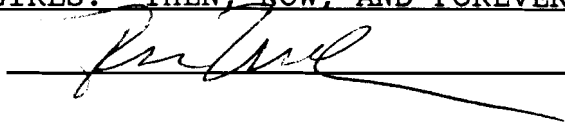


AN ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS OF

JUDITH ANN STOLL for the MASTER OF ARTS
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Abstract approved: 

Beginning in 1883 and for nearly three-quarters of a century, Harvey Girls worked as waitresses in the chain of Fred Harvey eating houses that operated along the Santa Fe Railroad. Billed at the height of its fame as "the greatest civilizing force of our generation," Harvey's operation ranked a step above the average in dining experience and level of service. As the chief representatives and ultimate product of the Harvey system, the Harvey Girls functioned as front line service agents with responsibility for upholding and reinforcing the public image of wholesome goodness with which the Fred Harvey Company identified.

The Harvey system's reliance on the Harvey Girl image exacted some costs. For Harvey Girls, this meant a loss of personal identity as they subsumed their own individuality to the corporate image, offering up on the altar of conformity those parts of themselves not compatible with the public's conditioned expectations.

The ideal Harvey Girl persona existed in a kind of comforting stasis, despite time or social reality. Simply put, a Harvey Girl is a Harvey Girl, now, then, and forever.

The goal of this paper is to explore how these women fit into the larger world and the degree to which they were individually exceptional or typical in their role as working women, in the process providing the legacy of the Harvey Girl mystique with some measure of substance. Augmented by a series of oral interviews, this study attempts to dispel the "cookie cutter" image by reclaiming the real life experiences of those women known as Harvey Girls.

HARVEY GIRLS
THEN, NOW, AND FOREVER

A Thesis

Presented to
The Division of Social Sciences
EMPORIA STATE UNIVERSITY

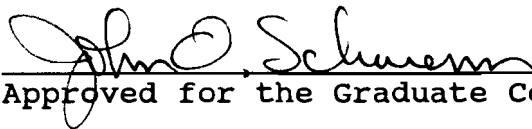
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INTRODUCTION

At Fred Harvey's you are always expected. The girls are ever in their best bib and tucker, spotlessly gowned, manicured, groomed, combed, dental-flossed - bright, healthy, intelligent girls - girls that are never fly, flip nor fresh, but who give you the attention that never obtrudes, but which is hearty and heartfelt.¹

This testimonial appeared in "Fred Harvey Meals," a promotional travelers' guide printed in 1909 by the Santa Fe Railroad Company. Fred Harvey devised this glowing image to personify the service empire that would bear his name for more than a century. The women labeled Harvey Girls were not only the chief representatives of Harvey's system but, in essence, its ultimate product.

On a functional level, these women worked as waitresses in the series of Fred Harvey eating houses established and managed in agreement with the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad. Harvey Girls, as front line service agents for the Harvey system, took responsibility for upholding and reinforcing the public image that Fred Harvey wished to project. Harvey Houses, the popular designation for the chain of eating houses conceptualized by Fred Harvey and eventually established every one hundred miles along the length of the Santa Fe line, constituted the sphere of action for the Harvey Girl. Harvey astutely designed his organization so that it ranked a step above the average both in dining experience and level of service. "Maintenance of

standard, regardless of cost" was the official slogan for all Harvey operations.² In accepting and personally promoting the multiple roles and expectations designed for them, the Harvey Girls were responsible for Harvey's success both in initially creating the standard and in enabling its maintenance.

The Fred Harvey system, from its inception in 1876 as simple lunchroom management in the Santa Fe's Topeka, Kansas depot to the remnants that linger in the operations of the El Tovar resort complex on the rim of Arizona's Grand Canyon, always remained dedicated to the demanding standard and impeccable service propagated by its founder. The result of this devotion, as one former Harvey Girl pointed out, was a degree of fame and an enduring reputation for the Harvey House as, simply, "the best place in town."³

Factors in selling the joint concerns of Fred Harvey and the Santa Fe included advertising and travel directives from the Santa Fe's promotional press and prescriptive employee literature conveyed through the pages of The Santa Fe Magazine. Over time these media nurtured a two dimensional perspective of the Harvey Girl for universal consumption. It was this press that labeled Fred Harvey and his girls as civilizers of the west. Illustrating this identification in 1907, The Santa Fe Employees' Magazine claimed that Harvey "raised the standard of living for half a continent."⁴ In the process,

He revolutionized the railroad eating house in the West. He made it possible for persons to get the very best of eating from Chicago to the coast, to get it at any hour of day or night, to have it served in the very best of style, and all for the smallest possible outlay of coin; and, besides this, he furnished pretty and useful wives for no man knows how many sighing swains.⁵

From beginnings such as this, the press on Harvey proliferated. In 1917 the Kansas City Journal said that "Mr. Harvey started the greatest civilizing force that we have seen in our generation."⁶ This image, repeated and embellished, subsequently lent appeal to the company who exploited it for its romantic potential. A classic example of mature Harvey romanticism appeared in Our Southwest, a 1940 regional travel guide by Erna Fergusson. Fergusson, who began writing travelogues in the 1930's, presented a colorful chapter on "Fred Harvey Civilizer," that both distilled and validated much of the traditional Harvey lore for a new generation. In doing so, she contributed to the progressive evolution of the Harvey mystique, while simultaneously garnering some credit as a source for a more recent revival of popular interest in the topic.⁷

According to conventional wisdom, the irreproachably good example of femininity provided by the Harvey Girls' mere presence on the scene helped civilize the West. Having accomplished that job, they apparently settled down to populate the land with offspring: all, or at least 4,000, named Fred or Harvey according to the popular author Elbert Hubbard.⁸

In promoting the idea of the Harvey Girl during the 1880's, Fred Harvey tapped into and capitalized on the popular image of women as morally, socially, and domestically superior beings.⁹ To take full advantage of this conventional wisdom and establish a positive public reputation for his commercial enterprises, Harvey constructed highly supervised and minutely regulated working and living environments for his "girls." This managerial strategy, combined with strict adherence to a selective employment policy based on certain precepts of morality, attitude, and appearance, protected Harvey, his organization, and the women working for him from the adverse connotations attached to women working in a public setting.

The fact that Harvey insisted on the label "Harvey Girl" rather than "waitress" suggests his awareness of the notorious reputation society often assigned to women in this occupation. Historian Dorothy Cobble has observed in her study of waitresses and their work culture that, historically,

the intimacy of food service, the tip exchange, the decided departure of waitresses from middle class standards of gentility and perhaps the association, often unconscious, between eating and sex led to the denunciation of waitresses as 'loose women' and even as prostitutes.¹⁰

Aware of this common perception, Fred Harvey made a conscious effort to prevent the formation of such a negative connection with the Harvey Girls. Employing the public press again, Harvey publicized the details of his system's

strict adherence to moral respectability and responsibility. Examples of this surface in the tone used in the advertisements to solicit help in which Harvey specified an expected degree of quality. Word of mouth description concerning required behavior circulating both among the girls and within the general population also played a role in classifying the Harvey Girls collectively as top of the line. A later example of this survives in photographic imagery, especially in the pages of the Santa Fe Magazine, which regularly featured group photos of Harvey House personnel. The Harvey Girl projected the air of wholesomeness both cultivated and encouraged.

In her carefully prescribed role, the Harvey Girl was most often seen as a surrogate for home and hearth, the personification of what historian Barbara Welter calls "the ideal of true womanhood."¹¹ Simultaneously, she adhered to the standard virtues expected of domestic servants in upper class homes. The Harvey Girl, unobtrusive, meek, and respectful appealed to a higher class of clientele who might expect and even require such an attitude.¹² Thus she stood on a pedestal in the mind's eye as the very embodiment of the capable, efficient, cheerful, and untouchable ideal woman.¹³ This is the Harvey Girl mystique, designed, manufactured, and strictly maintained by the Fred Harvey organization from beginning to end. She was, after all, Fred Harvey's definitive product, the perfect Harvey Girl.

The parameters of that image and the reality behind the image form the focus of this inquiry.

The Harvey system's complete reliance on and identification with the Harvey Girl image exacted some costs. For individual Harvey Girls this price was the loss of personal identity in the public consciousness. Each generation of Harvey women adapted to project the Harvey image, offering up on the altar of conformity those parts of themselves incompatible with the conditioned picture the public expected. Beginning in the 1880's and continuing throughout the life of the Harvey organization, the Harvey Girl persona existed in a kind of stasis. In this comfortably static, publicly reassuring role, Harvey Girls appeared uniform, regardless of the time, space, or social reality within which they actually existed. A Harvey Girl is a Harvey Girl, then, now, and forever. This study represents an attempt at dispelling the cookie cutter image while reclaiming the real life experiences of those women known as Harvey Girls.

The first step in reexamining the Harvey Girl involves recognizing that social atmosphere, individual experience, and geographical location, in essence time and place, looms as significant factors in any attempt at understanding their personal and collective contributions to the historical record. The acknowledgment of the level of standardization the Harvey organization supported often results in a

discounting of individual diversity. Systematic analysis requires examining the parameters and confines of the Harvey organization itself and the character and intent of the man who presided over the creation of the Harvey Girls. Women inducted into the Harvey system identified almost completely with that system. For this reason, the Harvey Girl cannot be seriously studied without taking the Harvey system into consideration. Neither can be divorced from the other without distorting the historical context. Examining how these women fit into the larger world and the degree to which they were individually and collectively exceptional or typical in their role as working women provides the Harvey Girl mystique with some measure of substance.

This research employed several methodologies. Retrospective analysis of the Harvey system and the Harvey Girls facilitated by use of oral history interviews was a primary source. This oral history focus proved essential in reconstructing a body of primary documentation on this topic. With firsthand accounts such as these, the layers of social experience and interaction are placed in the proper context. The absence of any significant collective body of other primary documentation illustrates the importance of oral histories in interpreting the Harvey Girls and the Harvey system. Many other primary sources, such as employee personnel records, corporate files, and general business documentation, have been lost due to neglect and lack of

interest. Published contemporary accounts can serve as an adequate framework, but only through their own words and memories is it possible to resurrect the Harvey Girls as they truly were.

Strict reliance on oral history, however, can lead to an inadvertent distortion of the historical record.¹⁴

Weighed against this is the fact that the act of assembling a record of oral history documentation preserves a unique historical perspective. In the Harvey Girls case, the opportunity for compiling such a record is becoming increasingly remote. The population of former Harvey Girls, after all, continues to age, while the chances of maintaining accuracy and the opportunity for exploring the resource fades. Although some initial groundwork in this area was completed (notably by author Lesley Poling-Kempes in her study of the Harvey Girls in the Southwest), much remains to be done in terms of local and regional compilations and comparisons.

Allowing for such issues, the research strategy in this study incorporates the variegated experiences related through oral history with public records. Census records, city directory information, and contemporary published accounts corroborate this combination. Kansas, site of the Harvey Organization's genesis, justifiably earned the title of "home" to the Harvey system and provided an especially appropriate locale for this research.¹⁵ This study

concentrates specifically on the Harvey Girls experience's from a Kansas perspective by focusing on specific communities in which Fred Harvey made his presence known within the geographic parameters of the state.

The question of internal and external community dynamics is of special interest. How were Harvey Houses and Harvey Girls viewed by their respective communities at both individual and collective levels? In Kansas, were Harvey Girls generally drawn from the area in which they worked? If so, what impact did that additional layering of community ties have on the relationship between Fred Harvey's organization and the host communities? What did individual Harvey Girls see as their roles within the Harvey system and the community as a whole? Linked to these questions is the impact of the Fred Harvey organization in given communities, including issues of cooperation, acceptance, patronage, and economic contribution. Specific Harvey Houses in Kansas have been selected for more detailed treatment because of the degree to which they represent a certain period, region, or type within the spectrum of the Harvey organization and its evolution. By examining both micro and macro perspectives of the women who were Harvey Girls, this study seeks to add a new dimension to previous Harvey Girl studies.

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CHAPTER 1: FRED HARVEY

"Fred Harvey has passed away, but his spirit abides, and his soul goes marching on."¹ So wrote popular author Elbert Hubbard in a 1909 retrospective article of the Harvey organization. This sentiment has been reiterated numerous times since, as commentators attempted to capture the unique quality Fred Harvey's establishments possessed that set them apart from competitors.

Analysis of a system's composition, its development, and accomplishments requires choosing a proper lens for accurate focus. The spotlight typically concentrates on the organizations creator. In this case Fred Harvey's conceptualization of organization and the character with which he instilled his enterprise proved a potent combination. In constructing this institution and establishing its working principles, Harvey provided reference points directing all future decisions. In the workaday corporation, the passage of time naturally overwhelms the effective influence of its originating tradition. Signs of necessary concession to the accumulated pressures of social evolution are detectible even with the Harvey system. Yet through it all, Fred Harvey's shadow remained a conspicuous presence in the public reputation he established, the oral tradition of his employees, and the company polices he initiated. Therefore it is necessary to

first understand the man Fred Harvey and the reasons and rationale behind his design if we are to comprehend the life ways, work patterns, and culture of the individuals who populated this system as it evolved.

Fred Harvey's story reflects the success of the American Dream. All accounts portray Harvey as the very essence of the self-made man. Born in London, England, on June 27, 1835 Frederick Henry Harvey migrated to the United States while in his teens.² He arrived in metropolitan New York in the summer of 1850 with "\$10 in his pocket and a willingness to work in his heart,"³ one of the 369,000 immigrants who entered the country that year.⁴ Many who tried sorting out the Harvey saga cite this period as formative since it marked Harvey's introduction to the restaurant business. Working as a two-dollar a week pot scrubber in the Smith and McNeill Cafe, his involvement in the dynamics of high management was limited.⁵ But perhaps this experience gave Harvey the insight necessary for empathizing with his own employees when he became the man in charge.

A case in point is Phoebe Amelia Lofgren, who as a child helped her widowed mother by working as a dishwasher's helper for Fred Harvey in Florence, Kansas during the late 1880's. Small for her age, Phoebe could not reach the big tubs so a dishpan was inverted for her to stand on. As a result, Phoebe could earn seventy-five cents a week to

supplement the sixteen to seventeen dollars her mother made each month as a dishwasher.⁶ Given the level of personal involvement Fred Harvey maintained in all his establishments through intermittent inspections, he was almost certainly aware of this arrangement, and might have even suggested it himself. Perhaps he was motivated by a desire to provide an opportunity for self advancement, while requiring that advancement be earned, as his had been.

Harvey's experiences at Smith and McNeill's provides the genesis for the concept his press eventually propagated: "No organization could be successful without the cooperation of its employees."⁷ Harvey encouraged this outcome in his business practices by incorporating the principles of fundamental human relations management into his organization before that term was even recognized. In return, Fred Harvey expected his employees to do themselves and the Harvey system justice; by most counts, they did.

Just how much time Harvey spent in New York learning the restaurant business from the ground up is a matter of dispute. It appears Harvey soon moved on to other restaurant experiences, first in New Orleans and, following a bout of yellow fever, St. Louis by 1855.⁸ Here he engaged in a variety of jobs that could not help but give him a firsthand perspective of the working man's life. During his six-year stay in St. Louis, Harvey worked as a jeweler and merchant tailor. A biography prepared by his grandson

relates that in 1856, at the age of twenty-one, Harvey was successfully operating a restaurant in St. Louis.⁹ Erna Fergusson, who stylized the Harvey story for more modern audiences, reiterates that Harvey cooked such good food in St. Louis that it earned him a solid reputation and success until a dispute with a partner over the Civil War, combined with a bout of typhoid, ended that venture.¹⁰

During this period in St. Louis, Harvey also adjusted his personal life. On January 14, 1860, he married sixteen year-old Barbara Sarah Mattas, a Prague-born fellow immigrant. A 1913 obituary in the Santa Fe Magazine describes Mrs. Harvey as "ever his faithful counsellor and helpmate in the up-building and management of the famous system, which is stamped indelibly not only with the name but with the individuality and spirit of its founder."¹¹ Barbara Sarah Mattas Harvey or Sallie began married life by waiting tables while her husband cooked in their restaurant.¹² Both Fred and Sallie therefore had personal knowledge of what it meant to be a working woman in the nineteenth century public service sector. Application of this knowledge undoubtedly later influenced the conceptualization of the Harvey Girl.

After closing his business, Harvey was again forced to rely on his own resources and returned to hired kitchen and pantry jobs in attempting to pay outstanding bills.¹³ He also worked for Captain Rufus Ford on his Missouri River

packet line that ran from St. Louis to Omaha.¹⁴ As his grandson Byron Harvey Jr. relates, it was only a matter of time until Fred Harvey would "stake his future on the railroad business," just then beginning a century of rapid expansion.¹⁵ In 1863 Harvey secured a clerkship on a mail car for the Missouri, Hannibal and St. Joseph Railroad and moved his family to Leavenworth, Kansas, which became their permanent home.¹⁶

Harvey's employment status was not nearly as settled as his home life. In Steel Trails to Santa Fe historian L.L. Waters traces Harvey's movements through a series of positions ranging from postal clerk to traveling freight agent on the Missouri, Hannibal and St. Joseph as well as the Chicago, Burlington, and Quincy railway.¹⁷ A single job apparently was not enough for Fred Harvey. While traveling for the Quincy Railroad, Harvey did double duty by soliciting advertising for the Leavenworth Daily Conservative. The newspaper publisher, D.R. Anthony, recalled:

Fred Harvey was the best newspaper solicitor I ever knew. He solicited businesses for the Conservative a number of years while he was engaged in the railroad business, and he was very successful. I paid Mr. Harvey \$3,000 one year for the eastern business he secured. We had an arrangement whereby he was to secure at least \$12,000 a year from the east and always did so and often much more.¹⁸

As an agent for the Burlington, Harvey also learned about the cattle business. Characteristically putting this

knowledge to work, Harvey owned his own ranch as early as 1867.¹⁹ He slowly marshaled the contacts and breadth of experience that provided the foundation for his next and ultimate venture: the railroad eating house.

Pursuing his various occupations, Harvey regularly journeyed along the newly laid western railway, experiencing firsthand the discomforts of early passenger travel. According to one researcher, when the Santa Fe tracks ended at Newton, Kansas in 1871 the land west still "consisted of wild, uninhabited prairie known only to Indians, buffalo, trail drivers, and the soldiers at Fort Dodge."²⁰ The degree and quality of service available to travelers was severely limited. Not surprisingly, Harvey's literature and the popular press described the attitude of contemporary consumers as outraged but predominantly resigned to suffer the personal discomfort attending railroad travel into this new territory. Left to forage for themselves, passengers clutched shoe box lunches, ate at unsavory depot restaurants, or even cooked their own meals on the stove that heated the coach.²¹

Harvey literature often described a classic example of this self-provisioning recalling the available fare of that earlier time: "the bouquet from those lunches hung around the car all night and the flies wired ahead for their friends to meet them at each station."²² A few generations later the softened, picturesque memory of the real and

annoying problem of early public transportation remained part of the Harvey lore, representing the conditions from which this institution emerged to redeem the cause of civilization.

The process began in 1876 when, drawing on his life's experiences and skills, Fred Harvey decided he could offer a solution to travelers' predicament. Taking the pulse of the traveling public and drawing on the diligence and determination cultivated in his wanderings, Harvey made the deal of his lifetime and proved himself worthy of his own self confidence in building a user-friendly food delivery system embodying structure, substance, and a lasting reputation all institutionalized under his own name. So much did he become identified with and subsumed by the company he created that in later years it became difficult to distinguish exactly where the man Fred Harvey ended and the Fred Harvey system began. As an image maker he was ultimately a success, but in the process he lost his own individuality within the myth of his own creation. The umbrella of imagery covering him naturally extended to the women who worked as Harvey Girls, willing participants in promoting and perpetuating the mystique.

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CHAPTER 2: HARVEY IN KANSAS

The Santa Fe Railroad of the 1870s and 1880s spearheaded the process of headlong westward expansion. The general plan of railroad building in Kansas, which boomed during this period, involved accessing the state's agricultural hinterlands while establishing the profitable freighting systems necessary for financing further development. Competition for these burgeoning markets was fierce, the chartering of new roads often indiscriminate, and parallel and repetitious laying of track by rival roads common. By the mid-1880s Kansas led the nation in miles of railroad constructed per capita, illustrating the state's centrality in railroad development.¹

Competition for passengers and freight intensified as more track came into service. This competition put tremendous pressure on the railroads to assure prospective customers of a pleasurable journey, marked with savory food and sufficient rest. By the early 1870s, the AT&SF recognized the potential for profit development afforded by tending to clients' comforts. The line encouraged local businesses to provide care for its passengers but such efforts proved unsuccessful because local businessmen could not afford to provide the quality of food and service necessary for luring patrons to the Santa Fe. Attempts by company management to furnish dining facilities also failed

because railroads, lacking requisite skills for such a service oriented venture, traditionally placed a low priority on customer comfort.

In 1876, capitalizing on connections formed while working for various railroads in Kansas, Fred Harvey applied for the job of service representative for the Santa Fe Railroad. The traditional story of his employment interview has Santa Fe general manager Charles Morse throwing his arms around the youthful promoter and weeping with joy at the prospect of the improved dining conditions he expected under Harvey's management. This image, which received considerable polishing over the years and served as a selling point for the Harvey system, highlights the very real need that then existed for the substantial, fast and efficient services Harvey proposed. Whether uniquely equipped to deliver these services or simply a good observer of public needs and in the right place at the right time, Harvey exploited the opportunity to its full potential. In any event, the Santa Fe, the traveling public, and Fred Harvey all benefitted from his entry into the field.

Fred Harvey's relationship with the Santa Fe began in 1876 with the opening of the first Harvey eating house at its Topeka depot. Santa Fe engineer J.M. Meade in compiling a early history of the Harvey Eating Houses explained the facts of their initial partnership.

The first lunch stand and Eating House established on the Santa Fe Railroad was at Topeka, Kansas.

It was run under a contract with Mr. Peter Kline, of Topeka, and the Santa Fe Railroad Company, executed by Mr. C. F. Morse, Superintendent, Topeka. Mr. Kline sold out in the spring of 1876, to Mr. Fred Harvey of Leavenworth, Kansas.²

Harvey signed his first negotiated agreement with the Santa Fe on January 1, 1878. This contract, which formalized the Santa Fe-Fred Harvey association, detailed Harvey's responsibilities, including management of a railroad dining station in Florence, Kansas. The document gave the railroad a thirty-day termination option, and the right to take control of the building any time during the lease if it became inconvenient to stop its trains in Florence or the dining station failed to meet the railroad's standards.³ Essentially, Harvey earned a trial period during which to prove his worth. In its initial stage, this partnership bore little resemblance to the exclusive relationship that later developed.

Before Harvey's arrival on the scene the consortium of J.A. Pike & Company operated the eating house and hotel facilities for the Santa Fe at Florence. Santa Fe invoked its thirty-day release clause when Fred Harvey entered the picture, and the Pike company vacated the premises to make room for Harvey.⁴ The Santa Fe's removal of Pike & Company as well as the Topeka depot eating house management in favor of Harvey illustrates the relatively unstable nature of managing such services during this formative period.⁵

One reason the Harvey organization succeeded where others failed lay in his ability to expand, providing uniform quality throughout the Santa Fe system. Other businessmen, constrained by the realities of a limited local market, simply could not compete at his level. One account of the Harvey system, published by the Santa Fe Magazine in 1907, opined:

It looked as if civilization would stop short in her onward march at the capital of Kansas, and that the westward course of empire which had been so widely heralded . . . would end at the same spot. Travelers positively declined to go further, once they had eaten with Harvey.⁶

Yet another observer, popular author Erna Fergusson, noted how Harvey leveraged his position by capitalizing on the public's positive reaction:

He used to ask for everything, he kept on asking, and finally got it. He paid no freight or express, no telegraph bills or traveling expenses. He even shipped his help around without paying for them. No wonder he could buy better food than anybody else and serve it cheaper.⁷

Regardless of location, Fred Harvey's dedication to achieving something akin to perfection remained the key to all aspects of his operation. To attain this standard, he demanded and received preferred treatment from the Santa Fe receiving cut rates in shipping and supply. Additionally, Harvey benefited from the guaranteed patronage of the traveling public who were periodically deposited at his door. In exchange, the line's management was effectively relieved of any burden of direct customer service beyond

simple transportation. As a result, Harvey effectively neutralized the railroad's prejudice against passenger service, summed up in the lament that "freight don't complain."⁸ In the end, passengers voiced no complaints either when served by Fred Harvey.

As originally conceived, the Harvey service employed male waiters. By one account, the transition from this traditional source to a primarily female labor force occurred when Harvey determined women servers were more reliable than male waiters. Early in the organization's history, about 1883, Harvey, on a routine inspection tour of the Harvey House in Raton, New Mexico, found his male serving staff incapacitated after a night on the town. He solved the problem by decreeing that women would be more suitable in the public service role. As the source for this account put matters, it was felt that women were "less likely to get likkered up and go on tares" than the men.⁹

As a result, Harvey provided a bridge between the widely accepted role of women as domestic homemakers in a private capacity and the public world of work, previously prohibited to or at least stigmatizing for women.¹⁰ Thus Harvey's paternalistic effort proved foundational in legitimizing the presence of women within the work place.

The Harvey Girls' evolution within the system created to shelter and market them, is highlighted in the microcosm of Kansas, home of the first Harvey House. The Harvey

system itself was subject to the influence of definite trends corresponding to the railroad's needs, variations in clientele, and shifting societal attitudes. In fact, three distinct periods divide the Harvey organization's history: developmental, climactic, and mature.

Many Kansas towns played host to Harvey as the Santa Fe reached into the heartland and the need for his specialized service became apparent. During the developmental period, utility emerged as the primary quality the Santa Fe management valued and promoted in its association with Harvey. Harvey, recognizing the potential of a limited marketing niche, envisioned an opportunity for developing a name associated with quality and capitalizing upon that reputation as well.

Harvey's first hotel and eating house combination in Florence, established in 1878, exemplifies this formative period in the Harvey system's history. This full service stop provided food, lodging, and above average service to railroad workers and the traveling public, giving secondary service to the local community. Situated at a major Santa Fe junction, the Harvey House at Florence remained a vital part of the Harvey system until the turn of the century. Harvey located this establishment at trackside in the Clifton House which, in accordance with his Santa Fe contract, boasted such amenities as walnut furnishings, English silver, and Irish linens: this ambience reportedly

impressed guests unaccustomed to such elegance. A newspaper article in the June 28, 1879 Florence Herald provides insight into the reception accorded these facilities by the general community:

Every Tuesday and Friday the ladies of Florence can have the use of the bathrooms at the Clifton Hotel---this will be a luxury which will be duly appreciated. All other days the bathrooms are open to gentlemen.¹¹

This is a classic example of Harvey's impact on individual communities into which he introduced previously unattainable services as basic components of his trade. This influence subsequently led to the attachment of the title of "civilizer" to the Harvey name.

Other Kansas communities also benefited from Harvey's initial development along the Santa Fe by receiving similar infusions of service. Lakin, Coolidge, and Wellington, for example, each boasted important Santa Fe stations where Harvey Houses were established between 1879 and 1883. As the Santa Fe expanded and transportation technology advanced, engines traveled further, faster. Consequently, stations at these junctures became unnecessary and lost their positions as division points in a more streamlined and efficient operation. Loss of functional status with the Santa Fe meant a loss of Fred Harvey service within a community. Although the Fred Harvey system existed as a discrete corporate entity, its relationship with the Santa Fe was essentially symbiotic. Harvey maintained exclusive

management of his concerns, but the Santa Fe told him where and when that management took place. When the Santa Fe pulled out of a community so did Fred Harvey. By the turn of the century, these first Harvey Houses in Kansas, effectively obsolete, closed. Nevertheless, their legacy remained significant. The experience and positive reputation gained through the unilateral management of these early ventures directly contributed to future Harvey concerns.

From the turn of the century through the 1930s, the second period of the Harvey system's growth saw the consolidation of Harvey's original ideas about quality, service, and image. Harvey's views on these subjects were, by this time, fully formed and his business was associated in the public mind with consistent quality and a degree of elegance. Harvey Houses served to provide patrons with an out of the ordinary experience beyond everyday fare, a place to go for special occasions or one frequented by the traveler indulging in a treat. Asked if she remembered eating at the Emporia Harvey House, one Lyon County farm woman replied she recalled the place from trips to town in the 1910s and 1920s, but not dining there. "You just didn't eat out much then," she explained.¹² There were, of course, some local customers but trade was limited. Ethel Hunt, a Santa Fe clerk in Chanute from 1923 until 1931, expressed this general trend when she commented that "I'd buy a

sandwich there once in a while, but I didn't go into the dining room."¹³ The Chanute Tribune reported that, "At \$4.73 a day, Hunt said, 'I had THE job.' But it didn't make her wealthy enough to eat Harvey House meals."¹⁴ These examples represent the norm for community patronage of the Harvey Houses during this period.

The Harvey House at Chanute is representative of those operating in Kansas during this middle period. This Harvey House opened as a lunch counter in 1905, evolved into a full service dining facility, and remained in operation until 1931. The Emporia Harvey House, which opened in 1907 and closed in 1937, also reflects this middle stage of Harvey development. This period marked a time of maximum utilization and affluence for both the Santa Fe and the Harvey organization and for this reason is sometimes referred to as a golden age for both companies.

The last phase of the Harvey three-part evolution hinged on the Santa Fe's policy of placing increasing emphasis on speed, thereby reducing the demand for extended custom service. To accommodate this trend, the Harvey organization maintained and enhanced dining car services on the Santa Fe lines. Simultaneously, the Harvey system diversified and professionalized its other facilities. Now Harvey's promotional literature took note of the company's transition from the traditional label of railroad eating house to the more modern classification of restaurant.

Kansas Harvey Houses exemplifying this phase include those at Newton, Hutchinson, and Dodge City. The Newton House, which opened in 1883, had the honor of being the last Harvey House in Kansas when it closed in 1957. The Harvey House at Hutchinson, known as the Bisonte, also opened in 1883. This house became the personification of elegance during the middle period. Promotional literature in 1909 labeled the Bisonte as "the most notable railway hotel in the west. Built of brick, with heavy gables, and red tiled roof, the architecture reminds one of a Tudor Manor House."¹⁵ The El Vaquero, Dodge City's Harvey House, opened in 1896. In contrast to the Bisonte, the El Vaquero made its opening in a pair of old boxcars: one functioned as a serving room, the other as a kitchen. Harvey used the rough exterior to illustrate the extent of standardized service available along the Santa Fe, inside the same level of service and quality could be found within that plain House as at any of the more imposing Harvey House on the line.

When reminiscing about his early days on the Santa Fe frontier, Frank Monroe, a longtime Santa Fe employee, remembered passengers' reactions to a similar Harvey set up in Holbrook, Arizona in 1884. Confronted with

six or eight of the worst looking box cars . . . the company and Harvey could scare up . . ., when travelers alighted and gazed on the prospect before them, they just wilted . . . When those travelers entered the big side door with the regular doors shoved back, they gasped with wonderment at what met their gaze. Within the walls were shiny with fresh paint in gaudy Indian

colors, the tables were spread with heavy milk-white Irish linen and napkins the size of pillow slips, the silverware shone like a French place mirror, the clean clear glass goblets were filled with ice and nice clear water, and on the tables were large vases filled with wonderful fresh flowers.¹⁶

The impact of these contrasts on weary travelers earned both Harvey and the railroad lifelong supporters. Such presentations, obviously calculated for effect, also caused Monroe to conclude that "Fred Harvey was a keener and more productive advertiser than Barnum with his much touted name."¹⁷

The impact of the company's various developmental phases on the women who worked as Harvey Girls is important in understanding their individual and collective experiences. The quality and content of the experience as well as the motivation initiating the contact differed depending on the period. For example, by tradition the early Harvey system hired girls through advertisements in Eastern papers calling for "young women of good character, attractive and intelligent, 18 to 30."¹⁸ The public record corroborates this statement. For example, 1885 Kansas census data for Newton shows that many of the women employed at that Harvey House as waiters were recent immigrants or first generation Americans, supporting the contention that recruitment early focused on the East (see appendix 4).

Data from the middle period, in Emporia for example, show that while many women employed during this era

conformed closely to the Harvey stereotype, significant individual differences also existed. Community demographics, undoubtedly, affected the composition of the Harvey work force. This is most apparent in the hiring of secondary staff, domestics, maids, and busboys. Individuals of Hispanic decent filled these positions after 1920. This was a comparative departure for the Harvey organization that, according to available data, previously tended to employ exclusively Anglo Saxon stock. In the 1920s, the racial composition at the Emporia Harvey House shifted from a consistent one hundred percent European-American staff to a mixed group in which a fifth of the employees were of Hispanic decent (see appendix 2). This change reflects demographic changes in Emporia. As a Santa Fe division point, Emporia drew many Mexican-Americans to work not only on the railroad but also for the Harvey House. The fact that this ratio subsequently reverted to exclusively white employment suggests that the Harvey hiring policy reflected general economic and employment trends in the larger community. As the economy worsened during the Depression, hiring practices probably reflected the prevailing ethnic prejudice of the day. Tying in this information with the internal dynamics of the Harvey system helps illuminate the system's dependence on external market forces.

During and after World War II, most Harvey Girls at the last Kansas Harvey House in Newton lived apart from the

establishment (see appendix 4). As a commissary and supply station for the Harvey system, Newton proved especially diversified in the products and services provided. Here could be found the Harvey laundry, dairy, poultry and produce farms, bottling and carbonation plant. This diversity permitted the Newton operations to remain viable longer than anywhere else in Kansas. Consequently, the experiences of the Harvey Girls working there in the corporation's later period differed markedly from those of the women at other Houses (and even from women who worked earlier in Newton). Clara Conner began working in Newton as a Harvey Girl during World War II, serving the troop trains. She continued in Harvey employment until 1957 when the House closed. During her work life, Clara also maintained a separate household which included her husband and two children.¹⁹ Although Clara's situation does not adhere to the traditional image of the Harvey Girls, it illustrates the effective evolution of the Harvey system and the degree of flexibility the system displayed when confronted with changing social attitudes about women and work.

In many respects, the Harvey System acted as a barometer for changes taking place in society as a whole. As with any successful organization, the Harvey company molded itself to reflect whatever image enjoyed current acceptance and provided comfort for its customers. Harvey, managerially speaking, shifted with the times, but the early

day Harvey reputation remained constant in the public consciousness as the root of the Harvey Girl mystique. For women within the system, this meant a measure of security in the public's acceptance of their corporate image. Simultaneously, the struggle to maintain a sense of personal individuality within the collective remained a personal challenge. This apparent dichotomy occupies a central role in the next chapters, which focus on the persona of the Harvey Girl in each of the company's three developmental periods.

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CHAPTER 3: BIRTH OF THE HARVEY GIRLS
THE IDEA -- 1870 - 1900

The women personally hired by Fred Harvey during the initial stages of his system building were unique. The demographic backgrounds, personal motivations, perspectives and attitudes of women answering Fred Harvey's call to service show them to be products of the larger cultural and societal landscape. Yet as participants in the Harvey organization's evolution, they set the archetypical standard for generations of Harvey Girls to come.

Fred Harvey needed to establish a successful business in an untried marketplace while maintaining stable corporate relations with the Santa Fe. He did this, in part, by de-emphasizing personal individuality within his work force in order to present a well regulated united front to the world. The role Harvey created for the Harvey Girls provided them with protection and a justification for their involvement not for themselves alone, but also for their families and society as a whole. In this sense, the positive recognition value engendered in the Harvey Girl persona served as a calling card for the organization throughout its life.

From the beginning, Harvey addressed several issues vital to achieving the high level of corporate cohesion responsible for his success. These challenges included the creation of an efficient and economical work force, the cultivation of a regulated environment complimentary to the

Santa Fe's policy. Along the way, Harvey reversed or circumvented the negative popular perception of working women in the public service industry. He overcame these obstacles by founding a system based on patriarchal values of propriety and respectability. This system enforced comprehensive regulation of the Harvey Girls' professional and personal lives, their behavior, appearance, occupation, and lodging. Initially, Harvey personally directed this regimentation as the ultimate father figure. Eventually the supervisory hierarchy he created assumed responsibility for this task, under the mantle of continued Harvey family involvement. The rich occupational subculture that evolved as an internal support system for the Harvey Girls reflected this hierarchy's external influence. This subculture, in turn, served the Harvey organization by providing primary socialization of new Harvey Girls and giving public expression to the stylized Harvey image. This chapter addresses what this meant for that first group of women.

According to sociologist Robert A. Rothman, author of Working: Sociological Perspectives, subcultures form within a work place because of shared experiences. Rothman asserts that,

People who work together for any appreciable length of time tend to develop distinctive patterns of thinking, acting, and feeling. These unique perceptions of the world, shared values and symbols, special languages, and behavioral norms distinguish members from nonmembers and legitimately characterized these groups as subcultures.¹

In terms of cohesion, it is obvious how the creation of such a subcultural network benefited Harvey and his organization.

Rothman also contends that within the dynamics of a work subculture "shared experiences, reinforced through face-to-face interaction, foster the creation of a common bond and a feeling of solidarity or cohesion among workers."² In the long term, he declares that,

Socialization and social control link each succeeding generation of workers to the perspectives of the group, foster group solidarity, and encourage common motivations, reactions, and habits.³

Rothman concludes by explaining that "the norms and values of the group may be internalized. . . and may become the standards by which they judge themselves and their peers."⁴

This framework helps explain how Harvey initially molded a heterogeneous group of individuals into the model work force required by the nature and scale of his business. The degree of Harvey Girls' self-identification with group and organization may also tell us why women who worked for the Fred Harvey Company seventy or eighty years ago still refer fondly to themselves as "Harvey Girls." To outsiders this unity of spirit and purpose assumes intriguing proportions, often of a romantic nature. Although tales like this may account for the continuing high profile maintained by the Harvey name, they fail to do justice to the complex reality of what that transformative process meant to the women who lived through it. Before Harvey's

empire became a reality, some women were given the opportunity to help shape the role all Harvey Girls eventually assumed. These women who were the first to conform to Harvey's new system truly created the foundation on which Harvey built his empire.

Fred Harvey's first experience in the railroad service industry occurred within the bounds of the legal partnership of Harvey and Rice. This enterprise managed eating houses in Kansas at Lawrence and Wallace, and in Hugo, Colorado for the Kansas Pacific Railroad. The quality and duration of this relationship vary by account. Historian James Henderson, in his study of the Harvey system, limits the association to a single year, 1875.⁵ A contemporary source containing a biography of partner Jasper Rice says that the firm remained viable through 1882, at which point the partners apparently sold out.⁶ The fact that Harvey did not officially leave the Chicago, Burlington & Quincy Railroad to focus on the Santa Fe's eating houses until 1882 lends some credence to the latter claim.⁷ For the development of the Harvey Girl the significance of this partnership is obvious, for here Harvey gained his initial experience in both the transportation service business and the personnel management of women within that business. A photo of Harvey employees at the hotel run by Harvey and Rice in Wallace, Kansas suggests that Fred Harvey probably employed women servers before the term "Harvey Girl" was formally applied.⁸

In any case, the Harvey-Rice prelude influenced Harvey's ideas about organizational composition as he added to his practical knowledge of personnel management.

Fergusson, in her narrative on the Harvey system, dated the employment of women serving as "Harvey Girls" in the Harvey eating houses to 1883. Kansas census records challenge this estimate showing that Harvey employed women in the capacity of dining room help before this date. For example, the 1880 federal census for Florence included as a single household the employees working in the Harvey House established there in 1878 (see appendix 3). This house listed a total staff of sixteen. Six women found employment there; of these, three bore the occupational title of "dining room help." This suggests that the distinctive Harvey Girl image did not spring fully formed from the mind of its creator but was the product of refinement over time.

Additional information from the public record reinforces the impression that Harvey's reputation did not come easily. Early city directories for Topeka show a succession of managers for the restaurant at the AT&SF Railroad depot. Although Harvey's name is unlisted in these directories it is a matter of record that he took supervisory responsibility for this outlet in 1876. The fact that the actual progression of Harvey's early endeavors is difficult to establish through public documents proves that he did not instantly enjoy the fame he eventually

achieved. The first direct mention of him appears in the Kansas City, Missouri, city directory of 1896 in which he is identified as proprietor of the Santa Fe Eating Houses headquartered there.¹⁰

That same year, Santa Fe's management recognized Harvey as a success factor if not yet an indispensable asset. Corporation president Edward P. Ripley wrote to the AT&SF chairman: "Harvey has made for himself and the road, a great reputation, the eating houses being first class and deservedly popular." Nevertheless Ripley did not refrain from remarking that,

there are plenty of good hotel men who would be willing to take hold of it [the concession for food service along the Santa Fe line] and it CAN BE [sic] run as well as it ever was, though I should be willing to pay something for the Harvey name.¹¹

Ripley's statements show the degree of progress made by Harvey in establishing a reputation for his organization. Notedly, corporate awareness of Harvey's excellence in management coincided with the public's recognition of the representatives of that excellence, the Harvey Girl. A poem by S.E. Kiser reflected the growing public sentiment which by then verged on idealism. Extolling the virtues of the Harvey Girl, the author related,

I have seen some splendid paintings in my day
and I have looked at faultless statuary;
I've seen the orchard trees abloom in May
and watched their colors in the shadows vary;
I have viewed the noblest shrines in Italy
and gazed upon the richest mosques of Turkey.
But the fairest of all sights, it seems to me,

Was a Harvey Girl I saw in Albuquerque.

O that pretty Harvey Girl was good to see.
Her presence and her manner made me glad;
As she heaped things on my plate
I kept busy thanking fate
For her deftness and the appetite I had.¹²

Assured supply and maintenance by the Santa Fe, Harvey turned much of his attention to developing a competent work force. He did this by stages and in close relationship with the corporate evolution already discussed. This development and its consequences are of immediate concern in the attempt to highlight the everyday interaction behind the image Harvey fostered.

Harvey's decision to employ women as public servers in the early 1880s required that he, as businessman, consider the popularly perceived status of working women. Any economic and social implications of an adverse public reaction would have caused him immediate concern. Once gained, an unsavory reputation is shed only with great difficulty, and Harvey did everything possible to prevent the public from drawing damaging conclusions about the Harvey Girls.

Some contemporary studies help highlight the roles of working women during Fred Harvey's initial building phase and illustrate what he was up against in trying to overcome widespread attitudes about women and work. The Tenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Labor and Industry for Kansas, published in 1895, serves as a prime example. There, one

reformer, Mrs. C.F. Wilder, praised the options open to women, estimating four hundred different occupation opportunities existed outside the home by 1894.

Nevertheless, speaking as a voice of her generation, Wilder questioned the wisdom of women working for a wage if any other means of support should be available. After all,

the social theory of enlightened nations is, that the father of the family supports the family; that he is the "loaf provider" while the house mother is the "loaf giver."¹³

Wilder further suggested that it may be the "fault" of those women who did work without need that degraded the labor market and endangered the survival of society.¹⁴

The image of the "typical" Harvey Girl, by definition a middle class woman not compelled to work but desiring employment, directly opposed this opinion and consequently was at odds with the norm for the day. In fact, during the formative period, Harvey cultivated the perception that his "girls" were middle class by holding them to the accepted standards of that group, thereby helping to secure the reputation of his business and his name. In reality Harvey Girls were primarily rural or working class women, products of the social reality observed by Mrs. Wilder.

Census records bear out this conclusion about Harvey Girl origins, especially in late-1890s Kansas. In Newton, for example, most of the women working for Harvey then were predominantly native Kansans (see appendix 4). The reliance on local hiring reflects demographic realities since by this

time the female labor pool had developed enough to support such a demand. This practice implies, also, that the hiring of women met a local economic void that indicated the need for full employment, regardless of the social conventions associated with gender.

Regular waitress work during this period had little to recommend itself to women, except those in extreme need of a job. A study by sociologist Amy E. Tanner, who took on the role as a participant-observer in the restaurant industry, illustrates the conditions for which Harvey must have compensated.

The work itself soon made us lame and bruised from head to foot. The bruises came as the direct result of carrying trays about five hours a day, pushing forcibly through swinging doors, and knocking ourselves against table corners and other pugnacious articles of furniture. All of us could display choice collections of black and blue spots, especially on the right side, since we turned to the right to push through the doors. Our arms ached from finger-tips to shoulders, and our backs and necks were lame from the strain of lifting trays. Our feet were sore, swollen, and in some cases blistered, from being on them so many hours a day.¹⁵

If reports such as this did not provide sufficient cause for discouraging women from restaurant work, Tanner described the effects this battering exerted on the attitudes and perceptions of the general worker.

All day long the back-ground of living was an ache. This showed itself in an indisposition to do anything more than was absolutely necessary, to sit down at every opportunity, to stand laxly in the dining-room, instead of being brisk and alert-in short to act like the typical shiftless servant. We soon were that.¹⁶

Fred Harvey counteracted such negative aspects of the restaurant industry by providing Harvey Girls with a positive self image, one far more attractive than the norms suffered in other establishments. He supported this image, in part, by the constant attention and maintenance, enforced by frequent surprise inspections. Accounts of Harvey Girls from Florence mention the drama Harvey's tours inspired. Witnesses reported that "if he found a cracked plate or a chipped glass on a counter or on a dining table he would throw it on the floor and make the person responsible pick up the pieces."¹⁷ This type of motivation strengthened the perception of Fred Harvey as patriarch and became a hallmark of the entire Harvey system. This policy was recognized by Harvey's employees as responsible for creating a high personal and corporate standard in which they could take pride. It also served as a barrier against the psychological degradation that Tanner perceived as the "constant ache of living" experienced in restaurant work that caused her to behave and feel like the "typical shiftless servant."¹⁸

Another attraction for prospective Harvey Girls could be found in Harvey's program for integrating women into his system through a group living arrangement, one for which he provided specially designed dormitory rooms. Harvey followed this practice consistently in the company's early years, accounting for census records listing Harvey

employees as members of a single household. In fact, this communal arrangement existed in all Harvey houses in Kansas for which public documents are available.

The degree of control Harvey gained over his employees by retaining what amounted to something of a captive labor force proved a major factor in his success. It is clear that in this setting new Harvey Girls acclimatized themselves to the corporate subculture, incorporating the values and standards Harvey desired at a greatly accelerated rate. Along the way, this process of indoctrination became both positively reinforcing and self perpetuating as Harvey's public reputation for excellence grew and an individual's association with the organization became more rewarding in terms of recognition.

In her research on waitresses, Dorothy Cobble noted that the "practice of boarding was widespread among waitresses and was often a requirement of employment in the first two decades of the twentieth century."¹⁹ She points out that this living arrangement resulted in an increased availability of employees for the seven day week, around the clock schedule often required of them.²⁰

Fred Harvey's policy for on site employee lodging in the 1880's was not unique; its uniqueness lay in the way Harvey publicized the fact. The accommodations he provided were represented as a continuation of the family structure, a setting in which Harvey promised all the customary and

reassuring proprieties would be maintained. Hiring matrons to provide Harvey Girls with guidance and to supervise enforcement of Victorian moral standards added substance to this promise.

Citing research done by sociologist William Foote Whyte in the 1940s, Cobble points out that "the group life in the waitress world [is what] makes it appealing."²¹ She also notes that many firsthand accounts of waitressing stressed "the closeness" and "sisterhood" among waitresses.²² In order for an enterprise to capitalize on this type of affinity, workers must attain a common identity grafted positively to the parent organization. One important means embraced by Harvey for accomplishing this end involved his institution of uniform standards in personal appearance. In the early period the uniform that publicly identified every Harvey Girl as a member of the corporate community best represents this standardization. Information from the Harvey House at Florence describes this costume in the 1880s as "traditional black shirtwaist dresses with an Elsie collar and a black bow, crisp white apron and caps."²³ Completing the picture, "their hair had to be plainly done and ornamented only with a white ribbon neatly tied."²⁴

Robert Rothman, in his work on the formation of work subcultures, states that,

the uniform is, above all else, a symbol of group membership. In dealing with outsiders it serves as visible and unequivocal identification of occupational membership . . . Uniforms are also

symbols of subcultural acceptance and membership for the people who wear them. Every individual must earn the right to don the distinctive dress.²⁵

Illustrating how Harvey astutely employed such a seemingly simple matter as dress to stimulate the growth of group identification requires a practical example. Charles Seshier, a researcher in the material culture pertaining to the Harvey organization's early years, asserts that the distinctive Harvey Girl uniform originally had pin fasteners rather than buttons. Such an arrangement necessarily required a group effort to aid in dressing. A small matter, on its face, yet this feature forced Harvey Girls to depend on each other in maintaining the requirements of personal appearance. In other words, the use of pin fasteners in bulky, eighteen pound uniforms provide a means for group self-regulation. In this way, Harvey enforced the level of quality upon which he strictly insisted. Additionally, this apparent hindrance actually exerted a positive effect on the group's internal dynamics by forcing employees to systematically forge closer ties of solidarity and community.²⁶

Subsequently, such perceptions about the need for cooperation and the role it played in succeeding as a Harvey Girl became the norm instilled in ensuing generations of employees. The originating situation, having served the purpose of establishing critical guidelines for Harvey Girl protocol and imbedding that information within the

sustaining work subculture, became obsolete and lapsed. The lessons learned about group cohesion and corporate standards from the experience remained as a shaping force within the culture of the Harvey Girl.

The general message is clear: conformity and standardization distinguished the Harvey Girls. In the shared occupation of feeding the trains, it was their duty to see that the traveling public received the ultimate in product and service. Harvey Girl Harriet Cross remembered that,

Each girl had to stand close enough to her guests so that if they needed a knife and didn't see it handy, she could grab it and give it to them, and the same way with a spoon or anything else. She had to see that everything was right there at their fingertip, so that they wouldn't have to work.²⁷

To believe Harvey Girls were immune to the tension and strain this level of service induced seems naive. Yet within the context of experience, the overwhelming majority of former Harvey Girls rarely admit dissatisfaction. Harvey Girls did not work in a modern or even historically typical organization. The negative stereotypes identified as the curse of the typical waitress did not apply due to the protective forethought of their founder and their own efforts to maintain the integrity of the system he created. Harvey Girl Lou Morris, recalling her time with Harvey, related how being a part of that system made her feel.

It just kind of makes you proud, the fact that they chose you to train, because it wasn't a

beanery like you find down here on the street. It was something special. And I think we were regarded as a little special because we were there. Looking back on it now I don't know why we did, just the fact that we were chosen for that was just in our favor.²⁸

This response is typical for all generations of Harvey Girls. Nevertheless, the group that served during the first stage of system building earned a special debt from those who followed. First to internalize the Harvey system, they cleared the path for all who succeeded them. Their success in completing the physical and mental tasks Harvey outlined made his dream a reality. At the same time, these pioneers carved an independent place in which women, removed from the constraints and expectations of the day and given a wider perspective of the world and the options and opportunities available to them, earned the flexibility of choice. Whether they followed conventions and married or remained indefinitely with Harvey, they did so on their own terms and in their own time. In turn, each in their own way smoothed the way for those coming after, directly by structuring and participating in the sustaining Harvey Girl work subculture and indirectly by transmitting and projecting the resultant image and thus attracting new Harvey Girls to the ranks. The success of this first group of women helped secure the Harvey Girl legacy for all those who followed.

NOTES

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28. Lou Morris, interview by author, Tape recording, Emporia, Kansas, May 26, 1994.

**CHAPTER 4: HARVEY GIRLS: BUILDING ON THE REPUTATION
THE IDEAL -- 1900 - 1930**

Fred Harvey's death in February 1901, when his personal fame was on the rise, marked the dawn of the Harvey system's most productive years. That he foresaw and prepared for this flowering of empire often went unquestioned, especially considering the near immortalization accorded him over the years. His actual intent is less certain based on a survey of the surviving documents. The terms of Harvey's will make it clear that he took the role of patriarch to heart.

In his will Harvey entrusted his property to the combined management of his wife Barbara, his son Ford and business associate David Benjamin. Specific instructions guided this trio in the disposition of the Harvey estate. Harvey directed the trustees to continue all the business enterprises operating at the time of his death, specifying the cattle, eating house, restaurant and dining car ventures. Harvey desired that these enterprises be maintained no longer than ten years from the date of his death unless otherwise constrained by existing contract. In the end, Harvey ordered the liquidation of all property to benefit his heirs. Santa Fe official Francis Junkins, during the litigation, interpreted this advise as reflecting Fred Harvey's intention to

have his trustees engage only in such ventures as he had considered and approved in his lifetime and

that he did not intend that they should jeopardize his estate by entering upon any new business ventures.¹

Ironically, Harvey's wishes proved impossible to carry out due, in part, to the very success of his own organizational creation. His organization endured, bound by consistently renewed contracts of association. The Fred Harvey Company, incorporated in 1905, remained a family business in every sense of the word. By that time, Santa Fe president E.P. Ripley recognized that the Harvey system was indispensable to his own company's effective operations. In a October 9, 1905 letter Ripley stated his position.

The Atchison Company cannot do without Harvey. The Service which we are performing is no more expensive than it would be under our own management, and possibly less, and I am confident that we could not, under Railroad management, secure the same results or maintain the same high standard.²

Ford F. Harvey, Fred's eldest son, took over as head of the company upon his father's death. In 1912 the Kansas City Press Club celebrated Ford Harvey as the head of "the Great Fred Harvey system . . . [the] largest of its kind in the United States."³ It further asserted that the history of the Fred Harvey system was the life history of Ford Harvey. Similar statements prove applicable to all of the Harvey descendants who carried on the family business.⁴ In the end, it was the real foundations as well the evolving romanticism that made the Fred Harvey system unique. That fame came to Fred Harvey posthumously may be ironic, but it

is not inexplicable. His name, being inextricably associated with the system he created, simply accrued the accomplishments and successes of all the Harvey generations.

The accretions of that history bore witness to the widely heralded image of the Harvey Girl that emerged fully formed in the second period of corporate evolution between 1900 and 1930. The realities underlying that image have rarely been examined. The reasons the image was necessary, the degrees to which it held true, and the significance of shifting perceptions about the image, form the focus of this study. This chapter is directed specifically to that middle period.

Historians Dorothy and Carl Schneider have observed that during this period a "new woman" began to emerge:

A quintessentially American type unique to the United States . . . strong in body, self confident, mobile, with more formal education, asserting her independence . . . Secure in the belief that she could earn her own living, she insisted on the freedom to conduct herself socially as she saw fit.⁵

These characteristics, products of changing social norms and values, caused subtle internal revolutions and adjustments in the reality of the Harvey Girl. The Fred Harvey Company embraced the new woman, but also maintained a public facade of traditional standards. The integrity of the Harvey organization was dependent on public good will which could only be retained by maintaining the corporate reputation. Therefore, guarding the Harvey reputation from

degrading influences remained a top priority for the company. In essence, the public needed to be assured that though times changed, Fred Harvey's operation did not. With the increased opening of the job market, more opportunities became available to women. To continue to attract the desired type of female, the Harvey organization was forced to change some rules traditionally associated with Harvey Girls management. The policies dealing with the enforcement of employee lodging and the ban on married Harvey Girls, for example, were both relaxed at this time.

As ever, image served a specific purpose for the Harvey system during this period of ongoing development. By emphasizing the traditional Harvey Girl persona developed in the company's early period, Harvey's corporate heirs deflected criticism and negative stereotyping. As a corollary benefit, the added degree of internal flexibility consequently achieved made the organization attractive to prospective Harvey Girls.

The benefits the Fred Harvey system reaped from its early assertion of paternalistic control were long lasting. For this reason the term "Harvey Girl," a somewhat ironic personification of that control, was worn as a badge of pride because of its association with a reputation for exclusivity, excellence, and impeccable character. As the system matured and grew, this reputation continued to sustain the Harvey Girls as the original parameters of

supervision were either abandoned or greatly relaxed. The mechanisms and tangible constructs of control lapsed over time, but the supporting oral tradition and principle behind them did not.

Decentralization of control experienced by the Harvey organization during the middle period recognized the changing ideals of social acceptability, just as the original conception of the Harvey system reflected the values and beliefs of an earlier day. A practical example of what this change meant for women within the system is the case of Lou Morris. As a Harvey Girl in Kansas City in 1918, she did not experience the communal dormitory life universally expected of an earlier generation.⁶ Instead, the Fred Harvey organization contracted with a selected group of local homeowners providing individually rented rooms for their "girls." By this time there was no special supervision, although a degree of paternalistic control remained in the periodic withholding of rent money from each woman's wage. Lou Morris said this insured that they would not dip into the rent money when uncontrollably tempted to spend beyond their means. From a modern perspective, it seems that at this point Fred Harvey's corporation and perhaps society in general did not accept that Harvey Girls were capable of being trusted with their own upkeep. This attitude was the norm for the day and Lou herself seemed

quite amused and even touched by Harvey's concern for her welfare.⁷

This second period of growth for the Harvey system was a time of external progress and internal accommodation. Harvey's assets in 1901 included forty-five hotels and eating houses and twenty dining cars.⁸ In 1929, following the death of Ford Harvey, the system's second leader and first president, the company operated sixty hotels and dining stations from the Great Lakes to the Pacific Coast and Gulf of Mexico. Small wonder they adopted the phrase "every minute of the day is meal time on some part of the system"⁹ to describe the breadth of the company.

Harvey Houses originally emerged to feed railroad passengers, providing service previously not available. Harvey Girls represented a practical labor force serving a utilitarian function. The Harvey Girl image acted as a shield for both the woman and the company providing a defense against social criticism. During the second phase of corporate life the Harvey Girls' function and focus changed. Historian Robert Athearn points out that around the turn of the century the Harvey Houses "flossied up their surroundings and sought to induce longer visits by adding a little luxury to their already excellent accommodations and service."¹⁰ Subsequently, the demand on the Harvey Girl in this environment encompassed more than simple service. She now shaped herself into being part of the experience.

This new level of attention went beyond physical and mental tasks. A Harvey Girl did more than wait on the public; she was expected to sell a uniform corporate image that promised complete satisfaction in every degree. This demanded what social researcher Arlie Hochschild has defined as emotional labor.

This labor requires one to induce or suppress feeling in order to sustain the outward countenance that produces the proper state of mind in others- in this case, the sense of being cared for in a convivial and safe place. This kind of labor calls for a coordination of mind and feeling, and it sometimes draws on a source of self that we honor as deep and integral to our individuality.¹¹

In a modern study of waitressing in New Jersey, sociologist Gretta Paules concluded that precisely these emotional challenges often proved to be a burden to women in the profession.

Apart from the damage that negative stereotyping can inflict on the waitress's sense of self worth, it heightens the tension between server and served, predisposing the public to expect the worst from anyone on the employee side of a service counter.¹²

Harvey Girls in this transition period experienced increasingly higher patron expectation. As their reputation permeated the public consciousness, the average Harvey Girl lived up to the test. In discussing the type of customer common during this time and their reactions to the Harvey Girls, Lou Morris remembered,

They didn't treat us like second class citizens. They always treated us very well. There is only a certain class of people who can afford something

like that. As a rule there were a pretty courteous people, that group. I mean you don't get a group like I was in, some poor relation. It's always one of a big family or one of a wealthy to do outfit. I don't know, we demanded a little respect and I think we got it from them.¹³

Harvey had always provided his customers with the best.

During the company's second phase, though, efforts focused on making customer's aware of that fact. This trend was perhaps most obviously noticed in the specially designed restaurants and hotels the Santa Fe built for Harvey management in the Southwest. Eastern or Midwestern travelers acquired a sense of the "romantic world of the Spanish conquistador and equally unfamiliar world of the Pueblo and Navajo Indians."¹⁴ The Harvey Company and the Santa Fe achieved a masterly synthesis of form and function that proved to be exactly what the new generation of wide-ranging tourist traveler apparently sought. Architect, Dr. David Gebhard, found the Southwestern Harvey houses uniquely characterized by "a concern for human oriented scale, a deep feeling for natural textures and materials, and a desire organically to integrate the building to its natural and historical environment."¹⁵ These houses included most notably, the Alvarado at Albuquerque, La Fonda at Santa Fe, and the El Tovar at the Grand Canyon.

Harvey House in Kansas evolved eclectically and ranged from the Tudor style of Hutchinson's Bisonte to the eighteenth century Dutch design of Wellington's Santa Fe Hotel. In some communities such as Chanute, the Harvey

House remained situated inside the Santa Fe depot. The station, billed at its opening in 1903 as the "prettiest in Kansas," devoted the entire north end of the depot to Harvey.¹⁶ Newton's Arcade Hotel and Santa Fe Depot followed a similar arrangement. Rebuilt in the spring of 1900, this structure ran east from Main Street north of the tracks. Facilities included the Fred Harvey Dining Room, hotel, Fred Harvey Lunch Room, newsstand, a ticket office, waiting rooms, a baggage room, and the Railway Express office.¹⁷

The Emporia Harvey House, opened in 1907, provided another variation, standing separately to the east side of the depot.¹⁸ Harriet Cross, an Emporia Harvey Girl from 1927 to 1930, remembered,

It was a brick building, and those train sheds came right up to the roof--they were built to protect the passengers that got off to come in and eat. It was just right across the street [from the depot]. That was when the house set clear up to the tracks; there was a sidewalk space between, and that was all.¹⁹

The relative lack of a distinctive regional style affected Harvey Girls working in Kansas during this period. The impact of standardization the Harvey system prized was hardest to enforce in this state because of the unique circumstances of each differing community and the general degree of developmental advancement prior to Harvey's arrival. In Kansas, preexisting social conditions within established communities were sometimes more contentious than those encountered farther west. An article printed in the

March 17, 1887 Emporia Gazette highlighted the situation.

"A Railroader's Wife" complained,

The people of this town are all organized into little cliques and sets and crowds, and they show no more hospitality to strangers than they would if the strangers were black. Men who could buy and sell the whole "society" crowd in this town, come here working for the railroad, with their wives and families, and are snubbed on every hand by the so-called high toned people of this town. . . It is the disgrace of the community that honest educated men and women come and go in this town without social recognition from the goody goody, nice elite bon ton of Emporia, who if they would pay their debts and keep away from loose characters, would be as common as dog hair.²⁰

Both Fred Harvey and the Santa Fe contributed to this separation by the foci of their businesses on passenger and freight service. Edward Groh Johnson, who worked for Fred Harvey in Emporia as a platform boy selling newspapers and ice-cream for about ten years ending in August of 1930, recalled that,

The traveling public had first call on all Harvey services and in many areas local trade was not encouraged. It wouldn't be refused exactly. For example, the non-traveling public would not be served if a meal train was expected in the next thirty to forty five minutes... They would want to put on an extra special dinner so they would make arrangements to have that dinner at the Harvey House. Here again Murphy's Law comes into effect. Low and behold a special train would come in. So then they would have a dinner scheduled for six o'clock and the train came in at six o'clock. So they would have to tell the local people they would have to wait. Even if it was arranged in advance. The train comes first, last, and always. The train was the important thing.²¹

The diversity of Kansas communities played a role in the degree to which this policy held true. Harriet Cross

remarked that during her time in Emporia between 1927 and 1930, for example, the number of private parties was limited because "they [Emporia house management] figured it was out of their line."²² Instead the Emporia Harvey House relied on the train traffic with limited Sunday patronage by "people about town . . . the business people."²³ In contrast, the Newton Harvey House where Cross also worked as a Harvey Girl "used to have lots of private parties, engagement parties, and Christmas parties."²⁴ With a wider and more diversified base of operations Newton's Harvey House drew a greater cross section of the population.

Despite variation in the degree and volume of community involvement, the Harvey Houses in Kansas tended to cater to only the societies upper crust in addition to the customary train traffic. This reality eventually acted as a factor in limiting their viability in a changing marketplace. Harriet Cross believed that the lack of local support in Emporia, with the exception of certain regulars, contributed to its demise. In reality, the Harvey House never cultivated that sort of local support. The Harvey House in this era was the place to go on special occasions. Part of a Harvey House's charm was its exclusivity and to court the local people would have gone against the grain.

Carl Clare who worked as a salad man for Fred Harvey in Dodge City from 1936 to 1940 understood Harvey's priorities. Illustrating the continued importance of Harvey's ties to

the railroad and the quality and degree of local patronage he recalled,

They done a lot of business in the Harvey House... A lot of times they'd call that they would be 300 people on the train to be fed and we had to feed them and get them out of there in time for the train to leave on time . . . I think they must have had about 30 minutes for the ones on the train. Of course local people could take all the time they wanted . . . It was such a good place to eat. They had the best meals in town. Everybody know it was an elite place, you might say, to eat.²⁵

Harvey Houses in the second period of corporate development were still inextricably linked to the Santa Fe. With the Santa Fe's shift in focus to the tourist traveler, Harvey Houses in the Southwest became the primary caretakers of the public. Kansas Harvey Houses acted as a conduit to the Southwest's more romantic locals. Additionally, Kansas was a major producer of both labor and supplies for the Harvey system. Newton was particularly involved in this phase of the Harvey enterprise with its produce plant, poultry operation, carbonation plant, steam laundry and farm and dairy operation of five hundred acres. In 1921 the company's Newton operations alone produced five hundred thousand pounds of poultry, six million eggs, forty-five thousand cases of soda water and dealt with four to five million pieces of laundry.²⁶

Kansas acted as a conduit in another sense, serving as a source of new Harvey Girls. Alice Steele played a major role in that process. Of Steele, head of the employment

office for Fred Harvey in Kansas City for more than twenty-five years, a reporter once remarked "the brightness of the Sunflower state is evident in her personality."²⁷ A Harvey Girl remembered: "If I didn't get back to Kansas City for five years and then would go into Miss Steele's office, she would say at once, How do you do, Louise? With hundreds of girls to deal with, she never forgets one and always is friendly."²⁸

Charged with recruiting new Harvey Girls, Steele developed a unique management style. As she explained in 1927 interview,

When a Woman comes to me applying for work I never talk to her from executive pedestal, but as one woman to another. I try to get an understanding of the outside conditions surrounding the applicant's life, so that if she enters our employ I can be of more help to her in the future. I try to make her feel there is more than labor and money exchange back of any employment.²⁹

Steele's observations reflected the current nationwide trends concerning women and work. Work outside the home had become more socially acceptable for women after the turn of the century. The necessities of World War I and its aftermath, the shortage of general labor, and the breakdown of "imaginary barriers that had existed since time immemorial in the minds of people of all classes" were identified by fact finder's in the Department of Labor's Women's Bureau as contributing factors in this shift.³⁰ According to Alice Steele, the impact of this change exerted

a marked effect on women who sought employment. Steele praised these new women asserting that,

The modern girl is less superficial and frivolous, has a deeper sense of responsibility, has more self reliance and is surer and clearer in her thinking than the first women to invade the field long monopolized by men.³¹

The national labor market for women blossomed reflecting the general population growth over time and total number of women employed increased from just over eight million in 1910 to nearly eleven million by 1930.³² The increase in the number of women waiters was even more spectacular. In 1910 about eighty-five thousand women worked as waitresses in the United States; by 1930 the number had risen to slightly more than two hundred thirty thousand.³³ The shifting patterns and structure of society resulted in a greater percentage of American who regularly dined away from home. This change is cited as cause for the expansion experienced by the food service industry during the 1920s.³⁴

In 1911 the Harvey organization employed forty-five hundred to five thousand employees in sixty to sixty-five houses, twelve large hotels, and sixty dining cars. One half of the employees were identified as women.³⁵ It should be pointed out the reported number of Harvey employees fluctuated slightly over the years. The lack of complete personnel records and the uncertainty of many popular reports on employment figures makes such vague and sometimes

conflicting. For example, the Harvey payroll for 1916 listed twenty-three hundred employees.³⁶ In 1917, the number of "Harvey Family" members was estimated at "something like 5,000."³⁷ In 1929, Santa Fe Magazine stated the organization had "more than four thousand employees" serving about twelve million meals that year.³⁸ Finally in 1938, Eugene Whitmore, in an interview for American Business, reported there were more than four thousand employees in the Harvey Service.³⁹

Demographic realities that probably influenced the Harvey Girl experience can be gleaned from census data and community city directories. Staff size, occupational classification, gender and racial composition, as well as names and vital statistics of individual employees are highlighted in these sources. This information brings the work environment of each Harvey House into perspective and helps divide the individual Harvey Girl experience from the anonymous collective (See appendix 1-4).

Some general trends are recognizable from the collective public documents. For example, occupational titles from Fred Harvey establishments show that the jobs available to females tended to be few in number, but larger numbers participated in each. Besides waitresses, female jobs included ironers and chambermaids. Jobs held by men were more numerous, but fewer individuals were employed in each. The variety of male jobs included manager, laborer,

waiter, porter, cabinet maker, lunch boy, hotel cook, hotel clerk, cashier, bell boy, and baker. These trends in occupational opportunities proved fairly consistent throughout the period in all the houses (see appendix 1-4).

The Fred Harvey system publicized the fact that they promoted heavily from within the organization. A 1938 article on Fred Harvey's employee training methods reiterated, "as a man shows aptitude and willingness to assume responsibility, he begins his climb toward better positions."⁴⁰ This access to opportunity lagged noticeably in application to the Harvey Girl during the middle period of corporate growth. Despite the degree of prestige attached to the Harvey Girl name the position apparently lacked upwardly mobile potential, especially at the local level.

As the demographic information shows, job options remained limited for women. Edward Groh Johnson, during his stint as platform boy for Fred Harvey in Emporia, observed that there weren't many chances for advancement due to the routine nature of the work. Johnson remarked, "Advancement is to get to be the number one waitress so you get first dibs on the best station."⁴¹ That was as high as most Harvey Girls could go he concluded, "unless you married the manager."⁴² This attitude reflected the realities of the day and was an issue every Harvey Girl undoubtedly addressed at some point in her career.

Of the Kansas houses studied, the Chanute Harvey House proved to be particularly static in its employment patterns. Factors contributing to this stasis were probably the insular nature of the community itself as well as its less central position on the Santa Fe line. A smaller total staff found employment in Chanute, and turnover remained minimal as the listing familiar names attests. The stability experienced by Chanute Harvey Girls in this situation probably afforded a measure of security, at the same time the smaller scale carried its own risks. The demise of this house in 1931, one of the first operating in the middle period to close, was undoubtedly the culmination of a marginalized status. Although briefly revived during the war, the Chanute Harvey House was yet another casualty brought on by changes in the method and means of public transit.⁴³

During its years of operation, the Chanute Harvey House employed a one hundred percent European American staff making it a pure example of the Harvey company's contemporary practice of racial exclusivity. Other houses, such as the one in Emporia, briefly served as exceptions to this policy, but this exception never extended to the employment of Harvey Girls. Hispanic and African Americans who found themselves employed by the Harvey company were almost without exception

marginalized to the category of support staff. This fact illustrates that although the Harvey company did provide some opportunities, specifically to the women it employed as Harvey Girls, these opportunities were by scale and degree limited by the conventions of the day. The Harvey organization's great concern for public acceptance really could not allow them to do otherwise without risking their prized reputation.

The fact that these women worked in a specific time and place is part of the public record; the reasons why they choose to be Harvey Girls is more obscure. Alice Steele's keen interest in the women she employed provided her with a valuable insight into the origins, personalities, and motivations of Harvey Girls during this middle period. According to Steele,

Waitresses are recruited from almost every line of business. Sometimes girls realize that life in a stuffy office is not living at all; sometime they grow tired of the routine of teaching school; some times they find they are failures financially in the handcrafts. Often students seek employment during the summer to give them both an income and the out of doors they need... Sometimes a girl finds her health failing in an Eastern city; she hasn't the means to move to the dryer climate and do nothing; she comes to us.⁴⁴

For all these reasons, women were readily available in Kansas, where Steele engaged in active recruiting. Proof of this is found in hometown newspaper articles heralding her intentions. One example is found in an undated clipping from Concordia:

The Fred Harvey eating house system faces curtailment because of a shortage of "Harvey House" girls, according to Alice Steele of Kansas City, who is trying to recruit an army of girl helpers. Matrimony is decimating the ranks, she says, and of two thousand employed last year through the Kansas City office, 1,200 quit to become brides. She says the returned soldier threatens to disrupt the system.⁴⁵

Harvey Service appealed to different women for different reasons. Although all Harvey Girls experienced the system's benefits and the effects of its integrating subcultural features during their employment, a wide range of personal reasons motivated them to take the steps leading to employment.

According to the report of Eugene Whitmore in his study of Fred Harvey's employee training methods, the image of the desirable Harvey Girl called for an "intelligent, high-class young women, frequently without previous restaurant experience."⁴⁶ Farms were seen as the primary labor pool, for there the girls were "strong, healthy, independent, unafraid of work."⁴⁷ For this reason Kansas, with a growing supply of likely candidates fitting this description, proved a fundamental source for supplying the Harvey system with reliable Harvey Girls.

Once engaged, the Fred Harvey Company was extremely flexible in arranging work schedules for veteran Harvey Girls. This was another noted difference in the Harvey system that resulted in the retention of experienced employees. This practice helped maintain Harvey standards

by sustaining long term subcultural Harvey Girl ties on a convenient seasonal basis rather than settling for the transitory employment that may have otherwise plagued the company. The Fred Harvey organization, its employees, and patrons all benefited from this practical give and take arrangement. Many women, such as Lulu Sleeper who was a Harvey Girl in Kansas City during the World War I era, had agricultural responsibilities at home and, so, took advantage of the Fred Harvey company's liberal employment policy. In 1920 she registered her own land claim in Colorado near the claims of other family members. Earlier she had been engaged by Harvey and was a veteran of the organization eligible for flexible scheduling. Lulu remembered that,

when I had to I would go back to the farm... and then they would send me a ticket to go back, they wanted me to come back so I could cook prunes... that was the first thing I done, they wanted me to cook prunes.⁴⁸

For Lulu working for Harvey meant no day was ever exactly like any other, a source of variety she found appealing. This was a common theme with most of the Harvey Girls interviewed in connection with this research. Lou Morris, also a Harvey Girl in Kansas City, remarked that she found the people she encountered both a challenge and an opportunity.

I liked the people and I liked the publicity. You know dealing with people. You meet all kinds of people, and it was just the fact that you were a part of the human race. You were dealing with

people you never saw before and you'll never see again . . . That's your association with people. And I liked people. I liked to serve them. Because you can learn a lot from every one you meet. Things you should do and things you shouldn't do. . . It's just the way you treat people. I always found if you treated people graciously that's the way they're going to treat you . . .⁴⁹

Some Harvey Girls held clear objectives about what they wanted from their work experience. Some desired adventure or, just an opportunity for change. Winifred LaPlant, a Kansas farm girl from Ottawa, applied by letter with her girlfriend Clair to Fred Harvey in Kansas City in 1935. Both were accepted and went to work for Harvey in Barstow, California, for forty dollars a month. Winifred recalled that things were not good at home in those days. At the height of the Dust Bowl, she and Clair boarded the train in Minneapolis, Kansas, and made their way by stages to Newton and points west. She would remember that trip with delight, for it represented her ticket out of a place where opportunities were limited. Winifred was engaged to be married when she signed on with Harvey, so she knew she would return home. Still, that summer in Barstow gave her a chance to experience something different and she enjoyed that to the fullest. She gained a measure of independence through her association with Fred Harvey and remembered with pride that when she married that winter all her clothes were new and of the latest style, courtesy of her Fred Harvey wages.⁵⁰

For many Harvey Girls, especially those who were hired and worked locally, the Harvey House was not an end in itself but the means to a greater end. Vera Rathbun, a Harvey Girl at the Emporia House in the early 1920's, saw her job as an opportunity to obtain a formal education. Vera, who started working at the Harvey House while still in high school, recalled,

It was kind of a case of necessary [sic] at that particular time. The folks weren't very well off... I worked the last year in high school and that was about the first money I ever made and I had to buy myself a graduation dress and I never will forget what it looked like. It was white and it had two accordion pleats. . . and I was so proud of that. I worked days in the Harvey house and that's when I started, and I paid for my dress and graduation and so forth.

After Vera was graduated from high school she enrolled in a local business college and worked nights for Harvey until she completed her studies. For Vera, Harvey House work was temporary and when she left to take an office job at a department store she saw it as a step up. Vera saw her time with Harvey as something of which to be proud, a rather unique experience. At no time did she ever make a lifetime commitment to the organization. The reality seemed to be that most of the women who worked for Fred Harvey shared this view.

The Harvey Company's reputation as something of a matrimonial agency drew another type of girl. Vera Rathbun remembers that, during the early 1920s, many of the women

who came to work at the Harvey House in Emporia from out of state arrived with such idea in mind.

Yes, there was a lot of girls that come from Chicago and points around there, and they would pay their transportation where ever they were needed along the lines. And they would send these girls out. Now we had girls, quite a few girls from Chicago and the east. Most of them were all single and they were probably lookin' for men, and they probably, most of them found a railroad man that they married. The railroad men always came and ate at the lunch counter.⁵¹

Fred Harvey was of two minds on the question of Harvey Girls marrying. Corporate policy discouraged marriage during the period of initial contract, and this rule was marginally enforced because heavy employee turnover was an additional expense for the company. On the other hand, Harvey published and probably even exaggerated the matrimonial prospects the average Harvey Girl could expect. It is unlikely many women joined the Harvey organization simply to find a husband, although marriage remained a sign of status even as ideas about the "new woman" and increased independence seemed all the rage. Realistically, especially in light of Harvey's own prescriptive literature, it must be admitted that while perhaps not a primary factor for most Harvey Girls, the possibility of marriage probably crossed more than a few minds. This became particularly true during the second period of corporate development, when marriage no longer barred them from continued Harvey employment.

Lou Morris, who worked as a Harvey Girl in Kansas City in 1918, observed that to her,

They were all pretty much alike. The same, even in their looks it seemed they just all kind of resembled each other. . . I think they searched out those people that seemed to fit in.⁵²

Beyond the facts of physical appearance, it could be argued that this observation delves much deeper into the philosophy and attitude of the Fred Harvey organization itself. It was true, in a way, that with Harvey only a certain "type" need apply. In the second period of corporate development, the key for Harvey was less conformity than selective employment. With an enlarged labor pool at its disposal, the Harvey Company had the luxury of choice. The traditions and the Harvey image continued as a socializing force in the lives of Harvey Girls. Nevertheless, the Harvey Company gave itself every advantage to insure success by choosing those individuals who already fit the mold.

NOTES

Chapter 4.

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23. Harriet Cross, interview by Ann Davis, February 17, 1972, transcript, Flint Hills Oral History Project, Lyon County Historical Society, Emporia, Kansas.
24. Harriet Cross, interview by Ann Davis, February 17, 1972, transcript, Flint Hills Oral History Project, Lyon County Historical Society, Emporia, Kansas.
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CHAPTER 5: HARVEY GIRLS: SPEEDING UP AND STRETCHING OUT
RESOLUTION -- 1930 - 1970

This period of the Harvey system's development is recognized by observers as a time of decline for the Harvey system and its Harvey Girls. The combined effects of declining rail passenger traffic, the shock of the Great Depression, and strains of World War II took a heavy toll on the system and left a substantial dent in the established Harvey standard. In the end, the pains of modernization and the withdrawal of Santa Fe support spelled the end for the Harvey system. The last House in Kansas, at Newton, closed in 1957. The corporate presence itself was silenced at midnight on December 31, 1968, when, as The Kansas City Star reported, "customers and long time friends of the restaurant [saw] the name Fred Harvey disappear forever from the Union Station" in Kansas City.¹

The Harvey Girls experience in Kansas during this last period of the system's life was one of closing ventures and lowered standards. It was at this stage that the Harvey image, which steadily grew throughout its businesses history, took on mythic proportions. The positive image supported employees flagging spirits in a depressed market and helped these last Harvey Girls find comfort and identity in a system that was breaking down. The subcultural underpinning created by earlier generations of women came to the aid of these Harvey Girls providing a cohesive and

sustaining network that supported them in an environment of increasing demands and decreasing rewards.

The Santa Fe's gradual withdrawal of support from the Kansas Harvey Houses coincided with the slowing of passenger traffic and the increased pulling capacity and speed of their engines. Emporia serves as a prime example of Kansas towns' dependence on the Santa Fe. An Emporia Gazette report from 1931 highlighted that dependence, noting Emporia contributed "more men for the size of the town to the Santa Fe service than any other town."² Intermittent signs of decline were readily detectable from 1930 on, boding ill for any community so linked to a single enterprise. In 1932 the first passenger trains were cut from the Emporia train schedule, marking the beginning of the Santa Fe withdrawal.³ In October 1935 The Emporia Gazette noted, "for the first time in the memory of veteran Santa Fe employees, a Santa Fe passenger train has failed to stop in Emporia."⁴ In 1936, while acknowledging the wonders of technology, The Gazette registered some anger:

This morning at 4 o'clock the first regular shadow of the Super-Chief whizzed through Emporia. Since the first Santa Fe construction train crossed the Katy east of town no passenger train ever had been scheduled on the Santa Fe without stopping at Emporia. But this new blue streak gives us the royal run around, the grand bounce, the dirty look- and brushes by like a movie queen! The whistle gives a toot at the junction and another toot out by the stockyards, a dark smudge crosses the dawn and it's over.⁵

In 1937, the doors of Emporia's Harvey House closed, victim of the Santa Fe's speed up and stretch out which accommodated changes in both the transportation industry and supporting technology. In a farewell to the Harvey House, The Gazette reviewed some of the changes that occurred within the Harvey system in its transition from the middle to its concluding phase of corporate evolution. Lamenting the disappearance of the golden era of the Harvey system along with the traditionally defined Harvey eating house, the author spoke of the new Harvey operations that took their place.

They aren't the Harvey Houses we once knew. They are, for the most part, operated for the benefit of the tourists who don't feel like paying dining car rates. Their menus have become restricted, and their prices reduced. Their food is the same fine Harvey food, but it's not the famous dollar dinner. They are highly modernistic in their furnishings, with brightly colored and enameled table tops replacing the staidness of white linen. And they are far more widely scattered throughout the Santa Fe system.⁶

This description gives us an idea of what the Harvey Girl of this final period faced.

The Great Depression too was cited as a factor in the demise of the Emporia Harvey House. Emporia Harvey Girl, Harriet Cross, asserted, "that was why our dining room didn't pay at all, and they gave me the lunch counter job. They were cutting down all over."⁷ When the Emporia facility closed, Cross and the other staff were given an opportunity to relocate to other Harvey Houses along the

Santa Fe line. Cross, with a husband and local commitments in Emporia, declined the offer. Other Kansas women continued life as Harvey Girls, though generally outside the state as opportunities with Harvey became internally limited to Newton.

World War II also put a great strain on the Harvey system. Increased rail travel burdened a system already weakened by the loss of strategic houses. Self service restaurants also made an appearance at this time. Then, too, rationing and scarcities of supplies also required some adjustment in the established Harvey standard. As a result, Harvey increased the use of canned goods and processed foods. Shortages in silver and linen also brought changes.

Many restaurants and diners are using several patterns of silver and at one point plastic spoons have made their appearance. . . Shipments of linen have ceased since the war and a number of diners no longer furnish tablecloths and napkins. The public has accepted this measure in good faith and stewards claim the omission helps materially in speeding up the service.⁸

The relaxation of standards because of war time conditions were accepted by the general public in good faith, but once the slippage in standards occurred the ways of former days never returned. As the realities of modernization and increased competition set in, accommodations once thought temporary became permanent.

Under the corporations new regime, most prospective Harvey Girls came to work already exposed to the Harvey image. Often they were acquainted with someone who had

worked for Harvey, since word of mouth was the primary means of recruitment during this period. For example, Patricia Van Sickle, who served as a Harvey Girl in the El Tovar at the Grand Canyon the summers of 1948 and 1950, recalled:

It was when I was in College and I had a friend who had done it the previous summers because of the summer jobs. And this friend, and she had another friend, and we were at Kansas Newman [College] at the time and she got the job before me that first summer and went out to the Grand Canyon together. That's where we worked in the El Tavor hotel, there the dining room service. And there were other girls, quite a few other girls from Kansas too...⁹

This type of transitory experience was typical for the new Harvey Girl, especially those working in the resort areas. Employment patterns complemented the tourist seasons and although Van Sickle did recall a few permanent employees they were the minority.

The Harvey company's promotional literature at this time rarely focused on such realities. Long term Harvey employees honored with service awards, the ins and outs of selling, and the history and traditions of the Harvey system took priority in the pages of Harvey's Hospitality Magazine. In many ways the increasing decentralization and diversification of the company meant such literature took a key role in the job of socializing new Harvey Girls. Of course, as the personalities highlighted in these pages prove, there were still employees who remembered the golden years of the Harvey system. Their experiences were

repackaged and projected as a tool for employee indoctrination and internalization of the Harvey way.

"Waitress or Hashslinger," a typical article Hospitality published in 1953, reinforced many of the characteristics of the ideal Harvey Girl.

A waitress is always neat. Is always on time. Always calls if unable to report. Always wears a hair net. Always has pencil sharpened. Never chews gum on the job. Always has properly groomed hair. Has excellent posture. Never leans on the counter. Keeps all side work up. Always has clean tools for working. Keeps chairs dusted and clean. Always keeps ash trays cleaned. Places food in front of a customer properly. Always works quietly. Always on assigned station. Always alert to customer's need. Never talks with other waitresses in a group. Never wears jewelry on the job. Says "Thank you" when presenting check. Always invites the customer to come again. NEVER, NEVER argues with a customer. THE CUSTOMER IS ALWAYS RIGHT.¹⁰

The Hashslinger is described as exactly opposite in attitude and manners. Clearly the Harvey organization felt a need to stress these points. Evidently the transmission of Harvey values through the old subcultural network had broken down to some degree.

As Harvey competed for the first time in the open marketplace without the support of its old ally the Santa Fe, the company took a more modern approach. The old sense of internal community that served them so well for so long was damaged in the process. Harvey's response was to invoke the traditional image. The problem, of course, lay in the fact that much of the image's substance had already been lost along the way.

Consequently, the Harvey Girl image came to life for the general public to compensate. "The Harvey Girls," a movie produced by Metro-Goldwyn Mayer, brought the wholesome goodness and romantic potential of the Harvey Girl image into focus.¹¹ The image was again characterized in 1949 when artist Norman Rockwell made Beverly Walters, a Hollywood Harvey Girl, the subject for a Saturday Evening Post cover.¹² The Harvey Girl image enjoyed national renown, but the Harvey Girl herself was sometimes left behind.

Restaurants were the fourth biggest U.S. industry in 1950, when Americans spent thirteen billion dollars on food and beverages consumed outside the home. Altogether one fourth of all food sales nationally passed through the country's restaurants amounting to an average of seventy million meals served daily.¹³ Naturally Harvey hoped to competitively tap into this enormous market potential.

Beginning in 1954 the company launched a proactive plan of diversification and expansion. Corporate president Leslie Scott, admitting that the "era of the old time Harvey Houses was drawing to a close . . . [it became necessary to] broaden the scope."¹⁴ The project included purchasing and developing the Grand Canyon resort properties, leasing various customized restaurants, remodeling the Union Railway Stations, and developing airport flight services as well as "oases" along the Illinois Tollway in conjunction with

Standard Oil. Trying to prepare Harvey employees for this change, President Leslie Scott stated that,

Today Fred Harvey is a vastly different company, * certainly, than the Fred Harvey of the Harvey House era. But it is still a company with emphasis on quality of performance, on good guest relationships and on human values in its dealings with employees.¹⁵

Scott encouraged long time members of the Harvey "family" to continue sharing the heritage of the Harvey company. He counted on this population's continuation of cultural transfer that was the mainstay of the Harvey Company tradition. Ideally the youth and vitality of new Harvey people would help to pull the company forward. The flaw in this plan was that while leasing properties under the new expansion plan, Harvey kept the old employees who worked under the previous management. These folks, uninitiated into the Harvey work subculture, could not sustain the old system alone. What emerged was not necessarily better or worse. It simply was not the old Fred Harvey, though publicly the claim continued to be made.

In 1953, the company conducted an attitude survey of its employees in order to gage employee reactions to the changes that were taking place. This survey was subsequently reprinted in Hospitality Magazine (See appendix 5). Harvey identified areas in need of special attention including a perceived lack of training and a desire by employees for employee meetings. It was just these areas that previously depended on the subcultural inculcation of

work related norms to new employees. This deficiency in the new Harvey system highlights the third phase of Harvey development when the Harvey organization was slowly beginning to lose its grass root uniqueness. That this process was not yet fully developed is reflected in the otherwise high ratings given by Fred Harvey employees. Daggett Harvey commenting on the survey responded that,

All in all, the opinions you gave on this fundamental question has been very gratifying to Fred Harvey. As more and more of the particular situations you said needed correcting at individual company units are improved we hope that the company-wide feeling that Fred Harvey is a good place to work will continue to climb to ever higher scores.¹⁶

An average of sixty-five percent of employees from each unit took part in the attitude survey. Therefore concern over the issues was apparently reciprocal. Equality of responsibility more than anything other factor generates interest and undoubtedly contributed immeasurably to the high satisfaction rating the company received. This may not have been the old Fred Harvey concern, but its roots remained at least somewhat intact. Perhaps in the end the change was only a cosmetic shift in perspective as seen through a more modern lens.

This point is clarified in the writing of a later day Harvey Girl. Of the profession she writes,

A waitress is a woman made up of the usual chemical compounds ordained by nature, but she must have many personalities and many virtues that the average woman does not. She must have the diplomacy of a Winston Churchill, the social grace

of an Emily Post, the speed of a Banshee jet, the smile of a Greek Goddess, the patience of Job, the memory of elephant, the thick skin of a rhinoceros, the strength of an Atlas, the staying power of a mother-in-law, the condition of a professional football lineman, and the good feet of a Roger Bannister. She must have the grooming of a Duchess and the speaking voice of a debutante, and last but not least she must have a love of humanity for humans show their worst side when they are hungry. When she is gracious to her guests as well as to her associates, she has mastered the art of serving the public.¹⁷

This perspective, when compared with the prescriptive description of the early Harvey Girl which claimed them to be "ever in their best bib and tucker"¹⁸ strikes a familiar cord. Of the two, the later day description seems more realistic as it outlines the ideal without claiming to possess it. This restraint, perhaps a sense of caution accompanying modernization, does not change the fact that similar aspirations are expressed in both. Only the translation is different. A Harvey Girl then was still a Harvey Girl, then, now, and forever.

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Appendix

APPENDIX 1
HARVEY HOUSE STATISTICAL INFORMATION
CHANUTE -- 1905-1931 (PARTIAL)

CHANUTE -- 1905

	NUMBER	PERCENTAGE
TOTAL STAFF	12	
FEMALE JOB TITLES	2	25
MALE JOB TITLES	6	75
TOTAL FEMALE STAFF	4	33
TOTAL MALE STAFF	8	67
WAITERS (HG)	3	25
RACE --		
(HG) -- CAUCASIAN	3	100
(TOTAL) -- CAUCASIAN	12	100
(TOTAL) -- HISPANIC	--	--
(TOTAL) -- BLACK	--	--
MARITAL STATUS --		
(HG) -- SINGLE	2	67
(HG) -- MARRIED	1	33
(TOTAL) -- SINGLE	--	--
(TOTAL) -- MARRIED	--	--
ADDRESS --		
(HG) -- ONSITE	3	100
(HG) -- OFFSITE	--	--
(TOTAL) -- ONSITE	9	75
(TOTAL) -- OFFSITE	3	25

Chanute City Directory (Kansas City, Missouri: R.L. Polk, 1905).

HARVEY HOUSE STATISTICAL INFORMATION

CHANUTE -- 1906-07

	NUMBER	PERCENTAGE
TOTAL STAFF	6	
FEMALE JOB TITLES	2	50
MALE JOB TITLES	2	50
TOTAL FEMALE STAFF	4	67
TOTAL MALE STAFF	2	33
WAITERS (HG)	3	50
RACE --		
(HG) -- CAUCASIAN	3	100
(TOTAL) -- CAUCASIAN	6	100
(TOTAL) -- HISPANIC	--	--
(TOTAL) -- BLACK	--	--
MARITAL STATUS --		
(HG) -- SINGLE	3	100
(HG) -- MARRIED	--	--
(TOTAL) -- SINGLE	--	--
(TOTAL) -- MARRIED	--	--
ADDRESS --		
(HG) -- ONSITE	2	67
(HG) -- OFFSITE	1	33
(TOTAL) -- ONSITE	3	50
(TOTAL) -- OFFSITE	3	50

Chanute City Directory (Kansas City, Missouri: R.L. Polk, 1906-07).

HARVEY HOUSE STATISTICAL INFORMATION

CHANUTE -- 1908

	NUMBER	PERCENTAGE
TOTAL STAFF	9	
FEMALE JOB TITLES	3	38
MALE JOB TITLES	5	63
TOTAL FEMALE STAFF	4	44
TOTAL MALE STAFF	5	56
WAITERS (HG)	2	22
RACE --		
(HG) -- CAUCASIAN	2	100
(TOTAL) -- CAUCASIAN	9	100
(TOTAL) -- HISPANIC	--	--
(TOTAL) -- BLACK	--	--
ADDRESS --		
(HG) -- ONSITE	2	100
(HG) -- OFFSITE	--	--
(TOTAL) -- ONSITE	8	89
(TOTAL) -- OFFSITE	1	11

Chanute City Directory (Kansas City, Mo.: R.L. Polk, 1908)

HARVEY HOUSE STATISTICAL INFORMATION

CHANUTE -- 1910

	NUMBER	PERCENTAGE
TOTAL STAFF	6	
FEMALE JOB TITLES	2	50
MALE JOB TITLES	2	50
TOTAL FEMALE STAFF	4	67
TOTAL MALE STAFF	2	33
WAITERS (HG)	3	50
RACE --		
(HG) -- CAUCASIAN	3	100
(TOTAL) -- CAUCASIAN	6	100
(TOTAL) -- HISPANIC	--	--
(TOTAL) -- BLACK	--	--
ADDRESS --		
(HG) -- ONSITE	2	67
(HG) -- OFFSITE	1	33
(TOTAL) -- ONSITE	4	67
(TOTAL) -- OFFSITE	2	33

Chanute City Directory (Kansas City, Mo.: R.L. Polk, 1910).

HARVEY HOUSE STATISTICAL INFORMATION

CHANUTE -- 1912

	NUMBER	PERCENTAGE
TOTAL STAFF	4	
FEMALE JOB TITLES	1	33
MALE JOB TITLES	2	67
TOTAL FEMALE STAFF	2	50
TOTAL MALE STAFF	2	50
WAITERS (HG)	2	50
RACE --		
(HG) -- CAUCASIAN	2	100
(TOTAL) -- CAUCASIAN	4	100
(TOTAL) -- HISPANIC	--	--
(TOTAL) -- BLACK	--	--
ADDRESS --		
(HG) -- ONSITE	1	50
(HG) -- OFFSITE	1	50
(TOTAL) -- ONSITE	2	50
(TOTAL) -- OFFSITE	2	50

Chanute City Directory (Kansas City, Missouri: R.L. Polk, 1912).

HARVEY HOUSE STATISTICAL INFORMATION

CHANUTE -- 1914

	NUMBER	PERCENTAGE
TOTAL STAFF	8	
FEMALE JOB TITLES	3	43
MALE JOB TITLES	4	57
TOTAL FEMALE STAFF	4	50
TOTAL MALE STAFF	4	50
WAITERS (HG)	2	25
RACE --		
(HG) -- CAUCASIAN	2	100
(TOTAL) -- CAUCASIAN	8	100
(TOTAL) -- HISPANIC	--	--
(TOTAL) -- BLACK	--	--
MARITAL STATUS --		
(HG) -- SINGLE	1	50
(HG) -- MARRIED	1	50
(TOTAL) -- SINGLE	6	75
(TOTAL) -- MARRIED	2	25
ADDRESS --		
(HG) -- ONSITE	--	--
(HG) -- OFFSITE	2	100
(TOTAL) -- ONSITE	4	50
(TOTAL) -- OFFSITE	4	50

Chanute City Directory (Kansas City, Mo.: R.L. Polk, 1914).

HARVEY HOUSE STATISTICAL INFORMATION

CHANUTE -- 1916

	NUMBER	PERCENTAGE
TOTAL STAFF	12	
FEMALE JOB TITLES	3	38
MALE JOB TITLES	5	63
TOTAL FEMALE STAFF	7	58
TOTAL MALE STAFF	5	42
WAITERS (HG)	5	42
RACE --		
(HG) -- CAUCASIAN	5	100
(TOTAL) -- CAUCASIAN	12	100
(TOTAL) -- HISPANIC	--	--
(TOTAL) -- BLACK	--	--
MARITAL STATUS --		
(HG) -- SINGLE	--	--
(HG) -- MARRIED	--	--
(TOTAL) -- SINGLE	--	--
(TOTAL) -- MARRIED	1	8
ADDRESS --		
(HG) -- ONSITE	3	60
(HG) -- OFFSITE	2	40
(TOTAL) -- ONSITE	8	67
(TOTAL) -- OFFSITE	4	33

Chanute City Directory (Kansas City, Missouri: R.L. Polk, 1916).

HARVEY HOUSE STATISTICAL INFORMATION

CHANUTE -- 1922-23

	NUMBER	PERCENTAGE
TOTAL STAFF	13	
FEMALE JOB TITLES	1	11
MALE JOB TITLES	8	89
TOTAL FEMALE STAFF	4	31
TOTAL MALE STAFF	9	69
WAITERS (HG)	4	31
RACE --		
(HG) -- CAUCASIAN	4	100
(TOTAL) -- CAUCASIAN	13	100
(TOTAL) -- HISPANIC	--	--
(TOTAL) -- BLACK	--	--
MARITAL STATUS --		
(HG) -- SINGLE	3	75
(HG) -- MARRIED	1	25
(TOTAL) -- SINGLE	8	62
(TOTAL) -- MARRIED	5	38
ADDRESS --		
(HG) -- ONSITE	4	100
(HG) -- OFFSITE	--	--
(TOTAL) -- ONSITE	11	85
(TOTAL) -- OFFSITE	2	15

Chanute City Directory (Kansas City, Missouri: R.L. Polk, 1922-23).

HARVEY HOUSE STATISTICAL INFORMATION

CHANUTE -- 1924-25

	NUMBER	PERCENTAGE
TOTAL STAFF	15	
FEMALE JOB TITLES	2	22
MALE JOB TITLES	7	78
TOTAL FEMALE STAFF	6	40
TOTAL MALE STAFF	9	60
WAITERS (HG)	5	33
RACE --		
(HG) -- CAUCASIAN	5	100
(TOTAL) -- CAUCASIAN	15	100
(TOTAL) -- HISPANIC	--	--
(TOTAL) -- BLACK	--	--
MARITAL STATUS --		
(HG) -- SINGLE	4	80
(HG) -- MARRIED	1	20
(TOTAL) -- SINGLE	9	60
(TOTAL) -- MARRIED	6	40
ADDRESS --		
(HG) -- ONSITE	4	80
(HG) -- OFFSITE	1	20
(TOTAL) -- ONSITE	10	67
(TOTAL) -- OFFSITE	5	33

Chanute City Directory (Kansas City, Missouri: R.L. Polk, 1924-25).

HARVEY HOUSE STATISTICAL INFORMATION

CHANUTE -- 1927

	NUMBER	PERCENTAGE
TOTAL STAFF	5	
FEMALE JOB TITLES	3	75
MALE JOB TITLES	1	25
TOTAL FEMALE STAFF	2	40
TOTAL MALE STAFF	3	60
WAITERS (HG)	1	20
RACE --		
(HG) -- CAUCASIAN	1	100
(TOTAL) -- CAUCASIAN	5	100
(TOTAL) -- HISPANIC	--	--
(TOTAL) -- BLACK	--	--
ADDRESS --		
(HG) -- ONSITE	--	--
(HG) -- OFFSITE	1	100
(TOTAL) -- ONSITE	--	--
(TOTAL) -- OFFSITE	5	100

Chanute City Directory (Kansas City, Mo.: R.L. Polk, 1927).

HARVEY HOUSE STATISTICAL INFORMATION

CHANUTE -- 1929

	NUMBER	PERCENTAGE
TOTAL STAFF	5	
FEMALE JOB TITLES	2	50
MALE JOB TITLES	2	50
TOTAL FEMALE STAFF	3	60
TOTAL MALE STAFF	2	40
WAITERS (HG)	2	40
RACE --		
(HG) -- CAUCASIAN	2	100
(TOTAL) -- CAUCASIAN	5	100
(TOTAL) -- HISPANIC	--	--
(TOTAL) -- BLACK	--	--
MARITAL STATUS --		
(HG) -- SINGLE	2	100
(HG) -- MARRIED	--	--
(TOTAL) -- SINGLE	3	60
(TOTAL) -- MARRIED	2	40
ADDRESS --		
(HG) -- ONSITE	--	--
(HG) -- OFFSITE	2	100
(TOTAL) -- ONSITE	--	--
(TOTAL) -- OFFSITE	5	100

Chanute City Directory (Kansas City, Mo.: R.L. Polk, 1929).

HARVEY HOUSE STATISTICAL INFORMATION

CHANUTE -- 1931

	NUMBER	PERCENTAGE
TOTAL STAFF	5	
FEMALE JOB TITLES	3	75
MALE JOB TITLES	1	25
TOTAL FEMALE STAFF	4	80
TOTAL MALE STAFF	1	20
WAITERS (HG)	2	40
RACE --		
(HG) -- CAUCASIAN	2	100
(TOTAL) -- CAUCASIAN	5	100
(TOTAL) -- HISPANIC	--	--
(TOTAL) -- BLACK	--	--
MARITAL STATUS --		
(HG) -- SINGLE	2	100
(HG) -- MARRIED	--	--
(TOTAL) -- SINGLE	3	60
(TOTAL) -- MARRIED	2	40
ADDRESS --		
(HG) -- ONSITE	--	--
(HG) -- OFFSITE	2	100
(TOTAL) -- ONSITE	--	--
(TOTAL) -- OFFSITE	5	100

Chanute City Directory (Kansas City, Mo.: R.L. Polk, 1931).

APPENDIX 2
 HARVEY HOUSE STATISTICAL INFORMATION
 EMPORIA -- 1908-1936 (PARTIAL)

EMPORIA -- 1908

	NUMBER	PERCENTAGE
TOTAL STAFF	16	
FEMALE JOB TITLES	3	30
MALE JOB TITLES	7	70
TOTAL FEMALE STAFF	7	44
TOTAL MALE STAFF	9	56
WAITERS (HG)	4	25
RACE --		
(HG) -- CAUCASIAN	4	100
(TOTAL) -- CAUCASIAN	15	93
(TOTAL) -- HISPANIC	--	--
(TOTAL) -- BLACK	1	7
MARITAL STATUS --		
(HG) -- SINGLE	4	100
(HG) -- MARRIED	--	--
(TOTAL) -- SINGLE	12	75
(TOTAL) -- MARRIED	4	25
ADDRESS --		
(HG) -- ONSITE	4	100
(HG) -- OFFSITE	--	--
(TOTAL) -- ONSITE	12	75
(TOTAL) -- OFFSITE	4	25

Emporia City Directory (Kansas City, Mo.: R.L. Polk, 1908).

HARVEY HOUSE STATISTICAL INFORMATION

EMPORIA -- 1910

	NUMBER	PERCENTAGE
TOTAL STAFF	21	
FEMALE JOB TITLES	2	22
MALE JOB TITLES	7	78
TOTAL FEMALE STAFF	13	62
TOTAL MALE STAFF	8	38
WAITERS (HG)	12	57
RACE --		
(HG) -- CAUCASIAN	12	100
(TOTAL) -- CAUCASIAN	21	100
(TOTAL) -- HISPANIC	--	--
(TOTAL) -- BLACK	--	--
MARITAL STATUS --		
(HG) -- SINGLE	11	92
(HG) -- MARRIED	1	8
(TOTAL) -- SINGLE	18	86
(TOTAL) -- MARRIED	3	14
ADDRESS --		
(HG) -- ONSITE	12	100
(HG) -- OFFSITE	--	--
(TOTAL) -- ONSITE	21	100
(TOTAL) -- OFFSITE	--	--

Emporia City Directory (Kansas City, Mo.: R.L. Polk, 1910).
Federal Census, 1910, Lyon County Kansas.

HARVEY HOUSE STATISTICAL INFORMATION

EMPORIA -- 1912

	NUMBER	PERCENTAGE
TOTAL STAFF	19	
FEMALE JOB TITLES	2	29
MALE JOB TITLES	8	71
TOTAL FEMALE STAFF	11	58
TOTAL MALE STAFF	8	42
WAITERS (HG)	9	47
RACE --		
(HG) -- CAUCASIAN	9	100
(TOTAL) -- CAUCASIAN	19	100
(TOTAL) -- HISPANIC	--	--
(TOTAL) -- BLACK	--	--
ADDRESS --		
(HG) -- ONSITE	9	100
(HG) -- OFFSITE	--	--
(TOTAL) -- ONSITE	19	100
(TOTAL) -- OFFSITE	--	--

Emporia City Directory (Kansas City, Mo.: R.L. Polk, 1912).

HARVEY HOUSE STATISTICAL INFORMATION

EMPORIA -- 1916

	NUMBER	PERCENTAGE
TOTAL STAFF	20	
FEMALE JOB TITLES	3	25
MALE JOB TITLES	9	75
TOTAL FEMALE STAFF	11	55
TOTAL MALE STAFF	9	45
WAITERS (HG)	8	40
RACE --		
(HG) -- CAUCASIAN	8	100
(TOTAL) -- CAUCASIAN	20	100
(TOTAL) -- HISPANIC	--	--
(TOTAL) -- BLACK	--	--
MARITAL STATUS --		
(HG) -- SINGLE	6	75
(HG) -- MARRIED	2	25
(TOTAL) -- SINGLE	--	--
(TOTAL) -- MARRIED	--	--
ADDRESS --		
(HG) -- ONSITE	7	88
(HG) -- OFFSITE	1	12
(TOTAL) -- ONSITE	16	80
(TOTAL) -- OFFSITE	4	40

Emporia City Directory (Kansas City, Mo.: R.L. Polk, 1916).

HARVEY HOUSE STATISTICAL INFORMATION

EMPORIA -- 1921

	NUMBER	PERCENTAGE
TOTAL STAFF	33	
FEMALE JOB TITLES	4	29
MALE JOB TITLES	10	71
TOTAL FEMALE STAFF	16	48
TOTAL MALE STAFF	17	52
WAITERS (HG)	13	39
RACE --		
(HG) -- CAUCASIAN	13	100
(TOTAL) -- CAUCASIAN	27	82
(TOTAL) -- HISPANIC	5	15
(TOTAL) -- BLACK	1	3
MARITAL STATUS --		
(HG) -- SINGLE	10	77
(HG) -- MARRIED	3	23
(TOTAL) -- SINGLE	28	85
(TOTAL) -- MARRIED	5	15
ADDRESS --		
(HG) -- ONSITE	8	62
(HG) -- OFFSITE	5	38
(TOTAL) -- ONSITE	22	67
(TOTAL) -- OFFSITE	11	33

Emporia City Directory (Kansas City, Mo.: R.L. Polk, 1921).

HARVEY HOUSE STATISTICAL INFORMATION

EMPORIA -- 1924

	NUMBER	PERCENTAGE
TOTAL STAFF	15	
FEMALE JOB TITLES	3	25
MALE JOB TITLES	9	75
TOTAL FEMALE STAFF	4	27
TOTAL MALE STAFF	11	73
WAITERS (HG)	--	--
RACE --		
(HG) -- CAUCASIAN	--	--
(TOTAL) -- CAUCASIAN	12	80
(TOTAL) -- HISPANIC	3	20
(TOTAL) -- BLACK	--	--
MARITAL STATUS --		
(HG) -- SINGLE	--	--
(HG) -- MARRIED	--	--
(TOTAL) -- SINGLE	14	93
(TOTAL) -- MARRIED	1	7
ADDRESS --		
(HG) -- ONSITE	--	--
(HG) -- OFFSITE	--	--
(TOTAL) -- ONSITE	15	100
(TOTAL) -- OFFSITE	--	--

Emporia City Directory (Kansas City Mo.: R.L. Polk, 1924).

HARVEY HOUSE STATISTICAL INFORMATION

EMPORIA -- 1926

	NUMBER	PERCENTAGE
TOTAL STAFF (LISTED)	2	
FEMALE JOB TITLES	--	--
MALE JOB TITLES	2	100
TOTAL FEMALE STAFF	--	--
TOTAL MALE STAFF	2	100
WAITERS (HG)	--	--
RACE --		
(HG) -- CAUCASIAN	--	--
(TOTAL) -- CAUCASIAN	2	100
(TOTAL) -- HISPANIC	--	--
(TOTAL) -- BLACK	--	--
ADDRESS --		
(HG) -- ONSITE	--	--
(HG) -- OFFSITE	--	--
(TOTAL) -- ONSITE	1	50
(TOTAL) -- OFFSITE	1	50

Emporia City Directory (Kansas City, Mo.: R.L. Polk, 1926).

HARVEY HOUSE STATISTICAL INFORMATION

EMPORIA -- 1928

	NUMBER	PERCENTAGE
TOTAL STAFF (LISTED)	5	
FEMALE JOB TITLES	1	20
MALE JOB TITLES	4	80
TOTAL FEMALE STAFF	1	20
TOTAL MALE STAFF	4	80
WAITERS (HG)	1	20
RACE --		
(HG) -- CAUCASIAN	1	100
(TOTAL) -- CAUCASIAN	5	100
(TOTAL) -- HISPANIC	--	--
(TOTAL) -- BLACK	--	--
ADDRESS --		
(HG) -- ONSITE	1	100
(HG) -- OFFSITE	--	--
(TOTAL) -- ONSITE	2	40
(TOTAL) -- OFFSITE	2	40
(TOTAL) -- UNLISTED	1	20

Emporia City Directory (Kansas City, Mo.: R.L. Polk, 1928).

HARVEY HOUSE STATISTICAL INFORMATION

EMPORIA -- 1930

	NUMBER	PERCENTAGE
TOTAL STAFF	24	
FEMALE JOB TITLES	4	33
MALE JOB TITLES	8	67
TOTAL FEMALE STAFF	13	54
TOTAL MALE STAFF	11	46
WAITERS (HG)	11	46
RACE --		
(HG) -- CAUCASIAN	11	100
(TOTAL) -- CAUCASIAN	24	100
(TOTAL) -- HISPANIC	--	--
(TOTAL) -- BLACK	--	--
MARITAL STATUS --		
(HG) -- SINGLE	9	82
(HG) -- MARRIED	2	18
(TOTAL) -- SINGLE	19	79
(TOTAL) -- MARRIED	5	21
ADDRESS --		
(HG) -- ONSITE	3	100
(HG) -- OFFSITE	--	--
(TOTAL) -- ONSITE	12	75
(TOTAL) -- OFFSITE	4	25

Emporia City Directory (Kansas City, Mo.: R.L. Polk, 1930).

HARVEY HOUSE STATISTICAL INFORMATION

EMPORIA -- 1932

	NUMBER	PERCENTAGE
TOTAL STAFF	17	
FEMALE JOB TITLES	4	33
MALE JOB TITLES	8	66
TOTAL FEMALE STAFF	8	47
TOTAL MALE STAFF	9	53
WAITERS (HG)	6	35
RACE --		
(HG) -- CAUCASIAN	6	100
(TOTAL) -- CAUCASIAN	15	94
(TOTAL) -- HISPANIC	1	6
(TOTAL) -- BLACK	--	--
MARITAL STATUS --		
(HG) -- SINGLE	6	100
(HG) -- MARRIED	--	--
(TOTAL) -- SINGLE	16	94
(TOTAL) -- MARRIED	1	6
ADDRESS --		
(HG) -- ONSITE	6	100
(HG) -- OFFSITE	--	--
(TOTAL) -- ONSITE	15	88
(TOTAL) -- OFFSITE	2	12

Emporia City Directory (Kansas City, Mo.: R.L. Polk, 1932).

HARVEY HOUSE STATISTICAL INFORMATION

EMPORIA -- 1934

	NUMBER	PERCENTAGE
TOTAL STAFF	16	
FEMALE JOB TITLES	6	43
MALE JOB TITLES	8	57
TOTAL FEMALE STAFF	8	50
TOTAL MALE STAFF	8	50
WAITERS (HG)	3	19
RACE --		
(HG) -- CAUCASIAN	3	100
(TOTAL) -- CAUCASIAN	15	94
(TOTAL) -- HISPANIC	1	6
(TOTAL) -- BLACK	--	--
ADDRESS --		
(HG) -- ONSITE	3	100
(HG) -- OFFSITE	--	--
(TOTAL) -- ONSITE	12	75
(TOTAL) -- OFFSITE	4	25

Emporia City Directory (Kansas City, Mo.: R.L. Polk, 1934).

HARVEY HOUSE STATISTICAL INFORMATION

EMPORIA -- 1936

	NUMBER	PERCENTAGE
TOTAL STAFF	16	
FEMALE JOB TITLES	2	18
MALE JOB TITLES	9	82
TOTAL FEMALE STAFF	7	44
TOTAL MALE STAFF	9	56
WAITERS (HG)	6	36
RACE --		
(HG) -- CAUCASIAN	3	100
(TOTAL) -- CAUCASIAN	16	100
(TOTAL) -- HISPANIC	--	--
(TOTAL) -- BLACK	--	--
MARITAL STATUS --		
(HG) -- SINGLE	6	100
(HG) -- MARRIED	--	--
(TOTAL) -- SINGLE	14	87
(TOTAL) -- MARRIED	2	13
ADDRESS --		
(HG) -- ONSITE	5	83
(HG) -- OFFSITE	1	17
(TOTAL) -- ONSITE	11	69
(TOTAL) -- OFFSITE	5	31

Emporia City Directory (Kansas City, Mo.: R.L. Polk, 1936).

**APPENDIX 3
HARVEY HOUSE STATISTICAL INFORMATION
FLORENCE -- 1880-1885 (PARTIAL)**

FLORENCE -- 1880

	NUMBER	PERCENTAGE
TOTAL STAFF	16	
FEMALE JOB TITLES	4	31
MALE JOB TITLES	9	69
TOTAL FEMALE STAFF	6	37.5
TOTAL MALE STAFF	10	62.5
WAITERS (HG)	3	19
RACE --		
(HG) -- CAUCASIAN	3	100
(HG) -- BLACK	--	--
(TOTAL) -- CAUCASIAN	16	100
(TOTAL) -- HISPANIC	--	--
(TOTAL) -- BLACK	--	--
MARITAL STATUS --		
(HG) -- SINGLE	3	100
(HG) -- MARRIED	--	--
(TOTAL) -- SINGLE	13	81
(TOTAL) -- DIVORCED	--	--
* (TOTAL) -- MARRIED	2	13
(TOTAL) -- WIDOWED	1	6
ADDRESS --		
(HG) -- ONSITE	3	100
(HG) -- OFFSITE	--	--
(TOTAL) -- ONSITE	13	81
(TOTAL) -- OFFSITE	--	--
BIRTH --		
(HG) -- NATIVE KS	--	--
(HG) -- NATIVE US	--	--
(HG) -- FOREIGN	3	100
(TOTAL) -- NATIVE KS	1	6
(TOTAL) -- NATIVE US	8	50
(TOTAL) -- FOREIGN	7	44
AGE --		
(HG) -- AVERAGE	21	
(FEMALE) -- AVERAGE	23	
(MALE) -- AVERAGE	24	
(TOTAL) -- AVERAGE	23	

Federal Census, 1880, Marion County Kansas.

HARVEY HOUSE STATISTICAL INFORMATION

FLORENCE -- 1885

	NUMBER	PERCENTAGE
TOTAL STAFF	15	
FEMALE JOB TITLES	1	100
MALE JOB TITLES	1	100
TOTAL FEMALE STAFF	8	53
TOTAL MALE STAFF	7	47
WAITERS (HG)	8	53
RACE --		
(HG) -- CAUCASIAN	8	100
(HG) -- BLACK	--	--
(TOTAL) -- CAUCASIAN	15	100
(TOTAL) -- HISPANIC	--	--
(TOTAL) -- BLACK	--	--
MARITAL STATUS --		
(HG) -- SINGLE	8	100
(HG) -- MARRIED	--	--
(TOTAL) -- SINGLE	14	93
(TOTAL) -- DIVORCED	--	--
(TOTAL) -- MARRIED	1	7
(TOTAL) -- WIDOWED	--	--
ADDRESS --		
(HG) -- ONSITE	8	100
(HG) -- OFFSITE	--	--
(TOTAL) -- ONSITE	15	100
(TOTAL) -- OFFSITE	--	--

Federal Census, 1895, Marion County Kansas.

**APPENDIX 4
HARVEY HOUSE STATISTICAL INFORMATION
NEWTON -- 1885-1955 (PARTIAL)**

NEWTON -- 1885

	NUMBER	PERCENTAGE
TOTAL STAFF	39	
FEMALE JOB TITLES	6	35
MALE JOB TITLES	11	65
TOTAL FEMALE STAFF	20	51
TOTAL MALE STAFF	19	49
WAITERS (HG)	9	23
RACE --		
(HG) -- CAUCASIAN	9	100
(TOTAL) -- CAUCASIAN	38	97
(TOTAL) -- HISPANIC	--	--
(TOTAL) -- BLACK	1	3
MARITAL STATUS --		
(HG) -- SINGLE	9	100
(HG) -- MARRIED	--	--
(TOTAL) -- SINGLE	27	69
(TOTAL) -- MARRIED	8	21
(TOTAL) -- WIDOWED	2	5
ADDRESS --		
(HG) -- ONSITE	9	100
(HG) -- OFFSITE	--	--
(TOTAL) -- ONSITE	39	100
(TOTAL) -- OFFSITE	--	--
BIRTH --		
(HG) -- NATIVE KS	--	--
(HG) -- NATIVE US	7	78
(HG) -- FOREIGN	2	22
(TOTAL) -- NATIVE KS	1	3
(TOTAL) -- NATIVE US	29	74
(TOTAL) -- FOREIGN	8	21
AGE --		
(HG) -- AVERAGE	23	
(FEMALE) -- AVERAGE	27	
(MALE) -- AVERAGE	25	
(TOTAL) -- AVERAGE	26	

State Census, 1895, Harvey County Kansas.

APPENDIX 4HARVEY HOUSE STATISTICAL INFORMATION
NEWTON -- 1895

	NUMBER	PERCENTAGE
TOTAL STAFF	37	
FEMALE JOB TITLES	6	55
MALE JOB TITLES	5	45
TOTAL FEMALE STAFF	23	62
TOTAL MALE STAFF	14	38
WAITERS (HG)	11	30
RACE --		
(HG) -- CAUCASIAN	11	100
(TOTAL) -- CAUCASIAN	35	95
(TOTAL) -- HISPANIC	--	--
(TOTAL) -- BLACK	2	5
ADDRESS --		
(HG) -- ONSITE	11	100
(HG) -- OFFSITE	--	--
(TOTAL) -- ONSITE	37	100
(TOTAL) -- OFFSITE	--	--
BIRTH --		
(HG) -- NATIVE KS	9	82
(HG) -- NATIVE US	2	18
(HG) -- FOREIGN	--	--
(TOTAL) -- NATIVE KS	19	51
(TOTAL) -- NATIVE US	9	24
(TOTAL) -- FOREIGN	9	24
AGE --		
(HG) -- AVERAGE	24	
(FEMALE) -- AVERAGE	27	
(MALE) -- AVERAGE	27	
(TOTAL) -- AVERAGE	27	

State Census, 1895, Harvey County Kansas.

APPENDIX 4

HARVEY HOUSE STATISTICAL INFORMATION
 NEWTON -- 1900

	NUMBER	PERCENTAGE
TOTAL STAFF	31	
FEMALE JOB TITLES	3	20
MALE JOB TITLES	12	80
TOTAL FEMALE STAFF	14	45
TOTAL MALE STAFF	16	52
WAITERS (HG)	9	29
RACE --		
(HG) -- CAUCASIAN	8	89
(HG) -- BLACK	1	11
(TOTAL) -- CAUCASIAN	28	90
(TOTAL) -- HISPANIC	--	--
(TOTAL) -- BLACK	3	10
MARITAL STATUS --		
(HG) -- SINGLE	9	100
(HG) -- MARRIED	--	--
(TOTAL) -- SINGLE	23	74
(TOTAL) -- DIVORCED	1	3
(TOTAL) -- MARRIED	6	19
(TOTAL) -- WIDOWED	1	3
ADDRESS --		
(HG) -- ONSITE	9	100
(HG) -- OFFSITE	--	--
(TOTAL) -- ONSITE	31	100
(TOTAL) -- OFFSITE	--	--
BIRTH --		
(HG) -- NATIVE KS	2	22
(HG) -- NATIVE US	7	78
(HG) -- FOREIGN	--	--
(TOTAL) -- NATIVE KS	4	13
(TOTAL) -- NATIVE US	21	68
(TOTAL) -- FOREIGN	6	19
AGE --		
(HG) -- AVERAGE	22	
(FEMALE) -- AVERAGE	23	
(MALE) -- AVERAGE	31	
(TOTAL) -- AVERAGE	26	

1900 Federal Census, Kansas, Harvey County, Newton City,
 Ward 3, Page A63.

HARVEY HOUSE STATISTICAL INFORMATION
 NEWTON -- 1905

	NUMBER	PERCENTAGE
TOTAL STAFF	24	
FEMALE JOB TITLES	1	20
MALE JOB TITLES	4	60
TOTAL FEMALE STAFF	9	38
TOTAL MALE STAFF	15	63
WAITERS (HG)	9	38
RACE --		
(HG) -- CAUCASIAN	8	89
(HG) -- BLACK	1	11
(TOTAL) -- CAUCASIAN	23	96
(TOTAL) -- HISPANIC	--	--
(TOTAL) -- BLACK	1	4
ADDRESS --		
(HG) -- ONSITE	9	100
(HG) -- OFFSITE	--	--
(TOTAL) -- ONSITE	24	100
(TOTAL) -- OFFSITE	--	--
BIRTH --		
(HG) -- NATIVE KS	2	22
(HG) -- NATIVE US	5	56
(HG) -- FOREIGN	2	22
(TOTAL) -- NATIVE KS	4	17
(TOTAL) -- NATIVE US	13	54
(TOTAL) -- FOREIGN	4	17
AGE --		
(HG) -- AVERAGE	31	
(FEMALE) -- AVERAGE	31	
(MALE) -- AVERAGE	29	
(TOTAL) -- AVERAGE	30	

State Census, 1905, Harvey County Kansas.

HARVEY HOUSE STATISTICAL INFORMATION
 NEWTON -- 1910

	NUMBER	PERCENTAGE
TOTAL STAFF	30	
FEMALE JOB TITLES	4	29
MALE JOB TITLES	10	71
TOTAL FEMALE STAFF	17	57
TOTAL MALE STAFF	13	43
WAITERS (HG)	12	40
RACE --		
(HG) -- CAUCASIAN	12	100
(HG) -- BLACK	--	--
(TOTAL) -- CAUCASIAN	28	93
(TOTAL) -- HISPANIC	--	--
(TOTAL) -- BLACK	2	7
MARITAL STATUS --		
(HG) -- SINGLE	12	100
(HG) -- MARRIED	--	--
(TOTAL) -- SINGLE	26	87
(TOTAL) -- DIVORCED	--	--
(TOTAL) -- MARRIED	2	7
(TOTAL) -- WIDOWED	2	7
ADDRESS --		
(HG) -- ONSITE	11	92
(HG) -- OFFSITE	--	--
(TOTAL) -- ONSITE	28	93
(TOTAL) -- OFFSITE	--	--
BIRTH --		
(HG) -- NATIVE KS	5	42
(HG) -- NATIVE US	6	50
(HG) -- FOREIGN	1	3
(TOTAL) -- NATIVE KS	10	33
(TOTAL) -- NATIVE US	13	43
(TOTAL) -- FOREIGN	7	23
AGE --		
(HG) -- AVERAGE	24	
(FEMALE) -- AVERAGE	25	
(MALE) -- AVERAGE	27	
(TOTAL) -- AVERAGE	25	

Federal Census, 1910, Harvey County Kansas.

HARVEY HOUSE STATISTICAL INFORMATION
 NEWTON -- 1920

	NUMBER	PERCENTAGE
TOTAL STAFF	40	
FEMALE JOB TITLES	5	29
MALE JOB TITLES	12	71
TOTAL FEMALE STAFF	24	60
TOTAL MALE STAFF	16	40
WAITERS (HG)	16	40
RACE --		
(HG) -- CAUCASIAN	16	100
(HG) -- BLACK	--	--
(TOTAL) -- CAUCASIAN	35	88
(TOTAL) -- HISPANIC	--	--
(TOTAL) -- BLACK	5	13
MARITAL STATUS --		
(HG) -- SINGLE	12	75
(HG) -- MARRIED	1	6
(HG) -- DIVORCED	1	6
(HG) -- WIDOWED	2	13
(TOTAL) -- SINGLE	33	83
(TOTAL) -- DIVORCED	1	3
(TOTAL) -- MARRIED	3	7
(TOTAL) -- WIDOWED	3	7
ADDRESS --		
(HG) -- ONSITE	16	100
(HG) -- OFFSITE	--	--
(TOTAL) -- ONSITE	40	100
(TOTAL) -- OFFSITE	--	--
BIRTH --		
(HG) -- NATIVE KS	4	25
(HG) -- NATIVE US	11	69
(HG) -- FOREIGN	1	6
(TOTAL) -- NATIVE KS	7	17.5
(TOTAL) -- NATIVE US	27	67.5
(TOTAL) -- FOREIGN	6	15
AGE --		
(HG) -- AVERAGE	28	
(FEMALE) -- AVERAGE	31	
(MALE) -- AVERAGE	28	
(TOTAL) -- AVERAGE	29	

Federal Census, 1920, Harvey County Kansas.

HARVEY HOUSE STATISTICAL INFORMATION

NEWTON -- 1948

	NUMBER	PERCENTAGE
TOTAL STAFF	23	
FEMALE JOB TITLES	6	33
MALE JOB TITLES	12	67
TOTAL FEMALE STAFF	7	30
TOTAL MALE STAFF	16	70
WAITERS (HG)	2	9
RACE --		
(HG) -- CAUCASIAN	2	100
(HG) -- BLACK	--	--
(TOTAL) -- CAUCASIAN	23	100
(TOTAL) -- HISPANIC	--	--
(TOTAL) -- BLACK	--	--
MARITAL STATUS --		
(HG) -- SINGLE	--	--
(HG) -- MARRIED	1	50
(TOTAL) -- SINGLE	1	4
(TOTAL) -- DIVORCED	--	--
(TOTAL) -- MARRIED	8	35
(TOTAL) -- WIDOWED	--	--
ADDRESS --		
(HG) -- ONSITE	--	--
(HG) -- OFFSITE	2	100
(TOTAL) -- ONSITE	--	--
(TOTAL) -- OFFSITE	23	100

Newton City Directory (Kansas City, Mo.: R.L. Polk, 1948).

HARVEY HOUSE STATISTICAL INFORMATION

NEWTON -- 1952

	NUMBER	PERCENTAGE
TOTAL STAFF	26	
FEMALE JOB TITLES	8	40
MALE JOB TITLES	12	60
TOTAL FEMALE STAFF	12	46
TOTAL MALE STAFF	14	54
WAITERS (HG)	4	15
RACE --		
(HG) -- CAUCASIAN	4	100
(HG) -- BLACK	--	--
(TOTAL) -- CAUCASIAN	23	88
(TOTAL) -- HISPANIC	1	4
(TOTAL) -- BLACK	--	--
ADDRESS --		
(HG) -- ONSITE	--	--
(HG) -- OFFSITE	4	100
(TOTAL) -- ONSITE	2	8
(TOTAL) -- OFFSITE	24	92

Newton City Directory (Kansas City, Mo.: R.L. Polk, 1952).

HARVEY HOUSE STATISTICAL INFORMATION

NEWTON -- 1955

	NUMBER	PERCENTAGE
TOTAL STAFF	37	
FEMALE JOB TITLES	10	40
MALE JOB TITLES	15	60
TOTAL FEMALE STAFF	16	43
TOTAL MALE STAFF	14	57
WAITERS (HG)	6	16
RACE --		
(HG) -- CAUCASIAN	3	50
(HG) -- BLACK	--	--
(TOTAL) -- CAUCASIAN	15	41
(TOTAL) -- HISPANIC	2	5
(TOTAL) -- BLACK	--	--
MARITAL STATUS --		
(HG) -- SINGLE	1	17
(HG) -- MARRIED	5	83
(TOTAL) -- SINGLE	--	--
(TOTAL) -- DIVORCED	--	--
(TOTAL) -- MARRIED	--	--
(TOTAL) -- WIDOWED	--	--
ADDRESS --		
(HG) -- ONSITE	--	--
(HG) -- OFFSITE	6	100
(TOTAL) -- ONSITE	--	--
(TOTAL) -- OFFSITE	37	100

Newton City Directory (Kansas City, Mo.: R.L. Polk, 1952).

APPENDIX 5
HARVEY EMPLOYEE ATTITUDE SURVEY

How long have you worked for Fred Harvey?

Less than one year	23%
One year to five years	27
Five years or more	49
(No answer)	1

As a company to work for, how does Fred Harvey compare with other companies?

One of the very best	48%
Better than average	27
Just average	19
Worse than average	2
One of the very worst	1
(No answer)	3

Do you feel a part of the Fred Harvey organization?

I feel I really belong	58%
I feel I just work here	14
Sometimes I feel one way and sometimes the other	25
(No answer)	3

How do you rate your bosses in their ability to handle employees?

Good	74%
Fair	18
Poor	6
(No answer)	2

When you started working for Fred Harvey, how much training were you given for your job?

Very litte	25%
Plenty for the job	34
Very thorough instructions	35
(No answer)	6

When you do a good job, do you feel you are appreciated?

Not at all	9%
Once in a while	35
Complete credit for a good job	51
(No answer)	5

APPENDIX 5

Do you feel the conditions under which you work are...

Bad	7%
Fair	34
Good	57
(No answer)	2

Are the employes with whom you work the kind you can get along with?

Very few	2%
Some	10
Most of them	84
(No Answer)	4

Does your supervisor get employees together to talk over job problems?

Once in a great while	40%
Often	28
Never	25
(No Answer)	7

Do you think your supervisor should conduct employe meetings to discuss work problems?

Yes	78%
No	15
(No Answer)	7

All in all, what do you think of Fred Harvey as a place to work?

It is a good place	74%
It is a fairly good place	18
It is not a very good place to work	2
(No answer)	6

Source: "You Said It, A Report on the Attitude Survey," Hospitality Magazine (October 1953): 2-5.

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May 8, 1995
Date

HARVEY GIRLS: THEN, NOW, AND FOREVER
Title of Thesis/Research Project

Dave Cooper
Signature of Graduate Office Staff Member

May 8, 1995
Date Received