“THE SOUTHWEST’S HEART IS NO LONGER FOR THE PIONEER ALONE”: CREATING AND REMEMBERING FRED HARVEY’S INVENTION OF AN AUTHENTIC NATIVE AMERICAN EXPERIENCE IN THE SOUTHWEST

A Dissertation

by

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation examines social change in the Southwest within the intersection of gender and "Indianness" in the tourism industry, through the lens of the Fred Harvey Company between the 1880s-1940s. Fred Harvey was an English immigrant entrepreneur who established the Fred Harvey Company in 1875 after working as a traveling postman and seeing the deplorable conditions on the railroad. Through this enterprise, he not only promoted luxury travel, but also commodified the cultural distinctiveness of the West. The Atchison Topeka and Santa Fe partnered with the Harvey Company in 1878 to extend accommodations through the southwest, which eventually became the most lucrative area for the company and the railroad at the turn of the century. The highlights were the architecture and décor of the hotels, the Harvey Girl waitresses, and the Indian Detours service with women couriers and Native artisans and demonstrators.

This research not only focuses on the history of the Fred Harvey Company era and its distinct tourism business, but also how these practices of heritage tourism and staged authenticity are memorialized in the present. Recent preservation movements have made an effort to preserve railroad heritage in Northern New Mexico and Arizona through both the restoration of regional Harvey Houses and the maintenance of public memory through the Harvey Girls and Indian Detours. In this, I address the distinct omissions of the Native women and artisans, both past and present, who have been prominent in the process by demonstrating what is at stake in memorializing one group and not the other. In addition, I question why the Harvey Girl waitresses have been celebrated and continue to be prominent in the public eye with multiple

books and documentaries, but not the Indian Detour couriers, an arguably more progressive group.

Accompanying these themes, I examine the history of this practice through current preservation work, the subsequent community revitalization, and the public history movement regarding its legacy and memory. This research is highlighted using archival materials, including letters and postcards, travelogues, promotional materials, and articles, along with in-depth interviews with those involved in memorialization of the Fred Harvey Company and the romanticized image of the Southwest.

DEDICATION

To my parents. Thank you for all the “trips out west.” I could not have anticipated walking those corridors of La Posada over twenty years ago would lead to this.

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Contributors

This work was supervised by a dissertation committee consisting of Professor Angela Hudson, and Professors Carlos Blanton, Sonia Hernandez, Brian Rouleau of the Department of History and Professors Alston Thoms and Jeff Winking of the Department of Anthropology.

All other work conducted for the dissertation was completed with assistance by Sean Evans at the Cline Library Special Collection and Archive, Northern Arizona University; Colleen Hyde at the Grand Canyon Museum Collection, Grand Canyon, Arizona; archivists at the New Mexico History Museum, Albuquerque, New Mexico; archivists at the DeGoyler Library, SMU Libraries, Dallas, Texas; and personal interviews and contact with and assistance by Allan Affeldt, Tom Boyer, William Broussard, Stephen Fried, Manny Grajales, Kathy Hendrickson, Beverly Ireland and Bernette Jarvis, Sam Latkin, Colleen Lurcero, Jeff Ogg, Robbie O'Neill, Collin Rohrbaugh, James Rolf, Irvin Trujillo, and Kathy Weir.

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Its contents are solely the responsibility of the author and do not necessarily represent the official views of those offices and individuals listed above.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF IMAGES

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION: HISTORIOGRAPHY AND THE FRED HARVEY COMPANY IN THE AMERICAN SOUTHWEST

The Harvey Girls film is many people's introduction to the Fred Harvey Company story (Image 1). The 1947 Academy Award winning MGM musical featured an all-start cast with Judy Garland, Angela Lansbury, and Ray Bolger. Byron Harvey Jr., the grandson of Fred Harvey and President of the Fred Harvey Company at the time of the filming, played an uncredited role as the train conductor.[1] The opening credits acknowledge the "help of the Fred Harvey Company on many historical details" in the picture, with the statement:

> When Fred Harvey pushed his chain of restaurants farther and farther west along the lengthening track of the Santa Fe, he brought with him one of the first civilizing forces this land has known-The Harvey Girls. The winsome waitresses conquered the West as surely as the Davy Crocketts and the Kit Carsons-not with powder horn and rifle, but with a beefsteak and a cup of coffee. To these unsung pioneers, whose successors today still carry on in the same tradition, we sincerely dedicate this motion picture.[2]

As this precis suggests, there are several glaring misrepresentations in the film. Even the name of the railroad in the title song is wrong.[3] Judy Garland's character stumbles into a job as a Harvey Girl after a courtship gone awry, disregarding the thorough application and placement process that would have been necessary for the position. However, some scenes that were intended to be theatrical lent themselves to the truth. During the famous *On the Atchison, Topeka, and the Santa Fe* musical number, there are token Native women and children in the

[1] It was based on the novel *The Harvey Girls* by Samuel Hopkins Adams (New York, 1942). The Harvey Company did not initially approve of the book on which the film is based. It was only after producer Arthur Freed sent a detailed letter, and associate producer Roger Edens went to the Company's headquarters in Chicago, Illinois, and basically acted out the story, that the Company gave MGM their approval.
[2] *The Harvey Girls*. United States: Loew's Inc., 1946.
[3] To have the proper cadence, Johnny Mercer had to add an extra syllable, or word, to the name of the railroad: "On the Atchison, Topeka, and *the* Santa Fe."

chorus, blending with the crowd. Later in the number (in old Hollywood fashion, it runs almost ten minutes), a Harvey Girl steps off the train, dressed in Victorian finery, and recoils in fear when she finds herself standing next to a Native man, running to the safety of the rest of the Girls.

Image 1 One sheet poster for the *The Harvey Girls* (1946) featuring Judy Garland, John Hodiak, Ray Bolger, and Angela Lansbury. Image 2 Scene from the film picturing Judy Garland and John Hodiak. Image courtesy of Turner Classic Movies.

While the film was a hit and later thought to have broken down "the frontiers of public awareness," the content and context are still discussed among scholars and enthusiasts.[4] *The*

[4] It was one of the top grossing, competing with *It's a Wonderful Life*; Crowther, Bosley. "'The Harvey Girls' Opens at Capitol—Musical Stars Judy Garland, Kenny Baker, Ray Bolger and Virginia O'Brien." *New York Times*, January

Harvey Girls is a classic MGM musical, indicating that it would likely not be factually true and only vaguely authentic. However, this lack of historicism in the movie is a useful way to frame the questions I pose in this dissertation. As I analyze both the historical processes inherent in the rise and decline of Southwest tourism through the Harvey Company, as well as recent efforts to recover and recreate that history, I am concerned with these broad questions. What is at stake when certain people, cultures, and structures are romanticized and memorialized, while others are forgotten? Does the effort to preserve "authenticity" in memorialization freeze certain peoples in time or present them as static? If so, what is precisely is being remembered and, in some cases, revitalized? Who has been invited to participate in revitalization movements and why? Who has been omitted from memories of the past and who has been excluded from participating in the present? Who benefits from these omissions and occlusions?

This dissertation uses the tourism practices of the Fred Harvey Company and the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe Railway to understand social change in the American Southwest through the intersection of gender, labor, and indigeneity in the tourism industry between the 1880s and 1940s and its memorialization in the recent past and present. The project involves literature and debates in multiple fields. It engages two distinct, but related, methodologies: the social and cultural history of the Greater Southwest utilizing anthropological scholarship and the practice of historic preservation. Though historians have long debated the cultural significance and perceived Anglo-centric viewpoint represented in the idea of the Southwest, little work has been conducted on the current Native representations in this region and the influence that cultural tourism and staged authenticity have on the production of memory.[5] The project asks broad

25, 1946.; Judy Garland scholar John Fricke lectured at the Fred Harvey Weekend in 2020; Stephen Fried has suggested that the film be shown at a Fred Harvey Weekend à la *Rocky Horror Picture Show*.

[5] I use the phrase cultural tourism to mean tourism that purports to authentically represent the stories and people of the past. The concept of staged authenticity was introduced by Dean MacCannell in the context of ethnic tourism

questions regarding cultural and architectural preservation, the constructed image of the Southwest, and representations of indigeneity, past and present.

The purpose of this chapter is to provide an introduction and background on Fred Harvey and the legacy he left behind. I will outline the history of the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe Railroad as it pertains to the Southwest and the Santa Fe branch, including a detailed description of railroad life, of the Harvey Girls, and of the "Harvey Way." This background suggests the importance of preserving the Harvey Houses. The houses themselves will be explored in detail in later chapters.

History of the Fred Harvey Company

In 1876, Fred Harvey, a young English immigrant and entrepreneur, founded the Fred Harvey Company to offer convenient travel as an affordable diversion from Eastern urbanization (Image 2). Through this process, he commodified and promoted the cultural distinctiveness of the West and brought eastern Anglo "civilization" to a region that had never seen five-star dining and accommodations.[6] The Company took familiar pieces of eastern society and culture and offered them in a new setting, the American Southwest, which was considered by white society to be neither cultured nor civilized. This business model of offering eastern refinement in a safe, but adventurously western setting, was attractive to his customer base of mostly white upper- and

and is defined as a cultural production that is not a complete recreation of the past, but a nostalgic collective memory of the past crafted with the present audiences in mind. Dean MacCannell, "Staged Authenticity: Arrangements of Social Space in Tourist Settings," *American Journal of Sociology* 79, no. 3 (1973): 589-603.

[6] Some historians have phrased this effort as "civilizing" the West, such as Juddi Morris, *The Harvey Girls: The Women Who Civilized the West*, (New York: Walker and Company, 1994). However, this phrasing is problematic, as these spaces were already "civilized" by Indigenous peoples, and had also been inhabited by Spanish, Mexican, and other civilizations for decades if not centuries.

middle-class easterners. The Fred Harvey Company exemplified the Progressive-era change from travel for necessity to travel for pleasure.

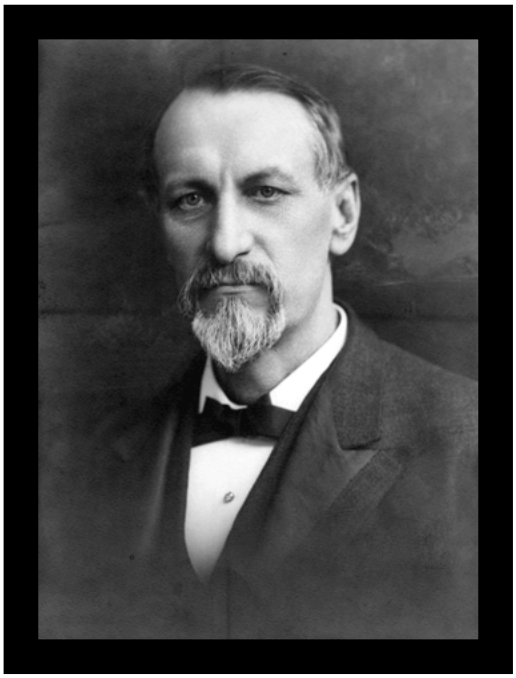

Image 2 Portrait of Frederick Henry Harvey. Courtesy of Cline Library Special Collection and Archive, Northern Arizona University

Frederick Henry Harvey was born in England on June 27, 1835. Historians know little about his home life. His father, Charles, may have been a tailor. His mother, Helen Manning Harvey, is believed to have been of Scottish descent. He is said to have been baptized in the Church of England at St. Martin's in the Fields Church in London early in his life, as was the custom.[7] From 1850 to 1930, the foreign-born population of the United States increased from 2.2 million to 14.2 million, reflecting large-scale immigration from Europe during most of this

[7] William Patrick Armstrong, *Fred Harvey: Creator of Western Hospitality*, (Bellemont: Canyonlands Publications, 2000), 1.

period.[8] Only twenty years before the beginning of a great migration, the 1830s in England was an era of change. The industrial revolution gradually replaced craftwork and small farms with factories and urbanization. Many families were lured to the United States, "the promised land," with the *promise* of *land* paramount in peoples' minds. Fueled by this imagination, in 1850, Harvey immigrated to the United States, where he would later change the face of food service across the entire Southwest.

Despite their aspirations, many of the immigrants who traveled to American shores, were not prosperous when they arrived and failed to prosper afterwards. Roughly one-quarter to one-third of those arrived in the United States would return to their home country.[9] Much like these unfortunate immigrants, Fred Harvey's early years were rife with false starts, failures, and illness. Finally, in 1859, Harvey found success: he opened a restaurant in St. Louis, and he married seventeen-year-old Barbara Sarah Mattas, whom he affectionately called "his Sally."[10]

As a result of tumultuous partnerships and business dealings, Harvey eventually became a mail clerk for John L. Bittinger, the postmaster of St. Joseph, Missouri. This business change proved to be one of the most significant for Harvey. Once involved in the mail service, he saw firsthand the prosperity of the railroads. He left postal work and became a traveling freight agent with the Hannibal and St. Joseph Railroad, also known as the Horrible and Slow Jolt by its passengers.[11] Along these unpleasant trips, Harvey realized the path his vision would take in developing a business focused on train travel, comfort, and convenience.

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[8] Bureau, U. S. C. (2020, September 1). Historical census stats on the Foreign-Born pop. of Us: 1850-2000. The United States Census Bureau, https://www.census.gov/library/working-papers/2006/demo/POP-twps0081.html.
[9] Armstrong, *Fred Harvey: Creator of Western Hospitality*, 3.
[10] Leslie Poling-Kempes, *The Harvey Girls: Women Who Opened The West*, (New York: Marlowe & Company, 1991), 33. Poling-Kempes is a historian and novelist. She conducted over seventy interviews with former Harvey Girls and other Harvey Company employees and her work is considered the definitive source on the Harvey Girls. Her contributions will be covered in the following section.
[11] Juddi Morris, *The Harvey Girls: The Women Who Civilized the West*, (New York: Walker and Company, 1994), 4.

The niche of commercial travel that the Harvey Company pioneered offers a window onto on how tourist economies, women's roles, and indigeneity, both as a lived experience and commodity, shaped social and cultural landscape of the region during the Progressive era. Several key trends influenced the development of tourism, the position of women in American society, and Native peoples' lives during this transitional epoch. These seemingly disparate concerns share several unexpected links which are enumerated below. And they all bear on present-day efforts to memorialize and recreate the golden age of railroad travel in the Southwest. A careful delineation of relevant historical trends will help make these connections clear.

Progressivism began as a social movement and grew into a political movement. At the beginning of the long Progressive era, which extends from 1880s to the New Deal Era, the effort to alleviate society's problems, such as poverty, violence, racism, and class conflict, was pursued largely through the ideals of efficient government and social reform.[12] President Theodore Roosevelt promoted strong corporations in the United States, contending that "all business is good business." However, corporate behavior was theoretically to be regulated through trust-busting and federal mandates to control rampant corporate greed. This uncritical promotion of big business, along with the unmitigated avarice characteristic of the era, may be seen in railroad expansion westward, as tracks were laid across sparsely-populated territories primarily for

[12] Elisabeth Perry states in "Men Are from the Gilded Age, Women Are from the Progressive Era" that historians should consider a "more capacious and flexible periodization for the progressive movement." Elisabeth Isreals Perry, Men Are from the Gilded Age, Women Are from the Progressive Era, *The Journal of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era*, Vol. 1, No. 1 (Jan., 2002): 25-48, 35.
Daniel Rodgers also argues for a "long" Progressive Era, stretching from 1870 to World War II. For this research, I will be using his extended time period into the New Deal to encompass the legislation and subsequent changes in meanings of labor during the Indian New Deal.

railroad companies' financial advancement and not for public good, despite receiving substantial government subsidies.[13]

With the expansion of railroads in the West, the image of travel, and subsequently tourism, changed in the late 1860s and early 1870s. In 1865, the railroad went no further west than St. Joseph, Missouri, where the Hannibal & St. Joseph made connections with the Pony Express. However, this changed with the completion of the Union Pacific-Central Pacific line in May 1869. The story of Fred Harvey and that of the Santa Fe Railway are closely intertwined, because "the success of one was directly supplemented by the success of the other."[14]

During the train rides, there would be stops for meals. The passengers would run off the train to the small roadside lunch stands, where they

> [g]rabbed greasy doughnuts and lukewarm, bitter coffee (made once a week); rancid bacon; heavy, cold biscuits called 'sinkers'; bowls of grey stew full of strange looking objects (they hoped were vegetables); antelope steak so tough you couldn't get your fork into the gravy; and, worst of all, the dreaded and notorious 'railroad pie': two crusts as tasteless as cardboard, held together by glue of suspicious looking meat and shriveled potatoes.[15]

Harvey saw these atrocious conditions and, along with his new partner, J.P. "Jeff" Rice, opened two eating-houses in 1875 along the Kansas Pacific Railroad, one at Wallace, Kansas and the other at Hugo, Colorado. The two businessmen did not agree on the standards of the houses, however. Harvey wanted the first class dining he had seen in New Orleans and St. Louis; Rice did not mind serving old fruit and poor cuts of meat to keep costs down. Finally, they decided to

[13] Dorsey, Leroy G. "Theodore Roosevelt and Corporate America, 1901-1909: A Reexamination," *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 25, no. 4 (Fall 1995): 725-39.
[14] Poling-Kempes, *The Harvey Girls*, 30.
[15] Morris, *The Harvey Girls: The Women Who Civilized the West*, 5.

split up and sell both places. Harvey revamped and devised a system of restaurants along the railway to provide excellent food and service to its passengers. At this point, he worked for the Hannibal and St. Joseph, the North Missouri, and the Chicago, Burlington, and Quincy Railroads, while also serving as an advertising salesman for the Leavenworth-based *Times and Conservative* newspaper. All the while, Harvey was taking steps toward becoming an entrepreneur.

In 1876, Fred Harvey and the Santa Fe made their first agreement, in the form of a gentleman's handshake, to establish a lunch counter at a rail stop in Topeka, Kansas. The lunchroom was a success. In late 1877, Harvey investigated his first expansion—a hotel. On January 1, 1878, the formalized contract between Fred Harvey and the Santa Fe Railroad planned for a new hotel in Florence, Kansas. Harvey brought in fine Irish linens and beautiful English silver for the establishment to be called the Clifton Hotel, also known as the Florence Harvey House.[16] By 1883, Fred Harvey owned and operated seventeen eating-places along the mainline, which extended from Springfield, Missouri to Needles, California. The first Harvey Houses had a basic frame construction housed under the same roof as the train depot and offices. In the more remote parts of New Mexico and Arizona, the houses were even found in boxcars, but these houses were no exception to the Harvey rules, and they looked as magnificent on the inside as any other house.[17]

By 1882, the Atchison, Topeka, & Santa Fe (AT&SF) rails had reached the Pacific Ocean and become the longest American railroad. Thomas Nickerson, then president of AT&SF, and William Strong, a previous president, had opted for a route through northern Arizona along

[16] fn 3. Richard Pankratz, "Harvey House," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1973), Section 8. It is currently privately owned.
[17] Poling-Kempes, *The Harvey Girls*, 37.

the thirty-fifth parallel. This decision could have been disastrous due to the Grand Canyon blocking trade traffic from the north. However, the national wonder became one of the railroad's most important assets.[18] By 1890, there were almost 170,000 miles of new rail construction in the West. There were also new contenders in the tourism industry. Luxurious Pullman cars proliferated on the railways and became a major draw with their mahogany inlays, antique oak paneling, and electric lights. A new era in railroad travel and tourism dawned in the waning years of the 19th century.[19]

However, unavoidable problems changed the course of the line, and therefore, the history of both the AT&SF and the Fred Harvey Company. Between the 1860s and the early 1880s, laborers constructing the railroads contended with a harsh climate and mountainous terrain, resistant Native American tribes, and contractors' bidding wars. But by 1880, there were several spurs built to accommodate traffic from Albuquerque, Santa Fe, Las Vegas, and the small town of Lamy, New Mexico. With this expansion, the AT&SF Railroad partnered with the Fred Harvey Company to extend service throughout the Southwest. The first regional Harvey House resorts appeared in the northern tier of New Mexico in the opening decades of the twentieth century before successfully expanding into Arizona and southern California.

There was a significant amount of marketing and advertising involved with promoting the scenic travels along the AT&SF. The Rocky Mountains were already being publicized as the "Switzerland of America" and the railroad opened a land department, which published booklets

[18] Poling-Kempes, *The Harvey Girls*, 22.; The St. Louis and San Francisco Railroad made an agreement with the AT&SF whereby jointly they would build west across Arizona. While the AT&SF was pushing west across Arizona into California, it was also busy adding branches off its mainline into Kansas, Colorado, and New Mexico territory. In 1883, the AT&SF bought out the California Southern in an attempt to create an agreement with Southern Pacific by crossing over their tracks to reach destinations further west; Poling-Kempes, *The Harvey Girls*, 22.

[19] Pullman cars refer to the Pullman Palace Car Company, founded by George Pullman in 1867. These were sleeper cars that revolutionized the travel industry, allowing for more comfortable and leisurely rail travel. For further research, see Joe Welsh and Bill Howes, *Travel by Pullman: A Century of Service*, (St. Paul: MBI Publishing), 2004.

and pamphlets to lure tourists. With the growth of tourism and the expansion of the famous Harvey Houses came the beginning of the Harvey Girls, waitresses who not only served the travelers, but also are credited with "civilizing" and expanding the American West. These women were a fundamental part of the Fred Harvey Company and contributed to the development of the regional economy.

Though the AT&SF reached the Pacific Ocean and became the longest American railroad in 1882, Company leaders hungered for more. With this expansion, a new era in railroading was unfolding. In addition to new luxuries like those offered by the Pullman cars, you could go from coast to coast in six and a half days for $173, first class fare, plus $2 a night for a sleeper.[20] But only the Santa Fe included "meals by Fred Harvey."

During the 1890s, however, Fred Harvey's health began to fail. He fought colon cancer for more than fifteen years, and traveled from California to London, visiting the best doctors available.[21] On February 9, 1901, with family by his bedside, Fred Harvey died in Leavenworth, Kansas at the age of sixty-five. Elbert Hubbard, a popular writer at the time, delivered a eulogy at the funeral. "Fred Harvey is dead, but his spirit still lives….[h]e was an honest man, a good man."[22] As a final generous act toward his employees, Harvey's will included a provision stipulating that all employees at the time of his death were to receive a lifetime pension equal to their salary at the time of their retirement.[23] This last gesture harkened back to his humble beginnings, and perhaps, a hope that these employees would use these pensions to carry his legacy forward in some small way.

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[20] William Foster Harris, *The Look of the Old West*, (New York: Skyhorse Publishing, 2007), 181.
[21] Harvey Health and Hospitality: How Health Tourism, and my Family's Own Health, Impacted the Harvey/ATSF Story by Dr. Charles Harvey, MD, Fred Harvey Weekend, Santa Fe, New Mexico, October 21, 2017. Dr. Charles Harvey is a Board-Certified Neurosurgeon and a great, great grandson of Fred Harvey.
[22] James David Henderson, *Meals by Fred Harvey*, (Palmdale: Omni Publications, 1969), 76.
[23] William Patrick Armstrong, *Fred Harvey: Creator of Western Hospitality*, (Bellemont: Canyonlands Publications, 2000), 24.

Though Fred Harvey passed away in 1901, the Company legacy lived on after his death. For the next sixty years, Harvey's sons and descendants took leading roles. The Company reached its zenith in 1917, "with one hundred Harvey eating houses ranging from Chicago, south to Galveston, Texas, and west to the Pacific Coast."[24] When Harvey's son, Ford Harvey, took over the Company, he continued to expand the business, including the iconic Indian Building and the Indian Detours, both of which emphasized Native people and history as part of the region's allure and will be discussed below. The torch was passed after Ford Harvey's death to his brother Bryon, who led the Company for another half a century. Fred Harvey's three grandsons, Stewart, Daggett, and Bryon, Jr., also took leading roles in the Harvey Corporation in the 1940s. Despite a great loss and several transitions, the Harvey name remained foremost in American hospitality, but success could not last forever.

The era of World War One was one of the most problematic times in American railroad history. There was mass movement eastward, which resulted in congestion in the East, and slowed travel to the West. The lack of tourism put a strain on the Harvey Company. By the 1920s, all the old railroad men had died, and with them, an old way of life. Railroads adopted efficient new diesel engines and gradually abandoned steam. Diesels operated at higher speeds for longer distances without expensive water stops along the way. Though the efficiency of diesel created better speed and traffic flow, it also caused many of the towns built for the previously mandatory railcar stops to close, and with them went many of the Harvey Houses.

The development of the Fred Harvey Company hinged upon factors beyond railroad expansion, however. By the 1920s, the Company presided over an iconic Southwestern tourism venture. The highlights were the distinct architecture and décor in the hotels, the Indian Detours

[24] Juddi Morris, *The Harvey Girls: The Women Who Civilized the West*, New York: (Walker and Company), 1994.

service, and the Harvey Girl waitresses. The partnership between the Santa Fe Railway and the Fred Harvey Company specifically capitalized on the Indian mystique of the region, in keeping with a broader public fascination with Native themes. But with the growth of regional tourism, the Company also facilitated increased contact between eastern visitors and southwestern Native American groups and diversified its personnel. Thus came the Indian Department, part retail venture, part cultural preservation effort. The Company employed Native Americans as artisan demonstrators who sold their wares and other memorabilia to white tourists, while also serving as a living spectacle. By 1926, the Harvey Company had also launched Southwest Indian Detours, a service that brought tourists into the Pueblo communities of New Mexico, with Anglo women tour guides known as couriers, sporting Navajo-style blouses and squash blossom necklaces and curating visitors' interactions with local Native people.

Much like the memorialization of the Alamo at the turn of the century, distinct tourism practices that projected a desirable—and often romanticized—vision of the Southwest were made possible in part by elite white women.[25] But at the Fred Harvey Company, such women were employees and consultants rather than interested society women. In the broader argument that follows, I will elaborate upon these various employee groups, the Indian Detours, and the Fred Harvey Indian Building, and their overlapping contributions to crafting the image of the Southwest. As noted by Daniel Boorstin, the 1920s and 1930s witnessed a shift from traveler to tourist in the American West and beyond, heralding the creation of a pseudo-authentic experience, the democratization of travel, and the accompanying growth of commercial tourism. This trend led to a decline in expressions of cultural distinctiveness in specific regions of the West and a concordant rise in the standardization and homogenization of a place and idea

[25] Joel Kitchens, "Making Historical Memory: Women's Leadership in the Preservation of San Antonio's Missions," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 121, no 2 (October 2017): 171-196.

marketed as "the Southwest."[26] The Fred Harvey Company not only capitalized on, but is also credited with creating concepts of the modern Southwest, specifically through its marketing of the regional Native groups and select décor crafted by the lead architectural designer, Mary Colter.

The Harvey Company benefitted from railroad expansion that spurred the commercial development of tourism in the Southwest, while a simultaneous national crisis of masculinity and a desire "to return to nature" provided cultural motivation. President Theodore Roosevelt, viewed as the epitome of manliness and a key advocate of this trend, promoted the West and inaugurated the National Parks movement as antidotes to the ills of urbanization and industrialization. The Victorian ideal of "manliness" with its identification of proper manhood had given way to a glorification of "masculinity," with its well-spring in the frontiers of the American West.[27]

With this new masculine ideal came a revised feminine one, which acknowledged that working women could act like ladies, "although the standards of female behavior and respectability remained stringent and were often at odds with the reality faced by the majority of women."[28] The Harvey Girls, and later the Indian Detour couriers, embodied and contributed to the change of these cultural mores by seizing new employment opportunities and expanding the role that women played in the Southwest business and tourism industry. Historian Laura Woodworth-Ney describes this role as that of the "New Woman," meaning "a woman who made her own choices [and] reflected massive shifts in the way Americans viewed gender, gender

[26] David Wrobel and Patrick Long, *Seeing and Being Seen: Tourism in the American West*, (Lawrence: University of Kansas, 2001), 5.
[27] Gail Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1870-1917*, (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1995), 18-19.
[28] Laura Woodworth-Ney, *Women in the American West*, (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 2008), 222.

roles, and women's opportunity."[29] These shifts were accompanied by new technology, specifically the railroad, that expanded business and industry to growing western cities. Upscale travel and accommodations, specifically the Pullman sleeper cars and the Harvey Houses, were viewed as an essential measure for civil railroad travel. Gendered railroad cars allowed for privacy and a re-creation of traditional household spaces, with a much higher standard of cleanliness than had previously been available in travel and accommodations. These innovations promoted a new form of consumerism that solidified the perception of the "New Women" through their participation in commerce and tourism, as both customers and workers.[30]

The women who took advantage of the new opportunities offered by the Fred Harvey Company enjoyed many conveniences over other workers in the West. The pay for all positions ranged from fair, such as that a Harvey Girl at a salary of $17.50 a month, to very good, such as general manager of the Harvey House System at a salary of $5,000 a year, with benefits including room and board, and railroad passes. A job with the Company also guaranteed a place in the Harvey extended family, which meant job security. In the event of a closure, a long-time employee would be moved to another house, and often requests for a particular location were honored.[31] By comparison, many workers in the West enjoyed job security only so long as business boomed.

Alongside Progressive-era changes in notions of masculinity and femininity was the perceived need to escape from modernity and return to natural living. There was a sense of anti-modernism during the turn of the century, leading anxious urbanites and a select group of anti-

[29] Woodworth-Ney, *Women in the American West*, 179.
[30] Woodworth-Ney, *Women in the American West*, 197.
[31] Poling-Kempes, *The Harvey Girls*, 41.

urban anti-industrialists to look to the American West to find meaning and purpose.[32] Of particular interest were the perceived lifeways of supposedly vanishing Native Americans, and soon there emerged a desire to replicate their "humanity, artistry, community, and spirituality," through travel, and playing Indian through organizations, such as the Society of the Red Man and the Boy Scouts, as well as the rise of primitivism in American art.[33]

All these cultural shifts occurred at a time of significant change in federal Indian policies, between the implementation of the Dawes Act in 1887 and John Collier's Indian New Deal of the 1930s. Albeit in different ways, both programs resulted in extensive Native relocation, acculturation, and assimilation, and shifted public perceptions and definitions of Native labor. A primary focus of my research is the campaign that commenced in the 1880s and continued through the 1920s to assimilate Indian people into American society juxtaposed with the efforts of the Fred Harvey Company, AT&SF, and the National Park Service to commodify "authentic" Native cultural identities through spectacle and performance.

The General Allotment Act (or Dawes Act) emerged from reformers' belief that ownership of private property was essential for Indian assimilation. The legislation authorized the President of the United States to survey and divide communally-held tribal lands into allotments for individual Native Americans. Those who accepted the allotments would be granted United States citizenship. Proponents believed that these allotments, along with education through boarding schools, would bestow the privileges and responsibilities of

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[32] This "select group" includes individuals noted in Sheryl L. Smith, *Reimagining Indians: Native Americans through Anglo Eyes, 1880–1940*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000). Smith explains that several of these cultural critics, such as George Bird Grinnell, Mary Austin, and Mabel Doge Luhan, claimed that the simple and "primitive" lifeways of the Southwest Indians was the answer to urban distress and dissatisfaction with modernity. I reference Charles Lummis throughout this work, who is credited to be among the "first tourists."

[33] Sheryl L. Smith, *Reimagining Indians: Native Americans through Anglo Eyes, 1880–1940*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).

citizenship, and transform Indians into Americans.[34] Despite the reformist impulse, the Dawes Act resulted in the widespread dispossession of Native lands and drastically diminished tribal sovereignty.

Policy makers utilized these pieces of legislation to dramatically change the administration of Indian affairs by shifting from diplomatic to domestic policy.[35] During this period, lawmakers disregarded tribal sovereignty by ignoring or breaking treaty promises and, with the help of self-appointed reformers, substituting social programs for nation-to-nation obligations. Historians argue that Native Americans were not blind to the assimilation efforts that attempted to dismantle their governments and undermine their cultural sovereignty. Indeed, Natives worked within the system to challenge these policy goals and serve their own mission of economic, as well as cultural, survival which may be viewed as methods of subversion and resistance.[36]

Initially, in an effort to accelerate Indians' incorporation into American society and capitalism, the Office of Indian Affairs (OIA) pushed Native peoples towards exploitative regional economic activities. Historians have described an ideological shift that came with the twentieth century when Anglo-Americans began looking at the reservations less as bastions of idleness and more as an untapped source of labor. The majority of Native people in the greater Southwest who were yoked into labor schemes worked at manual labor. But my research focuses

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[34] Colin Calloway, *First Peoples: A Documentary Survey of American Indian History*, (Boston: Bedford's/St. Martin's Press, 2016), 385-88.

[35] Allotment fundamentally shifted the relationship between tribal governments and the federal government by changing the federal position on reservations from being sovereign nations to part of the United States. This dynamic is still playing out in the current era through repatriation of land and water and mineral rights, among other legislation. For more information, see C. Joseph Genetin-Pilawa, *Crooked Paths to Allotment: The Fight over Federal Indian Policy after the Civil War*, Chapel Hill: UNC Press, 2012.

[36] For examples during this era of study, see Martha C. Knack and Alice Littlefield, *Native Americans and Wage Labor: Ethnohistorical Perspectives*, Nicholas Rosenthal, *Reimagining Indian Country: Native American Migration & Identity in Twentieth-Century Los Angeles*, and Sherry Smith, *Reimaging Indians: Native Americans Through Anglo Eyes, 1880-1940.* This topic will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter Two.

primarily on performance as labor, namely through enacting rituals, making art, and even carrying on daily life that became a commercial spectacle. The business of "authentic Indianness" became increasingly important with New Deal-era shifts in federal Indian policy.[37]

The changes in policy associated with the Indian New Deal were championed by OIA Commissioner John Collier, who served from 1933 to 1945. The passage of the Indian Reorganization Act in 1934 repealed allotment, restored surplus reservation lands to tribal ownership, and set aside limited funds for tribes to buy back land. In contrast to allotment-era laws that explicitly prohibited Indigenous cultural expression as a hindrance to assimilation, Collier's administration emphasized the principle of cultural relativism and exhibited a willingness to celebrate traditional Native ways of life. But, in many ways, it emphasized the narrative of Native anti-modernity and promoted a return to "authentic" customs and practices—often meaning those of the past. The IRA legislation promoted economic development through the expansion of the Indian arts and crafts market, an effort to support Native artisans, who were to achieve economic self-sufficiency by selling their wares.[38] This movement had both a commercial and an aesthetic impetus, evidenced in the creation of the Indian Arts and Crafts Board (IACB) in 1935.[39]

The 1930s brought economic, social, and technological disruption and changes to the Southwest as a whole. At first it seemed as though the AT&SF would emerge unscathed from the

[37] For a helpful overview of these New Deal policy shifts, see Cathleen D. Cahill, *Federal Fathers and Mothers: A Social History of the United States Indian Service, 1869–1933* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011.
[38] This legislation was updated with the Indian Arts and Crafts Act in 1990. It directs the Board to promote the economic welfare of Native Americans through the development and expansion of markets for their arts and crafts. Additional regulations went into effect in 1996, adding that the ethnic identity of the artist must also be authenticated, which has proved to be a controversial act. The act is controversial because it does not allow Native American artists to promote or sell their art as "recognized" if they are not enrolled by their Federally or state-recognized tribe, band, nation, village, or any other community, Indian Arts and Crafts Board, Share The Indian Arts and Crafts Act of 1990 § (n.d.).
[39] Calloway, *First Peoples,* 445-51; 447.

Great Depression. Workers took pay cuts as opposed to layoffs. Rationing commands altered the hospitality industry, and, along with the continuing change from steam to diesel, caused even more of the houses to close. Because of the vast increase of military traffic, World War Two spawned a new generation of Harvey fans. Passenger traffic rose eighty-eight percent between 1941-2 and ton-miles of freight almost doubled.[40] After Pearl Harbor, civilian and military traffic skyrocketed. In the process, over two hundred fifty miles of track were abandoned because of lack of use. The discontinued use of portions of the track meant many of the Harvey properties were closed or converted to troop dining halls. Indeed, the war changed the entire dynamic of the Harvey Company. Because of Depression-era staffing cuts, the Company relaxed regulations, namely in hiring "troop-train girls," who were among the first women of color to wear the Harvey Girl uniform, which will be discussed in Chapter Three.

While Southwest Indian communities modernized their economies by marketing anti-modernity, significant technological changes altered the tourism industry. Despite the shift in traffic, the Fred Harvey Company persisted through new tourism initiatives. In the late 1940s, the Company operated approximately fifty restaurants, a dozen major hotels, one hundred newsstands, and several dozen retail shops, and supervised the service on over one hundred Santa Fe dining cars, along with selling "Meals by Fred Harvey" on commercial airlines. Little changed in the Harvey "standard" from the day it was established to the day it was absorbed into modern history, but the number of restaurants and hotels was down and replaced with small curios shops.[41] A change in hiring trends and social norms accompanied the decline in traditional

[40] Pamela Berkman, ed. *History of the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe*. (Greenwich: Bonanza Books, Dist. by Crown, 1988), 75.

[41] After the War, in 1946, the Santa Fe Railway tried their luck with Santa Fe Skyway, Inc, a Delaware corporation and wholly owned affiliate of AT&SF. This branch of air cargo services kept with the Southwestern theme and named planes named after Southwest Indian tribes, such as the Zuni and Navajo, allegedly to honor the Indians who helped to build it. The civil aeronautics board, however, rejected its petition to operate as a common carrier, so they

Harvey hospitality, including fewer advertisements of "authentic" Indian experiences and women's "old-fashioned" dress and its role in the Fred Harvey Company.

The Harvey Company declined further into the midcentury due to the growth and shift of auto travel and the expansion of alternative employment opportunities for women in the region.[42] While historians cite the strain on the Fred Harvey Company and its partnerships from the 1920s to the 1950s, I will revise the understanding of this era by elaborating on the Company's abovementioned tourism efforts to sustain operation through the Depression and WWII. In 1968, Xanterra acquired The Fred Harvey Company, adopting facets of the Company's well known hospitality trade to its chain of hotels and restaurants, especially near the National Parks. Finally, in 2006, Xanterra purchased the Grand Canyon Railway and its properties, creating an umbrella corporation over the former Harvey entities.[43]

Importantly, despite the many changes to the Harvey Company and southwest tourism, "Indian" memorabilia are still available at former Harvey sites, such as the Fray Marcos Harvey House at the Grand Canyon. As noted above, a concluding piece of my project examines the recent preservation movement that aims to restore the Harvey Houses' iconic structures and railroad heritage, and market the memory of the Harvey Girls and Indian Detour couriers. These preservation efforts led to revitalization of and reflect social changes in these historic railroad towns in New Mexico and Arizona. My study concludes with a consideration of the role of

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had no choice but to withdraw from the transport field. *Fortune* called the AT&SF 'the nation's number one railroad' in 1948, Pamela Berkman, ed. *History of the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe*, 92.

[42] Route 66 was commissioned to be built in the late 1920s, but did not become a major tourist thoroughfare until after World War II. Route 66 is certainly more popular for nostalgia's sake that the railroads. However, the highway was decommissioned in 1985 and replaced with primarily I-55, I-44, I-40, I-15 and I-10. Portions are still drivable, mainly in Arizona. For a full map and details of the Route 66 preservation program, see https://www.nps.gov/subjects/travelroute66/index.htm.

[43] "Our Fred Harvey Legacy." Xanterra. June 08, 2017. Accessed January 12, 2019. https://www.xanterra.com/who-we-are/our-fred-harvey-legacy/.

Native, Hispanic, and white women in this revitalization movement, comparing these groups' past participation to their position within or without the current efforts.

Significance and Historiography

This project and its findings actively engage scholarship in the fields of ethnohistory and Indigenous studies, as well as histories of the Greater Southwest, women, gender, labor, and tourism. My work specifically contributes to the historiographical debates about and understandings of ethnic tourism in the Southwest, through the lens of the Fred Harvey Company and the AT&SF in New Mexico and Arizona.

The effort to include Native peoples in the history of tourism has been uneven and reflects broader disputes about the place of Indigenous history in the American history narrative writ large. Oral histories and archival materials and the critical distance of the historian are essential to my research on the marketing and memorialization of the Southwest and both tend to be less apparent within the scholarly historic narrative and in public perception. Nancy Shoemaker and Daniel Richter pose varying theories regarding an ethnohistorical approach within this effort. In *Clearing A Path*, Nancy Shoemaker defines ethnohistory as using anthropological terminology, incorporating written, historical documents as sources of information, and highlighting changes over time. In history circles, this method emphasizes culture as a force in explaining or influencing social change. She draws from what Robert Berkhofer called the "New Indian History" of the 1970s, that urged scholars to "put more of the

Indians into it," while cautioning that Anglo perceptions of Indians will always overdetermine the "authentic" perception of Indians, even in Native viewpoints.[44]

Similarly, Daniel Richter claims in "Whose Indian History?" that only Indians understand the Indian experience and that their oral traditions should take precedence over Anglo interpretations. Richter's solution is to integrate Indians' stories into academic histories, creating a new narrative that is "inclusive and empowering."[45] Scholars may achieve this by looking at unifying events and common processes, as I emphasize through my research on Native experiences in labor and performance within the context of Southwest tourism. Oral tradition is the foundation of indigenous modes of historical preservation, but Richter argues that scholars can also use Euro-American writings to fill the gaps in oral traditions.

In addition to embracing methods and approaches that honor and incorporate diverse Native perspectives, I also draw on scholarship involving Indian representation broadly speaking. I address the concept of "playing Indian" as it crosses cultural lines, referencing popular iconography in the early marketing of the Southwest with the Taos Society of Artists, Wild West shows, and world's fairs to later iterations with Fred Harvey Company costuming, curios, and architecture and décor. The design of the Indian Detour couriers' uniforms and incorporation of "Indian" designs and motifs into Harvey Company jewelry has culminated into the present-day "Santa Fe chic," an amalgamation of all the above. While I argue that the Harvey Company made concerted efforts to inform the public through educational materials and

[44] Nancy Shoemaker, *Clearing a Path: Theorizing The Past in Native American Studies*, (New York: Routledge, 2002), viii.
[45] Daniel Richter, "Whose Indian History?" *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Vol. 50, No. 2, Early American History; Its Past and Future (Apr., 1993), pp. 379-393, 389.

demonstrations, such appropriation contributed to the homogenization of "Indian" as a type as opposed to differentiating specific tribes and communities.[46]

Concerns of identity and authenticity raise the question of what is at stake when representing Indianness, regardless of era and circumstance. In my initial research, I was fascinated by Dean MacCannell's concept of "staged authenticity" as it related to the Taos Artist Society and staged photographs and paintings that were used for the Santa Fe Railroad and Harvey Company promotional materials.[47] But it quickly became apparent that I needed to put this concept in conversation with the literature on representations of Native peoples specifically. In analyzing the rise of a pan-Indian image, Rayna Green and Philip Deloria show how and why Anglo-Americans have been "playing Indian" for over two hundred and fifty years. Both scholars trace the images of Indianness in the American popular imagination and how their manipulation throughout American history has been integral to both the national narratives and ideas about Indigeneity. Perhaps most relevant to this research is Deloria's conclusion that "illusion came to matter more than authenticity."[48] While both scholars bring "playing Indian" into the present, too little work has been done on how the tourism industry condones, if not promotes, playing dress-up and memorializing inauthentic—and sometimes harmful – representations of Indigeneity, a practice particularly evident among white women tour operators and tourists in both the past and the present.

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[46] For works on Native imagery and representation related to this research topic, see Robert J. Berkhofer, *The White Man's Indian: Images of the American Indian from Columbus to Present*, Elizabeth Bird, *Dressing in Feathers: The Construction of the Indian in American Popular Culture*., Molly H. Mullin, *Culture in the Marketplace: Gender, Art, and Value in the American Southwest*., Gretchen Bataille, *Native American Representations: First Encounters, Distorted Images, and Literary Appropriations*, W. Richard West, ed., *The Changing Presentation of the American Indian: Museums and Native Cultures*.

[47] Dean MacCannell, "Staged Authenticity: Arrangements of Social Space in Tourist Settings," *American Journal of Sociology* 79, no. 3 (1973): 589-603.

[48] Philip Deloria, *Indians in Unexpected Places* (Lawrence: University of Kansas, 2004), 106. See also Philip J. Deloria, *Playing Indian*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale Univ. Press, 2007., Rayna Green, "The Tribe Called Wannabee: Playing Indian in America and Europe." *Folklore* 99, no. 1 (1988): 30-55.

This project also focuses on the story of Native women as workers in the tourism industry. There are few published studies on Native American women's contributions to the workforce, and how and why their roles changed over time. In the extant scholarship, with a few notable exceptions, there is a primary focus on Indigenous women as consumers, not producers, because there has been an emphasis on Native acculturation and assimilation through consumerism.[49] My research poses questions reorienting this gaze. In this way, I hope my research project has "flipped the script" to highlight women working as artisans and performers in the tourism industry, both in the past and the present.

A related concern my work engages is the scholarly emphasis on federal Indian policy and its political consequences, "rather than on empirical discussions of the reality of Native economic lives as they were and are being lived."[50] Martha C. Knack and Alice Littlefield argue that these oversights should not obscure Native American labor, which has been treated as an essential and controllable resource through the lens of Anglo-American power and hierarchy. From providers of trade items, like furs and pelts, to commodified labor, such as seasonal activities, construction, tourism performance, and artisan crafts, ideas and realities of Indian economies shifted from the nineteenth to twentieth centuries. Tourism or entertainment became a main source of income for many reservation and non-reservation bound Native Americans, which established Native people as performers and Anglos as spectators, and identified new and

[49] For examples of white and Native women as laborers and producers relevant to this research and in addition to those referenced, see Patricia Albers, "Labor and Exchange in American Indian History," *A Companion to American Indian History;* Leah Dilworth, "'Handmade by an American Indian': Souvenirs and the Cultural Economy of Southwestern Tourism" in *The Culture of Tourism, The Tourism of Culture: Selling the Past of the Present in the American Southwest*, ed. Hal K. Rothman (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2003), 101-117.; Colleen O'Neill, "Charity or Industry? American Indian Women and Work Relief in the New Deal Era"; Patricia Rubertone, "Archaeologies of Native Production and Marketing in 19th-century New England," in *Foreign Objects: Rethinking Indigenous Consumption in American Archaeology*, 204-221, ed. by Craig N. Cipolla, Tucson: (University of Arizona Press), 2017.

[50] Martha C. Knack and Alice Littlefield, "Native American Labor: Retrieving History, Rethinking Theory," *Native Americans and Wage Labor: Ethnohistorical Perspectives*, (Norman: Univ. of Oklahoma Press, 1996), 3.

distinct labor roles for both men and women.[51] Native American laborers carved out a distinct niche, defining their work as "Indian jobs," but directly linked to performance and tourism.

My work complicates simplistic notions of Native women in the tourist trade by examining figures like Elle of Ganado and Maria Martinez of the San Ildefonso Pueblo, two of the most well-known arts and crafts demonstrators associated with the Fred Harvey Company. In the spring of 1903, President Teddy Roosevelt visited the Alvarado Hotel's Indian Building, where he met Elle. It was said after their visit that "Elle's image spoke volumes to turn-of-the-century Americans, showing New Mexico as not only conquered, but commercialized, safe for investment and safe for statehood."[52] Laura Jane Moore claims that Elle and the President's meeting "suggests ways in which race and gender, regional and national politics, culture and commerce interacted and were inextricably linked as the twentieth century began."[53] She is credited with depicting a "civilized" West, so her legacy is not completely absent, but is represented in a limited way. Artisans like Elle, who embodied an exotic, but "safe" environment, became symbols of the modern Southwest, and Native women found new markets for their craft, while the tourism industry flourished. Kathleen L. Howard's research on Elle of Ganado proves imperative in linking Native labor to the tourism industry, specifically through identity and performance.[54]

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[51] For more information on Native Americans in the film industry, see Nicholas Rosenthal, *Reimagining Indian Country: Native American Migration and Identity in Twentieth-Century Los Angeles*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina), 2012.
[52] Laura Jane Moore, "Elle Meets the President: Weaving Navajo Culture and Commerce in the Southwest Tourist Industry," in *Women and Gender in the American West*, eds. Mary Ann Irwin and James F. Brooks, (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2004), 282.
[53] Moore, "Elle Meets the President," 282; Though Elle of Ganado was one of the most well-known Navajo demonstrators and is often shown in photographs, her image is usually unidentified.
[54] Kathleen L. Howard, "Weaving a Legend: Elle of Ganado Promotes the Indian Southwest," *New Mexico Historical Review*, vol. 74, no. 2, April 1999, 135.

In a similar vein decades later, Puebloan artist Maria Martinez worked to support her community by selling her distinct ceramics, traveling to world's fairs and shows. Martinez's entrepreneurial spirit and tremendous work destabilizes the assumptions about Native economies that undergirded federal and reformist efforts to modernize the southwestern Native groups. Indeed, Alice Marriott's as-told-by narrative *Maria: The Potter of San Ildefonso* depicted the complexity and humanity of a Native woman entrepreneur, revealing interpersonal dynamics, familial and community struggles, and her journey as a renowned potter. Martinez's narrative compliments contemporaneous ethnographic reports and government documents, demonstrating the importance of personal accounts and ethnographies that often belie official narratives.

Extending my interest in the nexus of women's labor and Native American history, my dissertation will also show that the Harvey Houses were sites of cross-cultural negotiation between corporate America and its employees, between the urban Northeast and the rural Southwest, and between white businessmen and non-white families.[55] As Moore argues with respect to Native Americans and white employers, "they did not always act out of positions of equality, but each were crucial players in the story."[56] My discussion of weaving as part of the southwestern tourist industry helps lay these complexities bare. There is also the idea that "long accustomed to the association of femininity, domesticity, and textile production, Anglo observers thought weaving augured well for Navajos' ability to adopt 'civilized' gender roles."[57] In this same thread, I tie together the Navajo weavers' experiences with those of Hispanic weavers' in northern New Mexico in the context of regional tourism. There is a significant amount of research published on the Navajo weavers, but there is a dearth of information on Hispanic

[55] Moore, "Elle Meets the President," 283.
[56] Moore, "Elle Meets the President," 284.
[57] Moore, "Elle Meets the President," 287.

weavers, specifically the Chimayo community in New Mexico, whose pieces were considered an affordable alternative in a competitive market. My research extends past the New Mexican weaving market to showcase the Spanish, Mexican, and Hispanic art strategically used in the Harvey properties and accompanying literature. The influence of these cultures in what was otherwise considered Native-dominated commerce emphasizes the competition within the region, despite the Company's efforts to create a homogenized and cohesive narrative.

Native and Hispanic people were not the only ones on whose work the Harvey Company was built. My analysis of the career of white architectural designer Mary Colter situates her within the context of the cultural tourism that came to dominate the area. Colter did not create what is often called the "Spanish phenomenon" in the Southwest, but she did encourage it by creating a market for Spanish colonial artifacts. Indeed, the Spanish fantasy plays a significant role in the Fred Harvey Company décor. Carey McWilliams's *North From Mexico: Spanish-Speaking People of the United States* introduced the concept of "fantasy heritage," the created tradition crafted by white Californians to interpret the historical legacy of Native Americans, Spanish colonists, and Mexicans in the Southwest.[58] The "Spanish fantasy" is defined as "mostly inaccurate, ahistorical, and suffused with excessive sentimentality and romanticism."[59] Colter's work in the region must be understood within this context. Even prior to Colter's tenure with the Fred Harvey Company, the Company created the Indian Building and Mexican Room, part curio shop, part museum and cultural preservation effort. Pieces were displayed aesthetically as if in a comfortable hacienda or pueblo, but for purchase by visitors. My work examines not only the Harvey Company's role in perpetuating this trope, but also how the practice has been

[58] Carey McWilliams, *North From Mexico: Spanish-Speaking People of the United States,* Toronto: Praeger, 1949.
[59] Matthew Bokovoy, *The San Diego World's Fairs and Southwestern Memory, 1880-1940*, (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 2005), xvi

memorialized and even recreated through the current preservation efforts.

Beyond my focus on Mary Colter's instrumental role as an architect of the idea of the Southwest, my work will also contribute to the historiography on white women's roles in westward expansion and "civilizing" the West. With the recent preservation efforts on former Fred Harvey Company properties in New Mexico and Arizona, there has been a renewed interest in the Harvey Girls, who subverted stereotypes of western women. While Poling-Kempes argues that "historians…generally agree that the society of the West gave women freer rein in business ventures," she asserts that the Harvey Girls were simply waitresses and does not "analyze the Harvey Girls as a social or economic force," opting instead for a personal look into the lives of these women.[60] Conversely, I argue that the Harvey Girls *were* and *are* both a social and economic force that carries into present iterations through heritage tourism practices like costuming and ambassadorial programs.

My project also turns attention to a lesser-known role that women played within the Harvey Company. While the Harvey Girls have been prominently featured in popular culture, ranging from *The Harvey Girls* to multiple documentaries through public broadcasting, there has been little written on the Indian Detours couriers who were also an essential part of the Fred Harvey enterprise. This poses the question as to why a group of female waitresses, significant as they were, has remained in the public eye while the Indian Detours couriers have been omitted or selectively memorialized. I argue that this group was a more progressive and intriguing faction of female employees whose history and stories should be incorporated into the Harvey Company and railroad town historical narrative.

[60] Poling-Kempes, *The Harvey Girls,* 51.; Poling-Kempes*, The Harvey Girls,* xiv; She also claims that women did not purposefully or openly challenge their roles, but it was the popular literature of the era that the West offered influence and power to women who sought it.

The race, class, and gender of the Indian Detour couriers who operated the detours differentiated them from the Native Americans whose cultures they studied and presented to an American tourist public, which was mainly white and middle class. Louise Lamphere has described how the Fred Harvey Company's Indian Detours "involved bringing Anglo outsiders into contact with both Navajo and Pueblo cultures, first through the railroad and later by automobile."[61] The women in this sector of the Fred Harvey Company, and in the tourism industry in general, had positions of relative power and privilege. They helped shape, but did not completely control, the way the dominant American society saw Pueblo and Navajo people, as well as the image of Natives perpetuated in marketing and tourism materials. While they were contributing to narrow ideas about Indigenous people, the couriers were also pushing at the boundaries of gender norms. To understand this process, I utilize Laura Woodworth-Ney's concept of the "New Women" movement with the Indian Detour couriers, as they were college-educated tour guides who acted as pseudo-cultural ambassadors.

My work also expands tourism studies. The study of tourism is usually relegated to the social sciences, with an emphasis on quantitative data and theory. Official and organizational emphases have been on "national and international policies, tourism competitiveness, promoting sustainable tourism development, advancing tourism's contribution to poverty reduction and development, and fostering knowledge and education."[62] Nevertheless, there are several historians who have written influential works on tourism and the West specifically. David Wrobel's work *Promised Lands: Promotion, Memory, and the Creation of the American West*

[61] Louise Lamphere, "Women, Anthropology, Tourism, and the Southwest." *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies* 12, no. 3 (1992): 5-12, 5.

[62] The US Travel Association is a national nonprofit organization representing all components of the travel industry. As the "united voice of the industry," US Travel advocates for industry growth, engagement, and research. While these organizations fall outside of the traditional scope of historical research, their statistics, mission work, and comparative points on a transnational scale with the WTO will prove invaluable in defining the change over time in the Southwest, "U.S. Travel Association," U.S. Travel Association, https://www.ustravel.org/.

focuses on the individuals who capitalized the promotional literature that forged the identity of the U.S. West and is particularly influential. He investigates the promotional tactics used by boosters who romanticized the pioneer era and spirit that were intrinsic in forming an idealized western identity. Wrobel's emphasis on the role of subsequent generations of memorialists provides an important opening for my research.

While my research is centered in the Southwest, I extend Wrobel's analysis of the influence of "reminiscences" in forming western heritage through interviews with former Harvey employees and archival sources. Wrobel asserts that selective remembrance is a form of "purposeful construction, not… authenticity" and assesses its impact on senses of place and belonging.[63] Notions of place-making and belonging are also reflected in scholarship within Indigenous studies, as well as work on regionalism and collective memory. As such, my work examines contested ideas of "placefulness" between Native and non-Native peoples, and among Native people who migrate to work in the homelands of other Native peoples.

The change over time in perception of Native peoples is coupled with questions of nostalgia, authenticity, and community identity. Wrobel makes a significant contribution by addressing not only tourists and tourism, but also "those that are toured upon," namely the people and places affected by tourism.[64] He notes that the West as a place within the American imagination exists as part of a mythic heritage that is still enacted today. He also contends that there should be a shift from the "visited as victims" model in studying the "toured upon," and that there should be a shift away from the authenticity paradigm. I use this extensively in my consideration of Maria Martinez and other Native performers at the world's fairs.

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[63] David Wrobel, *Promised Lands: Promotion, Memory, and the Creation of the American West* (Lawrence: University of Kansas, 2002),186.
[64] David Wrobel and Patrick Long, *Seeing and Being Seen: Tourism in the American West,* (Lawrence: University of Kansas, 2001), 18.

In addition to broad histories of tourism, women, and Native peoples in the West, my project also complements existing research on the Fred Harvey Company. The historiography of the Fred Harvey Company and its commercial and cultural niche has ebbed and flowed since the Company closed most of their locations. In the 1970s, D.H. Thomas wrote the premiere text on the Indian Detour couriers, chronicling the visitors' and the couriers' experiences. She begins the chronology with the regularly scheduled tours at the Grand Canyon and environs that covered thirteen to sixty-six miles of the natural beauty of the area with chauffeurs who were trained not only to navigate the treacherous terrain but also in the history of the region. While this is the most comprehensive work on the Detours, it is more of a compilation of primary sources, such as photographs and advertisements, without analysis. In the 1990s, there was a resurgence of scholarship focusing on the internal workings of the Company.[65] While Leslie Poling-Kempes's *The Harvey Girls: Women Who Opened the West* focused on the Harvey Girls, Marta Weigle, Barbara Babcock, and Kathleen Howard led the charge on the Native Southwest and tourism by focusing on the accompanying exhibition at the Heard Museum in Arizona. Into the 2000s, Arnold Berke's *Mary Colter: Architect of the Southwest* expanded on Virginia Grattan's *Builder Upon the Red Earth*, emphasizing the architectural history and Colter's contribution to the built environment and "Parkitecture."[66]

There are select works on the Harvey Company that do not focus as much on the individuals intertwined in the historic narrative, but on the broader narrative. Stephen Fried and Leah Dilworth, among others, have written on the history of the Fred Harvey Company, its

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[65] Marta Weigle and Barbara Babcock, *The Great Southwest of the Fred Harvey Company and the Santa Fe Railway* Phoenix: The Heard Museum; Marta Weigle "Exposition and Mediation: Mary Colter, Erna Fergusson, and the Santa Fe/Harvey Popularization of the Native Southwest, 1902-1940"; Patricia Curtin, "Discourses of American Indian Racial Identity in the Public Relations Materials of the Fred Harvey Company: 1902-1936," *Journal of Public Relations Research*, 23:4, 368-396,

[66] Arnold Berke, *Mary Colter: Architect of the Southwest*, New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2002. Berke is the former executive editor of *Preservation* magazine through the National Trust of Historic Preservation.

employees, and the creation of the Southwest. Stephen Fried's *Appetite for America: How Visionary Businessman Fred Harvey Built a Railroad Hospitality Empire That Civilized the Wild West* is one of the most recent pieces of scholarship on the Fred Harvey Company and is considered a definitive source about not only the Company, but also railroad tourism and the West. His research stems primarily from oral narratives, personal visits, and examples of active movements of cultural and historic preservation. Fried highlights early relationships between the Company and Native Americans, decades before the tourism movement in the Southwest. I expand upon public perception of Native involvement and tourists' narratives by examining postcards and travelogues. I bring this history to the present by analyzing current preservation efforts at Harvey properties, however, whereas Fried's work ends with WWII and the production of *The Harvey Girls*.

In considering the recent revitalization movement, I also elaborate upon the cultural identity formation surrounding the Fred Harvey legacy. The current Southwest Detours, a reimagined version of the Indian Detours, does not incorporate the regional Indigenous peoples as the original Harvey Company did. This choice of omitting the phrase "Indian" from the business, but maintaining it in the reenactment of an "Indian Detours courier" guide role raises questions of authenticity, memorialization, and erasure. Through surveys of regional tour companies that provide similar options to the former Indian Detours, I identified problematic aspects to the relationships between non-Indian tour guides and Indian artisans that reflect earlier patterns of interaction in the region, including the invisibility of Indigenous labor and market participation.

While I am drawing on leading scholars as a foundation for the overarching arguments in this project, my narrative is enriched by newly-conducted interviews with local business owners,

preservationists, and regional historians. My research interest stems from a family vacation to the Grand Canyon in 2000, where I met Allan Affeldt, a preservationist and owner of La Posada, a restored Harvey House.[67] Through a series of research projects, I maintained contact with Affeldt and made other friends and colleagues, such as Irvin Trujillo, a generational weaver at Centinela, Kathy Weir, a public historian in the Southwest, and Kathy Hendrickson, a tour guide and regional ambassador in Las Vegas. I was not the only person intrigued and enthusiastic about the revitalization of the Harvey Company properties and legacy. In the early 2000's, Stephen Fried spearheaded a lecture series that has become a full Fred Harvey weekend in Santa Fe, Las Vegas, and Lamy, gathering hundreds of "FredHeads" to commemorate the legacy of the Company.[68] It has been a distinct pleasure to have the opportunity to expand my passion into active participation in this community and produce this dissertation project.

The remainder of this dissertation is organized by theme and chronology. Chapter Two outlines Native women's historical images and roles in labor and tourism and cultural changes experienced by Native communities who were employed by or had contact with tourism enterprises like the Fred Harvey Company. I use studies by ethnologists, anthropologists, and government entities, examining the individual lives of women artisans like Elle of Ganado and Maria Martinez of the San Ildefonso Pueblo. Chapter Three builds on these women's experiences traveling to and working at the world's fairs at the turn of the century. I argue that Indian artisans' craft and employment through the Fred Harvey Company and world's fairs was not only culturally meaningful, but also developed them and their work into major commodities in a global market. I use David Wrobel's "toured upon" concept and Matthew Bokovoy's

[67] Allan Affeldt has gone on to purchase other former Harvey Houses and historic structures in the Southwest and established a trust to ensure their future success and integrity. I will expand on Affeldt's efforts throughout this project, with particular emphasis in Chapter Six.
[68] FredHead is the term used by former Harvey employees.

foundational research on the San Diego world's fairs, which employed Natives as both performers and laborers.[69] I extend that narrative to examine the perceived differences between "cultural performers" and "workers." I also explain how these employees in the tourism industry used cultural exchange and resistance in regards to "placemaking" and creating their own identity.

The second half of this dissertation departs from the inner workings of Native labor and focuses on other aspects of the Fred Harvey Company business dynamic. In Chapters Four and Five, I am investigating three groups of predominantly white women: Mary Colter, Erna Fergusson, and Ethel Hickey at the corporate level of the tourism giant the Fred Harvey Company, the Harvey Girl waitresses, and the Indian Detours couriers. These women were central in the crafting the iconic images of the Southwest that remain in the historic lens and lexicon. As part of this analysis, I address the distinct omission of the Native women artisans and performers who were prominent in the process.

In Chapter Four, I define and analyze heritage tourism through the lenses of power and labor, providing insights into the relationships between Mary Colter and the Fred Harvey Company and a male dominated profession. Mary Colter was the lead architectural designer at the Fred Harvey Company and was instrumental in "creating" the modern Southwest, in part by drawing on inspiration from as well as the labor of Indigenous people. In this section, I extend the concept of "placemaking" by using Keith Basso's work *Wisdom Sits in Places: Landscapes and Language Among the Western Apache*.[70] Basso examines the relationship between place,

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[69] Matthew Bokovoy, *The San Diego World's Fairs and Southwestern Memory, 1880-1940*, Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 2005.

[70] Keith Hamilton Basso, *Wisdom Sits in Places: Landscapes and Language Among the Western Apache*, Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 2010. This was originally an NSF grant-funded project with the White Mountain Apache Tribe to make "Apache maps with Apache places and names…[to] find out something about how we know our country" (xv) in comparison to the "whitemen" maps. Basso not only created the maps (though not included in this work), but also documented the rich cultural history tied to these place-names.

culture, and community, and place-names and place-making through language with the Western Apache tribe in Cibecue, Arizona. Although my focus is not on a discrete Indigenous community, I argue that Colter utilizes a similar concept of "sense of place" by connecting visitors to the landscape and people of the region.

Chapter Five continues the analysis of mostly white women employees in the Harvey Company, specifically differentiating between the Harvey Girls and the Indian Detour couriers and Erna Fergusson and Ethel Hickey, who were the foremothers of women tour guide groups in the Southwest. As noted above, I argue that the Indian Detour couriers represented the "New Woman" movement defined by Laura Woodworth-Ney.[71] I highlight individual Harvey Girls and Indian Detour couriers to demonstrate not only the different experiences, but also to explain the unique role these women played as both genteel waitresses and pseudo cultural ambassadors in an attempt to make southwestern culture appear less threatening to white visitors. The juxtaposition between their willingness to challenge gender norms while steadily preserving boundaries regarding Indigenous representation animates this section.

The part-paternalizing-part-activist tropes that embodied the era and parallel some of the Indian Detour couriers' psyches have continued into current tourism trends. Chapter Six showcases how present-day historians, preservationists, activists, and tourists have memorialized the Fred Harvey Company and the railroad town heritage. I expand on Chapter Five verbiage of heritage tourism and placemaking to argue that heritage tourism practices and historic preservation initiatives have varied effects and can alter the sense of place in communities. This final chapter not only elaborates on my personal connection to the region and this research, but also acts as a case study in regards to new and former sites, visitors, and residents in Winslow,

[71] Woodworth-Ney, *Women in the American West*, 2008.

Arizona and Las Vegas, New Mexico. I want to demonstrate what is at stake in memorializing one group and not others in creating the legacy of the Fred Harvey Company. In this way, the final chapter brings together the "then" and the "now" to express the importance of the individuals who built and designed them and those who are now restoring and reimagining their memory.

More recently, methodologies have become more interdisciplinary. This is perhaps to appeal to a wider audience, or to gain a broader readership. However, as is often stated, "a book can't be everything to everyone." This work will appeal to scholars in gender, labor, and indigeneity. I hope that it also appeals to scholars and interested audiences in the preservation and public history fields who are in search of more heavily analytical interpretations of how the past influences design and modern audience interpretation. This work will be of use to other scholars by weaving disparate threads in this unique niche that has become more prominent in the last twenty years.

CHAPTER II

BUSINESSMEN, POLITICIANS, AND ETHNOLOGISTS: HISTORICAL IMAGES OF NATIVE WOMEN AND LABOR

In the late 1930s, the Southwest Post Card Company of Albuquerque produced a postcard depicting two Apache men on horseback (Image 3). One man has his hair swept past his bare back with a feathered headdress; the other man is wearing only hide leggings and moccasins. The men stare stoically into the far distance to the red rock foothills of mountains while their horses drink from the Rio Navajo. On the back, the printed narrative states "THE GREAT SOUTHWEST *The last stand of the American Indian.* Populous tribes of either peaceful or warlike original inhabitants of the Southwest who once roamed this vast desert and mountainous area, are now conquered and confined to reservations."[72] Twenty years later, another postcard from Plastichrome by Colourpicture presents the same picturesque vista with an altered narrative, portraying a handsome, older Native man in a shirt and scarf, but still in a feathered headdress with the addition of stylized face paint, looking wistfully into the Southwestern sunset with the commentary, "THE NATIVE AMERICAN The United States owes much to the original inhabitants of this country. The American Indian's life style was simple, unmaterialistic, and ecologically motivated. History has not yet recorded all of the contributions made by the first Americans" (Image 4).[73]

[72] "THE GREAT SOUTHWEST *The last stand of the American Indian*.," Albuquerque Box. Governors' Palace, New Mexico History Museum, Albuquerque, New Mexico. Hereafter, referred to as *GP, NMHM*.; The Southwest Post Card Co. of Albuquerque, New Mexico was in distribution from 1938-1971.
[73] "THE NATIVE AMERICAN" Indian Box. *GP, NMHM*; Colourpicture was a greeting card and postcard printer and distributor from 1938-1969. The pieces were linen postcards made of textured paper, not actual cloth. Plastichrome was the trademark brand from the 1950s, helping to date this postcard.

Image 3 Southwest Post Card Company of Albuquerque postcard from late 1930s titled “Apaches Halting for Water at Rio Navajo, Arizona.” Image courtesy of New Mexico History Museum.

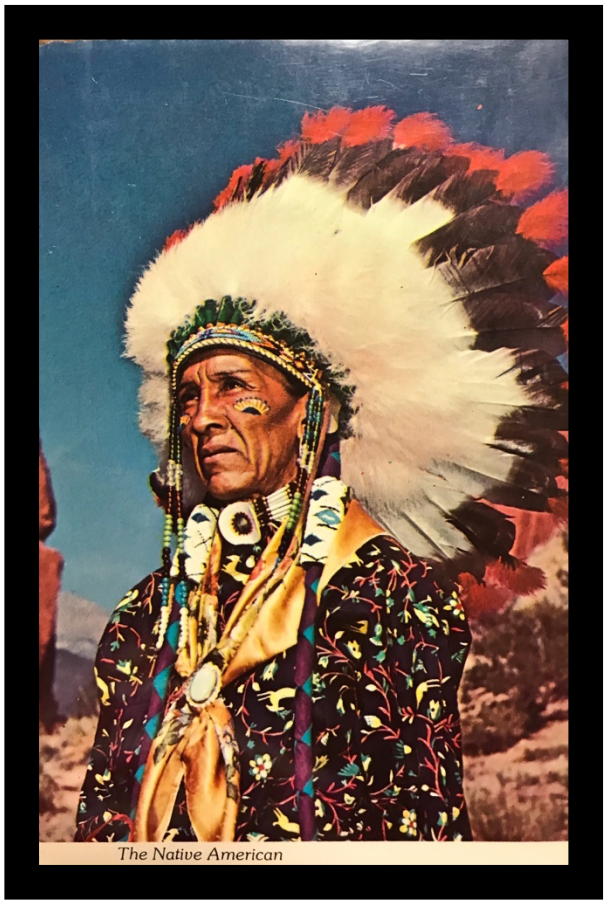

Image 4 Plastichrome by Colourpicture postcard from the 1950s titled “The Native American.” Image courtesy of New Mexico History Museum.

While both images are stunning, the rhetoric provides an important window onto tourism in the early to mid-twentieth century. The 1930s Southwest Post Card acquiesces that there were both peaceful and warlike groups that once "*roamed*," similar to their bison counterparts. Also significant is the claim that these "populous" peoples are now "conquered and confined," portraying a safe and accessible image of the Southwest and Southwestern Indians. Correspondingly, the post WWII Plastichrome postcard concedes Native significance in the formation of the United States and an attempt to record "all of the contributions," but even with the addition of the patterned shirt, maintains a paternalistic and primitive narrative regarding the Indigenous people of the area. As this chapter will show, how material archives, such postcards, along with published government documents, present contrasting and inconsistent narratives that perplex modern scholars, but also confounded tourists of over one hundred years ago.

Contradictory images and narratives were used by tourist industries to create and market quintessentially Native American and Southwest landscapes and experiences during the first half of the twentieth century. Particular examples, such as the C.T. Photochrom postcard from 1915 showing a Native woman sitting on the floor of her adobe home, holding her child, with a cast iron stove in the background, are indicative of this discursive trend (Image 5). Though Indigenous communities were objectified as primitive in other images, they are shown here not as anti-modern, but instead relegated to objectification through a logic of exception. The text reads "ENCROACHMENT OF CIVILIZATION. INTEROR OF INDIAN PUEBLO HOME CONTAINING MODERN COOKING STOVE," as if it were a shocking newspaper headline.[74] Tourists embraced these images as synonymous with Southwestern ideals and peoples, marking these instances as curious but authentic.

[74] "ENCROACHMENT OF CIVILIZATION. INTEROR OF INDIAN PUEBLO HOME CONTAINING MODERN COOKING STOVE," Pueblo Box. *GP, NMHM.*

Image 5 C.T. Photochrom postcard from 1915 titled "Encroachment of Civilization, Interior of Indian Pueblo Home Containing Modern Cooking Stove." Image courtesy of New Mexico History Museum

Postcards and other ephemera portrayed Indigenous communities and their products as authentic commodities for spectatorship and purchase, and were situated alongside touristic experiences as idealized images of America and its "first inhabitants." Juxtaposed to this tourist propaganda, the 1928 independently published report titled *The Problem of Indian Administration* stated that "the economic basis of the primitive culture of the Indians has been largely destroyed by the encroachment of white civilization," and argued that economic and social changes augured by the United States government were responsible for the irreversible changes in Native communities.[75] While postcards are deemed kitsch in today's market and

[75] *The Problem of Indian Administration: With a New Introduction* by Frank C. Miller, 1928/1971, 6. The report is commonly called the Meriam Report after the technical director Lewis Meriam. This is the first study of "modern" conditions of Native groups since 1850 with ethnologist and Indian Agent Henry R. Schoolcraft's for US Congress

administrative and ethnological reports may be considered skewed and antiquated, scholars can utilize both to understand the changing visual representations and rhetoric produced for and by the Fred Harvey Company and other tourism entities subsidized by the United States government.

In this chapter, I pose a series of questions engaging Native women's historical images and roles in labor and tourism through the lens of the Fred Harvey Company in New Mexico and Arizona. I seek to understand why these women sought employment with the Company and/or created entrepreneurial opportunities for themselves and others. To do so, it is necessary to define and emphasize the difference between entrepreneurship and wage labor and show how both shaped Native employment in the Southwest. I will also define to what degree Native women were in control of their own labor, and, in turn, what they did with the money they earned.

I will also outline the cultural changes experienced by Native families engaged with employers like the Fred Harvey Company as discussed by ethnologists, anthropologists, and government entities. These groups sought to record Native lifeways before they were entirely altered by white encroachment, either through "salvage ethnographies," re-creating an "authentic" Native experience for eastern Anglo tourists, or a compilation of both. Some groups were welcomed by the Pueblo Indians, including ethnologist William Whitman and his wife, Marjorie, and anthropologists Edgar Hewett, Kenneth Chapman, and Jesse Nusbaum, leading to mutually beneficial, though at times self-aggrandizing, relationships, similar to those of the Harvey Company. Other groups, specifically those funded by government institutions like the one that produced *The Problem of Indian Administration*, provide alternative information, attesting the impact of white encroachment and the assignation of blame to the American

government. By considering these sources, scholars can see the significance of individuals like Elle of Ganado and Maria Martinez and their families in the revitalization of Native arts and crafts. Their art work and efforts to support their families and communities predate the Indian New Deal and other Western attempts to "modernize" the southwestern Native groups through a turn to the traditional, and there by cast doubts on such reforms.[76]

Often, scholars look to individuals as "examples" of a trend or practice. Despite the lack of written sources from historic Native perspectives, scholars can shift the frame of reference from the company or institution and instead make an individual the central actor in the story and reference interactions between the individual and the company, rather than isolating the individual as an "example." This practice is explained through Daniel Richter's argument in "Whose Indian History?" As noted, he asserts that Native people better understand the Indian experience and that their oral traditions should take precedence over outsiders' interpretations. By following Richter's call to integrate Indigenous stories into academic histories, scholars can construct a new narrative that is "inclusive and empowering," by looking at unifying events and common processes.[77] In this study, there are a series of unifying sites – the Fred Harvey Company, the tourist, and toured-upon – that allow one to weave together a complex Native-centered narrative and see diverse responses to the market economy, particularly in Chapter Three and Chapter Four with the history of Maria Martinez and her work at the world's fairs.[78]

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[76] The concept of authenticity through any medium, but most notably tourism, is a flawed notion. Resting on the immutability of cultures as a core assumption, authenticity de- historicizes indigenous communities and robs them of their agency. This practice is further discussed in this chapter and in the conclusion based on current tourism practices and attempts to replicate former Harvey Company tourism practices.

[77] Daniel Richter, "Whose Indian History?," *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Apr., 1993, Vol. 50, No. 2, Early American History: Its Past and Future (Apr., 1993): 379-393, 389.

[78] David Wrobel makes a significant contribution by naming not only tourists and tourism, but also "those that are toured upon," namely the people and places affected by tourism in *Seeing and Being Seen: Tourism in the American West,* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 2001),18. He notes that the West as a place in the American imagination has created a mythic heritage that is still enacted today. He contends that there should be a shift from

Weaver Elle of Ganado from the Navajo Reservation in Arizona and potter Maria Martinez from San Ildefonso Pueblo in New Mexico worked for the Harvey Company at the turn of the century, as well as at several world's fairs through the 1930s.[79] These women, among others, used their payments from railroad tourism and from independent sales of their wares to purchase modern appliances and to better their communities. Their choices and actions show that Indigenous cultures are not static and that Native women in fact wanted, needed, and worked for modern technologies and an income to supplement the federally-implemented ration boxes well before New Deal reforms.

However, there are important differences in these two women's approaches that demonstrate changing power dynamics between Anglo tourism industries, anthropologists, tourists, and federal legislation. This chapter addresses the story of these two women and their encounters and exchanges with industry, individuals, and imperialism on a grander scale. My research provides context for understanding whether and how Native groups exert control over the process by which they and their products are presented to tourists and the effort to preserve "authenticity," and challenges the notion that these groups were static, not only in their products but in their cultures, as well.

This chapter will highlight a three-fold argument. One, that despite the potential (and occasional reality) of exploitative practices in Southwest tourism, the Fred Harvey Company's approach to Native artisans permitted a measure of Native autonomy and control in artistic, economic, and social arenas. Two, that socioeconomic changes taking place in the Navajo and Pueblo communities involved with the Fred Harvey Company pre-dated, anticipated, and better

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the "visited as victims" model in studying the "toured upon," coupled with a shift from the authenticity paradigm. The concept of the toured and toured upon will be further discussed in Chapter Three.

[79] Ganado is on the Navajo Reservation border, near the Hubbell Trading Post. San Ildefonso is part of the Rio Grande Pueblos, near Albuquerque, New Mexico.

served these communities than those later promoted by the Indian Reorganization Act (Indian New Deal) of 1934. And, three, that the examples of Native artisans, specifically Elle of Ganado and Maria Martinez, provide useful windows onto the preceding two processes.

The Railroad, Production, and the Indian New Deal

Though the Fred Harvey Company based its success on the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe, the development of the Company hinged upon factors beyond railroad expansion. By the 1920s, Fred Harvey presided over an iconic Southwestern tourism venture. The highlights were the distinct architecture and décor in the hotels, the Indian Detours service, and the Harvey Girl waitresses, highlighted in the following chapters. The partnership between the Santa Fe Railway and the Harvey Company capitalized on the "Indian mystique" of the region. But as the Company expanded with the growth of regional tourism, it also brought increased contact with Native American groups and diversity in its personnel. With this commercial enterprise came the Fred Harvey Company Indian Department, where *Harvey* employed Native Americans as artisan demonstrators who sold their wares and other memorabilia to white tourists. By 1926, the Harvey Company had launched Southwest Indian Detours, a service that brought tourists into the Pueblo country of New Mexico, with white women tour guides known as couriers, sporting Navajo-style blouses and squash blossom necklaces. The dynamic between these two groups and how they reflected changing Victorian mores will be discussed further in Chapter Five.

Trading posts were established in the early 1800s as sites of exchange for fur traders and points to deliver and trade goods with Native peoples. They were located at convenient distances in otherwise sparsely populated areas, creating a space for barter, cultural exchange, and semi-

annual rendezvous in the West. Their numbers increased after the easing of Spanish era trade restrictions that followed Mexican independence in 1821.

The rise of the Santa Fe trade brought substantial numbers of Americans into northern New Mexico for the first time and spawned several trading posts that catered to an increasingly cosmopolitan mix of people until the U.S. invasion in 1846. The posts in the Southwest catered to the U.S. Army occupation starting in the 1840s, as traveling traders and salesmen capitalized on the military presence to sell clothes, packaged foods, and other manufactured items from the East. In 1868, when the Navajos returned to their lands from their exile at the Bosque Redondo, they established a treaty with the U.S. government to create a supply system at Fort Defiance in Arizona at edge of the Navajo reservation.[80] The federal government issued food, clothing, farming supplies, and eventually sheep to the regional Navajos. In the 1880s, the railroads expanded the market beyond trading posts.

At the same time, increasing federal government involvement ushered in institutional research, specifically *The Problem of Indian Administration*, which outlined years of study on the economic and social condition of Native Americans. The report essentially criticized the Department of the Interior's implementation of the Dawes Act and its effects on the Native groups and instead promoted the growth of Native cottage industries. The 847 page document contains fallacies and contradictory statements, claiming that Indians rarely supported themselves through their own efforts or lived on land that "furnished some native product

[80] Colonel Edward Canby, General James Carlton, and Colonel Christopher "Kit" Carson, accompanied by Ute allies, campaigned heavily against the Navajos, destroying sheep herds and homes. Finally, the Navajos surrendered and in 1864, thousands of Navajos were removed to Bosque Redondo Reservation at Fort Sumner, New Mexico. Often referred to as the "Long Walk," this was a four hundred mile trek, killing over two hundred Navajo. This forced movement hoped to create a buffer zone protecting New Mexicans from Comanche raiders. The Bosque Redondo Reservation was desolate, and though the government tried to transform Navajos into farmers, they also provided rations that were often unfit for consumption. More than 2,000 Navajos died during the four year tenure at Bosque Redondo, Collin Calloway, *First Peoples: A Documentary Survey of American Indian History*, (Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's Press, 2016), 322.

important to the Indians in their primitive life."[81] In a section titled "The Conditions Among the Indians," researchers stated that "An overwhelming majority of the Indians are poor, even extremely poor, and they are not adjusted to the economic and social system of the dominant white civilization."[82] This independent report arguably led to the Indian New Deal and specifically the Indian Reorganization Act (1934), a piece of legislation that encouraged Indian groups to focus on their arts and crafts culture to usher in economic revitalization. However, Maria Martinez and others already had a strong grasp of their traditional arts and crafts, specifically textiles and ceramics, and had already implemented most of the practices recommended by the federal government in 1934.

At the time of most of these ethnological reports, the self-generated, earned income of an Indian family was extremely low. The 1928 Meriam Report claimed that "the typical Indian is not industrious, nor is he an effective worker when he does work… ek[ing] out an existence through unearned income from leases of his land…capita payments from tribal funds… [and] rations given to him by the government."[83] However, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs report from 1917 had documented a positive change over time regarding the number of "Indians engaged in industries other than farming and stock raising." In 1890, there was an unreported number of workers, with product totaling $113,374. Twenty-seven years later, in 1917, there were 26,657 workers and $1,315,112 of product. Breaking these figures down by Native communities, we find that the Navajo workers participating in blanket weaving (750) and woodcutting (60), earned $246,000. The Pueblo day schools that engaged in basket making, beadwork, blanket weaving, lace making, pottery, woodcutting, and other craftwork totaled

[81] *The Problem of Indian Administration: With a New Introduction* by Frank C. Miller, 1928/1971, 5.
[82] *The Problem of Indian Administration*, 3.
[83] *The Problem of Indian Administration*, 4.

1,867 workers producing $21,150.[84] With a Native population of 20,853 and a total of $1,335,666 of earned income, only $17,394 was derived from government rations and $7,866 of individual land leases.

According to the Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the fiscal year of 1928, there were 355,901 Indians in the United States. Through the sale of their blankets, baskets, pottery, beads, wood carving, embroidery, and paintings, they earned $1,267,816. This sum is worth $20,247,088.13 in 2021.[85] 74% of this sum, totaling $944,863, was earned by the Indians of Arizona, Minnesota, and New Mexico. Regardless of the era, it is apparent that these simple industries were in no way sufficient means to support an individual, much less a family, economically.

Interestingly, according to ethnologist William Whitman, income and sales from San Ildefonso Pueblo were kept hidden, and individuals kept revenue from the sale of pottery to themselves. No one on the pueblo recorded the number of pots made or sold, or the prices received for them. Through Whitman's extensive research, he found that "it is more than probable that the total income is many thousands of dollars, and that some individuals have more than a thousand dollars a year from this source."[86] This had a profound effect on the pueblo as a whole, particularly in regard to the status of women. While women once worked in the house,

[84] Pottery outranked the other skilled labor by well over 1,000 workers. Department of the Interior Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the Fiscal Year 1890; 1917.
[85] "How much is a dollar from the past worth today?" MeasuringWorth, 2021, www.measuringworth.com/dollarvaluetoday/. Department of the Interior Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the Fiscal Year 1928.
[86] William Whitman, *The Pueblo Indians of San Ildefonso: A Changing Culture.* (New York: Columbia University Press. 1947), 108.

managing the children and the household, they now held economically "a position of relative dominance."[87]

Commissioner Charles H. Burke recommended that the "government could recognize these products in some official manner and thereby render a real service to those Indians now engaged in such crafts."[88] The Commissioner went so far as to recommend adopting,

> a trade-mark design which could be registered in the United States Patent Office. The design would be attractive, suggesting craftsmanship of the North American Indian. It would be in a form suitable for attachment to the various articles to be market. Use of the trade-mark would not be compulsory, but it would guarantee that the product was genuine… it would seem that some such mark need not interfere with established trade, and with the cooperation of Indian traders and dealers generally, the distribution could be sufficiently wide that any Indian might readily obtain the trade-marks.[89]

Handmade pieces that later contained a semblance of a trade mark or signature were sold locally by Pueblo artisans at their homes, trading posts, and subsequently museums and facilities managed by the Fred Harvey Company.

The trading posts in particular demonstrate the presence of a capitalist market that pre-dates both the railroad and the Indian New Deal, revealing that Native artisans were participating under their own volition, buying, selling, and trading goods and commodities to each other and

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[87] Whitman, *The Pueblo Indians of San Ildefonso*, 108.; In the North Plazas, the dominant women potters indirectly controlled the village through their husbands. However, the South Plaza women were "less group conscious" and the men were still dominant in social and ceremonial activities, Whitman, *The Pueblo Indians of San Ildefonso*, 108.
[88] Department of the Interior Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the Fiscal Year ended June 30, 1927, 9. Charles H. Burke was a Republican Congressman from South Dakota and a staunch opponent to the Indian Reorganization Act. He was considered an "exploiter" of Native ways and land and was the author of the Burke Act, an amendment to the Dawes Act, limiting citizenship to Native Americans deemed "competent and capable."
[89] Department of the Interior Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the Fiscal Year ended June 30, 1927, 9.

Anglo and Mexican settlers. The Hubbell Trading Post, established in 1878, is perhaps the most well-known of the Southwestern posts, largely for Lorenzo Hubbell's honest business practices, including with the Fred Harvey Company, and their role in selling fine Navajo weavings. The post became a National Historic Site in 1960 and is still open today, catering to a new generation of artisans, traders, and tourists alike. The trading post has maintained its integrity into the twenty first century. In 2017, Allan Affeldt, a preservationist developer who has restored several Harvey properties in the Southwest, as highlighted in Chapters Five and Six, purchased Navajo rugs from the Hubbell Rug Auction. Affeldt claims "local weavers receive 90% of the profit and the other 10% goes to scholarships that fund Navajo Nation scholars."[90] The items were placed on display at the La Posada Gift Shop in Winslow, Arizona.

Initially, beyond trading posts and independent artisans operating in Indigenous communities, souvenirs and regional artisan pieces, including pottery, blankets or "rugs," and jewelry were "large gaudy curio pieces."[91] Indeed, Leah Dilworth argues that of all Indian-made products, the "souvenir is the lowliest."[92] The Southwest's tourists of the 1890s experienced local Navajo silversmiths' long history of creating beautiful, one-of-a-kind pieces of jewelry. Designed to showcase its owner's wealth, these pieces were large and heavy, containing a lot of silver and a significant amount of turquoise. The "chunky" style of jewelry appealed to Native Americans and collectors. However, it did not appeal to the

[90] Allan Affeldt, "This Morning We Are Preparing Some Exceptional Pieces to Be Placed into Inventory Which We Recently Brought Back from the Hubbell Rug Auction." *La Posada Hotel*, Facebook, 18 Oct. 2017. https://www.facebook.com/permalink.php?story_fbid=10155109810452914&id=113603717913
[91] Keith Bryant, *Culture in the American Southwest: The Earth, The Sky, The People*, (College Station: TAMU Press, 2014), 27.
[92] Leah Dilworth, "'Handmade by an American Indian': Souvenirs and the Cultural Economy of Southwestern Tourism" in Hal Rothman's *The Culture of Tourism, the Tourism of Culture: Selling the Past to the Present in the American Southwest*, Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2003.

white, middle-class Victorian tourists' tastes nor their pocketbooks.[93] After 1900, the Fred Harvey Company ushered in skilled artisans, such as weavers like Elle of Ganado and potters like Maria, and her husband Julian Martinez, to create more defining and reasonably priced pieces. Navajo blankets and "Indian-made" jewelry were not a part of this process, because they were increasingly mass produced for the changing market economy, as will be covered below.

The income produced by the Native partnership with the Fred Harvey Company and the tourist traffic stimulated by the railroad questions the broad applicability of the Meriam Report's statement that "the remoteness of their homes often prevents them from easily securing opportunities for wage earning, nor do they have many contacts with persons dwelling in urban communities where they might find employment."[94] The report concedes that "many traders, tourists, and other interested parties must travel to them," as was the case with Elle of Ganado and Maria Martinez.[95] Elle and Maria Martinez were exceptional beyond their artistry, as their marketing and sales tactics influenced by the railroad brought economic opportunities to Pueblo and Navajo peoples who were not artisans.

The standard dynamic with Fred Harvey, the Santa Fe Railroad, and the Native employees suggests that economic development in the American Southwest was a fluid process that shaped and was shaped by local systems of power and specific regional cultures. Power negotiations occurred on both sides, countering the traditional narrative that when Native peoples were exposed to a capitalist market, they lost all their lifeways and acculturated. That conventional viewpoint maintains that depending on "foreign" objects only altered Indigenous

[93] Lynne Sturtevant, "The Turquoise Bracelet." *Hidden New Mexico*, Hidden New Mexico, 2 Oct. 2017, www.hiddennewmexico.com/blog/turquoise-bracelet?fbclid=IwAR3hb_OGqx0LebRlsitGCcja9Ukfxq86ILaMuet3-W1JjPE5DkMq1aciwX0.
[94] *The Problem of Indian Administration: With a New Introduction* by Frank C. Miller, 1928/1971, 6.
[95] *The Problem of Indian Administration*, 6.

cultures, as they were exploited by and also developed through this change. By analyzing government and ethnological reports alongside the experience of artisans like Elle of Ganado and Maria Martinez, scholars can see conflicting trends between recorded commentary on "idle Indians" and evidence that the Fred Harvey Company and other tourist endeavors fostered Native entrepreneurship.

At the turn of the century through the 1940s, the Harvey Company's interactions with Native people went beyond the common employer-employee dynamic. These artisans were not only viewed as skilled labor, but also were suppliers and participants in the tourist economy. The cultural history of the Navajo in the region extends beyond Anglo contact and a transition to a capitalistic economy.

Historians have noted that capitalistic expansion alters societies, and the Fred Harvey Company provides a lens on such changes, which produced unexpected and uneven experiences in southwestern Native communities. The Harvey Company cultivated a fluid dynamic, through which Native employers could actively choose what portions of the tourism market suited their purposes. Through this relationship, the Company can be seen as progressive in taking steps to minimize the negative effects of the expansion of capitalism on the Native communities. Indeed, the Harvey Company's actions and the Native artisans' responses negate the Meriam Report's statement that the Indian "has not yet advanced to the point where he has the knowledge of money and values, and of business methods that will permit him to control his own property without aid, advice, and some restrictions; nor is he ready to work consistently and regularly at more or less routine labor."[96] Native artisans and demonstrators conducted far more than "routine labor" as Harvey Company employees. Still, some scholars argue that the Harvey business

[96] *The Problem of Indian Administration*, 8.

model was not altruistic, claiming it was solely to maximize the labor capacity and appeal to the tourists' gaze.[97]

Elle of Ganado and the Navajo of Arizona

Archeological evidence suggests that the precolonial Navajo had no organized ceremonial system and were primarily a hunting-gathering society.[98] The clan system was not in place, and the community knew little about planting corn or squash, made only simple pots and tools, and attempts to build Pueblo-style housing were not successful. Later, the Navajo acquired sheep and horses, which provided wealth and stratification, allowing them to develop a reliable food supply but also remain semi-nomadic. Horses and sheep also provided new rituals and textiles.[99] Sheep provided wool, which the Navajo utilized to become great weavers of blankets and rugs, their creations eventually becoming one of the most coveted textiles for locals and tourists alike.

Between 1775-1863, the Navajo moved to the present-day Four Corners area due to hostility from the Spanish to the south, the Comanches to the east, and the Utes to the north.[100] The Navajo settled and began to design clothing and jewelry, raise livestock, and cultivate land. However, after the Mexican-American War, broken treaties, and failed attempts at assimilation,

[97] See Marta Weigle and Barbara Babcock, Leah Dilworth, Marguerite Shaffer
[98] Marc Simmons, "History of Pueblo-Spanish Relations to 1821," *Handbook of North American Indians Volume 9: Southwest*. Smithsonian Institute, 1978.
[99] However, between 1650-1775, the Navajo transitioned to an agricultural and ranching, from a subsistence and economy and developed attendant ceremonial practices. When they moved to the Southwest, they met the Puebloan peoples. They acquired new farming techniques, leading to new songs, rituals, and ceremonies tied to farming. Most of this knowledge was acquired from Pueblo priests who had fled the Spanish missions. Later developments and transitions proved beneficial to be mobile during times of strife, as the Navajo would choose to retreat rather than fight.
[100] Marc Simmons, "History of Pueblo-Spanish Relations to 1821," *Handbook of North American Indians Volume 9: Southwest*. Smithsonian Institute, 1978.

namely the forced march to Bosque Redondo, the Treaty of 1868 was negotiated to return the Navajo back to a much smaller area near the Arizona-New Mexico border. Though their numbers were greatly reduced after the move, the railroad brought tourism and traders, and by the 1870s, the Navajo began trading and selling maize, wool, mutton, hides, livestock, and crafts for food and manufactured goods.[101]

Kinship practices are an important context for understanding Native women's work. The Navajo matrilineal and matrilocal kinship system has long been a strength of the community. Daughters live with their husbands and children near their mother. The primary familial bond is between a mother and child, not between a husband and wife. Navajos are "born to" their mother's clan; and other clan members are their closest relatives.[102] The case of Elle and her husband Tom of Ganado is somewhat atypical, as they were married but never had children together. The children that were photographed with them at the Fred Harvey Indian Department or at other demonstration sites were Tom's grandchildren from his previous marriages prior to Elle.[103]

During the Fred Harvey era, individual Navajo women, men, and children owned their own livestock and other property but shared the care of herds and fields. Women generally

[101] The Navajo Reservation covers parts of northwestern New Mexico, northeastern Arizona, and southeastern Utah. The business council that was created to negotiate leases for natural resources found on the reservation is now the Navajo Nation Council, which now runs the Navajo government. Most reside on the reservation and adhere to traditions, ceremonies, and celebrations.

[102] Laura Jane Moore, "Elle Meets the President: Weaving Navajo Culture and Commerce in the Southwest Tourist Industry," *Women and Gender in the American West*, eds. Mary Ann Irwin and James F. Brooks, (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2004), 285.

[103] While there are countless photos of Elle and Tom surrounded by what is crafted to be their family, it is rarely documented in the primary sources that those pictured are their grandchildren, much less by Tom's other wives. Indeed, an article from the *Albuquerque Journal* in 1910 describes Nampeyo, "other Hopi Indians, together with Tom and Elle and *their* [author's emphasis added] children…" (Kathleen L. Howard, "Weaving a Legend: Elle of Ganado Promotes the Indian Southwest," *New Mexico Historical Review*, vol. 74, no. 2, April 1999, 134). While the Fred Harvey Company accepted and even promoted extended families of their Native employees, it is curious as to why it was not fully articulated in descriptions. Perhaps the *Journal* author was unaware or it did not merit discussion in an article featuring the group's return from a Chicago demonstration visit.

controlled range land, and land use was typically inherited from mothers. Navajo women are widely renowned for their highly stylized and decorative weaving (though some men also weave) and weaving knowledge passes generationally. Navajo men also practiced silversmithing, derived from their skills in blacksmithing, which they acquired from the Spanish. The ethnological reports that describe the division between men and women's labor will be discussed in the following section on Maria and Julian Martinez, as these divisions apply mainly to Pueblos.

As with any personal and private relationship, it is difficult to know internal dynamics, especially without any written accounts. Such is the case with the life of Elle of Ganado. However, oral narratives have been useful in exploring Elle's history and her relationship with Tom, which in itself is both disputed and illustrative.

The stories of the early life of Elle of Ganado, or sometimes referenced as Elle Ganado, are conflicting (Image 6). Historian Kathleen Howard has conducted possibly the most research on Elle's life before she joined the Harvey Company as a weaver and demonstrator. Elle was born to the Black Sheep Clan and was known as "Red Woman" or *Assdzaa Lichii* in Navajo. A 1903 Harvey Company brochure mentioned Elle and stated that she was nearly fifty years of age, meaning that Elle would have been an unwilling participant with her family on the Long Walk to Bosque Redondo in 1864. A story published in *Illustrated World* in 1922 states that "a girl of high caste, was captured in one of the frequent Navajo raids when she was an infant. She grew up with the nomads and married a wealthy Navajo. It is said that Elle, their child, was one of the most beautiful maidens of her tribe, and was wooed by all the eligible young bucks of Navajo land," alluding to a discursive narrative of the Spanish fantasy of being more "white."[104]

[104] Howard Gruehl, "Like Stories About Indians? Tom and Elle – Navajos," *Illustrated World* vol. 38, no. 2 September 1922, 418.; Carey McWilliams concept of the Spanish fantasy will be covered in Chapters Five and Six.

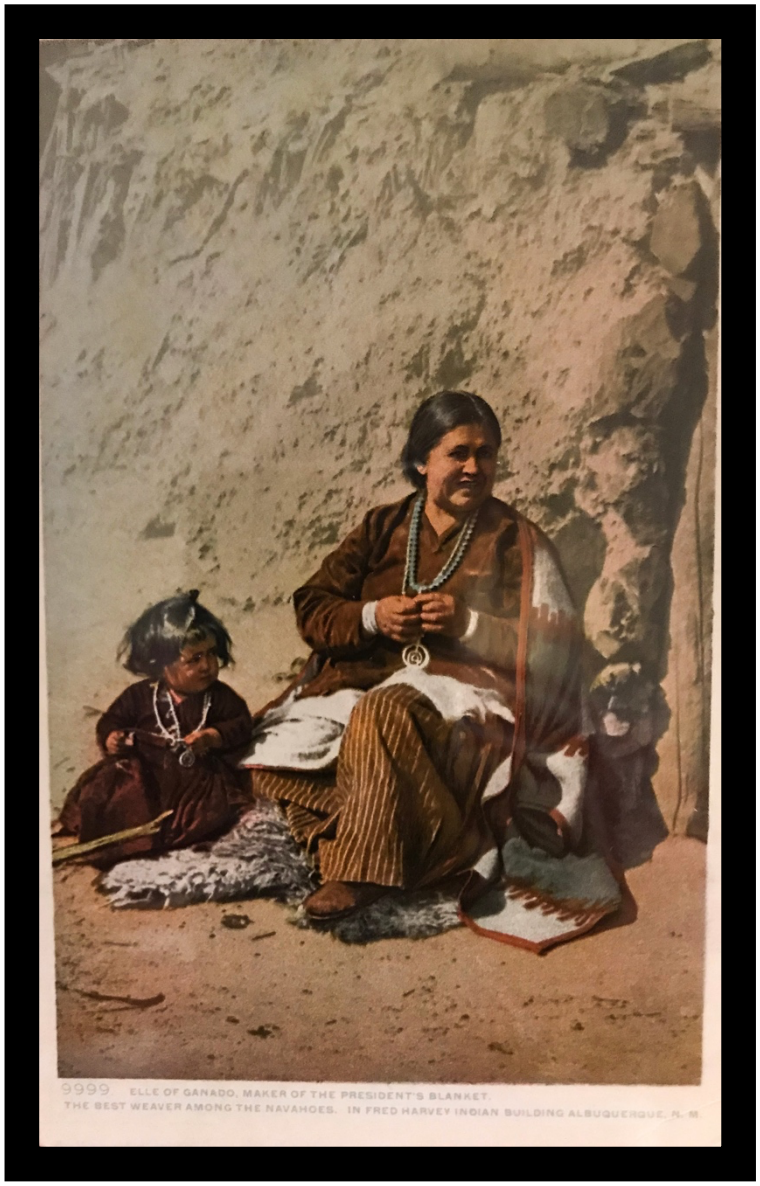

Image 6 Publicity image of "Elle of Ganado, Maker of the President's Blanket. The Best Weaver Among the Navahoes in Fred Harvey Indian Building Albuquerque, N.M." Image courtesy of New Mexico History Museum.

However, Howard cites an undated letter to Harvey Company Vice President J.F. Huckel from Harvey Company "anthropologist" Herman Schweizer, in which Schweizer elaborates upon another version of Elle's origins: "P.S. For your information Tom and the other Indian tell me that Elle's father was a Mexican, Elle's mother a Zuni and Tom tells me that the reason for

the Navajos having increased so much in the last forty or fifty years is due to their early raids among the women of the Moquis, Zunis, and other Pueblos."[105] These raids would have coincided with the series of raids before the exodus to the Bosque Redondo, further confirming her likely participation in the march. Regardless of the accounts, it appears that the icon most used by the Harvey Company to depict Navajos may not have been born a Navajo.

Unfortunately, unlike with Maria Martinez's "as told by" interpretation by Alice Marriott and several documentary reports addressed later in this chapter, Elle did not leave behind any personal accounts. While Howard claims that Elle spoke only Navajo, it is rumored that she understood English and Spanish. One story claims that "when spoken to in English by tourists, she gravely repl[ied] in the guttural Navajo, much to the amusement of her Indian helpers."[106] It was not unusual for Native artisans and demonstrators to interact with tourists, to the amusement of both parties.[107] Conflicting stories on Elle's life stem from promotional materials from the Fred Harvey Company, newspaper and magazine articles written for Anglo readers, citations in early books on Navajo weaving, and references in business correspondence between Harvey executive and lead buyer Herman Schweizer (Elle's immediate supervisor) and trader Hubbell. This dearth of accounts from Elle's perspective and the surviving Anglo-centric record means that scholars must carefully analyze and interpret those sources.

Much of Elle's purported early life story can be seen as romanticized propaganda, emphasizing how she embodied the traditions of the Navajo culture, specifically in appearance and demeanor and in her skilled artistry. In the spring of 1903, President Teddy Roosevelt visited

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[105] Marta Weigle and Barbara Babcock, *The Great Southwest of the Fred Harvey Company and the Santa Fe Railway,* (Phoenix: The Heard Museum, 1996), 87.; Howard, "Weaving a Legend," 129.
[106] Gruehl, "Like Stories About Indians?," 418.; Native performers who ignored tourists by pretending not to understand English have been cited as acts of resistance. This will be further examined in this study with Maria Martinez.
[107] Particular incidents at the world's fairs with the Martinez family using aspects of humor as forms of resistance will be discussed in Chapter Four.

the Fred Harvey Company's Alvarado Hotel Indian Building in Albuquerque, New Mexico, where he met Elle. It was said after their visit that "Elle's image spoke volumes to turn-of-the-century Americans, showing New Mexico as not only conquered, but commercialized, safe for investment and safe for statehood."[108] This sentiment was adopted by the Harvey Company and other tourism initiatives.

Beyond such high-profile meetings, the Fred Harvey restaurants and hotels, commonly called Harvey Houses, were sites of cross-cultural negotiation. The Alvarado was one of the most significant of such sites in the Southwest. Elle and Maria Martinez, along with dozens of Pueblo, Hopi, Navajo, and other Native artisans and performers, worked at the Alvarado Hotel and adjacent Indian Building. While scholars have noted that this venture resembled the exploitative performances at the world's fairs, I argue below that the Fred Harvey Company model sought a more humane and cooperative approach not only at the Alvarado, but also at other sites created by architectural designer Mary Colter, as discussed in Chapter Four.[109]

On April 20, 1903, the (Gallup) *McKinley County Republican* reported "Judge Baker was at the Harvey curio rooms this morning and brought the design for the President's Navajo saddle blanket. The loom for the Navajo squaw, Elle, who is to weave it, was marked off as much as possible so that the work for her will be somewhat easier."[110] Historically, audiences would view this as an image of "civilization;" however, the rhetoric in and magnitude of the newspaper reports and advertisements provide further historical context. Indeed, the *Albuquerque Democrat*

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[108] Laura Jane Moore, "Elle Meets the President: Weaving Navajo Culture and Commerce in the Southwest Tourist Industry," *Women and Gender in the American West*, eds. Mary Ann Irwin and James F. Brooks. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2004), 282.
[109] Marta Weigle states in "Exposition and Mediation: Mary Colter, Erna Fergusson, and the Santa Fe/Harvey Popularization of the Native Southwest, 1902-1940" Albuquerque served as a prototype for the Santa Fe/Fred Harvey system, especially at the Grand Canyon. All were advertised as part of the "Great Southwest," a regional world's fair staged for railroad tourists in northern New Mexico and Arizona (118).
[110] Kathleen L. Howard, "Weaving a Legend: Elle of Ganado Promotes the Indian Southwest," *New Mexico Historical Review*, vol. 74, no. 2, April 1999, 130.

cited the demand for reprints and noted that "since that time, the picture has been printed by no less than six of the great dailies of the east and west… The blanket has been adjudged a remarkable work by experts in Navajo blanketry and has caused a boom in the market for beautiful rugs."[111] The publicity in newspapers was unprecedented in terms of positive press concerning Native and Anglo relations, which would have undoubtedly spurred tourism for the Santa Fe Railroad, and thus, the Fred Harvey Company.

The advertising parameters established by these two tourist magnates provide key insights into the promotional dynamics of Southwestern tourism. A common misconception is that they had independent marketing plans that were cohesive and mutually beneficial. However, under the terms and contract between the Fred Harvey Company and the Santa Fe Railroad, the Santa Fe controlled all advertising, which focused on the promotion of Southwestern tourism that would, in turn, increase train travel.[112]

The prominent advertising campaign took off in 1892, when the Santa Fe commissioned photographer Thomas Moran under a new initiative funded by the Santa Fe Railway to advertise for both companies.[113] Based on these advertisements and the Harvey Company's promotional materials penned during Company vice president John Frederick Huckel's tenure, scholars have charged the two companies with creating a "corporate dominion" over the region, commodifying Native culture, and creating a "purposefully feminized and romanticized Indian image" to appeal to tourists.[114] Images of the Southwest, including the illustrious scenery and Indigenous inhabitants, began to flood the market at the turn of the century in newspaper ads, postcards, and

[111] Kathleen L. Howard, "Weaving a Legend," 130.
[112] For more information on the advertising campaigns of and agreements between the Santa Fe Railway and the Fred Harvey Company, see Michael E. Zega, "Advertising the Southwest," *Journal of the Southwest*, Vol. 43, No. 3 (Autumn, 2001), 281-315.
[113] Peter Bacon Hales, *William Henry Jackson, 1843-1942*, (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1988), 187.
[114] Weigle and Babcock, *The Great Southwest of the Fred Harvey Company*, 11.

most notably for the Santa Fe Railway, calendar spreads.

In 1906, Harvey Company photographer Carl Moon photographed Elle in several different portrait and staged poses at the El Tovar Studio at the South Rim of the Grand Canyon. This best-known Moon portrait was the Company's copyrighted image of Elle referenced in the *McKinley County Republican*. Prints of Moon's portrait of Elle were offered for sale in a mail-order catalog published by the Harvey Company in 1910 and at the El Tovar Studio at the Grand Canyon, allowing the tourist gaze to extend even to those who never left home.[115] By 1911, nine years after the Alvarado Hotel opened, the Harvey Company had produced and sold more than 3.5 million postcards, and Elle and Tom of Ganado were featured prominently.[116] There is no publicized evidence that they earned commission or royalties from the sale of their likenesses.

While the couple contradicted many Native stereotypes, such as "not shar[ing] the general superstition among southwest Indians that their death will follow the destruction of their photographs," Elle seemed to sustain aspects of a "traditional" Navajo weaving culture. Yet, even that practice had inherently changed over time according to the dynamics of regional and national economics.[117] At the turn of the twentieth century, Navajo weavers ran the entire supply chain from the raw wool to the completed blanket. Livestock products were the primary source of subsistence and of income, supplemented by farming and by trading other items, most importantly textiles, at local trading posts, specifically the Hubbell Trading Post outside of Ganado, Arizona. Despite becoming more dependent on the national market economy, the Navajos did not abandon their subsistence economy or beneficial economic expectations

[115] Kristen Hoganson's *Consumer's Imperium: The Global Production of American Domesticity, 1865-1920* describes "armchair travel clubs," comprised of middle-class white women who hosted theme parties to educate themselves on different cultures. She argues that this practice laid the foundation for global consciousness during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.
[116] Howard, "Weaving a Legend," 129.
[117] Gruehl, "Like Stories About Indians?," 418.

revolving around matrilineal kinship ties. Similar to Maria Martinez's demand for better business practices and the production of "quality" pieces, by the early 20th century, Navajo blankets were prized within a wide regional market for their quality that was "so tightly woven that they were waterproof" and for their beautiful and sophisticated designs.[118]

Interestingly, because of Victorian ideals associating with femininity and domesticity with textile production, Anglo observers thought weaving demonstrated Navajo's ability to adopt "civilized" gender roles. But, when American officials offered Navajos Anglo-style looms and spinning wheels, the Navajo women refused to use them or work with the white women hired to instruct them, insisting on continuing with their "old plan of spinning and making blankets."[119] However, weavers eagerly adopted newly available materials and wares at the trading post, including dyes and yarns from eastern manufacturers. Eventually, this practice proved to be problematic, as the market responses were not aligned with Native purchases or artisan trends.

Navajos purchased dyes and yarn from the posts because of the high demand for tourist consumption and their adaptation to that change. However, the Fred Harvey Company would not purchase blankets or rugs made from "imported" materials because they were not deemed "authentic," even though they were still handmade by Navajo artisans. This conundrum represents the cyclical dynamic of the market economy and the Fred Harvey Company. The Company wanted the pieces to be "authentic" but only as they defined it, in other words, with "traditional" Native patterns, production methods, and materials. This preference ran counter to the era's federal Indian policy of cultural assimilation and did not allow for organic cultural change and innovation, which is inherent in all societies. The Company's insistence on "authenticity" demonstrated that while the Native artisans held autonomy in their craft,

[118] Moore, "Elle Meets the President," 285.
[119] Moore, "Elle Meets the President," 286.

consumers, specifically white tourists and companies, were ultimately the economic gatekeepers. Additionally, there is a long-held contention that Hispanic weavers are "second class" to Navajo weavers in several ways, including assumptions about the inferiority the product itself and the mystique of specifically Indigenous weaving methods. However, the two communities have borrowed patterns and techniques from each other for generations, demonstrating another layer of cultural exchange outside of the Anglo tourism market.[120]

Maria Martinez of San Ildefonso Pueblo

Maria Martinez attained financial success and lasting renown during an era when both were essentially seen as unattainable for Native Americans. Her innovative black pottery and pioneering use of signatures are products of her ability to navigate the landscape of inter- and intra-cultural interactions (Image 7 and Image 8). It is generally accepted that the present Pueblo peoples are cultural descendants of the Anasazi (now called Ancestral Puebloan) tradition.[121] A brief review of Puebloan ethnohistory will help situate Martinez's artistry.

[120] Irvin Trujillo, *Interview at Centinela,* interview by author, August 3, 2018. Irvin Trujillo is a fifth generation Chimayo weaver and business owner in Chimayo, New Mexico.
[121] Nancy S. Arnon and WW Hill, "Santa Clara Pueblo," in *Handbook of North American Indians Volume 9: Southwest*. Smithsonian Institute, 1978.

Image 7 and 8 Maria Martinez blackware and signature c. 1934. Image courtesy of The Marks Project.

In Puebloan communities, kinship is reckoned bilaterally, with moiety affiliation being patrilineal, name giving being matrilineal, and clan affiliation varying, with wives usually taking their husband's clans.[122] With few exceptions, only men participated in rituals held within the kiva, a windowless sacred religious chamber.

When the Spanish arrived in the southwest during the 16th century, they insisted that the Puebloan people cease their religious practices and convert to Christianity. The Pueblo Revolt of 1680 near present-day Santa Fe, New Mexico marks the turning point for Spanish and Pueblo conflict during that era.[123] It was not until the 1930s that Pueblo people would again practice their religion openly. Today, some Pueblo communities, especially the Rio Grande Pueblo, allow

[122] Sandra A. Edelman, "San Ildefonso Pueblo" in *Handbook of North American Indians Volume 9: Southwest*. Smithsonian Institute, 1978.
[123] The Pueblo were able to suppress the Spanish, though they returned to New Mexico out of fear from French advances into the Mississippi Valley and eventually reconquered the Pueblo through a bloodless conquest in 1696. While the independence of the Pueblo was short-lived, the Pueblo Revolt gained the Pueblo Indians a measure of freedom from future Spanish efforts to eradicate their culture and religion. The Franciscan missions did not attempt to impose a full theocracy on the Pueblo, who continued to practice their traditional religion, Sandra A. Edelman, "San Ildefonso Pueblo" in *Handbook of North American Indians Volume 9: Southwest*. Smithsonian Institute, 1978.

outsiders to witness religious ceremonies. However, only members of the Pueblo communities may use the kiva.

While Elle's life began during the march to Bosque Redondo and Maria's life began during another time of conflict, the peak of the U.S./Apache Wars and reform-oriented legislation, the two women came into public prominence at roughly the same time.[124] Maria Montoya Martinez was born probably in 1881 (Image 9). Part of her childhood was spent in St. Catherine's Indian School in Santa Fe. During her life, the population of San Ildefonso Pueblo declined from about 150 people to around 80, while she became the most economically secure person in her group.[125] However, her life was not without hardship. There was dissention within the pueblo partially due to the economic impact from the tourist trade brought about by Maria's success. This conflict eventually led to a break between the communities and a "new" pueblo adjacent the originally established one.[126]

[124] It is important to note that the Pueblo and the Navajo are repainted as pastoral peoples after their respective peaks of conflict. I argue that this mode of representation is further perpetuated by the Harvey Company through printed ephemera and published narratives to juxtapose them with the hostile relationship between Anglo expansion and the Apache in the region.
[125] Alice Marriott, *Maria: The Potter of San Ildefonso*, (Albuquerque, University of New Mexico Press, 1948), xix.
[126] This schism is similar to the Old Oraibi Hopi village near the Grand Canyon, whose ruins acted as inspiration to Mary Colter's Watchtower at the Grand Canyon and is further highlighted in Chapter Four.

Image 9 Maria Martinez burnishing her pots. Image courtesy of the National Museum of Women in the Arts.

Martinez's public career began in 1907, when Dr. Edgar L. Hewett, the ethnologist and director of the School of American Research (SAR) in Santa Fe, solicited Tewa Indians to dig at the ancient ruins of the Pajarito Plateau, a Pueblo settlement close to San Ildefonso.[127] According to later ethnographers, the workers "proved to be excellent shovel men, who took a keen interest in everything they found… the women of the Pueblo, when visiting camp, often held animated discussions as to the vessels from the ruins, and it was suggested to some who were known to be good potters, that they attempt to revive their art, and try to emulate the excellence of the ancient wares."[128] This excavation was the starting point of the revitalization of San Ildefonso pottery

[127] Hewett was also the design director for the San Diego Exhibition. He sponsored Maria and Julian throughout their career, promoting and selling their wares and providing them with materials. He also took them to world's fairs where they demonstrated their distinct pottery style.
[128] Carle E Guthe, *Pueblo Pottery-Making: A Study at the Village of San Ildefonso,* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1925,13

and consequently, the Southwest Indian arts and crafts movement. Realizing the significance of the moment, the authorities of the Museum of New Mexico and the SAR "threw themselves heartily into the task of stimulating the industry."[129]

The pottery reproductions produced for Hewett eventually led to the distinctive designs, black-on-black pottery with a matte black glaze over a jet black polished glossy finish, that made the Martinezes famous. He encouraged Maria and Julian, her husband who was an artist in his own right, to use only Indigenous designs from shards of pottery found at the Tewa ruins in Puye and Otowi, where their ancestors had lived.[130] Ironically, these "authentic" pieces crafted from these artifacts are perhaps not authentic at all. Often, the designs on the shards discovered in excavations may have meant just as little to Maria and Julian and other Indigenous decorators as they did to Anglo viewers.[131]

Manufacturing Native designs to appeal to a wider audience was common with the Fred Harvey Company. After the Company commissioned greater production of tourist merchandise, specifically bracelets, pots, and blankets, they specified special designs for their manufactured pieces. As noted with the transition to lightweight silver and smaller pieces of turquoise, the Native pieces such as arrows and the iconic thunderbird that became the symbol for the Fred Harvey Company were now also branded "mystical Indian symbols." Though Native artisans did

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[129] Guthe *Pueblo Pottery-Making*, 13; With the exception of ceremonial bowls, San Ildefonso pottery is made solely for sale to tourists. The polished black and red ware is made for decorative purposes and not for utility. It is porous and will not hold water until it has been varnished inside.

[130] Julian worked at the Museum of New Mexico as the museum's janitor in addition to farming and labor jobs at San Ildefonso Pueblo. He also served as the governor. He was an easel painter and a leader of the San Ildefonso school, a "self-taught" group of artists from 1900-1930's that was encouraged by Edgar Hewett, who recruited members to create their art for white patronage. For more, see Kenneth Chapman's Santa Fe Artists and Archaeologists, 1907–1931: *The Memoirs of Kenneth Chapman, Edited, annotated, and introduced by Marit K. Munson*, Santa Fe: School of Advanced Research Press, 2008.

[131] Kathy Weir, *Interview in Santa Fe,* interview by author, May 27, 2019., Kathy Weir is a public historian and content creator who manages the Facebook group "Fred Harvey/Mary Colter Fan Club." Her work will be highlighted in Chapter Four and the Conclusion.

use symbols in their art, these were not traditional images used on the earlier, more refined pieces of Navajo silver. Fred Harvey is credited with "creating" these motifs for the smaller tourist pieces, similar to manipulating the earlier images to appeal to the white, tourist base. The meaning of these designs was either fabricated by the decorators or unknown to them entirely, demonstrating an act of control over representation of art and cultural expression by outside forces. This type of control ties into the larger themes of tourism, commodification of artwork and culture, and social change in the Southwest as "authenticity" was fabricated to fill a market niche. This process, however, was also an example of cultural resilience and ingenuity, along with adaptation in the face of these encompassing changes that swept the region at this time.

Ironically, though Chapman was intrigued by the ancient designs, he believed that the craftsmanship of older pots needed improvement. Innovations like the black-on-black style created by the Martinezes were hailed as contemporary traditions. While the concept is an oxymoron, it is a fine example of catering to tourists' desires while ensuring that Native art, whether labeled as "fine" art or as "arts and crafts" was romanticized and remained in the past. Through these actions, Pueblo families reached a degree of self-sufficiency that was rare for Native Americans in an era of reservations and government interference. But even before Hewett or others' assistance, Maria Martinez was already selling pots. Independent of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs reports, the economic benefits were substantial for artists who were fully involved in the tourism network. In the early years of the Indian Fair, a potter might earn $25-90 through a combination of sales and prizes, $388-1,366 today. This was a substantial sum at a time when a single pot sold for between $2.50-$3.00, or around $50 per piece today.[132]

[132] The Indian Market began in 1922 as the first annual Southwest Indian Fair on the Santa Fe Plaza. Today, the Santa Fe Indian Market meets annually in the summer and supports more than 100,000 collectors, proprietors, and fans of Indian art; conversions of prices available through "How much is a dollar from the past worth today?" MeasuringWorth, 2021, https://www.measuringworth.com/dollarvaluetoday/?amount=25&from=1922#; *Kenneth*

Frequently, ethnology or anthropology reports contradict published narratives, namely newspaper, tourism publicity, and even "as told by" pieces, often because of relationship dynamics. William Whitman's *The Pueblo Indians of San Ildefonso*, published in 1947, was researched in San Ildefonso from 1936-1939. Whitman's study is more clinical than others, outlining direct questions on Anglo encroachment and behavior.[133] The Meriam Report investigators posed similar questions about the internal and external forces influencing change among Southwest Indians, though there are discrepancies in the findings.

Whitman noted that "every ethnologist who has done field work among the pueblo peoples knows how extremely reticent and suspicious they are of all ethnologists." He also claimed that the "Indian is extremely secretive, [and] there is a strong prejudice against ethnology and ethnologists among the staff of the Indian service and among many Anglo-Europeans who are emotionally sympathetic to the Indian and who wish to identify themselves with his salvation."[134] Despite these alleged predispositions, William Whitman and his wife, Marjorie, were welcome in the pueblo, implementing good practices and relations with the community. In the introduction, compiled and signed by Marjorie after her husband's death, Marjorie notes that she learned pottery and they made "many friends, asked as few direct questions as possible and participated in the village life in so far as we could without antagonizing the people and without losing caste by pretending to be other than we seemed."[135] In fact, the Whitmans seemed to have made lasting connections. The following year, they

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Chapman's Santa Fe Artists and Archaeologists, 1907–1931: The Memoirs of Kenneth Chapman, Edited, annotated, and introduced by Marit K. Munson, (Santa Fe: School of Advanced Research Press, 2008)*, 153.*

[133] These questions included "Then we asked ourselves why the people behaved as they did. Were there any valid correlations for the pueblo as a whole? What traits were possessed by all members of the group, and last, what forces within and without this society appeared to direct its evolution." Whitman also notes that Kenneth Chapman aided the couple with "unfailing encouragement" (vii). Whitman, *The Pueblo Indians of San Ildefonso*, vi.

[134] Whitman, *The Pueblo Indians of San Ildefonso*, v.

[135] Whitman, *The Pueblo Indians of San Ildefonso*, vi.

received letters from their "particular friends asking for [them] to return."[136] During that next visit, Whitman "rode fence with the Indians, dug ditches, and took part, by invitation, in the annual ceremonial game of shiny and the dance that followed."[137] Ethnologists and Indian Service support staff were not the only non-Natives who felt "emotionally sympathetic" to the livelihood of Southwestern Indians. Members of the Harvey Company Indian Detours in the 1920s also felt moral compunctions concerning their "place" in the region and the Native communities, as explored in Chapter Five.

Maria Martinez -Beyond Her Pottery Legacy

By the late 1920s, pottery became the main source of income for the pueblo, spurred by Maria Martinez's work. All but five women in the pueblo made pottery; two helped another potter, and several others permitted Maria to put her name on their pots in the expectation of a better sale.[138] Whitman noted that the resurgence "supplied families not only with a livelihood but with a surplus over and above the necessities of life. It buys automobiles, furniture, radios, and sends young men to college. Moreover, it is creating a leisure group within the pueblo, and the sale of pottery has helped to focus the attention of the people on the value of the American dollar."[139] This push for pottery fit with the values of the Indian New Deal and the shift from the

[136] Whitman, *The Pueblo Indians of San Ildefonso*, vi.
[137] Whitman, *The Pueblo Indians of San Ildefonso*, v.; Whitman comments that "to the white visitor, the people of San Ildefonso are gentle, reserved, and polite. Only one man in the while village admitted that he disliked white people, and he only did so when he became more than ordinarily candid under the influence of alcohol" (v).
[138] In addition, four women decorate their own pottery, and two have recently taken up painting with some success. Two women are too old to work, and two women, both from other pueblos, have not learned to make pottery; one of these has bad eyesight, Whitman, *The Pueblo Indians of San Ildefonso*, 100.
[139] Whitman, *The Pueblo Indians of San Ildefonso*, 100.; Whitman reported that "In the houses we entered, the living room-bedroom contained modern beds and mattresses, a dresser, a mail-order trunk, and a corner fireplace for warmth." In the homes of the pottery makers, there was also a bench on which pottery was spread out for sale. The

barter system to American capitalism. It also demonstrates that while Maria Martinez might have been the most prominent artist in the region, she was not the only one engaged in and benefitting from the new pottery market.

Various observers noted that it was difficult to get most of the women to go to the trouble of making high-quality pieces when the tourists, who were still the principal purchasers, were equally or even better pleased with "imitation of china water pitchers, ill-made rain-gods and candle sticks."[140] The problem resolved itself into one of supplying a demand. The Museum and Kenneth Chapman purchased large quantities of the pottery "never refusing a creditable piece, never accepting a bad one."[141] Chapman's approach was similar to that of the Harvey Company, accepting only what he deemed quality. However, scholars must question the method of cultivating this market, the pieces of pottery, and the nature of organic artistic motive and creation. Native artisans also question the perception of authenticity in relation to the manufacturing process and maintaining artistry. Businesses and consumers might have questions regarding value for the product: Do these high standards negate authenticity? Are these pieces contrived and manufactured? Or is it part of what we now see as authentic? In comparison, scholars have reframed these concerns through in-depth interviews with Native artists and the community. Authenticity of the work strongly relates to the traditional creation process, though the artists may alter their piece's exterior to appeal to the tourist market. Indeed, "rather than

floors were of wood, or dirt overlaid with linoleum. There were also photographs and holy pictures on the walls in some of the houses, further demonstrating the mixing of religions and cultures in the region.

[140] Guthe, *Pueblo Pottery-Making,* 14.

[141] Guthe, *Pueblo Pottery-Making*, 14.

connoting a loss of authenticity, they identify the process as an 'enlargement' of the culture," altering the perception of authenticity and genuineness.[142]

Other choices also show Martinez's autonomy in her trade. For example, she did not adopt particular commerce practices. Whitman comments that Maria did not engage in trading because she commanded better prices from the tourists than from the traders who sell to them. Her unmarried sister and her daughter-in-law assisted her in pottery-making, while her husband and son helped with the decorating. Maria signed both her name and Julian's, and she would also occasionally buy pottery in the village, finish it, and sell it under her own name.[143] Moreover, in order to provide extra time for her work, Maria employed "Spanish-American" women to help with the housework, illustrating the social strata in the pueblo.[144]

Alice Marriott introduced Maria Martinez to the wider public with her book, *Maria: The Potter of San Ildefonso* in 1948. Marriott noted that "the emphasis in speaking and writing has always been on her unusual qualities, on the facets of her character and disposition that seem to set her apart from humankind in general and from Pueblo womankind in particular."[145] While ethnology reports may act as a primary window into Native communities, there are conflicts in the perceptions between the "as-told-by" narrative and ethnological reports. In these documents, Martinez's actions are defined as "bold" and cause considerable jealousy in the pueblo, but "resentment is softened by the fact that Martinez, as leader, extends credit at her store to her poorer and less successful rivals in the North Plaza faction. In the South Plaza, her supremacy is

[142] Naho U. Maruyama, Tsu-Hong Yen, and Amanda Stronza, "Perception of Authenticity of Tourist Art among Native American Artists in Santa Fe, New Mexico," *International Journal of Tourism Research* 10, no. 5 (2008): 453-466, 453.
[143] *Maria* describes other instances of unusual signature work; Marriott does not reference this uncouth practice.
[144] Whitman uses the term "Spanish American," defining the diverse cultural hub of northern New Mexico; Whitman, *The Pueblo Indians of San Ildefonso,* 105.
[145] Alice Marriott, *Maria: The Potter of San Ildefonso*, Albuquerque, University of New Mexico Press, 1948.

not as yet challenged."[146] This "jealousy" is not reflected in Marriott's as-told-to account and instead her actions are shown as altruistic and selfless responses to her family in need.

In Marriott's work, Martinez is portrayed as a "typical" pueblo woman. When the shopkeepers approached her in 1909-1912 to sell her pieces in Santa Fe, away from the pueblo and her home in order to gain better recognition, she recalled responding "we don't think about being well known or anything… we all just want to get along in this world and be together."[147] Contrary to this comment, Whitman notes that among other women in other practices, work became competitive and women seldom carried on any of their activities as a group.[148] Whitman went so far as to say that Martinez was responsible for furthering the schism at San Ildefonso. There was little criticism of Martinez's business or "forceful sales methods" in the North Plaza. Instead, according to Whitman, members of that community stated, "Maria, she is so good to us." However, there were different dynamics in the South Plaza. The women were not organized, and they worked independently because "pottery is now a highly competitive industry."[149]

Marriott's work is distinct not only because as it is an "as told by" narrative, but also because little concrete evidence is integrated into the piece. While Marriott states that respecting "any conflict of information, the final statement which I have accepted has been Mrs. Martinez's own," because of the "story" approach in which she wrote, the work has been panned by some scholars for having little or no credibility.[150]

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[146] Whitman, *The Pueblo Indians of San Ildefonso*, 105; There were five other women potters in the North Plaza who make and sell pottery independently of Maria. But the tourist buses do not stop regularly, so they worked almost exclusively with traders, either to those who come directly to the pueblo or in Santa Fe.
[147] Marriott, *Maria*, 198.
[148] Whitman, *The Pueblo Indians of San Ildefonso*, 99.; An exception is the work of plastering houses and kivas, and the religious duties of attendance in the kiva and participation in pueblo dances.
[149] Whitman, *The Pueblo Indians of San Ildefonso*, 106.
[150] Marriott, *Maria,* xix; anthropologist Volney H. Jones found fault with the ethnographic process used in *Maria*, citing that "the stream of consciousness method of interview was followed, with minimum questioning and checking. This results in a certain spontaneity and offers many interesting and intimate side-lights, but gives very

One of Maria Martinez's concerns was navigating Hispanic and Pueblo relations in San Ildefonso.[151] The Rio Grande Pueblo reflected a strong Spanish and Mexican influence and by the 1920s, the "question of what is Spanish and what is Pueblo [was] increasingly difficult to determine, for much that was Spanish is now accepted by the Indians themselves as basically Indian."[152] Hispanic people opened cantinas, some of which did not abide by the law and would sell alcohol to Indians. In 1933, the Superintendent visited Maria with concerns about alcohol sales in San Ildefonso. According to Marriott, Maria Martinez believed that the cantinas and other sources caused a greater divide in the pueblo: "Now if one side dances the Buffalo Dance, the other side dances the Humming Bird Dance… There's a hole in the wall, and there's holes in people's hearts."[153] Indeed, it was not only the cantinas that had deteriorated relations with the pueblo. Pride, as Maria defined it, had changed the dynamic. "[There] was a time… when all the people was poor. They was poor together… Now some of us are rich; we have cars; have food; have good clothes. We could help the others more, but the people who aren't rich won't let us… If the pueblo was whole again, they'd take from us like we was their own sisters."[154] Increasing connections with the "outside" world provided these material benefits but also disrupted dynamics within the pueblo.

Beyond her artistic skill and marketing prowess, Maria Martinez was also community and family oriented. Alcohol was a tremendously important factor in Maria and Julian Martinez's professional and personal relationship. Often in the literature, Julian's role as an artist is underemphasized in crafting the iconic blackware. In 1912, National Park Service archeologist

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uneven coverage and reduces coherence" (Volney H. Jones, Reviewed Work(s): Maria, the Potter of San Ildefonso by Alice Marriott, *American Antiquity,* Vol. 16, No. 1 (July, 1950), p. 81-83.)

[151] Maria Martinez uses the phrase "Spanish-American" in her as-told-to narrative. To avoid anachronistic rhetoric, I use the phrase "Hispanic" to encompass the ethnic diversity in the region, including Spanish descent.

[152] Whitman, *The Pueblo Indians of San Ildefonso*, 7.

[153] Marriott, *Maria*, 251.

[154] Marriott, *Maria*, 252.

Jesse Nusbaum enlisted Julian Martinez to serve as foreman to the rebuilding of the Palace of the Governors in Santa Fe.[155] Later, Nusbaum suggested that Julian Martinez travel to San Diego to serve as foreman in the setup of the Painted Desert Exhibit at the Panama-California Exposition in 1915, supervising a number of Native Americans during the construction. Similar to Tom of Ganado, he remained at the Exposition as a translator and ambassador for the Native community. Despite his strengths in other areas, however, Julian Martinez struggled with alcoholism. In an attempt to shield Julian from a toxic environment, Maria bought "Spanish Pete's" home in the village. He was one of the oldest Hispanic families in the area and made wine "for his own use" and not for sale.[156] However, Pete gave the homemade wine to his friends and neighbors, Julian among them. Though this was not the only source of alcohol in the South Plaza, it directly affected the Martinez family, specifically when Maria was interrogated by police after Julian's drunken behavior and multiple day disappearance.[157]

Maria approached Pete and his wife alone, without Julian, and offered to buy his home. Pete demanded one thousand dollars, which Maria had brought with her. When she returned home after the sale, the Superintendent was waiting for her, presumably to discuss her pottery business. Maria told him that she had gone out because "there was a farm for sale, and [she] went to buy it. The boys are growing up, and we have to look out for them."[158] This vignette brings to light several issues. Maria was relieved that she had enough cash with her for the sale, indicating that she had more cash at home. The current value of $1,000 in 2021 is $19,400, showing that

[155] Jesse Nusbaum was the first archeologist hired by the Park Service. In 1909, he became the first employee of the School of American Archeology and Museum of New Mexico in Santa Fe under Dr. Edgar L. Hewett, assisting with the field work at Pajarito Plateau.
[156] Marriott, *Maria,* 254.
[157] Interestingly, Whitman claims there is practically no crime in San Ildefonso and comments only on "serious offenses of a religious nature that threaten the pueblo as a whole" such as the betrayal of religious secrets, are punishable by imprisonment under the custody of the War Captain. However, Whitman did not find any evidence of similar misdeeds.
[158] Marriott, *Maria*, 256.

Maria's business was a tremendous success and shared American cynicism in the US bank system after the stock market crash of 1929.[159]

This episode also suggests a complex and layered relationship between Hispanic and Native residents. Why did Maria Martinez protect Pete from the Superintendent, when she could have reported his illegal activities? Martinez was not the only pueblo resident concerned with outside infringement, as there were separate instances of forced removal of Hispanic families from the pueblo.[160] Whitman commented that "on the whole, the relationship between them is friendly. Nearly all the Indians speak Spanish and a few of the Hispanic can carry on a conversation in Tewa."[161] While Hispanic and Pueblo communities were independent, there was evidently a fickle attitude, as the Pueblo reportedly felt a "mixture of superiority, friendliness, and hostility."[162] The Pueblo were not taxed and received government aid and were therefore considered wealthier than their Hispanic neighbors. The success of the artisans also added to this difference in wealth. Perhaps Maria elided the true nature of the transaction with Pete to avoid further strife in the community, while asserting her role as not only a good wife in protecting her home and business, but also a strong female leader.

Julian's role in the business was similarly complicated. He was a self-taught painter and began to decorate Maria's pots as a source of income in 1920, and by 1925, other men followed suit and nearly all the men decorated their wives' pots or the pots of close female relatives,

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[159] "How much is a dollar from the past worth today?" MeasuringWorth, 2021, www.measuringworth.com/dollarvaluetoday/
; According to Guthe *Pueblo Pottery-Making: a Study at the Village of San Ildefonso*, 14, Maria's income was "probably not less than $2,000.00 a year."
[160] Whitman, *The Pueblo Indians of San Ildefonso*, 5.; Whitman refers to Spanish-Americans as non-American Indians of Spanish descent
[161] Whitman, *The Pueblo Indians of San Ildefonso*, 8.
[162] Whitman, *The Pueblo Indians of San Ildefonso*, 8.

precipitating a change in income and gender roles and responsibilities.[163] Julian served as a collaborator and decorator, and he and Maria worked together to find a consistent system in replicating the black finish. However, Julian's role in Maria's artistic enterprise is often diminished. Perhaps Julian's drinking problem was perceived as a threat to Maria's success. Allegedly, she left the pueblo for part-time residence in Santa Fe and for national tours to ensure that Julian did not drink, a concern implied in Marriott's text. Maria lived until 1980, while Julian died in 1943, so it may be that her longevity and rise to the public eye eclipsed their collaborative stint. Her charm and graciousness were not the "natural, unstudied qualities of an unsophisticated woman, but arose from the conscious effort to meet and deal with situations that have become part of her daily life through no effort or desire of her own."[164] In rising to these concerns, she traveled throughout the United States as a demonstrator, artist, and tourist herself. Maria's experiences abroad and with the Fred Harvey Company will be covered in the subsequent chapter.

In San Ildefonso, work and attitudes about work were also highly gendered. Men's work tended to be cooperative, primarily through government projects such as digging ditches.[165] Whitman identified several varied explanations of the divisions of labor, specifically in the arts and government-sponsored work. For example, men returned to agriculture because it was considered "the proper pursuit for a man and [he] had grown tired of painting, though he still

[163] William Whitman, *The Pueblo Indians of San Ildefonso: A Changing Culture.* New York: Columbia University Press. 1947, 104.; Julian was also a self-taught painter and commenced his work with Hewett, who gave him materials and urged him to paint still-lifes and abstracts. He was among numerous men in San Ildefonso who "demonstrated an ability to go beyond the early art forms that seemed at the time so fresh and full of promise." However, Whitman claimed that men rarely painted, even though there was a market for their work, especially among the visitors to Santa Fe. Whitman, *The Pueblo Indians of San Ildefonso*, 108.
[164] Marriott, *Maria San Ildefonso Potter*, xi.
[165] Whitman, *The Pueblo Indians of San Ildefonso*, 99.

paints a few pictures for sale."[166] The majority of the men interviewed stated that decorating pottery was "easier" but government work "paid better."[167] According to Whitman, the crafts did not offer the men a sufficient return for their labor. During the winter months when most of the crafts work was formerly done, the men chose to work for the government at a higher wage than what could be earned through only painting pottery for the tourist market.[168] Despite the desire to work for the government, Whitman noted that few men left the pueblo. Occasionally, one of the San Ildefonso residents would join a group of men who left the pueblo to seek work "in an attempt to capitalize his knowledge of Indian songs and dances… but the number is small and the success is slender."[169] Government employment became so essential and coveted that it became a matter of jealousy and changed the concept of daily work and labor. Men began to consider labor in terms of a daily wage, indicating a change in work ethic and culture.[170]

Indeed, women were the predominant earners in the community. The lack of consistent work for the men highlights the women in the pueblo as responsible for bringing income to the family and promoting tourism. Those individuals who traveled away from the pueblo to government or boarding schools or to tour the country giving lectures or demonstrations, such as with the Fred Harvey Company or with world's fairs, had the greatest difficulty readjusting.

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[166] Agriculture is nominally the basis of pueblo economy, but within the last few decades it has slowly dwindled in importance. This is due to several factors: the returns from agriculture are small in comparison to work for the Government, and the sale of pottery and paintings brings readier cash. Moreover, the lack of water and the difficulties of irrigation have done much to discourage farming. Of the 19,305 acres of the pueblo grant, only 305 acres are in farms; and while most of the older men are still energetic and dutiful farmers, there are only six in the pueblo who raise enough produce to support themselves and their families. The younger men prefer less arduous labor, and devote most of their time to Government work or decorating pottery, Whitman, *The Pueblo Indians of San Ildefonso*, 112.

[167] Whitman, *The Pueblo Indians of San Ildefonso*, 109.

[168] Whitman, *The Pueblo Indians of San Ildefonso*, 111.

[169] Whitman, *The Pueblo Indians of San Ildefonso*, 116.

[170] At the time of the study, there were 56 adults in San Ildefonso, 28 men and 28 women. Whitman describes the men "as discreet, temperate, submissive to the paternal authority of the pueblo leaders, industrious, hospitable, and cooperative. Women [were] hardworking, submissive to the authority represented by the village officers or their husbands, and [were] discreet and cooperative in the home;" Whitman, *The Pueblo Indians of San Ildefonso*, 147.

With the expansion of the railroad, and therefore tourism, women gained a commanding position economically, which directly affected their status in the pueblo.[171] Because pottery-making was primarily women's work, it gave women an unprecedented economic and social importance. Most of the men took advantage of the situation by decorating and firing the pottery, and so became associated with the rewards, but they were not essential to the production or sale.[172] Most significantly, the women of San Ildefonso were responsible for the revitalization of a cultural craft that was languishing and, according to not only Whitman and other anthropologists, but also Fred Harvey Company management, not of high quality. The success of the revitalization movement led by Edgar Hewett, Kenneth Chapman, and the Martinez family and their partners, among others, shows that the two decades prior to the Indian New Deal, economic and cultural revitalization were already well underway in the Southwest thanks to the burgeoning tourist market.

Entrepreneurship and Wage Labor in Relation to Power Dynamics

In analyzing the economic dynamics, scholars have questioned the role of entrepreneurship versus wage labor concerning the employment of Native workers. The Fred Harvey Company had a reputation with Native employees in offering fair wages and additional benefits for the regional agricultural tribes, such as year-round income and accommodations for employees who would need to return for farming seasons. With the exception of the Navajo silversmiths and Pueblo painters, the employees were mainly women weavers, basket makers, and potters. Because of the steady revenue generated by tourists brought west by the Santa Fe

[171] Whitman, *The Pueblo Indians of San Ildefonso*, 148.
[172] Whitman, *The Pueblo Indians of San Ildefonso*, 100.

Railroad and the Harvey Company, they often became the main source of financial support for their families.[173]

Scholars have made fine distinctions in wage labor and artistic integrity. Leah Dilworth argues that "wage labor does not signify authenticity; wage labor is 'alienated' labor."[174] In contrast, Native artisan labor permits a type of authenticity that is based on the "handmade" quality rather than the mass-produced items that were becoming ubiquitous during the turn of the century industrialization. The production of objects intended for sale to tourists shows that Native artisans were aware of the tourists' interests and the national market base. They were largely independent and responsive to the marketing trends, indicating that they were neither backward looking nor blind to modernity.

In defining wage labor and entrepreneurship, it is important to consider the power dynamics between groups. Much of the scholarship to date has downplayed Native American agency and economic power, distorting the historical narrative. For example, before and even during the Fred Harvey Company's agreement with the San Ildefonso community and others, there was still trade occasionally carried on with Santo Domingo traders and migrant Navajos. But most of the Pueblo women dealt either with the white traders who visited in trucks, or brought their wares to the trading stores in Santa Fe. Quite a remunerative cash trade was carried on by the women in their own homes, where they sold pots and postcards to summer tourists.[175] Indeed, Elle of Ganado and Maria Martinez gained tremendous success working in their homes, where visitors could witness and purchase their work, but on the women's own land and their

[173] Curtin, "Discourses of American Indian Racial Identity," 382; The Harvey Company maintained a façade of traditional Native dynamics as presenting women as the dominant artisan worker for the family.
[174] Leah Dilworth, "'Handmade by an American Indian': Souvenirs and the Cultural Economy of Southwestern Tourism" in Hal Rothman, *The Culture of Tourism, the Tourism of Culture: Selling the Past to the Present in the American Southwest*, (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2003), 107.
[175] Whitman, *The Pueblo Indians of San Ildefonso*, 111.

own terms – and to their benefit. Often, scholars contend that there is one side to this operation: the unfair treatment and oppression of the Native employees.[176] However, there are arguably positive dynamics, specifically with the Fred Harvey Company, despite the clear pressures.

One incident suggests how Maria and Julian Martinez were able to work the system to their advantage. While the highly burnished, black-on-black ceramics have become synonymous with San Ildefonso style, the original pots were apparently a firing mistake. The Martinezes were concerned with the outcome, initially labeling them as "spoiled" and not sellable. However, in the early 1910s, Julian sold "special ones" to a shopkeeper in Santa Fe at a higher price because they were "different."[177] Marriott wrote that Julian's "face was sober, but his eyes were laughing" as he consulted with the shopkeeper. Maria was quick to extend the experiment with an even higher price for the allegedly worthless pieces. Entrepreneurship is unpredictable, regardless of racial dynamics. But the decision to "trick" the shopkeeper in this set of crafty negotiations benefitted both the Anglo market and the Martinezes overall. Indeed, Julian apparently exclaimed to Maria after the meeting that "it won't be long till you get that stove!"[178]

There is a tremendous amount of salvaged correspondence between Huckel, Schweizer, and Hubbell on the Anglo and Native dynamics at the Indian Department. Across the board, it was Native employees' primary job to create their wares and be on display for tourists. In a series of letters, Schweizer explained to Hubbell that the Native employees "should be working from 7:30 a.m. to noon. They can work as much or as little as they want to in the afternoon but must come back after supper for about one hour for the evening trains."[179] The trains dictated the

[176] See Marta Weigle and Barbara Babcock, *The Great Southwest of the Fred Harvey Company and the Santa Fe Railway*, Tucson: University of Arizona, 1996.
[177] Marriott, 201-202.
[178] Marriott, *Maria San Ildefonso Potter*, 202.
[179] Curtin, "Discourses of American Indian Racial Identity," 382.

work schedule, but employees were not mandated to work more than they wanted. This was a good enough deal for artisans, demonstrators, and their families to move away from their homes, farms, and communities for several months at a time. Native employees who were considered more valued for their fame, expertise, and demeanor would be given special treatment with transporting of goods and materials for their crafts. Maria Martinez, who was considered to be one of the most prized Harvey assets even after they parted ways, had Indian agents, the superintendent, and museum employees import sand and other pottery materials for her work on-site at Harvey establishments and at the world's fairs.

Schweizer and Huckel preferred to have a group of women, men, and children to provide scenes of domestic familiarity and artistic comradery. This intention was multi-fold. While it is undeniable that the primary impetus was capitalistic in nature, there were additional internal and familial dynamics. As with any corporation, it was essential to maintain high morale and positivity in the workplace, even if that workplace was an open showroom. Schweizer and Huckel knew that the demonstrators would be happier, and therefore, more productive, if they were surrounded by family. It also offered tourists a sense of familiarity with a nostalgic simulation of the comforts of home, both tangible and intangible, gesturing to a pre-modern economy centered in the home, and may have been particularly attractive in a time of changing gender norms, with more women working outside the home.

While scholars tend to assign resistance narratives upon silenced populations, there is an aspect of resistance within actions taken by the Harvey Company executives against federal regulations, specifically in imploring Indian agents to keep Native children out of the boarding schools and with their families. The Harvey Company representatives had to obtain Indian agents' permission for the children to accompany their families. The agents were employees of

the federal Office of Indian Affairs, whose policy was to wean Indian children *away* from traditional culture, the very culture that was supposedly being preserved, commodified, and marketed.

However, these acts were not fully altruistic. The Indian boarding schools were a method of acculturation and assimilation, with attempts to erase all knowledge of tradition and culture. Pragmatically, the Harvey Company would have fewer employees if the next generation had no marketable cultural knowledge. Despite the Company's intentions, one undeniable outcome was that some of these families were afforded the opportunity to remain together as they worked towards economic self-sufficiency.

Misguided Stewards of the Southwest

Artisans like Elle of Ganado, and later Maria Martinez and her community, who embodied for eastern tourists an exotic, but "safe" environment, became symbols of the modern Southwest, and Native women found new markets for their craft, while the tourism industry flourished. In navigating a myriad of source bases and varying instances of entrepreneurship that confound Anglo-centric concepts of Native anti-modernity, this chapter has shed light on socioeconomic trends that characterized Southwest in the early twentieth century, in part as the result of the growth of the Fred Harvey Company.

Pottery offset the most direct threat to sustainability that San Ildefonso faced. It became a cushion against destitution, and the Indian Arts and Crafts Board sought to replicate its success in other communities. In writing Maria's story, Alice Marriott stated that it was her "hope that the material here presented will show that Mrs. Martinez has met and overcome many problems

which do not present themselves to the average Pueblo Indian woman, but that her method of overcoming obstacles has always been one which might have been predicted from a study of the group to which she belongs."[180] What was initially a grassroots movement eventually became a government sanctioned program to create financial independence and a resurgence in cultural arts and crafts. In many ways, the Fred Harvey Company was a catalyst for this movement through their hiring practices and their push for quality goods. Indeed, a Santa Clara Pueblo elder remembered in 1994 how "before the Harvey buses came it was hard for the women. After they started coming it seemed like the women were the ones who were the providers, the moneymakers, and the men did the farming."[181]

The Harvey Company also positioned itself as the humanitarian champion of not only its Native employees, but the Native culture in general, protecting them from government interference and from other groups that company personnel believed would exploit them. But through this discourse, Native participants resisted and became successful in their own right and on their own terms, as seen through Maria Martinez purchasing modern appliances and Spanish Pete's home to protect and provide for her family.

The Fred Harvey Company promoted Native American economic self-sufficiency through their work as artisans and demonstrators, anticipating federal legislation that would encourage such enterprises but with a greater degree of success. Ironically, the Company pushed back against the federal policies throughout its tenure in Southwest. In this paternalistic practice, Company officials believed they had Natives' "best interests" in mind with respect to health and education. As a result, rising up the Company ranks, which was typical for other Harvey

[180] Alice Marriott, *Maria San Ildefonso Potter*, (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1942), xi.
[181] Curtin, "Discourses of American Indian Racial Identity," 384.; Gregorita Chavarria, cited in Howard and Pardue, *Inventing the Southwest: The Fred Harvey Company and Native American Art,* (Flagstaff: Northland Publishing), 1996, 126.

Company employees, was not an option for Native employees, "who were perpetually relegated to the bottom rung of the family tree."[182] And while Harvey Girls, who were overwhelmingly white, were not allowed to marry while employed by the Company, polygamous Native groups were allowed to bring multiple wives and children to places of Harvey employment.

The success of the Harvey tourist enterprise depended on access to a circumscribed "Native" experience. But the Native artisans and demonstrators controlled the access, ranging from the seasons and events they worked, ceremonies and spaces tourists were permitted to enter, and later in their affiliation, images that could be used on Harvey Company materials. Through surveying correspondence and recognizing best practices in the Fred Harvey Company, it appears that these efforts were a serendipitous current spreading through the post-industrial world, and this research uses the Harvey Company as a lens to view this conjunction between federal legislation and private enterprise where Native entrepreneurs could thrive.

The Fred Harvey Company attempted to make the Southwest a sort of tourists' mecca for those who desired an escape from modernity. This meant that the Company intended to promote a particular idea of Native Americans in the Southwest for the Company's benefit, as well as that of tourist consumers. But in exaggerating the differences between Navajo, Pueblo, and Anglo cultures, it inadvertently helped lay the framework for some beneficial actions.

Ultimately, like many of the paternalistic attitudes of the federal government, tourism conglomerates, like the Fred Harvey Company, embarked on a series of well-intentioned missions that had unintended consequences. "The railroad company is very much interested in the success of this project" Huckel wrote to Hubbell, "and the tourists are as much so, and I think it will help eventually the…. Indians by creating a market for their goods."[183] However, this

[182] Curtin, "Discourses of American Indian Racial Identity," 383.
[183] Curtin, "Discourses of American Indian Racial Identity," 381.

sentiment and statement was decades before the Indian New Deal. In 1915, Dr. Hewett was appointed to take charge of the anthropological exhibits at the Panama-California Exposition. The Native employees for the Fred Harvey Company, the Santa Fe Railroad, and at the world's fairs were paid a salary, room and board, provided medical care (though it was Westernized), and allowed to sell their crafts directly to the public and accept tips. There, Julian and Maria discovered that they could get better prices for their pots than they had believed possible and charged twice what they did in New Mexico. But while this was a stimulus to the craft, Whitman comments that it did not of itself solve the problem of encouraging the Native artisans to make better pots.[184] The success and at times, frustration held by the Native artisans at the world's fairs will be covered in the following chapter.

Alice Marriott encompasses the Anglo woes of the era in her prefacing sentiment:

> As a working ethnographer, to push wishful thinking into effect [preserve Indian culture from outside sources/watch its workings/to think that all is sweetness and light at San Ildefonso before the highway was built and there were cars, and tourists could come and go in the village at will and random] would be to hold back time. That the Pueblo Indians might be willing to see it happen, I do not doubt; that it might be the best thing for them, I do doubt."[185]

It is historians' responsibility to place time into perspective. Presentism, which is placing present-day perspectives into interpretations of the past, can cause distortion of historical narratives' content and context. In the same way that the Harvey Company executives may be labeled as "misguided stewards," I argue that Whitman, Marriott, and others' writings should not be placed in the confines of the present. The wistful nature of the narrative is indicative of many

[184] Whitman, *The Pueblo Indians of San Ildefonso,* 102.
[185] Marriott, *Maria*, xxix.

of the non-Native anthropologists, ethnologists, writers, and artists who moved to the Southwest to research Native peoples while simultaneously escaping the trials of modernity. However, members of the Native community, like Maria Martinez, were not pre-modern or anti-modern, as evidenced by her desire and need for the stove, shattering the image of Native women as static and displaced from modernity.

In the following chapter, I will continue to highlight Native artisans' employment through the Fred Harvey Company, with an emphasis on the world's fairs. Native artisans, performers, demonstrators, and laborers worked at numerous tourist hubs, including the Alvarado Hotel in Albuquerque, New Mexico, and several world's fairs, specifically the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1893, the Louisiana Purchase Exposition in St. Louis in 1904, and the Panama-California Exposition in San Diego in 1915-1917. These were sites of great cultural exchange that allowed Native women to showcase their work, providing new opportunities for income and autonomy and elevating it as a major commodity in a global market. It also created a new and distinct method of place-making at these demonstration sites, as Native peoples often resided in these spaces for extended periods, further complicating the exchange between the toured and toured-upon.

CHAPTER III

THE FRED HARVEY COMPANY AND WORLD'S FAIRS: A STUDY OF REPRESENTATIONS AND MEMORY OF INDIGENOUS PEOPLES AT WORLD'S FAIRS

In the early 1910's, a Detroit Publishing Company "Photostint" postcard depicted the entrance to the Indian Building at the Alvarado Hotel in Albuquerque, New Mexico (Image 10). This carefully crafted image shows Native artisans, primarily Navajo, Santa Domingo Pueblo, and San Ildefonso Pueblo, seated along the walkway, while white tourists who had just descended from the train, peer over their wares.[186] A similar postcard from 1920 depicting the Indian work room in the Indian Building in Albuquerque, New Mexico, announced that tourists could watch "a number of Navahos spinning and dyeing wool, weaving blankets, and making silver ornaments with their crude tools…[and] are lounging around in their picturesque costumes."[187] Though the postcard is contradictory as the artisans are described as both working and lounging in "costumes," such was often visitors' first glance of Native art and culture, as curated by the Fred Harvey Company.[188] It was also an influential global projection of Native life in the American Southwest. These postcards and other promotional materials helped to create

186 "Entrance to Indian Building, Albuquerque, N.M.," Alvarado Box. *GP, NMHM*. Nancy Stechschulte dates the "79000" series postcards from 1910 in *The Detroit Publishing Company Postcards*, 1994, 251.

187 "Indian Work Room, Indian Building, Albuquerque, New Mexico," Alvarado Box. *GP, NMHM*. These postcards range from 1907 to 1930. "XX" is listed on the center line, indicating the postcard was published in 1920.

188 The Detroit Photographic Company (rebranded Detroit Publishing) employed eight full-time photographers to travel via railroad in specially outfitted cars to photograph the scenery later converted to postcards. Photostint, the lithographic process used to make postcards, was originally developed in Switzerland, where it was called Photochrom. At this point in time, each color was printed separately and applied eight to twenty different colors to each card. In the following decades, particularly with linen postcards in the 1930s, photo printers developed the process of overlapping colored dots to create illusions of fully colored cards. The Detroit Publishing Company went bankrupt in 1923, though it continued to print postcards for the Fred Harvey Company until 1932. Most of the postcards used by the Harvey Company were printed by Curt Teich.

a framework for representing Native cultures on an international scale at world's fairs and expositions in the early twentieth century.

Image 10 Postcards of the Entrance to the Indian Building, Albuquerque, New Mexico. Image courtesy of New Mexico History Museum.

Though historians have long examined Anglo-centric ideas of the Southwest, less work has considered the impact of cultural tourism and staged authenticity forged in this region but then broadcast globally. The postcards mentioned above illustrate the paradox of Indigenous workers being seen by whites as "lounging" while producing a craft. These images were deliberately designed to convey a narrative that the Native artisans, performers, and demonstrators were not true participants in the labor force. Rather, they were "primitive" craftspeople who reluctantly participated in the modern economy while clinging to their parochial ways. This chapter will examine materials from various types of tourism and elaborately staged "authentic" Native experiences in indigenous homelands of the Southwest and at world's fairs abroad to explore the implications of this depiction.

In this research, cultural tourism means tourism that purports to authentically represent the stories and people of the past. Mary Colter, the Harvey Company's legendary lead designer, applied the concepts of heritage tourism, among others, decades before the trend came into vogue. Colter's practices and how they contributed to "creating" the modern Southwest will be discussed in Chapter Four.

The concept of staged authenticity was introduced by Dean MacCannell in the context of ethnic tourism and is defined as a cultural production that is not a complete recreation of the past, but a nostalgic collective memory crafted with the present audiences in mind.[189] Though the theory of ethnic tourism, which purports to authentically represent the stories and people of the past, has been applied to the Harvey Company's practices, I argue that heritage tourism is a better fit, regarding the central purpose of the Company's work: to generate revenue.

[189] MacCannell, "Staged Authenticity: Arrangements of Social Space in Tourist Settings," 589-603.

These innovative business practices and accompanying cultural shifts occurred at a time of significant change in federal Indian policies as noted in the previous chapter. The tourism industry in the West was greatly transformed during the period between the implementation of the Dawes Act in 1887 and John Collier's Indian New Deal of the 1930s. These programs resulted in extensive Native forced removal, acculturation, and assimilation, while changing the idea of Native labor for the outside public. The assimilationist imperative was juxtaposed with the simultaneous efforts of the Fred Harvey Company, AT&SF, and the National Park Service to commodify "authentic" Native cultural identities through spectacle and performance. And yet, federal policy shifts directly undergirded the possibility of creating regional tourism in which white travelers could "see the Indians."

The Progressive era transition from traveler to tourist heralded the creation of a pseudo-authentic experience, the democratization of travel, and the rapid growth of commercial tourism. This trend led to a decline in expressions of cultural distinctiveness in specific regions of the West and a concordant rise in the standardization and homogenization of a place and idea marketed as "the Southwest."[190] Although cultural tourism involves "an exchange of information…this exchange is always uneven; the challenge in planning for cultural tourism is to ensure that the exchange takes place as equitably as possible, in a manner seen as appropriate by members of the host community."[191] The Southwest has become a space where "people can see the past as they want it to be, take a piece of it with them, and feel their distance from the norms of the mainstream." [192] Rail travel, like other changes in technology, made this process possible.

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[190] David Wrobel and Patrick Long, *Seeing and Being Seen: Tourism in the American West* (Lawrence: University of Kansas, 2001), 5.; See Daniel Boorstin, *The Image; or, What Happened to the American Dream,* New York: Atheneum, 1962.

[191] Susan Guyette and David White, "Reducing the Impacts of Tourism through Cross-Cultural Planning," in Hal Rothman, *The Culture of Tourism, the Tourism of Culture: Selling the Past to the Present in the American Southwest*, Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2003, 169.

[192] Guyette and White, "Reducing the Impacts of Tourism through Cross-Cultural Planning," 169.

During the long Progressive era, which extended from 1880s to the New Deal Era, railroad expansion not only fostered tourism, but also frequently followed paths devised by the greed of the company men, as tracks were laid across sparsely-populated territories primarily for railroad companies' financial advancement and not for the public good, despite receiving substantial government subsidies.[193] Alongside changes in society during this era, particularly in notions of masculinity and femininity that will be discussed in later chapters regarding the Harvey Girls and Indian Detour couriers, was the perceived need for Americans to escape from modernity and return to natural living. As noted in Chapter Two, there was a desire for anti-modernism during the turn of the century, presaging anxious urbanites and a select group of anti-urban anti-industrialists who looked to the American West to find meaning and purpose. Of particular interest were the perceived lifeways of supposedly vanishing Native Americans. Several of these cultural critics, such as "first tourists" George Bird Grinnell, Mary Austin, and Mabel Doge Luhan, claimed that the simple and "primitive" lifeways of the Southwest Indians were the answer to urban distress and dissatisfaction with modernity. [194]

Eastern tourists found what they desired in the publications of Charles Lummis, or "Don Carlos," who helped craft and define the Southwest for many Americans between 1884 and 1900.[195] The regionalist writer Lummis was at the forefront of promoting Southwestern tourism and published several travelogues and histories of the area in the late nineteenth century. He was one of the first writers hired by the Harvey Company to plan and promote its Southwestern

[193] Elisabeth Perry states in "Men Are from the Gilded Age, Women Are from the Progressive Era" that historians should consider a "more capacious and flexible periodization for the progressive movement." Daniel Rodgers also argues for a "long" Progressive Era, stretching from 1870 to World War II. For this research, I will be using her extended time period into the New Deal to encompass the legislation and subsequent changes in meanings of labor during the Indian New Deal.; Leroy G. Dorsey, "Theodore Roosevelt and Corporate America, 1901-1909: A Reexamination," *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 25, no. 4 (Fall 1995): 725-39.
[194] This "select group" includes individuals noted in Sheryl L. Smith, *Reimagining Indians: Native Americans through Anglo Eyes, 1880–1940,* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.
[195] Bryant, *Culture in the American Southwest,* 58.

routes. He was especially interested in New Mexico's Spanish and Native histories. Following General George H. Crook's campaign against the Apaches in 1886, "Lummis came to admire the Indians far more than their pursuers."[196] *They Know New Mexico* (*TKNM*), a promotional brochure produced for the Harvey Company's Indian Detour experience, was distributed to passengers on the Indian Detour and featured essays and poetry contributed by modernist writers.[197] *TKNM,* the use of other promotional materials by the Harvey Company, and the writings by predominantly non-indigenous authors will be discussed in Chapter Four. These activities tie into the reformist impulse of the era, specifically the need to check industrialization and corporate greed and the perceived weakening of American masculinity.[198]

In this chapter, I will discuss how Indian artisans' craft and employment through the Fred Harvey Company and world's fairs was not only culturally meaningful, but also developed them and their work into major commodities in a global market. In many ways, craft entrepreneurialism allowed women to battle the economic woes of the reservation, while also strengthening new forms of cultural and kinship ties. For example, as noted in the previous chapter, Elle of Ganado challenged depictions of Navajo women weavers as hobbyists who worked in their spare time to fashion the Southwestern aesthetic. Her efforts, along with those of other Native artisans, refuted the idea that they were "cultural performers" rather than

[196] Bryant, *Culture in the American Southwest*, 58.
[197] The Fred Harvey Company created *They Know New Mexico: Intimate Sketches by Western Writers* in 1928 to promote their latest extension of the Indian Detours. These modernist authors and the Harvey Company shared pressing concerns about regional authenticity and preservation. The brochure is one of the outcomes of several decades of collaboration between the literary Southwest and the tourist industry in the region. These promotional materials, which blended the genres of travel guide and ethnography, closely resemble the travel guides produced by the Works Progress Administration (WPA) in the 1930s and 1940s, especially those focused on regionally distinct areas.
[198] Sheryl L. Smith, *Reimagining Indians: Native Americans through Anglo Eyes, 1880–1940*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.

"workers."[199] The separation of Native artisans from the economic sphere negates their experiences and contributions, plays into "mythic" but marketable images, and paints these women as static and displaced from modernity.

I will also explain how Indian employees in the tourism industry used cultural exchange and resistance to create their own identity and craft their own "home" while seemingly displaced during the period from the turn of the century until the 1920s. The Alvarado Hotel in Albuquerque, New Mexico, and several prominent world's fairs, specifically the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1893, the Louisiana Purchase Exposition in St. Louis in 1904, and the Panama-California Exposition in San Diego in 1915-1917 were spaces of tremendous social and cultural exchange that created a global impact while also providing Native peoples new opportunities for income and autonomy.

Beyond the concepts of created home and community, notions of place-making and belonging are reflected in scholarship within Indigenous studies, as well as work on regionalism and collective memory. As such, this chapter will examine contested ideas of "placefulness" between Native and non-Native peoples, and among Native people who traveled to more metropolitan and "white" spaces, and as well as the role of imperialism through tourism. I will also explore how Indigenous individuals were treated in these spaces, elaborating upon historian David Wrobel's concept of the "toured" and "toured upon." My analysis in this chapter focuses on change over time regarding Indigenous encounters, representations, and the quality of Native life at these expositions, which will help illuminate parallel patterns in Fred Harvey Company planned communities and experiences in the Southwest, particularly at the Grand Canyon.

[199] Kathy M'Closkey, "Unraveling the Narratives of Nostalgia: Navajo Weavers and Globalization," *Indigenous Women and Work: From Labor to Activism*, Baltimore: University of Illinois Press, 2012, 121. For more in cultural performers, see Philip Burnham, *Indian Country, God's Country,* Washington, DC: Island Press, 2000.

The reformist impulses of the Progressive era, coupled with popular disaffection with urbanization and industrialization led to a yearning among Anglo Americans for a safe and immersive encounter with other ways of living. This era was also the first time in history that large numbers of people could travel around the nation and to the Southwest safely and at an obtainable cost. Middle and upper-class Anglo Americans were also able to live out escapist fantasies through immersive cultural tourism because of policy changes. As noted with Maria Martinez and other artisans in the previous chapter, while agriculture was the basis of Pueblo economy, it had "dwindled" to less importance due to the profitable market of the sale of pottery and paintings. Indeed, according to Whitman's *The Pueblo Indians of San Ildefonso: A Changing Culture,* "younger men prefer[ed] less arduous labor, and devote[ed] most of their time to Government work or decorating pottery."[200]

Though this artisan revival arguably was a forerunner of the Indian New Deal, it effectively destroyed the ability of some Native artisans, performers, and laborers to dictate the terms of exchange in geographic regions under their historic control. Because Anglo Americans were averse to seeing the Southwest as a multicultural region characterized by an occasionally chaotic mix of competing distinct cultures, the ideal of the Native artisan led to the development of new, homogenized, and broader foundations for the Southwest. New models confounded tropes about the superiority of civilization on the East coast that white tourists were trying to escape, while simultaneously riding the reformist impulse pushed by white progressives to "kill the Indian, save the man" by incorporating Natives' culture and labor into this new tourism

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[200] Whitman, *The Pueblo Indians of San Ildefonso,* 112. Moreover, the lack of water and the difficulties of irrigation discouraged farming. Of the 19,305 acres of the pueblo grant, only 305 acres were farmable. And while most of the older men were "still energetic and dutiful farmers, there [were] only six in the pueblo who raise[d] enough produce to support themselves and their families."

economy. Native laborers in varying capacities and roles interacted with this new construct on their own terms and eventually came to influence the way they were depicted through participation in the economy and subtle forms of resistance. Thus, while Native artisans and demonstrators were "toured upon," they were also able to carve out space and opportunities for themselves in this newly imagined Southwest through active participation in the tourism industry. This dynamic has had lasting consequences.

Fred Harvey's Indian Department

The Alvarado Hotel in Albuquerque was built on a grand scale at a cost of $200,000 ($4.2 million today), and the new Harvey House opened with considerable fanfare in 1902. The hotel was designed by Harvey Company architectural designer Mary Colter, who became one of the Company's most valued and significant employees. The Alvarado trended more toward California Mission style, unlike the other simple "domestic" style depots in the area. It was a "unpretentious stucco covered building, often enclosing small intimate gardens and courtyards, with shaded loggias, textured brick and tile floors, broad fireplaces and wood beamed ceilings."[201] The hotel originally had eighty-eight rooms, a large dining room, two parlors, offices, a lunchroom, kitchens, laundry, reading and writing rooms, a barbershop, and living quarters on site for Harvey employees. The Harvey House was situated in New Town, an area of downtown that had a more "Eastern" aesthetic. An arcade extended from the hotel to the train

[201] The Alvarado was named for Hernando de Alvarado, who had explored the Southwest with Francisco Coronado on the famous expedition of 1540 to 1542. The first Harvey House in Albuquerque was a red frame building built near the depot in 1880s, when it was decided that a new structure would be built to replace the simple building; Sandra Lynn, *Windows on the Past: Historic Lodgings of New Mexico*, (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1999), 13.

station where Native artisan demonstrators displayed their wares.[202] Colter helped create a new cocktail lounge called La Cocina Cantina, which replicated an early Spanish kitchen, with an old whitewashed brick fireplace and droplights in Mexican parrot cages. Colter also designed special uniforms for the Harvey Girls assigned to the Cantina—copies of old Spanish dresses with long swishing petticoats and bright scarves for aprons. The Depression years were hard on the smaller Harvey Houses (such as the Harvey House at Belen, New Mexico, and El Ortiz in Lamy, New Mexico), but the Alvarado remained open and busy, employing laid-off Harvey employees from other sites.

During World War Two, the Alvarado became a major stop for military trains. As referenced in the introduction, the Harvey Company hired a separate group of waitresses, called "troop-train girls," who served only servicemen. This was the first time for the Harvey Company to hire "local girls" without following the usual hiring processes. These women were typically Hispanic or Native American and did not go through traditional Harvey training. Though at the time it changed the "Harvey standard," these new hiring measures were a comparatively progressive move, ushering in a new multicultural era in the hospitality and service industry.[203]

Prior to the mid-century transitions in business and personnel, the Harvey Company's relationship with local tribes began in 1902 with the establishment of the Indian Department in

[202] Despite the renovation in the 1950s to appeal to highway travel and though the Alvarado was located on Route 66, it did not have the same appeal as the new motels. Also, as with La Posada in Winslow, Arizona, areas of downtown were deteriorating. After several years of preservation efforts and "battling city hall," the Alvarado was quietly demolished in 1970 and remained a gravel parking lot for over thirty years. In 2002, the Alvarado Transportation Center (ATC) opened to serve Amtrak and Greyhound Bus passengers. New Mexico's Rail Runner commuter trains use one building along with ABQRide, the local transit agency. The complex cost over $8 million dollars. The FTA, city of Albuquerque, State of New Mexico and the Albuquerque Development Commission provided funds for the project. The complex stands on the exact location of the Alvarado Hotel. The site scheme selected was based on the Alvarado's historic site plan, in Mission-Revival style, featuring traditional details, such as massive stucco walls, clay tile roofs, open arcades, and brick paved promenades. There are several plaques posted throughout the facility that pay homage to the original structure.

[203] 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), 375-378.

Albuquerque, next to the Alvarado Hotel.[204] A postcard from 1905 titled "Indian and Mexican Building, Albuquerque, N.M." shows the entrance to the Building at the arcade, with a handwritten message stating "arrived here at midnight… it is exactly like the picture" (Image 11).[205] Though in promotional materials the department was titled "Mexican and Indian Department," the showroom and demonstrators' space was commonly shorted to "Indian Department." Unlike the Spanish Room, which included Spanish Colonial Revival décor, and the Indian Work Room, where Native artisans and demonstrators were housed, the Indian Building featured the artisan groups that were often combined in narratives for tourists. A Fred Harvey trademarked "Photstint" postcard from 1905 describes the Indian and Mexican Buildings at the Alvarado as housing "the finest, rarest, and most interesting collection of Indian and Mexican handiwork in this country."[206]

Importantly, Mexican artisans have historically fought for a space and visibility within this artist community, particularly the northern New Mexico region. Scholar John Bodine's phrase the "tri-ethnic trap" describes their frequent relegation to a lesser tier as such: "the other side of the Indianism coin is Hispanophobia and anti-Mexicanism."[207] Two potentially competing identities complicates not only the internal dynamics at the Pueblo, as noted in the previous chapter regarding Maria Martinez's financial choices, but also the constructed image produced by the Harvey Company's marketing. Indeed, the Fred Harvey Company marketed the

[204] Patricia Curtin, "Discourses of American Indian Racial Identity in the Public Relations Materials of the Fred Harvey Company: 1902-1936," *Journal of Public Relations Research*, 23:4, 368-396, 377
[205] "Indian and Mexican Building, Albuquerque, N.M.," Alvarado Box. *GP, NMHM*.; In 1907, the US Postal Service adjusted the allotment on the back of the postcard for an address and written message. This allowed postcard companies, namely the Detroit Publishing Company, to take advantage of the printed narratives and artwork.
[206] "Indian and Mexican Building, Albuquerque, N.M.," Alvarado Box. *GP, NMHM*.
[207] "A Tri-Ethnic Trap: The Spanish Americans in Taos" 1968, Sylvia Rodriguez, "Tourism, Difference, and Power in the Borderlands," in Hal Rothman, *The Culture of Tourism, the Tourism of Culture: Selling the Past to the Present in the American Southwest*, Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2003, 187.

Pueblo as follows: "As a race the Pueblo is unique among the peoples of the world, enjoying two religions…, two sets of laws, two languages, and two names."[208]

Image 11 Postcard of the Indian and Mexican Building at the Alvarado Hotel, Albuquerque, New Mexico. Image courtesy of the New Mexico History Museum

There are several reasons why the phrase "Mexican" was often absent from the title. In the first place, tourism intensified the boundaries of Hispanic identity by valuing Native culture, placing a price on the difference, and creating an economy in which expressions of culture became marketable commodities. Hispanic artists and craftspeople were not seen in the same light by the Anglo artists or by the Anglo-American public, namely those who visited from the Taos artists group or even eastern travelers with a particular image in mind, because Puebloan culture and community was viewed through the lens of romanticized or graphic portrayals in media, usually that of a postcard or wall calendar from the Santa Fe Railroad. Hispanic art was

[208] J.F. Huckel, *American Indians: First Families of the Southwest*, Kansas City, MO: Fred Harvey Company, 1920, 7.

relegated to a lesser position, viewed as less "pure" than Indian art and less sophisticated than Anglo-American western art, and thus was relegated to "folk art."[209] Indeed, in the eyes of white visitors, "Nuevo Mexicano artistic legacy… w[as] 'crude,' 'primitive,' and 'grotesque.' The Cristo crucificados were too bloody. The Penitente sect was simultaneously horrifying and fascinating. Once again, Hispano culture was perceived as exotic, pagan, and foreign."[210] The Spanish and the Mexican Room were thus often grouped together, offering "many relics that would appeal to those interested in the romantic past."[211] Ironically, the Harvey Company later united Spanish-inspired pieces with Native décor in its properties, specifically in the 1930s La Posada in Winslow, Arizona and in present restorations by Allan Affeldt and his team, as discussed in the following chapters.

Despite scholarly debates on ethnic representation, the Indian Department was one of the Harvey Company's more notable achievements, and was responsible for all Indian promotional items. Herman Schweizer, Native American arts specialist and collector for the Fred Harvey Company, observed that the Indian Department was established as an "advertising feature of the Santa Fe Railway, with a view of interesting the public in the Indians of the Southwest and their products, which purpose has been admittedly well served," implying to consumers that the commercial aspect was secondary.[212] Erna Fergusson, creator of Koshare Tours, which eventually became the Indian Detours, claimed that although Schweizer originally had to stand in front of the building and solicit tourist traffic, the Indian Department soon became a major

[209] Andrew Leo Lovato, *Santa Fe Hispanic Culture: Preserving Identity in a Tourist Town*, (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2004), 79.
[210] Lovato, *Santa Fe Hispanic Culture*, 79.
[211] "A Corner in the Spanish Room, Indian Building, Albuquerque, New Mexico.," Alvarado Box. *GP, NMHM*.
[212] H. Schweizer, Untitled [letter to Mary Austin], 1930a, April 23, Phoenix, AZ: Heard Collection as quoted in Patricia Curtin, "Discourses of American Indian Racial Identity in the Public Relations Materials of the Fred Harvey Company: 1902-1936," *Journal of Public Relations Research*, 23:4, 377.

source of income for the Harvey Company and a center of trade and accommodation for Native demonstrators.[213]

The Harvey Company property in Albuquerque served as a prototype for the Santa Fe/Fred Harvey system, especially at the Grand Canyon. The area was advertised as part of the "Great Southwest," a regional world's fair staged for railroad tourists in northern New Mexico and Arizona.[214] The Harvey Company viewed the Indian Department's mission as primarily educational. When Schweizer thought an Anasazi thunderbird pictograph would be a perfect logo for the Indian Department, Harvey Company Indian Division head John F. Huckel produced a multipage document explaining its history and symbolism. While scholars have argued that this era produced promotional materials that ignored Native communities' differences and pushed a homogenized Indian narrative, Harvey Company materials actually worked to define and build upon cultural differences, such as in the published picture book from 1920, *American Indians: First Families of the Southwest*.[215] In it, Huckel compares Native communities to Spain, claiming that "for the most part they had a regard for law and observed a code of broad morals perhaps surpassing that of the peasants of the days of Ferdinand and Isabella."[216] Multiple sections focus on the importance of women's roles in cooking and "command[ing] the household."[217] The Harvey Company also established a reference library at the Indian Department, solidifying the educational component of their enterprise. Often, commodification of the Southwest rested on ignoring these differences. In this way, the Harvey Company bucked the trend of promoting a

[213] Erna Fergusson, *Our South West*, New York: Alfred Knopf, 1940, 201.
[214] Marta Weigle, "Exposition and Mediation: Mary Colter, Erna Fergusson, and the Santa Fe/Harvey Popularization of the Native Southwest, 1902-1940" *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies*, Vol. 12, No. 3 (1992), 118.
[215] See Berkhofer, Bird, Green, Deloria
[216] J.F. Huckel, *American Indians: First Families of the Southwest*, Kansas City, MO: Fred Harvey Company, 1920, 2.
[217] Huckel, *American Indians*, 7.

pan-Indian image, resulting in a wider array of promotional materials and distinct and memorable marketing.

Nevertheless, promotional materials for the Indian Building mirrored the exoticism exhibited in the Santa Fe Railroad's efforts, describing "Indians from nearby pueblos lounging about in colorful costumes… offering their primitive wares to the passing travelers" and "Native silversmiths fashioning crude wrought ornaments embellished with barbaric symbols."[218] Erna Fergusson was a proponent of Fred Harvey's Indian Department, not only because it was a highlight on her tour, but also because "Fred Harvey saved from destruction thousands of worthy old specimens of Navajo weaving."[219] In contrast to the pan-Indian images then proliferating, Harvey Company materials went to great length to differentiate tribal groups, connections which were fostered by the relationships established by the Indian Detour couriers with tourists and toured-upon alike, and the promotion of these artisans and their distinctive work.[220] It is noteworthy that although the Harvey Company was still primarily marketing an idea of "Indianness" for its own pecuniary benefit, the Company attempted to educate tourists about different customs, languages, and cultures and encouraged tourists to engage in self-reflective experiences and to value Indian time and artistry.

[218] Patricia Curtin, "Discourses of American Indian Racial Identity in the Public Relations Materials of the Fred Harvey Company: 1902-1936," *Journal of Public Relations Research*, 23:4, 377; "Fred Harvey Advertisement," MS 280, Series 3, Box 1, Folder 12. "Fred Harvey: Branding the Southwest," Cline Library Special Collection and Archive, Northern Arizona University.
[219] Leslie Poling-Kempes, *The Harvey Girls: Women Who Opened The West*, New York: Marlowe & Company, 1991, 158.
[220] Curtin, "Discourses of American Indian Racial Identity," 386.

Indigenous Representation at World's Fairs

Efforts to project lessons about the Native Southwest were not limited to the region, but went "on the road" through world's fairs and traveling acts and demonstrations. Elle of Ganado and Maria Martinez operated as "cultural intermediaries," by constructing relationships between the toured and toured-upon, both at home on the reservation and abroad during world's fairs and Harvey Company site demonstrations. Elle and Tom of Ganado spent many years at the Indian Department in Albuquerque with their weaving and their personas as the star attractions. Although other Native workers refused, Elle was willing to be photographed and become the face of Native craftspeople at the Indian Department. The Harvey Company attempted to employ other famed artisans, as well. For instance, the Company was also interested in hiring Nampeyo, a famed Hopi-Tewa potter. Nampeyo had a similar introduction to open demonstrations for tourists as had Maria Martinez's family. She was known for her Sikyatki-revival style pottery, as Sikyatki was excavated by Jesse Walter Fewkes for the Smithsonian at the turn of the century. Nampeyo visited the site with her husband, Lesso, and was inspired by the stylized bird and geometric shaped motif.[221] Although the Company moved Nampeyo and her family to the Harvey Hopi House at the Grand Canyon and provided shipments of clay, she never felt comfortable on site and left during the corn planting season.[222]

Elle's long and successful tenure with the Fred Harvey Company expanded outside of the Indian Department at the Alvarado in Albuquerque. Elle and Tom traveled to the Grand Canyon

[221] "Nampeyo Showcase." Arizona State Museum, https://statemuseum.arizona.edu/online-exhibit/nampeyo-showcase. This exhibition was created in 2000 by Diane Dittemore, curator of ethnological collections; Ken Matesich, ASM photographer; and Andy Tafoya, curatorial assistant.
[222] Curtin, "Discourses of American Indian Racial Identity in the Public Relations Materials of the Fred Harvey Company: 1902-1936," 382.

in 1905, the Chicago Land Show in 1909 and 1910, and to the San Francisco World's Fair in 1915. Tom acted as host and interpreter since he spoke fluent Navajo, Hopi, English, and Spanish, and as cultural broker for the Harvey Company. Maria Martinez and her husband, Julian, also worked at world's fairs, specifically the Panama-Pacific Exposition in San Diego and other touring events, which was common for Harvey Company Native employees.

To understand the interactions between Indian demonstrators and artisans, tourists, and the Fred Harvey Company and Santa Fe Railroad, scholars must comprehend both the historic purpose behind these elaborate expositions and how these events and spaces have been memorialized. For example, the recent 2016 exhibit at the Field Museum, "Opening the Vaults: Wonders of the 1893 World's Fair," pulled artifacts that had not been on display since the original exposition. However, only 128 Native American pieces were on display, the vast majority of which were tools from regional tribes in Wisconsin and Michigan.[223] Accompanying this exhibit were documents created for the Field Museum docents, which contain narratives on the history of the museum, the World Columbian Exposition, and the past and present collections. There is no mention of Indigenous history, except for this paragraph:

> The combination of education, entertainment, "exotic" foreigners, and profit made the Midway Plaisance the Gold Standard for future design in fairs and amusement parks such as Coney Island, Atlantic City, and Disneyland. The 1893 WCE in Chicago is a prime example of one type of mass event that had a huge impact on the world-view of

[223] However, according to curatorial records, there was a greater emphasis on scientific and natural history displays. For example, there were almost 100 meteorites and minerals on display from the fair, dozens of paleobotanical specimens, such as leaves and conifers, and several mammoth juvenile molars. Gayle, World Columbian Exposition Exhibits, ed. John Morris. (Chicago: Field Museum, October 21, 2010). Cited hereafter WCEE. John Morris is a docent at the Field Museum. A colleague visited the Field Museum in the fall of 2017. He provided a virtual tour of the museum and made introductions between Mr. Morris and myself. Mr. Morris sent me an email on November 17, 2017 with eleven documents, seven MS Excel spreadsheets and four MS Word documents. Mr. Morris is a businessman in the Greater Chicago area ,and while he was a great contact for this research, his information was limited in his knowledge of the creator of the documents. The spreadsheets documented the WCE artifacts, including notations on what would be on display for the 2014 "Opening the Vaults" exhibit, what has been catalogued, and where the artifact is on display or in storage. The Word documents contain docent narratives for the "Opening the Vaults" tour, along with updates on artifact placement and explanations. This "insider" information has been invaluable in understanding the museum's account of artifacts and how it would officially portray the memory of the World's Fair to the public.

> Americans, exposing them to different technologies and ways of life. But peoples considered "exotic" or "savage" were displayed on the Midway as curiosities.[224]

It is important to note that this document is not a script, but notes to be used by each docent independently. Thus, it was not guaranteed that each guide would mention this anecdotal paragraph. This would not be a concern if there were not also a lack of written narratives accompanying the Indigenous displays. The way that the World Columbian Exposition is commemorated has erased the Indigenous history and the American imperial past. This raises the question of how these world's fairs are being memorialized, particularly in the terms of the representation of Indigenous peoples, and reflects similar questions regarding heritage tourism efforts more recently, as will be discussed in Chapter Six.

Exoticism at world's fairs was inseparable from the larger discourses of race, nationality, and progress. These transnational spaces acted as an extension of the United States' corporate, political, and scientific authority. To alleviate the anxiety that pervaded the United States, due to increased industrialization, economic depressions, and the crisis of modernity, exposition directors offered fairgoers an opportunity to reaffirm their collective national identity through spectacles of progress through empire building. Fair organizers created grand facilities, entire streetscapes and villages, and sprawling parks to showcase these advancements. However, these manufactured images distorted the workings of Indigenous societies. The villages were often located in the amusement sections of the fairs alongside wild animal exhibits and other such entertainment. Although these spaces, particularly pre-1910, often degraded and exploited the people on display, directors, anthropologists, and spectators justified their actions through the educational value of the exhibits.

[224] Gayle, WCEAIIExh, ed. John Morris, (Chicago: Field Museum, January 29, 2014).

Expositions at world's fairs developed over time "as items of display, objects were seen to be less interesting than human beings, and through the medium of display, human beings were transformed into objects."[225] Between 1889 and 1914, the exhibitions became a human showcase, where people from cultures defined as "the other" from all over the world were brought to sites in order to be seen by Europeans and Anglo-Americans for their gratification and education.[226] Across most expositions, materials were given to indigenous groups on display to build their own "authentic" dwellings, along with groceries to prepare their own meals and make their own clothes, sometimes as a public spectacle, similar to the Harvey Company's demonstrators at the Alvarado Hotel.[227] They were usually situated near other "native villages" on the site where they performed rituals or ceremonies at set times each day for the visitors and gave demonstrations of their various arts and crafts.[228] This trend of commodified authenticity was carried through to the 1915 Panama-California Exposition exhibit titled the Painted Desert, commonly called the "Indian Village" (Image 12).

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[225] Paul Greenhalgh, *Ephemeral Vistas: The Expositions Universelles, Great Exhibitions and World's Fairs, 1851-1939*, (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 2000), 82.

[226] The concept of the "other" is defined by Edward Said in *Orientalism,* Vintage Books, 1979. This work defines the concept of the Orient is a European invention, synonymous with exotic beings, landscapes, and experiences and the image of the "Other," opposing the "Occident" or the West.; The "exotification" of people was first introduced at the Paris Exposition Universelle in 1867, which included various North African exhibits. This trend continued at the Philadelphia Fair in 1876, with the Chinese, Arabic, and Japanese craftsmen and the Turkish Bazaar and Café.[226] However, the Exposition Universelle of 1900 in Paris is viewed as the first "model" exposition where humans were on display. This was a display of the French empire, as the French directors settled various indigenous groups into the "appropriate" surroundings where they would live during the exposition.

[227] Scholars note that there were several intentions for the demonstrations conducted by the native villages. Greenhalgh states that it placed unrelated peoples of different parts of the empire together, physically and psychologically. The public could see at a glance the extent of "the imperial pickings" and understand their place within the imperial continuum. Most importantly, especially when applied abroad, it "revealed" the perceived degenerate state in which the conquered peoples lived, making the imperialist venture not only more acceptable but necessary. These displays of colonized peoples legitimized imperial conquest, justifying European expansion without reminding the visitors of economic woes or military factors. However, this statement may be countered by military presence and display at the Filipino village at the St. Louis World's Fair in 1904, which was used to highlight imperial conquest and victory overseas. For more information, see David Beck, *Unfair Labor?: American Indians and the 1983 World's Columbian Exposition in* Chicago, (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press), 2019 and Theda Perdue, *Race and the Atlanta Cotton States Exposition of* 1895, (Athens: University of Georgia Press), 2010.

[228] Greenhalgh, *Ephemeral Vistas*, 83.

Image 12 The Pueblo Village also known as "The Painted Desert" at the Panama-California Exposition. Image courtesy of the San Diego History Center.

Simultaneous with and connected to such exhibitions, the field of anthropology had become more prominent and accepted in academia, especially with a focus on primitive cultures. This new practice emerged in tandem with imperial expansion and frequently as a justification of it.[229] Don Fowler claims that Anglo Americans invented the "American Southwest" and that "the invention of the Southwest was intertwined with the invention of 'ethnology' as a field of inquiry in the 1840s and its metamorphosis into the scholarly discipline of 'anthropology' after 1880."[230] This interest led to the exploration of the ruins in the Southwest, starting a chain reaction that

[229] Greenhalgh, *Ephemeral Vistas,* 86.
[230] Don Fowler, *Laboratory for Anthropology: Science and Romanticism in the American Southwest, 1846-1930*, (University of Utah Press, 2000), xi.

directly impacted the Native communities. The Columbia Exposition showcased not only "live exhibits" but also artifacts from these investigated sites across the continent. The exposition site eventually became the Field Museum, housing the former exhibits and pieces on display at the fair. Aside from the exposition, though the scientists visited the sites initially to uncover artifacts, they became enamored with the people of the region which led to Edgar Hewett's initial encounter with Julian and Maria Martinez.

This pairing of anthropology and imperial expansionist endeavors may be seen most prolifically at the Chicago's Fair of 1893 through the wide array of anthropological and natural history items on display. During this decade, there was an emphasis on the "genuine article" in reference to anthropology that reveals that the age of museum was well underway.[231] *The Artistic Guide to Chicago and the World's Columbian Exposition* by Charles Eugene Banks provides a distinct, though not unique, time capsule to the era:

> The Indian exhibit is partly under government control, and presents a living history of the strange tribes, whose dispossession began when Columbus lead the migration of the Latin races to the unknown West, and the Norse adventurer steered his war-dragon to the green banks of Vinland, Esquimaux and Alaskans, the red disturbers of the white man's pretensions on the Western plains, the strange tribes of Zunis, Navajoes and Pueblos will tell the story of the present life of the descendants of the aborigines, and their past will be hinted by the findings of the Archeological and Ethnological departments, in relics that tell such strange half-truths of a strange people. [232]

[231] Greenhalgh, *Ephemeral Vistas,* 88. This is all stated in text above.
[232] Charles Eugene Banks, *Guide to Chicago and the World's Columbian Exposition*, Columbian Art Co., 1893, 17.

Though the Harvey Company and others made efforts to provide "suitable" accommodations for their Native employees, these endeavors did not change the tourists' perspective or influence promotional materials outside of the Harvey Company and Santa Fe Railroad's purview.

Ties between the Harvey Company and the 1893 Chicago World's Columbian Exposition extended into the administration. Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe Railroad faced bankruptcy and receivership following the Panic of 1893. It was reorganized and rebranded as the AT&SF Railway in 1895 and welcomed new president Edward P. Ripley, who launched a new advertising campaign directed at the Southwest, including the famous oil paintings of the Grand Canyon by Thomas Moran and photographs of Elle of Ganado and other Native demonstrators by Karl Moon, as noted in the previous chapter. Ripley had been a force in developing the Columbian Exposition and was largely responsible for the "Santa Fe Indian," a campaign that produced "the most talked-of illustrations in advertising circles of the Pacific Coast."[233] The campaign expanded into the turn of the century and featured an annual calendar produced by the Santa Fe that is credited as "one of the largest general mailings in advertising history."[234] The calendar promoted a romantic Indian theme and contained prints of original works by the newly established Taos and Santa Fe artists' colonies. The calendar also introduced the newly minted titles of the Santa Fe and Harvey Company's branded images borrowed from Native culture, including the "Thunderbird" and the "Super Chief." The robust campaign, artist society-produced art, and Native iconography paved the way for the Fred Harvey Company to use the images in their mass-produced jewelry.

[233] T.C. McLuhan, *Dream Tracks: The Railroad and the American Indian, 1890-1930*, New York: Abrams, 1985, 19.
[234] McLuhan, *Dream Tracks,* 19.

A similar comparison may be made for the Louisiana Purchase International Exposition in St. Louis in 1904. The fair exhibited a greater number of Native Americans than any previous exposition. Navajos, Apaches, Havasupai, Maricopas, and Pimas resided in spaces imagined by white anthropologists and businessmen and constructed by Native laborers themselves. Privately funded displays included the Harvey Company's Native arts and crafts collection, most notably its Navajo weaving collection, which was awarded the exposition's Grand Prize.

This world's fair included an ambitious anthropology exhibit, with an emphasis on racial and material progress to rival the Chicago Fair from nearly ten years earlier. The western region of the exhibition grounds was this fair's "Midway" dedicated to nonwhites. Groups of Central African foragers from Africa, Ainu aborigines from Japan, as well as groups of Native Americans, gathered around prominent Native "celebrities," including Geronimo and Quanah Parker, and were showcased as living ethnological exhibits.[235] Navajo, Apache, Maricopa, and Pima men, women, and children were also exhibited in residences that simulated their southwestern homelands. The Fred Harvey Company's Native arts and crafts collection, specifically the Navajo weaving collection, was part of the privately funded displays at the fair. The Harvey Company also sent twenty-two Navajos who built and resided in two hogans.

Despite the potential for exploitation, scholar Dean MacCannell argues human objects of the tourist gaze are not completely powerless, possessing some forms of agency.[236] Building on this notion, recent scholarship has noted that materialist explanations that provide simple binaries and assume the subsequent disempowerment of "tourees" fall short because they fail to account

[235] The term "pygmy" would have been used during the early nineteenth century through the turn of the century. However, since the 1960s scientific literature challenged stereotypes and the 1990s ethnological literature prompted a shift, the pejorative term has shifted to reference by ethnic and tribal groups. However, many publications still list the Central African tribes as "Pygmies" along with their tribal distinction. See Paul Verdu and Giovanni Destro-Bisol, "African Pygmies, What's behind a Name?," Human biology (U.S. National Library of Medicine, February 2012), https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC4038931/.
[236] Dean MacCannell, "Tourist Agency." Tourist Studies 1, no. 1 (2001): 23–37.

for the discursive oppositions that are inherent in contested power relationships and the practice of tourism as a lived experience.[237] An example of these contestations can be found in Maria and Julian Martinez's decision to speak Tewa together. They found other Tewa speakers living in St. Louis and the language seemed to set them all apart, as something that was left of their own world, and to separate them from the life of the fairgoers. Alice Marriott conveys Maria's actions and experience as a form of trickery and resistance:

> The white people asked many questions, and they said a great deal about the Indians that would have been rude from people who knew better. As long as those white people thought the Indians did not know any English, they kept right on saying funny things out loud. The Indians pretended they did not understand what was said, and then they had something to laugh about when the white people had gone home and the Indians were alone on the fair grounds.[238]

The spirit of this vignette reveals that Maria and other demonstrators were treated as exhibits in a human zoo. However, their refusal to acknowledge the verbal barbs constituted acts of resistance in a situation with severely circumscribed options. Jesse Nusbaum, a young photographer and tradesman at the Museum of New Mexico, offered encouragement and convinced the Native artisans that pottery demonstrations were free publicity for their craft work. The earnings from the San Diego fair could contribute to financial independence for village-bound Indians.[239] Nusbaum knew of the suffering from the St. Louis fair in 1904, and his humor and kindness

[237] Curtin, "Discourses of American Indian Racial Identity in the Public Relations Materials of the Fred Harvey Company: 1902-1936," 371.
[238] Marriott, *Maria*, 119.
[239] Matthew Bokovoy, *The San Diego World's Fairs and Southwestern Memory, 1880-1940*, (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 2005), 115.

became legendary throughout the Southwest. He allowed Native performers to stage their own shows and mock the tourists, accepting the humanity of the situation.[240]

On the other side of this dynamic, the tourist was simultaneously a consumer and a viewer. In crossing these boundaries, tourism manifested the unique possibilities of the emerging consumer culture: "the possibility of intense personal experience, an escape to liminal space where the self could be temporarily re-imagined or refashioned, an opportunity for physical and mental reinvigoration, a glimpse of the 'good life'"[241] During their stay in Chicago for the World's Columbian Exposition in 1893, Elle, Tom, and other Harvey Company Native employees took an afternoon off to explore the city. They toured the Marshall Field department store, where all business came to a standstill during their visit. Four Chicago policemen escorted the group of Indians to and from their hotel.[242] While they were clearly "the toured-upon" given their purpose there, the Native artisans were also tourists. However, because of their appearance and purpose in Chicago, they were unable to divorce the two.

Throughout the 1890s and the first years of the twentieth century, civic leaders in San Diego were engaged in a process of city and culture building that would culminate in an international exposition. There were attempts to escalate the value of their real estate holdings, increase the population of the city, promote the agricultural and industrial development of the American southwest, and to open markets and extract resources from Latin America.[243] The Panama-California Fair in San Diego in 1915-16 was engineered as a venture to promote a

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[240] Bokovoy, *The San Diego World's Fairs and Southwestern Memory, 1880-1940*, 116.
[241] Marguerite S. Shaffer, "Playing American: The Southwestern Scrapbooks of Mildred E. Baker" in Hal Rothman, *The Culture of Tourism, the Tourism of Culture: Selling the Past to the Present in the American Southwest*, (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2003), 75.
[242] Kathleen L. Howard, "Weaving a Legend: Elle of Ganado Promotes the Indian Southwest," *New Mexico Historical Review*, vol. 74, no. 2, April 1999, 130.
[243] Robert Rydell, *All The World's A Fair: Visions of Empire at American International Expositions, 1876-1916, (*The University of Chicago Press, 1987), 214.

potential transnational accord. San Francisco already had planned the Panama-Pacific International Exposition for 1915. Because of conflicting venues and overlapping dates for the Panama-Pacific and Panama-California, leaders decided that the San Diego Exposition would not only highlight the cultivation and conservation of arid lands and resources in the southwest but also offer "such an exhibition illustrative of the lives and the tribal history of the various Indian tribes and natives of the United States and of Central and of South America as would arrest at once the attention and interest of ethnologists the world over in a race that is fast passing away… [and] it is possible to learn of the Indian and his life and manners."[244] It would be more elaborate than previous fairs, focusing on promoting tourism of Native tribes and the southwest landscape.

Advertising was similar for the Panama-Pacific and Panama-California fairs, targeting tourists by rail, primarily. Real estate developer Colonel David "Charlie" Collier was appointed Director General, playing a significant role in the exhibition planning and budgeting.[245] Collier anticipated spending "something like $3,000,000" funded by the people of San Diego.[246] There were concerns about the success of the San Diego exposition after the San Francisco Exposition. However, in the hearings before the Committee on Industrial Expositions, Collier countered that there would be a strong attraction from West Coast boosters who sought to showcase their ancient Pre-Columbian histories to attract interest in their cities.[247]

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[244] The Panama-Pacific and the Panama-California expositions: hearings before the Committee on Industrial Expositions, United States Senate, Sixty-second Congress on S. J. Res. 43 a joint resolution for the appointment of a commission to be known as the Panama-Pacific International Exposition Commission. D.C. Collier statement pages 10-20., 8 https://pancalarchive.org/artifacts/document/

[245] The "Colonel" was an honorary title given to Collier by California Governor James M. Gillett in 1907. *San Diego Union*, April 28, 1907, 2.

[246] The Panama-Pacific and the Panama-California expositions: hearings before the Committee on Industrial Expositions, United States Senate, Sixty-second Congress on S. J. Res. 43 a joint resolution for the appointment of a commission to be known as the Panama-Pacific International Exposition Commission. D.C. Collier statement pages 10-20., 18 https://pancalarchive.org/artifacts/document/

[247] The Panama-Pacific and the Panama-California expositions: hearings before the Committee on Industrial Expositions, United States Senate, Sixty-second Congress on S. J. Res. 43 a joint resolution for the appointment of a commission to be known as the Panama-Pacific International Exposition Commission. D.C. Collier statement pages 10-20., 10 https://pancalarchive.org/artifacts/document/

In late 1911, construction of the Panama-California Exposition began in City Park, San Diego which was renamed "Balboa Park" in 1910 after Vasco Nunez de Balboa, the "conqueror" of Panama and Central America.[248] It was the first American fair dedicated to the memory of Amerindian and Spanish culture in the Americas. This fair's Midway, called The Zone, was like a collection of the previous fairs' greatest hits. Numerous other village concessions dotted the Zone, including the "Tehuantepec Village," a gaudy reconstruction of a Mexican village, complete with a restaurant and theatre, gardens, and Mexican artisans working at characteristic handicrafts. Workers of the "Mysterious Orient" concession had performed at previous fairs dating back to the World's Columbian Exposition.[249] As in Chicago, the Japanese Village was impressively built but was trivialized with trinkets and the impression that the Asian "other" was frozen in time, justifying the imperialistic reasoning to control what was perceived (or portrayed) as a stagnant culture. Santa Fe Railway executives expected the exhibit to generate travel to the Southwest as well as to the concurrent San Francisco Panama-Pacific International Exposition and the Grand Canyon. Their hopes were realized with significant increases in traffic to each of these destinations.

The Fred Harvey Company acted as part of a conglomerate of anthropologists, ethnologists, museums, politicians, business owners, and special interest groups in fostering the nascent Southwestern tourism economy in a new and separate venue. The exposition hired prominent members of the regional and national scientific community to enlighten visitors about "Man's Progress." The fair profited from hiring Santa Fe cultural promoters, Fred Harvey Company service employees, Southwest Museum enthusiasts, and members of the United States National Museum (USNM), and Smithsonian Institution. The working dynamic between the

[248] Bokovoy, *The San Diego World's Fairs and Southwestern Memory, 1880-1940*, 49.
[249] Rydell, *All The World's A Fair,* 217.

corporate promoters and Native employees at the San Diego fair, especially Pueblo workers, is perhaps the greatest example of cultural change over time. As noted in the previous chapter, after excavation work at Rito de los Frijoles, under the direction of Dr. Hewett, Kenneth Chapman, Jesse Nusbaum, and others, in 1908, many Native employees came to know and trust their leaders, who, in turn, became familiar with the San Ildefonso cultural and economic changes. Through their relationship with these men, they became involved in wider changes, aside from the problems of their own externally perceived "static" society.[250]

Historian Matthew Bokovoy claims that in Southern California and the Southwest, no two events shaped the modern Spanish heritage movement and highlighted "Spanish fantasy" more profoundly than the San Diego Exposition of 1915-16 and of 1935-36.[251] Carey McWilliams' concept of "fantasy heritage" is defined as the invented tradition created by white Californians to interpret the historical legacy of Indians, Spaniards, and Mexicans in the Southwest.[252] Most distinct at this exhibition was the Painted Desert, or "Indian Village," where Native demonstrators lived on the grounds so that tourists could view the Harvey Company and Santa Fe Railroad's rendition of Indian culture in the Southwest. The "pseudopueblo" appealed to Eastern-Anglo fascination with Indian primitivism and, like at previous fairs, the tourists' desire to escape from the industrial era to the romanticized lifestyle of the Southwest and the Painted Desert. This trend catered to the anti-modernist cravings of white audiences for "things

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250 Henrietta K. Burton, *The Re-Establishment of the Indians in Their Pueblo Life through the Revival of their Traditional Crafts: A Study in Home Extension Education,* New York City: Teachers College, Columbia University 1936, 55. Kenneth Chapman's studies of bird forms from Southwestern Indian pottery decoration, together with comparable examples of birds from worldwide sources, was placed on exhibit at the San Diego Exhibition early in January 1915. The drawings, on large cards, remained on display for two years (*Kenneth Chapman's Santa Fe Artists and Archaeologists, 1907–1931*: *The Memoirs of Kenneth Chapman, Edited, annotated, and introduced by Marit K. Munson,* Santa Fe: School of Advanced Research Press, 2008*,* 64).

[251] Bokovoy, *The San Diego World's Fairs*, xvii. The Panama-California Exposition of 1915-16 celebrated Southwestern pluralism that gave birth to future promotional events like the Long Beach Pacific Southwest Exposition of 1928 and the Santa Fe Fiesta of 1920s.

[252] Carey McWilliams, *North From Mexico: Spanish-Speaking People of the United States,* Toronto: Praeger, 1949.

native," particularly the presumed simple but rugged lifestyle of Pueblo Indians in New Mexico.[253]

Like the Fred Harvey Company properties, the Panama-California Exposition featured architecture mirroring Spanish memory, and as Bokovoy claims, Carey McWilliams' "Spanish fantasy," near the pueblo common lands in the exhibit area.[254] Jesse Nusbaum supervised the construction of replicas of the Taos and Acoma pueblos. The exhibition contained ten acres dedicated to simulating native southwestern cultures, included a rendition of a typical pueblo, and supported the livelihood of more than one hundred Apache, Hopi, Navajo, and Pueblo Indians.[255] There were ceremonial kivas, beehive-shaped outdoor ovens for baking bread called "hornos" (derived from the Spanish), Navajo hogans, Apache tipis, and replica cliff dwellings. In reality, the term "Painted Desert" referred to the area of Arizona adjacent to the Harvey Company property La Posada through which the Santa Fe Railway and Indian Detour couriers traveled and encompassed just a handful of these Indigenous communities.

Native artisans, performers, and demonstrators were required to dress "primitively" so tourists could marvel over the romantic images prescribed by the Harvey Company. The Santa Fe contract guaranteed that the Native performers would "produce typical Indian ceremonial, tribal, and religious dances – Indians shall – pursue the life and occupation of the American Indian in his native habitat."[256] The contract stipulates that the Indians would be "producing" their lifeways, performing their culture for an audience. This is essential in proving that the Fred Harvey Company acknowledged not only the modernity of the performers, but the fact that they

[253] Bokovoy, *The San Diego World's Fairs,* 114.
[254] Bokovoy, *The San Diego World's Fairs*, xvi.
[255] The Santa Fe Railway hired other Indians, including the Navajos and Jicarilla Apaches, who willingly participated for the first time at a world's fair. White Americans understood these tribes previously and "warlike" and "marauding"
[256] Bokovoy, *San Diego World's Fair,* 128.

were workers who produced commodities, in this case, the spectacle of the Southwest, even or especially when consumers did not.

Nusbaum relayed to the Native employees that it was necessary for them to fully commit to participation in the broader United States economy, including the imagery used in advertising. Maria Martinez had already pushed these boundaries with her independent enterprise at her San Ildefonso home and regional shops and museums sales. However, it was not until the San Diego Exhibition that Native artisans and performers are recognized as "employees," specifically by the Fred Harvey Company executives and individuals such as Jesse Nusbaum associated with heritage conservation and cultural tourism in the American Southwest. This recognition is not through humane or altruistic acts alone, but through recognizing that Native laborers in varying capacities interacted with this new construction on their own terms and actually came to influence the way they were depicted despite being "toured upon" themselves.

The planning and building of the Painted Desert reflect how Indigenous groups shaped images of themselves for audiences and visitors. The "living exhibit" consisted of buildings replicating Taos and Zuni pueblos, Navajo hogans, and a trading post. Trader Juan Lorenzo Hubbell of Ganado Trading Post, among others, shipped a railroad car of sheep to be on display for the exhibit and to be sheared on-site for spectators' pleasure and to provide wool for the Navajo women to card, spin, and weave while visitors watched, similar to Maria Martinez's clay supply and subsequent pottery production. Designers of the exhibit were anthropologist Edgar Hewett, architectural designer Mary Colter, and Harvey Company executives Herman Schweizer and John F. Huckel. The overall operations of the Painted Desert harbored strong similarities to Colter's other commissions for the Harvey Company, most notably the Indian Buildings at the Alvarado Hotel and Bright Angel Lodge and Hopi House at the Grand Canyon, all of which

incorporated arts-and-crafts demonstrations by Native artisans and featured curio shops where tourists could buy the pieces made there.[257]

Nussbaum supervised the Painted Desert exhibit's construction, bringing in Native American workers to construct the pueblos, outdoor ovens, kivas, and hogans. Cherishing the opportunity to portray the Southwest in the best manner, Nusbaum hired skilled Pueblo artisans who could build the imitation pueblos.[258] Cliff dwellings were fabricated from plaster and cement over wire and wood frames. The Harvey Company was also involved in the construction of the village, including hiring sculptor Henry Baumann to carve the rough-hewn surfaces of the cliff dwellings based on Nusbaum's photographs.[259] How the construction of the Native employees' temporary home was crafted and marketed provides a lens into the complex dynamics between the tourists, designers, and Native laborers, who are also residents in this creation of the modern image of the Southwest. Similar to the authors and contributors of *They Know New Mexico,* discussed in Chapter Five, white designers and tourists attempted to gain "authentic" insights into a Southwest while remaining outsiders because their very presence nodded to the destruction of the unique cultural distinction being showcased. The Native builders allegedly preferred this method of construction to the hapless structures from the Louisiana Purchase Exposition at the turn of the century, because it provided familiar and certainly sturdy accommodations. The advertising plan of having these artisans build the pueblo was immensely successful and directly benefited the Fred Harvey Company, which worked at extending this narrative of commodified authenticity.

[257] "The New Bright Angel Lodge and Cabins" *The Hotel Monthly,* December, 1936.
[258] Bokovoy, *The San Diego World's,* 118.
[259] Bokovoy, *The San Diego World's,* 118.

While several Indians were employed for manual labor, as artisans, and as "show Indians," ethnographic reports do not reflect this employment. As noted in the previous chapter, *The Problem of Indian Administration,* and the ongoing series of Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior included sections on pottery, basket making, woodcutting, and beadwork.[260] However, there are no indicated sections for artisan labor, such as arts and crafts as demonstrations or performance. While business interests in the Southwest recognized the market participation of regional Native peoples, the federal authorities persisted in presenting and critiquing a pre-modern version of Indian life.

The regional barter system was suspended in this faux Indian village, as clerks at the trading post gave the residents clothes, groceries, and money. While directors of the exhibition created a projected image of the Indians remaining static and outside of modernity, they were simultaneously pushing them to be acclimated into traditional American cash economy. However, as noted in the previous chapter, entrepreneurs, such as Maria Martinez, brought sacks of sand and clay from San Ildefonso. One of her first projects was to make pots with bottoms knocked out for the chimneys of pueblos. For this, she had to develop a new method of coiling to ensure the proper size. Her husband, Julian Martinez, decorated the pots after they had been fired, using the designs of the Anasazi settlements.[261]

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[260] The 1919-1926 Commissioner of Indian Affairs reports record significant sections of artisan trades and work. Indeed, an entire written narrative in the 1930 report highlights the importance that "if Indians are to adapt themselves successfully to modern life with as little cultural loss as possible, it is essential, on the one hand, that Indian children in the schools have access to the same materials white children have, and, on the other hand, that they use the materials that represent their own interests and their own heritage." The report continues to highlight the significance of supplementing their school lessons with pottery tutorials by "Marie Martinez" at the anthropological laboratories at Santa Fe. In keeping with these anthropological recordings, children were encouraged "to write about their own Indian life, and to depict their own customs, their own legends, their own economic and social activities." This ten-year change over time indicates the transition from acculturation to assimilation, and the about-face reaction to preserving Native cultural practices (Annual Report by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs 1930-1931 p. 6-7).

[261] Diana Inocencio, "Panama-California Exposition ~ San Diego ~ 1915-1916," San Diego History Center, San Diego, CA, Our City, Our Story, http://www.sandiegohistory.org/collection/photographs/sdexpo14/.

These communities, though objectified for Anglo eyes, were not primitive. Maria Martinez used her payments from the world's fairs, railroad tourism, and from independent pottery sales to purchase a cooking stove and sewing machine. She also built a room in their home from which to sell pots. She did not see herself or Native culture as static and in fact wanted and needed modern appliances. In Maria Martinez's enterprise, outsiders were invited to witness her art, but on her own land and her own terms. This is a practice that she carried from the pueblo, as she and Julian allowed visitors--both white and non-white-- to enter the front of their home to purchase pots and groceries, to the fair. Regardless of venue, these modern market practices allowed Native laborers to partially embrace the emergence of a cottage industry that was itself a reaction to modernization.

In contrast to the postcard images that employed staged authenticity, Nusbaum documented the phases of construction on the Painted Desert grounds. He took photographs of Pueblo artisans and other Indians in modern work clothing: dirty overalls, fedoras, and leather work boots. This is an image that would not have been shown to tourists, as it was more useful to perpetuate the primitive, anti-modern image of Natives in "costume," in an attempt to control the representation of indigeneity and fix it in the past. However, candid shots such as these have become indispensable to scholars and Native descendants to demonstrate varying forms of labor and individual experience at the world's fairs.

The Painted Desert at Balboa Park represented a fantastical excursion for tourists, rather than a true representation of Native life.[262] Pueblos routinely sought craft work, staged

[262] "We expect to have at San Diego permanent buildings, of permanent class A construction, to house archaeological and ethnological exhibits given there. We expect to make this the greatest contribution to science along these lines that has ever been made in the United States of America… We have a 1,400-acre city park that we are utilizing now for exposition purposes. It is right in the center of the city… and it will be in the finest residence section of the city. Today, the San Diego Exhibition grounds hold two National Historic Districts. Balboa Park is the nation's largest urban cultural park, with seventeen museums, multiple performing arts venues, stunning architecture, most of it original to the world's fairs, gardens, and the San Diego Zoo. It also houses the San Diego

performances, and dressed as their ancestors or other tribes. The exhibit was certainly a form of "imperialist nostalgia," for spectators the yearning to recapture the Indian past that was thought to be quickly disappearing.[263] For the Indians, this was yet another example that showed how their way of life had been continually changing due to acculturation. Though the exhibit was evocative of change, it was change that Native workers were, to some degree, directing, which allowed them in a sense to move fluidly between different cultural worlds and/or social spaces.

Some modern critics complain that Indians like Elle of Ganado were exploited by the Fred Harvey Company and the Santa Fe Railroad, specifically Kathy M'Closkey in "Marketing Multiple Myths: The Hidden History of Navajo Weaving," published in 1994. While this article was printed during the height of the first wave of fervor for scholarship and memory on the Harvey Company and their Indigenous relations, this may not be the only vantage. To the extent that the Company used Elle's image unabashedly to promote tourism, often in a skewed manner, this assertion is undeniably true. However, the regard and attention accorded to Elle and Tom by their employees, the local community, and across the United States through independent tours and world's fairs implies the stature and celebrity that recognized and respected their contribution to southwestern culture.[264] In this way, scholars may reorient their gaze to focus on Elle and Tom as the primary actors in this narrative. However, to this day, no Native American woman has had her photographed image reproduced more often and in as many media as Elle. Yet, she established no business empire, her work is rarely identified in museum exhibits, and

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Historical Society, with extensive archives on Southwestern history, including the impressive Richard Amero Balboa Park Collection. Similar to the Field Museum, the San Diego Historical Society hosted an exhibition and gala in 2015 to celebrate the centennial of the Panama-California Exhibition of 1915. Balboa Park is considered the cultural center of San Diego and is surrounded by prime real estate. Need a close quote and a citation here.

[263] Bokovoy, *The San Diego World's Fairs,* 123.

[264] Kathleen L. Howard, "Weaving a Legend: Elle of Ganado Promotes the Indian Southwest," *New Mexico Historical Review*, vol. 74, no. 2, April 1999, 135.

she never had children to carry on her legacy as an artist and weaver in the Navajo tradition.[265] Elle of Ganado's legacy is in contrast with that of Maria Martinez, who gained recognition later in life through select museums, galleries, and her own community.

During employment with the Harvey Company and the Santa Fe Railroad, it was not uncommon for Native workers and artisans to engage in micro circular migration to maintain contact with friends and sources at home and to negotiate travel and compensation. Employment as "Show Indians" often disrupted life in the Pueblo villages, but artisans performed their personal and communal duties as they sought economic opportunity off their Indigenous lands.[266] For example, Edgar Hewett arranged for the Martinez and Sanchez families to host basket weaving and pottery demonstrations at the San Diego Fair. They would reside with the Navajo Indians at the Indian Arts Building. Upon arrival, the families demanded that they be allowed to live in the Painted Desert and not live in the "modern Indian Arts Building." *Los Angeles Times* reporter Mary Gulliver stated that the "Indians were homesick, and besides could not fashion their pottery without their own things."[267] Hewett and Nusbaum arranged for the families to live in the Painted Desert and created an area conducive to ceramics work. Through this arrangement, Maria Martinez recalled that her family was "making a great deal of money" because "all of the money that come from pottery that was sold there would belong to the workers." Maria Martinez's actions are an example of negotiation for proper compensation for their work and for adequate and desirable living conditions, demonstrating the change from the Chicago and St. Louis fairs and complicating academic narratives that depict the Indian artisans as only "toured upon" and exploited.

[265] Howard, "Weaving a Legend," 135.
[266] Bokovoy, *San Diego World's Fair*, 125.
[267] Mary Gullier, "Making Money at Exposition," *The Los Angeles Times*, Sun, Apr 18, 1915.

In 1915, Dr. Hewett was appointed to take charge of the Indian exhibits at the Panama-California Exposition. Hewett and his staff collected and displayed the materials in the Indian pueblo built on the grounds.[268] This brought the opportunity for a group of San Ildefonso potters to go to San Diego, Maria Martinez among them. There again they were relieved of all domestic duties, lived in comfort, and could concentrate on their art productions; they also had opportunities to sell their pots and collect tips.[269] In a section titled "*Marie's Invention*," ethnologist Henrietta Burton describes the "favorable publicity" that was awarded to Maria Martinez's work by the press and tourists that was not typical within her community: "She grasped two points: that she could go home, and by giving the same care and time to her work, do as well there as when working before the public, and that she could ask her own prices."[270] Negotiating not only the prices but also her space demonstrates the power Maria Martinez and others held in the southwestern tourism industry, even with the control exercised by the Fred Harvey Company, Santa Fe Railroad, and white tourists.

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[268] Chapman also experienced the negative side of Hewett's combination of energy and ambition, learning firsthand that the director "delegated responsibility, but not control." Hewett, who was well known for his punishing travel schedule, was chronically overcommitted; the situation became particularly bad when Hewett was tapped to create and supervise anthropological exhibits for the 1915 Panama-California Exposition in San Diego (the San Diego Expo). The Expo consumed Hewett's time from 1913 onward, leaving both Chapman and the museum essentially abandoned during Hewett's time in San Diego. *Kenneth Chapman's Santa Fe Artists and Archaeologists, 1907–1931*: *The Memoirs of Kenneth Chapman, Edited, annotated, and introduced by Marit K. Munson,* (Santa Fe: School of Advanced Research Press, 2008)*,* 53.

[269] Henrietta K. Burton, *The Re-Establishment of the Indians in Their Pueblo Life through the Revival of their Traditional Crafts: A Study in Home Extension Education,* (New York City: Teachers College, Columbia University 1936), 59.

[270] Burton, *The Re-Establishment of the Indians in Their Pueblo Life through the Revival of their Traditional Crafts*, 60. Several reports label Maria Martinez as "Marie," including Commissioner of Indian Affairs in 1930-31 and Henrietta Burton's publication.

The Legacy of the World's Fairs

Tourists' attitude in the Southwest towards Native existence "varied from fear, through frank curiosity, to patronizing friendship."[271] Even during the era, it was apparent that there were few tourists who interacted with Native artisans and demonstrators as human beings, much less those entitled to human privacy and decency. While this lack of humanity was appalling, Native employees acted against these deeds through subversive methods of resistance and by pursuing success in their industry, leaving the legacy of their names, talents, and art.

Artifacts and ephemera from world's fairs have become increasingly popular on the collectors' and antiquities market. Historian Norman Bolotin has collected "Columbiana" for decades and compiled a chart outlining the ticket sales at the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition. He has tallied 326 turnstiles, 97 ticket booths with 182 ticket sales windows. American Bank Note produced six sets of tickets that replicated the American bill: Christopher Columbus, George Washington, Abraham Lincoln, and a nameless Native American Chief, along with Benjamin Franklin for complimentary entrance and George Frederic Handel for music admission.[272] It is curious that the Indian chief would be present in the ranks of other perceived American heroes. In promoting the pan-Indian image, the Indian chief was nameless while all other American heroes…and Handel were recognized by name and known prominence. This is a perfect reflection of the notion that there should be a Native presence at the exposition, specifically as a living demonstration and method for commerce, but not fully enjoying the

[271] Marriott, *Maria,* xix.
[272] "Good Only on Day of Sale" tickets were used for 15 million admissions, or more than 70% of total fair admissions. These tickets were simply decorated but were destroyed upon entry, making them a rarity for collectors. Norman Bolotin, "Understanding Columbian Attendance & Admission Tickets." *World's Columbian Journal*, 11 July 2017, worldscolumbianjournal.com/2017/06/16/understanding-columbian-attendance-admission-tickets/.

individualized acclaim accorded other celebrities or historical figures. This representation, or rather lack thereof, also indicates how organizers used their crafted Indian image to promote the West and the Southwest more than presenting a fully actualized Native individual, acting on equal terms and accomplishments.

The Harvey Company's identity as a commercial entity is viewed through its relationship with the Santa Fe Railroad, through which it was in collaboration with and benefitted from the railroad's commodification of Native culture. Patricia Curtin argues that the Harvey discourse also created an image of Indians as children, as innocents needing protection. As such, the Company positioned itself as the humanitarian champion of Native communities, protecting them from government interference and from other groups that company personnel believed would exploit them, such as circus performers.[273] But at the same time, Indians resisted and became successful in their own right, like Maria Martinez purchasing modern appliances and managing family and community dynamics to protect her family, demonstrating that she, and others like her, were not "innocent" but could manage their affairs alone.

Exhibit sites sponsored by the Fred Harvey Company and world's fairs were workplaces and temporary residences for Native artisans and their families. These tourist sites were also educational crossroads and sites of cultural and economic negotiation. Some scholars appear myopic in defining "negotiation," relegating it to more "coercion" on the part of the Harvey Company. However, as noted in the previous chapter, Company representatives allowed husbands who practiced polygamy to bring their multiple wives to demonstration sites and also permitted Native employees to create their own schedule to accommodate personal and community obligations. These more lenient efforts to comply with changes in cultural and

[273] Patricia Curtin, "Discourses of American Indian Racial Identity in the Public Relations Materials of the Fred Harvey Company: 1902-1936," *Journal of Public Relations Research*, 23:4, 387.

business norms are highlighted in the follow chapter, specifically with the Harvey Company's architectural designer Mary Colter and her use of Native labor and design.

The later world's fairs and other platforms offered by the Harvey Company allowed Indians the rare opportunity to exert some control over the imagery of themselves. The Fred Harvey Company hoped to sell Indian authenticity and primitivism, even on the grounds of an assembled eclectic array of Pueblo, Navajo, Hopi, and Apache material culture, another attempt to move away from the pan-Indian image and to educate the white public on the varying cultural practices of Southwest Native American cultures. There was little documentary evidence created by Indians themselves and what exists is mediated, from assisted autobiography, personal accounts, and newspaper reporting. But the planning and building of the Painted Desert "Indian Village" at the Panama-Pacific Exposition reflects how Native artisans and demonstrators shaped and exerted some influence over images of themselves for audiences and entertainment.

Jesse Nusbaum and the Martinez family modified company plans and built their own version of Native life in the Southwest. Historians have labeled John Collier and other legislators as "friends to the Indians" through their influential actions during this era. But Nusbaum arguably had a more intimate impact on crafting the native image and memory through his efforts in constructing and preserving Southwest structures and history. Nusbaum's encouragement began a cultural "revitalization" of traditional Pueblo ceramics by 1909 and solidified a close working relationship between the village and the museum.[274] In 1907, at the time of the excavation work at Paye, the staff members made their initial efforts toward the rehabilitation of San Ildefonso and some other pueblos. The "Santa Fe Program" evolved, which was steadily followed for twenty-five years, and the San Ildefonso project was a part of this

[274] Bokovoy, *World's Fair*, 119

larger program.[275] Maria and Julian Martinez were a part of this inception, meaning that they are directly responsible for the revitalization of the arts and crafts, the regional tourism, and portions of the Indian New Deal. Yet, the Martinez family and other San Ildefonso artisans are rarely a part of this list, though they may be credited with the initial artwork and artistic drive that led to the revitalization.

As Moore argues with respect to Native Americans and white employers, "they did not always act of positions of equality, but each were crucial players in the story."[276] Moore credits women for being responsible for this image. Two white business women, wealthy art patron Minnie Harvey Huckel, Fred Harvey's daughter and John F. Huckel's wife, and Harvey Company architectural designer Mary Colter, along with several Indian artists, specifically Elle of Ganado, worked together "to invent the modern Southwest and to find a place for themselves within it."[277] While Native women labored to create and recreate art and community, white women who climbed the corporate ladder at the Harvey Company reaped the benefits and consequences as will be addressed in the next chapter.

[275] Burton, *The Re-Establishment of the Indians in Their Pueblo Life through the Revival of their Traditional Crafts*, 52.
[276] Laura Jane Moore, "Elle Meets the President: Weaving Navajo Culture and Commerce in the Southwestern Tourist Industry," *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies*, 22(1):21-44, January 2001, 284.
[277] Moore, "Elle Meets the President," 284.

CHAPTER IV

BUILT IN THE INDIAN SPIRIT: HOW MARY COLTER SOLD THE SOUTHWEST

On June 20, 1905, ten-year old Charles Herndon, from Tyler, Texas wrote his impression of the Grand Canyon:

> I will not attempt a description of the Grand Canyon, as so many others have done and failed. For were I an author, painter, poet and orator combined I could not make another feel what this sublime chasm has made me feel. You might have it portrayed and pictured and described by the best of talent and its result would still be merely a plateau, a gulch, a river – a piece of inanimate, soulless landscape. But seeing it – we are not so sure it has no soul. For we are impressed with a subtle influence which beggars description, which fills us with a divine inspiration and lifts us out of ourselves and make us forget for a time the sordid, selfish, greedy, world behind. Never before have I felt so close to God, never before have I been so impressed with the grandeur, the mystery, and the infinity of Nature. Would that every cynic and every one whose life has become tinged and colored with pessimism could have their horizon widened and their hearts filled with the largeness of spirit which the Grand Canyon affords.[278]

Almost ten years later in 1912, Arizona would become a state. That same year, the RMS *Titanic* departed from Southampton, England, and struck an iceberg in the northern Atlantic, sinking more than 1,500 passengers, New Jersey Governor Woodrow Wilson won the presidential election over former President Theodore Roosevelt and incumbent president William Taft, and the first Boy Scout of America earned the Eagle Scout rank. Within a few more years, young Charles Herndon was likely drafted for WWI, where he would witness the most gruesome warfare abroad, and an entirely different "soulless landscape" than that he admired at the Grand Canyon. Herndon's quote reflects the broad social malaise and fears surrounding industrialization during the Gilded Age and Progressive era.

[278] "Impressions of the Grand Canyon" (original), April 1905 – April 1906, Series III Guest Registers, 1905-1914 and 1940-1985, Subseries 3.1, Box-folder 17.1, Fred Harvey Company Records, NAU.MS.280, Cline Library, Special Collections and Archives Dept.

Young Herndon and his family stayed at the El Tovar, a Swiss chalet style hotel designed by chief architect Charles Whittlesey for the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe Railway as part of the hotel and restaurant enterprise by the Fred Harvey Company. The incredible space was decorated by architectural designer Mary Colter in one of her first contracted positions with the Company, a collaboration that led to the Mary Jane Colter Buildings at the Grand Canyon, among others across the United States.[279] Although many writers have investigated various aspects of the Grand Canyon and Mary Colter's career, few discuss the roles of the heritage tourism industry and labor concerns in shaping popular perceptions of the Southwest.[280]

Previous chapters have highlighted the fluctuating power dynamics between Native artisans, performers, demonstrators, and laborers and their white employers in the tourism industry. This chapter analyzes heritage tourism through the complementary lenses of power and labor and provides insights into Mary Colter's role in "creating" the modern Southwest. It encourages scholars to refocus their gaze to see Mary Colter as an innovator and delve into understanding her novel use of heritage tourism as the foundation of her methods and practices. This section critically examines Colter's work for the Harvey Company as a physical manifestation of broader cultural and social changes in the 20th century American Southwest, particularly gender roles, expansion of federal powers, and the West and Natives peoples as a font of anti-modernity during the early 20th century.

[279] "Mary Colter's Buildings at Grand Canyon." National Parks Service. U.S. Department of the Interior, September 20, 2019. https://www.nps.gov/grca/learn/photosmultimedia/colter_index.htm.
[280] See Arnold Berke, *Mary Colter: Architect of the Southwest*; Virginia Grattan, *Mary Colter: Builder Upon the Red Earth*; Betty Levengood, *Grand Canyon Women: Lives Shaped by Landscape.*

Tourism Trends and The Fred Harvey Company

Cultural tourism, stemming from commercial tourism, may be defined as "an exchange of information on lifeways, customs, beliefs, values, language, views of the environment, and other cultural resources."[281] Though the Fred Harvey Company placed emphasis on authentically representing Native peoples and their cultures, the Company's main mission, as a business, was manufacturing an experience and generating revenue, which aligns more with heritage tourism. Heritage tourism is travel directed toward experiencing the heritage of a city, region, state, or country. This type of tourism allows visitors to be enveloped in local customs, traditions, history, and culture. The concept of heritage tourism came into vogue in the 1990s, expanding in the 2000s with numerous studies and guidebooks of best practices for public and private entities.[282] Proponents believe that heritage tourism can successfully help preserve cultural and architectural treasures while boosting local economies by creating jobs and new businesses and expanding tax dollars and additional streams of revenue.[283]

Though heritage tourism is a relatively new term and relies heavily on the museum and education aspect, the Harvey Company was a progenitor of heritage tourism before scholars coined the phrase. Mary Colter's plans reflect heritage tourism practices even more than cultural tourism because they were calculated to inform the public, preserve the cultural heritage of the community and their spaces, and generate revenue for the Harvey Company. Arguably, Mary Colter's personal drive was to create a "sense of place" rather than generate revenue. But there is

[281] Susan Guyette and David White, "Reducing the Impacts of Tourism through Cross-Cultural Planning," in Hal Rothman, *The Culture of Tourism, the Tourism of Culture: Selling the Past to the Present in the American Southwest*, Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2003, 169.
[282] Perhaps the most comprehensive guide was produced by the Texas Historical Commission, in partnership from a grant from the Department of the Interior and the National Park Service.
[283] Texas Historical Commission. (2007). *Heritage Tourism Guidebook*. Austin, Texas; Texas Historical Commission, https://www.thc.texas.gov/public/upload/publications/heritage-tourism-guide.pdf

much at stake in creating the idea of the Southwest through a heritage tourism plan and, in turn, preserving it for the present.

Heritage tourism is not only a viewing lens, but also a consequence and tangible result of turning culture into a commodity. Interwoven into this are the broader dynamics of gender politics, power, Native performance, and labor. By articulating the ties in this snapshot of the tourism and long historic preservation movement and how both require a dynamic public-private partnership to function, scholars, preservationists, and tourists alike may view this unique symbiotic relationship of the past and the architectural present and its historic roots. The history of the Fred Harvey Company and Mary Colter's career helps explain why her work became so essential to the Harvey Company's approach to marketing the Southwest. By considering a number of the structures Colter created, we can see how her methods reflect principles of heritage tourism that have had a lasting impact.

Heritage tourism has expanded beyond educating the public about the past or even the current cultural practices. It now encompasses both sites and events, commemorating the memory of past tourism practices and memorializing the past and nostalgia. Within this context, "the tourist was simultaneously a consumer and a viewer."[284] The tourist experience depends on tension between the visitor and the locals, the concept of space and place and the lived experience, the projected image, and the real image. This anticipated and projected experience can make the staged authenticity of the actual tourist experience exciting, but tame. Cultural and heritage tourism also provides a means of preserving and perpetuating the nation's cultural heritage through education, increased revenues and audiences, and good stewardship.

[284] Marguerite S. Shaffer, "Playing American: The Southwestern Scrapbooks of Mildred E. Baker" in Hal Rothman, *The Culture of Tourism, the Tourism of Culture: Selling the Past to the Present in the American Southwest*, Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2003, 75.

However, little information exists about the development of heritage tourism, specifically the history of the formation of the principle and best practices. Public and private entities such as the National Park Service and the National Trust for Historic Preservation, respectively, have defined heritage tourism similarly, focusing on not only the significance of cultural and architectural preservation, but also the financial impetus. Perhaps of most significance in these definitions is the phrase pulled from the National Trust for Historic Preservation's definition of heritage tourism: "traveling to experience the places, artifacts, and activities that authentically represent the stories and people of the past and present."[285]

The question of what is authentic surrounds the Fred Harvey Company and the broader tourism industry. Often, the images and experiences that visitors perceive to be "authentic," particularly in branded tourism, are not based in the historical and cultural past. This "brand" may carry aspects of the "authentic," but it reflects a transformation that is inherent to its own culture. A frequent criticism is that tourism has a negative impact on Indigenous cultural authenticity, especially because historically, tribes have had little influence on tourism development. Though there are profound inequities, tribal communities have seen benefits, such as the stimulation of cultural arts and the revitalization of younger generations' interest in traditional crafts.[286] Ultimately, authenticity is rooted in time and place and reflects more on the individual meaning and identity. The Harvey Company, particularly Mary Colter, worked to define its own brand of an "authentic" experience that was also based in what they perceived as marketable. These images, symbols, and memories became synonymous with the imagination and the lexicon of the American Southwest.

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[285] Jamesha Gibson, "Heritage Tourism." [Preservation Glossary] Heritage Tourism | National Trust for Historic Preservation, June 17, 2015. https://savingplaces.org/stories/preservation-glossary-todays-word-heritage-tourism#.YVSd7mZKjep.
[286] Guyette and White, "Reducing the Impacts of Tourism through Cross-Cultural Planning," 167.

Mary Colter, Indian Detours, and the New Woman's Movement

A key feature of the Fred Harvey approach was the construction of buildings that complemented the authentic appeal of the Southwest. Mary Elizabeth Jane Colter, born in 1869 in Pittsburgh, but raised in Wisconsin, became a central figure in the Company's effort to frame its staged spectacles with dramatic structures (Image 13). While teaching architecture in a high school, she received an unexpected message one day offering her a job to design an "Indian Building" in Albuquerque, New Mexico. It was signed "Fred Harvey." "Who is Fred Harvey?" asked Miss Colter, who had only visited the Northwest and was unfamiliar with the Company. "Fred Harvey," said her adviser, "is the man who made the desert blossom with a beefsteak, and you'd better accept."[287] In 1902, she arrived in Albuquerque, New Mexico, for her first job to arrange the Indian Building at the Alvarado Hotel.

[287] Erna Fergusson, *Our Southwest*, New York City: Alfred A., Knopf, 1910. (draft from NAU), 11.

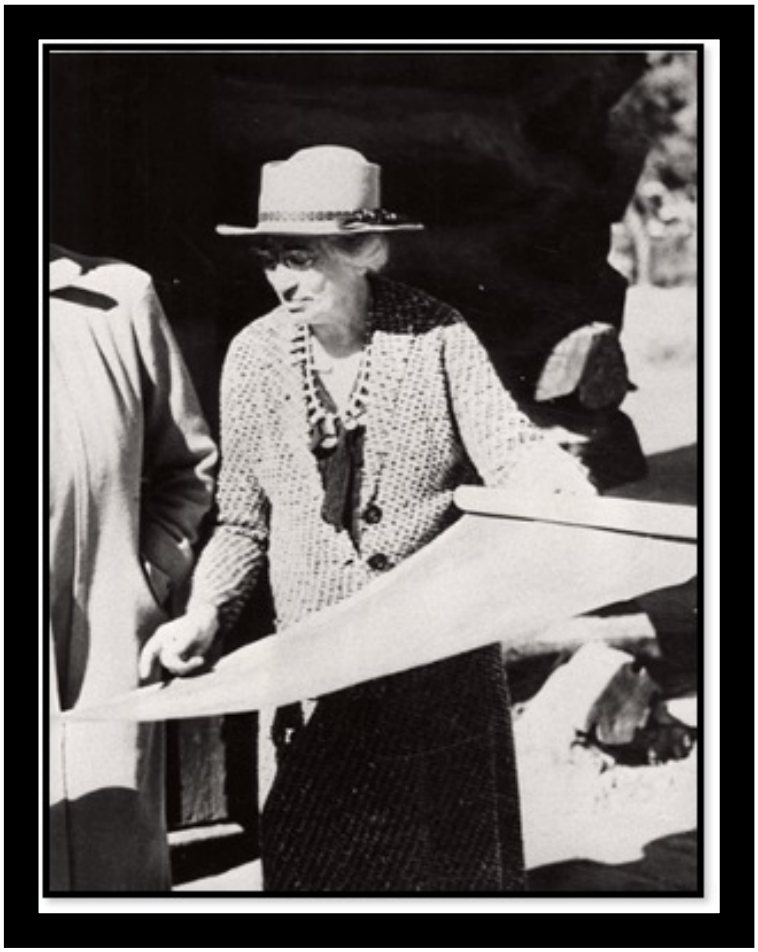

Image 13 Mary Jane Colter reviewing plans. Image courtesy of Cline Library Special Collection and Archive, Northern Arizona University

Colter defied gender roles and feminine ideals of the period. She wore pants, smoked cigarettes, and cursed at the workmen. She had a keen eye for detail, and she used her temper and commanding character to ensure the work was completed in a timely manner and the way she intended, which was often considered unorthodox and secured her the nickname "Old Lady Colter" among the contractors. Known for her "imaginative, architectural scheme in harmony with the past, utilizing traditional elements used in a new fashion," Colter was responsible for the architectural and interior design of many of the Harvey Houses and created staged settings for

the Native demonstrators and artisans.[288] As a white woman who broke into the ranks of a male-dominated profession, she not only embodied Progressive Era "New Woman" views of femininity, but also acted as an advocate for Native artwork and employment. As noted in Chapter Two, historian Laura Woodworth-Ney defines the term "New Woman," as "a woman who made her own choices [and] reflected massive shifts in the way Americans viewed gender, gender roles, and women's opportunity" and links this movement to the advancement of technology, specifically the railroad.[289] The New Woman movement and its impact on other sectors of the Harvey Company, specifically the Indian Detour couriers, will be covered in the next chapter. Following the nomination of her Grand Canyon architecture in 1985 to the National Register of Historic Places, Colter's position in architectural history became recognized as significant.

As an educator herself, Colter remained a lifelong student, building on her experience during her work at the Harvey Company to educate the public, a principal tenet of heritage tourism. She not only employed Native artisans and imagery, but she also chose materials indigenous to the region, as seen with the building materials in Lookout Studio and the Watchtower at the Grand Canyon and the furnishing materials at the Alvarado Hotel in Albuquerque, New Mexico, among others. In this way, her methods and materials were natural.

However, despite her trailblazing methods, it has rarely been acknowledged that she was employing a tourism and business tactic well beyond her time. Except for local coverage and internal accolades, Mary Colter did not receive notoriety until well after her death in 1957. She

[288] "1983 news release regarding Bright Angel Lodge's 50 years of service. The letter focuses on Mary Elizabeth Jane Colter's expertise," CLSP, MS 280, Series 4, Box 9, Folder 202.; In her work in the Midwest, as well, Mary Colter had a tremendous eye for her clientele. She placed beautiful Roman urns made by Tiffany's for the sofa fountain in the new Union Station in Kansas City. She knew not only how to cater and appeal to what was considered regional tourism kitsch and memorabilia, but also the predilections of more metropolitan spaces.
[289] Laura Woodworth-Ney, *Women in the American West*, Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 2008, 179.

was not noticed by publications in the architectural field, even though her buildings and décor reached a wider audience than the private homes designed by more well-known contemporary male architects, like Frank Lloyd Wright.[290]

Colter's approach was in keeping with broader trends in the development of the region. The federal government's preservation of swaths of western land as national parks was followed by the cultivation of these scenic spaces for public visitation through the building of railroads, "paved" roads, hotels, and other ventures. Federal parks sought to minimize the disturbance of the natural land, so these expansions were expected to blend with the environment. Colter not only achieved this feat with the scenic environment, but also with the cultural environment, namely at the Grand Canyon with Hopi House, Lookout Studio and Hermit's Rest, and the Desert Watchtower.[291]

The Fred Harvey Company was concerned with regional authenticity and preservation and made moves to showcase (and benefit) from marrying the two, a key feature in heritage tourism. The National Trust for Historic Preservation outlines five principles for a successful and sustainable heritage tourism program: "preserve and protect resources; focus on authenticity and quality; make sites come alive with interpretation; find the fit between community and tourism; collaborate for sustainability."[292] Though these best practices were drafted almost 100 years after the height of the Harvey Company, the Company's tourism practices under Mary Colter foreshadowed these modern concerns.

Interpretation and tours are a primary impetus in modern heritage tourism and were

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[290] Recently, there has been a feeble attempt to lambast Colter, claiming that she was not an architect. Fred Shaw's self-published work *The False Architect* gained brief traction in 2018-2019.

[291] Bright Angel Lodge, a lodge and cabins constructed at the bottom of the canyon in 1922, is a later example of this rustic but safe accommodation, ushering in "National Park Service rustic" or "parkitecture" that became common with CCC funded projects.

[292] Texas Historical Commission. (2007). *Heritage Tourism Guidebook*. Austin, Texas; Texas Historical Commission, https://www.thc.texas.gov/public/upload/publications/heritage-tourism-guide.pdf

prominent features of the Harvey Company approach. The Indian Detour service began in 1926, as automobiles overshadowed trains as the preferred method of travel. Martin Padget notes that the Indian Detours allowed visitors to travel through "200,000 miles of matchless virgin territory" and paradoxically "promised clients access to Native Americans who would welcome tourists to their communities yet remain unchanged by participating in the new economy of tourism."[293] "Detourists" saw what were advertised as "genuine" ceremonial dances, along with Native women crafting ceramics, baskets, and jewelry, a similar business model to the demonstrations at the Grand Canyon. The touted authenticity of such scenes belied the significant changes underway in Native communities as they confronted assimilation and exploitation. These tours were led and interpreted by college-educated women couriers, defining social mores of the New Woman era.[294] The couriers led visitors to the pueblos, wearing a uniform that was an assortment of "Western wear," featuring laced-up boots, small-brimmed Stetsons, and heavy canvas A-line skirts, along with iterations of "traditional Indian" garb, which included ceremonial Navajo blouses and squash blossom necklaces.

The Indian Detour couriers were some of the first mainstream "interpreters" during this era, complete with costume, a primary tenet of heritage tourism. The women couriers brought tourists to visit Hispanic communities, Indian villages and pueblos, and ancient ruins such as Chaco Canyon, to view Native performances and purchase handmade pottery, baskets, jewelry, and art. At the time of its inception, Erna Fergusson and Ethel Hickey were the founders and original sole guides for Koshare tours, a precursor to the Indian Detours. Upon purchase, the

[293] Martin Padget, *Indian Country: Travels in the American Southwest, 1840-1935*, (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press), 2004.; 171; 172.
[294] Indian Detour couriers helped represent the generational shift toward the progressive "New Woman" model and away from the Harvey Girls – the Victorian ideal of the "good waitress" who were credited with "civilizing" the West.

Harvey Company hired accomplished young women "couriers" to be their tour guides. Journalist Charles Lummis's description of the couriers as "fine, clean, thoroughbred, lovely young women of old families," played on key and contentious tropes surrounding femininity in the Progressive Era. As an advertisement noted, "members of the Courier Corps [were] chosen from groups of candidates periodically trained and examined by an advisory board of nationally known authorities on the archaeology, technology and history of the Southwest."[295] In addition to these credentials, the couriers spoke Spanish and were "friendly with the Indians."[296] The role of the Indian Detours couriers and their methods will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter Four.

The Harvey Company's complex relationship with several Puebloan groups demonstrated a company-level understanding of the potential dangers of unguided tourism. Though the pueblos were already a destination to tourists "in the know" and later a defined destination through the Fred Harvey Company Indian Detours, building and recreating Indigenous structures and spaces like the Hopi House at the Grand Canyon aided in protecting Native homes, villages, and communities from becoming tourist attractions. Indeed, this was an early form of sustainable tourism. If institutions allow heritage sites and similar public spaces to be damaged by excessive visitation and commodification, the resources therein will be desecrated or lost to the Indigenous community as well as to the visitors.

In her approach to architecture and design, Mary Colter placed an emphasis on place-making as a "universal tool of the historical imagination."[297] This accompanying sense of place

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[295] Roger W. Birdseye, "A Typical Spanish Rancho "La Posada" *The Santa Fe Magazine*, November 1930, 24.
[296] Roger W. Birdseye, "Harvey Car Motor Cruises," The Santa Fe Magazine, July 1929, 23.
[297] Keith Hamilton Basso, *Wisdom Sits in Places: Landscapes and Language Among the Western Apache.* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 2010), 5. In *Wisdom Sits in Places: Landscapes and Language Among the Western Apache*, Keith Basso examines the relationship between place, culture and community, and place-names and place-making through language with the Western Apache tribe in Cibecue, Arizona. This was originally an NSF grant-funded project with the White Mountain Apache Tribe to make "Apache maps with Apache places and names…[to] find out something about how we know our country" (xv) in comparison to the "whitemen" maps.

links landscape, culture, and community, creating the ideal unity for heritage tourism. The Harvey Company also created, through its merchandising and lobbying efforts, a discourse of Natives as creators of the authentic. This practice allowed space for cultural change and innovation, rather than reifying a notion of the authentic frozen in history. Mary Colter created spaces of more even exchange, specifically through her brand of heritage tourism, with an attempt to mitigate the more critical effects of tourism.

Technological advancement and the narrative of progress also caused major developments that changed the perceived image of the Southwest in the early twentieth century. Changes in society, particularly in notions of masculinity and femininity, as well as an increasing perceived need to escape from modernity and return to natural living, ushered in a new wave of western tourism, led by the Fred Harvey Company. There is a sense of anti-modernism during the turn of the century, like those mirrored in *They Know New Mexico,* as will be discussed later, heralding anxious urbanites and a select group of anti-urban anti-industrialists to look to the American West to find meaning and purpose.[298] The twin "creation" of wilderness and the concept of primitivism, using these newly created parks as an "escape" from civilization, allowed the Company to craft an "exotic" experience for eastern tourists.

The cultural and economic models presented in heritage tourism plans showcase the intersections of public relations and tourism practices and how power dynamics permeate these relationships. The cultural-economic model allows exploration of the intersections of public relations practices, tourism, and race/ethnicity. Within this model, power permeates relationships

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Basso not only created the maps (though not included in this work), but also documented the rich cultural history tied to these place-names.

[298] This "select group" includes individuals noted in Sheryl L. Smith, *Reimagining Indians: Native Americans through Anglo Eyes, 1880–1940*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 2000. Smith explains that several of these cultural critics, such as George Bird Grinnell, Mary Austin, and Mabel Doge Luhan, claimed that the simple and "primitive" lifeways of the Southwest Indians was the answer to urban distress and dissatisfaction with modernity.

on varying levels, both controlling and productive.[299] Scholars are usually eager to argue of the unbalanced power dynamics between tourists and performers, employers and performers, and the federal government and performers, but there is an undercurrent of active awareness and resistance through control and productivity.

The culture of the Southwest is in the intersection of "spirit" "place" and "vision."[300] That "vision" varies, depending on the viewer. The Fred Harvey Company and Mary Colter created a plan that embodied the basic tenet of heritage tourism and also provides a means of preserving and perpetuating cultural heritage through education, increased revenues and audiences, and good stewardship.

Mary Colter reflected these concerns in her work, stressing the importance of blending the structure within its surroundings by incorporating not only the regional materials, but also the history and artisan labor of the indigenous peoples that gave the area its cultural distinctiveness. Her work showcased an adoption of new and old by elevating the historic landscape, while highlighting the new buildings. Colter was also responsible for several published tourism guides, contributing to the Harvey Company's efforts to educate their visitors. In her *Manual for Drivers and Guides in the Grand Canyon in 1933*, Colter expressed her concern that the "Rest and View House" (now the iconic Desert Watchtower on the south rim of the Grand Canyon) would not complement the environment. After meticulous research and planning, "the character of the prehistoric building would make possible the harmonizing of its lines and color with the terrain time worn masonry walls would blend with the eroded stone cliffs of the canyon walls

[299] Patricia Curtin, "Discourses of American Indian Racial Identity in the Public Relations Materials of the Fred Harvey Company: 1902-1936," *Journal of Public Relations Research*, 23:4, 368-396, 374.
[300] Keith Bryant, *Culture in the American Southwest: The Earth, The Sky, The People*, (College Station: TAMU Press, 2014), 4.

themselves."[301] These contradictory impulses can be seen throughout the built landscapes of the West. Colter developed a modern structure that was designed to meld with the regional topography and in confluence with the "traditional" Native building style, while hewing to progressive ideas about the West, heritage tourism, and profitability.

Following preservationists like John Muir, who believed it was a sin to alter or profit from this scenic beauty, many Harvey Houses and accompanying sites provided an antidote to over-civilization and industrial existence in the East. Parks acted (and arguably still do) as a haven from the pollution, overdevelopment, and rote daily tasks in an industrial society. Though battles for solid boundaries in national parks are known to be more politicized, advocates petitioned for the national park service to have a preservationist bent in the federal government that would prevent the development and exploitation of the resources in the West, specifically the Grand Canyon.[302] It was proposed that National Parks, unlike national forests, would be completely off-limits to development and would be accessible to the public in a limited capacity. Unsurprisingly, larger corporations and the National Forest Service opposed the National Parks movement. Despite the rose-colored glasses of this new "scenic nationalism," class resentment and a new "wage slavery" in the West sprung up.[303] While the Fred Harvey Company led this charge by producing new enterprises and jobs, their unique brand of tourism encouraged positive viewership of the Native peoples and culture, solidifying their role as the company that "introduced America to Americans" in the West. [304]

[301] Mary Colter, *For Drivers and Guides, Grand Canyon National Park* (Arizona: Fred Harvey, 1933), 11.
[302] See defining markers for Yosemite and the construction of the Hoover Dam
[303] Brian Rouleau, "Here Come the Feds!" Lecture presented at Texas A&M University, March 21, 2017.
[304] Frank Waters, *Masked Gods: Navajo and Pueblo Ceremonialism* (Athens, Ohio: Swallow Hill Press, 1950), 109.

Alvarado Hotel – Albuquerque, New Mexico

Though this research focuses on extant properties, it would be remiss to expand upon the Alvarado Hotel in Albuquerque, New Mexico, and not highlight the El Navajo Hotel in Gallup, New Mexico, and the El Ortiz in Lamy, New Mexico. These sites served as groundbreaking hubs of cultural exchange, as the first of their kind in employing Native artisans and demonstrators and in displaying sacred Native iconography. Indeed, a well-publicized incident at the El Navajo in 1923 that almost severed the Company's good relations with the Navajo acted as a precedent for proper relations moving forward.

Mary Colter's self-taught methods and honed professional skills would prove vital as she moved up in the Harvey Company and was faced with more responsibility and expectations to develop the Company's ability to succeed in heritage tourism. Her first assignment with the Company was through summer contract work, designing the Fred Harvey Indian Building at the Alvarado Hotel in Albuquerque. This structure was a part of the Fred Harvey Indian Department, which was responsible for all Indian promotional items and acted as part curio shop, part cultural preservation effort. Colter's passion for teaching and learning did not diminish while she was working for the Harvey Company, as she believed that integrating cultural artifacts into her design work provided visitors with a more substantial experience of and education about Native cultures. To create an intimate setting, interior lighting was dimmed, as visitors wandered through the carefully constructed living room, complete with fireplace and mantel, hand-hewn dining table, rugs, and baskets that were strategically placed to create a "homey" ambiance. Author Frank Waters noted that "she rode horse-back 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."[305] Colter used this "hands on" approach to build structures that embodied the heritage tourism practices of the Fred Harvey Company. These acts of placemaking were replicated in all of her Harvey designs until her retirement in the late 1950s.

Colter used several tactics to project an air of authenticity and indigeneity to draw in tourists. Native artisans, such as Elle and Tom of Ganado, sat outside of buildings, including the Alvarado and later the Hopi House at the Grand Canyon, to welcome visitors to the hotel. The Harvey Company, led by John F. Huckel, Minnie Harvey Huckel, Herman Schweizer, and Mary Colter, employed Indigenous builders, used local materials when available, and focused on historical details obtained through research expeditions to various Native American historical ruins. Through her interior design method, Colter cleverly crafted turn-of-the-century domestic hominess with an "exotic" appeal, centering the room around a tremendous hearth with unusual artifacts, Native arts and hand-crafts, and Mission-style furniture. Visitors had never shopped in a manufactured home experience, creating a unique but comfortable encounter.

Colter strove for stylistic credibility without attempting to make, as she stated, a "copy" or "reproduction." Instead, she sought to create a sense of place— an attachment and feeling of belonging to a place or space. This concept is inherently complex, made more so by the influx of visitors and construction, altering the place and intrinsic memories. Sense of place in the Southwest during the early twentieth century was inherently tied to tourism and the visitors' experience, as among other things, visitors were looking for a new connection. As Keith Basso notes, "Senses of place, while always informed by bodies of local knowledge, are finally the possessions of particular individuals."[306] Basso argues that "practicing ethnographers, much like

[305] Frank Waters, *Masked Gods: Navajo and Pueblo Ceremonialism,* (Athens, Ohio: Swallow Hill Press, 1950), 111.
[306] Keith Basso, *Wisdom Sits in Places* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 1996), xv-xvi.

everyone else, take senses of place for granted." And while this is true, similar to the phrase "you don't know what you have until it's gone," the Fred Harvey Company was well aware of what it "had."[307] Because authenticity is ephemeral, Colter made selections from a broad definition of the Southwest and repackaged it as an experience that could be more palatable for tourists. She also used sense of place as a means to promote heritage tourism through her own interpretation of the region, specifically through connecting the visitors to the landscape and cultures to provide a meaningful experience and revenue for the Harvey Company.

El Navajo – Gallup, New Mexico

The original Harvey House in Gallup, New Mexico was a wooden structure that was destroyed in a disastrous fire in 1914, with property losses of over $100,000 (more than $2 million today).[308] The new El Navajo was completed in 1923, costing $25,000 ($3 million today) and located adjacent to the railroad tracks in Gallup. It was named to celebrate the nearby Navajo Reservation and was situated on the geographic homeland of the Hopi, Navajo, and Zuni peoples, which made it a natural base of operations for the Indian Detours. It was one of the few times when Harvey Girls wore a uniform other than their basic black and white, donning instead a specially designed, festive blouse-skirt combination, later replicated for the La Fonda in Santa Fe. The Pueblo Revival structure was designed by Mary Colter with William Stephenson, a decorator from Los Angeles. In 1923, Colter was asked to design an elaborate addition to the building. The details of the building's façade and interior were based on local Navajo culture: "Navajo references could be found in the arch of the main entrance, which resembled the

[307] Basso, *Wisdom Sits in Places*, xiv.
[308] Richard Melzer, *Fred Harvey Houses of the Southwest* (Charleston, SC: Arcadia Pub., 2008), 75.

roofline of a hogan, and the stair-step blocks used as ground-hugging buttresses and at the meeting of building segments, recalling a motif found in Navajo rugs."[309]

Fred Harvey Company property names often reflected the Spanish history of the southwest region: Castañeda , La Posada, and Alvarado; none of these celebrate the fame of an Anglo. However, the only Indian designation is El Navajo at Gallup, though in the Spanish form, as well. El Navajo is "notable for a single act of courtesy."[310] Unlike other Harvey Houses in the southwest that incorporated Mexican culture and design, Colter designed the El Navajo's unique interior and received special permission to use sacred Navajo sand paintings as decorative motifs. According to Keith Bryant, Native artists borrowed from each other, specifically noting that Navajo sandpainting evolved from contact with the Pueblos, during the Spanish conquest. Ancestral Puebloan wall paintings, part of the petroglyphic tradition, differed substantially from those the Navajos produced centuries later. More significantly, by the 1850s and 1860s, Anglo teachers, missionaries, and federal agents had exposed young painters to the traditions of western European art. By 1900, as Indian painters found a market for pictures acceptable to an Anglo aesthetic, Navajo, Hopi, and Pueblo artists, largely males, adjusted to the Anglo culture, but many of their paintings depended on subject matter drawn from the wall and sand painters of old providing cultural exchange through art. However, sand paintings were considered religious medicine by Native practitioners, not art.

The El Navajo contained the earliest known Navajo sandpainting reproductions used for purely secular wall decoration and the first time such paintings were displayed in a public building. The intent was to make "these profoundly interesting examples of Indian art, tradition,

[309] Arnold Berke, *Mary Colter: Architect of the Southwest* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2002), 130.; The stair-step design sometimes also represents kiva steps and clouds and can be found on Pueblo pots.
[310] Erna Fergusson, *Our Southwest* (New York City: Alfred A., Knopf, 1910), (draft from NAU), 14.

and religious faith" accessible to Anglo travelers.[311] John Huckel was also able to purchase a collection of eighty-four watercolor reproductions from Sam E. Day, Jr., an Indian trader and noted authority on Navajo culture from St. Michael's, Arizona. The watercolors dated from 1902 to 1905 and had been painted by four Navajo singers: White Singer, Speech Man, Stops Abruptly, and Old Man's Son.[312]

Local Navajos were frustrated when they heard that the Harvey Company was planning to reproduce sacred sand paintings on the walls of the new hotel. Frank Waters recalls in *Masked Gods* that Colter was brought to trial for her actions by several Navajo singers.[313] Indeed, a group of medicine men, gathering for the ceremonial of the House Blessing, surveyed the walls "when one of the older men threw up his hands and emitted a grunt of disgust" and pointed to a leg of one of the male figures. "You have omitted the rainbow garters," he said, through an interpreter.[314] Though this appears to be a minute detail, it was only one of several errors in the reproduction pieces.

Surprised by this strong reaction, the Company ordered the paintings to be removed. There is little information regarding the events leading up to the removal; there was no mention

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[311] "1923 Navajo Sandpaintings as Decorative Motive," *El Palacio*, Vol. 14, No. 12, 174-183.
[312] The paintings chosen for the decorations were the following:
1. Monster Slayer Quartet from Shootingway
2. The Ascension of Scavenger from Beadway
3. Many-Headed Cloud People from Mountainway or Windway
4. A single figure Turquoise Arrow Person from Shootingway
5. North Star from Big Starway
6. Eagle Trap from Eagleway
7. Mother Earth-Father Sky from Mountainway or Shootingway
8. Bear's Den from Mountainway
9. "When the Sun is Dead," special eclipse painting from Shootingway
10. The Skies from Shootingway
11. Child-of-Water on the Moon from female Shootingway
12. Pollen Boy on the Moon from female Shootingway
The reproductions from which these paintings were made are now housed in the Huckel Collection at the Taylor Museum, Colorado Springs. The paintings and hotel were destroyed in 1957.
[313] Waters, *Masked Gods: Navaho and Pueblo Ceremonialism,* 104.
[314] "1923 Navajo Sandpaintings as Decorative Motive," *El Palacio*, Vol. 14, No. 12, pp. 170-183., 175.

in local papers nor archived Company records or correspondence. It appears that there was more concern for accuracy than permanence, with the desire for preservation of Navajo culture as the essential motivator for consent and approval.

However, after discussions with Harvey officials, the Navajos decided to compromise. It was decided that the paintings could remain, provided there was a blessing ceremony. This unprecedented event received international media attention. The ceremony was arranged and sponsored by Sam Day, Jr., Mike Kirk, president of the newly formed Inter-Tribal Ceremonial Association, and Herman Schweitzer.[315] There was an incongruous gathering of 2,000 Navajo, including 15 medicine men and Gee Dodge, "richest of all Navajos," a number of frontiersmen including Dan Du Bois, oldest surviving scout of the Santa Fe Trail and companion of Kit Carson, Harvey and Santa Fe Railroad officials, newspaper and magazine writers, and cameramen.[316] At least one sandpainting was made for the ceremony and destroyed at its conclusion. After the blessing was performed, sacred pollen was sprinkled over the "owners" of the house and then the procession passed through the building while the leaders sprinkled each painting with sacred cornmeal. Festivities continued throughout the day, with races, competitions, and dances in the evening.[317]

This misstep seemed fortuitous for the Harvey Company. Ten years later, when building the Hopi House at the Grand Canyon, Mary Colter employed Hopi people to help design and build the house. There was also a public ceremony with an accompanying educational booklet titled "De-Ki-Veh." Reports of the sandpaintings were glowing: "Enough cannot be said of the

[315] The El Navajo opened months after Gallup's first Inter-tribal Indian Ceremonials, which were centered around the hotel.
[316] A Remarkable Indian Ceremony: Navajo Medicine Men Participate in Unique House Warming with Rites Centuries Old." *Santa Fe Magazine* July 1923, 17
[317] Following the ceremony to eliminate evil spirits was a traditional house blessing. Mr. and Mrs. Sam Day, Jr. served as sponsors, standing for the man and woman of the house. Each stood in the center of a sand painting prepared on the platform in front of the hotel, the woman on the west, the man on the east.

decorative character of the sandpaintings - of their structural composition and beauty of line and mass and color."[318] However, in 1957, the hotel portion of El Navajo was demolished to widen Route 66 and by 1970, Interstate 40 had bypassed many towns along the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe.

As for El Navajo, the city of Gallup renovated the old depot that was adjacent to the structure in 1996. The building now houses the Gallup Cultural Center, which includes the Gallup's Visitor Center, the Southwest Indian Foundation, the Storyteller Museum and Gallery of the Masters, the Kiva Cinema, and a coffee shop. While this is a positive venture for the only municipality in McKinley County, there is little information on the El Navajo and the lost sandpainting reproductions once incorporated into the local heritage tourism. The sand paintings have since been relocated to the Colorado Springs Fine Arts Center and may only be accessed through written permission from museum administrators.[319]

El Ortiz – Lamy, New Mexico

Lamy, New Mexico never boasted more than three hundred residents, but in 1910, it was the "oasis in the desert."[320] El Ortiz Hotel was designed by Kansas City architect Louis Curtiss in 1909. He gave the railroad's trademark Mission style a New Mexican twist. The interior was designed by Mary Colter and was the smallest of the Santa Fe region Harvey Houses. Similar to the later La Posada, Colter designed the El Ortiz to make guests feel as if they were "coming into

[318] "A Remarkable Indian Ceremony: Navajo Medicine Men Participate in Unique House Warming with Rites Centuries Old," *Santa Fe Magazine* July 1923, 17
[319] Kathy Weir, Interview by author, May 27, 2019.
[320] Leslie Poling-Kempes, *The Harvey Girls: Women Who Opened The West*, (New York: Marlowe & Company, 1991), 120

someone's home as honored guests."[321] Stephen Fried claims the "boutique hotel" would act as a retreat for those who believed that Santa Fe had become overcrowded.[322] At the turn of the century, its primary purpose was to act as a stop on the Indian Detours line.

It was a grey stucco building, with white stucco walls. In place of red tile, Curtiss designed flat roofs and added projecting vigas, exposed adobe on the sides, and hand-carved Zapata capitals to provide a more rustic, local feeling. The capped parapets, nevertheless, reveal a debt to the California Mission style.[323] The fireplace had a geometric Indian design in the brickwork, with hammered copper work on the mantle. Colter chose heavy hand-carved Flemish oak furniture in a Mexican style, with brass-studded, straight-backed chairs, along with older pieces, such as an old Spanish chest in the lounge. Navajo rugs lined the floor, with old photographs, paintings on cowhides and a large Mexican *retablo*, a painting of religious figures on the walls. A traditional archway led visitors into the lunchroom. The rooms opened onto a grassy patio, which was surrounded by hanging vines and planter boxes.[324]

El Ortiz was also a jumping off point for the Indian Detours service, which started in 1926.[325] Dyes observes that these marketing approaches were in two chronological segments: the first efforts were prior to the Great Depression, and the second efforts focus on the AT&SF,

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[321] Beverly West, *More Than Petticoats: Remarkable New Mexico Women* (Guilford, Conn: TwoDot, 2001), 31.
[322] 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), 322.
[323] Chris Wilson, *The Myth of Santa Fe: Creating a Modern Regional Tradition* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1997), 114.
[324] Planter boxes may seem less elegant compared with some of the other Harvey Houses, especially in what was to be a high-end retreat hotel. However, after having visited the site of El Ortiz, it is apparent that it would be difficult to grow decorative vegetation without first taming the area with planters. It is quite arid and now surprisingly woodsy.
[325] Figure 3. *Indian Detour Bus, Santa Clara Pueblo*. 1926, Palace of the Governors. Available from http://www.canyonroadarts.com/the-fred-harvey-company/. (Accessed November 28, 2020).; Figure 4. *Map of Indian Detours*. 1926. *Indian Detours Photograph Album, Center for Southwest Research, University Libraries, University of New Mexico*. Available from https://sarweb.org/?tallmadge_exhibit_fred_harvey_company. (Accessed November 28, 2020).

particularly the Indian Detours in the late 1920s through the 1930s.[326] Padget describes the experience:

> The tour would take travelers on the westbound Navajo and California Limited trains from Las Vegas to Santa Fe on to Albuquerque from where they would resume their journey to Los Angeles. Along with visiting the ruins of the Indian pueblos, there were two additional services. Car tours called 'Road to Yesteryear' took visitors in Packard Eight 'Harveycars' to a variety of locations up to 185 miles away from either Santa Fe or Albuquerque[327]

Even though it was off the beaten track, Lamy was able to bring in a wide clientele, because it was so close to the larger city of Albuquerque and the artist colony of Santa Fe.[328] Many politicians and celebrities frequented El Ortiz because they could have the luxuries of a Harvey House and spend the evenings in Santa Fe, but escape to the countryside of Lamy for the night.[329] During the steam engine era, towns and subsequent accommodations were established solely for the obligatory one hundred mile stop-over to water the steam engines did not have a fighting chance during the transition from steam to diesel. Regardless of the ethereal pull, with the shift from steam engines to diesel engines, the El Ortiz was not able to maintain its tourist traffic. The hotel closed in 1938, and though Lamy was able to maintain its Santa Fe depot with freight and passenger traffic, the El Ortiz was demolished in 1943. Presently the site of El Ortiz is a grassy plot, surrounded by trees.[330]

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[326] First name? Dye, *All Aboard for Santa Fe: Railway Promotion of the Southwest, 1890s to 1930s* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2005), 17.
[327] Padget, *Indian Country*, 194; Native American lives were anything but unchanged, as they responded to the pressures of modernization and acculturation (198).
[328] Though the depot is also a terminus for Los Alamos, the Manhattan Project did not commence until 1942, when the government took control of the Ranch School for boys in the town.
[329] Tom Boyer, interview by author, Lamy, June 15, 2009. I met Tom Boyer in 2009, during my first visit to Lamy, New Mexico. I contacted him on October 17, 2016 for a follow-up interview, though he declined and stated that he was no longer affiliated with the museum. He graciously gave me another point of contact for further research on the railroads in New Mexico, along with Sam Latkin's current contact information.
[330] The passenger depot varies in traffic as it has acted as a terminus for Santa Fe and Los Alamos.

Regional oral lore plays an integral role in forming a dynamic heritage tourism experience. While some first-hand accounts may lend themselves to "fabrications," the stories, and particularly the storytellers, are vital, regardless. In this instance, according to Tom Boyer and Sam Latkin, formerly affiliated with the Lamy Railroad and History Museum at the Legal Tender Saloon across the street, the El Ortiz was never "demolished." It is suspected that the building might have been simply "pushed" into a designated hole and covered with dirt. It would have been too expensive to haul the rubble from the site and it seems that the remains of El Ortiz were never found. This alleged hole is under a railcar that Tom Boyer converted into a home, where he and his wife lived in 2009 and rented out for events.[331] However, Allan Affeldt has other ideas. The preservation developer claims that the El Ortiz suffered demolition by neglect, including a fire after its closure in the 1940s. The remaining rubble was possibly buried, but an excavation would not yield great treasures or even a footprint of the structure.

Currently, the Legal Tender Saloon and Eat House is the oldest structure in Lamy. It was built in 1881 as a general merchandise store and a bar was added in 1894. In 1953, it was converted into a restaurant/saloon called The Pink Garter and in 1970 it was remodeled to become The Legal Tender Saloon. It was added to the National Register in 1986 and became the Lamy Railroad and History Museum in 2006. As a museum, there were several rooms dedicated to El Ortiz, along with pieces from other razed Fred Harvey Company structures, such as the doors from the Alvarado Hotel in Albuquerque.[332] The materials for the museum were acquired through private donations and online auctions and purchases.[333]

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[331] Sam Latkin, phone interview by author, College Station, November 11, 2016.
[332] Tom Boyer, interview by author, Lamy, June 15, 2009.
[333] Sam Latkin, phone interview by author, College Station, November 11, 2016.; Sam Latkin and his wife, Marsha, are self-described "scroungers." They led an intense grassroots movement to collect memorabilia and did most of the restoration work themselves. According to Latkin, when the Denver History Museum property was condemned,

The prosperity of Lamy has ebbed and flowed over the decades. The local school is boarded up and the general store is permanently "temporarily closed." However, despite the loss of the El Ortiz and the small size of the town, there have been great changes in Lamy within the last ten years. After tumultuous business dealings and failed attempts at business management, there has been tremendous positive business movement. The restaurant in the Lamy Railroad and History Museum had reopened, despite concerns about the longevity of the business.[334] Business developments are underway at the railroad depot, Allan Affeldt purchased the Legal Tender Saloon and Eating House, and prior to the Covid-19 public health crisis, author George R.R. Martin purchased the Santa Fe Southern Railroad, the 18-mile spur from Santa Fe to Lamy with intent to revitalize regular passenger train excursions.[335]

The Grand Canyon – Arizona

When Fred Harvey and the Santa Fe "discovered" the Grand Canyon, Erna Fergusson of the Indian Detours fame, claimed that it was "an event more momentous than Cardenas's discovery of it in 1540."[336] Although the Alvarado Hotel was later demolished, Colter's

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he purchased the cabinets and display cases from the property and moved them to the Lamy Railroad and History Museum. Upon further research, there is no record of a condemned museum in Denver. In fact, there is no record of the "Denver History Museum," with the History Colorado Center being the closest description match. This serves as an example of the risk of using oral narratives as substantial history.

[334] According to Latkin, when the restaurant was located inside of the museum, tours and restaurant patrons would "bother each other," Sam Latkin, phone interview by author, College Station, November 11, 2016.

[335] In 2019, Chili Line Brewery opened as a popular watering hole. It has been closed since July 2020 due to covid-19. As of 2021, there are conversations for a new business venture.; After the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railway reached Lamy in 1879. Though it had been initially planned to roll into Santa Fe, railroad executives and engineers said it would be too difficult to build a main track to the capital city because of the steep grade in the mountainous environment, so they settled for a spur line. The first Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe train to reach Santa Fe arrived in February 1880. The train served the city for well over a century. In 1991, the successor to the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railway closed the spur. The Santa Fe Southern Railway formed to buy the right of way, buildings, and equipment for the short-line operation.

[336] Erna Fergusson, *Our Southwest*, New York City: Alfred A., Knopf, 1910. (draft from NAU), 12.

establishment of "sense of place" and employment of Native demonstrators was paralleled at other Harvey Houses, including the Hopi House and the Watchtower at the Grand Canyon. Hopi House, Hermit's Rest, Lookout Studio, and Desert View Watchtower are not only the most iconic structures, but also some of the only remaining structures by Mary Colter. These structures, located on the Canyon's South Rim, demonstrate Colter's melding of the natural and built environments to simultaneously preserve the region's beauty and make it accessible to tourists.[337]

The Grand Canyon was such a popular destination that the natural wonder was "recreated" at the Panama Pacific Exposition in 1917. The exhibit covered "over 100 miles of the great canyon […] shown, each section reproduced accurately and carefully, and wrought so wonderfully that it [was] hard for the observer to realize that he [was] not standing actually on the rim of the Canyon itself."[338] The Exhibition was similar to the Painted Desert or "Indian Village" at the San Diego fair, featuring several groups, including Navajo, Zuni, Hopi, Supai, and Acoma people, as noted in Chapter Three.

Open access for tourists typically comes at the expense of personal privacy for those living in high visitation regions. Visitors often forget or are not aware that the Grand Canyon has been home to Indigenous communities that have been disrupted for generations by the influx of tourists. A strain on resources, traffic noise, and pollution have greater impact on these communities that are often ignored, even in the regional literature. However, as noted in Chapters Two and Three, there have been some beneficial aspects to the tourism industry.

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[337] "Mary Colter's Buildings at Grand Canyon." *National Parks Service*, U.S. Department of the Interior, 21 Sept. 2019, www.nps.gov/grca/learn/photosmultimedia/colter_index.htm.
[338] Greater Arizona Collection Ephemera: Description and Travel (1854-2009). CE EPH DG-61. Greater Arizona Collection. ASU Library, Arizona State University, Tempe, AZ. http://azarchivesonline.org/xtf/view?docId=ead/asu/ce_eph_d1.xml

Hopi House – Grand Canyon National Park

Colter was inspired by the Canyon, and her approach to architecture complemented its natural beauty, translating it into a form easily consumed by tourists, while simultaneously attempting to insulate the region from the deleterious effects of tourism. Eleven years before Congress passed the act that established the Grand Canyon National Park in 1919, and two weeks before the El Tovar Hotel opened, Mary Colter's Hopi House debuted as a major attraction to AT&SF passengers from the East Coast (Image 14 and Image 15). It was Colter's first move away from interior design and into architecture. Colter's main point of reference was Old Oraibi, an ancient Hopi village in northeastern Arizona, and construction was largely performed by Hopi builders.[339] Its exterior was "three stories high and … of rough stone" and its interior featured faux mud floors (cement), low-ceilinged rooms with adobe-like walls, and furnishings of local Indian and Spanish-American manufacture. The promotional materials for Hopi House emphasized that it was "an exact reproduction of a typical Hopi dwelling of a hundred years ago."[340]

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[339] The history of Old Oraibi and Kykotsmovi Village, or New Oraibi, is often overlooked, though it is interesting to the creation of Hopi House. The schism of the two villages happened only years before Hopi House was designed. In 1890, a group of Hopi moved closer to the trading post to establish Kykotsmovi Village, or New Oraibi. A continuing tension and subsequent faction led to a decrease in population and Oraibi no longer held the status of center of Hopi culture. The pueblo is open to the public, though there is restricted access to certain areas and photographs are not permitted. There are thus few ground-level photographs of the settlement as it exists in the modern day. Old Oraibi is listed on the National Register of Historic Places and was declared a National Historic Landmark in 1964.

[340] Huckel, *American Indians: First Families of the Southwest* (Kansas City, MO: Fred Harvey, 1928), unpaginated.; The history of Old Oraibi and Kykotsmovi Village, or New Oraibi, is often overlooked, though it is interesting to the creation of Hopi House. The schism of the two villages happened only years before Hopi House was designed. In 1890, a group of Hopi moved closer to the trading post to establish Kykotsmovi Village, or New Oraibi. A continuing tension and subsequent faction led to a decrease in population and Oraibi no longer held the status of center of Hopi culture. The pueblo is open to the public, though there is restricted access to certain areas and photographs are not permitted. There are thus few ground-level photographs of the settlement as it exists in the modern day. Old Oraibi is listed on the National Register of Historic Places and was declared a National Historic Landmark in 1964. Heather MacMahon, "Old Oraibi and Walpi Pueblos," SAH ARCHIPEDIA, https://sah-archipedia.org/buildings/AZ-01-017-0058.

Image 14 Exterior of the Hopi House at Grand Canyon National Park c. 2019. Image courtesy of the author.

Image 15 Entrance signage for the Hopi House at Grand Canyon National Park c. 2019. Image courtesy of the author.

The multi-storied, "pseudo – living museum" was intended to provide visitors with an exciting but accessible experience, highlighting rituals that "have been practiced by their

ancestors for hundreds of years."[341] Modeled after the Indian Room at the Alvarado, the site included a salesroom, workroom, Indian "museum" rooms with Hopi sand paintings and ceremonial altar, a Totem Room of Northwest Coast masks and bowls, a Spanish-Mexican room, and "one room which displayed the Harvey museum collection of old Navajo blankets, a display that had just won the grand prize at the 1904 St. Louis Exposition" and what eventually became the basis for the Fred Harvey Fine Arts Collection.[342] Interestingly, the only aspect to Colter's design that runs counter to traditional Hopi dwellings was the exclusion of a roof entrance. Instead, she designed a front door entrance for Hopi House so "the visitors could easily enter and purchase beautiful Native American arts and crafts to show the folks back home."[343] This addition makes these structures not authentic to Hopi dwellings, as they were Colter's interpretation of Native structures, built to cater to an audience of non-Natives and non-natives.

The Harvey Company commissioned Hopi and Navajo artisans to live on-site, create artwork, and market it to tourists. As well as demonstrating crafts during the day, primarily basket making, weaving, and silversmithing, the Hopi House's Native workforce performed ritual dances in the evenings. This added an extra income stream for the workers and provided an incentive for visitors to stay overnight at the Grand Canyon. Perhaps the most famous artisan to live at the Hopi House was Nampeyo, who by the age of 15 was already recognized as one of the finest Hopi potters.[344] Nampeyo and her family lived on the upper floors of the Hopi House,

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[341] This apt phrase was used in Meredith Davidson and Kate Nelson,"Mary Elizabeth Jane Colter" in *Palacio* December 23, 2017.; John Frederick Huckel, ed., *American Indians: First Families of the Southwest, Fourth Edition* (Kansas City, MO: Fred Harvey, 1928), unpaginated.

[342] Marta Weigle, "Exposition and Mediation: Mary Colter, Erna Fergusson, and the Santa Fe/Harvey Popularization of the Native Southwest, 1902-1940" *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies*, Vol. 12, No. 3 (1992):116-150, 127.

[343] "Welcome to the Historic Hopi House – Mary Colter's Hopi House," June 6, 2019, Museum didactic, Grand Canyon National Park.

[344] Like the origin of Maria Martinez's design and technique, Nampeyo learned of earlier Hopi pottery traditions when her husband Lesso gave her some pottery shards found at the archaeological site where he was working. These shards were from a ruin known as Sityaki that existed during the period from around 1375 to 1625 AD, "Harvey and the Hopi at the Grand Canyon" Heard Museum article, GRCA 111901.

where there is now a parking lot.[345] J.L. Hubbard, who owned the Hubbell Trading Post in Ganado, Arizona, was responsible for the transportation circuit of Hopi groups by wagon and train to the Grand Canyon. The Fred Harvey Company provided room and board for the Hopi artisans and demonstrators during their stay.

The promotional materials for Hopi House emphasized that it was "an exact reproduction of a typical Hopi dwelling of a hundred years ago."[346] Indeed, the 1909 brochure notes that the "rooms are little and low, like their small-statured occupants."[347] This is evidenced today by the small door openings and seemingly hand-hewn windows. On site, the Hopis made "'piki' twining the raven black hair of the 'manas' in big side sworls, smoking corn-cob pipes, building sacred altars, mending moccasins – doing a hundred un-American things."[348] This immersive space added an essential element to Mary Colter's heritage tourism plan by inviting visitors to not only witness a Native life but also feel as though they were a part of a "Native experience."

In 1908, Alice Dunham and her mother visited the Grand Canyon and stayed in a "cosy room" at the Bright Angel Lodge, a hotel turned lodge that Mary Colter designed as a moderately priced option compared to the El Tovar.[349] While on holiday, they took in the sights at the Hopi House and enjoyed a performance:

> We designed to see the "Hopi dance", a regular, evening performance. The walk along the rim takes on the form of an adventure. We progress slowly aslant the wind which seems to be blowing everything but us into the Canyon. […] And the "Hopi house" offers a welcome shelter. The Navajo family has not set work aside although it is almost 8 o'clock. The grim, indifferent father is pounding his silver, the mother, carding wool. One of the three little girls is asleep on the floor under a blanket. […] The dances are

[345] Kathy Weir, Interview by author, May 27, 2019.
[346] John Frederick Huckel, ed., *American Indians: First Families of the Southwest, Fourth Edition*. (Kansas City, MO: Fred Harvey, 1928), unpaginated.
[347] *Hotel El Tovar: on the Rim of the Grand Canyon, Management of Fred Harvey,* 1909, reprinted as *Hotel El Tovar, Grand Canyon of Arizona: Historical Review* (Fred Harvey Inc, 1977). 1977 is significant because it is the year of the 1977 Grand Canyon Village Development
[348] *Hotel El Tovar: on the Rim of the Grand Canyon, Management of Fred Harvey,* 1909, reprinted as *Hotel El Tovar, Grand Canyon of Arizona: Historical Review* (Fred Harvey Inc, 1977).
[349] Alice Dunham Diary 1908, NAU MS 280, Series VI, Box 13, Folder 36, 26-27.

> those which the hope is good at home for their own amusement, not such as accompany their ceremonies. But as far as any signs of mirth are concerned, you might think these were funeral rites. […] I think I never felt so far removed from the Indians world as when I watched the solemn merry-making. His interest in the coins as they clattered upon the earth floor brought him near her again. Half dollar pieces were among them thanks to the pale face and the tan shoes, or rather the tiny Indian girl who won his favor.[350]

Although some early scholars credited the Harvey Company with changing traditional Navajo silversmithing to smaller, lighter weight pieces to fill market demand for "popular souvenirs of a visit to the West" that "became stereotypes of the art of the Southwestern Indians," a close examination of company documents provides a more nuanced narrative.[351] In 1899, Herman Schweizer began developing a market for lighter-weight Navajo jewelry. In order to stimulate sales, he encouraged Navajo craftsmen to stop producing their traditional "pawn" pieces, as they were considered too large and difficult to pack as souvenirs. Schweizer's direction ultimately influenced the entire Indian silver industry in the Southwest. By the 1920s, design of Indian silver jewelry was largely dictated by the tastes of the buying public.[352] Tribal members were often asked to wear ceremonial dress while working in tourism-related activities. Asking for traditional clothing to be used in this way is an inappropriate request, as it is not to be worn outside of a ceremonial context. Laura Jane Moore cites the inaccuracy of this "staged authenticity" that is highlighted by the number of Navajos who enacted their artistic domestic life at the *Hopi* House, where Navajo weaving and silver were especially important commodities.[353]

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[350] Alice Dunham Diary 1908, NAU MS 280, Series VI, Box 13, Folder 36, 26-27.
[351] Patricia Curtin, "Discourses of American Indian Racial Identity in the Public Relations Materials of the Fred Harvey Company: 1902-1936," *Journal of Public Relations Research*, 23:4, 368-396, 380.
[352] John J. Adair, *The Navajo and Pueblo Silversmiths*. Norman, Okla.: University of Oklahoma Press, 1944, p. 25.
[353] Laura Jane Moore, "Elle Meets the President: Weaving Navajo Culture and Commerce in the Southwestern Tourist Industry," *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies*, 22(1):21-44, January 2001, 29.

Lookout Studio and Hermit's Rest – Grand Canyon National Park

The Lookout Studio was completed in 1914 and was meant to be reminiscent of the less-crowded, less-harried South Rim experience, which grew congested just years after officially opening. An early Santa Fe railroad promotional brochure advertised that visitors peer through viewfinders to "traverse the Canyon trails, explore the rugged portions of the interior, or see its faraway reaches." Indeed, one of the most circulated historic images depicts a Victorian couple peering through the telescope. The Lookout provided a "jumping off" point for visitors riding mules down to the Indian Gardens, Plateau Point, and Phantom Ranch. Visitors who were reluctant to venture down the Canyon could instead peer through the Lookout windows, read the selected texts about the Canyon, or write letters and postcards, all available on site. Like the Alvarado and Hopi House, ambient lighting filtered in from the multiple windows, creating an inviting glow and natural respite. Lookout Studio provides one of the best examples of Colter's construction of sense of place, as it is non-obtrusive, melding into the Canyon.

Hermit's Rest was Mary Colter's "imaginary architecture tale," one that was perceived as a more authentic creation than her later La Posada and its skillfully crafted romance.[354] The original remote dwelling made with local materials was built by "hermit" Louis D. Boucher, a reclusive Canadian who had established a camp at what became known as Hermit Canyon in 1890.[355] Colter created a manufactured sense of place that made tourists feel as though they were visiting Boucher's home as his guests. Colter, herself, rubbed soot into the large stones that line the domed, cavernous fireplace, creating instant age. The hall was originally furnished with heavy tables and chairs made of hollowed out tree trunks and was paired with wrought iron light

[354] Arnold Berke, *Mary Colter: Architect of the Southwest* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2002), 92.
[355] Berke, *Mary Colter: Architect of the Southwest*, 92.

fixtures. When asked "why don't you clean up this place?" Colter laughed and said "You can't imagine what it cost to make it look this old."[356] Historic sites that have embraced a heritage tourism plan often create facsimiles of the past to appear more authentic to their visitor base. Indeed, current visitors can still marvel at the meticulously constructed "historic" structure, while waiting in line to purchase souvenirs. This example of heritage tourism expresses a different heritage—that of rugged white settlers making the canyon their own--than those associated with the Pueblo through Colter's unique use of placemaking by seamlessly linking the architecture to the landscape.

Indian Watchtower – Grand Canyon National Park

The Indian Watchtower at Desert View simulates an archeological site and recreates a hybrid "prehistoric" structure (Image 16 and Image 17).[357] Colter labeled her projects at the Grand Canyon as "re-creations," and she "follow[ed] quite closely in general architectural features great prototypes."[358] In her design and construction of these sites, Colter emphasized the concept of sense of place, which is characteristic of heritage tourism, as a result of her six-month extensive research trip to the ancestral ruins and culture. Less than four miles from the Watchtower is Tusayan Ruin, where a small group of Ancestral Puebloans lived until 1200

[356] Grattan, *Builder Upon the Red Earth,* 15.
[357] Marta Weigle, "Exposition and Mediation: Mary Colter, Erna Fergusson, and the Santa Fe/Harvey Popularization of the Native Southwest, 1902-1940" *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies*, Vol. 12, No. 3 (1992), 116-150, 122. Its structure incorporates a steel framework and a concrete foundation carefully engineered for stability by the Bridge Department of the Santa Fe Railway.
[358] Mary Colter, *Manual for Drivers and Guides Descriptive of the Indian Watchtower at Desert View and its Relation, Architecturally, to the Prehistoric Ruins of the Southwest* (Grand Canyon National Park, Ariz.: Fred Harvey Company, 1933), 13.

A.D.[359] This Mesa Verde-style cliffside dwelling was mostly freestanding and like the houses at Tusayan, built on flat, exposed plateaus and mesas.

Image 16 Present-day image of the Desert Watchtower with the Grand Canyon. Image courtesy of the National Park Service.

[359] Forerunners of the Hopi, Zuni, and other Pueblo peoples. "Tusayan Pueblo Trail." *National Parks Service*, U.S. Department of the Interior, 26 Dec. 2021, https://www.nps.gov/places/000/tusayan-ruin-trail.htm.

Image 17 Desert Watchtower under construction. Image courtesy of the Grand Canyon Museum Collection

Visitors can climb the tower by a winding staircase, where the second level is dedicated to the Hopi Snake Dance. Hopi artist Fred Kabotie, then a young man, painted the murals for this room. On one wall is a large spherical painting depicting a Hopi ancestor, the first man to navigate the Colorado River. In the center of the room is a snake altar including a sand painting kept under glass.[360] Colter claimed that the Watchtower "is NOT an exact reproduction of any known ruin, but rather, is based on fine examples of the prehistoric workman, and is built in the Indian spirit."[361]

[360] "De-Li-Veh," Desert View, Grand Canyon, May 13, 1933, 7.
[361] "Inspired by Indian Tradition," June 7, 2019, Museum didactic, Grand Canyon National Park.

By the time the Watchtower was completed in 1933, the Harvey Company had planned elaborate fanfare for the opening and dedication. Aspects of this re-creation were intended "to [offer] insight into the inaccessible past and the inaccessible spiritual present," specifically because outsider access to kivas was forbidden.[362] Mary Colter was the only white person in attendance at the "De-Ki-Veh" or "Blessing of the Kiva" Hopi ritualistic ceremony, feast, and Hopi Snake dance, though it was documented in a program for "invited guests."[363] According to the Watchtower Dedication Ceremony Menu, the Harvey Company served Hopi bread, but only the color not reserved for the sacred Kachina Ceremony, so as to respect religious tradition. [364]

Acts of reparation represent the fact that heritage tourism practices continue to evolve. In 2001, the altars that had been on display in the Hopi House and Watchtower were repatriated to the Hopi people.[365] Ethnologist Henry R. Voth constructed the altars, acting as reproductions of ceremonial objects. However, because of the history and comprehensive nature of these items, they were given special care as Native "artifacts." Most recently, Fred Kabotie's murals in the Watchtower have been painstakingly restored by his son, Ed Kabotie, and were reopened to the public with great fanfare, including a dedication ceremony by Ed Kabotie. This project unearthed key tensions between the park and tribal nations that live there.

Currently, the park permits Native artists to sell their artwork under strict regulations. Following in the Harvey Company's footsteps, Native artists are limited to selling crafts that are featured during demonstrations. Indeed, a welcome sign outside of the Hopi House carved in sandstone reads "Historic landmark Hopi House Native American Arts and Crafts Navaho

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[362] Marta Weigle, "Exposition and Mediation: Mary Colter, Erna Fergusson, and the Santa Fe/Harvey Popularization of the Native Southwest, 1902-1940" *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies*, Vol. 12, No. 3 (1992), 116-150, 122.
[363] "De-Ki-Vey" May 13, 1933, GRCA 44626.
[364] Patricia Curtin, "Discourses of American Indian Racial Identity in the Public Relations Materials of the Fred Harvey Company: 1902-1936," *Journal of Public Relations Research*, 23:4, 368-396, 383.; Menu from Watchtower Dedication Ceremony Menu (1933), Phoenix, AZ: Heard Collection.
[365] They were repatriated under the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) of 1990.

Rugs," complete with a Navajo sun image. Inside, a sign posted at the Hopi House notes "Since 1905, Hopi House has proudly featured Native American products handcrafted in the USA," with an additional American flag image. Certificates of authenticity accompany each handmade product, often attached with a string or ribbon to the doll or basket (Image 18).[366]

Image 18 Image of a "Storyteller" pottery doll by Marilyn Alsm (Navajo) at the Grand Canyon in 2019. Photo courtesy of the author.

A top priority has been implementing the Indian Arts and Crafts Act of 1990, "a truth-in-advertising law" that provides severe penalties for falsely marketing products as "Handmade" or "Made by Native Americans." The Act prevents dishonest marketing and sales that skew the price system of "authentically" crafted items as opposed to mass manufactured pieces that are

[366] Author's visit, June 2019

neither handmade nor Native-made. While the Fred Harvey Company was somewhat less restrictive on the type of Native-made products it featured, selling pieces from tribes in the Pacific Northwest at the Alvarado in New Mexico, for instance, the pieces were explicitly identified as such, and functioned as an educational tool that departed from the pervasive "pan-Indian" imagery of the era.[367] Legalities and protections such as these are a recent development owing to the prior generations' exploitation of Native art and labor. Indeed, the concept of authenticity is malleable and dynamic, just as cultural heritage processes change and evolve to encompass broader interests and concerns.

Painted Desert Inn – Petrified Forest National Park, Arizona

The Painted Desert Inn is one of the few structures operated by the National Park Service in the Southwest that stands in almost the exact condition in which it was built almost one hundred years ago. Herbert David Lore built the original structure, named the Stone Tree House, out of petrified wood and other native stone at the end of the 1920s. For almost twelve years, Lore operated the House as a tourist attraction, restaurant, and inn.[368] Unfortunately, Lore had built his inn on a seam of bentonite clay, which is very susceptible to climate change. The structure soon began to show cracks in the walls and water damage. In the early 1930s, Lore

[367] Jeff Ogg, Buyer for the Indian Department Lecture, Fred Harvey Weekend, Santa Fe, New Mexico, October 21, 2017.

[368] Lore also gave two-hour motor car tours through the Black Forest in the Painted Desert below the inn. Though the name was eventually changed to the Painted Desert Inn, the nickname remained because so much petrified wood was used in the construction. "Painted Desert Inn." *National Parks Service*, U.S. Department of the Interior, 16 Mar. 2018, https://www.nps.gov/pefo/learn/historyculture/pdi.htm.

wanted to sell the property so it could be preserved. The inn changed hands several times before it was purchased by the Fred Harvey Company in 1947.[369]

Mary Colter directed the primary interior update, including a new color scheme and new plate glass windows to take advantage of the terrific views of the Petrified Forest. Once again, she solicited Fred Kabotie to paint the murals on the dining room and lunchroom walls, which depict the Buffalo Dance and Tawa, the Hopi sun god.[370] The Inn has gone through several cycles of restoration over the decades, helping to maintain the integrity of the building in an attempt to present it in its full glory of the late 1940s and 1950s.[371]

Though the Harvey Company purchased this architectural treasure, Mary Colter created a space that aligned with her vision of the Southwest. Her practice of crafting a "sense of place" created an enduring image of the region. Although the Painted Desert Inn is no longer used for lodging, the handcrafted tables and chairs are still there, along with the Kabotie murals, but they have been roped off because of vandalism. There are also small exhibits of Fred Harvey

[369] The Petrified Forest National Monument purchased the house and four sections of land-four square miles for $59, 400 in 1936. The now Painted Desert Inn was "revitalized" in the 1930s with the Pueblo Revival Style, which mirrored the popular Arts and Crafts style and became known as Parkitecture, the National Park Service rustic architecture. This style features stuccoed masonry, thick walls, earth tones, flat roofs, and protected roof beams. Lyle Bennette, a National Park Service architect, was considered the master of the Pueblo Revival Style. In the 1930s, he worked with the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) to make intricate handmade light fixtures from punched tin and wooden tables and chairs with Native designs. Skylight panels were hand-painted by two of the CCC workers, based on designs of prehistoric pottery found in archeological digs. The concrete floors in the dining room and viewing porch were etched and painted with patterns based on Navajo blanket designs. The revitalization gave the Painted Desert Inn new life and it was reopened for business on July 4, 1940, under the management of Standard Concessions. However, tourism was curtailed by wartime rationing and lack of tourists. The Painted Desert Inn closed in October 1942, but did not stay closed for long. "Landmark and Legacy," June 4, 2019, Museum didactic, Painted Desert Inn, Petrified Forest National Park.

[370] The sun face became the logo of the Fred Harvey Company.

[371] Severe structural damage forced the Fred Harvey Company to move to the newly completed visitor center complex in 1963. The Painted Desert Inn closed and there was debate over demolition or renovation for many years. The Inn stands today thanks to a strong public campaign to save the structure in the mid 1970s. The building was listed on the National Historic Register of Historic Places in 1987 and reopened on a limited basis as the Bicentennial Travel Center. The structure has proven difficult to maintain, with cracks in many of the walls, window and door frames that swell and skew, and water damage and cracks that threaten to ruin the historic murals, along with persistent structural problems with the foundation.

memorabilia, such as the dishes used at the Inn. It is most akin to Lookout Studio, supplying a tidy refuge to tourists.

La Fonda – Santa Fe, New Mexico

Beginning with Mexican Independence in 1821, the end of the Santa Fe Trail from Missouri to Santa Fe has been marked by a hotel in the plaza for almost two hundred years.[372] Mary Donoho, from Missouri, was the first Anglo-American woman to enter the city at the end of the trail. She arrived in Santa Fe in 1833 with her husband, William, and ran a hotel that was the predecessor to the present day La Fonda.[373] The Donoho's house was called *Los Estados Unidos* and was located what is now the south half of the La Fonda property. The house was later known as "the American fonda" and officially named the Santa Fe House. They advertised meals available at any hour of the day or night, "oysters and sardines always on hand, cooked if desired."[374] This was a fitting precursor to the Harvey Way.

Between the mid nineteenth century and World War I, the hotel exchanged proprietors, burned to the ground, and endured several remodels.[375] In 1919, the demolition of the Exchange

[372] Pioneers began the great migration to the American West. There were several trails, such as the Oregon Trail, leading to Oregon, the Mormon Trail, leading to Salt Lake City, Utah, and the Santa Fe Trail, leading to Santa Fe. All of these trails began in Independence, Missouri and took nearly half a year to complete.
[373] Sandra Lynn, *Windows on the Past: Historic Lodgings of New Mexico* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Pres, 1999), 30.
[374] Lynn, *Windows on the Past*, 32.
[375] By 1848, after renovations and a change in hands, the Santa Fe House became the U.S. Hotel. It claimed to have "ample beds, large and ventilated rooms, the best of liquors, and the only ice house and large corral in town." In 1851, the hotel had burned to the ground. It was rebuilt in the same year and became the Exchange Hotel. It was sold in 1881 to Dr. Robert Longwill and Abraham Staab, a leading merchant and one of the largest landowners in town. Longwill and Staab used their affluent names in society to collect funds to remodel the dilapidated house. Even before it became a Harvey House, The Exchange had a respected reputation and gourmet fare: "Colorado Head Cheese, Baron of Beef, Stuffed Turkey, Calf's Brains Scrambled with Ranch Eggs, Brown Potatoes, Pumpkin and Grape Pie, Coconut Jumbles, and Pine Apple Snow." Lynn, *Windows on the Past*, 32-38.

Hotel was used as an advertisement venue for selling war bonds. Every time a hundred-dollar war bond was sold, a tank would bash against the hotel, eventually tearing down the entire building. Construction on a new hotel began immediately. The architectural firm given the commission for the new hotel was Rapp, Rapp, and Henrickson. It was called La Fonda, taking the unofficial name of the previous hotel. Original architectural plans for the hotel included simple design, four stories, and an elevator. Rapp planned the building around an interior courtyard, like the old Exchange Hotel. It was not made of adobe, though, but of reinforced concrete and hollow tile covered by cement stucco, earthen colored to resemble adobe. La Fonda was simple with only forty-six rooms and no elevator.

Though the La Fonda was well-received and was the delight of Santa Fe, it did not make a profit and closed only two years later. The Santa Fe Land Improvement Company, a subsidiary of the Santa Fe Railway, purchased La Fonda. Then, "rather like a major power acquiring a colony, the Harvey Company entered Santa Fe to operate La Fonda in a sort of benevolent despotism as the social center of the capital."[376]

La Fonda also played a key role in the Harvey Company Indian Detours: the tours were initially conducted between La Castañeda in Las Vegas, New Mexico and the Alvarado Hotel in Albuquerque, with an overnight stay at La Fonda and touring of pueblos between the three towns. A main stop on the excursion took place in the lecture lounge at the La Fonda, which featured a large map of the Southwest, books, lantern slide shows, and lectures. The Fred Harvey Company had fleets of limousines and buses that transported tourists to the pueblos, both ruined and occupied. Like at the Alvarado, Indian dancers and vendors sold their crafts in the bustling

[376] Paul Horgan, *The Centuries of Santa Fe,* (Santa Fe: William Gannon Publisher, 1976), 321.

hotel lobby. With these amenities and access to the local attractions, La Fonda had become one of the premier tourist spots in the area.

By the 1920s, La Fonda needed more space in order to accommodate the numbers of tourists arriving for Indian Detours. Plans called for a new kitchen to be constructed and the former kitchen converted into a bigger dining room. A new wing was to be added onto the south side and a fifth floor, more than tripling the number of rooms. John Gaw Meem was placed in charge of the renovation. He was an up-and-coming architect who had recently opened a firm in Santa Fe. He was also involved in historic preservation with an organization known as the Committee for the Preservation and Restoration of New Mexico Churches.

Though this was Meme's first major project, most of the credit for La Fonda goes to Mary Colter. Colter made numerous changes in the layout of the house. She considered the Rapp version of Spanish Pueblo Revival style to be "too nervous and indented" and wanted simpler lines.[377] Colter's ideas were traditional, yet had an interesting twist that many did not understand until the product was finished. None of this ever bothered her, yet she was worried about how her work would hold up under the scrutiny of Santa Fe's artist colony. This fearless architect even confessed that she was "scared to death."[378]

Mary Colter was known for bringing in outside artisans to add their personal styles to the Harvey Houses and she brought in several artists to work on La Fonda. One of the artists, Olive Rush, painted the murals on panes of glass so the sunlight would shine through the colors as if it

[377] Sandra Lynn, *Windows on the Past: Historic Lodgings of New Mexico*, Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1999, 41.
[378] Lynn, *Windows on the Past*, 41.

were stained glass.[379] She also employed Kansas City artist Earl Altaire to create the new hand-painted Mexican-style furniture. These pieces may also still be seen in the lobby and the dining room.[380] Colter worked out an individual design and color scheme for each one of the 156 guest rooms. She placed Spanish antiques in the more expensive suites on the fifth floor. This was not traditional, but Colter said "the temptation was too great."[381]

Newcomers to New Mexico, such as photographers and archeologists, appreciated the unique mix of Pueblo and Spanish Colonial "primitive" architecture: single-and multi-story, flat roofed, adobe buildings with portals and with projecting vigas originally hand-hewn out of ponderosa pine, which was becoming synonymous with "Santa Fe style." Buildings of the California Mission style, such as the Alvarado had been popular for years and familiar to travelers. But a New Mexico Mission style was new and showed New Mexico's own native and colonial architecture. The "New Old Santa Fe" exhibit would be restored, preserved, reproduced, and creatively used in a selective version of Santa Fe's past.

World War II brought many changes in the Harvey House dynamics, but the hotels at the Grand Canyon, Albuquerque, and Santa Fe remained open and popular. In fact, La Fonda needed further expansion. It seemed that Native American culture had become more attractive than ever. According to Paul Horgan, "The luxury hotel at the end of the Missouri trail was now too small

[379] These murals may still be seen today in the lobby, hallways, and the dining room. The dining room is now La Plazuela Restaurant. In comparing photographs and postcards from the 1920-1960s with my visit in 2009, very little has changed. The Ballan family has not even changed the placement of the tables or even the foliage near the entrance.
[380] This photo was taken in 2009 but greatly resembles the original layout of the room. This is a prime example of the Ballan family's promise to keep in line with the Harvey tradition.
[381] Lynn, *Windows on the Past*, 41.

and had to be doubled in size by the addition of a new wing erected on property in the Cathedral Place purchased from the archdiocese."[382] Almost seventy rooms were added to the new wing.

The Indian Detours and interesting architecture were not the only distinguishing traits at La Fonda. The hotel's employees were a community unto themselves. Monte Chavez remembers that "it was a very close group, the Harvey people. They were united. We would all go out to dances and parties together, go out around Santa Fe after work."[383] The La Fonda Harvey Girls wore the traditional black-and-white uniforms in the dining and lunchrooms, but those working on the outside patio wore colorful Mexican skirts and blouses. These skirts were worn by all the women during Santa Fe's annual fiesta. It was also at La Fonda that Harvey's "coat rule" finally broke down. Many of the artists refused to change their colorful attire to eat at their favorite spot, so the rule was dropped.

By the mid 1960s, the Santa Fe Railway was ready to sell La Fonda. In 1968, the Corporation de La Fonda purchased it. The Fred Harvey Company, which had always leased from the railroad, remained in the building until the following year. Currently, La Fonda is on the Historic Hotels of America List with the National Trust for Historic Preservation. It is not an "official Harvey House," but the Ballan family keeps the Harvey name and emphasizes its rich heritage. Colter's work and legacy, even in terms of color scheme and décor, impacted future preservation projects or the public perception of the hotel. Designers have even established a wide range of paint colors named for the unique colors found at the hotel, such as La Fonda Turquoise, Mary Colter's signature color.

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[382] Paul Horgan, *The Centuries of Santa Fe*, Gannon Distributing Co (January 1, 1976), 330
[383] Leslie Poling-Kempes, *The Harvey Girls: Women Who Opened The West*, New York: Marlowe & Company, 1991, 176.

Memorializing A Legacy

The relationship between tourism and preservation is cyclical and problematic. Restoration of historic spaces and places creates a growing market for tourism, which in turn stimulates the local economy through increased jobs and visitation. Establishing partnerships between the preservation community and tourism industry at all levels strengthens the development and success of heritage tourism programs that spur public education and appreciation of these significant sites. A primary difference between Mary Colter's heritage tourism and contemporary plans and practices lies within the type of spectacle at a given site. There was a shift from the "othering" with demonstrations at the Alvarado and the Hopi House to finding a connection to personal heritage in the contemporary practices – from exotic fascination to connection. Tourists have always been participants in the heritage tourism experience, and therefore, are contributors to the production of the site.

In recent decades, there has been a broader shift in tourism, "marked by a decline in cultural and regional distinctiveness…Furthermore, a decrease in cultural and experiential authenticity and a rise in artificiality."[384] In an attempt to correct this shift, heritage tourism has taken on a new face, especially in the Southwest, signifying new methods of preservation and memorialization. Colter was among the very first women in this country to enter and to successfully lead a career in architecture; that she flourished is a tribute to the Fred Harvey Company's progressive business ethic and the opportunities that the Company created, especially for women.

[384] David M. Wrobel and Patrick T. Long, *Seeing and Being Seen: Tourism in the American West* (Lawrence: Published for the Center of the American West, University of Colorado at Boulder by the University Press of Kansas, 2001), 5.

Though extensive research has not uncovered notes, diaries, planners or day journals, or personal interviews, Colter left numerous legacies beyond her tenure at the Fred Harvey Company, most notably designs that led to the architectural style known as National Park Service rustic, or "Parkitecture." In a recent article by Meredith Davidson and Kate Nelson on the new exhibition *Setting the Standard: The Fred Harvey Company and Its Legacy* at the New Mexico History Museum, they state that "Colter's influence seeped into [their] souls."[385] The authors state that the design icon "was resourceful and strong-willed - had taught basket weaving, metalwork, and pottery, so if she couldn't find someone to do a job, she did it herself."[386] Colter was a perfectionist, who spent a lifetime advocating and defending her aesthetic vision in a largely male-dominated field. Her legacy lives on beyond her architectural and interior designs. Her designs ranging from the interior of La Posada to the Harvey Girl aprons at La Fonda on the Plaza in Santa Fe are still used by independent proprietors.

The success of a sound heritage tourism program depends on public-private partnerships, community participation, and, most significant to this argument, an extensive volunteer commitment. The impulse behind merging what Mary Colter imagined as the Southwest with what eastern tourists experienced as the Southwest to what actually is the Southwest has continued to exert influence. Public historians and preservationists, among others, who are revitalizing the region still recognize her impact today. These pitfalls and promises point to the lasting strength of heritage tourism and her constructed image of the Southwest.

Much has been lost to demolition, however, including the Alvarado Hotel in Albuquerque, New Mexico, in 1972, the El Navajo in Gallup in 1957, the El Ortiz in Lamy in

[385] Meredith Davidson and Kate Nelson, "Searching for Mary Colter," *El Palacio*, Fall 2015.
[386] Meredith Davidson and Kate Nelson, "Searching for Mary Colter," *El Palacio*, Fall 2015.

1943, and numerous other Fred Harvey sites.[387] While locals, preservationists, FredHeads, and friends mourn the loss of these treasures, there is still progress. As part of the mission of the National Park Service, the Grand Canyon National Park also protects and preserves all the human history and culture located in the park, ranging from archeological sites to oral narratives.[388] Most recently, there has been an effort to document more contemporary stories about conserving and protecting the Grand Canyon as a national park. In 2019, the United States National Park Service celebrated the 100th anniversary of the Grand Canyon as a National Park, employing some of these initiatives on what was projected to be a record setting visitation season.[389] When young Charles Herndon witnessed the Canyon's "grandeur and the mystery" over one hundred years ago, he was unwittingly a predecessor of those who would later participate in the Harvey experience.

This milestone anniversary brings about broader questions concerning the Company's participation in the National Parks system, including its current presence at the Grand Canyon. While scholars cite legislation and advocate for change within the National Park Service, there is little mention of the current Indian image that is projected and marketed to the public and how that image was portrayed during the original tourism plans.[390] The recent restoration efforts and agreements are moves to remedy this misdeed.

[387] El Navajo in Gallup, New Mexico, which fell in 1957, taking with it murals painted by celebrated Hopi artist Fred Kabotie; for full list of lost Harvey Company properties, see Richard Melzer, *Harvey Houses of the Southwest,* Arcadia Publishing, 2008.

[388] "History & Culture." *National Parks Service*, U.S. Department of the Interior, 21 Apr. 2021, www.nps.gov/grca/learn/historyculture/index.htm.
[389] Anonymous (Park Ranger) in discussion with the author, June 4, 2019.
[390] Such as Philip Burnham, Mark David Spence, Robert Keller, and Michael Turek.

Ultimately, behind these discussions about cultural heritage and authenticity lie notions of culture and identity in which "culture" is a kind of inheritable property.[391] The version of the Southwest that permeates modern memory was created by enterprising capitalists, like the Fred Harvey Company. For these modern cultural heritage and historic preservation movements, the idea of authenticity is what was and is commercially viable. The underlying assumptions guiding these movements is the fact that authenticity and culture are living. The concept of property being tied into culture is a modern concept. Property has been inherently tied to revenue, especially in the Southwest and through the Fred Harvey Company. As early as 1928, the Harvey family recognized this mission and its fortune:

> Fred Harvey is good business. But Fred Harvey is also romance. Not merely the commercial romance of feeding 12 million tired and hungry folk a year, keeping them contented and free from boredom for hours and for days into the balance; but the romance of the trading for silverware and blankets from the Navahoes, the romance of building inns up on the edge of the Grand Canyon, the romance of establishing trails and motor-routes, bringing to the attention and the comfort of all America a great sweep of its natural almost prehistoric beauty.[392]

Locals, preservationists, and visitors alike are still constructing the Southwest and reconciling the tension between articulating history for the public and seeking historic designations to boost tourism business. Tourism development can be enhanced while retaining forms of the traditional

[391] Leah Dilworth, "'Handmade by an American Indian': Souvenirs and the Cultural Economy of Southwestern Tourism" in Hal Rothman, *The Culture of Tourism, the Tourism of Culture: Selling the Past to the Present in the American Southwest*, (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2003), 112.
[392] From Edward Hungerford, "Feeding the Trains" An Interview with Ford Harvey (1928), NAU Cline Library, MS 280, Box 43, Folder 21, 19.

economy, such as the cottage industry arts and recreational enterprises.[393] Mary Colter's buildings for the Harvey Company accommodated visitors with fanciful narratives and intrinsic design that defined and strengthened the concept of a sense of place, drawing on Native, Hispanic, and American images and paradigms rooted in the region.

In the chapter that follows, I will outline the broad history of two pillars of the Fred Harvey Company. The Harvey Girl waitresses and the Indian Detours couriers acted as hostesses and guides to the American West over several decades. Since the early 2000s, the restoration of the Harvey properties in New Mexico and Arizona, and the subsequent revitalization of the small railroad towns brings to light questions of responsible heritage tourism, including the legacy of the Indian Detours, their courier guides, and the representation of past and current Native artisans.

[393] Susan Guyette and David White, "Reducing the Impacts of Tourism through Cross-Cultural Planning," in Hal Rothman, *The Culture of Tourism, the Tourism of Culture: Selling the Past to the Present in the American Southwest*, (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2003), 169.

CHAPTER V

"THE SOUTHWEST'S HEART IS NO LONGER FOR THE PIONEER ALONE": THE INDIAN DETOURS AND ITS COURIERS

Starting in the 1910s, Rand McNally published a series of guidebooks and maps through a partnership with the Fred Harvey Company and the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe Railway Company (Image 19). The captivating introduction to *Indian Detours: Most Distinctive Motor Cruise Service in the World*, published in 1930, outlines the romanticized history of the region, juxtaposing the difficulties of the "old-new trails" with the comforts provided by the "Harvey way":

> Few of the beaten paths out here in our Far Southwest are the kind you all know…the many are the paths of the Indians, worn inches deep in solid rock by moccasined feet, the ways of the sandaled padres and steel-clad soldiers of Spain; the trails of the fur-capped mountain men…it is along these old-new trails that we of the Harveycar courier corps would take you… those who are passing into the setting sun made the Southwest safe for you and for us. The railroad gave it gateways. Now the Harveycar has let down the last barriers of time and distance, of discomfort and inconvenience, until the Southwest's heart is no longer for the pioneer alone.[394]

[394] *Indian Detours: Most Distinctive Motor Cruise Service in the World*, SMU Libraries, US West: Photographs, Manuscripts, and Imprints. 1930

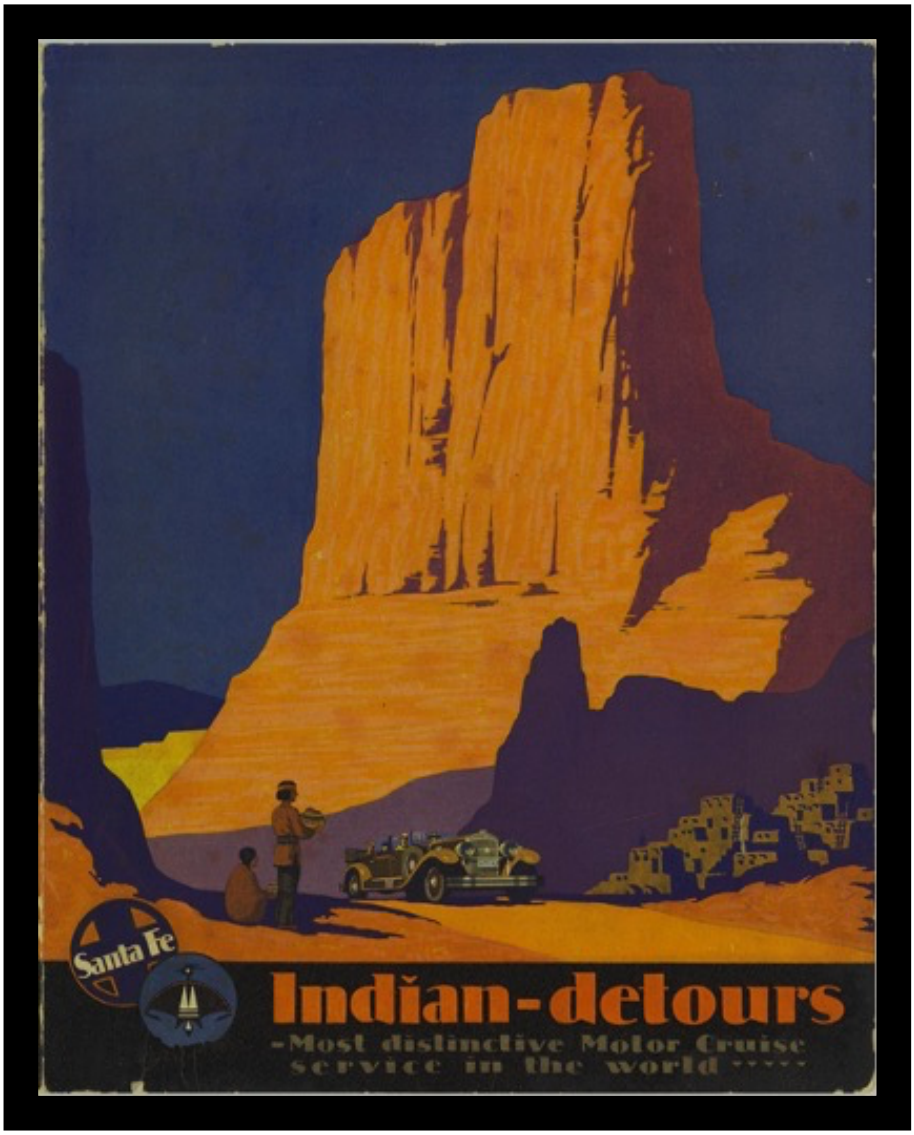

Image 19 Cover of the Rand McNally guidebooks in partnership with the Fred Harvey Company and the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe Railway Company. Image courtesy of the SMU DeGoyler Library.

The Indian Detour service with its women couriers was one of the numerous ventures provided by the Fred Harvey Company to escort affluent white eastern tourists into a perceived intimate Native experience. Tourists visited the Hispanic communities, Indian villages and pueblos, and ancient ruins such as Chaco Canyon to view Native performances and purchase handmade

pottery, baskets, jewelry, and art that were interpreted by costumed Harvey Company couriers. Visitors could also view and interact with Native artisans at a Harvey House, such as the Alvarado Hotel in Albuquerque, as noted in the previous chapter. There, tourists could purchase handmade pieces or be photographed surrounded by Native artists and demonstrators, often in an "Indian" headdress. Though it also created an opportunity for financial relationship between the Harvey Company and Native artisans, the artisans were still placed in a confined image constructed for marketability.

The story of the Indian Detours acts as a distinct flashpoint in western tourism history. Piecemeal documentation, anecdotal records, and repetitious photographs lead scholars and current tourists to believe that it was a failed enterprise or that it does not carry weight in the historic narrative. The Indian Detours, the couriers, and other supportive staff are situated within the histories of Progressive era and "New Woman" movement, as the couriers represented the generational shift of the progressive "new women," unlike the Harvey Girls, the Victorian ideal of the "good waitress" who were credited with "civilizing" the West. The tension and paradox of the Fred Harvey Company's Indian Detours and the couriers who participated in creating a narrow image of the Native groups they were allegedly stewarding demonstrates the contradictions of the era: what the Native communities were doing, what the government thought they should have been doing, and what the tourists wanted them to be doing.

This chapter will highlight the history of the women hospitality employees, specifically differentiating between the Harvey Girls and the Indian Detour couriers, and the pioneers of the service, Erna Fergusson and Ethel Hickey, through the lens of Harvey Company promotional literature, individual tourists, and the couriers themselves. The couriers were often compared to the Harvey Girls, and while a career as a Harvey Girl provided an alternative path of the

traditional and limited options available to women, the Indian Detour couriers represented the "New Woman" movement. As noted in previous chapters, historian Laura Woodworth-Ney defines the term "New Woman," as "a woman who made her own choices [and] reflected massive shifts in the way Americans viewed gender, gender roles, and women's opportunity" and situates this movement in relation to the developments in technology, specifically the railroad.[395] The progressive women's movement embodied the "New Woman" through championing reform policies beyond the known quantities of women's suffrage, education reform, and labor issues.[396]

Western women worked from a "uniquely western perspective" to spur a response to the "Indian question."[397] This seemingly singular question during the Progressive era was "at the heart of the 1880s Indian reform movement."[398] The part-paternalizing-part-activist tropes that embodied the era and parallel some of the Indian Detour couriers' own experiences have continued into current tourism trends, which will be covered in the following chapter. Though the service lasted a finite time, tourism companies have memorialized the Indian Detours, where current iterations are thriving in the revitalized railroad towns.

The Fred Harvey Company's representation of Native American life in the Southwest took two basic forms: the museum-like display of "live" Native Americans and their material culture and representations of daily life, such as the world's fair productions highlighted in

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[395] Laura Woodworth-Ney, *Women in the American West* (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 2008), 179.
[396] Some historians argue that the Progressive Era was actually "regressive," focusing on the macro-dynamics of society and the economy with theory and generalities. David Huyssen writes that there should be "a serious effort to re-examine the structural conditions and problems of the economy during the period and to relate them to the political and especially the detailed legislative history of the era… The Progressive Era has been treated as a series of episodes, unrelated to one another in some integrated manner, with growing enigmas as the quantity of new research into the period increases" (8-9). For more, see Huyssen, *Progressive Inequality: Rich and Poor in New York, 1890–1920*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2014).
[397] Woodworth-Ney, *Women in the American West*, 183.
[398] Woodworth-Ney, *Women in the American West*, 186.

Chapter Three, including the published promotional materials and souvenirs.[399] The Indian Detours was one of several initiatives to promote the culture and intrigue of the Southwest. The over-night touring service began in 1926, as automobiles overshadowed trains as the preferred method of travel. The trips were a one-to-three-day detour from train rides offered by the Santa Fe Railway in New Mexico and Arizona. The cars would take travelers to Native American ruins and pueblos. The interaction between Natives demonstrators and detourists was limited, as it was intended to have an "exhibit" quality, including a guided tour and accompanying brochure. The cars were eventually named "Harvey Cars," the male drivers called "Dudes," and the costumed women tour guides called "couriers."

Further capitalizing on the marketable mystique of the Southwest, the Harvey Company partnered with the Santa Fe Railroad to create *They Know New Mexico: Intimate Sketches by Western Writers* (*TKNM*) in 1928 to promote their latest extension of the Indian Detour. The endorsements found in this brochure from authors associated with elite audiences and with "knowledge" of the Southwest helped the Harvey Company attract travelers who aspired to distinguish themselves from the masses by traveling "off the beaten path" in search of a more "authentic" southwestern experience. Ironically, most of the contributors had relocated to New Mexico fewer than ten years before the brochure's publication. Much of the writing found in *TKNM* considered Native American culture as static, placed outside of modernity and time. This line of thought influenced the modernist-era interest in Native cultures and significantly shaped the way the Southwest emerged in the U.S. imagination. As such, this modernist primitivism operated under a settler colonialist perspective. Coupled with this mindset is the direct omission

[399] Dilworth, "Tourists and Indians in Fred Harvey's Southwest" in Wrobel, David M., and Patrick T. Long. *Seeing and Being Seen: Tourism in the American West* (Lawrence: Published for the Center of the American West, University of Colorado at Boulder by the University Press of Kansas, 2001), 146.

of writers of color. Except for Cherokee author Lynn Riggs, the brochure's contributors were all white. Through this exclusion, the Fred Harvey Company fashioned the Southwest as a region that existed largely for the pleasure of white visitors, with non-Anglo communities serving as entertainment.

However, through this arena of cultural exchange, while Native artisans and demonstrators had little control over their representation in similarly printed materials, they ultimately held control over their spaces of commerce, crafts, and sales. Though not directly referenced in *TKNM*, Maria Martinez and her ceramics enterprise relate to this practice and power dynamic with white tourists and benefactors, at the federal level with legislation and at the state level with regional entities, as noted in Chapter Three. Through these non-Native spokespeople who represented Native artists, like ethnologists Dr. Edgar Hewett and Kenneth Chapman, using an imperious phrase like "they *know* New Mexico" creates the illusion that they were the authorities. Indeed, Hewett was a member of the "Advisory Board of nationally known authorities on the archeology, ethnology, and history of the Southwest" that created the training course for the Indian Detour couriers.[400] Like many of the *TKNM* writers, the Advisory Board members were all white men with advanced degrees in anthropology who held esteemed titles at national institutions that led ethnographic studies on Native cultures.

Indian Detours and Its Creators

The concept of the Indian Detours took several titles, managers, and business iterations before it landed under the Fred Harvey purview. The Fred Harvey Company, in partnership with

[400] *Indian Detours: Most Distinctive Motor Cruise Service in the World*, SMU Libraries, US West: Photographs, Manuscripts, and Imprints. 1930, 6.

the Santa Fe Railway, began the Indian Detours service in 1925 under the direction of Major R. Hunter Clarkson, a Scottish Major artilleryman in the Royal Flying Corps. Following WWI, Clarkson moved to the United States to make connections with the Harvey Company after meeting a liquor sales representative for the Company at a Glasgow pub. He was hired as a director of transportation at the Grand Canyon, providing an entrée to pitch his tour business to Ford Harvey, who had assumed the role as President of the Company after Fred Harvey passed away on February 9th, 1901. That same year, Harvey had negotiated with the National Park Service to handle all tourist traffic in the Grand Canyon. Adding to the enterprise, this new business plan featured the La Castañeda in Las Vegas, New Mexico and the Alvarado in Albuquerque, New Mexico as "jumping-off points" for the "detours" from the main lines of transportation. Thus, the detours to see the Indian pueblos and ruins was titled the Indian Detours.[401]

The first press release was published in the *Albuquerque Morning Journal* on August 20, 1925, and read: "Santa Fe Will Establish Bus Detour Through Indian Pueblos… The Most Interesting Country in America." The plan was to establish the tour for spring and summer travel in 1926, offering multi-day bus excursions to the Tesuque, Santa Clara, San Juan, and Santa Domingo Pueblos and the "communal ruins of Puye, a cliff pueblo 20 centuries old."[402] An editorial release of the service claimed that

> Fred Harvey had in fact the true spirit of the collector and an antiquarian. He insisted on authenticity. He discouraged the fairytales that often passed current to astonish the gullible tourist. If Fred Harvey showed an old Spanish bell there was no doubt of its age.

[401] DH Thomas *Southwest Indian Detours: The Story of the Fred Harvey/Santa Fe Railway Experiment in "Detourism,"* (Phoenix: Hunter Publishing Company, 1978), 41-44.
[402] Thomas, *Southwest Indian Detours,* 45-46.

> And if one of his agents related an historical incident or an Indian legend, its veracity could be relied on. Because of the insistence of authenticity which Mr. Harvey drilled in his organization, we may be sure the planned tours will not be vulgarized. The tourists will not be regaled with fanciful stories and amused with 'fake' objects of interest. They will have presented to them the life of New Mexico both as it has been and as it still is.[403]

As a "cultural critic," Charles Lummis argued that New Mexico had been little changed since the Spanish Conquest, particularly noting that "it never [had] wakened" from its postconquest "after-nap."[404] This statement written in 1893, the same year that Frederick Jackson Turner gave his "Frontier Thesis" at the American Historical Association meeting at the Columbian Exposition, is part of a narrative that largely overlooked the violence of that conquest, but it was nevertheless pervasive and shaped how anthropologists, writers, and tourists approached New Mexico.[405] While New Mexican tribes also experienced the violence and cultural disruptions of colonialism, Victoria Dye argues that they "maintained… a degree of sovereignty" that surprised visitors like Lummis and drew interested scholars, particularly anthropologists like those noted in Chapter Three, and writers to the territory.[406]

Three years prior to the Harvey Company's detour start-up, Erna Fergusson and Ethel Hickey founded Koshare Tours in 1922 (Image 20). The Koshare brochure stated, "It is one thing to see a place. It is another to see it knowingly," a phrase that is comparable to rhetoric in *TKNM*. Tourists could not only participate in Native life, but in Santa Fean life, as a hybrid of Native dress-up and bohemian art, complete with the modern conveniences. Visitors wanted to

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[403] Thomas, *Southwest Indian Detours,* 46-47.
[404] Lummis is quoted from his publication *Spanish Pioneers* in Elizabeth Lloyd Oliphant, "Inventing the Southwest: How Modernists Shaped an American Regional Experience," Ph.D. diss, (University of Pittsburg, 2017).
[405] Elizabeth Lloyd Oliphant, "Marketing the Southwest: Modernism, the Fred Harvey Company, and the Indian Detour," *American Literature*, vol. 89, no. 1. March 2017, 99
[406] Victoria E. Dye, *All Aboard for Santa Fe: Railway Promotion of the Southwest, 1890s to 1930s* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2005), 5

be a part of the scene, but from a safe distance, a similar marketing angle to the Harvey Company's Indian Detours. Fergusson claimed their tours "attracted the Harvey people, who set up their Indian Detours really in imitation of my Koshare Tours. Then I went with them for a couple of years."[407] Fergusson, a native New Mexican who conducted her own automobile Koshare Tours to Indian pueblos and dances, was instrumental in the early success of Indian Detours, where she was employed between 1926 and September 1927 as the Chief Courier in charge of the women guides and was "reportedly… a severe taskmaster [and] for whatever reason [was] replaced around 1929."[408]

Image 20 Portrait of Erna Fergusson. Image courtesy of the Cline Library and Archives, Northern Arizona University.

[407] Barbara Young Simms, "Those Fabulous Fergussons," *El Palacio* 82, 2 (Summer 1976), 86.
[408] Marta Weigle, "Exposition and Mediation: Mary Colter, Erna Fergusson, and the Santa Fe/Harvey Popularization of the Native Southwest, 1902-1940" *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies*, Vol. 12, No. 3 (1992), 116-150, 134. According to Weigle's footnotes: Manchester, Trails Begin, p. 119. Scrapbook No. 75, Archive No. 45, the Erna Fergusson Papers, University of New Mexico General Library, Albuquerque, contains an announcement from the Santa Fe New Mexican, September 23, 1927, announcing Fergusson's resignation from Indian Detours to devote herself to writing. Winifred Shuler was to assume its management.

This was not unique commentary for the senior level women at the Harvey Company. Mary Colter, who worked for the Fred Harvey Company as the lead architectural designer and interior decorator, was often critiqued as acting overbearing and strict, earning the nickname "Old Lady Colter," as referenced in the previous chapter. Women in the corporate hierarchy of the Company, as with most male-dominated spaces, asserted their place within the enterprise, at times to the detriment of their reputation.

Amy Hurt reported in the *Women's Home Companion* in 1928 that Fergusson and Hickey were highly familiar and trained in the customs and "folklore" of the region. "One was formerly a professor in the University of New Mexico and is an interior decorator of merit; the other a college woman and Red Cross worker, was born and reared in New Mexico, as were her father and grandfather before her."[409] In reality, Erna Fergusson was a noted journalist, author, and lecturer at the University of New Mexico. She received a master's degree from Columbia University in 1913 and taught school at Chatham Hall, Virginia and in public schools in Albuquerque. She joined the Red Cross as Home Service Secretary and Staff Supervisor for New Mexico during WWI and became a reporter for *The Albuquerque Herald* after the war ended in 1919. It was through the *Herald* that she met Hickey, who was a former professor at the University of New Mexico. From there, they formed Koshare Tours, or their "dude wrangling business" from 1922 to 1927.[410] Fergusson and Hickey's model became a mainstay in cultural tourism, becoming particularly beneficial for the Harvey Company.

[409] Amy Hurt, "The Koshare Tours: How two women run a sight-seeing business," *Woman's Home Companion*, May 1928, p. 34 & 128.
[410] Biography, Inventory of the Erna Fergusson Papers, 1846-1964. Center for Southwest Research, University Libraires, The University of New Mexico.

The Harvey Girls

The Indian Detour couriers deviated from the famous and beloved Harvey Girl waitresses in job description, uniform, and demeanor. Numerous books, articles, documentaries, and even an award-winning musical starring Judy Garland have been devoted to the legend of the Harvey Girls, or the women who "civilized" the West.[411] While this chapter focuses on how the Indian Detour couriers embodied the "New Woman" movement, it would be remiss to omit the Harvey Girl narrative, specifically in how these women paved the way for the "new" era of women's employment in the West.

In 1883, Fred Harvey transitioned from hiring male waiters to Harvey Girls in Raton, New Mexico after firing the waiters for poor service. Erna Fergusson provided one of the most illustrative narratives on how the Harvey Girls were created:

> Once Tom Gable, who now lives in Santa Fe, was with him when "Old Fred" lit like a bomb in Raton. Negro waiters were employed then and the Raton force had got involved in a midnight brawl. Several darkies have been carved beyond all usefulness, and the manager was distracted. Fred Harvey had no use for distraction and managers, said he fire that unworthy along with his entire force and appointed Tom Gable to the vacancy. Mr. Gable had no restaurant experience at the moment, but one did not argue with Fred Harvey. Anyway, Mr. Gable had an idea. Women, who had been used in houses further east, he hoped would prove less likely the Negro man 'to get Likkered up and go on tears.' He would take the job if he might have waitresses. So wires were sent off to Denver and Kansas City.[412]

[411] For a useful list of resources, see https://www.okhistory.org/publications/enc/entry.php?entry=HA042.
[412] Erna Fergusson, *Our Southwest* (New York City: Alfred A., Knopf, 1910), (draft from NAU), 5.

This passage provides more than the creation myth of the most famous group of women in the West. Erna Fergusson credits Tom Gable with the invention of the Harvey Girls, while many versions place Fred Harvey, himself, at the center of the story. However, Fergusson cited that Black men were to blame for the disruptions in the restaurants. This may be attributed to post-Civil War racial discord and violence. However, this racial dynamic is rarely mentioned in the mainstream narrative.

After this hiring decision, Harvey immediately sent out an advertisement to eastern and midwestern newspapers, that requested "young women, 18 to 30 years of age, of good character, attractive and intelligent…"[413] In Harvey's vision of the Southwest, women reminded men working on the railroad, mining, and ranching of "the world of literature and the arts," and men's personal hygiene and habits reportedly improved once these women arrived on the frontier.[414] The Harvey Girls had various reasons to seek this occupation: economic issues dominated, but adventure and a change of scene also contributed.

The initial purpose of the Harvey Girls was to help tourists achieve a level of comfort and familiarity in the West, while maintaining a sense of proper Victorian ideals. The Harvey Girl uniforms created a set standard of Eastern refinement. They wore black dresses with white aprons and bibs, with black shoes and stockings (Image 21). According to the Harvey Girl Handbook, Harvey House patrons were interested in the waitresses' appearance, attitude, and service.[415] The iconic Harvey Girl dominated the Western tourism campaign, with a marketing slogan titled the "2000 Miles of Hospitality," which depicted a photo of a Harvey House, a

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413 "A Harvey Girls Contest sponsored in the Harvey headquarters, Union Station in Kansas City. The pamphlet outlines the company's expectations for the Harvey Girls," (Pamphlet), CLSP, MS 280, Series 2, Box 1, Folder 15.
414 Dye, *All Aboard for Santa Fe: Railway Promotion of the Southwest, 1890s to 1930s*, (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2005), 13.
415 "Harvey Girl Handbook," *CLSP,* MS 280, Series 3, Box 5, Folder 104.

nameless Indian in “traditional garb,” and the branded illustration of the Harvey Girl with a serving platter (Image 22 and Image 23).[416]

Image 21 Portrait of three Harvey Girls in uniform. Photo courtesy of the Cline Library at Northern Arizona University.

[416] “2000 Miles of Hospitality,” (Advertisement), *CLSP,* MS 280, Series 3, Box 3, Folder 70.

Image 22 2,000 Miles of Hospitality Series featuring La Fonda in Santa Fe, New Mexico. Image courtesy of the Cline Library at Northern Arizona University.

Image 23 2,000 Miles of Hospitality Series featuring the Alvarado Hotel in Albuquerque, New Mexico. Image courtesy of the Cline Library at Northern Arizona University.

The Harvey Girls image remained a mainstay in the Company through the turn of the century. There were departures from the traditional uniform and rigorous Company rules and hiring regulations, namely at La Fonda in Santa Fe, where the Harvey Girls who waitressed on the patio wore "colorful Mexican skirts and blouses." Outside of employment, the "eastern cultural instincts" of these former Harvey Girls motivated them to organize civic activities, which focused on improved quality of life for the families in the harsh environment, initiating the "Law and Order" movements, which were designed to reduce gun-fighting incidents.[417] The Harvey Girls could date Harvey employees, though they had to meet outside of the hotel.[418] These women formed a distinct bond that transcends the eras, even after leaving the Company, that are carried into the current revitalization efforts highlighted in the final chapter.

The Company hired Hispanic women as Harvey Girls as early as the 1930s, prior to the 1940s hires that were deemed necessary as gendered labor changed during World War II. According to Poling-Kempes, because of northern New Mexico's diverse population, and "the unusual and often non-discriminatory whites…. Who chose to live among them [people of color], segregation was less identifiable and often nonexistent in local restaurants and hotels."[419] Though the Harvey Company did not frequently hire women of color to interact with the public until during World War II, the Harvey Girls were often immigrants or daughters of immigrants that could not do office work due to language barriers. Joan George was an Eastern European immigrant who lived in the Chicago area in the 1910's and attended night school to learn

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[417] George H. Foster, *The Harvey House Cookbook* (New York: Longstreet, 2001), 78

[418] Though there is a lack of plurality in the narratives, as Poling-Kempes gathered oral histories of the former white Harvey Girls and prominent male Harvey Company employees, providing a distinct, and at times intimate, view into their lives and business practices of the Company. *The Harvey Girls: Women Who Opened the West,* is like D.H. Thomas's *The Southwestern Indian Detours,* as definitive resources of these distinct sectors of white women hospitality workers.

[419] Leslie Poling-Kempes, *The Harvey Girls: Women Who Opened The West* (New York: Marlowe & Company, 1991), 177.

English. Her two friends, a school teacher and "a beautician," saw the Harvey Girl ad in the *Chicago Tribune* in 1917. Joan George exclaimed, "I'll go!" and never looked back. Six months into her role, she had moved up to $30/month salary, plus tips. A greater perk was the monthly pass with a round ticket to anywhere on the Santa Fe line. George did not mind keeping a curfew and "watch[ing] your p's and q's." However, her friend, the beautician, was "too sassy" and was fired as a Harvey Girl.[420]

Most significant to expanding the historical narrative not only with the Harvey Company but also in women' and labor history, as well as tourism studies, is the Hopi Harvey Project. Colleen Lucero, a former research assistant for the Hopi Cultural Preservation Office, is the Project Manager and Curator of The Hopi Harvey Project. She was inspired to start the initiative from her grandmother, Marian Gayle Lucero, who left the reservation at the age of 17 to be a Harvey Girl at La Posada in Winslow, Arizona. After her grandmother passed in 2013, Colleen Lucero found photographs and other memorabilia that were linked to the stories her grandmother told her as a child. She returned to La Posada and was able to recreate some of the photographs of her grandmother and fellow Hopi Harvey Girls from the 1930s in the same location, sparking her initiative to record more of the history of this group of Native women (Image 24).

The project is intended to document and "allow the Hopi community to become involved in an unknown legacy of the Hopi people who left the reservations to find work with Fred Harvey houses from 1930 to 1965."[421] Though the project title focuses on the Harvey Girls, Lucero's work highlights all former workers, such as labor and maintenance jobs, art market, entertainment, along with family members who lived in temporary living communities, as with

[420] Fred Harvey and the American West 1984 Fred Harvey and the American West 1984 Public Media Arts – SWA Hermature Media Project. Gary Dewalt Producer GRCA 79629
[421] Colleen Lurcero, "The Hopi Harvey Project Presents: 'When I Worked for Fred Harvey'," 2014.

the world's fairs, and how the railroad impacted the reservation in northern Arizona. Lucero emphasizes how "people were pulled between keeping their traditions and becoming working Americans" by interviewing former employees, who share intimate details about their former careers.[422] Lucero has presented her work at conferences and museums across the Southwest and was featured with the most recent documentary *The Harvey Girls: Opportunity Bound.* Her presentation for the Pueblo Grande Museum lecture series in 2021 has sparked conversation across the field, particularly in her methodology for interviewing the Hopi community, who are often hesitant to share details of their culture or lives. Lucero has continued her work through digital platforms during 2020-2021, and plans to attend and present at future Fred Harvey Weekend events.[423]

Other Harvey properties gradually made the transition to more stylish and colorful outfits, though the iconic image of the Harvey Girl waitress remained in the American hospitality psyche through the midcentury and even after the Company transitioned to air travel and exchanged ownership, as noted in the previous chapter. The brief coexistence of the Harvey Girls and Indian Detour couriers did not diminish the enthusiasm for the "pretty waitresses" role in the Company: '"And that,' says Mr. Gable, with modest recognition of his historical role, 'is how I brought civilization to New Mexico. Those waitresses were the first respectable women the Cowboys and miners that ever seen--that is, outside of their own wives and mothers. Those roughnecks learned manners.'"[424]

[422] Lucero, "The Hopi Harvey Project."
[423] Colleen Lucero, interview by author, February 2021.
[424] Erna Fergusson, *Our Southwest* (New York City: Alfred A., Knopf, 1910) (draft from NAU), 5.

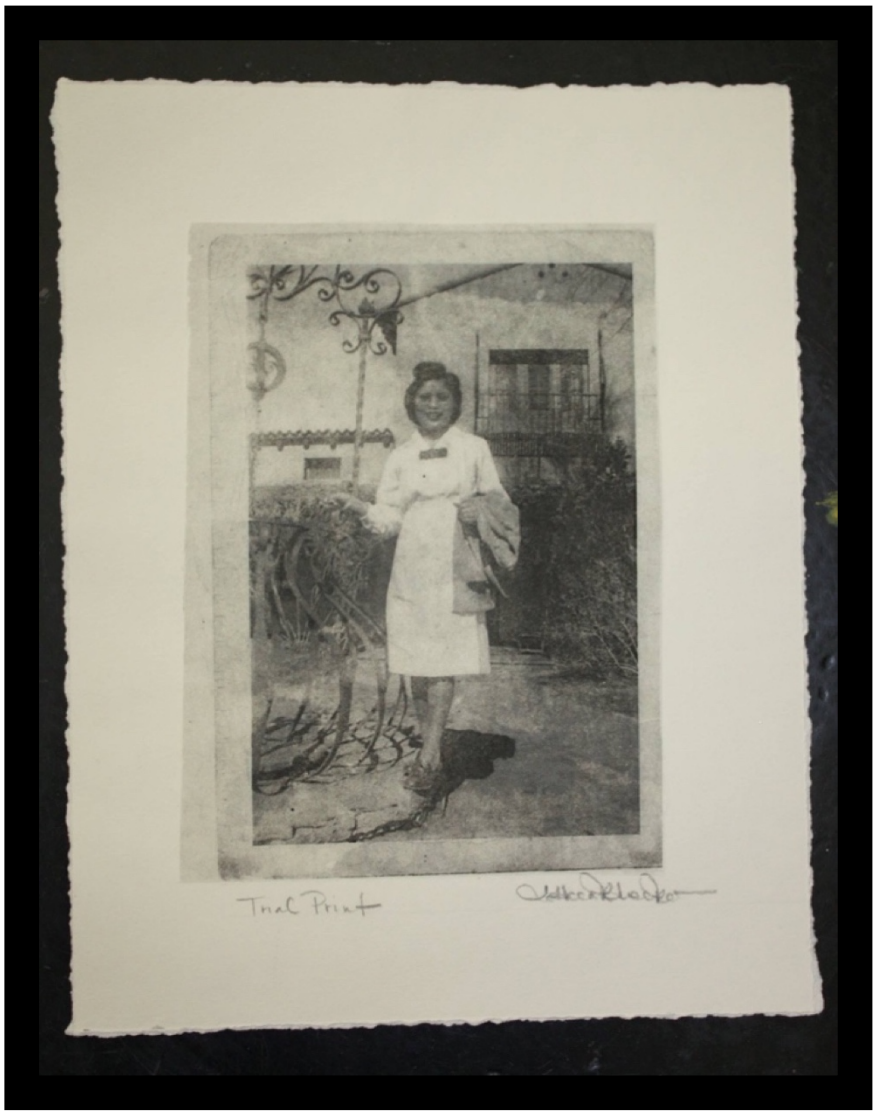

Image 24 Colleen Lucero's grandmother Marian Gayle Lucero, who was employed at La Posada in the 1930s. Image courtesy of Colleen Lucero.

Indian Detour Couriers

While Poling-Kempes's work offers a sweeping narrative of the history of the Harvey Houses and the women who worked at them, D.H. Thomas's work has a stronger emphasis on primary documents, including advertisements, guidebooks, and news reports. Her research is indispensable, but does not focus on the individual employees' descriptions. Surveying

individual couriers not only provides context to the relationships with Native artisans and the public, but also offers insight into their unique lived experiences.

Emily Hahn was a feminist and prolific author who wrote fifty-four books and more than 200 articles for *The New Yorker*. She was a world traveler, with exploits in Africa, Asia, and the American West and is credited with making these distant regions more accessible to readers.[425] Perhaps because of her worldly travels and range of experiences, Hahn experienced a moral crisis during her time as an Indian Detours courier. As evident in her memoirs, she seems to question whether she had the right to be there at all. By analyzing her experiences, we can see that Emily Hahn's concerns were comparable to Mary Colter's efforts to responsibly create sense of place. Like Colter, Hahn and other couriers elevated the Native artisans, their lifeways, and culture. However, in modern memory, Colter is labeled as the hero, not the Native artisans she bolstered.

Emily Hahn's introduction to the Harvey Company was similar to that of her coworkers. In one of her many memoirs, *Times and Places*, Hahn wrote that she expected the "stern disapproval" from her family when she "had thrown up that good steady job in St. Louis to go to New Mexico and be a Fred Harvey courier, which was merely a fancy term for tourist guide."[426] Her father jokingly assumed she was going to be a Harvey Girl, the image of lady-like propriety, and with whom once he carried on "a flirtation," though the waitresses were preoccupied with their many orders and "heavy railway china." Her mother was "dismayed and…bitter" that she was throwing away a good education.[427] Hahn's father was not the only man smitten with Fred

[425] Dinitia Smith, "Emily Hahn, Chronicler of Her Own Exploits, Dies at 92," The New York Times (The New York Times, February 19, 1997), https://www.nytimes.com/1997/02/19/arts/emily-hahn-chronicler-of-her-own-exploits-dies-at-92.html?pagewanted=all&src=pm .
[426] Emily Hahn, *Times and Places* (New York: Pinnacle Books, 1971), 97-99.
[427] Emily Hahn, *Times and Places*, 97-99.

Harvey's women employees. Charles Lummis wrote in "The Golden Key to Wonderland" in *The Know New Mexico* that "I know of no other such corps of Couriers as the Indian-detour has trained to this service. Fine, clean, thoroughbred, lovely young women of old families, inheriting love and comprehension of their native State, and put through a schooling in its history and nature," playing on key and contentious tropes surrounding femininity in the Progressive era.[428] In addition to these credentials, the couriers spoke Spanish and were "friendly with the Indians."[429]

Emily Hahn felt the pull of the West like her fellow Couriers and the tourists that they served. Her description of the Detours was pointed and striking:

> Besides, coast to coast travelers never got a chance to see Santa Fe itself, because the main line didn't go that high into the mountains. Instead it ran to Las Vegas – the New Mexico Las Vegas, not Nevada's – on a lower level. The Harvey company figured out a way to solve all these difficulties at once. Motorcars met the travelers who were taking the detour, Albuquerque if they came from the west, at Las Vegas that they came from the east. They were whisked into the hills to Santa Fe by way of points of interest particular to the Southwest. Ever since Teddy Roosevelt had gone ranching, the American public had realized that the west was romantic, and that in local color of that sort New Mexico outdid the other states. Tourists were taken to Indian villages, ranches, museums, and all the rest, and slept in La Fonda, the spanking new Harvey company hotel in Santa Fe, before going on their way refreshed. The Indian Detour didn't cost a lot and with its Thunderbird emblem it was rapidly becoming popular.[430]

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[428] *They Know New Mexico: Intimate Sketches by Western Writers*, SMU Libraries, US West: Photographs, Manuscripts, and Imprints. 1928, 7-8.
[429] Roger W. Birdseye, "Harvey Car Motor Cruises," *The Santa Fe Magazine*, July 1929, 23.
[430] Emily Hahn, *Times and Places*, 99-100

The Thunderbird emblem was black on an orange background, pressed upon a brown Packard 8 "Harveycar" painted "Tesuque brown" (Image 25). According to the 1926 *National Motorbus and Taxicab Journal*, the Thunderbird is known "as a creature of early American mythology his obsidian feathers clash against each other as he flies, making the thunder of the summer showers, so life-giving to the crops. He is considered a harbinger of abundant harvest is the symbol of good luck."[431] Thomas claims that "very obviously, Clarkson was taking no chances on angering the Indian gods; the insignia was painted on the vehicles before they left the factories."[432] Integrating these organic symbols into larger commercialized items, like transportation and print materials, builds on the commodification of art and culture highlighted in Chapter Two, as the Harvey Company marketed "mystical Indian symbols" on Navajo jewelry. The Company chose images that would convey the "spirit" of the Southwest, without being a "Southwestern" symbol.

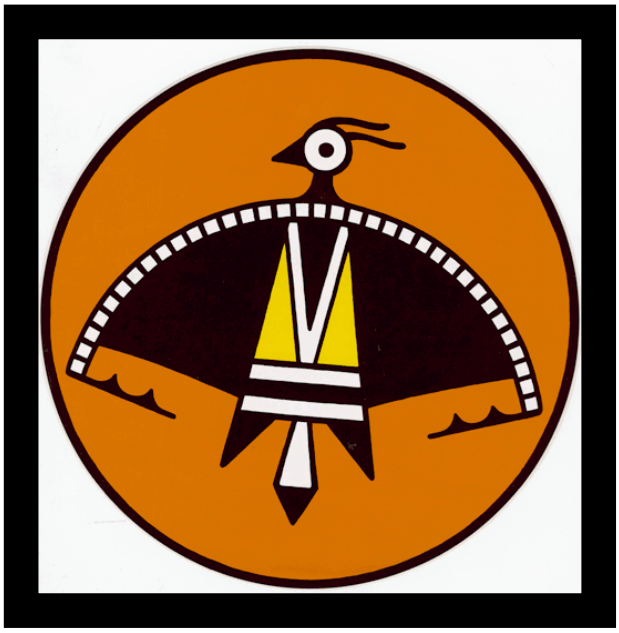

Image 25 Fred Harvey Company logo featuring a Thunderbird. Image courtesy of Cline Library at Northern Arizona University.

[431] D.H. Thomas *Southwest Indian Detours*, 62.
[432] D.H. Thomas *Southwest Indian Detours*, 63.

Courier and Dude Uniforms

The imagery used by the Harvey Company became synonymous with the Southwest and has transcended the eras. Santa Fe chic mirrors the Indian Detour couriers' uniforms. Indeed, Kathy Hendrickson, who has revitalized the Tours with her own Southwest Detours in Las Vegas, New Mexico, and dresses like an Indian Detours courier, claimed that she is often mistaken for a "local" or "someone from Santa Fe" (Image 26).[433] However, Hahn and her coworkers were not as enamored with the outfit:

> The courier uniform comprised a khaki skirt, a bright velveteen over blouse of clumsy cut, a heavy silver girdle, or Concho belt, and, most dreadful of all, a stiff Stetson hat. I still speculate with awe on the brain that designed that outfit. But I didn't really care what I look like. Apart from the uniform, I found the life of a courier enchanting once I started it.[434]

D.H. Thomas helpfully expands on Major R. Hunter Clarkson's suggestion about "appropriately" costuming the couriers (which is rumored to have inspired the first uniforms for airline stewardesses).[435] The costume was first designed by Erna Fergusson and later redesigned by Winifred Shuler. Shuler is featured in one of the most iconic images of the Indian Detour couriers, standing on the grounds of the Fine Arts Museum in Santa Fe. The photo was featured in the 1930s Indian Detours brochure with the caption, "In 1926, there were three of us. Now there are many more."[436] Shuler is rarely attributed in this photo, nor is her role in designing the

[433] Kathy Hendrickson, interview with author, June 2017.
[434] Emily Hahn, *Times and Places*, 101.
[435] D.H. Thomas, *Southwest Indian Detours*, 81, 83.
[436] *Indian Detours: Most Distinctive Motor Cruise Service in the World*, SMU Libraries, US West: Photographs, Manuscripts, and Imprints. 1930.

famed courier outfits recognized (Image 27).

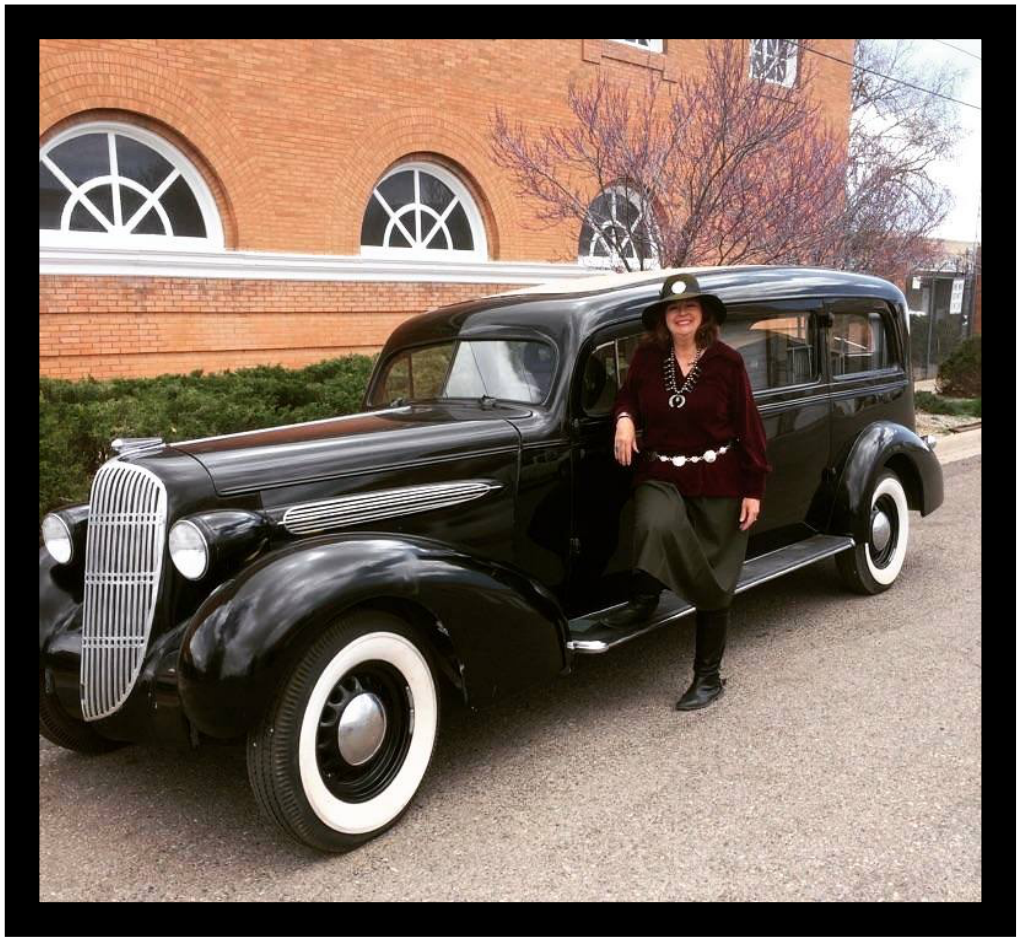

Image 26 Kathy Hendrickson in her Southwest Detour courier outfit. Image courtesy of Kathy Hendrickson

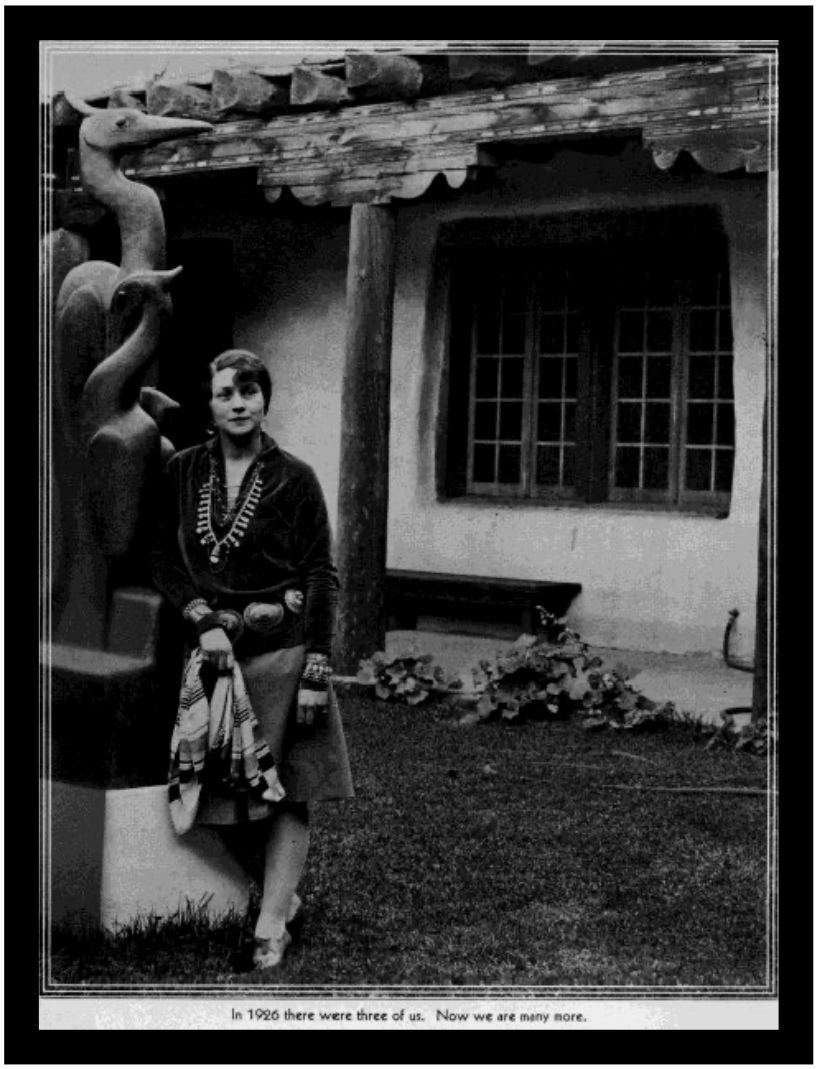

Image 27 Winifred Shuler pictured in a 1930s Indian Detours brochure with the caption, "In 1926, there were three of us. Now there are many more." Image courtesy of SMU DeGoyler Library.

Like most of the Harvey Company's imagery and marketability, the couriers' outfit and appearance were rooted in the southwestern cultural allure. Robert Franklin Gish, author of the only complete biography of Erna Fergusson, claims that the couriers' outfits designed by Fergusson were an attempt for her to unite the tri-ethnic experience in the region, though it

instead melded "Anglo American institutionalized power and Native American adornment."[437] A 1929 brochure claims "Many were born in New Mexico and speak Spanish fluently. The majority are college graduates and all have spent years in the Southwest." They greeted guests "on arrival by train," and then it was their "privilege to fill the pleasant dual role of hostesses as well as guides."[438] The couriers were expected to embody several personas, as Navajo women in costume, Pueblo women in their hostess skills and deep-rooted knowledge of the land, and elite Anglo women in their education and refinement. Arguably, they were also expected to embody masculine traits, through their command of a group and resourcefulness on the routes with directions and vehicle maintenance.

Historians have contested the value and meanings of the courier uniforms. Marta Weigle calls the courier uniforms "Indian maid" and "basically Navajo" and Robert Franklin Gish states that "where some might see such Indian imitation as a well intended form of flattery and assimilation, the Koshare and Harvey couriers underscored cultural separation as well."[439] While this "western wear" may have seemed universal to Anglo tourists in the 1920s-1930s, it would have been incongruous to wear a Navajo blouse into the Pueblo community.

The Dude driver or the "cowboy" were highly trained drivers, who sported "a uniform which made them look like polo players inspired by Zane Grey. They went outfitted in English riding boots and breeches, a colorful cowboy shirt and silk neckerchief, and a Tom Mix-size ten-gallon hat. They managed to look dashing enough, and their strong silent act inspired confidence in the tourists."[440] The drivers were responsible for transporting the visitors and designated

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[437] Robert Franklin Gish, *Beautiful Swift Fox: Erna Fergusson and the Modern Southwest* (Texas A&M University Press: College Station, 1996), 57.
[438] Marta Weigle, source? 135.
[439] Marta Weigle, **"**Southwest Lures: Innocents Detoured, Incensed Determined," *Journal of the Southwest,* Vol. 32, No. 4, Inventing the Southwest (Winter, 1990), 120; Robert Franklin Gish, *Beautiful Swift Fox: Erna Fergusson and the Modern Southwest* (Texas A&M University Press: College Station, 1996), 57.
[440] Weigle, **"**Southwest Lures: Innocents Detoured, Incensed Determined," 120.

courier to each attraction. Occasionally, that meant "extracting the touring car from a road swamped by an overflowing arroyos."[441] The drivers did not have a speaking role in the tour. Their presence was for manual labor, acting as a driver and prepared to repair the vehicle, ultimately "to be seen and not heard," a distinct departure from the traditional gendered behavior and social constructs. The male drivers were glorified by the *New York Times,* but they inhabited a working-class position, dressed as "English refinement meets the West." The courier outfit counters the image of refinement, exhibiting cherry-picked items from Native cultures appropriated to fit an image for American sensibilities, symptomatic of tourism practices in the West. Tourists on the detours also engaged in playing dress-up, at times eschewing the traditional Victorian mores to don more masculine attire. One snapshot of a visitor's ranch trip was labeled "me and my bluejeans and tie" and drew attention to her "western" attire, suggesting that she was self-consciously aware of playing cowboy.[442]

The Detours and Detourists

The first excursions were between Las Vegas, Santa Fe, and Albuquerque and incorporated Native communities, historic ruins, and Hollywood sites: "they had seen Indians and bought proper pottery at Indian villages, and looked at the desk and the governors palace where Lou Wallace completed *Ben-Hur*, and visited the Puyé, the courier's work was done."[443] The tours were a success, prompting expanded options and multiple day trips. By 1930, the

[441] Fred Harvey and the American West 1984 Public Media Arts – SWA Hermature Media Project. Gary Dewalt Producer GRCA 79629

[442] Marguerite S. Shaffer, "Playing American: The Southwestern Scrapbooks of Mildred E. Baker" in Hal Rothman, *The Culture of Tourism, the Tourism of Culture: Selling the Past to the Present in the American Southwest*, Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2003, 83.

[443] Emily Hahn, *Times and Places*, 101

company offered eight different Indian Detours, including trips to Taos, Raton, the Carlsbad Caverns, Mesa Verde, the Grand Canyon, and the Hopi and Navajo reservations, with the "jumping-off point" at Lamy, New Mexico at the El Ortiz Hotel.

Once at the pueblos, the couriers led walking tours through the grounds and negotiations with local artisans for the purchase of pottery and other handmade pieces. Couriers constantly reminded visitors to stay on the path and to obey the rules of the pueblo, specifically restricted access to ceremonial areas and the prohibition of photography. Most popular among the tours were the annual festivals and ceremonials, which were infrequent and had limited access. Indeed, visitor attendance was "passively accepted… not enthusiastically encouraged."[444] Limited attendance and photography are contributing factors to the dearth of archival records on this facet of the Detours. These attendance rules and visitor regulations are still enacted and will be discussed further in the following chapter.

The Indian Detours provided a unique touring experience, even for the Southwest. Unlike traveling by train, the detourists could ask their driver to stop at any time to take pictures, explore, or purchase souvenirs from Native artisans. Theses tourists did not have to sacrifice in their quest for authenticity and adventure: "the [Indian Detour passenger] has only to relax to the complete enjoyment of a memorable experience."[445] As such, they did not have to drive the Harveycars or consult maps, and they did not stray beyond the established route.

The couriers were not only college-educated women, but also received instruction through the Santa Fe Transportation Company. The 1928 Couriers Instructional Bulletin outlines the "Tribes of Indians in Arizona," acting as a sort of "cheat sheet" for the couriers to pepper

[444] Fred Harvey and the American West 1984 Public Media Arts – SWA Hermature Media Project. Gary Dewalt Producer GRCA 79629
[445] Indian Detour: Santa Fe Harveycars" 1928, 6.

their tours with useful anecdotes. This "file for reference" lists the translations of tribal names: "The name Navajo means 'place of large paintings'… The name [for Apache] is from the Zuni meaning 'enemy'… The Hopis call themselves 'Hopi-tuh.'" Some of the information listed is beyond anthropological knowledge: "[The Hopi] have been called Moquis in derision. I do not know its meaning, except that it is uncomplimentary. According to Mr. McCormick 'Moqui' means 'Dead Indian' in Hopi dialect and is used by the Navajos."[446]

Utilizing their formal education and Harvey Company training, the couriers acted as ambassadors on and to tribal land and ceremonial spaces that were considered private and sacred to outsiders, including other Native communities. Indeed, the accompanying literary guide *TKNM* claimed that visitors could become part of an elite group: "…follow the Southwest's Roads to Yesteryear, may you indeed then find yourself an honorary member of that intimate circle who really know New Mexico."[447] The couriers' role may be paralleled to that of "cultural intermediaries," because they experience certain privileges and liminality.[448] This position afforded them latitude of what can be permissible in both cultures in the context of their roles as "new women." In this liminal space, these college educated women could do things that women could not do a generation prior – specifically, the Harvey Girl generation.

This adjacent role and distinct form of tourism gave the couriers and the visitors a shared lexicon to describe their experiences in the region - and with its people - that would further aid in the marketing of the region, and in turn, create profit for the Fred Harvey Company. The use of women as both genteel waitresses and pseudo cultural ambassadors furthers these objectives but

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[446] *The Santa Fe Transportation Company Couriers' Instructional Bulletin*, GRCA 111901
[447] *They Know New Mexico: Intimate Sketches by Western Writers*, SMU Libraries, US West: Photographs, Manuscripts, and Imprints. 1928, 3.
[448] On cultural intermediaries, see Juliana Barr, *Peace Came in the Form of a Woman: Indians and Spaniards in the Texas Borderlands* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2009).

also made southwestern culture less threatening. The couriers were meant to reflect multiple images during a unique transition in gender norms. *New York Times* reporter Ruth Laughlin commented that the courier position was an "an unusual profession for women," but also reiterates Victorian mores that were transitioning by the 1930s: "The courier must be first of all a tactful hostess, second a business woman who takes care of such details as paying hotel bills, making reservations, starting parties promptly, retrieving forgotten suitcases…"[449] The article "Girl Couriers in the Southwest" claimed that college graduates had an opportunity to "explain to the visiting tenderfoot the racial history of the region."[450] This article is flawed for several reasons, beyond the disappointing but not surprising fact that there is a stronger emphasis on the "the cowboy driver" than "a business woman."[451] Similar to the desired construct of Native American life, the Indian Detour couriers were expected to be everything to everyone: a costumed hostess, trained in multiple languages, and demonstrating "adaptability."[452]

Placemaking and Belonging

Despite the rigorous training and a robust marketing campaign appealing to acculturation, couriers were never considered indigenous, as "locals," or fully welcomed into the region. Emily Hahn claimed that she felt that the couriers as a group, and specifically she, did not belong, and were committing a disservice to the Indigenous peoples in the region. People who lived in Santa Fe did not like or want the detour service. For the locals, white, Hispanic, and

[449] Ruth Lauhghlin, "Girl Couriers in the Southwest," *New York Times,* August 18, 1935.
[450] Lauhghlin, "Girl Couriers in the Southwest."
[451] Lauhghlin, "Girl Couriers in the Southwest."
[452] Laughlin, "Girl Couriers in Southwest."

Native, the tourism had ruined the region, making it commercialized and "only a show."[453] Hahn confided in her friend and "sympathetic roommate" Jane, who stated:

> Why not look at it from the native point of view? It's their country. Indians and Mexicans were here long before your precious artist came, and they used to have a rough time, and now, when they finally make enough out of your dudes to live on, what's wrong with that? You go out and ask the first Mexican you see if he'd like to have the detour swept away and no more dudes. What do you bet he'll say? 'Santa Fe without the Detours becomes a resort for rich people and artists and nobody else.'[454]

There was an element of self-awareness among the tourists and the placemakers, themselves. Mildred Baker kept several scrapbooks of her travels, including her participation in a group excursion with the Indian Detours, who seized this newfound sense of adventure that was an opportunity for women to venture independently. Baker's "back to nature" experiences and activities provided a cultural context for her trips to the Southwest, but her narratives also suggest that she followed a long-established tradition of Victorian women travelers who journeyed to exotic places in search of adventure, education, and cultural authority.[455] Baker kept with a Victorian ideal, but embraced the "New Woman" trope with masculine adventures and gendered language.

In Baker's scrapbook, she notes that after viewing the Rainbow Bridge on an Indian Detour in 1931, where they entered their names in the registry book, they listed themselves as the 1488th and 1489th "white people" who have ever visited the bridge. They continued from

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[453] Hahn, *Times and Places*, 104.
[454] Hahn, *Times and Places* 123.
[455] Marguerite S. Shaffer, "Playing American: The Southwestern Scrapbooks of Mildred E. Baker" in Hal Rothman, *The Culture of Tourism, the Tourism of Culture: Selling the Past to the Present in the American Southwest*, Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2003, 83.

Flagstaff to Santa Fe, where they stayed at La Fonda Hotel. After seeing the Palace of the Governors and the art museum, they took an Indian Detour to Frijoles Canyon, Ildefonso Pueblo, and the Puye Cliff Dwellings.[456] Similar to Alice Marriott's conclusionary statements in her as-told-by narrative on Maria Martinez highlighted in Chapter Two, in *Our Southwest*, Erna Fergusson provides a fitting description for the Santa Fe/Harvey invention:

> This highjacking of one people's practice by another has speeded up the interfusion which was going on anyway. Doubtless it will hasten the coming of something that may, in time, become a true Southwestern culture; except that by then it will be on the way to transforming itself into something else. Nothing is surer than change, nothing more futile than to mourn it; nothing more instructive, really, than to watch it. And, in this case, we may watch the lumps of various widely different types and stages of culture bobbing, still undigested, in a sort of sunny stew.[457]

The fatalistic attitude is problematic but has been a consistent sentiment among the subjects of this project. Indeed, Erna Fergusson had reservations concerning the moral and ethical repercussions of the tourist enterprise in the Southwest. After her time with the Harvey Company, she went on to become an active writer and often rebutted the Company and their motives. After her tenure with the Fred Harvey Company, Fergusson satirized the Santa Fe art colonists and contributing writers for *TKNM*:

> Witter Bynner bought and wore and hung on his friends a famous collection of Indian jewelry. Alice Corbin introduced the velvet Navajo blouse. Stetson hats, cowboy boots, flannel shirts, even blankets were the approved costume. Everybody had a pet pueblo, a pet Indian, a pet craft. Pet Indians with pottery, baskets, and weaving to sell were seated

[456] Shaffer, "Playing American," 76.
[457] Fergusson, *Our Southwest,* 144-145.

> by the corner fireplace (copied from the pueblo), plied with tobacco and coffee, asked to sing and tell tales. Henderson [Baumann] made a record by living in Santa Clara all winter and learning a whole repertoire of Indian songs. Mary Austen discovered and ordered her life to the beat of the Amerindian rhythm… It was obligatory to go to every pueblo dance.[458]

Though the self-serving endorsements prove misleading, especially to unknowledgeable (willingly or not) tourists, at least some white New Mexicans recognized that their antics were neither genuine nor authentic. This begs the question of the moral amplitudes of those participating in the Indian Detours, as Harvey Company employees and visitors. While the women couriers were not Native, they were formally educated, making them seemingly an "authority" on the region, people, and cultures. It seems that these modernists were expressing from an outward vantage, while the couriers gathered information from the Native communities to "properly" relay an experience. The core paradox is that the Native community was not deemed able to speak for themselves, even though their goods and activities, in a selective and Americanized way, were the focus of the Harvey Company and Santa Fe Railway tourism enterprise.

However, the persistent defeatist tone that is prominent in several white women's narratives, including Alice Marriott's concluding comment in her as-told-by work on Maria Martinez and Emily Hahn's anecdotal conversation, highlight that the white women were the publicized "voice of reason," and that no one has foregrounded Native opinions. Empowered by the New Woman's movement, these self-appointed white representatives acted as both the problem and the solution.

[458] Fergusson, "Crusade from Santa Fe" North American Review 242 (Winter 1937) 377-378.

The Fred Harvey Company undoubtedly provided new opportunities for women during this pivotal era, as the refined Harvey Girls paved the way for the Indian Detour couriers to act as ambassadors and defy cultural norms. However, the Harvey Company was knowledgeable and complicit in creating the Indian Detours, along with its other commercial representations of the Southwest. The Company's seeming embrace of the "New Woman" movement allowed the couriers to break out of traditional gender norms and employment opportunities. These women then acted as a conduit of knowledge between the Native communities and a white audience that was in search of their perceived image of an "authentic" experience. The couriers were considered "experts," paralleling the authors and icons featured in *They Know New Mexico*, solidifying their place in the narrative and their platform. While the couriers were endowed with the authority to speak, giving them power to obscure or silence selective voices, the Native artisans that they represented largely could not.

The Harvey Girls and the Indian Detour courier roles allowed women to experience empowerment and freedom otherwise not accessible to them as first-generation Americans or immigrants and single women. They were responsible for appropriating Native culture, obscuring Native agency, and perpetuating the construct of a fictional idea of the Southwest. Despite this controversial view, the Harvey Girls and the couriers have remained fixtures in the Fred Harvey narrative, particularly as more railroad history and southwestern towns have been revitalized. Over time, Native women have been included in more prominent spaces, demonstrating not a direct omission, but a specific representation. In the final chapter, I will focus more on the "now" rather than the "then" in the creation of cultural identity through the revitalization of two railroad towns in New Mexico and Arizona and the myriad implications of that process.

CHAPTER VI

PRESERVING THE FRED HARVEY LEGACY: RENAISSANCE IN HISTORIC RAILROAD TOWNS

Fall is one of the best seasons to visit Arizona. Though the weather can be mercurial – particularly sporadic showers and occasional snow storms in the northern rim of the Grand Canyon – the delightful seasonal color and perfect daytime highs in the 60s are optimal for hiking. That is why my family made a yearly pilgrimage from northwest Louisiana to north central Arizona every Thanksgiving holiday. Traveling from the Piney Woods to the Petrified Forest and Painted Desert was an 18-hour, minimum two-day drive, with stops along the way at what became our favorite haunts along the Rio Grande in northern New Mexico.

In 2000, Allan Affeldt, his wife, Tina Mion, and close friend and business partner Daniel Lutz held one of their first Thanksgiving dinners at La Posada, the former Harvey House in Winslow, Arizona. "Mary Colter's gem" was on the way to full restoration. The first floor Turquoise Room restaurant was crowded with eager diners, the Carousel Bar sat fully-stocked, and the gift shop was filled with Native-made gifts and souvenirs arranged for visitors to purchase as they had 70-years prior.

As a young girl from the Gulf South, I was entranced by the hacienda-style architecture, southwestern décor, and Tina Mion's original art. My fascination with Fred Harvey Company started when we met Allan Affeldt as he was channeling his inner-Fred: greeting the guests, checking on the waitstaff, and ensuring that the grand event went smoothly. Affeldt graciously took the time to give our family a private tour of the site, including an intimate view of the restored sunken gardens from the 1920s. Along the way, he told me about Mary Colter, an

enterprising businesswoman who had designed *everything*, from the Mission Revival structure to the worn-rugs and ceiling tiles to the china and cocktail menu. He gifted me Virginia Grattan's *Mary Colter, Builder upon the Red Earth* from their giftshop, which is considered a foundational guide to the architectural designer's life and career, and which I have used throughout my research projects.

I found the history of the Fred Harvey Company so intriguing that I used La Posada as a case study for my seventh-grade social studies project (and placed at the regional level!). I remained in contact with Allan Affeldt and a decade later, wrote my undergraduate honors thesis on the preservation of the Harvey Houses in the Southwest. For that project, I surveyed eleven former Harvey Houses in the northern tier of New Mexico, Arizona, and southern California with conditions ranging from privately owned and fully restored to abandoned or demolished. Some of the extant historic sites were converted into museums and cultural centers, while others, namely those owned by Affeldt, were returned to their former traveler-welcoming grandeur. I expanded my passion for this preservation movement to encompass the historical intersections between studies of women and labor in the Southwest, along with questions of indigeneity and representation for my doctoral research. It has been an honor to engage with these stories and forge relationships with scholars, preservationists, tribal communities, and the "Fred Heads" who assisted with research, donated their time, and formed friendships over the past two decades.

This chapter acts as a case study of the recent Harvey House preservation movement that aims to restore these iconic structures, reinvigorate railroad heritage, and revive the memory of the Fred Harvey Company, the Harvey Girls, and the Indian Detour couriers. The restorations of La Posada in Winslow, Arizona and La Castañeda (rebranded the Castañeda and Castañeda Hotel) in Las Vegas, New Mexico, along with a revamped Indian Detours company, have

changed the dynamics and demographics of these small rural towns.[459] I argue that heritage tourism practices and historic preservation initiatives have varied effects on placemaking and in altering the sense of place in these communities in regards to new and former residents of Winslow and Las Vegas, former white and Native Harvey Company employees, current Castañeda Hotel employees, and visitors to the region. This chapter is not organized in chronological order of their establishment but in order of restoration. La Posada acted as a launch point for this series of building restorations, community revitalizations, and historical narrative renaissance.

La Posada – Winslow, Arizona

The charming Route 66 town of Winslow might be well-known today because of The Eagles song, but forty years earlier, La Posada placed the town on the tourism map. La Posada, which means "the resting place" in Spanish, was the last in a chain of resort hotels by the Fred Harvey Company with the Santa Fe Railway, and the only one to be built for both automobile and rail travel. La Posada opened in 1939 with seventy guest rooms, five suites, a large lunchroom and dining room, along with numerous corridors and lounges (Image 28 and Image 29).[460]

[459] Though originally called La Castañeda by the Fred Harvey Company, Allan Affeldt has rebranded to Castañeda – Hotel, Dining, Saloon. Through this chapter, I will be referring to the hotel as the Castañeda.

[460] Leslie Poling-Kempes, *The Harvey Girls: Women Who Opened The West*, (New York: Marlowe & Company, 1991), 174. The original Harvey House for the area was located about one hundred thirty miles west in Gallup, New Mexico and opened in 1887, but it burned to the ground in 1914.

Image 28 Postcard of La Posada in Winslow, Arizona. Image courtesy of University of Arizona

Image 29 Present-day photo of La Posada in Winslow, Arizona. Image courtesy of La Posada.

The planning and construction of La Posada had begun before the stock market crash of 1929, when Santa Fe Railway and Fred Harvey were optimistic about economic growth. In spite of the changes and difficulties experienced by customers during the Depression, La Posada became a successful winter resort for wealthy easterners and an oasis in the hot Arizona summer for all travelers in the 1930s and 1940s. The Harvey Girls wore uniforms with colorful aprons featuring icons associated with the American Southwest. However, these attributes did not stop La Posada from closing and being placed on the market by the railroad in 1957. Santa Fe Railroad never sold the building and eventually used it for its own offices.

La Posada is known as the last great Harvey House and was designed by Mary Colter. Colter's dedication to authenticity and her imagining of southwestern heritage is shown through the blending of cultures, striking aesthetic, and elaborate history of the site. According to Sylvia Rodriquez, "the long history of Indo-Hispano interaction that preceded Anglo domination constitutes a shared yet differentiated substratum of interpenetrating histories, senses of place, and identities, with tourism exchanges centered with Anglos."[461] Spanish influence and ideation is reflected in La Posada and in Colter's design work in the Southwest more broadly, catering to a perception of the region as layered and multicultural.

Mary Colter's dedication to marketing authenticity and southwestern heritage is shown through the history of La Posada. She not only designed elaborate architectural details of the Southwest's past; she also crafted an elaborate backstory for La Posada to boost its "exotic" appeal. According to Colter's narrative, the estate was built in the early nineteenth century, by the family of Don Alphonso de los Pajaros, who inhabited the lush "hacienda" for generations.

[461] Sylvia Rodriguez, "Tourism, Difference, and Power in the Borderlands," in Hal Rothman, *The Culture of Tourism, the Tourism of Culture: Selling the Past to the Present in the American Southwest* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2003), 192.

When it was sold to the railroad, their extensive collection of furniture and artwork, which, in reality, were mostly modern pieces, along with the illustrious sunken gardens, remained for modern visitors to enjoy. This enchanting, albeit invented, story added to the allure of the property and entered into the popular ideas about the region.[462] Her "imagineering" of the Spanish phenomenon and subsequent expanded market for Spanish colonial artifacts also allowed for certain liberties in creating a literal "Spanish fantasy."[463]

The exterior of La Posada is a typical Spanish-style building from the 1920s and 1930s, with tile roof, plastered walls, long portals, wrought-iron window grills and balcony railings, all characteristic of the Spanish-Mediterranean buildings that had replaced the Mission style after 1915. Near the patio was a sunken garden with hidden shrines and with fountains, and beyond the west garden, Colter built a high adobe wall like the ones used to protect the early ranches; it even had the loopholes for guns. Colter used her old tricks to make the space unique. Similar to the soot-stained walls at Hermit's Rest decades before, Colter layered walls with two colors of paint. When the topcoat wore away, the paint underneath came through, as if it had weathered away over time. She placed Navajo rugs in high-traffic areas around the hotel during the construction phase, which made the contractors nervous. However, this was just another plan to

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[462] All descriptions of the La Posada story are from present-day La Posada promotional materials reproduced by Allan Affeldt and team; the current materials were copied directly from the 1930s-era originals.

[463] Imagineering is a blending of "imagining" and "engineering" that was coined in the 1940s by Alcoa. Walt Disney has since appropriated and trademarked the term as "Walt Disney Imagineering." Carey McWilliams *North of Mexico* Addresses the disconnects in the conceptions of the "Spanish" heritage of the Southwest. According to McWilliams, there is an idealized image of Spanish culture as the basis of Southwestern (particularly Californian) identity, eschewing Black, Indigenous, Mestizo, and other peoples and cultures. McWilliams argues that the adoration, and subsequent memorialization of a mostly nonexistent Spanish heritage in the Southwestern ignores and marginalizes Indigenous and Mexican heritage based on racial differences and bias. McWilliams advocated for recognizing Mexican culture, and abandoning the Spanish foundational myth of California and the Southwest.

make the house look "lived in."[464] All woodwork was sandblasted to give the aged effect and bring out the natural grain of the material.[465]

These techniques reflect Colter's early mastery of heritage tourism, which often builds upon a romanticized image or staged experience of the regional heritage. Marta Weigle claims that in the case of the Harvey Company, Hispanic culture was not subject to staged authenticity. Instead, "it was presented as historical, primarily a matter of using the imagery of conquistador and Old Spain."[1] White settlers blurred Indigenous peoples with Spanish peoples that were both viewed as foreign and exotic. However, those of Spanish descent were considered European enough to create a more illustrious image for white visitors. Mary Colter's utilization of Hispanic décor and crafting of an illustrative backstory fully embodied the Spanish fantasy.[466]

As at La Fonda in Santa Fe, Colter brought in outside artisans to add their styles to La Posada. Gertrude Henson with the *Winslow Daily Mail* covered the unique décor at the hotel in 1930: "Many pieces of furniture used in the building, copies of original antiques, were made right here in Winslow, in an improvised workshop in the depot rooms at the extreme eastern end of the hotel building. […] preparing 'antique' chairs, tables, racks and many other pieces. […including] rubbing it down, applying the desired coloring and then 'antiquing' to give the aged effect in keeping with the scheme of the building."[467] Master carpenter E.V. Birt and his crew of Mexican and Native carpenters made "antique" furniture from Colter's designs and Earl

[464] *La Posada: The Last Great Railroad Hotel*. Dir. David Herzberg. Perf. Alain Affeldt. 2004.
[465] "La Posada" A Typical Spanish Rancho by Gertrude Henson, Article from the Winslow Daily Mail on the hotel's architecture and its role in Southwest tourism, ca 1930, MS 280, Series 6, Subseries 2, Box 40, Folder 8, 15.

[466] "La Posada" A Typical Spanish Rancho by Gertrude Henson, Article from the Winslow Daily Mail on the hotel's architecture and its role in Southwest tourism, ca 1930, MS 280, Series 6, Subseries 2, Box 40, Folder 8, 15

[467] "La Posada" A Typical Spanish Rancho by Gertrude Henson, Article from the Winslow Daily Mail on the hotel's architecture and its role in Southwest tourism, ca 1930, NAU Cline Library, MS 280, Series 6, Subseries 2, Box 40, Folder 8, 17.

Altaire completed the artwork. Religious icons hung throughout La Posada, most prominently San Ysidro, patron saint of the inn, whose icon hung in every room. Perhaps the most iconic items were the Colter-designed fanciful wrought-iron jackrabbit standing ashtrays.[468]

La Posada – A Revitalized Vision

The modern history of La Posada is ideal for bringing the origins of southwestern heritage tourism into the modern context. In the 1980s, like many towns in the United States, Winslow's economy suffered from an economic recession. Through local grassroots preservation advocacy, residents and concerned preservationists formed a non-profit foundation, secured restoration grants, and had the hotel put on the National Trust Preservation list.[469] University of California at Irvine graduate student and activist Allan Affeldt read the list, found an investor for the $5 million restoration, and made a plan to save Mary Colter's gem. Over twenty-five years later, the little hotel has become a catalyst, hosting local events, and receiving international praise.[470] As Winslow is growing as an attraction for tourists, residents also see growing business in town, meaning they do not have to travel to Flagstaff for essentials.

Employing Colter's practice of sense of place, each of the restored bedrooms is distinctive with its own character denoted by the wall color and décor. Fixtures in chandeliers, bedside lamps, and frames are all of tin, tinted colors to harmonize with the room's color

[468] One of these whimsical ashtrays still stands in the entryway. It is now used as a business card holder. Mark Knutson, one of the La Posada craftsman, has appropriated the famous theme to create tables and other jackrabbit furniture that is available for sale.
[469] Historian Janice Griffith learned that the railroad planned to sell. Griffith and friends decided La Posada was the key to Winslow's future. In 1994, the National Trust for Historic Preservation placed La Posada on its list of endangered historic places, where it came to the attention of preservation-minded individuals.
[470] After the historic hotel reopened in 1997, it welcomed the high school prom, various conferences and car shows. La Posada has received rave reviews. National Geographic Traveler named it one of the Best Hotels in all of North and South America in April 2009.

scheme. From the original layout, "many of these [tin] fixtures are copies of American-Mexican and American-Spanish originals," and Affeldt and his team kept or replaced in-kind the original furnishings and fixtures.[471] Presidents Franklin Roosevelt and Harry Truman, performers Frank Sinatra and Will Rogers, and actors John Wayne and Clark Gable were some of the celebrities who graced the halls of the resort and whose names are immortalized through the guestrooms.

Colter is overtly signaled throughout the space, adding a layer of nostalgia on top of the fabricated history that originally characterized the building. There are also small tributes to Mary Colter throughout the property. Her original designs of the Mimbreno china for Santa Fe Railway's legendary private car are in use in the dining room and for sale in the gift shop, and the Turquoise Room's ceilings are two shades of turquoise, Colter's favorite color. Allan Affeldt and his wife, artist Tina Mion, have kept with several themes that Mary Colter envisioned, including unique artwork from local artists and even the idea of the lavish ranchero that retains a homey feel. There is still a vast collection of everything from African antiques to contemporary art, both from Colter's time, Art Deco, and modern by today's standards. When Affeldt could not salvage or replace in-kind, he added a new twist on the things he was forced to recreate. For example, the original mural of San Pasqual, the patron saint of feasts, was destroyed in the office conversion in 1962, so Mion recreated the saint's murals in stained glass in the Turquoise Room restaurant. Keith Mion, a local carpenter and Tina Mion's brother, has rebuilt many of the original furnishings, such as the monk's chairs, with tops that fold down to become tables. There

[471] "La Posada" A Typical Spanish Rancho by Gertrude Henson, Article from the Winslow Daily Mail on the hotel's architecture and its role in Southwest tourism, ca 1930, NAU Cline Library, MS 280, Series 6, Subseries 2, Box 40, Folder 8, 16.

are also original Harvey photos and menus on interactive display, available for guests to view and feel their own sense of place.[472]

Under the Winslow Arts Trust, Affeldt has continued to expand preservation work in Winslow. In 2017, the Trust acquired the adjacent train depot and east grounds to transform it into the Winslow Art Museum. Mary Colter designed the depot in 1929 as part of the La Posada complex, and at the time of Affeldt's purchase it was Colter's only unrestored building. Through active fundraising efforts of nearly $2 million and a dedicated staff of historians, docents, artists-in-residence, and volunteers, the Winslow Art Museum highlights the impact of the Santa Fe Railway and Route 66 on regional artists.

Perhaps the most impressive piece on display in Winslow is the Hubbell Rug, the world's largest single-loom Navajo weaving, measuring at 24' x 36' and weighing over 250 pounds, made for Lorenzo Hubbell in the 1930s (Image 30).[473] This was one of Lorenzo Hubbell's first publicity projects after his father's death in 1930. Lorenzo commissioned the Hubbell Rug in 1932 and chose renowned Navajo weaver Julia Joe to design and craft the world's largest Navajo rug as a tribute to Native weavers. Julia Joe's husband, Sam, built a special loom to accommodate the massive rug, also building a 40' x 30' x 10' addition to their home in Greasewood, Arizona, to accommodate the loom and materials for the project. Lorenzo Hubbell supplied all of the materials for the production, including construction costs, wool sent from

[472] La Posada is a prime example of an institution that has benefited from public support to preserve its rich history to maintain its profitability and its importance. La Posada was a $12 million project. It has received major support from the Arizona State Parks Heritage Fund and the Arizona Department of Transportation. The work of area preservationists to save La Posada and railroad jobs attracted national attention. They used a combination of Transportation Enhancement (TE) funds and other innovative financing to purchase the historic hotel and restore its public spaces to their original grandeur. La Posada is listed on the National Register as an entire district, for significant events and architecture.

[473] Allan Affeldt Interview 2019; the rug actually measures at *22 feet by 32 feet.*

Hubbell's trading post in Oraibi on the Hopi Reservation, dye, food for the family, and other expenses.[474]

Image 30 Photo of the Hubbell Rug on display in Winslow, Arizona. Image courtesy of Route 66 Magazine.

The rug took five years to complete, as Julia Joe solicited her daughters Lilly and Erma, who wove all day, seven days a week to complete the project for Hubbell. Shearing, dyeing, and carding the wool took two years, while weaving the giant textile took another three long years. As noted in Chapter Two regarding the "authentic" methods of Navajo weaving, the selective color palette of this rug reflects Lorenzo Hubbell's influence, specifically the natural colors and dyes. For example, the white and grays in the piece are all natural, and the varied

[474] Mary P Martin, "The Masterpiece," The Hubbell Rug on Route 66 | *ROUTE Magazine* https://www.routemagazine.us/stories/the-masterpiece .

shades of gray were derived from the meticulous carding together of black and white wool. Moreover, the "Ganado Red," a synthetic red dye color which became associated with the Hubbell's Ganado trading post, was used for the red parts of the weaving and pops in contrast to the other muted tones.

Beside the distinct coloring, there are notable design elements, according to Mary Walker, Textile Conservator and owner of Weaving in Beauty. "The horny toad [is] referred to as the chei or grandfather. If the horny toad is encountered in nature, it is picked up and held over the heart to impart the blessings of wellbeing and harmony to the individual. The unusual geometric border was taken from pottery designs of the local area. In addition, the medallions were an unusual design that Julia created." The rug was completed in 1937 and was displayed in a variety of settings but has been stored much of the time due to the difficulty of finding a venue large enough to accommodate it. It was exhibited it at the 1939 Gallup Inter- Tribal Indian Ceremonial, as referenced in Chapter Four. The rug was also displayed in New York, at ceremonial occasions, at Hubbell's auto dealership in Winslow, and at La Posada Hotel.[475]

The Harvey Company, the Santa Fe Railway, and other tourism conglomerates often utilized the names of white historic and modern figures, rendering Native and Hispanic artisans as anonymous or as "local color." This incredible work of art is known as the "Hubbell Rug," not the "Joe Rug." According to Dr. Jennifer McLerran from Northern Arizona University, "the rug was used to advertise the Hubbell family's enterprises. The spectacular nature of it was used to draw people in and generate interest in the Hubbell businesses in general and Navajo weavings in particular. [Lorenzo's] goal was to commission the creation of the largest known Navajo

[475] Until the Hubbell Enterprises and its holdings were taken over by Kevin Bales in 1949. Bales stored the rug in a car trunk for decades. Affeldt reached out to Bales' daughter Patricia Kinsolving for years to purchase the rug for the Winslow Arts Trust (Interview with author 2019).

weaving to date."[476] In 2012, Affeldt secured the donation for the rug to be displayed in Winslow and now has a permanent display at new Route 66 Art Museum at the La Posada Hotel in Winslow with interpretive materials. Fortunately, the rug was in good used condition, with no holes or insect damage, as a beautiful and ideal focal point at the museum.

Finally, the original Pleasure Dome from 1950, the Santa Fe Railway's first dome/observation car, completes the La Posada campus restoration. The #502 car includes Mary Colter's original Turquoise Room, "the finest dining room on rails," including the inception of the famous Mimbreño china. In 1957, the Pleasure Domes received outside swing hangar trucks and a remodeled main floor lounge with new furniture. Artisans also installed a decorative panel at the base of the dome staircase near the main lounge and created Native-inspired sand paintings for the main lounge bulkheads at that time. Customarily, sand paintings are by design supposed to be ephemeral, though some were created with more permanence and for public viewing, such as those at El Navajo in Gallup, New Mexico, referenced in Chapter Four. However, some Pleasure Dome sand paintings were damaged in the early 1970's when Amtrak placed magazine racks on top of the paintings and drilled holes for mounting hardware.[477]

Castañeda Hotel – Las Vegas, New Mexico

Another of the original Harvey resorts that provides both a look back at Progressive era railroad tourism and a snapshot of how that history informs the present, is The Castañeda (Image 31). It first opened in 1899, just in time to host the first reunion of Teddy Roosevelt and the

[476] Mary P Martin, "The Masterpiece," The Hubbell Rug on Route 66 | *ROUTE Magazine*, https://www.routemagazine.us/stories/the-masterpiece .
[477] Kathy Weir, interview by author, May 27, 2019.

Rough Riders.[478] After Montezuma's Castle in Las Vegas proved to be a successful resort, the Fred Harvey Company decided to open another house in the area, the first trackside hotel located east of the Santa Fe Line station. The Castañeda was named for Pedro de Castañeda de Nagera, the chief chronicler of Francisco Coronado's expedition to the Southwest from 1540 to 1542.[479]

Image 31 Postcard of Castañeda Hotel in Las Vegas, New Mexico. Image courtesy of University of Arizona.

Like the efforts to craft an aura of historical authenticity for La Posada, the Castañeda also contributed to the Spanish fantasy that would become so popular for Southwest tourism. Designed by Pasadena architect Frederick Roehrig, it introduced the region to the Mission

[478] Though the selection of the Castañeda may seem peculiar, the choice is easily explained: almost half of the Rough Riders were recruited for the Spanish-American War from New Mexico. The band of gentlemen, complete with Theodore Roosevelt, the then Governor of New York, was said to have left the hotel in a "deplorable" state.
[479] Richard Melzer, *Fred Harvey Houses of the Southwest* (Charleston, SC: Arcadia Pub., 2008), 37

Revival building style. It was a popular stop for celebrities and tourists alike, and some of the richest personal anecdotes have come from those who worked at the Castañeda, especially the Harvey Girls. Opened on January 1, 1899, the Castañeda represented the first of a new generation of grand Harvey House hotels.

The architecturally appealing building surrounds three sides of a square, with an open courtyard in the center. The wings and central façade face toward the railroad tracks, along with a corridor of buff brick arches. There is also a bell tower at the central section of the building and barrel tile roof, all reminiscent of the missionary style. Fishnet lace curtains and potted plants gave the Castañeda more of a homey feel than that found at other resort-style hotels, but the elegant furnishings, ornamented with twisted rope pattern, described as sixteenth-century European style, also gave the illusion of splendor and retreat.[480] In addition to forty-five guest rooms, a one hundred eight seat dining room and fifty-one seat lunchroom, the building also contained a bakery, a commissary, regional offices, and other support facilities for Fred Harvey operations in the area.

Former Harvey Girls provided many detailed reminiscences of their time working at La Castañeda. In the beginning, it was uncommon for Harvey Girls to attend college while working for the Fred Harvey Company. But by the 1930s and in keeping with changing ideas about women's roles as discussed in the previous chapter, provisions were being made for young women to hold a full-time job and to receive a college education. Alice and Bernice Meyers grew up on their family homestead outside of Las Vegas. Alice and Bernice knew they could go to college only by working, so they sought jobs at the Castañeda in 1932. The manager, Mr. Lindsay, was impressed that they were determined to go to school and gave them part-time jobs.

[480] Sandra Lynn, *Windows on the Past: Historic Lodgings of New Mexico* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1999), 88.

Their tips at the Castañeda were significant enough to pay for their schoolbooks, while their salaries covered tuition at the University of New Mexico. Alice said that Mr. Lindsay was worried about her balancing school and work: "he was listed as my guardian, and my grades were sent to him."[481] Bernice stated, "I always felt that training as a Harvey Girl was as important as my college education. I learned about getting along with people about hard work and carrying my share of the load. The discipline at the Harvey House carried over into my schoolwork, and I was able to juggle everything."[482] Anecdotes such as these demonstrate the persistent gender hierarchy that presumed men, in this case employers, could and should maintain authority in women's lives, despite the apparent loosening of other norms. However, Bernice's story also signals the cultural importance of the Harvey Company as an enticing avenue for white women in the West to attain higher education in the early-mid-twentieth century.

Romantic stories have come to life through recent interest through local news articles and interviews and public history heritage tourism initiatives. Beverly Ireland and Bernette Jarvis are twin sisters who worked as Harvey Girls in the 1950s in Santa Fe and have become active in the revitalization of the Castañeda and the creation of a Harvey-inspired experience known as Southwestern Detours. In an interview, Ireland said they moved from their family's Minnesota dairy farm at eighteen years old to escape the cold and have an adventure.[483] As part of the revitalization efforts in Las Vegas, "the twins," as they are affectionately called, are still active today and are regarded as local celebrities (Image 32). They have been featured on the PBS documentary *The Harvey Girls: Opportunity Bound* and at the recent exhibitions at the New

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Leslie Poling-Kempes, *The Harvey Girls: Women Who Opened The West* (New York: Marlowe & Company, 1991), 41.
[482] Kempes, *The Harvey Girls*, 42.
[483] Beverly Ireland and Bernette Jarvis, interview by author, 22 October 2017.

Mexico History Museum in Santa Fe. In fact, Ireland said that, by delivering tea and coffee from a cart as a Pink Lady, a volunteer position at the hospital, she is "carrying on the Fred Harvey tradition."[484] The sisters remain fixtures at former Harvey properties in Santa Fe, Las Vegas, and Fred Harvey preservation events in those cities. The reenactment of their past lives plays a significant role in the context of heritage tourism and the select romanticized experiences from the era.

Image 32 Photo of Beverly Ireland and Bernette Jarvis with the author at the Fred Harvey Weekend in 2017. Photo courtesy of author.

[484] Jackie Jadrnak, "Twins' youthful search for adventure turned into jobs as Harvey Girls." *Albuquerque Journal*, March 27, 2015.

The Castañeda went into remission after World War Two and the Santa Fe Railroad closed the Mission-style hotel in 1948. It was slated for demolition, but exchanged hands several times in the 1970s to become private apartments and then a bar infamously known as "the Nasty Casty."[485] The Castañeda sat quietly on the market since the early 2000s, as the owner at the time was particular with the terms of sale. Allan Affeldt, who was by then actively restoring the La Posada campus, was intrigued by La Castañeda. Despite this interest, he was unwilling to pay $2.5 million to buy the hotel, not to mention the nearly $20 million needed for repairs and restoration. However, in 2014, the owner dropped the asking price to $400,000, with an additional $350,000 for the liquor license, and Affeldt signed the deal. He purchased the 1882 Victorian Plaza Hotel (which is not a Harvey House) at the Las Vegas Plaza on the other side of town.[486] The Plaza Hotel property cash flowed enough to fund the restoration for the Castañeda. Owning these two hotels in the same town not only created economies of scale for the renovation work, but also created momentum for the revitalization efforts and associated tourism resurgence in the region.[487]

As seems evident from his willingness to invest in more than one property in the same town, it was not just the Castañeda hotel that captivated Affeldt. It was Las Vegas, which he claims is the most beautiful town in the Southwest, home to about 13,000 people (59% white, 2% Black, 2% Native, 80% Hispanic) and over 900 registered historic buildings, most dating to the 19th century.[488] The Las Vegas area, about 60 miles east of Santa Fe across the Sangre de

[485] J.J. Lawson of Las Vegas purchased the historic property and converted it into rental apartments. Don Eldh, an interior decorator from California, then bought it in 1973. He renovated the billiard room and turned it into a bar. He also renovated the building for commercial use and had it fully restored by its centennial in 1998.
[486] The Plaza needed work too but was still operating, with 70 rooms, a grand ballroom and 14-foot ceilings, and it could make money while the Castañeda was being renovated, a three-year process.
[487] Both federal Historic Tax Credits and New Markets Tax Credit were leveraged to help fund the renovation of both the Plaza and Castañeda hotels.
[488] "U.S. Census Bureau Quickfacts: Las Vegas City, New Mexico," accessed September 30, 2021, https://www.census.gov/quickfacts/lasvegascitynewmexico.; These statistics total more than 100%, however,

Cristo Mountains, attracts outdoor enthusiasts thanks to public access to the Pecos Wilderness Area and the Las Vegas National Wildlife Refuge.[489]

Affeldt managed to amass $6 million for the Plaza and Castañeda restorations, a third of which was covered by historic and new markets tax credits that had to be expended in 18 months. Additionally, he had to contend with conflicting requirements from the National Park Service (NPS) and Americans With Disabilities Act (ADA). ADA compliance required him to add an elevator and wheelchair-accessible bathrooms, while the NPS advocated for responsible preservation, essential not only to the architectural integrity, but also to qualifying for historic tax credits. Affeldt also shored up the Castañeda's foundation, replaced all the windows, and reoriented the rooms as suites with private baths. He hired local workmen and skilled tradesmen, in an effort to recreate missing elements, such a stamped-tin ceiling panels (Image 33, Image 34, Image 35). Finally, the Castañeda boasts a new kitchen and 70-seat restaurant at Bar Castañeda & Kin at Castañeda, which features Fred Harvey classic dishes and inspired cocktails led by Chef Sean Sinclair.[490]

The current décor, originally planned and executed by Mary Colter, now consists of pieces from La Fonda in Santa Fe, another Colter legacy discussed in Chapter Four. Affeldt bought 1,000 pieces by Santa Fe folk art painter Ernest Martinez. A guest favorite are the stained-glass panels for the transoms above each guest room door, designed by Tina Mion. Each panel depicts a different endangered Southwestern animal that corresponds with a plaque dedicated to a Harvey House (Image 36). The approach thus appeals to the wildlife and outdoor

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according to the QuickFacts, "Hispanics may be of any race, so also are included in applicable race categories" indicating that there is overlap.; Allan Affeldt, interview by author, 2019.

[489] The Coen brothers used Las Vegas as a backdrop for their 2007 movie, *No Country for Old Men*, and the cast and crew of A&E's and Netflix's *Longmire* spent comfortable nights at the Plaza.

[490] Sean Sinclair and his wife, Katy, form a dynamic team managing food, beverage, and catering.

enthusiasts who travel to the area, while also carrying on the long-established Harvey tradition of emphasizing the exotic, the rare, and the historic in the quest to forge an authentic Southwest. As further evidence of the immense nostalgia that characterizes tourism in the area, there are plans for a Fred Harvey Company museum and Affeldt hosts about two hundred "Fred Heads" annually at the Fred Harvey Weekend, stationed in Santa Fe.[491]

Image 33 The Castañeda under renovation in 2018. Image courtesy of Allan Affeldt.

[491] "Fred Heads" is in reference to the "Fred Head Weekend," a conference dedicated to the Fred Harvey Company and the Santa Fe Railroad legacy in the northern tiers of New Mexico and Arizona. This unique annual meeting will be discussed in the conclusion.

Image 34 Allan Affeldt and the author on the Castañeda Widow's Walk in 2018. Image courtesy of the author.

Image 35 Side view of the Castañeda and front view of the Rawlins Building with the author in 2009. Image courtesy of the author.

Image 36 Present-day guest room at the Castañeda showcasing the owl transom designed by Tina Mion. Image courtesy of the author.

Tours and Detours, Then and Now

The once vibrant Santa Fe Trail crossroads of Las Vegas lay dormant until the restoration of the Plaza Hotel and La Castañeda spurred a revitalization of the region. As alluded to above, such positive growth in towns like Winslow and Las Vegas ushers in new questions about how

these locales are being memorialized, what is being remembered and why, who is imagining this history, who is consuming it, and who is doing the work.

Though there are no "detours" to visit the region's Hispanic communities or pueblos as there had been in the heyday of the Harvey company, a version of the earlier excursions is flourishing. Kathy Hendrickson, the owner of a company called Southwest Detours, leads walking tours of the local Las Vegas historic districts, including New Mexico Highlands University, La Castañeda, and Montezuma's Castle, the historic Harvey House resort nearby that has been converted into World College, a college preparatory school (Image 37).[492] Part of this renaissance is enacted through "playing dress-up." Women members of the New Mexico Citizens Committee for Historic Preservation dress as the Las Vegas Harvey Girls to assist with the tours and community events. This costuming is not unusual; several restored Harvey Houses across the United States have Harvey Girl docents, including the Belen Harvey House near Albuquerque. But it does produce elision between the Harvey girl history and the history of the Indian Detours, memorializing some elements of both while minimizing (or erasing) others.

Erna Fergusson, whose Koshare Tours group acted as the progenitor of the Southwest Detours, trained the original couriers to act as cultural guides and interpreters to the local Native communities and historic sites. Marta Weigle claims that "Fergusson's hostess-guide Couriers performed authenticity by presenting themselves as 'neonatives' slightly Bohemian, knowledgeable art colonists. […] bringing visitors behind the scenes in both Indian and 'creative' Anglo communities."[493] This trend has remained prominent in re-enactments of the Indian Detours and other current New Mexico touring groups, displaying how selected cultural

[492] According to Hendrickson, Las Vegas is home to over 900 structures on the National Register of Historic Places, Kathy Hendrickson, interview by author, 22 October 2017.
[493] Marta Weigle, "Exposition and Mediation: Mary Colter, Erna Fergusson, and the Santa Fe/Harvey Popularization of the Native Southwest, 1902-1940" *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies*, Vol. 12, No. 3 (1992), 116-150, 119.

attributes can act as fluid components and continue to exert staying power. Hendrickson dresses in original and reproduction pieces from the Indian Detours couriers' outfits, asserting that through her costume, she is memorializing the couriers' brief, but distinct tenure with the Fred Harvey Company.[494] She is knowledgeable of the region, like the original couriers, and is an ambassador for the town, its tourism enterprises, and the Fred Harvey Company legacy. Notably, however, the Southwestern Detours excursions do not include visits to Native communities, nor do they overtly involve retellings of the regions' Indigenous history, either as part of the Harvey legacy or apart from it.

Image 37 Kathy Hendrickson dressed as a Southwest Detours courier with an anonymous Fred Harvey at the Fred Harvey Weekend 2017. Image courtesy of Allan Affeldt.

[494] Kathy Hendrickson, Interview with author, June 2017

Tourism businesses and local interests in the Santa Fe area are not opposed to presenting tourists with an "inside view" of the history and culture of eight pueblos in northern New Mexico. For instance, Robbie O'Neill's company, Cultural Treasures Tours, provides a similar option to the former Indian Detours. Indeed, during the tour, visitors "meet the people, learn their art and culture, and enjoy a traditional meal."[495] O'Neill also offers walking tours, but she includes an option to visit Native artisans, storytellers, and performers. This venture into the regional culture is indispensable for attaining a broader history of the region, as O'Neill provides background and information not only on the different pueblos, but also on Mexican American artists in the area. Indeed, because of O'Neill's intimate relationship with these communities, visitors are purportedly treated as "friends," rather than customers. However, this promised intimacy may be problematic. O'Neill's tour is pricey compared to Hendrickson's, yet the artisans with whom she collaborates do not receive a portion of the tour fee. Instead, they anticipate that the visitors will purchase their pieces while on the tour.[496] This business model is like the original Indian Detours, as these artisans remain in somewhat compromised positions, retaining ownership of their crafts and the potential for profit from sale, but not afforded control or authority over the context of the commerce.

Overall, these tour groups are lucrative and potentially enriching additions to the tourism industry in New Mexico. They provide visitors entrée into regional culture, architecture, and art and stimulate the economy, particularly catering to small business owners. Indeed, Las Vegas tourism is booming, in part because of Hendrickson's efforts, and she claims that the region is

[495] Santa Fe Cultural Tours- Home." Santafeculturaltreasures. Accessed February 01, 2018. https://www.santafeculturaltreasures.com/ .

[496] This practice is like the original Indian Detours. However, because handmade pieces are inherently more expensive, and at times larger or heavier due to the materials used, the FHC began crafting their own line of Indian jewelry. For example, large, thin sheets of sterling silver with smaller pieces of turquoise and other stones were cut to uniform sizes and hand-bent to become the iconic cuffs of the Southwest. Of course, it was still "handmade" by the "native artisans," but the pieces were smaller, lighter, and more economical for tourists.

"happy" that she started Southwest Detours.[497] However, her decision to omit the phrase "Indian" from the re-creation of the detours, while maintaining other aspects of the business raises questions of authenticity and responsible memorialization. The consequences of these practices, particularly from tourists' point of view, are comparable with those of the Fred Harvey era. Visitors on the Southwest Detours excursions are still not seeing or engaging with Native peoples or seeing them as essential to the local business, much less funneling tourist dollars into their communities. And while the Cultural Treasures Tour provides direct connections to Native and Hispanic communities, the people and their products are essentially represented as local color—part of the Southwest aesthetic – when they are actually the makers of the economy. The "toured-upon" component always exists when Natives' lives are viewed as a spectacle.[498]

Of the communities noted in this research, the people of Rio Grande Pueblo were the most intimately involved with tourism during the Fred Harvey era. As noted in Chapter Two, the most notable figure has been San Ildefonso artist Maria Martinez. When Martinez rose to prominence in 1908, she was asked to create reproductions of excavated ceramic pieces found at an archeological dig of ancient Anasazi ruins.[499] Her experimentation with the shards led to her famed "throwing" technique and highly burnished, black pottery. Martinez traveled with the world's fairs, and in the 1920s, the Fred Harvey Company incorporated her skills into their Indian Detours, creating one of the first links between Native potters and Eastern tourists. She was finally acknowledged in the 1970s, with a National Park Service documentary and a

[497] Hendrickson, Interview, June 2017.
[498] David Wrobel and Patrick Long, *Seeing and Being Seen: Tourism in the American West* (Lawrence: University of Kansas, 2001), 18.
[499] As noted in Chapter Two, Dr. Edgar Hewett, an anthropologist with the School of American Research in Santa Fe, spearheaded an archeological dig on ancient Anasazi ruins.

National Endowment of the Humanities grant to fund a pottery workshop, along with an exhibit at the American Museum of Ceramic Art.

Included in Robbie O'Neill's tours are the exhibits at the comparatively remote San Ildefonso visitors center, which are dedicated to Maria Martinez and her family, along with an opportunity to view the National Park Service's documentary. It is apparent that even an artisan who has risen to prominence in her field and memorialized in her own Pueblo community and with the NPS is still missing in the broader memorialization of the Fred Harvey Company and early southwestern tourism. Despite the fact that Martinez was in fact one of the most influential creators of the authentic Southwest experience marketed by the Harvey company, literally re-imagining and re-producing the ancient history of the region through her craft, she is largely absent in the popular memory that is being marketed now. The present-day commercial representations of the Southwest created by white men and women discussed in this chapter are far more prominent than the Native artisans whose histories, lived experiences, and master crafts inspired the tourist endeavor in the first place. While perhaps not an intentional omission on the part of these modern enthusiasts and entrepreneurs, the memorialization now taking place nevertheless offers a specific representation of the region's past, both ancient and recent. In both, Native people inspire a sense of place and excite feelings of nostalgia, but they are not often understood to exist in the present as modern peoples making a modern living.

A concern for responsible historic preservation practices considers not only physical rehabilitation of historic buildings, or even the omission of an essential word in a title, but also importantly asks whether both the white visitors and businesspeople *and* the Native artisans have a stake in the ethnic tourism endeavor. Seemingly antiquarian debates about historical accuracy can actually possess cultural weight in the memorialization of southwestern tourism and the

construction of the modern Southwest. As I've discussed here and in earlier chapters, the ways that Harvey Company women employees transcended rooted ideals in creating and cultivating hospitality and tourism in the Southwest and reshaped the idea of femininity, gender roles, and cultural authenticity are well-represented in current memorializations. But it is also essential that the legacy of the "Indian" in the "Southwest Indian Detours" be highlighted, through marketing and informational materials and written and oral narratives. Both during the Fred Harvey era and current revitalization efforts, representation matters to local artists and craftspeople and their pocketbooks, particularly Native communities in the Southwest. By challenging these current tourism practices to properly memorialize those of the past, small towns will no longer grapple with creating a unified and collective identity that showcases multiple cultures and heritages, but instead can create aspects of a shared identity built through a cohesive past. Cultural and architectural preservation movements are centered in public history, specifically in tourism ventures, museum exhibits, and site rehabilitation efforts. And responsible public history demands the inclusion of a multitude of voices and perspectives, from the past and the present.

CHAPTER VII CONCLUSION: THE FUTURE OF CULTURAL TOURISM IN FRED HARVEY'S SOUTHWEST

I have been advised that a conclusion is a space for stories and anecdotes to tie the research together. However, this dissertation is already peppered with personal exchanges and rich narratives that intrinsically tie together the past and the present. The historic narrative often omits the people in favor of highlighting the events. In this project, I have worked to highlight stories and experiences from multiple sides, demonstrating that the story of tourism in the American Southwest is multifold, dynamic, and ongoing.

As with any narrative that features underrepresented communities, there are and unfortunately always will be gaps and silences in the story. For example, Alice Marriott prefaces her as-told-by account that Maria Martinez was "forbidden to discuss certain topics: the native religions of San Ildefonso, the clan and moiety systems in operation there, and such wholly masculine topics as the method choice of the governor and the councilmen and their exact function."[500]

I started with a focused view of the effects various types of early visitation and settler tourism had on Native communities in New Mexico and Arizona. From tourism and travel conglomerates expanding their empires in the 1880s, to the Martinezes finding an ancient pottery shard and "inventing" a revolutionary ceramics glaze at the turn of the century, to the height of the Indian Detours in the 1920s, to the preservation and revitalization of the Harvey Company in the early 2000s, this project illustrates the historical, cultural, and political undercurrents of the region and the constructed image in popular memory. As with any winding story, there are a

[500] Marriott, *Maria*, xii.

myriad different characters. Russian novels provide a glossary of characters so as not to confuse the reader. I tried to keep the character list at a respectable length, but there are often complaints with historical narratives that there is not enough emphasis placed on the individuals. Indeed, most accounts of the Fred Harvey Company are simply that: a history of the man and his company. As noted previously, Leslie Poling-Kempes's history of the Harvey Girls relied on extensive interviews. However, there is little reference to women of color, which has been a hot topic in recent research. Colleen Lucero has done tremendous work uncovering the history of the Hopi Harvey Girls through the Hopi Harvey Project, inspired by her grandmother's tenure at La Posada. As of 2019, this is an ongoing project, and scholars and supporters look forward to developing research.

This project is more than an in-depth history of the tourism of the region, that also traces the transformation of culture; it is also the transformation of what culture means. Although the residents of the Southwest have been a part of U.S. history, their memories are deeply entwined in a regional identification that is largely based on a created past.[501] My study also considers the change over time of the image of Native life in the region. To supplement the tourism industry and the artists colonies, particularly the Taos Society of Artists, endorsements from authors associated with elite audiences, such as those who contributed to, *They Know New Mexico*, helped the Harvey Company attract travelers who aspired to distinguish themselves from the masses, traveling off the beaten path in search of a more authentic southwestern experience. At the inception of this movement, the "first tourists" needed assurance that the technological and

[501] Keith Bryant, *Culture in the American Southwest: The Earth, The Sky, The People*, (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2014), 8.

consumeristic world growing around them had not yet pervaded every corner of the globe.[502] However, Maria Martinez and other entrepreneurs demonstrated that the world was changing, regardless of the romanticized images that were created by the Taos Society of Artists, the Fred Harvey Company, Santa Fe Railway, and others. In their enthusiasm over the discovery of a cultural group that possessed characteristics they were looking for, they wanted to prolong, revive, and protect it. In their eagerness to do so, they forgot they were dealing with people and not objects.[503]

Throughout this project, I have highlighted anthropologists, scholars, and participants who appeared to feel that the cultural change was their own "lost cause," an ongoing event that is inevitable and should be embraced if not nourished for success. One way to underscore the impact of tourism on Indian life in the Southwest is to try and imagine what would have happened had there been no tourism. For one thing, there would have been no "art."[504] By strategically featuring the paintings on calendars, brochures, menus, and train advertisements in stations and ticket offices and through the purchase of hundreds paintings Taos and Santa Fe artists, the railway established northern New Mexico as an internationally recognized cultural center.[505] However, is this a colonialist interpretation? Would these communities not have preserved their history in their own way?

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[502] Rina Swentzell, "Anglo Artists and the Creation of Pueblo Worlds" in Hal Rothman, *The Culture of Tourism, the Tourism of Culture: Selling the Past to the Present in the American Southwest* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2003), 67.
[503] Swentzell, "Anglo Artists and the Creation of Pueblo Worlds", 69.
[504] Sylvia Rodriguez, "Tourism, Difference, and Power in the Borderlands," in Hal Rothman, *The Culture of Tourism, the Tourism of Culture: Selling the Past to the Present in the American Southwest* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2003), 189.
[505] Keith Bryant, "The Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe Railway and the Development of the Taos and Santa Fe Art Colonies" *Western Historical Quarterly*, 9 No. 4 (Oct 1978), 437-453, 436.

Pro or Anti Tourism? Experiences at Santo Domingo Pueblo

Major political and social lines have been drawn in the debate about the value of tourism. A pro-tourist position is held by some who see tourism as a way to bolster marginal economies. The anti-tourist position is held by those who claim that tourism irreversibly changes local culture, and often generates revenue only for major industries, like the Harvey Company and the Santa Fe Railroad.[506] Specifically in regard to cultural tourism, critics claim that tourism damages or destroys cultural authenticity.[507] As noted in Chapter Four, Mildred Baker's scrapbooks highlight encounters between tourists and Indians that are unequal exchanges in which Indian reactions were "characterized as uncomprehending, simplemindedly literal, and childlike" while tourists reaped large material benefits.[508] Unfortunately, a paternalistic attitude persists through tourism groups that provide an "intimate" experience, such as Robbie O'Neill's patronizing comments.

Native communities held a unique position in relation to the Detours, because without access to the Indian villages, the Detours would lose their star attractions, negating the entire name and "service."[509] Some southwest visitors have had a misconception that dances were "performances" staged for their benefit; accordingly, they sometimes wore inappropriately skimpy clothing or applauded at the end of a dance. New Mexican Indian people are adamant

[506] Andrew Leo Lovato, *Santa Fe Hispanic Culture: Preserving Identity in a Tourist Town*, (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2004), 101.
[507] Susan Guyette and David White, "Reducing the Impacts of Tourism through Cross-Cultural Planning," in Hal Rothman, *The Culture of Tourism, the Tourism of Culture: Selling the Past to the Present in the American Southwest* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2003), 164.
[508] Marguerite S. Shaffer, "Playing American: The Southwestern Scrapbooks of Mildred E. Baker" in Hal Rothman, *The Culture of Tourism, the Tourism of Culture: Selling the Past to the Present in the American Southwest* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2003), 86.
[509] A few tribes, such as the Zias, refused to open their villages to tourist groups, and Harvey Couriers were often left to explain to tourists that although the New Mexico license plate featured the Zia sun symbol, the tourists would not be consorting with the Zias themselves. Fergusson, *Our Southwest,* 383.

that tourists are guests rather than "customers." At Santo Domingo Pueblo, one courier was adamant that photography was not permitted. And when tourists continued to photograph the demonstrators and their homes, the residents smashed their cameras and closed the Pueblo to further visits. The Harvey Company had a lengthy negotiation to reopen the Pueblo to tourists.[510]

As of 2019, photography of any kind is still not permitted at Santo Domingo. I was one of few non-Indigenous guests at the Corn Dances in August 2019. The vast majority of the attendees were locals, whether from Santo Domingo or the other Rio Grande Pueblos. It was a typical festival at the pueblo, filled with food and crafts vendors, residents pouring out of their homes, and children and dogs running through the crowds. We made our way through the crowds to the seated performance area, where we were graciously offered folding chairs, as we had not brought our own. Across the aisle, there were two young white women who continued to surreptitiously snap photos on their phones, giggling at their prowess. After we made eye contact several times, they stopped, looking away sheepishly and moved to the back of the outdoor arena. I equated this disrespectful action to taking video of a Catholic mass. Indeed, the Corn Dance is in celebration of the feast day of St. Dominic, the patron saint of the Pueblo, further highlighting the blending of cultures. The day begins with a mass and after, a statue of St. Dominic is carried in a procession from the church to a shrine on the pueblo plaza, the inside walls of which are lined with Navajo rugs. The statue remains until the dance ceremony is completed, and after, it is returned to the church. After the procession and ceremony is the Green Corn Dance, which lasts hours into the afternoon. Members of the squash and the turquoise clans alternate in the dancing.

[510] Thomas, *The Southwestern Indian Detours*, 199.

Religious ceremonies are performative, with varied intentions of the performer and the audience, however those terms are defined. Still, there is little risk of videography during transubstantiation in a Catholic mass compared with during the decorated dances. During the dances, I compared the real-life experience to the postcards and photos found in the Governor's Palace archives, created and curated for the Fred Harvey Company Indian Detours. How had the experience changed over time? Was I having the same experience as a Detourist one hundred years earlier? Did another white visitor cast a meaningful glance at a tactless tourist trying to video the ceremony, only to be met with a meek acknowledgment? Having the ability to link cultural contexts through interpersonal experiences is a significant purpose of this research. Though these are heavy-handed descriptions, I want to emphasize the importance of responsibly and respectfully immersing oneself into their scholarship.

In the Chimayo Style: Centinela Traditional Arts

Leah Dilworth claims that "In the spectacle of Indian artisanal labor, touristic desire is created and fulfilled in a self-perpetuating, repetitive cycle," and as the "represented," Indians are "curiously silent."[511] The Harvey Company made strides in representation through their publications, Native demonstrations, and accommodations. Even more work has been done regarding the legal protections of Native-made pieces. A top priority has been implementing the Indian Arts and Crafts Act of 1990, "a truth-in-advertising law" that provides severe penalties for untruthfully marketing products as "Handmade" or "Made by Native Americans." The Act

[511] Leah Dilworth, "'Handmade by an American Indian': Souvenirs and the Cultural Economy of Southwestern Tourism" in Hal Rothman, *The Culture of Tourism, the Tourism of Culture: Selling the Past to the Present in the American Southwest* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2003), 108.

prevents false marketing and sales that skew the price system of "authentically" crafted items as opposed to mass manufactured pieces that are neither handmade nor Native-made. Legalities and protections such as these are a recent development owing to the prior generations' exploitation of Native art and labor. Indeed, the concept of authenticity is malleable and dynamic, just as cultural heritage processes change and evolve to encompass broader interests and concerns.[512]

Like other fluid concepts, such as race, ethnicity, identity, and gender, authenticity can be examined as a social construct, recognizing that there are multiple levels, layers, and representation. The notion of commodifying authenticity can be inconsistent, as seen with the Harvey Company purchasing only their definition of "authentic" Navajo rugs, ignoring that Navajo weavers and their techniques change over time in accordance to the market availability, material values, technology, and customer preferences.

Weaving was thus part of a local and national economy, combining traditional means of production with materials and marketing strategies made available by industrial capitalism. Textile production continues to extend to a global level, but in a newly fashioned iteration. Irvin Trujillo's family company Centinela Traditional Arts employs several Chimayo weavers in the Rio Grande region of New Mexico. The weavers live near Chimayo and use traditional dying techniques, some of which are created and stored at the shop in an adjacent shed. Irvin Trujillo is an engineer who worked for the government in Los Alamos for years before returning to Chimayo to carry on his family industry. He met his wife, Lisa Rockwood, at University of New Mexico. She is not New Mexican and though she claims to be artistically inclined, she never practiced weaving until she learned from Irvin Trujillo and his father, Jake O. Trujillo. The "Rio

[512] The problem with this definition is that there are many Native Americans who are not registered with any tribe. Another criticism is that there are instances where someone is Indian by blood but not enrolled or certified. Dilworth, "Handmade by an American Indian," 110.

Grande blanket" encompasses entire weaving tradition of Hispanic New Mexico and old Mexican influence. The "Chimayo style" blanket is basically two stripes and a center design. The stripes are derived from the Rio Grande blanket, which exhibits stripes, and the center design is an outgrowth of Saltillo techniques, which has stripes and a central diamond. There are deviations on these named styles, demonstrating that these textiles have always been commodified but are also personal and cultural expressions.

Centinela and the Trujillo legacy is an ideal example of the variation of "modern" on the "traditional" practice. Susan Guyette and David White claim that the argument that commercialization equates with the inauthentic is alluring, but ultimately it is not sustainable.[513] Irvin Trujillo claims to be happier returning to his generational practice than he was as an engineer, finding joy in his community and employing local artisans.[514] Though the region is known for its blanketry, Centinela has seen sales trend toward wearable pieces. In the late 1990s into the 2000s, Rio Grande style vests and jackets flooded the market, fueled by Japanese businessmen who favored the "western" look. This unanticipated fashion shift continues to bring in revenue, though it is mostly special order and foreign markets.[515] As before, Hispanic artisans are often subsumed in the desire for *Native* Southwest creations.

Though Team Affeldt has spearheaded the recent revitalization movement, social media has played a major role in community building. Kathy Weir started the Facebook group "Fred Harvey/Mary Colter Fan Club" in 2011. Currently, it has over 6,500 followers. When she and her husband Jim moved to Tucson, Arizona in the late 1960s, she became fascinated with the

[513] Susan Guyette and David White, "Reducing the Impacts of Tourism through Cross-Cultural Planning," in Hal Rothman, *The Culture of Tourism, the Tourism of Culture: Selling the Past to the Present in the American Southwest* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2003), 164.
[514] Irvin Trujillo, interview by author, August 3, 2018.
[515] Trujillo, interview, 2018..

history and culture of the Hopi after attending a local event on Columbus Day weekend, which was "kind of ironic."[516] Kathy Weir and I had a similar introduction to Mary Colter and the history of the Harvey Company in the Southwest. In 2000, while visiting Winslow, Arizona on holiday, the Weirs stumbled upon La Posada, which had recently opened to the public. Weir purchased several books on Mary Colter in the then-small gift shop that I visited with my family the following fall.

Kathy Weir's scheduled and curated posts have fueled a new type of community building that parallels the FredHeads from generations ago. She claims that the demographics vary, with mostly members from New Mexico and Arizona, though there are national and international members who have become active participants and have attended the FredHead weekend events.

Some Things Never Change: New and Revitalized Work in the Field

It is still possible to capture the magic, authentic or not, that visitors felt when they visited the Southwest. Through the robust work from preservationists, advocates, lawmakers, and artisans, spaces and places have been renovated and revitalized to become attractions once again. The Fred Harvey Company and the Atchison, Topeka and the Santa Fe Railroad commissioned the construction of many Harvey Houses in the American Southwest. They were designed with the area's landscape and culture in mind. There have been numerous laws, acts, and organizations, ranging from the national level to the non-profit sector to small grassroots movements to prevent the deterioration or razing of these historic sites.

Ultimately, the Harvey Company promoted the Southwest as an ethnographic adventure

[516] Kathy Weir, interview by author, May 27, 2019.

in which the region existed largely for the pleasure of white visitors. The limits of this type of tourism reflect the broader vision of the Harvey Company and the Santa Fe Railroad, wherein Southwestern people, culture, and history were represented mainly through the interpretations of white owned/operated businesses that typically cater to white tourists.

While the Harvey Company acted as "gatekeepers" to knowledge of or familiarity with the Southwest by creating demand for particular forms of Native artwork they deemed "authentic," they also promoted Native entrepreneurs. But it was through a particular lens, befitting their roles as successful financiers, cultural stewards, or white saviors. There was a modicum of respect, as the Indian Detourists were instructed for their behavior during visits at the pueblos and during performances through coaching by the couriers or delicate rhetoric in the promotional materials, such as *First Families* and *They Know New Mexico.* However, the "elite" status of being a Detourist meant these visitors believed they were already savvy, educated adventurists, who did not require instruction.

Ironies abound throughout the Fred Harvey Company's reign over the region. Writings in tourism brochures were contradictory, indicating that Pueblo traditions would inevitably vanish, a process accelerated by tourism's corrupting influences, while the brochures were intrinsically tied to promoting tourism in the region. Leah Dilworth claims that Pueblo tribes' cultural resiliency made them an exception to the pervasive belief in "the vanishing Indian" and the associated threat of encroaching modernity.[517] However, as referenced in *They Know New Mexico*, Mary Austin also perpetuated a narrative that suggested that in order to be "authentic,"

[517] Dilworth, "Tourists and Indians in Fred Harvey's Southwest" In Wrobel, David M., and Patrick T. Long, *Seeing and Being Seen: Tourism in the American West* (Lawrence: Published for the Center of the American West, University of Colorado at Boulder by the University Press of Kansas, 2001), 143.

Native culture and therefore, people, must appear to be isolated from modernity. These oppositions compounded the complexity of Pueblo life, and that of other Native groups, because as with all societies, culture was not "pure" and was constantly changing. Indeed, as noted in Chapter Two, Native workers, particularly men, participated in industrial wage work, as early as the 1890s, even though the tourism business perfected the image of Indians as naturally artistic preindustrial craftspeople.

The Harvey Company and the Santa Fe Railroad bore witness to almost one hundred years combined of wars and depressions. Their partnership left a lasting impression on the American Southwest, more notably today in the structures that are still standing and the movements to support the legacy and memory of the Company and its artisans. National and global catastrophes were ruinous to the tourism business. The Depression devastated the financial underpinnings of the artist colonies, as few of the artists who came in the early 1920s made Taos and Santa Fe their permanent homes, and the structure of the two colonies collapsed by 1940. The painters who remained in the region were employed and functioned as individual artists, not as part of a "society of artists."[518] In early 2020, the Covid-19 pandemic shuttered popular gathering places, including hotels, restaurants, bars, national parks. Through a series of closures and re-openings, construction set-backs, and extended timelines, the hospitality industry and the arts, two groups relevant to this research, have weathered the loss of income and employment, low morale, and fear. As other historians do, I anticipate future scholarship focusing on the current pandemic compared to other global health crises. An interesting approach would be to focus on the Pandemic of 1918 and the Covid-19 pandemic, and how governmental

[518] Keith Bryant, "The Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe Railway and the Development of the Taos and Santa Fe Art Colonies" *Western Historical Quarterly*, 9 No. 4 (Oct 1978), 437-453, 453.

response, commercial advertising, and social media played a role in the dynamic changes and "survival" of the Harvey Company.

Scholars often set lofty goals for their research projects. Initially, I had posed questions such as "How do tourists see themselves? As guests? Participants? Partners in a mutual relationship?" Joan Laxson's methods in her article "How 'We' See 'Them': Tourism and Native Americans" define the stereotypic conceptions that one group has of another in the context of ethnic tourism. In her anthropological survey, she gathers interviews and observations of upper-middle-class American tourists who visited Native American culture and heritage museums and pueblo ceremonials in New Mexico. It would be interesting to compare her findings from the early 1990s to those from the "original" experiences during the height of the Fred Harvey Company era, using postcards, travelogues, and interviews. To extend this further, current interviews with regional tour companies, the partnered Indigenous artisans, and visitors that mirrored Laxson's research might show not only the three distinct parties' perception of authenticity and place-making, but also cultural change over time regarding Wrobel's concepts of "toured" and the "toured-upon."[519]

While the Harvey Company had the Mexican Room at the Alvarado Hotel in Albuquerque, there was always greater emphasis on the Native art and demonstrators. I would encourage not only further research on the Hispanic presence at the Harvey Company but also question why there has been little published on the topic. Andrew Leo Lovato provides numerous explanations as to why Hispanic art has been relegated to the sidelines generally speaking. He claims that Hispanic art has been relegated to "folk art" as opposed to "fine art"

[519] Joan Laxson, "How 'We' See 'Them': Tourism and Native Americans." *Annals of Tourism Research* 18 (1991): 365-391.

and the artists were viewed as artisans as opposed to true artists.[520] He elaborates that "Because more created 'traditional' arts, the [Hispanic] artists were considered craftsmen, not artists, and thus not worthy of attention or careful documentation."[521] However, these same characterizations have been applied to Native art, particularly the title of "craftsmen" versus "artists." Throughout this dissertation, I argue that the Harvey Company included Hispanic art and artisans in their décor and merchandise, specifically through Mary Colter's selective use throughout her design career in the Southwest. Currently, Allan Affeldt continues Colter's legacy by including Hispanic art and memory at his properties, especially at La Posada in Winslow, Arizona.

There are numerous avenues for expanded research and continued threads in this particular niche. At the inception of the company, Fred Harvey only hired white women as Harvey Girls, as George Pullman hired primarily Black men as porters. In doing so, each employer created and contributed to a distinct racial and class system centered not only in the West, but also across the United States. My future research will explore the parallels between these two disparate groups and how their role in tourism carved both individual but intertwined niches in rail commerce.

A dynamic tension emerged between those who sought to re-create a Western European culture of operas, symphonies, and classical theatre and those who wanted to create original novels, plays, music, and dances based on regional themes and resources.[522] Fred Harvey set out to bring "European" culture to the west, while selecting facets of the Indigenous and Hispanic culture to craft an image and experience that was wholly "American." I hope to have shown the

[520] Andrew Leo Lovato, *Santa Fe Hispanic Culture: Preserving Identity in a Tourist Town*, (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2004), 79.
[521] Andrew Leo Lovato, *Santa Fe Hispanic Culture: Preserving Identity in a Tourist Town*, (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2004), 81.
[522] Keith Bryant, *Culture in the American Southwest: The Earth, The Sky, The People*, (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2014), 7.

significance of “experiencing” scholarship through oral narratives and site visits, not only for scholars but also for community building and placemaking. Forging relationships was part of the Fred Harvey legacy and it is inspiring and heart-warming to see this part of the legacy being carried out and on.

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