yards into a new



Figs. 94-97 (clockwise from top left): *The locomotive shops at Albuquerque were considered marvels of industrial architecture and engineering at the beginning of the twentieth century, and employed thousands of workers; walls of glass allowed in large amounts of glass, and the lateral turntable is still in place between the two main shops; new development across the street echoes the form and color of the shops and incorporates the ATSF emblem; and an interior view of the shops gives an idea of their volume.*

gathering space and mixed-use community to the southwest of its historic core centered on the Santa Fe Plaza (Figs 98-102). Retaining features such as a water tower and rail ties used in pavement patterns, the Rail Yards marries a new community gathering place including a farmers' market, art galleries, a to be constructed cinema, restaurants, and plaza with an active rail line serving New Mexico's Rail Runner commuter service as well as a heritage rail line. The southern end of the complex is anchored by a park that incorporates rail ties and sets of train car wheels into a setting of native plants; to the north, the old ATSF station, still in use by the commuter and heritage lines, anchors that portion of the development. In the



Figs. 98-102 (clockwise from top left): *The water tower displays the area's new logo; old ties were incorporated into the pavement to recall the rail heritage of the area; an interpretive panel for children near the station has a section about Fred Harvey; the park at the southern end of the Railyards places ties and sets of wheels within a designed landscape; and the old ATSF station now serves both heritage and commuter rail lines.*

1980s, the city began to think about reuse options for the fifty-acre site, and by the late 2000s, the redevelopment process began with the rehabilitation of structures and the construction of new buildings, and the process continues today.²³²

Apart from larger cities that had extensive rail facilities like Albuquerque, many of the smaller towns along the main line have made attempts to preserve and interpret their rail history for local residents and visitors. The depot at Las Vegas was restored about a decade ago, taking the station back to its original appearance before it was “Southwesternized” with concrete stucco. The interior configuration was reinstated, showing the travelers’ lounge and

ticket office separated from the freight storage room and offices by a small passage. At Lamy, the small depot retains many original features, including an information board with the ATSF logo and large wood framed couches. A few feet away, an interpretive plaque describes El Ortiz, which once stood on a site that is now a picnic area.

At Winslow, non-hotel guests are encouraged to roam the halls of La Posada to learn about Mary Colter and railroad travel, told through the artwork and artifacts that line the halls, as well as by a self-guided tour booklet put together by Allan Affeldt and Tina Mion. Winslow and other towns are still populated with railroad cottages near the main line, where railroad workers once lived. Generally kit houses, they were frame structures that were easily transported from elsewhere and assembled to meet housing demand as railroad communities grew. Along the active BNSF lines is a new city park that contains a display of vintage rail cars; the Winslow Chamber of Commerce hopes to turn an old caboose located on its property into a display room for artifacts about the railroad and its impact on the community (Figs 103-104).



Fig. 103 (top): A mural on the side of a Winslow building shows the evolution of ATSF-BNSF locomotives. Fig. 104: An old ATSF boxcar will house an exhibit at the Winslow Chamber of Commerce.

South of Albuquerque is one of the few Harvey House museums in the country, located in a former House trackside at Belen. In 1983, the Valencia County Historical Society began a restoration program, and today the site hosts a small museum of FHC and ATSF memorabilia, including a mock-up of a Harvey Girl dorm room complete with mannequin in the typical Harvey Girl black and white uniform (Figs. 105-108). The former lunchroom and kitchen host community events and exhibitions, and a model railroad club occupies another



Figs. 105-108 (l-r): A brochure for the Harvey House Museum at Belén; a sign directs drivers to the site; the first floor contains a mock-up of a Harvey Girl's bedroom and one of the uniforms worn by the women; a chef's coat worn by one of the employees at Belén is accompanied by the oral history of its owner.

space; in an average year, the museum receives roughly seven-thousand visitors from across the country.²³³ With the completion of New Mexico's commuter rail, the museum is once again accessible by passenger rail from points as far as Santa Fe, a two hour ride.

In Williams, Arizona, plans are underway as part of the state's centennial to create the Arizona State Railroad Museum (ASRM). Recognizing the important role that railroads played in the development of the state and the connections that they created to the nation at large, the state and local governments, museums, libraries, and other non-profit agencies have joined to support the creation of the ASRM, located at the "Gateway to the Grand Canyon," a natural wonder made widely accessible by the railroad. Supporters bill the institution's mission as "to collect, preserve, interpret, and exhibit historic and cultural artifacts related to the railroad history, development, and heritage of Arizona."²³⁴

Al Richmond, chairman and CEO of the ASRM Foundation, envisions a focus that goes beyond the tangible aspects of railroad heritage—equipment, archival documents, memorabilia—to include "people stories...which are endless..." in an oral history project

that records the memories of those employed by the railroad and associated industries such as the FHC.²³⁵ Located near the Williams Depot, the museum will offer another major draw for the town, encouraging an estimated 400,000-600,000 visitors to Williams to stay the night and add to the area's economic base through tax revenue and job creation.

In places like Winslow and Williams, the impact of rail heritage on the local economy is palpable and at least partially measurable. Al Richmond believes that "Williams would have died [without the Grand Canyon Railway]...Everyone owes their standard of living to the railroad."²³⁶ Currently, the GCR, besides attracting 250,000 riders a year, employs about four hundred people in rail operations and maintenance, as well as in the back office and hotel complex; this number represents about one out of seven residents. With the reopening of La Posada, the hotel today generates \$400,000 a year in sales tax, and half of that in payroll tax, in turn boosting funding for local municipal projects. As the business has grown and more rooms and spaces have opened, fifty permanent jobs have been created, with healthcare and other benefits, making La Posada the biggest locally owned employer.²³⁷

Affeldt estimates that the hotel has a direct yearly economic impact of \$4 million and an indirect impact of \$10 million. With an average year round occupancy rate of eighty-five percent, La Posada remains a bustling spot on Winslow's main street, Old Route 66. The popularity of the hotel and restaurant have buoyed the psychological health of residents, as it is a landmark that can be pointed to with pride, and through the management of Affeldt, its principal spaces and gardens are open to the townspeople.²³⁸

NHAs can greatly impact a region's economic situation because they promote cooperation between related entities, determining methods by which organizations and businesses can support one another and encourage visitors to spend time and money. This

includes improving local tourist infrastructure, promoting it to a wider audience outside the region, and highlighting distinct regional products such as crafts and produce. According to the Alliance of National Heritage Areas (ANHA), an organization composed of NHAs that advocates on their behalf, in 2005 NHAs were visited by over 68 million people, managing 840 educational programs used by over 740,000 participants.

Perhaps most importantly, the NHAs received 382 grants totaling over \$4 million which was used to leverage \$53 million in additional funds.²³⁹ The ANHA estimates that in 2005, the entire network of NHAs generated \$8.5 billion in direct and indirect sales that supported roughly 150,000 jobs, mainly in the service sector. In keeping with other studies on the economic impact of cultural tourism, the ANHA study notes that overnight visitors to the NHAs tended to stay at least two nights in a region while exploring an NHA; on average, thirty-six percent of the visitors stayed overnight.

CREATING BROADER LINKS TO RAIL HERITAGE

In order to capitalize on present heritage investment in the region, a NHA focused on railroads might look to create links with Route 66 heritage, perhaps on the broader themes of transportation routes and modes. Rail and road heritage in New Mexico and Arizona are particularly intertwined because for most of their runs, the train tracks and the highway lie within a few hundred feet or a couple of miles of each other.²⁴⁰ At Williams, La Posada is hemmed in by the railroad to the south and old Route 66 to the north. One of the main reasons that the railroads lost their hold on the traveling public was the rise of personal automobiles and the movements in the early twentieth century that called for better roads and a national highway system.

Close observers of the built environment began to understand the changes taking place due to the automobile. John Hungerford of the *Los Angeles Times* wrote of the destruction of the Gallup Harvey House, El Navajo, to make way for the widening of Route 66: “We...had the place to ourselves and more than ever did we realize how changing times have removed the need of the railroad eating-house and hotel...the atmosphere was that of a wake.”²⁴¹ Interestingly, just as Route 66 replaced the railroad, so too was the highway replaced by the interstate in the 1960s and 1970s. Much like the train tracks, the old highway had run through the center of the towns; the interstate bypassed them altogether in the name of speed and travel efficiency.

Above all, old Route 66 has a mystique and glamour which appeals to the wider public—one which the railroads generally lack. Immortalized in movies like *Easy Rider* and even a television series, Route 66 has a hold not only on the American imagination, but on that of the world, particularly Europe, where these works have been widely distributed.²⁴²

It is an image of independence, control over one's destiny in which a sleek automobile can lead one to his or her dreams; the communal nature of train travel is antiquated, forgotten. As Albuquerque city planner Ed Boles acknowledges when discussing its appeal to foreigners: "Route 66 is unique to the U.S., this type of road...[it's about] roadside culture and big scenic landscape...[it's a] kinetic experience," which railroads, largely divorced from the travelling public by half a century of decline and disinvestment in passenger service, have a hard time reproducing.²⁴³

Many states through which the famed highway ran have Route 66 Associations, "dedicated to the preservation, promotion and protection of both the surface and memories of this magnificent old highway."²⁴⁴ These groups, generally non-profit organizations, often run visitors' centers that interpret the history of the route in their state, produce pamphlets about each town and the unique architecture found along the side of the road, distribute a newsletter to keep members informed of current programs, and organize events such as "fun runs" along portions of the old highway. Through their efforts, a renewed interest has developed in the history of the programs from the National Monuments Fund.

Cities like Albuquerque have worked hard over the past few years to consider how they might economically benefit from promotion of Route 66 heritage (Fig. 109). As part of a survey of Route 66 resources undertaken by the state of New Mexico in the 1990s, the city produced a map and brochure of associated sites within Albuquerque, such as motor-courts and restaurants



Fig. 109: Albuquerque uses lamp post banners to promote its Route 66 heritage.

road, prompting preservation Park Service and the World have worked hard over the past might economically benefit heritage (Fig. 109). As part of undertaken by the state of the city produced a map and within Albuquerque, such as that catered to early motorists.

Since 2000, the city has also acquired a few key properties to prevent their demolition.²⁴⁵ Albuquerque's planning department works with the Route 66 Association of New Mexico, the NPS's Route 66 program, and other related groups when considering ways to promote the corridor.²⁴⁶ Of course, the more recent history of the highway figures more prominently in the popular imagination than that of the railroad, which saw its apogee a few decades earlier. There is no reason why railroad and road enthusiasts could not work together to promote their larger common story while also supporting the separate mythologies that have developed around these individual forms of transportation.

All NHAs use their historic resources to tell stories that make heritage accessible to locals and visitors, and often these interpretive schemes concentrate on drawing connections between past and present movements and events, demonstrating how they are intertwined with one another in a dynamic system of interaction and reaction. The NHA Feasibility Study required by the NPS asks the organizers of a proposed NHA to identify these themes and the ways in which they apply to the physical area covered by the proposed designation.

For a NHA focused on railroad heritage in the Southwest, possible themes are numerous. The most overarching might be the variety of transportation paths and modes over the centuries—trails, rails, and roads—and their impact on one another as well as the land and the people who occupied it. How did increased transportation options affect how people viewed the land and their control over it? How did the arrival of the railroad and its attendant unifying properties—standardized time, the telegraph, consumer products from afar—influence the lives and social organization of local residents? Was there a difference in how these forces affected the American Indian communities and the American transplants from the East and Midwest? What were the basic technological components of rail and road travel that allowed them to dominate their eras?

Another theme might address the interaction between American Indians, Hispanic Americans, and Anglo-Americans in the Southwest. New railroad towns tended to attract Anglo-Americans to the middle of a territory that had long been dominated by the traditional lifestyles of both American Indians and Hispanic Americans. How did these three groups relate to one another, and how did that relationship change due to a tendency on the part of Anglo-Americans to romanticize the lives of the others, especially American Indian groups?

A story that applies to both the railroad and the highway is that of tourism and its rise in the Southwest. This might explore how American tourism developed over time and how the railroad first made the Southwest accessible to middle class Americans who were starting to earn vacation time as part of their work benefits. The Harvey Houses of course play an important role in this story, as the FHC came to dominate the tourist trade through its dining facilities, hostelries, gift shops, literature, and motor trips. How did events in the Southwest compare to tourism occurring further north around the other national parks such as Yellowstone? How did the advent of personal automobile travel change the way in which tourists experienced the region? How did tourism and its economic impacts influence the creation of a regional identity, both visual and psychological? How does the creation of a Southwestern identity compare to similar processes occurring in California, the Midwest, the Southeast, and New England?

The themes mentioned above are by no means the only stories available or worth being told, but they provide an idea of the diversity of material which exists. Determining the ultimate themes would require academic and community input to shape stories that are compelling, relatable to a national audience, and historically accurate. This process is important, as it allows interested stakeholders to share opinions and learn from others, thus building support for the NHA from a broad group of interested parties who are then willing

to support the NHA designation process as it moves through the various steps of the feasibility study.

The management entity for the railroad NHA could take on many forms, but it has a rich diversity of existing organizations from which to draw support and guidance in the matter of local and state transportation heritage. These groups include the State Historic Preservation Officers for both New Mexico and Arizona; the National Park Service's other non NHA programs, such as the National Trails System, which includes the Route 66 Corridor Preservation program, El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro National Historic Trail (NHT), Old Spanish NHT, and the Santa Fe NHT; local Chambers of Commerce and municipal governments, many of which have already taken advantage of the economic potential of Route 66 tourism; Main Street associations which work to reinvigorate economically depressed communities along the ATSF main line and Route 66; railroad and Route 66 fan clubs, which often have valuable networks through which they distribute information to their members and the public; and official institutions such as the proposed Arizona State Railroad Museum, the Belen Harvey House Museum, and heritage railroads that actively seek to expose a wide audience to the history of railroading.²⁴⁷

CONCLUSION

The rise of the FHC and its famous eating-houses and hotels along the tracks of the ATSF signaled an opening up of the American Southwest to a wider national and international audience. Together, the companies consciously chose to promote select aspects of Southwestern heritage—including built, natural, and cultural features—that were distinct to the region and already recognized by outsiders. Also as part of the image-making process, other less-visible elements of regional life were elevated and reshaped as part of the FHC and ATSF's efforts to invent a more appealing, Romantic—and profitable—vision of the Southwest. By plastering images of American Indian clothing, jewelry, and ceremonies; prehistoric ruins such as Mesa Verde; and sweeping views of the Grand Canyon, Painted Desert, Petrified Forest, and other natural wonders on visual media displayed across the county, the partners created an enduring brand of the Southwest that survives today.

This branding benefited both companies economically, as increased tourism drove demand for train seats and hotel rooms, as well as meals, trinkets, tours, and literature, all happily provided by the partners, thus shutting out competition. Although economic return was of utmost importance, the leadership of the FHC in particular contained figures who had a genuine and abiding interest in the arts and customs of the region, and who viewed their roles as promoting these little-known traditions to a wider audience.

Other stories were purposely left out, relegated to the margins because they did not make good copy or they detracted from the polished image produced by ATSF advertisers.²⁴⁸ Hispanic Americans, who had first ventured into the region in the mid sixteenth century, were all but erased from the FHC/ATSF portrayal of the Southwest. While the Houses often carried Hispanic or Hispanicized names and direct references to Hispanic regional design,

the people themselves were made into “static types...stripped...of their potential to act,... isolated outside the stream of evolution.”²⁴⁹ Apart from etchings of dozing “Mexicans” printed on menus and pamphlets, Hispanics rarely starred in the FHC Southwestern pageant.

In their name alone, the famed “Indian Rooms” paid homage to American Indian crafts and culture, though there might have been a sprinkling of Spanish antiques and Mexican goods for admiration and sale. Other stories left out of the official narrative included those of upheaval and dispersion, such as the forced placement of American Indians onto reservations and a history of unfair treaties crafted by federal officials. This painful past was glossed over in favor of one in which the American Indian was painted as a noble and proud figure, a symbol of “glamour, intangibility, [an] ineffable essence...”²⁵⁰

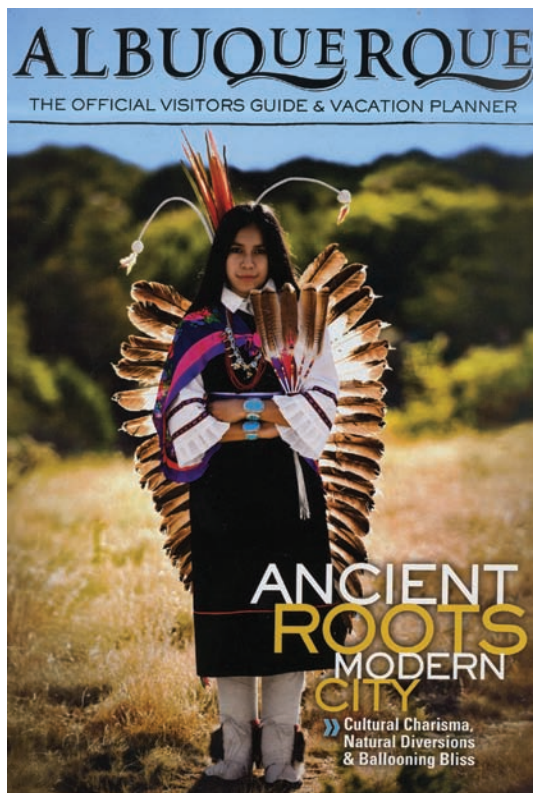
The image of the Southwest crafted by the FHC and the ATSF to a large extent still exists today, although in accordance with contemporary thought on cultural and built heritage, it has been expanded to reveal a more diverse cross section of Southwestern life. The image-making affected by the FHC and railroad may not have been successful enough to save either one from decline due to increased competition from automobile and air traffic, but it was powerful enough to convince civic leaders of its economic benefits. Santa Fe, today a top regional destination known as the “City Different,” and renowned worldwide for its cohesive architectural fabric, latched onto the visual image, codifying it into law in the 1970s.²⁵¹

An examination of the travel literature produced by local and regional governments and chambers of commerce throughout New Mexico and Arizona reveals numerous articles about American Indian traditions, with appealing color photos.²⁵² Articles emphasize shopping opportunities in towns like Gallup, where quality American Indian goods can be found, particularly from the Navajo and Hopi reservations to the north. Romantic weekends at

Pueblo and Spanish-style hotels are described in great detail. Articles on Route 66 adventures and roadside architecture and eateries abound. Essentially, many of the theming elements put forth by the FHC and the ATSF are still strong, but they have evolved to become more inclusive and reflective of the actual regional population (Figs. 110-113).



A BUNCH OF GOOD INDIANS



Figs 110-112 (clockwise from top left): An image from the Santa Fe Employees [sic] Magazine of 1923 shows Lord and Lady Mountbatten visiting the Grand Canyon. Its caption demeans American Indians as “A Bunch of Good Indians”; a visitor’s guide to Albuquerque describes proper etiquette when visiting American Indian pueblos and sites; the 2009 cover of Albuquerque’s tourism magazine shows the image of a young American Indian woman, standing proudly as a representative of her culture, which as the magazine implies, is “ancient...[yet] modern.”

American Indian traditions are respectfully described, but so too are the hardships that past generations experienced, providing a more complex and multifaceted history. Out of respect for the sovereignty of American Indian populations, passengers on New Mexico's Rail Runner commuter train are instructed to refrain from taking photos as the train passes through the pueblos. Instead of being depicted as Romantic figures removed from general society, American Indians are shown as the diverse group for which they are, some living in the historic pueblos, others in the region's main cities, their practice of traditional ways varying according to personal choice. Hispanic heritage is widely celebrated, with many advertisements including both English and Spanish phrases. In addition to American Indian art and craftwork, Hispanic and "New Mexican" pieces are highly sought. Instead of viewing three distinct and separate communities within the region—American Indian, Hispanic, and Anglo—today it is acknowledged that these three groups have intermingled, crossing ethnic and cultural lines to create a mixed society that has come to appreciate its varied origins.



Fig. 113: In addition to American Indian culture, Hispanic customs are now also highly valued not simply for tourism possibilities but as part of daily life. Toursim brochures make known the diverse backgrounds of the people of the Southwest, and the region's rich heritage is celebrated.

In addition, topics such as natural heritage are now recognized throughout the region, which displays a delicate ecological balance. While the great wonders of nature were paramount in attracting early explorers and tourists, not much thought was necessarily given to how the land and people interacted. Further study is overdue, considering the symbiotic relationship with the land practiced by American Indians. Today, geographers, scientists, and preservationists investigate and interpret the ways in which the land and man have shaped one another, learning to read the landscape on a large scale from which regional patterns are revealed.

The proposed NHA can be viewed as a “retheming” of the Southwest—crafting a new image which may be projected to the nation and the world—that is implicitly supported by the federal government through the NPS. Today it is recognized, with the benefit of hindsight, that the myth-making process initiated by the FHC and the ATSF, although probably done with no malicious intent, marginalized large portions of the region’s population. Over many years, select histories and stories were told, and others were embellished to fit within the accepted notion of what the Southwest should be in order to attract tourist dollars as well as new residents. The NHA follows in these footsteps, but its themes do not have to be the final, binding word on the people, cultures, and history of the region. The myth-making pursued by the FHC and ATSF was imposed from the top, whereas the NHA mandates that the accepted themes be created with the broadest input possible in order to best represent the region’s multiple heritages. An NHA specifically allows the stakeholders—the residents—to adapt those stories to changing conditions. Southwesterners would be encouraged to think not only about their past and present, but also about what they want for the future.

The National Heritage Area program was created by the National Park Service to address zones of historical, cultural, natural, and social heritage that were too large to be

placed within the boundaries of a formal park. Each unit of the national park system generally focuses on one of the above aspects, with emphasis on natural or built heritage, leaving social and cultural concerns to fill in the missing pieces. NHAs strive to put these various aspects of heritage on an equal footing and to demonstrate that they are truly integrated and dependent upon on another. NHAs also allow for a range of stakeholders—diverse in size and interests—to work together with minimal guidance from the NPS—to discuss and plan how their heritage should be researched, documented, preserved, interpreted, and presented to the local population and the general public.

A NHA concentrating on rail heritage or more generally transportation routes, modes, and technology with a focus on railroads, could be successful in northern New Mexico and Arizona for a number of reasons. First, it allows the regional residents to think about their multi-faceted heritage within a broader context, transforming individual static sites and landmarks into vibrant pieces within an active system.

Second, the NHA program's emphasis on grassroots organization strives to unite various stakeholder groups into a larger voice for the benefit of all. To achieve success, the stakeholders must work together, forcing them to make a commitment to one another or face failure; this process can strengthen bonds, and encourages disparate groups to learn about their common interests while addressing points of contention. By working together, the Southwest's diverse populace can leverage contributions from the NPS to achieve comprehensive results with long-term impacts for many communities.

Third, an NHA that crosses state boundaries, in this case New Mexico, Arizona, and a small slice of California, prompts these governments to think more broadly about the protection of heritage within cultural landscapes that do not conveniently stop at the state

line. This may require conversations between state preservation agencies and groups, as well as the park systems, to consider cohesive policies that can be implemented across borders. The NHA can be the first step toward a new regional relationship and cooperation on other matters.

Fourth, through the support of the NPS, proposed NHA organizers can receive technical assistance and advice about how to best market and promote the NHA, as well information on creating effective interpretive and educational programs designated for specific audiences. Case studies from designated NHAs and other pertinent literature are available on a website maintained by the NPS that highlights the forty-nine existing areas. In addition, the National Alliance of Heritage Areas can offer support, advising proposed NHAs on the pitfalls on the path to designation. With some NHAs having been established in the late 1980s, these oldest areas have undergone the first generation of establishment and growth, and are a valuable resource to be consulted. With an institutional desire to establish more NHAs west of the Mississippi River, now is the time to seize the opportunity.

Fifth, through programs focused on heritage tourism and economic development, NHAs often work with established Main Street programs to implement plans for the revitalization of depressed commercial areas. Although the NHA could not provide funds directly to businesses, it could undertake a coordinated promotional campaign, or advocate for improved infrastructure such as streetscaping that can give towns a psychological and visual boost. Upgrading tourist infrastructure encourages visitors to extend their visits or take “long weekends” in an area where they may visit many sites over a period of a few days and stay the night, boosting not only occupancy rates at hotels, but also contributing to the local sales and hotel occupancy taxes. The NHA could help tourists see beyond the draws of the major cities and national parks, shining light on the area’s historic small towns. A NHA designation would

not solve a region's economic problems, which are often deep and structural, but could act as part of the solution by encouraging stakeholders to think bigger, and about how one city affects another, and one region the next.

Sixth, there is already a strong recognition of the Route 66 heritage in the Southwest, with assistance from the NPS, World Monuments Fund, local governments, and private groups. It could only be advantageous to work with these groups and their existing networks to get the message out about the importance of rail heritage. It may seem counterintuitive for rail enthusiasts to acknowledge the imaginative power of automobile heritage, as the decline of railroads can in part be linked to the rise of automobile travel, but as noted above, the two systems are actually quite intertwined, and tell the larger story of changes in transportation paths, modes, and technology over the twentieth century. By strengthening the wider story, it might increase the NHA's ability to win grants and receive other funding, as well as attract a broader audience.

Preservationists are often accused of trying to "freeze the past," and sometimes preservation practices appear to validate this claim: buildings and sites are restored to a specific year or time period, and all vestiges of history that do not conform to that ideal are quietly removed and forgotten. Montpelier, originally home to President James Madison and subsequently enlarged and renovated by succeeding members of the duPont family, is only the latest highly publicized building to undergo such a dramatic transformation. Promoters of NHAs willingly acknowledge and embrace that fact that heritage—the built places, natural landscapes, and cultures—that are handed down from one generation to the next, change and adapt to new developments. They also realize that while change is inevitable, it is important to document and understand the past, as it forms the base for all that is to come. In a NHA, heritage gains a dynamism that it can often lack in static, traditional historic sites; it is not

heritage displayed at a distance, but rather it is lived, added to, and reshaped by the very people who create it.

ENDNOTES

¹ Stephen Fried, Appetite for America: How Visionary Businessman Fred Harvey Built a Railroad Hospitality Empire That Civilized the Wild West, (New York: Bantam Books, 2010), 3. Fried's study of Fred Harvey and his business enterprises was released just as this thesis was completed, and is therefore not extensively cited in this work, although it is sure to become a standard source on the Harvey family and its business interests.

² William Patrick Armstrong, Fred Harvey: Creator of Western Hospitality (Bellemont, AZ: Canyonlands Publications, 2000), 2.

³ Fried, 5-6.

⁴ Jan Whitaker, entry on "High-volume restaurants: Smith & McNell's," The Restaurant-ing through History Blog, entry posted November 10, 2009, <http://victualling.wordpress.com/2009/11/10/high-volume-restaurants-smith-mcnell/>. Whitaker is a scholar whose work focuses on the history of restaurants.

⁵ Fried, 7.

⁶ James David Henderson, Meals by Fred Harvey: A Phenomenon of the American West (Palmdale, CA: Omni Publications, 1969), 2-3. Henderson's work, first published as his M.A. thesis in 1965, is still considered an essential read for those beginning their journey into Fred Harvey's world. Henderson consulted FHC records, interviewed employees who recalled company history dating to the early twentieth century, and visited then-functioning Harvey Houses in the Southwest.

⁷ Henderson, 3.

⁸ Fried, 8-9.

⁹ Fried, 6. Harvey's views on slavery were recalled by a great-grandson.

¹⁰ Henderson, 4. In his work The Postal Age: The Emergence of Modern Communications in Nineteenth-Century America (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), David M. Henkin notes that "from 1840 to 1860 the number of letters carried annually by the U.S. Post Office increased from about 27 million to about 161 million..." primarily due to the growing organizational reach of the postal service as well as the introduction of free home delivery in large cities. In this period, "...the United States Post Office mapped routes, built branch offices, and introduced a federal bureaucracy into the lives of most Americans...[as a result], post offices were uniquely public spaces, places where letters, correspondents, and expectant users of the mail all came into contact" (see p. 3, 9). Henkin emphasizes that Fred Harvey's short encounter with the mail-sorting car occurred at a time when the Postal Service had to deal with an unprecedented volume of letters and parcels: "...Union and Confederate personnel came from all sections, sectors, and walks of American life, and they mobilized in numbers that dwarfed the California-bound migrations of 1849-1856...By one estimate, a hundred and eighty thousand letters a day were sent or received by soldiers..." (see p. 137).

¹¹ Henderson, 4.

¹² Armstrong, 7.

¹³ John F. Stover, American Railroads (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997), 164.

¹⁴ Stover, 144.

¹⁵ Stover, 164.

¹⁶ Alfred D. Chandler, Jr, The Visible Hand: The Managerial Revolution in American Business (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1977), 87.

¹⁷ Chandler, 120.

- ¹⁸ Henderson, 5.
- ¹⁹ Henderson, 10.
- ²⁰ Augustus J. Veenendaal, American Railroads in the Nineteenth Century (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2003), 62.
- ²¹ Merle Armitage, Operations Santa Fe (New York: Duell, Sloan, and Pearce, 1948), 6.
- ²² L.L. Waters, Steel Trails to Santa Fe (Lawrence, KS: University of Kansas Press, 1950), 53.
- ²³ Henderson, 11.
- ²⁴ Henderson, 11. Apparently, the chef was the highest paid resident, making \$5000 a year.
- ²⁵ Henderson, 12.
- ²⁶ Henderson, 12. Henderson was the first scholar to publicly question some of the standardized stories about Fred Harvey as corporate myths or simplifications—see p. 14 and 35.
- ²⁷ “How Fame Has Been Won for the Harvey Service by Devotion to a Business Principle,” *Santa Fe Employes [sic] Magazine* Vol. 10, no. 3 (Feb 1916): 32
- ²⁸ Henderson, 12.
- ²⁹ Henderson, 13.
- ³⁰ Lesley Poling-Kempes, The Harvey Girls: Women Who Opened the West (Cambridge, MA: Da Capo Press, 1989), 50-54.
- ³¹ For more on women’s growing influence on the layout and décor of the home, see Richard L. Bushman, The Refinement of America: Persons, Houses, Cities (New York: Knopf, 1992), 440-445.
- ³² Bushman also notes that starting in the mid-nineteenth century, commercial enterprises began to appropriate the trappings of domestic parlors—carpets, divans, statuary—for their sales floors. This helped create an “aura of refinement” that customers came to associate with the business and the goods that it sold. Steamships and railcars also began to install “carpets, rosewood furniture, marble-topped tables, mirrors, stained glass...these mobile spaces served as havens of refinement so that genteel people could occupy reassuring environments even on long journeys.” See p. 361-363.
- ³³ Dell Upton, Architecture in the United States (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 159. Upton uses the Larkin Building as an example of this “domestication” of the commercial world that opened public employment to women. Designed by Frank Lloyd Wright, the building “was located in an industrial district near the railroad, a zone that was off limits to respectable women.” By creating a workspace perceived as safe and home-like, a “middle [or] lower-middle class” woman could take employment without fear of sullyng her personal image. Upton believes that both the architect and his client specifically sought to create a domesticated environment for this purpose.
- ³⁴ Henderson. 13.
- ³⁵ Poling-Kempes, 57. Poling-Kempes notes that at some of the larger Harvey Houses, tips could equal or exceed a Harvey Girl’s base pay.
- ³⁶ Larry Tye, Rising from the Rails: Pullman Porters and the Making of the Black Middle Class (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 2004), 89.
- ³⁷ Poling-Kempes, 57.
- ³⁸ Henderson, 13.
- ³⁹ Armstrong, 19.
- ⁴⁰ Henderson, 13.
- ⁴¹ Armstrong, 23.
- ⁴² Armstrong, 21.
- ⁴³ Excerpt from the Hubbard eulogy for Fred Harvey, printed in full in Henderson, Appendix IV.

- ⁴⁴ Henderson, 16.
- ⁴⁵ Henderson, 19.
- ⁴⁶ James Marshall, Santa Fe: The Railroad that Built an Empire (New York: Random House, 1945), 250.
- ⁴⁷ Galisteo Junction is now Lamy, which is still the principle stop for rail passengers heading for Santa Fe.
- ⁴⁸ David Myrick, New Mexico's Railroads: A Historical Survey (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1990), 15.
- ⁴⁹ Myrick, 17. The ATSF network consisted of many subsidiary railroads in which the ATSF was the primary stockholder. Therefore, in histories of the ATSF railroad system, various railroad company names appear, although they were ultimately under the control of the ATSF. This arrangement was typical of many of the nation's largest railroad companies.
- ⁵⁰ Myrick, 19.
- ⁵¹ Marci Riskin, The Train Stops Here: New Mexico's Railway Legacy (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2005), 19.
- ⁵² Riskin, 20.
- ⁵³ Armstrong, 23.
- ⁵⁴ Armstrong, 23.
- ⁵⁵ William S. Greever, Arid Domain: The Santa Fe Railway and its Western Land Grant (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1954), 20-21.
- ⁵⁶ Richard Orsi, Sunset Limited: The Southern Pacific Railroad and the Development of the American West, 1850-1930 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), 79, 106.
- ⁵⁷ Orsi, 55.
- ⁵⁸ Greever, 103. See also B.F. Skidmore, "Santa Fe Colonization Work and the Aid Extended to Settlers," *The Santa Fe Magazine* Vol. X, no. 10 (September 1916): 41-43.
- ⁵⁹ John F. Sears, Sacred Places: American Tourist Attractions in the Nineteenth Century (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 4.
- ⁶⁰ Sears, 7.
- ⁶¹ American Studies Department, University of Virginia, "Discovery and Invention in the Yosemite," <http://xroads.virginia.edu/~ma96/RAILROAD/yosemite.html>
- ⁶² Margueritte S. Shaffer, See America First: Tourism and National Identity, 1880-1940 (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2001), 16.
- ⁶³ Shaffer, 4.
- ⁶⁴ Shaffer, 37.
- ⁶⁵ Quoted in Sandra D'Emilio and Suzan Campbell, Visions and Visionaries: The Arts and Artists of the Santa Fe Railway (Salt Lake City: Peregrine Smith Books, 1991), 20.
- ⁶⁶ Shaffer, 39.
- ⁶⁷ Francis S. Swales, "The Railway Hotel: Its Function, Planning, and Service Equipment," *The Architectural Review*, Vol. II, no. 4 (April 1913): 54.
- ⁶⁸ A.K. Sandoval-Strausz, Hotel: An American History (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), 168, 173. "American Indian" and "Native American" are today often used interchangeably. Through the research for this thesis, the author noted that "American Indian" appeared to be in wider circulation and has chosen to use it for this work.
- ⁶⁹ Swales, 54.

- ⁷⁰ Owen Wister, "Writings on El Ortiz, 1923," Fred Harvey Company Collection, RC 39(11): 49.1.-2, Heard Museum Archives, Phoenix, AZ. Wister is considered the "Father" of western themed literature and The Virginian is deemed the first "cowboy" novel.
- ⁷¹ Shaffer, 17 and Armstrong, 23.
- ⁷² D'Emilio and Campbell, 1.
- ⁷³ D'Emilio and Campbell, 8.
- ⁷⁴ D'Emilio and Campbell, 17.
- ⁷⁵ Roland Marchand, Creating the Corporate Soul: The Rise of Public Relations and Corporate Imagery in American Big Business (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 2.
- ⁷⁵ Marchand, 7.
- ⁷⁷ Marchand, 2.
- ⁷⁸ John G. Cawelti, Apostles of the Self-Made Man (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965), 110-111. As Cawelti notes, Alger was but one of many popular writers at the end of the nineteenth century who promoted the idea of the "self-made" man. Today, Horatio Alger is associated with driven men and women who overcome adversity to create the lives that they want through hard work and smarts. Cawelti debunks this as a misreading of Alger's works, as the author was keenly aware that luck and chance often played a part in success, and his characters are not geniuses, but simply smart enough to seize those opportunities when they appear.
- ⁷⁹ Marchand, 154. Marchand notes that "[Advertiser Bruce] Barton argued that just plain 'General Electric [or GE]' was a 'more colloquial,' and thus more friendly, signature."
- ⁸⁰ "Along the Trail," *Santa Fe Employes [sic] Magazine* Vol. IV, no.11 (October 1910): 80, and "Along the Trail," *Santa Fe Employes [sic] Magazine* Vol. IV, no.12 (November 1910): 89.
- ⁸¹ *Santa Fe Employes [sic] Magazine* Vol. 10, no.7 (June 1916): 112.
- ⁸¹ Gail Fenske and Deryck Holdsworth, "Corporate Identity and the New York Office Building: 1895-1915," in The Landscape of Modernity: Essays on New York City, 1900-1940, ed. David Ward and Olivier Zunz (New York: The Russell Sage Foundation, 1992), 154.
- ⁸³ Fenske and Holdsworth, 131.
- ⁸⁴ Fenske and Holdsworth, 154.
- ⁸⁵ John R. Stilgoe, Metropolitan Corridor: Railroads and the American Scene (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983), 202.
- ⁸⁶ Riskin, 12.
- ⁸⁷ Charles Fletcher Lummis, from The Land of Poco Tiempo, quoted in Abigail A. Van Slyck, "Mañana, Mañana: Racial Stereotypes and the Anglo Rediscovery of the Southwest's Vernacular Architecture, 1890-1920," *Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture Vol 5: Gender, Class, and Shelter* (1995): 97.
- ⁸⁸ Van Slyck, 95.
- ⁸⁹ Arrell Morgan Gibson, The Santa Fe and Taos Colonies: Age of the Muses, 1900-1942 (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1983), 6.
- ⁹⁰ "It Happened in Old Santa Fe," *Santa Fe New Mexican*, January 9, 1958.
- ⁹¹ Sandoval-Strausz, 168.
- ⁹² "One of Harvey's Finest," *Santa Fe Magazine*, March 1915, Vol IX, Num 4.57
- ⁹³ Karl Baedeker, The United States with Excursions to Mexico, Cuba, Porto Rico, and Alaska (New York: Charles Scribners and Sons, 1909), 477-78. In comparison, the Plaza (European plan) charged from \$2.50-\$4; the Fairmont (European plan) started at \$3. Because the Plaza and Fairmont hotels were on the European plan, meals would have been taken at restaurants, and this needs to be

incorporated into the quoted room rates in order to make a more complete comparison with the prices quoted for La Castañeda and the Alvarado. Meals could vary from just under \$1 to more than \$4-5 at a famed establishment such as Delmonico's in New York City. A conservative estimate of meal costs would likely make the Plaza and Fairmont a few dollars more expensive than one of the Harvey Houses.

⁹⁴ Armstrong, 23.

⁹⁵ United States Census Bureau, "300 Million," *Facts for Features* (August 2006) and Peggy Whitley, "American Cultural History, 1910-1919," Lone Star College at Kingwood, <http://kclibrary.lonestar.edu/decade10.html>

⁹⁶ Poling-Kempes, 57.

⁹⁷ Established in 1906, the *Santa Fe Emloyes [sic] Magazine* often had a section devoted to the FHC news as well as features about the Houses and their managers and staff.

⁹⁸ ATSF trains such as the *California Limited* and the *Chief* were a traveler's first introduction to the Southwest, even when they were sitting in the station in Chicago. By the early twentieth century, many car interiors were decorated with American Indian and Hispanic motifs. Cars on the *Super Chief* carried names like *Isleta* and *Laguna*, after New Mexican American Indian pueblos. Regional cuisine was served aboard the *Cochiti* dining car, whose tables were set with Mimbrenño china inspired by the pottery of the lost Mimbres culture. The ever-changing desert landscapes of the Southwest were framed by cabin windows and viewed from domed lounge cars. The ATSF installed signs at important trackside attractions such as the pueblos, alerting passengers to their location (many of these signs are still standing along the route of Amtrak's *Southwest Chief*).

⁹⁹ Swales, 56. The author goes on to describe the provision of common spaces as well as those needed for staff—both hotel workers and those for the servants of wealthy guests.

¹⁰⁰ Poling-Kempes, 52.

¹⁰¹ But as Lesley Poling-Kempes describes in her book, many house mothers might turn a careful blind eye to a clandestine, innocent meeting between a Harvey Girl and her gentleman caller, perhaps bending curfew a little bit.

¹⁰² Poling-Kempes, 50-54.

¹⁰³ Poling-Kempes, 45.

¹⁰⁴ For information on the life of a Pullman Porter, see Larry Tye's *Rising from the Rails: Pullman Porters and the Making of the Black Middle Class* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 2004), specifically the chapter: "Rough Rides, Intimate Encounters."

¹⁰⁵ Tye, 56. Margaret Crawford notes in her book *Building the Workingman's Paradise: The Design of American Company Towns* (New York: Verso, 1995), that worker housing was of great interest at the turn of the century. The mission to provide low-cost, decent worker housing arose out of many concerns: a need to appease increasingly unionized industrial workers; social reform emphasizing sanitation and good hygiene; and at times, benevolence on the part of the company management. Additionally, many of these towns, such as Forest Hills Park, NY and Tyrone, New Mexico, were early examples of the use of precast and poured concrete construction, much like the "great" Harvey Houses.

¹⁰⁶ David Gebhard, "Architecture and the Fred Harvey Houses," *The New Mexico Architect* Vol. 4, nos. 7-8 (July-August 1962): 16.

¹⁰⁷ Arnold Berke, *Mary Colter: Architect of the Southwest* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2002), 32.

¹⁰⁸ As Berke notes on p.55, how Mary Colter came to work for the FHC has never been identified.

¹⁰⁹ Arnold Berke notes on p. 141 that Colter was a lifelong devotee of Southwestern, and particularly American Indian arts, amassing a large collection of American Indian jewelry and other goods over her long career in the region. She attended the Inter-Tribal Ceremonial held in Gallup, New Mexico every year from 1924 on. Here she could see the latest crafts produced by American Indian artisans, and witness native dances and ceremonials, providing inspiration for further work.

¹¹⁰ From an article in the FHC magazine *Hospitality*, published at Colter's death, January 1958. The Fred Harvey Company Collection, RC 39 (7): 1, Heard Museum Archives, Phoenix, AZ.

¹¹¹ Friend and author Frank Waters would describe Colter thus: "For years an incomprehensible woman in pants, she rode horseback through the Four Corners making sketches of prehistoric pueblo ruins, studying details of construction, the composition of adobes and washes. She could teach masons how to lay adobe bricks, plasterers how to mix washes, carpenters how to fix viga joints." Quoted in Claire Shepherd-Lanier, "Trading on Tradition: Mary Jane Colter and the Romantic Appeal of Harvey House Architecture," *Journal of the Southwest* Vol. 38, no. 2 (Summer 1996): 168.

¹¹² Stanley Young, *The Missions of California* (San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 1988), 7.

¹¹³ Lummis was instrumental in the formation of the Landmarks Club of Southern California in 1895. It was the first organization to take a more systematic and well-funded approach to the preservation of the mission complexes. Lummis skillfully used his media base to promote preservation to the public; where predecessors had relied on walking door to door for donations, he could reach a much wider audience. Genuinely interested in California culture, he embraced the mission cause with gusto, but also recognized the economic potential of the sites as tourism drivers. Lummis viewed the missions as a link to the "sleepy Spanish past...the sole staunch survivors of those old days of romance..." a thought which pervaded much of his writing. From Melba Levick, *The Missions of California* (New York: Chronicle Books, 2004), 2-3.

¹¹⁴ Young, 2.

¹¹⁵ George Wharton James, *In and Out of the Old Missions of California: An Historical and Pictorial Account of the Franciscan Missions* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1906).

¹¹⁶ Phoebe S. Kropp, *California Vieja: Culture and Memory in a Modern American Place* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006), 89-90.

¹¹⁷ Kropp, 90.

¹¹⁸ David Gebhard, "The Spanish Colonial Revival in Southern California (1895-1930)," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, Vol. 26, no. 2 (May 1967): 132.

¹¹⁹ San Francisco Museum and Historical Society, "Encyclopedia of San Francisco: Arthur Page Brown," <http://www.sfhistoryencyclopedia.com/articles/b/brownArthurPage.html>. Interestingly, Brown chose a young Bernard Maybeck to oversee the project; Maybeck would become a leading figure in the California Arts and Crafts community.

¹²⁰ Newton Bateman, ed. *Historical Encyclopedia of Illinois and History of Christian County* (Chicago: Munsell Publishing Company, 1918), 452.

¹²¹ By this time, Las Vegas already boasted the Montezuma, a Harvey-run resort backed by the AT&SF. Unlike other Harvey Houses, it was located away from the tracks, nestled in the hills overlooking town and adjacent to an area with hot springs. As a destination within itself, the FHC and the AT&SF apparently had no qualms about building another less exclusive hotel on the main line.

¹²² Riskin, 61.

¹²³ Robert Winter. "Frederick Louis Roehrig," in *Toward a Simpler Way of Life: The Arts and Crafts*

Architects of California, ed. Robert Winter (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997) 111-112.

¹²⁴ Karen J. Weitze, California's Mission Revival (Los Angeles: Hennessey and Ingalls, 1984), 90.

¹²⁵ Castle Green Apartments, "Castle Green: History," Castle Green Apartments, <http://www.castlegreen.com/history.html>.

¹²⁶ Richard Melzer, Fred Harvey Houses of the Southwest (Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2008), 37. Melzer estimates that 1899's \$110,000 would today be roughly \$2.7 million.

¹²⁷ Riskin, 61.

¹²⁸ The dining room seated 108. Melzer, 39.

¹²⁹ Melzer, 39.

¹³⁰ National Park Service, "El Tovar," Washington, DC: National Park Service.

¹³¹ National Park Service, "El Tovar," and Alan Michelson, "Architects: Charles Whittlesey," Pacific Coast Architecture Database, <https://digital.lib.washington.edu/architect/architects/102/>

¹³² Quote from John B. Lyman, January 1941. Found in Albuquerque Press Club, "History of the Whittlesey House," Albuquerque Press Club, http://albuquerquepressclub.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=51&Itemid=59. The Albuquerque Press Club currently owns the Whittlesey House, which serves as its headquarters.

¹³³ Weitze, 118.

¹³⁴ Weitze, 120.

¹³⁵ Weitze, 128.

¹³⁶ A later addition increased the number of rooms to 119. Melzer, 51.

¹³⁷ After the FHC ended operations and sold its remaining concessions in the national parks, the famed corporate art collection was dispersed to numerous museums. The Heard Museum in Phoenix was one of the institutions to most benefit, and today much of its core collection is composed of FHC pieces.

¹³⁸ Baedeker, 448.

¹³⁹ Berke, 52. The Indian Department was a division within the FHC that worked with regional American Indian tribes and antiques and artifacts dealers to stock retail stores—the Indian Rooms—within most of the large Harvey Houses and rail stations. It was headquartered at the Alvarado, where the main storehouse was located adjacent to the hotel (and is still standing in the modern Alvarado Transportation Center). This base in New Mexico allowed Schweizer and his workers to periodically travel throughout the Southwest in search of new products.

¹⁴⁰ Erna Fergusson, Our Southwest (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1946), 198-99.

¹⁴¹ Berke 55. For more on the FHC's role in promoting Southwestern arts and crafts, see Kathleen L. Howard and Diana F. Pardue, Inventing the Southwest: The Fred Harvey Company and American Indian Art (Flagstaff: Northland Publishing, 1996).

¹⁴² Berke, 57.

¹⁴³ Berke, 53.

¹⁴⁴ Berke, 123.

¹⁴⁵ *Santa Fe Employes* [sic] *Magazine*, later shortened to *Santa Fe Magazine*, was introduced in 1906 and produced by the ATSF for its workers, retirees, and other interested parties.

¹⁴⁶ "Santa Fe style" and "Pueblo Revival" are often used interchangeably to describe the same type of architecture and design, which is further explained in the following pages.

¹⁴⁷ Sylvanus Griswold Morley, "Development of the Santa Fe Style of Architecture," *Santa Fe Magazine*

Vol. IX, no. 7 (June 1915): 27.

¹⁴⁸ Morley, 27.

¹⁴⁹ The territorial capital had other reasons for looking to design to better portray itself to outsiders: economics. During colonial times, the town was the northern terminus of trails leading to Mexico's major cities, and thus benefited from long-distance trade. The severing of ties with communities south of the border after the Mexican-American War placed greater emphasis on connections to the American interior along the Santa Fe Trail. Established in the 1820s, trade with the United States had been discouraged by Mexico, fearing interference from its northern neighbor. The period of prosperity produced by trade over the trail came to an end in 1880, as Santa Fe was bypassed by its namesake railroad, in favor of a trunk line connection at Galisteo Junction (now Lamy).

¹⁵⁰ Morley, 27-28.

¹⁵¹ Christopher Wilson, The Myth of Santa Fe: Creating a Modern Regional Tradition (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1997), 121.

¹⁵² Gibson, 89.

¹⁵³ The five highlighted characteristics included: 1. Buildings "low and long" which hugged the earth "and do not rear themselves in ineffectual competition with natural elevations," being generally no more than one story in height. 2. Horizontal lines, emphasizing flat or very low pitched roofs that did not rise above the parapet. The rounded lines of Mission Revival, such as the Roman arch and the curves of *remates* were excluded from true Santa Fe architecture. 3. Simple cubic volumes with plain facades were to be broken up by "architectural devices which relieve the monotony of the otherwise blank adobe walls," and included *portales* (porches), balconies, and *vigas* and *canales* (projecting roof beams and drain spouts). Executed in simply carved wood, these features harmonized with the earth tones of the adobe. "Disposed both symmetrically and asymmetrically [these devices] give Santa Fe facades an infinite variety." 4. Natural earth tones achieved through various types of adobe mixtures were always preferable, and were one of the "chief charms" of this architecture. 5. Carved wood members including "capitals, columns, architraves, balustrades, cornices, and doors" complemented the adobe, which in turn highlighted these elements which often featured simple carving. Just in case one was in doubt, Morley provided a survey of typical wood capitals found throughout the region. From Sylvanus Griswold Morley, "Development of the Santa Fe Style of Architecture," *Santa Fe Magazine* Vol. IX, no. 7 (June 1915).

Any qualified architect in the days before mechanical cooling and heating would have taken note of regional conditions, orienting a building and choosing materials to best take advantage of natural ventilation. Thick adobe walls sheltered the inhabitants from the fierce summer heat, but insulated them from the chill of a desert winter. The indoor beehive fireplaces introduced by the Spanish threw sufficient heat to warm an entire room. Maintenance was also essential, as adobe would need to be replastered regularly to prevent structural erosion.

¹⁵⁴ By focusing on the five "essential" components of Santa Fe architecture, Morley and his friends believed that infinite compositions and "the extension of the native architecture to all kinds of buildings [were]...possible." (From a Letter from Morley to Isaac Hamilton Rapp, regarding the Old-New Exhibition, dated Sep 20, 1912. Quoted in Carl D. Sheppard, Creator of the Santa Fe Style: Isaac Hamilton Rapp, Architect (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1988), 108). To prove it, competitions were held for the design of Santa Fe houses and other buildings, inviting architects to show their skill with the toolkit provided by the Planning Board. Feeling vindicated by the strong

design work that emerged, Morley wrote, “Here all factors—historic propriety, environmental exigency and constructional economy—combine to make the Santa Fe style the architecture *par excellence* for the region.” (Morley, 32). Apart from the renovation of older adobe structures, new buildings were constructed to show the versatility of the architectural language in everything from single-family residences to libraries, hospitals, and schools. To support this, the Planning Commission suggested initiatives such as tax credits for renovations in the Pueblo style.

¹⁵⁵ Wilson, 123.

¹⁵⁶ Sheppard, 76. The building referred to was El Ortiz at Lamy, recently completed.

¹⁵⁷ The Beaux Arts formality put forth by the City Beautiful was rejected in Santa Fe in large part due to cost. While cohesive civic centers sprouted up in towns and cities from Washington, DC to San Francisco, the politicians in Santa Fe realized that it would be too expensive, necessitating the destruction of numerous older buildings in order to produce a suitably large site, or requiring a location on the outskirts of town where it would have competed with the historic plaza (Wilson, 122). Rejecting the physical planning tenets of the City Beautiful, Santa Fe still invested resources in the beautification of important public spaces such as the plaza, restoration of prominent civic structures, like the Governor’s Palace, and the erection of new ones such as the New Mexico Museum of Art.

¹⁵⁸ The Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe Railroad, “Old Santa Fe and Roundabout,” La Fonda Hotel Collection, Box 2, Folder 9, Fráy Angélico Chavez History Library, Santa Fe, NEW MEXICO: 5.

¹⁵⁹ “Old Santa Fe and Roundabout,” 10.

¹⁶⁰ “Old Santa Fe and Roundabout,” 10.

¹⁶¹ “Old Santa Fe and Roundabout,” 10.

¹⁶² Apart from the typical propagandistic text noted above, many brochures and booklets produced by the ATSF and the FHC, which were sold in its newsstands and on the platform, featured romantic illustrations of American Indians gazing into the vast desert landscape, performing everyday activities like cooking, or engaged in ceremonial activities such as dances. Occasionally, cowboys and other Anglo-Americans were placed in these illustrations, but the great majority was American Indians. The visual representation of the traditional and “ancient” Southwest extended to the most mundane aspects of the traveler’s journey, even down to menu and matchbook covers onboard the train.

The FHC went beyond appropriation of Southwestern imagery for commercial purposes, actively providing financial support for the Society for Preservation of Missions to help the organization restore the colonial missions of New Mexico and Arizona and protect them from vandals. By supporting preservation, the FHC helped its bottom line by providing tourist attractions that could be visited on a Harvey Car Detour trip, but the act demonstrates that the company was willing to invest in its presence in the Southwest, understanding the value of the structures as both attractions and harbingers of the region’s long established history. The mission complexes would become favored by artists from the nearby Santa Fe and Taos art colonies, who painted them in hundreds of iterations over the decades.

¹⁶³ Melzer, 41.

¹⁶⁴ Wilda Sandy and Larry K. Hancks, Stalking Louis Curtiss: A Portrait of the Man and His Work (Kansas City: Ward Parkway Press, 1991) 17.

¹⁶⁵ Sandy and Hancks, 20-21.

¹⁶⁶ Quoted in “Impressions of El Ortiz,” *Santa Fe Employes [sic] Magazine* Vol. IX, no. 11 (October 1910): 55.

¹⁶⁷ Melzer, 44.

¹⁶⁸ Sheppard, "Introduction."

¹⁶⁹ Arnold Berke's excellent biography of Colter extensively details her design work.

¹⁷⁰ John Gaw Meem note to self, "Proposed La Fonda Addition-Memo, 25 February 1927," John Gaw Meem Job Files, Box 3, Folder 2, Center for Southwestern Research at the University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, New Mexico and Mary Jane Colter, "Letter of MJC to Mr. Clarkson, 4 October 1926," John Gaw Meem Job Files, Box 3, Folder 6, Center for Southwestern Research at the University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, New Mexico.

¹⁷¹ Samuel Huckel, "Samuel Huckel to Meem and McCormick, 3 November 1928," John Gaw Meem Job Files, Box 2, Folder 30, Center for Southwestern Research at the University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, New Mexico.

¹⁷² John Gaw Meem, "Letter to MJC from JGM, 21 March 1929," John Gaw Meem Job Files, Box 3, Folder 3, Center for Southwestern Research at the University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, New Mexico.

¹⁷³ Samuel Huckel, "Samuel Huckel to Meem and McCormick, 3 November 1928," John Gaw Meem Job Files, Box 2, Folder 30, Center for Southwestern Research at the University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, New Mexico.

¹⁷⁴ John Gaw Meem note to self, "Conference Notes, 3 August 1926," John Gaw Meem Job Files, Box 3, Folder 2, Center for Southwestern Research at the University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, New Mexico.

¹⁷⁵ The patio-centered design of La Fonda likely owes its inspiration to the traditional Spanish courtyard house, itself influenced by the courtyard homes of North Africa and the Middle East.

¹⁷⁶ Colter actually expressed apprehension about the La Fonda project, knowing that it would be assessed by the Santa Fe art colony.

¹⁷⁷ A number of these stunning pieces are kept in the La Fonda Collection at the Fray Angélico Chavez Library located at the Governor's Palace, Santa Fe.

¹⁷⁸ The ATSF regularly covered the San Diego exposition in its magazine, describing its exhibitions and events for readers. Romantic images of its buildings and characters graced the cover three times in 1915. The ATSF offered customers special discount prices to California to visit both the San Diego and San Francisco expositions: "Two Fairs for One Fare!" Awaiting visitors to the San Diego Exposition was the Painted Desert Exhibit, a joint project of the ATSF and the FHC, described by the railroad as "one of the most remarkable reproductions ever attempted." Here viewers could be transported to the deserts of the Southwest, as the organizations had recreated a ten acre, \$250,000 microcosm of the region's great civilizations. From "The Big Fair Ready at San Diego With Many Special Features," *Santa Fe Magazine* Vol. IX, no. 1 (December 1914): 21.

Berke notes on p. 105 that the area was dominated by buildings designed to recall the Taos and Zuni pueblos of New Mexico, and Navajo hogans, Apache tipis, and a Hopi village were located nearby. The terraced Taos and Zuni structures were based on a model by FHC and sometime ATSF architect and designer Mary Colter. They were typical of the buildings that she had studied in New Mexico and which had inspired her "Hopi House" at the Grand Canyon, used as a gift shop and rest area for visitors. The buildings paid attention to detail, incorporating typical features such as the wooden ladders that allowed access from one tier to the next. To blend in even further, much of the adobe was made on site in San Diego. The FHC shipped in materials, furnishings, and art objects from Arizona

and New Mexico, and hired American Indians to populate the exhibit full time. Over three hundred persons “lived” at the exhibit, demonstrating traditional arts, cooking, and rituals to tourists. In the *Santa Fe Magazine* article quoted above, the editors commented, “None of these ceremonials has been held for several centuries. . . [and are] reproduced after centuries of neglect. . . based on careful studies made in scientific libraries.”

The ATSF and FHC depicted themselves as providing a scholarly service, recording ancient traditions and sharing them with the public; the seriousness of the undertaking and the devotion to “authenticity” assured visitors that what they were seeing was not simply a show, but actual customs of the American Indian tribes. Furthermore, a successful marketing strategy at the fair might convince travelers to stop to visit some of the American Indian pueblos on their way back east, or to plan a separate trip in the future. If a side trip was out of the question, perhaps a tourist souvenir from the Fred Harvey Indian Shop might be in order as a permanent remembrance of the journey to the exhibition.

¹⁷⁹ From “The Home of the Future: A Study of America in Relation to the Architect,” *The Craftsman* Vol 29, no. 5 (Feb 1916), quoted in Romy Wyllie, *Bertram Goodhue: His Life and Residential Architecture* (New York: WW Norton and Co., 2007), 544.

¹⁸⁰ Wyllie, 74. Many of the structures, including the important California building, were topped with colorful tiled domes that shone in the sun, making them brilliant beacons seen from afar. In a guide to the exposition, Goodhue described the grouping of structures as “a city-in-miniature wherein everything that meets the eye and ear of the visitor [was] meant to recall to mind the glamour and mystery and poetry of the old Spanish days.” He succeeded in his vision, for this visually rich variety of Spanish Revival architecture as well as interior design continues to dominate the southern California landscape, as well as outsiders’ perceptions of what is truly “native” to the region. So popular were the temporary fair structures that many of them were retained and improved, and are still standing. The mission inspired buildings of two decades earlier had always carried rather austere facades and decorative schemes in keeping with the spirit of the originals. On the outskirts of the Spanish empire in North America, the missions of New Mexico, Arizona, and California generally did not receive the elaborate architectural and decorative treatment as those farther south in the wealthy districts of Mexico or Spanish centers like Peru.

¹⁸¹ Melzer, 84.

¹⁸² Melzer, 84.

¹⁸³ Melzer, 90.

¹⁸⁴ “One of Harvey’s Finest,” *Santa Fe Magazine* Vol. IX, no. 4 (March 1915): 57.

¹⁸⁵ Colter had worked on El Navajo at Gallup, NEW MEXICO, which had its official, full opening in 1923. She designed the majority of the hotel building, as well as its interiors which were famous for their Navajo sand paintings. Keeping with the severe, unornamented aesthetic of the Navajo dwellings to the north of the town, this Harvey House did not have extensive grounds or landscaping. Therefore, La Posada is often considered Colter’s “masterpiece,” for there she gained complete control over every aspect of the design—both the building and the grounds. For more information on El Navajo, see Berke, 127-141.

¹⁸⁶ Mary Jane Colter, “Letter from MJC to Mr. Clarkson, 4 October 1926,” John Gaw Meem Job Files, Box 3, Folder 6, Center for Southwestern Research at the University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, New Mexico.

¹⁸⁷ Author interview with Allan Affeldt, Winslow, Arizona, January 12, 2010.

¹⁸⁸ This was a time when urban reformers targeted the unsanitary conditions of alley dwellings, which often lacked running water; many country properties had no indoor sanitation facilities.

¹⁸⁹ Berke, 275.

¹⁹⁰ John B. Hungerford, "Death of an Inn," *The Los Angeles Times*, August 1957.

¹⁹¹ Melzer, 124.

¹⁹² Author Interview with Barbara Felix, Santa Fe, New Mexico, January 6, 2010.

¹⁹³ Author Interview with Marie Elhd, Las Vegas, New Mexico, January 4, 2010. The details about the current state of La Castañeda come from an interview with owner Marie Elhd, unless otherwise cited. The physical condition of the exterior was visually surveyed by the author.

¹⁹⁴ Denise Tessier, "Castañeda Hotel's Majestic, Alive," *The Albuquerque Journal*, January 27, 1985, D2.

¹⁹⁵ Tessier.

¹⁹⁶ Tessier.

¹⁹⁷ In speaking with Marie Elhd, the author understood that the dream of restoring the building was not hers, but rather she returned to the town so that her now ex-husband could pursue his vision. This undoubtedly influences her thinking on the building's long-term future. On another note, La Castañeda was long associated with Teddy Roosevelt and the Rough Riders of the Spanish-American War. Many of the "Riders" were from New Mexico, and they held an annual reunion at the hotel for about fifty years starting in 1899.

¹⁹⁸ As of March 2010, La Castañeda is on the market for \$2.1 million.

¹⁹⁹ Author Interview with Magee Poler and Doyle Daves of the LVCCHP, Las Vegas, New Mexico, January 4, 2010. This estimate comes from a local contractor who has done some repair work in the building over the past decade, as well as from inspections done on behalf of interested buyers. The interviewer was not allowed access to the second floor, but views visible through the windows seem to show original cabinetry and woodwork intact.

²⁰⁰ Author Interview with Magee Poler and Doyle Davis of the LVCCHP, Las Vegas, New Mexico, January 4, 2010.

²⁰¹ Author Interview with Bob Baker of Grand Canyon Railway, Williams, Arizona, January 13, 2010. The details about the present state of the Fray Marcos come from an interview with Bob Baker, Director of Train Operations, Grand Canyon Railway, unless otherwise cited. The physical condition of the exterior was visually surveyed by the author.

²⁰² Grand Canyon Railway, "Railway History," Grand Canyon Railway, <http://www.thetrain.com/Railway-History-5683.html>

²⁰³ The new Grand Canyon Railway Hotel was constructed in phases from 1995-2004, and was designed to resemble the Fray Marcos, including features such as paired columns and similar window surrounds.

²⁰⁴ Author Interview with Allan Affeldt, Winslow, Arizona, January 12, 2010. The details about the present state of El Garces come from an interview with Allan Affeldt, project manager for the El Garces renovation, unless otherwise cited.

²⁰⁵ Author Interview with Barbara Felix, Santa Fe, New Mexico, January 6, 2010. The details about the present state of La Fonda come from an interview with Barbara Felix, consulting architect to the hotel, unless otherwise cited. The physical condition of the exterior was visually surveyed by the author.

²⁰⁶ Many features of the hotel are not up to code, but have been grandfathered in. The hotel wishes to comply with current safety codes in all future work, and must determine how to do this while best

preserving the historic fabric.

²⁰⁷ Author Interview with Allan Affeldt, Winslow, Arizona, January 12, 2010. The details about the current state of La Posada come from an interview with hotel owner Allan Affeldt, unless otherwise cited. The physical condition of the exterior was visually surveyed by the author.

²⁰⁸ By the early 1990s, Affeldt notes that the ATSF only occupied a small portion of the building, as computerization had decreased the necessary on-site staff. The railroad was paying \$100,000 a year in utilities alone.

²⁰⁹ Berke, 285.

²¹⁰ U.S. Department of Transportation, Federal Highway Administration, “The Odd Couple: Historic Preservation and Transportation Enhancements,” Federal Highway Administration, http://www.fhwa.dot.gov/environment/te/hist_pres/index2.htm. Transportation Enhancement grants are awarded to organizations undertaking projects that “expand transportation choices and enhance the transportation experience” through twelve eligible activities; “historic preservation and rehabilitation” and “operation of historic transportation buildings” are included among these activities. Situated on both old Route 66 and an historic rail line, La Posada was a good early project.

²¹¹ Railroads can be willing to give historic buildings away—if they are moved off railroad property—because the value of the land is often more important to the railroad and its balance sheet than a deteriorating structure it does not want to allocate funds to maintain.

²¹² Allan Affeldt redesigned the portion of the grounds facing Old Route 66 to better serve automobile traffic, adding an extensive parking lot that blends with the gardens and landscaped areas of the property through new plantings that help conceal it from view. Closer to the structure, the asphalt gives way to stained concrete scored to resemble stone, deemphasizing its actual purpose as a parking pad and turnaround zone, and instead allowing it to act as an extension of the paved garden walkways and patios.

²¹³ Stover, 194. The infrastructure as of 1920 represented an investment of about \$20 billion.

²¹⁴ Stover, 194. In 1920, railroads employed 2,076,000; according to the US Census Bureau, the total population of the country was 106,021,537. <http://www.census.gov/population/censusdata/urpop0090.txt> Accessed 1 April 2010. For comparison, the US Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics reports total railroad employment in 2000 was 231,000 persons. <http://www.railserve.com/employment.html> Accessed 1 April 2010. Out of a total 2000 US population of 281,421,906, railroad employees represent only 0.08 percent of the population.

²¹⁵ According to the US Census Bureau, there were 24,352,000 households in the United States in 1920. Divided into the total population quoted above, average household size comes to 4.4 persons. Household figures accessed 1 April 2010 at <https://www.census.gov/statab/hist/HS-12.pdf>. Of course, not all railroaders would have families that were “average,” and thus further investigation would need to be completed in order to gain a better understanding of the size of a typical “railroad” family. The basic numbers quoted above are useful for understanding the general impact of the railroads on citizens and the economy.

²¹⁶ Charles A. Birnbaum, “36: Preservation Briefs. Protecting Cultural Landscapes: Planning, Treatment, and Management of Historic Landscapes,” National Park Service, [http://www.nps.gov/history/hps/tps/briefs/brief36.htm#PRESERVATION PLANNING FOR CULTURAL LANDSCAPES](http://www.nps.gov/history/hps/tps/briefs/brief36.htm#PRESERVATION_PLANNING_FOR_CULTURAL_LANDSCAPES)

²¹⁷ These four designations are Historic Designed Landscape; Historic Vernacular Landscape; Historic Site; and Ethnographic Landscape, and can range in size from a small plot to thousands of acres. More detailed descriptions are available in Birnbaum.

²¹⁸ National Park Service, “National Heritage Areas Brochure,” National Park Service, <http://www.nps.gov/history/heritageareas/NHA%20brochure%20WEB.pdf>

²¹⁹ National Park Service, “National Heritage Areas Brochure,” National Park Service, <http://www.nps.gov/history/heritageareas/NHA%20brochure%20WEB.pdf>

²²⁰ Matanuska-Susitna Borough, “National Heritage Area Facts,” Matanuska-Susitna Borough, http://www.matsugov.us/planning/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=224:national-heritage-area-facts&catid=58:current-grants-and-projects&Itemid=20210

²²¹ Matthew White, “National Heritage Areas: Local Culture or Federal Pressure,” *Property and Environment Research Center Reports* Vol. 23, no. 2 (Summer 2005), <http://www.perc.org/articles/article548.php>.

²²² National Park Service, “National Heritage Areas Brochure,” National Park Service, <http://www.nps.gov/history/heritageareas/NHA%20brochure%20WEB.pdf>

²²³ John. J. Miller, “An Ugly Heritage: The Poor Man’s National Park; the Citizen’s Burden,” *The National Review*, January 28, 2008. It should be noted that the federal government may own some land within NHA boundaries in the form of existing national parks or landmarks that are incorporated into the NHA.

²²⁴ A 2004 report by the Government Accounting Office found that “Nevertheless, heritage area officials, Park Service headquarters and regional staff, and representatives of national property rights groups...contacted were unable to provide us with any examples of a heritage area directly affecting—positively or negatively—private property values or use.” From GAO, “National Park Service: A More Systematic Process for Establishing National Heritage Areas and Actions to Improve Their Accountability are Needed” (GAO report presented before the U.S. Senate Committee on Energy and Natural Resources, Washington, DC, March 30, 2004).

²²⁵ National Park Service, “National Heritage Areas Brochure,” National Park Service, <http://www.nps.gov/history/heritageareas/NHA%20brochure%20WEB.pdf>

²²⁶ John H. Chafee Blackstone River Valley, “Our Staff and Offices,” John H. Chafee Blackstone River Valley, <http://www.nps.gov/blac/parkmgmt/staffandoffices.htm>.

²²⁷ White.

²²⁸ GAO.

²²⁹ GAO. Failure to address these issues by 2010 may have been part of the reasoning for proposed FY 2011 funding cuts to the NHA program by the Obama administration.

²³⁰ These steps are drawn from the NPS’s “National Heritage Area Feasibility Study Guidelines,” (available at <http://www.nps.gov/history/heritageareas/FSGUIDE/nhfeasguidelines.pdf>) where each section is explained in greater detail. It should be noted that NHA feasibility studies, if used in a designation request, must take into account the requirements of the National Environmental Policy Act, Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act, and Section 7 of the Endangered Species Act. See page 5 for greater details.

²³¹ Miller.

²³² Initial studies for this NHA began in 1991. The 15 years it took to achieve the feasibility report and designation demonstrates the effort required for the NHA process, and only serves to emphasize the importance of forming strong and trusting relationships between stakeholder groups who must keep up momentum.

²³³ Northern Rio Grande NHA, “Frequently Asked Questions,” Northern Rio Grande NHA, <http://www.nps.gov/norg/faqs.htm>. The management entity “includes representatives of the State of New

Mexico; the counties of Santa Fe, Rio Arriba and Taos; tribes and pueblos within the heritage area; the cities of Santa Fe, Espanola, and Taos, and members of representatives from the general public.”

²³⁴ Interestingly, perhaps learning from the experience of Yuma Crossing NHA, the webpage and print media created by the Santa Cruz Valley Heritage Alliance emphasizes that it “fully supports the protection of private property rights in the proposed...NHA. The legislation clearly states that the designation does not affect the rights of any property owner.” From the Santa Cruz Valley Heritage Alliance, “Welcome to the Santa Cruz Valley,” Santa Cruz Valley Heritage Alliance, <http://www.santacruzheritage.org/home>.

²³⁵ Santa Cruz Valley Heritage Alliance, “About Us,” Santa Cruz Valley Heritage Alliance, <http://www.santacruzheritage.org/aboutus>.

²³⁶ For further detail on the proposed themes, see Santa Cruz Valley Heritage Alliance, “Heritage Experiences,” Santa Cruz Valley Heritage Alliance, <http://www.santacruzheritage.org/heritageexperiences>+

²³⁷ Oil Creek is both a State and National Heritage Area. “Started in 1986, the Oil Creek and Titusville Railroad takes riders on a 2.5 hour round-trip train ride ‘through the Valley that changed the World’ including Drake Well Museum and Park and Oil Creek State Park. The trip takes you back through time as tour guides describe the fortune seekers who brought on the world’s first oil boom...Riders can mail a postcard from the only operating United States Mail Railway Post Office Car.” From the Oil Region Alliance, “PA Oil Heritage Region,” Oil Region Alliance, <http://www.oilregion.org/ORA-National-Heritage-Area/PA-Oil-Heritage-Region>. See also Oil Creek and Titusville Railroad, “History,” Oil Creek and Titusville Railroad, <http://www.octrr.org/backpages/begin.htm>

²³⁸ More information is available at the Hudson River Valley National Heritage Area, “Welcome to the Hudson River Valley,” Hudson River Valley NHA, http://www.hudsonrivervalley.com/default.aspx?section_id=12&page_id=648, and the booklet may be viewed in digital format.

²³⁹ More information is available at Steamtown National Historic Site, “Steamtown,” Steamtown National Historic Site, <http://www.nps.gov/stea/index.htm>.

²⁴⁰ These NHAs include: Illinois and Michigan Canal National Historic Corridor; Schuylkill River; Ohio and Erie Canalway; Erie Canalway National Heritage Corridor; Delaware and Lehigh; and the Augusta Canal.

²⁴¹ These conclusions are drawn from a review of each of the NHAs’ webpages.

²⁴² The plan is available at Erie Canalway NHC, “About Us: News and Publications,” Erie Canalway NHC, http://www.eriecanalway.org/about-us_news-pubs_preserve-manage.htm. Reading the document, the author could not help noticing that if “canal” were replaced with “railroad,” many of the broader themes and strategies that justify the Erie Canal NHA could well be used to advantage in a proposed railroad NHA. The beauty of the attractive publication and its effect on readers is also an important factor that can often be overlooked in the drive to emphasize the nuts and bolts of such a work.

²⁴³ Susan Calafate Boyle, “Natural and Cultural Resources: The Protection of Vernacular Landscapes,” in *Cultural Landscapes: Balancing Nature and Heritage in Preservation Practice*, ed. Richard Longstreth (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2008), 153-155.

²⁴⁴ Boyle, 155-157.

²⁴⁵ The other NHAs crossing state lines include: John H. Chafee Blackstone River Valley National Heritage Corridor (MA, RI); Quinebaug and Shetucket Rivers Valley National Heritage Corridor

(CT, MA); Freedom's Frontier NHA (MO, KS); Upper Housatonic Valley NHA (CT, MA); and the Great Basin National Heritage Route (NV, UT).

²⁴⁶ Dan Bolognani, e-mail message to author, February 22, 2010. Bolognani also notes that "Grant programs are administered with consideration for content and adherence to the criteria, and no bias is made for location within the heritage area. It's worked well, with grant awards being made on the merits of the application/proposed program only, and no weight given to location (or state)."

²⁴⁷ Divall continues, "This perspective stands in sharp contrast to that of many rail fans, who too often see locomotion as being all-important while the specialist infrastructure, the social organization, and the wider historical context of railways' development are given less weight than they deserve." From Colin Divall, "Railroads as World Heritage Sites," *Cultural Resource Management* no. 10 (1999): 7.

²⁴⁸ Steven E. Forsberg, e-mail message to author, January 19, 2010. Forsberg is BNSF General Director, Public Affairs.

²⁴⁹ John Hankey and Alan S. Boyd, "Railroad Depot Acquisition and Development," *The National Trust for Historic Preservation Information* no. 44 (1991): 2.

²⁵⁰ These reports are The Railroad Depots of New Mexico and Transcontinental Railroad in Arizona, 1878-1940: A Context for Preserving Railroad Related Properties (1989). Riskin's recent work, The Train Stops Here: New Mexico's Railway Legacy, is based on the original New Mexico state report.

²⁵¹ Janus Associates Inc., Transcontinental Railroad in Arizona, 1878-1940: A Context for Preserving Railroad Related Properties (Phoenix: Arizona State Historic Preservation Office, 1989), 57.

²⁵² The towns listed are just a few out of dozens of towns and villages established by the railroad to provide services along the line such as water for steam engines and facilities for locomotive repair. An article in *The Santa Fe Magazine* notes, "Now, Winslow and the Santa Fe are synonymous in the Southwest. There is no other town on the system whose existence is so dependent upon the road..." In "Winslow, the Typical Railroad Town, and Its Frontier Celebration," *The Santa Fe Magazine* Vol. X, no. 10 (September 1916): 21.

²⁵³ Riskin, 60-61.

²⁵⁴ City of Albuquerque, "Albuquerque Rail Yards Redevelopment," City of Albuquerque, <http://www.cabq.gov/council/current-projects-studies/albuquerque-rail-yards-redevelopment>.

²⁵⁵ The Urban Land Institute, An Advisory Services Panel Report: Albuquerque Rail Yards, Albuquerque, New Mexico (Washington, DC: The Urban Land Institute, 2008), 7.

²⁵⁶ City of Albuquerque, "Albuquerque Rail Yards Redevelopment," City of Albuquerque, <http://www.cabq.gov/council/current-projects-studies/albuquerque-rail-yards-redevelopment>. Before significant progress is made, legal issues must be resolved with BNSF, and an environmental remediation program must be designed to address almost one hundred years of industrial uses on the site.

²⁵⁷ Author Interview with Ed Boles, Albuquerque, NEW MEXICO, January 8, 2010.

²⁵⁸ Wheels Transportation Museum, "Wheels Transportation Museum: What's New," Wheels Transportation Museum, <http://www.wheelsmuseum.org/>. In an interesting turn of events and perhaps a bout of public remorse, the Alvarado, destroyed in 1970, has risen once again—albeit superficially—in the form of the city's new depot for local, regional, and national transportation services. The Alvarado Transportation Center, built in phases during the 2000s, draws many of its design elements from its predecessor, but its function is vastly different. Instead of a center for community life, it is a place through which commuters pass on the way to other destinations. The complex's success in recreating the rich FHC heritage, as well as the attempt to even do so, is questionable.

²⁵⁹ The Santa Fe Railyard Community Corporation, "What is the Railyard?," The Santa Fe Railyard

Community Corporation, <http://www.railyardsantafe.com/> Accessed 27 March 2010. Interestingly, an interpretive panel aimed at children near the ATSF station contains information on the FHC, as well as other related rail trivia. The community corporation states its mission as “To transform the historic Railyard into a sustainable and inviting public space for recreational, social, artistic, and commercial activities in a way that embraces Santa Fe’s cultural and historical significance and upholds the community’s vision.”

²⁶⁰ This information comes from a conversation with a museum docent, 8 January 2010.

²⁶¹ Arizona State Railroad Museum, “Arizona Centennial Project,” Arizona State Railroad Museum, <http://www.Arizonastaterrmuseum.org/Home/arizona-centennial-project> Accessed 27 March 2010. Al Richmond, project manager, notes that the library and archives will contain a FHC collection.

²⁶² Author Interview with Al Richmond, Williams, Arizona, January 13, 2010. Richmond has also written extensively on the history of the Grand Canyon Railroad.

²⁶³ Author Interview with Al Richmond, Williams, Arizona, January 13, 2010.

²⁶⁴ According to Affeldt, who also served a term as mayor of Winslow, BNSF still employs about 600 people; the local prison 400; and the power plant another 200, out of a total town population of about 10,000. Author Interview with Allan Affeldt, Winslow, Arizona, January 12, 2010.

²⁶⁵ Author Interview with Allan Affeldt, Winslow, Arizona, January 12, 2010. This was also observed by the author both in Winslow and when mentioned in other cities visited in New Mexico and Arizona. Although Affeldt spends no money on formal advertising, the word-of-mouth press has reached far beyond Winslow and the immediate area. This is in part due to Affeldt’s belief that many patrons are regulars who reside in California and have second homes in the Southwest. The facilities offered at La Posada provide a convenient mid-point in a journey by car.

²⁶⁶ Alliance of National Heritage Areas, *Economic Impact of Heritage Tourism Spending, 2005* (Washington, DC, 2005). All economic figures come from this report. 2005 is the last year for which data is available. At the time of the study, there were twenty-seven NHAs, compared to 2010’s forty areas. The data cited in this report were based on extensive surveys of five NHAs located in the eastern half of the United States. Data from other sources on the impact of NHAs were scarce and is an area of study that invites further research.

²⁶⁷ For this matter, the trails that preceded both the railroad and the paved national highway could be brought into the story, demonstrating centuries of improvement and change to the region’s transportation network and its technology.

²⁶⁸ John B. Hungerford, “Death of an Inn,” *The Los Angeles Times*, August 1957.

²⁶⁹ Michelle J. McNulty, “The Mystique of Route 66 and the Image of Flagstaff, Arizona” (Masters Thesis, Northern Arizona University, 2007), 60. McNulty, through research and personal interviews, discovered the popularity of Route 66 imagery in Europe, in which the long stretches of highway and sparsely populated landscapes appeal to car enthusiasts and those seeking to “get away from it all.”

²⁷⁰ Author Interview with Ed Boles, Albuquerque, New Mexico, January 8, 2010.

²⁷¹ Route 66 Association of Arizona, “About Us,” Route 66 Association of Arizona, <http://www.Arizonart66.com/aboutus.htm>.

²⁷² Author Interview with Ed Boles, Albuquerque, New Mexico, January 8, 2010. These city-acquired properties include the Nevado Motel and the DiAnza Motorcourt. The route of the highway through Albuquerque changed in the early decades of the twentieth century, and the city recognizes both routes.

²⁷³ Author Interview with Ed Boles, Albuquerque, New Mexico, January 8, 2010.

²⁷⁴ It should be noted that many of the NHTs mentioned above lie primarily in the north central New Mexico, centered on Santa Fe, and thus would not apply to all of the area covered by the proposed railroad NHA.

²⁷⁵ The ATSF advertising division often did work on behalf of the FHC, just another indication of the closely coordinated relationship between the two organizations.

²⁷⁶ Van Slyck, 97. Van Slyck suggests that in part this “erasure of Hispanic contributions to southwestern culture was equally embedded in a contemporary context of intensified anti-Mexican sentiments, fueled in part by Pancho-Villa’s raids and an influx of poor Mexican immigrants fleeing the [Mexican] Revolution[of 1910-20].”

²⁷⁷ D’Emilio and Campbell, 23.

²⁷⁸ Within the state’s Santa Fe Historic District, established in 1975, it is mandatory to conform to official “Santa Fe” style; prior to this date, this was informally encouraged through the work of citizens committees and design advisors such as John Gaw Meem, early advocates for design standards. Found at Santa Fe Historic Design Review Board, “Historic Design Review Board,” City of Santa Fe, <http://www.santafenewmexico.gov/index.aspx?NID=1931> Accessed 29 March 2010.

²⁷⁹ This literature was gathered at towns along the BNSF main line through New Mexico and Arizona, and was produced by municipalities, chambers of commerce, and private groups.

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INDEX

- Albuquerque
 Railyards.....129
- Alvarado.....63-70
- Amtrak.....1
 Southwest Chief.....111
- Architecture
 Corporate identity36-37
 Mission Revival.....55-59
 Pueblo Revival.....70-74
 Spanish Revival83-85
 Use of imported materials.....40
- Arizona State Railroad Museum.....133-134
- Arts and Crafts Movement.....42
 in Harvey Houses.....49
- Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe Railroad
 Advertising31, 32
 Architecture.....39, 46-47, 70
 Business relationship with
 FHC.....13, 14, 19, 26
 Corporate identity.....36
 Divisions.....24
 Early depots.....25
 Founding.....12
 Growth of the Southwest.....36
 Image Making.....141-142
 Land grants.....26
 in New Mexico22
 Tourism.....33
- Atlantic and Pacific Railroad.....24
- Bierstadt, Alfred
 Work for Union Pacific.....28
- Burlington Northern Santa Fe Railroad
 Preservation.....125-26
- California
 Spanish missions.....56
 Romanticism.....56, 70-71
- Civil War.....7
- Colter, Mary Jane
 Early Life.....54
 El Ortiz.....75-76
 Imagined histories.....92
 Indian Room at the
 Alvarado.....66-68
 La Fonda78-79
 La Posada.....91-98
- Concrete construction.....64-66
 at the Fray Marcos.....86
- Corporations
 Public relations.....35
- Cultural Landscapes.....114, 123
- El Garces88-90
- El Ortiz.....74-76
- El Tovar.....4, 64
- Female Employment.....15, 16
- Fray Marcos.....85-88, 102-105

Fred Harvey Company	Albuquerque	63-70
Central office.....	Belen	51
Dining car service.....	Lamy.....	74-76
Image Making	Las Vegas	59-63
Management structure	Needles	88-90
Use of architecture.....	Santa Fe.....	76-82
	Williams	85-88
	Winslow.....	91-98
Goodhue, Bertram.....	Meal service	17
Panama-California	Modernism.....	54
Exposition.....	Rates.....	45
	Suppliers.....	14
Grand Canyon		
El Tovar.....	Harvey House Museum	132-133
	Heritage Theming/Retheming.....	145
Harvey, Fred	Holliday, Cyrus.....	12
Business relationship with	Hostelries	
ATSF	“American Plan”	44-45
13,14, 26	in early America.....	44
Death.....	“European Plan”	44-45
Early life.....	Layout.....	48-49
First contact with ATSF.....	Rates.....	45
Illness.....		
in St. Louis.....	Hubbard, Elbert	
as mail agent.....	Eulogy for Fred Harvey.....	20
Myth.....	Indian Room	
as “Self-Made Man”	at the Alvarado.....	66-68
	at the Fray Marcos.....	87-88
	at La Fonda	82
Harvey Girls	La Castañeda	59-63, 100-102
Daily Life.....	La Fonda.....	76-82, 106-107
Description.....	La Posada.....	91-98, 108-110
Housing.....		
Job duties.....		
Salary.....		
Harvey House		
Definition.....		
Domesticity.....		
First House.....		
Gardens		
Layout.....		
Locations		

Lummis, Charles Fletcher and <i>Land of Sunshine</i>	29	Transcontinental ticket prices.....	31
Meem, John Gaw.....	78	Rapp, Rapp, and Hendrickson.....	77-78
Work at La Fonda	78-79	Raton Pass.....	4, 22
Moran, Thomas		Ripley, Edward Payson	
Grand Canyon paintings.....	32	as President of the ATSF.....	20, 22
Work with ATSF.....	32	and the World's Columbian Exposition.....	58
Morley, Sylvanus	69-72	Roehrig, Frederic Louis.....	59-60
National Heritage Areas.		Route 66	
Definition.....	114	Associations.....	137
Economic impacts.....	134-135	Mystique.....	136
Funding	117	Santa Fe	
Land Rights.....	116-117	“Old-New” Exhibit	72
Management structures.....	115, 140	Planning Board.....	71
NHA Program.....	115	Rail yards	129-131
in the Southwest.....	119-120	“Santa Fe Treatment”	72
Themes.....	137-140	Schweizer, Herman	
National Register of Historic Places.....	111	Work with FHC.....	68
Pullman Porters		“Self-Made Man”.....	35
Housing.....	53	Myth.....	35
Job Duties.....	17	Smith and McNell	6,7
Salary.....	17	Southwest	
Railroads		Architectural movements	55
Architecture.....	39	Mission Revival	55-59
Development in the U.S.....	9	Artists.....	41
Dining cars.....	10	Romantic description.....	41
Early travel conditions.....	10	Traditional architecture.....	40-41
Employment impacts.....	112		
Management structures.....	10		
Postal Service.....	8		
Standard time.....	9		
Signaling.....	9		
Tourism.....	30		

Tourism	
Early American tourist destinations.....	28
and the middle class.....	29
Post-Civil War	29
and Religiosity.....	28
and “See America First”.....	29
Transportation Enhancement Grants.....	109
Whittlesey, Charles.....	64
Concrete construction.....	64-65
Design of El Tovar.....	4
Wilson, Francis W.	85-86
Wister, Owen	
on the ATSF.....	31
on El Ortiz.....	75-76
World’s Columbian Exposition....	56-58, 73
California Building.....	58
Xanterra Parks and Resorts.....	102, 104